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CELIBACY AND GENERATIVITY

by

Thomas F. Nestor

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

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1989

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## VITA

The author, Thomas F. Nestor, is the son of John and Mary Nestor, the brother of Margaret Mann and Paul Nestor, Ph.D. He was born in Boston, Massachusetts on September 17, 1954. He attended the Boston Public Schools and graduated Boston Latin School in 1972. He earned a B.A. from Harvard University in 1976.

Following college he began studies for the diocesan priesthood at Saint John Seminary in Brighton, Massachusetts and was ordained a Catholic priest on June 20, 1981. For two years he served as associate pastor of Saint Robert Bellarmine Parish in Andover, Massachusetts. From 1983 to 1985 he was secretary to the Metropolitan Tribunal of the Archdiocese of Boston and did additional pastoral work at Mary Immaculate Parish in Newton Upper Falls, Massachusetts.

In 1986 he began graduate studies in clinical psychology at Loyola University of Chicago while doing part-time ministerial work at Saint Nicholas Parish in Evanston, Illinois. He is currently working toward a Ph.D. at Loyola University.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Generativity is the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation. According to Erikson's (1963) developmental theory, it is the central psychosocial issue of the seventh stage of development, or midlife, during which one faces the crisis of showing concern for the next generation or becoming self absorbed.

Having addressed the questions of "Who am I?" and "How do I fit into the world?" the adolescent is equipped with with a sense of sameness and continuity (Erikson, 1963) and is prepared to enter into the intimacy of marriage and other long-term relationships which mark adult life. During midlife the individual becomes concerned with the next generation. Faced with the prospect of becoming generative or stagnant, the individual who becomes the former sets out to create a legacy. This legacy is most often manifest in the procreation and raising of children, but it is not limited to this area. One may choose to invest oneself

in areas other than child rearing, such as art, leadership, or the society at large.

The failure to be generative prompts a regression to a pseudo-intimacy wherein the preoccupation with one's own needs is so pervasive that a person becomes his or her own only child. The stagnant individual indulges oneself and thus sows the seeds for potential early psychological or physical invalidism.

The present study investigates the generative activity of two groups: married men and celibate Catholic priests. Previous research (Vaillant and Milofsky, 1980) has studied married men and generativity. The present study compares the generative activity of married men with their peers who have given up marriage and the procreation of children for the sake of priestly ministry.

The major instrument of this investigation is the Loyola Generativity Scale (LGS), a self-report questionnaire which is in the process of being validated in a group of studies including the present one. The items of the LGS spring from McAdams' (1985) theory about the integrative nature of the issue of generativity in the life cycle and the salience of that issue at midlife. Empirical procedures have distilled

problems of internal consistency, response styles, and discriminant and convergent validity. This process has involved subjects between the ages of 19 and 68 as well as college undergraduates.

The celibate population involved in this study consists of Catholic priests who are currently active in public ministry and does not include those who live in monasteries or any other cloister type of setting. Erikson (1963) makes specific reference to those who have embraced a spiritual tradition which suggests the "renunciation of the right to procreate or to produce" for the sake of "ultimate concerns" (p.267). Generativity and the celibate priest are of particular interest because of the commonly cited theological understanding of celibacy which speaks of that "ultimate concern" as the kingdom of God. The pages which follow will attempt to give an overview of this theology of celibacy and to demonstrate its relevance to the study of the issue of generativity in the celibate priest.

In order to investigate the role of generativity in the lives of middle age men, the aforementioned celibate group will be compared with a group of married men of the same age. Ther psychological literature on generativity and the theological literature on celibacy

have lead to the following hypotheses: (1) celibates are more generative than noncelibates; (2) men who are higher in generativity are more satisfied with their lives than those who are lower in generativity; (3) priests who are celibate for internal reasons are more generative than those who are celibate for external reasons; and (4) generativity is a stronger predictor of life satisfaction in celibates than in noncelibates. These four hypotheses will be tested and discussed below.

## CHAPTER II

### THE MEETING OF PSYCHOLOGY AND THEOLOGY IN GENERATIVITY

#### Generativity in Theory

A generation ago Erikson (1950) made popular the concept of "identity crisis," i.e. to experience struggles concerning beliefs and values, as well as striving and action. In common parlance one would not be surprised to hear casual reference to one's "identity crisis", however vaguely defined or described.

In more recent years "midlife crisis" has assumed the same kind of currency that "identity crisis" assumed a generation ago. "Midlife crisis" has been described as a period of disillusionment with the direction of one's life. It comes at a time when an individual is no longer growing up but growing old. Having embarked on the second half of the life cycle, one more acutely senses the imminence of death.

McAdams (1985) submits that the midlife crisis may be a crisis of generativity. The imminence of death creates an urgent desire to make "something that lasts

forever before it is too late" (p.265). The concern at midlife is no longer the ideology of value and belief, but a "crisis in generative action....How can I attain a kind of immortality through the creation or generation of my gifts?" (p.265).

Generativity has been described as "primarily concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (Erikson, 1963, p.267). Though it is most often associated with bringing children into the world, it is not confined to progeny. Generativity is a fundamental human need by which one gives birth to something which will survive after his or her death (McAdams, 1985). It also implies a "faith in the species" (Erikson, 1963, p.267). The individual comes to value others, especially the younger generation, as worthy of care. Erikson (1964) defines care as "the widening concern for what has been generated by love, necessity or accident; it overcomes the ambivalence adhering to irreversible obligation" (p.131). Generativity is the instinctual power behind various types of selfless caring.

Though ostensibly similar to creativity and productivity, generativity cannot be equated with either. Kotre (1984) comments: "creativity connotes, first, that something new is made, while generativity

connotes something old is passed on....Creativity ends once the product is made but generativity implies caring for the product as it grows and develops" (p.11).

Generativity is a much more expansive concept than creativity and productivity. The gift one offers to the community and/or succeeding generations is necessarily one which is endowed with the self of the donor. It is an especially personal gift which warrants the donor's care, but at the same time demands to be granted autonomy.

Erikson's description of generativity acknowledges "individuals who through misfortune or because of special and genuine gifts in other directions, do not apply this drive (generativity) to their own offspring" (p.267). The implication is that artists, religious people and others possess that special gift whereby they have forgone genital intimacy in favor of their vocation.

### Research on Generativity

Generativity has not been the object of extensive research. Using the TAT, McAdams (1985) found in his sample of men and women in their 30's and 40's that those who are high in both intimacy motive and power

motive are also high in generativity. He defines intimacy motive as a recurrent preference or readiness for experiences of warm, close, and communicative exchange. Power motive is a recurrent preference or readiness for experiences of having impact and feeling strong vis-a-vis the environment. McAdams infers from these results that highly generative adults bring forth more raw motivational material in their fantasies than less generative adults.

In the hope of demonstrating that the generativity becomes prominent at midlife, Ryff and Migdal (1984) studied two groups of women. One group consisted of fifty young adult women age eighteen to thirty. The second group consisted of fifty middle aged women age forty to fifty-five. Using scales measuring dominance, breadth of interest, creativity and productivity, they extrapolated a measure of generativity and found that generative factors were more important to women during middle age than during young adulthood. They rated themselves as more generative in their present middle age than in their young adulthood. This finding is tempered by the fact that young adult women rated themselves higher on generativity in the present than they anticipated being in middle age. Of course, having



not experienced this stage of life, these young women were only speculating.

Van De Water (1987) examined faith, hope, dominance, nurturance, leadership and previous stage resolution as correlates and predictors of generativity. In her sample of seventy adults, hope for the future and trust were highly correlated with generativity, but faith in people was not correlated with generativity. While nurturance and leadership were positively correlated with generativity, earlier results demonstrating a similar relationship between dominance and generativity (Ryff and Hienke, 1983) were not replicated. The profile of generativity which Van De Water uncovered showed that generative individuals are more hopeful about the future than those who score low in generativity. Though they are more trusting than mistrusting, they have less faith in others, but more faith in a supreme being. The generative person has resolved the intimacy versus isolation crisis and is more nurturant than others. This profile of the generative person has important implications for the study of generativity in people who have chosen the celibate life for religious reasons, as will be discussed below.

Further empirical evidence of Erikson's inductively derived model of adult development is provided by Vaillant and Milofsky (1980). They reviewed two 40 year prospective studies, one of men from core city neighborhoods and the other of successful college sophomores. Subjects were assigned to a particular Eriksonian stage based on the rating received during a two hour semistructured interview. Those who were deemed less than stage 5 (identity vs. role confusion) received a score of one. Stage 5 (intimacy vs. isolation) subjects received a score of two; stage 6 received three; stage 6a (which the authors devised and named career consolidation) received four; stage 7 (generativity) received five. At age 47, almost all of the men whom the researchers regarded as generative, that is, who assumed sustained responsibility for the growth, well-being, and leadership of others, had mastered the tasks reflecting stable career and stable marriage. Adult life stages were found to be relatively independent of chronological age. Thirty to forty percent of this middle age sample was regarded as generative. More than fifteen percent of the sample remained involved in adolescent issues. Approximately thirty percent achieved career consolidation, i.e., had

a stable career specialization but little responsibility for others. Another fifteen percent had established a long term interdependent relationship but no stable career specialization and skill. Social class and education were not significant influences on adult maturation. The fact that only one third of the sample was truly generative and another substantial proportion remained adolescent gives support to Erikson's contention that the life cycle must be passed through sequentially and that failure to resolve the issues of one stage usually precludes successful resolution of issues in subsequent stages. Further evidence in support of Erikson's hypothesis was found in the fact that only fourteen of seventy men who were rated as unable to achieve intimacy with one person ever made a stable job commitment and only two mastered the tasks associated with generativity. In addition, almost all of those who were rated generative had mastered the tasks of stable career and marriage.

Generative men exhibited a wide range of behaviors reflecting care, moral sophistication and maturity. The study revealed generative men as being close to adolescent children, assuming managerial responsibilities, enjoying one's first marriage,

volunteering for public service and using mature ego defenses such as suppression, altruism and anticipation.

The composite of Vaillant and Milofsky's, Van De Water's and McAdams' findings suggests that the generative person is one who has successfully negotiated previous developmental crises and has achieved stability. These descriptions indicate that the generative individual has also achieved a socially desirable level of maturity and has adapted to the demands of adulthood. These indices of personal maturity, stability, and integration lead to the hypothesis that generative people are more satisfied with their lives than those who are less generative.

### Erikson's Eight Stages of Man

Generativity becomes an issue within a discrete psychosocial stage of development, according to Erikson's theory. In the Eriksonian schema this issue arises during middle adulthood following the intimacy-isolation stage of development. Mc Adams (1985), however, argues that generativity is not so conveniently assigned to middle adulthood, nor can it be separated from other developmental issues, identity in particular. Before continuing this discussion of generativity, a

look at its place in the context of Erikson's stages of psychosocial development will be helpful.

Erikson (1950) views the life cycle as consisting of eight stages, each of which is organized around a critical psychosocial issue. His formulation is well known. The first stage concerns issues of basic trust and basic mistrust. During the early years of life the infant endeavors to allow his or her mother out of sight without undue anxiety or rage. In so doing he or she relies on an inner reservoir of memories and experiences which affords a sense of identity and thus enables the infant to negotiate with the objective world. The internalization of the sameness and constancy of outer providers engenders a trust not only in others but also in oneself. Failure to accomplish this task results in withdrawal and a deficient sense of boundary between inner and outer reality, between subjective and objective reality.

The second critical stage involves autonomy on the one hand and shame and doubt on the other hand. During this age the infant acquires a basic faith in his existence whereby he or she makes confident choices. The environment encourages the child to assert some independence. If denied autonomy the child will strive

to obsessively control the minute details of life at the expense of a more healthful engagement of larger reality. Shame prompts retreat into a self consciousness which is an experience of discomfort generated by the feeling that one is being exposed and looked at. This stage lays the foundation for loving cooperation and freedom of self expression.

The child next addresses the issue of initiative versus guilt. Inspired by a new hope and a new responsibility, he or she takes pleasure in attacking and conquering. While prompted to assert self, the child must reckon with the opposing inclination to feel guilty about these initiatives.

The child is thus prepared for "entrance into life." The desire to play is integrated into a desire to be productive. In dealing with the issue of industry versus inferiority the child's boundaries expand to include skills and tools. He or she derives satisfaction from work successfully and diligently completed. Failure in this area of industry creates a general sense of inadequacy and inferiority. If parents have not prepared the child to engage this task, he or she will take refuge in an isolated, less tool conscious world wherein the proper identification with other industrious

individuals is lacking.

Adolescence and youth mark the end of childhood and the beginning of a new phase in the establishment of an identity. In addressing identity versus role confusion the individual confronts the issues of sameness and continuity that marked infantile life. The dramatic change in bodily configuration and the emergence of genital maturity prompt questions about the stability of existence. Adolescents become more concerned with what people think of them than with what they feel they are. They are extremely receptive to idols and ideals which aid the formation of an identity. Role confusion results in overidentification with the heroes of cliques and crowds. Adolescent love is often a projection of a diffused ego image on another whereby it is reflected and clarified.

Having established an identity, the individual is now ready to take chances with that precious acquisition and becomes "eager and willing to fuse his identity with that of others. He or she is ready for intimacy, that is, the capacity to commit himself to concrete affiliations and partnerships and to develop the ethical strength to abide by such commitments, even though they may call for significant sacrifices and compromises'

(p.263). The loss of self in close relationships and sexual union may prove too anxiety provoking and mark a period of isolation and self absorption in the one who wishes to avoid such experiences. Erikson regards this period as the first time in which one can be truly genital. Genital involvement before this stage is an 'identity searching kind' (p.264).

Though an individual enters a partnership with another, it does not necessarily follow that the danger of isolation has been successfully avoided. This becomes apparent in the resolution of the generativity versus stagnation issue. For Erikson, generativity is the central issue encompassing the evolutionary development of one as teacher, creator of institutions, and learner. The mature individual relies on the younger generation as s/he needs to be needed by them. Generativity is the "concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (p.265). Those who lose themselves in the intimate meeting of body and mind take interest in what is being generated. Failure in generativity manifests itself in a self indulgence in which one fancies himself or herself as one's own. Such people see themselves as their own one and only child. A person thus stagnated and preoccupied with self lacks a "belief in the



species" (p.267) which marks generative attitudes.

In the final stage, which is ego integrity versus despair, the task is acceptance of life as "something that has to be and permits no substitutes" (p.268). One who has achieved integrity is ready to defend the dignity of his own life style while at the same time realizing that "life is a mere coincidence of but one life style with but one segment of history" (p.268). The alternative to ego integrity is despair. One locked in despair fears death which is imminent and is not able to accept this one and only life now drawing to a close.

Though he posits discrete stages of psychosocial development, Erikson does not propose that these developmental tasks are isolated from one another. Indeed, all eight exist in an individual from the beginning, but there are those points when an issue becomes critical and requires a decisive encounter. Also, the successful resolution of a particular crisis is tied to the quality of the resolution of previous crises. The chances of a successful completion of one stage are enhanced by the successful completion of previous stages.

### Kotre on Generativity

Kotre (1984) offers a modified view of Erikson's notion of generativity by pointing out that generativity is more accurately understood as an impulse which can be directed toward either virtue or vice. Erikson's formulation does not account for the possibility that the generative drive may effect human destruction. Kotre thus defines generativity as "a desire to invest one's substance in forms of life and work that will outlive the self" (p.10). The generative drive is rooted in childhood play but begins to become more manifest in the new found capacity of the adolescent to reproduce. However, it is not valued until the period of fertility is ending or until one realizes that life will end. For Kotre, as for Erikson, the moment of crisis is usually at midlife when thoughts about the finitude of life emerge and the issue of generativity becomes salient.

Kotre outlines four major types of generativity. The first, biological generativity, is the begetting, bearing and nursing of children. The emphasis here is on the physical process of generating offspring. Second is parental generativity which involves the feeding, clothing, sheltering, loving and disciplining of children and initiating them into family traditions.

Parental generativity normally flows from biological generativity. However there are instances such as adoption and artificial insemination when biological generativity is separated from parental generativity. Third, technical generativity is the teaching of skills to one's junior, understudy or child. This sort of instruction takes place throughout the life cycle. Through this passing on of skills, one's craft is kept alive and further developed. It is a generative act in so far as one extends oneself to the learner or attaches oneself to a lasting art. A background concomitant of passing on skills to the next generation is the transmission of culture.

"In teaching how to do it [skills], the technically generative individual also teaches what it means. When the task of communicating meaning becomes direct and the transmission of culture becomes explicit, one has entered the fourth type of generativity which is cultural generativity. In cultural generativity, the teacher 'brings to the fore the symbol system that stood in the background and offers the student the outlines of an identity" (p.14).

One is generative by creating, renovating and/or conserving symbols. The teacher offers the student a vision of what he or she might become according to the potential of both the culture and the individual.

According to Kotre, in classical psychoanalytic

thinking, culture is that influence to which the individual must submit. The appropriate method of expression of intellectual drives is prescribed by culture from the beginning of individual development throughout the life cycle. In the psychology of generativity culture is the collaborator whose symbols are expressed in human life. The individual articulates the cultural tradition "which offers a ride into the future."

Kotre prefers to regard generativity not as a stage but as an "impulse released at various times between the late teens and old age." These impulses occur at particular moments in the life cycle. Erikson's conceptualization of generativity as a stage spanning several decades is intimately related to the bearing of children which has been, in the past, an activity of early adulthood, and usually not late adulthood. Yet, he places generativity in middle adulthood.

Kotre collected the life stories of four men and four women for the purpose of developing a psychology of generativity. While the life story is able to capture and communicate the meaning of the images and incidents of daily life, it does not necessarily constitute a

social science. Nonetheless it is, in Kotre's estimation, the groundwork for science as it provides questions, hypotheses and perspectives for the researcher to investigate.

Kotre's criteria for selecting life story tellers were: (1) signs of unique nuances of the generative problem in the life story; (2) a wide range of religions, races, ethnicities, occupations, and social classes; also a balance of sex and age; (3) examples of new demographic trends and different kinds of generativity. Kotre sought a varied sample, not a representative one. Similarly, he wrote up only the most enlightening. From the stories he extracted a generative thread. On the basis of these threads he looked back on the stories and composed a summary statement of the recurring motifs and varieties of generative experiences.

Kotre names this process a "narrative psychology" which connotes both a content and a method. Narrative psychology is concerned with the personal and social dynamics of a story, with their creation and retention, with preferred themes at various points in life and with positive and negative identifications. The method of narrative psychology is to assess the meaning of

behaviors by means of clinical skill, theoretical formulations and literary criticism.

In his research, Kotre found that generativity is rarely dominant over long periods of time. Rather, it is intermittently ascendant. Nor did he find that earlier stages must be mastered before a later stage can be successfully completed. His narrative psychology indicates that generative moments do not arise out of having successfully addressed identity and intimacy issues but "from a fortuitous match of individual and society...." individuals propagate themselves in spite of problems with identity and intimacy. However his most salient finding is that culture is the main vehicle by which one is generative, by which one outlives the self. Stories and culture are mutually dependent. Kotre found that stories are a "natural vehicle for carrying the meaning of life from one generation to the next... and stories and generativity can be understood only in relation to an abiding culture" (p.267). From the vantage point of the end of life culture gives stories order and direction while giving the individual story teller a generative outlet. During generative episodes subjects keep a close connection to culture.

### Generativity and Death

Having located the generativity issue in the context of Erikson's developmental theory and having presented a modification of his formulation of generativity as discussed by Kotre, the distinctive role of the fear of death as discussed by Becker (1973) warrants closer examination. Becker's thinking on the fear of death is a critical factor in McAdams' (1985) understanding of the human need to be generative. "The fear of death is the mainspring of human activity" (p.256). In the face of imminent death, humankind seeks ways to become immortal. Generativity is a way of attaining immortality through one's creations. That haunting sense of one's ultimate demise is allayed by the contribution one can make to the succeeding generation. This contribution is, by definition, something which no longer belongs to the one who generated it. These gifts are "carefully fashioned legacies of the self which must be surrendered, selflessly, as offerings to a larger community" (P.257).

Becker speaks of two motives or urges that pull in opposite directions. A person is motivated to both merge with the rest of nature and to be unique. The desire to merge is the result of feelings of isolation,

aloneness, smallness and impotence before the awesomeness of transcendent reality. By assuming a dependence on the cosmos, one experiences oneself as part of a bigger reality and acquires transcendent value. Becker quotes Rank (1968) in stating that one develops a 'feeling of kinship with the All.' Whether it is the child's identifications with the parents or an adult's loving, one is trying to live in some larger expansiveness of meaning. This is not merely a anxious reaction to death, but a "reaching out of one's whole being toward life" (p.153).

Along side the urge for merger is an urge to develop self powers, uniqueness, and the impulse to shine. Beck puts it this way: "How do I realize my distinctive gifts, make my own to the world through my own self expansion?" (p.153). The human person is prompted to achieve a belongingness in the universe, but also to develop a valuable heroic gift by which she or he becomes something special. The good which is sought is something that has value and something that endures. In order to be the hero thus described, one must give a gift. "...The only way out of human conflict is full renunciation, to give one's life as a gift to the highest powers" (p.173). That which one generates is a



means of attaining immortality. One constructs a legacy which will outlive the person and gives it away to the next generation. This disposition of donation resembles Erikson's sense of caring for these gifts. Caring for the gift and giving it away are what distinguish generativity from simple productivity and creativity.

McAdams (1985) makes an important point in drawing from the work of Becker (1973). The imminence of death is an important factor in the emergence of generativity as an issue in the life cycle. As implied above, midlife is that point in development when one realizes that the time which lies ahead may be shorter than the time which lies behind. It is this experience of future nothingness that prompts one to view life in a whole new way and heightens the desire to create a legacy.

Like the subjects of the present study of generativity, Gandhi was a man of faith. In his psychobiography of Gandhi, Erikson (1969) describes the Indian leader as one who demands strength from his consciousness of nothingness. His was the insight of religious individuals that

"...each of us exists with a unique consciousness and responsibility of his own which makes him at the same time zero and everything, a center of absolute silence, and the vortex of apocalyptic participation. A man who looks through the historical parade of

cultures and civilizations... faces the central truth of our own nothingness and, mirabile dictu, gains power from it" (p. 397).

Erikson comments that one like Gandhi is significant not for having saved others from their sins, but in saving others from the "fantastic effort not to see the most obvious of all facts: that life is bounded by not-life" (p. 397). This consciousness of ones's nothingness gives the individual power when it is bound to a gift of giving and accepting actuality which Erikson defines as that 'which feels effectively true in action' (p. 396). Gandhi's response to this experience of nothingness was to apply his spiritual power to the practical realities of his day.

The power of actuality is, for Erikson, "the mutual maximization of greater and higher unity among men" (p.398). To become actual one combines that which is given in an individual's development with that which is given in one's historical time. In this intersection of history and personal development, there is a sense of urgency whereby the actualist is motivated "to be ready to die for what is true now" (p.399). The incentive arises out of both the sense of nothingness and the understanding that what is true now will be true never

again and what is untrue now will never become true later.

The convictions of the religious actualist inspire him or her to make actual for others what actualizes him or her. "This means to create or recreate institutions, and it can mean the attempt to institutionalize nothingness" (p.399). Gandhi, subscribing to the Hindu conception of the life cycle, saw early life as a time for learning eternal concerns, the end of life as a time for the experience of near nothingness, and the middle of life as a time for maintenance of the world. During this middle life one transcends the imminence of nothingness in order to provide for the coming generations. Actuality is the complement of nothingness and is charged with the concern for generativity. In middle life people forget death in order to "maintain the life of their own kind" (p.400). Gandhi's mission became the unification of India. The intersection of a critical historical moment and a critical developmental stage catapulted him into a position from which he would father the nation for which he cared.

### Celibacy and Generativity

The present study concerns the previously

unexamined area of celibacy and generativity. As has been pointed out, generativity is by no means solely a matter of creating and caring for offspring. Rather, it is a much broader range of life giving functions in the human person. For instance, as noted above, Vaillant and Milofsky (1980) found that a variety of criteria reflecting caring, moral or mature behaviors distinguish generative men. Generative men tend to assume responsibility for other adults and to be involved in social service. This sketch of the generative man is pertinent to the issue of celibacy. The celibate forgoes the exclusivity of marriage and the generation of offspring for the sake of career, vocation, or art. These factors listed by Vaillant and Milofsky (1980), as well as Van De Water (1987) and McAdams (1985) which mark the generative individuals are the same factors for which the celibate forgoes marriage. These concerns of the generative person, especially concern for others, acquire a sense of urgency in the celibate who forgoes the exclusivity of marriage and the generation of children in order to pursue them.

In apparent agreement with Erikson (1950) in regard to celibacy, Rosenbaum (1967) comments,

"...there are special individuals who are born with unique gifts. They are not the same as

other people qualitatively or quantitatively. These gifts or talents --- the ability to create--- are above and outside the usual mental makeup or emotional development of the general population. Everyone recognizes the existence and value of the mature artist or scientist. Not only does he create things pleasing and useful in the service of mankind, but he also educates and nurtures others who are not so gifted toward a more full and rewarding life. Now one of the peculiarities of the creative mind is that it is capable of transforming huge quantities of basic sexual and aggressive drives into works of service.... We all recognize the tremendous civilizing effects of poetry, painting, music and invention. For what the celibate does is to attempt to express his entire basic human instinctual heritage via his special gift into works for both God and man" (Rosenbaum, 1967, p.110)

One might speculate that since celibacy requires giving up a value like marriage and since celibacy is oriented toward a wide range of career, vocational and artistic interests, especially service, those adopting the celibate life will be higher in generativity than those who marry, despite the fact that the former renounce the most common expression of generativity, namely offspring. Before formulating a hypothesis around this question, one must consider among other things, the motive for celibacy.

There are many interests the pursuit of which celibacy may expedite: art, vocation and career to name

a few. This study concerns a specific population of celibates: Catholic priests. Within this specific celibate population it has been suggested that there are two basic reasons for pursuing celibacy, one of which is internal and the other external. Some priests are celibate simply because it is required by church law. They observe an external legal requirement in order to conduct the ministry of priesthood. Others are celibate for a more internal reason, namely the kingdom of God.

Schillebeeckx (1968) discusses the two predominant reasons for celibacy. Celibacy is the logical concomitant or consequence of the call to priestly ministry. Those who are celibate for this reason respond to the summons of Jesus to leave all things behind and follow him (Mt 19:29). So intimately related are celibacy and the response to the call that Schillebeeckx describes those who accept it as eunuchs, ones who cannot marry. Because of the nature of their religious experience these people "cannot do other than leave everything behind and give up married life" (p.24). The religious experience leaves the individual unmarriageable. Celibacy for the kingdom is not an ideal, a requirement imposed from without or even a desideratum.

"The law of celibacy in the western church ....is only the juridical formulation of the inner logic of a particular religious experience" (p.25).

Seen in this way celibacy represents an internalization of gospel values after the fashion of poverty, chastity and obedience (p.65).

The scripturally based desire to embrace celibacy for the kingdom of God is far less specific than juridical requirements. Though sometimes nebulous and difficult to grasp, it has far more extensive existential implications. This eschatological phenomenon which penetrates the present, (it is said that the kingdom of God is already here but not yet fully realized), stands as goal and framework for the conduct of the Christian life.

"Eschatology is not an advance report of things taking place later...Eschatology is a forward look which is necessary to man for his spiritual decision in freedom...The aim is that the Christian in that decision may accept his present as a factor in the realization of the possibility established by God in the beginning and as a future which is already present and definitive in a hidden way" (Rahner, 1975 p.436).

To be celibate for the kingdom is to make an explicit statement or to take a concrete action in deference to, and in anticipation of that eschatological fulfillment

(Schillebeeckx, 1968).

Celibacy for the kingdom is therefore intimately bound to the end time and consequently to death. For this reason the thinking of Becker (1973) and McAdams (1985) is so applicable to this investigation of celibacy and generativity. It is no accident that the fervor for celibacy and the Christian life has its foundation in those early years of the church when the end time was expected to come soon. People would therefore forgo marriage in favor of preparation for the fast approaching kingdom of God. Of course, the parousia did not come when expected. However, that sense of imminence, albeit not as immediate as in early Christian times, remains an important dimension of the Christian experience. Indeed, it has been suggested that the Christian life is preparation for death. Death is not a preoccupation of the Christian, but a reality which penetrates life and from which the meaning of life springs. Celibacy is, in part, an acknowledgement of that process of dying as is the need to be generative.

#### Celibacy for the Kingdom

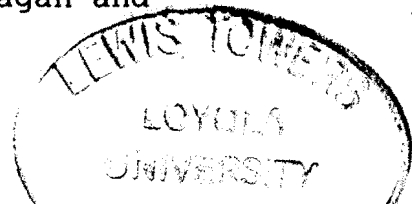
The history of celibacy in Christianity has roots in the pagan customs which surrounded its development.



Schillebeeckx speaks of the "gradual Christianization of already existing motives in pagan religions" (p.51). Pagan religions forged a connection between continence and religious rituals. Cultic purity grew out of an attitude about those who enjoyed a special love from one of the gods. One who had such a relationship should refrain from loving another creature. Also, sexual intercourse was associated with evil spirits which should be avoided when approaching the altar. These connections are apparent in Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (7:32-35) where he speaks of a competition between the love of God and conjugal love and in 7:5 of that same letter where he connects prayer with continence.

In the fourth century of Christianity, the unsuitability of sexual intercourse for one who stands at the altar became more explicit. Schillebeeckx is careful to point out that the reasons for Christian celibacy differ from those in pagan religions. The former sees celibacy as a gift from God while the latter see it as a result of human effort and asceticism. Christian writers were emphatic about the distinction between pagan and Christian celibacy.

Out of this concern to distinguish pagan and



Christian notions of celibacy emerged an eschatological dimension. Celibacy was seen in the context of the kingdom of God. The imminence of the parousia further validated that desire to dedicate one's personal resources to the service of God and people. "To live eschatologically is to be completely free and available in the service of God and one's fellow man..." (p.56). When it became clear that the parousia was not imminent, intimacy with God became the reason for the celibate state.

By the middle ages celibacy for the sake of the kingdom became intimately connected with the office of priest. The evangelical fervor of the eleventh and twelfth centuries included celibacy as a dimension of the evangelical commitment. Subsequently celibacy, which had been more often a practice of monks and other ascetics, became a requirement for those who aspired to the priesthood. However, it would be wrong to perceive this as merely an externally imposed requirement. Rather, it became part of the concrete existential being of the priest and was an "enthusiastic desire and a freely accepted spirituality of the priesthood" (p.65).

As McAdams and Becker speak about the imminence of death of which people become more acutely aware in

midlife, there is a remarkable sense of urgency associated with one's interface with death. Celibacy for the sake of the kingdom, in both its first century embodiment and its contemporary embodiment, carries that same sort of urgency. The end time is pressing upon the present day and is shaping our actions and motives. Likewise, nonreligious reasons for celibacy, such as availability for one's art, career or other vocations, present that urgent desire to invest oneself in something of lasting value for which it is entirely reasonable to give up another value such as marriage.

The urgency in religious circles is captured in another scriptural text on celibacy for the kingdom. In Matthew's gospel, Jesus says that "in the resurrection none marry nor are they given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven" (Mt. 22:30). Schillebeeckx (1968) offers an interesting interpretation of this passage. In ancient and biblical times angels were seen as much more than just pure spirits, but as "mighty concentrated personalities, powers who stood always in God's presence, prepared to do his bidding swiftly" (p.51). Celibacy equal to angels is a force, a power and a might of beings who are ready for the service of God and others.

In addition to those who are celibate priests for the kingdom of God, there are those who would regard their engagement of the celibate life as conformity with a legal requirement. In such celibates one would not expect to see as intimate a link between the commitment and the kingdom of God. One might also expect diminished life satisfaction in such individuals. Wilson and Lassiter (1982) suggest that external restraints are not as effective in bringing about the desired behavior as internalized values. In fact, external restraints can increase the likelihood of the unwanted behavior. One might infer from their work that a person who lives celibately for the sake of the kingdom, an internalized reality, will be more satisfied with life than a person who lives celibately for only juridical reasons which are external to the self. Loftus (1973) found that priests who lived celibately in compliance with a legal requirement were higher in anomie than priests who made a personal commitment to the celibate life. In light of this finding it is hypothesized that those who are celibate for internal reasons are more generative than those who are celibate for external reasons.

There are pressing temporal concerns for which one accepts celibacy in either a religious community or the

secular world. Social work, art, science, the physical welfare of humanity, social, political and economic endeavors are noble secular values which invite one to place oneself totally at the service of these values. However, this study concentrates on a more expansive vision for which religious men embrace celibacy, a vision which incorporates both temporal concerns and the human virtues which research has shown mark the generative person. This more expansive view entails both an acknowledgement of finitude and zeal about the mission of life for which the celibate state is assumed.

"Phenomenologically the voluntary choice of celibacy for the sake of the realization of a value is the expression of a special sensitivity for something of deep importance in human life which merits this total consecration" (Schillebeeckx, 1968, p.85).

The consecration becomes dubious only when the value pursued no longer has meaning. Similarly, celibacy for religious reasons is problematic only if the value pursued has depreciated.

In Schillebeeckx' mind there is something necessarily generative about the celibate life form. "Authentic celibacy is the opposite of celibate egocentricity" (p. 85). This style of life is oriented toward responsibility for one's fellow human beings. In the religious context that responsibility extends

ultimately to God.

In general, one would expect that religious celibates will score higher on generativity than noncelibates. The kingdom of God motive for celibacy, though lacking concreteness, still impinges heavily on the conduct of one's celibate life. The close connection between kingdom of God and death, the explicit consecration of oneself to the task of working toward the kingdom, and the relationship of both these factors to generativity lead to the hypothesis that celibates will be more generative than noncelibates. This major hypothesis of the study is rooted in the formulation of celibacy advanced by Schillebeeckx.

The close conceptual connection between celibacy and death also leads to the hypothesis that generativity which emerges as one confronts the imminence of death will be a stronger predictor of life satisfaction among celibates than noncelibates. The particular population being studied, namely Catholic priests, engages a celibate commitment which has traditionally been tied to the kingdom of God. As described above, this commitment arises out of a sense of urgency about the realization of that kingdom and the imminence of death. Generativity, as presented in this discussion, arises

out of that desire to create a legacy or to contribute something of value to the next generation. The prospect of death brings the issue of generativity to the fore. Because the celibate commitment has an explicit reference to death, one would anticipate that life satisfaction in the celibate population will be more intimately connected to the issues of generativity and therefore generativity will be a stronger predictor of life satisfaction in celibates than in noncelibates.

#### The Loyola Generativity Scale

The Loyola Generativity Scale taps behaviors and attitudes associated with generativity as described above. On this self report instrument, subjects rate the extent to which activities associated with generativity are important to them. These activities include nurturance, support, guidance, teaching, leading, care and counsel. An individual's desire to contribute to a larger social group and/or society in general is among the attitudes captured by the scale. Generativity thus measured is particularly sensitive to the subject's care and concern for the next generation.

This is a new measure which is in the process of validation. Three individual studies, including the

present one, have contributed to the process of validation. The results of the process at this point will be described below.



## CHAPTER III

### METHOD

#### Subjects

The subjects of the study were two groups of men, age 30 to 45. The first group consisted of celibate Catholic priests of the Archdiocese of Chicago. The second group consisted of married men of the same age group.

#### Procedure

The celibates were chosen at random from the computer generated roster of the priests of the Archdiocese of Chicago age 30 to 45. The celibate subjects were first contacted by letter in which the study was explained and their participation was requested. Those who returned the enclosed letter of consent indicating their willingness to participate were sent the testing materials. The cover letter reiterated the purpose of the study, namely to examine personality variables and life commitments. Subjects were advised

that the questionnaires would take approximately two hours to complete. Subjects were asked to return the questionnaires within one week. In the initial mailing, 104 priests were contacted. The second mailing went to an additional random sample of 33 from the same roster.

The married sample was selected from the directory of a suburban Catholic parish in the Chicago area. This parish was chosen because its membership represents a variety of socioeconomic strata and races. One hundred married men, age 30 to 45, were chosen at random and were given the same instructions as the celibate sample.

#### Demographics and Other Information

Information such as age, number of times married, number of years married (ordained), race, level of income and education was obtained first. The celibate group was also asked to read the following statement and answer the question:

"Priests have been known to have various motivations for being celibate. Some are celibate because church law requires that priests be celibate. Others are celibate because they are spiritually committed to that life style. Many would cite both reasons for being celibate. Please check the primary reason for your being celibate: I am celibate because church law requires it. I am celibate for spiritual reasons."

In addition, celibates were asked to consider the following statement:

"The Kingdom of God is understood in various ways. Some focus on the Kingdom of God as a present reality which we endeavor to build in the world in the sense of realized eschatology. Others focus on the Kingdom of God as a future reality whose fulfillment at the end of time we await. Christian authors write about the link between the kingdom of God and celibacy. One might therefore expect that celibates embrace that state in life for one of two reasons; 1. in order to commit oneself to the work of building up the kingdom of God in the world ( in the more temporal and realized sense); or 2. to focus on deepening union with God in anticipation of the kingdom which is to come to fulfillment at the end of time ( the more future oriented and mystical sense). Though both of these characterize the celibate commitment, which would you consider the primary reason for your celibate commitment?"

Finally, celibates were asked to consider a hypothetical situation.

"If the celibacy law were to change to permit active priests to marry, I would definitely not marry at any time; I would probably not marry at any time; I would not marry at this time but might consider it at some future time; I would probably marry; I would definitely marry; I don't know what I would do."

Initially 104 married men and 104 Roman Catholic priests were invited to participate in the study.

Thirty-two married men agreed to participate but only 24 completed the questionnaires. A second random sample of 33 married men received letters inviting them to participate. Eleven of the 14 who agreed to participate returned the questionnaires. Thirty-three priests expressed a willingness to participate, 26 of whom returned the questionnaires. A second random sample of 33 priests received an invitation. Ten of the 16 who agreed to participate returned the questionnaires. The number of married men in the study totaled 35 while the number of priests totaled 36.

The mean age of the subjects was 37.2 years. There was no significant difference between the groups in age. The mean age for the priests was 37.7 years while the mean age for the married men was 36.8 years.

All of the priests were Roman Catholic and caucasian. None of the priests had ever been married or had children. They had been ordained a mean of 11 years.

Thirty-one of the married subjects were Catholic. Three were Protestant and one professed no religious allegiance. All the married subjects were white except 2 who were Asian. The mean length of marriage was 10.1 years and the mean number of children was 2.2. None of these men had been previously married.

Twenty-four of the married men held white collar

jobs, seventeen of whom worked in the legal, financial or business worlds. Four married men worked in the medical profession and 4 were educators. Two were tradesmen. The median personal income of the married sample was in the range of \$40,000 to \$49,000. Incomes in excess of \$70,000 were placed in one interval while incomes below 70,000 were placed in intervals of \$10,000. For this reason it is likely that the median is higher than that stated here.

All the subjects had graduated high school. Twelve of the entire sample had earned a bachelor's degree while fifty-three had earned a master's degree. All but two of the priests had earned at least a master's degree. This is not surprising because priests are normally required to complete a master's degree prior to ordination. Nineteen of the married men had earned at least a master's degree.

The married sample was chosen from the roster of a Catholic parish known for its socioeconomic and ethnic diversity. However, the results indicate that this is a sample of upper middle class, well educated men who have not experienced divorce. Similarly, the expected ethnic diversity did not appear in the sample. While this outcome was unexpected, the similarity between the married and celibate groups in age and length of time

committed to marriage or the priesthood had been sought when the study was designed.

### Measures

Generativity was measured by the Loyola Generativity Scale (LGS). The LGS is a carefully constructed series of 39 statements to which the subject responds 0=never applies to you; 1=occasionally or seldom applies to you; 2=fairly often applies to you; 3=very often applies to you. Examples of the LGS are "Other people say that I am a very caring person." "I think I would like the work of a teacher." "I rarely have good advice for other people." "I often take young people under my wing." "I feel as though my contributions will exist after I die." The LGS has been administered to over 200 people, half of whom are not college students.

The LGS taps into attitudes and self described characteristics that are consistently found in the generativity literature. The generative adult is involved in productive and creative activity that is directed toward the benefit of others and the next generation. The generative person sets out to leave a legacy that will, as Kotre (1984) describes it, "outlive the self."

While the present study was in progress, the Loyola Generativity Scale was subject to the standard procedures for developing a structured scale prescribed by Jackson and Paunonen (1980). The 39 items of the LGS used in the present study were reduced to twenty. On the basis of the twenty item test used with an adult sample, it was found that the LGS is strongly correlated with the Ochse and Plug (1986) and the Hawley (1984) Generativity Scale ( $r=.55$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and only modestly correlated with social desirability ( $r=.20$ ,  $p<.05$ ). Generativity is uncorrelated with age or sex. An ANOVA indicated that among men there is a strong effect of having children on generativity while among women this effect is much milder. It is important to note that this sex difference is not due to marital status as marital status is unrelated to generativity for both males and females. Fathering a child, therefore, is a strong predictor of generativity on the LGS despite the fact that no item on the scale deals specifically with fathering and raising children.

In the twenty item LGS each item showed relatively (1) wide variability in response, (2) high correlations with the total generativity score, (3) high correlations with external measures of generativity (convergent validity) developed by Ochse and Plug (1986) and Hawley

(1986), and (4) low correlations with the response style of social desirability (discriminant validity). Cronbach alpha coefficients for the twenty items in the final version of the LGS were .83 for the adults and .84 for the college sample, thus suggesting high internal consistency.

California Psychological Inventory (CPI: Gough, 1987). The CPI is 462 "True" or "False" items. Lacking a symptom orientation, it is designed for use in normal populations for assessment and comprehension of interpersonal behavior. The inventory yields readily understandable measures of dominance, sociability, self-acceptance, responsibility, socialization, self control, achievement via conformance, achievement via independence, and femininity. Validity scales assess sense of well being, attempts to make a good impression, and inclination to make popular responses. The concepts used in the test arise out of everyday life and predict everyday social behavior. It reliably assesses enduring personality characteristics (short term stability coefficient = .83; one year stability = .70) (Megargee, 1972).

The CPI is valuable to the present study because of its applicability to normal populations. While there is



no empirical evidence of associations between the CPI and generativity, several CPI scales resemble the LGS as well as life satisfaction. Achievement via Conformance, Achievement via Independence, Dominance and Responsibility scales tap qualities which resemble those measured by the generativity scale. The Achievement via Conformance Scale identifies people for whom achievement is an important need and who are able to structure their performance according to clearly specified criteria for excellence. Items include: "I wake up fresh and rested most mornings." "I like to plan my activities in advance." "I always try to do at least a little better than what is expected of me." "If given the chance I would be a good leader of people." Achievement via Independence taps qualities of independence, innovation and self actualization. Items include "I usually take an active part in the entertainment at parties." "Teachers often expect too much work from the students." "The future is too uncertain for a person to make serious plans." High scorers on the Dominance Scale are dominant, forceful, self-confident, able to define goals and move resolutely toward their attainment. For example, "I think I would enjoy having authority over other people." "People seem naturally to turn to me when decisions have to be made." "I would rather not have

very much responsibility for other people." The Responsibility Scale addresses issue of civic responsibility, self discipline and fiscal integrity. For example, "When I work on a committee, I like to take charge of things." "There is no use doing things for people; you only find that you get it in the neck in the long run."

The Sense of Well-being and Social Acceptance scales seem closely related to the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), which will be described below. The Sense of Well-being Scale reveals a sense of good health and a feeling of being equal to the demands for time and energy that are encountered in daily life. Items include: "I usually feel that life is worthwhile." "Several times a week I feel as if something dreadful is about to happen." The Social Acceptance Scale identifies those who are comfortable, secure, sure of themselves, and have a sense of personal worth. For example, "I am certainly lacking in self confidence." "Once in a while I laugh at a dirty joke." "My daily life is full of things that keep me interested."

(The revised CPI (Gough, 1987) used in the present study includes two new scales: Independence and Empathy. High scorers on Independence are self sufficient, resourceful and detached while high scorers on empathy

are comfortable with themselves, well accepted by others and understand the feelings of others.)

In addition to the usefulness of these particular scales to this study, the CPI in general is a useful tool for exploring a wide range of personality variables. Little research has been done with the celibate population. The CPI will yield a considerable amount of information about a little known population.

Key Events. The subjects were asked to describe three key events in their lives: a peak experience, a creative experience and a turning point.

Peak experience. McAdams' (1985) instructions for reporting peak experiences were used:

"Many people report occasional "peak experiences." These are generally moments or episodes in a person's life in which he or she feels a sense of transcendence, uplifting, and inner joy or peace. Indeed, these experiences vary widely. Some people report them to be associated with religious or mystical experiences. Others may find such a 'high' in vigorous athletics, reading a good novel, artistic expression, making love, or simply talking with a good friend. These experiences have been characterized as ones of wholeness, perfection, completion, aliveness, richness, beauty, uniqueness, or insight. Please describe in detail (4-5 sentences) something akin to a peak experience that you have

experienced sometime in your life. Please be specific. We would like to know what happened, who was there, what you were thinking, and how (if at all) the experience changed you."

Creative experience. A modified version of McAdams' (1985) instructions was used for creative experiences and turning points.

"Many people report occasional creative experiences. These are generally moments or episodes in a person's life when one feels that she or he has produced something of value. This creation may be a piece of art, a meal, a written composition, a product of labor, an organization, and/or a new method for doing things. The creation need not be unique, but simply something which the creator regards as an extension of him or herself or something which bears his or her mark. Creative experiences may involve offspring, inventions, institutions, and/or works of art. Please describe in detail (4-5 sentences) a creative experience in your life. Please be specific. We would like to know what happened, who or what was involved, what you were thinking, how you were feeling, and how (if at all) the experience changed you."

Turning point.

"During the course of life, a person often faces a critical moment which causes one to change the direction of his or her life or to see life in a new way. This moment of decision can be addressed in either a satisfactory or unsatisfactory manner. The outcome may be positive or negative. Turning points may include a new relationship, a change in an

existing relationship, a new job, marriage, the birth of a child, an experience of death, a conversation, and/or a religious experience. Please describe in detail (4-5 sentences) a turning point in your life. Please be specific. We would like you to describe the critical situation, what decision (if any) you made, who or what was involved, what happened, what you were thinking, how you were feeling, and how the experience changed you."

These key events were included in the study in order to secure some qualitative indications of generativity. It was hoped that the written compositions would reveal some generativity themes.

Scoring of Key Events. In order to devise a scoring system for the key events, the Scorer A first rated each story high or low generativity according to the definition of generativity given by Erikson (1950). Scorer B, without knowledge of Scorer A's ratings, rated the stories in the same way. Scorer B then proceeded to derive four themes of generativity in creative experiences and rated the stories for the presence or absence of: (1) leadership, (2) lasting impact, (3) next generation and (4) contribution to a large social group. Examples of each of these themes respectively include: (1) teaching, directing coordinating and coaching; (2) influence on one's junior which endures, an artistic

creation which continues to have an impact, and an idea which survives; (3) teaching elementary school; parenting. According to these criteria, Scorer A then rated the creative experiences of the celibate group.

For the peak experiences Scorer A extracted three generativity themes among the married group and rated the stories for the presence or absence of: (1) care, (2) guidance and (3) belief in the species. Examples of these three themes respectively include: (1) taking care of children, adopting a child; (2) acting as an adult moderator, chaperone, or coach; (3) experiencing the goodness of humanity, openness to the transcendent. Scorer B used these criteria for rating the celibate group.

Finally, from the turning point stories of the married group Scorer A extracted three themes and rated the stories for the presence or absence of: (1) care, (2) guidance and (3) generating life. Examples of the themes of care and guidance are as above. Examples of generating life include: adoption and child rearing. Then Scorer B used these same criteria for rating the celibate group.

These overlapping themes of generativity across the three experiences were pooled and condensed into four:

(1) guidance, (2) caring for the next generation, (3) belief in the species and (4) lasting impact. Definitions and examples of these four themes were compiled and a generativity scoring system was established. The definitions are as follows:

Guidance: The subject serves as a leader, mentor, guide, teacher, counsellor or advisor for other people. The subject exerts a positive influence on others through passing on information, giving advice, teaching skills, implementing plans and/or inventing new methods. Guidance and/or leadership is offered for the benefit of either large social groups or individuals.

Caring for the next generation: The subject directs effort toward the benefit of young people. This activity includes specific instances of caring for younger people. It connotes an active, concrete investment in one's juniors.

Belief in the species: The subject's activities bespeak an affirmation of the goodness of humanity. This is a new found hopefulness and positive attitude about the human race and God's role for people and the world. It entails a conviction that the world and/or people are good and therefore worthy of one's care or contribution.

Lasting impact: An action of the subject has a long term positive influence on others. One's efforts are remembered. The contribution which one makes may be seen as a legacy.

An additional individual was taught how to score for the presence or absence of generativity according to these four themes. This scorer was unaware of the hypotheses of the study. Using these final four themes,

Scorer A rescored the stories. The percentage of agreement between Scorer A and the blind scorer was calculated for each of the three key events according to each of the four themes.

Life Satisfaction. The Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS) (Diener et al., 1985) consists of five self report items. These five items were drawn from an original scale of 48 items. After dropping affect items, those with loadings less than .60, and semantically similar items, this Satisfaction With life Scale (SWLS) emerged. The items comprising the test are: 1.) In most ways my life is close to my ideal; 2.) The conditions of my life are excellent; 3.) I am satisfied with my life; 4.) So far I have gotten the important things I want in life; 5.) If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing. Respondents rate each item on a seven point scale ranging from 1=strongly disagree to 7=strongly agree. Research on the instrument has demonstrated that it does not evoke a social desirability response set. The test is highly correlated with subjective well being scales such as the Differential Personality Scale (.68), Andrews Withey (.68), Campbell (.75), and interview estimates of life satisfaction. The test-retest correlation is .82.



The scale is useful because it taps a cognitive judgmental process and is not confounded with affective variables. As Diener et al. (1985) point out, judgments of satisfaction are made according to an internal standard set by the person. Against this standard, an assessment of one's own circumstances is made. The measure is designed to elicit the subject's personal judgment of well being rather than utilizing experimenter criteria for the same. The SWLS seeks to measure satisfaction with life as a whole, rather than satisfaction with specific domains of life. The applicability of the SWLS is not limited to certain populations such as the elderly, but is useful for different age groups.

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS

#### Reliabilities

With the agreed upon definitions of the four themes and a scoring system in hand, the researcher trained an undergraduate volunteer who knew nothing about the subject matter of the study, the hypotheses, or the nature of the groups, to score for the absence or presence of these themes in the stories. Without knowledge of this blind scorer's ratings, the researcher also scored the stories. The creative experiences were scored first, followed by the peak experiences and the turning point experiences. The percentage of agreement between the researcher and the blind scorer was determined according to the following formula:

2 X number of agreements between the scorer and the researcher on the presence of a generativity theme

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number of times scorer scored a theme + number of times researcher scored a theme

This is a conservative way of assessing the agreement between the scorer and the researcher because it does not count agreement on the absence of a theme. A summary of the percent agreement between the researcher and the blind scorer is displayed in Table 1.

Because the category "belief in the species" was consistently lower in percent agreement than any of the other three, it was refined and scored two more times with only minimal improvement in percentage agreement. For this reason, it was dropped from the analysis.

In order to avoid biasing the results in favor of the hypotheses, the scores of the blind scorer were used in the analysis. It was impossible for the researcher to be blind as to which group (celibate or married) the writer of the stories belonged. The content of the stories frequently conveyed the subject's identity as a married man or priest. Though the blind scorer would likewise be able to guess the subject's identity, she was not aware that the study concerned the differences between celibate and married men.

### Generativity

The hypothesis that celibates are higher in generativity than noncelibates was supported by the results from the Loyola Generativity Scale (LGS) but

Table 1

Percent Agreement Between Researcher and Blind Scorer on  
Four Themes of Generativity

Type of Story	Creative	Peak	Turning Point
Guidance	90	73	73
Next Generation	90	77	80
Lasting Impact	90	100	100
Belief in the Species	57	55	26

these were not corroborated by the projective measures of generativity. On the LGS celibates were significantly higher in generativity than noncelibates ( $t=-2.26$ ,  $df=69$ ,  $p<.027$ ). Only one of the projective measures distinguished celibates from noncelibates in generativity. In turning point stories the theme of caring for the next generation was significantly higher for the married sample than for the celibate sample ( $t=2.17$ ,  $df=64$ ,  $p<.034$ ). However, this one exception to the pattern of no significant differences in generativity themes on the projective measures can be explained by the overall paucity of information on this score. The celibates revealed no themes of caring for the next generation in their turning point stories while the married men revealed very few ( $M=.125$  for married and  $M=.000$  for celibates.) A summary of the means, standard deviations and the values of  $t$  appears in Table 2.

Because the means of these items for both the celibates and the married men were close to zero and because the variances of the celibate group substantially differed from those of the married group, an arcsine transformation was performed. The transformation did not have an impact on the statistical significance of the results. Therefore the information

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Values of t for Married and Celibate Men on Measures of Generativity

	Married		Celibate		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>t</u>
LGS	74.06	12.66	80.39	10.85	2.26*
<u>Creative Exp.</u>					
Guidance	.41	.50	.50	.51	.72
Next Gen.	.12	.33	.18	.39	.68
Last. Imp.	.24	.43	.09	.28	1.66
<u>Peak Exp.</u>					
Guidance	.09	.29	.21	.41	1.37
Next Gen.	.23	.43	.09	.29	1.66
Last. Imp.	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00
<u>Turning Pt.</u>					
Guidance	.16	.07	.09	.29	.84
Next Gen.	.13	.07	.09	.29	2.17*
Last. Imp.	.00	.00	.00	.00	.00

\*p<.05

in Table 2 is shown in original units of analysis.

Only one of the themes in the projective measures was significantly correlated with the Loyola Generativity Scale. The effort to care for the next generation as communicated in the stories of creative experiences was significantly related to scores on the Loyola Generativity Scale ( $r=.31$ ,  $p<.01$ ). The other correlations appear in Table 3.

Without being asked, four of the priests indicated that they are not celibate. Because this information was unsolicited and there are possibly other noncelibate priests who did not reveal such information, these four priests were included in the analysis of the celibate group unless otherwise indicated. When these subjects were eliminated from the analysis, the scores on the LGS remained higher for the priests than for the married men ( $t=-2.32$ ,  $df=65$ ,  $p<.023$ ). Similarly, there was little change in the values of  $t$  and the levels of significance on the scores on the projective measures.

A significant relationship between scores on the Loyola Generativity Scale and 11 of the 20 folk concepts of the California Psychological Inventory were found. Men who are higher in generativity also tend to be more confident, ambitious, sociable, self-assured, self-sufficient, and comfortable with themselves than

Table 3

Correlations Between Loyola Generativity Scale Scores  
and Projective Measures of Generativity

	Type of Experience		
	Creative	Peak	Turning Point
<u>Theme</u>			
Guidance	.06	.04	.13
Next Gen.	.31*	-.14	.03
Last. Imp.	.05	.00	.00

\* $p < .01$



their less generative peers. High generativity also predicts ability to accept comfortably ordinary rules and regulations, feeling emotionally and physically healthy, desire to do well, and good judgment about how people feel and think. A complete summary of the correlations between the CPI scales and the LGS appear in Table 4.

The celibates and the married men did not differ significantly on any of the 20 folk concepts of the California Psychological Inventory (CPI). Nor did they differ in their level of life satisfaction ( $\underline{t}=.30$ ,  $p<.76$ ). There were nonsignificant but noteworthy differences between the celibates and the married men on communality, well-being and empathy. These trends indicate that the priests fit in more easily and are more likely to see themselves as average individuals than the married men ( $\underline{t}=1.93$ ,  $p<.06$ ) The married men feel emotionally and physically better than the priests and they are more optimistic about the future ( $\underline{t}=1.79$ ,  $p<.078$ ). The priests are more comfortable with themselves and feel more accepted by others than their married peers. They are also better able to understand the feelings of others ( $\underline{t}=1.97$ ,  $p<.053$ ). The means, standard deviations, and  $\underline{t}$  values appear in Table 5.

Table 4

Relationship of Loyola Generativity Scale to the 20 Folk  
Concepts of the California Psychological Inventory

Scale	Correlation Coefficient
Dominance	.51***
Capacity for Status	.35**
Sociability	.49***
Social Presence	.36**
Self Acceptance	.18
Independence	.31*
Empathy	.39***
Responsibility	.16
Socialization	.25*
Self Control	.12
Good Impression	.37**
Communality	.04
Well Being	.24*
Tolerance	.24
Achievement via Conformance	.48***
Achievement via Independence	.31**
(continued)	

Table 4 (continued)

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Scale	Correlation Coefficient
Intellectual Efficiency	.13
Psychological Mindedness	.26*
Flexibility	.09
Femininity/Masculinity	-.21

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\* $p < .05$

\*\* $p < .01$

\*\*\* $p < .001$

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations, and t Values for Married and Celibate Men on the 20 Folk Concepts of The California Psychological Inventory

	Married		Celibate		t
	M	SD	M	SD	
Dominance	61.03	10.00	62.79	9.57	.73
Cap. Status	53.73	6.40	56.76	6.96	.63
Sociability	51.63	9.23	53.94	8.22	1.07
Soc. Presence	52.39	10.05	54.00	9.67	.66
Soc. Accept.	56.27	10.77	56.33	9.78	.02
Independence	53.79	7.04	55.61	8.21	.97
Empathy	54.61	7.70	58.97	10.14	1.97
Responsibility	57.63	7.49	56.54	6.74	.62
Socialization	53.36	6.81	52.33	8.42	.55
Self Control	52.88	8.17	52.69	9.15	.09
Good Impress.	49.42	8.29	51.33	8.83	.91
Communality	53.39	5.21	55.54	3.73	1.93
Well Being	51.24	5.49	54.00	6.94	1.79
Tolerance	58.30	6.33	57.97	7.59	.19
Achieve./Comp.	56.55	6.87	58.24	5.91	1.08

(continued)

Table 5 (continued)

Measure	Married		Celebate		t
	M	<u>SD</u>	M	<u>SD</u>	
Achieve./Ind.	57.76	6.16	59.36	6.71	1.01
Intell. Eff.	53.61	6.49	56.42	6.87	1.71
Psych. Mind.	55.55	8.64	54.16	8.47	.66
Flexibility	50.09	8.65	52.00	11.04	.78
Fem./Masc.	56.88	15.28	56.18	9.74	.22

### Life Satisfaction

The hypothesis that generative men are higher in life satisfaction than non generative men was supported by the data. Life satisfaction is moderately correlated with scores on the Loyola Generativity Scale ( $r=.41$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Those men who are more generative tend to be more satisfied with their lives.

The hypothesis that generativity is a stronger predictor of life satisfaction among celibate men than among noncelibate men was not supported. The correlation between life satisfaction and generativity among the celibates ( $r=.47$ ,  $p<.01$ ) is not significantly different from the correlation between life satisfaction and generativity among married men ( $r=.39$ ,  $p<.01$ ) as indicated by the z-transformation ( $p<.42$ ). Furthermore, when the noncelibate priests were removed from the analysis, generativity was not a stronger predictor of life satisfaction among the celibate men than among the married men.

### Life Satisfaction and Motivation for Celibacy

It was predicted that those who are motivated to be celibate by internal reasons would be more generative than those who are motivated by external reasons. This hypothesis was not supported. Twenty-nine of the 35

celibates who answered the question concerning motivation for celibacy indicated that they were celibate because church law required it. A  $t$ -test revealed that although the difference was not significant ( $t=1.62$ ,  $p<.11$ ), internally motivated celibates were less generative ( $M=75.17$ ) than their externally motivated peers ( $M=82.34$ ). Though a nonsignificant result, these means are the opposite of the predicted relationship. When the analysis excluded noncelibate priests, the results were virtually identical to those stated here.

Internally and externally motivated celibates did not differ significantly on any of the twenty folk concepts of the CPI. There was however one interesting finding which was nonsignificant. Those who are celibate because church law requires it are more likely to have a good opinion of themselves and to see themselves as talented and attractive than those who are celibate for spiritual reasons ( $t=1.92$ ,  $p<.06$ ).

That such a large proportion of respondents cited church law as their reason for being celibate was an unexpected result. It had been anticipated that a desire for social acceptance might bias the responses in favor of what was perceived to be the more socially acceptable response, namely, that one is celibate for spiritual

reasons. This was clearly not the case. In addition, the internally and externally motivated groups did not differ significantly in their desire to make a good impression ( $t=.39$ ,  $p<.70$ ).

One's theological perspective on celibacy was similarly unrelated to generativity and life satisfaction. Those who are celibate for the kingdom in the realized and temporal sense ( $N=27$ ) did not differ in generativity from those who are celibate in the more future oriented and mystical sense ( $N=6$ ) ( $t=1.14$ ,  $p<.26$ ). Nor did these two groups differ in level of life satisfaction ( $t=.14$ ,  $p<.89$ ). Although, given the small number of subjects in the latter group, it is not possible to make a very powerful test of this hypothesis.



## CHAPTER V

### DISCUSSION

#### Celibacy and Generativity

The major hypothesis of the study, namely that celibates are more generative than noncelibates, found support in the Loyola Generativity Scale. However this finding was not corroborated by the projective measures of generativity. That generativity entails more than the procreation of children, as Erikson (1964) states, was demonstrated by the significantly higher mean of the celibates than the married men on the LGS. A population of men who have given up the generation of offspring have redirected their generative activity to the areas of teaching, preaching and leading.

One priest wrote:

"I love children. As a priest I eagerly volunteered to teach in the school. But it was a disaster. I wanted to teach the children about God and his love but I was boring. Discipline was a disaster. I was frustrated. But the kids taught me. They began to ask me all sorts of questions to get me off the subject. As I began to tell them stories about my life in answer to their questions I noticed something. The more I told them stories, the more I captured their attention. I kept

telling more stories. I worked on my presentation. I grew into a spell binding story teller. I have hundreds of stories now and can keep K through 8 kids fascinated. I can also get my message across most effectively. From being the world's worst teacher, I now have people sitting in on my classes learning how to teach through stories. I find a great creative outlet in making up stories even though I more often make over some one else's stories to suit my own ends. Teaching children is now my forte and joy."

Another priest wrote about education but with an emphasis on leadership:

"I had worked very hard to open a school for high school drop outs in a very poor area of Chicago. Last June we had the first graduating class of this alternative school. When I saw that kids who had been written off could be so proud of a diploma I felt a great satisfaction."

The two groups were similar on all other variables investigated in the study. Against this background the difference between the celibates and noncelibates on the Loyola Generativity Scale appears more prominent, despite the findings on the projective measures. That generativity stands out as a variable distinguishing celibates from noncelibates gives credence to the broader implications of generativity as noted by Erikson (1964), McAdams (1985), and Kotre (1984).

It is particularly interesting to note that in the process of validating the LGS, McAdams (1989) found that

there is a strong association between generativity and having children among men and a much milder association among women. It is therefore all the more remarkable that in the present study celibates, none of whom has ever fathered children, are significantly higher in generativity than their married peers, most of whom have children. The generative impulse, as Kotre (1984) names it, finds more varied expression among those who have given up the generation and raising of children.

The scoring system for the projective measures was carefully designed in order not to bias the results in favor of either group. For instance, the procreation of children is on the surface a clearly generative activity. However, the mere begetting of children did not qualify as a generative activity in this study. Comments such as the following were common:

"The peak experience I describe here is really two-fold: the births of my first two children, a son and a daughter. The exhilaration I felt at the birth of my son was dimmed, in retrospect, by the fact that when he was born our hospital did not allow the dad to be present at the delivery. Nevertheless, it was a physical and emotional high to ponder my part in the creation of a son (I'll confess, as opposed to a daughter.) Two and a half years later, when my daughter was born in my presence, the enormity of the event was more real for me because I could see the ...yes, bloody...event and be there to touch her and talk to her within moments of her birth."

Not surprisingly, many married men cited the birth of a child as a peak experience. However, in order for such an experience to be rated as generative, the subject's report had to include a notion of care for, guidance of, or investment in the descendant. The peak experience described above implied notions of generativity but was not scored for same because of the lack of explicit reference to actions beyond general feelings of exhilaration at the moment of birth.

Other married men described their marriage as a peak experience while the priests often regarded their ordination as peak. Though ordination and marriage connote a sense of self donation which is motivated seemingly by a belief that the species is good and worthy of one's contribution, these did not qualify as generative in and of themselves. Generativity requires an explicit and active investment in others, especially the next generation. In order for an experience to be scored as generative, as in the case of ordination or marriage, the generative dimension had to be explicitly stated. An account of one priest's ordination serves to clarify the distinction:

"I would say the peak experience of my life was my ordination as a priest. It was something I had worked towards and dreamed

about for a long time, much longer than my formal seminary training. All my family was in attendance. I felt that this was right, absolutely what God had called me to do with my life. I thought that with ordination my life's goal was complete. I was now an adult and could make my way in the world helping others discover God's love."

Because this priest equated his ordination with helping others this experience qualified as generative.

The fact that the projective measures of generativity failed to support the hypothesis that celibate priests are more generative than married men raises a question about the differences between the projective and objective instruments. The Loyola Generativity Scale taps attitudes and feelings, e.g., "I do not feel that other people need me," "I feel as though my contributions will exist after I die." However, it also taps specific behaviors such as taking another under one's wing, baby sitting, and advice giving. Projective techniques are normally used to uncover covert, latent, or unconscious dimensions of a person. The subject reveals a general personality style through this projective material. In this study the projective material was subjected to a content analysis. The stories were scored for the presence or absence of generativity themes. The scoring of the projective

measures is not sensitive to the frequency of generativity themes within a story while the Loyola Generativity Scale does account for frequency. For example, one priest wrote:

"During the past three years I have initiated and guided a decision and process by our parish community to renovate our worship space (interior of the church building). I find the project very exciting and creative for myself for many reasons: (1) it has occasioned the use of my organizational and planning skills; (2) it has occasioned the development of my people skills and effectiveness as a leader of group process; (3) it has challenged my skills as a teacher (both of the committee and the entire congregation); (4) it is a concrete opportunity to realize my theological, ecclesial and liturgical ideals by embodying them in this design and its execution; (5) it is a creative use of my artistic and aesthetic sensibilities; (6) it is a concrete extension of myself that will remain long into the future. Though there have been set backs, delays, disappointments and frustrations along the way, this project has energized me and I have found a great deal of satisfaction in using my creative talents on it."

This account displayed both guidance and lasting impact and received a score of two. However, the flavor of the account was so rich in generativity that a score of two does not seem to adequately capture the generative thrust of the experience. This generative experience seems to have far reaching meaning and significance in this man's life. Unfortunately, the scoring system does not capture that.

The public nature of the celibate priest's pastoral work would afford more opportunities for specific generative activities. The priest is in a position to offer advice and care as part of his work, regardless whether he wishes to do so or not. The married man is not necessarily as extensively involved in these activities as the ordained priest. Therefore, the origin of the significant difference between the priests and the married men in generativity may be rooted in the mere frequency of the priest's involvement in ostensibly generative activity and have little to do with underlying dimensions of personality. Thus the priests may have had an advantage on the objective measure but not the projective.

Future studies could investigate whether generativity predates career choice. The question is whether generative men choose the priesthood or the activities of the priesthood enhance one's generativity score.

The projective measures, as used in this study, also tap attitudes and behaviors. However, the scoring system (i.e., the presence or absence of a generativity theme) is far less sensitive than the Likert scale used in the Loyola Generativity Scale. The latter measure is equipped to provide an understanding of the degree to

which a generative activity is important to an individual. Though they provide rich material, as a more primitive index the projective instruments employed a scoring system which merely accounted for incidents of generativity. In addition, in order to qualify as generative, these experiences had to be described according to the definitions. Though the scoring criteria were carefully devised, the system does not have the capacity to measure the degree to which an incident is salient in a person's life. As a result the generative activity of the two groups could not be measured on the basis of frequency of behavior or strength of attitude on the projective measure.

The richness of the projective material is exemplified by the following:

"I look at my job as an ongoing extension of a creative experience. I am a carpenter, and in my opinion, a very good one. Slow but very good. I sweat the details, attack the problems, and when the job is done (or when a job is done that I have supervised) it is completed in a professional (sic). I know there are few tradesmen who care as much and do as good a job as I do. My "works of art" are spread all over the North Shore. I can drive down almost any street and say, "I built that dormer, I remodeled the kitchen in that house, that room addition is part of me," etc. I know that people will enjoy and appreciate my work long after I'm gone. I get a great deal of satisfaction from that."



While the accounts communicate a depth of experience, the scoring system fails to record the extent to which generative themes influence the consciousness and behavior of the subjects.

However, it should be noted that the projective measures lacked the demand characteristics of the LGS. Though the LGS is not significantly correlated with social desirability (McAdams et al., 1989), the socially desirable response to the items can be easily detected by a subject. The projective measures lack these demand characteristics. They present no information about generativity while the LGS does give some clues about its purpose. The significant difference between the celibate and married men on the LGS in the present study is tempered by the findings on the projective measures which are not as easily influenced by social desirability.

The LGS' correlation with measures of social desirability is generally below .20. Therefore a modest four percent of the variance in generativity is explained by social desirability. However, a  $t=2.26$  and  $p<.027$  explains only five percent of the variance in generativity. The slight advantage of the variance explained in the present study over that concerning social desirability diminishes the impact of the

significant difference between celibates and noncelibates on LGS.

### Celibacy and the Kingdom of God

The hypothesis that celibates are more generative than noncelibates grew out of the theology of celibacy which implies the notion of death. The traditional theology of celibacy notes that one embraces celibacy for the sake of the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God has been interpreted in various ways. One interpretation suggests an imminence of death. In early Christian times the fulfillment of time was expected within the lifetime of that generation. Thus celibacy became a value and carried a sense of urgency in light of the rapidly approaching end of time. The present study sought to capture that notion of death implicit in the celibate commitment and connect it to the sense of imminent death which becomes a concern during midlife and underlies the desire to create a legacy. This tacit notion of death which is so closely associated with celibacy for the kingdom spawned the hypothesis that those whose commitment entailed a consideration of death, namely the celibate priests, would be more concerned about their legacy and therefore more generative than married men.

This line of reasoning received no support from the data. While the generative capacity of the priests was evidenced in stories of ministerial motives and experiences, any connection to celibacy was not apparent, either explicitly or implicitly. It was assumed that this theology of celibacy would inform the spiritual lives of the priests and enhance their generativity. This logic appears to be faulty. That only six celibate subjects cited spiritual reasons for being celibate while twenty-nine cited legal reasons suggests that living the celibate life as a priest does not necessarily have the spiritual foundation implicit in the theology of celibacy. The priests in this sample assume the life of celibacy mainly because church law requires it. However, it is important to note that the subjects' attitude toward the issue of celibacy was assessed in relatively crude fashion. Between the two poles of legal and spiritual reasons for being celibate are numerous nuanced reasons which the study did not assess. Subjects were not given an opportunity to articulate their positions with any detail or sophistication. It is likely that there is a more complex reasoning process involved in one's choice for celibacy than that uncovered by the study.

The few who are celibate for spiritual reasons are

not more generative than those who are celibate for legal reasons. The size of the sample of the celibates motivated by spiritual considerations was too small to yield any substantial information beyond the fact that priests who are celibate for spiritual reasons are rare. Because such a large proportion of the priests in this sample are celibate primarily because church law requires it and so few cited spiritual reasons for their celibate life, the speculation about the relationship between celibate spirituality and generative activity becomes moot.

The connection between the kingdom of God and the celibate commitment, as discussed previously, is indeed tentative as evidenced by these results. There is little indication of celibacy in terms of what Schillebeeckx (1968) described as an "enthusiastic desire and freely accepted spirituality" (p.65) which is part of the concrete existential being of the priest. Gunzel's (1988) position that true celibates must be totally engaged in a relationship with the Divine and given over to the task of realizing the kingdom in the course of human history may be a valid one. However, in this sample that sort of engagement of the Divine and zeal for the kingdom appeared not to be identified with the celibate commitment.

### Interpreting the Kingdom of God

The notion of the kingdom of God is itself very nebulous. For some it refers to an earthly reality with transcendent dimensions. For others it refers to an almost exclusively transcendent reality which is experienced in a mystical manner. The latter concept of the kingdom entails a future reality that will come to be after death.

This fundamental ambiguity surrounding the notion of the kingdom of God is important to consider. The position which one assumes on this issue, i.e., whether the kingdom of God is realized in this world or the next, likely has a bearing on one's behavior. One who experiences the kingdom of God as a reality to be built in the world today through human effort is likely to be very concerned about what he or she contributes to future generations. On the other hand, one whose concept of the kingdom is more future oriented, i.e., the kingdom as reality which is experienced only after death, is likely to assume a more detached relationship to the needs of this world and consequently would be less concerned about a legacy.

In the present study twenty seven subjects saw the kingdom of God in the more temporal sense of a reality to be built in the world today. These priests are

celibate in order to commit themselves to the work of the kingdom of God in the world. Only seven subjects saw their celibate commitment as an opportunity for a deepened union with God in anticipation of the fulfillment of the kingdom at the end of time. While their perceptions of the kingdom of God varied, the subjects who subscribed to a temporal view of the kingdom did not differ significantly from those who had a future oriented view of the kingdom on generativity, life satisfaction or any of the folk concepts of the CPI.

#### Internal versus External Reasons for Celibacy

In light of previous research on external and internal constraints (Wilson and Lassiter, 1982) and Loftus' (1973) finding that those who are celibate for external reasons are higher in anomie than those who are celibate for internal reasons, it was expected that celibates who chose celibacy for internal reasons would be more generative than those who are celibate for legal reasons. This was demonstrated not to be the case. Of course, as already pointed out, very few indicated that they were personally attracted to celibacy. With the exception of six celibate subjects, all the celibate subjects are such because church law requires celibacy.

Schillebeeckx' discussion of the two reasons for being celibate, namely internal and external, had lead the researcher to suspect that celibate subjects would more frequently cite internal reasons than external reasons because of the seemingly greater social acceptability of internal (spiritual reasons). The results of the present study indicate that celibacy is not often freely chosen. If one were to speculate about social acceptability and celibacy, the relationship might be the opposite of what had been predicted. That is, being celibate for legal reasons may be far more socially acceptable than celibacy for spiritual reasons. There also may be a subtle political statement in these findings. The large number of priests who cite church law as their reason for being celibate may be an indication of disenchantment with church mandated celibacy as opposed to optional celibacy.

It is interesting to note that despite the preponderance of legal as opposed to spiritual reasons for being celibate, only eight of the thirty six celibate subjects said that they would probably or definitely marry if the law of celibacy were lifted. Fourteen said that they would probably or definitely not marry at any time. Ten said they would not marry at this time but might consider it at some future time. Three

didn't know what they would do. It seems that the issue of celibacy is much more complex than this study is able to explain.

### A Profile of the Generative Man

The study gives support to the profile of the generative individual described in previous research (Van de Water, 1987), (Vaillant and Milofsky, 1980). The present study demonstrates that men who are higher in generativity are more likely to be satisfied with their lives than men who are lower in generativity. However, contrary to the third hypothesis of the study, generativity is not a stronger predictor of life satisfaction among celibate than noncelibate men.

The California Psychological Inventory is a measure of normal interpersonal behaviors. All of the variables of the inventory, except the masculinity and femininity scale, correlated positively with generativity. Twelve of the scales are significantly correlated with generativity, as noted above. In this study, the man who is high in generativity tends to be confident, assertive, dominant and task oriented. He is sociable, friendly, comfortable with himself and understanding of the feelings of others. He has a strong drive to do well and likes to work in both settings



where expectations are clearly defined and settings where freedom and individual initiative are encouraged. The generative man is ambitious, independent, self assured, spontaneous, and resourceful. At the same time he is able to conform without great difficulty and wants to make a good impression. He is optimistic about the future and is a good judge of what people feel and think about things.

The positive relationship between generativity and the CPI scales indicates that generative men tend to display conventionally favored behavior. The only negative correlation, the relationship between generativity and the masculinity/femininity scale, was statistically insignificant. The overall picture of the generative man is one who has socially approved attitudes and dispositions and conducts himself in a way that others find acceptable. The generative man is one whose functioning in the world is perceived with consistent approbation.

The CPI aims to predict what people will say and do in specified contexts and identify people who will be evaluated and described in particular and interpersonally significant ways. The profile which emerges from this study as well that described in previous research suggests that the generative man is a

mature, integrated and stable individual. The Vaillant and Milofsky (1980) study offered no tests of statistical significance. The present study is a more refined and sophisticated assessment of the behavioral and developmental correlates of generativity.

### Other Celibate Populations

The discussion has focused on celibate men whose vocation entails an active public ministry. There are celibates who assume a more private and ascetic lifestyle than that of a diocesan priest. Celibate men and women of various religious convictions retreat from the world to pursue a life of prayer. These celibates are not represented in the present study. Future studies which include celibates living in hermitages, monasteries, cloisters and other places of retreat for the specific purpose of leading a life of prayer would clarify the relationship between celibacy and generativity. In fact, such populations would probably give more information about the internal motives for celibacy, i.e., kingdom of God as opposed to external mandates of church law, and their relationship to generativity which the present study was unable to uncover.

In addition to religiously inspired celibacy, there are also celibates for the sake of art and various professions. It seems that such people are indeed rare in today's world. However few in number, those who are celibate for professional or artistic reasons need to be included in a more comprehensive study of celibacy and generativity. As mentioned above, the finding that celibate priests are more generative than their married male peers is confounded by the ministerial activities of the priest. It is not clear whether the higher level of generativity in priests is simply an artifact of the obligations of ministerial work. A study which includes a wide range of livelihoods would help clarify the nature of generativity in celibate people.

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APPROVAL SHEET

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

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

8/1/89  
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