ARE CATHOLICS READY?

An Exploration of the Views of "Emerging Catholics" on Women in Ministry

by Maureen Fiedler and Dolly Pomerleau
Arts, Culture, Religion, Christianity, Catholicism
Fiedler - (File)
ARE CATHOLICS READY?

An Exploration of the Views of "Emerging Catholics" on Women in Ministry

by Maureen Fiedler and Dolly Pomerleau

with the assistance of Georgia Whippo Fuller and William R. Callahan, S.J.

Photographs by Richard Rashke, Mark Peterschmidt, and Georgia Whippo Fuller

Priests For Equality
331 Chauncey Pl., 301
Mt. Rainier, MD 20822

Quixote Center
331 Chauncey Pl., 301
Mt. Rainier, MD 20822
Acknowledgements

We are grateful for the many people who have entered our lives and shared freely their gifts, talents, and time to make this project a reality.

We celebrate first of all the insights and encouragement of William R. Callahan, SJ, National Secretary of Priests for Equality, who sparked initial interest in the problem for investigation, and assisted our efforts for two years. He worked with us to develop the research design, helped with fund-raising, encouraged us in the months when research and writing moved slowly, and offered suggestions for the final manuscript.

Utterly indispensable to the project was Georgia Whippo Fuller. Georgia joined us at the Quixote Center during the last two months of the book's preparation. In that time, she took a major responsibility for its completion: editing the final manuscript, suggesting additions to the text, selecting photographs, assisting with layout, consulting with the printer, and proofreading. Thanks to her, we understand why workers who enter the vineyard at the 11th hour nevertheless deserve equal wages and thanks! We also want to thank Georgia's husband, Hugh Fuller, and son, Robbie Fuller, for "keeping the home fires burning" while Georgia spent evenings and weekends with the manuscript.

We are grateful to Dr. Jeane Kirkpatrick of Georgetown University who shared with us her expertise in survey research by assisting in the design of the questionnaire. (Maureen Fiedler adds a special note of thanks for the social science insights, skills, and enthusiasm she learned from Jeane in her years at Georgetown).

Special thanks go to Gerri Doonis, who not only shipped and processed questionnaires, but who took a special responsibility for friendly prodding and encouragement.

Many thanks too go to Mark Leemon who spent long hours of an already tight schedule patiently laying out the final manuscript for printing. And thanks, too, to our fine photographers who worked on short notice: Richard Rashke, Mark Peterschmidt, and Georgia Whippo Fuller.

Computer processing was done at both the Computer Center at Catholic University of America and Georgetown University Central Computation Facility. Many thanks to Dr. Richard Bonanno of Catholic University and Jan Larsen of Georgetown University for their assistance with computer programming.

We are grateful to the many other individuals who had a role in preparation of this study: Jeannine Grammick, SSND, and Bob Nugent, SDS, who helped prepare questionnaires for keypunching; Anna Catalan and Christine Davis who keypunched the data for computer analysis; Kathy O'Toole, Joanne Ivancic, and Fran Ferder, FSPA, who helped critique earlier drafts of the text; Liz Rick, Eileen Reosti, Mary Ann Kohler, and Connie O'Toole who helped proofread the final stages; and Pat Mackie of Alpha-Zed Enterprises who spent many hours word-processing the final draft.

We celebrate the generosity of the 43 leaders of participating groups who administered the questionnaire, those who designed and conducted education processes between the two surveys, the parishes who allowed us to pre-test the questionnaire, and the 5500 Catholics who shared with us their views on the role of women in the Church and other issues of critical importance for Church and society.
Finally, we are grateful to those who gave generously to provide a financial base for the project. We celebrate, first of all, those who initiated the project and provided loans to carry it through early stages:

Priests for Equality  
3311 Chauncey Pl., #301  
Mt. Rainier, MD 20822  
Quixote Center  
3311 Chauncey Pl., #301  
Mt. Rainier, MD 20822

And we joyously acknowledge the co-sponsors--individuals and groups--who funded the bulk of the project, and who are concerned that we understand the "sense of the faithful" on questions of women in ministry:

Augustinians, Beyer Blvd., San Ysidro, CA  
Joachim J. Bakey, FCM, Los Alamos, NM  
Benedictine Monks, Weston Priory, VT  
Benedictine Sisters of Virginia  
Benedictine Sisters, Yankton, SD  
Brothers of the Holy Cross, Midwest Province  
Paul and Lucy Callahan, Marshfield, MA  
Christian Brothers, Adamstown, MD  
Congregation of the Humility of Mary, Spirit and Goals Committee; Diocesan Justice for Women in the Church, Davenport, IA (Joint sponsorship)  
Daughters of the Holy Spirit, Putnam, CT  
Dominican Congregation of Our Lady of the Rosary, Sparkill, NY  
Dominican Sisters, General Council, Adrian, MI  
Dominican Sisters, Great Bend, KS  
Eucharistic Missionaries of St. Dominic, New Orleans, LA  
Mary and Frank Fielder, Lockport, NY  
Franciscan Sisters, Little Falls, MN  
Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration, La Crosse, WI  
Friars of the Atonement, New York, NY  
Good Shepherd Catholics for Shared Responsibility, Alexandria, VA  
Jean and John Gramick, Philadelphia, PA  
Loretta Jordan, SND, Cheraw, SC  
Jean Maloney, Wheaton, MD  
Maryknoll Missioners, Maryknoll, NY  
Ruth Marie May, SSND, Baltimore, MD  
Mission Helpers of the Sacred Heart, Baltimore, MD  
NOVA Community, Northern Virginia  
Oblates of St. Francis de Sales, Adrian, MI  
Religious of Jesus and Mary, Hyattsville, MD  
School Sisters of Notre Dame, Texas Province  
School Sisters of Notre Dame, Wilton, CT  
School Sisters of St. Francis, Mt. Assisi, Pittsburgh, PA  
School Sisters of St. Francis, Rockford, IL  
Sisters of Charity, Cincinnati, OH  
Sisters of Charity, Mt. St. Vincent-on-the-Hudson, NY  
Sisters of Charity, Nazareth, KY  
Sisters of Charity of Our Lady, Mother of Mercy, East Haven, CT  
Sisters of Charity of the BVM, Dubuque, IA  
Sisters of Divine Providence of Kentucky  
Sisters of Loretto, Denver, CO  
Sisters of Mercy, Brooklyn, NY  
Sisters of Mercy, Administrative Team, Chicago, IL Province  
Sisters of Mercy, German Street House, Erie, PA  
Sisters of Mercy Generalate, Bethesda, MD  
Sisters of Mercy, Omaha, NE Province  
Sisters of Mercy, Windham, NH  
Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur, Fairfield, CT  
Sisters of Notre Dame, Ohio Province  
Sisters of St. Joseph, Cleveland, OH  
Sisters of St. Joseph, Concordia, KS  
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, New Jersey Province  
Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace, Washington, DC  
Sisters of St. Joseph of the Third Order of St. Francis, South Bend, IN  
Sisters of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary, Albany, NY
ROLES OF THE AUTHORS

Finally, a word on our own roles as authors of this research. We are the co-creators of this project. Both of us designed the research process, developed the questionnaire, pre-tested it, corresponded with leaders of participating groups, and engaged in preliminary analyses. Dolly Pomerleau was responsible for the overall administration of the project and critiqued drafts of the manuscript. Maureen Fiedler did the computer programming and statistical analyses and wrote the drafts of the book. We both accept full responsibility for this research and we share it with you in the hope that it will help the Church answer a question of critical importance as we move into the last years of the 20th century: Are Catholics ready for women in ministry?
## Table of Contents

Prologue ......................................................................................................................... 9
Introduction: Feminism Encounters the Catholic Church ................................. 13
Chapter 1: Asking the Critical Questions ................................................................. 19
Chapter 2: The Respondents: A Profile of "Emerging Catholics" ...................... 22
Chapter 3: Opinions on Women in Ministry: The Hard Percentages .............. 33
Chapter 4: Two Ends of the Spectrum: Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists ... 48
Chapter 5: Why Some Catholics Are Feminists and Others Traditionalists .......... 59
Chapter 6: Opinions on Other Church and World Issues ................................. 70
Chapter 7: How Opinion Changes: Models and Case Studies ......................... 79
Chapter 8: A Look to the Future .............................................................................. 87

### Appendices:

A: The Questionnaire with October and February Results.................................. 93
B: The Volunteering Form ....................................................................................... 97
C: Percentage Comparisons: The October and February Samples with a Gallup Sample .......................................................... 99
D: Percentage Comparisons: Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists ..................... 101
E: Methods of Index Construction ....................................................................... 103
F: List of States by Region ...................................................................................... 105
G: Does "Anti-Abortion" Equal "Pro-Life?" A Special Analysis ................................ 106

Selected Bibliography .............................................................................................. 111
Our Heritage

In 1848, the first Women's Rights Convention in the United States was held at Seneca Falls, New York. Elizabeth Cady Stanton wrote the now famous Declaration of Sentiments proclaimed by that meeting:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights...the history of (hu)mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having its direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world...."

A list of 18 grievances followed. One hundred thirty years later, they are fascinating to read. "Man", the Declaration charged, had denied woman the right to vote and own property, had closed the doors of higher education to her, had monopolized profitable employment, and had prevented her admission to the professions. "Man" had made married women "civily dead", and had allowed husbands the legal right to physically "chastise" their wives. Furthermore, "man" had sanctioned different codes of morals for men and women, and had endeavored to destroy a woman's confidence in her own powers and make her willing to lead a "dependent and abject life".

While the legacy of many of these practices lingers in our culture today, most of these grievances appear archaic at first glance. Civil society in the United States has recognized most of these problems as discrimination, and has begun to correct them. Women now vote and hold public office; they are entering colleges and the professions in ever-growing numbers. Married women are legal persons, and today "chastised" wives are "battered women", in need of protection from abusive husbands. "The double standard of morality, while still with us, is less and less acceptable and rarely defended as desirable. "Assertiveness training" courses are multiplying around the country as women seek to affirm their talents, to overcome cultural dependencies, and to become effective in public life.

Most important: No top leaders in civil society urge women to accept the status of non-voting, uneducated, dependent persons subject to physical abuse. None defend the secular position of women described in the Seneca Falls Declaration.

The same cannot be said about the two Seneca Falls grievances on women in the Church, at least as they apply to the Roman Catholic Church. These grievances are especially striking to a Catholic reader because, unlike the rest of the list, they do not sound archaic. In fact, what Stanton wrote in 1848 could have been written by a Catholic woman in 1978.

"He ("man") allows her in Church...but a subordinate position, claiming Apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the Church...

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself [sic], claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God."  

Women are still excluded from priestly ministry in the Roman Catholic Church. Recently (1977), the Vatican Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood argued seriously that this exclusion should continue because of: the maleness of Christ, the tradition of the Church, and the attitude and practice of Jesus...
and the Apostles (i.e., "Apostolic authority"). Moreover, it assigned woman a separate sphere of action for "...roles are distinct, and must not be confused". Even though the document used a rhetoric of equality, the substance was to keep woman in a subordinate position by excluding her from public participation in most of the sacramental ministries and Church leadership roles. Most important: Ecclesial sex discrimination was seriously defended by this official Roman statement and a host of American Bishops. The 1848 grievances of Seneca Falls are alive and well in the Catholic Church.

Religious institutions have served as legitimizers of sexist practices down through the ages. In particular, they have provided "theological" underpinnings for the secular segregation and subordination of women. It is not surprising, then, that they should be the slowest of all institutions to practice equality of the sexes. But religious institutions, including the Catholic Church, have been challenged. A new movement has begun.

Our Values

This book investigates the challenge and movement toward equality of the sexes among grassroots Catholics. It explores what Catholic people believe about the roles of men and women in the Church, why they hold the beliefs they do, and whether such beliefs are subject to change. It seeks to understand the direction and speed of change: Are Catholic people becoming more accepting of the Church's traditional practices regarding women in ministry? Or are they moving toward the egalitarian values expressed in the Seneca Falls Declaration?

It is impossible to approach any human study as totally value-free persons or social scientists. Honesty demands, not that we unrealistically claim objectivity, but that we make our values clear so that readers can better judge our work.

We are both feminists and realists. As feminists, we believe that the gospel and the teachings of the Second Vatican Council call the Church and civil society to implement full equality for women and men in all facets of life. As Roman Catholics, we support women who believe themselves called to the priesthood. We are part of the movement which envisions the Church as becoming fully human and fully God-like only when men and women are full and equal partners in ministry.

As realists, we know that the struggle for equality in the Catholic Church demands more than feminist ideology. It demands that critical questions raised in the course of public debate be answered as dispassionately as possible, with hard facts and in-depth analysis. It demands that the human condition of the Church be examined realistically.

Again as feminists, we are aware of the Church officials' claims that the Catholic people are not ready for full equality. We realize, however, that these claims are based on a combination of old and scanty data, mixed with speculation. But we also recognize that the claims raise important questions that must be answered with hard, new, sociological data if public discussion of the issues is to be informed. How ready are the people? Would the laity be supportive of a movement toward equality in the ministry? Because these questions are important to us and, we believe, to the Church, we seek to understand the "sense of the faithful" (sensus fidelium) on questions involving the roles of men and women in the Church.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902) included 2 grievances against the Church in her 1848 Declaration of Sentiments.
Again, as realists, we seek answers, whether or not they match our own beliefs and value preferences. Thus, we have developed and administered surveys, computerized the results, and subjected the data to rigorous social science analyses. We sought an honest appraisal of the "emerging" sociological climate for equality in the Church, and the prospects for change.

It is this appraisal that we present in the following chapters.


2Ibid., p. 417.


4Ibid., p. 223.


7The polling data cited were based on one question from the 1974 survey of the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) conducted by Andrew Greeley, William C. McCready, and Kathleen McCourt. See Catholic Schools in a Declining Church (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1976), p. 267.

Introduction: Feminism Encounters the Catholic Church

The debate on women and religion has been called the "single most important and radical question for our time."

"...when feminists take on religion they oppose the most deeply held motivations, beliefs and life orientations... We should not be surprised if the dispute thus results in radical resistance within churches and individual men and women, as well as in the possibility of radical cultural, psychological and religious transformations for others."1

Few who are familiar with contemporary Catholicism doubt that it is in the midst of a radical encounter with feminism. Prominent theological scholars are challenging deeply-held beliefs and traditions which exclude women from the priesthood and episcopacy.2 The women's movement is now vigorous and growing within the Church, calling for equality in all facets of Church life, including priesthood.

At the same time, voices of resistance caution that to adopt new practices, which are rooted in equality of the sexes, would jar deep, human nerves. They warn, for example, that the ordination of women would cause "...the biggest schism in the history of the Church".3

The Second Vatican Council

Feminist encounters with Catholicism have a long history, with many feminists becoming refugees from religion in general and Catholicism in particular. Like Simone de Beauvoir, they have challenged the "antifeminism" of the Church from without.4 Today the challenge is from within. During the years since Vatican II, women have felt fresh breezes blowing through the windows opened by Pope John XXIII. Gradually, they have moved into some of the roles previously reserved to men. Once limited to ironing altar linens and arranging flowers, some women now serve as lectors, Ministers of the Eucharist, and occasional homilists. Others are recognized as "chaplains" in hospitals and on college campuses. Their administrative skills, once used almost exclusively to run schools and hospitals, are occasionally employed to coordinate major diocesan agencies or to direct offices at the U.S. Catholic Conference.5 Women are far from holding 50% of these positions, but they have begun to walk through Church doors where formerly only men had passed.

Changes within the Church stemming from Vatican II coincided with the rapid growth of the women's liberation movement in American society in the late 1960's and early 1970's. That movement's message of equality struck a resonant gospel chord with many
American Catholics. If civil society was moving to outlaw sex discrimination as unjust, should the Church do any less? Vatican II's document on "The Church in the Modern World" had given solemn teaching on the subject: "...every type of discrimination... based on sex...is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent".6 Many Catholics began to ask if the Church itself was not called to live the values it preached to civil society.

The Women's Movement in the Church

The women's movement grew within the Church as Catholics found they were not alone in affirming equality as the way of the gospel. Some people re-discovered St. Joan's Alliance, a pioneering laywomen's organization founded in Great Britain in the early 20th century to promote equality for women in all areas of life. In the middle of the 20th century, after Vatican II, nuns became the first vanguard of the renewed Catholic women's movement. Groups such as the National Assembly of Women Religious (NAWR), the National Coalition of American Nuns (NCAN), and the Leadership Conference of Women Religious (LCWR) -- having just won the right to control their lives as women religious -- began to challenge church practices which kept all women subordinate.7

Then, in July 1975, Jesuit Father William R. Callahan and 75 other priests started Priests for Equality (PFE). Their strongly-worded charter called for the full equality of women and men in civil society and in the Church, including ordination to the priesthood. The following November, the first Women's Ordination Conference (Detroit, Michigan) was attended by more than 1,200 persons with hundreds more turned away for lack of space. It publicly raised the issue of ordination through major, scholarly papers which received wide press coverage.8 An organization called the Women's Ordination Conference (WOC) was founded to develop the support network that started to form at that meeting.

In October 1976, delegates to the Detroit "Call to Action" Conference, 90% of them appointed by the American Bishops, called for equal roles for men and women in all phases of Church life. They urged their bishops to "...initiate dialogue with Rome to change the present discipline in the Western Rite of the Roman Catholic Church to allow women to be ordained to the diaconate and priesthood".9

Diocesan feminist organizations have sprung up in many parts of the United States, challenging sexist preaching and practices at the local level. Chicago Catholic Women is one of several organizations that urges its members to withhold contributions from churches which discriminate against women, and to put feminist "funny money" in the collection instead. The Baltimore Taskforce on the Status of Women in the Church initiated a partial financial boycott of the Archdiocese because of the Archbishop's refusal to endorse the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). The Catholic Women's Seminary Fund (CWSF), was begun in the Washington, D.C. area to help finance the theological education of women; it is expanding nationwide.

Calls for equality have come from outside the United States. In February and March 1977, the East Asian Bishops' Conference urged a much broader role for women in ministry since, "...in certain cultural settings, only women can reach out to other women and exercise a meaningful ministry among them".10 In Belgium, a group called "Femmes et Hommes dans l'Eglise" (Women and Men in the Church) urged the Bishop-delegates to the 1977 Roman Synod to focus the agenda of the 1980 Synod on the question of women in ministry. A London-based group called "Roman Catholic Feminists" has raised the women's ordination question in Britain.

In the United States, the Bishops at first permitted minor changes in the liturgical roles of women, without taking a position on the most controversial question: Women in the priesthood. In 1972, Archbishop Quinn's NCCB Committee on Pastoral Research and Practices said that there was "no explicit authoritative teaching concerning the ordination of women...," and recommended that the topic be given "exhaustive study".11

But by 1975, episcopal resistance began to galvanize. Archbishop Bernardin, in a statement commemo- rating UN International Women's Year, re-stated past teachings against the ordination of women, emphasizing the "constant tradition and practice" of the Church.12
Rome Speaks

In January 1977, Rome spoke on the question. The Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, with apparent encouragement from the U.S. Bishops, proclaimed a resounding "no" to women priests. Cardinal Seper and Archbishop Hamer issued the Vatican Declaration which argued that tradition, Scripture, and the fact that Christ was male meant that women could not be validly ordained to "image Christ" in the priesthood.13

That answer did not rest easy with many Catholics, especially in the United States. Debate raged for weeks in both diocesan and secular press. An impressive array of theologians, among them Karl Rahner, poked holes in virtually every section of the Declaration. They charged that it was deficient in its understanding of the person of Christ, sloppy in its scholarship, uncritical in its use of Scripture, and literalist in its notion of signs and images -- to name but a few objections.14

Catholic feminists called it a major assault on the self-worth of women and a threat to the credibility of the Church's teaching office. They further claimed that it was motivated by political rather than theological considerations.15

Defenders of the document, including most of the American Bishops, called it the definitive answer from Rome that "settled" the issue. Some emphasized the maleness of Christ as the characteristic essential to ordained priesthood. Others focused on the long Church tradition of an all-male clergy as the reason for continuing to exclude women.

Other ordination opponents, possibly recognizing the shaky theological basis for opposition to women priests, put more emphasis on psychological and sociological issues. Some questioned the type of women who felt called to priesthood, suggesting that they were power-seekers, frustrated nuns, or fad-followers.16

Still other opponents raised the question of public support: Were the people ready for equality in ministry? They cited a 1974 survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) for Greeley, McCready, and McCourt showing that only 29% of American Catholics favored the ordination of women.17 They implied that change would be slow, if at all, and that schism might result if women were ordained in the present climate of opinion.

The People Respond

But defenders of the Church practice did not foresee what Andrew Greeley has called the "counterproductive" impact of Vatican documents on American Catholic opinion.18 In February and March 1977, the Quixote Center commissioned the Gallup Organization to survey the U.S. Catholic population on women priests. The
survey, taken in three waves at two-week intervals, showed a dra-
matic and unexpected rise in Catholic support for women priests in the six
weeks during which the Vatican Decla-
rat i on was debated in the media.
Support increased from 31% in mid-
February to 41% in mid-March 1977.
(See Figures 1.1 and 1.2). At the
same time, strong opposition dropped
from 50% to 40%.19

These results were the first
indication from polling data that the
tide of Catholic opinion might be
moving toward support for equality in
ministry. But these findings only
scratched the surface of the issues
swirling around the encounter of
feminism and Catholicism. These 1974
and 1977 polls focused on the question
of greatest controversy: Women in the
priesthood. They did not ask about
the other issues involved in Catholic
feminism, nor were they coupled with
questions which would permit an
in-depth exploration of beliefs about
the roles of men and women in the
Church.

Understanding the "sense of the
faithful" at this time, when feminism
is challenging traditional Catholic
practice, involves more than views on
women priests. It involves basic
human values, beliefs, and personal
identities. If the Church is indeed
the "People of God" as Vatican II
taught,20 what the people believe is
vitally important for both feminists
who want change and Church officials
who defend current practice. Ques-
tions that must be answered include:

-What is the "sense of the
faithful" on equality in
ministry? Are the people
"ready" or not?

-Are they undergoing a
"radical cultural, psycho-
logical, and religious
transformation" or do
traditional views of women
and men predominate and
seem likely to remain
strong?

-Why do people believe what
they do?

-How do such beliefs change,
if at all? Is the tide
of opinion moving? If so,
which way?

This book addresses these questions
as they apply to a large segment
of American Catholics. It attempts to
assess where the Catholic people stand
in the midst of this radical encounter
-- the encounter between feminism and
traditional Catholic teaching.

Chapter 1 lays out the questions to
be studied and describes the research

---

16

Figure 1.1.
SURVEYS ON U.S. CATHOLIC OPINION ON WOMEN IN THE PRIESTHOOD: 1974-77*

Question: "As I read this statement, will you tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat,
disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly:
'It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be ordained as priests.'"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agree Strongly</td>
<td>11 (29)</td>
<td>12 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agree Somewhat</td>
<td>18 (50)</td>
<td>19 (62)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Somewhat</td>
<td>18 (65)</td>
<td>12 (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disagree Strongly</td>
<td>47 (92)</td>
<td>50 (92)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>6 (12)</td>
<td>7 (14)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N= 925 411 404 390 1205

* Numbers on this chart are percentages, with the exception of "N", which is the Number of Respondents. On following charts and tables, N will refer to the Number of Respondents. Read down.
design. Chapter 2 describes the "emerging Catholics" who participated in the study. Chapter 3 outlines their basic beliefs on the role(s) of women and men in the Church. Chapter 4 defines the "Catholic Feminist" and "Catholic Traditionalist" ends of the opinion spectrum, and Chapter 5 explores why Catholics lean in one direction or the other. Chapter 6 analyzes Catholic opinion on other issues facing Church and society, and Chapter 7 suggests models for change in public opinion. Finally, Chapter 8 offers some conclusions and conjectures for the future.


5In 1977, the Ad Hoc Committee on Women in Society and Church of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCE) undertook a study of the role of women in Church diocesan structures and ministry. See: Bishop McAliff, "The Positions Women Now Hold in the Church," Origins 7 (December 1, 1977), pp. 381-384. The findings claimed to show many women in top diocesan positions, but the survey was inadequate in many ways. Ambiguous categories such as "policy-making", "executive" and "administrative" were used to describe jobs. There was no indication of how many positions exist in a category so that one could determine what percentage were held by women. There was no way of knowing who in a diocese provided the statistics or how they were obtained. There was no indication whether positions were part-time or full-time, or what the salaries might be. The question of how many important positions at diocesan levels are filled by women will have to be answered by another, more adequate survey.
6 "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World," in Documents of Vatican II, ed. Walter M. Abbott, S.J. (New York, Guild Press, 1966), II, 29, pp. 227-228. The full quotation is as follows: "Nevertheless, with respect to the fundamental rights of the person, every type of discrimination, whether social or cultural, whether based on sex, race, color, social condition, language, or religion, is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent."

7 For a fuller account of how religious women and lay women entered the struggle, see: Elizabeth Carroll, RSM, "Women in Church and Society," in Detroit and Beyond (Washington, D.C.: Center of Concern, 1977), p. 17.

8 The proceedings of that Conference are printed in: Gardiner, ed., Women and Catholic Priesthood.


14 These objections were raised principally by the authors cited in footnote 2.


16 A recent clinical-psychological study of 100 women who feel called to priesthood challenges these ideas. See: Fran Ferder, FSPA, Ph.D., Called to Break Bread? (Mt. Rainier, Maryland: The Quixote Center and Priests for Equality, 1978).


19 For a complete analysis of the results of this poll, see: Maureen Fiedler and Dolly Pomerleau, "American Catholics and the Ordination of Women," America 138 (January 7-14, 1978), pp. 11-14.

Asking the Critical Questions

Receptivity to Change

Significant change in the Church is best accomplished, not when it is imposed on a resistant laity like seeds being tossed on rocks, but when it finds receptive soil to take root, receive nourishment, and produce good fruit. The changes inaugurated by the Second Vatican Council found such receptivity among American lay Catholics. Andrew Greeley and his colleagues reported overwhelming support for the conciliar changes among grassroots Catholics. They concluded that Vatican II was a highly significant "positive force" in American Catholic life during the 1960's and 1970's.1

Change to full equality for women and men in Catholic ministry will also require a receptive climate. However, as early as 1975, some Church officials believed that such receptivity did not exist, that the faithful were not ready for women in ministry, and that change would be slow, if at all.

With this in mind, Priests for Equality (PFE) raised the question of public support at the 1975 Detroit Women's Ordination Conference: Were the people ready for equality in ministry? Was the climate receptive? Was opinion changing? If so, in what direction and how fast? PFE urged that these questions be addressed so that public debate could proceed constructively.

This Inquiry

In 1976, the Quixote Center and Priests for Equality initiated an opinion-survey process to answer the questions from the Detroit Ordination Conference. Was the charge that the Catholic people were not ready for full equality in ministry truth or myth? The time had come to replace speculation with facts and thorough analysis.

That the issue of equality involved far more than the question of women priests was immediately apparent. It touched questions about women in a wide range of roles and ministries. It included not only what Catholics believed, but why they believed. Therefore, we developed a survey with questions about a broad spectrum of ministries and questions which would reveal the reasons for Catholic beliefs on equality.

In addition, understanding whether opinions on equality were isolated views or were related to other issues, commonly regarded as " justice" issues in the Catholic Church, seemed important. Were beliefs on women in the Church a separate syndrome of opinion or were they part of a "mind set" that shaped overall views of reality? With this in mind, we included questions to probe opinions on other pressing issues, including: divorce, clerical celibacy, birth control, the death penalty, racial equality, and reasons for economic poverty.

Timmy asks a critical question, "Are women part of the image of God?"
These questions yielded an unexpected bonus. They touched many of the most controversial issues raised at the 1976 American Bishops' consultation of the laity concerning social justice: The Detroit "Call to Action" Conference. Not only were the topics similar, but the two events coincided closely. The first survey was administered October 15-17, 1976; the "Call to Action" Conference was October 20-23, 1976. Because of the similarity in issues and the closeness in time, the survey is a virtual "referendum" by a large segment of churchgoing laity on many resolutions from the "Call to Action" Conference. It enabled us to investigate the oft-heard charge that this Conference was not "representative" of mainstream Catholic laity.

Measuring Change

1975 and 1976 were dynamic years in the history of the women's movement in the Church. It seemed likely, therefore, that corresponding changes in the opinion of the Catholic populace regarding sexual equality would occur. Understanding such change is never easy, but always important: Why does it occur? How fast? In response to what? On these questions, we also had to investigate the depth of convictions. For example, were people's views on women in ministry so deeply held that they changed very slowly, or might they change rapidly, perhaps when dynamic national movements became lively topics of local discussion?

Studying such change and the depth of convictions means testing opinion over time -- first identifying an "opinion base" with an initial survey and then determining change with a second. Measuring change in an atmosphere of open discussion implies the existence of stable groups which meet regularly, have well-established patterns of interaction, and are willing to discuss the issue of equality. Parishes or other stable liturgical communities fit this definition.

Consequently, we chose a sample of worshipping communities with potential for group interaction and continuity, and with leaders who were willing to encourage discussion on the subject of equality between a first and second survey. This type of sample is better for measuring change in local churches than a random, Gallup-type sample, which surveys isolated people spread across the United States. It is better for understanding the change that might take place in an American parish where dialogue and interaction on a controversial topic are encouraged.

During the summer of 1976, the members and supporters of Priests for Equality were asked to volunteer "stable liturgical communities" to participate in a two-wave survey -- in October 1976 and again in February 1977. Forty-three parish leaders from a wide variety of worshipping communities responded.

They volunteered as either "test" or "control" groups. Everyone administered the October and February surveys, but the test groups also conducted an "education process" between the two surveys to raise the issue of equality and encourage
The control groups conducted no education process. Figure 1.1 illustrates the full process. Comparing the results of these two types of groups would separate changes in opinion which occur because of general events in our culture (control groups) from changes in opinion which occur because of a specific program (test groups).

The education process was not designed to lobby a particular point of view. Rather it encouraged people to experience and talk about their views on equality. It included: 1) preaching twice to introduce the issue of equality; 2) using sexually-balanced language in liturgies and preaching; 3) distribution of brief written materials which raised pro and con arguments; and 4) programs of open discussion/dialogue among the people. In addition to these minimal requirements, test group leaders were encouraged to develop original approaches to this education process.

The resulting survey was a "best case" approach, that is, it sought to discover the changes which take place when leadership is open to equality and encourages honest exchanges on the subject. The opinion and change that was measured was that of churchgoers in stable worshipping communities, those Catholics most likely to be involved in the life and concerns of the Church.

The Surveying Process

In October 1976, 43 groups with almost 5,500 people took the first survey. Materials to assist the education process in test groups were sent to group leaders. In February, the survey was repeated in 31 of the original 43 groups. The February sample included 2,848 respondents.

Between surveys, the unexpected happened. On January 27, 1977, the Vatican issued its Declaration against the admission of women to the priesthood. The issue of equality for women in the Church exploded in the media. Public discussion mushroomed. Both the Vatican Declaration itself and initial arguments against it were mailed to test group leaders. Almost all groups, including the control groups, reported that the Declaration had stimulated great interest and discussion at the local level.

The entire questionnaire, with the results for both October and February, are in Appendix A. Close examination of these findings shows that there was no significant difference between these two samples as a whole on any question. Percentages varied only slightly; the demographic characteristics of the respondents and their opinion patterns remained essentially the same in February as they were in October. Consequently, the October sample was used for all general analyses of this group of Catholics because it is larger and sub-divides more easily for analysis.

Summary

This study analyzes data from an October 1976 survey of 43 worshipping communities in 19 states and the District of Columbia. It focuses on the receptivity of churchgoing Catholics to women in ministry. It tests the depth and breadth of this receptivity and possibilities for change.

This is a unique and pioneering study. While the answers it provides are somewhat tentative, the data from the two surveys make it possible to explore the wide-ranging dimensions of the issue of equality in the Church for the first time. They also provide a close, probing, and in-depth look at the minds of Catholic people during a time when feminism is challenging Catholic tradition.

---

1 Andrew Greeley, William C. McCready, and Kathleen McCourt, Catholic Schools in a Declining Church (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1976), Chapter 5 and pp. 304-305.

2 In the interests of fairness, we recognize that those opposed to full equality in the Church would call this a "worst case" approach.

3 Not all those who started the process in October completed in February. Reasons for non-completion ranged from unanticipated conflicts in scheduling, illness, and in one case, the death of a group leader.
The Respondents: A Profile of "Emerging Catholics"

Participants in this study came from a variety of liturgical settings in 19 states and the District of Columbia:

- small town parishes
- marriage encounter groups
- college campuses
- inner city parishes
- high school classes
- suburban parishes
- an Indian mission
- a Dignity chapter of gay Catholics
- a parish in struggle with its bishop
- a group of "weekend regulars" at a Franciscan friary
- a group of senior citizens.

These worshipping communities were volunteered by members of Priests for Equality (PFE). (See Figure 2.1.)

This is a "volunteered" group of Catholics, not the random sample selected for Gallup polls. Nevertheless, the opinions of these people closely match Catholic views recorded by Gallup-type samples on such important Church issues as birth control, divorce and remarriage, and priestly celibacy. (See Figure 2.2.).

On these issues, overwhelming majorities in three different samples expressed opinions in conflict with present Church policies. Seventy-nine
Figure 2.2.
SAMPLES MATCH CLOSELY ON THREE IMPORTANT ISSUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BIRTH CONTROL:</th>
<th>agree</th>
<th>DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE:</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976 Quixote Center Survey:*</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>1976 Quixote Center Survey:*</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;The Church should permit forms of birth control other than the rhythm method.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Church should permit divorced Catholics to remarry.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974 NORC Survey:**</td>
<td></td>
<td>1974 NORC Survey:**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;A married couple who feel they have as many children as they want are really not doing anything wrong when they use artificial means to prevent conception.&quot;</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>&quot;Two people who are in love do not do anything wrong when they marry, even though one of them has been divorced.&quot;</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978 Gallup (CPA) Survey:***</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>1978 Gallup (CPA) Survey:***</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Catholics should be allowed to practice artificial means of birth control.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;Divorced Catholics should be permitted to re-marry in the Catholic Church.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIESTLY CELIBILITY:</th>
<th>agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1976 Quixote Center Survey:*</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Priests should be able to marry if they want to.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974 NORC Survey:**</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;If the Church were to change its laws and permit the clergy to marry, would you be able to accept this change? If yes, are you in favor such a change?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Each survey asks about these issues in different ways. The Quixote Center and Gallup surveys ask in each case whether the Church should change its law or not. The NORC survey asks the question this way only on the matter of priestly celibacy. On questions of birth control and divorce and remarriage, the NORC survey asks whether those who violate Church law have done anything wrong.

*Data are from the October 1976 sample.
**Data are from the survey by Greeley, McCready, and McCourt, Catholic Schools in a Declining Church (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1976). See p. 35 especially.

percent of those in the Quixote Center sample would like the Church to endorse methods of birth control other than rhythm; 83% of those in a 1974 sample drawn by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) refused to condemn artificial contraception, and 73% of those in a 1978 Gallup sample favored Church approval of artificial birth control. On the question of remarriage after divorce, 71% of the Quixote sample favored permission to remarry, while 73% of those in the NORC sample and 69% of those in the Gallup sample expressed similar opinions. And exactly 63% of those in both the Quixote and NORC samples favored optional celibacy for clergy.

On most issues, the Quixote sample fits the emerging national trend in Catholic opinion. The Gallup Report on Religion in America, 1977-78 labelled this trend the "Increasingly liberal" views of the Catholic popula-
tion as a whole on key issues facing the Church. On the question of women's ordination, however, the Catholics in the Quixote Center sample are more inclined toward change than American Catholics generally. In October 1976, 51% of this sample supported women priests, compared to 29-31% from the random Catholic population. But, as the introduction to this study indicates, support for women priests, even among randomly selected Catholics, jumped dramatically after the Vatican Declaration -- from 31% to 41% in six weeks, according to a series of Gallup polls.

As we discussed elsewhere, analysis of the change reflected in these polls suggests that the trend favorable to equality will continue. Our future projections were based on several assumptions:

1) the belief that views about women priests are part of a long-term trend toward equality for women, and that this trend will be reinforced as women continue to move into roles from which they were previously barred;

2) the belief that future generations will be at least as supportive of women priests as are present-day young adults, and that these generations will replace those less favorable to equality;

3) the assumption that the issue of women priests will continue to stir controversy in the media. Any controversy -- even strong opposition such as the Vatican Declaration -- seems to stimulate change in favor of the ordination of women; and

4) the assumption that it will take five years to effect the same opinion change as has occurred in the past three years.

If these beliefs and assumptions are valid, Catholic support for women priests will equal or slightly exceed opposition within five years. Within seven years, it will pass 50%, and within 10 years, support will be a solid majority of at least 55% with less than 40% in opposition. (See Figure 2.3.) Using these criteria, the Quixote Center sample is approximately 7 years ahead of the general Catholic population on the issue of women priests. This group appears to reflect the direction of the American Church.

What the Participants Look Like: A Demographic Profile

It is important to describe the physical, social, economic, and geographic characteristics of this group in order to understand its own composition and how it compares to a
random sample. (Figures 2.4.-2.6. graph the most significant comparisons; Appendix C gives the full data).

The Quixote Center sample is noteworthy for its consistent religious practice; almost all respondents are regular churchgoers. Ninety-two percent attend church at least weekly, compared to only 57% in the typical Gallup sample. In addition, the group is younger than the general Catholic populace. Forty-five percent are under 30 years of age; more than two-thirds (68%) are less than 40. The younger age of the group affects other characteristics; there are more single persons and fewer married persons, widows, or widowers than among Catholics generally.

The Quixote Center sample is more highly educated than a random sample of Catholics. More than 30% are college graduates and/or report family incomes in excess of $20,000 per year. (See Figure 2.5.).

The Quixote Center group is more "midwestern" and less "eastern" than a random selection of U.S. Catholics. However, representation from the South and Far West is fairly typical of the general Catholic distribution. There are slightly higher percentages of non-whites and women in the Quixote survey than in the Gallup sample. (See Figure 2.6.). However, the percentage of Spanish-speaking and Spanish-surnamed people is much lower than the current U.S. estimates, which run as high as 25%.

Almost everyone surveyed is a lay Catholic (94%). One percent are priests and 5% are Sisters or Brothers.

---

Figure 2.4.
A COMPARISON BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE AND AGE*

OCTOBER SAMPLE
(Oct. 1976)

GALLUP SAMPLE
(Random)
(Feb-Mar. 1977)

CHURCH ATTENDANCE**
OF RESPONDENTS

Yes
No

AGE OF RESPONDENTS

Less than 30
30-39
40-49
50-64
65+

Less than 30
30-39
40-49
50-64
65+

*For a complete data comparison, see Appendix C.

**In the Gallup sample, "Yes" meant the respondent had attended church in the last 7 days. In the October sample, it meant the person was a daily or weekly churchgoer.
As a whole then, the Quixote Center sample is younger, better educated, more church-oriented, and somewhat more affluent than the general population of U.S. Catholics. The combination of youth and education suggests that these Catholics are prime candidates for lay leadership and opinion-making roles in the Church. Their Church orientation means that the opinions of these Catholics cannot be dismissed as the views of the disaffected or the alienated. Because these people are in regular contact with the institutional Church, they are unusually important subjects for opinion-analysis.

The General Tenor of Opinion in the Group

The questionnaire asked respondents about women in the ministry and life of the Church, various Church policies and practices, and selected social issues. (Appendix A contains the entire questionnaire). In general, participants reflected the "progressive" side of the ideological spectrum. But they were not uniformly "progressive" on all issues, nor did the group as a whole evidence a single, cohesive ideology. Patterns of opinion depended on the specific issues addressed.

The majority, for example, support an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution. This is commonly considered "conservative" Church policy. The majority also accept the security-conscious belief that the U.S. must remain "#1" in the world militarily. They adhere to the "work ethic", believing that "almost anyone can earn a decent living if he/she works hard enough". Most believe that the Pope is infallible under certain conditions when he speaks on matters of faith and morals.

But the majority opinion also reflects an inclination to favor change on other Church and civil issues. Large majorities, as we noted above, want a new Church approach to sexuality and marriage, especially on issues of birth control, divorce, and celibacy. Over half no longer consider "missing mass on Sunday without good reason" a mortal sin. On questions involving equality of the sexes, the majority tend to be egalitarian. They support wide and equal participation by women in all facets of Church life, with a majority favoring women priests. An even larger majority endorses ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) to the U.S. Constitution.

Equality is, in fact, an important value for those in the Quixote Center
sample. A majority reject the notion that "racial equality" had gone "too far" in the United States. Most believe that the lack of equality in society is a major cause of domestic poverty. In the Church, the group favors equal opportunities for persons with a homosexual orientation.

Other opinions usually thought "progressive" included strong support for aid to needy nations and disapproval of the death penalty.

"Emerging" Catholics

In light of the aggregate characteristics and viewpoints of these Catholics, what kind of a sample is this? How might this group be accurately labelled?
First of all, it is clear that these are not extremist or radical Catholics. Their opinions on many sensitive issues such as contraception, divorce, and clerical celibacy look like the views of randomly-selected groups of Catholics. But neither are they "status quo" Catholics who want the Church to remain as it is. Their views reflect the thrust and tone of Vatican II, even a desire to move beyond that Council in some areas. They are moderately progressive on most issues.

The most appropriate label appears to be "emerging Catholics". We chose this label because:

1) The sample includes a greater proportion of young people, or the "emerging" generation, than the general population.

2) Their views on such issues as birth control, divorce, and clerical celibacy match the Gallup description of the developing or "emerging" liberal trend in Catholic opinion.

3) These people participate regularly in the life and worship of the Church. They are also better educated than a cross-section of U.S. Catholics. Both closeness to the Church and a high educational level suggest that this group represents the "emerging" lay leadership in the Church.

4) These Catholics are more accepting of women priests and somewhat more favorable toward the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) than those in random surveys taken at approximately the same time. But recent Gallup poll research, and the flow of United States history with the suffragist and feminist movements of the last 50-100 years indicate that this is the way opinion is moving. This sample most likely provides a glimpse of the very near future in the Church on issues relating to women. As such, they are an excellent indicator of trends "emerging" in American Catholicism on issues related to sexual equality. "Emerging Catholics" is an appropriate title for this group. These people reflect the trends and movement of the contemporary Church in the United States.

"Call to Action" Catholics

Most of the views of this group also reflect those of another group which expressed its opinions on issues facing the Church and civil society in October 1976. This group was the delegates to the "Call to Action" Conference held in Detroit. The Conference was the American Bishops' consultation of the laity on issues of social justice in recognition of the Bicentennial. The 1200 delegates from across the country -- 90% of them appointed by bishops or bishops themselves -- passed 182 recommendations to the U.S. Church for bringing greater "liberty and justice for all".

That Conference has been repeatedly attacked by bishops, groups, commentators, and media persons as being "unrepresentative" of U.S. Catholic opinion. The Conference has been accused: of trying to do too much in too short a time and doing it superficially; of letting special interest groups take over; and of not reflecting the hearings and local testimony that preceded the Conference.

This survey provides a direct challenge to those charges. On the issues of:

- birth control
- divorce and remarriage
- optional clerical celibacy
- the role of women in the Church
- ordination of women
- shared responsibility in the selection of pastors
- endorsement of the Equal Rights Amendment
- abolition of capital punishment
- gay rights
- an anti-abortion amendment
- aid to needy nations
- efforts to eliminate racism, and
-the role of equality in economic justice.

The recommendations of the "Call to Action" Conference do indeed represent the opinions of these "emerging Catholic" churchgoers. Only on the issue of disarmament did the "Call to Action" delegates support recommendations considered more "progressive" than the opinions recorded in the Quixote Center survey. (See Figure 2.7.) Furthermore, on many questions for which random sample data are available -- such as contraception, divorce, clerical celibacy, views on gay people, and abortion -- the delegates accurately reflected the opinions of a majority of U.S. Catholics.

In light of these polls, those who have attacked the "Call to Action" delegates as "unrepresentative" of Catholic opinion are themselves out of touch with the Catholic people. Moreover, these results indicate a growing split between official Catholic policies and the opinions of practicing Catholics. This is a major trend whose steady rise has been documented in surveys by Gallup and the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). It was described by U.S. News and World Report in its April 11, 1977 issue:

"No longer do dissenting Catholics feel compelled to drop out or join another faith. Instead, most are staying in the Church to thrash out with the hierarchy such painful issues as birth control, divorce, and new modes of worship."

Summary

The participants in the Quixote Center survey are "emerging Catholics". They reflect what the Gallup Report on Religion in America called the "increasingly liberal" trend in Catholic opinion on a wide range of Church issues. Their youth and educational level suggests that they provide a glimpse of the coming Catholic generation. Their support for sexual equality in the Church coincides with projected trends. Their views will be scrutinized in the following chapters.
## Figure 2.7
A COMPARISON OF THE "CALL TO ACTION"
CONFERENCE AND RECENT SURVEYS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call to Action Recommendations</th>
<th>Survey Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>GENERAL CHURCH ISSUES</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That the church in the U.S. acknowledge that it is living in a state of conflict and anguish arising from tension between the common understanding of church teaching on contraception and the current practice of many Catholics... The American bishops should use their present pastoral leadership to affirm more clearly the right and responsibility of married people to form their own consciences and discern what is morally appropriate within the context of their marriage...&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 79% agree; NORC Survey, 1974: 83% agree; Gallup (CPA) Survey, 1978: 73% agree*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Birth Control</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 65% agree; &quot;Parishioners should be able to approve the selection of their pastors.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORC Survey, 1974: 73% agree; &quot;Two people who are in love do not do anything wrong when they marry, even though one of them has been divorced.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallup (CPA) Survey, 1978: 69% agree* &quot;Divorced Catholics should be permitted to re-marry in the Catholic Church.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gay Rights</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 55% agree; &quot;Homosexuals should have the same opportunities in the Church as everybody else.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallup Survey, 1976-77: 66% of Catholics say &quot;yes&quot;:** &quot;In your opinion, can a homosexual be a good Christian or a good Jew, or not?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Married Clergy</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 63% agree; &quot;Priests should be able to marry if they want to.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORC Survey, 1974: 80% could accept married priests 63% favor such a change</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;If the Church were to change its laws and permit clergy to marry, would you be able to accept this change?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Are you in favor of such a change?&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>WOMEN IN THE CHURCH</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 79% agree; &quot;More women should have leadership positions in the Church.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women as Church Leaders</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 51% agree; &quot;It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be priests.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallup Survey, 1977: 41% agree:*** &quot;It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be ordained as priests.&quot;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Shared Responsibility

**Divorce/Remarriage**

"We pledge ourselves to a serious effort to reconcile separated, divorced and remarried Catholics within our community of faith... That the church leaders publicly address the request of the divorced who have remarried to receive, under certain conditions, the sacraments of the church..."

FAMILY III, passim

Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 71% agree; NORC Survey, 1974: 73% agree; Gallup (CPA) Survey, 1978: 69% agree* "Divorced Catholics should be permitted to re-marry in the Catholic Church."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Call to Action Recommendations</th>
<th>Survey Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female Altar Servers</strong> &quot;That female children be granted the right and opportunity to serve at the altar in the role traditionally allowed to altar boys.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 69% Disagree: &quot;Only boys should be altar servers at Mass.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sexist Language</strong> &quot;That the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and Catholic publishing houses act to insure that sexist language and imagery be eliminated from all official church documents, catechisms, liturgical books, rites and hymnals printed after January 1978.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 69% Disagree: &quot;People are justified in wanting the priest to say 'Pray, brothers and sisters...' instead of only 'Pray, brothers...' during Mass.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Women as Eucharistic Ministers</strong> &quot;That church law and prescriptions governing liturgical practices be reviewed and adapted to eliminate sexual discrimination.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 71% agree: &quot;Where laymen distribute communion, but laywomen cannot, discrimination is being practiced.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aid to Needy Nations</strong> &quot;...That in the light of the urgency of world hunger and malnutrition, the U.S. Catholic community continue to implement the bishops' pastoral plan on the world food crisis...It is strongly recommended that any communal effort...be coupled with redistribution of resources and with public policies necessary to make that distribution possible.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 79% agree: &quot;The United States has an obligation to help needy nations.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Racial Equality</strong> &quot;...we call upon church leaders to act vigorously on this issue to the end that the Catholic Church become a force of leadership in eliminating racism from American life.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 55% Disagree: &quot;In many respects, racial equality has gone too far in this country.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Death Penalty</strong> &quot;Goals for Public Policy: ...abolition of capital punishment.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 48% Disagree: (38% agree)**&quot; It would be good if all 50 states brought back the death penalty.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Anti-Abortion Amendment</strong> &quot;We also recommend that Catholics endorse and work to implement the 1975 Bishops' Pastoral Plan for Pro-Life Activities. This plan calls for an educational program, pastoral care providing alternatives to abortion, and a legislative effort and public policy to insure the passage of a constitutional amendment which would affirm and protect life from conception to natural death.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 53% agree: &quot;We need a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion in the United States.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Equal Rights Amendment</strong> &quot;Since ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution would be a major step toward achieving equal economic justice for men and women we endorse and support it. The church should commit significant economic resources and personnel...to achieve speedy ratification of ERA...&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 68% agree: &quot;The Equal Rights Amendment should be passed to ensure the legal equality of men and women in this country.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Economic Justice</strong> &quot;It is critical that this commission (an economic justice) also look to the recommendation on equal opportunity, responsibility in the world of work and apostolate and working life, specifically the joint operation of full employment and equal opportunity.&quot;</td>
<td>Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 54% agree: &quot;Most poor people are poor because society doesn't give everybody an equal chance.&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
AN AREA OF DISAGREEMENT

"That peace education programs at every level of church life emphasize the dangers and evils of the arms race and an aggressive military posture because of the threat they pose to all humanity. Since the arms race has developed an irrational dynamic of its own in order to justify proliferation of weapons, it will require an immense moral commitment and a profound educational effort if this dynamic is to be universally reversed, paving the way for initiatives for disarmament leading to general complete disarmament..."

HUMANKIND III, 3.

Quixote Center Survey, 1976: 52% agree:
"To be secure, it is necessary that this nation be second to none in military strength."

* This is the 1978 Gallup Survey commissioned by the Catholic Press Association.
** This is the Gallup Survey reported in Report No. 145, Religion in America, 1977-78.
*** A substantial plurality.

---

1 This group does not necessarily represent the views of American Catholics as a whole. It does, however, reflect the movement and trends in American Catholic opinion which have emerged on recent major random surveys. (See Figure 2.2.).


3 The probable level of support for women priests in October 1976 was 29% - 31%. The 1974 NORC study showed 29% support in 1974; the first Gallup Poll in February 1977 showed 31% support. (See Figures 1.1. and 1.2.).


5 The data on occupation are not comparable because Gallup asked for occupation of the "head of the household" our questionnaire asked for the occupation of the respondent.


7 Gallup polls and CBS-NY Times polls for 1977-78 show Catholic support for the Equal Rights Amendment at 58-60% nationwide. In this survey, 68% favor ERA. Both the Gallup data and the CBS-NY Times data were obtained by phone: the first from the Gallup Organization in Princeton, NJ and the latter from the CBS Information Office in Washington, DC.

8 Fiedler and Pomerleau, pp. 13-14 especially.

9 The resolutions from that Conference can be found in: Agenda for Justice (Mt. Rainier, Maryland: The Quixote Center, 1977).

Opinions on Women in Ministry: The Hard Percentages

Assessing the readiness of the Catholic people for women in ministry raises a host of sub-questions:

- When the discussion gets down to women in specific roles (e.g., Minister of the Eucharist, altar server, priest) do "emerging Catholics" react positively or negatively?

- Do "emerging Catholics" agree with the reasoning of the Vatican Declaration? How do they apply the teachings of Scripture, tradition, and Vatican II to the Church situation of women and men?

- Do they believe change is possible in the Church with regard to sexual equality? If so, how soon?

- Do they think celibacy should be required of men and women priests?

- Suppose women were ordained, what do "emerging Catholics" think would be the consequences?

- Do they consider attempts to organize and promote expanded ministries for women legitimate?

- Do "emerging Catholics" accept traditional cultural norms about men and women? Do they believe women belong in the home, men are "naturally" dominant, and women are "naturally" submissive? Or do they accept the newer ethic of sexual equality?

- Do they regard language as an important symbol? Would they prefer liturgical language that is sexually balanced?

Reactions to Women in Specific Ministries

In the traditional sex roles of civil society, it has been "appropriate" for men to perform leadership or managerial functions, and for women to assume secondary or auxiliary roles. Under this system, men have been doctors and women nurses; men have been executives and women secretaries; men have been store managers and women clerks and checkers. When women have sought to break these patterns, support has been partly a function of the importance of the roles being changed. Women today are more acceptable in middle management than in top executive positions, more electable to state legislatures than governorships, more easily appointed as principals than as school superintendents.

Furthermore, people more readily express support for models of behavior that are part of their normal, peaceful, personal experience than they do for ideas which are new and hypothetical. Such ideas are difficult to visualize and raise fears of the unknown. Once the 19th Amendment was ratified and people experienced women as voters, for example, opposition to women suffrage virtually disappeared.

These are the support patterns expected with regard to women's roles in the Church. Those roles which are auxiliary to priestly functions, and those which are commonly exercised by women in the Church today -- e.g., lector, or Minister of the Eucharist -- should receive the widest positive reactions. Those roles with "ordained" status, in
which Catholic churchgoers have never experienced women -- e.g., priest and bishop -- should receive less support. These roles are traditionally important and sacred in Catholicism. In addition, the prospect of women priests and bishops can only be visualized through the human imagination. (What would she look like? What would I call her?) For some, it raises a whole host of "what if's", uncertainties, and unknown fears. (What if my pastor were a woman? Could I confess to her? Could I accept her as a spiritual leader?) Positions combining more than one non-traditional role, such as the office of bishop, which combines priestly and high-level executive functions, are expected to have the lowest level of support. They require the greatest psychic re-adjustment of personal images of the world and the Church.

Female altar servers are in an ambivalent position. On the one hand, altar service is clearly an auxiliary role -- the type usually open to women. However, because it has been associated with the minor priestly order of acolyte, women and girls have been excluded. "Altar girls" are now appearing in American parishes, but the practice is not as widespread as women lectors or Eucharistic Ministers. As a result, support for altar girls is likely to be lower than that for women in more commonly experienced roles, but higher than that for positions such as priesthood.

The opinions of "emerging Catholics" fit these expectations. (See Figure 3.1.). Support is lowest, although closely divided, for the most distant possibility: A woman bishop. Four in 10 Catholics would like to see one "someday", but almost an equal number would not. There is majority support for women in the priesthood, varying between 51% and 61% depending on how the question is asked. The most positive reaction is toward women Ministers of the Eucharist. At least 7 in 10 "emerging Catholics" call the exclusion of women from that role "discriminatory".

Acceptance of female altar servers does fall between acceptance of women priests and women Eucharistic Ministers, but the level of support is very high. Only 1 in 4 of these Catholics think "only boys should be altar servers at Mass" and half believe that excluding girls from that role teaches young people that sex discrimination is all right. This evidence suggests that altar girls would meet with relatively little opposition from the faithful.

The questionnaire also asked whether "more women should have leadership positions in the Church". Almost 4 out of 5 respondents supported the idea. Some of these people, of course, define bishops and priests among the "acceptable" leadership roles. However, many Catholics opposing women in these particular roles nonetheless want more women in some leadership capacities. Even among those who oppose women priests, 57% want more women in church leadership. These data reveal that church-going Catholics are no longer satisfied with purely auxiliary or secondary roles for women in the life of the Church. Their opinions support action on suggestions such as that of Archbishop Bernardin who called the Church to "...promote the advancement of women at all levels".

Support for women in new roles in the Church varied with the respondents' age, education, and locale. Young people -- those under 30 especially -- endorsed change with the greatest enthusiasm. Those over 50 were less favorable to change. The strongest relationship involved
## Figure 3.1.
### VIEWS ON WOMEN IN VARIOUS MINISTRIES*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Have no opinion</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LEADERSHIP POSITIONS:</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More women should have leadership positions in the Church.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUCHARISTIC MINISTERS:</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where laymen distribute communion, but laywomen cannot, discrimination is being practiced.**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALTAR SERVERS:</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only boys should be altar servers at Mass.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having altar boys but not altar girls in a parish teaches young people that sex discrimination is all right.**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOMEN PRIESTS:</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be priests.#</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordination to the priesthood should be limited to men.#</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic tradition excludes women from the priesthood. This tradition should be changed.#</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOMEN BISHOPS:</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Someday I would like to see a woman become a bishop.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample. Percentages do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding.

N = 5492.

**These questions deal with "perceptions of discrimination".

#Support for women priests varies with the wording of the question. More people are willing to "change tradition" or not limit ordination to men than are prepared to affirm women priests as a "good thing". The question used most widely, however, is the one affirming women priests as "good". It is the one used consistently in this study as the general measure of support for women priests.

NB. The dotted line connects those percentages that best reflect acceptance of women in the ministries listed.

---

**education. Those with college educations were consistently and significantly more supportive of equal roles for men and women in the Church than were those with high school or elementary educations. Support for expanded roles for women was highest in urban and suburban areas and on college campuses. It was noticeably lower in small towns and rural areas.**

**Role Models and Change**

Recent research on women in politics has demonstrated that consciousness of, and admiration for, women in non-traditional political roles has a significant positive influence on the political participation of women in the general U.S. populace.** Women who are well-known because of their...**
own political achievements as Members of Congress, ambassadors, or heads of state become "role models" for other women in society, suggesting new and non-traditional possibilities for women's lives. Does the same pattern hold for women in the Church? Are Catholics who worship in communities where women are active as lectors, commentators, Eucharistic Ministers, ushers, homilists, or altar servers more supportive of women in future ministerial roles than Catholics who worship in mostly male ministry situations? The answer is yes. The existence of role models in local worshipping communities appears to have a moderately positive effect on people's approval of women in new positions. The effect is strongest among Catholics experiencing women in roles that are still untypical for their sex -- altar server, homilist, or usher. Those who have experienced women in at least one of these non-traditional roles are consistently more supportive of women in a wide range of roles -- Eucharistic Minister, altar server, priest, bishop, church leadership in general. (See Figure 3.2.)

These findings suggest that attitudes favorable to sexual equality develop when people experience and image women in new ways, and that change is retarded when existing practices are retained.

Figure 3.2.
HOW EXPERIENCE INFLUENCES VIEWS ABOUT WOMEN IN MINISTRY*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Gamma</th>
<th>Among those who have experienced women in at least one non-traditional role:**</th>
<th>Among those who have not experienced women in any non-traditional roles:**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Respondents</td>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be priests.&quot;</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Someday I would like to see a woman become a bishop.&quot;</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;More women should have leadership positions in the Church.&quot;</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Where laymen distribute communion, but laywomen cannot, discrimination is being practiced.&quot;</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Only boys should be altar servers at Mass.&quot;</td>
<td>-0.38</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=2534  N=2958

*Data are from the October sample. Total N=5492.

**Non-traditional" roles included: altar server, homilist, usher. The percentages here describe those in each category who have ever experienced a woman in one of those roles. Data for experience of non-traditional roles are from the Volunteering Form. See Appendix B.

#Gammas express the closeness of relationship between two variables; in this case, the relationship is between experiences of women in non-traditional roles and opinions on women in such roles. The higher the gamma (varying from zero to +1.00), the closer the relationship. ±0.30 shows a moderately close relationship.
Perceptions of Discrimination

The Church's teachings on social justice emphasize the value of equality. For example, Vatican II's document on the Church in the Modern World reads that "...the basic equality of all must receive increasingly greater recognition." This call resonates with American values. The Declaration of Independence declared that "all men [sic] are created equal". Both the Abolitionist movement of the 19th century and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's were part of quest for racial equality. Examples could be multiplied. For Americans, equality means fairness, justice, and respect for human dignity.

When Americans expect fair treatment, they expect equality of opportunity. When equality is denied, they call that "discrimination". Discrimination is a negative word in the American lexicon. It connotes unfairness, injustice, inequality. To call a practice "discriminatory" is to say it is wrong.

It is significant then that an overwhelming majority of "emerging Catholics" consider the exclusion of women as Ministers of the Eucharist "discriminatory". And it is significant that at least half of these respondents believe that excluding young women from altar service teaches discrimination to youth. In traditional language, the Church is setting a "bad example" for the younger generation. (See Figure 3.1.).

These results raise an important question: What are, and will be, the consequences for the Church if churchgoing people consider "discriminatory"?

Do "Emerging Catholics" Agree with the Vatican Declaration?

When this survey was drawn up, the Vatican Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood had not been issued. Nonetheless, many of the questions related closely to the arguments of that document -- close enough to allow a glimpse of what the respondents think of the Declaration. These questions test the reactions of "emerging Catholics" to some of the theological reasoning commonly used to justify the present sex role system in the Church.

The Declaration argued that women cannot be ordained because priests must bear a "natural resemblance" (i.e., male sexual resemblance) to Christ. It is assumed that the 12 Apostles were the first and only people Christ called to priesthood, and further assumed that this established an Apostolic tradition and precedent for the exclusive maleness of the Catholic priesthood. It pointed out that even Mary, Jesus' mother, was not included among the Twelve. Its authors would no doubt agree that if Jesus had wanted women to be priests, he would have included them among the original 12 Apostles.

Do "emerging Catholics" agree with this reasoning? The answer is no. Only 27% agree that "If Jesus had wanted women to be priests, He would have chosen some among His 12 Apostles." Fifty-four percent disagree; 19% expressed no opinion. (See Figure 3.3.). Even among those who oppose women priests, only slightly more than half (54%) find it a convincing reason for opposition. "Emerging Catholics" do not believe that the physical characteristics of the Apostles established an eternal male norm for the Catholic priesthood.

The Vatican Declaration also argued that St. Paul's famous text in Galatians 3:28 ("In Christ...there is no male nor female.") is a statement of the equality of men and women "as children of God in Christ." The Declaration found this compatible with Paul's exclusion of women from the teaching office of the Church and with the Vatican's exclusion of women from the priesthood. "This passage," the Declaration argues, "does not concern ministries; it only affirms the universal calling to divine filiation, which is the same for all." The survey respondents were asked how they interpreted Gal. 3:28. Did it mean that men and women should actually be equals in today's Church? Almost three-fourths agreed that it did; only 12% disagreed. Agreement was associated strongly and positively with approval of women as priests and bishops. These findings suggest that "other worldly" interpretations of this text, for example -- equality as "children of God in Christ," but not in the Church -- are less than satisfactory to many Catholics.
Figure 3.3.
SCRIPTURE, TRADITION, VATICAN II, AND THE "VATICAN DECLARATION"*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percent who say they:</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
<th>Position of the &quot;Vatican Declaration&quot;***</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Jesus had wanted women to be priests, He would have chosen some among His 12 Apostles.</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>Agree (Sect. 2, #10-13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul said: &quot;In Christ, there is no male nor female.&quot; This means today that women and men should be equals in the Church.</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>Disagree (Sect. 6, #36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic tradition excludes women from the priesthood. This tradition should be changed.</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>Disagree (Sect. 1, #6-9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With respect to human rights, discrimination based on sex is to be overcome as contrary to God's intent.**</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>Agree—but the statement does not apply to Church ministry (Intro., #1 and Sect. 6, #38).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These data are from the October sample. N=5492.

**This question is from Vatican II, Document on the Church in the Modern World, #29.


One of the most frequent arguments for maintaining an all-male priesthood is that it has been the "constant tradition of the Church." The Vatican Declaration claimed that:

"The Church's tradition in the matter has thus been so firm in the course of the centuries that the magisterium has not felt the need to intervene in order to formulate a principle which was not attacked, or to defend a law which was not challenged."11

Some have even claimed that this tradition is an "immutable mandate" that can never be changed.12

The Catholics in this survey found such arguments inadequate. When the question of women priests was phrased in terms of Church "tradition," 61% said that tradition should be changed. Only 26% disagreed. In fact, support for women priests was highest when the issue was posed as a change in tradition. These responses suggest that arguments from "tradition" may be especially unconvincing for large numbers of American Catholics.

Proponents of women priests frequently cite the teaching of Vatican II, "...every type of discrimination...based on sex...is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent."13 This statement was included in the questionnaire, but no reference was made to its source. It
looked like any other statement. Sixty percent of the "emerging Catholics" agreed with this teaching. Only 16% disagreed; 24% expressed no opinion.

In general, these Catholics resonate with the expansive spirit of Vatican II rather than the restrictive message of the Vatican Declaration against women in the priesthood. They tend to interpret Scripture in ways supportive of egalitarian ideals. They are highly skeptical of unchanging practices labelled "tradition". The vast majority is open to theological teaching that is supportive of non-discrimination and is willing to explore full equality for men and women in the Church.

A Timetable for Change

Some observers of the Catholic Church believe that the ordination of women is "...as certain as death and taxes". Assuming this is true, how long will it take? Suppose the movement toward equality were gradual and even promoted by church officials, would it be possible to have a priesthood shared by women and men in about the same time it took to begin implementing Vatican II?

The respondents in our survey were asked to react to one possible scenario for change: Would the Catholic people be ready for women priests in 10 years "if the process were gradual"? Fifty-five percent agreed that they would; 25% disagreed. Twenty percent refrained from speculating about the future. (See Figure 3.4.). This response is cautious, but supports the ideas that Catholics are moving toward equality and that a program to promote change in that direction might succeed in a relatively short time.

These findings raise other questions: Who are the people who view change as possible? Are they Catholics who already support women priests? Are they merely wishful thinkers? Or do some of those who disagree with women priests also see chance for change -- in others, and perhaps in themselves? Is it young people or older Catholics who believe that change is possible within a decade?

Not surprisingly, those who agree with women priests find it easiest to believe that others will join them in time. Seventy-two percent predict Catholic readiness for change in 10 years. But 51% of those with no opinion on women priests, and 33% of those who actually oppose women priests also believe change is possible in 10 years. These assessments are not just wishful thinking by Catholics who favor full sexual equality in Church ministry. A fair number of those who would find change painful nonetheless see it as a manageable option for the Church in the not-too-distant future. (See Figure 3.4.).

These findings suggest that much of the opposition to women priests is "soft", that is, subject to change. And it may be "softest" among the young. Among those under 30, 62% see change as feasible in 10 years; only

Figure 3.4.

A TIMETABLE FOR CHANGE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Have no opinion</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If the process were gradual, Catholic people would be ready for women priests in 10 years or less.</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample. N=5492.
Figure 3.5.
THE QUESTION OF CELIBACY*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Percent who say they:</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If the Church ordains women, only nuns should be eligible.</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priests should be able to marry if they want to.</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample. N=5492.

32% of those 65 and over agree. Among those under 30 who oppose women priests, 43% believe the Catholic people could be ready in a decade. Predictions of successful change are notably stronger among younger Catholics, those most likely to participate in the struggle as it matures and moves toward resolution.

The Celibacy Issue: Married Women as Priests?

"Who will the Church ordain first, women or married men?" "Should any woman accept ordination unless it is open to all women, married and unmarried?" Questions like these, involving the sensitive issue of celibacy, are asked frequently in the women's ordination movement.

Some scholars, such as Clara Henning, believe that married men will be ordained first because men, even married, are less threatening to the hierarchy than women. Others believe the reverse is possible. Richard McBrien, a prominent theologian, has urged groups such as Priests for Equality to support optional celibacy, lest the Church ordain only celibate women. All of the 100 women interviewed in the Women's Ordination Study -- a clinical-psychological investigation of women who feel called to priesthood -- believe that celibacy should be optional for both men and women priests.

How do the churchgoing "emerging Catholics" judge these issues? First, 63% of them (like 63% of American Catholics generally) want priests to have the option to marry. Among supporters of women priests, 80% want optional celibacy. And only 22% of all respondents think that priestly candidates should be limited to nuns if the Church ordains women. (See Figure 3.5.). Measured in terms of overall support, these Catholics are less receptive to female clergy than married male clergy, although they favor both. If the decision were made by "emerging Catholics" they would drop the celibacy requirement for male priests today, and ordain women, married and unmarried, in the very near future.

The Consequences of Change: Schism?

What if women were ordained? Would the churches be empty the next day -- boycotted by disgruntled churchgoers? Would collection baskets dry up? Would a conservative schism result? These issues have received new speculation in light of the recent splits in the Episcopal Church over women priests, liturgical reform, and social issues.

Our survey asked two questions about the consequences of women's ordination in the Catholic Church. We asked respondents what they would do: Would they stop going to church if women became priests? The other asked what Catholics-at-large might do: Would they stop contributing financially to the Church?

Both reactions would be mild protests compared to schism. Presumably, a person not willing to consider one of these would not be likely to leave the Church. Only 13% of these Catholics said they themselves would "find it hard to keep going to church" if women were ordained. Nineteen
### Figure 3.6.

**THE CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Have no opinion</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If women were ordained, I would find it hard to keep going to church.</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assume that Catholic women have been ordained validly. If women priests were assigned to churches in my area, collections would drop way off.</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would go to a woman priest for confession.</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample. N=5492.

percent said collections would drop off in their local church if an ordained woman were assigned there.21 (See Figure 3.6.).

These percentages describe all Catholics in the survey, including those who favor women priests. But what about the opponents? What would they do if women were ordained? The percentages are lower than expected. Only 28% of the opponents say they would find it hard to attend church. Only 27% think collections would drop off if a woman were assigned to their parish. In other words, almost three-fourths of the opponents of women priests feel nothing serious would happen if women were ordained.

These data do not suggest that a change to women priests would be a model of peace and calm, but neither do they support the predictions of disaster and devastation that some have forecast. These findings cannot predict whether the Church would experience a schism if women were ordained. However, the positive responses to whether "gradual" change is possible in 10 years suggest that a well-planned process that moved toward the goal of women priests might help avoid a serious rift. Finally, the high level of support for equality in the Church indicates that there are costs in refusing to ordain women, just as there are costs in choosing to do so.

**Women as Confessors**

What would be the consequences of ordination for the women priests themselves? Would they experience much discrimination in parishes? Protestant women ministers complain about not being able to find churches that want them, about being assigned stereotypical female roles, and about continuing prejudicial treatment.22 Would the same thing happen in the Catholic Church?

The questionnaire asked a pivotal question about possible behavior toward women priests: Would you go to one for confession? The priestly role of confessor involves a one-to-one encounter between priest and penitent. It includes the sharing of private thoughts and deeds, and often includes a discussion of ways to overcome personal shortcomings and problems, in addition to the sacramental rite of forgiveness. To accept a woman in such a role would mean recognizing her as a spiritual counsellor and confidant, capable of providing guidance on sensitive moral issues. Accepting a woman confessor would probably signify a readiness to accept her in most other priestly roles.

It is significant then that more than half of these churchgoing Catholics (51%) said they would confess to a woman priest; only 28% would not; 21% express no opinion. Men were more hesitant than women, but the differences were not great. Forty-six percent of the men would confess to a woman, compared to 54% of the women. (See Figure 3.6.).

Opinions on this issue relate strongly to approval of women priests. Only about 5% of those who think ordained women are a good idea expressed any hesitancy about going to a woman for confession. These data suggest that most of the problems women priests may face will come from those who oppose their being priests at all. As opposition declines, so will the problems of post-ordination discrimination. But if change comes, it will take time for the opposition to temper and adjust. Until then, Catholic women may find much of the same discrimination in future priestly roles that Protestant women ministers experience today.

Community Organizing in the Church: Promoting Change

Should Catholics who want sexual equality in the Church "let the Spirit work" or should they "help" the Spirit through community organizing skills? Most proponents have already answered this question: They've organized. The Women's Ordination Conference (WOC), and Priests for Equality (PFE) are only two of dozens of groups across the country that work solely on the issue of equality. Others, such as the National Assembly of Women Religious (NAWR), the Center of Concern, and the Leadership Conference of Women Religious (LCWR) devote a large part of their multiple-issue agendas to the women's movement in the Church.

What do "emerging Catholics" think of this? Are Church policies so sacred that organizing to promote a point of view is not appropriate? Or is the Church a place where organizing is legitimate -- where people can build constituencies and mailing lists around an issue, lobby a point of view with the hierarchy or in the media, and pressure for either change or maintenance of the status quo?

Figure 3.7.

EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE AND PROMOTE CHANGE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Have no opinion</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Women should organize to win their rights in the Church.</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the Pope says women can't be ordained, people organizing for women priests should stop what they're doing.</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample. N=5492. Percentages do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding.
Catholics in this survey were asked if women "should organize to win their rights in the Church". A plurality (46%) thought they should. Thirty-three percent opposed the idea; 22% expressed no opinion. (See Figure 3.7.). Of course, responses were related to whether a person believes that there are rights women need to secure by organizing. Among those who support women priests, for example, only 17% think organizing is inappropriate. Among those who do not support women priests, 56% disapprove of organizing.

Those most in favor of organizing are people with high education levels, Black Catholics, and priests (most of whom in this survey are members of PFE). Organizing is least approved in small towns and rural areas, places least likely to be familiar with it.

But What if the Pope Says "No"?

"When Rome speaks, the case is closed." Or is it?

Should people stop organizing for equal rights now that the Vatican has issued its Declaration against the ordination of women?

Without suspecting such a document would be issued, we included a question in our survey that tapped this very opinion. Respondents were asked if people organizing for women priests should stop what they are doing if the Pope said "no".

The results are significant. Fewer than 1 in 3 respondents believe they should stop. Even among those who oppose women priests, only little more than half (53%) think the Pope's word is reason enough to stop organizing. (See Figure 3.7.). Those most willing to follow a Papal directive on this issue are the elderly and those with low educational levels. "Emerging Catholics" as a whole tend to approve of "community organizing" in the Church, at least on the issue of sexual equality. And they believe it should continue even if the Pope says "no".

Traditional norms teach that male and female are innately different and thus have different destinies. Little girls are made of "sugar and spice and everything nice". They are soft, gentle, passive, receptive, intuitive, emotional, subjective, domestic, and fragile. Little boys are made of "snakes and snails and puppy dog tails". They are aggressive, independent, logical, competitive, objective, strong, confident, active, analytical, and tough. Little girls are destined to become wives and mothers, finding their primary, if not exclusive, happiness in the home. Little boys are destined to become intereners in the larger world, earning money and making decisions which alter the course of history.

These traditional norms are in a state of flux. The women's movement is assaulting them from all sides. They are weakened, but not dead. Several questions in this survey asked about the traditional cultural views of men and women. To what degree are these roles part of Catholic consciousness?

Most "emerging Catholics" no longer accept them. Only 27% believe that husbands should have the "final say in money matters". Only 25% believe that men are "naturally dominant" and women "naturally submissive". And only 18% believe that "women should take care of running their homes or convents and leave running the Church up to men." (See Figure 3.8.). The influence of traditional norms that cast women in inferior roles is draining away.

But there are some traditional norms that "sound good". They praise women for the "virtues" of their special role, "protect" women from male spheres of activity, and keep women on an exalted "pedestal". Examples include:

"Why would women want to dirty their hands in politics?"

"The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world."
There's a little bit of sugar and spice...

...and there are a few puppy dog tails

in all of us, according to Robbie and most "emerging Catholics".

"The greatest in the kingdom of
heaven are not the ministers but
the saints." 23

In each case, women are acknowledged to have important talents and virtues, but not those talents and virtues suitable for leadership in Church and society. Women are said to have a role much more "wonderful" than men, but one that keeps them away from positions which men seek and value.

These cultural norms are difficult to reject because they sound flattering. They are often quoted by people who try to keep women from seeking new roles through the exaltation of the traditional roles of women. Polls show that people are less willing to reject these cultural norms than those which are obviously negative toward women. 24

The Catholics in our survey reflect the same pattern. For example, they

Figure 3.8.

TRADITIONAL CULTURAL NORMS CONCERNING WOMEN AND MEN*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Have no opinion</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the home, the husband should have the final say about money matters.</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men by nature are dominant; women by nature are submissive.</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should take care of their homes and convents and leave running the Church up to men.</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are naturally more sensitive to human needs than are men.</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample. N=5492. Percentages do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding.
are quicker to believe that "women are naturally more sensitive to human needs" than they are to believe that women should stay at home. But even here, a plurality does not accept the idea of a "natural" female sensitivity to human needs. Forty-eight percent reject the idea, compared to 42% who accept it and 11% who have no opinion. (See Figure 3.8.).

In general, "emerging Catholics" do not believe that men and women are naturally different in ways that cannot be changed. Nor do they tend to assign sex-roles in predetermined, traditional ways. Their opinions reflect sharp disagreement with the Vatican Declaration's assertion that "the roles are distinct and must not be confused". It is not surprising that most are willing to break new ground for ministries for women in the Church.

It's Hard to be Against "Brotherhood": The Problem of Sexist Language

If there is any issue that stirs emotion in the most ardent supporters and opponents of equality, it is sexist language. Many Catholics, who claim they would personally welcome a woman pastor, balk when someone suggests that the pronoun "he" is not really generic, or when someone says that "brotherhood" includes only half the human race. The discussion often becomes most intense when it is suggested that God can be addressed as "Mother" as well as "Father". Those who resist linguistic change paradoxically often do so by claiming that it is unimportant. They say that people "mentally" include women when they use masculine pronouns, and there are more substantive issues to be addressed.

Feminists, on the other hand, have been pointing out that language, as the major symbol system of our culture, presumes and reinforces the dominance of men by using masculine pronouns as "generic". Any culture names those realities which are important in its life (e.g., Eskimo language has more than a dozen words for "snow", and the American dialect of English has many words for "car"). Therefore, feminists argue, the choice of masculine nouns and pronouns to name all people reflects the relative unimportance of women and affects the self-image of both sexes. Additionally, there is a sense in which female pronouns are used "generically". These also affect self-image. In common usage, nurses, secretaries, and elementary school teachers are referred to as "she". These, of course, represent the auxiliary roles, stereotypically allotted to women.

Respondents in our survey were asked two questions about this sensitive issue. Both questions dealt with language applied to the people or the congregation, not to God. They dealt with problems of the "generic" masculine, not the "generic" feminine.

**Figure 3.9.**

**THE PROBLEM OF SEXIST LANGUAGE***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Agree strongly or agree somewhat</th>
<th>Have no opinion</th>
<th>Disagree strongly or disagree somewhat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People are justified in wanting the priest to say &quot;Pray, brothers and sisters...&quot; instead of only &quot;Pray, brothers...&quot; during Mass.</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's silly to object when the word &quot;man&quot; is used at Mass to include both men and women.</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample. N=5492. Percentages do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding.
Reactions reflect ambivalence and mixed emotions. Sixty-eight percent think people are justified in wanting the priest to say "pray, brothers and sisters..." rather than "pray, brothers..." during Mass. They welcome such a change, but they are not ready to do battle over the issue. Seventy-one percent think it is "silly to object" when the word "man" is used at Mass to describe both men and women. (See Figure 3.9.).

"Emerging Catholics" do not have serious objections to the generic use of "man", and they are not ready to defend those who do object. But they prefer some balanced, non-sexist language in liturgical celebrations, and they are willing to admit that the desire for such change is justified.

Summary

As a whole, "emerging Catholics" support the movement toward equality for men and women in Church ministry. Not only do they favor women in new roles as priests and Church leaders, but they give answers which reflect an understanding and acceptance of the philosophy and theology which underpins such opinions. They reject many of the theological and sociological ideas of the Vatican Declaration. They show an openness to new concepts of Church, tradition, and society which support equality and non-discrimination.

They endorse efforts to secure women's rights in the Church, and they do not believe that Papal opinions are a reason to stop such activity. They reject many common cultural norms that describe and justify the traditional roles of men and women.

The fact that these Catholics not only support change in Church practice, but also understand and accept the philosophy and theology which underpin such change, indicates that their belief has depth. The fact that they do not accept cultural norms for civil society which keep women subordinate indicates that their belief has breadth, stretching beyond the Church. And the fact that the younger churchgoers are most supportive of equality across the board indicates that the movement of these "emerging Catholics" toward full acceptance of women and men as equal partners in ministry will continue.
This is not exactly the same as a "celibacy" question. It would be possible to think that the priesthood of women should not be limited to nuns, but should be limited to unmarried women. But the overwhelming rejection of a female priesthood limited to nuns (who are celibate by definition), and the overwhelming acceptance of married priests in general suggests that "emerging Catholics" would not want an all-celibate female clergy any more than they want an all-celibate male clergy.

Although some press reports have covered the Episcopal schism as if women priests were the only issue, the actual sources of split are many. They include: the revision of the Book of Common Prayer; rights for homosexuals; a concern with urban ministry, racism, and classism and general involvement in social action; and a liberalized stance toward abortion and divorce as well as women priests. See: Marjorie Hyer, "Dissident Episcopalians Discuss Pulling Out of Church," The Washington Post, September 16, 1977; "Florida Parish Votes to Secede from U.S. Episcopal Church," The Washington Post, October 4, 1977; and Georgette Jasen, "The Split in Episcopal Ranks," The Wall Street Journal, November 9, 1977.

Note that this question does not ask about reactions to the ordination of women, but to the more personal situation of having a woman priest assigned to a local parish.


Sacred Congregation, "Declaration," Sect. 6, #39, p. 223.


Sacred Congregation, "Declaration," Sect. 6, #39, p. 223.

Two Ends of the Spectrum: Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists

A Church in Motion

In the last decade, the American Catholic Church has been a Church in motion. Catholic opinion has not only embraced changes from the Second Vatican Council, such as liturgical reform and ecumenism, it has moved beyond the Council to favor major changes in Church policies on clerical celibacy, remarriage after divorce, and artificial contraception. In addition, there has been a recent rapid movement of opinion favorable to the ordination of women to the priesthood.

"Emerging Catholics" clearly reflect this movement. They represent the current American Catholic mind on many intra-Church issues, and our data indicate that they reflect the very near future of the Church on issues of sexual equality.

Two Ends of a Moving Spectrum

"Emerging Catholics" -- like Catholics in random samples -- are not uniform in their views. They encompass a spectrum of opinion that ranges from the pre-Vatican II conservative to the post-Conciliar progressive. On questions of sexual equality, their views span the spectrum from support for traditional sex roles to a desire for full equality for men and women.

"Emerging Catholics" reflect the movement of the Church toward egalitarian ideals. Their numbers include fewer traditionalists and more supporters of equality than are likely to be found in the general Catholic population at present. But the "traditionalist" position is adequately represented in the Quixote Center survey, so that the spectrum of opinion spans the full range of possibilities on issues involving women and men in the Church. "Emerging Catholics" include "feminists" who support such policy changes as the admission of women to the priesthood and episcopate. They include "traditionalists" who believe that the past and present roles of women in the Church reflect a God-given plan, and they include all shades of opinion between these two poles. Defining and comparing the "feminist" and "traditionalist" ends of this spectrum are useful, both for understanding these patterns of opinion as they exist in the Church today, and for exploring the ways in which the future is taking shape.

Defining "Catholic Feminism" and "Catholic Traditionalism"

Feminism is a philosophy based on the value of equality: "...women should have political, economic, and social rights equal to those of men." It accepts that men and women have biological differences, but asserts that these should not control the cultural assignment of non-biological, social roles. It believes that traditional sex role definitions are not rooted in innate and unchanging biological characteristics. They are culturally-defined norms which have been transmitted and internalized by men and women through the centuries. They can be challenged and changed.

Catholic Feminism carries these beliefs into the life of the Church. It asserts that women should have ecclesial rights equal to those of men. It believes that biological sex differences do not determine who should carry out the ministries of the Church, including priesthood. It recognizes a Scriptural call to equality ("There does not exist among you...male or female. All are one in Christ Jesus..." Gal. 3:28). It seeks to make that call a reality in the life of the Church.
Traditionalism regarding the status of women in civil society grows from a belief that separate and distinct sexual roles stem from the different "natures" of men and women. It assumes that biological sex characteristics create inborn psychological differences that must be acted out in different life roles.\(^5\)

Catholic Traditionalism tries to preserve this principle in the life of the Church. It assumes that the different "God-given natures" of men and women mandate separate and distinct ministerial roles. It finds a Scriptural basis for its views in those passages which urge distinct sex roles ("I do not permit a woman to act as teacher, or in any way to have authority over a man; she must be quiet." 1 Tim. 2:12). It seeks to perpetuate separate sex roles in the life of the Church.

Dimensions of Catholic Feminism and Traditionalism

Speakers at the Detroit Women's Ordination Conference in 1975 projected several dimensions of Catholic Feminism. All of them believed that women should be the equals of men in the priesthood and episcopacy. Margaret Farley declared that the ordination of women was a "moral imperative".\(^6\) Elizabeth Carroll and others called for women in the leadership and decision-making roles of the Church, roles from which they have been excluded.\(^7\) Marie Augusta Neal proclaimed that "God has no pronouns" in a plea for balanced, non-sexist language in Church prayer.\(^8\) And the Conference itself spawned a massive organizing effort -- a movement -- to develop the grassroots demands of Catholic women and men for equality in all facets of Church life.

Several speakers, such as Nadine Foley, reminded feminists that their position means recognizing that parts of Scripture were culturally conditioned. It means recognizing "tradition" as a dynamic rather than a static reality in salvation history. It means recognizing that the effects of baptism and confirmation cannot be mediated by biological differences.\(^9\)

The traditional point of view was expressed by the Vatican Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood, issued on January 27, 1977. It insisted that both Scripture and tradition provide a basis for keeping priesthood and episcopacy exclusively male. It argued that "...there would not be this 'natural resemblance' which must exist between Christ and His minister if the role of Christ were not taken by a man..."\(^10\) It assumed that men and women must fill different ecclesial roles because of their sex. Women, it said, could be co-workers of "men" but not "God's fellow workers".\(^11\) The document used sexist language, thus providing a special irony. By emphasizing the Incarnation of the Word as "male", it made clear that "man" is not understood "generically" by all people in the Church under all circumstances.

Catholic Feminism and Catholic Traditionalism in this Study

Patterns of opinion in society are often understood most clearly when the extremes -- those who hold strong, internally consistent, yet opposing points of view -- are compared. This type of analysis defines the issues

---

*Photo of a Catholic Feminist (right) with the Arkansas delegation follows the debate at the 1977 International Women's Year Conference in Houston.*
sharply, sorts out the forces influencing each end of the spectrum, and crystalizes the characteristics that differentiate supporters of opposing points of view.

In order to analyze these two extremes, we have developed operational definitions from the beliefs articulated by leading spokespersons for Catholic Feminism and Traditionalism. We created prototypes of the Catholic Feminist and the Catholic Traditionalist by focusing on those respondents who support either of these points of view most consistently. To accomplish this, we singled out five questions which expressed concepts central to Feminist-Traditionalist opinions. Figure 4.1. lists these questions and explains the definitions.

These five questions were selected for the following reasons:

1) They include a wide range of attitudes and principles which express dimensions of Catholic Feminism and Traditionalism already discussed. These are: support for women as priests; views about women in church (episcopal) leadership; attitudes toward symbols which affect women (language); personal psychic willingness to relate to a woman priest in a ministerial (confessional) situation; and views about action to achieve rights in the Church.

2) Each question was controversial in the actual survey results. On none was approval of change overwhelming. Only on the sexist language question was there a relative willingness to accept the status quo. Such a set of questions makes it difficult to qualify as a Feminist or a Traditionalist, since a respondent must reflect either point of view consistently on at least four out of five questions. These queries provide a sharp instrument for identifying Feminists and Traditionalists in relatively "pure" forms.

3) All the questions strongly correlated with each other in the survey results, except the sexist language question where the correlation was moderate. This means that these views are probably interrelated in the minds of the respondents. They can legitimately be grouped together to define people on one dimension of opinion called Feminism-Traditionalism.

Thus defined, Traditionalists and Feminists each comprised about one-fourth of the respondents, with Feminists having a slight edge (27%). The largest group of Catholics (48%) fits neither camp. This is the "center" where opinions are less well-defined. Figure 4.2. shows how respondents lined up. (N=5174).

Figure 4.1.
OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF THE CATHOLIC FEMINIST AND CATHOLIC TRADITIONALIST*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Feminist View</th>
<th>Traditionalist View</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be priests.</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Someday I would like to see a woman become a bishop.</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. I would go to a woman priest for confession.</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Women should organize to win their rights in the Church.</td>
<td>Agree</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. It's silly to object when the word &quot;man&quot; is used at Mass to include both men and women.</td>
<td>Disagree</td>
<td>Agree</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Feminists were defined as those who expressed a Feminist View on at least four out of five of these issues.
Traditionalists were defined as those who expressed a Traditionalist View on at least four out of five of these issues.
Figure 4.2.
THE FEMINIST-TRADITIONALIST SPECTRUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>27%</th>
<th>48%</th>
<th>25%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminists (N=1390)</td>
<td>the center (N=2479)</td>
<td>Traditionalists (N=1305)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Data are from the October sample. For a complete explanation, see Appendix E.

Other Views on Women in the Church: Validating the Feminist-Traditionalist Index

Feminists and Traditionalists were defined according to their views on five core issues of sexual equality in the Church. If this measure is valid, these two groups should exhibit sharp differences on other issues of equality, for example, altar girls or women as Ministers of the Eucharist. Figure 4.3. illustrates these views for both groups.

As expected, the two groups differ sharply on most issues. Only on the cultural stereotype that "sounds good" -- "women are more sensitive to human needs than are men" -- is there no association with Feminism. Relationships are strongest for questions on priesthood and leadership in the Church. Since these concepts are central issues (expressed in different questions) defining Feminists and Traditionalists, these findings tend to validate the meaning of the Feminism-Traditionalism Index.

In addition, Feminists are overwhelmingly in favor of female altar servers and laywomen as Ministers of the Eucharist. They are emphatic in their judgment that exclusion of women from these roles constitutes "discrimination". They reject common negative cultural stereotypes about women. Three out of four believe that the ordination of women is possible within 10 years.

When is a Traditionalist not a Traditionalist?

In the movement of the American Catholic Church toward support for ecclesial equality of the sexes, there are issues on which the Church is closely divided and others on which it is near consensus. The issues with the greatest consensus are those on which Traditionalists support egalitarian philosophies and practices.

Figure 4.3. indicates issues on which Traditionalists are not so traditional -- where they are most open to change, where they are divided among themselves.

Traditionalists want more women in some types of "church leadership", although that term is undefined. A majority reject the statement that "women should run their homes and convents and leave running the Church up to men". And only 37% believe "men are by nature dominant; women by nature submissive". Traditionalists may not favor women priests, but neither do they support all-male leadership or dominance in the Church.

Even more traditional Catholics were among the "women on the move" at the 1977 International Women's Year Conference in Houston.
### Figure 4.3.
**Feminist and Traditionalist Views on Women in the Church**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Percent who agree:</th>
<th>Difference</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gamma**</td>
<td>Everyone</td>
<td>Feminists</td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>Fem/Trad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordination should be limited to men.</td>
<td>-0.81</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic tradition excludes women from the priesthood. This tradition should be changed.</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More women should have leadership positions in the Church.</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If women were ordained, I would find it hard to keep going to church.</td>
<td>-0.69</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women should take care of their homes and convents and leave running the Church up to men.</td>
<td>-0.68</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the Pope says women can't be ordained, people organizing for women priests should stop what they're doing.</td>
<td>-0.66</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If Jesus had wanted women to be priests, He would have chosen some among His 12 Apostles.</td>
<td>-0.64</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul said: &quot;In Christ, there is no male nor female.&quot; This means today that women and men should be equals in the Church.</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only boys should be altar servers at Mass.</td>
<td>-0.62</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where laymen distribute communion, but laywomen cannot, discrimination is being practiced.</td>
<td>0.62</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having altar boys but not altar girls in a parish teaches young people that sex discrimination is all right.</td>
<td>0.54</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the process were gradual, Catholic people would be ready for women priests in 10 years or less.</td>
<td>0.48</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People are justified in wanting the priest to say &quot;Pray, brothers and sisters...&quot; instead of only &quot;Pray, brothers...&quot; during Mass.</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In the home, the husband should have the final say about money matters.</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question</td>
<td>Gamma**</td>
<td>Everyone</td>
<td>Feminists</td>
<td>Traditionalists</td>
<td>Percent Difference Fem/Trad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With respect to human rights, discrimination based on sex is to be eliminated as contrary to God's intent.</td>
<td>0.40</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men by nature are dominant; women by nature are submissive.</td>
<td>-0.37</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assume that Catholic women have been ordained validly. If women priests were assigned to churches in my area, collections would drop way off.</td>
<td>-0.35</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If the Church ordains women, only nuns should be eligible.</td>
<td>-0.33</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women are naturally more sensitive to human needs than are men.</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 5492 1390 1305

*The data are from the October sample. This list of issues includes all those not part of the Index of Feminism-Traditionalism itself. They are listed in order of their closeness of association to Feminism, with those most closely related at the top of the list.

**The gamma is a measure of association. The higher the number (the closer to 1.00), the closer the association between a question and Feminism-Traditionalism. A positive association means that agreement with the statement associates positively with Feminism; a negative association means that agreement with the statement associates negatively with Feminism.

They may not want women as bishops, but they would not be likely to oppose women as presidents of parish councils, heads of diocesan chanceries, or directors of national Catholic organizations. Furthermore, Traditionalists are not comfortable with the notion that women should be submissive and passive, filling only auxiliary roles in the Church. Fifty-five percent of the Traditionalists think some sexually-balanced language is appropriate for the prayers of the Church. However, virtually none of them would object when it is not used.

Additionally, there is a string of issues on which Traditionalists are closely divided and with which many are likely struggling. Almost 50% believe that having laymen, but not laywomen, as Ministers of the Eucharist is discriminatory. Almost half accept the teaching of Vatican II that "...every type of discrimination... based on sex...is to be overcome and eradicated as contrary to God's intent". What is more, almost half are ready to apply St. Paul's teaching on sexual equality to the Church. They are wrestling with the question of altar girls -- only a narrow majority think this role should be limited to boys. But they have crossed the line when it comes to family finances -- less than half (42%) believe that husbands should exercise headship over their wives in money matters.

These Traditionalists are not reactionaries. They may not favor women in priestly and episcopal roles. They may find it hard to imagine themselves confessing to a woman. They may think it is silly to object to sexist language, and they may not approve of organizing to achieve ecclesial rights. But they are questioning the appropriateness of complete male dominance in the Church. They are open to teachings against sex
discrimination, and they are on the edge of accepting women as Ministers of the Eucharist and altar servers. They even show a preference for sexually balanced language when it causes no trouble.

Who are the Feminists and Traditionalists?

The ways in which Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists differ in their physical, social, and economic characteristics have important implications for the future of each group. Figures 4.4.-4.6. graph the most important differences.

First of all, Catholic Feminists are younger. In this sample, almost three-fourths were under 40 years of age, whereas only half of the Traditionalists were this young. Because of their youth, Feminists were much more likely to be single and students. Traditionalists were more often married or widowed, homemakers or retired persons. Women were slightly more likely to be Feminists than were

Figure 4.4.

CATHOLIC FEMINISTS AND TRADITIONALISTS: AGE, SEX, AND LOCALE*

* For complete data comparing Feminists and Traditionalists, see Appendix D.
These charts are based on data from the October sample.
men, but sex made little difference compared to other factors. (See Figure 4.4.).

Small town and rural America is often seen as the area of slowest social change, clinging most tightly to traditional values. Not surprisingly then, Traditionalists were three times more likely to come from such areas than were Feminists. Feminists were noticeably more numerous on college campuses. (See Figure 4.4.).

Although the two groups showed no significant differences in income levels, occupational categories distinguished them rather sharply. Feminists were almost twice as likely to be professionals; Traditionalists were more numerous among farmers and manual laborers. (See Figure 4.5.).

There are strong educational differences between the two groups. Feminists were twice as likely to have college degrees and three times more likely to have attended graduate school. In fact, the relationship between education and Feminism was the strongest relationship of all those tested, a finding corroborated by many other studies of feminist opinions.13 (See Figure 4.5.).
Women as Feminists and Traditionalists: A Special Look

Thirty percent of the women in this sample were Feminists; 25% were Traditionalists.

When female Feminists were compared with female Traditionalists, many of the same patterns appeared as were true for men and women together. Feminist women were younger -- most under 40; they were much more likely to be single, and were much better educated than Traditionalist women. They rarely came from small towns or rural areas; they tended to live in urban centers or on college campuses.

The question for women that does not generally apply to men is that of employment outside the home. Early feminist writing, such as The Feminine Mystique by Betty Friedan, criticized housewifery as an occupation which isolates and confines women and keeps them from acquiring the values and skills associated with effective action in today's world. Recently, feminist ideology seeks to correct the "anti-housewife" bias of the early movement. It emphasizes anyone's right (woman or man) to be a full-time homemaker and to seek legal recognition for the economic value of in-kind services provided at home.

Most studies of women have shown that employment outside the home broadens a woman's perspective and is generally associated with opinions and viewpoints that support the equality of the sexes. This is true for Catholic Feminists as well. Only 20% of the Catholic Feminists claimed homemaking as a full-time occupation, compared to 37% of the Traditionalists. (See Figure 4.6.). Among married women, the tendency was less pronounced but still present: 48% of the Feminist married women were homemakers compared to 58% of the Traditionalist married women. Differences are moderate but noteworthy.

Among those in the work force, occupation was a crucial indicator of Feminism for women in general and married women in particular. Feminists were two times more likely than Traditionalists to hold professional jobs. Among all women employed outside the home, 62% of the Feminists were professionals, compared to only 36% of the Traditionalists. Feminists were less likely to be clerical workers or farmers. Neither personal nor family income differentiated the two groups of women. The critical differences appear to be education and occupation.

*For complete data comparing Feminists and Traditionalists, see Appendix D. This chart is based on the October sample.
"Emerging Catholics" encompass a wide spectrum of opinion ranging from pre-Vatican II conservative to post-Conciliar progressive. In this chapter, we have defined a continuum as it relates to issues of sexual equality by developing the Feminist-Traditionalist Index. Each pole accounts for approximately one-fourth of all respondents. The Catholic Traditionalists were open to change on some issues. While they oppose women as priests and bishops, our data show them questioning complete male dominance in the Church.

The physical and social characteristics of these groups have some definite implications for the future of the American Catholic Church. In short, the Traditionalist point of view, with its sources of support among older, less-educated groups, is likely to continue waning. The Feminist end of the spectrum is likely to gain in strength as the younger, well-educated Catholics who predominate in its constituency move to maturity and to roles of lay leadership in the Church of the near future.

1Andrew Greeley, William C. McCready, and Kathleen McCourt, Catholic Schools in a Declining Church (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1976), p. 35 and Chapter 5.
3Chapter 2 discusses these claims fully.
5"Traditionalism" is used in this book to refer to traditional views about sex roles. It should not be confused with the broader use of the term describing the movement of Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre.
7Elizabeth Carroll, RSM, "The Proper Place for Women in the Church," in Ibid., especially pp. 22-23.
9Nadine Foley, O.P., "Greetings to the Assembly," in Ibid., pp. 161-164.
11Ibid., Sect. 3, #17, p. 216.
The correlations are as follows: (These are "Pearson r" correlations. See Figure 5.2 for a full explanation of their meaning).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Women Priests</th>
<th>Woman Bishop</th>
<th>Go to Woman for Confession</th>
<th>Women organize for rights</th>
<th>Sexist Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.72</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Why Some Catholics Are Feminists and Others Traditionalists

Understanding what Catholics believe is important. Understanding why they believe it is even more important. Identifying the forces which constrain Catholics from supporting equality or those which encourage feminist points of view identifies "levers of change". Levers of change are the social elements which influence the course of opinion and underlie its formation. Sociological analysis cannot uncover and measure all of these forces. However, it can identify major factors associated with a range of opinion, such as the Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism Index, and suggest the implications of that relationship.

Possible Theories

There are many possible explanations for people becoming Feminists or Traditionalists in the Church. These include three theories which can be tested with our data: the Civic Culture, the Theological, and the Authority Theory.

The Civic Culture Theory. All cultures include beliefs, values, expectations, and customs about appropriate behaviors for men and women. In the United States, there was once apparent unanimity about sex roles. Today we see at least two distinguishable strains -- the traditional one, and the feminist one. These are secular parallels for the strains of sex role beliefs, values, expectations, and customs identified in the Church in the previous chapter.

The appropriateness of traditional sex role behaviors has been challenged by the Women's Liberation Movement, but it is far from vanquished. These behaviors were central to the upbringing of most American adults, and still form the rationale for most societal behavior. They were ingrained during infancy, as children slowly learned that little girls play with dolls and little boys play with trucks and construction sets. Even toddlers soon learn that "rough-housing" and sports like football are "unladylike" and that boys are not supposed to cry. These beliefs, values, expectations, and customs assign men the responsibility for supporting and protecting women. They assign women the responsibility for raising and nurturing children. This cultural strain assumes that male and female roles are pre-ordained and "complementary". It further assumes that different social roles flow from innately different "natures" in males and females. According to this viewpoint, living out these "complementary" roles is psychologically essential for a healthy person and a healthy society.

The newer feminist strain is part of a growing national subculture, although it is not yet ingrained in child-rearing practices and adult thought patterns. Its beliefs, values, expectations, and customs surface when the media report on the Equal Rights Amendment, when classes formerly categorized as masculine (mechanics) or feminine (cooking) are opened to both sexes, or when "Ms." is used as a title. They further appear when people demand changes in sexist advertising, when men share responsibility for housework and child care, when married women freely choose employment outside the home, and when fairy tales are re-written to give equal status to female characters. This cultural strain assumes that men and women are equals without pre-ordained roles. Each person is a different amalgam of traits formerly stereotyped as masculine or feminine and these traits require freedom of expression if each unique individual is to achieve his or her God-given potential.

What influence have these "civic
"Success in the secular sphere has spurred these women's groups to fight another alleged 'inferiority', that is, their exclusion from priestly positions in the ecclesiastical power structure. Liberated in secular society to attain all State positions, women now seek liberation in the Church, with an opportunity to attain ordination in all degrees of the priesthood."

Feminist authors, such as Mary Daly, have suggested the same influence:

"...it would be unrealistic to suppose that the status of women in secular society does not affect the thinking of theologians. If complete and genuine equality of opportunity for women did exist in Europe and the United States, the absurdity of anachronistic theological ideas concerning them would be so glaringly obvious that such notions would rapidly be discarded."

Presumably, a more egalitarian secular culture would confront anachronistic Church practices as well as anachronistic theology.

Both authors agree that a person's views of sex roles in civil society influence views of sex roles in the Church. We call this the Civic Culture Theory. It presupposes that secular traditionalists will also be Catholic Traditionalists, and that secular feminists will be Catholic Feminists.

The Theological Theory. Traditional theology not only taught that women and men have distinct and different social roles, it taught that this was the will of God as revealed in Scripture and tradition. When the Vatican Declaration asked women to "become fully aware of the greatness of their mission", it assumed that "their mission" was different than that of men; it excluded priesthood, for example. Traditional theology accepts the 12 Apostles as Jesus' first priests, emphasizes that none were women, points out that none ever have been women, and concludes that none ever will be women. It sees Scriptural passages that emphasize traditional sex roles as universal moral teachings rather than reflections of a specific culture. The Vatican Declaration, for example, taught that St. Paul's ban on women as official teachers is "bound up with the divine plan of creation". In its extreme form, traditional theology believes that the Church cannot be guilty of sex discrimination because "...the barring of women from Holy Orders is a corporate ecclesial rule..." and "...any injustice imputed to the Church is quite impossible, given her true nature and her guidance by the Holy Spirit."

Newer theological thinking understands Jesus as a person who crossed cultural barriers to be with women on an equal level (such as the Samaritan woman in John 4). It does not describe priests according to the physical characteristics of the 12 Apostles or of Jesus himself. It believes that anyone can be called to sacramental ministries. This theology treats "tradition" as a dynamic, developing reality rather than a static continuation of the past. It distinguishes between the mores that formed the specific cultural context of Scripture ("Wives, be subject to your husbands...") and the universal theology of Scripture ("In Christ, there is no male nor female..."). It believes that the Church is indeed capable of the social sin of sex discrimination.

The Theological Theory assumes that a person's interpretations of Scripture and tradition will impact on what she or he believes about sex roles in the Church.

The Authority Theory. While theologians may disagree on Scriptural interpretation and application, the officialdom of the Roman Catholic Church has a definite position on the "proper" role of women: Women should live the traditional, auxiliary roles in the Church. Canon law provides norms which express these beliefs, values, and expectations, and Church documents publicize them. For many traditional thinkers, adherence to the official position on women is not only a matter of theology, it is a matter of obedience to ecclesiastical auth-
Catholics have been taught to respect and revere ecclesial authority and its teachings. The infallibility of the Pope, proclaimed in 1870, further sacralized this hierarchical authority. Although infallibility was intended to apply to only a few "ex cathedra" pronouncements, it has often been mistakenly extended to ordinary messages and declarations. This reinforces the belief that Catholic orthodoxy means following the opinions of Rome, whatever their source or purpose. Presumably, those who think that Rome is to be believed and obeyed in all things, that the hierarchy speaks with the voice of God, and that opinions differing with this authority are suspect (if not heretical), are likely to favor the status quo for women in the Church.

Non-traditional Catholics, on the other hand, read pronouncements from Rome with a critical eye. They respect Church authority but believe that the Spirit speaks in everyone. They see the Church as the "People of God" rather than the hierarchy. They believe that diverging and grassroots voices are healthy for the theological growth of the Church and that Church authority can change in the light of new facts and understanding. Moreover, many believe that the Church should experiment with more horizontal models of authority. This vision of Church as the People of God was expressed by Elizabeth Carroll at the 1975 Women's Ordination Conference:

"Some may even dispute our right to meet as a Church at all, for we have not been called together by any official of our hierarchy...we speak our part of the dialogue publicly, unofficially, but nonetheless as Church..." 9

The Authority Theory assumes that a person's orientation toward hierarchical authority impacts on his or her beliefs about women's roles in the Church. Presumably, those who adhere to a hierarchical model will follow the teachings and traditions that are handed down. Those who believe that real authority also resides among the "rank and file" People of God are less likely to depend on the hierarchy for their opinions. The former are more apt to be Traditionalists; the latter, Feminists.

Multiple Influences?

These three theories are not mutually exclusive. It is possible that all three operate in the minds of Catholics who are sorting out their views on the equality of the sexes in the Church. But it is also possible that one is more important than the others, or that the three interrelate in special, important ways. The analysis which follows tests these relationships.

Testing the Theories

In order to test these three theories, opinion indexes were constructed for the concepts central to the Civic Culture, Theological, and Authority Theories. (Figure 5.1. lists the questions in each index; Appendix E explains how the indexes were constructed).

The Civic Culture Index included questions which express common cultural stereotypes about women and men in civil society. The Theological Index included two questions involving Scriptural interpretations and the teaching of Vatican II against sex discrimination. The Authority Index included views about papal infallibility, the proper response to a papal "no", and the rights of parishioners to select pastors.

Views favorable to hierarchical authority in the Church are linked to traditional views about women.
The Civic Culture Index:

1. In the home, the husband should have the final say about money matters.
2. Women are naturally more sensitive to human needs than are men.
3. Men by nature are dominant; women by nature are submissive.
4. Women should take care of their homes or convents and leave running the Church up to men.**

The Theological Index:

1. If Jesus had wanted women as priests, He would have chosen some among His 12 Apostles.
2. With respect to human rights, discrimination based on sex is to be eliminated as contrary to God's intent.
3. St. Paul said: "In Christ, there is no male nor female." This means today that women and men should be equals in the Church.

The Authority Index:

1. Under certain conditions, the Pope is infallible (without error) when he speaks on matters of faith and morals.
2. Parishioners should be able to approve the selection of their pastors.
3. If the Pope says women can't be ordained, people organizing for women priests should stop what they're doing.

*See Appendix E for an explanation of each index construction.

**Although this question mentions the word "Church", it expresses in essence the common secular cliche: "A woman's place is in the home".

Each of these indexes was then cross-tabulated and correlated with the Feminist-Traditionalist Index described in the last chapter. Figures 5.2. and 5.3. display the results and explain the correlations.

The findings in Figure 5.2. show that "emerging Catholics" as a whole are moderately progressive on all three indexes: theological outlook, authority orientations, and views of secular sex roles. Only a small minority fell in the "traditional" category on any of these three measures. Although many fall in a "centrist" position, the overall opinion favors egalitarian theological beliefs, horizontal models of Church decision-making, and feminist views of sex roles in civil society.

However, there are differences of opinion within the group that relate directly to views of sex roles in Church life. All three indexes are positively and significantly associated with Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism. Seventy-five percent of the Catholic Feminists have a feminist outlook on civil society; only 29% of the Catholic Traditionalists show the same tendency. Fifty-three percent of Catholic Feminists favor horizontal over hierarchical models of authority; only 11% of the Catholic Traditionalists show the same preference. An overwhelming 82% of Catholic Feminists resonate with a theology of equality; only 13% of Catholic Traditionalists accept the same principles.

These results suggest that all
three theories have a basis in reality. Beliefs about the theological teachings of the Church, orientations toward hierarchical or horizontal models of authority, and views of proper sex roles in civil society all impact on what people believe are appropriate roles for women in the Church.

But is one theory more important than the others? Our correlations in Figure 5.2. indicate that theological teachings have the greatest impact of the three influences.

The relative impact of all three influences was also tested by multiple regression analysis which simultaneously associates them with Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism. This is a technical, statistical procedure which attempts to approximate the way people relate ideas. People do not form their views about women in the Church by separately considering their theological views, then their authority orientation, and then their views on sex roles in civil society. These, and other factors, operate simultaneously -- and often unconsciously -- as people form opinions. Figure 5.4. shows the results when the three indexes are simultaneously associated with the Feminist-Traditionalist Index.10

Figure 5.2.
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN FEMINISM AND INDEXES OF THEOLOGY, AUTHORITY, AND CIVIC CULTURE*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index</th>
<th>Pearson r Correlation</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catholic Feminism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theological Orientation</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Authority Orientation</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>5044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civic Culture</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>5032</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Data are from the October sample.

Correlations measure the relationship, or closeness of association, between two variables -- two indexes of opinion in this case. This relationship is expressed by one number that can vary from +1.00 to -1.00. The zero point on this scale stands for "no correlation" or no relationship:

-1.00 Perfect negative association of two variables

0.00 No correlation or association

+1.00 Perfect positive association of two variables

Example:
If the correlation between Catholic Feminism and Civic Culture were zero, it would mean that these two sets of opinions have nothing to do with each other in the minds of the people in our survey.

If the correlation were negative, it would mean that a high score on one index was associated with a low score on the other. In this case, it would mean that Catholic Feminism would be associated with non-feminist Civic Culture views -- not a likely possibility.

Since the correlation is positive, it means that a high score on one index is associated with a high score on the other. This means that Catholic Feminism is associated with feminism in civil society, which makes sense theoretically as well.

The closer any score to +1.00, the closer the relationship. In this case, the correlation of +0.38 between Catholic Feminism and Civic Culture is a moderately close positive relationship. As a rule of thumb in the social sciences, correlations of more than +0.30 are generally considered worthy of comment.

For further information on correlations, see:
Figure 5.3.
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN CATHOLIC FEMINISM-TRADITIONALISM AND CIVIC CULTURE, THEOLOGY, AND AUTHORITY THEORIES*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catholic Traditionalists</th>
<th>The center</th>
<th>Catholic Feminists</th>
<th>All Respondents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>THEOLOGICAL BELIEFS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Theology</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0.4%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egalitarian Theology</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AUTHORITY ORIENTATIONS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hierarchical Tradition</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horizontal Model</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CIVIC CULTURE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular Traditionalism</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secular Feminism</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 1305 2479 1390 5174

*Data are from the October sample. They describe the views of Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists on indexes of theology, authority, and civic culture. Read percents down. Percents do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding.

See Appendix E for a full explanation of methods of index construction.

By far, the most important factor influencing the views of Catholics on women's roles in the Church is their theological orientation. What people believe about Jesus' call of the Twelve and the importance of Apostolic maleness, their interpretations of St. Paul, and their views about the will of God in regard to sex discrimination are fundamental to how they see sex roles in the Church. They are not only fundamental; they represent the single most important influence of the three theories tested. (The "beta" is largest: +0.45. See Figure 5.4.).11

These results indicate that theological teaching is highly influential in fostering or restraining a climate of opinion receptive to equality. They suggest that the theology which reaches the average Catholic in the pew through preaching, religious education programs, or the media can make a critical difference in the development of views about the appropriate roles for women in the Church.

These findings suggest scenarios for the future: Where religious educators, homilists, and the Catholic press stress fundamentalist interpretations of Scripture, where they feature the Vatican Declaration as normative Catholic teaching on women, and where the teachings of Vatican II are de-emphasized, support for women in new Church roles is unlikely to grow. On the other hand, where the transmitters of theology teach non-discrimination as the call of the gospel and Vatican II, where they present theologians' objections to the Vatican Declaration as well as the content of the Declaration itself, and
Influences on Catholic Feminism: A Multiple Regression and Path Analysis

- Theological Beliefs → Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism
- Authority Orientations → Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism
- Civic Culture Beliefs → Authority Orientations

N = 4813
Multiple R = 0.64
r² = 0.40

*Data are from the October sample.

"Multiple regression" is a means of testing the relationship between a variable to be explained (Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism) and several variables that theory suggests may explain it (theological beliefs, authority orientations, and civic culture beliefs). All three are correlated simultaneously with Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism in order to discover and describe the entire structure of linkages between variables. These linkages are often visualized with "path analysis" as shown above. The numbers on the paths are "standardized betas." They express, relative to one another, the impact of each explanatory variable on Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism. A solid-line path indicates significant linkages; a dotted-line path, insignificant ones. Solid lines are usually drawn for betas greater than ±0.10.

The findings above indicate that theological beliefs are most important, that authority orientations are second, and that civic culture beliefs are insignificant when associated with Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism simultaneously with the other two influences.


See footnote 10 for a comment on the statistical problem of "multicollinearity" as it applies to the above regression problem.

Where they encourage Scriptural interpretations that separate specific cultural statements from universal teachings, support for women in new ministries will probably rise.

These findings assign much responsibility for change or non-change to preachers, parents and religious educators, media columnists and commentators, those who give theological workshops -- to anyone who passes on theological teachings. Those responsible for the Word have always regarded their mission with special importance. These data support that belief.

The second most important factor in people's views about women's roles in the Church is their orientation toward authority. Those who hold a less hierarchical and more horizontal view of ecclesial authority tend to support women in new, expanded roles. Those who favor the Roman hierarchical model generally oppose full equality for women. (The "beta" for authority orientations is a significant +0.24. See Figure 5.4.)

This finding too has important implications. It suggests, first of all, that the desire for shared responsibility and decision-making by laity and hierarchy is linked to the desire for sexual equality. Those lay people who prefer a model of Church governance which leans toward the equality of hierarchy and laity tend to prefer a model of Church ministry which recognizes the equality of women and men. Belief in the value of equality has far-reaching implications (as discussed in Chapter 2).

In addition, people who favor shared authority structures are less likely to be dependent on the hierarchy for their opinions. They are more likely to disagree with the "official line." They are more likely
to criticize the practices of the Church, including its treatment of women.

Moreover, these findings suggest that the struggle to preserve traditional authority structures in the Church is linked to the struggle to preserve traditional sex roles. Many feminists claim that the traditional relationship of man to woman is the primordial model for dominance and submission. Man is not only the controller of woman; he is symbolic of all those who claim the right to control the lives of others. Many writers have charged that the Church has treated the laity this way -- as "others" to be controlled. Just as the traditional model of behavior expected women to be submissive to men, so the laity was to be submissive to priest, and the priest to the bishop, and so on. At some deep psychological level, perhaps people believe that a rejection of the traditional roles of men and women in the Church might unleash a rejection of the traditional roles of hierarchy and laity.

It is not surprising then that rejection of a hierarchical dominance model of Church authority is associated with rejection of the sexual dominance of male authority. Nor is it surprising that a more egalitarian, grassroots, democratic orientation toward authority is associated with a belief in the fundamental equality of the sexes.

Beliefs about authority and theology are deeply rooted in the human psyche. The fact that these two influences are the most important factors impacting on Catholic Feminism—Traditionalism supports Patricia Martin Doyle, whom we quoted in the Introduction as asserting that the encounter between religion and feminism is the most radical of all encounters. It challenges "deeply held motivations, beliefs and life orientations".

Finally, the multiple regression analysis revealed that the impact of Civic Culture on Catholic Feminism—Traditionalism is practically nil when all three theories are tested simultaneously. (The "beta" for Civic Culture is an insignificant +0.06. See Figure 5.4.). Its effect is "wiped out", so to speak, by the other two factors. This does not mean that secular feminism and Catholic Feminism are not associated. It means that the relationship has diminished importance when the relationships of Catholic Feminism with theological beliefs and authority orientations are controlled.

The findings here do not explain all possible influences that encourage Catholics to lean toward Feminism or Traditionalism. In statistical terms, they do not explain 100% of the

Peterschmidt

Catholics with a more horizontal view of ecclesial authority, like these "Call to Action" delegates, tend to support women in new ministerial roles.
variance" or variety in opinion about sex roles in the Church that exists among these respondents. The factors which mold opinions on social issues are numerous, and social scientists do not expect to explain all of the variance in complex social realities. They try to explain a significant part of them.

The three factors explored here as potential influences on Catholic views about sex roles in the Church -- theology, authority, and civic culture -- do explain a significant percent of the variance in such views, 40% to be exact. (The r^2 in Figure 5.4. indicates the percent of the variance explained). Theological and authority orientations account for almost all of the 40%. Hopefully, these findings will suggest new theories and new data with which to retest these findings and explore the remaining 60% of the variance.

Theology and Civic Culture

Many feminists blame the Church for the status of women in secular life as well as in the Church. Rosemary Radford Ruether, for example, accused the Church of being "the chief representative and the sacralizer of the old order." Simone de Beauvoir analyzed the "antifeminism" of the Church in great detail, claiming that it had a legitimizing influence on sex roles in secular life. If these accusations have a factual basis, theological beliefs about women should correlate strongly with ideas about women in secular roles.

A strong relationship does exist. The correlation between beliefs about sex roles in Civic Culture and theological beliefs about men and women is a highly significant +0.51. (See Figure 5.4.). This association supports the views of Ruether, de Beauvoir, and others that theology is the legitimizer of sexism in secular society.

The lines of influence can, and probably do, run in both directions. Secular culture can impact theological thinking just as theology can influence and legitimate secular cultural patterns. However the relationship exists, it is clear that cultural beliefs about sex roles are closely associated with theological thinking about sex roles.

In fact, the data suggest that insofar as Civic Culture impacts on Catholic Feminism, that impact is mediated primarily through theological beliefs. (See Figure 5.4.). This indicates that Catholics who apply feminist ideas to secular spheres of life have to translate and legitimate those ideas theologically before applying them freely to the life of the Church. A Catholic can believe, for example, that women should be the equals of men in secular professions, political office, the world of sports, or educational institutions, but she or he needs a theological rationale to believe that women should be the equals of men in the priesthood.

These data also suggest that views about sex roles in secular life are applied to the Church after they are "filtered through" a person's authority orientations. This means that the Catholic who is a secular feminist finds it easier to be a feminist in the Church if he or she is not dependent upon hierarchical authority. Conversely, secular feminists who need hierarchical approval are reluctant to apply norms of sexual equality to the Church. The mediating influence of authority orientations is not as strong as the mediating influence of theology, but it is real. (See Figure 5.4. for the correlations).

These findings underline the critical importance of churches in the formation of opinions about sex
roles. The close association between theological beliefs and views about secular and ecclesial sex roles suggests that a Feminist theology can help legitimate secular feminism just as Traditionalist theology has helped legitimate secular traditionalism. In the ongoing struggle between Traditionalists and Feminists, churches are vitally important arenas influencing through their teachings the formation of attitudes about male and female roles in secular society as well as the Church.

Summary

This chapter explored three possible influences on Catholic views about women's and men's roles in the Church: theological teachings, orientations toward authority, and beliefs about sex roles in secular society. The results indicate that theological beliefs are the most important of the three factors. Authority orientations are second in importance. While views about sex roles in civil society are associated with views about sex roles in the Church, they do not impact on Catholic Feminism—Traditionalism as strongly and directly as the Church's own life and structures (that is, its theology and its model of authority). In fact, if Civic Culture has any influence on views about men's and women's roles in the Church, that influence is mediated through theological beliefs and authority orientations.

Further analysis shows that theological teaching has an important influence on views about sex roles in secular society as well as in the Church. These findings suggest strongly that the Church is a very important arena in the struggle between those who want to preserve traditional male and female roles and those who advocate sexual equality.

6 Antinarelli, p. 20.
8 Antinarelli, p. 13.
10 Those familiar with multiple regression analysis will recognize that there is a statistical problem with "multicollinearity" or the intercorrelation of the independent variables. However, Blalock suggests that large samples and accurate measurement can help overcome this problem. See: Hubert Blalock, Social Statistics (New York: McGraw Hill, 1972), p. 457. The sample used here is certainly large; hopefully, the measurement is accurate. In addition, the fact that the betas from the multiple regression fit the patterns of the single correlations in their impact on Feminism suggests that this analysis is correct. (See Figure 5.2.)
11 The "standardized betas" in a multiple regression problem are interpreted in relation to one another. The explanatory variable with the largest "beta" has the greatest explanatory power. In this case, it is theological beliefs.
12 This is a basic contention of Kate Millet in Sexual Politics (New York: Avon Books, 1969). Susan Brownmiller reports that the problem of rape does not grow from sexual desire, but the desire of some men to dominate women. See Against Our Will: Men, Women and Rape (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1975). The associations of the male sex with power and authority are strong, as the difficulties women experience in politics confirm. See generally: Eleanor Maccoby and Carol Nagy Jacklin, The Psychology of Sex Differences (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1974).
13 For example, Yves Congar, OP, shows how the laity has been treated as an "inferior minority" in the history of the Church, subject to "attitudes of caste". See Christians Active in the World (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968), Chapter 1 especially. See also Edward Schillebeeck, The Mission of the Church (New York: Seabury Press, 1973), Chapter 6.


The correlation of +0.51 is a "Pearson r". See Figure 5.2. for a full explanation of its interpretation.

Path analysis does not reveal the direction of the influence. This is determined by the theory of the investigator. In this case, it seems most plausible that theology and civic culture have a mutual effect upon each other.
Opinions on Other Church and World Issues

We have shown that a person's Feminist or Traditionalist outlook relates closely to issues internal to the Church, theological and authority orientations specifically. The question, then, arises: Is Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism an isolated, even myopic, syndrome of opinion that is unrelated to issues facing civil society or to other issues facing the Church? For instance:

- Is Catholic Feminism part of a belief in the equality of all people? Are Catholic Feminists more likely than Traditionalists to support equality for Black people and gay people?
- Is Catholic Feminism related to an orientation toward basic structural and policy changes in the Church? For example, are Feminists more likely than Traditionalists to favor dropping the celibacy rule for priests or changing Church policies on birth control or divorce?
- Is Catholic Feminism a manifestation of a fundamental orientation toward socio-cultural change? Do Feminists differ significantly from Traditionalists on issues such as the death penalty, the role of the U.S. military, domestic poverty, and aid to needy nations?
- How does Catholic Feminism relate to feminist issues in civil society? Where do Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists stand on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA)? Do they support an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution?
- Is Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism more closely associated with some types of issues than others? Are there any noticeable patterns in these associations?

Patterns of "Simpatico"

The Feminist-Traditionalist Index was cross-tabulated with each survey statement dealing with general Church or societal issues. Figure 6.1 lists these issues in order of their association with Feminism and gives the percentages of Feminists and Traditionals who agree with each statement. It also shows where "emerging Catholics" as a whole stand on each issue.

The findings indicate that concern for women's role in the Church is not a myopic, isolated concern. It relates strongly to other issues important in the Church and in civil society. Five general patterns are apparent. They relate to: Marginal Groups, Changes in the Priesthood, Other Changes in the Church, Feminist Societal Issues, and General Societal Issues.

Support for Other Marginal Groups. Liberation theologians and others believe that sharing the experience of marginality or oppression increases a person's understanding of, and empathy with, the struggles of others. This suggests that understanding one type of oppression (e.g., racism) will aid the understanding of other forms of oppression (e.g., sexism). Furthermore, it suggests that oppressions are linked. People in one marginal situation cannot afford to ignore those in other marginal situations.1

Not all experiences support this theory. Theology of the Americas Conferences have witnessed encounters between those representing different
forms of marginality and not understanding each other, for example: poverty and classism in Latin America, racism in North America, and sexism everywhere. In addition, marginal groups sometimes perceive their causes to be in competition. At the 1977 International Women’s Year Conference in Houston, Texas, for example, some speakers said that support for gay rights might jeopardize ratification of the ERA.

What of "emerging Catholics"? And within that group, what about Catholic Feminists? Is the belief that women are victims of Church discrimination associated with a consciousness of discrimination against other marginal groups? Or is it an isolated perception of oppression?

Our data show that a clear majority of "emerging Catholics" supports the struggles of marginal groups for equality in the Church and secular society. Only a minority (37%) think "racial equality has gone too far" in this country. Additionally, 55% support "equal opportunities" in the Church for persons with a homosexual orientation. (See Figure 6.1., Statements 3 and 5).

But within that group, the Catholic Feminists identify more strongly with the struggles of Blacks and gay people. Only 19% of the Feminists believe that "racial equality has gone too far", while 53% of the Traditionalists accept this statement. Similarly, over 75% of the Feminists favor equal opportunities for gay people in the Church, whereas only 39% of the Traditionalists feel the same way.

In summary, Catholic Feminists identify strongly with the struggles of other marginal groups. These findings support the theory that the perception of one type of discrimination -- for example, against women in the Church -- makes it easier to perceive other types of discrimination and empathize with the victims. Conversely, the desire to preserve the status quo of one group tends to be associated with preserving the status quo of other groups as well.

Changes in the Priesthood. Some prominent Catholic authors and commentators have wondered why women would want to join the present clerical system. Some people hesitate to support the movement for women's ordination because they do not support anyone's quest for the priesthood as it exists. A recent study by Fran Ferder shows that women seeking ordination do not want the priesthood as presently established. They favor optional celibacy, team ministries, and priests who identify with their people and are called forth by them. The Women's Ordination Conference talks about a "new priestly ministry" as an evolution of priesthood.

But what about "emerging Catholics" and Catholic Feminists? Do they envision women stepping into the current system? The Quixote Center survey asked three questions which bear directly on the present clerical system: Whether priests should live more simply, whether the laity should have a voice in the selection of pastors, and whether priests should have the option to marry.

Among all "emerging Catholics", 32% favored a simpler lifestyle for priests. Catholic Feminists were somewhat more supportive than Traditionalists, but the margin of difference was not significant. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 18.)

Support for change in the current priesthood was related to a new model of authority and accountability in local churches. Sixty-five percent of all "emerging Catholics" agreed that...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Gamma**</th>
<th>Percent who agree:</th>
<th>Percent Difference Fem/Trad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Priests should be able to marry if they want to.</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Equal Rights Amendment should be passed to ensure the legal equality of men and women in this country.</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In many respects, racial equality has gone too far in this country.</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In this country, almost anyone can earn a decent living if he/she works hard enough.</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexuals should have the same opportunities in the Church as everybody else.</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would be good if all 50 states brought back the death penalty.</td>
<td>-0.37</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing Mass on Sunday without good reason is a mortal sin.</td>
<td>-0.34</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Church should permit forms of birth control other than the rhythm method.</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parishoners should be able to approve the selection of their pastors.</td>
<td>0.33</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be secure, it is necessary that this nation be second to none in military strength.</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's morally wrong for an engaged couple to have sexual intercourse before marriage.</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We need a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion in the United States.</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Church should permit divorced Catholics to re-marry.</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>71%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most poor people are poor because society doesn't give everybody an equal chance.</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The United States has an obligation to help needy nations.</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The way you live is more important than whether you are Protestant or Catholic.</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>94%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
percent who agree:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Gamma**</th>
<th>Everyone</th>
<th>Feminists</th>
<th>Traditionalists</th>
<th>Percent Difference Fem/Trad</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17) Under certain conditions, the Pope is infallible (without error) when he speaks on matters of faith and morals.</td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18) Most priests should live more simply— with fewer luxuries.</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 5492 1390 1305

The data are from the October sample. The opinions on this table are arranged in order of their association with Catholic Feminism. The issues with the closest association are at the top of the list; those with the least at the bottom.

**The "gamma" is a measure of association between two sets of opinions. It can be interpreted roughly as a "correlation". The higher the "gamma" (+1.00) the closer the association between a given opinion and Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism. A gamma over ±.30 is considered noteworthy.

parishes should be able to approve the selection of their pastors. Catholic Feminists were overwhelming in their approval with 81%, compared to 51% of Traditionalists.

The present system of priestly appointments by bishops and religious superiors emphasizes clerical accountability to the hierarchy in matters of ministry. Meaningful lay participation in the selection of pastors would mean greater priestly accountability to the people. To support such participation is to advocate a fundamental change in the present clerical system. The large percentage in favor of this change, even among Traditionalists, suggests broad-based support for a new and more collegial relationship between laity and hierarchy—a relationship of shared responsibility and decision-making. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 9.)

But probably the most potent issue for changing the present clerical system is the issue of celibacy. If priests could marry, the Church would undergo major changes. For example, a different spectrum of personalities, less fearful of intimacy and personal relationships, might seek the priesthood. Perhaps the hierarchy would exercise less control over the lives and ministries of priests since spouses and children would be a consideration in ministerial appoint-
ments. Priests would not be bound to all-male rectory living. Many would begin to share the common lay experiences of marital relationships, child-rearing, and economic responsibility for a family. Celibacy is a lynchpin of the present priesthood. To favor a change to optional celibacy is to desire a fundamental and far-reaching change in the current clerical system.

It is highly significant, then, that a large majority of Catholics in this survey (63%)—like 63% of those in recent Gallup and NORC surveys—want priests to have the option to marry. This finding, together with strong support for lay participation in the selection of pastors, suggests that American Catholics are not satisfied with the present clerical system and want basic changes in its structure.

Catholic Feminists are in the forefront of this desire for change. Eighty-five percent support a married clergy, compared to only 41% of the Traditionalists. In fact, no issue mentioned in the questionnaire (other than those dealing directly with women in the Church) is more strongly associated with Catholic Feminism than the elimination of the celibacy requirement for priesthood. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 1.)
Clara Henning called celibacy a "feminist issue" because the preservation of celibacy has spawned customs and canons which segregated men and women. It has created seminary training that promotes negative images of women as Magdalens and temptresses. It is not possible to determine whether these survey respondents make the theoretical connections between feminism and celibacy that Henning and others discuss. But, at the practical level, optional celibacy is indeed a feminist position for these Catholics. Those who believe women should be equals of men in the Church also believe that married people should be the equals of celibates in access to the priesthood.

Traditionalists are more inclined to preserve that system, although 41% have no problems with a married clergy and 51% think parishioners should have a voice in the selection of pastors. They are not strict conservatives on all issues, at least in areas which directly touch their lives (like the selection of pastors). But they are less inclined to favor basic changes in the way they have known ministry than are Feminists.

In summary, Catholic Feminist support for women priests is not a demand for access to the present system. It is a quest for a new vision of ministry and priesthood, one vastly different from what now exists.

Other Changes in the Church. Are Catholic Feminists more likely to favor general changes in Church policies than are Traditionalists? Not surprisingly, the answer is "yes". In addition to the issues of pastor selection, equality of opportunity for homosexuals, and clerical celibacy, Catholic Feminists are significantly more likely than Traditionalists to want a new Church outlook on birth control, divorce and remarriage, premarital sex, and the question of whether it is a mortal sin to miss Sunday Mass. Feminists are not significantly different from Traditionalists on questions related to ecumenism or the infallibility of the Pope.

The questions of birth control and divorce are especially interesting. Although Feminists are more in favor of change than Traditionalists, even a solid majority of the Traditionalists want change on both issues. (See Figure 6.1., Statements 8 and 13.). Seventy percent of the Traditionalists want a new Church policy on birth control; 60% would like the Church to approve remarriage after divorce. These issues strike close to home for much of the Catholic laity. It is not surprising that even people who tend to think conservatively favor changes in these areas. Birth control and divorce/remarriage are issues on which the hierarchy differ significantly from the laity, but they are not issues which polarize lay people themselves. Among the laity a consensus in favor of change has already developed on both issues -- a finding corroborated by other polls.

The same consensus does not exist concerning sex before marriage. Sixty-one percent of the Traditionalists judge sexual intercourse immoral for an "engaged couple"; only 31% of the Feminists make the same judgment. "Emerging Catholics" as a whole are evenly split on the question: 44% believe that sexual relations are immoral for an engaged couple; 44% do not, and 12% have no opinion. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 11.).

The survey specified an "engaged couple" to indicate a mutual commitment to a long-term, loving relationship. It thus eliminated the issue of promiscuous or casual sex. The survey statement came close to posing the question raised by such works as Human Sexuality: Is it morally appropriate for persons who love each other and plan a long-term relationship, but who are not married, to engage in intimate sexual activity? The Catholic Feminists in our survey would probably support the cautious, positive answer of the authors of Human Sexuality; the Traditionalists would not.

Finally, more than twice as many Traditionalists (61%) as Feminists (28%) believe "missing Mass on Sunday without good reason is a 'mortal sin'". Less than a majority (43%) of all "emerging Catholics" make the same judgment. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 7.). Feminists and Traditionalists do not differ significantly in their church attendance. Ninety-five percent of the Traditionalists attend Mass at least weekly, but so do 89% of the Feminists. Therefore, it is not likely that Catholic Feminists are trying to excuse themselves by believ-
It is more likely that Traditionalists simply feel more comfortable with the Church they have known in the past -- a Church that stressed rules, such as Sunday Mass, for sorting out right from wrong. Catholic Feminists, on the other hand, are less law-oriented. They attend Sunday liturgies regularly, but generally do not view their attendance as an "obligation".

In summary, Catholic Feminists not only desire the equality of men and women in a changed priestly ministry, they are more inclined than Traditionalists to favor liberalization of Church policies related to sexual activity (birth control, divorce, priestly celibacy, and pre-marital sex), and they are less inclined to regard rules, such as Sunday worship, as an obligation under penalty of sin. As reported in Chapter 5, they prefer a strong lay voice in church decision-making rather than strict hierarchical models of authority. We conclude that Catholic feminism is part of a larger orientation toward basic changes in Church policies, outlook, and structures, and that Catholic Traditionalism is part of an orientation that tends to want to preserve the Church much as it is.

Where do Catholic Feminists stand on these issues? Is Catholic Feminism pro-gay rights, pro-ERA, and pro-choice on abortion?

We have already noted that Catholic Feminists and "emerging Catholics" as a whole tend to support equality for gay people in the Church. This questionnaire did not ask about gay issues in civil society, but the orientation of Catholic Feminists to value equality and identify with the struggles of marginal groups on other survey questions suggests that they would favor gay civil rights.

On the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), Catholic support is clear and strong. Sixty-eight percent of all "emerging Catholics" favor the proposed 27th Amendment that would forbid the United States or any state to deny equality of rights under the law on account of sex. Catholic Feminists are overwhelming in their support with 87% approval, compared to 53% of the Traditionalists. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 2.)

The high support for ERA, even from the Traditionalists, is noteworthy. A majority supports equality for men and women in civil law even if they do not favor equality in the Church. These data support what Gallup and CBS-NY Times polls have consistently shown: The high national Catholic support for the ERA. It is a position that is not only a part of Catholic Feminism, but on which there is a clear consensus among all Catholics.

Why then, is there the image of a "Catholic problem" with ERA? This impression has most likely arisen from the leadership of some older, mainline Catholic organizations, such as the National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW) and the Catholic Daughters of America (CDA). Some of their leaders have testified before legislative committees against the ERA. It is no
doubt bolstered by the refusal of the American Bishops to take a position on the issue — even after celebrated debate in the press. And it is fed by anti-ERA stories that are carried by the Catholic press with great regularity. None of these groups -- NCCW, CDA, the American Bishops, or the Catholic press -- represent the views of the Catholic people. The Catholic people are pro-ERA.

A further "Catholic problem" with the Equal Rights Amendment has been the attempt to confuse it with the abortion issue. Because groups such as NOW are both pro-ERA and pro-choice on abortion, opponents have tried to link the issues legally. Proponents of the ERA have not always been careful with their distinctions. In actuality, the two issues are not legally linked at all. It is impossible to give "pregnant men" "equal rights" to abortion with pregnant women! Do grassroots Catholics actually unite these issues in their minds? The answer is "no". Catholics who oppose the ERA are slightly more likely to favor an anti-abortion amendment than Catholics who are pro-ERA. But the difference is not statistically significant.

But what about the question of abortion itself? The Catholic hierarchy strongly supports the movement for an anti-abortion or "human life" amendment to the U.S. Constitution. They have poured considerable money, personnel, time, and energy into this effort. They even attempted to influence the 1976 Presidential election by stressing the importance of this issue. The questionnaire did not ask about the morality of abortion per se. It asked for opinions on the proposed anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution. As a whole, 53% of "emerging Catholics" support that amendment and the efforts of the hierarchy; 35% are opposed, and 13% have no opinion. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 12.).

Forty percent of the Feminists support such an amendment, compared to 68% of the Traditionalists.

Concerning the Catholic Feminists, two statistics in these findings are notable: Feminists are much higher in their support for ERA (87%) than they are in their opposition to an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution (49%). These are separable issues. Secondly, abortion is a difficult question for Catholic Feminists -- one that troubles even the most progressive. It is not an issue on which they have a consensus: 40% favor an anti-abortion amendment; 49% oppose it. Catholic Feminists who support women priests, the ERA, equality for gays, and major changes in internal Church policies are wrestling mightily with the issue of abortion. Four out of 10 do not take the position considered "feminist" in civil society.

In summary, "emerging Catholics" and the subgroup of Catholic Feminists have a clear consensus favoring ERA and supporting equality for gays in the Church. No such consensus exists for Catholic Feminists on an anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution. A slight majority of "emerging Catholics" as a whole favor such an amendment.

Other Issues in Civil Society. We have seen that Catholic Feminists tend to be progressive in social outlook -- supportive of racial equality and the Equal Rights Amendment, for example. Does this pattern hold for other issues as well? The answer is "yes". Catholic Feminists are significantly more likely than Traditionalists to oppose the death penalty, to reject the idea that the U.S. must be #1 in the world militarily in order to be secure, to accept the idea that a lack of equality underlies much domestic poverty in the United States, and to reject the notion that "almost anyone can earn a decent living if he/she works hard enough". (See Figure 6.1., Statements 6, 10, 14, and 4.). Feminism is not significantly related to views about aid to needy nations. Both Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists strongly support such aid. (See Figure 6.1., Statement 15.). In fact, 87% of the Feminists and 75% of the Traditionalists accept the idea that the U.S. has an "obligation" to supply such aid.

Among the most interesting differences of opinion are those which deal with economics and poverty. Since both women and Blacks are disproportionately high among the U.S. poor, and since both groups have a heritage of unequal treatment in the marketplace, one would expect those supportive of racial and sexual equality to believe that inequality is
a cause of poverty. As expected, 71% of the Catholic Feminists do blame the lack of equal opportunities for much of U.S. poverty, and only 36% see hard work as the determiner of a living wage. By contrast, only 42% of the Catholic Traditionalists recognize inequality as an important cause of poverty, and 75% believe hard work is "the" determiner of financial status.

On questions of the death penalty and military security, Catholic Feminists are less likely than Traditionalists to rely on physical force, either with domestic criminals or foreign adversaries, as a means of solving social problems. On these issues, they are more "pro-life" than the Traditionalists. Less than one-fourth of the Catholic Feminists support the death penalty and fewer than 4 in 10 believe national security is a function of being #1 militarily. By contrast, 55% of the Traditionalists want the death penalty and 67% want the U.S. to remain the #1 superpower in order to maintain national security.

In general, Catholic Feminism is associated with an orientation toward cultural and economic change in society, and with a tendency to de-emphasize the use of force as an instrument of social policy.

Summary

Catholic Feminism is strongly associated with support for the equal treatment of groups that have experienced discrimination, especially women, Blacks, and gay people, and by extension -- married people who seek priesthood in the Church. Equality is the value most precious to churchgoing Catholics with a feminist perspective.

As the Church deals with questions of equality for groups such as Blacks and Chicanos and Chicanas, it will likely discover what those in the Anti-slavery and Civil Rights Movements of secular society discovered: Feminism is a natural corollary of other quests for equality. Dealing

The clergy men and clergy woman of a gay congregation install their new pastor (wearing lei).

with one struggle eventually means dealing with the feminist struggle.

Catholic Feminism is also associated strongly with a desire for changes in the priesthood and the Church, especially liberalization of policies touching questions of human sexuality. It is linked to secular feminism in its strong support for ERA and equality for gays in the Church. Although Catholic Feminists are less inclined to support an anti-abortion amendment than are Traditionalists, there is no "consensus position" on abortion policy among Catholic Feminists, as there is among secular feminists.

Finally, Catholic Feminism is associated with progressive social policies sympathetic to the plight of the poor and generally opposed to the use of physical force as an instrument of social policy.

Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism is far from being an isolated, myopic syndrome of opinion. It is linked to a multitude of concerns commonly considered issues of justice by the Church.

---


2See, for example, Beverly Wildung Harrison, "The 'Theology in the Americas' Conference," Christianity and Crisis 35 (October 27, 1975), pp. 251-254.
This questionnaire did not ask about gay civil rights.

See, The Gallup Organization, The Gallup Opinion Index (Princeton, NJ: American Institute of Public Opinion, 1978), Report No. 145, Religion in America: 1977-78, p. 101. It is interesting to note that Catholics as a whole are far less condemnatory of gay people than are Protestants. In a recent Gallup survey, 66% of all American Catholics agreed that "A homosexual can be a good Christian or a good Jew". Only 45% of all Protestants responded affirmatively to the same question. Gallup did not report Jewish opinion on this question.


Fran Ferder, FSPA, Ph.D., Called to Break Bread? (Mt. Rainier, Maryland: Quixote Center, 1978), p. 88 especially.


The question on ecumenism, "The way you live is more important than whether you are Protestant or Catholic" was a poor separator of opinion; almost everyone was in agreement.

See Figure 2.2. for the results of both Gallup and NORC polls showing a high consensus for change among the Catholic laity on questions of birth control and remarriage after divorce.


These polls show Catholic support for ERA at 58-60%. Data were obtained by phone from the Gallup Organization, Princeton, New Jersey, and from CBS-TV information offices, Washington, D.C.

In 1978, the Bishops' Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in Church and Society asked the permission of the Administrative Committee of the Bishops to take a public position in favor of ERA. The Bishops were deluged with mail from both proponents and opponents. In May, 1978, the Administrative Committee turned down this request, thus maintaining its traditional neutrality on the issue. It was, however, generally reported as an anti-ERA vote by the hierarchy.

The Pearson correlation (r) between the two is: 0.16.

Emerging Catholics" as a whole are socially progressive, but not as progressive as their Feminist component. As Chapter 2 points out, most "emerging Catholics" oppose the death penalty and believe that a lack of equality underlies much domestic poverty. But most also would rely on military power for security and believe that "almost anyone can earn a decent living if he/she works hard enough."
How Opinion Changes: Models and Case Studies

This survey was taken in October 1976 and in February 1977 by 31 participating groups. The double survey tested whether Catholic opinion on women in ministry could change over short periods of time when the local leadership was sympathetic and open discussion of equality was encouraged.

Test groups conducted an education process between the two surveys to create a climate for discussion. Control groups administered the two surveys without any education process. Control group opinions revealed change occurring in the normal course of events from October to February; test groups measured this change plus that resulting from the education process.

The surveys were designed to measure changes in the "group climate of opinion", rather than changes in individual opinions. Each participating group was a stable liturgical community with continuity of membership. The respondents in February were not the identical individuals who took the survey in October (although there was considerable overlap), but it was assumed that normal channels of communication and interaction would spread the basic message of any educational process throughout the community, especially since the process represented a noticeable departure from local routine. Thus, we treated each community as a unit where change was measured in the aggregate.

We had expected that groups conducting an education process would show some change on the issues dealing with women in the Church, and that control groups would show little change. We had further expected change to be correlated with the specific activities that were carried out at the local level in the course of the education process.

Results

When the findings from the February survey were compared with the findings from the October survey, the expected change had not occurred. Neither the test groups, as a whole, nor the control groups, as a whole, changed significantly on any question regarding women's roles in the Church. The pattern of change in the test groups was no different from the pattern in the control groups.

There are three possible explanations for this lack of change: 1) attitudes about sex roles in the Church may not be subject to rapid change through the process we designed; 2) the Vatican Declaration, which was issued about three weeks before the second survey, may have affected all groups; and 3) the test group education processes were uneven in quality.

Is Rapid Change Possible?

Psychologists have pointed out that attitudes about the roles of men and women in society are ingrained from infancy onward and are deeply rooted in human psyches. Our analysis has shown that views about women's roles in the Church are closely intertwined with theological beliefs and orientations toward authority. It is possible, indeed probable, that attitudes, which are so ingrained, deeply rooted, and interrelated with other issues, are not subject to rapid change by an educational process such as ours.

The key to change is most likely the type of education program, not the time required. We have shown elsewhere that opinions on sex roles in the Church have changed rapidly due to a particular process: In the two short months after the Vatican Decla-
ration was issued, American Catholic opinion became significantly more favorable to women priests. In summary, our "education processes" were not as successful as the one generated by the Vatican Declaration and its aftermath.

The Timing of the Vatican Declaration

The Vatican Declaration was issued on January 27, 1977, just three weeks before the final survey. The issue of women in ministry, usually not a priority in the average Catholic mind, suddenly assumed new importance. An "education process" on sex roles in the Catholic Church started in both Catholic and secular media. But the process had only begun when the second survey was taken (February 18-20, 1977). We know from the Gallup Poll of Catholic opinion on women priests that change generated by the Vatican Declaration did not start until early March, and did not increase markedly until mid-March.

This delayed reaction is understandable because it took two to three weeks for public debate to begin. The Vatican Declaration was not pre-released. No one, except perhaps some members of the hierarchy, saw the text prior to January 27, 1977. Opposing arguments did not appear in the press for one or two weeks. And it took a few more weeks before diocesan groups scheduled public forums and before TV talk shows featured guests who debated the question. In summary, public opinion on women priests changed when public debate on the Vatican Declaration was in full swing, and it was not yet in full swing when our second survey was administered.

These facts raise questions about the possibility of change between October and February. Had change already occurred in many test groups, only to be dampened temporarily by the Vatican Declaration? Might such change have re-appeared or "bounced back" if the survey had been retaken in mid-March 1977 -- the time change was recorded in the Gallup Poll? Or was there never change in the first place? It is not possible to give definitive answers to these questions. It is possible only to point out that the timing of this Roman document makes its effects on this survey process uncertain.

Test Group Education Processes

When local leaders volunteered to lead test groups, they were asked what educational activities they were willing to conduct. The most commonly mentioned activities were then incorporated into the program. Leaders were to develop at least two homilies on the issue of equality, introduce and explain the use of non-sexist language in the liturgy, make pro and con handouts available to parishioners, and plan and encourage local discussions. Each group leader received the materials necessary to carry out this program. At the end, each submitted a log sheet, dating and documenting the local activities.

Not all groups implemented the entire program, and some added extensive activities to those suggested, for example, taking advantage of guest homilists or conducting workshops on women in the Church. The quality of what it meant to be a "test group" varied widely.

When shifts in opinion were studied community by community, there were significant and notable changes in some groups, changes that were hidden when the test groups were analyzed together. Many of these changes correlated directly with the local activities that took place between October and February. Our analysis suggests that the most fruitful use of the data on opinion change is "case studies" of groups showing change that could be accounted for during the four-month testing period.

Models of Change

Groups selected for case studies were those that reported large change in opinion (at least 10 percentage points), those that were consistent in that change on questions tapping the same dimension of opinion (e.g., all questions on women priests), and those that showed change related to what group leaders reported as their activities between surveys. This analysis led to the identification of four distinct models of change:

1) change due to sympathetic leadership;
2) change from controversy;
3) change because of new role models; and
Figure 7.1.

OPINIONS ON WOMEN PRIESTS: A COMPARISON OF SAMPLES WITH CONTROLS FOR AGE AND EDUCATION

Percent who agree that "It would be good if women were ordained as priests."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Everyone</th>
<th>Under 30</th>
<th>College educated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORC 1974 survey*</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gallup sample (February 1977 only)**</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October sample (1976)</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Andrew Greeley, William C. McCready, and Kathleen McCourt, Catholic Schools in a Declining Church (Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1976), p. 267. The percents for those under 30 and the college educated were obtained by computer analysis of the 1974 NORC dataset on which this book is based.

**These percentages are based only on the first third of the Gallup Poll commissioned by the Quixote Center, in order to come closest in time to the October sample.

---

4) change because of open discussion and debate.

Change Because of Sympathetic Leadership

The people who took the October survey looked like any cross-section of American Catholics on issues such as birth control, divorce, and clerical celibacy. But on the question of women priests, they were far more inclined toward change than were Gallup-type samples. Fifty-one percent favored women in the priesthood, compared to 29-31% in national samples taken during the same time period. On the question of ratification of the ERA, the same pattern appeared -- 68% of the October sample was pro-ERA, compared to about 58-60% of national random Catholic samples.

Why would these people be like most Catholics on some issues, but much more progressive on issues involving sexual equality?

One reason could be the youth and higher educational level of the October sample. These are characteristics usually associated with progressive cultural opinions on women's role in society. But these do not explain the difference fully. As Figure 7.1. shows, those who are under 30 and the college educated in the October sample are still more progressive on the issue of women priests than their young, well-educated counterparts in random samples. Fifty-five percent of those under 30 in the October sample favor women priests, compared to 36-48% in random surveys. Fifty-nine percent of the college educated in the October sample are supportive, compared to only 44-50% in NORC or Gallup surveys.

The difference in opinion is best explained by the fact that this is a "best case" study. All 43 participating communities are different from the national norm for Catholics in one important variable. All are led by members or supporters of Priests for Equality. All have leadership that is sufficiently convinced of sexual equality to have publicly endorsed the PFE charter calling for the ordination of women, ratification of the ERA, and other dimensions of equality. Correspondence from these leaders indicated a high level of concern with equality in their local communities. Most had acted to promote it, especially by supporting women as lectors, Ministers of the Eucharist, homilists, or altar servers. Much of this occurred before the first survey. Presumably, if someone in the parish asked, "Father, what do you think about this women-priest idea?", he or she would get a pro-ordination answer. And of course, it is highly unlikely that someone lukewarm to equality for women would have volunteered for this survey process.
What the October sample represents is a large "test group" of parishes with leadership openly sympathetic to new and expanding roles for women. It is not surprising, then, that these communities as a whole are more progressive than average Catholics on questions involving women priests and the ERA. They have (from the point of view of those favoring sexual equality) a "best case" model of the clergy in positions of leadership. And most had been exposed to this leadership for months or years before our first survey was taken in October.

What does this mean for the Church? It means that sympathetic leadership in parishes does make a difference on this issue over the long term. When local priests and/or parish leaders speak in favor of equality, when they promote expanded roles for women locally, when they let their own preferences in favor of equality be known, it has a noticeable effect on the beliefs and opinions of those whose lives they touch. Such "education" may not take effect in the four months measured by the October and February surveys, but it can be influential with sufficient time to establish a "climate" favorable to equality and to encourage a gradual re-thinking of past customs.

This fits with the findings in Chapter 5 which indicated that theological orientations were important influences on Catholic Feminism. Priests in parishes are the usual popularizers and transmitters of theology. It is highly likely that those in Priests for Equality parishes have been experiencing a different theological education on matters involving sex roles than most American parishioners have.

Finally, this model of change raises an intriguing question: If such change is evident when it is only pastors and chaplains who are sympathetic, what might happen if bishops or the Pope were favorable?

Change Because of Controversy

The Gallup survey showed that Catholic support for women priests increased ten percentage points in the six weeks following the issuing of the Vatican Declaration. It was this time period -- from January 27th to mid-March 1977 -- that debate raged in the media. Reports from our test groups testify to the controversy stirred by this Declaration. The following are typical comments:

"A great deal of anger... even those who felt opposed to ordination felt the document was in very poor taste."

"...the Vatican decree has had the effect of solidifying efforts toward women's rights and ordination..."

"...thought it absurd and unreasonable..."

"Most people...had not read the declaration...Most people were aware of the secular press coverage. Some people wondered if this were an infallible document...it's very confusing when Rome speaks. Who is Rome?"

"Many were really angry; had choice adjectives vs. the document...all in all, the document AROUSED..."

"Controversy", like that created by this demonstration at the U.S. Catholic Conference, is one route to change.
Controversy stirs people to discuss issues normally not of great personal interest. The Vatican Declaration provoked this type of controversy in the United States -- and evidently helped move opinion in the direction opposite from that intended.

The October-February surveys produced at least one other specific case of local change through controversy. A parish in the Far West began a program to promote balanced liturgical language. The congregation went through the Leaflet Missals before Mass, crossing out objectionable language and substituting new words suggested by the pastor or someone else. According to the report of the pastor, this aroused considerable controversy and opposition, "even from the women".

But the controversy had its effect. In October, 49% of the parish had thought it "silly to object" when the word "man" was used at Mass to include both men and women. After the controversy had ebbed, only 29% of those responding to our February survey thought it was "silly".

Church people often say that opinions on sensitive Church issues change slowly, and only as the result of a "low-key" approach. Programs are designed in this style, taking care not to raise emotions or create dissension in the parish. No one's feathers are ruffled, and no groups are alienated.

Such programs may have an effect over the long term, but these data suggest that they are not always the best and certainly not the fastest routes to change. Controversy is an alternate method. When issues hit high pitch, new agendas appear, and people think about topics they may never have considered before. It suddenly becomes imperative to think through a position, develop cogent reasons for it, and be prepared to defend it. Old reasons and positions can then be discarded swiftly; it becomes possible for rapid change to occur.

And it may be -- as the case of the Vatican Declaration suggests -- that controversy is most productive of change when it involves official viewpoints over which there is serious disagreement.

Change with New Role Models

Very often people fear change until they experience it. Once they have been exposed to "role models" which depart from established patterns and present new possibilities, they are generally more open (assuming that the experience was positive). The findings in Chapter 3 suggest that women in unaccustomed liturgical roles provide "models of change" that encourage the acceptance of other non-traditional roles for women.

This type of change occurred in at least two of the liturgical communities that participated in our survey.

One of the most interesting was an Eastern urban parish. In November,
between the October and February surveys, the pastor abolished "altar boys" and replaced them with "altar assistants" — a position opened to boys and girls, men and women. He reported that there was "no adverse reaction in the parish". In October, 31% of the parishioners had believed that "only boys should be altar servers at Mass"; by February, only 18% thought so. In October, only 46% had thought that having altar boys but not girls taught sex discrimination to the young; by February, 58% were convinced that the statement was true.

This experience may have had a wider effect as well. The parishioners in February were more open to women Ministers of the Eucharist and women priests than they were in October. And they were much readier to believe that change was possible. In October, only 39% thought the Church could accept women priests in 10 years or less; by February, 62% thought so.

Another change that was apparently influenced by role models took place on a women's college campus in the Midwest. The campus ministry faced a new situation that year: The absence of full or part-time priest-chaplain. A local priest was "sent in" for Masses, but that was all. Most of the campus ministry was performed by two women who were very involved in, and committed to, social justice and change in the Church. Between October and February, the campus became acutely aware of their leadership, viewpoints, and ministry without a male priest. In October, only 44% of the respondents had been favorable to women priests, and only 47% had said they would go to a woman priest for confession. By February, approval of women priests had risen to 58%, and 60% thought confession might be all right too. As the women themselves testified: "These people have experienced personally the lack of a male priest chaplain either personally or educationally trained to serve their ministerial needs...these factors may have influenced some to think: 'Why not women?'"

These experiences indicate that one of the best ways to promote change in opinion is to change the practice and let the experience take effect. Opinion change can follow changed practice as well as precede it.

Change from the Ventilation of Opinions and Feelings

Many of the parishes involved in the survey reported giving homilies on the subject of equality for women and men in the Church. But the most noticeable changes came from places where discussion supplemented preaching, where feelings could be talked out, where questions could be asked and answered. People who were "preached at" changed less than those who became engaged in a conversation or discussion, talked out their problems, and formulated opinions through interaction.

This type of change characterized at least three groups in the survey. In a Southern campus group, the parish sponsored a group discussion of the merits of the ERA. A feminist-political scientist conducted the discussion. The pastor reported that she was an excellent speaker and discussion leader, and that most found it difficult to disagree with her. Following the meeting, several members attended the ERA hearings in the state legislature. These two events stirred wide discussion on this sensitive issue in an unratified state. In October, 64% had indicated their approval of the Equal Rights Amendment; in February, approval rose to 92% — a truly incredible change.

A rural Midwestern parish had responded very conservatively at the beginning of the survey process. The previous pastor had been an avid supporter of the conservative Church philosophies expounded in Wanderer and Twin Circle. He had regularly preached against change in the Church. The priest who conducted the survey in this rural area had been in the parish only four months when the first survey was taken. His first task had been the development of shared ministry, stressing the equality of women and men as he proceeded. He preached at least three times on this theme, and conducted a workshop on shared parish ministry and worship in December. For the first time in the history of the parish, women became lectors. The process culminated in Parish Involvement Sunday one week before the
administration of the second questionnaire. The entire program was so new that it stirred considerable local discussion, ventilation of feelings, and expressions of opinion. When the second survey was taken in February, only one change was visible: More people believed that more women should have "leadership positions in the Church" than had thought so in October. Percentage support rose from 49% to 62% in 4 months when shared responsibility was the central theme in the life of the parish.

This one change is important. It indicates that people change on the issue they discuss most often, the one that touches their Church lives at the local level. "Leadership" for these people evidently meant parish-level leadership, probably according to the model of shared responsibility then being introduced.

Finally, in a suburban parish in the East, a women gave a dialogue homily on the Vatican Declaration. In the course of that homily, she included a sentence or two about liturgical language: That it was painful to hear "brothers" but never "sisters" in Mass prayers, that it was distressing to always hear God addressed as "Father" but never as "Mother". When discussion was thrown open, there were no problems with her critique of the Vatican Declaration, but there was immediate controversy on sexist language. One man questioned putting emphasis on such an unimportant subject. He insisted that he had always understood masculine pronouns as generic. Several other people joined a growing and lively discussion on both sides. Gradually, sentiments favorable to balanced language were voiced with increasing conviction. Twenty minutes after the discussion began, the man who raised the issue in the beginning announced that he had changed his mind. With that, the homilist embraced him and the congregation broke into applause! It was an unusual event, but one that stirred wide open discussion both during the dialogue and for many weeks thereafter. The result? In October, 63% had thought it was silly to object when the word "man" was used generically; in February, only 48% thought so.

These experiences argue strongly in favor of dialogue homilies, coffee hours after Mass, workshops -- places and times in parish life where discussion is possible and welcomed. Preaching from one person is not nearly as effective or as moving as preaching from all the People of God.

Summary

The case studies and other data analyzed in this chapter suggest several ways in which opinions about sex roles in the Church change. Long-term change occurs where leadership is sympathetic to equality and creates a climate that encourages free and open discussion of the issue. This change becomes more rapid where people have a forum in which to vent their feelings, ask questions, and interact on the issue with parish leadership, friends, and neighbors.

Fairly rapid change is possible when controversy is stirred and people find it important to develop a position on a critical question, take sides, and debate the issue. This may be especially true when the controversy is generated by an official source, such as the Vatican Declaration.

Finally, change occurs when people experience new role models -- when they are exposed to realities that stretch their imaginations and invite them to consider not only what exists, but what might be. Consensus is not necessary in order to execute change; it sometimes follows the change itself.
Thirty-one of the original 43 participating groups persevered through both surveys.

Of those who took the survey in February, 56% reported having taken it in October.

On no question did opinion change more than 9 percentage points in either test or control groups. Most change was between 2 and 5 percentage points. Not significant.

The possibility of change was tested in two ways. First of all, using the 31 groups that took the survey at both times, all the February respondents in test groups were compared to all the October respondents in test groups and all the February respondents in control groups were compared to all the October respondents in control groups. Then, only the February "retakes" (those who reported having taken the survey in October) were compared. In neither case was there significant change. Only when individual worshipping communities were examined across time did patterns of meaningful change appear.


Some groups that reported wide-ranging activities showed no change in opinion. About six groups, test and control, showed some change in a conservative direction. In other groups, the number of respondents was too small to permit meaningful analysis. The case studies that have been selected are those that evidenced change that could be explained with reference to the intervening "education process" and which fit models of change emerging from other dimensions of this study.

The national samples referred to here are the 1974 NORC sample and the February 1977 Gallup Poll commissioned by the Quixote Center. Since opinion was 29% favorable in 1974 and 31% favorable at the first Gallup Poll in 1977, it is assumed to have remained roughly at that level in between those dates.

A few worshipping communities in the sample were quite conservative, even by the standards of national random samples. This characterization of the October sample as "progressive" describes the group as a whole.
A Look to the Future

Feminism is in the process of encountering Catholicism, challenging values, beliefs, and practices long advocated and deeply held. This is indeed a "radical" encounter, touching identities buried deep in human personalities and in the Catholic Church as an institution.

The challenge is real, and it is serious. It is asking the Church to move from its historical position as a defender of traditional sex roles to a position as an advocate of sexual equality. It is meeting strong resistance from those who believe that some traditional sex roles (e.g., a male priesthood) are intimately tied to the teachings of the gospel and the tradition of the Church.

How "emerging Catholics" in the United States relate to that challenge and that resistance has been the focus of this study. The role of the People of God is undoubtedly critical as this encounter moves toward resolution.

The "Readiness" of the People

This study has sought to understand what "emerging American Catholics" believe about women in ministry, why they believe it, and if their opinions change under specific conditions. Underlying this search is the question of "readiness": How "ready" are the Catholic people for women and men as full and equal partners in Church ministry? What projections are possible for the future?

But what does "readiness" mean? Put in concrete terms, what percentage level of support is necessary before the Church can ordain women, or take other significant steps toward full equality?

Data from Protestant faiths that have women ministers suggest some answers. As Figure 8.1 shows, those Protestant denominations that have accepted women clergy as denominational policy have a level of support for ordained women that ranges between 50% and 56% -- slightly more than a majority. About one-fourth of the people in those denominations oppose this practice, and about one-fourth are indifferent.

Catholics, as reflected in the Gallup Poll data, are about 10 percentage points below most Protestants in their "readiness" for women clergy. "Emerging Catholic" churchgoers, as reflected in the October sample data, have already reached that level. As Chapter 2 pointed out, projections from Gallup Poll data suggest that "emerging Catholics" are about seven years ahead of a present random sample of Catholics in their acceptance of women in priestly ministry.

Protestants have a much greater incidence of "no opinion" on this issue than Catholics, and their levels of opposition are lower. This suggests that "readiness" is not simply a function of high support levels, but a function of "indifferent tolerance", and low levels of opposition.

Assuming that "emerging Catholics" are seven years ahead of American Catholics as a whole on issues of sexual equality, and assuming that present trends continue at a moderate pace such that the level of support for women priests increases and the opposition gives way to at least an "indifferent tolerance", then American Catholics should be sufficiently close to consensus for a relatively peaceful acceptance of women priests in about ten years. This does not say that the practice could not begin in some places before that time. There are local communities in this survey that were ready in October 1976. But it does indicate that overall national "readiness" is about a decade away, given present rates and direction of change.

Events, of course, can speed up or slow down the pace of change. Future projections for a definite number of
Figure 8.1.
A COMPARISON OF VIEWS ON WOMEN IN MINISTRY: PROTESTANTS, CATHOLICS, AND JEWS*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percent in Favor</th>
<th>Percent Opposed</th>
<th>Percent No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Roman Catholics1 - Gallup</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Emerging Catholics&quot; - Oct. sample</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews2</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Protestants2</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists#</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists**</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutherans**</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterians**</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopalians**</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormons</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These data are from Gallup Polls; the Catholic poll is the latest third of the Gallup Poll commissioned by the Quixote Center, taken March 18-21, 1977. The Protestant/Jewish poll was taken March 4-7, 1977.


1) Question asked of Roman Catholics:
   "As I read this statement, will you tell me whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly: 'It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be ordained as priests.'"

2) Question asked of Protestants and Jews: "Do you favor or oppose having women as pastors, priests, or rabbis in your own faith or denomination?"

#Some Baptist churches have women clergy, but there is no denomination-wide policy on the matter; decisions are made at the local congregational level. Among large numbers of Southern Baptists, there is strong resistance to women ministers.

**These denominations have women clergy as denominational policy.

years are always debatable. Nonetheless, one finding from this study is clear and consistent throughout: Given the continuance of present trends, Catholic opinion is moving steadily in a direction supportive of full equality for men and women in ministry. The following signs of movement are apparent:

1) "Emerging Catholics" accept women in ministries where they presently serve, and a majority are ready to believe that women priests represent a positive good. They want more women in Church leadership, and they believe that the continued exclusion of women from certain liturgical roles solely on the basis of sex is discriminatory.

2) "Emerging Catholics" have rejected many of the theological and psychological underpinnings of sexist practice in the Church. They find the Vatican Declaration less than convincing, and they no longer identify with many common cultural stereotypes that relegate men and women to separate, distinct, unequal social roles. They believe change is both possible and desirable, and approve of organizing to achieve it -- even in the face of Papal opposition. They do not believe that women in the priesthood would have devastating consequences for the Church.
3) The sources of support for Catholic Feminism are among younger, better-educated Catholics. Traditionalism is a waning philosophy with its major sources of support among older, less-educated generations whose leadership will soon be superseded.

4) Even Traditionalists no longer resonate with a Church that is all-male dominated, and many are close to accepting women in the new roles in which they have appeared in the last 10 years.

The signs are strong and consistent. They indicate that the tide of opinion is supportive of Catholic Feminist thought and ideals.

The Roots of Inequality

Since the Church has historically preached and practiced traditional sex roles in its life and ministries, this study sought to unearth the roots of those beliefs and traditions, examine them, and spell out their implications. Why do some Catholics adhere to traditional notions of sex roles and why have some embraced a feminist ethic of sexual equality?

The findings indicate that the roots of inequality in the Church are in its own traditional theology, its interpretation of sex roles in Scripture as morally defining, and its adherence to "tradition" as a determining factor for women in the 20th century Church. The roots are also deep in its authority patterns that mirror, in the larger ecclesiastical order, the traditional male-female relationship of dominance-submission.

In short: Catholics believe what they do about women in ministry because of the theology they have been taught -- the Word as popularized and transmitted to them in the classroom, in the pew, and in the media. They believe what they do because of their authority orientations -- their resonance with either a "top-down" or "sharing" model of decision-making.

These findings suggest that the roots are deep and intertwined, not subject to easy change at the most basic psychological level. But change is far from impossible, even in the arenas of theology and authority. The experience of Vatican II shows that basic change can be accepted and even welcomed by the laity when it makes sense for the times.

Trends among "emerging Catholics" on the issue of equality suggest that such basic change is underway. The roots of inequality are no longer growing deeper; they have been clipped and stunted and are in the process of being pulled up and tossed away.

How Change Takes Place

This study also sought to understand processes of change in the Church: How do opinions on sexual equality develop and grow? Chapter 7 identified four distinct models of change, but the findings from other chapters have also suggested conditions, programs, or actions that seem to move opinion in the direction of equality. The following summary brings these findings together:

1) The transmission of a theology of sex roles has a strong effect on what Catholic lay people think about the practices of the Church in relation to women.

Theological education at the grassroots which stresses Scriptural support for sexual equality, discusses "tradition" as a dynamic reality, and emphasizes the teachings of Vatican II on social justice tends to encourage a re-thinking of traditional sex roles and the popular theology behind them. Such education is especially effective if encouraged by sympathetic Church leadership. In that case, many ordinary Catholics begin to believe that "feminism" is not sin or disloyalty, that equality is an option for the Church, and that equality may even be resonant with the call of the gospel. They begin to believe that it is possible to dissent from the older official line and still consider oneself "Catholic".

2) Orientations toward authority have a great deal to do with what people believe about the roles of men and women in the Church.

Belief in a hierarchical model of clerical-lay decision making tends to reinforce a hierarchical model of
male-female relationships. Acceptance of more horizontal models of shared decision-making tends to be associated with a belief in the equality of men and women.

The experience of new models of authority in which responsibility and ministry are shared among clergy and laity, men and women, makes it possible to imagine Church life without the older dominance-submission model. It allows people to become accustomed to working and relating as equals. Equal sharing at this level makes it possible to imagine equal sharing at other levels -- men and women ministering equally to human needs in Church and society.

3) Controversy and open discussion also stir change.

When the issue of equality is concretized in a local dispute over sexist language, or the implications of the Vatican Declaration, or such issues as altar girls, people take a special interest because it is a "hot" issue. They put it on their agendas. They mull it over and examine their reasons for believing as they do. They clash with others over the issue, sharpen their arguments, and develop new angles for viewing the problem. They sometimes consider changing their minds -- and often do. The data here suggest that processes resulting from controversy need not be shunned or feared. They may well be one of the most important means of change available.

4) New role models also provide impetus for change.

When people actually experience women in new positions, when they see that the local church does not fall apart as a result, when some of their own friends and relatives assume these roles, then change becomes "OK". People are affirmed and a new stage of change begins to look possible. These findings suggest that acceptance of women in ministerial roles is encouraged if people see women in these roles -- for example, women ministers or priests from other denominations or Catholic women filling roles that are usually performed by the priest (e.g., reading the gospel, delivering homilies, blessing the congregation). More change is possible when some change happens.

The data on Traditionalists in this study suggest that change is occurring even in fairly conservative places. Virtually all "emerging Catholics" -- Feminists and Traditionalists alike -- are uncomfortable with all-male decision-making structures and leadership in the Church, and almost everyone accepts women in the liturgical roles to which they have been recently admitted, such as Minister of the Eucharist.

The movement of opinion among American Catholics is toward a steadily increasing acceptance of full equality in ministry.

Sexual Equality as a Justice Issue

Finally, this study sought to understand how opinions on women are related -- if at all -- to other issues facing Church and society.

The findings showed that they are closely related: to a general quest for equality by marginal groups, to basic changes in the priesthood and Church policies and structures, to views on feminist issues in civil society (although there is a clear wrestling with the problem of abortion), and to the non-acceptability of force as an instrument of social policy.

The Church officially recognizes many of these as justice issues. Racism has long been condemned as a social injustice; Vatican II and Pope Paul VI decried war and violence in resounding terms; and the Church in recent years has stressed the gospel call to work for marginal and oppressed people.

The fact that Catholic Feminism is connected to many of these other issues in the minds of "emerging Catholics" suggests strongly that they do not separate justice issues in larger society from justice issues in the Church. The fact that so many of these Catholics see the exclusion of women from equal roles as "discriminatory" indicates that many of them see this as an issue of justice.

This means, in brief, that the Church will be less than convincing to the emerging generation of Catholics when it preaches justice in the larger social order but exempts itself from that gospel call to justice. It will be less than effective preaching
the gospel until it faces, and deals with, those internal issues which keep the Church from being seen as a "sacrament of justice" in the larger world. For these "emerging Catholics", the equality of men and women is an important part of that needed sacramentality.


2Ibid. The Gallup Poll projections show 55% in support of women priests in 10 years, and less than 40% in opposition. At this point, the level of "indifferent tolerance" should be sufficiently high to allow for a policy change on this question.

3These data, of course, deal with the United States, and the role of women is clearly an international issue. However, just as change need not be universal in the United States right away, it need not be universal in the world. Cultures might well choose to change on this issue when they sense an acceptable level of "readiness"—or (as the case may be) a real need for more priests.
Appendix A
The Questionnaire with October and February Results

CATHOLIC OPINION RESEARCH PROJECT

*DIRECTIONS: DO NOT SIGN YOUR NAME to this questionnaire; it is anonymous.
To indicate the answer which most nearly represents your position, CIRCLE the APPROPRIATE NUMBER AT THE FAR RIGHT. Disregard the number with a 'c' in front of it; it is for computer processing. CIRCLE ONE NUMBER PER QUESTION ONLY.

(The numbers reported here are percentages. They do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>OCTOBER 1976 RESULTS</th>
<th>FEBRUARY 1977 RESULTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of groups: 43</td>
<td>Number of groups: 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number of respondents: 5942</td>
<td>Number of respond-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ents: 2848</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WOMEN

1. More women should have leadership positions in the Church.
   - October: 46 Strongly Agree, 33 Somewhat Agree, 7 No Opinion, 8 Somewhat Disagree, 6 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 49 Strongly Agree, 33 Somewhat Agree, 6 No Opinion, 7 Somewhat Disagree, 5 Strongly Disagree
   - October: 10 Strongly Agree, 17 Somewhat Agree, 6 No Opinion, 21 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 7 Strongly Agree, 15 Somewhat Agree, 5 No Opinion, 21 Strongly Disagree

2. In the home, the husband should have the final say about money matters.
   - October: 53 Strongly Agree, 18 Somewhat Agree, 10 No Opinion, 10 Somewhat Disagree, 9 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 54 Strongly Agree, 19 Somewhat Agree, 10 No Opinion, 8 Somewhat Disagree, 9 Strongly Disagree
   - October: 17 Strongly Agree, 8 Somewhat Agree, 7 No Opinion, 18 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 13 Strongly Agree, 9 Somewhat Agree, 8 No Opinion, 17 Strongly Disagree

3. Where laymen distribute communion, but laywomen cannot, discrimination is being practiced.
   - October: 29 Strongly Agree, 22 Somewhat Agree, 13 No Opinion, 27 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 31 Strongly Agree, 23 Somewhat Agree, 12 No Opinion, 24 Strongly Disagree
   - October: 14 Strongly Agree, 28 Somewhat Agree, 11 No Opinion, 25 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 12 Strongly Agree, 28 Somewhat Agree, 13 No Opinion, 24 Strongly Disagree

4. Only boys should be altar servers at Mass.
   - October: 26 Strongly Agree, 24 Somewhat Agree, 12 No Opinion, 17 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 25 Strongly Agree, 16 Somewhat Agree, 8 No Opinion, 26 Strongly Disagree
   - October: 23 Strongly Agree, 16 Somewhat Agree, 8 No Opinion, 29 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 21 Strongly Agree, 19 Somewhat Agree, 7 No Opinion, 25 Strongly Disagree

5. It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be priests.
   - October: 19 Strongly Agree, 21 Somewhat Agree, 16 No Opinion, 7 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 25 Strongly Agree, 16 Somewhat Agree, 8 No Opinion, 8 Strongly Disagree
   - October: 23 Strongly Agree, 16 Somewhat Agree, 7 No Opinion, 29 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 21 Strongly Agree, 19 Somewhat Agree, 7 No Opinion, 25 Strongly Disagree

6. Women are naturally more sensitive to human needs than are men.
   - October: 14 Strongly Agree, 28 Somewhat Agree, 11 No Opinion, 25 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 12 Strongly Agree, 28 Somewhat Agree, 13 No Opinion, 24 Strongly Disagree

7. Someday I would like to see a woman become a bishop.
   - October: 22 Strongly Agree, 13 Somewhat Agree, 11 No Opinion, 26 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 23 Strongly Agree, 16 Somewhat Agree, 8 No Opinion, 26 Strongly Disagree

8. I would go to a women priest for confession.
   - October: 32 Strongly Agree, 19 Somewhat Agree, 21 No Opinion, 21 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 35 Strongly Agree, 20 Somewhat Agree, 19 No Opinion, 7 Strongly Disagree

9. People are justified in wanting the priest to say "Pray, brothers and sisters..." instead of only "Pray, brothers..." during Mass.
   - October: 49 Strongly Agree, 19 Somewhat Agree, 16 No Opinion, 7 Strongly Disagree
   - February: 45 Strongly Agree, 23 Somewhat Agree, 17 No Opinion, 8 Strongly Disagree

10. If the Church ordains women, only nuns should be eligible.
    - October: 12 Strongly Agree, 10 Somewhat Agree, 16 No Opinion, 45 Strongly Disagree
    - February: 10 Strongly Agree, 10 Somewhat Agree, 14 No Opinion, 48 Strongly Disagree

11. Women should organize to win their rights in the Church.
    - October: 20 Strongly Agree, 26 Somewhat Agree, 15 No Opinion, 18 Strongly Disagree
    - February: 22 Strongly Agree, 27 Somewhat Agree, 21 No Opinion, 5 Strongly Disagree

12. Ordination to the priesthood should be limited to men.
    - October: 25 Strongly Agree, 9 Somewhat Agree, 10 No Opinion, 37 Strongly Disagree
    - February: 22 Strongly Agree, 10 Somewhat Agree, 9 No Opinion, 19 Strongly Disagree

13. Having altar boys but not altar girls in a parish teaches young people that sex discrimination is all right.
    - October: 26 Strongly Agree, 12 Somewhat Agree, 17 No Opinion, 22 Strongly Disagree
    - February: 27 Strongly Agree, 24 Somewhat Agree, 13 No Opinion, 18 Strongly Disagree
14. Men by nature are dominant; women by nature are submissive.

15. If Jesus had wanted women to be priests, He would have chosen some among His 12 Apostles.

16. With respect to human rights, discrimination based on sex is to be eliminated as contrary to God's intent.

17. It's silly to object when the word "man" is used at Mass to include both men and women.

18. Assume that Catholic women have been ordained validly. If women priests were assigned to churches in my area, collections would drop way off.

19. Women should take care of their homes or convents and leave running the Church up to men.

20. If the process were gradual, Catholic people would be ready for women priests in 10 years or less.

21. If women were ordained, I would find it hard to keep going to church.

22. St. Paul said: "In Christ, there is no male nor female." This means today that women and men should be equals in the Church.

23. If the Pope says women can't be ordained, people organizing for women priests should stop what they're doing.

24. Catholic tradition excludes women from the priesthood. This tradition should be changed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25. Missing Mass on Sunday without good reason is a mortal sin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Under certain conditions, the Pope is infallible (without error) when he speaks on matters of faith and morals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. The Church should permit forms of birth control other than the rhythm method.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Parishoners should be able to approve the selection of their pastors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. The Church should permit divorced Catholics to re-marry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Most priests should live more simply - with fewer luxuries.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
31. Homosexuals should have the same opportunities in the Church as everybody else.
   
   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

32. Priests should be able to marry if they want to.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33. It's morally wrong for an engaged couple to have sexual intercourse before marriage.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

34. The way you live is more important than whether you are Protestant or Catholic.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOCIETY

35. The United States has an obligation to help needy nations.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

36. In many respects, racial equality has gone too far in this country.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

37. We need a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion in the United States.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

38. It would be good if all 50 states brought back the death penalty.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

39. To be secure, it is necessary that this nation be second to none in military strength.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40. In this country, almost anyone can earn a decent living if he/she works hard enough.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

41. The Equal Rights Amendment should be passed to ensure the legal equality of men and women in this country.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

42. Most poor people are poor because society doesn't give everybody an equal chance.

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FACTUAL DATA

IN THIS SECTION, PUT A CHECKMARK IN THE APPROPRIATE BLANK.

43. What is your sex? 37 (34) Male 63 (66) Female

44. What is your age? Under 30: 45% 30-39: 23% 40-49: 14% 50-64: 14% 65 and over: 5%

45. What is your marital status? 41 (49) Single 52 (46) Married 1 (1) Separated

46. What is your position in the Church? 94 (93) Lay person 5 (6) Member of a Religious Order (Sister/Brother) 1 (1) Priest

47. What is the highest level of education you have attained? 4 (4) 8th grade or less 13 (11) Some high school 19 (19) High school diploma

   OCTOBER RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   FEBRUARY RESULTS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Agree</th>
<th>Somewhat Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>No Opinion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this "Factual Data" section, the October results are reported first; the February results are in parentheses.
48. Which of the following best describes your present employment situation?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employment Status</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed full-time</td>
<td>43 (41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed part-time</td>
<td>9 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for work</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>5 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>17 (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>23 (28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently disabled</td>
<td>1 (0.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49. What is your present occupation? (if employed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional, technical</td>
<td>46 (46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager, official, proprietor</td>
<td>10 (8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical worker</td>
<td>14 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales worker</td>
<td>7 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled worker</td>
<td>6 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer, industrial or farm</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>5 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of the Armed Forces</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled trade or crafts worker</td>
<td>7 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled worker</td>
<td>6 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer, industrial or farm</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>5 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of the Armed Forces</td>
<td>2 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled trade or crafts worker</td>
<td>7 (7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50. What was your total FAMILY income in 1975 before taxes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$4,999 or less</td>
<td>5 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - $9,999</td>
<td>10 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $14,999</td>
<td>14 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $19,999</td>
<td>14 (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - $24,999</td>
<td>13 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $49,999</td>
<td>14 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 or more</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No earned income</td>
<td>3 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>24 (25)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51. What was your total PERSONAL income in 1975 before taxes?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income Range</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$4,999 or less</td>
<td>25 (31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - $9,999</td>
<td>12 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $14,999</td>
<td>11 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $19,999</td>
<td>7 (7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - $24,999</td>
<td>5 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $49,999</td>
<td>5 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 or more</td>
<td>1 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No earned income</td>
<td>13 (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know</td>
<td>22 (19)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52. Which most closely describes the frequency of your church attendance?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>8 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>84 (84)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>6 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once or twice a year</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never</td>
<td>0 (0.4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

53. To which ethnic or racial groups do you feel closest? (Mark no more than 2)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Count (Percentage)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black/Negro/Afro-American</td>
<td>10 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English/Scottish/Welsh</td>
<td>10 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>25 (25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>10 (16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>7 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Western European</td>
<td>4 (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Eastern European</td>
<td>2 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slavic</td>
<td>2 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asian</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Indian/Native American</td>
<td>3 (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No identification except American</td>
<td>20 (18)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THANK YOU

The following question was asked only in February:

54. Did you answer this questionnaire in October 1976? Yes 56 No 44

*These are the original directions. The original answer sheet was arranged like this:
Appendix B
The Volunteering Form

(Some data in this study were taken from this form).

I WOULD LIKE TO VOLUNTEER TO BE PART OF PROJECT #1.

1) My name __________________________ Position ________________________
Parish/Community _____________________
Address ______________________________
_________________ ZIP ___________ Tel. # ( ) ________________________

In order to get a sense of the volunteering groups during this planning stage, would you check off the answers to the following:

2) Which most closely describes your parish/community setting?
   _____ small town
   _____ rural
   _____ suburban
   _____ urban
   _____ college campus
   _____ other (specify) __________

3) With what parish/community liturgical group will you do the survey?
   _____ parish mass
   _____ total parish
   _____ campus mass
   _____ religious community
   _____ other (specify) __________

4) What is the predominant economic class of the group?
   _____ poor
   _____ lower middle class
   _____ average middle class
   _____ upper middle class
   _____ very affluent, rich

5) What is the predominant racial composition of this group?
   _____ white
   _____ black
   _____ racially mixed
   _____ other (specify) __________
   _____ Chicano

6) What is the predominant sexual composition of this group?
   _____ predominantly male
   _____ predominantly female
   _____ sexually mixed

It's important for us to know how many people will take part in the study - planning and printing requirements.
7) How many people do you estimate will take part in this study?

__________________________

8) On a scale of 0 - 10, how would you rate your group in terms of consciousness on the women's issue in both church and society?

Low Consciousness          High Consciousness
0  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10

9) How often do women serve in the following church functions in your group?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Daily</th>
<th>Weekly</th>
<th>Monthly</th>
<th>Rarely/never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lectors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>music directors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altar servers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ushers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMOC's</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homilists</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offertory processions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other (specify)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10) Would you be willing to 'pass the hat' sometime during the study to help fund Project #1?  ___________ yes  ___________ no

11) WHICH PART OF THE STUDY DO YOU WISH TO BE INVOLVED IN?  Check one.

_____ Test Group - two surveys and education process.

_____ Control Group - two surveys, 5 months apart.

12) For TEST GROUP VOLUNTEERS - The educational process will be drawn up in response to what you would find simple, manageable, and educational.

Check as many of the following suggestions as you would be willing to do during the 5 month process. Add others you think of.

_____ Preach once, twice, three times on the issue. (circle one)

_____ Stage a coffee/discussion after the Mass(es) at which I preach.

_____ Do a dialogue homily on this, or give people a chance to talk to each other in church after the preaching.

_____ Have a workshop on women in the church for the community.

_____ Make an effort to balance my own language in preaching and liturgy during the process.

_____ Balance participation by women in liturgy during these months.

_____ Review parish/community groups for balanced participation.

_____ Distribute one or two articles to the participants of the study.

_____ Other - please specify ___________________________________________
Appendix C
Percentage Comparisons: The October and February Samples with a Gallup Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>October Sample</th>
<th>February Sample</th>
<th>Gallup Sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEX:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MARITAL STATUS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Divorced</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EDUCATION:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th grade or less</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College [any]</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RACE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-White</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>REGION:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far West</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FAMILY INCOME:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,999 or less</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - $9,999</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $14,999</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $19,999</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000+</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHURCH ATTENDANCE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>October Sample</td>
<td>February Sample</td>
<td>Gallup Sample</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly agree</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat agree</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat Disagree</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Disagree</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
<td>5492</td>
<td>2848</td>
<td>1205</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The Gallup Sample is the combined results of the three-wave poll which asked about women priests in 1977: Feb. 18-21, 1977; March 4-7, 1977, and March 18-21, 1977.*

**In the Gallup Sample, church attenders are those who attended church in the 7 days before the survey was taken. In the October and February samples, church attenders are those who reported daily or weekly attendance. Percents do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding.
Appendix D
Percentage Comparisons:
Catholic Feminists and Traditionalists*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Catholic Feminists</th>
<th>Catholic Traditionalists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEX:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>AGE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 30</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>MARITAL STATUS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Divorced</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EDUCATION:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th grade or less</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Diploma</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4-Year College Graduate</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate Degree</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>EMPLOYMENT SITUATION:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for Work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently Disabled</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OCCUPATION:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Technical</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager/Official/Proprietor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Worker</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Worker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Worker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Worker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed Forces</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY INCOME:</td>
<td>Catholic Feminists</td>
<td>Catholic Traditionalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,999 or less</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - $9,999</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $14,999</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $19,999</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,000 - $24,999</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 - $49,999</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000+</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHURCH ATTENDANCE:</th>
<th>Catholic Feminists</th>
<th>Catholic Traditionalists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 Times a Year/Never</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE OR RESIDENCE:</th>
<th>Catholic Feminists</th>
<th>Catholic Traditionalists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Small Town</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburban Area</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban Area</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Campus</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RACE:</th>
<th>Catholic Feminists</th>
<th>Catholic Traditionalists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-white</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 1390

WOMEN ONLY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EMPLOYMENT SITUATION:</th>
<th>Catholic Feminists</th>
<th>Catholic Traditionalists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Looking for Work</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permanently Disabled</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 827

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION:</th>
<th>Catholic Feminists</th>
<th>Catholic Traditionalists</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional/Technical</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager/Official/Proprietor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Worker</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales Worker</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Worker</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-skilled Worker</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laborer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N = 503

*These data are from the October sample. Percents do not necessarily add to 100% due to rounding. See Chapter 4 for a full explanation of "Catholic Feminists" and "Catholic Traditionalists*.
Appendix E
Methods of Index Construction

Indexes in this book are constructed on the basis of intercorrelations between variables. With the exception of the Catholic Feminism-Traditionalism Index, all indexes are additive with equal weight assigned to each constituent variable.

What follows is a description of each index used in this study, its constituent variables, its minimum and maximum values in "long form", and its recoding to a "collapsed" form for crossruns with other variables.

1. CATHOLIC FEMINISM-TRADITIONALISM INDEX

Constituent variables:

1. It would be a good thing if women were allowed to be priests.
2. Someday I would like to see a woman become a bishop.
3. I would go to a woman priest for confession.
4. Women should organize to win their rights in the Church.
5. It's silly to object when the word "man" is used at Mass to include both men and women.

Catholic Feminists were defined as those who expressed a feminist view on at least 4 out of 5 of these issues, i.e., they "strongly agreed" or "somewhat agreed" with statements 1-4 above and "strongly disagreed" or "somewhat disagreed" with statement 5.

Catholic Traditionalists were defined as those who expressed a traditional view on at least 4 out of 5 of these issues, i.e., they "strongly disagreed" or "somewhat disagreed" with statements 1-4 above, and "strongly agreed" or "somewhat agreed" with statement 5.

Everyone else was put in a middle category.

This index has no "long form"; there are only the 3 categories defined above.

2. THE THEOLOGICAL INDEX

Constituent variables:

1. If Jesus had wanted women as priests, He would have chosen some among His 12 Apostles.
2. With respect to human rights, discrimination based on sex is to be eliminated as contrary to God's intent.
3. St. Paul said: "In Christ, there is no male nor female." This means today that women and men should be equals in the Church.

The constituent variables were recoded so that egalitarian views (disagreement with #1, agreement with #2 and #3) were at the same end of the scale.

Minimum value: 3  Maximum Value: 15
Recoding for crossruns: 1) 3-6  2) 7-11  3) 12-15
3. THE AUTHORITY INDEX

Constituent Variables:
1. Under certain conditions, the Pope is infallible (without error) when he speaks on matters of faith and morals.
2. Parishoners should be able to approve the selection of their pastors.
3. If the Pope says women can't be ordained, people organizing for women priests should stop what they're doing.

The constituent variables were recoded so that views favorable to a shared, rather than hierarchical, view of authority (disagreement with #1 and #3, agreement with #2) were at the same end of the scale.

Minimum value: 3  Maximum value: 15  
Recoding for crossruns: 1) 3-6  2) 7-11  3) 12-15

4. THE CIVIC CULTURE INDEX

Constituent variables:
1. In the home, the husband should have the final say about money matters.
2. Women are naturally more sensitive to human needs than are men.
3. Men by nature are dominant; women by nature are submissive.
4. Women should take care of their homes or convents and leave running the Church up to men.

The constituent variables were coded so that views favorable to traditional sex roles (agreement with all 4 statements) were at the same end of the scale.

Minimum value: 4  Maximum value: 20  
Recoding for crossruns: 1) 4-8  2) 9-15  3) 16-20

5. THE INDEX OF PRO-LIFE VIEWS

Constituent variables:
1. It would be good if all 50 states brought back the death penalty.
2. In many respects, racial equality has gone too far in this country.
3. To be secure, it is necessary that this nation be second to none in military strength.

The constituent variables were coded so that views favorable to life (disagreement with all 3 statements) were at the same end of the scale.

Minimum value: 3  Maximum value: 15  
Recodings for crossruns: 1) 3-6  2) 7-11  3) 12-15

6. INDEX OF VIEWS ON MARRIAGE AND SEXUAL RELATIONS

Constituent variables:
1. The Church should permit forms of birth control other than the rhythm method.
2. The Church should permit divorced Catholics to re-marry.
3. Priests should be able to marry if they want to.
4. It's morally wrong for an engaged couple to have sexual intercourse before marriage.

The constituent variables were recoded so that views favorable to traditional morality (disagreement with #1, #2 and #3 and agreement with #4) were at the same end of the scale.

Minimum value: 4  Maximum value: 20  
Recodings for crossruns: 1) 4-8  2) 9-15  3) 16-20
Appendix F
List of States by Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EAST</th>
<th>SOUTH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>South Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Tennessee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Mississippi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delaware</td>
<td>Louisiana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District of Columbia</td>
<td>Texas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MIDWEST</th>
<th>FAR WEST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>Arizona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana</td>
<td>Colorado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>Idaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wisconsin</td>
<td>Wyoming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>Utah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iowa</td>
<td>Nevada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>New Mexico</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dakota</td>
<td>California</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Dakota</td>
<td>Oregon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
<td>Washington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>Hawaii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alaska</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix G
Does “Anti-Abortion” Equal “Pro-Life”? A Special Analysis

There are few issues which stir more heated debate than the question of abortion. On one side, groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) argue for a "woman's right to choose" a safe abortion. They maintain that women should have the right to "control their own bodies", that government should not interfere in the doctor-patient relationship, and that the law should not make moral decisions for women. They support the 1973 Supreme Court rulings on abortion which gave women the right to choose abortion until the end of the second trimester of pregnancy. They maintain that any return to restrictive laws would return women to the "back alley" abortionists.

On the other side, "pro-life" groups argue that abortion is murder because the fetus is a human life from the moment of conception. They support a constitutional amendment that would protect fetal life from that first moment. They decry the Supreme Court rulings that permit the taking of fetal life up to the end of the 6th month of pregnancy. They rest their case on the "right-to-life" of the fetus, maintaining that no civilized nation should give anyone, even the mother of the unborn, the right to take a life.

It is not the purpose of this analysis to judge the merits or the morality of these arguments. It is its purpose to test the validity of the claim to the title, "pro-life," for those who favor an anti-abortion amendment.

The Term: "Pro-Life"

Opposition to abortion is a position that is "pro-fetal-life". But advocates of an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution do not use so narrow a term. They refer to their movement as "pro-life", themselves as "right-to-lifers", and the proposed amendment as a "Human Life Amendment". These are broad philosophical terms. They include a concern for all human life, born as well as unborn. "Life" is the fundamental claim on which rests the whole line of argumentation for an anti-abortion amendment.

Strict anti-abortionists leave no room for compromise when fetal life is at stake. They claim that the embryo is sacred from the moment of conception -- a value to be protected and preserved beyond all others. For many anti-abortionists, nothing can supersede the life of the fetus; for others, only the preservation of other life -- for example, the life of the mother -- might justify abortion. In general, the anti-abortion movement puts fetal life above all other considerations: the mental and physical health of the mother, the economic condition of the family, the way in which the child was conceived (e.g., rape or incest), the possibility of a deformed baby, or the probability that a child might be unwanted, unloved, or abused once born.

But if the term "pro-life", rather than "pro-fetal-life" is an accurate description, then its adherents should place as high a value on all human life as they place on fetal life.

But there are signs -- even from within the anti-abortion movement -- that this may not be the case. At a recent convention of the National Right to Life Committee, there was loud applause when a participant shouted: "Abortion is the only issue." Those who sought to broaden the movement's concern beyond abortion to issues of capital punishment and nuclear disarmament were disappointed. They were rebuked by those who distinguish between unborn life as "perfect" and born life as "imper-
Figure G.1.
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN VIEWS ON ABORTION AND OTHER LIFE ISSUES*

(Read down)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index of &quot;pro-life&quot; views: **</th>
<th>Those favoring an anti-abortion amendment</th>
<th>Those opposed to an anti-abortion amendment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lowest third</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(least pro-life)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highest third</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(most pro-life)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=2718 N=1796

gamma = -0.27***

*These data are from the October sample.
See Appendix E for an explanation of how this index was constructed.

**The index of pro-life views included questions on the death penalty, military security, and racial equality.

***This negative "gamma" (measure of association) indicates a moderate negative relationship between anti-abortion views and other pro-life issues.
This table omits those who took no position on the anti-abortion amendment.

fect".2 Whatever the distinctions some anti-abortionists try to draw, the movement claims the title "pro-life", not "pro-perfect-life" or "pro-fetal-life". The validity of this claim can be tested.

Testing the Claim

If "pro-life" is an accurate description of the anti-abortion movement, then views favorable to a "Human Life Amendment" should correlate positively and strongly with other "pro-life" stands: opposition to the death penalty, a concern for racial equality (because inequality has led to violence against Black people), and something less than total reliance on the U.S. military for security. In the actual survey results, views about the death penalty, racial equality, and the military were correlated with each other, suggesting that they are connected in the minds of the respondents and legitimately form one index of "pro-life" opinion.3 This index was constructed and then cross-tabulated and correlated with views on the anti-abortion amendment. Figure G.1 displays the results.

The Results

Views favorable to an anti-abortion amendment did not correlate positively with these other pro-life views. They actually had a moderate negative association with the pro-life index. This means that Catholics favoring the anti-abortion amendment were less likely to be "pro-life" on a wider range of social issues than those who oppose the amendment. Only 24% of the anti-abortionists scored in the upper third of the "pro-life" index, compared to 42% of those who do not favor an anti-abortion amendment. (See Figure G.1.).

These findings suggest strongly that the description of the anti-abortion movement as "pro-life" in any broad understanding of that term is not accurate.

If Not "Pro-Life", Then What?

So the question arises: If the anti-abortionists in this survey do not associate their point of view with a deep, across-the-board reverence for human life, with what do they associate it? Are views on anti-abortion amendment related to any other issues?
Views on the anti-abortion amendment were tested against every other statement in the survey, and against indexes constructed from questions which showed close associations in opinion patterns.

Among those indexes was one measuring views of sex and marriage on a traditional-liberal spectrum. It included questions dealing with birth control, remarriage after divorce, priestly celibacy, and pre-marital sex. The "traditional" end of this spectrum was defined as a tendency to oppose artificial contraception, remarriage after divorce, and pre-marital sex, and a tendency to favor mandatory celibacy for priests.

When this index was associated with opinions on an anti-abortion amendment, the pattern that emerged was clear and unmistakable: Views on an anti-abortion amendment were much more strongly associated with views about sex and marriage than with opinions on "pro-life" issues or with opinions on any other issue in the survey. Those favoring such an amendment were much more likely than opponents to lean toward traditional positions on marriage and sexuality issues. (See Figure G.2.)

"Emerging Catholics" as a whole tended to be liberal in their views on birth control, divorce, and clerical celibacy. Therefore few respondents of either persuasion on abortion fell at the far "traditional" end of the marriage/sexuality spectrum. Nevertheless, 11% of those favoring an abortion amendment fell in the most traditional category, compared to only 3% of those opposed to such an amendment. Only 30% of the anti-abortionists were in the most liberal category, compared to 65% of those in disagreement with the amendment. (See Figure G.2.)

These findings call into serious question the claim of the anti-abortion movement to the title "pro-life". They indicate that the movement derives its most fundamental motivations less from a reverence for human life than from a concern for sexual morality. Our data indicate that the movement is mis-named: "Pro-life" is an inappropriate and inac-

---

**Figure G.2.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Index of views on marriage/sexual relations: **</th>
<th>Those favoring an anti-abortion amendment</th>
<th>Those opposed to an anti-abortion amendment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low score (liberal view)</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High score (traditional views)</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=2792                                           N=1832

\[ \text{gamma} = +0.51 \]

*Data are from the October sample.
See Appendix E for an explanation of the index construction.

**The index of views on marriage/sexual relations included questions on birth control, divorce and remarriage, premarital sex, and priestly celibacy.

***The "gamma" of +0.51 shows a strong positive relationship between views on abortion and opinions about marriage and sexual morality.
This table omits those who took no position on the anti-abortion amendment.
curate title for an "anti-abortion" stance that has some negative relation to other pro-life views. The movement, as represented in our survey, would more properly be called a "sexual morality" movement, since views on abortion are strongly related to that spectrum of opinion.

This finding, however, does not describe every individual proponent of an anti-abortion amendment. Many no doubt do derive their position on abortion from a deep concern for human life. But emphasis on sexual morality rather than reverence for life does seem to characterize the anti-abortion movement, as that movement is reflected in our survey. The term "pro-life" tends to camouflage the syndrome of opinion on sexuality that underlies most views about abortion.

Summary

Views favoring an anti-abortion amendment to the U.S. Constitution have a moderate negative association with a spectrum of "pro-life" concerns, but a strong positive association with traditional views of sex and marriage.

These data suggest that many of those in the movement see abortion at the deepest psychological level less as a taking of human life than as a practice threatening to existing social patterns and customs in families, marriage, and sexual relations.

---


2Ibid.

3The correlations (Pearson r's) are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Death Penalty</th>
<th>Racial Equality</th>
<th>Military Security</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Death Penalty</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Racial Equality</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Military Security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Figure 5.2. for an explanation of correlation.

4These questions too were intercorrelated, suggesting that the respondents saw them as related issues: (Pearson r's):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Birth Control</th>
<th>Divorce/Remarriage</th>
<th>Clerical Celibacy</th>
<th>Pre-marital Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth Control</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Divorce/Remarriage</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical Celibacy</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-marital Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5Opinion was evenly divided on the question of pre-marital sex: 44% judged it immoral for an engaged couple; 44% disagreed and 12% had no opinion.

*Although this research was not part of the original project proposal, the authors believe that the findings shed important new light on the public debate on the question of abortion, and so have included them in this Appendix. The addition of this Appendix is the responsibility of the authors and not part of the "sponsored" research.
Selected Bibliography


Greeley, Andrew; McCreedy, William C.; and McCourt, Kathleen. Catholic Schools in a Declining Church. Kansas City: Sheed and Ward, 1976.


Maureen Fiedler is a Co-Director of the Quixote Center, Mt. Rainier, MD. She obtained her Ph.D. in Political Science from Georgetown University in 1977. Her dissertation analyzed opinion surveys dealing with women in politics. She has lectured nationally on Women in Politics, Women in the Church, and the Equal Rights Amendment. She has been a Sister of Mercy since 1962.

Dolly Pomerleau is a Co-Director and co-founder of the Quixote Center in Mt. Rainier, MD. She is on the Core Commission of the Women's Ordination Conference and coordinated their November, 1978 conference in Baltimore. She was a journalist at the 1975 UN IWY Conference in Mexico and at the 1977 Houston National Women's Conference. Dolly has an M.A. in Women's Studies from George Washington University.