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**The role of grievance, efficacy and cost in the women's
movement in the Catholic Church**

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Iowa State University, 1993

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**The role of grievance, efficacy
and cost in the women's movement
in the Catholic Church**

by

Margaret Mary Hanson

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There is no denying the vast impacts the women's movement has had on virtually all aspects of American life in the past two decades. In the areas of politics, education, business and, in some cases religion, women have become more vocal and more visible. Despite these impacts, the Roman Catholic Church under Pope John Paul II, stands firm on its traditional opposition of granting women greater authority and leadership in the church. Yet, despite institutional opposition, the past three decades have seen the emergence of grass-root movements and organizations among Catholics whose primary purpose is to pursue greater equality for women in the Church.

As with the secular women's movement, the women's movement in the church is gaining opposition and indifference as well as support. Major questions that have been addressed through the history of social movement research concern social movement participation - - Who are social movement participants? Why are some individuals more willing to support a movement than others? Why do some individuals actually participate in the movement while others do not? This study applies Ennis & Schreuer's (1987) theoretical concepts of grievance, efficacy and costs to Catholics' actual participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church. The primary purpose of this study is three-fold:

- 1) To explore the extent of support for the women's movement within the Roman Catholic Church;
- 2) To identify which subgroups of the population have the greatest grievance with the current situation of women in the church
- 3) To test whether differential social definitions of grievance, efficacy and cost account for differences in actual levels of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

Data for this study are derived from an original questionnaire distributed to 1090 Catholics in Wisconsin. When appropriate, these data are complemented by written comments of the respondents.

Doyle (1974) claims the issue of women and religion is one of the most important questions of our time and of the foreseeable future. "Religion concerns the deepest and most ultimate aspects of human life, individually and collectively " (Doyle, 1974: 15). This dissertation begins by presenting a background of this issue. The remainder of this chapter offers a general historical overview of the status of women in the Catholic Church. Chapter 2 discusses the Second Vatican Council (1962 - 1965). Vatican II combined with the rising secular women's movement generated a lot of hope, fear, and anticipation among the American Catholic population. The secular women's movement's challenge to traditions and institutions to re-evaluate and re-define their treatment of women started being applied to non-secular traditions and institutions - - namely the churches, and it is here we find the foundation of the women's movement in the Catholic Church. Having defined the women's movement in the Catholic Church and understanding its roots, Chapter 3 presents literature concerning social movement participation. A review of the literature reveals the fact that "participation" is a very broad term which encompasses numerous behaviors. The literature also suggests that one's actual level of participation can be explained by the combination of three variables: grievance, efficacy and cost. The theoretical models in this project are based on these three concepts and are presented in Chapter 4. The remaining chapters address the methodology and research findings of this study.

Historical Status of Women in the Catholic Church

Crabtree (1970: 15) claims,

Since the first century, the Church has been one of the chief oppressors of women by virtue of its hand-in-hand relationship with the world... The Church has continually perpetuated the very social institutions, customs and myths which it is called to criticize. With regard to the lives of women, the church has given rise and support to the myths of dependency and emotionality, the nuclear family system, the all-male Trinity.

The fact that the roots of the Catholic Church lie in Judaism and Hellenistic origins is a major factor in the church's treatment of women. Judaic religion is based on the Torah which conceives, "The covenant between God and Israel as granting men primacy in virtually all matters" (Carmody & Carmody, 1990: 264). This teaching is paralleled by the value Native Greek, Hebrew and Roman cultures placed on patriarchal authority (D'Antonio & Cavanaugh, 1983). In Hebrew societies, only men were considered full-fledged members of the covenant community. This distinction was made explicit through circumcision (MacHaffe, 1986). The early Christian Church considered women full-fledged members of the Christian community, but did not allow women to hold leadership positions in those communities. MacHaffe (1986) offers two explanations for this curtailment of female leadership: 1) The early Christian Church inherited the institutional structure of the Jewish synagogue, which meant being governed by elected male elders; 2) Due to the hostility of the Greco-Roman culture toward Christianity, "Early Christians may have wished to draw as little attention to themselves as possible... [therefore] they adopted traditional cultural views on appropriate behavior for women..." (MacHaffe, 1986: 27). Martin (1988: 18) offers a third explanation: "The Church's practice regarding women was established at a time when its leaders questioned the spiritual worth of women." The leaders to which Martin refers are often referred to as the "Fathers of the Church" - - e.g., Augustine, Aquinas, Ambrose - - all of whom doubted

whether women bore the image of God. Their argument was that because woman was created from man, woman was created in man's image, not God's (Martin, 1988). Augustine and Aquinas "Both agree that woman is made only... [to be] a helpmate for man in the only area where he cannot be served better by a male" (Tavard, 1973: 125) - - namely, procreation. So, woman is spiritually inferior to man because man, not woman is created in the image of God and woman's specific role and function on the earth is motherhood. The influence of the Church fathers' opinions remains in present-day canon law which was founded on the Church fathers' opinions and Scripture (Weaver, 1985).

A final example of the earliest church's views on women is the declaration for priest celibacy under Pope Gregory VII (1073 - 1085). The primary foundation for this declaration is the belief that woman is an evil temptress. This belief is based on the hypothesis that Eve, "being herself deluded, still approaches Adam with an illegal fruit to be shared, the fruit now being her own body" (Tavard, 1973: 130). Woman is evil, "not the absolute evil of hell, but the relative evil of falling and fallen mankind" (Tavard, 1973: 130). Beginning with this declaration and throughout the Middle Ages, celibacy came to be regarded as a higher status than marriage. Thus, it came to be that any illicit sexual activity was viewed as the fault of the woman. This declaration of celibacy also helps explain the historical Madonna / Whore dualism that has been applied to Catholic women throughout the centuries. Images of women tend to oscillate between extremes of the evil / sexual / seducer / whore and the pure / chaste / virgin / Mary (MacHaffe, 1986).

Through the Middle Ages and Reformation period, the status of women in the church remained relatively static. The only exception to this status quo was the establishment of female monasteries (convents) in the Middle Ages. For the first time, women were offered the opportunity for a religious vocation, security, and learning. As Harkness (1972: 82) explains, "Conventual life in the middle centuries gave women a status and opportunity for personhood

not available elsewhere." Through the Reformation, with the encouragement for all Christians to read the Bible, education for women, and for men, advanced. However, at the same time, the Bible was widely interpreted as commanding the subordination of women to men (MacHaffe, 1986).

Patriarchy continued to be highly valued through the American Colonial period. "Throughout England's new colonies, the ideal wife was described as submissive and obedient to her husband. She yielded to his preferences rather than her own and she devoted her life to his service" (MacHaffe, 1986: 76). Although women remained socially and legally inferior through the century, there came to be a new "twist" on the spiritual inferiority argument. By the mid-19th century, it was being argued that women were not spiritually inferior to men but rather spiritually superior to men (MacHaffe, 1986). In 1876, Bernard O'Reilly authored the first ideology of American Catholic women, Mirror of True Womanhood:

Women... was by nature the more spiritual of the two sexes ... Mothers were living images of God in their unsleeping watchfulness and unfathomable tenderness. The home was woman's God-appointed sphere, a place where true woman held sway ... No woman animated by the Spirit of her Baptism ... ever fancied that she had or could have any other sphere of duty or activity than that home which is her domain (Kennelly, 1989: 3 - 4).

No doubt this publication was, in part, triggered by the increased momentum of the early women's movement. Women were starting to fight for their right to enter out-of-the-home spheres. Support for this is found in the Declaration of Sentiments that resulted from the Seneca Falls convention of 1848: "He allows her in Church ... but in 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" (Smylie, 1975: 82).

The women's movement continued through the turn of the century. As an institution, the Catholic Church frowned upon the women's movement as a threat to woman's "natural position." In 1900, the National American Women Suffrage Association was able to identify

only six Catholic clergy supporters (Keneally, 1980). The American bishops put themselves on record against woman's suffrage. "Why should a woman lower herself to sordid politics? ... Why should a woman long to go into the streets and leave behind her happy home, her children, a husband, and everything that goes to make up ideal domestic life? ... Woman is queen, but her kingdom is the domestic kingdom" (James Cardinal Gibbons quoted in Iadarola, 1985: 460). Archbishop Sebastian Messmer is quoted, "Suffrage could not be supported ... because of the essential inequality of man and woman" (Kenneally, 1980: 194). With the encouragement of the hierarchy, the National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW) organized in 1920, "to stand as an invincible rampart against the onslaughts which are threatening the sanctity of the home, the indissolubility of the marriage bond and the rights of parents in safeguarding the spiritual interests of their children" (Iadarola, 1985: 462).

Despite Catholic protest, women gained the right to vote in 1920. The women's movement's next step was to introduce the Equal Rights Amendment in 1923; which, in 1924, the NCCW took an official stand against. In 1930, Pope Pius XI stated that woman's efforts for equality were debasing and unnatural. Through the decades, this struggle for women's equality continued to arouse concern among the Catholic hierarchy. Pope Pius XII (1939-1958) warned wives, "Many voices will suggest ... that you are in every respect the equal of your husband ... Do not react like Eve to these lying, tempting and deceitful voices" (Iadarola, 1985: 459). The push for equal educational opportunities brought this religious official reaction: "Women whose proper sphere [is the home] do not have to be as well educated as their husbands" (Bishop William Stang quoted in Kenneally, 1980: 194). (NOTE: There is evidence that women were first admitted to male Catholic colleges only as a matter of financial necessity). The Church's reaction to the trend of married women taking employment outside the home is addressed in a 1958 Catholic marriage manual, "Outside employment

might foster undesirable traits in a married woman by making her less willing to be dependent and passive, thus crippling her ability to make her husband happy" (Iadarola, 1985: 465).

The "threat" the Catholic Church experienced through the earlier part of the 20th century neatly coincides with the sociological structural-functionalist theory of gender-roles that claims when women attempt to enter upon, "traditionally male roles, they set up a 'strain' in the social system of socially shaped expectations ... they are being disruptive and dysfunctional" (Lengermann et al., 1978: 379). Prior to Pope John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council, "Popes assumed and explicitly taught women's inequality and condemned advocates of both women's equality and public roles for women" (Gudorf, 1989: 296). With the exception of the "radical" Pope of the early 1960s, and the declarations of Vatican II (discussed in the next chapter), the official church has not budged on its beliefs that woman and man are not truly equal and that the primary function of woman is motherhood. Pope Paul VI stated in 1975, "Nothing is accomplished by talking of equalization of rights ... The aim must be complementarity in which men and women contribute their respective energies to the building of a world which is not leveled into uniformity but is harmoniously organized" (Kenneally, 1980: 193). More recent popes, including Pope John Paul II, "insist that in seeking to free women from discrimination, societies must prevent employment from detracting from women's irreplaceable role in the family" (Gudorf, 1989: 300).

This historical overview gives one a better understanding of the Catholic "tradition" concerning women. The focus of this historical discussion has been pre-1960 because of the impact the Second Vatican Council had on Catholic tradition. The next chapter discusses Vatican II and the hope it, along with the women's movement, ignited among some Catholic laity, religious and clergy. It will be seen that declarations from Vatican II laid the foundation for various grass-roots movements and organizations which continue to strive for, among other things, greater equality of women in the Church. Vatican II and the "second wave" of

the women's movement combined with liberation theology to create a new "feminist theology" which directly challenges many of the traditional theological arguments used to justify specifically, the non-ordination of women. Together, the Second Vatican Council and the feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s helped create the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

CHAPTER 2

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CURRENT WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCH

The Second Vatican Council opened October 1962, under the initiative of Pope John XXIII and concluded in December 1965, under Pope Paul VI. Nearly 100 years had passed since the First Vatican Council, which had been called to condemn liberalism and modernism (Bell, 1974). It was quickly realized that the intent of Vatican II was quite different. Prior to the Council, the Catholic Church encouraged strict adherence to abstaining from meat on all Fridays through the year; masses were recited in Latin; and it was very rare to see the priest face the congregation during worship services. Vatican II changed all these traditions, and more.

Coinciding with the close of Vatican II was the "Decade of Dissent" in American society. "Traditional values were set aside...as the would-be makers of a new order blamed the ills of society on the established institutions - - church, state, corporations, academia..." (Fracchia, 1980: 85). A major player in this Decade of Dissent was the women's movement which directly challenged traditional gender-based practices and policies of established institutions. The Catholic Church was not immune to this challenge. Many of the social movement organizations presently seeking reform in the Catholic Church trace their roots to this period. For many, these roots were nourished by the growing disparity of the status of women in religious and secular communities. As one respondent of Cunneen (1969) wrote, "It becomes more and more difficult to be patient and understanding when one is treated as an equal in the professional and intellectual secular world, but as a second-class citizen in one's own church."

This chapter discusses the Second Vatican Council, the major declarations that emerged from the Council, and the impact these declarations had on the Catholic Church.

Through this discussion, the development of and the present-day situation of the women's movement in the Catholic Church will be revealed.

Second Vatican Council

Vatican II is often credited for "opening the windows of the Church to the modern world" (D'Antonio & Cavanaugh, 1983: 151). One indication of this "modernism" is the acknowledgment of the Second Vatican Council for the need of greater cooperation and understanding among different denominations. This council marked the first time in history that Protestants were invited to participate in Vatican business. One of the declarations that emerged through Vatican II addressed the non-Catholic population directly. *Dignitatis humanae*, (Declaration on Religious Freedom), "enunciated the ethical doctrine of religious freedom as a human right" (Deedy, 1987: 21). This declaration proclaims everyone should be "immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power" (Deedy, 1987: 27) concerning their religious beliefs and practices. One latent result of this document was that Catholics themselves took heed to this declaration. "[If the] Church could not proclaim supremacy of conscience for people in the world at large, [it could not] at the same time, expect to keep the consciences of Catholics narrowly bound to the dictates of ecclesiastical authority" (Deedy, 1987: 27). This interpretation by Catholic laity was to drastically change their perceptions of power of the bishops, cardinals and the pope. Deedy (1987: 81) explains that Catholics began realizing, "The church is a human institution. They know that human institutions are run by human beings, as capable as not of error, misjudgment and intolerance. They know that not even popes fully escape their humanity." This change in the laity has resulted in individuals questioning church practices and openly challenging papal directives. For some, "The authority of the Catholic Church [was] no ~

longer linked with the authority of God" (VanLunen, 1978: 156). This "new, questioning laity" plays a vital role in the woman question addressed throughout this paper.

Vatican II marked another "first" in history by inviting women - - nuns, widows and single women - - to attend sessions of the Council. These women were not allowed to speak, but they were allowed to attend. This non-traditional guest list of Protestants and women gives some indication of the numerous "non-traditional" decrees and pastorals that were to be authored through the three years of the Council. The pastoral entitled The Constitution on the Church in the Modern World called for overcoming and eradicating all types of discrimination (Ermath, 1970; Iadarola, 1985). This pastoral is a marked difference from the Church's traditional stance on human rights which was, at best, "hesitant". Historically, this hesitancy was often defended by the Gospel. Ironically, Pope John XXIII also used the Gospel to defend his new direction in human rights. "It is not that the Gospel has changed; it is that we have begun to understand it better" (Hebblethwaite, 1982: 201). This new social-justice interpretation of the Gospel opens the door to new theologies and lays the foundation for numerous social change organizations that will ultimately challenge traditional theological support for practices and policies of the church.

Foley (1977: 83) claims that, "Rapid changes in the contemporary world calls for new declaration of fundamental human rights and concerted efforts of all persons to insure them." The 1960s was a decade of rapid social change and the Catholic Church tried to prepare itself to better deal with these changes. *Pacem in Terris* is offered as a prime example of this attempt. *Pacem in Terris*, written by Pope John XXIII, is the most widely known and most commonly referred to document of Vatican II. Again addressing human rights, John XXIII writes, "Since women are becoming ever more conscious of their human dignity, they will not tolerate being treated as mere material instruments, but demand rights befitting a human person both in domestic and public life" (Foley, 1977: 86). The document also states,

"Human beings have the right to choose freely the state of life which they prefer, and therefore the right to establish a family, with equal rights and duties for man and woman, and also the right to follow a vocation to the priesthood or the religious life" (Ermath, 1970: 40). Despite a later statement that claims, "women's right to work [is] only in accordance with their requirements and duties as wives and mothers" (Kenneally, 1980: 193), *Pacem in Terris* gained the attention of many women and raised many hopes for increased opportunities in their church. This attention and hope was intensified with the concept of "collegiality" also introduced during the Council. Where traditionally the church operated in a top-down-no-questions-asked manner, the concept of collegiality meant, "the Pope [would now] consult and share polity formulations with the bishops, the bishops with the priests, [and] priests with the laity..." (Bell, 1974: 171). One direct by-product of collegiality was increased participation of the congregation in the mass. Prior to Vatican II, Catholic masses were recited in Latin with very limited participation of the laity (Fracchia, 1980). Today masses are recited in the native language, and there is much greater responsorial involvement of the congregation during the mass. By decree of Vatican II, this increased participation of laity extended to allow women to proclaim lessons and Epistles at Mass - a privilege previously granted only to men.

Despite the "radical" tone of these various decrees and declarations, upon the commencement of Vatican II, females remained banned from serving as acolytes (altar servers) and Eucharistic ministers. They were also denied the deacon-hood and the priesthood because they were female. This, while in secular society, Civil Rights legislation had been passed opening numerous doors to women with the concept of "equal opportunity." As more opportunities opened to women in secular society, it became increasingly difficult for some to understand the lack of opportunity for women in the church. For many it became more apparent and more frustrating that only men stood at the altar of their church, only men

wore the distinctive clothing at the Mass, and that only men were addressed in the language of their worship service (Osiek, 1986). Women, numerically, remained the majority in their church, but the church, officially, continued to be represented by males only. "When we speak of the church we see before our eyes the pope in Rome, bishops or pastors, cardinals and monsignors, deacons and altar boys, all of whom are men" (Fiorenza, 1985: 4).

With the new emphasis on social justice in the post-conciliar church, many Catholics were able to "see the women's movement as connected both theoretically and practically, to other struggles for social justice" (Weaver, 1985: 47). In this spirit numerous national organizations emerged to encourage greater social justice practices in the Catholic Church. One such organization (actually founded prior to Vatican II, but which gained a lot of momentum from the Council), is the Leadership Conference of Women Religious. Major concerns of this organization include, "the nature of religious life, its place in the church's mission, social justice, liberation of women, leadership and collaboration" (Ashe, 1983: 165). The Leadership Conference of Women Religious looks to "Jesus rather than the Bible, the church's hierarchy, or tradition as the authority for faith and practice" (MacHaffe, 1986: 140).

Grass-Roots Organizations

Among laity, one of the largest organizations to emerge in the post-conciliar, social justice atmosphere was the Women's Ordination Conference. This organization grew from a small group of lay and religious women brought together by the invitation of Mary B. Lynch in 1974. A major incentive of this first gathering was the fact that the United Nations had declared the year 1975 as the International Women's Year. The result of this small, informal gathering was the planning and implementation of the First Women Ordination Conference held in Detroit, November 1975. The theme for this first conference was "Women in Future Priesthood Now: A Call to Action". The single-most important goal of this organization is

the, "ordination of Roman Catholic women to a renewed priestly ministry" (Ashe, 1983: 161). Ruether (1979) claims this first Women's Ordination Conference accomplished three things: 1) it created an experience of solidarity to all that attended; 2) it organized a staff to continue as a network, and 3) most importantly, it brought together theological and scriptural support for the ordination of women - - information previously unknown to the hierarchy. As a result, Ruether (1979: 378) makes the statement, "they [the hierarchy] now have less excuse for their ignorance."

This new theological and scriptural support for the ordination of women is broadly referred to as feminist theology. It is a reinterpretation of scripture - - one which acknowledges the roles and the contributions of women in the Old Testament and defines the teachings and practices of Jesus in the New Testament as "feminist". There are various "branches" of feminist theology that cover the conservative-to-radical continuum; there are however, basic agreements among all feminist theologians. One point of agreement is that traditional theology is patriarchal - - written almost totally by men, about men, and for men. Women and women's experience in traditional theology have been ignored. It is claimed that when women did appear in Scripture, "their roles were downplayed to fit patriarchal expectations of women" (Young, 1990: 15). It is claimed this patriarchal nature of traditional theology has had deleterious consequences for women.

In addition to being shaped by its culture through the ages, Christian theology has often been a major force in shaping culture... Ignoring women and perpetuating unfavorable images when women were mentioned at all both arose from and contributed to patriarchal culture in church and in society in general (Young, 1990: 16).

Among the numerous challenges raised by feminist theology is the issue of inclusive language in the church. "Whatever is important to a group...is always reflected in its language. In the language of the Church, women do not exist at all" (Chittister, 1983: 12).

In the traditional language of hymns and prayers of the Catholic mass, God is referred to in strictly male terms (e.g., "Father", "King") and the people of the congregation are the "sons of God", and "brothers in Christ". MacHaffe (1986: 146) claims, "Current language patterns have grown out of and reflect cultures in which men ruled over women and controlled the power in society. By continuing to use this language, the church reinforces and maintains this social arrangement." Chittister (1983: 10) argues that the continued use of this "sexist language contributes to the continuance of a negative attitude toward women, affects the psychological development of women themselves, divides the Church, limits its resources and perpetuates injustice." Underlying this argument is the age-old Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which suggests that language can determine our thought and behavior (Martyna, 1980).

Although empirical evidence to support the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as stated is lacking, there are many who believe that language may influence our thought and behavior. Khosroshahi (1989) researched the question, "Are those who are more egalitarian in their language also more egalitarian in their thought?" Fifty-five college students were asked to read six generic he paragraphs and to sketch their image of each paragraph. These sketches were then compared with the students' writing and their use of he / she language. Overall, it was found that in 67% of the paragraphs using generic he language, the student drew male sketches. This suggests, "feminists are right in suggesting the generic he can be psychologically non generic" (Khosroshahi, 1989: 517). Another major finding was that reformed language women (those who used he / she language rather than generic he language) were more prone to think of women when presented with generic he language. This study confirms the interaction between language and thought. In the church, Chittister (1983: 15) argues,

Until both groups [men and women] are included equally in the language pattern itself, then the inclusion of women on boards, tribunals,...theology faculties and pastoral ministries will remain a struggle and an oddity... Both

groups have to be linked naturally in a basic perceptual framework before real equality can be achieved in administrative, economic and social structures.

This argument is supported by MacHaffe (1986: 146) who claims, "Until Christians begin to think and speak in terms of equality, this equality will never be implemented in society."

The Second meeting of the Women Ordination Conference was in 1978. The tone of this conference was altered to respond to the Sacred Congregation Doctrine of Faith's Declaration opposing women's ordination, which was published in 1977. The emphasis of this document is a "theological construct that links maleness, Christ and priesthood" (Ruether, 1979: 380). The Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (1977: 43-44) states,

The priest...acts not only through the effective power conferred on him by Christ, but *in persona Christi*, taking the role of Christ, to the point of being his very image... When Christ's role in the Eucharist is to be expressed sacramentally, 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.

Feminists, and other contemporary theologians counter this argument by claiming it emphasizes Jesus' maleness more than Jesus' divinity (Harkness, 1972). O' Connell (1984: 89) argues the importance of people seeing a "Natural resemblance to Jesus in the love conveyed, the service rendered, the self shared" rather than in physical, male characteristics.

A second argument presented by the Congregation of Faith (1977: 39) is the Attitude of Christ. "Jesus did not call any woman to become part of the Twelve. If he acted this way, it was not in order to conform to the customs of his time, for his attitude towards women was quite different from that of his milieu and he deliberately and courageously broke it." The contemporary counter-argument for this statement is two-fold: 1) Jesus did not choose any Gentiles to become part of the Twelve, yet male Gentiles have been in the priesthood for centuries; 2) On a more symbolic thought, Carroll (1976: 18) explains,

He chose them, twelve and male, as the link between his new covenant and that of the Old Law: the Twelve represented the continuity of the Twelve Tribes of

Israel. As such they had to be twelve and they had to be male, because the covenant of God with Hebrew people was symbolized only through the male.

A third major argument presented in the Declaration of 1977, is the Church's Constant Tradition. "... By calling only men to the priestly order and ministry in its true sense, the Church intends to remain faithful to the type of ordained ministry willed by the Lord Jesus Christ and carefully maintained by the Apostles" (Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, 1977: 38). Kilmartin (1977) believes the Catholic Church fears being viewed as "unfaithful" to its past. In many cases, to alleviate this fear, tradition is made law. Canon Law, the legal code of the Roman Catholic Church, denies women the right to serve as acolytes / altar servers at mass (Canon 813); Canon Law 1329 excludes women the right to preach in the absence of clergy; Canon 2004 denies women the right to put forward cause for beatification or sanctification (Cuneen, 1966); and Canon 968 states, "A baptized male alone can validly receive sacred ordination" (Tavard, 1973: 213). "It is the church, through the voice of her Magisterium that, in these various domains, decides what can change and what must remain immutable. When she judges that she cannot accept certain changes, it is because she knows that she is bound by Christ's manner of acting" (Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith, 1977: 42).

The contemporary theological response to this issue begins with the issue of tradition:

If the only answer [to woman's place in the church] is tradition, the way things have always been done, but unsupported by adequate doctrine, a change in tradition seems imperative. Slavery as the way it was done was accepted practice in the church for centuries; it no longer is regarded as a Christian social structure (Carroll, 1976: 20).

The second point of response by contemporary theologians to the issue of tradition is that of Canon Law. Harkness (1972) claims that canon law is nothing but the codification of tradition which has been written over the centuries by men, for men. Canon Law can be changed, but it is not changed by lobbyists or legislators. Rather, it is changed by a small

group of celibate men, "Who, by the Church's definition...have to be moved by the Holy Spirit. These men...were trained in seminaries...to believe women are quite inferior... [and] trained to regard canon law as a somewhat static discipline" (Henning, 1974: 269). On this point, Carr (1976: 68) makes the argument that nothing in the world is static, "Ours is...a world of flux and relativity; consciousness of time and history pervades our relationships, politics, our institutions, even our deepest beliefs and values." The Second Vatican Council is pointed out as a demonstration of this fact - - many traditional beliefs, values and practices were shaken and changed because of Vatican II. The Church is not a static entity.

Another grass-roots organization working for reform in the church takes its name from the first Women Ordination Conference theme. Call to Action, founded in 1977, addresses issues ranging from the ordination of women, to the need for increased participation of Catholics in all levels of church activity, to the problem with the present papal selection of bishops with no input from local churches. This Chicago-based organization claims the roots of this reform lie in Vatican II and stresses the importance of not forgetting the visions that the people are the church and the church exists to serve the world. Call to Action firmly believes that, "without changes in the church's internal structure, the credibility of [the] church's teaching on broader questions of justice and peace [will] be undermined" (Steinfels, 1990: A12). This belief echoes a statement of the 1971 Synod of Bishops: "Anyone who ventures to speak to people about justice must first be just in their eyes..." (U.S. Catholic Conference, 1988: 759).

As Ashe (1983: 156) explains, a primary purpose of these national organizations is, "To help create a feeling of solidarity among women in the church and lend weight and force to women's efforts to obtain justice." Smith (1990) identifies three phases of the development of the Christian feminist movement. Phase One is the critical analytical phase in which the pervasiveness of patriarchy underlying human institutions is uncovered. Phase Two is the

constructive phase in which women form coalitions and conferences to share women's religious history and contributions. The Leadership Conference of Women Religious, Women's Ordination Conference, and Call to Action serve as illustrations of these two phases. The third and final phase is community building. The purpose of this phase is to serve as a "support group for those seeking to develop a language, spirituality, and equal place for women at all levels within their own denominations" (Smith, 1990: 324). A prime example of this latter phase is the Women-Church movement. As Ruether (1985: 5) explains, "[Women] are starved for the words of life, for symbolic forms that fully and wholeheartedly affirm their personhood and speak truth about the evils of sexism and the possibilities of a future beyond patriarchy." Woman-church allows women the opportunity to escape from male-dominated spaces and gather together as women to define and understand their own experiences. Woman-church is based on the creation of faith and ritual communities for women (Ruether, 1985).

Along with organizations seeking reformation and change in the church, there are also organizations stressing strict adherence to traditional church teachings. One such organization is the National Council of Catholic Women (NCCW) introduced in the previous chapter. NCCW is on record with strong opposition to communism, feminism, the Equal Rights Amendment, and women's ordination (Weaver, 1985). Another organization promoting traditional church teachings is Women for Faith and Family. The 1990 director of Women for Faith and Family, Helen Hitchcock, is quoted referring to Call to Action's call for reform as "deplorable", "divisive", and "the latest evidence that contemporary dissidents in the Catholic Church don't accept central teaching or church authority" (Steinfels, 1990: A12). Supporting such "traditional" organizations are those who believe that women's fight for equality in the church is simply an example of women wanting what they cannot have. Some regard the whole issue a waste of time. "These status questions are trivial and irrelevant compared to the

more central issues...the relevance, cogency and pertinence of the Christian faith..." (Respondent in Cunneen, 1968: 141). And, on the other side, are those who believe that women's equality - - equality for all - - in the Church is the core of the Christian faith.

One of the purposes of this study is to determine the level of support for the women's movement in the Catholic Church. This chapter has offered a general historical overview of women's status in the church. Through this overview it is seen that the issue of women's ordination and inclusive language have been haunting the Church for decades. The impacts of Vatican II and the secular women's movement have also been discussed. Herein lie the roots of the Catholic women's movement. Although the goals of this movement are vast, equality is a primary goal of the various movement organizations, and it is the support for this issue, namely equality of opportunity in the church, that will be examined in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 presents a literature review of social movements and social movement participation. It will be discovered that the concepts of support and participation in social movement literature are often complex, and sometimes misleading concepts that include a vast array of activities. The following chapter will also present historical perspectives on the "supporters" of social movements as well as contemporary theories of movement participation. From this review, the theoretical basis for this research project will emerge and will be presented.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

One definition of a social movement, as stated by Turner and Killian (1972: 246) reads: "[a] collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part." According to this definition, and based on the information presented in the first two chapters, there is no denying the fact that indeed, there is a social movement in the Catholic church. Call to Action and the Women's Ordination Conference are examples of collectivities promoting change in the role and status of women in the Catholic Church. Richardson (1981) claims that social movements emerge slowly when two preconditions exist: "A long period of discrimination and oppression coupled with a short period of progress that generates rising expectations in a particular substrata" (Baldrige quoted in Richardson). The long period of discrimination and oppression of women in the Catholic Church, as presented in the first chapter, dates back to the early days of the church; the short period of progress that generated rising expectations in a particular substrata is the Second Vatican Council and the hopes it raised among laity, especially women, as presented in Chapter 2.

"A movement is inconceivable apart from a vital sense that some established practice or mode of thought is wrong and ought to be replaced" (Turner & Killian, 1972: 259). The women's movement in the Catholic Church, as is the secular women's movement, is based on the issue of equality - - symbolic equality in the language of the mass and physical equality in the various positions of the church (e.g., acolytes, deacons, priests, etc.). Equality is a concept that potentially touches the lives of all persons, not just women, and not just "feminists" (Harper, 1989). Realizing the potential impact of "equality" in the Church, the Catholic women's movement has stirred up a lot of opposition as well as support.

One purpose of this project is to determine Catholics' willingness to support the women's movement in their church, as well as their actual level of support. In order to explain individuals' willingness to support and their participation in the women's movement, this chapter will examine various theoretical perspectives on social movement participation. Many contemporary theories concerning who joins social movements, who does not join and why, involve such social-psychological concepts as grievance, efficacy and costs. These three concepts, their relation to each other, and their role in social movement participation lay the foundation for the theoretical model to be tested for this project. Also presented in this chapter is a brief review of the literature concerning the supporters of the latest secular women's movement. This literature offers a starting point for hypothesizing the supporters of the Catholic women's movement. Combining the above literature, a theoretical model emerges and will be presented.

Social Movement Participation

Traditionally, the issue of individual variation in social movement participation has focused on three major approaches. One of these approaches is based on attitudinal correlates: "Activism grows out of strong attitudinal support for the values and goals of the movement" (McAdam et al., 1988: 706). The claim is that if an individual believes strongly enough in the movement, he / she will participate in that movement. In sum, this approach claims that discontent is a necessary, perhaps even a sufficient condition to give rise to a social movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), and to gain supporters. The major problem with this approach, as pointed out by McAdam et al. (1988), is the vast research that supports a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior.

A second major approach to individual activism is based on psychological accounts. The emphasis in this approach is on character traits of the individual (McAdam et al., 1988).

As McAdam (1986: 65) explains, "[There is a] basic assumption...that activists possess some characteristic that either compels them to participate or that, at the least, renders them susceptible to movement recruiting appeals."

Over time there has been growing dissatisfaction with individual-motivational approaches. This discontent has opened the door for a third major approach to activism - an approach based on rational choice. The basic claim is that individuals rationally weigh the potential costs and benefits of action. In the late 1960s, resource-mobilization theory emerged as an illustration of this rational choice approach. Social movements came to be seen in the same light as conventional groups with participants seen as thinking, caring and reasonable individuals (Goldberg, 1991). McCarthy and Zald (1977) claim resource mobilization (RM) theory also took the emphasis away from grievance (the focus of the attitudinal approach) and placed it on mobilization. RM theory also emphasizes the following: a) the aggregation of resources; b) the form of organization; c) the importance of involvement on the part of outside individuals and organizations; and d) the importance of costs and rewards in explaining individual and organizational involvement. Based on these new emphases, RM theory claims that it is possible for some supporters of a movement to have no commitment to the values or the goals that underlie the movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). In other words, one does not need to have a grievance in order to become involved in a social movement.

Despite the contributions RM theory has made to social movement literature, there are some who claim it is an "incomplete" theory (Goldberg, 1991; Ennis & Schreuer, 1987; Klandermans, 1984). The basic critique is that it focuses too much on the social movement organization and too little on individual participation. Ennis and Schreuer (1987) point out three major weaknesses of RM theory: 1) there is too little focus on explaining individual choice; 2) incentives and resources are claimed to be sufficient causes for participation; and 3) there is insufficient weight given to grievances. As Goldberg (1991: 12) argues, "To touch

more than an activist nucleus, a protest, organized or in the process of becoming, requires the transformation of people's perceptions of their world and themselves". Thus, there is an appeal for renewing the traditional social-psychological approaches to social movement participation and combining them with the rational choice approach offered by RM theory (Klandermans, 1984).

Ennis and Schreuer (1987) offer an example of this convergence in their study of weak support mobilization. In their research, weak support refers to those individuals who favor a movement's goals and those who may endorse a particular social movement organization, but do not contribute any resources to the movement. The different levels of movement support / participation are further discussed later in this chapter. Ennis and Schreuer (1987) encompass the issue of grievance and costs, as well as efficacy in their attempt to explain individuals voting on a disarmament initiative. Based on RM and social psychological perspectives, Ennis and Schreuer's (1987) theory suggests the stronger the grievance, the greater the perceived efficacy and the lower the perceived costs, the more likely individuals will be to participate in a social movement. Expecting differential support by population subgroups and by political ideology, they illustrate their theory as follows:

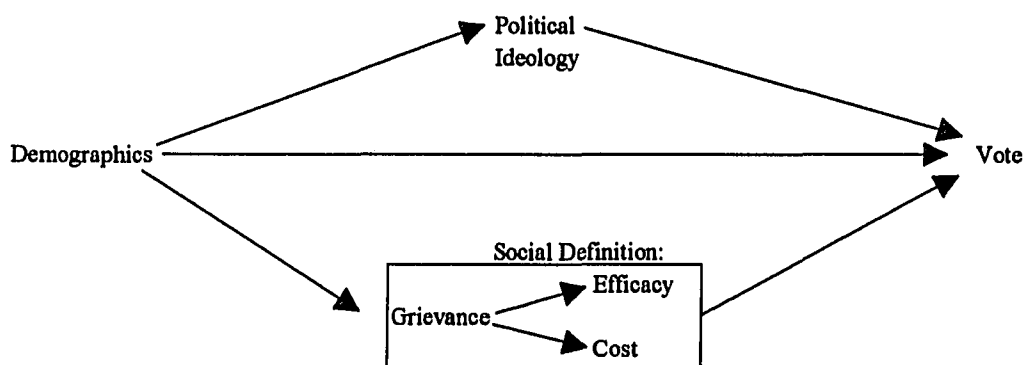


Figure 1. Ennis and Schreuer's model of weak support mobilization

The authors explain that grievance would act as a "push" to participate, but the impact of this "push" would be conditioned by perceived efficacy and the presence of personal costs. "Thus, efficacy and low levels of personal cost should be necessary conditions for the effect of the grievance to be felt" (Ennis & Schreuer, 1987: 399). Based on this explanation, the three concepts are not treated separately in the model, but rather as one variable defined as "social definition" (Ennis & Schreuer, 1987). The following paragraphs will focus on the concepts of grievance, efficacy and cost as they relate to social movement participation.

Grievance

Grievance is a concept that refers to the perception that something is wrong with a given situation - - a sense of injustice (Turner & Killian, 1972). As this is tied into the grass roots view of social movements, it is suggested, "Frustration that affects increasing numbers of people, more and more intensely, leads to mushrooming discontent...the discontented band together to promote their objectives" (Turner & Killian, 1972: 247). Again we return to the traditional approach to activism that is based on attitudes - - attitudinal support for a movement equals participation in that movement (McAdam et al., 1988).

It has been previously stated that there exists a plethora of research suggesting a discrepancy between attitudes and behavior. Klandermans and Oegema's (1984) research of a peace demonstration in the Netherlands, support this trend. The researchers found great disparity between attitudinal affinity for the demonstration and actual participation in the demonstration. However, based on their own research, Fox and Schofield (1989: 821) claim, "individuals are more likely to act on their attitudes when those attitudes are held in awareness." Salience may influence behavioral intentions, as well as actual behavior. If grievance was the determining factor in social movement participation, one could argue there

should have been a 100% participation rate among African Americans in the Civil Rights movement - - history suggests otherwise. Although grievance is an important concept, it does not a participant make. Frustration is not a guarantee of support (Turner & Killian, 1972).

Efficacy

According to Ennis and Schreuer (1987), if an individual has a grievance, what he / she perceives can be done to change the situation is one determinant of social movement participation. This is where the concept of efficacy applies. "Efficacy entails participants' sense of being able to make a difference" (Ennis & Schreuer, 1987: 395). As Fox and Schofield (1989: 808) explain, "Issue salience may not produce action in individuals with a very low sense of ... efficacy since there is little purpose in taking action if such actions are thought to be futile." Klandermans (1984) claims that one's expectation that his / her participation will help produce a collective good can be categorized as follows: a) expectations about the number of participants; b) expectations about the probability of success; and c) expectations about one's own contribution to the probability of success. From this it is argued that feelings of responsibility and probability of success are linked to efficacy. "People participate in activities to produce a collective goal precisely because they are aware that the good would never be produced if everyone sat back and waited for someone else to do something" (Gamson & Schwartz in Klandermans, 1984).

Much of the research concerning efficacy has been done in the area of political participation. Based on a review of literature on efficacy, Gecas (1989: 310) suggests, "It is the combination of high self efficacy and perception of system unresponsiveness and high outcome expectations that generates not only resentment but also efforts at political change." Again, the focus is on the connection between outcome expectations and high self efficacy.

In the area of political participation, a distinction is made between internal and external efficacy. Internal efficacy "indicates individual's self perceptions that they are capable of understanding politics and competent enough to participate in political acts such as voting" (Craig & Maggioto, 1982: 86). External efficacy

measures expressed beliefs about political institutions rather than perceptions about one's own abilities... The lack of external efficacy...indicates the belief that the public cannot influence political outcomes because government leaders and institutions are unresponsive to their needs (Craig & Maggioto, 1982: 86).

Both types of efficacy, internal and external, are important in determining one's level of participation - - whether it be in the political system, or in a social movement.

Through the review of efficacy literature, Gecas (1989) also makes the point that participation in collective behavior may increase feelings of personal efficacy - - the causal relationship is not clear. What this means is that high self-efficacy may not only make one more likely to participate, but participation may also increase one's level of self-efficacy. This reciprocal relationship between efficacy and participation has caused some researchers to examine respondents' history of social movement participation, with no clear conclusions. McAdam et al. (1988), claim that a history of prior activism increases the likelihood of future activism. One offered explanation for this trend is indeed, that experience is an important teacher. However, in a study of applicants for the Summer Freedom project, McAdam (1986) found that applicants' prior activism did not make a significant contribution to the variation in participation with the project. What appears to be most important in defining efficacy is the individual's perceptions that he / she can make a difference.

Cost

Klandermans (1984) claims one's willingness to participate in a social movement is the weighted sum of the following motives: a) goal motives - - those related to the achievement

of the goal; b) social motives - - those having to do with the expected reactions of significant others; and c) reward motives - - those having to do with the anticipated rewards and punishments for participation. Goal motives, as defined, relate closely to the concepts of grievance and efficacy - - their focus is on the goals of the movement and the achievement of these goals. Social motives and reward motives, as defined, relate more closely to Ennis & Schreuer's (1987) concept of cost - - anticipated punishments and the possible negative reactions of significant others.

According to a basic principle of social exchange theory, every action we take has a cost. Time, energy and numerous opportunity costs are involved in everything we do. Since participation in a social movement calls for some type of action, there are different types of costs involved. As noted by Wandersman et al. (1987), in social movement literature (as well as other "activist" literature), there have been few studies that have looked at actual costs involved in participation. Many have cited the social exchange principle "participants will invest their energy in the organization [movement] if they expect to receive some benefits" (Wandersman et al., 1987: 538), but ignore the concept of cost needed to collect those benefits. By definition, the concept of cost encompasses, "The expenditure of time, money and energy required of a person engaged in any form of activism... Anything given up, forgone, spent, lost or 'negatively' experienced (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991: 989). As suggested by Klandermans (1984), and as claimed by Ennis and Schreuer (1987), an individual's perceptions of what these costs will be are important in determining his / her participation in a social movement.

Once such cost cited by Klandermans (1984) is the expected reactions of significant others. The negative reaction of a spouse or of children would be a significant cost to many individuals. In this light, it is suggested that those individuals who "lack significant others" will perceive less cost involved in participation. This is referred to as biographical availability,

and is explained as "[The] absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risks of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage and family responsibilities" (McAdam, 1986: 70). It is believed these individuals are at less risk of negative reactions from significant others (e.g., spouses, children, employers), less risk of interpersonal conflict, and less risk of the loss of social support, and thus are likely to perceive lower costs in social movement participation.

The issue of social support coincides with the literature that suggests that individuals are more likely to participate in a movement if they know someone who is already participating. "Having a close friend engage in some behavior is likely to have more of an effect on someone than if a friend of a friend engages in that same behavior" (McAdam, 1986: 80). McAdam et al. (1988) found that interpersonal contact with a current movement member bears the strongest relationship with activism. Having interpersonal ties with a current participant lowers the cost of participating in the sense that one will have guaranteed support, from at least one person.

Included in the literature on costs involved in social movement participation, is the clarification of the concept of "participation". This is an important clarification because the level of perceived cost will vary based on the degree of participation. Ennis and Schreuer (1987) explain the various levels of social movement support by defining six different categories:

First, some individuals favor or oppose a movement's general goals (Opponents and Adherents). Others are Uncommitted... Among those who share movement goals there is a graduated scale of engagement, from

- "Adherents" who favor movement goals only in general, to
- "Supporters" who endorse both movement goals and specific Social Movement Organization (SMO) and its tactics, to
- "Members" who endorse general goals, specific tactics and also contribute resources to the SMO, to
- "Leaders" who plan and implement SMO actions.

As McAdam (1986: 66) explains, "People do not join social movements in the sense that they join formal organizations." Participation and support for a movement can be demonstrated in numerous ways other than becoming a full-fledged-due-paying member of a social movement organization. Harper (1989) explains that if one has ever donated money, signed a petition for, or worked for a cause, one has been part of a social movement. Based on this range of activities, one can see how individuals may perceive the costs involved in signing a petition being different than the costs involved in working part-time at a social movement's headquarters.

Beeghley (1986), in his research on political participation, breaks down the concept of participation even further to argue that political participation can mean much more than voting. Beeghley (1986) classifies three different types of participation: 1) cognitive participation - - "People participate by developing knowledge of public issues" (Beeghley, 1986: 499); 2) Expressive participation - - it is argued that expressing one's opinion to others is a political act, "In that people mutually inform and persuade each other"; 3) Organization participation - - "Group participation is related to political participation, even when the object of the group is manifestly nonpolitical" (Beeghley, 1986: 500).

As explained by Ennis and Schreuer (1987), and by McAdam (1986), Harper (1989) and Beeghley (1986), support and participation are not homogenous terms (Wiltfang & McAdam, 1991).

Supporters of the Secular Women's Movement

The exogenous variable of Ennis and Schreuer's (1987) model is demographics. These authors expected different levels of support from different population subgroups. The same variation is anticipated in this study. Therefore, to serve as a starting point for this model, a brief review of gender-role attitudes and supporters / non-supporters of the secular women's

movement will be presented. The assumption is that individuals with non-traditional gender role attitudes and those supporting the secular women's movement will have the greatest grievance with the present situation of women in the church, and thus will be more willing to act on those grievances. "Individuals are more likely to act on their attitudes when those attitudes are held in awareness" (Fox & Schofield, 1989: 821).

It should be brought to the reader's attentions that the vast majority of research on supporters / non-supporters of the women's movement has focused on women respondents. Although they have been affected by, and have even participated in, the movement itself, male respondents have generally been missing from this area of research. Given this limitation, one can bring in research findings from the area of traditional versus non-traditional gender role attitudes. As McMurray (1978: 81) explains traditional gender-role attitudes are, "Attitudes favorable to the idea that women's lives should be principally home-and-family centered". Studies in the area of gender-role attitudes consistently show women to be more "non-traditional" than men (Baker & Terpstra, 1986; McKinney, 1987). This trend would suggest women would be less accepting of the traditional gender roles within the Catholic Church, which leads to

H1: Women will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the Catholic Church than men.

H2: Women will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than men.

H3: Women will report higher levels of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than men.

Age is another factor that has been included in past research on support for the secular women's movement. It is generally found that age and support have a negative relationship - -

the older the respondent, the less supportive of the women's movement (Burris, 1983; Welch, 1975). These findings lead to

H4: Younger individuals will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the church than older individuals.

H5: Younger individuals will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than older individuals.

H6: Younger individuals will report higher levels of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than older individuals.

In the area of education, there tends to be a consensus that college frees students' minds and exposes them to a diversity of ideas (Funk & Willits, 1987). In relation to men's and women's roles, McKinney (1987: 357) explains, "[There is an] accumulation of new experiences and exposure to more non-traditional sex roles and attitudes about women as the college student stays in school longer." In their longitudinal research in the area of gender-role attitudes, Funk and Willits (1987) first questioned a panel of high school sophomores and questioned the same students ten years later. Their findings concluded that persons not attending college evidenced the least change in their gender-role attitudes while those who had graduated from college showed the greatest change in their attitudes. In general, research suggests the higher the education, the more "non-traditional" one becomes (Baker & Terpstra, 1986; Funk & Willits, 1987; Marshall, 1991; McKinney, 1987; Welch, 1975). These findings suggest

H7: Respondents with higher levels of education will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the Church than those with lower levels of education.

H8: Respondents with higher levels of education will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than respondents with lower levels of education.

H9: Respondents with higher levels of education will report higher levels of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than respondents with lower levels of education.

The factor of employment has been explored primarily with women supporters / non-supporters of the secular women's movement. It is suggested that "traditional" homemakers are further removed from male / female inequalities (Rowland, 1984) and thus are less likely to have a grievance in this area. Caplan (1985) further suggests that "traditional" homemakers (those never employed outside the home) are more likely to feel the women's movement has degraded the importance of motherhood and thus are less inclined to support a women's movement. Due to the limited research of men's support of the secular women's movement, this same pattern will be tested for them.

H10: Employed individuals will report more grievance with the present situation of women in the Catholic Church than unemployed / never employed individuals.

H11: Employed individuals will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than unemployed / never employed individuals.

H12: Employed individuals will report greater levels of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than unemployed / never employed individuals.

Concerning marital status, Burris' (1983) research on attitudes toward the Equal Rights Amendment found the highest levels of support from non-married women. For men,

having an unemployed wife was associated with opposition to the ERA. The suggestion that unmarried women are more supportive of the ERA coincides with the concept of biographical availability discussed previously in this paper, which leads to

H13: Unmarried individuals will report more grievance with the present situation of women in the Catholic church than married individuals.

H14: Unmarried individuals will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than married individuals.

H15: Unmarried individuals will report greater levels of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church than married individuals.

One final factor to be included in the model is religious involvement - - i.e., church attendance and participation. Research has consistently shown regular church attendance to be positively associated with traditional gender-role attitudes (Morgan, 1987; Thornton et al., 1983; Baker & Terpstra, 1986) and negatively related to support for the secular women's movement (Burris, 1983; Himmelstein, 1986; Marshall, 1991; Welch, 1975). As Hargrove et al. (1985) explains, the women's movement in society has facilitated a rise of women into leadership positions and this has called into question numerous assumptions of the "cult of domesticity". For some this is a direct violation of religious norms - - the roles of wage-earner-husband and homemaking-wife are believed to be instituted by God. "Traditional family roles are anchored in a religious belief system founded on patriarchy which assigned to men, 'exclusive rights to political, legal and economic power' and viewed women's primary function as that of rearing children" (Morgan, 1987: 302). For this study, these findings are extended to encompass a measure of parish involvement along with mass attendance. This extension suggests

H16: The level of parish involvement will be negatively associated with the level of grievance of the present situation of women in the Catholic Church.

- H17: Frequency of mass attendance will be negatively associated with the level of grievance of the current situation of women in the Catholic Church.
- H18: The level of parish involvement will be negatively associated with willingness to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church.
- H19: Frequency of mass attendance will be negatively associated with willingness to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church.
- H20: Among respondents, higher levels of parish involvement will be negatively associated with level of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church.
- H21: Weekly mass attendance will be negatively associated with level of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

The final hypothesis returns us to the basic premise of Ennis and Schreuer's (1987) theory concerning participation in social movements:

- H22: The greater the grievance, the greater the efficacy, and the lower the perceived cost, the greater the level of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

At the core of this final hypothesis, it is suggested that the actual level of participation in the women's movement in the church can be better explained with the concepts of grievance, efficacy and cost than with demographics alone.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented various concepts related to social movement participation. The primary focus throughout has been on Ennis and Schreuer's (1987) application of grievance, efficacy and cost, as they relate to social movement participation. The model tested by Ennis and Schreuer (1987) has been modified and will be applied to participation in

the women's movement in the Catholic Church. The major modification of this model has been the elimination of "political ideology". This variable was not considered relevant for this study.

Along with the discussion of the concepts involved in Ennis and Schreuer's (1987) research, a review of relevant demographic literature was presented. Much of this literature was borrowed from the support / non-support of the secular women's movement and gender-role attitudes. The assumption is that those respondents who tend to support the secular women's movement, and those respondents who tend to hold non-traditional gender role attitudes, will report the greatest grievance of the present situation of women in the Church, and thus, according to the model presented, will report the higher levels of actual participation in the movement in the Church.

The next chapter addresses the methodology applied in this study. Data collection methods will be explained, variables will be operationalized and scales will be formed via factor analysis and reliability coefficients.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins with discussion of the data collection methods used in this study. This discussion is followed by variable operationalization and factor analysis / reliability scores for scale items used to measure grievance, efficacy, costs, willingness to participate in the Catholic women's movement and actual participation in the movement. Descriptive statistics and correlation matrices are also included in this chapter.

Data Collection

The sample for this study is made up of Catholics from the state of Wisconsin. Wisconsin is divided into four Catholic Dioceses (Green Bay, LaCrosse, Madison and Superior) and one Archdiocese of Milwaukee. The Catholic population of the state is distributed as follows (Pastoral Handbook, 1991):

Table 4.1. Distribution of Wisconsin Catholic Population

<u>(Arch)Diocese</u>	<u>Catholic Population</u>	<u>Percentage of State's Catholic Population</u>
Milwaukee	587,539	40
Green Bay	362,632	24
Madison	238,597	16
LaCrosse	217,505	14
Superior	81,235	5
Total	1,487,507	100

The initial goal of this study was to select a representative sample of Catholic parishioners throughout the entire state. In order to validate, and hopefully expedite the sampling procedure, letters were sent to all five (arch)bishops, informing them of the research project and requesting their endorsement and assistance in gaining parish membership lists from selected parishes in their (arch)diocese. Responses were received from all five (arch)bishops - - one denied the request completely, three stated they were not willing to endorse the project but recommended that parish pastors be contacted directly, the fifth (arch)bishop offered to send a letter of support to selected parish pastors in his diocese.

Parishes from the four consenting (arch)dioceses were systematically selected (every kth parish) from the Pastoral Handbook (1991). The number of parishes chosen per diocese was in proportion to the size of the diocese. Given the response of the (arch)bishops, less than full cooperation of parish pastors was anticipated, so alternative parishes were selected at the same time. Alternatives were those parishes listed immediately following the parish originally chosen. The total number of parishes chosen to be contacted was 30.

Letters, printed on university department stationery, were sent to the pastor of each selected parish. These letters explained the research project and requested assistance in obtaining names and addresses of parishioners to partake in the project. The result of these 30 requests was as follows:

- 4 parish pastors responded that no parish lists were available;
- 2 parish pastors explained they were new to their parishes and were not yet comfortable giving out this information;
- 7 pastors explained they had policies against releasing parishioners' names and addresses. Some of these policies were restricted to not releasing such information to anyone outside of their (arch)diocese;

- 1 parish pastor stated, "I have very strong opinions on this feminism and the
Catholic Church and I don't want to get involved";
- 8 parish membership lists were received;
- 4 parish pastors were hesitant to release names and addresses but were willing to
distribute the questionnaire with their church bulletins;

The remaining four parishes yielded no response.

From the eight parish membership lists received, ten percent of the number of parishioners were systematically selected for the sample. Questionnaires, approved by the Iowa State University Human Subjects Review Committee, were mailed in a two-week period in early January, 1993. Using a code system to identify and record respondents, reminder postcards were mailed to non-respondents approximately two-and-one-half weeks after the initial mailing. Due to limited funds, there was no second-wave mailing of questionnaires. The four parishes that agreed to distribute the instruments with their church bulletins received questionnaires for approximately 10% of their parish population. Along with the surveys, a note to the pastor was included which offered a brief announcement of the project that could be printed in their bulletins. This announcement was not a request, but rather an option. There was no follow-up on these instruments.

The sampling procedure is a major limitation of this study. Beginning with the refusal of one bishop in the state, and continuing with numerous requests to parish pastors in the remaining (arch)dioceses being denied, this sample ceases to be a representative sample. Given the end result, this sample is a combination convenient / random sample. It is convenient in the sense that the sampling procedure was dictated by the level of cooperation of (arch)bishops and parish pastors. One major disadvantage of convenience sampling is its potential bias (Sproull, 1988). However, it needs to be understood, that this sampling technique would, at most, reflect the bias of the (arch)bishops and pastors, not of the

parishioners which are the unit of analysis for this study. Participants themselves were randomly selected.

The research instruments were printed on 11 x 17 white paper and folded / saddle-stitched into a 8 1/2 x 11 eleven page booklet with a light blue cover entitled "The Catholic Church, the Shape of Things to Come: A Survey of Catholics and their Church." On the inside cover of the booklet was a letter printed on university department letterhead, explaining the goals and the purpose of the study. Respondents were assured their responses would be kept in strict confidence. Their anonymity was ensured by utilizing code numbers and by instructing the respondents not to include any identifying information on the questionnaire. Participation in this research project was voluntary. Business reply postage was provided for the convenience of the participants. A copy of the cover letter is contained in the Appendix.

A total of 1100 questionnaires were printed and mailed. Six-hundred and sixty were mailed directly to individuals; ten of these instruments were returned by the post office for a total of 650. The remaining 440 were mailed in bulk to parishes formed, two of which were not adequately completed (less than 50%). Overall, this is a response rate of 33%. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the variation of response rates both between methods of distribution and between parishes. Table 4.1 represents the response rate of parishes that submitted their parish membership lists; Table 4.2 represents the response rate of parishes that agreed to distribute the surveys. As indicated by Table 4.2, it is probable that 130 questionnaires were never distributed while Table 4.3, it is probable that 130 questionnaires were never distributed which makes an actual response rate of 37.5%. Table 4.3 also indicates a 50-plus percent response rate for two parishes. Given the fact that there was no follow-up on these instruments, these rates are surprisingly high.

The Sample

Of the completed surveys, 71% (n = 254) came from women, and 29% (n = 105) came from men. One respondent did not report her / his sex. The mean age of the sample is approximately 50, with respondents ranging in age from 20 to 88. Despite the above-average age, the sample is above average in education; 94% (340) of the sample have received at least a 12th grade education. This is considerably higher than the 78.6% statistic for the state (Census, 1990). Thirty-two percent (114) of these individuals have complete four or more years of college, and this figure is significantly higher than the 17.7% statewide (Census, 1990).

Residentially, the sample is relatively evenly distributed. Thirty percent (108) of the respondents report living in a metropolitan area (population of 50,000 or more), and 38% (138) reside in rural areas (towns of under 2500 or open countryside). The remaining 32% (114) are scattered throughout the suburbs (26), small cities (38) and towns (50).

In regards to marital status, 81% (293) of the sample are currently married. The remaining 19% (67) are either divorced (5); widowed (22) or never married (40). Reflecting a traditional Catholic upbringing, 87% of the 360 respondents have been a Catholic their entire life and 84% (302) report attending mass every Sunday.

Operationalization and Descriptive Statistics for Exogenous Variables

In order to more fully acquaint the reader with the sample, this section offers descriptive statistics for all demographic variables relevant to this study. Since male / female differences are anticipated (H1 - H3), these statistics will be offered for the total sample, as well as for females and males separately.

Table 4.2. Response rate of questionnaires mailed directly to individuals

Parish	Number of Instruments Mailed	Number of Instruments Returned	Response Rate (%)
1.1	141	60	42
1.2	172	66	38
1.3	19	7	37
1.4	94	35	37
1.5	82	29	35
1.6	54	12	22
1.7	58	15	26
1.8	30	5	16
Total	650	229	35

Table 4.3. Response rate of questionnaire distributed by parishes

Parish	Number of Instruments Mailed	Number of Instruments Returned	Response Rate (%)
2.1	130	0	0
2.2	110	58	53
2.3	100	22	22
2.4	100	51	51
Total	440	131	30

Age

Respondents reported their age at their last birthday. For the analyses, the responses were utilized as such, however, for summary, responses were collapsed into categories offered in Table 4.4. This table indicates approximately 30% (109) of the overall sample is over the age of 60. The modal age category for both males and females is the 40 0 49 age group.

Combined, these age distributions reflect the mean age of 49.8 for the overall sample.

(NOTE: In all of the tables presented throughout the remainder of this paper, the number of males plus the number of females will not equal the overall n due to the respondent that did not report her / his sex).

Table 4.4. Frequency distribution of age among the overall sample, females and males

Age Category	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
20 - 29	32	8.9	27	10.7	5	4.8
30 - 39	60	16.8	46	18.2	13	12.5
40 - 49	106	29.6	70	27.7	36	34.6
50 - 59	51	14.2	35	13.8	16	15.4
60 - 69	64	17.9	46	18.2	18	17.3
70 - 79	36	10.1	23	9.1	13	12.5
80 - 89	9	2.5	6	2.4	3	2.9
Total	358	100.0	235	100.0	104	100.0

Education Level

Respondents were asked to indicate which statement best describes their educational level. The results are summarized in Table 4.5. Males and females report relatively balanced levels of education with the exception of the higher two levels. In the category of "4 or more

years of college", the percentage of women is nearly twice that of men, and in the highest category of "1 or more years beyond a Bachelor's degree", the percentage of men reporting this level is nearly twice that of women.

For analysis, these respondents are treated as ordinal measures with lower numbers representing lower levels of education.

Table 4.5. Frequency distribution of education level among the overall sample, females and males

Education Level	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
8th grade or less	11	3.1	5	2.0	6	5.7
9th - 11th grade	9	2.5	6	2.4	3	2.9
12th grade / HS	126	35.0	88	34.6	38	36.2
1 - 3 yrs post HS	100	27.8	74	29.1	25	23.8
4 or more yrs coll	64	17.8	53	20.9	11	10.5
1 or more years beyond Bachelors	50	13.9	28	11.0	22	21.0
Total	360	100.0	254	100.0	105	100.0

Employment Status

The item used to measure employment status asks, "Which of the following best describes your employment status for most of the past five years?" The distribution of responses is given in Table 4.6. As shown in Table 4.6, the second most common employment status among women is homemaker (25.6%), for men it is retired (19.0%). The modal response for both males and females and overall is employed full-time.

Since the hypotheses concerning employment status distinguish only between the employed and the unemployed, the responses for this item are collapsed and dummy coded. Homemaker / house husband, unemployed and retired constitute the unemployed; Student,

Table 4.6. Frequency distribution of employment status among the overall sample, females and males

Employment Status	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Student	12	3.3	10	4.0	2	1.9
Homemaker	66	18.4	65	25.7	1	1.0
Unemployed	6	1.7	3	1.2	3	2.9
Employed Part-time	56	15.6	53	20.9	3	2.9
Employed Full-time	161	44.8	91	36.0	69	65.7
Self-employed	21	5.8	14	5.5	7	6.7
Retired	37	10.3	17	6.7	20	19.0
Total	359	100.0	253	100.0	105	100.0

Table 4.7. Frequency distribution of collapsed employment status among the overall sample, females and males

Employment Status	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Employed	250	70	168	66	81	77
Unemployed	109	30	85	34	24	23
Total	359	100.0	253	100.0	105	100.0

part-time, full-time and self-employed constitute the employed. The argument for including students in the employed category is based on students' exposure to male / female inequalities through their college career. The results of the collapsed distribution are presented in Table 4.7.

Marital Status

The distribution of respondents' current marital status is offered in Table 4.8. As with employment status, the hypotheses concerning marital status distinguish only between married and unmarried individuals. In this case, the responses are collapsed and dummy coded into married and unmarried (never married, divorced / separated and widowed) categories. The results of this dichotomizing are found in Table 4.9.

Church Attendance and Church Involvement

Table 4.10 reflects the distribution of the church attendance item; Table 4.11 addresses the church involvement measures. In response to the question, "How regularly do you attend Sunday mass?" the vast majority in respondents reported weekly mass attendance. Since mass attendance is such a vital aspect of the Catholic doctrine, there is no reason to view this statistic as suspect. It also needs to be noted that numerous questionnaires were distributed with church bulletins, this procedure could have influenced the response to this item.

The responses concerning mass attendance are also collapsed into two categories, Every Sunday and Other. Based on Catholic doctrine, regular church attendance is demonstrated by weekly mass attendance. Thus the two categories reflect regular and non-regular mass attendance. The distribution of the collapsed responses is shown in the bottom half of Table 4.10.

Table 4.8. Frequency distribution of marital status among the overall sample, females and males

Marital Status	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Never Married	40	11.1	28	11.0	12	11.4
Married	293	81.4	199	78.3	93	88.6
Divorced or Separated	5	1.4	5	2.0	0	0.0
Widowed	22	6.1	22	8.7	0	0.0
Total	360	100.0	254	100.0	105	100.0

Table 4.9. Frequency distribution of collapsed marital status among the overall sample, females and males

Marital Status	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Married	293	81.4	199	78.3	93	88.6
Unmarried	67	18.6	55	21.7	12	11.4
Total	360	100.0	254	100.0	105	100.0

Table 4.10. Frequency distribution of church attendance among the overall sample, females and males

Mass Attendance	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Every Sunday	302	83.9	208	82.5	94	89.5
1 - 2 month	39	10.8	30	11.9	9	8.6
6 times a year	10	2.8	7	2.8	2	1.9
1 - 2 a year	3	0.8	3	1.2	0	0.0
Rarely or never	4	1.1	4	1.6	0	0.0
Total	360	100.0	252	100.0	105	100.0
Collapsed Responses						
Regular Attendance	302	83.9	208	82.5	94	89.5
Irregular Attendance	358	16.1	44	17.5	11	10.5

The measure of parish involvement asked respondents to check from a list, each function they serve in their parish. Table 4.11 shows the distribution of individuals' parish involvement. The numbers reflect a clear distinction between going to church (Table 4.10) and being involved in church (Table 4.11).

The most striking differences between males and females in Table 4.11 appear in the roles of hospitality ministers, religious education teachers and parish council membership. Parish council is a body of lay members who make various decisions for the parish in regards to finances, maintenance, and so on. It is "traditional" to find men more involved in this type of activity than women. The same is true for religious education - - a traditionally female role. One possible explanation for the male / female discrepancy in hospitality ministers is the fact that 21.5% of respondents claim their parish does not allow women in this role.

Table 4.11. Frequency distribution of parish involvement among the overall sample, females and males

Function Served	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Lector / Reader	39	10.8	24	9.4	15	14.3
Eucharistic Minister	79	21.9	54	21.3	25	23.8
Choir Member	42	11.7	27	10.6	15	14.3
Parish Council	33	9.2	18	7.1	15	14.3
Hospitality Minister / Usher	37	10.3	9	3.5	28	26.7
Lay Minister	12	3.3	8	3.1	4	3.8
Religious Education	53	14.7	43	16.9	10	9.5
Social Justice	9	2.5	8	3.1	1	1.0
Other	68	18.9	56	22.0	12	11.4

The items for this measure are computed into a parish involvement variable, with a range of 0 (no parish involvement) to 10 (maximum parish involvement). The distribution of this scale is presented in Table 4.12. This table also presents the means and standard deviations for men and women as well as for the overall sample.

Table 4.12 indicates that on average, men are more involved in their parish than women. Part of this difference can be traced to the fact that women were not allowed to serve some of these functions until after Vatican II. Indeed, 21.5% (70) of the respondents report that women are not allowed to serve as ushers in their parish, 3.6% (13) report women are not allowed to serve as eucharistic ministers.

This section has defined the exogenous variables of this study. The next section operationalizes the remaining variables, many of which are measured with multiple items and through the construction of scales. In those cases, correlations, factor analyses results and reliability coefficients will be reported.

Table 4.12. Frequency distribution for parish involvement scale among the overall sample, females and males

Involvement	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
(0) None	163	45.3	118	46.5	44	41.9
(1)	94	26.1	71	28.0	23	12.9
(2)	54	15.0	33	13.0	21	20.0
(3)	35	9.7	23	9.1	12	11.4
(4)	8	2.2	6	2.4	2	1.9
(5)	3	0.8	1	0.4	2	1.6
(6)	3	0.8	2	0.8	1	1.0
Total	360	100.0	254	100.0	105	100.0
Mean	1.02		0.97		1.19	
Std. dev.	1.24		1.20		1.33	

Operationalization and Descriptive Statistics for Endogenous Variables

Grievance

Based on the literature reviewed in Chapter 3, grievance refers to the perception that something is wrong with a given situation (Turner & Killian, 1972). At present, women in the Catholic Church cannot be ordained deacons, or priests, and girls are not allowed (by the Vatican) to serve as acolytes. Grievance in this situation would refer to Catholics' perception that something is wrong with this situation. Respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with the following statements:

- Item: Girls should be allowed to be acolytes / altar servers (GRLACOL)
- Item: Women should be allowed to be deaconesses (WOMDEAC)
- Item: Women should not be allowed to be ordained priests* (WOMPRST2)
- Item: Married women should be allowed to be ordained priests (MWOMPRST)

*Represents item that has been recoded for consistent response pattern.

The range of Likert-responses for these items range from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Higher numbers represent greater levels of grievance. The means and the standard deviations of the responses to these items are shown in Table 4.13. In general, the mean responses of these items are skewed toward a high-level of grievance. The means presented in Table 4.13 also indicate that respondents report less grievance as the roles increase in prestige. In other words, girls not being allowed to serve as acolytes generates greater grievance than women being denied the priesthood.

The strength of association among these four items is presented through correlation coefficients in Tables 4.14 and 4.15. Table 4.14 presents the findings for the overall sample, Table 4.15 presents the coefficients for males (above the diagonal) and females (below the diagonal). With the exception of the association between women priests and girl acolytes for males, all of the coefficients are significantly at the level of $p < .001$.

Table 4.13. Means and standard deviations for grievance items among the overall sample, females and males

Item	Overall		Female		Male	
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev
GRACOL	6.14	1.64	6.22	1.55	5.95	1.83
WOMDEAC	5.55	2.01	5.65	1.91	5.32	2.33
WOMPRST2	4.79	2.37	4.95	2.29	4.44	2.52
MWOMPRST	4.33	2.45	4.46	2.40	4.05	2.55

Since these items are original items, it is necessary to determine whether they do indeed measure one common variable of grievance. According to Hedderson (1987), factor analysis is a technique used to decide such a question. "Factor analysis is sometimes used when a researcher has a . . . set of variables and suspects they could be summarized more concisely . . ." (Hedderson, 1987: 160). Used in this manner, the factor analysis is referred to

as exploratory. "Varimax rotation maximizes the variance of the squared loadings for each factor" (Kim & Mueller, 1978: 35). The results of this rotation indicate that all four variables load onto one factor. This finding is true for the overall sample, as well as for males and females. Factor loadings - - the correlation of the variables with the factor (Hedderston, 1987) - - for the four variables are presented in Table 4.16. Also shown in Table 4.16 are the reliability coefficients. Cronbach's Alpha is used in this analysis to determine the internal consistency of these items. According to Carmines & Zellner (1970), Cronbach's Alpha is a conservative measure of reliability. This means the actual level of reliability is never lower than the computed coefficient.

Table 4.14. Correlation matrix of grievance items for the overall sample

	1	2	3	4
1. GRLACOL	----			
2. WOMDEAC	.580***	----		
3. MWOMPRST	.403***	.496***	----	
4. WOMPRST2	.331***	.384***	.390***	----

*** p < .001

Table 4.15. Correlation matrix of grievance items for males (above) and females (below)

	1	2	3	4
1. GRLACOL	----	.650***	.423***	.319**
2. WOMDEAC	.533***	----	.428***	.339***
3. MWOMPRST	.387***	.526***	----	.428***
4. WOMPRST2	.328***	.399***	.360***	----

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Table 4.16. Factor loadings and reliability coefficients for grievance items among the overall sample, females and males

Item	Factor Loadings		
	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
1. GRLACOL	.7713	.7458	.8081
2. WOMDEAC	.8301	.8354	.8175
3. MWOMPRST	.7611	.7672	.7438
4. WOMPRST2	.6605	.6545	.6545
Cronbach's Alpha	.74	.73	.74
n	356	251	104

Based on the correlation coefficients, factor analysis and the reliability results, GRLACOL, WOMDEAC, MWOMPRST and WOMPRST2 are combined to create a grievance scale. The scores of this scale range from a low of 4 (minimum grievance) to a high of 28 (maximum grievance). The overall mean on this scale = 20.84; the female mean = 21.34 and the male mean = 19.73.

Efficacy

"Efficacy entails participants' sense of being able to make a difference" (Ennis & Schreuer, 1987: 395). According to the theory presented by Ennis & Schreuer (1987), efficacy is one of the three major concepts in one's social definition that determines his / her actual level of participation in a movement. The items used to measure internal and external efficacy in this study were borrowed from the area of political efficacy (Milbrath, 1965; Craig & Maggioto, 1982). The wording of the eight items has been modified to address the respondents' parish and the Catholic Church rather than the political system. Respondents

were asked to indicate the level to which they agreed or disagreed with the following statements:

- Item: People like me don't have any say about what my parish does* (NOSAY2)
- Item: I really believe my parish priest cares about what people like me think (PRSTCARE)
- Item: In the Catholic Church, a few men have all the power and the rest of us have nothing to say* (MENPWR2)
- Item: I don't believe the Pope cares much about what Catholics like me think* (POPCARE2)
- Item: Sometimes Catholic decision-making seems so complicated that a person like men cannot really understand what is going on* (DECMKG2)
- Item: People like me have an important role in deciding what the Catholic Church does (IMPROLE)
- Item: Generally speaking, my parish priest is not in touch with his parishioners* (PRSTCH2)
- Item: It doesn't matter what Catholics do - - if the Pope wants to listen he will, and if he doesn't he won't* (POPLIST2)

* Represents items that have been recoded for consistent response pattern.

The Likert-type responses for these items ranged from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 7 (Strongly Agree). Higher number responses reflect a higher sense of efficacy among the respondents. The means and the standard deviations of responses are given in Table 4.17.

The relatively high means for NOSAY2, PRSTCARE, and PRSTCH2 suggest that individuals perceive greater efficacy in their parish than in the church in general. This finding maintains for males and females as well as for the total sample.

The correlation coefficients for these eight items among the total sample are presented in Table 4.18. Table 4.19 shows the coefficients for males (above the diagonal) and females (below the diagonal). In general, the coefficients are not considered high but the majority of the correlations are significant.

Although these items have been utilized in past research, the wording has been modified and so it is possible that the "quality" of the measure has been jeopardized. The

factor analysis results in Table 4.20 indicate the items load onto two factors. These factors are not the anticipated internal / external loadings, but rather parish / Catholic church factors.

The two items measuring internal efficacy, IMPROLE and DECMKG2, do not load onto either factor. Because of this finding, these two items are deleted from the measure. As stated previously, the two factors reveal a distinction between the items pertaining to the respondents' parish (NOSAY2, PRSTCARE, PRSTCH2) and those pertaining to the Catholic Church in general (MENPWR2, POPCARE2, POPLIST2). This distinction is attributable to the use of inconsistent wording in the modification of these statements. However, since the women's movement addresses the church-at-large rather than individual parishes, there is justification for selecting the Catholic church factor over the parish factor. The measure for efficacy then becomes a 3-item measure rather than an 8-item measure. The revised factor loadings and the respective reliability coefficients are shown in Table 4.21. Given the credibility of these reliability measures, MENPWR2, POPCARE2, and POPLIST2 are combined to form an efficacy scale with a range of 3 (minimum efficacy) to 21 (maximum efficacy). The overall mean = 12.18; for females the mean is 12.0 and for males it is 12.6.

Cost

Participation, as discussed in Chapter 3, is a concept that encompasses a vast array of activities, but there are costs involved in any type of action, whether it be money, time, energy, a combination of all three or numerous other possibilities. According to Ennis and Schreuer (1987), perceived cost of participation is weighed along with grievance and efficacy in an individual's decision of whether or not to participate in a movement. In this study, respondents were offered a list of possible forms of participation, and were first asked to indicate which activities they would be willing to partake in to show their support for the women's movement in the church. Respondents were then asked to circle those activities in

Table 4.17. Means and standard deviations for efficacy items among the overall sample, females and males

Item	Overall		Female		Male	
	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev	Mean	Std Dev
NOSAY2	5.07	1.93	5.06	1.91	5.07	1.98
PRSTCARE	5.28	1.78	5.26	1.80	5.32	1.76
MENPWR2	4.24	1.97	4.23	1.95	4.24	2.01
POPCARE2	4.17	2.01	4.02	1.99	4.50	2.00
DECMKG2	3.94	1.94	4.03	1.95	3.69	1.90
IMPROLE	4.34	1.92	4.35	1.92	4.31	1.93
PRSTCH2	5.10	1.93	5.10	1.98	5.08	1.82
POPLIST2	4.34	2.08	3.76	2.08	3.77	2.06

Table 4.18. Correlation matrix for efficacy items for the overall sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
NOSAY2	----							
MENPWR2	.496***	----						
POPCARE2	.242***	.482***	----					
DECMKG2	.151**	.171**	.125*	----				
PRSTCH2	.447***	.396***	.274***	.060	----			
POPLIST2	.273***	.436***	.672***	.159*	.270***	----		
PRSTCAR	.427***	.283***	.141**	.012	.486***	.211***	----	
IMPROLE	.274***	.251***	.311***	.137*	.227***	.290***	.339***	----

* p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Table 4.19. Correlation matrix for efficacy items for males (above) and females (below)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
NOSAY2	----	.470***	.207*	.207*	.366***	.268**	.453***	.240*
MENPWR2	.511***	----	.488***	.367***	.243*	.471***	.304**	.248*
POPCARE2	.257***	.479***	----	.315**	.201*	.689***	.071	.312**
DECMKG2	.129*	.088	.057	----	-.029	.349***	-.060	.173
PRSTCH2	.482***	.454***	.299***	.089	----	.303**	.440***	.146
POPLIST2	.276***	.419***	.667***	.082	.295***	----	.226*	.344**
PRSTCAR	.417***	.274***	.165**	.041	.503***	.203**	----	.319**
IMPROLE	.289***	.252***	.315***	.121	.258***	.268***	.348***	----

* $p < .05$
 ** $p < .01$
 *** $p < .001$

Table 4.20. Factor loadings for efficacy items among the overall sample

Item	Factor Loadings	
	<u>Factor 1</u>	<u>Factor 2</u>
PRSTCARE	.8315	-.0550
IMPROLE	.4487	.3276
NOSAY2	.7454	.2136
MENPWR2	.4937	.5580
POPCARE2	.1615	.8546
DECMKG2	-.0147	.3934
PRSTCH2	.7745	.1186
POPLIST2	.2169	.8163

Table 4.21. Factor loadings and reliability coefficients for efficacy scale items among the overall sample, females and males

Item	Factor Loadings		
	<u>Overall</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>
MENPWR2	.747	.743	.753
POPCARE2	.879	.880	.877
POPLIST2	.858	.853	.871
Cronbach's Alpha	.77	.77	.78
n	351	250	100

which they have actually engaged. The measure of cost attempts to explain the discrepancies in these two responses. Respondents were instructed to check each of the following that prevent them from participating in the activities they have indicated they would be willing to engage in.

Item: The amount of time it takes	(AMTIME)
Item: The feeling of frustration from the lack of making progress	(FRUST)
Item: The need to give up personal and family matters	(PERSFAM)
Item: The interpersonal conflict with others	(INTERPER)
Item: The lack of support from family and friends	(LCKSUPP)
Item: The need to attend meetings	(NEEDATT)
Item: The effort and work involved	(WORKINV)

These seven items are borrowed from research in the area of neighborhood activism and voluntary participation (Prestby et al., 1990; Wandersman et al., 1987). These items are computed into a scale by counting the positive responses for each of the respondents. The distribution of this count is shown in Table 4.22. Means and standard deviations are also reported in this table.

According to the figures presented in Table 4.22, over one-half of the respondents despite their willingness to participate, report some level of cost prevents them from actually participating in the women's movement in the church. this trend tends to be more pronounced for female respondents than for male respondents.

Since these items are treated as dichotomous variables (yes or no), Cronbach's Alpha is not an appropriate technique for calculating the reliability of the measure. According to Carmines and Zellner (1979), Kuder-Richardson formula 20 is the correct estimate of reliability for scales composed of dichotomously scored items. these reliability coefficients are presented in 4.22. The reliability of the measure among males is markedly low. Part of this

could be explained by the low number (86) and part of this could be due to the 55% (47) that responded "none" to all the items.

Willingness to Participate and Actual Participation

These dependent variables are measured by various items covering a range of activities that qualify as "participation". For the variable Willingness to Participate, respondents are instructed to indicate each of the following activities they would be willing to participate in to show their support for the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

Item: Make a financial donation of less than \$50	(FINDON1)
Item: Wear a button or T-shirt with a supportive message	(BUTTON)
Item: Talk to a friend about the topic	(TALKFR)
Item: Talk to a priest about the topic	(TALKPRST)
Item: Join a committee or an organization	(JOINCOM)
Item: Make a financial donation of more than \$50	(FINDON2)
Item: Attend a conference or meeting	(ATTCONF)
Item: Formally speak at a conference or rally	(SPEAK)
Item: Write a letter to a bishop	(LETTER1)
Item: Write a letter for publication	(LETTER2)

As with the cost items, the responses were counted for each respondent with higher totals reflecting greater willingness to participate. The distribution of this computation is shown in Table 4.23. This table also presents the means, standard deviations and reliability coefficient of this measure.

Overall, nearly 70% of the respondents report willingness to participate in at least one activity of the movement. For women this figure is over 70% (177) and for men it is nearly 60% (59).

The items measuring willingness to participate are the same items used to measure actual levels of participation. The respondents were asked to indicate those activities they have actually engaged in to support the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

Table 4.22. Frequency distribution, means, standard deviations and reliability coefficients for cost measure among the overall sample, females and males

Involvement	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
(0) No Cost	133	42.6	86	38.2	47	54.7
(1)	70	22.4	52	23.1	17	19.8
(2)	46	14.7	32	14.2	14	16.3
(3)	37	11.9	31	13.8	6	7.0
(4)	16	5.1	14	6.2	2	2.3
(5)	8	2.6	8	3.6	0	0.0
(7) Maximum	2	0.6	2	0.9	0	0.0
Total	312	100.0	225	100.0	86	100.0
KR (20)	.63		.65		.46	
Mean	1.25		1.42		0.83	
Std. dev.	1.45		1.54		1.09	

Table 4.23. Frequency distribution, means, standard deviations and reliability coefficients for willingness to participate measure among the overall sample, females and males

Involvement	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
(0) Not willing	105	30.8	64	26.6	40	40.4
(1)	41	12.0	30	12.4	11	11.1
(2)	41	12.0	31	12.9	10	10.1
(3)	41	12.0	24	10.0	17	10.2
(4)	32	9.4	27	11.2	5	5.1
(5)	25	7.3	23	9.5	2	2.0
(6)	22	6.5	15	6.2	7	7.1
(7)	15	4.4	11	4.6	4	4.0
(8)	11	3.2	10	4.1	1	1.0
(9)	6	1.8	4	1.7	2	2.0
(10) Maximum	2	0.6	2	0.8	0	0.0
Total	341	100.0	241	100.0	99	100.0
Mean	2.63		2.62		2.10	
Std. dev.	2.58		2.62		2.41	

Item: Make a financial donation of less than \$50	(EFINDON1)
Item: Wear a button or T-shirt with a supportive message	(EBUTTON)
Item: Talk to a friend about the topic	(ETALKFR)
Item: Talk to a priest about the topic	(ETAKPRST)
Item: Join a committee or an organization	(EJOINCOM)
Item: Make a financial donation of more than \$50	(EFINDON2)
Item: Attend a conference or meeting	(EATTCONF)
Item: Formally speak at a conference or rally	(ESPEAK)
Item: Write a letter to a bishop	(ELETTER1)
Item: Write a letter for publication	(ELETTER2)

The affirmative responses to these items were also counted; the distribution of these sums are shown in Table 4.24. In comparison to the figures presented in Table 4.23, the distinction between willingness to participate and actual participation is clear. Overall, less than 30% of the respondents have engaged in at least one activity. This compared to the near 70% who reported they were willing to participate. The over-representation in the "none" category may account for low reliability coefficients, especially among the male respondents. Due to the lack of variance in these responses, actual participation is collapsed into a nominal response reflecting whether or not a respondent has participated and not the level of actual participation.

To conclude this chapter, a correlation matrix of all independent and dependent variables is presented. Table 4.25 presents the coefficients for the entire sample, and Table 4.26 presents the findings for the males (above the diagonal) and females (below the diagonal). Overall, there is a significant negative association between grievance (GRIEV) and age. There are also significant positive associations between grievance and education level (EDLVL), and grievance and parish involvement (PARINV). For females, the findings are the same except for the lack of a significant relationship between grievance and parish involvement. For males, the association between grievance and age is not significant.

Table 4.24. Frequency distribution, means, standard deviations and reliability coefficients for actual participation measure among the overall sample, females and males

Participation	Overall		Female		Male	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
(0) None	244	71.6	171	71.0	72	72.7
(1)	52	15.2	42	17.4	10	10.1
(2)	26	7.6	12	5.0	14	14.1
(3)	13	3.8	11	4.6	2	2.0
(4)	2	0.6	1	0.4	1	1.0
(5)	2	0.6	2	0.8	0	0.0
(7)	1	0.3	1	0.4	0	0.0
(8)	1	0.3	1	0.4	0	0.0
Total	341	100.0	241	100.0	99	100.0
KR (20)	.68		.71		.56	
Mean	0.52		0.53		0.49	
Std. dev.	1.05		1.12		0.89	

Among the overall sample, there are significant associations between willingness to participate (WILLING) and the following: age, education level, employment status (EMPL2) and parish involvement. The same significant relationships are found for females. For males however, the only demographic variable significantly associated with willingness to participate is parish involvement.

In regards to actual participation (ACTUAL), significant relationships are found between it and education level, employment status, parish involvement, grievance, efficacy, cost and willingness to participate among the overall sample. Among females the findings are the same; among males the findings are also the same with exception of employment status and efficacy.

These associations will be analyzed more closely in the following chapter. Chapter 5 presents tests of all hypotheses introduced in Chapter 3. These results will determine those sub-populations reporting the greatest level of grievance with the current situation of women in the church. The analyses will also provide information on the role of grievance, efficacy and cost in explaining actual participation in the movement. These findings are discussed in Chapter 6.

Table 4.25. Correlation matrix of all independent and dependent variables among the overall sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. AGE	----										
2. EDLVL	-.276***	----									
3. EMPL2	-.457***	.333***	----								
4. MRTL2	-.054	-.091	.088	----							
5. CHATT	.239***	-.064	-.118*	.010	----						
6. PARINV	.033	.181**	.122*	.059	.231***	----					
7. GRIEV	-.236***	.270***	.052	-.019	-.044	.124*	----				
8. EFFICACY	.108*	-.198***	-.008	.019	.067	-.007	-.365***	----			
9. COST	-.127**	.228***	.234***	.028	-.067	.113*	.295***	-.119*	----		
10. WILLING	-.169**	.303***	.117*	-.046	.003	.248***	.572***	-.227***	.338***	----	
11. ACTUAL	.043	.247***	.118*	-.011	.010	.255***	.393***	-.198***	.207***	.551***	----

* p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

Table 4.26. Correlation matrix for all independent and dependent variables for males (above)and females (below)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. AGE	----	-.301**	-.612***	.219*	.201*	.065	-.159	.041	.045	-.115	-.076
2. EDLVL	-.269***	----	.317**	-.147	.028	.079	.234*	-.194	.075	.150	.264**
3. EMPL2	-.423***	.352***	----	.018	-.112	-.044	.065	.056	.166	-.038	-.055
4. MRTL2	-.150*	-.071	.092	----	.073	.142	-.009	.188	-.062	-.025	-.072
5. CHATT	.237***	-.103	-.129*	-.015	----	.214*	.064	.084	.050	.167	.130
6. PARINV	.007	.242***	.147*	.020	.228***	----	.248*	-.026	.234*	.361***	.348***
7. GRIEV	-.267***	.292	.070	-.000	-.089	.071	----	-.248*	.397***	.594***	.432***
8. EFFICACY	.136*	-.201**	-.043	-.045	.072	.002	-.408***	----	-.040	-.135	-.166
9. COST	-.157*	.292***	.277***	.070	-.079	.091	.259***	-.136*	----	.354**	.419***
10. WILLING	-.177**	.380***	.194**	-.031	-.050	.219**	.554***	-.250***	.319***	----	.607***
11. ACTUAL	.031	.240***	.146*	-.012	.088	.216**	.374***	-.206**	.159**	.534***	----

* p < .05
 ** p < .01
 *** p < .001

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Chapter 4 discussed the operationalization of all independent and dependent variables for this study. In addition, descriptive statistics, correlation matrices, factor loadings and reliability coefficients were presented. This chapter will present the results of various statistical analyses used to test the hypotheses presented in Chapter 3.

In general, the correlations presented in Chapter 4 summarize the strength and direction of association among variables. Correlations do not indicate any type of "effect" one variable (or variables) may have on another; multiple regression better serves this purpose. "Multiple regression will show...the effects of each variable controlling for the effects of other variables" (Hedderson, 1987: 103). Multiple regression also indicates the combined effects of a group of independent variables through the R^2 statistic. " R^2 in multiple regression indicates the proportion of variation in Y 'explained' by all the independent variables" (Lewis-Beck, 1990: 53).

Multiple regression is used to test hypotheses concerning the effect of various demographics on grievance and willingness to participate in the Catholic women's movement. Unstandardized and standardized beta coefficients are reported. Standardized coefficients allow for comparison across different units of measurements, for example comparing dollars with age and level of education. In other words, "[the] standardized beta weight indicates the average standard deviation change in Y associated with a standard deviation in X when other independent variables are held constant" (Lewis-Beck, 1990: 65). However, because the variance of X can change across samples (in this case, males and females), which in turn changes the beta weight, it is best to use the unstandardized beta coefficients for comparison across samples (Lewis-Beck, 1990).

Grievance

A series of hypotheses in this study suggest some subpopulations will report greater levels of grievance with the current situation of women in the church than other subpopulations. Specifically, these hypotheses state:

- Women will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the Catholic Church than men (H1).
- Younger individuals will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the Catholic Church than older individuals (H4).
- Respondents with higher levels of education will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the Catholic Church than those with lower levels of education (H7)
- Employed individuals will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the Catholic Church than unemployed individuals (H10)
- Unmarried individuals will report more grievance with the current situation of women in the Catholic Church than married individuals (H13).
- The level of parish involvement will be negatively associated with the level of grievance with the present situation of women in the Catholic Church (H16).
- Frequency of church attendance will be negatively associated with the levels of grievance of the present situation of women in the Catholic Church (H17).

According to the correlation matrices (Tables 4.25 and 4.26) presented in Chapter 4, there is, within the overall sample, a negative association between grievance and age, marital status and mass attendance. These relationships indicate the younger, unmarried and irregular mass attenders report higher levels of grievance. There is also a positive association between grievance and education level, employment status and parish involvement. Of these

associations, the only association not anticipated is the significant positive relationship between parish involvement and grievance in the overall sample. This correlation is also significant among the male respondents, and although insignificant, remains positive among females. These findings suggest that the more involved parishioners are in their parish, the higher the level of grievance they have with the current situation of women in the church.

The comparison of means of the grievance scale between men (mean = 19.73) and women (mean = 21.34) indicates a significant difference ($t = -2.18$; $p < .05$) between males and females on this scale. Based on these findings, the results of the regression of grievance on demographics are reported separately for males and females, as well as for the overall sample. The results are presented in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Regression coefficients for demographic variables predicting grievance

Independent Variable	Overall		Females		Males	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Age	-.104***	-.250	-.102***	-.262	-.103*	-.218
Education Level	1.22***	.235	1.46***	.278	.875*	.176
Employment	-2.04**	-.150	-1.68*	-.134	-2.12	-.130
Marital Status	.058	.004	.003	.000	.826	.037
Parish Involvement	.550**	.107	.063	.013	1.43***	.265
Mass Attendance	-.221	-.013	-.342	-.022	.653	.029
(Constant)	22.22***		21.97***		20.34***	
R ²	.132		.151		.141	
n	352		248		103	

* $p < .10$
 ** $p < .05$
 *** $p < .01$

Overall, age, education, employment status and parish involvement are the most significant predictors of grievance for these respondents. In other words, younger, unemployed individuals with higher levels of education and parish involvement are more likely to report dissatisfaction with the current situation of women in the Catholic Church. Among women, the findings are similar with the exception that parish involvement is not a significant predictor of grievance. For men, parish involvement is significant but employment status is not.

The lack of significance for marital status and mass attendance is likely due, at least in part, to the lack of variance in these variables; 81% of the sample are married, and 84% of the sample attend mass weekly. The significance or insignificance of these variables cannot be adequately determined with this distribution.

An issue that needs to be addressed before continuing with the presentation of analyses results is the issue of multicollinearity. Perfect multicollinearity refers to the perfect correlation between two or more independent variables. One common method for determining whether multicollinearity is likely to be a problem is to check for correlations of 0.8 or larger. It can be seen by the correlation matrices presented in Chapter 4, there are no correlation coefficients that approach 0.8 in this study. Lewis-Beck (1990) however, claims that a more accurate detection of multicollinearity involves regressing each independent variable on to all other independent variables. If, in any of these regressions, the R^2 value approaches 1.0, there is a problem with multicollinearity. Taking the advised precautions, regressions were run on each independent variable with none of the resulting R^2 values being greater than 0.27. Based on these findings, there is no reason to believe that multicollinearity is a factor in these research findings.

Returning to the findings of the regression equation presented in Table 5.1, the differences in the weights of the betas between males and females merit discussion. One

method of determining whether the betas, as a group, are significantly different for females and males, is a test of stability in the regression relationship carried out using the Chow test. The Chow test (Gujarati, 1988), determines whether the pair-wise (male / female) coefficients are equal. The null hypothesis of this method states $B_{1M} = B_{1F}$, $B_{2M} = B_{2F}$, and so on. The F-statistic of the Chow test is calculated using the sums of squared residuals from the pooled regression and the male / female regressions separately, the number of variables in the equation and the male / female sample size:

$$F = \frac{(SSR_R - SSR_{UR}) / q}{SSR_{UR} / (N - K)}$$

Where SSR_R refers to the sum of squared residuals for the restricted model (the pooled sample) and SSR_{UR} refers to the sum of squared residuals for the unrestricted model (the male and female models together). The letter q denotes the number of restrictions and K represents the number of parameters estimated in the unrestricted model. The result of this calculation ($F = 2.00$, with 7 and 337 df) suggests the null hypothesis can be rejected; this means the structure of the relationship between the independent variables and grievance for males and females is significantly different ($p < .05$).

The t-test results indicated that the female mean on the grievance scale was significantly higher than the male mean. This finding lends supports to H1 which stated women would report more grievance with the current situation of women in the church than men. The findings in the overall sample that younger individuals, and those with higher levels of education report more grievance than their counterparts demonstrate support for H4 and H7 respectively. Due to the lack of significance in the regression coefficients of mass attendance and marital status, there is no support for H17 and H13. Finally, employment status and parish involvement are significant predictors of grievance, however not in the anticipated direction. Thus H10 and H16 are not supported by these findings. The

significance of support or non-support for these hypotheses does not remain constant for males and females separately. Specifically, employment status is a significant predictor of grievance for females, but not for males; and parish involvement is an important predictor of males' grievance but not of females. These findings, along with the result of the Chow test support a case for stating separate hypotheses for males and females in this area.

One final issue concerning this regression equation needs to be addressed, and that is the R^2 values presented in Table 5.1. These relatively low values indicate that demographics alone (namely age, education level, employment status, marital status, parish involvement and mass attendance) do not fully predict Catholics' grievance with the current situation of women in their church.

Since the bulk of the research connecting these various demographics to the secular women's movement was centered on gender role attitudes (Baker & Terpstra, 1986; Funk & Willits, 1987; Marshall, 1991; McKinney, 1987; McMurray, 1978; Morgan, 1987; Thornton et al., 1983), exploratory analyses was conducted to determine the importance of gender role attitudes on grievance with the current women's situation in the Catholic church. This is done by regressing grievance onto a shortened version of the Attitudes Toward Women Scale developed by Spence and Helmreich (1972), in which higher scores reflect more traditional gender role attitudes. The correlation between these two variables among the overall sample was $-.542$ ($p < .001$) which indicates the two are closely associated. Analyses (Table 5.2) show that when AWS is introduced in addition to the demographic variables, the significance of age, education level and parish involvement diminishes ($p > .05$) for males and females as well as for the overall sample. This finding suggests that the prediction value of these demographic variables operates indirectly through their relationship with gender role attitudes.

Table 5.2. Regression coefficients for demographics and gender-role attitudes predicting grievance

Independent Variable	Overall		Females		Males	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Age	-.042*	-.101	-.027	-.070	-.088	-.178
Education Level	.474*	.090	.452	.088	.494	.094
Employment	-1.44*	-.105	-1.41*	-.113	-1.43	-.084
Marital Status	-.169	-.010	-.091	-.006	.065	.003
Parish Involvement	.239	.047	-.077	-.016	.965*	.182
Mass Attendance	-.363	-.021	-.557	-.036	-.423	-.020
AWS	-.227***	-.476	-.252***	-.506	-.189***	-.403
(Constant)	30.01***		30.57***		29.83***	
R ²	.308		.318		.312	
n	335		240		94	
* p < .10						
** p < .05						
*** p < .01						

Willingness to Participate

A second group of hypotheses suggest that certain subpopulations will report a greater willingness to participate in the women's movement in the church than others. Namely, these hypotheses suggest

- Women will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the church than men (H2).
- Younger individuals will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the church than older individuals (H4).

- Respondents with higher levels of education will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the church than those with lower levels of education (H8).
- Employed individuals will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the church than unemployed individuals (H11).
- Unmarried individuals will be more willing to participate in the women's movement in the church than married individuals (H14).
- The level of religious involvement will be negatively related with one's willingness to participate in the women's movement in the church (H18).
- Frequency of mass attendance will be negatively related with one's willingness to participate in the women's movement in the church (H19).

As with grievance, a t-test indicates a significant difference ($p < .05$) between the male mean (2.10) and the female mean (2.62) on the willingness to participate scale ($t = -2.49$; $p < .05$). Based on these findings, results for the regression are reported separately for males and females, as well as for the overall sample. Table 5.3 shows the regression coefficients and the R^2 values for this regression model. Overall, the impact of age, education level and parish involvement appear to be the most significant demographic determinants of respondents' willingness to participate in the Catholic women's movement. These findings indicate that younger, well-educated individuals involved in their parish are more willing to participate in this movement than their counterparts. For women, the findings are the same with the exception of age not being a significant predictor. Among men, age and employment status and religious involvement are important predictors of willingness to participate in the movement.

As with the findings presented in Table 5.1, it is likely that the lack of a significant relationship between the dependent variable and church attendance and marital status may be

partially due to the lack of variation of these two variables. Therefore, the two variables should not be discounted based on these results.

The Chow test was calculated to determine if the structure of this regression is significantly different for men and women. The resulting F-statistic ($F = 2.91$, with 7 and 337 df; $p < .05$) indicates that the structure of the relationship between demographics and willingness to participate is different for males and females.

The results of the t-test demonstrates support for H2; women are more willing to participate in the Catholic women's movement than men. Among the overall sample younger individuals and those with higher levels of education are more willing to participate in the

Table 5.3. Regression coefficients for demographic variables predicting willingness to participate

Independent Variable	Overall		Females		Males	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Age	-.025**	-.147	-.016	-.096	-.046**	-.278
Education Level	.491***	.228	.727***	.310	.147	.085
Employment Status	-.234	-.041	.141	.025	-1.25*	-.217
Marital Status	-.228	-.034	-.076	-.012	-.178	-.023
Parish Involvement	.503***	.241	.328**	.151	.762***	.409
Mass Attendance	-.087	-.012	-.141	-.020	.659	.083
(Constant)	1.84**		.525		3.61**	
R ²	.155		.177		.232	
n	337		238		98	

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

*** $p < .01$

movement than older, less educated individuals. These findings support H5 and H8 respectively (see pp. 66 - 67). Marital status and mass attendance fail to predict respondents' willingness to participate in the Catholic women's movement, and so there is no support for H14 or H19. Parish involvement is a significant predictor of willingness to participate, although not in the direction hypothesized; H18 is rejected. The final demographic variable, employment status, is not a significant predictor for the overall sample (H11 is not supported), but it is significant for men. The results of the Chow test, along with the fact that the support of the hypotheses do not remain consistent for both men and women, indicate the need to state separate hypotheses for males and females in this area.

These findings suggested two directions for exploratory analyses. The first is a counterpart to the tangent explored with the grievance variable. The gender-role attitude variable was added to the equation along with the demographics to determine its moderating effect on willingness to participate. The findings are presented in Table 5.4. Interestingly, only parish involvement maintained its significant prediction value in this equation ($p < .05$) for males and females as well as for the overall sample. This findings suggests that gender role attitudes moderate the effects of age and education level, as it did with the grievance item. The R^2 values of the combined models increased only slightly for the overall sample (.205 to .255); for females it increased from .160 to .226. Among the males however, there was a notable increase - - from .313 to .401. In other words, 40% of males' willingness to participate in the Catholic women's movement can be predicted by their gender role attitudes and various social characteristics, namely age, education level, marital status, employment status, mass attendance, and parish involvement.

The second direction of exploratory analyses that emerged from these findings was the suggestion in the literature that grievance determines one's willingness to do something about it (Fox & Schofield, 1989). The value of this suggestion was tested by introducing

Table 5.4. Regression coefficients for demographic variables and gender-role attitudes predicting willingness to participate

Independent Variable	Overall		Females		Males	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Age	-.002	-.010	.002	.013	-.026	-.145
Education Level	.249**	.113	.477***	.204	-.062	-.033
Employment Status	.028	.005	.240	.043	-.816	-.132
Marital Status	-.253	-.038	-.114	-.018	-.392	-.052
Parish Involvement	.401***	.191	.286**	.131	.547***	.292
Mass Attendance	-.080	-.011	-.167	-.024	.353	.045
AWS	-.074***	-.375	-.061***	-.284	-.078***	-.459
(Constant)	4.13***		2.62**		6.86***	
R ²	.255		.226		.401	
n	321		231		89	

* p < .10
 ** p < .05
 *** p < .01

grievance into the model along with the demographic variables. The results of this regression are presented in Table 5.5. These numbers clearly indicate the importance of grievance on willingness to participate in the Catholic women's movement. This finding is true for males and females as well as for the overall sample. The introduction of grievance moderates the prediction value of age for females and the overall sample however, education level and parish involvement maintain their significance for these two groups. For males, age, employment status and parish involvement all continue to be important determinants of their willingness to participate. The comparison of the R² values in Table 5.3 and Table 5.5 reveal the value of

Table 5.5. Regression coefficients for demographic variables and grievance predicting willingness to participate

Independent Variable	Overall		Females		Males	
	B	Beta	B	Beta	B	Beta
Age	.000	.003	.012	.070	-.036*	-.211
Education Level	.256**	.119	.421***	.181	-.002	-.001
Employment	.144	.026	.448	.081	-1.04*	-.180
Marital Status	-.142	-.021	.042	.006	-.007	.000
Religious Involvement	.378***	.181	.309**	.143	.527***	.282
Mass Attendance	.013	.002	-.031	-.004	.578	.073
Grievance	.209***	.513	.219***	.501	.171***	.491
(Constant)	-3.17***		-4.69***		.212	
R ²	.382		.383		.450	
n	337		238		98	
* p < .10 ** p < .05 *** p < .01						

grievance in predicting respondents' willingness to get involved in the movement. The value of this variable is consistent across all three groups.

Actual Participation

The skewed frequency distribution on the item measuring respondents' actual participation in the Catholic women's movement (Table 4.24) resulted in the decision to dichotomize the responses reflecting whether or not the respondent has participated. This change forced an alteration of the hypotheses stated in Chapter 3 that address levels of participation to instead address participation. Thus, the hypotheses read:

- Women are more likely participants of the women's movement in the Catholic church than men (H3).
- Younger individuals are more likely participants of the women's movement in the Catholic church than older individuals (H6).
- Respondents with higher levels of education are more likely participants of the women's movement in the Catholic church than those with lower levels of education (H9).
- Employed individuals are more likely participants of the women's movement in the Catholic church than unemployed individuals (H12).
- Unmarried individuals are more likely participants of the women's movement in the Catholic church than married individuals (H15).
- Those with higher levels of parish involvement are less likely participants in the women's movement in the Catholic church than those with lower levels of parish involvement (H20).
- Those who attend mass weekly are less likely participants in the women's movement in the Catholic church than those who attend mass less than weekly (H21).

The collapsing of responses on this dependent variable also presents a barrier to the use of simple linear regression. As Aldrich and Nelson (1984) explain, the simple regression model, although it places no restrictions on the values of independent variables, does assume the dependent variable is continuous. Aldrich and Nelson (1984) further argue that using simple regression with a dichotomized dependent variable may result in incorrect estimates of variance, and, "any hypothesis tests or confidence intervals based on these sampling variances will be invalid" (Aldrich & Nelson, 1984: 13 - 14).

Based on the arguments of Aldrich and Nelson (1984), simple linear regression will not be used to determine predictors of actual participation. Rather, a modified version of OLS regression, namely logistic regression, will be applied. "Logistic regression regresses a dichotomous dependent variable on a set of independent variables" (SPSS manual), with no assumptions regarding the distribution of the independent variables. The logistic regression equation "transforms" Y in the simple regression equation into the probability of belonging to certain category - - in this case, the probability of being a participant rather than a non-participant in the women's movement in the Catholic church.

The SPSS output for this procedure is relatively comparable to that of OLS regression. Regression coefficients and their standard errors are reported (there are no unstandardized regression coefficients). Also reported are Wald test statistics (comparable to a Z-statistic) and their significance levels. Logistic regression also offers estimates of how well the equation fits the data. Afifi and Clark (1984) explain that all procedures that test how well the logistic regression equation fits the data, "Rely on the idea of comparing an observed number of individuals with the number expected if the model were valid" (Afifi & Clark, 1984: 298). The comparison of expected and observed numbers results in a chi-square statistic. The model-chi-square statistic in logistic regression tests the null hypothesis that the set of variables in the equation is useless in classifying individuals (Afifi & Clark, 1984). "A large number of this statistic is an indication that the variables are useful in classification" (Afifi & Clark, 1984: 299). This figure is comparable to the F-statistic reported with simple regression analyses. A "pseudo R^2 " value can also be calculated with logistic regression using the two likelihood estimates reported on the output. The larger of these values reflects the accuracy of predictions based only upon the overall proportion of "1" responses with no controls; the other reflects the predictive power taking into account the independent variables in the model. The result of the calculation is referred to as the PRE - - the proportionate

reduction of error (Lorenz, 1993). The beta coefficients, the model-chi-square and the PRE are reported in Table 5.6. Again, the findings are reported separately for males and females, as well as the overall sample.

Overall, education level and parish involvement are the two most important demographic predictors of respondents' participation in the Catholic women's movement. Those individuals with higher levels of education and who are active in their parish are the more likely participants of this movement. These findings are consistent for males and females as well as for the overall sample. The range in the reported PRE values (.086 to .196) across

Table 5.6. Logistic regression coefficients for demographic variables predicting actual participation

Independent Variable	Overall B	Female B	Male B
Age	-.006	.000	-.020
Education Level	.404***	.429***	.448**
Employment Status	-.094	-.188	.143
Marital Status	.030	-.069	.408
Parish Involvement	.393***	.260**	.781***
Mass Attendance	-.271	-.284	-.199
(Constant)	-3.00***	-3.26***	-2.68*
Model χ^2	41.86***	24.63***	22.65***
PRE	.103	.086	.196
n	337	238	98

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

*** $p < .01$

the three reportings merits mention. These estimates indicate that demographics play a larger role in predicting men's participation in this movement than women's. This finding complements the same trend found when predicting willingness to participate in the movement for males and females.

A crosstabulation was calculated to determine whether or not females were more likely participants in the Catholic women's movement than men. The chi-square statistic for this calculation revealed no significant difference between men's and women's participation in the movement, thus H3 is rejected (see pp. 72 - 73). The positive significance of education level in determining actual participation in this movement support H9 which stated, respondents with higher levels of education are more likely participants of the women's movement in the Catholic Church than those with lower levels of education. The non-significant beta coefficients for age, employment status, marital status and mass attendance fail to support H6, H12, H15, and H21 respectively. Parish involvement is an important determinant of participation, however not in the direction anticipated; as a result, H20 is also rejected. The support / non-support of these hypotheses are consistent for females and males, as well as for the overall sample.

The next step in this analysis entails entering the three social definition variables - - grievance, efficacy and cost - - into the logistic regression equation. Before entering all three together, each one is added individually so that its effect may be presented. Since grievance is the "push" for the other two, grievance is added first. The findings are presented in Table 5.7. The figures presented in Table 5.7 reflect the importance of education level, parish involvement, and grievance in participation in the Catholic women's movement. The introduction of grievance into the model diminishes the significance of education for males and females (Table 5.6), although education level retains its salience for the overall sample. Also noteworthy with the addition of this new variable is the transformation of the coefficient

for age from a negative into a significant positive coefficient for females. Although, since the coefficients were so near to zero in the previous equation (Table 5.6), this transformation is not surprising.

The proportion of reduction in error (PRE) estimates increased considerably with the introduction of grievance; for women the figure nearly tripled in value. However, the variables continue to be more valuable for male prediction than for female prediction.

Table 5.7. Logistic regression coefficients for demographic variables and grievance predicting actual participation

Independent Variable	Overall B	Female B	Male B
Age	.012	.025*	-.019
Education Level	.248*	.226	.309
Employment Status	-.209	-.311	.111
Marital Status	-.021	-.136	.251
Parish Involvement	.385***	.283*	.731***
Mass Attendance	-.326	-.355	-.192
Grievance	.208***	.224***	.188***
(Constant)	-8.02***	-8.90***	-6.39***
Model χ^2	95.97***	64.42***	36.16***
PRE	.241	.226	.321
n	333	235	97

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

*** $p < .01$

Table 5.8 presents the coefficients of the logistic regression equation including the demographic variables and efficacy when predicting participation. For the overall sample, education level, parish involvement and efficacy are significant predictors of Catholics' participation in the church's women's movement.

Table 5.8. Logistic regression coefficients for demographic variables and efficacy predicting actual participation

Independent Variable	Overall B	Female B	Male B
Age	-.001	.003	-.008
Education Level	.347***	.341**	.441**
Employment	-.158	-.220	-.048
Marital Status	.016	-.046	.338
Religious Involvement	.406***	.292**	.766***
Mass Attendance	-.292	-.299	-.202
Efficacy	-.089***	-.092***	-.073
(Constant)	-2.01*	-2.03**	-2.45
Model χ^2	52.20***	32.88***	23.00***
PRE	.132	.115	.209
n	331	237	93

* p < .10
 ** p < .05
 *** p < .01

This finding holds true for females and for males, with the exception of efficacy not being a significant determinant for the latter. Surprisingly, the beta coefficients for efficacy in this model are negative coefficients. This indicates that those individuals who feel less efficacious in the structure of the Catholic church are more likely participants in the women's movement in the church. The correlation matrices presented in Chapter 4 reflect the same type of association for females, males and the overall sample. The PRE estimates for this model are relatively close to those presented in Table 5.6. This finding indicates that although efficacy is an important determinant of participation, it does not contribute significantly to the reduction in error of predicting participation.

The introduction of cost into the equation yielded the results presented in Table 5.6. Cost becomes a significant predictor of participation for the overall sample, along with education level, parish involvement, and even mass attendance. For females, cost is not an important determinant but parish involvement and education level are significant; and for males, parish involvement and cost are the two significant determinants in this model. The beta coefficients for cost among all three groups are positive. These numbers indicate that costs do not serve as deterrents to participation in the movement as was expected. As with the introduction of efficacy, the PRE estimates for the equation involving cost (Table 5.9) are relatively equal to those derived from using only demographic variables (Table 5.6). This finding is consistent for males and females as well as for the overall sample.

The final step in this model is to add all three social definition variables to the equation simultaneously. The results of this final model are presented in Table 5.10. Neither efficacy or cost are significant predictors for the overall sample when entered with the other social definition variables. Grievance however, retains its prediction value for males and females as well as for the overall sample. Parish involvement also remains consistently significant when all three social definition variables are introduced.

Table 5.9. Logistic regression coefficients for demographic variables and cost predicting actual participation

Independent Variable	Overall B	Female B	Male B
Age	-.005	-.001	-.027
Education Level	.321**	.366**	.394
Employment Status	-.082	-.137	.116
Marital Status	.032	-.051	.236
Parish Involvement	.393***	.256*	.817***
Mass Attendance	-.389*	.388	-.235
Cost	.220**	.124	.735**
(Constant)	-2.98***	-3.14***	-2.84
Model X^2	45.73	24.65	30.24
PRE	.124	.092	.300
n	301	218	82

* $p < .10$

** $p < .05$

*** $p < .01$

Based on the theory of Ennis and Schreuer (1987), the addition of grievance, efficacy and cost into the regression equation should increase the predictive value of the equation considerably. As seen by the relatively stable PRE estimates in Table 5.10, this was not the case. In fact, when compared to the estimates in Table 5.7, it is seen that there was very little increase in the prediction value of this equation. The small increase in the "explained variance" that does result with all three social definition variables could probably be explained by the addition of two variables into the equation (Lewis-Beck, 1990). This pattern is

consistent for females, and males as well as for the overall sample. This finding, along with the negative beta coefficients for efficacy and the positive beta coefficients for cost, lead to the rejection of H22 and to conclude that Ennis and Schreuer's (1987) theory of social movement participation cannot be supported by this research.

In continuing with the exploratory direction introduced with the grievance and willingness to participate models, gender role attitudes was introduced into the prediction equation for actual participation. The results are presented in Table 5.11. As with previous analysis with the same independent variables, gender role attitudes does not diminish the significance of the prediction value of parish involvement as it does education level. Again the indication is that the educational level's impact on participation in the Catholic women's movement operates indirectly through gender role attitudes. Also similar to previous analyses is the fact that the prediction value of this equation is notably higher for males than it is for females or for the overall sample.

All findings presented in this chapter are fully discussed in the next chapter. Chapter 6 also presents potential implications of these findings on the future of the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

Table 5.10. Logistic regression coefficients for demographic and social definition variables predicting actual participation

Independent Variable	Overall B	Female B	Male B
Age	.012	.023	-.021
Education Level	.201	.198	.280
Employment	-.224	-.264	-.045
Marital Status	-.040	-.154	.153
Parish Involvement	.393***	.299*	.796**
Mass Attendance	-.386	-.446*	-.056
Grievance	.194***	.224***	.120*
Efficacy	-.020	-.016	-.035
Cost	.083	.024	.472
(Constant)	-7.38***	-8.58***	-4.66
Model X^2	88.38	62.61	32.19
PRE	.244	.237	.332
n	294	214	79

* p < .10

** p < .05

*** p < .01

Table 5.11. Logistic regression coefficients for demographic variables and gender role attitudes in predicting actual participation

Independent Variable	Overall B	Female B	Male B
Age	.025**	.023*	.037
Education Level	.121	.168	.006
Employment Status	-.228	-.229	-.315
Marital Status	-.014	-.115*	.767
Parish Involvement	.312***	.234	.548**
Mass Attendance	-.260	-.232	-.038
AWS	-.095***	-.079***	-.151***
(Constant)	-.363	-.955	1.81
Model X^2	79.49	41.85	44.55
PRE	.208	.152	.414
n	321	231	89

* p < .10

** p < .05

*** p < .01

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Women in the Catholic Church cannot be ordained as deacons or as priests; and girls (according to Vatican doctrine) cannot serve as acolytes in a Catholic mass. These restrictions have become a fundamental tradition of the Catholic Church. Since the Second Vatican Council however, these traditions increasingly are being challenged by various grass-roots Catholic organizations which seek equality for women in the church. This challenge has been defined as the women's movement in the Catholic Church, and it encompasses everything from the issue of inclusive language to the restructuring of the church's hierarchy.

Summary of Findings

The objectives of this study were three-fold: to explore the level of support for the goals of the Catholic women's movement; to identify subpopulations reporting greater levels of grievance with the situation of Catholic women; and to test whether the social definitions of grievance, efficacy, and cost explain Catholics' participation in this movement. According to Ennis and Schreuer (1987), support for a movement can be demonstrated by merely approving of the movement's general goals. The individuals who support a movement in this manner are referred to as adherents. In this study, adherents of the Catholic women's movement were identified by their support for women deacons, women priests, and female acolytes. Fully 88.4% (318) of the respondents believe that girls should be allowed to serve as acolytes; 74.8% (269) agree that women should be allowed into the diaconhood; 58.9% (212) believe women should be ordained priests; and 52.5% (189) believe that married women should be allowed into the priesthood. All of these figures represent a majority; they also coincide with polls that reflect a growing acceptance of more opportunity for women in the church. Greeley (1985) reports the trend from 1974 when 29% of American Catholics

thought it was a good idea to ordain women, to 1982 when 44% of American Catholics supported women in the priesthood. In 1986, 47% of the respondents of a Catholic University survey reported support for women priests (Deedy, 1987). The number of adherents to the women's movement in the Catholic Church is on the rise, and there is no reason to believe it is going to falter. Indeed, as Weaver (1985: 69) explains,

As they [women] grow more aware of the negative texts, traditions, canons, and language and the discriminatory practices of Catholicism and at the same time urge their daughters to seek equity and opportunity in civil society, women in the parish will have to wonder why they do not find more justice, honesty, charity and accountability in the church.

At the same time Catholics support women priests and women deacons, they are admitting a grievance with the current situation. According to Turner and Killian (1972), grievance is a concept that refers to the perception that something is wrong with a given situation - - in this case not allowing females to serve various positions in the church.

A second goal of this study was to identify which subgroups of the population have the greatest grievance with the current situation of women in the church. It was found that women reported greater grievance on this issue than men. This finding corroborates studies reviewed in Chapter 3 which showed women to be more "non-traditional" in their gender-role thinking than men (Baker & Terpstra, 1986; McKinney, 1987). However, this finding is contrary to the polls cited previously in which men were consistently more likely supporters of ordaining women than women (Greeley, 1985). One explanation for this contradiction is that the polls focused solely on women priests and did not solicit opinions on women deacons, etc. Another possible explanation is simply a change in the times. The present study is 11 years more current than Greeley's (1985) last poll reporting of 1983.

This study also found that younger people and those with higher levels of education report greater levels of grievance than their older, less-educated counterparts. Similar to

findings of sex differences, these findings complement the research regarding the relationship between age and education level on the one hand, and gender-role attitudes and support for the secular women's movement on the other (Burris, 1983; Funk & Willits, 1987; Welch, 1975). Their findings also coincide with the significant correlations found in Chapter 4 (Tables 4.25 and 4.26). One factor concerning the relationship between age and grievance is the change in Catholicism over the past 30 years. As Prevallett (1974: 205 - 206) explains, "[there has been] a shift from a very stable, well ordered group who all knew and professed the same faith in the same words...to groups of persons who have found or are finding communities of support and coming to find their own faith and take their own stand." Because of this, "Younger Catholics, especially those born after 1959, seem to have a sharply different religious sensibility than older Catholics" (Greeley, 1985: 177). Commenting on the importance of education in this relationship, Greeley claims that the Catholic Church today is dealing with people who are among the most literate, best educated in history, and the church is unprepared to deal with this. In his words, "The church has to make sense as never before" (Greeley, quoted in Deedy, 1987: 89). Based on the relatively high scores on the grievance scale (Table 4. 13), the church's doctrines concerning women are not making sense, or at least are not being accepted by all Catholics.

For women, as well as for the overall sample, employment status was a significant predictor of Catholics' grievance with the women's situation in the church. It was expected that employed respondents would be more sensitive to the issues because they are more exposed to male / female inequalities (Rowland, 1984). However, the results do not support that premise. The correlation coefficient for employment status and grievance was positive, but small (.052 for the overall sample). In regression analyses that controlled for other factors, this coefficient became negative which means that unemployed individuals report a greater grievance with the church than their employed counterparts. The majority of

unemployed respondents in this study were either homemakers ($n = 66$) or retired ($n = 37$), and since employment status is a significant predictor for women and not for men, we are concerned primarily with housewives ($n = 65$). There is no way to tell what the detailed employment histories of these women involve. It could very well be that "unemployed" individuals in the 1990's are just as aware of male / female inequalities as employed individuals because of previous employment, or because they gain their information on gender issues through sources other than the workplace (e.g., reading material, volunteer work, organizations, past work experiences). A more refined measure of employment history is needed to address the relationship between employment status and grievance.

The final important predictor of grievance for men and the overall sample was their parish involvement. Based on the literature, it was expected that those individuals who were the most active in their parish would be the ones who "bought into the system" the most heavily and thus would be the least likely to report opinions contrary to the church's doctrine - in this case the church's doctrine on women. However, the results of this study indicate that those more involved in their parish report greater levels of grievance than those less involved or not involved at all. The question that immediately emerges from these findings is, why do people get involved in their parish? Do people become involved because of their discontent - their dissatisfaction with the status quo? Do they get involved to change things? Or does their dissatisfaction emerge through their parish involvement? It is possible that greater parish involvement deepens one's understanding of the "politics" of the church and increases one's awareness of the situation. These questions are beyond the scope of this study but are essential in understanding why parish involvement increases men's level of grievance with the church.

Along with identifying which subgroups of the population report the greatest grievance with the situation of women in the church, this study also identified those

subpopulations who are the most willing to participate in the Catholic women's movement as well as those who have actually participated. Willingness to participate, like grievance, displayed significant gender differences - - women are more willing to participate in the Catholic women's movement than men. Unlike grievance, however, for which age and education level were found to be important predictors for both men and women, willingness to participate had only one predictor common to both men and women: parish involvement. These positive relationships indicate that those more involved in their parish are more willing to participate in this movement. The questions raised by these findings echo those previously raised by the grievance issue.

For women in this study, there was a strong association between willingness to participate and age, education level and employment status, as well as parish involvement (Table 4.26). Yet, regression shows the only other major predictor of women's willingness to participate is their education level. For men, age and employment status are the two other significant predictors of their willingness to participate. The willingness of younger men to support this movement coincides with the findings for grievance. The fact that unemployed men report a greater willingness to participate lends support to the concept of biographical availability. The argument is that these men have more available time to donate to a movement (Klandermans, 1984).

Whereas employment status and age are important predictors of men's willingness to participate, neither is important in predicting actual participation - - men's or women's. The two most important determinants of actual participation in the Catholic women's movement are education level and parish involvement, both of which are consistent with findings reported above for one or the other of the sexes. Inconsistent with past findings on sex differences, however, men and women are equally likely participants in this movement.

There is a school of thought in the social movement literature that activism is based on attitudes - - attitudinal support for a movement equals actual participation in that movement (McAdam et al., 1988). However, the more contemporary school of thought regarding social movement participation claims that it takes more than just agreeing with the goals of a movement to prompt participation. The theory introduced by Ennis and Schreuer (1987) suggests grievance is only one of three major concepts involved in social movement participation. These authors claim that efficacy and costs of participation also weigh into individuals' decisions of whether or not to "get involved" in a movement. The theory basically states that the greater the grievance, the greater the efficacy and the lower the perceived cost, the more likely the participation. The final goal of this study was to test whether the social definition concepts of grievance, efficacy and cost help to explain Catholics' participation in their women's movement. Overall, the regression results do not support this theory. The first hint of non-supportive findings was presented in the correlation matrices in Chapter 4 (Tables 4.24 and 4.25). Here it is seen that the coefficients for efficacy and actual participation are negative when they should have been positive, and the coefficients for cost and actual participation are positive when they were expected to be negative. These directional relationships will be discussed later in this section. Grievance, however, was found to be a significant predictor of Catholics' participation in this movement. This finding lends support to the classic social movement thinking that attitudinal support for a movement does lead to participation.

Along with grievance, parish involvement is the other major determinant of participation in this movement. These data support the conclusion that the more involved one is in her / his parish, the more likely she / he will partake in some activity(ies) supporting the women's movement in the church. The questions surrounding this positive relationship have already been addressed, yet this finding adds to the salience of those questions.

As previously stated, the claim that greater efficacy and lower perceived costs are important factors in individuals' participation in a social movement is not supported by these findings. Rather it was found that individuals with lower efficacy and perceived higher costs of participation, were more likely to participate. It needs to be noted, neither one of these factors were significant predictors of participation when controlling for the other social definition variables. Why is this? Beginning with the concept of efficacy, one possible explanation is that it is not appropriate to re-phrase items from political efficacy measures relating to democratic political structures to address a non-democratic structure such as the Catholic Church. Democracies are based on the belief that all persons have a voice in governance. This is guaranteed by allowing the people to elect representatives. In the Catholic Church, this is not the way decisions are made. Male priests are ordained upon completion of the seminary and are appointed to parishes by bishops. Bishops and cardinals are selected by the Pope, and the Pope is chosen by the cardinals. Unlike democracies where citizens can be involved in selecting their local, state and national representatives and leaders, Catholic laypersons are not involved anywhere in the process.

With regard to the issue of cost, one possible explanation for the positive relationship between perceived costs and participation, is that the "goal" of the movement outweighs the personal costs. The relationship between cost and actual participation, like the relationship between efficacy and actual participation, could be interpreted as stressing the strength and importance of shared ideologies between the participants and the movement. In other words, Catholics realize that, realistically, there is nothing they can do to change the papal rule of the church, yet some choose to continue their participation in grass-roots movements pursuing equality for women in the church. Catholics realize that participation in these movements means giving up family and personal time, yet some choose to continue to be active. Efficacy and costs, while shown to be significant factors of participation in other social movements

(Ennis & Schreuer, 1987), are not important factors of participation in the women's movement in the Catholic Church. What is important in determining Catholics' participation in the women's movement is their degree of grievance with the current women situation in their church.

As explored in Chapter 5, however, it is not only grievance with the role of women in the church that determines participation, but also the belief that women in secular society should be treated as equals. This was demonstrated through the use of a gender-role attitude measure. The Attitude Toward Women Scale, developed by Spence and Helmreich (1972), has been described as a measure that, "...taps the roles, behavior and attitudes that people feel are appropriate or inappropriate for women" (McKinney, 1987: 353). In this context, it is seen that egalitarian gender-role attitudes are an important determinant of Catholics' participation in the women's movement in their church.

Gender-role attitudes were also found to be a major factor in the level of Catholics' reported grievance with the current situation of women in their church. This latter finding coincides with Lehman's (1987) research in the area of the acceptance of women clergy in Protestant denominations. Lehman concluded that one of the most important predictors of congregation members acceptance of a female pastor is their attitude toward women in general. Another important factor revealed by Lehman, but not encompassed in this study, was the type of church / community in which the congregation was located. The conclusion was that members of large, affluent congregations tend to resist women ministers while members of marginal congregations (i.e., those struggling to survive) can not afford the luxury of being choosy (Lehman, 1987). This finding suggests a reinterpretation of the concept of cost applied in the present study. Could it be that it is not personal cost of participation that is important in this movement, but rather the larger, collective cost of not participating? Is this especially true for the members of small town or rural parishes that are the first to lose or be

forced to share their priest? This is definitely a question worthy of further research, and it is also a question that challenges the definition of cost as it has been applied in past studies.

Limitations of this Study

The major limitation of these research findings is their non-generalizability. This limitation is primarily due to the lack of access to Catholics in the entire state of Wisconsin, which, in turn, was partly due to the number of non-compliant priests who were contacted for assistance. The response rate of mailed surveys for this study was average, at best. This could have been improved with more follow-up after the initial mailing, but available funding did not afford this option. At the same time, the high response rate of those surveys distributed with parish bulletins was noteworthy, and this method of questionnaire distribution deserves consideration in further projects. The only potential problem in using this method of distribution is the possibility that it may bias the sample with an over representation of regular church-goers. The present sample is an illustration of this skewed distribution. It could be argued however, that Catholics who go through the trouble of becoming a member of a parish will tend to be "regular churchgoers", and so they would be just as likely to be selected from a parish membership list as to receive a questionnaire at mass. What is needed in future research is a way to gain access to "non-practicing Catholics"; this would enhance the importance of mass attendance on this issue (as well as other issues).

Another issue related to the representativeness of the sample, is the under representation of non-married respondents. It is possible that joining a parish is not as much a primary concern to single adults as it is to married adults who often become a member of a parish in order to be married in the church and to have children baptized in the church. In this regard, single adults are underrepresented on parish membership lists.

The quality of the measures in the project also contributed certain limitations to this study. The limitation of the employment status measure has already been discussed. Overall, what is needed is a more encompassing measure, not only of current employment, but also of employment background. It is likely to be inaccurate in the 1990s, to assume that because one defines him / herself as a homemaker that he / she has never been employed.

Another limitation of the measures involves the narrow scope of "the women's movement in the Catholic Church". For the purpose of this study, the movement was defined by four specific items which addressed only the issue of women and different positions in the church. In reality, as discussed in Chapter 2, the women's movement in the church encompasses an array of issues dealing with everything from inclusive language to a restructuring of the church's hierarchy. As Iadarola (1985: 473) explains, "... It is impossible to imagine women being admitted to the Catholic priesthood without, at the same time, fundamental notions about hierarchy, theology, Church and authority being questioned and modified." Further research in this area should somehow broaden its definition of the women's movement to encompass these issues.

The parish involvement scale developed for this study appears to be a reliable measure of individuals' involvement in their parish. Items for all other measures are taken from past research. The major limitation with these measures concerns the modified efficacy items and the appropriateness of applying them to the non-democratic Catholic Church.

Another issue that should be addressed in further research that was not addressed here is that of opportunity. More than one respondent indicated that he / she would be willing to participate in one or more activities, but commented that they were not aware of any opportunities to actually get involved. Further research should introduce some type of measure for opportunity to help explain some of the discrepancy between the scores of willingness to participate and actual participation. On this line, as concluded by McAdam

(1986) and McAdam et al.(1988), the factor of knowing someone involved in the movement may also be an important determinant of participation.

Implications of this Study

The implications of these research findings can be divided into two main categories; the first of which addresses the Catholic Church in general. These findings speak very clearly of the level of "discontent" and "dissatisfaction" with the tradition of keeping women out of various positions in the church. While education is increasing people's awareness of the issue, Protestant denominations are continually opening their seminaries and ordained ministries to women (Ermath, 1970; Hewitt & Hiatt, 1973; Richardson, 1981). These two factors combined are making it increasingly difficult to understand and accept the Catholic "tradition". There is also the issue of the priest shortage that adds its own twist to the church's logic. Deedy (1987) estimates that by the year 2000, there will be 65 million Catholics, but 50% fewer active diocesan priests than there are at present. For those who are able to connect the issue of women in the Catholic Church to a larger social context, it is understood that, "It is not possible for the church to act with all its strength when more than 1/2 of its membership is to some degree suppressed, nor is it possible for women's position to rise in society when a major institution so blatantly discriminates against the female sex" (Nason-Clark, 1987: 272). The fact that women reported significantly greater levels of grievance with the church and are significantly more willing to participate in this movement than men, suggests that male and female experiences in the church, at present, are very different. This male / female difference may have major impacts on the future of the movement and the future of the church. If nothing else, this difference serves as grounds for believing this movement is not going to "fade away" in the near future.

The second category of implications concerns social movement participation research. The importance of the Attitudes Toward Women scale in predicting participation in this movement supports the conclusion of Wandersman et al. (1987) that it is important to look beyond basic demographics when attempting to predict support for a movement. The significance of grievance in predicting participation in the Catholic women's movement lends credibility to the classical thought of social movement participation in which it is claimed, "Activism grows out of strong attitudinal support for the values and goals of the movement" (McAdam et al., 1988: 706). The important role of grievance in participation also reinforces a major "flaw" of Resource Mobilization theory which downplays to the role of grievance in social movement participation (Ennis & Schreuer, 1987; McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

Ennis & Schreuer's (1987) theory of movement participation brought together the traditional attitudinal support approach and the rational choice approach of resource mobilization. By applying this theory to the women's movement in the Catholic Church, it was hoped that support for their theory of social movement participation would be found. It was not. One conclusion that can be drawn from these non-confirmatory results is that factors involved in social movement participation depend on what that social movement involves. This conclusion parallels one drawn by Ennis and Schreuer (1987: 405) who state, "While grievance, efficacy and cost provide a general framework for examining individual commitment, their relative impact may vary for other issues." Addressing their research findings they explain,

...The uniquely threatening scale of nuclear annihilation makes grievance a necessary condition of support here, but it might play a lesser role in other settings. Similarly, the impact of costs ... depends on which groups are threatened... Thus, the relative magnitudes of these factors should vary in informative ways across issues and settings (Ennis & Schreuer, 1987: 405).

In other words, what may be important factors in a decision to participate in a movement to rid the nation of nuclear arms could be very different from the relevant factors in a decision to participate in the women's movement in the Catholic Church.

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APPENDIX

Dear Catholic Parishioner:

My name is Margaret Hanson. I am a member of Sacred Heart Parish in Spring Valley, Wisconsin. At present, I am a Sociology Ph.D. student at Iowa State University. For the past four years I have been doing a lot of reading on the debate on the status of women in the Catholic Church.. I have found this topic so intriguing that I have chosen it for my doctoral dissertation. I am conducting a study of Catholics in Wisconsin to explore the degree of support and opposition to increased opportunity for women in the Church.

This is a survey concerning women and the Catholic Church that I hope you will complete and return as soon as possible. Business reply postage has been provided for your convenience. The questionnaire should take approximately 30 minutes to complete. Your parish has been randomly selected from a list of parishes in your diocese. Therefore, it is important that I hear from everyone. The identification number on your questionnaire is for record keeping purposes only. Let me assure you that your responses will be kept in strict confidence and information about individual respondents will never be given out to anyone for any reason.

I sincerely hope you will participate in this survey. Hopefully it will allow you to voice some opinions on issues that you may not otherwise have the opportunity to share. I believe this is an issue that has the potential to affect all of us as Catholics and I believe our opinions are important. If you have any comments or questions concerning the questionnaire, please let me know.

Thank you for your time and cooperation.

Sincerely,

Margaret Hanson
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