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Crisis in Middle Management: A Study of the Catholic Church in Chicago

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**CRISIS IN MIDDLE MANAGEMENT:
A STUDY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHICAGO**

by
Anthony J. Vader

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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1985

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VITA

Anthony Joseph Vader was born in Chicago of Francis and Nellie (Kelly) Vader on May 31, 1926. After attending the diocesan seminaries he was ordained a priest on May 1, 1952. At St. Mary of the Lake Seminary he received his A.B. (1949), S.T.B. (1950), M.A. (1951), S.T.L. (1952). In 1962 he received his M.A. in Sociology from the University of Chicago. He has been pastor of Holy Name of Mary Church in Chicago since 1968. He taught Sociology at St. Mary of the Lake Seminary (1970-72) and has been teaching Sociology at Niles Seminary College since 1969.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Pope Paul VI ended the Second Vatican Council in 1965. In that same year Hall and Schneider studied the priests of the Diocese of Hartford, Connecticut: this study was later published as Organizational Climates and Careers: The Work Lives of Priests. They concluded that "satisfactions, challenges and utilization of skills (were) constantly higher among pastors than curates" (p. 219). Pastors were found to have more power in authority situations with both their Ordinary and their associates (p. 220). Even though priests have little control over the development of their lives in the priesthood, "pastors do have more control than curates over the location of assignment, and certainly more control over their assignments" (p. 222). They concluded that perceived challenge, autonomy, and importance of one's work activities all feed into challenge, which in turn feeds into the experience of psychological success. The pastor scores higher than the associate on all of these dimensions and feels much more successful than his curates.

In 1982 over ten percent of Chicago's priests who

have both the seniority and experience to be pastors are not. This dissertation seeks to find out why this status, formerly sought by almost all Chicago diocesan priests because of the pastoral advantages described by Hall and Schneider, has been rejected by a significant number of priests today and why a number of pastors resigned this status to return to the position of associate pastor. This dissertation then will explore the reasons why a significant number of Chicago diocesan priests who should by traditional criteria be pastors are not pastors.

The crisis of the pastorate has not only been the interest of the author of this dissertation but also of the priests of the Archdiocese, for during the first six months of 1984 five events in the Diocese of Chicago highlighted the issues of this dissertation. Between January and July six pastors in "good" parishes resigned to return to the status of associate pastors. All of them said afterwards that they had never been so happy as they were as associate pastors.

Secondly, the Vicar for Priests sent all diocesan priests a questionnaire from the National Council of Catholic Bishops about the pastorate, asking priests to respond to questions about the problems of the pastoral role and inquiring for ideas to make the status of pastor more desirable.

Since the coming of Cardinal Bernardin, the Diocese of Chicago has based the salary for priests on years of service rather than status within the organizational structure. Some pastors had negatively and noisily evaluated this pay scale. In parishes where the pastor was younger than his associates, he received a smaller salary, yet it was he who had the parochial responsibility. In the Spring of 1984 a questionnaire came from the Chicago Chancery Office about an increase in salary for all priests and further increase of \$100.00 per month for pastors. The results have not been published but the rumor persists that many pastors did not want the \$100.00 increase, for they did "not want to be bought off". As this dissertation will demonstrate, pastors seek rewards for their services. Most pastors are not sure what these rewards should be as the salary issue indicates, but these rewards must be commensurate with the parochial responsibilities undertaken by pastors.

In the Spring of 1984 a group of pastors invited all pastors to a meeting on issues concerning the pastorate at the Mayslake Retreat House in Oak Brook, Illinois. Space permitted only fifty pastors and the reservations were filled almost immediately. Other sessions for the Fall of 1984 were planned.

Finally, the summer issue of the newsletter of the

Association of Chicago Priests, entitled Upturn, concerned itself with interviews on the pastorate. Pastors told of their problems and associate pastors wrote of their reasons for accepting or not accepting assignments as pastors in Chicago's parishes.

Middle management crises are not a problem exclusive to the Catholic Church in Chicago. Other service-oriented institutions face the same issue. However, any bureaucracy facing such a crisis must examine its structure, motivations and reward systems which is the goal this dissertation hopes to accomplish.

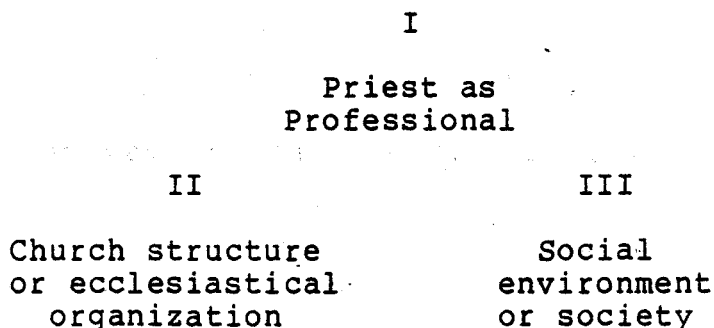
Other contemporary "critical issues" of Catholicism marginal to this study include clerical defections, paucity of religious vocations, and institutional adaptation and survival. These issues have been studied by both clerical and lay sociologists. This study restricts itself to priestly role identity and role satisfaction vis-a-vis the pastorate in Chicago today.

The role of priest is not performed in a vacuum. Priestly activity occurs in an organization and a social environment which both facilitate and constrain the priest by influencing his norms, values and behavior, patterns which sociologists term an "open system" (Katz and Kahn, 1972). Hesser (1981) diagrammed these overlapping social environments and their effect on role definition, role

performance, and status choice of religious professionals. This dissertation adapts the social environments described by Hesser to the issues concerning priests of the Diocese of Chicago.

FIGURE 1

Hesser's Diagram of Overlapping Social Environments of Religious Professionals



This dissertation maintains that all three of the factors identified by Hesser, namely, the profession of priest, the ecclesiastical organization and society act on the priest to affect his ministry and especially influence his status as pastor.

The first of the environments of Hesser is the "Priest as Professional." Hesser wrote of "the changing and conflicting perceptions of the clergy role" (p. 274) in which there are "numerous and often contradictory

expectations" (p. 275). The conflicts that can arise derive from "a unique set of client/employer/employee relationships...(where) the clients and employers are the same" (p. 275). Hesser called these perceptions of the clergy role "conflicts" because of "tugs-of-war" between different definitions of goals and authority, which were a "consequence of the highly autonomous behavior of clergy persons" (p. 275).

Hesser sees the problems of priest as professional in the role definition. Where the priest can define his role in one way, either the clients (the parishioners) or the diocese may define the role in another way. Among Catholic priests in Chicago the variety of possible priestly roles could also be a conflict for the reasons Hesser gives. However, for many priests the plurality of possible roles can be liberating for priests whose role-identity goes beyond the parish and the pastorate.

Later in this paper the data will demonstrate the number of priests who view themselves as ministering in roles beyond the pastorate. The associate pastor, especially, is not bound to maintain the parish, so he can select his own role-identity from the proliferation of possible roles which were available for only a few priests before Vatican II. Pastors have the maintenance of the parish as their primary responsibility and they must

report to both chancery office and parishioners on how well they carried out these obligations.

Hesser's second environment is that of the religious organization. He wrote of the "tension between professional ideals and organizational realities" for which he gave the example of "the attractive challenge of service creativity and collaboration vs. the day-to-day maintenance activities and expectations." Added is the issue as to whether the "increasingly skilled and theologically sophisticated full-time clergypersons often serve mainly to guarantee the manpower necessary to continue the bureaucratic image of ecclesiastical structures." (p. 171)

Hesser was concerned with the dilemma of "formal goals (those derived from theology) vs. survival goals ('paying the rent') which is a problem for all pastors" (p. 171). The religious organization expects the pastor to carry out its programs and policies in the parish first of all, and then his own goals as long as they do not contradict or conflict with diocesan goals. The diocese can compel its pastors into a position of goal displacement.

Without disregarding the goal-displacement issue, this present paper centers more on the relationship between the chancery office of the diocese and the pastor.

In less structured denominations the pastor is accountable only to his parish board, while in the Catholic Church the parish churches and the pastor are subject to Canon Law and diocesan law and practices. The Catholic pastor is appointed by his Ordinary and his staff to whom the pastor is responsible. The chancery office can put significant limitations on pastoral autonomy and authority. This present paper will deal with the obligations placed on the pastor by the chancery office.

Hesser's final environment is titled "society," which he defines as "the non-religious social environment" and "socio-cultural (political and economic) milieu(s) of the communities and nations in which they operate" (p. 270). Hesser does not give any other discussion of the issue of society.

Building on Hesser's concept of society, this paper will deal with two aspects of society. First is the socio-cultural milieu which consists of the racial and ethnic composition of the people living within the parish boundaries. To most of the priests of the diocese the black and Hispanic subcultures can seem alien and can cause alarm to the pastor whose only orientation is toward a traditional (white) Catholic community.

The second interpretation of society goes beyond Hesser's "non-religious social environment" and is con-

cerned with the diminishing number of priests and seminarians in the Diocese of Chicago. This diminishing number of clergy is due in some degree to Hesser's non-religious forces. These non-religious forces affecting the number of priests will be discussed more fully in the literature section of this present paper in the section on society.

Hesser sees these three environments as partially distinct and partially overlapping. This paper follows Hesser in this arrangement. As much as possible this paper will attempt to study the environments as distinct, yet at times there will be overlapping because more than one environment is involved on a particular issue of the pastor in his middle-management status within the Catholic Church.

LITERATURE ON THE PRIEST AND PASTOR

This chapter is divided into three parts corresponding to the categories of the Hesser paradigm of ecclesiastical organizational climates. Each section will be studied separately, even though some overlapping occurs in the diagram and in this present study. The complete description of the status of pastor from the frame of reference of the literature can be comprehended in the assemblage of the categories of the Hesser diagram. The

final section of the chapter deals with Exchange Theory and its application to the pastoral status, for this present study is based on the Exchange Theory principles of reward and reinforcement.

I. PRIEST AS PROFESSIONAL

Sociologists as well as theologians today recognize many possible legitimate clerical roles besides that of pastor. Church history and Canon (Church) Law as well as popular American literature about priests maintain the pastorate to be the ideal status of all priests. This section will analyze all three of these reference groups vis-a-vis the priesthood and pastorate.

A. IDENTITY AND ROLE OF PRIEST IN SOCIOLOGICAL LITERATURE

Sociological literature enumerates many and complex possible roles for the priest depending on the cultural and organizational development of the society involved. Among the specialized and principal roles or statuses are that of parish priest (Troeltsch, 1931; Miner, 1939; Wach, 1944; Nuesse and Harte, 1951; Fichter, 1951; Sklare, 1955; O'Dea, 1958; Schuyler, 1960; Ward, 1961; Moberg, 1962; Blochinger, 1965; Clebsch, 1968; Hall and Schneider, 1973; Greeley, 1977); social activist

(Gustafson, 1961; Cox, 1968; Hadden, 1969; Winter, 1977; Wilson, 1978); prophet, (Wach, 1944; Berger, 1963; Weber, 1968; Scharf, 1970); liturgist (preacher included), Smith, 1953; Sklare, 1955; Blizzard, 1958; Moberg, 1962; Salisbury, 1964; Scharf, 1970); saint (contemplative) (Wach, 1944; Salisbury, 1964); cleric (Sklare, 1955; Blizzard, 1956); rector (administrator) (Wach, 1944; O'Dea, 1961; Salisbury, 1964; Moberg, 1966); teacher (Sklare, 1955; Moberg, 1962; Salisbury, 1964); counsellor (Sklare, 1955; Blizzard, 1956; Moberg, 1962; Cumming and Harrington, 1963; Salisbury, 1964); reformer (Wach, 1944; O'Dea, 1961); and organization man (Sklare, 1955; Jammes, 1955; Blizzard, 1956; Moberg, 1962; Salisbury, 1964; Demareth and Hammond, 1969; Scharf, 1970).

Others prescind from specific roles by defining the priesthood as a status (Greeley, 1972) or the priest as a specialist in one or more of the above possible roles (Wilson, 1968; Scharf, 1970). The priest as an eschatological symbol by reason of his otherworldliness is stressed in the work of Moberg, 1962; Neal, 1968; Hargrove, 1979.

Max Weber (1922: 1964: 20-31) pursued another dimension of the role of priest; his frame of reference was the priest as a professional (Berufsmensch) in contrast to the magician, the non-professional. Fichter (1961)

concurr with Weber that the priest is a professional,-- i.e. one who has technical competence and is dedicated to the service of others (unlike the bureaucrat who has other motives, such as profit), as does Ference, et al., 1971; Glasse, 1968. T. M. Gannon (1971) questioned whether the concept of "profession" as it is currently used in sociological analysis is really apt or even adequate for studying the priesthood because of the peculiar qualities of the priestly role in Roman Catholicism. (Also Hertzler, 1946: 181; Kretch and Curschfield, 1948; Lindblade, 1976.) The professionalism of the priest is not so institutionally oriented as to isolate him from his people (Gustafson, 1954; Szabo, 1958).

Not only sociologists ascribe a plurality of possibly conflicting roles for the priest. When the Catholic Bishops met at Vatican II, they defined the role of the priest in the "Constitution of the Liturgy" (1963) as "cultic leader". He was to be the "minister" to his parishioners, the one who cared for their needs. However, in the "Constitution on the Ministry and Life of Priests" (1965), the role of the priest was then defined as the one who proclaims the Gospel ("prophet") and who is a co-worker with the Bishop.

Vatican II with its pastoral approach to the Church added to the identity-crisis, role-confusion,

and/or role conflict affecting many priests. Vatican II reinstated the ordination of permanent deacons (usually married men) but did not define their roles in the hierarchical structure. The laity as the people of God were urged to participate in the administration and the operations of their parishes, but they were not given an adequate job description. Legitimate resignations for priests, and the social unrest of the times contributed to priests questioning what was expected of them in their priestly role (Gustafson in Lynn, 1965: 70-80; Hadden, 1969; Kelly, 1971).

The concept of anomie may best describe the current identity crisis of many priests. Durkheim (1897: 1951) first related anomie to role performance. Others (Parsons, 1961; Merton, 1957; Miznuchi, 1964; Marks, 1974) have developed the relationship between anomie and deviant behavior. Parsons (1951: 304) notes that when subjects are under strain, one reaction "may be discouragement, a general tendency to withdraw."

If anomie can produce withdrawal, role ambiguity and role uncertainty can produce tension in role performance or decreasing role commitment (Kahn, et.al. 1964). Krause (1971) sums up the issue of role definition for the priest in writing, "we are forced to note that the central role of the clergy is either over-difficult or disappear-

ing, if that role is defined as being the moral leader of the congregation" (p. 171).

Even though it goes beyond the scope of this paper, Catholic priests were not alone in the difficulty of finding a role definition (Scherer and Wedel, eds., 1966; Johnson, 1969; Metz, 1967; Webber. This middle management crisis does not prevail only in the Catholic Church. Since most Protestant congregations have only a pastor ministering to the congregation, the authority position of Pre-Vatican II and Post-Vatican II pastor was not the central issue. The concern for them was how best to bring God's love to mankind. Protestant clergymen wrote of the "Incarnational Church," i.e., the social environment where Christian norms and values are needed (Webber, 1966; Ziegenhals, 1978) and their inability to develop such congregations. Some even wrote that the parish community is dead (Winter, 1966; Cosby, 1966; Luecke, 1972; Johnson, 1969; Howes, 1969; Metz, 1967; Scherer and Wedel, eds., 1966; Carroll, 1980; Smith, 1974; Schuller, Merton, Strommen and Brecke, 1980).

For many Protestant ministers their role definition was determined by their congregations (Blizzard, 1956; Campbell and Pettigrew, 1959; Hoge, et.al. 1981) rather than their denominations or their self-identity in the clerical status. Role definition for Protestant

ministers can be serious issues but they are different from the role problems of Catholic pastors.

Role clarity for the associate pastor was also difficult. The associate pastor was expected to obey his pastor but could not easily define his roles when he read the decrees of Vatican II and then listened to many pastors who had not read the decrees of Vatican II.

Greeley (in Sloyan, 1967: 15) after describing the associate pastor (curate) as a professional who is highly trained, competent and motivated, continues with emotional language in picturing the ministry of this associate pastor.

For all practical purposes the curate in a Catholic parish in the United States is a non-person. He has no rights, privileges, responsibilities or initiatives of his own but serves completely and solely at the discretion of his pastor. . . . The result of a quarter century of such a life is all too frequently a burnt out zombie, a neurotic stunted eccentric, an immature human being. But then when the word comes from the Chancery Office (that he has been made pastor), the zombie becomes alive, and in the words of J. F. Powers 'the mouse becomes a rat' because the man who had been a curate all of his life finally 'gets a place of his own'.

The same crises is also identified by the work of two Yale University organizational scientists, Douglas T. Hall and Benjamin Schneider who in their 1965 study of the priests of Hartford, Connecticut showed that (1) associate pastors possessed extremely limited opportunities for goal challenge and work choice and almost no opportunities for

receiving feedback on their work performance; (2) while few of them could claim the independence of working autonomously even fewer enjoyed supportive autonomy from their pastors; (3) they were frequently engaged in work not central to their ministry; and (4) in such a work climate the possibilities for the attainment of their goals were considerably diminished.

Richard Guerette (in Baum/Greeley, 1974: 128-138) applies sociological theory to the Yale study above by using Parsons' functional imperatives which address themselves to the functional problems of differentiation in organizational systems:¹

FIGURE 2

Guerette's Application of Parson's Functional Imperatives to Pre and Post Vatican II Priestly Roles.

Pre Vatican II		Post Vatican II	
A	G	A	G
Bring the Environment to Meet the System (Parochial) needs	Save Souls or Pastor's Goals	Go Beyond Parochial Enclosures	More immediate Practical Goals Involvement in Social Order
I	L	I	L
Traditional Religious Values	Pastoral Authority	Functional Diversity Serving the Body of Christ	Smaller Interacting Religious Groups

¹ Also working from the Parsonian paradigm is the unpublished work of John B. Donovan concerning the priests in his roles of instrumental activism and expressive activism.

The priest (especially the associate pastor in the post Vatican II era) is now able to set goals for himself in accordance with his personal skills and professional interests unless his authority and power is restricted by other powers of social environments. Vatican II advocated such a plan regarding contemporary form of ministry in saying, "All (priests) indeed are united in a single goal of building up Christ's Body, a work requiring manifold roles and new adjustments, especially" (Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests: 8).

Beginning with the Vatican II Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests, not only a new word but a new concept began its evolution. The noun "minister" had been applied only to Protestant clergymen before Vatican II. Priests ministered to their people but they did not use the word "minister." The "service" of a priest always referred to his parishioners and its content was always parochial. Even seminary professors who taught until they became pastors never referred to their educational work as ministering.

Since the Vatican II Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests mentions the parish structure only in passing, theologians redefined the roles of priest which allowed an attitudinal change. Shortly after the Con-siliar document Hans Kung (1967) advocated a multiplicity

of ministerial roles in a diversity of social communities. Spiritual writers quickly redefined the role of priests and laity so that today the word "minister" and its cultural content is widely accepted both in reference to parochial ministry and community service (McBrien, 1979: 22; Schillebeeckx, 1961; Dunning, 1982).

The priest today often defines his priestly role as a form of ministering to the faithful of the parish community using either traditional or non-traditional models. Ministering may also mean serving the people of God beyond the parochial boundaries with professional skills. At that time Fichter (1969) began writing about the hyphenated priest. Everett Hughes (1937) had foreseen the societal evolution and predicted that the professions would evolve with the culture. Later Hughes (1966) wrote that the profession of clergyman was becoming more specialized and no longer could a priest be "all things to all men."

Today priests do not relate abandoning the priesthood to frustration over work assignments. In fact, since there is a shortage of priests, most have the freedom within limits of choosing their own ministerial style. The pastor who has internalized parochial values recognizes that his associate pastor(s) will not have the complete dedication to the parish that he gave to his

pastor (Ransom, et.al. 1977).

B. STATUS OF PASTOR IN CHURCH HISTORY AND CANON LAW

The first writings about the role of the priest in the Church are found in the Didascalia Apostolarum written between 202 and 210 A.D. in which the hierarchical job descriptions are given. Hippolytus (215 A.D.) gives his reflections on these roles. Theologians in general derive their job description for the priest from Sacred Scriptures and from theology².

A modern definition of the Church would be that of Richard McBrien who wrote that "The Church is the whole body, or congregation, of persons who are called by God the Father to acknowledge the Lordship of Jesus, the Son, in word, in sacrament, in witness, and in service, and through the power of the Holy Spirit, to collaborate with Jesus' historic mission for the sake of the Kingdom of God."³ (1980: 714) Since such a definition applies to all

²Cf. John S. Powell, S.J., "Summary on Theology of Priesthood" in Gerard S. Sloyan, Secular Priest in the New Church (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967; Josiah G. Chatham, "The Office of Pastor in Gerard S. Sloyan, Secular Priest in the New Church (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967). Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams (eds.), The Ministry in Historical Perspective (New York: Harper, 1956. Hans Kung, The Church (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1967).

³Richard P. McBrien, Catholicism (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1980).

Christian churches, one of the identifying characteristics of the Catholic Church is its hierarchical nature, "The Roman Pontiff, as the successor of Peter, is the perpetual and visible principle and foundation of unity of both the bishops and the faithful. The individual bishops, however, are the visible principle and foundation of unity in their particular Churches, fashioned after the model of the universal Church, in and from which Churches come into being the one and only Catholic Church."⁴

"Under the authority of the Pope are the Bishops, who are the successors of the Apostle and placed over particular churches (dioceses) which they govern with ordinary jurisdiction" (Canon 329). "The Bishop has the authority and duty to govern his diocese both in temporal and spiritual matters with legislative, judicial and coercive power, to be exercised according to Law" (Canon 335). "He is to see to the observance of the laws of the Church, prevent abuses, safeguard the purity of faith and morals, and to promote Catholic education and Catholic action" (Canon 336). The Code later continues, "The territory of every diocese is to be divided into distinct territorial parts: to each part is to be assigned its own church with a definite part of the population, and its own

⁴Austin Flannery, O.P. (ed.), Vatican Council II, "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church" (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1975), n. 23.

rector as the proper pastor of that territory is to be put in charge for the necessary care of souls" (Canon 451).⁵ Thus this organized Church becomes institutionalized and is studied in that form by sociologists as well as theologians and Canon lawyers.

According to the Code of Canon Law the ordinary state of the diocesan clergy is that of being the pastor of a parish. Canons 451-470 define the necessary qualifications of pastors, their appointments, rights and obligations. Canon 451 defines a pastor as "a priest or moral person upon whom a parish is conferred in his own right and with the care of souls to be exercised under the authority of the Ordinary of the place."

Only one Canon (475) is given over to the "vicar-assistant," the assistant parish priest who must help the pastor in the entire work of the parish, except the "Missa pro populo" (Canon 476, 2).

C. THE PRIEST IN MODERN LITERATURE

Priests have been the central persons in novels for many centuries, and even modern secular literature does not overlook the clergyman. The priest is frequently

⁵F. Lincoln Bouscaren, S.J. and Adam Ellis, S.J., Canon Law, A Text and Commentary (Milwaukee: Bruce and Company, 1949).

portrayed as a complicated and contradictory person. He is seen as a mystic among the mediocre (Bernanos, Marshall); competent but not professional (West, Healy); caring (Callaghan, Roy); ambitious (Cather, Carroll, Dunne); avaricious (Powers); an alcoholic servant of people (Greene); sexually troubled (Roche, Barrett, McCullough); and disillusioned but hard working (O'Connor, Rohrback).

Those few stories which portray life in rectories and pastor-curate relationships manifest the autocratic power of the pastor (Sullivan, Powers, Kenneally, Dunne, Barrett, Rohrback). The struggle between the pastor and his associate pastor(s) concerns, on one hand, the orientation of the associate towards individuals struggling with their consciences or communities combatting the society oppressing them and on the other hand, the pastor whose frame of reference is the total Church which has compromised with the world as proposed in Troeltsch's church-sect dichotomy. These authors portray the pastor as being on the side of the rich and powerful and not being sympathetic to his curate who works with powerless minorities. The rich and powerful pay the bills by their support of the parish. Minorities do not support parishes.

II. THE PASTOR AS AN ORGANIZATION MAN

The sociological frame of reference concerns itself with the bureaucratization of the professional priesthood. Stone noted that the supernatural elements of the vocation of the priest cannot be studied, except as they can be measured. It is in his role as a member of an organization that the priest can be studied.

In Max Weber's analysis of the rationalization of the Occident, he describes the church as developing its own bureaucratic structure with a clergy and hierarchy. According to Weber the professions are an important example of Western rationality. Weber links the professions to Calvinistic asceticism:

The clear and uniform goal of this asceticism was the disciplining and methodological organization of conduct. Its typical representative was the man of a vocation or professional (Berufsmensch), and its unique result was the rational organization of social relationships (1968: 556).

Weber added that just as the professional contributed to the rationalization of institutions, so also the rationalizing led to the development of the professions. The "rational" church was characterized by a professional and bureaucratic priesthood.

Modern sociologists writing in this field define professions from three different approaches. The structural approach is concerned with a series of

identifying qualities such as technical education which characterize the professions and which distinguish the professions from the non-professions. The work of Greenwood (1957) and Good (1957) are examples of this approach.

The processual approach focuses on a series of historical stages by which an occupation reaches the status of profession. Caplow (1954) and Wilensky (1964) are representatives of this approach. Ritzer (1972) held to a continuum, where occupations at the professional end of the continuum would have more of the defining characteristics than occupations at the non-professional end of the continuum.

The third approach, the power perspective, holds that the most important characteristic of the professions is a monopoly over work tasks. The professional convinces those in authority and the clientele that the professional needs and deserves this monopoly of power. The writings of Elliot Freidson (1970) are most important to this approach.

Ritzer maintains that there is nothing contradictory in these three approaches (1975: 630). The power approach could be the force determining both stages toward professionalization and definition of the necessary characteristics of the profession. Ritzer believes that implicit in Weber's writings on professions is the modern

perspective, integrating structure, process and power. Weber never gives a precise definition of a profession, but he does give the example of the priest in delineating the significant characteristics of the professional. Weber distinguishes the priest (professional) from the magician (non-professional) by eleven variables which he considers significant.⁶ Weber's insights of sixty years ago have been established with empirical studies derived from the three theories noted above.

Weber's most significant contribution is the analysis of the relationship between professionalization and bureaucratization, which he considered to be complementary. According to Weber professionalization occurs within the bureaucracy: "The rise of the professional priesthood must occur in some kind of compulsory organization" (1968: 1164). Both processes were functional in the rationalization of the Occident. Ritzer (1972: 345) who identifies this process as the "bureaucratic-professional," himself is concerned with their complementary relationship. Scott (1966) saw such a relationship of professional and bureaucratic as antithetical, but recent studies (Bucher and Stelling, 1969; Engel, 1969, Hall, 1967) cast doubt on this position and are the basis of the

⁶Weber, Max, Sociology of Religion, C. 2; Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.

Ritzer study.

In the rationalization process the "bureaucratic personality" becomes rationalized into what Weber called the "iron cage."⁷ The efficiency of the bureaucracy is offset by the mindless mechanization of its participants. Even the work of the professionals becomes routinized; along with bureaucrats they become cogs of this machine. Engle and Hall (1973) share Weber's pessimism as they see the professional become a part of bureaucracy and indistinguishable from the bureaucrats.

Lakoff (1973) asks whether professional associations (voluntary) and universities are exerting more coercive power than formerly over their (professional) members in both personal and social environments. Universities and other institutions impose demands of loyalty, constraints and coercions on their members (Baldrige, 1971; Coser, 1974). Chancery Offices can make more demands on the pastors in their dioceses, as Chapter 3 of this paper will show.

Greeley's (1968) criticism of the interrelationship of pastor and bureaucracy is concerned with the bureaucratic structure (the Chancery Office). He writes that the American diocese is too bureaucratic to provide

⁸Weber, Max, Economy and Society, p. , Totowa, New Jersey; Bedminster.

religious community, and not bureaucratic enough to create an atmosphere within which lesser groups can develop and flourish. The diocese is too centralized to have the personal touch, yet not centralized enough to be effective. He notes that the weaknesses of the diocesan chancery officers are amateurism, and monarchism, for "the Bishops reserve all major and minor decisions to themselves" (p. 111). According to Greeley there is little democracy in the dioceses of the Catholic Church in the United States as the Bishops interpret Canon Law.

In our achieving society, power is the key factor to success. Organization theory has always valued "upwardly-mobile" statuses as desirable and the struggle for these statuses as necessary for the success of any organization (Drucker, 1954; David, 1951; Dalton, 1961). Philosophers Hobbes (1650) and Nietzsche (1912) postulated the desire for power as a universal motive in human activity. In an early issue of AJS (1: 256) C. R. Henderson views success as a sign of virtue in the Christian mission of business enterprise. Edward O. Wilson cites evidence suggesting that an "upwardly-mobile" gene exists (1975: 554). Although power, success, and mobility are different traits, still in a large complex society those who have "coordinating positions" acquire these capacities in varying degrees necessary for that social group accord-

ing to Warner (1949: 8-9).

Drucker postulated that the managerial position was not only a status personally desirable but also necessary for the success of any organization (1954). The pastor of the parish is a middle-management person. The pastor receives his appointment from the Ordinary or his officials in the Chancery Office. Alex Blochlinger tells us that the priest is only the representative of the Bishop in the parish (1965: 128).

Part of the pastor's reference group would be those in the Chancery Office, not only because his appointment comes from them but these are also the source of rewards and promotions. An observer would presume that the pastor had not only absorbed the conservatism ordinarily attributed to middle age, but that he also internalized the norms and values of the ecclesiastical institution. Since the pastor must report to the Chancery Office about the finances of his parish and the administration of buildings, he is too often removed from the face-to-face primary contacts with his parishioners, which inclines him more and more to the Chancery Office. Pastors look for reinforcement from the officials of the diocese more than from his interaction with his parishioners.

This same relationship of pastor to Chancery Office also exists in other nations as the Ransom et.al.

study of the priests in England showed. This study found that while young priests ranked the roles of celebrant and preacher as the most important role, pastors defined their roles in terms of administration. The authors continue, "The more the priest sees himself as a professional, the more he perceives himself as working in a bureaucratic environment" (p. 142).

In his study of the exercise of authority and power in Chicago under Cardinal Cody, Charles Dahm (1981) proposed that the primary issue was the interpersonal struggle between the Cardinal and his clergy. This dissertation proposes that the problems of power and authority are structural and that personalities only increase or decrease the tension between the pastor and his Chancery Office.

The social forces which influence role definition, as we have seen, are the job description of a professional, the organization and society. These social forces created the tension of "perceived role" vs. "expected role" vs. "manifest role" (Dunkerly). Dunkerly's work which was concerned with supervisors or foremen (middle-management), listed the priest among those who are "in the middle," i.e., marginal men. Since the base of his authority is the organization, the organization limits the exercise of this power and demands compliance to its norms

and values (Dunkerly; Etzioni).

So that the pastor does not remain a marginal person, he must be assimilated into one reference group or another (Hughes, 1949). Fichter (1974) distinguishes between the functionary (manager of the parish for the diocese) and the prophet (or servant) whose role is the service of God within this Catholic community. More likely these two statuses (functionary and prophet) are polar extremities in a continuum and the pastor tries to satisfy both diocesan officials and parishioners. However, because of personal and social factors, pastors assume varying positions along this continuum.

Hargrove (p. 214) says that the simple service of God and men which first led the priest to the altar and pulpit can be changed (goal displacement) as the priest defines his role as serving the diocese or the parishioners.

If the demands of the Chancery Office are too burdensome for the pastor and/or if the rewards are insufficient, anomie could result. Merton (1971) developed a theory of "functional alternatives" which "will arise, for instance, when needs cannot be met in culturally approved ways." This paper will demonstrate that a significant number of priests have resigned or refused the pastorate, and chose an alternative yet legitimate role, namely that

of associate pastor.

Berger (in Smelser, 1973: 328, 329) in describing the patterns of ecclesiastical organizations delineates two possible sources of structural distress, namely bureaucracy and voluntarism. Both priest and parishioners go through the red tape of a chancery bureaucracy; but the population is free to choose its religious affiliation, if they feel their church organization is over bureaucratized. Berger wrote of a new breed of "religious managers," similar to executive types who can be appalling to their more traditional correligiousists," (p. 332) because they are oriented to the institution. The other category, voluntarism, is described by Berger, "The clergyman is very much dependent on the good will of his lay members" (p. 333). The pastor treads lightly for if he fails to go through the bureaucratic process because he is too pastoral, he is in trouble with the Chancery Office officials. If the pastor is too concerned with his relationship to the Chancery Office and its "red tape," the pastor can have problems with his parishioners.

The pre-Vatican II pastor was more ecclesiastical-ly oriented. This dissertation proposes that Vatican II and other social forces as well as a diminishing reward system has produced priests in Chicago who are more oriented toward a congregation than maintaining a parish.

This paper proposes that today some priests seek to serve their congregations or pursue other legitimate goals and roles to solve the issue of being marginal person rather than orienting their priestly life toward those administrative roles involved in the pastorate.

III. SOCIETAL ENVIRONMENT

The third factor in Hesser's diagram of organizational climates affecting the pastorate is the social environment, that is, the society in which the pastor carries out his ministry. In this present study "society" includes the following: secularism; acculturation; religious vocations; attitudes of laity toward the clergy, and the ethnic/racial changes in the Diocese of Chicago.

A. SECULARISM

The disengagement of society from religion has long been an issue for sociologists (Lynds, 1929, 1937; Parsons, 1960; Wilson, 1966; O'Dea, 1966; Berger, 1967; Robertson, 1970; Kelly, 1971). Other sociologists have argued for the persistence of religion (Martin, 1969; Greeley, 1971; Glasner, 1977). There is a consensus, though, among sociologists today that the power, prestige, and control of institutional religion is lessening as a

result of "desacralization" (O'Dea's term) of attitudes and beliefs. The Church does not influence society and social institutions as it once did. Religion has become a private affair, and is no longer the overarching system of ultimate significance.

B. ACCULTURATION

The Catholic immigrants to America brought their priests with them. They looked to these priests for pragmatic as well as spiritual advice. Oscar Handlin well describes the poverty as well as the other problems of these European immigrants (1951: 76). They faced nativist opposition and feared that the public schools plotted to turn their students into apostates. Bishops, such as John England, reported that millions were lost to the Church. Millions more gathered around their priests (the educated leader) and their parish churches and schools. All over this country national parishes were constructed to preserve the religious and cultural heritage these immigrants had brought to America. The priest was their leader, counsellor and advisor in spiritual and business matters. Since the priest was so honored and respected in each family, the children viewed him as a role model and religious vocations flourished.

The immigrant Church could not continue. For this



paper it is irrelevant whether one views the phenomenon of ethnicity and acculturation in the United States to be the melting pot theory of the assimilationists or the mosaic model of the cultural pluralists. As Greeley (1977) demonstrates, Catholics moved into the mainstream of American life with its own style of "American Catholicism." The Catholic Church not only encouraged education but established the largest private educational system in the nation. The next generation was encouraged to excel in the business world, politics, education, social work and the intellectual life.

With upward mobility the succeeding generations of laity became successful and prominent local and national leaders. Many of the laity found that their pastors had not kept up with them (Whyte, 1956, 413-414). Priests were rated relatively low on professional ability, even though Catholics liked their clergy and thought they worked hard. The effects of secularism became manifest. New role models were selected by Catholics. Religious vocations decreased. As Greeley's evidence demonstrates, by 1977 only 50 percent of Catholics would be happy if their son became a priest, a decline of 10 percent from 1963.

Catholics support their parishes financially and find their priests to be kind (Greeley: 1977), but these same Catholics are no longer as attached to their priests

as formerly. There are other successful role models in the larger environment which takes up six days of each week. Greeley concludes "the Catholic collectivity is presently going through a period when much of its former organizational loyalty to the Catholic Church as institution is waning" (1977: 29).

C. RELIGIOUS VOCATIONS

The importance of any profession is reflected in the number and the quality of those who seek membership in that profession. Disastrous is the only word to describe what has happened to religious vocations to the Catholic priesthood in the United States and also in Chicago. Between 1962 and 1980, 12,000 priests resigned from the active ministry. In 1962, America had 48,000 seminarians. Today there are fewer than 12,000. The average age of American priests is 56 years (47 years in Chicago), and by the end of the century statisticians predict the average age for Catholic priests will be 73 years.⁸

In 1965, Chicago had four seminaries with a total population of 2,215. Today, the number of seminarians, 1,277, is about one-half what it was at the beginning of Vatican II. In 1965, Chicago had 3,019 priests in the

⁸ McCready, William, in a talk to the Association of Chicago Priests, May, 1984.

Diocese. Of that number, 1,344 belonged to the Diocese. In 1982, there were 2,141 priests in Chicago of which 982 belong to the Diocese.

The ordination classes reflect the paucity of priestly vocations. Thirty-one men were ordained in 1979, sixteen in 1981, and seven in 1982. There are over twenty deaths each year; about twenty-five priests retire each year at the mandatory age of seventy years; and about a dozen resign their ministry annually. Retired priests can continue to work in a parish if they so desire, but the majority prefer to help out only on the weekend with Masses in the parishes which need them. Retirement was unheard of until Cardinal Cody came to Chicago, and most retirements were forced in the early days. Today, many priests look forward to retirement and the leisure years. They feel forty-five years of working for the Diocese is sufficient and that they have earned their rest.

Most seminary directors today feel that some of the seminarians are among the brightest and most dedicated the Church has ever seen. However, because of the shortage of priests, many men such as older men and non-sexually active homosexuals are being accepted today who would have been rejected in former times. Quigley Seminary South (for high school students) accepts boys who are "open to the priesthood" which is interpreted to mean that

they are not openly opposed to the idea of becoming priests. Ordination is not mentioned often in the seminary until the last years for fear of chasing some of the young men away.

The shortage of priests is felt on the parish level. In 1982, 67 of Chicago's 440 pastors had no associates. They maintain the parishes by themselves and with whatever help they can get from Order and retired priests. Illness and vacation are traumatic in these parishes and getting away for a few days of relaxation is difficult. Now about fifteen percent of the parishes have only a pastor. Before Vatican II less than five percent of the parishes had only a pastor and the great majority were either rural or ethnic parishes. Most of these parishes today with only a pastor in residence are in the inner-city with high crime rates. It was not uncommon in the past to find that most Chicago parishes had two associates and many had three. Today these same parishes and pastors try not to lose the only associate assigned to them. Before Vatican II the average parish had two associate pastors. In 1982 the average parish had one associate.

Thus, a "seller's market" has been produced for the associate pastor. Many pastors give associates much freedom in order to maintain their part-time labors. The autocratic pastor is seldom seen today; no pastor wants

the reputation of being "tough" out of fear that no other priest would come to work at his parish. The associate has at least a negative decision on his parochial assignments. If he refuses to be sent to a parish or pastor, his decision will be respected. Today it is thought to be more functional to not appoint a priest to a parish to which he does not want to go, for he may cause scandal by organizing power blocs against the pastor and dividing the parishioners. In 1983 there were 62 pastors who asked to have associates assigned to them. In the letter sent out by the Personnel Board of the Archdiocese, these parishes were told that only 49 associates were available. Since these assignments were made, 14 priests have become pastors which means that another 14 parishes are also looking for priestly help. The duty of continuing all the work of the parish falls on the pastor's shoulders, whether he has sufficient help or not. Parishioners continue to expect the same consideration and pastoral care they had when the parish had many associates.

D. ATTITUDES OF LAITY TOWARD THE CHURCH

Chicago has 440 parishes, each with its own resident pastor. The social environment has had its effect on these pastors. No longer are they on the pedestals that their predecessors enjoyed. The immigrants who looked up

to the pastor as they were trying to establish themselves and their families now openly criticize a pastor for his frailties. The parishioners are involved in bureaucracies where achieved status is recognized, and the status due to "charisma of office" is downplayed. The priest is still mediator between God and man in the eyes of his flock, but this does not prevent them from seeing his "feet of clay."

One survey showed that only 23 percent thought the Sunday homilies to be of "excellent quality" (Greeley: 1977). Quite a change from the day when the Sunday sermon was the Sunday dinner conversation for many Catholics throughout the nation.

Where formerly the pastor aligned the parishioners' talents and resources to himself and the parish in constructing all the parochial buildings, the next generation accepts these buildings and evaluates their present use. Criticism of the management of a parish involves criticism of the pastor and not of his associates.

In earlier times, the pastor with a drinking problem was accepted by the parishioners who whispered about "father's illness." Today it would not be unheard of for the members of the parish council to propose openly that their pastor be sent to Guest House in Minnesota (a rehabilitation center for alcoholic priests).

E. DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

When priests speak of a "good parish," demographic factors are involved. Usually a "good parish" has a high percentage of Catholics who are middle class. The expenses of running a parish demand an income which will suffice to pay all the bills for both church and school. Today in most parishes about 50 percent of the income from Sunday donations is sent to the school to pay bills. Because of the shortage of nuns, the salaries as well as health benefits, FICA payments, Social Security and retirement benefits for the lay faculty have to be paid. Tuition covers only a portion of these costs. The rest comes from the Sunday collection. Priests who want to avoid financial problems can seek affluent parishes when they become pastors. The Archdiocesan Personnel Board reports that more priests send letters asking to be pastors of affluent parishes than of the city's poorer parishes.

Another issue is the racial or ethnic origin of the people living within the parish boundaries. Priests, like other people, often feel more comfortable with those who share their life style⁹. Even though the Catholic population in Chicago has increased only slightly since

⁹Greeley, Andrew M. Priests in the United States, C.7, (New York: Doubleday. 1972.)

1965 (2,340,000 Catholics in 1965 and 2,365,843 in 1982)¹⁰, there have been other changes. In 1965¹¹, the city of Chicago had a population of about 3,457,000 of which approximately 65 percent were white, 29 percent black, and 5 percent Latino.

By the end of 1982¹², significant changes had taken place. Today, Chicago has a population of 3,200,000 of which 41 percent are white, 39 percent black, and 17 percent Latino. The total population of Cook and Lake Counties, Illinois (the geographical boundaries of the Diocese of Chicago) totalled 5,693,562 in 1982. Cook County, outside of Chicago had a population which is 65 percent white, 25 percent black, and 10 percent Latino. Lake County had a population of 89 percent white, 6 percent black, and 5 percent Hispanic.

The black population of the area in and around Chicago is not more than 6 percent Catholic. A common estimation is that about 15 percent of the Hispanic population attends Catholic Churches with any regularity. These issues will be treated more fully in the following chapters.

¹⁰The Official Catholic Directory, 1965, 1982. (New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons).

¹¹U. S. Census Bureau, Chicago Office.

¹²ibid.

IV. REWARD STRUCTURES

George Homans and Peter Blau have developed sociological theories predicated upon exchange principles. Exchange theory is constructed on the premise that a person will assume a role or continue in that role to the extent that the role provides him/her a favorable net balance of rewards over costs. Homans (1965) argues that explanations of the relationship of human behavior to reward structures is basic to the social sciences.

Homans (1950) termed the concept "first-order observations" to designate what people actually do in varying social environments. Homans (1961) enumerates five basic axioms, the first of which applies to this dissertation:

If in the past a particular stimulus situation has been the occasion on which an individual's activity was rewarded, then the more similar the present stimulus situation is to the past one, the more likely he is to emit the activity, or similar activity, now (p. 53).

Blau (1964) developed a theoretical perspective with "principles" or "laws" guiding the dynamics of the exchange process:

Principle I. The more profit a person expects from another in emitting a particular activity, the more likely he is to emit that activity (p. 95).

Studies of labor mobility and resignation rates explain work-role attachments by the principle of workers

"maximizing their profits over the long run" (Parnes, 1954; Pencavel, 1970). Human relations research of the various aspects of role commitment such as job satisfaction, worker's happiness and job devotion show that these are affected by the net balance of rewards over costs (Vroom, 1964; Katz and Kahn, 1966). March and Simon's (1958) development of the inducement-contribution theory of organizational equilibrium, and Becker's (1960) study of commitment both see the actor assessing the balance of rewards over costs.

Kanter (1968: 504) studied the commitment mechanisms in utopian communities and explained that the short-lived communities lost their members primarily because their organizational arrangements were incapable of "inducing the individual to recognize participation in the organization as profitable when considered in terms of rewards and costs."

Telly and his colleagues (1971) discovered relatively higher rates of turnover in organizations where an employee's balance of input and outcomes is not equivalent to that of a fellow worker in a comparable job. Yuchtman (1972) found that the perception of an inequitable return of outcomes over inputs results in low work-role attractiveness among managers in Israeli kibbutzim.

While many theorists argue that the social process

at the group, organizational, and cultural levels also affect an actor's balance of profits, empirical studies focus on the individual or organizational level and do not systematically deal with other levels of analysis. Most of these studies have been concerned with participation in business organizations. This study of the pastorate in organized religion gives an opportunity to analyze some other aspects of commitment which go beyond the field of economics in applying the principles of exchange theory. It is not unlikely that the same principles governing turn-over in business will apply, at least in part, to ecclesiastical structures insofar as they are formal organizations.

Some readers might feel that priests should operate from a higher value system than Exchange Theory principles. Many priests do because every parish has its own pastor at the present time (1984). However, as indicated, other priestly roles are legitimate today. No priest need feel that he is not a "good" priest, because he is not a pastor. When the priest who is happy performing his own role, and when the parish available is in the inner-city among people whom the priest does not understand, then the incentives or rewards would have to be sufficient to induce this priest to be pastor of such a parish. In this present paper motives which can be operationalized are

studied. Those priests whose principal motive is closeness to God works from a value system which is difficult to measure by sociological analysis.

This present study based on the application of Exchange Theory axioms and principles maintains that if pastors possessed traditional authority in their parishes, received adequate rewards from their Ordinary and his Chancery Office, and finally, had a sufficient number of associate pastors to assist them in parishes without a plurality of the members belonging to minority subcultures which are alien to the pastor, then pastors would continue in this status and other priests would seek the pastorate. The pastoral role set includes all those functions which are necessary to maintain a parish spiritually, educationally, organizationally and financially. Priests would pursue skills in these pastoral roles so as to become pastors with a sufficient reward system.

CHAPTER II

THE PASTOR

The current organization of the diocese and parish can be seen as developing from the Council of Trent which began the organization of the local church with these following edicts:¹³

- (1) The Bishop, as the pastor of the diocese, had the obligation to see that the Word of God was preached to the people. Thus, seminaries were constructed to educate the clergy;
- (2) The parish priest was responsible for the care of souls living within the parish; his duty was to preach to the people, educate the youth and he could not hoard benefices;
- (3) The parish was to have fixed distance boundaries determined by the number of people living within the particular distance thereby enabling the pastor to know his congregation; if he needed assistance, young priests were there to help him in his activities;
- (4) Religious order priests were allowed to do pastoral work according to the conditions agreed to with the Bishop.

As the Catholic Church organized the structure of the parish and the job description of the pastor, Church Law became more definite on issues which had formerly been questionable. The restrictions of Canon Law on the pastor

¹³ Rahner, Hugo, op. cit., pp. 19-22

to one particular territory and community made it difficult for the pastor who envisioned himself in a more monastic style of life or in a highly socially-oriented life.

The Pastor in Chicago to 1965

A history of the Chicago pastor includes the issues bishops and pastors have had to face as the city and the diocese grew from a frontier town to become a great metropolis and then face today's decline of Chicago's industries and witness skilled workers depart for the sunbelt of America.

When the Diocese of Chicago was separated from the Diocese of St. Louis and established on November 22, 1843¹⁴, Chicago had been incorporated for ten years but was not much more than a frontier town. When the first bishop, William J. Quarter, arrived from New York in 1844, there was only one city parish, St. Mary (founded in 1833) which was located at Wabash Avenue and Madison Street. The founder of St. Mary and the first urban pastor of

¹⁴ Thompson, Joseph. Diamond Jubilee of the Archdiocese of Chicago, (DesPlaines, IL., St. Mary's Press, 1920). 100 Years: History of the Church of the Holy Name, (No author listed), (Chicago, IL., The Cathedral of the Holy Name, 1949). Koenig, Harry C. (Ed.) A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago, (Chicago, IL., The New World Publishing Company, 1980).

Chicago was the Reverend John M. St. Cyr.

The Diocese of Chicago comprised the State of Illinois. Bishop Quarter had only eight priests in his diocese. The Bishop and his brother, the only two priests in the City of Chicago, ministered to 3,000 Catholics, of whom 1,000 were German immigrants. By the time of his death in 1848, Bishop Quarter had ordained 29 priests and built 30 churches.

Chicago grew quickly and so did the diocese. Bishop Oliver Van de Velde, S.J., was installed as the new bishop of Chicago on April 1, 1849. During his short episcopacy, 70 churches were established, including six within the present boundaries of Chicago and three others in Cook and Lake Counties. Two of the churches were for German speaking Catholics. Also, 12 parochial schools, an orphanage and one hospital (Mercy) were constructed. The diocese now possessed 119 parishes on the prairies of Illinois. One of Bishop Van de Velde's problems had been pastors who held parish property in their own names and refused to release this property to the diocese. Such behavior produced the Corporation Sole by which every piece of property and all money of the parishes and diocese is owned by the bishop of Chicago. This is the source of another problem facing pastors today, namely, that the parishioners donate the funds for the parish buildings,

yet they have no rights over the use or even the closing of the buildings. Such pastors did not possess very much, for as Bishop Van de Velde wrote,

Poverty is so great here that there is not a single parish, even among those longest established, which is sufficiently provided with the necessary equipment for the celebration of the Sacred Rites. A single priest has sometimes eight parishes to attend, and as he has for those various stations only one chalice, one missal, one chasuble, one alb, one altar stone, he must perforce carry all these articles with him however long and distressing the way. As to monstrances and ciboria, such things are almost unknown in the diocese. Thus far, in all the parishes, through 3,700 English miles which I have visited, I have seen only three monstrances and five ciboria. In default of sacred vessels they reserve the Blessed Sacrament in a corporal or else in a tin box or porcelain cup.¹⁵

Declining health led Bishop Van de Velde to resign in 1852 and the next year Pope Pius IX transferred him to Natchez, Mississippi and also created the Diocese of Quincy (now Springfield) in the southern part of Illinois.

Bishop Anthony O'Regan was installed in 1854 and formed Irish and German parishes for the immigrant populations. In 1857, the Reverend Arnold Damen, S.J. founded a parish at Roosevelt Road and Blue Island Avenue on Chicago's West side. Holy Family parish soon became the largest parish in the United States. Bishop O'Regan had problems with a pastor in the neighborhood of Kankakee. When O'Regan excommunicated the priest, his parishioners

¹⁵ 100 Years: History of the Church of the Holy Name, (No pagination).

in Kankakee went into a minor schism which was one of the causes of O'Regan's retirement in 1858. He was replaced by Bishop James Duggan in 1859 who saw 30,000 people come to Chicago that year. Many among the immigrants were Bohemians and Poles. St. Stanislaus Kostka, "The Mother Church" of Chicago Polonia quickly became the largest parish in the world. Twenty-one parishes were created during the Civil War.

Bishop Thomas Foley administered the diocese at the time of the Chicago fire of October 8-9, 1871 which destroyed one million dollars of church property and seven churches. Eighteen new churches were founded in 1872. The Diocese of Peoria was established for central Illinois but Chicago still encompassed all of Northern Illinois extending now to Kankakee County on the South. When Archbishop Feehan came (1880), he promptly founded 34 churches in Chicago. When he died (1902), there were 150 parishes. Altogether he established 99 parishes, of which 63 were national parishes for the Germans, Polish, Bohemians, French, Italians, Lithuanians, Dutch, Croatians, Slovaks, Slovenes and Blacks. Many of these churches still exist, and many of them are very close to other Catholic churches. Since Chicago was composed of a large percentage of Catholics, it was feasible to have churches near one another. The large Catholic population could

support their pastors and they had services in their native language. Archbishop Quigley continued to build ethnic parishes between 1903 and 1915. Of the 97 parishes he established, 58 were ethnic.¹⁶

Archbishop Feehan established a Board to Conduct Canonical Examinations¹⁷ for possible future pastors since Chicago was getting a large number of religious vocations from the ethnic population who saw the religious life not only as a divine call but also as a way up the social ladder. In 1887, the diocesan synod created conditions by which certain pastors were to be irremovable, so that only a decision from the Vatican could take them from their parishes.

In 1883, the Third Council of Baltimore urged parochial schools for every parish and Archbishop Feehan cooperated so well that he was called the "Apostle of the

¹⁶ Charles Shanabruch, The Evolution of an American Identity, (Notre Dame, Indiana: Notre Dame University Press, 1982). Shanabruch concludes, ". . . it might have been unreasonable to expect that one institution could withstand the centripetal force generated by more than twenty distinct nationalities. Yet, its bishops and archbishops, without benefit of successful models, brought unity out of potential chaos."

¹⁷ These examinations continued until the 1970's and each October, priests ordained less than five years underwent the Canonical Examinations for the Pastorate. These grades went into the permanent personal records of the priests so that "all things being equal," those grades would determine who would be first to become pastor when the time arrived for that ordination class to receive pastoral assignments.

schools." His successor, Archbishop Quigley continued the process and by 1915 Chicago had 256 parochial schools. Catholic education at that time was very inexpensive, usually costing less than one dollar per month and sometimes free in affluent parishes. The Religious Orders of women provided as many nuns as were required for the parishes and the payment to the sisters was very low.

In the meantime, the diocese was getting smaller in size. In 1915, the Diocese of Rockford was created, leaving Chicago with only Cook, Lake, DuPage, Kankakee, Will and Grundy Counties. In 1948, the Diocese of Joliet was created, and Chicago was left with only Cook and Lake Counties in Illinois, its current area.

Cardinal Mundelein hesitated to create national parishes because he felt that it would keep the ethnic immigrants out of the mainstream of American life. Only religion and literature were to be taught in the native language. Cardinal Mundelein (1915-1939) was a builder and many parishes were constructed during his time in Chicago. He also will be remembered for fostering religious vocations and he built many parochial schools as well as St. Mary of the Lake Seminary with 500 separate rooms (which today has an enrollment of 90 students). He demanded much of his students and brought in the Jesuits to train "intellectual, spiritual and physical" giants.

Chicago had so many priests at that time that each newly ordained priest took an oath to serve in another diocese for five years if the Archbishop so desired.

During the time of Cardinal Mundelein, Chicago was teeming with Catholics, and priests (and their mothers) prayed for the day when they could leave that country (suburban) parish to come to the city. Urban pastors longed for the appointment to one of the grand, tree-lined boulevards (Washington, Jackson, Garfield, Oakwood, etc.) of the city which held the residences of the affluent Catholics. At that time, even more than today, residents of various areas of the city did not title their neighborhoods with civic designations but by the name of the parish in the area. It is still not uncommon to hear a Catholic say, "I'm originally from Visitation or St. Sabina's" or "I grew up in Resurrection." After World War II as the prosperous suburbs began to develop, so did priestly ambitions; priests sought to be pastors in the suburbs or at least in the more affluent residential areas on the border of Chicago (e.g., Sauganash, Lincolnwood, Beverly, etc.).

Pastors who were successful and had large prosperous parishes wielded much power with their own people, with diocesan officials, and often in City Hall. These were the aristocracy of the diocese. Usually, they were

given the title of Monsignor.¹⁸ At that time there were varying degrees to the rank of Monsignor, both Very Reverend and Right Reverend, each having its own ecclesiastical robe. Above these ranks (yet below the status of bishop) is the Protonotary Apostolic with his mitre. Because the title was given as a reward for extraordinary work of one kind or another for the diocese, the status also implied power and influence with the Ordinary who requested this title from the Pope for these priests. The Ordinary would tell these Monsignors of his plans for a new high school or a hospital and they would raise the money. Chicago in 1965 had 3 auxiliary Bishops, 6 Proto-notary Apostolics, 109 Right Reverend Monsignors, and 34 Very Reverend Monsignors.

Monsignors got the highest respect from their parishioners and their associates. Most of their flock were immigrants or the children of an immigrant population. These clerics procured jobs, home, and political favors for their parishioners as well as provided a good education for the children of their parishes. These pastors had "connections" at the City Hall, and often their relatives were the leading politicians in Chicago. The

¹⁸ An honorary title which designates the bearer as a member of the Papal household. Functionaries around the Pope have this title, and at times it is given to other priests around the world as a titular honor.

status of these pastors was never challenged. They decided who would have the important positions in the diocese and they could keep a priest from being appointed pastor. Monsignors were both respected and feared, yet they were cordial men who knew how to serve a delicious dinner and were able to charm assistants as well as Archbishops.

Cardinals Mundelein, Stritch, and Meyer appointed many to the rank of Monsignor. These Cardinals consulted with this powerful and elite corps of pastors before initiating any projects in the diocese. Their negative response to the proposals of an Archbishop meant that the program should be scrapped or changed to fit their suggestions. If these significant pastors recommended an action to the Cardinal, the Cardinal often would initiate the program. An example would be Holy Name of Mary parish, which was the first parish created by Cardinal Stritch shortly after coming to Chicago. Some powerful priests told the Cardinal that the black Catholics of Morgan Park needed their own church and so the parish was begun. There were only forty black Catholic families in Morgan Park at the time which today would not be reason enough for adding another Mass. Cardinal Stritch listened to these influential pastors, some of whom had the black Catholics from Morgan Park attending their otherwise all-

white churches and the Cardinal appointed a pastor to begin construction of a church and school. To establish this segregated parish was wrong. The fact that the parish was begun shows the power these pastors had over the Ordinary.

For the young priests¹⁹ it was always a sign of special talent or ability to be chosen to work in the parishes of this elite group of pastors. Many assistants knew that they might never become pastors, since there were so many older priests ahead of them in line for parishes. However, to be associated with this select group of pastors meant to share vicariously in their special authority and power in the diocese.

Men of such stature no longer exist in the diocese. Those who formerly had this status have either died or been retired. In his seventeen years as Ordinary in Chicago Cardinal Cody did not arrange for the appointment of any Monsignors. Where there was once this powerful "buffer zone" between the Ordinary and his priests, there is now a vacuum which the Ordinary has filled with his authority. The social distance between the Ordinary and the clergy of Chicago has increased. In 1982 Chicago had

¹⁹ For a negative description of the role of the assistant, cf. "The Parish Assistant" by A. M. Greeley in Secular Priest in the New Church, ed. by Gerard S. Sloyan (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967), pp. 155-156.

23 monsignors active in the diocese, and two of them were associate pastors. Other dioceses still reward successful priests with this honor.

Before he died, Cardinal Mundelein realized that a new policy had to be formulated for black Catholics in Chicago. Up to that time as neighborhoods changed racially, the Catholic Church would treat the new residents of these neighborhoods as if they were newly arrived ethnics in the city. Just as the ethnic population had their own clergy, so also, the Church decided, black Catholics should have priests who were familiar with them. The missionary orders, especially the Society of the Divine Word, took over the black parishes. A year before he died, Cardinal Mundelein instituted a new policy by choosing three young diocesan priests to work with black Catholics on the west side of the city.

With the arrival of Archbishop (later Cardinal) Stritch in 1940, diocesan priests were encouraged to develop catechetical programs for the black people of Chicago. The priests active in these inner-city parishes knew that the best way to continue the existence of their parishes was to build up a congregation from the people of the neighborhood. Publicity campaigns, the use of the Catholic school, plus the incentive of blacks who wanted to have middle-class norms and values brought tens of

thousands of blacks into the Catholic Church. Parishes which had been almost dead because the only parishioners were the few whites who could not flee found themselves once again able to maintain their buildings and congregations. All of this took place between 1950 and 1965; in inner-city black churches missionary zeal and innovative methods changed to Catholic communities and neighborhoods which formerly had been almost exclusively Baptist or Methodist. Within the black parish it was the pastor who determined the missionary structure. These pastors received the credit.

During the era of Cardinal Stritch (1953-1958) all of the pastors of black parishes were given the papal title of "monsignor" in appreciation for their missionary leadership. In 1964, Cardinal Meyer endowed other pastors in the inner-city with this papal title. The atmosphere was one of cooperation by the chancery office officials for the diocese-sponsored interracial programs for these black parishes.

Cardinal Stritch, realizing the complexity of the changes in urban Chicago, created the "Cardinal's Conservation Committee" with Monsignor John Egan as director. The committee urged urban priests to move beyond their parochial duties and work in community organizations and social action committees. This committee grew in status

and power. Cardinal Meyer (1958-1964) gave more power and authority to the Cardinal's Conservation Committee so that racial changes would be effected peacefully in the various inner-city parishes. Cardinal Cody renamed the committee and took away any power the committee had in the diocese. The committee disappeared when the director was reappointed.

During the episcopacy of Cardinal Meyer, the white populace (Catholic and other) sought the more modern and preeminent suburbs. Cardinal Meyer founded 30 parishes of which 27 were in the suburbs. Priests also sought pastorates away from the central city which was getting older and poorer.

Also during the time of Cardinal Stritch, the first large migration of Hispanic people came to Chicago. Cardinal Stritch appointed the Cardinal's Committee for the Spanish speaking. This committee was called "The Cardinal's Committee" to show his personal concern. Reports were made directly to him. In the late 1960's under this committee, nuns and laity tried to evangelize the Spanish community from 18th to 26th Streets and West from the Chicago River to the city limits but with little success. Cardinal Cody renamed the committee the Archdiocesan Latin American Committee but did not give it any authority in the Diocese. After many years of little

happening in the Latin American Apostolate priests and people today are better organized but not through this committee. People whose primary identity and culture is Hispanic are being served, but the committee which was organized to help them has been by-passed. Another example of local authority being usurped by the Ordinary. Priests felt they were pawns to be moved by another.

Conclusions

Archbishop Cody arrived in Chicago in August, 1965. He had been trained in Rome and had had experience in various dioceses of the United States. He had spent much time at the Vatican Council. Chicago's priests eagerly awaited the coming of Archbishop Cody.

If a social scientist were to extrapolate what would happen in the Diocese of Chicago from the end of Vatican II until the present, this social scientist would have projected minor changes from Vatican II and population changes in the Chicagoland area. The Catholic Church had not made any major changes since the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Bishops, archbishops and cardinals in Chicago had continued established programs and policies, so that the work of one Ordinary did not differ much from that of another. Few would have anticipated the changes in the Diocese of Chicago after 1965.

CHAPTER III

THE PASTORATE IN THE DIOCESE OF CHICAGO (1965-1982)

Since most of the material collected and presented in this Chapter has not been selected from printed documents but from the "spoken" history of the Diocese, all of this material was reviewed by three other priests of the Diocese who are respected for their knowledge and insights into the history of the Diocese. The material was then amended to make this history as accurate as possible.

This history follows the diagram of Garry Hesser in Chapter One. Those sections are as follows: (1) the profession of priests, (2) the Church structure or the ecclesiastical organization, and (3) the social environment or the society with which the Catholic Church in Chicago interacts.

PROFESSION OF PRIEST

Our study of the role of priest or pastor in Chicago begins with the decree of Pope John XXIII on January 25, 1959, when he said that "the windows should be opened" and a fresh breeze should blow through the Church. The Pope announced to the world that Vatican Council II

would soon take place. It was officially convoked on October 11, 1962. The publication of its first document ("On the Liturgy") was on December 4, 1963. Sixteen documents were published altogether. The last decree ("On the Church in the Modern World") came on December 7, 1965.

The clergy as well as the laity were shaken by these documents. While studying Theology, the seminarian was taught that his greatest role as priest was to be a "sacrificer" ("If you died after the celebration of your first Mass on ordination day, you would have performed the greatest possible human action. All of your life and studies spent toward that goal made the one Mass the apex of your life"). In the Ordination ceremony, the newly ordained priest "dedicated himself to the service of the Church."²⁰ In the socialization of the seminarian service to the Church meant becoming the pastor of a "good" parish. The seminary faculty narrated stories of significant pastors as role models of success and analyzed the organizational structure of their parishes.

Until Vatican II, the priest had a clear image of the ecclesiastical model. If he was the pastor, he set the policies for the parish. If he was not the pastor, he obeyed the pastor, which meant that he cared for every-

²⁰From the Ordination Ritual.

thing pertaining to the parish as far as the pastor would allow. The priest administered the sacraments; he preached; he blessed persons and objects; he visited the sick and counselled the troubled. The pastor decided the style of liturgy and the choirs, the dress and grooming code for his associates as well as the amount of their non-accountable time. If permitted, the young priest did some home visiting and taught in the parochial school, organized youth clubs along with other traditional clerical roles.

Besides setting policies for the parish, another major role for the pastor was the financial management of the parish and its buildings. Every year the pastor was ordered to render a report to the Chancery Office. The report called for an account of each soul (number of baptisms, marriages, converts, funerals, etc.) and for each dollar (Sunday collections, financial programs as bingo, cost of utilities, building programs, amount of parish money given in subsidy to the school). The pastor alone could sign the check book and it was the extremely rare pastor who let the associate pastors know the amount of money in the bank. Nor did the associate pastor want to know about the finances, for it was not part of his role set.

In the rectories of the average diocese, the pastor charted the course of action to be carried on by his

assistants, as if the pastor had set an "automatic pilot." It was not even necessary for the pastor to be present at the parish constantly, so that if he desired, he could be away from the parish for long periods of time and be confident that his directions would be carried out.

When Cardinal Cody came to Chicago in August, 1965, at the conclusion of Vatican II, among his surprising and sweeping changes was the retirement of all pastors past the age of seventy years. He established a policy by which a priest was retired to the status of "pastor emeritus" on his seventieth birthday. This compulsory retirement age had manifest functional effects, for some of the authoritarian pastors could no longer dominate the lives of both younger priests and parishioners and more priests could become pastors. A latent effect was that the buffer zone which had tempered the plans of former archbishops no longer existed. The former authority persons were retired and they were not replaced. Auxiliary bishops in Chicago received their own dioceses outside the State of Illinois.

Another latent effect of retirement was that pastors who thought they would die presiding over and loved by their flocks now realized that they would die away in retirement or in a back room of the rectory, since they were only the "pastors emeriti." Pastors became more

self-centered and began to dream of early retirement so as to enjoy their freedom from parochial and diocesan responsibilities. A new era began.

Pastors could now be appointed to a parish for a six-year term with a possible reappointment for another six years, but then he had to move on to another parish. Even though such policies are functional for a parish (new pastors bring new programs), the pastors lost their power bases both within the parish and the Diocese. If powerful and influential parishioners did not like the pastor, then they would sit out the few years until he was transferred or retired. For pastors, policy changes such as retirement were dysfunctional and for some years retiring priests felt alienated. They were cut off from the institution to which they had dedicated the entirety of their lives.

Changes were affected in the value system of the Church and also its members by the pastoral impact of Vatican II. Many roles were now given to the laity which formerly were performed only by the ordained priest. A modern-day Rip Van Winkle awakening after sleeping for the past twenty years would consider the participation of lay persons in many liturgical roles as "sacrilegious." The trite expression that Vatican II discovered the laity is true. The participation of the laity in ceremonies which

formerly were reserved for the priest because they were "sacred" and "other-worldly" have given a humanness to the Catholic Church, even though critics charge that the Church has been "profaned." Vatican II stressed the participation of all Catholics in the priesthood and the ministry of the Church through the sacraments of baptism and confirmation. The distance between priest and people has been lessened. The pastor is no longer on his pedestal. Fewer parishioners make excuses for the weaknesses of their pastors since these parishioners now share in the priesthood and the sacred ceremonies of their parish churches. In Vatican II's document "On the Laity", there is a call for all Christians to holiness (Chapter 5), and a call to ministry (Chapter 4). In the same chapter the laity are asked to work closely with their pastors. These changes affected both clergy and laity. Many priests found it much easier to be pastor, since the laity helped them with their ministry now. Other priests were threatened or discomfited. Priests no longer have a distinct role set or definition.

The laity read of parish councils, school boards and finance committees in Catholic publications and now wanted not only to voice opinions but also to make parochial decisions. In many parishes, pastoral staffs and lay committees handled money efficiently, and there was

more cooperation in all kinds of expansion programs. Pastors found they had more time to be "ministers," even though these pastors knew that every night would be filled with meetings or reading reports of meetings. Some pastors wanted to give the laity the right to sign checks, but the Chancery Office restricted this authority to the pastor and to one or more of his associates, if he so desired.

In other parishes, pastors had policy conflicts with parochial boards, e.g., the pastor who wants to retire the debt is opposed by a powerful choir committee who want to spend \$50,000.00 on a new organ. School boards at times wanted to fire an inept nun principal of the school. The pastor could see only a \$20,000.00 increase in the costs for a lay principal and perhaps the loss of the whole religious community from the school. Pastors felt threatened, especially in parishes where there was a large surplus of funds (the full amount known only by the pastor and the Diocese). Such pastors feared that collections would decrease if people who were struggling to pay for their own homes knew that the parish had a surplus of as much as a million dollars.

Vatican II restored the diaconate for men which gave them the authority to baptize, preach, and in some dioceses, to officiate at marriages. Since most priests

had not been socialized to share power with these deacons or to train the laity in ministry such as catechetical programs, marriage preparation, counselling, ministering to the sick as well as the above mentioned financial programs and parochial goal setting, some priests saw the only specific role remaining to them to be the celebration of the Eucharist and to hear confessions (and some theologians questioned the priests' exclusive authority to absolve sins).

No longer was the priest solely "the man of God." Some priests were lost in the Church which the priest had once considered as "his Church." Because the laity could limit the specific identity of the priest, some felt there were enough priests to confect the Eucharist and left the active ministry. Among them were those who wanted to serve the Church and now saw other forms of ministry as possible and valid. They also sought freedom from religious restrictions and vows (especially celibacy).

Spiritual writers told priests to create their own ministry²¹ in post Vatican II times, but many could not or would not. In an early study of the priesthood, Joseph Fichter described all diocesan priests as professionally trained men within the ecclesiastical organization and

²¹ Edward Schillebeeckx, Ministry (New York: Crossroad, 1981; Henry J. Nouwen, Creative Ministry (New York: Doubleday, 1971).

oriented toward pastoral work. In more recent writings, Fichter talks of the "hyphenated-priest," that is, the priest who has another identity besides that of his role in the parish. Spiritual writers describe some of these roles in portraying priestly activity among the "alienated" as special ministries with which priests identify themselves, e.g., violent, dying, homosexuals (cf. Dunning, Schillebeeckx, Volleberg, Koval).

All of this is an oversimplification and others have written more extensively on these issues.²² The point is that the priesthood and especially the pastorate no longer had the status it enjoyed among a first or second generation immigrant Church in America before Vatican II. The pastorate especially suffered. People no longer saw the pastor as endowed with the charisma of office and in a few parishes there was even rebellion. Pastors who were accustomed to the muttered grumblings of a few parishioners ("You had better get rid of the guitar group. They do not support you. We do."), now received copies of letters sent by parish organizations to the Ordinary requesting their removal. Some pastors went so

²² For the more complete story of the changes in the Church in the 1965-80 years consult Richard P. McBrien, The Remaking of the Church: An Agenda for Reform (New York: Harper and Row, 1973); McBrien, Catholicism (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1980).

far as to complain of "lay trusteeism" as coming back to plague the Diocese of Chicago as it had a century earlier when schism broke out. For many, the pastorate became a headache which no one needed. Some pastors sought early retirement while others, who were not prepared for the post-Vatican II Church, retreated to their rooms or resigned the pastorate.

A new policy in the Diocese evaluated the pastor every six years. However, associate pastors were not evaluated. It was always the pastor who was expected to take all the parish responsibility, even in these days of fewer and fewer priests, yet the Catholic population in the Diocese has not changed significantly in size.

For those priests who find it difficult to define themselves other than in the pastoral role, being the pastor of a parish has lost much of the status it traditionally enjoyed. For those priests who identify their ministry in other roles (goal-displacement), there is sufficient social support and social reward to make such role definitions legitimate in our specialized world.

As a footnote, Cardinal Cody was often criticized as being autocratic by clergy and especially when he attempted to keep the control of the parish in the hands of the pastor. Only the ordained priests were allowed to sign checks. The pastor was given veto power over all

decisions by the school board. Many of the laity were better educated than their pastors²³ and most likely could have run the parishes more efficiently, but the Cardinal feared that weak pastors would lose control and responsibility, so these controls over the powers of the laity became Diocesan policy. Cardinal Cody also knew that he had more control over priests than over the laity.

Structural Issues: The Chancery Office

The second factor influencing the pastorate is the relationship which a pastor has with the Chancery Office, which includes the Ordinary of the Diocese and his picked officials who determine the day-to-day policies for parishes. They can help, restrict the authority, or hinder programs for parishes as they see fit, and the Ordinary permits. Connected with the Chancery officials are the Matrimonial Tribunal, and the new Pastoral Center (as the Chancery Office is now called) also contains many of the other agencies of the Diocese such as the School Office, Liturgical and Catechetical Centers, etc. Most of these other agencies work independently of the Chancery officials, and so we will not be concerned with them.

Priests associated with the Chancery Office over

²³ William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956), p. 27.

many years related that when the Chancery Office was located in the old Cathedral College at Wabash Avenue and Superior Street, "priests, and especially pastors, were always at the front desk. However, since the office changed its address (after Vatican II), no one comes." Even though associate pastors routinely prepared young couples for marriage both with the spiritual preparation and the paper work, pastors would take these papers to the Chancery Office to get a dispensation if it were needed for that marriage. Any excuse to get to the Office, for it seemed that the Chancellor, Vicar-General or Vice-Chancellors were always at the front desk. These pastors had been with some of the officials in the Seminary, and pastors wanted to keep friendships. Every June, these same officials assigned the priests to their new parochial appointments. They also advised the Ordinary about promotions (better parishes, Monsignorships) and diocesan loans. The pastors kept their own names before these officials, traded jokes and gossip. Above all, a common clerical subculture was formed.

A few years after Vatican II, the Chancery Office was moved to the American Dental Association building with two separate parts (Chancery Office and Matrimonial Tribunal). There was no "front desk," only a small reception room with a switchboard operator, for each official had

his own separate office. Pastors did not know the new vice-Chancellors, and the Chancellor had been made a pastor. Mail now became the principal means of communication between pastors and the Chancery Office. The subculture was gone.

Those appointments of priests to parishes which formerly were the prerogative of the Chancery Office officials now came from a Clergy Personnel Board which had its headquarters in far away Mt. Carmel Cemetery in Hillside, Illinois. The Chancery Office and the clergy were more separated than ever.

Apparently Cardinal Cody did not consult with his Chancery staff, at least in the early days. Whenever he would receive a letter of complaint from a parishioner about a pastor, immediately the Cardinal sent a copy of the complaint to the pastor asking for a complete report on the incident. There were some valid complaints, but many were "crank letters" and the Chancery officials would have recognized them as such. The Chancery Office staff also knew the personalities of the pastors and the Cardinal did not. Pastors who received copies of these complaints felt that they were guilty until they proved otherwise. Confidence between the Ordinary and his priests was lost. Priests felt that they had to be on the defensive with their Ordinary instead of finding him their

friend.

As noted in Chapter I, one way of rewarding hard work and successful pastors was the title of Monsignor (Very Reverend and Right Reverend) and the status of Protonotary Apostolic which gave the priest the mitre and crozier of a Bishop. Like most rewards, these titles were not always distributed fairly. Those who got the title were more loyal than ever to the Archbishop. Those who did not were hurt emotionally but they worked harder than ever to receive this title. This title gave higher status within the diocesan structure. Parishioners felt their parishes were important when the pastor was a Monsignor. Through mutual causality, the pastor who was a Monsignor felt his importance and felt he could influence diocesan affairs as well as his parish. When a Monsignor put on his purple robes he became bolder in making decisions and voicing opinions, whether it was regarding parochial business or diocesan affairs.

Cardinal Cody never petitioned Rome for the rank of Monsignor for any of his priests. (Today, many priests would agree with that decision. They do not feel that a priest should work for a title.) Because priests were no longer given this special reward for their labor, priests worked for their parishes and not for the diocese or the Archbishop. The Cardinal was being further separated from

his priests. Many felt that the Cardinal wanted this separation, for Monsignors could feel that they had authority to speak for the Diocese, and the Cardinal did not want any priest to think that he could represent the Diocese. (Dahm, op.cit.)

At the end of Vatican II, the annual parochial report to the Diocese (due about the end of July) was a six-page report which began with the "status animarum" (a report on the spiritual progress of the parish during the past year), then the financial report. The present report is 18 pages in length and the status animarum is not sought until page 6. The new form asks for a detailed report on each expenditure over one thousand dollars (\$1,000.00). Also included is the following oath to be taken by each pastor:

I CERTIFY UNDER OATH THE FOLLOWING:

- (a) I have examined the 1981-82 annual parish report, including the accompanying schedules, and to the best of my knowledge and belief, it is a true, correct, and complete accounting of the parish finances.
- (b) That all parish bank accounts are listed in this report, including stipend accounts, and are in the name of the Catholic Bishop of Chicago, a Corporation Sole.
- (c) That there are no parish funds in other bank accounts, savings and loan accounts, certificates of deposit, money market funds, investment accounts, etc., either in the parish name, parish society, bearer, nominee, individual, or organization. If so, explain.

- (d) That there are no securities of the parish including Government Treasury Bills or Notes not listed in this report and none are registered in the name of a parish society, bearer, nominees, individual, or organization. If so, explain.
- (e) That there is no commingling of personal and parish funds.

Undoubtedly there were a few cases which were brought to the attention of the Ordinary which caused him to have this oath included in the annual report, but for the other 400 plus pastors, it meant that they were not trusted in their care of their parishes. Every priest knows that he will have to stand before God in judgment some day, and this oath treated a priest as if he did not have basic trustworthiness.

Consultation between the Ordinary and his staff with the pastors of the Diocese was often wanting. The former pastor of one southside parish (which no longer exists) tells the story of reading one morning in the daily newspapers that his church was to be demolished that day. He looked out the windows and saw the wrecking ball coming down the street. The story may be exaggerated, but it shows a spirit that did exist at that time. The recommendation of the Priests Senate that no parochial building be closed without consultation between the Ordinary, pastor of the place, committee of parishioners and the pastors in contiguous parishes was never accepted by

Cardinal Cody.

Pastors who needed repairs or improvements in parochial buildings and which expenses would cost over \$5,000.00 were required to submit three bids from contractors to the Chancery Office for approval. In 1981-82, a pastor from the north side and a pastor from the south side complied with these regulations and found out that the roofing contracts were given to a roofing company which had not been consulted by the pastors. Pastors wondered who was in control of their parishes.

However, the greatest distress to pastors was that their letters to the Ordinary or the Chancery Office were not answered. They could not get appointments to discuss parochial matters with those officials who were supposed to advise them. Pastors felt that they were not allowed to or felt they should not act on their own authority. The construction of buildings, the improvement of churches and schools was often unnecessarily delayed because permission did not come. During the waiting time, construction costs increased. For years at the Priests Senate meetings there was always the time of laughter when the issue of an increase in the pension for retired pastors was brought to the floor, and the chairman of that committee would report at each meeting that the letter was on the Ordinary's desk and would be signed that day.

The free-wheeling pre-Vatican II days when pastors would call the Ordinary or his Vicar-General to discuss the construction and costs over the phone could no longer continue in the modern economic world with soaring inflation and the decline of diocesan revenues. Efficiency demanded that the former handshake and pat on the shoulder had to be replaced by a bureaucrats with managerial skills. However, the extreme bureaucratization which demanded that the Cardinal himself had to approve any expenditures over \$5,000.00 could be disastrous.

As a final example of the relationship between the Chancery Office and the pastors on March 8, 1982, on a cold and icy afternoon, and just a few weeks before Cardinal Cody died, more than 70 pastors of the Diocese met at a church to discuss the letter from the Cardinal informing the pastors of the Diocese that 40 percent of their parishioners were to receive the diocesan newspaper, the Chicago Catholic. The pastors were told to send the lists of the parishioners who would receive this newspaper and also to pay the bill for these subscriptions. The specific amount of the bill for each parish was in the letter. If the pastor did not submit the names, at least he was to pay this bill.

Since most of the pastors had already made and sent to the Chancery Office their projected financial

budgets for the year, this added amount of thousands of dollars was more than they had expected. The cost for the Blue Cross/Blue Shield fees paid to the Chancery Office had increased as well as other bills in the Diocese. These pastors came together to get a consensus on the best approach to the Cardinal to have the order rescinded. A committee was formed to write the letter and all agreed to sign it. Cardinal Cody never responded to this letter. The death of the Cardinal a few months later delayed all payments of this bill, and Cardinal Bernardin rescinded the order.

During the meeting both auxiliary Bishops of the Diocese were in the church but did not speak. These Bishops are friends of all these pastors and classmates of some, yet the pastors present felt that the Bishops were there to spy on them and bring the names and contents of the meeting back to the Chancery Office. Morale among the priests of Chicago was at a low point. Pastors at that meeting talked of resigning as a body. Blochlinger had written (1965: 128) that the pastor is only the representative of the Ordinary and too many of these priests thought that their sense of self-worth was threatened.

Societal Environment: Society

Associate Pastors

As was noted in the previous chapter, the demographic distribution of priests gave the advantage to the associate pastors, since there were so few of them and so many parishes which needed their services.

Another issue should also be social climate of that era of the 1970's and the mistrust of organizations. The literature of the time beginning quite early with The Lonely Crowd (David Reisman, et. al.) and The Organization Man (William H. Whyte, Jr.) found its apex on the early 1970 with Up The Organization (Robert Townsend), Greening of America (Charles A. Reich) and Future Shock (Alvin Toffler). Theologians at this same time were writing about "The Death of God" and "The New Morality."

The Church was changing as much as the civil society. Beginning with the liturgical changes in the church ritual, the updating of nuns' habits (and the exodus of thousands of nuns from the convent), and the new personalized approach to morality, many Catholics claimed that they did not recognize the new Church, so they no longer attended Sunday Mass. Priests and nuns were arrested in civil rights demonstrations and Catholics wondered what had happened to the Church in which they had been socialized.

Priests who were aware of the changes in the world and the changes in the Church and who saw the smaller crowds at church reacted in various ways. One way was to seek a second profession, so that if the Church collapsed in Chicago, they would have another way of supporting themselves. A group of priests bought a downtown travel agency. The age of the hyphenated-priest had begun.

Some of the younger priests of the Diocese in the late 1960's formed the "Association of Chicago Priests", an independent, professional group whose functions were to serve the Church better and also to gain power in the Diocese. In the beginning, this association had a membership of almost 1,300 priests. However, when it decided to "flex its muscles" by a motion to reprove Cardinal Cody and the auxiliary bishops for not representing the ACP position on celibacy (i.e., optional) at the semi-annual Conference of Catholic Bishops, many priests felt that the association had gone too far. Now the ACP has a membership of about 500 priests and is not the voice nor the power of the clergy.

The young priest was influenced by the social environment and also the paucity of associate pastors. Today it is not unusual for the associate to tell the pastor, "I will do only what you will do." There have been many changes from those days when the pastor could

set his "automatic pilot" policies and programs before going about his own personal plans. Associates today at times often reject the programs of the pastor, e.g. teach religion in the parochial school. An associate will tell his pastor, "I am not good with the youth (or the bowling league, or the Altar Society, or whatever it might be), and so I do not do that." An associate pastor may feel that he has a special aptitude and may want to exercise it in a number of parishes, e.g., preaching or liturgy. If the young associate is effective at this pastoral skill, it is difficult for the pastor to refuse the priest and tell him to stay in the parish doing routine pastoral ministry.

The associate pastor can request time to study or work on personal pursuits and pastors are afraid to deny them, lest the pastor be without any help. Where the freedom of the pastor was once envied, it is now the liberty of the associate which is coveted.

An added pastoral associate pastor problem has been caused by the number of priests who have refused to become pastors or who have resigned the the pastorate to return to the status of associate pastor again. Some younger priests are now becoming pastors without either sufficient experience or self-confidence.

Many of these young priests thought the huge size

of some of the parishes to which they were assigned fostered impersonalism and anonymity, and about this time the "underground church" movement became popular. Not that the idea was new, for during the Second World War and afterwards in France there were "priest-workers" who attempted to form a (Christian) community among those who worked in the same factory or lived in the same neighborhood and who identified with each other. Because of the constant problem in most parishes of large numbers of people without any common social bond, the "underground church" was the American form of social units who had "atomeness" (Rahner's term). These social units who identified with each other because of social class, values and geographical proximity became religious communities who met and prayed in homes or common meeting places outside the formal church setting.

Another approach was used in some parishes, namely, team ministry. This method attempted to divide the clerical work in the parish among the priests so that each priest was responsible for his segment of the parish operation. Not only did this remove some of the absolute power of the pastor, but it also gave the associate pastor authority and involvement in running the parish, so that he felt a part of a team and not just the drone in the parochial functions. This approach had worked well in

some dioceses, but Cardinal Cody never favored it, since Canon Law required that one priest be the pastor with both power and responsibility for the parish. A few parishes tried this approach in Chicago with varying degrees of success. Most of those who were involved in these early teams have now become full-time pastors themselves.

Other priests merely decided to find their reward system in teaching, social work, diocesan departments, hospital work, or some of the varying ministries mentioned above. The parish did not have the relevance for them that it had with older priests. These priests decided that ministry need not be identified with "pastor." Especially as younger priests saw the increasing difficulties that pastors faced, they decided that they would rather choose their own form of ministry than undertake the administrative problems of the pastorate.²⁴

For these reasons given above, the status of pastor has more difficulties than would have been foreseen at the end of Vatican II. It should be remembered that many of the examples given above (all true) are more often the exception than the general rule. In the great majority of

²⁴ Joseph H. Fichter, Organization Man in the Church (Cambridge: Schenkman, 1974; Jacques Duquesne, A Church Without Priests (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1969; Andrew M. Greeley, The Catholic Priest in the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1972).

parishes, pastors and associate pastors as well as other members of the pastoral team or parish staff work harmoniously together in making plans and policies for the parish. Each is responsible for his commitment to the total program. This dissertation maintains that the majority of priests will seek the pastorate. However, it is proposed that a significant number will resign or refuse the pastorate.

Population Changes

While the priests were having their problems, the city also was in turmoil. When Samuel Kincheloe, in The American City and Its Church, New York: Friendship Press, 1958, observed that while Protestant Churches fled to the suburbs with their parishioners and sold their churches to black congregations, the Catholic Church always stayed to recreate a parish community out of the new residents of the area. Later Gibson Winter (The Church in Suburban Captivity, Christian Century, 1955) and Peter Berger (The Noise of Solemn Assemblies {Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1961}) were much more critical of Protestant flight. Cardinal Cody began a new policy of consolidation of parishes. As we have seen, many of these parishes were ethnic churches whose families had left the area. For the first time, Catholic institutions were closed, altogether

some 34 churches, 44 schools (principally parish high schools), three orphanages and various other institutions. This program of consolidation was of financial benefit to the Diocese, but the latent effect was the loss of "Catholic presence" in the inner-city. The statistics above demonstrated the changing picture of those dwelling within the Diocese of Chicago. Chicago was becoming increasingly black and Hispanic who were either non-Catholic or in the great majority of non-practicing Catholics.

Population changes affect not only the composition of the parishes but also the pastors. James T. Farrell portrayed the emotion perfectly in Studs Lonigan when the Irish pastor and his flock struggled a long time to build their new church and they were proud of their accomplishments. On the day of the dedication at the first solemn Mass, a black man was seen in the pews. The message was that the neighborhood was changing. White people would come to the pastor each Sunday and tell their pastor that they were moving. After all, they would explain, they had young daughters and the neighborhood was no longer safe. Or perhaps they would explain to the pastor that the family was getting larger (or smaller as the children married and moved away) and that they needed a larger (or smaller) home, so they were on their way to the suburbs.

Not only does the pastor lose parishioners and

friends who share the same culture, but the collection goes down and most likely at a time when the maintenance costs are on the increase, as the buildings get older. Even though the parish probably had money on reserve at the Chancery Office, human emotions become involved. The pastor whose parishioners shared his Irish, German, Polish, or other ethnic ancestry remember all the sacrifices which went into the construction of the buildings and their maintenance and the extra money put away for a "rainy day" which was now to be spent on people who had made none of these sacrifices.

Even though prejudice is not inherited, most people acquire some degree of partiality toward those of their own racial or ethnic group and bias against others. The priest is no different. The Irish or Polish pastor whose same ethnic group moved away and were replaced by non-Catholics of a different color or by non-practicing and non-English speaking Catholics found (and find) it is difficult to welcome these new parishioners. He remembers the sacrifices his own people made in constructing and maintaining the parish, and so he can become parsimonious about maintaining the buildings as well as losing his own interest in the parish. Other pastors spent all the money held in reserve and the parish had to limp after that.

Transient associate pastors who do not know the

ethnic history of the parish, and who do not have the emotional bonds to the original parishioners, and who do not have to worry about the economics of the parish can easily accept the different color or different primary language of the new parishioners.

Many priests are fearful of being in the inner-city. Quite a few feel they would not be effective in a ministry to those of different social or cultural backgrounds than their own. Pastors who are older may experience these emotional crises more strenuously than their younger and more adaptive associates who do not have the same vested interests in the parish. Many pastors desired to be with their own people in the suburbs.

Another burden on the pastorate in the inner-city is the maintenance of parish buildings. It is a "rare" associate pastor who will take charge of a broken boiler, paint classrooms, and repair worn-out roofs. Some inner-city pastors do these jobs. The big problem, of course, is paying for these repairs, especially when the money kept in reserve at the Chancery Office has been used up. It must be most humiliating for pastors to write each month for money to maintain their parishes.

The attitude of the Diocese about finances in the inner-city has been ambivalent. Pastors try to maintain their parishes. Some pastors organize bingo games, and

some of these tiresome bingo games go on once or more than once a week to pay for maintenance and repairs. The Diocese, according to its annual report, puts about \$3,000,000.00 annually in subsidy to inner-city institutions. Priests (i.e., pastors) seeking this financial assistance must bring their current financial report to explain how they spent money the preceding year and also these pastors must be able to defend their projected budget for the coming year, if they hope to get financial assistance. Present at such meetings were the Ordinary (or his Vicar-General) and the diocesan accountants. Some priests report that they were told that they could not expect any increase in their parish subsidies, regardless of the inflation rate.

On the other hand, the Chancery Office began a program to aid parishes in the Diocese with their financial difficulties called "Twinning" or "Sharing." Almost 100 parishes from the inner-city were designated as possible "twins" for all the other parishes of the Diocese. Every parish (even the poorest) was to take up a monthly collection to send to one of these designated "needy" parishes. The millions of dollars, plus the meetings between the members of both parishes were practical signs of caring and of great financial benefit. Skilled people from the well-to-do parishes entered into the lives

of those who needed help and hope.

Critics complained that such a program would not work, for too many affluent people judged the poor to be in financial straits because poor people waste money. These critics had based their opinions on a program called "Project Renewal" which Cardinal Cody had introduced shortly after his arrival in Chicago to raise money to cover all the needs of the Diocese. The program was only partially successful and parts I and II of "Project Renewal" were never attempted. Some Catholics thought that Cody, who had recently arrived from New Orleans and had a reputation as a "civil rights hero" would give the money to black parishes and so they did not cooperate. However, the twinning program money went to needy parishes in the amounts of millions of dollars. Whites who had fled the inner-city still had strong feelings for the parishes where they and their children worshipped and were christened. Almost a million dollars goes into the inner-city each year through this program.

The latent effect was that the virtue of charity and a missionary spirit developed in those parishes which were better off. Catholics bragged of their parochial generosity and of their personal donations in skills and money to poorer parishes.

An associate pastor does not need to concern him-

self with financial issues, for such items can only bring depression. Many a priest will work in the inner-city for he knows that he can use his own skills more freely, if he so desires. He can use any form of creative ministry possible to recreate a parish community. However, these same priests hesitate to take on the pastorate for it means that much time will be spent in maintenance and money-raising, which takes away from the time he could use for his own ideas of ministry.

Pastors and priests in general working in the inner-city are admired for their labors among a population which, in general, is considered "alien" and with resources that are limited. Today these priests in the inner-city do not enjoy the prestige of former years when missionary efforts produced a significant number of converts who became the nucleus of parishes which had been judged as dying.

Because the inner-city is growing in area and in the number of parishes to be served, one of the hypotheses tested was the changing demographic distribution of the population in general and of Catholicism in particular within the Diocese has been one reason why some priests have not chosen to become pastors, or at least at a young age when they could have been appointed as pastor of an inner-city parish.

CHAPTER IV

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

This chapter has two purposes: to discuss what was tested and to give a profile of those who responded to the questionnaire.

Regarding the testing itself the Hesser paradigm was the sociological model for the hypotheses based on Exchange Theory principles. Possible intervening psychological variables, e.g. the personality of the Ordinary, were examined within the framework of what was occurring in the Diocese at the time the questionnaires were mailed. The data showed that these possible intervening psychological variables did not influence the results.

The second part of the chapter gives a demographic and social portrait of the respondents, their status in the Diocese, and a description of the parishes in which they minister.

Even more important for a portrait of these priests was an in-depth study of which roles they considered important and which roles gave them satisfaction. A comparison was made between these respondents and the priest respondents of the 1970 National Council of

Catholic Bishops survey of priests in the United States.

I. THE HYPOTHESES AND QUESTIONNAIRE

The middle-management crisis in the Catholic Church in Chicago was described in Chapter I. Where formerly all diocesan priests sought to become pastors, by 1982 many priests who should have been pastors by reason both of seniority and experience had refused or resigned from this status in the Church. This dissertation suggests the reasons for this middle-management crisis. The hypotheses used in this dissertation are stated as follows:

Priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned from this middle-management status, because:

- 1) they perceive a decrease in traditional pastoral power and authority;
- 2) they perceive the laity of the parish as interfering with their administrative and sacramental functions;
- 3) they perceive themselves as being fulfilled through sacramental and/or social roles which do not include the pastorate;
- 4) they perceive the sacramental ministry as making overwhelming demands on them due to the shortage of clergy and the decrease of religious vocations;
- 5) they perceive they would be ineffective pastors in the inner-city with its aging buildings and their own inability to understand the life style of the black and Hispanic populations.

- 6) they perceive pastoral administrative tasks as excessive because of perceived increasing pastoral administrative tasks.

On March 18 and 19, 1983, a total of 1,233 questionnaires were mailed to all the priests incardinated into the Diocese of Chicago and listed in the Diocesan Directory who are active in priestly ministry, whether or not they are residing in the Diocese of Chicago. Questionnaires were sent to two hundred and five religious order priests engaged in parochial work in the Diocese of Chicago. Included also in the mailing were retired priests who are still performing priestly functions full or part-time in the Diocese.

Within three weeks over four hundred questionnaires were returned. By June 1, 1983, a total of six hundred and fourteen questionnaires (50%) were mailed back. They were coded and keypunched. Nine questionnaires were not usable, since they had been incorrectly filled out.

The personality, programs and policies of the Ordinary of the Diocese affect the work patterns as well as the morale of the priests. Chicago had two very influential ordinaries at the time. First was John Cardinal Cody who was Ordinary from 1965-1982. His administration is important for this study, since Vatican II ended in 1965. Also the data in this study includes priests

ordained through 1982, the year the Cardinal died. Many of the events which happened during Cody's era in Chicago are included in Chapter III. Others have written to the effect that Cardinal Cody negatively affected Chicago and its clergy (Dahm with Robert Ghelardi, 1981; Andrew Greeley who estimated that it will take "a hundred years to undo the damage" caused by Cody ("a madcap tyrant").

The new Archbishop (now Cardinal), Joseph L. Bernardin, who was appointed to be the Ordinary of Chicago by Pope John Paul II, was installed in Chicago on August 24, 1982. After the announcement of his appointment, Chicago priests eagerly awaited his arrival. Over two thousand priests were on hand to welcome Bernardin on his first day in Chicago. Bernardin, known as the "healer", has reconciled many to the Church since he came to Chicago. He has certainly influenced the morale of the priests of the Diocese in a positive way. He could have influenced the results of the questionnaire, since he had been in Chicago for over six months when the priests received this questionnaire.

As indicated, the powerful personalities of both Cody and Bernardin have affected the priests of the Diocese. However, this dissertation proposes that the problems of the pastorate in Chicago are structural, not psychological and proposes that a restructuring of the

power and reward systems of the pastorate will be necessary if the Diocese wants its best priests to become and remain pastors.

The great majority of the questionnaires had been returned by the time all priests of the Diocese received a letter dated April 4, 1983 from the Chancery Office with Cardinal Bernardin's approval of the new salary scale for diocesan and Order priests in parish work. The previous pay scale, initiated in 1977, had given pastors a pay scale one-third higher than the associate pastor. The 1983 scale set the same base salary for both pastor and associate pastor. The pay scale was changed after only one year with the increment for pastors restored which indicates that some person(s) persuaded Cardinal Bernardin to change his mind on this issue. The increase was not significant monetarily, but one symbol of the pastor representing the Diocese in that parish was put back.

According to the Archdiocesan Personnel Board, priests of the Diocese ordained in 1959 and earlier could automatically become pastors in the better parishes of the Diocese because of their seniority, unless they had a personal problem such as alcoholism.

Most of the priests ordained between 1960 and 1968 could also be pastors, perhaps not in one of the "plums" of the Diocese but at least in inner-city or ethnic

parishes. In the years before Vatican II and before the suburbs grew at a rapid rate, priests got their first pastoral assignments in the rural areas of Lake County among the small farm communities. With the change in the demographic distribution of Catholics, priests in the 1980s should expect to have their first pastoral assignment in the heart of Chicago. At the time of this writing thirty priests who had been ordained after 1960 were already pastors, and two of them had even resigned the pastorate.

In this paper one of the categorical divisions of priests are those ordained before 1960, those ordained between 1960 and 1968, and those ordained in 1968 and later.

II. PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

A total of 605 responses were received. Nine percent of the responses (57) were from priests who belong to religious orders. These cases will not be considered for this study, thus making the number of cases to be considered in this paper at 548 respondents. As mentioned above, the frame of reference of these regular priests usually differs from that of the diocesan priest.

The median year of ordination was located at the year 1960. As noted above, priests from that year's class

are now being chosen as pastors with many of those ordained after that year as pastors in ethnic or racial minority parishes. Those from the class of 1960 who are not pastors most likely are waiting for urban or suburban parishes with large congregations, but these parishes also may have some problems (e.g., cost of maintaining a school, few associate pastors, etc.)

Half of the respondents had been in their present parishes for almost six years (which is the limit of the assignment for associate pastors) reflecting the stability of our respondents in their assignments. Associate pastors are assigned for five years with the possible addition of a sixth year. Pastors are assigned for six years with a possible renewal of another six-year term.

The respondents reflected the distribution of the priests within the Diocese. Almost 50% of the priests in the Diocese responded, and the distribution of our respondents in Diocesan statuses was also almost evenly divided: 57% of the pastors in the Diocese responded (n=215), 48% of the associate pastors (n=233), and 77% of those in the Chancery Office (n=10). Thirty-four percent of the retired priests who received questionnaires answered them (n=21). Priests (n=62) in other Diocesan categories (e.g., seminaries, Catholic Charities, etc.) returned questionnaires; this is 65 percent of their total

personnel.

Table 4.1 Status Distribution of Respondents

	DIOCESAN PRIEST RESPONDENTS					
	TOTAL	Pastors	Associate Pastors	Chancery Office	Other Service Offices	Retired
Questionnaires Sent	1233	375	485	13	95	62
Respondents	614 (50%)	215 (57%)	233 (48%)	10 (77%)	62 (65%)	21 (34%)

Our respondents' parishes closely matched the racial composition and locale of parishes. Forty-two percent of the parishes in the Diocese are suburban and 39.7% (n=270) of our respondents were in suburban assignments. Another 26.4% (n=160) of our respondents were from urban parishes and 28.4% (n=172) were from inner-city parishes which is almost the distribution of parishes within the Diocese. An urban parish has between seven hundred and twelve hundred families, most of whom are second-or third-generation American. Such a parish is self-sufficient financially. An inner-city parish has less than five hundred families who are either black or first-or second-generation American and who would be judged as working-class families and whose parish needs a

subsidy from the Diocese to stay in existence.

As noted earlier, priests have at least a veto power over their appointments today. Some of the appointments which the priests now fill are of their own choice, and some are appointments made because the Diocese needed someone in the role. Also, it should be noted that there is a trend now whereby pastors accept some form of special assignment in the Diocese as well as their pastoral status since there is a clergy shortage. The respondents who are pastors reflected this trend. Conventional wisdom would hold that associate pastors also would seek these Diocesan positions for status as well as an escape from pastoral assignments. Twenty-eight percent of these respondents do have special Diocesan assignments. Other associate pastors may seek non-diocesan work or else they are content with their parochial assignments.

Table 4.2 gives frequencies and percentages. About 21 percent of the respondents were in non-parochial assignments (e.g., retired, teaching, chancery office, etc.) and were not included in this diagram. The percentages are of the total respondents in all categories shown in the diagram.

Table 4.2 Present and Previous Assignments of Respondents

		PRESENT ASSIGNMENT ^A		PREVIOUS ASSIGNMENT ^B	
		Special Work		Special Work	
		YES	NO	YES	NO
YES		15% (37)	85% (204)	YES	23% (19) 77% (63)
Pastor		-----	-----	Pastor	-----
NO		28% (73)	72% (184)	NO	23% (93) 77% (306)

A - 21 Respondents are retired. 29 did not answer this question.

B - 42 Priests had no previous assignment. 26 priests did not answer this question.

Sixty percent of those who sent back questionnaires were in predominately white parishes, 9.3 percent in predominately black, 5.0 percent Hispanic, and 20.8 percent in parishes of mixed racial and ethnic composition. The distribution of priests according to the social class and ethnic composition of their parishes mirrors both the class and ethnic distribution of the parishes within the Diocese, which includes both Cook and Lake Counties in Illinois.

The priests reported their own ethnic heritage as follows:

Table 4.3 Ethnicity of Respondents

Polish-American	: 16.8%	Slavic-American	: 2.5%
Irish-American	: 41.2	Italian-American	: 5.2
German-American	: 9.4	Mixed Heritage	: 17.3
Black-American	: 0.8	Other	: 5.3
Hispanic-American	: 0.7	Did Not Answer	: .8

While 48.1 percent of the priests thought their national or ethnic heritage helped them in their priestly work, 33.2 percent said this heritage was not at all important to their ministry.

In 1970, the National Conference of Catholic Bishops engaged the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago to undertake a study of the priests of the United States. Their study was completed and a summary of the results was printed in The Catholic Priest in the United States: Sociological Investigations, in 1972. This present study used many of the same questions as were used in the Bishops' study. Below, a comparison of some items listed in the final book form of the Bishops' study are contrasted with the results of this study. It should be noted that the national study of priests was carried out thirteen years earlier and their focus was different. The Bishops were concerned with the number of priests resigning from active ministry, while this present study is concerned with priests refusing or resigning the pastorate. This present study assumes that the respondents will continue as priests.

One question reads as follows, "How do you evaluate the following as contributing to your spiritual and personal fulfillment?" (Please circle one code on each line.) There are four responses: "very important", "not very important", and "I do not do this". The Bishops' report listed only the percentage who reported that the item was very important. This report will give that response and also the percentage who listed the item as "important". In two cases, the percentage of those reporting the item as "not very important" and "I do not do this" are listed.

Table 4.4 Comparison of Bishops Study and This Study on Importance of Priestly Roles

	BISHOPS STUDY	THIS STUDY	
	Very Important	Very Important	Important
a) visiting the sick	67.0	42.3	48.0
b) helping people who are poor	57.0	39.5	40.0
c) participating in some significant social action as a rally or a demonstration	8.0	5.2	24.0
d) private devotions to Mary	43.0	16.7	27.1

e) small group discussions on spiritual concerns	50.0	26.8	50.2
f) supporting the causes of minority peoples	32.0	25.3	54.8
g) preparing and delivering sermons	62.0	68.8	29.4
h) active concern for the mentally ill or retarded	30.0	11.6	48.3
i) regular confession (at least once monthly)	50.0	16.9	32.7
j) working for better political leadership	14.0	6.4	31.1
k) spiritual reading	54.4	28.8	61.6
l) providing recreational facilities for the young and the deprived	24.0	11.0	47.7
m) being with close friends	28.0	57.8	37.7
n) literature, drama, films, etc.	26.0	19.0	52.8
o) personal donations of money to worthy causes	42.0	24.9	56.9

Priestly functions as those mentioned above are not as important for the priests of the Diocese of Chicago compared with the national study, except for the item of "preparing and delivering sermons". The other item in which the priests of this study surpassed the national

survey was in "being with close friends". On two traditional items, namely, "devotions to Mary" which has been a Catholic custom since the early days of the Church, some 57 percent gave negative responses. One other item "regular confession (at least once monthly)" found over half (50.4 percent) of the Chicago priests giving negative responses.

In twelve of the fourteen traditional Catholic practices, the priests in the NORC study surpassed the priests of Chicago, and in some of the items the difference was overwhelming.

An open-ended question in the current study asked which were the principal tasks of pastors in the Archdiocese of Chicago today. Priests responded in their own words. Even though the question does not have to do with satisfaction, most priests perform those activities which give them the greatest fulfillment. Listed below are the first and second choice items selected by the priests of this study:

Table 4.5 First and Second Choice of Principal Priestly Roles

	FIRST CHOICE	SECOND CHOICE
Personal leadership	20%	17.5%
Liturgical duties	17%	12.3%
Communal leadership	16%	15.4%
Administration	15%	15.2%
Care for people	10%	12.8%
Building leadership	6%	10.4%
Instigate social programs	0%	2.1%

Another question in which a comparison is possible between the Bishops' study and this study is concerned with the sources of satisfaction in the life and work of the priest. Priests responded with the amount of satisfaction they derive from each of the following activities:

Table 4.6 Comparison of Bishops Study and This Study on Satisfying Priestly Roles

	BISHOPS STUDY	THIS STUDY	
	Great Satisfaction	Great Satisfaction	Some Satisfaction
a) Administering the sacraments and presiding at liturgy	83.0%	83.9%	15.4%
b) Respect that comes to the priestly office	25.0	17.2	53.2
d) Satisfaction in the organization and administration of the parish	34.0	22.5	49.1
e) Opportunity to exercise intellectual and creative abilities	48.0	51.7	42.9
f) Spiritual security that comes responding to the divine call	43.0	29.6	41.3
g) Challenge of being the leader of the Christian community	41.0	33.9	53.8
k) Engaging in efforts at social reform such as civil rights, pro-peace political movements	21.0	6.8	37.6
l) Opportunity to work with many people and be a part of their lives	73.0	62.1	35.1
n) being part of a community of Christians who work together to share the good news of Christ	60.0	59.9	34.6
o) the well-being that comes from living the common life with like minded confreres	36.0	31.8	44.7

SUMMARY

Before examining any of the data from the six hundred and fourteen questionnaires received, a caution is in order, namely, that the personalities of the present and immediate past ordinaries of Chicago could influence attitudes about the pastorate.

Half the priests of the Diocese responded to the questionnaire, slightly over half the pastors and almost half the associate pastors. The present assignment of the priests reflected the geographical distribution of the priests of the Diocese. Although over forty percent of the respondents were of Irish-American descent, a representative proportion of priests of other ethnic origins was included.

To find out more about the respondents, a comparison of this 1982 study was made with the 1970 questionnaire sent to priests around the nation. Times and priestly customs can change, and while traditional priestly functions were rated "very important" by a larger percentage of respondents in the Bishops' study, still when "very important" and "important" were combined, the great majority of Chicago priests carried out traditional priestly functions. If the priests of Chicago were not interested in parochial affairs, they most likely would not seek the pastorate, since this status would obligate

the priests to these roles.

In conclusion, the respondents well represent the distribution of priests in the Diocese of Chicago. They also are interested in traditional parochial tasks. Still to be considered are the personalities of the ordinaries to see whether these archbishops affect the decisions of priests about becoming pastors. That issue will be treated in hypothesis six. Another possible intervening variable is the morale of priests, which will be studied in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

MORALE OF THE PRIESTS

INTRODUCTION

A psychological factor influencing the decision of a priest to become or remain a pastor can be the morale of the clergy in general and the morale of the priest himself. Since the pastorate more closely identifies the priest with the institutional church, the priest whose reference institution is the ecclesiastical organization and whose reference persons are other priests is more likely to seek this middle-management status. A worker's happiness, satisfaction, and devotion to his job are affected by his net balance of rewards over costs (Schoenherr, Richard and Andrew Greeley, 1974:407; Vroom, 1964; Katz and Kahn, 1966).

When the National Conference of Catholic Bishops (NCCB) studied morale, their concern was with the resignation of priests from active ministry. The concern here is not a question of giving up one's vocation, but of giving up one's status. Pastors are important for an effective operation of this hierarchical institution.

Morale or well-being is judged a relative human

trait with a satisfactory "balance of payments" between positive and negative feelings as the norm. The NCCB study says, "it is assumed that psychological well-being results not so much from the absence of negative feelings or the presence of positive feelings but from a satisfactory balance of payment between positive and negative feelings"(215). The Bishops' study used the "happiness scale" developed by Norman Bradburn (1969) as its measure of morale.

To study the morale of the priests this present study used the following items from the Bishop's study:

- 1) The priest's comparison of himself with other professionals vis-a-vis knowledge, autonomy, responsibility, commitment, recognition and satisfaction. If the priest evaluates himself as highly as other professionals, for example, doctors and lawyers, on professionalism, then there would be a positive "balance of payments" leading toward high morale. The results of the NCCB study was that priests in their study did compare themselves favorably with other professionals, so this item in this present study is compared with the results of the Bishops' study.
- 2) An evaluation by the priests of their routine and ordinary work. If they highly evaluate their work, then it can be assumed that (1) their morale is high

- and (2) they may seek the pastorate to have a more responsible obligation toward that work.
- 3) Questions were asked on other statuses within the ecclesiastical structure to see which other statuses they would like to possess. Some statuses can be held by only one priest. If many priests sought other statuses, the indication would be that they did not like their present work and their morale could be questioned. If priests sought parochial statuses, then they have high morale is a conclusion from the "balance of payment theory," i.e. the "happiness scale."
 - 4) A set of questions directly sought to find the happiness level of the priests in their present and previous assignments.
 - 5) Priests with high morale levels would want others to share in their ministry, and so the priests were asked to tell how intensely they encouraged new recruits to the priestly ministry.

These items indicate the morale of the priests which in turn could influence the priests' attitude on seeking statuses such as the pastorate which bind a priest more closely to the ecclesiastical institution which is the reference institution on morale. The concept of "mutual causality" applies, for the priest who likes to do

priestly work has a high morale and might seek the pastorate so that he is more responsible for priestly work which also increases his morale.

The second part of the chapter deals with interpersonal relationships both within and outside the rectory, since these too affect priestly morale. First of all, questions were asked about the relationship between priests and others in the rectory. These results were compared with the results of the Bishops' study.

The final item concerned those with whom the priest preferred to spend his day off. If the priest prefers to recreate with other priests, then the assumption that the priest cares about the priesthood, since as with other professionals they will talk about common interests, in this case, priestly work. A high morale level is a legitimate assumption since a person does not usually spend recreation time discussing whatever is unpleasant. If the priest spends his free time with others, then his morale level would have to be judged by the other questions in this section, as will be explained in the text.

Morale is judged a relative human trait in comparison to others of like personal and professional characteristics. This study asks the priest to compare himself with other professional men on seven items related to

morale. The Bishops' report also asked these questions, and the responses of the national survey are compared with the responses of this study.

The Bishops' study reported that "on the affect balance scale, which measures the balance of psychological well-being, priests are higher than unmarried American males" (p.216). In his commentary on the Bishops' study Andrew Greeley wrote, "It would appear that priests are relatively stronger than other groups in their ability to affirm their own self-worth and to accept themselves for what they are in spite of weakness and deficiencies" (1972:44).

#27. Think of the professional men you know - for example, doctors, dentists, lawyers. How do you think you as a priest compare to them in regard to the following attributes?

The same questions which were asked in the Bishops' study were also asked of the priests of Chicago, namely how these priests compared themselves to other professional men they knew about items of professionalism.

As in the NCCB study the responses "I have more" and "about the same" were combined.

Table 5.1 Comparison of Bishops Study and This Study on Skills with Other Professionals

	BISHOPS STUDY	THIS STUDY
A) Depth of knowledge and skill	76%	86.0%
B) Autonomy to make decisions	55%	59.2%
C) Responsibility for an under- taking	73%	83.1%
D) Commitment to serving the needs of people	94%	98.3%
E) Recognition by the people served	not given	76.6%
F) Opportunity for recognition by peers	not given	52.5%
G) General satisfaction	not given	84.8%

The Chicago priests evaluated themselves to be more skillful, autonomous, responsible, and committed than those professionals in other fields whom these priests knew. Also the Chicago priests evaluated themselves higher than the priests in the NORC study. The Bishops' study calls this item "the critical question" (p.218) on morale. Chicago priests have troubles as do all professionals, but their morale ranks higher than that of other professionals on work patterns.

Another question taken from the NORC study for the Bishops was asked of Chicago priests about their jobs. Although this question is not an absolute means of judging

morale, still a good evaluation can be gotten from the way priests describe their own work patterns. These questions concerned the routine and ordinary work of the priest (Mass, preaching, funerals, weddings, baptisms, Communion calls, etc.) which often take up a large part of the priest's day.

The responses indicate the percentage of priests who checked off this characteristic as fitting the way they feel about their work:

#32. I would like to get some idea about how you feel about your current work. How well does the word describe your job? In the blank beside each word given below, write...

Y for "Yes" if it describes your work
 N for "No" if it does not describe it
 ? if you cannot decide

Table 5.2 Respondents Description of Ministry

good	- 96.1%	pleasant	- 88.5%
useful	- 94.9%	fascinating	- 87.1%
challenging	- 94.7%	endless	- 73.8%
satisfying	- 94.3%	healthful	- 73.5%
gives me a sense of accomplishment	- 94.3%	frustrating	- 64.7%
respected	- 93.6%	tiresome	- 56.1%
always on the go	- 90.5%	routine	- 54.8%
creative	- 89.1%	simple	- 29.7%
		boring	- 16.8%

Chicago priests like their work. They find challenge and satisfaction in it. The work is good, useful, and gives a sense of accomplishment. Priests are always "on the go" and their work is respected. Any professional group would boast that its members gave their professional work these descriptions. A sign of high morale is the way that priests judge their work patterns.

Since priests have such positive evaluations about their work, the question was asked which job they would prefer in the Diocese. Priests realize that only certain positions are attainable, so they do not prioritize statuses which would be illusory. The priests give high priority to statuses which are attainable and which have corresponding rewards. The question for the priests is, "Do the rewards balance the costs?"

Priests who like to do priestly work within the parishes know that this kind of work is always available to them, so they should have a high morale level.

Priests were asked about other positions in the Diocese. The percentages combine both "very much like to be" and "like to be if asked", i.e., those who have a positive feeling about these statuses:

Table 5.3 Respondents Choices of Diocesan Positions

	I would very much like to be" or "like to be"
...the chancellor and/or vicar general	14.6%
...an urban vicar	36.7%
...a professor in a seminary	30.6%
...a rector of a seminary	16.3%
...pastor of a wealthy suburban parish	35.2%
...pastor of an ordinary urban parish	73.2%
...an associate pastor	59.1%
...in another diocesan job, i.e., hospital chaplain, Catholic Charities, etc.	35.3%

Few priests want to be the chancellor and/or vicar general or the rector of one of the Diocesan seminaries. One in six or seven seek these positions, which is a high percentage, since there is only one chancellor, and at present one vicar-general and four seminary rectors. The obligations and rewards for being vicar general, chancellor or rector are very great. Almost three-quarters would like to be pastor in an ordinary parish; this is attainable and the rewards compensate for the cost.

Almost six of every ten would like to be an associate pastor where the cost is small and the rewards more than compensate. More priests would prefer to be pastor than

associate pastor, for more priests view the pastor as having greater rewards than the associate pastor. Since priests have a high morale and since they like their work, the conclusion is not farfetched that they would seek jobs in the Diocese with responsibility, authority and prestige. If personnel at IBM or Standard Oil perceived themselves as being skilled, happy in their work, and with high morale, yet did not seek middle management positions, these companies would seek to know the reasons. Sixty percent of the priests of Chicago seek to be associate pastors yet they have all of these professional and moral qualifications.

Two items directly related to morale compare the emotional state of the priest at the present time with his feelings in his previous assignment, if he had one. Although 32.1% reported being happier in a previous assignment, only 10.8% said they were "not too happy" in their present assignment. Eighty-nine percent reported being "quite happy" or "very happy" these days. Happiness not only fluctuates from time to time but many degrees of happiness are perceptible. Though 32.1% thought they were happier in a previous assignment, the statistics cannot be interpreted to mean that they are unhappy at present.

The 10.8% of priests being "not too happy" dis-

tresses spiritual directors, for priests in this psychological state find it difficult to give spiritual help and comfort to others. However, any organization where only 10.8% of the participants are "not too happy" has something going right for it.

Table 5.4 Happiness Rating of Respondents in Present and Previous Assignment.

TODAY		PREVIOUS ASSIGNMENT	
Very Happy	36.7%	Happier	32.1%
Quite Happy	52.0%	About the Same	37.6%
Not Too Happy	10.8%	Not Quite as Happy	30.1%

Another indicator of morale is encouraging others to enter the same profession. Even though these respondents reported they work hard (90.5% thought they were "always on the go"), they would encourage young men to become priests (90.4%). Two percent would not encourage young men toward the priesthood.

The Bishops' survey asked the same questions contrasting the attitudes of the priest at that time as compared to what he thought they were four or five years prior. This study also compared the present attitudes about encouraging young men to enter the seminary with their attitudes four or five years ago.

Table 5.5 Comparison of Bishops Study and This Study on Encouraging Religious Vocations

	ATTITUDE			
	BISHOPS STUDY		THIS STUDY	
	-A- Today	-B- 4 to 5 Yrs.Ago	-A- Today	-B- 4 to 5 Yrs.Ago
A) I actively encourage boys to enter the seminary or novitiate, since I see the priesthood as a very rewarding vocation.	33.0	64.0	58.4	55.6
B) I encourage boys but advise them about the uncertainties surrounding the role of the priest today.	27.0	14.0	19.6	17.4
C) I neither encourage or discourage boys, but allow them to make up their own minds.	36.0	20.0	18.7	22.8
D) Abstracting from their personal qualities, I tend to discourage boys from entering now and advise them to wait until the future is more certain.	2.0	0.0	1.3	1.3

Chicago priests encourage boys and young men toward the priesthood more often than the priests in the national survey. The time factor, however, must be considered. The priesthood of 1970 was troubled with issues of role confusion, optional celibacy, easy dispensations from vows, etc. Pope John Paul II has clearly defined the ministry for priests today. The conclusions from this set of questions infers that priests are more settled in their

ministerial role today and so they encourage others to follow them into the priesthood.

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS

Most priests reside with other priests in rectories in the Diocese and around the county. Their interpersonal relationships affect the morale of all living in the residence. Nine out of every ten of non-pastors (89.4%) found their relationships with the pastor to be positive (i.e., combining responses which include "excellent", "good" or "fair"). Forty percent declared the relationship to be excellent, and only 10.7% said the relationships was poor or very poor. In the Bishops' study, 30% of the respondents said they had excellent personal relationships with their pastors, and 15% said the relationship was poor or very poor.

This study asked about relationships with associates which would include the relationship of pastors and other associates with the associate pastors. Ninety-five percent reported good personal relationships and 36.2% said they had excellent relationships. Five percent declared the relationship to be poor or very poor. The Bishops' study reported 43% had excellent personal relationships, and 3% said the relationship to be poor or very poor.

Any differences between these reported relationships in the two studies is most likely explained by the time factor, the thirteen years difference in asking these questions. In 1970, urban parishes still had two or more associates in the parish, and these powerless assistants could join forces against their pastor ("Dyad and Triad", Simmel: 1950). The relationship with resident priests who were not under pastoral authority and whose work in the diocese was not parochial was almost the same in both studies. In this study, 93.6% found the relationship at least fair and 36.4% had excellent relationships. While this study showed 6.4% reporting poor or very poor relationships with resident priests, the Bishops' study found only 4% of their respondents reporting poor or very poor relationships. The slight differences most likely reflect the "busyness" of parishes today and the non-involvement of those who are not officially assigned to work in that parish.

One might think that the young associates are jealous of the permanent deacons who preach, baptize, counsel with parishioners and get along well with the pastors (they receive no salary) and then go home to their wives and families. The data indicate otherwise. Ninety-five percent declared the relationship with the permanent deacon to be at least fair, and 33.7% thought the rela-

tionship excellent. One in twenty found the relationship poor or very poor. Since this status is new in the Church, the Bishops' survey did not investigate this relationship.

Nor did the Bishops' survey deal with seminary deacons who now spend six months in a parish as apprentices at the beginning of their last year in the seminary. Conventional wisdom criticizes these men as insecure, self-interested and seminary-oriented, which is probably an accurate evaluation, yet, 90.5% of the priests in this study reported at least fair relationships with seminary deacons and 38.1% saw the relationship as excellent.

Relationships with rectory staff (usually female) was seen as at least fair by 99.3% in this study and 48.6% thought the relationship was excellent. This report is higher than the national study in which 34% said the relationship was excellent and 4% found the relationship to be poor or very poor. Today, fewer rectories have housekeepers or cooks, while the secretary becomes part of the parish team. More is expected of the secretary and she has become invaluable to the parish staff.

#13. In general, how would you describe your present personal relationship with the others in the rectory?

(N.B.) In this summary of the responses, those reporting the relationship to be "excellent", "good" or "fair" are combined in the word "positive".

Table 5.6 Comparison of Bishops Study and This Study on Relationships in Rectory

Key: E = Excellent
 POS = Positive (Combining "Excellent,"
 "Good" or "Fair")
 P/VP = Poor or Very Poor

	BISHOPS STUDY		THIS STUDY		
	E	P/VP	E	POS	P/VP
(A) Pastor	30.0	15.0	40.0	89.4	10.7
(B) Associate(s)	43.0	3.0	36.2	94.8	5.2
(C) Resident Priests	37.0	4.0	36.4	93.6	6.4
(D) Permanent Deacon	-	-	33.7	94.8	5.2
(E) Seminary Deacon	-	-	38.1	90.5	9.5
(F) Rectory Lay Help	34.0	4.0	48.6	99.3	0.7

Priests get along well with each other and with others on the parish staff. Any of the animosities which often happen in business or other professions are absent in the parish relationships. Priests have to work together in their parish ministry. At times there are disagreements, but the evidence shows that they still like one another. Where people get along well with one another, the morale is high. The evidence shows that this is the situation in the rectories of the diocese of Chicago.

Another indicator of priestly morale is sought in the responses to the questions "With whom do you prefer to spend your day off?" (Circle as many as apply):

Table 5.7 With Whom Respondents Spend Free Time

Other priests	- 67.2%	By myself	- 26.3%
Laity	- 44.0%	Does not matter	- 11.8%
Family	- 45.9%	I do not take a day off	- 10.8%

Priests feel at home with one another, a sign of high morale. They can enjoy each other's company and relax with those who share the same status as themselves, a sign that they are comfortable in their priesthood.

Priests also visit their families, especially as their parents get older. Some priests have formed friendships with lay people with whom they can relate well and with whom they feel comfortable. These interpersonal relations build up morale. However, the great majority prefer to spend their free time with others who share the same life and ideals.

Conclusions

The important issue of morale indicates attitudes and ambitions about statuses within the institutional church and also among those who work together in the

parish setting. When priests feel good about themselves, their interpersonal relationships and the institution, their morale is high. When these relationships deteriorate, morale is poor. Because the respondents to this questionnaire report their morale to be high, they have the necessary confidence to seek attainable goals and statuses within the Church structure. Or, they may seek to remain at a lower status, since they have security in themselves and in their relationship to the ecclesiastical institution.

Chicago priests rated themselves highly with regard to other professionals, their work, their goals, their seeking of recruits, their interpersonal relations including those with others involved in parish ministry. Chicago priests indicate that they are happy and that they find much satisfaction in priestly roles. The logical conclusion should be that the Chicago priests would seek the pastorate where they would have more responsibility about parochial work. Since their morale is high, if the priests of the Archdiocese of Chicago do not seek to become or to remain pastors, then the answer is not to be found in their morale.

CHAPTER VI

PRIEST AS PROFESSIONAL

Since the data in the previous chapters demonstrated the high morale of the Chicago priests and their love of priestly work, it would not be out of place to ask why all priests do not seek the pastorate, which would bind them more closely to these priestly functions which they like?

To answer this question an examination is to be made of the data within the framework of Hesser's diagram of the social environments influencing religious professionals. This chapter deals with the "Priest as Professional."

The concept of priest as professional evolves as societal and ecclesiastical demands change, so priests themselves can define their professionalism in various behavioral patterns, which may or not include the pastorate.

Excluded from this study are the data on priests in religious orders (9.1% of all respondents), since their primary orientation is toward the religious community. The remaining cases were divided according to the categories

of (1) those ordained before 1960 (258 cases), (2) those ordained from 1960-67 (79 cases), and (3) those ordained from 1968-82 (211 cases).

Priests ordained before 1960 knew the Pre-Vatican II Church very well. They could be pastors if they so desired unless they had some problem in the diocese or their own personal life. They have both the seniority and experience.

Priests ordained between 1960 and 1967 are at the age when they are generally eligible for being appointed pastors in the diocese of Chicago. Some in fact currently serve as pastors (cf. Appendix), but the majority are still preparing for this status, if they decide to accept the pastorate. Priests ordained from 1960-67 are considered "senior associate pastors" and can anticipate appointments to their own parishes as pastors soon unless they refuse the pastorate.

Those ordained from 1968-82 would be considered the young priests of the Diocese. Only eight of the 211 currently are pastors. Vatican II was ending as they began their studies in theology. Cardinal Cody appointed a new rector, with a Ph.D. in psychology, to the Major Seminary in 1965; he discontinued the highly structured norms and the extreme discipline which had prevailed in seminaries for over two hundred years. The rector wanted

a more relaxed social and educational environment, so that these men could mature through interaction with one another and within parochial environments. Part of their training would take place in the parishes of the diocese as well as in the seminary. By 1968 the new rector had been in office for three years, allowing time for his programs to develop among the students. Many new faculty members were added who were diocesan priests (for years the Jesuits had been the principal teachers). Neither these new faculty members nor the rector had ever been a pastor. These changes in staffing and regimen meant that priests were now oriented toward interaction among one another, while under the Jesuits the seminarians were oriented toward their life in a parish. The new faculty members went through sensitivity training at centers all over the nation. The faculty said they wanted to help remove any inadequacy which the young priest might feel in the presence of his pastor, other pastors of the Diocese, and his parishioners. This was the manifest function of this sensitivity interaction. A latent function could be that priests were not oriented to the parish and parochial roles.²⁵

²⁵ Not only a problem at the Diocesan seminary as indicated by the study Equals Before God: Seminarians as Humanistic Professionals, Kleinman, Sherryl (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1984).

In his definition of professionalism, Parsons (1951) includes among his criteria a "service orientation" that places the needs of the patient or client above the practitioner's "self-interest." For the young priest from the seminary this could mean his ability to interact with others so they could develop as spiritual and charitable persons. For older priests this criterion includes the ability to organize a parish both spritually and financially, even though some feelings may be hurt of sensitive parishioners who feel that the priest does not take enough time to listen to them.

This chapter will study this component of professionalism under both aspects. Three hypotheses will be examined in this chapter. The first deals with the authority structure of the parish. In the long literature section on the pastorate, the history was narrated to show how the pastor accumulated power within his parish both from Canon Law and tradition. The more authority a priest has, the more he is able to set his own goals and means to those goals both within and outside the parish to which he is assigned.

A study of changes toward pastoral authority will include the following:

1. An examination of responses to a question asking if associate pastors had changed in their attitudes toward

pastoral authority. If priests other than the pastor have the authority to set their own goals in the parish, then pastoral authority decreases. Greeley wrote (1974:103) "there is overwhelming evidence that priests want to see a much wider distribution of the use of authority in the Church".

2. Question #18 asks whether priests think associate pastors have increased their parochial and personal power. After the Hall and Schneider 1965 study was submitted to the Diocese of Hartford, the personnel board of that diocese decreed

Every priest, by the nature of his office, should have the opportunity for a direct share in pastoral leadership and the pastor-curate relationship as we have known it should therefore be abolished, since it is sociologically, psychologically, and theologically unsound. (1969:21 and printed in capitals).

While this decree was important for the well-being of associate pastors, the question arises of its consequences for the pastoral status. If the pastor-associate relationship is eliminated, the question arises why should a priest take on the added responsibilities of the pastorate? Why should a priest take full responsibility for the management of a parish, when the priest assigned to help this pastor has the authority to set his own goals, even if they are contrary to the goals set by the pastor?

The second hypothesis, namely, whether priests resign or refuse the pastorate because they perceive other

religious and the laity of the parish as interfering with their administrative and sacramental functions, extends the issue of pastoral authority to other religious and the laity. The religious persons included both permanent deacons and nuns in the school, who can be perceived as desirous of sharing parochial power, since the deacon is an ordained man and the nun is a professional in the field of education. Many laity today belong to parish councils, finance committees and/or school boards whose functions are to form policies within the parish. Chapter I called attention to the great power the pastor enjoyed in his parish in Chicago before Vatican II, since he was considered the full time professional with great experience.

Both of these hypotheses, namely, that pastors reject or resign the pastoral status because they perceive a decrease in traditional pastoral authority and second, that they perceive other religious and laity interfering with their administrative and sacramental functions, can also be interpreted from the frame of reference of interpersonal relationships, seeking to know how the pastor and his associate pastor interact with one another, and also how the pastor and associate pastor regard lay participation in conducting the affairs of the parish and also the power which is possessed by the deacons and nuns in the school.

3. The issues treated in the third hypothesis are the

roles which give personal and priestly fulfillment including administering finances and the physical maintenance of the parish, two primary responsibilities of a pastor.

If the pastor perceives that his authority is decreasing because associate pastors or others share in this authority, and if priests find other professional roles give them both priestly and personal satisfaction, then priests will reject/resign from this middle management status because its demands exceed its rewards.

HYPOTHESIS I: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned from this middle management status, because they perceive a decrease in traditional pastoral authority.

The authority factor upon which this hypothesis is based is analyzed under two of the components of authority, namely control over the actions of one's life, and secondly, sufficient personal fulfillment in one's present status. As Hall and Schneider wrote:

We conclude that authority is the central explanatory concept in understanding the amount of psychological success the priest experiences. This conclusion is based on the fact that priests, especially curates, are unable to describe any aspect of their careers without authority....We would also conclude from their mean scores on skill utilization and work satisfaction that the average level of psychological success among assistant pastors is quite low. (pp. 108-109)

Concerning control over one's life, Hall and Schneider concluded that the assistant (associate pastor) depended on his pastor's authority and the way the pastor

used that authority to describe his own (i.e. the associate pastor's) sense of success. The results of this present study conducted fourteen years later manifest significantly different conclusions from those of Hall and Schneider. Has the associate pastor changed in his attitudes toward pastoral authority? Hall and Schneider found that assistants had little authority and little work satisfaction. In Chapter V the data show that priests, even associates, found their work fascinating and rewarding. The cause can be that the associate now has more authority as Tables 6.1 and 6.2 indicate.

Table 6.1 Changes in Attitudes Toward Pastoral Authority

	ASSOCIATE PASTORS Changes in attitudes toward pastoral authority	
	%	(n)
All respondents	90.5	(485) ^A
Ordained before 1960	98.8	(251)
Ordained 1960-67	97.4	(76)
Ordained 1968-82	77.5	(158)

^A Fifty-one respondents reported "No Change" and 12 priests did not answer this question.

Almost all of those ordained before 1960 think

that there has been a change in attitude toward pastoral authority, and more than three of every four of the young priests. Has there been a real change in the relationship between pastor and associate pastor since Vatican II?

To answer this question two questions in the research design asked whether associate pastors had more parochial authority now and more individual power now than they did when the respondents were ordained. Even though authority and power are distinct sociological concepts, the term "power" in this context is used to denote the "ability to do or act, the capability of doing or accomplishing something."²⁶ Even if a priest does not have the explicit authority to act in a particular situation, he feels that he has the power to act and to act in a legitimate manner, as if he had the authority, since the pastor does not forbid the action (as will be indicated in Chapter VII).

If the associate pastor has more parochial power, then he shares part of the authority of the pastor which diminishes the complete control formerly held by all pastors. If the associate pastor has more individual power, then he has the autonomy to make personal decisions about his lifestyle and this is one of the characteristics of a

professional. The associate pastor would be more professional, since he has more power to decide his ministry and his lifestyle, privileges which associate pastors did not have before Vatican II.

Table 6.2 Whether the associate pastor has more parochial and more personal power today than he did when he was ordained.

ASSOCIATE PASTORS

	MORE PAROCHIAL POWER TODAY (than when ordained)		MORE INDIVIDUAL POWER TODAY (than when ordained)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
All respondents	60.6	(326) ^A	87.6	(474) ^B
Ordained before 1960	72.2	(182)	93.3	(237)
Ordained 1960-67	58.4*	(45)	88.4*	(69)
Ordained 1967-82	47.4	(99)	80.4	(168)

* These sub-sample proportions are not significantly different from the all-respondents proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

^A One hundred and sixty three disagreed, 49 did not know, 10 did not answer this question.

^B Forty-six respondents disagreed, 21 did not know, and 7 did not answer this question.

Sixty-one percent of all respondents thought the associate pastor has more parochial power. Younger priests had not seen as much change in the parish, but

even then almost half of these priests felt they had more parochial power than when ordained. These parochial powers of the younger priests are not defined. Some of these powers may be negative, that is, the authority to tell the pastor that he does not perform certain roles e.g. teach religion in a grammar school or coach a grammar school basketball team. Positive powers of the associate pastor in the parish could be the use of his skills and talents, e.g. in liturgical music or church art, so that most of his time is spent in these special fields.

Most priests including eighty percent of the young priests claimed that the associate pastor has more individual power, such as freedom to study at a local university, select a style of dress, bringing friends to his room in the rectory, as well as in his use of his free time. The priest today has more freedom of choice in his parish work and even more in his personal life. This autonomy is one of the powers sought after for psychological success (Hall and Schneider, p. 222).

The associate pastor is seen to have personal power all by the status cohorts of the Diocese, as the responses to question #18(b) indicate, namely:

"DOES THE ASSOCIATE PASTOR HAVE MORE PERSONAL POWER?"

	%
	8
	AGREE
Chancery Office Officials	100.0%
Pastor with another assignment	97.0%
Pastor without another assignment	93.0%
Associate pastor with other assignment	90.0%
Associate pastor without other assignment	82.0%

Since priests feel that the associate pastor has both personal and individual power, a pastor can wonder why he takes on full responsibility for a parish, since he has only shared authority in that parish. The rewards would have to compensate for the loss of authority.

The second component of the power and authority factors of this hypothesis is the amount of work satisfaction or personal fulfillment which the priest would have in his present status. If personal fulfillment is found in the priest's present work, because he has the power (and assumed authority) to create a form of ministry which is satisfying, then the priest would have to receive more satisfaction and fulfillment in the pastorate, if he were to accept the pastoral status with its added obligations.

A revealing insight comes from the group of priests who answered question #26, for these respondents are not pastors now. At one time they may have been pastors or they may have told the Diocesan Personnel Board that they do not want to be pastors. These priests were

asked why they were not pastors.

Table 6.3 Reasons for Refusing or Resigning the Pastorate

	%	
	very important	very important and somewhat important
I am satisfied with where I am now	49	85
I do not care for administrative work	29	58
There are too few associates to help		50
I would have to go to the inner-city given my age	20	49

Eight-five percent of the respondents said they were not pastors since they were satisfied where they are now. They feel fulfilled in their present status. The rewards of the pastorate would have to increase in proportion to the added responsibilities, if these priests were to become pastors.

To look at this same issue, personal fulfillment, from another angle, questions were asked, first about the growth potential of the priest, and then about his ability to serve the people of God.

Cross-tabulations of the responses on personal growth are divided into five categories, those who work in the Chancery Office for the Ordinary, pastors who also had another official assignment in the Diocese (indicated as

"pastor plus"), those pastors who did not have another official assignment, associate pastors with other official diocesan assignments (indicated as "associate plus"), and those associate pastors without other assignments.

#20: As a person, these days do you believe that you could grow more as pastor or associate pastor? (Circle one code).

	As Pastor	As Associate Pastor	In other diocesan status
Chancery Office	22.2%	11.1%	66.7%
Pastor plus	57.1%	39.3%	3.6%
Pastor only	80.3%	12.4%	7.3%
Associate plus	43.9%	40.9%	15.2%
Associate only	44.7%	45.3%	10.1%

The principal persons of the Diocese hardly view the pastorate as a status for growth, and the associate pastors think they can grow almost as well in their present status as in the pastorate. Almost 40% of the pastors with other diocesan assignments see themselves as able to grow personally as associate pastors. Hall and Schneider (p.222) saw little chance of growth potential for the associate pastor. The respondents to this questionnaire judged differently.

A new development within the Diocese are "sabbaticals", consisting of a period of time for personal growth. These sabbaticals can be from three months to one year in duration. Only associate pastors have been grant-

ed sabbaticals as of this writing. Pastors may have requested sabbaticals but conventional wisdom says the pastor feels too bound to the parish to walk away for some months or a year. Only the associate pastor now has this freedom for such a growth opportunity.

Table 6.4 Status in Which Priests Best Serve People

#21: As a priest, would you serve the people of God better as a pastor or associate pastor? (Circle one code).

	PASTOR	ASSOCIATE PASTOR	OTHER
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
All Respondents ^A	60.3 (318)	25.6 (135)	14.0 (74)
Ordained before 1960	68.5 (168)	20.0 (49)	13.0 (28)
Ordained 1960-67	66.2 (51)	12.9 (10)	20.7 (16)
Ordained 1968-82	48.3 (99)	37.1 (76)	14.6 (30)

^A Twenty-one respondents did not answer this question.

Recently a priest friend complained that the pastorate consists of "care of leaks, lights, locks, and loot". Apparently the young priests recognize the respect which the parishoners have for their pastor, but they also see the pastor concerned about these impersonal onera in the care of the parish. When Vatican II talked about the priesthood, the Bishops of the Council never mentioned holes in the church roof, paying utility bills, etc.. Younger priests see that much of the time of the pastor is

taken up with these impersonal tasks so that the pastor has less time to serve the needs of the people as pastor or shepherd. Thus only 11% of the younger priests (i.e. ordained from 1968 to 1982) responded that there was a difference between their ability to serve the people of God as pastor or as associate pastor.

As pointed out in Chapter II the autonomy and power of the pastor before Vatican II was almost absolute, for he set both policies and programs which were to be carried out by all others in the parish. The data for this hypothesis demonstrate not only that the associate pastor has more personal and parochial authority but also that the majority of these priests find personal fulfillment and job satisfaction in their status as associate pastors.

For a priest to take on the added responsibilities of the pastorate, he would have to have some incentive, some reward which would attract him toward roles which have added onera.

HYPOTHESIS II: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle management pastoral status because they perceive other religious and the laity of the parish as interfering with their administrative and sacramental functions.

Catholic grammar-school education has increasingly become more sophisticated and nuns in the school more

professional. In the 1980s, two-thirds of the schools have a nun principal with a lay faculty, since there are not sufficient nuns any more to teach in the classrooms. (9,606 nuns in Chicago in 1965 and 5,162 in Chicago, today). At one time in his role as religious leader in the parish the pastor established guidelines in educational policy. Now nuns have higher degrees in education and often in theology. Many of these who attend summer institutes in education or theology/scripture studies have more current knowledge than their pastors. Some nuns today want to leave the classrooms to become "pastoral associates" and perform all the priestly roles available to them. This professionalism can be a threat to a pastor.

A pastor generally regards the permanent deacon as his aide, since most deacons look for direction in ministry. However, there are many stories in the diocese of the young associate pastor being envious of the permanent deacon, who is close to the pastor and usually a professional in his own field.

Table 6.5 Other Religious and Their Relationship to the Priest

	NUNS IN THE SCHOOL as helpful (vs. interfering and obstructive)		PERMANENT DEACONS (positive relationship of priests with the deacons)	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
All respondents	83.5	(419) ^A	94.6	(265) ^B
Ordained before 1960	92.0	(207)	89.5	(128)
Ordained 1960-67	71.2	(52)	100.0	(35)
Ordained 1968-82	79.9	(163)	95.3*	(102)

* These sub-sample proportions are not significantly different from the all-respondents proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

A 39 respondents reported negative relationships with nuns. 44 were neutral and 46 did not answer the question.

B Fifteen respondents reported negative relationships with permanent deacons. 194 said the situation did not apply (the parish did not have a permanent deacon) and 74 did not answer the question.

The evidence is contrary to the second hypothesis and to conventional wisdom. Nuns are viewed as helpful by over eight of ten respondents and by over nine in ten of the older priests. Why only 71% of those ordained between 1960-67 judge nuns to be helpful is not clear, since, as will be seen later, most priests prefer parishes with parochial schools. Note that nuns rank as high as the Ordinary in the diocese and higher than Chancery Office officials in being helpful (cf. Chapter VIII).

The permanent deacons have higher ranking than

nuns in the school. Conventional wisdom erred, for ninety-five percent of the young priests had a positive relationship with the permanent deacon(s), which is a higher percentage than the percentage of pastors who had a positive relationship with their deacon(s). Priests get along well with their permanent deacon(s).

Also affecting pastoral authority are parish councils. The laity share in parish policy making, use of parish finances and policies in the school. While many pastors may want the advice of professionals on their parish council, every priest would want the laity to do more than advise. They would want the laity to also take some of the responsibility for the carrying out of these policies and programs within the parish.

If a pastor finds that he is getting good advice and that the laity are also willing to work with the pastor in parochial programs, then a pastor would feel rewarded. If all goes well in these programs, the pastor is seen as a success. Parochial accomplishment of goals has always been attributed to the pastor, (cf. Chicago Catholic, passim) even when the associate pastor or others did most of the work. If, however, the council gives bad advice and does not work on the programs, then the pastor is judged to have failed in that policy or program.

**Table 6.6 Parish councils and pastoral satisfaction.
Laity sharing in parochial responsibility.**

	PARISH COUNCILS				INCREASE IN	
	make pastor's job more satisfying		helpful (versus interfering and obstructive)		LAITY'S SENSE OF PAROCHIAL RESPONSIBILITY	
	%	(n)	%	(n)	%	(n)
All respondents	72.4	(370) ^A	50.3	(237) ^B	73.2	(397) ^C
Ordained before 1960	72.8*	(177)	58.0	(122)	76.0*	(194)
Ordained 1960-67	88.0	(66)	61.1	(41)	82.0	(64)
Ordained 1968-82	65.8	(127)	38.2	(74)	66.5	(139)

* These sub-sample proportions are significantly different from the all-respondents proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

A One hundred and forty-one respondents said the parish council did not make a change and 37 did not reply.

B Seventy-seven respondents gave negative responses to parish councils; 157 were neutral and 77 did not respond.

C One hundred and nineteen respondents said the laity's sense of parochial responsibility had not changed; 26 gave negative reports and six did not answer.

Seventy-two percent of the Diocesan priests responded that lay boards had made the job of pastor more satisfying. The young priests of the Diocese felt less sure about this. For those about to become pastors, 88

percent agreed that the lay boards made the job of pastor more satisfying. Since they are close to the pastorate themselves and thus more concerned about pastoral decisions, they would probably tend to agree with the lay board over against a conservative pastor.

When the priests were asked if the laity's sense of parochial responsibility had increased since Vatican II, 73 percent of all respondents agreed, with only 66 percent of those ordained from 1968-82 agreeing on this issue.

Half the diocesan priests (50.3%) responded that parish councils are helpful to the priest (versus interfering and obstructive). Among those now on the verge of becoming pastors (ordained from 1960-67) this percentage rises to 61%. The reasons are probably the same as given above. Young priests of the Diocese (ordained from 1968-82) were less willing to agree that parish councils are helpful, for only 38.2 percent gave positive responses to this question.

Amazingly enough, over two of every three priests found the parish councils as making the pastor's job more satisfying. A smaller percentage found these councils as helpful, probably because parish councils are new in the Diocese and all the details have not been worked out. Sometimes, too, a parish council will try to interfere

with policies that the Diocese reserves to the pastor. It is not uncommon for a member or a group of members of a parish council to have their own "sacred cows" which can be a bother for all on the council and for the pastor.

A large number of priests see the laity as helping with the responsibilities for parochial programs and policies. A higher percentage found the laity as accepting responsibility than found the council making the job of the pastor more satisfying. The laity are working for the good of their parish, as reported by over seven of every ten of the respondents.

In conclusion, the evidence does not all point in one direction in this hypothesis. While seven of ten respondents said that parish councils make the job of pastor more satisfying, only five in ten reported these councils as helpful. Parish councils function positively and not so positively in a parish.

Lay cooperation, however, has increased. The laity, who bring their skills, dedication and time to help their parish, would be gratifying to any pastor. Two of three of the young priests see an increase of lay responsibility, which is significantly lower than the percentage of all respondents. The reasons are not clear, since young priests have great interpersonal skills and should enjoy working with the laity. Perhaps they judge the

laity to be interfering with priestly roles and functions.

HYPOTHESIS III: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle-management status because they perceive themselves as being fulfilled personally and as a minister of the Church through sacramental and/or social roles which do not include the pastorate.

The issue arises as to whether priests can find fulfillment in priestly and personal roles so that they do not need the pastorate to have a sense of well-being. If the associate pastor status satisfied sufficiently, then the priest would not feel a need to take on the middle management status of pastor.

The questionnaire (question #28) listed twenty-three items which are priestly or quasi-priestly, of which sixteen are examined. The last two items in this table include two roles which are part of the responsibility of a pastor and which are not necessarily fulfilled by the associate pastor.

Since some of the younger priests say that they want to remain associate pastors, (Cf. Chapter IX) a comparison of their responses with the responses of the other priests of the Diocese vis-a-vis priestly and quasi-priestly roles may indicate their reasons for preferring this status. In this comparison, some of the traditional roles of the priest as well as some of the more social action-oriented roles and some intellectual roles were

chosen from the questionnaire. The comparisons are listed in Table 6.7.

An examination of these priestly and quasi-priestly roles which traditionally have given fulfillment to priests may give us some insights into the reasons that many priests and especially younger priests refuse or resign the pastorate. Some priestly roles are traditional to all age groups of priests, such as visiting the sick, preparing and delivering sermons, supporting the causes of minorities, and also small group discussions on issues of faith or Catholic behavioral patterns. It seems good to discuss some of these issues which the data clarify.

First of all, the younger priests (ordained from 1968-82) do not say they find visiting the sick to be as important to their priestly ministry as do older priests. Older priests may know from experience that hospital visits can be consoling to the family, especially at those times that the patient seems comatose or semi-comatose. Priests can travel long distances only to find the patient hardly knows the priest is present. The family may be able to convey the message to the patient later. Younger priests do not judge such visits to be as important as older priests. Often younger priests feel that the laity should perform these "corporal acts of mercy".

Significantly fewer of these same young priests

TABLE 6.7 PERSONAL/PRIESTLY FULFILLMENT

	ALL RESPONDENTS		ORDAINED BEFORE 1960		ORDAINED 1960-67		ORDAINED 1968-82	
	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
1. visit sick	90.5 (493)	9.5 (52)	94.9 (242)	5.0 (13)	93.6 (74)	6.3 (5)	83.9 (177)	16.1 (34)
2. help poor	90.8 (494)	9.2 (50)	96.0 (244)	4.0 (10)	94.9 (75)	4.8 (14)	82.9 (175)	17.1 (36)
3. participation in social action or rally	29.2 (159)	70.0 (306)	29.8* (76)	70.1*(179)	35.4 (28)	64.5 (51)	26.1* (55)	73.9*(156)
4. devotions to Mary	42.6 (232)	57.4 (313)	63.1 (161)	37.9 (84)	27.8 (22)	72.1 (57)	18.5 (39)	81.5 (172)
5. small group discussions on spiritual concerns	76.1 (413)	23.9 (130)	75.6*(192)	24.4* (62)	71.7 (56)	28.3 (23)	78.6*(165)	21.4* (45)
6. support causes of minorities	79.8 (435)	20.2 (110)	82.0*(215)	17.9* (46)	71.8 (56)	28.0 (18)	78.1*(164)	21.9* (46)
7. sermons	98.4 (537)	1.6 (9)	98.4*(252)	1.6* (4)	98.7*(78)	1.2* (1)	98.1*(207)	1.8* (4)
8. visit the mentally ill	60.3 (328)	39.7 (216)	70.9*(180)	29.1 (74)	53.1 (42)	46.8 (37)	50.2 (106)	49.8 (105)
9. personal regular confession	47.4 (258)	52.5 (286)	61.6 (159)	38.4 (98)	27.8 (22)	72.1 (57)	37.6 (79)	62.4 (131)

TABLE 6.7 PERSONAL/PRIESTLY FULFILLMENT (Continued)

	ALL RESPONDENTS		ORDAINED BEFORE 1960		ORDAINED 1960-67		ORDAINED 1968-82	
	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this	Important or very important	Not very important or I do not do this
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
10. being with close friends	96.5 (527)	3.5 (19)	95.7*(246)	4.3* (11)	98.7 (77)	1.3 (1)	96.7*(204)	3.3* (7)
11. literature, drama, arts	72.5 (395)	27.5 (150)	62.0 (158)	38.4 (95)	74.7*(59)	24.1*(19)	84.4 (178)	15.6 (33)
12. teaching in parochial school	68.1 (372)	31.9 (174)	73.8 (189)	26.2 (67)	64.6*(51)	35.4*(28)	62.6 (132)	37.4 (79)
13. teaching in other than parochial school	28.3 (154)	71.7 (390)	25.2* (64)	74.8*(190)	25.3*(20)	74.7*(59)	33.2 (70)	66.8 (141)
14. helping anti- nuclear or pro- peace movements	38.1 (207)	61.9 (337)	39.8*(101)	60.2*(153)	30.4 (24)	69.6 (55)	38.9* (82)	61.1*(129)
15. administering finances of the parish	62.0 (338)	38.0 (207)	80.9 (207)	20.1 (53)	57.0 (45)	43.0 (30)	41.0 (86)	59.0 (121)
16. maintaining physical care of parish	71.2 (388)	28.8 (157)	86.0 (221)	14.0 (36)	68.4*(54)	31.6*(25)	54.1 (113)	45.9 (96)

* = These sub-sample proportions are not significantly different from the all-respondents proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

say helping the poor is important. Perhaps they feel that they have their own bills to pay, or perhaps they have been duped at one time or another because of inexperience, and fewer of them help the poor.

The Catholic population in general has felt great devotion to Mary. Less than two in ten of these younger priests have the same devotion. Also for the priests who are preparing to enter the pastorate, less than three in ten practice devotions to Mary such as the rosary, scapular, Marian shrines, etc. If these priests do not change because of pressure from the laity, then these devotions will pass from Catholic custom.

Few confessions are heard in churches today. Almost half the priests said that they themselves confessed regularly (at least once a month). Over six of ten of the priests ordained before 1960 continued that practice. Less than two in ten of the young priests themselves confessed regularly. Without their interest, confessions may also be on the way out.

The question arises whether the younger priests are interested in social movements as many other young people of their generation (between 26 and 40 years of age). Seventy-eight percent of the younger priests of this study considered as important helping the people of the city of Chicago see the needs of minorities. The

anti-nuclear warfare groups in Chicago are composed mainly of young people. Again the young priests of Chicago reflected the average of all the priests of the diocese in protesting nuclear armaments or pro-peace demonstrations.

When asked about administering the finances of the parish, 62% of all priests said they performed this role, vs. only 41% of the younger priests. Fifty-seven percent of those priests whose age cohort is entering the pastorate have this experience of administering the finances of the parish. Associated with the finances of the parish is parish maintenance. Seventy-one percent of all the priests shared this responsibility, but the percentage dropped to 54% for the younger priests.

Finally, the younger priests were more concerned with the arts: literature, drama, films, etc. than the older priests. The younger priests today can get undergraduate degrees in these fields, thus increasing their interest. Also many young priests today come from homes where at least one parent is a college graduate, while parents of older priests, like most of their contemporaries, did not attend college, so their concern for the arts is possibly not as intense.

A question arises concerning the value system of the younger priests. Since they do not share the concern of the older priests for the traditional priestly or

quasi-priestly roles, what are their real concerns? This question may give insights into the reasons why they are not seeking the pastorate. They do not exhibit the traditional pastoral value system and so do not seek the pastorate.

The great majority of priests find both priestly and personal satisfaction in traditional priestly or quasi-priestly roles. The data indicate that older priests find significantly more fulfillment in administering the finances of the parish and physical maintenance of the buildings. They may be resigned to these duties and trying to get some satisfaction from them. Or the reason may be the satisfaction which comes from having the money to pay the bills, hear the praises of people who on Sunday see a clean attractive church with flowers on the lawn or a snow-plowed parking lot.

CONCLUSIONS

Attitudes toward pastoral authority have changed since Vatican II diminishing the total power the pastor had before the Council. Associate pastors have more parochial and personal power. However, this shared authority can be functional and rewarding for a pastor, whose prestige may increase as the nuns govern a good parochial school and deacons do some of the work of

the pastor. Parish councils make the pastor's job more satisfying even though these councils are not always helpful. The laity assist the pastor by taking on more responsibility.

Priests like to perform priestly roles. They find these roles important in producing both priestly and personal fulfillment. Priests could seek the pastorate, where they would be officially designated to perform these roles. The priest who accepts the pastorate however also takes on other responsibilities for maintaining the parish without having full control over the parish.

Three complex hypotheses were used to examine professionalism, the first parameter of the Hesser diagram. The pastor has always been considered the professional in the parish. Those priests under him were professionals-in-training until they left their pastors to become pastors of their own parishes. Now with their increased power over their priestly and personal life all priests can be considered professionals with its accompanying social status and rewards. Rewards for being a pastor would have to increase, if a priest were to take on the added responsibilities of the pastorate.

CHAPTER VII
SOCIETY AND THE PASTORATE
INTRODUCTION

In Chapter Two the story of the evolving Church in Chicago is told. A history of recent events in the Diocese of Chicago is narrated indicating that the number of priests is declining, fewer young priests are being ordained, and the average age of the priests is increasing.

Large parishes in the Diocese with over fifteen hundred families demand an extremely busy sacramental ministry of Masses, baptisms, weddings and funerals, which all take up much time. Associate pastors do much of this ministry. With the shortage of priests and some parishes having only one or no associate pastor, this ministry falls principally upon the pastor.

The Diocese of Chicago establishes new parishes as the Catholic population increases in those developing areas of the diocese where there are too many parishioners to be handled by one parish. Besides the busy sacramental ministry a pastor is also engaged in constructing a church, rectory and perhaps school, convent and meeting hall/gymnasium. The responsibilities of working with

architect and contractor and paying for the construction falls upon the pastor. Usually he assigns as much as possible of the sacramental work to an associate pastor. With the shortage of priests both construction and ministry obligations become the responsibility of the pastor.

Another issue to be considered is demographic change in the city of Chicago and the distribution of Catholics within the Diocese. Churches within the city proper are getting older, need more repairs, while the new dwellers in the city are principally non-Catholic or non-practicing Catholics of different racial/ethnic origins than the priest.

Parishes with grammar schools have a busier schedule than those without the school. The question of seeking parishes without these schools was asked, for a priest, with the shortage of priests, can find the workload too difficult.

Rural parishes are not as busy as urban parishes, but these parishes can be lonely places for the priest. Priests were asked about being pastors in rural areas of the diocese with an associate pastor and without an associate pastor.

Hesser wrote that society can influence the role of pastor. This second parameter of his paradigm is interpreted in this chapter as being the social environ-

ment, namely the decreasing number of priests working in the parishes and the racial and ethnic changes in the Diocese. This present study examines these issues to see if the priests judge the reward of being pastor in these environments are commensurate to the added labors of the society in which the Church in Chicago finds itself.

HYPOTHESIS IV: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle-management status because they perceive the sacramental ministry as making overwhelming demands on them due to the shortage of clergy and the decrease of religious vocations.

Table 7.1 Positive and Negative Responses of Priests on Beginning a Suburban Parish

	BEGIN A SUBURBAN PARISH	
	Positive or Very Positive % (n)	Negative or Very Negative % (n)
All Respondents	43.9 (234)	36.3 (194) ^A
Ordained Before 1960	36.1 (90)	43.0 (107)
Ordained 1960-67	48.0 (37)	32.4 (25)
Ordained 1968-82	51.7 (107)	30.0 (62)

A. One hundred and five respondents were neutral on this issue and fifteen did not answer the question.

Table 7.2 Positive and Negative responses of Priests on being Pastor of a Large Urban Suburban Parish.

	PASTOR OF A LARGE URBAN/SURURBAN PARISH	
	Positive or Very Positive % (n)	Negative or Very Negative % (n)
All Respondents	51.1 (272)	32.9 (175) ^A
Ordained Before 1960	48.0 (120)	34.0 (85)
Ordained 1960-67	64.0 (48)	21.3 (16)
Ordained 1968-82	50.2 (104)	35.8 (74)

A. Eighty-five respondents were neutral on this issue and sixteen did not answer the question.

Table 7.3 Positive and Negative Responses of Priests on Being a Pastor of Parishes With and Without a Parochial School

	PASTOR OF A PARISH WITH A SCHOOL		PASTOR OF A PARISH WITHOUT A SCHOOL	
	Positive or Very Positive % (n)	Negative or Very Negative % (n)	Positive or Very Positive % (n)	Positive or Very Negative % (n)
All Respondents	64.2 (343)	18.9 (101) ^A	53.9 (292)	24.4 (130) ^A
Ordained Before 1960	61.0 (153)	19.9 (50)	53.4 (133)	28.1 (70)
Ordained 1960-67	67.5 (52)	18.1 (14)	61.0 (47)	16.9 (13)
Ordained 1968-82	67.0 (138)	18.0 (37)	54.4 (112)	22.8 (47)

A. Ninety respondents were neutral on this issue and 14 did not answer the question.

B. One hundred and ten respondents were neutral on this issue and 16 did not answer the question.

Table 7.4 Positive and Negative Responses of Priests on Being Pastor of a Rural Parish With or Without an Associate Pastor.

	PASTOR OF A RURAL PARISH WITH AN ASSOCIATE		PASTOR OF A RURAL PARISH WITHOUT AN ASSOCIATE	
	Positive or Very Positive % (n)	Negative or Very Negative % (n)	Positive or Very Positive % (n)	Positive or Very Negative % (n)
All Respondents	56.6 (319)	25.8 (138) ^A	47.0 (252)	37.5 (201) ^B
Ordained Before 1960	63.7 (160)	24.7 (62)	51.1 (129)	32.1 (81)
Ordained 1960-67	59.7 (46)	20.8 (16)	50.6 (39)	35.0 (27)
Ordained 1968-82	54.6 (113)	29.0 (60)	40.6 (84)	44.9 (93)

A. Seventy-eight respondents were neutral on this issue and 13 did not respond to this question.

B. Eight-three respondents were neutral on this question and 12 did not answer the question.

NEW PARISH

Forty-four percent of all priests judge building a suburban parish to be sufficient reward for undertaking the work of construction and ministry. Younger priests, anxious to express themselves in creative ways, reported they were more eager to begin a new parish in the suburbs than older priests who, presumably, judge the costs as greater than the rewards, although over one in three of

over one in three of these older priests would begin a suburban parish.

LARGE URBAN/SUBURBAN PARISHES

Being a pastor of a large urban/suburban parish (1500 or more families with only one associate) attracted more than half the respondents, while less than a third were negative or very negative about these pastorates. Almost two of three of these priests who are about to take on their first pastorate judged the rewards to be greater than the costs. Again, older priests and just about the same percentage of the young priests were less anxious to take on this heavy parochial responsibility. Both groups see these parishes as "factories" with almost assembly-line demands. Priests about to become pastors have added energies which enable them to judge these prestigious parishes to be worth the cost.

PARISHES WITH/WITHOUT SCHOOLS

Even though almost two of three priests reported positive feelings about being pastor of a parish with a parochial school, over half the priests and over six of ten of those priests about to become pastors reported positive feelings about being pastors of parishes without

school. The evidence is mixed.

Pastors ordinarily appoint one of their associate pastors to be the parish liaison with the school. Chapter III explains how a school could seriously drain the income from the Sunday collections. Despite the added work, priests prefer to be pastors of parishes with a school presumably because of the value system internalized by diocesan priests, namely that a parish is incomplete without a school and secondly, because the priests have a high regard for parochial school education. Ordinarily parochial schools attract parents of school-age children to parish organizations. Parents are more active in a parish while their children are in the parochial school.

Because the parish school is expensive, and because a parish school makes a parish a more active group, priests are ambivalent about taking parishes with schools, which may account for the confusing evidence in the responses. It is functional to have an active parish, but a school which drains the financial reserves of the parish is dysfunctional to the parish.

RURAL PARISHES

The Diocese of Chicago has few rural parishes, yet almost six of ten priests put a value on these parishes, if there is an associate pastor. Fewer priests would seek

a rural parish without an associate pastor. The two hundred and fifty-two priests who would be pastors in these parishes are over eight times the number of rural parishes in the diocese.

CONCLUSIONS

The data indicate that, even though a significant number of priests refuse or have resigned the pastorate, the Diocese of Chicago still has enough priests who want to be pastor to fill every pastorate in the Diocese. However, the pastorate, like every middle-management status, needs persons who can work well with the authority structure and with the other persons in the association. Not everyone has leadership skills. Since one-third of the priests were negative about beginning suburban parishes and almost one-third would not want to be pastor of a large urban/suburban parish, then the Diocese has fewer priests from whom to choose for these important statuses.

Slightly over one-half of the young priests would begin a new suburban parish which would more than satisfy the demand for pastors in these parishes. However, the question arises why thirty percent of young priests reported negative or very negative feelings about beginning such a parish. If Hall and Schneider (1973:228) are

correct in saying priests do not mind the enormity of the task when they have autonomy and support, then, applying the principles of Exchange Theory, the conclusion would be that thirty percent of the young priests judge the reward system to be insufficient for these priests (and the percentage increases with the age of the respondents) to begin a suburban parish. The same problem exists for the 30% of the young priests who do not want to be pastors in a large urban/suburban parish.

Over sixty percent of all priests would be pastors in parishes with schools, and less than one in five would be negative about being pastors in such parishes. Conventional wisdom says that the cost of maintaining a school is so overwhelming that priests prefer parishes without schools. Over half the priests would be pastors of parishes without schools, but this is ten percent less than the number of priests who want a parish with a parochial school. Conventional wisdom erred in this case.

Rural parishes with an associate pastor was a choice for almost six of ten priests and almost half the priests even if the parish did not have an associate. In absolute numbers more priests would prefer serving in a rural parish with an associate than beginning a suburban parish or being pastor of a large urban/suburban parish. More of the older priests would come to be pastors of

rural parishes without an associate than begin a suburban parish or be pastor of a large urban/suburban parish.

With some experience priests know which are the difficult pastorates in a Diocese and which are less difficult. Priests would accept difficult pastorates under Exchange Theory principles with adequate support and reward systems.

The pastorate has an internal reward system which comes from the personal satisfaction of administering a parish and from the respect of the people. These qualities are found in every parish more or less, and so this hypothesis had to go beyond these rewards to show the need for a greater external reward system.

With the increasing shortage of priestly manpower more and more priests are judging that the work load exceeds the reward system. If these same questions had been asked before Vatican II, when the Diocese had five hundred more Diocesan priests than it now has, priests would have found it an honor to be pastor in a large urban or suburban parish presumably, since only one percent of those who could be pastors at that time were not. Priests would have been honored if they had the opportunity to build their own parishes according to their own dreams, for these pastors had many associates (called "assistants" then) to carry out the ministerial work while the pastor

performed the middle-management roles. The pastor set the policies, approved the programs and saw to it that his directions were carried out by others. The data show that fifty percent of the priests who are not pastors gave the reason of not enough associate pastors to help. They see the problems of directing these large parishes without sufficient priestly help.

HYPOTHESIS V: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle-management status, because they perceive they would be ineffective pastors in the inner-city with its aging buildings and their own inability to understand the life style of the black and Hispanic populations.

Less than one percent of the priests in the diocese active in parochial assignments are black or Hispanic. Still a large proportion of the residents of the Diocesan territory belong to these minority groups. Five percent of the black population in the Diocese is Catholic (about 75,000 persons) and between ten and fifteen percent of the Hispanics are practicing Catholics (50,000 to 60,000 persons). Many of these minority persons live in the inner-city with large, aging churches which suffer from chronic maintenance problems.

This present study distinguishes between black and Hispanic minorities to see if priests would prefer to minister to one group rather than the other. The other

distinction made in this chapter is between the status of pastor and associate pastor. The associate pastor must create his own ministry in these parishes, since the congregation is small and there is not much sacramental work to be performed. However, the work for a pastor increases in the inner-city, since he must operate in an environment where the income is small on Sunday and the maintenance bills are high in the aging buildings. Many of these old churches were built at a time when the neighborhoods were filled with Catholics, and so these enormous structures cost a lot of money to light and heat for just the few parishioners who now come to the parish.

A question was asked which tried to neutralize the larger income, better buildings, and crowded congregations of the more affluent parishes, namely whether priests would be pastors of these parishes if they were given an associate pastor and a financial subsidy from the Diocese. An added question concerned some incentive for the priests in these inner-city parishes to encourage them to undertake ministry in an environment much different than the environment in which they were socialized. Finally a question on black and Latino power was asked to see how much influence these movements would have on the decision of a priest to work in the inner-city.

While sixty-eight percent of the priests said they

would be pastor of a "good" metropolitan parish, 26 percent would be pastor of a black parish and 19% of an Hispanic parish. Seventeen percent were very negative to the issue of being pastor in a black parish and 24.9% to being pastor in an Hispanic parish. For those priests ordained before 1960, 21% would be pastor of a black parish and almost the same percentage (21%) were very negative on the idea. Sixteen percent of these same priests would be pastor of an Hispanic parish and almost twice that number, 30%, were very negative on the idea.

Those priests about to enter the pastorate should know that they cannot begin with an "ideal" parish but should work up to this dream church. In former times, the first pastorate was usually in the rural farm areas of Illinois, and only when the priest had proven himself was he given an urban parish, and finally a "grand parish" on the boulevard. Less than one-third of the priests entering the pastorate, 33%, would accept a pastorate in the black parishes, and 18% of these priests would pastor in an Hispanic parish. Thirty percent of the young priests (ordained 1968-82) would be pastors of black parishes and 22.0% of Hispanic parishes.

When the question was asked about being pastor of one of these inner-city parishes with a subsidy to help minimize the problem of economics, and having an associate

pastor to aid with the work and be a companion, the percentages increased by only one or two points. The hypothesis stands that the majority of the priests just do not find their ministry in the inner-city.

As corroboration of this point, when the priests were asked if they would be the associate pastor in these inner-city parishes, the percentage who would go to a black parish increased to only 30% and for the Hispanic parishes to 23%. The largest increase among priests who would be associate pastors in the inner-city are the young priests whose percentages rose to 41% who would go to black parishes and 32.9% who would be associates in an Hispanic parish. For those about to become pastors, the percentages went down about five points.

Table 7.5 Responses of Priests on Being Pastor in the Inner-City

	BLACK PARISH		HISPANIC PARISH	
	Postive % (n)	Very Negative % (n)	Positive % (n)	Very Negative % (n)
All Respondents	26.2 (139)	17.0 (90) ^A	19.2 (102)	24.9 (132) ^A
Ordained Before 1960	21.0 (52)	20.6 (51)	15.6 (39)	30.4 (76)
Ordained 1960-67	32.9 (25)	18.4 (14)	23.7 (18)	27.6 (21)
Ordained 1968-82	30.1 (62)	12.1 (25)	22.0 (45)	17.1 (35)

- A. Two hundred and five respondents were "negative" on this issue, 96 neutral and 18 did not answer the question.
- B. Two hundred and three respondents were "negative" on this issue, 94 neutral and 17 did not answer the question.

Table 7.6 Responses of Priests on Being an Inner-City Pastor with Associate and Subsidy

INNER-CITY PASTOR WITH ASSOCIATE AND SUBSIDY

	Black Parish		Hispanic Parish	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
All Respondents	27.3	(145) ^C	21.4	(114) ^D
Ordained Before 1960	22.1	(55)	16.8	(42)
Ordained 1960-67	30.3	(23)	27.6	(21)
Ordained 1968-82	32.4	(67)	24.6	(51)

- C. One hundred and seventy-five respondents were "negative" on this issue, 122 neutral and 16 did not answer the question.
- D. One hundred and ninety-four respondents were "negative" on this issue, 104 neutral and 15 did not answer the question.

Table 7.7 Responses of Priests on Being an Associate Pastor in the Inner-City

	Black Parish % (n)	Very Negative % (n)	Hispanic Parish % (n)	Very Negative % (n)
All Respondents	29.9 (159)	17.9 (95) ^A	23.1 (122)	24.6 (130) ^B
Ordained Before 1960	21.5 (53)	24.7 (61)	16.3 (40)	33.1 (81)
Ordained 1960-67	26.0 (20)	20.8 (16)	18.4 (14)	30.3 (23)
Ordained 1968-82	41.5 (86)	8.7 (18)	32.9 (68)	12.6 (26)

- A. One hundred and fifty-one respondents were "negative" on this issue, 126 neutral and 27 did not answer the question.
- B. One hundred and eight-two respondents reported "negative" on this issue, 94 neutral and 20 did not answer the question.

Almost as a corollary to this hypothesis about priests not feeling comfortable in inner-city parishes because of the different life style, two more questions were asked to give further insight. The first question had to do with special incentives for those priests assigned to inner-city parishes. The supposition would be that those priests who would least like to be assigned to the inner-city would be most likely to want special incentives, since these priests would consider the environment to be alien to their experiences, and worthy of special

reward.

Sixty percent of all priests thought some special incentives should be given to priests in inner-city work. For those young priests, of whom over two of five said they would go to a black parish and over three of ten said they would take an assignment in an Hispanic parish, 55% were for special incentives. Since these priests were most open toward inner-city assignments, one would hypothesize a smaller percentage than the percentage of all priests on this issue of incentives. Almost ten percent more (64%) of those priests ordained before 1960 approved special incentives, and this group had the lowest percentage of priests willing to serve in the inner-city.

The other item about which the priests were questioned vis-a-vis different life styles were the issues of "black power" and "latino power" movements. Thirty-two percent of all priests reported favorable opinions about such movements, even though these priests could not belong to the movements, since they were neither black nor hispanic. It would be hoped that those priests most willing to serve in the inner-city would not be less threatened by such movements.

Ethnic or racial social movements have a power function. Thirty-eight younger priests were not threatened by these powerful, unstructured, and unpredictable

movements which can often cause fear in those of a different social-class or ethnic origin. The younger priests were more comfortable with assignments in the inner-city and also with black/Latino power movements. These same young priests also reported that they did not think priests serving in these communities should have special incentives.

Table 7.8 Special Incentives for Priests in the Inner City

	SPECIAL INCENTIVES FOR PRIESTS IN THE INNER CITY	
	Favorable Responses	
	%	(n)
All Respondents	60.5	(321) ^A
Ordained Before 1960	64.5	(160)
Ordained 1960-67	63.2	(48)
Ordained 1968-82	54.6	(113)

A. One hundred and twenty-one respondents were "neutral" on this issue, 89 negative and 17 did not respond.

Table 7.9 Minority Groups Power Movements and the Priest

	BLACK/LATINO POWER MOVEMENTS	
	Favorable Responses %	(n)
All Respondents	31.9	(169) ^A
Ordained Before 1960	24.3	(60)
Ordained 1960-67	40.8	(31)
Ordained 1968-82	37.9	(78)

A. One hundred and fifty-five respondents said they were "neutral" on this issue, 205 negative, and 19 did not answer the question.

CONCLUSIONS

The most notable factor in this hypothesis is the small percentage of priests who would seek assignments in the inner-city. Even with the added incentives which would make an inner-city parish comparable with an urban parish, priests said, if effect, that the ethnic subculture is too alien to them. The thought that priests would come into the inner-city as associates was not fulfilled. The Personnel Board knows the difficulties of filling pastorates or other inner-city assignments.

One hundred and thirty-nine priests would be pastors in black inner-city parishes but almost half these priests are among the younger priests who do not have the

experience which managing an inner-city parish requires.

The supposition that an incentive of an associate pastor and financial subsidy would attract priests was not proven from the data. The percentage of priests who would be pastors in the inner-city parishes under these circumstances rose slightly more than 1% for black parishes and a little over 2% for Hispanic parishes. Even the percentage of those priests who would go to the inner-city as associate pastors increased by only four percent when the incentive of a financial subsidy for the parish was added.

Sixty percent of the respondents approved special incentives for those in the inner-city. These incentives were not identified. Older priests felt slightly more positive about such incentives, for some of them in the past had been assigned to these parishes.

Less than one-third of the priests felt comfortable with minority power movements. Such movements are often anti-dominant groups and can be a threat to a priest who is not from that minority group. Just about the same number of priests approved these power movements as the number who would accept an inner-city assignment.

The second factor of Hesser's diagram of those environments which influence the pastor is "society." The data in this hypotheses demonstrated that those forces which affect the society also affect the pastorate.

Chicago is becoming more and more a city in which minorities dominate the population. The parishes of Chicago see the change going on year after year. More priests are needed for this missionary ministry. As yet no reward system or motivation has been devised which will bring more priests to the inner-city.

If a postscript may be added here, it would be that this chapter does not intend to denigrate the priests of Chicago, for they are dedicated men. Social forces do influence priests, which is what sociology is all about. There are many priests in the inner-city, both in black and Latino parishes. Some have been in these parishes for over thirty years and have no intention of taking other assignments. Those priests who are not in these inner-city parishes feel that they would be ineffective ministers, since the subcultures are alien to them.

CHAPTER VIII

THE PASTOR AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION

HYPOTHESIS VI: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject this middle-management status, because of perceived increasing pastoral administrative tasks.

The questionnaire was mailed to the Chicago priests six months after Joseph Cardinal Bernardin arrived in Chicago and won the hearts of the priests (his opening speech: "I am Joseph your brother") and of the City of Chicago (his talk to the civic leaders and Catholic laity: "If E.T. had visited Chicago this summer"). The euphoria was still in the air from the popularity which the Cardinal enjoyed and still enjoys from his clergy. The Cardinal had not as yet appointed his own selections for the administrative and agency officials of the diocese. The officials in charge at the time this questionnaire was received cooperated completely with the questionnaire. Appointments were given; letters to officials were answered; and the Chancery Office had been renamed as the Pastoral Center of the Diocese.

Eighty-one percent of all priests (82% of those

ordained before 1960, 79% of those ordained between 1960-1967, and 80% of those ordained from 1968-82) reported the Ordinary as "helpful" ("interfering and obstructive" were at the other end of this eleven point scale), and 27% of all the priests thought the Ordinary "most helpful". Ten percent were neutral about the new Cardinal, probably waiting to see what his policies would be. The other 9% expressed negative opinions about the "helpfulness" of the Ordinary.

The Chancery Office staff did not rank as high as the Ordinary, yet 77% of all priests found the officials in the Chancery Office to be "helpful" (84% of those ordained before 1960 concurred, as did 77% of those ordained between 1960-67, and 69% of those ordained between 1968-82). Thirteen percent of all priest respondents reported these officials as "most helpful".

However, when asked if the Chancery Office had made the job of pastor more difficult than it was in the ten years ago, 42% agreed. At this time Cardinal Bernardin and his financial advisors had not made public the "Annual Parish Report" which is due about the middle of July. Actually, Cardinal Bernardin's financial advisors did not change the annual report for 1982, but that information was not available at the time of this questionnaire.

Another question asked of all priests was whether the Chancery Office gave pastors the same support and rewards as before Vatican II, only 17% agreed. Pastors did not have the same rapport with Chancery Office officials or the same rewards as indicated in Chapter II. Forty-seven percent of the priest respondents said that administering and keeping the financial resources of a parish were very important or important to their spiritual and personal fulfillment. Still, as reported above, four out of ten thought the Chancery Office made the administrative job more difficult and only one in six reported that the diocesan officials gave pastors the support and rewards of earlier times in the diocese.

The great bulk of the administrative work is the task of the pastor. Associate pastors feel that they are assigned to a parish for only a few years, and so finances and other administrative jobs belong to the "head" of the parish. Finance committees assist the pastor in making and keeping the budget. Today each parish must have an accountant. Yet the responsible person is the pastor who must pay the bills, maintain the buildings and erect new structures, if needed. Without a sufficient reward system and with the increasing responsibilities, pastors can and do walk away from these administrative obligations by resigning the pastorate and returning to the associate

pastor status or taking another status within the diocese.

One question in the questionnaire concerned sources of dissatisfaction in the priest's life and 62% of the respondents said that administrative work caused some or great dissatisfaction. Fifty-six percent thought the same about being responsible for the financial well-being of the parish. Even though there can be a feeling of satisfaction for doing a good administrative job (so said 47% of priests), this administrative work can be a source of dissatisfaction when it is taken for granted or not rewarded, as an even greater number of priests reported.

Table 8.1 Evaluation of the Ordinary

	ORDINARY		
	Helpful % (n)	Most Helpful ^A % (n)	Obstruc- tive % (n)
All Respondents	80.9 (433)	26.7 (143)	8.6 (46)
Ordained Before 1960	82.2 (203)	32.4 (80)	9.3 (23)
Ordained 1960-67	79.5* (62)	25.6* (20)	7.7 (6)
Ordained 1968-82	80.0* (168)	20.5 (43)	8.1 (17)

* = These sub-sample proportions are not significantly different from the all-respondents proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

A. "Most Helpful" is one of the categories of "Helpful", and its sub-population is included in the total number of respondents who report the Ordinary as being helpful.

Table 8.2 Evaluation of the Chancery Office and Other Officials

	CHANCERY OFFICE AND DEPARTMENT HEAD OFFICIALS					
	Helpful % (n)		Most Helpful ^A % (n)		Obstruc- tive % (n)	
All Respondents	76.9	(413)	12.8	(69)	14.3	(77)
Ordained Before 1960	83.7	(210)	21.1	(53)	10.3	(26)
Ordained 1960-67	76.6	(59)	9.0	(7)	13.0	(10)
Ordained 1968-82	68.9	(144)	4.3	(9)	19.6	(41)

A. "Most Helpful" is one of the categories of "Helpful", and its sub-population is included in the total number of respondents who report the Chancery Office officials as being helpful.

Table 8.3 Chancery Office and Pastoral Work

	MAKE PASTORS WORK MORE DIFFICULT	
	Agree % (n)	Disagree Strongly % (n)
All Respondents	42.4 (225)	4.9 (26) ^A
Ordained Before 1960	52.1 (131)	7.1 (18)
Ordained 1960-67	39.0 (30)	3.9 (3)
Ordained 1968-82	31.2 (64)	2.4 (5)

A. One hundred and twenty-five respondents said they disagreed with this statement, 157 had no opinion and 15 did not answer.

Table 8.4 Chancery Office and Pastoral Rewards

	GIVE PASTORS SUPPORT AND REWARDS AS BEFORE VATICAN II	
	Agree % (n)	Disagree Strongly % (n)
All Respondents	16.9 (90)	13.6 (72)
Ordained Before 1960	26.0 (65)	14.0*(35)
Ordained 1960-67	11.7 (9)	15.6 (12)
Ordained 1968-82	7.8 (16)	12.3 (25)

* - These sub-sample proportions are not significantly different from the all-respondent proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

A. One hundred and sixty-seven disagreed with this statement, 202 had no opinion and 17 did not answer the question.

Not long after the final sessions of Vatican II and the coming of Cardinal Cody to the city, the Archdiocese of Chicago instituted a mandatory retirement age of seventy years with an optional retirement at the age of sixty-five (but with a smaller pension). The question arose of the effect of retirement on priests vis-a-vis the pastorate. Many priests had sufficient savings to allow them "to follow the sun" and retire in a warmer climate. Others stayed in their own rectories where new pastors

could install new policies and programs. As Chapter II pointed out, the associate pastor does not have either the power or the authority to affect the guiding principles of the parish. The associate pastor seeks his sphere of influence within a segment of the parish or outside the parish. He is usually not emotionally involved in the formation of parish policies, and so he is not "hurt" if changes in plans or programs take place. Retired pastors can be affected but associate pastors rarely are.

However, the mandatory age of retirement did not seriously influence the decisions of the priest respondents vis-a-vis the pastorate. Ninety-five percent said that the retirement age did not cause them to have second thoughts about becoming pastors. However, of those priests ordained before 1960 (who mainly are pastors), 8% said that retirement did influence their opinions about the pastorate. Of those priests who are just becoming pastors (ordained 1960-67), 4% said that retirement gave them something to consider about the pastorate. Three percent of the young priests responded that retirement would influence their thoughts about the pastorate.

Table 8.5 Mandatory Retirement and the Pastorate

	MANDATORY RETIREMENT MAKES A PRIEST HAVE SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT BEING A PASTOR	
	Agree or Strongly Agree %	(n)
All respondents ^A	5.5	(29)
Ordained before 1960	8.0	(20)
Ordained 1960-67	4.0	(3)
Ordained 1968-82	2.9	(6)

A. Three hundred and fifty-three respondents disagreed with this statement, 149 had no opinion and 17 did not answer the question.

CONCLUSIONS

The final parameter in the Hesser paradigm is the church structure or the ecclesiastical organization. In this present study the reference is the Ordinary, his Chancery Office and other Diocesan officials.

To repeat, the premise on which this study is developed is Exchange Theory, which maintains that if an action is sufficiently rewarding, then that action will be repeated. The Ordinary and his Chancery Office supply the external rewards to the priests of the Diocese. The internal well-being which comes from performing spiritual and/or corporal works of mercy are available to every

priest. This study seeks to find if the present Diocesan reward system suffices to make priests want to become or remain pastors, since rewards ordinarily come from work related reference persons.

Even though the great majority of priests found the Ordinary to be helpful, and over three-quarters of them reported the Chancery Office and other Diocesan officials as helpful, almost half of these same respondents declared that the Chancery Office had made the job of the pastor more difficult. Part of the problem is the normal increasing bureaucratization of any organization, but part of the problem is the loss of the interpersonal relationship between Diocesan officials and the pastors of the Diocese.

In Exchange Theory principles the increased workload would be acceptable, if the rewards were commensurate. Only one priest in seven reported that pastors were given the same support and rewards as before Vatican II. Of the priests who know the Chicago Church in pre-and post-Vatican II, 26% said pastors were given the same support now as in the past. The great majority of them will remain pastors even though they did not find an equivalent reward system as previous pastors had. Since priests report that the Diocese makes the pastors job more difficult now, the reward system should have increased,

but instead this reward system decreased.

More will be said on priests and the pastoral status in the next chapter. The data indicate that the pastor has lost his absolute authority in the parish, has fewer associate pastors, more often has a parish among an minority group (70 parishes in 1968 and 130 in 1982), and the Chancery Office make his job more difficult. All these added burdens should have brought about an increased external reward system from the Diocese, and this has not happened. The reward and support system of the Diocese has decreased, and more priests reject/resign the pastorate.

CHAPTER IX

PRIESTS AND THE PASTORATE

According to Exchange Theory principles, if priests find sufficient fulfillment in their present non-pastoral role-set, the rewards for being pastor would have to increase proportionately to encourage priests to become pastors. This chapter evaluates the attitudes of the Chicago priests vis-a-vis the pastorate in itself. The way priests think of the pastorate itself and how significant this status is for them is examined.

Table 9.1 presents the responses to four of the five parts of question #19 in the questionnaire. The responses were tabulated from those who had strong positive feelings on the issue to those who had strong negative feelings on this issue. Included in Table 9.1 are those who had positive feelings on this issue and those who had strong negative feelings on the issue.

Table 9.1 Attitudes Toward the Pastorate

P A S T O R A T E

	as ideal status % (n)	strongly disagree this to be the ideal status % (n)	think all priests want to be pastors % (n)	think all priests should be pastors % (n)	disagree strongly that all priests should be pastors % (n)	encourage priests to become pastors % (n)
		A	B		C	D
All respondents	62.4 (338)	10.1 (190)	67.0 (364)	31.7 (536)	31.1 (169)	72.5 (562)
Ordained before 1960	75.0 (189)	6.7 (17)	74.7 (189)	41.8 (106)	21.3 (54)	83.5 (213)
Ordained 1960-67	59.4* (47)	8.8* (7)	67.0* (53)	36.7 (29)	30.3* (24)	74.0* (57)
Ordained 1968-82	48.3 (102)	14.7 (31)	57.8 (122)	17.5 (37)	43.1 (91)	58.6 (123)

* These sub-sample proportions are not significantly different from the all-respondents proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

- A. Eighty-four respondents said they disagreed somewhat with this statement, 65 were uncertain and six did not answer the question.
- B. Sixty-seven priests said they disagreed with this statement, 112 were uncertain and 5 did not answer the question.
- C. One hundred and fifty respondents disagreed with this statement, 49 were uncertain and five did not answer the question.
- D. Seventy respondents said they disagreed with this statement, 79 were uncertain, and six did not answer the question.

Over six in ten priests judged the pastorate as the ideal objective status for all priests. Over two of three priests also thought all priests want to be pastors. The percentage of those who thought all priests wanted to become pastors increased to 75% for those older priests who are of an age to be pastors. They most probably reflected their own mind-set or perhaps they listened to the younger priests tell them how they would lead a parish when they became pastors.

Among the younger priests, the percentage who judged the pastorate to be the ideal status dropped to 48%. Even though 58% of these priests (cf. Table 9.2) said they had positive feelings about the pastorate today, these young priests will be of pastoral age when the total number of priests in the Diocese has significantly decreased. If the work load of the pastor at that time has significantly increased and more share the pastoral authority, the question could arise whether almost six of ten of them would still desire to become pastors. The rewards for being a pastor would have to increase or else the Diocese will have to insist that become pastors. The Diocese could end up with pastorates being filled by priests who are not the most experienced or who would not serve the best interest of the parish/Diocese.

The question whether all priests want to be

pastors was asked to find out in a round-about way how the priest respondents felt about the pastorate, since these respondents would be included among "all the priests". Many priests apparently interpreted the question to mean how they thought other priests want to be pastors, since the percentage who thought all priests wanted to be pastors (67%) is significantly greater than the percentage of priests (62%) who had positive feelings about the pastorate today.

Of the older priests who were socialized toward the pastorate as the goal for all priests, seventy-five percent said that they thought all priests wanted to be pastors. That percentage decreased as the age of the priests decreased whose socialization was toward a priesthood which could or could not include the pastorate.

When the priests were asked whether they thought all priests should be pastors, the great majority (almost seven in ten) disagreed with the proposition. Among the younger priests only one in seven thought all priests should be pastors. The reason could be a personal bad experience they had with a pastor, or perhaps the value system of the younger priests could orient them toward goals other than the pastorate or they know priests who would not make good pastors. The data showed that fewer than one in three thought all priests should be pastors,

and the same percentage strongly disagreed that all priests should become pastors. That priests think not every priest should be a pastor is evident from the data.

When asked whether they would encourage priests to become pastors, over seven out of ten respondents said they would encourage other priests toward the pastorate. A safe presumption would be that priests observing pastors in their rectory life, interacting with the laity, handling finances, organizing parochial groups, etc., would encourage such a priest to become a pastor, for parishes need pastors of this caliber. The pastorate requires the best men as this present study has maintained. However, to encourage others to be a pastor does not indicate that the encourager himself should be a pastor. More priests would encourage others toward the pastorate than the number who see the pastorate as an ideal status or who said they had positive feelings about the pastorate today.

Table 9.2 Positive Feelings About the Pastorate Now and at the Time of Ordination and Feelings About Being an Associate Pastor

	POSITIVE FEELINGS ABOUT THE PASTORATE TODAY	POSITIVE FEELINGS ABOUT THE PASTORATE AT TIME OF ORDINATION	POSITIVE FEELINGS ABOUT REMAINING ASSOCIATE PASTOR OR RETURNING TO THAT STATUS
	% (n)	% (n)	% (n)
All respondents	60.2 (315) ^A	61.0 (326) ^B	48.7 (258) ^C
Ordained before 1960	59.3* (143)	77.6 (195)	38.9 (97)
Ordained 1960-67	68.8 (53)	51.3 (39)	42.6 (32)
Ordained 1968-82	58.0* (119)	44.4 (92)	62.6 (129)

* These sub-sample proportions are not significantly different from the all-respondents proportions at the 5% level using the "t" test of proportions.

- A. One hundred and seventeen respondents gave negative opinions, 91 neutral, and 25 did not answer the question.
- B. Eighty-seven respondents gave negative opinions, 121 neutral and, 14 did not answer the question.
- C. One hundred and forty-eight respondents gave negative responses to this question, 124 neutral, and 18 did not answer the question.

Sixty percent of the respondents had positive feelings about being a pastor today, and the percentage did not vary much for different ordination groups, except for those now of age to become pastor. There is anxiety at that period of one's priestly career, especially if a priest is passed over for the pastorate and the parish is given to another and perhaps a younger priest. A priest

of this age wants the Personnel Board to call to ask him to become a pastor, even if he does not want that status.

When asked about becoming pastor at the time of ordination 78% of those ordained before Vatican II reported positive feelings about the pastorate. Chapter II described the beliefs and attitudes of priests about becoming pastors before the Council. Interestingly enough, less than 60% of these pre-Vatican II priests have the same feelings today. Having become pastors, if they desired this status and if the priest had no personal/parochial problems, eighteen percent of these older priests no longer see the pastorate as the end of the rainbow. The three preceding chapters enumerated the problems facing pastors, and over one in six priests of pastoral age today is disenchanted with that middle-management status.

It is to be noted that 44% of the young priests felt positive about the pastorate at ordination. At the time of the questionnaire this percentage had increased to 58% of these young priests who felt positive about the pastorate. These feelings, too, were predicted in Chapter I. The question remains why only 44% had positive feelings at ordination time about the pastorate and why only 58% have these positive feelings today about becoming pastors.

Also to be noted is that 63% of these young

priests report positive feelings about remaining associate pastors, which is almost five percentage points more than the number who had positive feelings about becoming a pastor. Almost two of every three young priests felt rewarded in their present status as associate pastors as did almost one half of all the respondents and almost four of ten of the priests with enough seniority to be pastors. Priests may complain about being under a difficult pastor but this did not deter almost half of them from having positive feelings about remaining as associate pastors, and this percentage was only 11% less than the number who had positive feelings about being pastors.

DIOCESAN POSITION AND THE PASTORATE

Some insights into who want to become pastors and who want to remain associate pastors or in some other form of Diocesan ministry can be obtained from the cross-tabulations of the priest respondents. The cross-tabulations divided the respondents according to their status within the Diocesan structure: Chancery Office official, pastors with other diocesan roles, pastors without other diocesan roles, associate pastors with other diocesan roles and associate pastors without other diocesan roles. Their responses are divided into two categories: Agree (Positive, Important) which combines the responses of

those who agree strongly and somewhat, and the other category are those who disagree strongly or are very negative on the issue or who do not find the issue important at all. Responses on issues about the pastorate can be diagrammed as follows:

Table 9.3 Feelings About the Desirability of Being Pastor of a Large Urban/Suburban Parish AND ONE ASSOCIATE According to Diocesan Position*

	Feelings about being pastor of a large urban or suburban parish and one associate	
	Positive % (n)	Very Negative % (n)
Chancery Office person	62.6 (5)	0.0 (0)
Pastor with other role	53.3 (26)	6.7 (2)
Pastor only	53.1 (93)	7.4 (13)
Associate with with other role	44.2 (33)	7.5 (5)
Associate only	51.5 (82)	7.5 (12)

* In all cross-tabulations priests in other ministries (e.g. teaching, social work, are not included)

Table 9.4 Feelings About Desirability of Urban and Suburban Pastorates According to Diocesan Position

	Feelings about being pastor of a self-sufficient urban or suburban parish	
	Positive % (n)	Very Negative % (n)
Chancery Office person	57.3 (4)	0.0 (0)
Pastor with other role	80.0 (24)	0.0 (0)
Pastor only	69.7 (122)	3.4 (6)
Associate with other role	63.7 (42)	7.6 (5)
Associate only	71.1 (113)	4.4 (7)

Table 9.5 Feelings on Desirability of a Pastorate Today According to Diocesan Position

	Feelings about becoming a pastor at this time	
	Positive % (n)	Very Negative % (n)
Chancery Office person	25.0 (3)	25.0 (3)
Pastor with other role	66.6 (18)	0.0 (0)
Pastor only	76.0 (130)	2.3 (4)
Associate with other role	52.3 (34)	12.3 (8)
Associate only	54.0 (87)	11.9 (6)

Even though the total number of Chancery Office officials who responded (N=12) is too small for general discussion, still some observations can be noted. The ambivalence of these official Diocesan personnel about the pastorate would have an effect on other priests who wondered if they should become pastors. Since only 25% of the officials seek the pastorate, then it is easier to see why, from those priests ordained from 1968 to 1982, 25% want to be chancellor or vicar-general, and why over half of them (51%) would like to be seminary professors. The holders of the most prestigious diocese offices do not value the pastorate highly enough at this time to want to be pastors, so why should the other priests seek this status?

Pastors with other roles in the Diocese felt somewhat stronger about being pastors of a self-sufficient parish than those who were only pastors. However, more of these pastors without other roles wanted to be pastors at this time than those who also had other diocesan positions.

Those associates who did not have other Diocesan roles felt more strongly about being pastors of self-sufficient parishes than those priests who had other roles. Having another role can make the associate pastor feel satisfied, and so he does not apply for parishes when

they become available. This point cannot be over stressed, since over six of every ten associates who had another Diocesan job want to be pastors of self-sufficient (i.e., trouble-free) parishes. These associates with other Diocesan jobs usually are more talented, which is the reason they were given the other job. Over one-third of them prefer to remain associate pastors, which means that the diocese may be deprived of their skills in the pastorate.

Table 9.6 Personal Value Placed Upon Associate Pastorate According to Diocesan Position

	DESIRE TO BECOME ASSOCIATE PASTORS	
	Agree % (n)	Disagree Strongly % (n)
Chancery Office person	30.0 (3)	20.0 (2)
Pastor with other role	37.9 (5)	13.8 (4)
Pastor only	44.6 (74)	9.6 (16)
Associate with other role	72.3 (47)	1.5 (1)
Associate only	72.3 (136)	3.1 (5)

Table 9.7 Personal Value Placed Upon Desirability of a Non-Parochial Assignment According to Diocesan Position

	DESIRE A NON-PAROCHIAL ASSIGNMENT			
	Agree		Disagree Strongly	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Chancery Office person	62.5	(5)	25.0	(2)
Pastor with other role	20.0	(6)	66.7	(20)
Pastor only	10.6	(19)	77.2	(139)
Associate with other role	46.3	(31)	37.3	(25)
Associate only	13.5	(22)	65.6	(107)

Table 9.8 Personal Value Placed on Desirability of All Priests Becoming Pastors According to Diocesan Position

	ALL PRIESTS SHOULD BE PASTORS			
	Agree		Disagree Strongly	
	%	(n)	%	(n)
Chancery Office person	20.0	(2)	60.0	(6)
Pastor with other role	33.3	(10)	23.2	(7)
Pastor only	40.4	(74)	23.5	(27)
Associate with other role	23.1	(16)	39.1	(27)
Associate only	21.9	(36)	38.4	(63)

Table 9.9 Feelings on the Desirability of the Pastorate as the Ideal Status According to Diocesan Position

	PASTORATE AS THE IDEAL STATUS	
	Agree % (n)	Disagree Strongly % (n)
Chancery Office person	70.0 (7)	30.0 (3)
Pastor with other role	69.0 (20)	3.8 (4)
Pastor only	65.9 (139)	6.6 (12)
Associate with other role	46.3 (32)	14.5 (10)
Associate only	53.6 (88)	12.2 (20)

The cross-tabulations present a strong case for the principal hypothesis of this paper, namely that there is a middle-management crisis in the Catholic Church in Chicago today. Remembering the notation about the few respondents from the Chancery Office officials, 62% feel positively about being pastors, but only 25% of them wanted to be pastors now. Just as many of them preferred a non-parochial assignment (62%). These are the priests who should be most supportive of pastors, yet they are not eager to become pastors themselves at this time. They see the pastorate as the ideal status for priests (70%), and none of them desired to be an associate pastor; yet in some ways they seem the most naive of all the priests of

the Diocese. They had the largest percentage of priests who preferred being pastor of a large urban or suburban parish with only one associate. Most of the work would fall on the pastor's shoulders as institutional representative, yet these Chancery Office personnel did not perceive this, or perhaps they did not care if the challenge was great. Fewer of them wanted to give up their assignments now. Signals from the Chancery Office personnel might produce confusion and hesitancy in a priest who was uncertain about seeking to be pastor of a parish.

Priests who are already pastors and who have another Diocesan role overwhelmingly see the pastorate as the ideal status (69%), having the largest percentage of those who would like to have a self-sufficient parish. Two-thirds of them felt good about being pastors now; few of them desired to be associate pastors (30%) and even fewer wanted a non-parochial assignment (20%). They felt a strong positive attraction toward their pastoral status, except for the small percentage who feel that they would be happier as associate pastors or even in their non-parochial roles in the Diocese.

Priests who are pastors only had the most positive attitude about the pastorate (76%), although 10% of them reported they did not want to be pastors at this time. Being an associate pastor was attractive to 15% of them

and another 11% wanted other Diocesan roles.

The current problem among the priests of the Diocese is the change in attitude among priests toward the pastorate. Some priests are resigning their pastorates to return to the status of associate pastors. The evidence in this study shows that the concern should be about the younger priests who are not pastors and who prefer the status they now have. While 64% of priests who are associates and who have another role in the Diocese had positive feelings about being pastors in self-sufficient parishes, only slightly more than half of them (52%) wanted to become pastors now. Less than half of them (46%) viewed the pastorate as the ideal status, and the same percentage desired a non-parochial status. Over four out of ten (41%) wanted to remain as associate pastors. Being pastor was not their big attraction at this time.

Those priests who had no other role in the Diocese except as associate pastors felt very strongly about being pastors of a self-sufficient parish (71%); yet only 54% of them wanted to be pastors now. They see the pastorate as the ideal status (54%), still almost half of them wanted to remain as associates, and few of them (13%) wanted another assignment in the diocese. They liked their present status, yet they see the pastorate in their future.

The cross-tabulations demonstrated that not even

half the priests thought all priests should be pastors. There are many reasons, the principal one being that not all priests have the managerial skills needed to be the leader of a flock and simultaneously maintain the buildings and personnel with the contributions of the parishioners. Too many priests have had to work with ineffectual pastors or have heard stories of them, and so priests in general think not all priests should be pastors.

In conclusion, the data show that the vast majority of the priest respondents seek to become pastors of safe, secure parishes (the traditional parish). Yet, a large percentage (59%) wanted to remain associate pastors. Many of them had had to serve as associate pastors because of age or some personal problem, but the percentage of priests refusing/resigning the pastorate should be high enough to cause those in authority to seek the reasons. Twenty-eight percent found satisfaction in teaching in non-parochial schools, and though many were interested in social reform, it would be hard to evaluate that position above their other priestly roles. If the reward system for being a pastor were adequate to the rewards of not being a pastor, then more priests would seek this middle-management status.

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Three times in this research design the question is posed concerning the attitude of the respondents vis-a-vis being an associate pastor. The first occasion is in question #12, when the question comes up among questions of the desire of the priest respondent to be a pastor or to have another status within the Diocesan structure. In the responses to this question, 73% of the respondents sought to be pastors of ordinary parishes. The next closest choice (59%) was to be an associate pastor. The third choice (37%) was to be an urban vicar. These respondents highly valued the status of associate pastor.

The second time the question was asked about being an associate pastor was in questions #18 which follows a series of questions on relationships within the rectory, attitudes towards pastoral authority by both laity and curates, power of associate pastors and the rewards of being a pastor. The priests were asked if they would resign the pastorate to become associate pastors or remain as associate pastors if that was their current status. This time 30% of all respondents agreed with the question,

namely that they would resign the pastorate or that they would remain associate pastors. This percentage increased to 41% of those ordained between 1968 and 1982. Even though 88% of all respondents agreed that associates have more individual power, 30% wanted the status of associate pastor. Note that the next question asked about an appointment in a non-parochial assignment and 23% wanted such an appointment.

The third time the question of being associate pastor emerges was among a series of items about ministry in the inner-city with people of different racial/ethnic origins. This time 59% felt positively about being a pastor today, almost the same percentage as the 60% who in the next questions said they felt positively about being pastors at the time of their ordination. Fifty percent of these respondents in the following questions also felt positive about remaining or returning to the status of associate pastor.

Finally, a critique of each of the hypotheses from the data:

HYPOTHESIS I: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle management status, because they perceive a decrease in traditional pastoral authority.

This hypothesis is based on two factors, namely, personal and parochial power and also on the factor of

being satisfied in one's present status. Ninety percent of all respondents felt that the associate pastors have changed in their attitudes toward pastoral authority since the time when they were ordained. Sixty percent said the associate pastor has more parochial power, that is, he can organize or work with groups within the parish according to this theological and philosophical principles.

Eighty-eight percent of the respondents said that the associate pastor has more individual power, that is, his life-style, his use of free time, his friends, etc.

The second factor of this hypothesis is work-satisfaction or personal fulfillment. Eight-five percent of those priests who refused or resigned the pastorate said they were satisfied in their present status. Fifty-eight percent reported that they did not care to do administrative work. If priests feel the rewards of their present status satisfying, they will be slow to take on the added responsibilities of the pastorate. These priests do not perceive a need for pastoral power and authority. Fifteen years ago newly ordained priests sought the authority to sign parish checks as a symbol of their share in parochial power. Now over half of these priests do not see worrying about utility bills, aid to the school, maintenance issues, etc., as a high priority in their agenda.

It should be remembered that almost three out of four of the respondents (73%) desired to become pastors of traditional urban parishes. However, this desire was not overwhelming, since 59% of these same respondents also desired to be associate pastors (and this percentage vaults to 79% when only those ordained from 1968-82 are tabulated).

Two other questions were also asked to refine the issue of pastoral authority. The first had to do with personal growth. In which status did the respondents feel they could grow more? Forty-five percent of the associate pastors felt they could grow more as an associate pastor. The second question concerned serving the people of God better. While 60% reported they could serve God's people better as pastors, still 37% of those priests ordained between 1978-82 said they could serve better as associate pastors.

The rewards of the pastorate are not to be minimized, nor are the costs. The priests of the Diocese as well as those who have refused/resigned the pastorate feel an ambivalence toward the pastorate. Apparently they would like to be pastors but the costs exceed the rewards. The associate pastor, the chancery office official, the teacher or other office worker in the Diocese has sufficient personal and parochial power to satisfy the

desire for the traditional status as pastor.

HYPOTHESIS II: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle management pastoral status because they perceive other religious and the laity of the parish as interfering with their administrative and sacramental functions.

Conventional wisdom and ecclesiastical literature regard the pastor not only as the seer but also as the powerbroker of the parish. His wisdom seems to be infused at the time of his appointment as pastor. In this tradition all other persons are expected to carry out his charismatic decisions without question. The pastor does not need to consult for wisdom, grace and age have endowed him with a vision with which others cannot compete. Stories still are spread of pastors disbanding parish councils so they (the pastors) could get the parish "going again".

The data denied this conventional wisdom. Seventy-six percent of all priests said that the relationship between priests and laity had improved since Vatican II. Seventy-three percent thought the laity's sense of responsibility for the parish has increased since they were ordained. Seventy-two percent found the laity made the job of pastor more satisfying. Only 16% found parish councils interfering and obstructive, while 50% thought parish councils to be helpful.

With regard to interpersonal relationships, 94%

had positive relationships with those ordained as permanent deacons. Eighty-three percent gave positive ratings to the nuns in the school or parish. Ninety-seven percent of the respondents found satisfaction in the trust of the laity. The least listed source of dissatisfaction for priests was relationships between the parish staff.

This hypothesis was not supported by the data.

HYPOTHESIS III: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle management pastoral status because they perceive themselves as being fulfilled personally and as a minister of the Church through sacramental and/or social roles which do not include the pastorate.

When asked whether the priests could grow more as a pastor or associate pastor, 57% of our respondents said they could grow more as pastor, but only 42% of those ordained between 1968 and 1982 agreed with this position. Twenty-eight percent of all respondents felt they could grow more as associate pastors, and this percentage increased to 43% when those ordained between 1968 and 1982 were asked. Younger priests see themselves as being fulfilled in their present non-pastoral status.

Sixty percent of all respondents said they could serve the people better as pastor, but this percentage dropped to 48% of those priests ordained between 1968 and 1982. While 26% of all priests saw the associate pastor as the backbone of the parish, i.e. serving the people best,

this percentage increased to 37% when the young priests ordained between 1968 and 1982 were interrogated.

As indicated earlier in this chapter 85% of those priests refusing/resigning the pastorate see themselves satisfied in their present status.

When the categories of traditional priestly tasks important to their spiritual development were listed, the younger priests did not vary significantly from all the respondents, except in a few devotions e.g. Marian devotions, and also in parish maintenance and administration. Those tasks which traditionally all priests have found fulfilling their spiritual needs still fulfilled the needs of priests who are not pastors.

In the open-ended questions priests saw their three main tasks as being personal leader, liturgical leader and leader of the spiritual community. All of these roles can be enacted by the associate pastor. The administrative role was ranked fourth in importance among pastoral tasks.

Priests today, and especially younger priests, do not long for that awaited day when they would be appointed pastors. Sixty-two percent of all priests saw the pastor as the ideal priestly status, but only 48% of those ordained between 1968 and 1982 agree with this statement. Only 32% of all priests think that all priests should be

pastors, and this percentage decreased to 17% when the question was asked of those ordained between 1968 and 1982.

Priests today find personal and priestly fulfillment but not necessarily in the pastoral status.

HYPOTHESIS IV: Some priests of the Diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle management pastoral status because they perceive the sacramental ministry as making overwhelming demands on them due to the shortage of clergy and the decrease of religious vocations.

The respondents gave an 87% rating to the associate pastors as being helpful. Ninety-five percent said they had a positive relationship with the associate pastors. Pastors seek associate pastors who will share the parochial labors with them. Each year many more pastors seek associate pastors than the number of available associate pastors.

If an associate pastor or associate pastors are not assigned to assist the pastor, more work falls on the pastor's shoulders, and often the work is overbearing. Among priests who refused/resigned the pastorate 50% said this was an important factor, in fact the third most important factor for them not being pastors.

The logic of priests who refuse/resign the pastorate for lack of associates is reasonable. Since the shortage of associate pastors creates a "sellers market",

these associates can make demands of the pastor e.g. time to study at Universities (81% of those ordained in 1968 et seq. desired such studies), or these associates can refuse other tasks (16% of those ordained between 1968 and 1982 want to work on paying the parish debt). Pastors get along with associates for the reasons given above. If pastors did not get along with their associates, the associate pastor could ask for assignment and the pastor could be left without any priestly help in the parish. Some pastors see the power and independence of the associate pastoral status and choose this lower status because it has both power and independence which pastors do not enjoy.

HYPOTHESIS V: Some priests of the diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject or have resigned this middle management status, because they perceive they would be ineffective pastors in the inner-city with its aging buildings and their own inability to understand the life style of the black and hispanic populations.

Among those priests who refused/resigned the pastorate, the third most important factor (52%) was that the priests would have to accept the pastorate of inner-city parishes. When the Personnel Board sends out lists of parishes seeking pastors, inner-city parishes are always included as needing pastors. Often months after such pastorates are available, they still are not filled. This does not happen with the urban or suburban parishes. No

one knows for certain, for the Personnel Board keeps its meetings confidential, yet the story is that any inner-city parish which has one applicant for the pastorate is sufficient, while an urban or suburban parish must submit three names to the Cardinal who then selects the pastor. Young priests who seek the pastorate early accept these inner-city parishes, or else they wait until their turn comes, and then they can get urban or suburban pastorates.

Twenty-six percent of the priests said they would accept a pastorate in black parishes and 19% in Hispanic parishes. The thought was that if there were abundant rewards (i.e. a financial subsidy and priest associates), more priests would accept these pastorates but the percentage increased to only 27% for black and 21% for Hispanic parishes.

It was also thought that priests would see blacks and Hispanics as they do other Americans (i.e. without any life-style which they would find incomprehensible), and that priests would choose to go to these parishes but in the status of associate pastor to avoid the problems of maintaining aging buildings with small income. Again the increase was meager, the priests who said they would go to black parishes were 30% and 23% for Hispanic parishes from the respondents to this research design.

The great majority of priests find the inner-city

life-style as alien to their own, and so they will not accept these assignments under any condition. Let it be noted that the percentage of respondents who said they would accept such assignments far exceeds the actual percentage of priests now assigned to the inner-city parishes.

HYPOTHESIS VI: Some priests of the diocese of Chicago who qualify for the pastorate both by seniority and experience reject this middle management status, because of perceived increasing pastoral administrative tasks.

This hypothesis can be divided into two sections: first of all, interpersonal relationships with the Archbishop and the Chancery Office; and secondly, administrative roles in the parish. The great majority (80%) of all priest respondents gave positive ratings to the Ordinary and 77% gave these positive ratings to Chancery Office and other diocesan officials.

However, when asked if the Chancery Office as a bureaucracy had made the work of pastor more difficult than the job had been ten years ago, 42% agreed. Associated with responsibilities are rewards, and only 17% said the Chancery Office rewarded and supported pastors as was done before Vatican II.

The data are confusing. The Chancery Office has good interpersonal relations with the priests but it does not support pastors. Less than half the priests thought

the Chancery Office had made the work of the pastor more difficult, yet 62% said that administration caused discontent among priests and was a cause of priestly dissatisfaction. The second most important reason (58.0%) for priests resigning/refusing the pastorate was administration.

The least important reason for refusing/resigning the pastorate was that the Chancery Office was difficult with which to work. Priests find the Chancery Office and other diocesan heads friendly and cooperative, yet they find the bureaucratic demands of administering parishes in the diocese as unpleasant and onerous.

In conclusion, this study based on the principles of Exchange Theory maintains that a reward system for the pastorate must be equivalent to the costs, if priests in general and especially the more respected and experienced priests are to seek this middle-management status.

In pre-Vatican Council II the pastorate in the diocese of Chicago was the most desired status for priests, since the rewards were great from both the diocese and within the parish structure. Since Vatican II transformations have taken place in the Church and also changes in society which Hesser describes as social environments affecting the pastorate. The three environments are (1) clergy-person, herein described as professionalism

in the traditional ecclesiastical sense of pastoral authority and inherently priestly roles; (2) society, or the decreasing number of priests in the diocese and the increasing number of persons of racial/ethnic origins and culture with which the priest is not familiar; (3) religious organization from which emanate an external reward system.

The data did not always point clearly in one direction, but in five of the six hypotheses a significant number of priests indicated they found sufficient reward/reinforcement outside the pastorate or that the obligations of the pastorate had increased beyond any increase in rewards. These priests would not relinquish their associate pastorate or other Diocesan status for a middle-management pastoral status where the rewards did not compensate for the added burdens.

A crisis in the pastorate is not imminent, since a sufficient number of priest respondents indicated they would be pastors in every kind of parish in the Diocese, even if these priests might not be the most respected nor the most experienced. In the future a crisis in the pastorate will develop as the number of priests decline unless a more adequate reward and support system is developed as this present study hypothesized.

St. Paul was not a pastor nor was he a

sociologist. However, he gives some important advice on this dissertation in I Timothy 5:17 (New American Bible translation): "Presbyters who do well as leaders deserve to be paid double, especially those whose work is preaching and teaching." Few pastors seek this financial symbol today, but as St. Paul knew well, their pastoral status is to be recognized and rewarded, if we expect the best of the priests of the Diocese of Chicago to seek this middle-management status.

CRITIQUE

The sociology of religious organizations has often studied priests becoming pastors, but this study is among the first of priests resigning or refusing to be pastors. Because of this refusal of the pastorate, this present study contributes to both the sociology of religion and the sociology of general organizational theory.

With regard to the sociology of religion this paper continues the studies of the effects of Vatican II on priests. While some previous studies were concerned with the defection of priests from active ministry, this paper assumes these priests will continue to work in the Diocese of Chicago, but many will no longer seek the pastoral status. The influences of Vatican II continue to be felt and especially among priests ordained after the conclusion of the Council.

The sociology of organizations within religious institutions is not as popular a study as the study of religious sects by social scientists. Authorities in the field of social organization tend to steer away from religious organizations, since the divine and faith are involved. Those in the sociology of religion are more concerned with the divine and faith in the lives of the

believers than an evaluation of the organizational structure which usually encompasses the concepts of faith and divinity.

This study of the pastoral status is important for the sociology of religion, since the pastor is the middle person between the Bishop and the laity. Religious organizations need proficient middle management. The worshiper ordinarily does not directly relate with the hierarchy nor the hierarchy with the laity. The pastor becomes the catalyst whose skills unite the needs of the parishioners with the organizational requisites of the diocese. The pastor depends on the voluntary contributions of his parishioners, and he also depends on the diocesan approval of his Bishop. The Bishop knows of spiritual status of the people through the pastor and the people know the full episcopal teaching of the Bishop through the pastor. Since the pastorate is essential for the well being of the ecclesiastical organization, studies of the pastorate benefit both the theoretical aspects of the sociology of religion and applied sociology of religion in a most practical form. This paper attacks the problems of the pastorate directly, since it studies those who refuse or resign the pastorate.

In Parson's Theory of Action the concepts of the functional imperatives predominate. Synchronization of

these survival requisites was postulated for meeting system requisites in Action Theory. The functional imperative of latency is concerned with pattern-maintenance and tension management. The inadequacies of the incentive system lead to goal displacement among priests who otherwise would have sought the pastorate. Pattern-maintenance seeks to insure that actions in the social system display the "appropriate" characteristics for the survival of the institution or organization, which in this case would be priests becoming pastors after some years of experience for the continuation of the institution. A more sophisticated laity seek pastoral leadership of the highest caliber. The data demonstrate that those with the highest offices in the Diocese do not seek the pastorate. For the good of the Catholic Church in Chicago the best priests should be pastors.

Tension management is the other issue covered by latency. To insure that the Diocese of Chicago, which is structured around its 440 parishes, is free from strain on pastors an adequate reward system should be maintained. The adage of the lost war because of the loss of a nail meant the loss of a horse shoe, etc., is not out of place. The diocese which should synchronize the development of the pastorate with that of the rest of the Church in Chicago has progressed in many ways.

Whether from the sociology of religion or from the sociology of organizational development the same issues are addressed in this present study with insights for both of these disciplines.

Finally, if the study was being replicated these items should be considered:

- 1) An adequate reward system for the pastorate. This is the weakest part of the paper, for this issue was never fully faced. Some ideas are contained in the supplement, but they are not the product of this study.
- 2) Some ten percent of the priest respondents were disgruntled. They were not happy in their present assignments. Ten percent also were dissatisfied with the Archbishop. Are these the same priests? Who are they? What can the diocese do to make their ministry meaningful and rewarding?
- 3) For reliability it would be necessary to test this study in other urban dioceses. Perhaps the National Council of Catholic Bishops or CARA would undertake this project.
- 4) Nine percent of the respondents are religious order priests whose responses were not studied. A comparison of their responses with those of the diocesan priests would be worthwhile to see how many of the same items are also disturbing to Order priests as they are to

diocesan priests.

A final but important item should be noted. In no way does this present study denigrate the clergy of the Archdiocese of Chicago whose dedication to the Catholic Church is everywhere recognized. This paper attempted to demonstrate the institutional problems of the pastorate today. Priests of Chicago want to perform priestly functions as their responses indicated; and as the data demonstrated, many of them feel they can function better in their ministry without the difficulties of the pastorate.

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A P P E N D I X I

APPENDIX

Questionnaires were sent to all priests of the diocese from the class ordained in 1938 (the majority of whom are sixty-nine years old and still active in parish life) through those ordained in May, 1982. Retired priests who are still active in parish ministry in Chicago also received this questionnaire. The priests were put into three categories: (1) pastor or administrator, (2) former pastor, and (3) non-pastor. A few priests ordained before 1938 have not reached the mandatory retirement age and could be enumerated on this list. However, to do so would mean that their whole ordination class would have to be counted, and since most of these priests are retired, these priests would skew the results. So, those few priests were not tabulated.

Note also that there is no ordination class for the year 1945. An extra year had been added to the seminary curriculum, and 1945 was the year with no priest having completed the new academic requirements.

Those listed as "non-pastors" can be associate pastors or involved in some other diocesan work.

FIGURE III
DISTRIBUTION OF DIOCESAN PRIESTS
ACCORDING TO STATUS FROM 1938 THROUGH 1982

YEAR	PASTORS	FORMER PASTORS	NON-PASTORS	YEAR	PASTORS	FORMER PASTORS	NON-PASTORS
1938	7	18	5	1961	6	0	22
1939	12	10	2	1962	2	0	12
1940	12	5	2	1963	1	0	11
1941	7	5	4	1964	4	0	13
1942	15	5	3	1965	1	1	18
1943	14	5	5	1966	5	0	22
1944	13	5	3	1967	3	0	17
1946	13	2	11	1968	2	0	16
1947	15	2	3	1969	2	0	28
1948	19	1	7	1970	0	0	27
1949	14	0	6	1971	1	0	21
1950	20	0	0	1972	1	1	24
1951	22	0	7	1973	0	0	37
1952	22	4	8	1974	0	0	23
1953	17	0	2	1975	1	1	29
1954	15	0	7	1976	0	0	30
1955	24	0	6	1977	0	0	31
1956	13	0	7	1978	1	0	26
1957	16	1	6	1979	0	0	30
1958	12	1	8	1980	0	0	20
1959	7	0	9	1981	0	0	16
1960	6	0	13	1982	0	0	7

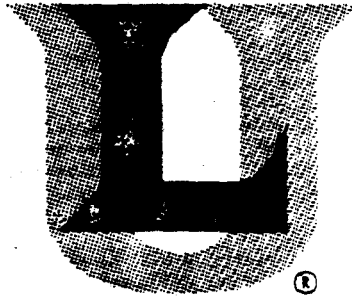
The year 1960 is the median year of all respondents. This year was chosen as a cut-off year, which means that any priest ordained before that time could have been a pastor, unless there were some personal reason or problem which kept him from being a pastor. The Archdiocesan Personnel Board tries to follow seniority, and the priests from the class of 1960 were being chosen for the pastorate at the time of the questionnaire.

Priests ordained near the year 1960 who became pastors would not be assigned to one of the choice parishes of the diocese, but they could be pastors of inner-city ethnic or racial parishes. As in former times, young priests received their first pastoral assignments in the rural areas of Lake County among the small farm communities, so the priest ordained near the year 1960 could have chosen a parish in the heart of Chicago. Already thirty priests who had been ordained after 1960 were pastors, and two of them had even resigned the pastorate.

A final note concerns those priests ordained around the year 1938 and who are listed as "former pastors". Most of these priests are now retired because they chose early retirement or for poor health.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE



LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



Water Tower Campus • 820 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60611 • (312) 670-3000

March 1, 1983

Dear Father:

Would you be so kind as to fill out this questionnaire and return it to me in the enclosed envelope just as soon as possible? If you are looking for a good deed to do during Lent, I would urge your collaboration in this project which intends to tell us somethings about the Catholic priesthood and the pastorate in our own diocese.

I am writing to you as a Ph.D. candidate at Loyola University as well as a fellow priest in our diocese. Cardinal Bernardin has already been informed of this questionnaire.

If you want more information, then please call Dr. William Bates (670-3000; Water Tower Campus of Loyola) or Dr. Kathleen McCourt (274-3000; Lake Shore Campus of Loyola).

Your swift reply will be most appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Tony
(Rev.) Anthony J. Vader

I.D.

Region

1-4/

5/

6-7/

8-9/

1. In what year were you born? 1 _____

10-12/

2. In what year were you ordained? 19 _____

13-14/

3. Are you a member of a religious order?

Yes 1 No 2

15/

4. How many years have you been in your current assignment?

--	--

16-17/

NOTE: Please use the following categories and code numbers to answer questions 5, 6, and 7. Write the number of the appropriate response in the space provided for each question.

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	NUMBERS
Full-time chancery or tribunal official	1
Pastor with special work outside the parish	2
Pastor without special work outside the parish	3
Associate Pastor with special work outside the parish	4
Associate Pastor without special work outside the parish	5
Retired	6
Other (Please describe) _____	7

-2-

5. Which of these best describes the nature of your present assignment?

PLEASE WRITE THE CODE NUMBER HERE

18/

6. Which best describes the nature of the assignment you had before your present one?

PLEASE WRITE THE CODE NUMBER HERE

19/

PLEASE CIRCLE "7" IF YOU HAVE NEVER HAD ANY ASSIGNMENT EXCEPT YOUR CURRENT ONE. 7

7. Which of these has been or would be the most fulfilling assignment for you personally?

PLEASE WRITE THE CODE NUMBER HERE

20/

8. Please circle the response which best describes your situation with regard to your pastorate.

I am not now and have never been a pastor 1

I have been a pastor but am not one now 2

I am now a pastor and have been pastor of (s) parish(es) before this one. 3

This is my first pastorate 4

21.

9. Based on your experience, how would you rate each of the following on the "Interfering vs. Helpful" scale? (Please circle only one number for each.)

	Interfering and										
	Obstructive										Helpful
	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
a) The Ordinary	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
b) Chancery Office Officials and dept. heads	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
c) Assoc. pastors	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
d) Nuns in school	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
e) Parish Councils	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
f) Parishioners or lay people	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5
g) Others. Please specify. _____	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5

22/

23/

24/

25/

26/

27/

28/

-3-

10. Is your current parish:

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|---|-----|
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | A | Pradominantly White | 1 | 29/ |
| | | Pradominantly Black | 2 | |
| | | Pradominantly Hispanic | 3 | |
| | | Mixed combinations | 4 | |
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | B | Suburban | 1 | 30/ |
| | | Inner City | 2 | |
| | | Other | 3 | |
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | C | Middle class | 1 | 31/ |
| | | Working class | 2 | |
| | | Unemployed poor | 3 | |
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | D | Made up mostly of
one ethnic group | 1 | 32/ |
| | | Made up of two or
three main groups | 2 | |
| | | More diverse in
its population | 3 | |

11. Was your last parish: (DO NOT ANSWER IF YOU ARE AT YOUR FIRST ASSIGNMENT)

- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|---|-----|
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | A | Pradominantly White | 1 | 33/ |
| | | Pradominantly Black | 2 | |
| | | Pradominantly Hispanic | 3 | |
| | | Mixed combinations | 4 | |
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | B | Suburban | 1 | 34/ |
| | | Inner city | 2 | |
| | | Other | 3 | |
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | C | Middle class | 1 | 35/ |
| | | Working class | 2 | |
| | | Unemployed poor | 3 | |
| (PLEASE
CIRCLE
ONE) | D | Made up mostly of
one ethnic group | 1 | 36/ |
| | | Made up of two or
three main groups | 2 | |
| | | More diverse in
its population | 3 | |

-4-

12. Although this is a difficult type of question to respond to, please try to express the degree to which you would prefer the following positions in the diocese. (Please circle only one code on each line.)

"I wouldvery much like to be..	..like to be if asked..	not.. care to be..	..object strongly if I were asked to be..	
...the chancellor and/or vicar general	1	2	3	4	37/
...an urban vicar	1	2	3	4	38/
...a professor in a seminary	1	2	3	4	39/
...a rector of a seminary	1	2	3	4	40/
...pastor of a wealthy suburban parish	1	2	3	4	41/
...pastor of an ordinary urban parish	1	2	3	4	42/
...an associate pastor	1	2	3	4	43/
...in another diocesan job i.e. hospital chaplain, Catholic Charities, etc.	1	2	3	4	44/

-5-

13. In general, how would you describe your present personal relationship with the others in the rectory. (Circle one code on each line.)

	Excellent	Good	Fair	Poor	Very Poor	Does not Apply	
a) pastor	1	2	3	4	5	6	45/
b) associate(s)	1	2	3	4	5	6	46/
c) resident priests	1	2	3	4	5	6	47/
d) permanent deacon	1	2	3	4	5	6	48/
e) seminary deacon	1	2	3	4	5	6	49/
f) rectory lay help	1	2	3	4	5	6	50/

14. Think of the changes in the Church since the time of your ordination and please answer the following?

	<u>very much</u>	<u>some change</u>	<u>no change</u>	
a) Have curates changed in their attitudes toward pastoral authority?	1	2	3	51/
b) Has the laity changed in its attitudes toward pastoral authority?	1	2	3	52/
c) Have lay boards (e.g. parish councils) made the job of pastor more satisfying?	1	2	3	53/

15. Since your ordination, would you say that the demands on you from the parish have ...

Increased very much	Increased	About the same	Decreased	Decreased very much	
1	2	3	4	5	54/

-6-

16. Since your ordination, would you say that the rewards of working in a parish have ...

Increased very much	Increased	About the same	Decreased	Decreased very much
1	2	3	4	5

55/

17. Since your ordination, would you say that the laity's sense of responsibility for the parish has ...

Increased very much	Increased	About the same	Decreased	Decreased very much
1	2	3	4	5

56/

18. Please circle the number on each line which comes closest to expressing your own feelings.

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Do not know</u>
a) The associate pastor has more power in the parish.	1	2	3
b) The associate pastor has more power over his own life.	1	2	3
c) You would now want to remain an associate pastor or resign the pastorate to return to being an associate pastor.	1	2	3
d) You would now want a non-parochial assignment in the diocese.	1	2	3

57/

58/

59/

60/

-7-

19. Please circle the number on each line which comes closest to expressing your own feelings about the pastorate.

	<u>Agree</u> <u>strongly</u>	<u>Agree</u> <u>somewhat</u>	<u>Disagree</u> <u>somewhat</u>	<u>Disagree</u> <u>strongly</u>		
a) the ideal status for the priest is that of pastor.	1	2	3	4	5	61/
b) The great majority of priests want to become pastors.	1	2	3	4	5	62/
c) After some years of experience all priests should become pastors.	1	2	3	4	5	63/
d) I would encourage young priests toward becoming pastors.	1	2	3	4	5	64/
e) I would encourage young men to become priests.	1	2	3	4	5	65/

20. As a person, these days do you believe you could grow more as pastor or associate pastor? (Circle one code).
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|------------------|---|-------|---|-----|
| Pastor | 1 | Associate Pastor | 2 | Other | 3 | 66/ |
|--------|---|------------------|---|-------|---|-----|

21. As a priest, could you serve the people of God better as a pastor or associate pastor? (Circle one code).
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|------------------|---|-------|---|-----|
| Pastor | 1 | Associate Pastor | 2 | Other | 3 | 67/ |
|--------|---|------------------|---|-------|---|-----|

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22. Please circle the number on each line that comes closest to expressing your own feelings about the following statements.

Agree Agree Disagree Disagree
 strongly somewhat uncertain somewhat strongly

a) Ordination confers on the priest a new status or a permanent character which makes him essentially different from the laity within the Church. 1 2 3 4 5

68/

b) The idea that the priest is a "man set apart" is a barrier to the full realization of true Christian community. 1 2 3 4 5

69/

c) Most of the laity with whom I work have ideas about what a priest is and what he should do that are very different from my own. 1 2 3 4 5

70/

d) With the new roles for everyone in the Church that have developed since Vatican II, the relationships between priests and laity are much better. 1 2 3 4 5

71/

-9-

23. Changes in policies and programs from the Administrative Center can affect a pastor. Give your feelings about being a pastor today. (Circle one code).

	Agree strongly	Disagree strongly	No opinion	Disagree slightly	Agree slightly	
a) The mandatory retirement age has given me second thoughts about being a pastor.	1	2	3	4	5	72/
b) The Chancery Office has made the administrative job of pastor more difficult than ten years ago.	1	2	3	4	5	73/
c) The Chancery Office has given pastors the same support and rewards as before Vatican II.	1	2	3	4	5	74/

24. Changes in the city of Chicago can affect the pastor. Give your reactions to these changes as they affect a pastor in the Archdiocese of Chicago. (Please circle one code).

	Very Positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very negative	
a) How would you feel about beginning a suburban parish with the decreasing number of associates?	1	2	3	4	5	75/
b) How would you feel about being pastor of a large urban or suburban parish (1500 or more families) with one associate?	1	2	3	4	5	76/
c) How would you feel about being pastor of a parish with a school?	1	2	3	4	5	77/
d) How would you feel about being pastor of a parish without a school?	1	2	3	4	5	78/
e) How would you feel about being pastor in a small rural area of the diocese with one associate?	1	2	3	4	5	79/
f) How would you feel about being pastor in a small rural area of the diocese with no assistant?	1	2	3	4	5	80/

25. Parts of the diocese are changing in population size as well as ethnic and racial composition. This can affect a pastor. Please describe your reactions to the following statements. (Please circle one code.)

	Very Positive	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Very Negative	
a) How would you feel about being pastor of an inner-city black parish?	1	2	3	4	5	5/
b) How would you feel about being pastor of an inner-city Latino parish?	1	2	3	4	5	6/
c) How would you feel about being pastor of an inner-city black parish with a financial subsidy and at least one associate?	1	2	3	4	5	7/
d) How would you feel about being pastor of an inner-city Latino parish with a financial subsidy and at least one associate?	1	2	3	4	5	8/
e) How would you feel about being associate pastor of a black parish?	1	2	3	4	5	9/
f) How would you feel about being associate pastor of a Latino parish?	1	2	3	4	5	10/
g) Do you feel there should be some special incentive for priests in the inner-city?	1	2	3	4	5	11/
h) With present economic hardships, how would you feel about being pastor in a financially self-sufficient urban or suburban parish?	1	2	3	4	5	12/
i) What would be your reaction to "Black Power" or "Latino Power" movements within your parish?	1	2	3	4	5	13/
j) How do you feel about becoming a pastor today?	1	2	3	4	5	14/
k) How did you feel about becoming a pastor when you were ordained?	1	2	3	4	5	15/
l) How do you feel about remaining or returning to associate pastor?	1	2	3	4	5	16/

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TROSE RESPONDENTS WHO ARE NOW PASTORS AND WHO PLAN TO REMAIN PASTORS SHOULD SKIP THIS QUESTION AND GO ON TO QUESTION #27.

26. For those who have never been pastors, or those who have resigned pastorates, or who are considering resigning, please try to describe the importance of each of the following factors in the reasons for not being a pastor.

	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	
	<u>important</u>	<u>important</u>	<u>important</u>	
a) Not enough seniority.	1	2	3	17/
b) Waiting for the "ideal" parish.	1	2	3	18/
c) I would have to go to the inner-city given my age.	1	2	3	19/
d) I am very satisfied with where I am now.	1	2	3	20/
e) Personal problems prevent me from accepting.	1	2	3	21/
f) I do not care to do administrative work.	1	2	3	22/
g) There are too few associates to help.	1	2	3	23/
h) There is too much "bassle" with associates.	1	2	3	24/
i) Lay groups make too many demands on you.	1	2	3	25/
j) The Chancery Office is too difficult to work with.	1	2	3	26/

-12-

27. Think of the professional men you know—for example, doctors, dentists, lawyers. How do you think you as a priest compare to them in regard to the following attributes? (Please circle one code on each line.)

	<u>I</u>	<u>About I</u>	<u>I have</u>	<u>I have</u>	<u>Don't</u>	
	<u>have</u>	<u>the</u>	<u>have</u>	<u>much</u>	<u>Don't</u>	
	<u>more</u>	<u>same</u>	<u>less</u>	<u>less</u>	<u>know</u>	
a) Depth of knowledge and skill	1	2	3	4	5	27/
b) Autonomy to make decisions	1	2	3	4	5	28/
c) Responsibility for an undertaking	1	2	3	4	5	29/
d) Commitment to serving the needs of people	1	2	3	4	5	30/
e) Recognition by the people served	1	2	3	4	5	31/
f) Opportunity for recognition by peers.	1	2	3	4	5	32/
g) General self-satisfaction.	1	2	3	4	5	33/

28. How do you evaluate the following as contributing to your spiritual and personal fulfillment? (Please circle one code on each line.)

	<u>Very</u>	<u>Not very</u>	<u>I do not</u>		
	<u>Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>important</u>	<u>do this</u>	
a) Visiting the sick.	1	2	3	4	34/
b) Helping people who are poor.	1	2	3	4	35/
c) Participating in some significant social action as a rally or a demonstration.	1	2	3	4	36/
d) Private devotions to Mary.	1	2	3	4	37/
e) Small group discussions on spiritual concerns.	1	2	3	4	38/

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28. (CONTINUED)

	<u>Very</u> <u>Important</u>	<u>Important</u>	<u>Not vary</u> <u>important</u>	<u>I do not</u> <u>do this</u>	
f) Supporting the causes of minority peoples.	1	2	3	4	39/
g) Preparing and delivering sermons.	1	2	3	4	40/
h) Active concern for the mentally ill or retarded.	1	2	3	4	41/
i) Regular confessions (at least once monthly).	1	2	3	4	42/
j) Working for better political leadership.	1	2	3	4	43/
k) Spiritual reading	1	2	3	4	44/
l) Providing recreational facilities for the young and the deprived.	1	2	3	4	45/
m) Being with close friends	1	2	3	4	46/
n) Literature, drama, films, etc.	1	2	3	4	47/
o) Personal donations of money to worthy causes.	1	2	3	4	48/
p) Teaching in a parochial school.	1	2	3	4	49/
q) Teaching in other than a parochial school.	1	2	3	4	50/
r) Working for a social organization or a civil rights group.	1	2	3	4	51/
s) Helping anti-nuclear or pro-peace groups.	1	2	3	4	52/

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28. (CONTINUED)

	Very Important	Important	Not very important	I do not do this	
c) Helping the Right to Life Movement	1	2	3	4	53/
u) Maintaining the physical care of a parish.	1	2	3	4	54/
v) Administering and keeping the finan- cial resources of a parish.	1	2	3	4	55/
w) Courses/workshops in continuing edu- cation for the ministry.	1	2	3	4	56/

29. With whom do you prefer to spend your day off? (Circle as many as apply.)

Other priests	1	By myself	4	
Laity	2	Does not matter	5	57/
Family	3	I do not take a day off	6	

30. There are many sources of satisfaction in the life and work of the priest. Please indicate how satisfying each of the following is to you. (Please circle one code on each line.)

	Great satisfaction	Some satisfaction	Little satisfaction	No satisfaction	
a) Administering the Sacraments and pre- siding at Liturgy.	1	2	3	4	58/
b) Respect that comes to the priestly office.	1	2	3	4	59/
c) Working with people to help them increase their faith awareness	1	2	3	4	60/
d) Satisfaction in the organization and ad- ministration of the parish.	1	2	3	4	61/

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30. (CONTINUED)	Great satisfaction	Some satisfaction	Little satisfaction	No satisfaction	
e) Opportunity to exercise intellectual and creative abilities.	1	2	3	4	62/
f) Spiritual security that results from responding to the divine call.	1	2	3	4	63/
g) Challenge of being the leader of the Christian community	1	2	3	4	64/
h) Experiencing the trust of people.	1	2	3	4	65/
i) Working with parish organizations.	1	2	3	4	66/
j) Paying on parish debt or building a new parish building.	1	2	3	4	67/
k) Engaging in efforts at social reform such as civil rights, pro-peace and political movements.	1	2	3	4	68/
l) Opportunity to work with many people and be a part of their lives.	1	2	3	4	69/
m) Organizing lay groups so that they can evangelize others.	1	2	3	4	70/
n) Being part of a community of Christians who work together to share the good news of Christ.	1	2	3	4	71/
o) The well-being that comes from living the common life with like minded confreres.	1	2	3	4	72/

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31. There are also many sources of dissatisfaction in the life and work of a priest. Please indicate the extent to which the following are dissatisfying to you personally. (Please circle one code on each line.)

	Great Dissatis- faction	Some Dissatis- faction	Little Dissatis- faction	No Dissatis- faction	
a) The amount of adminis- tration I have to do in the parish.	1	2	3	4	73/
b) Being responsible for the financial well-being of the parish.	1	2	3	4	74/
c) Relationships among the parish staff.	1	2	3	4	75/
d) Apathy and indiffer- ence among the laity in the parish.	1	2	3	4	76/
e) The vocal minority who are critical.	1	2	3	4	77/
f) Behind the back criticism.	1	2	3	4	78/
g) Other (Please describe).	1	2	3	4	79/

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Deck 03

32. In this question we would like to get some idea about how you feel about your current work. Please circle one answer for each descriptive word. How well does the word describe your job. #1 is not at all well. #5 is very well. (If the word does not apply to your current position, circle #6.)

	Not at all descriptive of my job	1	2	3	4	5	Very descriptive of my job	6 Does not apply	
a) Fascinating		1	2	3	4	5		6	5/
b) Boring		1	2	3	4	5		6	6/
c) Respected		1	2	3	4	5		6	7/
d) Challenging		1	2	3	4	5		6	8/
e) Simple		1	2	3	4	5		6	9/
f) Useful		1	2	3	4	5		6	10/
g) Routine		1	2	3	4	5		6	11/
h) Good		1	2	3	4	5		6	12/
i) Tiresome		1	2	3	4	5		6	13/
j) Frustrating		1	2	3	4	5		6	14/
k) Endless		1	2	3	4	5		6	15/
l) Gives me a sense of accomplishment		1	2	3	4	5		6	16/
m) Satisfying		1	2	3	4	5		6	17/
n) Creative		1	2	3	4	5		6	18/
o) Healthful		1	2	3	4	5		6	19/
p) Pleasant		1	2	3	4	5		6	20/
q) Always on the go.		1	2	3	4	5		6	21/

33. Taking things altogether, how would you say you were these days—would you say you are?

- Very happy 1
- Quite happy 2
- Not too happy 3

22/

34. Compared with your life today, how were things in your last previous assignment, if you had a last previous assignment?

- Happier 1
- About the same 2
- Not quite as happy 3

23/

35. A. Circle the code in Column A following the statement which most accurately reflects your attitude toward recruiting for the priesthood and religious life today.
 B. In Column B, circle the code that comes closest to your attitude four or five years ago.

A	B
Today	4 - 5 yrs. ago

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| a) I actively encourage boys to enter the seminary or novitiate, since I see the priesthood as a very rewarding vocation. | 1 | 1 |
| b) I encourage boys but advise them about the uncertainties surrounding the role of the priest today. | 2 | 2 |
| c) I neither discourage nor encourage boys, but allow them to make up their own minds. | 3 | 3 |
| d) Abstracting from their personal qualities, I tend to discourage boys from entering now and advise them to wait until the future is more certain. | 4 | 4 |
| e) Other (SPECIFY) _____ | 5 | 5 |

24/

25/

-19-

36. People describe their heritage in different ways. Which of the following would you say best describes yours?
(Please circle one code)

Polish-American	1
Irish-American	2
German-American	3
Black-American	4
Hispanic-American	5
Slavic-American	6
Italian-American	7
Other (Please describe)	8
<hr/>	
Mixed Heritage	9

26/

37. How important do you think your nationality or racial heritage is in your work as a priest?

Not at all	_____				Very
Important					Important
1	2	3	4	5	

27/

38. What do you think are the principal tasks of pastors in the Archdiocese of Chicago today? Please answer in your own words.

28-29/

-20-

39. If you were a pastor in the past and are not a pastor now, would you say in your own words what caused this change?

30-33/

40. How would you go about solving the clergy shortage in Chicago? Please answer in your own words.

32-34/

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

A P P E N D I X I I I

ADDENDUM ON POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Amazingly enough, even though Vatican II was called a pastoral council, the decree on the priesthood does not mention either parishes or the pastorate. The National Council of Catholic Bishops should rectify this oversight by supporting and rewarding pastors so that the present parochial structure would continue within the Church. Formerly, the pastorate had in-built support and reward structures which made this status the goal of all priests. Today, many of these support and reward systems are gone.

If the Catholic Church prefers other ecclesiastical structures for Catholics other than the present parochial organization, then the gradual dissolution of the pastorate which has begun should be continued. If the present organizational structure is to be maintained, then this supplement attempts to infuse new support and reward systems within the pastorate.

In the past, the American Catholic Church listened to the complaints of powerlessness, and other just grievances of the assistant pastor. As this paper shows, the pastor formerly could almost retire on the day he took over "his" parish. Today the assistant pastor is rewarded

with the status of associate pastor on the day he arrives in the parish though there is as yet no job description or role-definition for an "associate pastor".

The American Church also has little cognizance or recognition of its own evolving societal issues and organizational systems as they pertain to the pastorate, e.g., fewer priests, increases of diverse racial/ethnic groups to the inner-city, extended diocesan bureaucracies, etc.

In this research design, it was discovered that those priests who had resigned their pastoral status for other jobs in the priesthood did so after much deliberation. These priests judged that the pastorate was not the ultimate goal for them. The support and rewards were not sufficient to keep them in that status which formerly was the ultimate status for all priests. If parochial structures are to be maintained as they presently are organized, all priestly roles should lead to the pastorate which should have the greatest support and reward system.

This dissertation was formulated on Exchange Theory principles which stress rewards as incentives. Often this theory is discussed in economic terms. As the text pointed out, priests are ambivalent about monetary rewards. Authority and the symbols of control were seen as the reward system in this paper. With these ideas in mind the following recommendations are made:

IT IS RECOMMENDED THAT:

- 1) Diocesan authorities should not only get a parochial report each year but there should be an evaluation of the pastor and the parish by the Ordinary (similar to the "ad limina" visit of the bishop to the Pope). The pastor and the Ordinary would work together formulating plans for the parish. Others, as the associate pastor, the parish council, etc. could give suggestions for this meeting. Such control by the pastor in the past has been abused by some pastors and the same problem could arise in the future. However, today with too many pastors feeling helpless, some power and reward structure for them must be constituted.
- 2) Associate pastors should only be permitted to resign from the parish to which they have been assigned for sufficient reason e.g., health.
- 3) Cultural pluralism courses and sensitivity training should be required of all priests so they will not see the inner-city as a threat but as an opportunity to grow through interaction with other ethnic/racial groups. In 1974, the Priests Senate of the Diocese proposed a rule which was approved by the Ordinary that each priest must spend five of his first fifteen years in ministry as a priest in the inner-city. The Personnel Board disregards this legislation, which

gives the inner-city another black mark against it.

- 4) Those priests in Chancery Office work, teachers in the seminaries, Catholic Charities and other officials working for the Diocese outside the parish structure should resign their statuses after a few years and enter the pastorate well ahead of their classmates. After resigning their Diocesan status, they should become associate pastors to prepare themselves to become pastors.
- 5) Only pastors should be elected or selected by the Ordinary to the Priests Senate, selected as deans or auxiliary bishops. Others should not be eligible. Once a priest has become a pastor, he should not be permitted to go from that status to any other in the diocese, e.g., president of a seminary.

Pastors are not likely to become a vanishing breed in the Diocese of Chicago. However, the pastorate needs the best, the most respected priests in that status and such priests should be encouraged to resign other roles to become pastors. The priest who is not a pastor should be evaluated as in a state of orientation toward the pastorate. In this way, priests will seek the pastorate as the ultimate goal in priestly life and present parochial structures will be maintained.

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Anthony J. Vader has been read and approved by the following committee:

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

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1/15/84
Date

William Bates
Director's Signature