

VATICAN TO THE PROPERTY OF THE

A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF RELIGIOUS CHANGE



Melissa J. Wilde

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS
PRINCETON AND OXFORD

Copyright © 2007 by Princeton University Press

Published by Princeton University Press, 41 William Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540

In the United Kingdom: Princeton University Press, 3 Market Place, Woodstock,
Oxfordshire OX20 1SY

All Rights Reserved

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Wilde, Melissa J., 1974-

Vatican II: a sociological analysis of religious change/Melissa J. Wilde. p. cm.

Originally presented as the author's thesis—University of California, Berkeley.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-691-11829-1 (hardcover: alk. paper)

ISBN-10: 0-691-11829-9 (hardcover: alk. paper)

1. Vatican Council (2nd: 1962–1965) 2. Christian sociology—Catholic Church—

History—20th century. I. Title. II. Title: Vatican 2. III. Title: Vatican Two. BX8301962 .W47 2007

262' .52—dc22 2006103370

British Library Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available

This book has been composed in Postscript Galliard

Printed on acid-free paper. ∞

press.princeton.edu

Printed in the United States of America

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

To Stephen

CONTENTS

List of Tables and Figures	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
Introduction	1
What Does Not Explain the Council	4
Part I: Explaining the Council	5
Part II: The Case Studies	8
The Data	9
Part I: Explaining the Council	11
Chapter One	
Collective Effervescence and the Holy Spirit: The Eventful	
First Session	13
Eventful Sociology and Vatican II	14
Trying to Ensure a Rubber-Stamp Council: The Curia on the	
Eve of Vatican II	16
The Chain of Occurrences	17
The Effects: Collective Effervescence and the Holy Spirit	22
Conservatives: Waiting for the Holy Spirit	26
Conclusion: The Transformation of Structures	27
Chapter Two	
Who Wanted What and Why at the Second Vatican Council?	
Toward a Theory of Religious Change	29
Measuring Organizational Strategies	30
The Four Groups of Bishops and Their Votes	32
Theories of Religious Competition	42
Theories of Institutional Legitimacy and Organizational	
Change	45
Combining Theories	47
The Ecumenical Movement	51
Conclusion: Competition from the Perspective of the	
Competitors	55

Chapter Three	
How Culture Mattered at Vatican II: Collegiality Trumps	
Authority in the Council's "Social Movement Organizations"	57
Organizational Effectiveness and Culture at Vatican II	58
Competing Views of Authority in the Roman Catholic	
Church	59
The DM's Belief in Collegiality	61
The CIP's Suspicions about Collegiality	62
The Domus Mariae	63
The Coetus Internationalis Patrum	68
Tactics in Common: Petitions, Votes, and the Modi	74
Conclusion: Institutional Rules, Models of Authority,	
Semi-Marginality, and Organizational Effectiveness	77
PART II: The Case Studies	83
Chapter Four	
The Declaration on Religious Freedom: Ceding Power, Gaining	
Legitimacy	85
Critiques of Hypocrisy: Illegitimacy before the Council	86
Roman Catholic Reactions	88
The Story of Reform	91
Conclusion: The Power of Legitimacy	100
Chapter Five	
The Blessed Virgin Mary: The Toughest Fight of the	
Council	102
Catholic and Protestant Views of Mary	103
The First Session	104
The Second Session: The Closest Vote of the Council	105
The Third Session and More Controversy	110
Conclusion: Mary's Deaccentuation	114
Chapter Six	
The Council's Failure to Liberalize Birth Control: Lackluster	
Progressive Effort Meets a Hesitant Pope	116
Christianity's Varied Stances on Birth Control	117
Pressure to Change	119
Deliberations on Birth Control during the Council	121
Conclusion: The Cost to Religious Authority	124
Rethinking the Council	126

Appendix A	
Abbreviations of Primary Sources	129
Appendix B	
Methodological Information	131
Votes from the Second Vatican Council	131
Caporale's Sample	132
Members of the Domus Mariae	133
The Dutch Documentation Center (DOC)	136
Analysis of the Ecumenical Review	137
Communism and the Council	137
Appendix C	
Timeline of the Second Vatican Council	140
Notes	143
References	175
Index	191

CONTENTS

ix

TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 2.1. V	Voting Patterns among Bishops from	
State-Supp	orted European Monopolies	33
TABLE 2.2. V	Voting Patterns among Bishops from	
Non-Mono	opolistic Countries	35
Table 2.3. V	Voting Patterns among Bishops from Latin	
American (Countries	36
Table 2.4. V	Voting Patterns among Bishops from African	
Countries		39
Table 2.5. V	Voting Patterns among Bishops from Asian and	
All Other I	Missionary Countries	41
TABLE 2.6. F	Bishops' Organizational Strategies at the Second	
Vatican Co	ouncil	48
TABLE 3.1. S	Support for Collegiality by Organizational Field	61
TABLE 3.2. S	Support for CIP Communism Petition Compared	
with Suppo	ort for Collegiality	73
Table 5.1. 7	The First Vote Concerning Mary Compared with	
Support fo	r the CIP Petition Concerning Mary	109
Table 5.2. I	nconsistency in Stances on the Blessed Virgin Mary	112
TABLE B.1. C	Caporale's Sample of Bishops and Cardinals	134
TABLE B.2. C	Caporale's Other Interviewees	135
TABLE B.3. N	Members of the Domus Mariae	136
TABLE B.4. I	OOC Theologians	137
TABLE B.5. V	Voting Patterns among Bishops from Communist	
Countries		138
Figure 3.1.	The Organizational Structure of the	
Domus Ma	ariae	65

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I OWE THANKS to many people for the help they gave me during the time it has taken to finish this project. I'll start with where it started, as a dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley. My dissertation committee—Mike Hout, Ann Swidler, and Kim Voss—my fellow graduate students, and other faculty and staff contributed to this work in countless ways.

Words cannot express my gratitude to Mike Hout, my chair, for the intellectual, methodological, financial, and emotional support he has given me. Besides being an incredible mentor, cheerleader, and friend, Mike generously provided me with a room of my own: an office at the Survey Research Center. There, I could work undisturbed, yet also pop into his office with countless questions, requests for recommendations, or just a joke. His support didn't just make writing the dissertation easier and more enjoyable; it made it possible.

This project was immeasurably strengthened by Ann Swidler's incredible sociological imagination, positive attitude, and (sometimes frightening) faith in my work. Early in our relationship I feared I could never satisfy the intellectual rigor of her demands. In retrospect, I see how valuable those demands were to my self-confidence as a scholar and to the strength of my work. Each chapter of the dissertation benefited from her careful editing and thought-provoking comments. Ann first alerted me to the possibility of an interesting paper that further explored my conclusion that conservatives developed inferior organizational forms because of their beliefs, which eventually became the first publication from this project, reproduced here in chapter 3.

Kim Voss's amazing ability to balance honest and rigorous comments with constant support is a talent I hope to develop myself as a mentor someday. The many challenging alternative hypotheses she posed as I was writing this dissertation infinitely strengthened it. Those I could not address in the dissertation I kept in mind through my additional data collection and seemingly endless revisions, and I hope that she will now, many years later, find that I have finally dealt with them!

At Berkeley I also benefited from the support and feedback of many people outside of the department and my dissertation committee. Peggy Anderson was a generous outside member. Claude Fischer's willingness to give me comments whenever I asked was truly remarkable. Much of the advice he gave during his article-writing course proved useful during the dissertation-writing process, as well as when I was revising the dissertation

to produce this book. Jane Zavisca, Avri Beard, Carolyn Chen, Phillip Fucella, Iona Mara-Drita, Stephanie Mudge, Joseph Palacios, Jeffrey Sallaz, and Karolyn Tyson are just a few of my fellow graduate students who provided important feedback, emotional support, inspiration, or just plain relaxation through my years at Berkeley. Jane especially deserves recognition here; over the years she read countless drafts of my MA thesis, grant proposals, and dissertation. As I was finishing the dissertation, Sara Nephew, a UCB undergrad, provided valuable research assistance.

I have been fortunate to have had help from a number of scholars outside of Berkeley. Andrew Greeley read every chapter of the dissertation with enthusiasm and a critical eye. John Coleman, Mark Chaves, Michele Dillon, Roger Finke, Mary Ellen Konieczny, Bill Sewell, Jr., Chris Smith, and Robert Wuthnow have offered helpful advice and feedback over the years. Joseph Komonchak patiently helped me develop this project, corrected misunderstandings and misconceptions, and provided me with valuable contacts. Rocco Caporale generously allowed me access to his priceless interview transcripts with eighty of the most important bishops at the Council.

Archivists William John Shepard at Catholic University of America, Lucinda Glenn Rand at the Graduate Theological Union, Piero Doria, Marco Maiorino and Sergio Pagano at the Vatican Secret Archive, and Giuseppe Alberigo and Sylvia Scatena at the Institute for the Scientific Study of Religion in Bologna, Italy, provided assistance at various stages of this research.

I benefited from the translation assistance of Josh Davies, Frederic Merand, Callily Campos Diana, and especially Han Tran. Funding for this assistance was provided by an NSF Dissertation Improvement Grant (SES-0002409), a Charlotte W. Newcombe Dissertation Writing Year Fellowship from the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, a grant from the American Sociological Association's Fund for the Advancement of the Discipline, a Research Award from the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and research funds and a junior sabbatical from Indiana University, where I turned the dissertation into this book. Any flaws in the book are of course mine and do not reflect the views of any of these funding agencies.

Though the support I received at Berkeley made this project possible, the book would not exist if it weren't for the research support I received while at Indiana University as an assistant professor. Almost single-handedly, Shelley Nelson took the thousands of pages of Council votes I brought back from Italy and turned them into an enormous and enormously valuable electronic database. After two years of overseeing more than twenty people (graduate students Evie Perry and Paul Kim; undergrads Amy Allen, Samantha Barbera, Samantha Brooks, Kristin Chaney, Jalane Deckard, Jenna DiMartino, Laura Dunn, Amy Gardner, Wendy Hoffman, Jason Lillie, Andrea Knies, Amber Kotyuk, Katie Mccauley, Jessica Messer,

Sarah Milligan, Justin Novotny, Mike Peterson, Lori Smith, Morgan Smith, and Kelly Straw) entering, checking, and cross-checking the data and merging it with other sources, she still speaks to me. Her husband, Jim Nelson, also deserves many thanks for his able and willing programming assistance.

Once the database was up and running, Shelley was joined by Kristin Geraty, Emily Bowman, and Grace Yukich, who have helped contribute to both the database and my thinking. Jessica Sprague-Bunk provided important help with the references as I was finishing the final revisions to the manuscript.

Along with the essential research support IU provided, I am very thankful for the collegial support I received there. Bernice Pescosolido has been a terrific mentor and friend. I have received helpful comments, advice, and encouragement from Elizabeth Armstrong, Clem Brooks, Bill Corsaro, Tom Geiryn, IU's Junior Faculty Working Group (Art Alderson, Ho-fung Hung, Ethan Michelson, Fabio Rojas, Quincy Thomas Stewart, Leah Vanwey) Pam Jackson, David James, Scott Long, Jane McCloud, Eliza Pavalko, Brian Powell, Rob Robinson, Brian Steensland, and Pam Walters.

Realizing that we would surely overburden our colleagues with drafts upon drafts of our works-in-progress, Tony Chen, Isaac Martin, and I decided to develop a mutually burdensome society and help each other through the process of book writing soon after we departed Berkeley. This book has benefited enormously from their input. Tony forced me many times to articulate theoretical implications I was tempted to leave for the reader to draw. Isaac's analytical precision and carefully posed questions always left me with a great many things to fix, but feeling strangely confident as I started the repair process.

Other friends have contributed to this book or my life in many ways. Melissa Dinverno and Alejandro Meíjas-López went way above the duties of friendship and helped the track down an obscure Spanish source when all roads were turning into blind alleys (and all the while kept their wonderful hospitality flowing). And I continue to be blessed by the life-long friendship I have enjoyed with Lisa Trophia and Kelley Baker.

There is, of course, no way for me to thank my parents, Adele and Paul Wilde. I would not be where I am today without the self-confidence they helped me to develop. Though this book is a long way from the soccer and basketball games and track meets of my youth, their unwavering support remains as tangible now as their cheers were audible then.

Finally, I would like to thank my partner in life, Stephen Viscelli. From reading drafts, listening to my complaints, and helping me figure out the structure and implications of this book, to cooking me meals, being patient with my moods and obsessive work habits, and making my home an inviting, happy place, I thank him with all of my heart.

INTRODUCTION

ON NOVEMBER 29, 1964, the first Sunday of Advent, Roman Catholics walked into their parishes around the globe and, for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire, participated in a mass that was given largely in their native tongue. Not only did parishioners find themselves responding to the priest in words they spoke every day, but they spoke more often than they had at any Catholic service they had ever attended. Many Catholics saw the strange sight of their priest consecrating the Eucharist facing the congregation rather than the crucifix behind the altar, along with other new practices meant to make the mass and liturgy more participatory by incorporating the "people of God."

These were just the first of many changes that came out of the Second Vatican Council of the Roman Catholic Church.² Indeed, as the Church was busily figuring out how to incorporate the vernacular language into its services, Roman Catholic leaders around the world prepared for the Fourth (and final) Session of the Council. These preparations were intense and often contentious. Though the liturgical reforms had been approved at the end of the Second Session, many other, even more important reforms remained to be decided.

By the time it was finished, on December 8, 1965, the Council had turned the Church on its head. To name but a few examples: as a result of the Council, the Roman Catholic Church relinquished its claim to be the one true church, and with it, abdicated claims to power in relation to nation-states, by declaring that the only just form of government was one under which people were free to worship as they pleased. The Council relaxed dietary restrictions and requirements regarding confession and attire for the laity, eliminated the Latin mass, and forever changed the character and identities of Roman Catholic nuns and brothers—and their orders. Most importantly, Vatican II changed the way the Church understood itself, as its identity went from being a hierarchical authority to a church conceived of as the people of God.

Together, these changes have had far-reaching effects on the doctrine, practices, and identity of Roman Catholicism. Politically, the Council has been cited as a central factor in the development of liberation theology in Latin America; as an important theological resource for progressive Catholics in the United States; and as a reason why the Church began to engage more actively in public debates over war and peace, capitalism and economic redistribution.³ Everyday life was affected too: the Council

liberalized religious practices as varied as dietary restrictions (Catholics are no longer required to abstain from meat on Fridays), clothing requirements (Catholic women no longer have to wear head coverings during mass), and annulment procedures.⁴

Simply put, Vatican II represents the most significant example of institutionalized religious change since the Reformation. Though sociological opinion is unified in attributing great significance to the Council, few systematic attempts have been made to examine the forces that determined the character and extent of the changes it effected.⁵ This is partly because the council was huge. It took four sessions, three years (1962–65), and the leadership of two popes to complete. More than three thousand bishops, cardinals, heads of religious orders, and theologians (for convenience, hereafter all of the Council delegates are referred to as bishops) from all over the world attended. The daily events of the Council could easily fill the pages of this book. However, such a history has been more than adequately told and it is not the intent of this study to tell it again.⁶

My goal is to take the rich and complex history of the Council, and reexamine it through a sociological lens—to discover the factors that explain its outcome and in doing so, identify the factors that determine religious change more generally. Ultimately, the goal of this book is to answer some theoretical questions about cultural change: Why do some religious institutions adapt to cultural change, while others do not? When religious institutions do change, what determines what changes and what remains constant? In essence: When, why, and how do religious institutions, which are arguably the most rigidly structured and codified institutions in the world, adapt as the societies around them march onward?

Though many theories in the sociology of religion make implicit assumptions about institutional change, and though founding sociologists such as Max Weber and Émile Durkheim examined it, there is surprisingly little theory available to explain how, why, or when religious change occurs.⁷ This is mainly because the sociology of religion, with a few notable exceptions,⁸ has not attempted to explain institutional change but has focused instead on individual participation and its effects, or on religious growth or decline. Such studies, though important, do little to help us understand the organizational resources, forces, and mobilization efforts involved in an event like the Second Vatican Council.

Consequently, though this analysis is informed by these and other important research in the sociology of religion, throughout this book I also draw from theories of historical events, organizational and cultural change, social movements, and even from economic sociology.⁹

Vatican II is an ideal case through which to examine questions about religious change. Change, at least of great magnitude, is not common in Roman Catholic history. Councils are rare events, convened only by the

pope, and occur less than once a century on average. Vatican I, the Church's last council before Vatican II, ended prematurely in 1869 as a result of the Franco-Prussian War and did little of note besides declaring the pope to be infallible. Prior to Vatican I, the Church had not held a council since the Council of Trent closed in 1563.¹⁰

Furthermore, the changes that came from the Council were almost completely unexpected. To appreciate just how remarkable Vatican II was, one must understand that even once the Council had been called, change did not seem likely. The Roman Curia, the men in charge of the Church's administration, who did not favor change, seemed to be at the zenith of their power. For four hundred years, the Curia had determined the pronouncements on theology and doctrine that constituted Roman Catholicism. They frequently used their powers of censorship to curb theologians, ban books, and keep the Church "untarnished" by modern thought. Their vocation was protecting the Church from heresy, something which by all accounts they did quite well. Initially, even the bishops who would rise to the greatest prominence once the Council began expected little more from it than a "rubber-stamp" of the Curia's conservative views.

When Pope John XXIII announced that he was calling a council, he had only been in office for three months, was seventy-seven years old, and was expected to be an "interim" pope—a placeholder who mollified progressives but made conservatives feel secure because of his age and "simple" nature. The resources, power, and confidence of the Roman Curia had perhaps never been greater. Though upset by John's announcement, they had almost complete control over the Council's preparations, proceedings, and agenda.

Given this situation at the start of the Council, many saw the unexpected and sweeping changes that came from it as nothing short of miraculous. Popular explanations of the miracle focused on one man: Pope John XXIII. In 1962, before any Council reforms had yet been solidified, but after the First Session had already signaled that Vatican II would not rubber-stamp the policies and views of the Curia, *Time* magazine declared John "Man of the Year," with the following justification:

[1962 saw] the beginning of a revolution in Christianity, the ancient faith whose 900 million adherents make it the world's largest religion. . . . It began on Oct. 11 in Rome and was the work of the man of the year, Pope John XXIII, who, by convening . . . Vatican II, set in motion ideas and forces that will affect not merely Roman Catholics, not only Christians, but the whole world's ever-expanding population. 11

In contrast to such explanations of the Council, I do not see the pope as the primary reason why the Council took the turn that it did.

There is no question that Pope John XXIII is an essential part of why Vatican II happened at all; it takes a pope to call a council.¹² Thus, John