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**Spiritual Sacrifice or Social Exclusion?
A Critical Insight into the Life Trajectory of Three Indonesian
Religious Women in Italy**

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List of Acronyms

BPS	<i>Badan Pusat Statistik</i>
CCL	Code of Canon Law
GS	<i>Gaudium et Spes</i>
KOPTARI	<i>Konferensi Pemimpin Tinggi Antar Religions se-Indonesia</i>
LG	<i>Lumen Gentium</i>
MAWI	<i>Majelis Agung Wali Gereja Indonesia</i>
SVC	Second Vatican Council
VOC	<i>Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie</i>

Abstract

This research paper presents the life trajectory of three Indonesian religious women in Italy. Coming from East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia, three Indonesian juveniles (Filomena, Carmina, Monica) looked for a better future by assembling into religious life as the members of Italian congregation within the Roman Catholic Church. By belonging to one 'religious institution' (commonly known as "the congregation") and becoming religious women, these young Indonesian girls explain their migration to, and daily activities in, their religious communities in northern, central, and southern Italy. As a member of their congregation, they sacrifice themselves for the benefit of the congregation under religious vows (poverty, chastity, obedience), both for temporary and perpetual, and they follow their formation (basic, juniorate, on-going) built upon the constitutive elements of the congregation (rules and constitutions). However, away from patriarchal system in their original region, they end up in social exclusion in Italy. They experienced blocked access from the opportunities to develop their human capabilities. Rather, they received a set of domestic overload-works in their religious communities. Apparently, their daily routine activities unveils the assertion of exclusion, that manifests in a particular way. By employing qualitative methods, case study and ethnographic participant observation, this research aimed to collect primary data and field findings. Data and field findings will disclose the invisibility of social exclusion where the blocked access transforms spiritual sacrifice into workforce.

Relevance to Development Studies

The elaboration of social injustice and inequality in development studies discloses exclusion as social problem. In the large scale, exclusion has been discussed broadly as exploitation, marginalization, subordination and discrimination. Exclusion is discussed in this paper as blocked access (of Indonesian religious women) which is defined as the way in which institutions (congregations) limits chances and opportunities for its members to develop their human capabilities. In development studies, the conviction of the growth of human capability is through encouragement of societal development in economics, politics, and socio-cultural issues. This paper unveils an awareness that religious institutions within the Church have a big influence and a great role in the growth of society in education, welfare, charity and social works, environmental concern, tolerance, and many other things enacted through agents of change (missionaries). Indeed, in Indonesia, the Church is a social institution which participates to overcome the problems of illiteracy and the lack of access to health services. However, such institutions have the power either to educate their agents to develop society, or conversely, to contribute to social problems. In an ideal situation, such social problems should not take place.

Keywords: social exclusion, congregation, religious women, sacrifice, workforce

Chapter 1 : Introduction

This research uses the notion of social exclusion as a multi-dimensional process where blocked access occurred, created by states, institutions, dominant groups, or powerful people. As a result, blocked access generates labor exploitation of incapable and powerless individuals or groups (see, Levitas et al 2009: 9). The idea of “a multi-dimensional process” means there are many factors influencing exclusion such as poverty, unemployment, race, education, age, language, gender, culture, etc. The term “blocked access” is used to describe the lack of chance and the limitation of opportunities in the development of human capabilities, including talents and skills. This description implicitly contains agents or actors who have the power (e.g. states, institutions, dominant groups, powerful people) to close the gate of access for the development of capabilities. In this research, the individuals did not receive opportunities to obtain further educational degrees and formal trainings. At the same time, these individuals did not have enough power against structural domination. They are powerless. Therefore, the state/institution/dominant group/powerful people may force powerless individuals to undertake lengthy work hours for their benefits.

1. Research Problem

One institution is selected for this case study to verify the notion of social exclusion. That institution is a “religious women institution” within the Church (read: Roman Catholic Church). It is well-known as “the congregation”. The Code of Canon Law in the Church defines it as a social institution of the life consecrated. The congregation is named as “the life consecrated” because it has vows: chastity, poverty, and obedience (see, Canon, c. 573). The members of the congregations are called as religious men and women (see, *Lumen Gentium*, cc. 43-45). Religious men are known as monks and friars, while religious women are named as nuns and sisters. Religious people also are introduced broadly as missionaries who work on the Church’s missions (e.g. parishes, schools, hospitals, training of skills and charity). For them, working on the Church’s missions is a vocation to wholly sacrifice their life to God.

The congregation is one of the real Church agents that actualizes the missions of the Church around the world. In Indonesia, as a clear example, many congregations within the Church have participated significantly in societal development to grow human capability through health care (clinics, hospitals and nursing science) and education (schools). One hundred year ago, the involvement of religious men and women in societal growth was known as “Catholic missions”, whereby the Church was represented by European missionaries (Boelaars 2005, Kristiyanto 2015). Until now, it can be easily found many religious people have been on duty to care for and to educate people within predominantly Muslim dominant communities as Jakarta, Bandung, Surabaya, Lampung, Palembang, and Medan.

In the last couple of decades, some religious women congregations came to do their missions in Indonesia specifically to Flores Island in the East Nusa Tenggara Province. Some of them are from Italy. The local dioceses in the East Nusa Tenggara Province such as Ruteng, Ende, Maumere, Larantuka, Kupang and Atambua, are located as the center recruitment places wherein the majority of population are Catholics. As a result, some young girls (average 16-18 years old) entered to the congregations as candidates, and some of them are now living in Italy. This situation has been gradually put into question because new-comer “congregations” have an unclear mission around the region except to recruit some new candidates. For this research, Indonesian girls who became the members of one

Italian congregation are selected for this case study to see whether they experienced social exclusion after their migration to Italy. This research claims that the manifestation of exclusion is articulated through the lack of access to have renewing skills that arises labor exploitation. There are three considerations to make a claim.

Firstly, the growth in the number of vocations is still continuously increasing in Indonesia. Historically, the Church played an irreplaceable role in the development of the society through its works (social works, pastoral agents, schools, hospitals, etc.) for the whole archipelago country (Eddy Kristiyanto 2015). In the past, many congregations were built by missionaries from the Netherlands during the colonialization period in Indonesia (Boelaars 2005). In his work "Indonesianisasi" (2005), Boelaars argued that the number of religious men and women between 1940 to 1990 in Indonesia has increased significantly. Accordingly, he made clear that the transition occurred during the period where the Church was dominated by foreign missionaries and introduced local people into ministries as pastoral cares, teachers, nurses, trainers, etc. Some of the ex-missionaries (the Dutch) also shared that the continuous growth in the number of religious members stimulated the transition and autonomy of Indonesian Catholic Church (van Vugt et al. 2004).

Secondly, the number of religious men and women is gradually decreasing in Europe particularly in the last four to five decades. European congregation have to face their destiny either find ways to survive or to close because their members become older, diminishing numbers, lack of candidates, reduced financial supports and less works in public services (Milh and van Erp 2017). Such peculiar situations have already forced many congregations in Europe to go to abroad in order to recruit new candidates. Their main destinations are Asia and Africa. In South Asia, beside the Philippine and India, one of their favor countries is Indonesia specifically the local dioceses in the East Nusa Tenggara Province. There is no clear reason for this specific choice, but a regional catholic community and poverty in this region can be considered as some arguments for this choice.

Thirdly, it is likely that the increasing numbers of members of the congregation in Indonesia and the declining numbers of members of the congregation in Europe prompted migration among religious women across the countries. Indeed, migration is not an alien notion for congregations in the Church because congregations have already many missions and missionaries around the world. For them, to do mission means to send missionaries. It means also to migrate people from one place to the other. However, the mainstream of religious migration from Indonesia to Italy has emerged as the issue of the blocked access and the work culture of extreme hours. Indonesian religious women are probably forced by their congregation to work hardly without having an opportunity to expand and renew their capabilities (e.g. education, skill).

Having an interest to the issue, this research approaches the case by focusing on the personal experience of three Indonesian religious women who entered an Italian congregation. They are Filomena, Carmina, and Monica (not real names). For young girls between 16-18 years old like them, to live a life in their region (rural area with agricultural culture and traditional farmers) was not the best option for a better life in the future. One of the reasons is the high cost for ethnical bonds in the patriarchal marital system. A life offered in the congregation seemed to be a better option. So with their free will, a dream to answer God's call and to reach a better life, they decided to join the religious life. They left their small villages including their family and clan in the East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. They wanted to keep their own dignity in the society. They believed that becoming religious women (sisters and nuns) in the Italian congregation was a paradise.

Like an answer to their prayers, one religious female congregation from southern Italy came to search for candidates as their members where reaching old age. Congregation needs young sisters to help do internal and external jobs, for example, to clean the house

and to care for the older sisters. The congregation came to East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia and promoted vocations (spirituality, charism, and missions) to Filomena and other young girls. Filomena and the other girls saw this as an opportunity to escape from the poor condition and a lack of access to education in their region. They hoped a life in Italy would open new opportunities for them.

However, it seems that the congregation does not allow them to continue their educational degree. It constitutes that they have to integrate themselves into the congregation by working and learning the Italian language in the monastery. Therefore, there is no chance and opportunity for them to renew their capabilities or obtain new skills. It is clearly a blocked access for them. Beside experiencing blocked access, they are noticeably imposed by the congregation to work long hours. From this research point of view, such workforce is generated by blocked access. In summary, this research problematizes the blocked access that generates labor exploitation in one congregation within the Church.

2. Research Question

This research has one main question:

“Do Indonesian religious women experience social exclusion in Italian congregation and if so, how do they explain this?”

And, it has three sub-questions: (1) What is social exclusion and how does the Church understand it? (2) How do religious Indonesian women explain their decision to join a religious congregation based in Italy? (3) How do religious Indonesian women explain their lack of educational opportunities and daily work routines?

3. Research Purpose

This research analyzes the narrative life story of Filomena, Carmina and Monica who have been working in the congregation communities in Italy for a couple of years. It also involves three religious Indonesian women in the same congregation who decided to go back to Indonesia a few years ago and are now living in Sikka Regency in East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia. By conducting exploration and observation, it attempts to open up the invisibility of social exclusion and to branch out the urgency of awareness, understanding and the unveiling hidden social injustices around this issue.

As a researcher, I have some reasons as to why I conducted this research. In the beginning, as a member of the Church, I have the motivation to search for information about the issue of the exploitation of Indonesian religious women in Italy, and I try to unveil the case for internal interest of Indonesian Catholic Church. By making the issue visible, I wish to assist Catholics in Indonesia (around 8 millions) who want to know this issue. At the same time, as an activist of justice and peace, I will present the main and primary aim of this paper as a form of solidarity to religious women who have to face social injustice under their vows and way of life even though they probably have a strong wish to follow God's vocation and to sacrifice themselves for the Church's missions. Furthermore, I intend to encourage the growth of awareness of local Indonesian Catholic Church in East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia towards an invisible social exclusion in certain religious institutions. Therefore, it can be useful to disclose the blocked access that generated workforce inside the Italian congregation. In addition, this paper could probably contribute to internal restoration of the congregation formation and it would become a self-auto critique for them.

Finally, as an MA student at Institute of Social Studies, this paper analysis could be considered as an academic inspiration to include the spirituality of development as part of the courses in order to offer religion perspectives of development.

4. Methodology

This research needs primary data for its analysis. Its primary data source is the life trajectory of three Indonesian religious women in one congregation because it has no goal to generalize the issue, for example, to describe all Indonesian nuns in any congregations. However, it also involves other participants to deepen and clarify certain specific topics around the issues. Other source data is field findings through participation and observation. By taking focus on three participants, this research applies qualitative methods through case study and ethnographic participant observation.

4.1. Case Study

Gerring et al. (2007: 668) explains that “case study is a form of analysis where one or a few units are studied intensively with an aim to elucidate features of a broader class of—presumably similar but not identical—units.” One unit of the Roman Catholic Church is selected for a case study. It is an Italian congregation. It is a representative of similar congregations in Italy. This research has two reasons for such specific choice. First, some members of the congregation are Indonesians who are now working in Italy, who might have some low capability. Second, some members of the congregation who are Indonesian, are working in Indonesia. They would like to expand the congregation’s missions around the archipelago country but they have encountered some difficulties because of their low capability.

Case study is developed into an in-depth interview method in the fieldwork. The interview process gives a large opportunity for the participants to share their life story. Such method is stimulated by a number of narrative thematic questions. Harrison (2008) delineates this pattern as life story research while Rosenthal (1993) defines it as reconstruction of life story approach. Harrison (2008: xxxv) distinguishes three main data collection of life story research: interview, personal documents (e.g. diary), visual forms of life story (photographs). In a particular interview, she asserts that an interview commonly has a simple single question “please tell us your life story” to obtain life history. However, she explains then that both shows “... how events have been experienced in the past is related to their presentation in the present.” (2008: xxxvi). Similarly, Rosenthal (1993: 3) stipulates reconstruction approach contains both life story (the narrated story) and life history (the experienced story) coming together dialectically. She develops them into thematic field analysis through in-depth interview (1993: 3). In her view, the narrated life story will be reconstructed by a researcher who selects some relevant events. The process of selection reveals an interconnection meaning between every single event to other life events, actions or experiences. A thematic topic of interview would be important to reconstruct events because there is mutual interaction between speaker and listener. She argues “...the narrated life story, as it evolves around a specified thematic focus, represents a general construct of biographical experiences which is a coagulate derived from past interactional episodes and future expectations,...” (1993: 5). She then advises the principle of *sequentiality* that a single action followed by another action in a chain process (1993: 5). She continues: “The aim of this process is to reconstruct the structure of the case.” (1993: 6).

In short, case study (Gerring et al. 2007) is developed into life story research (Harrison, 2008) and reconstruction of life story (Rosenthal, 1993) by applying in-depth interview method.

4.2. Ethnographic Participant Observation

To obtain more detailed data, this research employs ethnographic participant observation. It is called here as field findings. Its purpose is to strengthen the analysis by adding experiential and observational facts.

Emerson (2011: 1) explicates that an ethnographic participant observation carries two distinct activities: (1) Researcher enters into social setting, participates in people routine activities, builds on going relations, and observes every events in real life; (2) the researcher writes and takes note of what he/she sees and learns while staying, living, and participating in people's lives. There are three reasons for using this method. First, it has three participants who have similar culture because they are from the same region and ethnicities in East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. Second, it focuses on the interpretation of individuals experiences and their situational context through participation, relation, observation and taking notes in Italy and Indonesia. Third, it needs to have field findings about one religious institution so that it can then be analyzed for the notion of social exclusion.

An interpretation of the congregation's condition is the key of this research. Emerson himself (2011: 2) emphasizes on this intention by saying "...interpretations of meanings are central process in immersion participation while human behave and conduct their actions." By arguing the central role of the interpretation of the real context of the participants, theoretical analytic framework is employed for assimilating theory into practice. It is like Bernard (2011: 256-258) argues that participant observation research involves both a humanistic method (practice) and a science one (theory), and it produces an experiential knowledge and a positivistic knowledge. However, Borda (2006) reminds that there is always a tension between theory and practice, subject and object, knowledge and reason, in the sense, there is always a gap between academic science and social wisdom.

In short, ethnographic observation of the participants (Emerson 2011) is applied for the interpretation of the participants daily activities/works in Italian congregation by using the notion of social exclusion as an analytical framework (Bernard 2011, Borda 2006). Nevertheless, this research method has limitations. It cannot reveal the whole reality. Bornerman and Hammoudi (2009:5) emphasize this limitation by stating: "Things are constructed; things are plural; things are unstable; things have histories; most-things are in-between." It means that this method only perceives and interprets social reality from certain views and perspectives.

4.3. Data Collection Process

I visited the participants' places (three people who stay in different houses) during 8-25 July 2019 in Italy. I conducted an observation, an interview, taking notes, daily conversation and participation. I took a number of pictures. I also met other Indonesian sisters in the same house. I engaged in short conversation with them to have their testimonies. Then, I went to Indonesia for one month. I visited the participants original places in East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. I took an opportunity to meet their family. In Sikka Regency, I met three sisters (the members of the same congregation) who decided to go back to Indonesia a few years ago after working for many years in Italy and had conversations with them.

To gather the data, first I went for 16 days to central and southern Italy to interview the participants and to record their story, to observe and to take some field's notes in In-

donesian language. Second, I transcribed audio recordings to text (in Indonesian language) for a few days. Third, I visited the participants' original place in Indonesia, to deepen certain issues that I found in the previous interview. I had some conversations and took notes. Four, I met a bishop and a few priests around the participants villages and collected some information. Five, I spent a few days to meet three nuns who had worked in Italy and asked them for some explanations. Six, I visited to the secretary of Indonesian Religious Congregation Conference in Jakarta to get his comments related to this research issues. In total, I was in the fieldwork for two months. After doing these steps, I came back to the Netherlands.

4.4. Challenges and Limitations

I could conduct this research because I have a good communication and contact with some of the congregation's members. Such relationships have opened a privileged access for me to meet them. However, I found some challenges during the visit and observations in Italy. There was language barrier because they spoke in Italian language at all times. I needed the help of one Indonesian sister who could translate their conversation to Indonesian or English. Furthermore, as a male researcher who came to observe women, there was a tendency to fall into gender bias. For example, the participants did not allow me to do some of their chores like cleaning the house, to do laundry, to iron the bed linens, to cook food, and to prepare room. Moreover, as a brother in faith who was coming to them to hear their personal experiences, the participants shared their problem freely and asked for help and advice. It was not possible to provide help, for it was not the intention of this research to solve their problems.

Furthermore, this research had no intention to generalize the issue and conducts the ethics of "do no harm" by keeping seriously secrets with anonymity such as the participants names, congregation's name, addresses and places. It takes a solitary exploration from a different perspective so that its result cannot be applied for any other similar cases. There is also probably a degree by which some understanding is lost or altered because the analysis was reduced from recordings, notes, observation, conversation, visits, and transcriptions. However, the result could be proposed to build up collective consciousness of the issue and to assist the local Church in East Nusa Tenggara Province to tackle the problem with comprehensive analysis. This research would be very useful to open future research for people who are interested in developing the case by applying more holistic observations.

5. Analytical Framework

Exclusion as social problem is not a new concept. Exclusion can happen in different levels at the individual, institutional, national and international levels. However, exclusion as concept could be defined in a different way in a single context.

5.1. The Concept of Social Exclusion

Rawal (2008) notes that the notion of social exclusion emerged for the first time in the France in 1970s and widely became the policy discourse of European countries in the 1980s. In Rawal's explanation, it refers foremost to disadvantaged groups (handicapped and poor people) and commonly to all people as evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and elastic concept. Australian government (2008: 1) also mentions that it refers to poverty in one hand, and to an inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power, on the other hand. Sen (2000) conceptualizes that social exclusion is another term for poverty and the deprivation of capability. Redmond (2014) argues that social exclusion

has broader meaning than poverty as a lack of resource or deprivation. Saraceno (2001: 1) finds that social exclusion could have arisen as consequences of mass unemployment, mass migration or de-industrialization at the macro level, and became apparent in particular experiences of individuals and groups at the micro level. Castles et al. (2014: 59) state that social exclusion has some criteria for ethnical identification as “visible markers” such as phenotype, language, culture, customs, religion, behavior. One can say that there are many causes of social exclusion.

Atkinson (1998: 13-14) mentions that there are relativity, agency, and dynamics as to why people are excluded. Relativity refers to particular time and space (e.g. standard equal living), agency refers to agent or agents (e.g. powerless people), and dynamics refers to little prospects for the future. Furthermore, in his conclusion, Atkinson (1998: 23) argued that people may be excluded by stigmatizing, other decisions, state’s policy. Atkinson discerned that social exclusion is a complex process where people could not participate in daily societal activities. In a different way, Silver (2007:4419) defines social exclusion as “a process of declining participation, access, and solidarity.” In her view, it could occur at the societal such as an inadequate social cohesion or integration and at the individual level such as the incapacity to participate in normatively expected social activities. Both Atkinson and Silver evidently point out that a process of “the blocked participation” could ensue in systematic and structured ways. Millar (2007: 2) proposes: “...social exclusion is not only about material poverty and lack of material resources, but also about the processes by which some individuals and groups become marginalized in society. They are excluded not only from the goods and standards of living available to the majority but also from their opportunities, choices and life chances.” Millar contended here that between lack of material things and lack of capabilities are disengaged. Millar (2007:3) then argues that “the opposite of social exclusion is not integration or inclusion, but rather that it is participation.” In other words, social exclusion is a process in where there are people who have power organizing “the blocked access” for powerless people.

To consider many elements of social exclusion, this research uses the notion of social exclusion from Levitas et al. (2007):

Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society as a whole. (Levitas et al. 2007: 9)

Referring to Levitas et al. (2007), this research employs the concept of the blocked access that generates labor exploitation. The term “blocked access” is used to describe the arising of many factors which caused exclusion of powerless people from their opportunities and chances to develop their capability. In this research point of view, the institution creates the blocked access through its internal decisive policy. At the same time, such institution probably forces individuals to work in extreme hours.

5.2. Exclusion as Social Problem

As noted by Rawal (2008: 168), he cited Hilary Silver’s concept (1995), the notion that social exclusion developed from three paradigms: solidarity, specialization, and monopoly. He explains: “The ‘solidarity’ paradigm derived from the French Republican thought attributes exclusion to the breakdown of social solidarity i.e. the social bond between the individual and society.”(2008: 168). Furthermore, he states: “The specialization paradigm, indicative of the Anglo-Saxon world, in contrast, is one of social differentiation. The Anglo-Saxon liberalism assumes that individuals differ; giving rise to specialization in market and in so-

cial groups and thus views the social order as networks of voluntary exchanges.”(2008: 168). He then continues: “The third paradigm, influential on the European Left, views exclusion as a consequence of the formation of group monopolies, with resources being controlled by hierarchical and exclusive networks. Drawing heavily on Weber, and to some extent Marx, it views the social order as coercive, imposed through a set of hierarchical power relations.” (2008: 168). Rawal shows that exclusion can take a place in relation between individual and society, among individuals in social differentiation, and power domination.

This paper primarily uses the second paradigm that is explored in individual and institutional level. For example, Sarah Ahmed (2012: 2) wrote her experiences in certain institutional spaces: “As memory, it was an experience of not being white, of being made into a stranger, the one who is recognized as ‘out of place’, the one who does not belong, whose proximity is registered as crime or threat.” In addition, she says: “My own stranger memory taught me that the ‘could be anyone’ points to some bodies more than others.” (2012: 3). One can say that the representation of social exclusions could be “a form of alienation” from the majority of people because a person has different skin, race, and places of origin. Another example, in 2016, “let’s do diversity” as a significant research of diversity was conducted by University of Amsterdam (UvA) through its Diversity Commission. This commission found that some academic inhabitants experienced some form of exclusion because they have differing culture and knowledge. This commission then reported that each university in the Netherlands particularly UvA needs to realize the reality of diversity and should recognize it as part of their policy. Diversity is not only referring to different people and their culture, but also plural knowledges. Then, this commission produced many recommendations and advised to employ decoloniality of thinking.

Furthermore, this paper also considers the third paradigm that is explored at the international level. Some thinkers of post-development theory (Sachs 1992, Ziai 2007, Esteva et al. 2013) declare that Global South (Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean) is excluded by Global North (in particular Western countries) when they claimed themselves as developed countries, the core of development, the center of knowledge, the first world and the subject of reality. Global South is classified as poor nations and under-developed countries. Such claim is a form of marginalization, subordination, and discrimination. Escobar (1992, 1995, 2007), for instance, argues that poverty in Global South was planned by Western nations from colonial periods and peculiarly soon after post-World War II. Poverty was conditioned to perpetuate dependency on Western modernity and rationality. In this sense, exclusion took place because there was power domination. Decolonial scholars (Quijano 2007, Mignolo 2002, 2007, 2009) claim that the Global South is still controlled by Western modernity in the colonial difference. They found that the dark/hidden side of modernity is coloniality of power, gender, being, and knowledge. Western countries are the core, center, subject, and “others” are the periphery, surroundings, object. Therefore, as de Sousa Santos noticed: “There is no global justice without global cognitive justice.”(Santos, 2008:xix). In other words, many different traditional values and knowledges from the rest of the world were excluded by Western civilization.

In another example, Pope Francis addresses his encyclic letter *Laudato Si* (2015) to all people. He advocates the awareness of environmental degradation. On Friday, 25 September 2015, he spoke to the members of the general assembly of the United Nations Organization in New York. He reaffirmed his *Laudato Si* by saying: “The poorest are those who suffer most from such offenses, for three serious reasons: they are cast off by society, forced to live of what is discarded and suffer unjustly from the abuse of the environment. They are part of today’s widespread and quietly growing ‘culture of waste’.” In Pope Francis’s opinion, there are many actors (e.g. corporations, states, bureaucrats, technocrats) who are involved in the environmental degradation and emergence of the tears of our sister and

the crying of our mother earth, that exclude the poor from an access to the resources. This problem was discussed by Illich (1973) who outlined the problem Western capitalistic institutionalization and bureaucratic technology (e.g. schools) has marginalized the poor because they have no access to grow their capability within formal institution. Institutions have monopolized the schooling system and modernized the poor.

In summary, this research applies the concept of social differentiation and Western monopoly in its analysis to discuss social exclusion in one congregation within the Church.

6. Overview

This research paper will depart from the data to analysis. It will use inductive method. It will be divided into five chapters. Chapter one contains an introduction of research problem, research question and purpose, methodology, analytical framework, and overview. Chapter two will depict the congregation constitutive elements in order to describe the understanding of correlation between the Church and the congregation. Chapter three presents the life trajectory of three Indonesian religious women. It presents data under the entitle "I am Happy to Sacrifice Myself". Chapter four will explicate a set of instruments of religious vocation and chapter five will argue daily responsibilities of the participants by showing their works. These two chapters provide the observational findings from field-work. Finally, chapter six will give analysis data and findings by employing theoretical framework including some conclusions that are related to social justice.

Chapter 2 : The Congregation Constitutive Elements

This paper provides an analysis of the life trajectory of religious women from Indonesian who enter into one Italian congregation within the Church. By conveying specific intentional meanings of some terms in this research context, it needs foremost to explain: *the Church* and *the congregation*.

1. The Church

The Church can be configured as faith and spirituality. It can be conceived also as religion and institution. This paper is going to use the second definition, the Church as an institution. It perceives the Church as a social organization of the communion of believers.

Sandra Schneiders (2012) defines the Church as a perfect community. It is a social organization where people dwell in a peaceful community with the unity of diversity in difference. She says:

The Church is a unique kind of community, the union of those baptized into Christ . . . It is a community in which there is no slave or master, no national or ethnic superiorities, no gender domination, no inequality that is theologically or spiritually significant except holiness, and in which even distinctions of role and function are not titles to power but differences, which must serve the unity of the whole. It is a community in which all vie for the lowest place, wash one another's feet, lift rather than impose burdens, and dwell among their sisters and brothers as those who serve. (Schneiders 2012: 4, as quoted in Starkey 2014: 6).

Schneiders's definition can be referred to Pope Paul VI (1897-1978). On November 1964, Pope Paul VI promulgated *Lumen Gentium* (LG). This document insists in dogmatic constitution on the Church. The Church is defined by this document as "a people made one with the unity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit". (LG, c. 4). The Church is seen as a sheep hold, the village of God, the building of God, Jerusalem which is above (LG, c. 6). The Church is conceptualized as a spiritual institution. However, the Church is a part of the society as a social institution. It participates in social issues around the world. One of the Church's pastoral constitutions, promulgated by Pope Paul VI (7 December 1965), *Gaudium et Spes* (GS) advocates that the Church is addressed to "the whole of humanity" in modern world (GS, c. 2). The Church is involved in remedying social problems such as poverty, low literacy, lack of access to health care, environmental degradation, human trafficking, conflict and war, peace-building, etc. Such involvements are known widely as missions or Catholic missions (Boelaars 2005; Eddy Kristiyanto 2015).

2. The Church and The Congregations

In general, *Lumen Gentium* (LG) speaks about the Church as the people of God. It has a hierarchy (bishops, priests, deacons), laity (the faithful of Christ), and the religious (men and women). Who are they religious? According to LG, religious are people who dedicate themselves to God through the profession of evangelical counsels: chastity, poverty, and obedience (LG, c. 43). It also states that "...the religious state of life is not an intermediate state between the clerical and lay states." (LG, c. 43). LG seems avoiding the concept of religious position as "a bridge" between hierarchy and laity. Conversely, hierarchy, laity, and religious are the agents of the Church to work for its missions. Furthermore, LG announces the purpose of profession is "...more intimately consecrated to divine service."

(LG, c. 44). Finally, LG declares: “Religious should carefully keep before their minds the fact that the Church presents Christ to believers and non-believers alike in a striking manner daily through them.” (LG, c. 45). This statement affirms that religious is the manifestation of the Church in real praxis. Religious are the Church’s agents beside hierarchy and laity. Noticeably, LG depicts the distinction between laity and religious lies on the profession of evangelical counsels (vows). Religious consecrate their whole life for the Church’s missions under their vows while the faithful of Christ (laity) dedicate their life for God without vows. In short, LG seems to speak about religious as people (men and women) and not about the congregations as religious institutes.

Religious men are called commonly as monks or friars, while religious women are named as nuns or sisters. Their works are known as missions. So, religious are missionaries. The communion of religious men or religious women is named as congregation. Ecclesiastical law or Code of Canon Law (CCL, 1983) formulates that the congregation is “life consecrated” and “religious institutes”. Canon describes:

The life consecrated... are totally dedicated to God...in the service of God’s Kingdom, for the honor of God, to the building up of the Church, and to the salvation of the world, ... having been made an outstanding sign in the Church, foretell the heavenly glory. (Canon, c. 573 §1).

Other canon recounts:

A religious institute is a society in which, in accordance with their own law, the members pronounce public vows and live a fraternal life in common. The vows are either perpetual or temporary; if the latter, they are to be renewed when the time elapses. (Canon, c. 607 §2).

Canons clarify the difference between *religious* (people, men or women) and *religious institute*. Religious people are individuals who sacrifice and consecrate their life to God, to the Church, to the salvation of the world. They have perpetual or temporary vows (chastity, poverty, obedience). “Perpetual” means the sacrificial promise to the Church for their entire life while “temporary” means the renewable vows until religious proclaims it for their entire life. Conversely, religious institute is a society or religious unity. It is “congregation”. Term “congregation” is from Latin word *congregare* (verb). It means: to herd together, collect in a flock, gather. It is formed by *con* (together) + *regare* (gather). Then, *congregatio* or *congregationem* (noun) means: an assembling together, union, society (etymonline.com).

In other words, it can be said that religious are the Church’s agents, divine service are the Church’s missions, and the congregations are the Church’s units. So, there are agents (people), missions (works), and units (institutions).

3. The Church and Its Missions

This research explores the life trajectory of three Indonesian religious women. It is a need to show what the Church is for Indonesians.

Eddy Kristiyanto (2015), an Indonesian professor of the history of the Church, argues that the Church has many unreplacable roles to grow Indonesian society. Through historical textual inquiry, he affirms that Christianity is a style of life (2015: 10) and the Church is primarily a missionary institution for Indonesians (2015: 23). As a style of life, Christianity is a number of spiritual values and culture. However, as a social institution, the Church is one of missionary institutions among other religions such as Islam, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism (2015: 23). Furthermore, he explains that Indonesia admitted that Islam, Catholicism, Protestantism, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism are Indonesian formal religions even though such religions are not local origin. They came from

outside of Indonesia (2015: 31). They performed their superiority by eliminating local beliefs. Actually, before such religions penetrated their teachings in the country, each Indonesian ethnicity had their own traditional beliefs or local “religion”. Until now, traditional beliefs were still alive among the ethnical clans although they belonged to one of national formal religions (2015: 43). In his view, the Church is “*kawanan kecil Katolik*” (the small Catholics) among other religions in Indonesia. It is a small institution in comparison to Islam or Protestantism. However, it has been participated in the development of economics, politics, education, healthcare, tolerance and peace, in Indonesia. For example, the Church has many small Catholic groups which become “salt and light” in their daily activities (2015: 210). In short, he says: “without the Church there is no Indonesia as a nation.”(2015: 207).

Huub J.W.M. Boelaars (2005:59), a Dutch sociologist, noted that Catholicism (Church) was planted by Portuguese and the Netherlands missionaries in Indonesia since 16th century. At earlier period, the Church came from South India to Sumatra Island in 7th century (2005: 59-60) and some dioceses in Java and Sumatra island have existed since 13th century (2005: 60-61). In historical facts, Portuguese missionaries arrived to the archipelago country in 16th century (2005: 61-66). However, the Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) from the Netherlands expropriated the missions. VOC replaced Catholicism with Protestantism (*zendings*). VOC gave a new name to the country: *Dutch East Indies* (2005: 67-69). In 1789, French Revolution reconfigured *adagium* “Gospel, Gold, Glory” to another *adagium* “Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite”. Imperial France then dissolved VOC. As a consequence, the Catholic Church of the Netherlands had a new possibility to send missionaries to Indonesia in 1807 (2005: 72). As noticed by Willemsen, the peak arrival of Dutch missionaries (monks and sisters) in Indonesia was around 1856-1940 (2004: 29-36). During this period, they established the Church primarily through its missions such as parish works, dormitories, orphanages, educations, hospitals, handcrafts and skill-trainings. These missionary works were called Catholic missions (Boelaars 2005: 104-107, Willemsen 2004: 30-36).

On 17 August 1945, Indonesia proclaimed its independency from the Netherlands’ colony. Indonesia’s proclamation directly affected the Catholic missions. The new government asked for a transition from the Dutch to Indonesian (Willemsen 2004: 36-37). This transition is named “*Indonesianisasi*”. It is the concept of the transition process of the Church’s works from Dutch to Indonesian (see, Boelaars 2005: 27). At the same time, such transition gave a meaning of decolonialization, in the sense that Indonesian demanded delinking of Dutch colonial structures, interests, socio-economics and politics (Boelaars, 2005: 127). Between 1950 to 1960, “internationalization missions” took place in Indonesia. There were missionaries from Germany, Italy, United States, France, Switzerland, Mexico, Japan, and the Philippines arriving (Boelaars 2005: 260). Nevertheless, it was triggered, particularly in 1959, by Indonesian government prohibition letter that Dutch missionaries were forbidden to teach in Catholic schools. Since 1960, such policy encouraged the growth of local missionaries (Indonesian religious). In 1961, the Pope John XXIII declared the status of the Church in Indonesia changed from Catholic missions to Indonesian Catholic Church with its own hierarchy (Boelaars 2005: 139). Indonesians took it as an advantage to nationalize the Church becoming local-regional and national in the middle of society that was comprised of a majority of Muslim citizens.

Furthermore, in 1962-1965, the Second Vatican Council (SVC) constituted that the Church should be inclusive and pluralistic. It was a fundamental reposition of the Church because it already excluded non-Christian people by affirming *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* (outside of the Church there is no salvation) since Florence Council (1538-1545). By taking the reformative notion of SVC, from 1970 to 1985, Majelis Agung Waligereja Indonesia (MAWI) or “Indonesian Bishops Supreme Councils” regulated many local ecclesiastical

policies and ministries for the whole archipelago. MAWI advised all components of the Church had to be contextual and local institution in diverse ethnicities and cultures (see, Boelaars 2005: 154). For example, MAWI advocated to include ethnical traditions and customs (e.g. language, songs, dance) into liturgical praying (Boelaars 2005: 165). This inclusive position encouraged the Church's growth becoming an inculturative Church (Boelaars 2005: 396). It means the Church could include local cultures (e.g. language, songs). Conversely, the local cultures could embody the Church (liturgical prayers). The Church and the local cultures works together. In Boelaars's view, the number of religious men and women in Indonesia have increased significantly from 1940 to 1990. The transition of the Church from Catholic missions to an inculturative Church also occurred during this period.

4. Missions and Missionaries

Eddy Kristiyanto (2015) and Boelaars (2005) present the Church as a missionary and an inculturative Church throughout its missions and missionaries. This research tries to elaborate missions as the Church's works and missionaries as the Church's agents in order to show mutual relation between works and human capability.

In CCL's view, missions are works for God, the Church, the salvation of the world. That the Church should participate to overcome social problems such as poverty, low literacy, lack of access to health care, environmental degradation, human trafficking, conflict and war, peace-building (LG, c. 2). Actually, the concept of Catholic missions has portrayed the real works of the Church such as parishes, dormitories, orphanages, educations, hospitals, handcrafts and skill-trainings. Noticeably, working on such services should be achieved by proper capability, education and skill. The Church's agents should be educated and prepared before they are sent into the field's missions. Such formation is regulated by CCL. Canon says:

Formation is to be systematic, adapted to the capacity of the members, spiritual and apostolic, both doctrinal and practical. Suitable ecclesiastical and civil degrees are to be obtained as opportunity offers. During the period of formation members are not to be given offices and undertakings which hinder their formation. (Canon, c. 660).

Canon explains that the congregation have to give proper formation to its members to develop their human capability. Through its own constitution, the congregations regulate its member's formation based on its spirituality. The purpose is that the members of the congregation can participate in the Church's missions as their sacrifice offered to God or their life consecrated to the Church. That they could be involved in the development of society. In this research view, these are the constitutive elements of congregation.

5. A Crisis

In the past, the Church had many European missionaries around the world. Indonesia can be seen as an example. However, the situation drastically changed in last four to five decades. Recently, for example, Anton Milh and Stefan van Erp (2017), as part of academic persons in KU Leuven-Belgium, have conducted a research of the real condition of some congregations in the Netherlands and Belgium. They asked some superiors of the congregations to write their works, conditions, and expectations. They found that a few congregations struggled to look for new works to survive in millennial era. For example, they purposed monasteries to become a cheap hostelrys, restaurants, etc. Such congregations try to renew their missions in the middle of secularism where the divine services are eliminated from public services in Western civilization. However, most of them have stated that they

prefer to close their congregation by asking “Lord, may your slaves come to You in peace?” (Milh, 2017: 13). Their reasons are less works in public services, less benefactors, low financial income, the members who become older, and the difficulties of monasterial buildings maintenance. It can be said that religious congregations are experiencing crisis in Europe.

Conclusion

The presence of congregations is always understood as the representatives of the Church. Congregation is another name of the Church itself. However, congregations are not the same as the Church as a whole. Congregations are only small entity of the wholeness of the Church. Furthermore, there are congregations for men and for women within the Church. Religious men are called commonly as monks and friars, while religious women are named as nuns and sisters. Their works are known as missions. So that, religious are called as missionaries. To be missionaries, religious people should be educated properly through a systematic formation to develop their human capability so that they can participate in the Church’s missions such as schools, hospitals, skill-trainings, etc. These are the constitutive elements of congregation.

Chapter 3 : I am Happy to Sacrifice Myself

Section one of this chapter will depict the general overview of the Italian congregation. Section two will discuss narrative story telling of the participants in a form of reconstruction of the life story with thematic chronological analysis. Through these two sections, this research attempts to unveil some indications that religious Indonesian women have experienced the blocked access that generates labor exploitation in the congregation.

1. The “Italian” Congregation

The term “Italian” in this chapter refers to Italy as the origins of the congregation. To consider the anonymity and the ethic of “do no harm”, this research only presents limited information of the Italian congregation. It would not explain name, address, chapters, statistic members, monasteries, financials, nor rules. Based on field’s findings during visits, 8-25/7/2019, it collects three general information about the Italian congregation.

First, it is an active (missionary) congregation. The congregation was founded by an Italian friar in the 19th century in southern Italy. By embracing simplicity as the fundamental style of life, its primary mission intended to help women who were marginalized from the regional society such as prostitutes, orphans, and the unemployed. In later development, the congregation only works on education, orphanages, clinics and hospital sector, helped in parish, and care for the aged. It is an active congregation, and not a contemplative one. The term “active” means that the congregation participates actively in the worldly social problem. It is different than the “contemplative” one, which dedicating into a life of monastic intense prayer in silence and solitude.

Second, it is an international congregation. The congregation members are from different nationalities. It has one main language for the congregation: Italian. Other languages can be used by each entity in their country. For example, members who are working in the Philippines, they should speak in Tagalog and English. Further, the congregation has many communities where its members live together in the cloisters. One cloister is formatted as a community, leaded by a superior. The number of members is variable. For example, one community has four members in Umbria Province, in central Italy. Another example, two communities have eight members in different places in Rimini Province, northern Italy. Moreover, it has a central Mother House in southern Italy. According to congregation’s constitutions, it is governed by one Mother General with her councilors. Mother General is a general superior of the congregation who has responsibility to govern the congregation. In her duty and governance, she is assisted by some councilors. The superior and her councilors are elected by congregation’s members through election. Furthermore, this congregation has many entities in some countries such as Colombia, Poland-Romania, India, Philippine, South Korea, Indonesia, East Timor, and Thailand. Each entity has its own provincial superior and councilors except in Indonesia, East Timor, and Thailand. Provincial superior and her councilors are elected by local entities election under general superior’s agreement.

Third, the congregation has its general constitution to regulate its formation and missions according to the Code of Canon Law: basic formation (four years), juniorate formation (six to nine years), and on-going formation (whole life). In the basic formation a candidate has to be an aspirant for 1 year, to be a postulant for 1 year, to be a novice for 2 years. During this period a candidate will be accompanied by the congregation to know religious life, spirituality, charism, and mission (Canon, cc. 646, 656). By completing the basic

formation, a candidate will become a junior sister by proclaiming her vows (obedience, poverty, chastity) (Canon, c. 573). Such vows are called as temporary profession (Canon 607). It means that a junior sister/juniorate is obligated to live in her vows until she accomplished her juniorate. After six years, a juniorate can apply for perpetual vows. Or, she can ask for an extra time to be a junior for 1 to 3 more years. For three last additional years, she needs to renew her vows every year (Canon, c. 607). According to the congregation's policy, junior sisters should assimilate themselves to the works of the congregation in the community (Canon, c. 660). Finally, a junior sister will become a permanent member of the congregation if she takes her eternal vows. As a permanent member, she has a duty to sacrifice her whole life for the benefit of the congregation and to work for its missions (Canon, c. 573). In addition, in internal policy of the congregation, its members have the same right to get 40 days for holidays after they are staying or working for four years. All the cost will be paid out by the congregation. However, if a sister is an Italian, she has a right to have a holiday for 10 days every year. For daily living cost, some money will be given by the congregation. Also, every sister gets pocket money each month.

2. Participants' Narrative Life Story

The participants' life story addresses both life history (the experienced life) and life story (the narrated life story). Their meaningful story will be reconstructed into four chronologic analytical themes: pre-religious life phase, initial religious life, temporary religious status, expectations by being a permanent member.

2.1. Pre-religious life

Pre-religious life is a period of preparation where every participant has their specific vocational impulse of religious life. In this phase, they build proper motivation to become a member of religious women. For Filomena, Carmina, and Monica, this process was not flawlessly because cultural defiance came to preclude the lofty ideal.

Filomena was triggered by a beautiful dream of religious life as a form of paradise. She says:

When I was a child, I never had in my mind that I will become a nun one day. My parents and brothers also had the same thoughts. However, I decided to be a nun after graduating from Senior High School in 2007. At that time, I imagined that religious life is a form of joyful life where people live in peace, only praying, eating, sleeping, like living in paradise, no working and no studying. In the monastery, I will have a better life. Therefore, I decided to join the religious life. (Interview, 12/7/2019)

Having a different trigger, Carmina had intention to dedicate herself into religious vocation from the beginning. She states:

I have my vocation since my childhood. It was influenced by our house location which is not so far from the parish. And, I knew the congregation from other sisters who have entered the congregation. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

Just like Carmina, Monica wondered about the possibility of being a nun since childhood. But, she decided to join in an Italian congregation after graduating from Senior High School. She declares:

I was wondering to be a nun since my childhood. In 2002, I found one congregation which come from Naples, where the Mother Centre House of congregation settles, in the southern

Italy. I felt in love to this congregation specifically because I like so much to have the beautiful long tunic till the feet. (Interview, 20/7/2019)

Obviously, the participants have owned different reasons why they entered to the congregation. These are: to live a joyful life, as a result of an initial dedication, and to dress in a beautiful tunic.

However, ethnical clan rules arose to obstruct and interfere such nice imagination. Having grown in a system of patriarchal values, for example, Filomena says:

My mother and brothers did not agree. Due to this fact, I believed that my family surely would not give their permission. Nevertheless, I could understand this situation that it was rooted deeply in our tradition and culture. I realized that I am a single daughter of my parents and the only sister of my brothers. This was a strong reason for them to stop me entering a religious life. (Interview, 12/7/2019)

Carmina peeps out the same tone. It seems that Carmina is speaking of whether she has to stay in her religious choice or to choose her traditional rules. She presents:

I am the youngest in my family. I have three sisters. According to our traditional laws, I should receive an inheritance, for instance, my parents' house and a bit of land. That is my right. But, I do not take it. I give it to my other sisters. I let them maintaining it. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

A different story is told by Monica. She mentions her cultural marital system "*belis*". Her family pullulated a heavier inhibition on her. She was strongly hampered by her father because he has wished that she would get married. She acknowledges:

At that time (2002), I consulted my will (being a nun) to my parents and uncle (her mother's brother). My father did not agree with my decision and did not permit me to join into religious women. But my mother said 'yes'. In respect to my father, I left the house and went to my uncle's house in other island of Flores island. According to our traditional custom's rules, my uncle has a right to give his protection upon me. Also, my uncle is the one who will receive "*belis*"(dowry) if I am going to get married. Nevertheless, my uncle gave his permission deliberately because he was educated in junior Seminary. He understood the situation. (Interview, 20/7/2019)

One can say that, in one hand, religious life was raised in the participant's head as "a special style of life", like a paradise, to which they wished to have; on the other hand, the ethnical patriarchal marital system from which they grew in impeded them.

2.2. Initial religious life

Canon constitutes: "Formation is to be systematic, adapted to the capacity of the members, spiritual and apostolic, both doctrinal and practical." (Canon 660). Molding to Canon, the congregation decides a period of basic formation during four years. Filomena followed her basic formation in Indonesia. Carmina experienced it in the Philippines. Monica accomplished it in Italy.

Filomena tells here that she was attempting to know closely what religious life and the congregation truly are. Her narration shows that she had to follow a normative formation at the beginning of her vocation. She narrates:

I began gladly my life as an aspirant, then as a postulant and novice in 2008 to 2012, in Sikka Regency, the East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. During this basic formation, I found many things about religious life, spirituality, the congregation charism and missions. (Interview, 12/7/2019)

Carmina proclaims another story. She was thinking hardly her vocation during her basic formation. Although she does not mention anything about how her daily formation in the Philippine was, but she intends to say that it was not easy for her to reach her dream becoming a nun at the early of her vocation. She says:

In 2005 to 2009, I was in the Philippine for the basic formation when all these sorrow occurred. My mother died in January 2008 and my father died the next month, February 2008. I lost my parents only in a month. I endured loneliness and suffering. I could not do anything. I did not even have an opportunity to see my parents face for the last time. Why? Why could not I come back to Indonesia? The reason was the Canon Law of the Catholic Church that the candidates should complete two years in the novitiate period without any eliminating days. So, if I asked some days to go back to Indonesia, it meant I have to withdraw from the congregation. I was thinking deeply about my decision. I had to choose: my vocation or my sadness. But, I decided to stay in. Because this is my own will, my decision. I surrendered on God's providence. And, in memory of my parents, I stand to pray for their eternal life in heaven every day. I believe that my parents always pray for me from heaven. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

Monica talks about the internal and external courses that she had in her basic formation in Italy. She seems want to describe that the congregation has a normative formation according to the Code of Canon Law. She states:

In 2003, I started my vocation as an aspirant with other young girls (13 persons) in southern Italy. In 2004, I continued my life as postulant. In 2005 to 2007, I spent time for novitiate phase. We had our own courses for basic formation in the monastery. Sometimes, we attended a general course for all novices from other congregations. And I saw that there were only a few novices from Italy. We were around two hundred novices, and Italians were less than ten. Most of us were Indonesians and a few Vietnamese. (Interview, 20/7/2019)

However, she has an interesting story while she was assisting senior sister in the 'home care for mental health patients'. Monica indicates that the new candidates had to follow some works to see the real missions of the congregation. She says:

I used to be afraid to face psychopathic people. At that time (2003), it was a very difficult situation for me that I had to meet with them. I saw that there were not only the disoriented people, but I was looking at myself going to be crazy as well. It was so rare for me that I must nurse, not only old women, but also old men. As it was a new experience, I needed to anticipate the danger that could happen. As an example, one of the patients has an obsession to me. This patient wishes to have me all the time if he needs help. He neglects other sisters. For safety reason, I had to escape from that man and avoided to meet him. Hence, I was constrained to eat my food in the kitchen for a few days. At the end, I perceived it as "prima proba" (the first exam) because after experiencing that moment with fear and sadness, I was sure that I become stronger than before. (Interview, 20/7/2019)

According to Filomena, Carmina, and Monica, it can be said that they were learning "European Culture" (Italian congregation's spirituality, charism, missions) through basic formation in different countries (Indonesia, Philippine, Italy). Filomena tells it explicitly. Carmina expresses it implicitly by arguing "culture crash" between her culture or the congregation's culture. Monica states it clearly by saying her experience of "culture shock".

2.3. Temporary religious status

Filomena, Carmina and Monica step out to temporary religious status which is called as juniorate formation. They started it by taking their vows: chastity, poverty, obedience. Each of them recounted their personal unique experiences.

Filomena

Filomena sketches out her dream, lingual learning, and works. She follows her juniorate formation in two places: southern and northern Italy. Before leaving her country, she had a beautiful imagination about Italy. She describes:

In January 2013, I and 16 other junior sisters, all Indonesians, were brought by the congregation to Italy after we took our vows in 2012. I still remember when I ascertained that the Mother Centre House of the congregation is in Italy, I had one thing in my mind all the time. It was about Rome. I was a fans of Soccer Club, AS Roma, from Italy. I was imagining that I will go to Rome. I will meet Italian people. I will acquaint to Europeans, Italians, tall, white, generous. And, I also had a hope to see the Vatican, the pope's place. I have always watched a live streaming of Christmas Holy Mass from the Vatican on 25th December every year during my stay in basic formation house. I dreamed that I will meet the pope one day. I will fly to Rome and I believed that to live in Rome means to have a paradise. (Interview, 12/7/2019)

By holding such heavenly image of Italy, she continues to report her dominant routine works in southern Italy. She proclaims:

In 2013 to 2017, I was working in Day Care House for preschoolers (children under 6 years old). My job was to assist our sisters to care the toddlers while I was practicing my poor Italian language. I did such job from Monday to Saturday, from early morning to the afternoon. I was in that service around five years. On Sunday, other sisters and I went to the parish for helping. Sometimes, according to me, to live in Italy and to do such job is very hard because I needed a time for assimilation and integration through language, weather, food, and particularly into diverse sisters. Of course, I know, it is not easy. It is difficult. For me, hard work and language barrier were most challenging. (Interview, 12/7/2019)

Moving to central Italy in 2018, she shares two different stories. One is about her dispute around her works. She argues:

Now, it is quite difficult, for example, to take a time to study because we are only four sisters in the community. I have many things to do inside. I already knew the decision of our congregation councils that it is better to take our skill-upgrading program in our country so that we can understand language better. That is why there are senior sisters who return to Indonesia for studying. In other time, I heard Italian sisters said: "Our Indonesian sisters have well solidarity and hospitality, friendly, respect and polite." but sometimes I have a dispute. For example, if our leader of community controlled everything by saying "you have to clean here and to wash there", I replied directly: "Sister, I came here not to be a worker. I came here to be a nun. We are here to serve, not to serve you only, but we should serve each other, you also have to serve, to help." (Interview, 12/7/2019)

Other story is about her happiness. She expresses:

Until now, I will become a permanent member and I wish to sacrifice myself for the congregation. I am happy. I can speak in Italian. I feel that our community is like my own home. I do not think that this is about congregation anymore. This is about my own house. When I was working in Day Care House, everything was under control by senior sisters. Here, I feel free to do my ministry. Of course, I have to work every day. Why do we have to work? For example, if you are in your house, it is not possible that you just sit or eat. You have to work. If someone does not work, it is impossible to get something. If I consider myself as the owner, it means I have to work. Because, it is not possible to call servants to work here. (Interview, 12/7/2019)

In short, Filomena tells about an ideal “paradise” in Italy and a real “work” condition. Between an ideal situation and real condition is quite different but she is happy on it because she can speak in Italian and feel at home.

Carmina

Carmina notifies her first sight of works, her attempts speaking in Italian and practical activities. Carmina follows her juniorate phase in three places: Bali-Indonesia, southern Italy, and northern Italy. She has some reasons why she decided to continue her juniorate in Italy. She claims:

In 2009, I took my vows in Philippine. From 2009 to 2012, I was working in Bali, Indonesia. In 2012, our Mother General came to visit us. At that time, she offered us to explore a new experience. She said: “I give you several choices of places: going to the Philippines, Indonesia or Italy.” And I chose Italy. I wanted to search for new experience. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

For the first six months in Italy, she spent some time for a short orientation of the congregation atmosphere and missions in southern Italy. She declares:

In the last week of February 2013, we (2 Indonesian and 5 East Timor sisters) arrived in Italy. It was in the winter. For six months I stayed at Mother House in southern Italy. In this place, I experienced three works. The first, to learn Italian language for an hour per day. It began at 15.00 p.m. to 16.00 p.m. The second, we clean a big and old house. We did this job every day. The third, to assist other sisters to care for the aged (all grandmothers). My task was to wash dishes and helping to bathe the elderly. Honestly, I did not have any experiences to do this job. I was shocked to see such situation because we always try to take care our parents until they died at our home in our culture. But here, people are so busy to work and to care their own children so that they do not have time anymore to nurse their parents. They put their parents in nursing home and sometimes they come to see. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

In the middle of her sharing, she remembers that she also has assisted in Day Care House. So, she continues:

Especially in the morning, I also went to help in Day Care House works while I learned Italian language with preschoolers. My experience of learning Italian language with kids was better. Because they talked slowly. For six months I have been with the toddlers. It was the first time for me to be with European kids. I felt stiff to care for European children. It is not so easy because people cannot beat or yell at them. If they were naughty, I admonished them patiently. We are not allowed to be rude. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

After finishing orientation time, she tells of her practical activities in northern Italy. She spent approximately six years of her life time in this region. She narrates:

When we arrived, there was one lady who used to feed chicken. Since we came, one of the old sisters said: “Let the young people replace her.” The thing is that lady is already old. From there we start to wake up earlier. We say our morning prayer at 06.30 a.m. After that we meditated until 8 o'clock. Then, we have breakfast. During breakfast, we sometimes read the constitution or the words of our founder. Then we work to clean house, serving the guests, cooking food, feeding chicken, watering vegetables, etc. At 12.00 o'clock, we have lunch for about an hour. Then we have an hour for rest. At 15.00 o'clock, we say rosary prayer before the priest comes and celebrates the mass with us. Then, in the afternoon, we iron the bed linen, prepare the rooms, etc. At 18.00 o'clock we say our evening prayer. After that, we prepare our dinner. Usually, we have our dinner at 19.00. For night prayer, we do it at 20.00. This is our daily regular schedule. We are happy with these activities. On Sunday, we go to sing in the parish. On the same day, we sometimes visit the sick in the hospital

around this region. This is also the charism from the founder of the congregation. In a summer like now, we don't have time yet to visit the sick because it's quite busy. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

Furthermore, she continues to tell what is an example of her “quite busy” in the monastery. She says:

In the summer, there is a festival in this place every year. Many people come. They are not only Italians, but also Germans, British, Belgians, and others. During the festival, they stay in this solitude house. But we have to work longer than usual. Because, when the festival is performing, sometimes our guests come back to this house after mid-night or in early morning. So, we make a schedule for who goes to sleep first, who goes waiting. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

In short, Carmina argues about her seeking for new experience and she got a shocking experience of “European culture”. She tells her activities such as learning language, internal transition’s works including to host the guests. She is happy with them.

Monica

Monica imparts her long attempt to learn Italian language and informs her tasks. She has been living around seventeen years in Italy. She starts by telling of her struggles to learn the Italian language from at the beginning of her religious life until juniorate phase in southern Italy. She proclaims:

In 2007, I began my juniorate in southern Italy. In this place, I was working in Day Care House for toddlers for one year. At that time I deepened my Italian language in a simple conversation with the kids, preschoolers. I met them from Monday to Saturday, from 07.00 to 17.00. And, I was growing better. Actually, I have learned it for three hours in a day in my basic formation. We started to learn grammatical then practical. It did not work well. Four years was not enough. (Interview, 20/7/2019)

Having improved her Italian language in southern Italy, Monica then steps to the next story when she described staying in solitude house in northern Italy. She states:

In 2008, I moved to other community in Rimini Province, in the north of Italy. I stayed at solitude house. I spent my life time here around eight years. My activities were to host the guests, to do internal jobs, to help in parish, to visit the sick, etc. I was called as a little sister or young sister at that time. Because I was the youngest sister in the community. Actually, we received this big house from the other sisters of the other congregation. They have the same spirituality with us in particular vows and simplicity. Until now, this community is still called as “monastero”. It means solitude house within the atmosphere of silence and contemplative. There remains two old sisters, but they are still active. They are very “acogliente” (warm welcoming) to young sisters like me. However, those old sisters still have an authority. People here call it “potere” (strength), position. They are afraid everything will be taken by us, the newcomer. I have to tell them “not to be afraid of us”. However, from that moment, they began to judge me because of my “direct-speaking” character. Italians say “dispetto”, meaning that I do not respect you although I am not hurting you. But then I began to learn about their characters, and slowly, we built good relationship and made an appearance of our “paradiso” (paradise). (Interview, 20/7/2019)

Monica explains of her attempts to learn the Italian language and to face a different culture and background with Italian sisters. She also mentions about her internal/external jobs and the age-gap (young and old) in her community.

2.4. Permanent religious life

This is the last part of their story telling. They perform here their notion and expectation for the future. Filomena tries to explain juniorate phase. Carmina tells her paradise in solitude house. And Monica shares her new challenges for the future.

Filomena

Filomena is not yet a permanent member of the congregation. But, she has something to tell. She starts:

In juniorate formation, junior sisters and I should deepen our knowledge about the congregation's spirituality, sisterhood, charism and missions in the community. Many years ago, all juniors should take any specialization (e.g. nurse, teacher, doctor) but many of them left the congregation after graduating. In the congregation's view, it is an incongruous that sisters join into religious life just for getting better education. It is a scandal and an inexpedient. Sometimes, I think that juniors abused the 'trust' from the congregation. For example, some of juniors failed to complete their study. They got so bad grades. It's not that the congregation doesn't want to send us to study. The only problem is whether we accept "their trust" and carry them out properly. Another factor is now we have a financial crisis. We have low income and less benefactors. Therefore, we must maintain the congregation and must work hardly. (Interview, 12/7/2019)

Carmina

Carmina becomes a permanent member of the congregation around four years. She explains her opinion about further education. She says:

Since 2015, I become a permanent member of the congregation. And, I have been here around six and half years. I am happy to be here. Because I have a paradise here, like Italian saying: "Mangare bene! Preghiare bene! Labore bene! Dormire bene! Tutto bene! Questo monastero è il paradiso!" (Good eating! Good praying! Good working! Good sleeping! All is good! This monastery is a paradise!). I do not demand that I have to have great education, skill, professionalism, or whatever. I do not ask to study at the university or at the institute. Because, to study means to expand my knowledge and then I have some insights. But, for what? What is its goal? It is also for the benefit of the congregation. For me, my ministry and my life is a testimony of the gospel, the core of religious life. (Interview, 17/7/2019)

Monica

Approximately five years Monica becomes a permanent member of the congregation. She expects something for the future. She says:

Last year (2018), I was sent by Mother General to work in this community where I am staying now. Here, I have many things to do. I help the sisters to care for the toddlers while I am studying at Institute. Every Sunday, I help in the parish works. Also, I have responsibility to host our guests. I am happy to do that. Actually, in 2017, I was allowed by the congregation to continue my education (bachelor) at Institute of Religious Sciences in Rimini like Marina (Indonesian) who is studying now for her master's degree. I was interested to teach catechism for the youth and lay people. Of course, we need to have broad insights and knowledge. It is not enough with just practical things. We should have good education. It is a necessity because most of people today, even they are elder or retired, and they have already graduated from certain university or institute, they still keep their curiosity to know many things. They still go to the college and studying. Conversely, we have very few permanent sisters who wish to study or to have any specialization. I found that our knowledges are not compatible to the lay people's when we have a dialogue with them. They know better than sisters. Of course, for a nun like me, to study in a deep way or to have any specializa-

tion is not a form of ambition to be very professional. No! Study is a process that makes me humble, simple, joyful person. In my view, for our society today, particularly in individualistic society like in Italy, our witnesses as religious women are to live our style of life originally, and we prepare ourselves to be a listener or friend to hear family's problem, burn-out in job, well or bad situation. This is my new challenges. (Interview, 20/7/2019)

Filomena shares that the blocked access is occurred in the congregation. She shares that the blocked access is caused first by the congregation's policy and mistrust, secondly by the juniorates' bad grades and failures. Other factor is financial crisis. Carmina does not state anything about the blocked access. She claims that she is happy. For her, to work is to testify religious life. Monica reveals that she is very busy to do many things. However, she has a vision that it is necessary for every sister to develop their human capability.

Conclusion

Referring to the data above, there are two inferences that can be recapitulated. Firstly, the Italian congregation is a missionary, an active and an international congregation. It has its own law to regulate its proper formation and makes its own policy such as basic formation for four years, juniorate for six to nine years, holiday for 40 days, pocket money, etc. Secondly, the participants narrative life stories reveal the reality of ideal intention and actual conditions. Those are: (1) their dreams of religious life as paradise blocked by their ethnical culture; (2) they got the ecclesial normative formation on a basic level (the knowledge of religious life, spirituality, charism and missions) but they faced "culture clash", for instance, Monica was shocked to work and care house for mental health patients; (3) they should have had a proper formation during temporary religious status (education, skill-trainings) but they have got only learning Italian language and working (internal and external jobs) including the role of age; (4) they spoke of being a permanent member of the congregation, Filomena explains the causes of the blocked access for junior sisters (e.g. institute policy, financial crisis, failure, abused trust) while Carmina focuses on her ministry or testimonial religious life, and then Monica highlights how important an advanced formal education and specialization is for the future. In general, they are happy to sacrifice themselves.

Chapter 4 : The Instruments of Religious Vocations

In this chapter, field findings will be explored by demonstrating the participants reasons entering an Italian congregation based on an observational visits to their original places in Indonesia. As mentioned before, the Church has important roles to develop society in Indonesia (Boelaars 2005, Eddy Kristiyanto 2015). However, why did some young girls decide to join into one congregation in Italy?

1. Social Ethnical Cost

By visiting the participants original place and their parents/siblings/family in East Nusa Tenggara Province and having specific access through the parish priest around the region, I believe (Fieldwork, 2-31/8/2019) that the ethnic traditional customs have strongly influenced the growth of their vocation.

Under the customary' law in the participants region, as told by the participants' families (visits, 19-25/8/2019), a girl should marry a man in the patriarchal system: *belis* (marital payment/dowry), *wali* (gifts of recompensation) and *waka* (respect and dignity). To marry a girl, a man and his family must pay a number of animals (e.g. 7 buffalos, 7 horses, 7 goats, lot of coconuts) to his bride's family in order to legalize their marital bound under the custom's law. All animals cannot be exchanged by money. It is called as *belis*. And *wali* means a woman with her family should give any recompensation gifts to the bridegroom's family (e.g. traditional clothes, pigs, rice). After both families stated their agreement with *belis* and *wali*, they will gain their *waka*, a position of any respect and dignity from their clan and ethnical society. All these things are parts of social ethnical cost to live around the region. However, what will happen if a girl decides to be a nun? In this research, the participants parents/siblings used to disagree with their daughter or sister in becoming a nun because they considered the bounds of their extended family through marital system.

It is seen that a nun always comes from her family. It means that she has been growing in any values, cultures, beliefs, languages, customs and rites, etc. and family usually has a great influence to support or to dis-courage somebody who wishes to become a nun. For example, Filomena, Carmina and Monica come from the same region and ethnicity. They grew in the similar culture and traditional customs. If I listened to their families' spoken testimonials, I could not avoid to argue that the disagreement of the families to their daughter or sibling decision is affected by the cultural background argument of the bound of marital system among the clan. It is caused by the patriarchal system about *belis*, *wali*, and *waka*. So, for a girl like them, to become a nun means also to escape from such "payment" transaction and social cost. They want to keep their own dignity as a woman. They jumped out from patriarchal ethnical exclusion. In other words, it is better for them to have a life as a nun with freedom somewhere rather than to have a husband and be imprisoned by social ethnical costs.

2. Personal Will

It is very clear from the life trajectory of Filomena, Carmina, and Monica, (Fieldwork, 8-25/7/2019) that they already had a strong will in the past to be parts of women religious life in congregation. Such reality leads me to conclude that all the participants decided to join into religious women because they want it and that was their dream since their child-

hood. In my view, that means they have free will and their choice was not imposed them by anyone.

However, there was a trigger for the beautiful dream as a nun. The trigger could be Holy Spirit or European modernity. If the Holy Spirit was a trigger, it is clear that it is sacrifice. But it probably has a correlation to the other trigger, which is the dream of a better life in Europe. Because, they knew that the center of Catholicism is in Rome, Vatican City, Italy. So, if they dwell in Italy, they think that they already arrive in the source of holiness. However, it is not a factual reality. They did not state that they came to Rome because they wanted to be a holy person. I think that it is closer to the dream of *European modernity* (the center of knowledge, Western white civilization) than to be a holy person.

3. Better life

There is no doubt for me to claim that they have a better life in religious women congregation (Fieldwork, 8-25/7/2019). They stated that they are happy to live and to work, to do ministry and to sacrifice. It can be understood that they enjoyed reaching their dream, for example, for Filomena. She has had some perceptions before of Italy as a developed country, modern, first world, the center of Catholicism, the place of Holy father or the Pope's palace. For her, the real condition of community is a better life. I got also the same sense from Carmina and Monica. For them, to enter such "world" means to gain something very fantastic and amazing world that they will live in. It is like to have a life of comfort, peaceful, like in heaven, a paradise.

However, I found that they have too much spiritual views about the real life. Is it true that to have a life in Italy is better than in Indonesia? Filomena said that to live and to work is very hard in Italy. And, three other sisters decided to go back to Indonesia because the lack of access to education and to renew skills. So, the notion of better life pertains to the standard living in Italy, which is better than in Indonesia. In other words, to live in *developed country* (Western Europe) is better than in a developing country (South Asia).

4. The Poor Condition

The concept of "better life in Europe" indicates an underlying issue such as living or low welfare in the participants' region (Fieldwork, 19-31/8/2019). There are some unclear factors that caused the majority of people in the East Nusa Tenggara of Indonesia to live in poor condition, unfertilized land, traditional farming, high social cost for ethnical rites, lack of access to education and welfare. Here, to define poverty is a complex concept. According to national statistics (Badan Pusat Statistik, Maret 2018) (BPS), the East Nusa Tenggara Province sits in the third place of the most suffering of the poverty among 33 provinces in Indonesia. BPS also indicates that there are many people (men and women) from the province migrated to other countries like Malaysia and those in the Middle East in order to look for any opportunities to earn income. Based on such factual poor condition, poverty is one of the many reasons why some people prefer to enter religious life than struggling to survive in the village. Religious life might be considered as an alternative option to escape from the real poverty. In my opinion, the poor condition is a part of the constitutive elements of Filomena and other sisters' decision getting into religious life. They wonder whether that if they lived in Italy, a *rich country*, they would have good welfare and well access.

5. Prestige and Privilege

During my stay in Jakarta, between 1 to 5 September 2019, I met a priest who came from the same region with the three nuns, from the East Nusa Tenggara Province, but he is staying now in Jakarta. He argued that to be a member of religious life in Europe is a “prestige”. He said:

To go to abroad and become a member of religious women in Europe is a prestige. We can see many times that people give big applause if they heard that sisters or priests are sent by their congregation overseas to do their mission rather than to do the same mission in our country. I think, our culture plays a big role to support people to join into religious life in Europe. In our culture, people give highest respect to the religious people (men and women) because they believe that the Church is the manifestation of the Divine. And, religious people are the persons who sacrifice themselves for the Church. They are a part of Divine agents. (Fieldnotes, 2/9/2019)

Apart from his opinion, I remember a priest who worked in Atambua for many years and he now stays in Labuan Bajo, Flores island, the East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. He said:

I was working for many years in Atambua. I ever met with and talked to some candidates families. I heard that some families were visited by certain congregations. They came to visit in order to promote their congregation and to take some young girls and to bring them to Italy. They are still very young, between 16 to 18 years old. Such congregations promised that they will guarantee the girls as their candidates to have a good life as a member of women religious congregation. Some family gave their permission gladly because their daughter will be a nun in Europe specifically in Italy. This is a prestige for them. (Fieldnotes, 19/08/2019).

Both opinions lead me to pay attention to the atmosphere of societal influence in the participants original places in the East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia. In the majority of Catholic civilization, as stated by two priests above, people believed that the Roman Catholic Church is the Divine manifestation in a concrete way. As a consequence, religious people are respected by society as the agents of the Divine. For some families, it is a prestige to sacrifice their relative members to the Church, included to some boys or girls who will become religious people. Besides, the families are gladly to give some offerings from their harvest or salary as their thanksgiving to God within the Church. They are always ready to spend time and everything for the needs of the Church. So, it is worthy that religious men and women get many privileges from the society. Seeing such privilege, it is understandable that young girls will happily sacrifice themselves for the Church. And also, families can acquire any advantage from it such as honor, influence, becoming famous, etc. It is the real fact for regional citizen that religious people have a specific position through their privilege in the society. So, it is not ridiculous to say that Filomena and other sisters have such perception since their childhood. Moreover, because they live and work in Italy (Europe), it would be both a privilege and also prestige. I can imagine that their perception of European countries as *first world* has a big role in this case.

Conclusion

According to the observations of this research, there are five instruments that provide the most influence on the three Indonesian girls’ decision to enter the religious women’s congregation. Those instruments are social ethnical cost, personal will, a better life, poor condition, privilege and prestige. And, there are two triggers of these instruments but both are

hidden in their migration reasons. One is “the escaping” from patriarchal marital system and social ethnical cost. Other is “Europe Hypnotics”. I use this term to articulate some Indonesian perceptions of Western Europe in particular Italy as a modern nation, developed country, rich nation, the first world, the center of knowledge, European white civilization. It is a clear example of Western Europe’s hegemony and domination over the rest of the world (see, Sachs 1992, Ziai 2007, Esteva et al. 2013, Escobar 1992,1995,2007, Quijano 2007, Mignolo 2002, 2007, 2009).

Chapter 5 : Daily Responsibilities

I have four ground arguments to describe the participants daily responsibilities in this chapter.

Firstly, I participated in participants daily activities in Italy such as to help the parish, to host guests, to care for toddlers and to do internal jobs in the house (e.g. to feed chicken, to wash dishes, to water the vegetables). I observed from Monday to Sunday how they prepared the rooms, to shop for basic needs, to laundry the bed linens, to collect fruits, to cook food, etc. They also still have to comply their ordinary rules such as morning prayer, mid-day prayer, evening prayer, and night prayer, and to attend the holy mass every day (Fieldwork, 8-25/7/2019). Secondly, the stories of three other Indonesian sisters who came back to Indonesia were the same. They had to work every day without having chances to develop their capabilities or gaining new skills while they lived in Europe (Fieldnotes, 27/8/2019). Thirdly, Monica proclaims that there are only a few sisters in the congregation who want to develop their education, specialization, and skills. Carmina, for example, focuses on her internal and external jobs without thinking of further education. Another example, Marcela (not real name), Filomena's fellow sister, admits that she does similar works (domestic services) in two different places in Italy since 2013 (Fieldnotes, 13/7/2019). Fourthly, the participants did not state that they have studied any specialization during their juniorate formation for renewing their capabilities. Marina (Indonesian sister, not real name) as one of the congregation's councilors gives clarification that junior sisters have to assimilate themselves into the congregation by working on domestic ministries and helping in parish works (Fieldnotes, 19/7/2019). This reality indicates that Indonesian nuns worked only for internal missions of the congregation.

For the Indonesian sisters, their daily responsibilities are the congregation's missions. They sacrifice themselves for such works. However, according to the observation of this research, their daily works could be conceptualized in different language and perspective by questioning: Who likes to do "the donkey works"?

1. Ordinary Tasks

I found (Fieldwork, 8-25/07/2019) that there is a little change in the congregation's formation, from *being a nun* to *becoming a domestic worker*. Carmina, for example, she works dominantly for internal jobs such as to clean the house, to host the guests, to prepare the rooms, to cook the food, to feed chickens, to collect the newspaper, to farm the garden, to water vegetables, to do laundry and to iron bed linen. She has already done the same job for six years. Monica has sacrificed four years of her life time during her basic formation for domestic works and eight years living in solitude house. Filomena was busy cleaning the house and hosting the guests for one and a half years. In my opinion, these facts are strong enough to claim that they are becoming *domestic employees*.

2. Retreat House

Furthermore, I have found (Fieldwork, 8-25/07/2019) that two houses of the congregation have been being formatted from *a monastery* to be *a hostelry* (northern and central Italy). By proposing a monastery to become a hostelry as well, such change gives direct impacts to the sisters' activities and works. They have to manage some jobs to cover the needs of the guests and also have to offer standard services to their clients. It means that the need of

workers is necessity. How can they solve this need? Filomena says “If I consider myself as the owner (of house), it means I have to work. Because, it is not possible to call servants to work here.” (Interview, 12/7/2019). If the congregation is not able to pay workers then it employs its own sisters to be workers. So, this tendency shows that sisters are becoming *hostelry waitresses*. For example, Carmina says: “...sometimes our guests come back to this house after mid-night or in the early morning, so we make a schedule for who goes to sleep first, who goes waiting.” (Interview, 17/7/2019).

3. Nursing House for The Aged

I also found information that working on house for the aged must be done by the congregation from Monday to Sunday. The members of the congregation have to care elders on standby position for 24 hours of a day. Actually, the congregation is not the owner of the house for the aged in southern Italy. It is the Italian government's. However, the congregation takes such work as its mission because some of its members are staying at this house. Carmina and Monica were shocked to do the congregation's mission to assist other sisters to bathe, wash, and care for the aged (Interview, 17 & 20/7/2019). It is not an exaggeration to state that there is a moving act from *a nun to be an unskilled nurse*. If the congregation intends to have some sisters as nurse, it has to send its members to study nursing. However, the congregation does not undertake that option. Why? According to Filomena, it caused by the bad experience in the past that some sisters left the congregation after they finished their specialization. She also mentioned that there are some other reasons such as financial crisis, mistrust, poor language, failure of members (Interview, 12/7/2019). However, Monica realizes it as the needs of the congregation in this millennial era (Interview, 20/7/2019).

4. Day Care House for Pre-Schoolers

The congregation runs Day Care House for preschoolers from Monday to Saturday. It begins at 07.00 and closes at 17.00. (Fieldwork, 20 & 23/7/2019). Filomena has worked at Day Care House during her juniorate formation in southern Italy for five years. She used that period to learn Italian language (Interview, 12/7/2019). Carmina has done the similar mission when she was staying in Indonesia, but she also has the same job in southern Italy for six months (Interview, 17/7/2019). Monica got an experience how to care for toddlers when she was a junior sister in southern Italy for one year. Now, while she is studying, she has a duty to assist other sisters to care for the toddlers in northern Italy. She has been on this service more or less one and a half year (Interview, 20/7/2019). The culture works of extreme hours like that has led me to address them as an extravagant leap from *sisters to baby sitters, a nun being a nanny*. I do not have an intention to blame the congregation through this statement. I really understand the specific difficult situation to find alternative missions in Europe after the European Countries diminish religious roles in public services (Milh & van Erp, 2017). For the congregation, it is an alternative mission in millennial era.

5. Helped in Parish Works

I can say that all sisters have a duty to serve in parish works every Sunday where they live in the congregation's community (Fieldwork, 8-25/7/2019). All participants have said this. It is a proof that a religious community is a part of the Church. In general, they help to lead songs, choir, liturgy, and sometimes they visit the sick in the hospital. I would like to name

them as *volunteers*. If I compare how much time that they have to spend for a job, to be helpers in parish works is equivalent to only a few minutes. It is seen as a part of their participation when they attend the mass like other people. So, there is no specific treatment for this ministry.

Conclusion

The congregation seems to potentially get some income from: (1) nursing the aged, (2) caring for toddlers, and (3) hosting the guests in the monastery (hostelry, retreat house). To do such works, the congregation necessarily needs some workers but it does not have enough income. It is also not possible that the elder members will do such jobs. Therefore, the congregation forces its young members to handle the jobs. Who are its young members? They are the Indonesian sisters. This situation shows a problem of age-gap between Indonesians (young) and “other” members (old) of the Italian congregation. Why? Probably, the reason is to tackle the internal financial crisis of the congregation but it sits in the hidden zone. The apparent reason is spiritual sacrifice.

Chapter 6 : Spiritual Sacrifice or Social Exclusion?

This part is the climax of this research and it would be problematic. In one side, the participants are happy to sacrifice themselves for the Italian congregation even though they have to work hardly every day. For them, it is a spiritual sacrifice because religious life is a paradise. On the other side, the congregation does not allow participants to expand their educational degree particularly in juniorate phase. Rather, the congregation gives enormous responsibilities to them. In this research view, it is a form of social exclusion. Unavoidably, spiritual sacrifice and social exclusion are sitting on two sides of one coin, in the complexity of experiences and in the blurring zone.

1. Spiritual Sacrifice

The spiritual sacrifice is understood as the missions to actualize divine service or the Church's missions. And, people who are dedicating their whole life for Church's missions known as missionaries. They are religious men and women (LG, cc. 43-45). They live in the congregation or religious institute (CCL, cc. 573 & 607). They are prepared by the congregation through proper formation to develop their human capability (CCL, cc. 660). Religious institute is the real presence of the Church as an perfect community (*Lumen Gentium*, Schneiders 2012), a missionary religion and an inculturative institution (*Gaudium et Spes*, Boelaars 2005, Eddy Christiyanto 2015).

All three participants say: "I am Happy to Sacrifice Myself". They are happy in Italian congregation within the Church. For them, working on domestic jobs, to care for the aged, to care for toddlers, to host the guests in the monastery, to help in parish works, are their missions in Italy. They are consecrating their life for such ministries to testify the core of religious life. However, this research finds that there are five instruments of their vocation: cultural challenge, personal will, better life, the poor condition, prestige and privilege. Based on their cultural challenge, to be a nun is a form of "the escaping" that they liberated themselves from cultural exclusion. "The escaping" is their hidden motivation. Other instruments point out that they perceived Italy as developed country, a modern nation, the center of knowledge, the source of Catholicism and holiness, a first world and a rich country. It was triggered by "Europe Hypnotics". These are the hidden sides of their migration.

Obviously, Indonesian religious women were excluded socially in their traditional rules before they left for Italy. They escaped from such exclusion. For them, being a nun is a liberation. Having their liberation, they migrated to Italy which was engineered by the hypnotizing of the attractive imagination of Western European civilization. They believed that to live in Italy was a paradise. It can be understood then that they are happy in Italy as it is like living in heaven, in a paradise. They have reached their dream. For them, sacrifice is a paradise.

2. Social Exclusion

The discourse of social exclusion reveals that poverty is one of the causes of exclusion but people could be excluded without being poor (Rawal 2008, Sen 2000, Redmond 2014, Castles et al. 2014). It is a multi-dimensional process and complex concept and it could happen in a systematic and structured way (Atkinson 1998, Silver 2007, Millar 2007, Levitas et al. 2007).

According to this research, there are five factors of exclusion in the Italian congregation: culture, language, policy, age gap, and financial crisis. These factors caused the blocked access that generates labor exploitation.

Firstly, I have shown that the “culture shock” was experienced by Filomena, Carmina, and Monica in Italy. Culture here is understood as a set of customs, beliefs, values, rules, spirituality, charism, in ethnical clans or institution. On one side, they try to liberate themselves from the imprisonment of their patriarchal culture while they are attracted to “Europe hypnotics”. On the other side, they have to integrate themselves into Italian congregation within European culture. If European (modernity/rationality) culture has dominated other culture since colonial period (see, Quijano 2007, Mignolo 2002,2007,2009), it can be argued that ethnical culture is excluded by European culture through the congregation. Their “culture shock” indicates that they have experienced “an alienation” from their cultural identity because of European cultural domination (see, Ahmed 2012). It also reveals “social in difference” among Indonesians and Italians (see, UvA Diversity Commission 2016).

Secondly, the congregation’s policy constitutes that juniorate phase is a period for integration and assimilation into religious life by learning the language and working on domestic jobs. It shows evidently that there is no chance for junior sisters to get further educational opportunity. It argues that some juniors left the congregation and failed to complete their study in the past. It has no “trust” any more to open new chance for study during juniorate phase. It is clear that social exclusion has ensued by the congregation in systematic and structural way (Atkinson 1998, Silver 2007, Millar 2007, Levitas et al. 2007).

Thirdly, Italian language as the main language clarifies another exclusion. All sisters have to speak in Italian language in Italy. It is an obligation too for Indonesian sisters to learn Italian language seriously. In fact, even though they have spent so much time just for learning language or they have been living in Italy for 4 years, 6 years, and 10 years, some of them still face difficulties to write in Italian language properly. It is obvious that Italian language is using not only for daily communication, but also to help sisters gain their renewing capability through courses, training, and college. According to Filomena and Monica, some of Indonesian nuns were failure because they cannot write properly in the Italian language. It is clear that people are excluded socially because of their poor language skills (see, Castles et al. 2014).

Fourthly, the congregation hides its internal financial crisis. Filomena mentions it as one of the reasons why junior sisters do not have opportunities to study and they have to work as well. The congregation has low financial income and less benefactors. Noticeably, the congregation is struggling to remedy its financial problem by employing junior sisters for six to nine years without any renewing skills. These facts showed that there is lack of alternatives works in public services in Italy. Hence the congregation should create its works in the “cheap zone” with lessening of cost while it attempts to earn some income. A monastery is proposed as a hostelry so that sisters work as domestic workers and waitresses. House Care for The Aged employs unskilled nuns to be nurses. At Day Care House for Preschoolers, sisters are becoming baby sitters. It can be said that the congregation is excluded socially by state’s policy. It seems that European capitalistic and bureaucratic institutionalization (state) has imposed the high cost of living standard for all citizen. Governmental institutions have modernized the society including the poor and religious people (see, Illich 1971). It is understandable that Pope Francis (2015) in his *Laudato Si* advocates the reconfiguration of technocratic paradigm into integral ecology because such paradigm causes the environmental degradation which emerges many exclusions around the world.

Fifthly, it is the reality that Italian sisters become older in the congregation. By coming to Indonesia for recruitment, the congregation wished to have a number of young sisters. Filomena, Carmina and Monica explain that they are the young members in the Italian

congregations. It means there is an age-gap between young and old members. After having young members, the process of transferring jobs, the transition of house maintenance, replacement of roles are occurring from the older sisters (Italian) to young sisters (Indonesian). This transition depicts the young should handle internal and external jobs. Noticeably, in one hand, Indonesian sisters should develop their human capability in juniorate phase according to CCL (660) but the congregation blocked access for it. On the other hand, they have no time for study because they have enormous responsibilities for domestic and external jobs. Therefore, the renewing human capability is replaced by culture works of extreme hours. In this sense, workforce is arose by an age gap between the young and the old, the transitions and the transfer of responsibilities from the old to the young. Shortly, exclusion is manifested in a form of labor exploitation.

3. A Critical Insight

It is visible that Indonesian religious women are excluded from opportunities and chances to develop their capabilities. I have argued that the blocked access is becoming visible in the case of life trajectory of Indonesian religious women. Noticeably, it has a link with the instruments of the participants migration to Italy, between sacrifice as visible motivation in one hand, and both “an escape” and “Europe hypnotics” as the invisible triggers on the other hand. Works are perceived as spiritual sacrifice because religious life is a paradise. However, the blocked access plays as “a motor of change” where sacrifice as ideal intention is replaced to workforce as real condition. It is a reason why the notion of social exclusion is used here not in the sense of how to make some list of policies to overcome poverty and unemployment in structural circumstances between State and Society. Rather, social exclusion is defined by a multi-dimensional set of elements and complex processes that result in blocked access, created by state, institution, dominant group and powerful people that generated in-capabilities and the disempowerment of individuals or groups to participate in the society.

Finally, this research analysis gives a critical insight. It argues to unveil social exclusion in spiritual sacrifice. It opens-up the invisibility of the blocked access that result in labor exploitation. It criticizes a social injustice issue in one religious institution. However, it has some limitations. It does not describe the perception from Italian members of the congregation because due to the lack of access and language barrier. Furthermore, there are still possibilities to open a new discussion. For example, the blurring zone. It is not possible to make the visibility of this research case in a clear-cut reality. Reality can only be approached and touched from different angles and perspectives. This research was able to reach some indications into the issues. However, the truth is still there and there is a need to discover them more evidently in the future. Another example is complexity. There are many labelling perceptions in the whole explanation of this research. Many concepts have been labelled to Indonesian sisters. Also, I have many claims based on personal experiences of the participants. I realize that a personal story is an individual's history that contains many mysteries and hidden truths. It is always complex. The reality is more complex than I could describe. However, from the journey and exploration of this topic, I want to close this paper by saying: sisters are humans, but they are “fighters” as women.

Maps

Map 1

The Archipelago of Indonesia



Source: Google Map

Map 1.2

East Nusa Tenggara Province of Indonesia



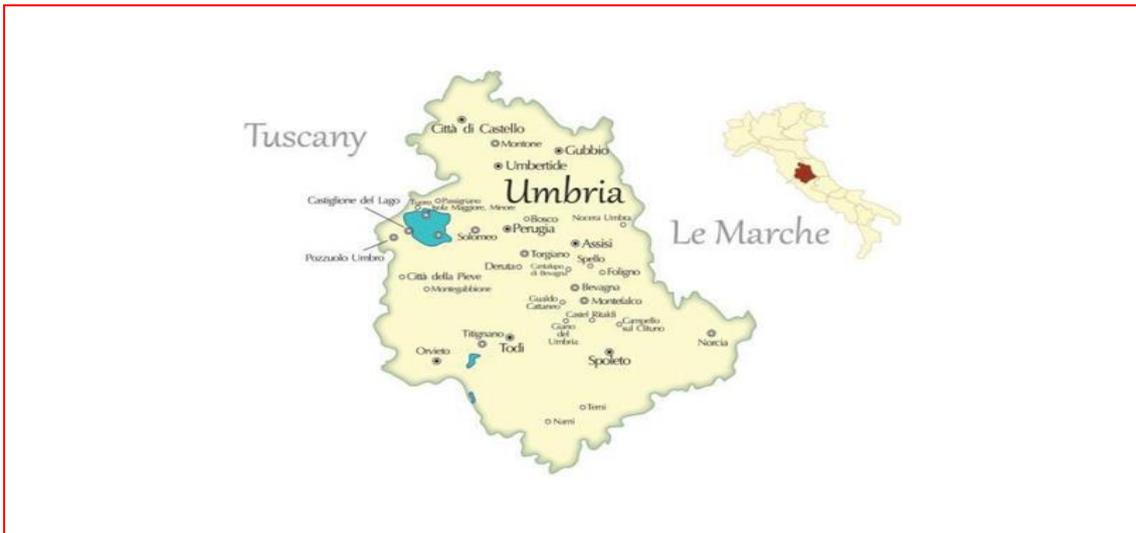
Source: Google Map

Map 1.3
Naples, Southern Italy



Source: Google Map

Map 1.4
Umbria Province, Central Italy



Source: Google Map

Map 1.5
Rimini Province, Northern Italy



Source: Google Map

Appendices

Appendix A

Participants Personal Profiles

Name	Basic Formation	Temporary Vows	Juniorate Formation	Perpetual Vows
Filomena (30 years old)	2008-2012, in Indonesia	2012, in In- donesia	2013-2017, Day Care House, southern Italy 2018-now, Retreat House, central Italy	
Carmina (32 years old)	2005-2009, in Philip- pine	2009, in Philippine	2009-2013, Day Care House, Bali-Indonesia 2013, House Care for the Aged and Day Care House 2013-now, Solitude House, northern Italy	2015, northern Italy
Monica (35 years old)	2003-2007, in southern Italy	2007, south- ern Italy	2007-2008, Day Care House, southern Italy 2008-2017, Solitude House, northern Italy 2017-now, Day Care House, northern Italy	2014, northern Italy

Source: Fieldwork 2019.

Appendix B :

Interview guide of the participants' life story telling in chronological themes analysis: how they introduced themselves, pre-religious life, the initial formation, temporary religious status, and permanent members of the congregation.

Are you willing to introduce your vocation story of why did you decided to join a religious life? What did you think of a religious life before you entered the congregation? Why did you choose to join this Italian congregation? Did your family support your decision? What experiences were gained at the beginning of life in the congregation? How was at the beginning of your religious life? What were your activities? What is junior formation and what does it mean to you? What were the dominant works, ministries, services, jobs, in this phase? How does one become a temporary member of the congregation? What is your hope of being a permanent member in the congregation? Do you feel every sister needs to have specialization? What are actually the missions of the congregation?

Appendix C :

A few questions in daily conversation with three Indonesian sisters (the members of the same congregation with the participants) while doing an observation in Sikka Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia.

How long have you lived in Italy? What works did you deal with while working in Italy? Did you get a special education, renewing skills and development programs for talents or specialization? Why did you decide to go back to Indonesia? What do you do in Indonesia? How do you handle the development of skills, talents and formal trainings in Indonesia? Is it easier or harder in Indonesia than in Italy?

Appendix D :

A few questions in daily conversation with the participants' family when doing a visit to their original places in East Nusa Tenggara Province, Indonesia.

Are you happy when your daughter or sister chose to enter the community of religious life? Did you support her decision? Why? Can you tell me how the customary marriage system is in this region? Does she has a holiday? Does she come to visit you? What are her daily activities if she is on holiday? How many times had she been on holiday?

Appendix E :

Two questions to gain some comments from a bishop, a few priests from the same region, and the secretary of Indonesian Superior Religious Conference

How do you respond when you hear that there are a number of religious women decided to go to Italy or join in an overseas congregation? Have you ever heard that they have to face social exclusion issues?

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