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## The Roman Catholic Religion As a Source and Instrument of Social Control in the United States

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THE ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIGION AS A SOURCE  
AND INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CONTROL  
IN THE UNITED STATES

by

Donald Joseph Thorman

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Institute of  
Social and Industrial Relations of Loyola Uni-  
versity in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Social Administration

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1951

## LIFE

Donald Joseph Thorman was born in Cicero, Illinois, December 23, 1924.

He attended the public schools of Oak Park, Illinois, until the last year of his high school study when he transferred to Saint Philip High School, Chicago, Illinois, from which he was graduated in May, 1942. His first year of college study was taken at Mount Saint Philip College, Granville, Wisconsin, from 1942 to 1943.

From 1943 to 1946, he served in the United States Marine Corps. During the period of his service he attended the University of Michigan from July, 1945 to October, 1945. In March, 1947, he resumed his undergraduate studies at De Paul University, Chicago, Illinois, from which he received a Bachelor of Arts degree, cum laude, in June, 1949. He did graduate work in sociology at De Paul from March to June, 1949.

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During the summer of 1950, he was a student at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland).

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

At the present time, there is among both the general public and among scholars and teachers in almost all branches of study and specialization an almost universal acceptance of the idea that religion is not only a powerful means of social control but that it is a sine qua non for the establishment and maintenance of social order.

Such sentiments are constantly being enunciated from the pulpit by the clergy and from the public platform by our public officials. It is not uncommon to hear men of all races and religions call for a return to religion as the only salvation for our nation and for the world.

Yet, there are a growing number of writers and teachers who are skeptical of the validity of such statements; some of them are not only skeptical, but they go so far as to maintain that there is a positive correlation between religious knowledge and immoral and criminal conduct.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes, a leader of this latter school of thought, adequately expresses the position of those who doubt the validity of religion as an effective form of social control, when he states:

It is commonly believed that no man would be safe on the broad streets at high noon, were it not for the shadow of the church spire and the influence of religion in keeping alive a fear of the hereafter and helping to build character. However a considerable amount

of factual information fails to substantiate this belief.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly the time would now seem opportune to investigate the ways by which religion seeks to exert social control and to measure, insofar as this is possible, the success of religion in its efforts.

Such a study is needed for a number of reasons. Perhaps the most important reason is that if religion actually does not exercise the social control that is generally ascribed to it, it becomes imperative that we re-evaluate its place in maintaining social order. Secondly, such a study is definitely needed so that our religious leaders may accurately see if their efforts are effective or if they are in vain, as Professor Barnes and his school of thought believes. If religion is truly ineffective as a form of social control the obvious conclusion is that religious groups must re-examine their methods of education to see where they are failing in their efforts.

At this point it becomes important to indicate that this study is not an attempt to prove a previously arrived-at conclusion, nor, especially, is it an attempt to prove the validity of religion or any one religion in particular, despite the fact that many of the studies to be mentioned in the course of this investigation wander from their legitimate sociological ends and enter into the field of theology with a zest and abandon characteristic of the amateur theologian. The truth or falsity of religion per se is the legitimate field of the theologian and it has been argued effectively as the centuries and the number of theological works testify.

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1 Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Institutions In An Era of World Upheaval, New York, 1946, 713.

Nonetheless, it is of some interest to note that many of the strongest proponents of religion as an effective and necessary form of social control are men who either deny or question the validity of religion in general, or of some religion in particular.

Men such as Kimball Young<sup>2</sup> and Professors Ogburn and Nimkoff<sup>3</sup> while they attribute little or no objective truth to religion believe that it is most important and beneficial for society as a sort of social lubricant to help men and society over difficult and trying times.

Ogburn and Nimkoff, perhaps, exemplify this train of thought best. In one place, while speaking of religion and religious institutions, they express doubt as to the objective truth of religion, and they compare science and religion as being "fact and fantasy."<sup>4</sup> Yet, only a short number of pages later they write that "there are those who feel that we can get along without religion. But they reckon not with the value of religious experience."<sup>5</sup> Again, they do not hesitate to say that

The compelling need for an integrating force such as religion supplies is evidenced by the vast amount of personal disorganization in our time. Although science with its new knowledge about man and nature may require certain modification in the forms of religious beliefs and practices, only the forms are changed and the need for

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2 For example, see his Sociology, A Study of Society and Culture, 2nd ed., New York, 1949, Chapters 20 and 29.

3 William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, Sociology, 2nd ed., Boston, 1930, passim.

4 Ibid., 440.

5 Ibid., 453.

religious experience continues.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, a survey of the sociological literature in the fields of religion and social control leads to the conclusion that there are two major trends in the thought about the efficacy of religion as a form of social control: One school of thought maintains that not only is religion spurious, but on top of that it does not even perform an effective function as an agency of social control. The other trend may either accept or reject the validity of religion itself, but, true or not, it believes that religion is not only an effective instrument of social control, but a most necessary one for the effective functioning of society as a whole.

As mentioned above, this study is not primarily concerned with the validity of religion, but it is important to an understanding of the subject that the fact be made clear that many of the major writers in the field are seriously concerned with this problem.

On the other hand, there are the friends of religion who can see only those investigations which proclaim the efficacy of religion as an agent of social control. In their enthusiasm they sometimes tend to brand as prejudiced any study which does not agree with their desire to have religion be effective.

This study, then, shall try to steer the middle course between the two extremes. It seeks only to find out what is the truth in the matter. And it will use as much objective material as possible in seeking the answer.

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 460.



In the beginning this study was conceived in much broader terms than the end result. It intended to explore both the fields of religion and social control and to try to determine how religion acts as a form of social control. The preliminary title was "The Role of Religion in Social Control."

With this general idea in mind the author began a two-fold investigation into the subject. One approach was to begin compiling a reading list on the subject which soon became very unwieldy and indicated that the subject had to be refined considerably before it could become practical.

The other approach was to select leading Catholic sociologists who might be able to offer advice and help in attacking the problem. The sociologists were selected from "Who's Who Among Catholic Sociologists," an article which appeared originally in the American Catholic Sociological Review and which has since been reprinted.<sup>7</sup> This article listed the "Field of Special Study" of each member of the American Catholic Sociological Society and from this list ten leading sociologists who had fields of special study similar to the subject of social control were selected. (None listed social control as a field of special study.) To each of these ten was sent a letter asking for their advice in developing the study.<sup>8</sup>

The response to this appeal was quick and the advice given was most helpful to the author of thesis. While all of those queried had much to offer, a special debt of gratitude is due to the following who gave generously of

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7 Clement S. Mihanovich, compiler, "Who's Who Among Catholic Sociologists," American Catholic Sociological Review, Chicago, VII, October, 1946, 174-199.

8 A copy of the letter will be found in the Appendix.

ir time and effort to aid the author: Dr. Eva J. Ross, of Trinity College, Washington, D.C.; Mr. John J. Kane, of Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Indiana; Mr. John D. Donovan, of Fordham University, New York City; and Dr. Clement S. Mihanovich, of St. Louis University, St. Louis, Missouri.

All concurred that there was little done in this field and that further studies would be valuable; but the unanimous opinion of all those who were asked for help was that the subject must be refined before it could be handled adequately. It was suggested that some one aspect of religion and social control such as the Catholic Church and the control of motion pictures or specific legislation be studied. Yet, it was the opinion of the director of this study, Reverend Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J., Director of the Institute of Social and Industrial Relations, in which the author concurred, that a study should be made first trying to lay down the theory and draw up a general conceptual scheme before any individual studies be made.

Hence, the idea developed that this study should be a pilot study seeking to develop the general concepts involved and making an attempt to delineate the ways religion is or is not a means of social control. Then, with this study as a background, future studies could be made into more specific aspects of religion as a form of social control such as, as has been mentioned, the Catholic Church and the control of motion pictures, or the effectiveness of the Catholic Press, Cane Conferences, and so on.

As a result, it was decided to devote this study to the more general aspects of the problem. This, however, was still not enough. To make the study fruitful and not too diffuse it was decided to limit it in several ways.

It was decided, in the first place, to limit the study to the Roman Catholic religion. And this for two reasons: The first and most influential reason was that the Roman Catholic religion was most familiar to the author and the material on it was most readily available to him. Secondly, the Roman Catholic religion has a centralized and hierarchical structure following a constant and uniform doctrine throughout the world. Protestant sects, on the other hand, have such a variety of doctrines that it would be impossible to measure in any way the influence of more than one particular sect at a time and in a particular place.

The second limitation placed upon the study was that it should be restricted to the Roman Catholic religion in the United States. There were a number of reasons for this. Originally the author had hoped to investigate the historical development of religion as a form of social control as an introduction to this study, but he soon found in his preliminary investigation that the amount of literature on this aspect was of mountainous proportions, and little of it was directly concerned with the subject under consideration. The task would have amounted to a thesis in itself, and was probably more suited to the social historian than to the sociologist, so that phase of the study was eliminated.

Another reason why the study was restricted to the United States, and especially to the United States since the beginning of the twentieth century, was that the question uppermost in the minds of those writing on the subject concerned whether or not religion today is effective or not. Since the foreign literature in the field was not readily available in its original

form, it became a necessity to limit it to the United States.

As the study developed, however, there were a few places in the study where it became necessary to introduce data from countries other than the United States, since data on the particular subject under consideration was scanty or completely lacking in the United States and it was found desirable to introduce data from other countries to give some idea of what might be the case here in our country.

Keeping ever in mind the function of this study to serve as an attempt to develop a conceptual scheme and to lay the groundwork for future studies, the present format evolved naturally.

A careful study of the literature in the field, beginning with a bibliography compiled from the letters of the ten sociologists to whom letters had been sent, plus a study of various standard digests of dissertations, revealed that no study exactly like this one has ever been made before. Furthermore, even the few books devoted entirely to social control had little to offer apart from theoretical discussions on religion.<sup>9</sup> With few exceptions they offered little in the way of concrete evidence to back up their theories so far as religion was concerned. To the contrary, many of them devoted much of their discussion of religion as a means of social control to an attempt to prove the non-validity of religion.

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9 A fair sampling of these books would include: Joseph S. Roucek and Associates, Social Control, New York, 1947; Edward A. Ross, Social Control: A Survey of the Foundations of Order, New York, 1901; L. L. Bernard, Social Control in its Sociological Aspects, New York, 1939; Paul H. Landis, Social Control: Social Organization and Disorganization in Process, Philadelphia, 1939; W. E. Lumley, Means of Social Control, New York, 1925.

Yet, "insofar as one purpose of this study is to investigate the sociological concepts of religion and social control, and to discover the methods used by religion to exert social control, these books were valuable. So far as the second phase of this study was concerned, namely, to measure, insofar as it is possible, the success or failure of religion in its efforts to exercise social control, these books had little to offer.

In this second phase, trying to discover what concrete studies had been made in the field of social control and religion and to determine where further study was needed, it was necessary to turn to many special studies, for nowhere have they adequately been brought together in one place.

Thus, it became necessary to gather, within the framework of the present study, all the special investigations that had been made in such fields as the relation between crime and delinquency and religion, and birth control and religion. It was not the purpose of this thesis to make any separate investigation into these fields itself, but it merely attempted to gather the existing studies into one place, and then by this method to indicate both where further study is needed and the possible fields of study.

One of the most difficult problems faced at the outset was how to obtain an adequate and fair picture of the pros and cons of the effectiveness of religion as an instrument and source of social control. One complication was that studies such as Hartshorne and May's Studies in Deceit, which was generally unfavorable to religion and which was quoted by many authors of the Harry Elmer Barnes school of thought, did not differentiate clearly enough, for the purposes of this study, between the results of their tests for Catho-

lice, Protestants, and Jews.<sup>10</sup> Yet, this was an important study frequently referred to, and it seemed necessary to incorporate its findings into this study. Hence, the author of this thesis has included such studies indicating their limited value in the appropriate places.

Another initial complication was the fact that those who have shown themselves in their writings over the years to be unfriendly to religion, and, especially, unfriendly to the Roman Catholic Church, were the same ones who had written most widely in the field under investigation. This difficulty, though not entirely overcome, was considerably vitiated by the fact that a growing number of impartial and objective studies in this field are appearing; the most representative of these are incorporated into this thesis.

A further complication is that while some fields have had much written about them (e.g., crime and religion), there are many others (e.g., suicide, attitudes toward race, government) which have had little study. Yet, such a finding is important, for the purposes of this thesis, since it indicates where further research is needed and may well be the starting point for a whole series of investigations into the fields needing further study.

These, then, are some of the more obvious limitations of this study. A further word, however, is needed in explanation of the sociological approach of this thesis to the problem under investigation.

There are two possible approaches to the problem of the effectiveness of religion as a form of social control: One is to concentrate upon the

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<sup>10</sup> Hugh Hartshorne and Mark A. May, Studies in Deceit, New York, 1928.

effectiveness of individual members of religious groups; or, in other words, the individual approach. Besides the tremendous difficulties which would have to be overcome in trying to measure the many intangibles present in such a study, the individual approach is obviously not primarily a sociological approach.

The other approach possible is the social or sociological approach. This is the method followed in this study. It would, for all practical purposes, be impossible to accurately explore and measure the influence of individual Roman Catholics, even if the definition of social control permitted such an approach. The only way possible to approach such a study as this then is to study Roman Catholics not as individuals, but as members of the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholic Church, then, with its complex and concrete hierarchy and social organization, becomes, as the institutionalized form of the Roman Catholic religion, a legitimate object of sociological study. It is a social institution and much more palpable than individual Catholics.

At first glance the outline and format of this study may seem to be diffuse. Nevertheless, in the light of the main purpose of this study--as an exploratory or pilot study attempting to develop a conceptual scheme and to sketch the outlines of the part that the Roman Catholic religion plays in social control--in this frame of reference, the study is not diffuse or unorganized.

Now that the purpose, procedures and limitations of the study are clear, it becomes necessary to investigate the sociological concepts of religion and social control and to develop operational definitions for the purpose of this study.

## CHAPTER II

### THE CONCEPTS OF RELIGION AND SOCIAL CONTROL

#### Social Control

There is, as was hinted at, briefly in the preceding chapter, much confusion to be found in the thinking about the concepts of religion and social control. Even a cursory perusal of the literature in the field of social control leads one to agree instantly with Lumley's assertion that "A satisfactory definition of 'social control' has not yet been made."<sup>1</sup>

Though these words were written over twenty-five years ago, they are as valid now as they were then. An increasing amount of literature on social control has appeared since Lumley wrote, but there is still no generally accepted definition of the term.

The definitions which have been attempted vary from the extremes of being short, practical, and precise, of the operational definition type to the lengthy and, sometimes, complex attempts to clarify the meaning of the term.

Father Facey gives us an example of the former when he writes: "social control consists of conscious attempts to impose or enforce the ideal patterns of society."<sup>2</sup>

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1 Lumley, Means of Social Control, 12.

2 Paul W. Facey, S.J., "Social Control and Pressure Groups," American Catholic Sociological Review, Chicago VI, December, 1945, 229.



An example of the latter is to be found in the definition of Georges Gurvitch:

Social control can be defined as the sum total or rather the whole of cultural patterns, social symbols, collective spiritual meanings, values, ideas and ideals, as well as acts and processes directly connected with them, whereby inclusive society, every particular group, and every participating individual member overcome tensions and conflicts within themselves through temporary equilibria and take steps for new creative efforts.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that between these two representative types of definitions there is much room for agreement and disagreement. And yet, these are only two out of a multitude of definitions and possible definitions. The story of the development of the concept of social control throws some light upon the present confusion in arriving at an adequate and generally satisfactory definition.<sup>4</sup>

Although the general idea of social control has been discussed from as far back in history as Plato, it has only been in comparatively recent times that much attention has been paid to the concept of social control per se.

Just fifty years ago, in 1901, Professor Edward A. Ross became the first scholarly writer to use the term for the title of a book.<sup>5</sup> Ross ap-

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<sup>3</sup> Georges Gurvitch, "Social Control," in Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore, eds., Twentieth Century Sociology, New York, 1945, 291.

<sup>4</sup> For a history of the concept see: Roucek, Social Control, chapter 1; Facey, "Social Control and Pressure Groups," ACSR, VI; Helen Everett, "Social Control," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, New York, 1931, IV; Gurvitch, Twentieth Century Sociology, chapter X.

<sup>5</sup> Ross, Social Control.

proached the study of social control as a study of only one subdivision in the general field of social psychology. Social psychology, he stated, was divided into Social Ascendency and Individual Ascendency. He further divided Social Ascendency into Social Influence and Social Control. Social control, he wrote, "is concerned with that domination which is intended and which fulfills a function in the life of society."<sup>6</sup>

In the course of his small volume on social control, this pioneer in developing the concept discussed the following as means of control: public opinion; law; belief; social suggestion; education; custom; social religion; personal ideals; ceremony; art; personality; enlightenment; illusion; social valuations; and ethical elements.

In 1902, Professor Cooley in Human Nature and the Social Order<sup>7</sup> "presented a conception of social control that admirably supplements that of Ross. Cooley's emphasis is on the effect of group pressure upon the personality of the individual and the necessity for studying a person's life history in order to understand his behavior."<sup>8</sup>

Although Sumner does not give a full treatment to the subject of social control, he presented an important new point in his treatment of the folkways and the mores.<sup>9</sup> Ellwood, too, laid great stress upon the mores, al-

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6 Ibid., viii.

7 Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, New York, 1902.

8 Roucek, Social Control, 5.

9 William Graham Sumner, Folkways, New York, 1906.

though he believed that religion is behind the binding power of the folkways and mores.<sup>10</sup>

Lumley, though following Ross in some respects, had much to add to the concept when he listed the components of social control:

In the first place there must be some authority. . . . In the second place there must be a clearly-defined and communicable program of action or attitude. . . . In the third place there must be an adequate communication system. . . . In the fourth place there must be free and impressible individuals or groups who respond to and re-embody the program and attitudes. . . .

In familiar language, social control means getting others to do, believe, think, feel, any one or all four, as we wish them to, using the term 'we' to stand for any authority who can have his way with others.<sup>11</sup>

The fourth component part of social control would seem to need some qualification. Even though totalitarianism was not so well-known at the time Lumley wrote, the need for "free and impressible individuals or groups who respond to and re-embody the program and attitudes" does not seem to be justified even by his own definition of the concept. The phrase "free and impressible" could well be left out, and, perhaps, his definition would be more true if this were done.

For Lumley, the principal means of social control are rewards; praise; flattery; persuasion; advertising; slogans; propaganda; gossip; satire; laughter; calling names; commands; threats; and punishment.

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<sup>10</sup> Charles A. Ellwood, "Religion and Social Control," Scientific Monthly, New York, VII, October, 1918.

<sup>11</sup> Lumley, Means of Social Control, 12-13

In anticipation of our treatment of the concept of religion, it might be well to point out that he does not seem to consider religion worthy of separate treatment as a means of social control. The few times that he does mention it is done only in passing.

Professor Eubank makes the concept of social control a very broad one. He feels, after a study of the literature dealing with social control, that social control is control resulting from human association. As he states his idea:

The position taken in this volume is that we must recognize any control whatsoever that is exerted over human beings as societary if it is a product of human association. . . . Conceived of in this extended way, societary control is therefore defined as including whatever way any person or group exercises influence or constraint which modifies the behavior, thought, or feeling of any other person or group.<sup>12</sup>

As more and more attention came to be paid to social control, the scholars who wrote about this concept began to try to differentiate and limit its extension, quite the opposite of the broad definitions which are found in some of the earlier writers.

Although he gave one of the broadest possible definitions of the term, Professor Eubank put his finger on the concern over the meaning of social control when he wrote: "In general we may say differences as to its interpretation seem to grow out of different conceptions as to what is the source of the control, and as to whether or not the control is intentionally exerted."<sup>13</sup>

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12 Earle Edward Eubank, Concepts of Sociology, New York, 1932, 218-219.

13 Ibid., 216.

The "problem of intention or of purpose, is, therefore, of some importance in arriving at a definition of the term that will be adequate. Already the year before Eubank published his work there was an attempt to make this differentiation, when Helen Everett wrote:

In its wider sense the term social control describes any influence exerted by society upon the individual. In its narrower sense, as currently used by certain economists, it has come to mean the consciously planned guidance of economic processes.<sup>14</sup>

The problem which arose as the concept was further developed and used was simply this: Should the concept of social control refer to any type of control which society uses, consciously or unconsciously, to influence and control the individual; or, should it be restricted solely to the conscious and purposeful means of control exercised by society?

The problem may seem to be an academic one, but it has many practical aspects. For one thing, if the concept is to include both conscious and unconscious agencies of control, it must, perforce, include almost every process in the universe. It would seem to have to include what Eubank<sup>15</sup> terms the bodily, geographic, and societary factors controlling society. There would be almost no limit to the meaning of the concept if we were to include, as Landis would, even the "non-rational, unconscious, all-pervasive influences that mold the individual without his knowledge."<sup>16</sup> It seems to the present writer that if the term were to include all this, the only logical conclusion

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14 Everett, "Social Control," ESS, IV, 344.

15 Eubank, Concepts of Sociology, 214.

16 Landis, Social Control, 13.

would be to organize the study of society around the concept of social control, since its meaning would be broad enough to include every aspect of society.

There seems to be a growing tendency among the more recent writers to stress the division between formal and informal, organized and unorganized, conscious and unconscious, means of social control. They seem reluctant to give up the idea that effective control may well be exerted by such unorganized and informal agencies of control as gossip, folkways, mores, public opinion, and similar agents. And their reluctance seems fully justified in the judgment of this writer.

Yet, on the other hand, they are faced with the practical problem of trying to apply the concept to particular problems. So long as the term has such wide meaning it loses practical value. Although there is almost universal agreement that the informal agencies of social control are potent forces and that they cannot be ignored, nonetheless, some attempt has to be made to limit the term to make it of some use for specific cases. The necessity for retaining the unconscious or informal methods of control in the concept may not seem so important to the sociologist in his study of modern society with its complex system of organized pressure groups, but for the rural sociologists and the anthropologists, studying small or primitive groups, it is of great importance.

Many of the modern writers who seek to define social control make only a slight point of distinguishing between formal and informal social control. For the most part, they give a broad definition and then emphasize its various aspects as the necessity arises.

Ogburn<sup>17</sup> and Nimkoff, for example, use such a definition when they define a system of social control as "The pattern of pressure which a society exerts to maintain order and establish rules of conduct. . . ."17

Similarly, Father Murray defines the concept as "The process by which groups secure conformity to prevailing standards in the conduct of members. . . ."18 He distinguishes between positive and negative social controls, and lays greatest emphasis upon public opinion and propaganda.

A more recent writer, Kimball Young, is much more definite and explicit in regard to the idea of purpose when he defines social control "as the use of physical force or symbolic means to enforce or bring about the operation of prescribed or expected rules or actions. The former include coercion and restraint; the latter, suggestion, flattery or other verbal devices."19

However, one of the latest works on the subject makes the concept all inclusive:

As used in this volume, social control is a collective term for those processes, planned or unplanned, by which individuals are taught, persuaded or compelled to conform to the usages and life-values of groups. Social control occurs when one group determines the behavior of another group, when the group controls the conduct of its own members, or when individuals influence the responses of others. Social control, consequently, operates on three levels--group over group, the group over its members, and individuals over their fellows. In other words, social control takes place when a person is induced or forced to act according to the wishes of others,

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17 Ogburn and Nimkoff, Sociology, 114.

18 Raymond W. Murray, C.S.C., Introductory Sociology, 2nd ed., New York, 1946, 525.

19 Young, Sociology, 541.

whether or not in accordance with his own individual interests.<sup>20</sup>

A distinction is made by the same author between self-control and social control, and personal leadership and social control. Outside of these qualifications, however, the above definition could be construed to include almost any and all forms of control; nor is there any indication that only conscious, purposeful efforts at control are to be included.

It might be well, while on the idea of self-control and social control, to develop this thought somewhat. Although self-control, by reason of its very meaning, cannot be regarded as a direct means of social control, the present writer believes that it may be argued effectively that self-control, which is based on religion or a system of ultimate values, is the ultimate source of all social control.

Social control is effective only insofar as it actually exerts influence on individuals or groups. But it is primarily the individual's own self-control which makes it possible for him to modify his wishes and desires to conform to those of the group. Without self-control on the part of individuals, social control would be completely and utterly ineffective, unless sheer brute force was used to force an individual to conform.

This writer believes, along with Sorokin and Christopher Dawson that the individual's relations (or lack of systematic relations) with the supernatural or the individual's religion provides the primary goal around which the individual organizes his life in society. Social control may in-

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20 Roucek, Social Control, 3-4.



fluence the expression of the individual's basic organization and direct it into certain channels, but, excluding the use of physical force, it is ultimately the self-control of the individual which determines how effective social control will be. Our conclusion is that social control must be based on self-control, which is largely the result of religion.

Self-control is a primary goal of religion, since it is so important a factor in helping an individual to live up to his religious beliefs. On the other hand, religion provides the motivations for the individual to learn to control his behavior. It gives to the individual certain principles to guide his behavior at all times whether he is in the company of others or by himself. It directs his behavior toward the common good and makes it possible for the various agencies of social control to operate effectively.

In the Roman Catholic religion, in particular, the concepts of justice, obedience, patience, reverence, and similar ideas, play an important part in the development of the individual Catholic's sense of values and make him much more amenable to the agencies of social control than an individual without such a scheme of values. The Catholic is prepared by reason of his religious principles to readily submit to legitimate social control.

Father Facey, after making a careful study of the literature dealing with social control, concludes that: "The criteria of usage and utility seem, in the writer's opinion, to call for a limitation upon the extension of the concept of social control so that it applies only to purposeful activity."<sup>2</sup>

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21 Facey, "Social Control and Pressure Groups," AQSR, VI, 227.

The reason for this, he says, is that too broad a conceptual definition makes the concept valueless as an analytical tool, and, also, from Ross to the present, the majority of writers limit the concept to purposeful activity.

Again, using the criteria of usage and utility, Father Facey adds that the concept should be further limited by confining the concept to activities which do not disrupt the social order. The definition which Father Facey finally arrives at has already been cited at the beginning of this chapter, and limits the definition by including both the elements of purpose and social order.

The present writer feels, however, that somewhere in the definition of social control cognizance must be taken of both the conscious and unconscious, planned and unplanned phases of control. The reason for this is, of course, that these phases do exert control over individuals and groups and to ignore the unconscious and unplanned phases would be to leave an important component part out of the concept. Perhaps the best way to resolve this difficulty would be to arrive at a general and special definition of the term, much as Sorokin does with sociology.<sup>22</sup>

The general definition could be any definition that takes into account both phases of social control. Such a generalizing definition could be one on which all sociologists could agree. The special definition could well vary with the particular aspect of social control under study at a given time; it could function as an operational definition in every phase of social control.

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<sup>22</sup> Pitirim A. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality; Their Structure and Dynamics, New York, 1947, Chapter 1.

The necessity for such an approach should be obvious. Let us take a specific example. Father Facey states that "There is no logical or etymological reason why the concept of social control should not extend to the dominating activities of organized criminals as well as to those of the organized police."<sup>23</sup> But he rejects such an extension of the term on the basis of the criteria of usage and utility because, as he says, "The concept of social control has been developed as an analytic tool for the study of the problem of social order, nomia, equilibrium, or whatever one chooses to call it." However, a few sentences later he writes:

One refinement may be suggested before such a concept is formulated. Since the expression 'social control' suggests certain overtones of normative evaluation--witness the phrases 'a just social order,' 'the true social order,' 'the new order,'--and since on a strictly empirical basis it is difficult to determine whether or not a given situation represents order or a deviation from order, it seems that it might be profitable to think of the end product of social control as 'conformity to group standards.'<sup>24</sup>

It seems to the present writer that this is a fundamental contradiction of what Father Facey said in the previous quotation, although Father Facey explicitly states that it is not. If we reject the idea that we can study the "dominating activities of organized criminals" (or communists, for that matter) then we must logically admit that criminals (or communists) do not exercise social control, though this is manifestly untrue. On the other hand, if we "think of the end product of social control as 'conformity to group standards,'" then it does not matter if the standards lead to a just

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<sup>23</sup> Facey, "Social Control and Pressure Groups," ACSR, VI, 228.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 229.

social order or not--just so they lead to "social order, nomia, equilibrium, or whatever one chooses to call it."

Thus, there seems to be a strong reason for developing both general and special definitions of the concept of social control. However, before we attempt to formulate such definitions there are two further points which must be considered.

First, there is the question of the interpretation of the term. To some, such as Kimball Young, the term seems to connote the idea of regimentation and force; for some, the idea of social control seems to suggest domination over individuals or groups. For others, and this is true of Ross, the term suggests the idea of guidance and supervision. Control, for this latter group, is more of an intellectual appeal than a physical force.<sup>25</sup>

The second point is a corollary of the first. From the standpoint of a Christian, and especially a Catholic, approach to sociology, a two-fold approach must be taken to the concept of social control. Some account must be taken of the fact that the human being is not a brute animal subject only to a blind stimulus-response pattern; man has an intellect and a will and some recognition must be given to that fact. On the other hand, since man is composed of body and soul, with the defect of original sin inherent in him, this aspect must likewise be given some consideration.

That the Catholic Church recognizes this fundamental fact is obvious in all its works: The Church's emphasis on the sacramentals as well as the

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25 Confer Gurvitch and Moore, Twentieth Century Sociology, 269.

Sacraments, on the practice of the Faith as well as belief in it, and it even extends to the Popes' insistence on a physical as well as a moral reconstruction of society. To be adequate, consequently, a definition of social control must recognize both aspects of man's nature. Man must be persuaded as well as compelled. In reference to the problem at hand, we may say that the Church appeals to the soul of man with the doctrine of Christ and that doctrine persuades men; as the custodian of that doctrine, the Church compels and pressures its members to live that doctrine through its laws and regulations, under the pain of spiritual sanctions. By so doing the Church builds up the individual's self-control that social control may be more easily accomplished.

With these points in mind, we may attempt to formulate a general definition of social control. Social control is the method, planned or unplanned, conscious or unconscious, by which a society persuades or compels, or both, individuals or other societies to conform to its standards.

The word "society" is used in its scholastic meaning of "a stable moral union of a plurality of persons for the purpose of achieving a common end by the use of common means."<sup>26</sup> The preceding definition of social control is both definite and yet, as it should be, general enough to extend to such diverse situations as a religious society or a labor union seeking to persuade or compel a company to grant a pay raise and thus conform to the union's standards of how a company should act.

This definition specifically avoids the fault of many definitions

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<sup>26</sup> Paul J. Glenn, Ethics, St. Louis, 1930, 226. (Italics removed.)

which restrict the influence of social control to the members of a particular group; such definitions overlook the fact that many groups or societies seek not only to control their own members but other groups or societies as well. At the same time, this definition is specific enough to exclude physical environmental factors and non-rational factors outside of human beings. An attempt to formulate a special definition of social control to fit the problem at hand will be made at the end of this chapter.

### Religion

As with social control, so, too, with the concept of religion is there much confusion. But in the case of religion the confusion seems to arise, not from the sociological methods of the sociologists, but from their preconceived theological convictions. On what should be the middle ground of empirical knowledge rather than a field for theological duels, an atheist will almost invariably differ fundamentally from a Christian.

And, again, it is almost invariably the self-proclaimed "objective" and "scientific" sociologist, who is also an atheist or materialist, who goes out of his way to inject his religious convictions into his "empirical" studies. Though it cannot be gainsaid that sociologists, who are also Christians, do this sometimes too, they are not infrequently also the ones who go out of their way not to bring religion into their empirical studies, keeping their social theology and social philosophy for use in matters of interpretation and offering solutions for social problems, which is not primarily the field of sociology.

One of the first things to attract the attention of the reader in the field of the sociological concept of religion is the fact that a number of sociologists leave God out of their definition of religion, and make religion purely a natural relationship. As Father Murray says, "To have religion begin and end with man is an entirely false concept of religion."<sup>27</sup>

Professor Ellwood is representative of those who find no place for God in their definition of religion:

What, then, is religion. . . ? Fundamentally it is man's valuation, in an ethical sense, of his world, especially of that unknown part which is not covered by his work-a-day experience. It is a projection of man's social and personal values into the universe as a whole. . . . It does not particularly matter what formal definition of religion we may accept. We may subscribe to Professor Frazer's definition that 'religion is a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to control the course of human nature and of human life'; or we may accept a more recent definition that 'religion is man's attitude toward the universe regarded as a social and ethical force.' The essential thing is to see that religion arises as soon as man tries to take a valuating attitude toward his universe, no matter how small and mean that universe may appear to him.<sup>28</sup>

A somewhat similar approach is found in the "Bible of the Social Scientists," the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, where religion is defined "as the complex of man's interrelations with the superhuman powers."<sup>29</sup>

Those of us who accept the idea that sociology is an empirical generalizing science distinct from social philosophy and social theology are somewhat disappointed in the approach taken to religion by many of the soci-

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27 Murray, Introductory Sociology, 768.

28 Ellwood, "Religion and Social Control," Scientific Monthly, VII, 337.

29 Alfred Bertholet, "Religion," SSS, New York, 1931, XII, 229.

ologists writing in this field. The reason for this disappointment is to be found in their subjective approach to the subject-matter and the way in which they interject their philosophy and theology into their sociology without making the necessary distinctions. The unwillingness of these writers to admit the possibility that a religion really may be of divine origin or have supernatural elements in it leads them to state their own theological beliefs as accepted sociological facts.

A brief look at the way in which some writers mix their facts and their own personal beliefs should make the preceding remarks clear; attempting to define religion one author writes:

Ordinarily one's first reaction to the term 'religion' is to think of the powers ascribed to gods or other supernatural beings and man's relations to such powers. It also includes any knowledge man has of God, gods, or other supernatural powers and his actions in obtaining their favor or avoiding their hostility, and the influence of these recognized relations upon the control of man's behavior as an individual or as a member of a group.<sup>30</sup>

Continuing his somewhat Durkheimian approach to the subject of religion, the author describes the universal function of religion as a type of control which man exercises over his environment, both social and physical. "Consequently," the author maintains, inserting his own beliefs rather than solely empirical knowledge, "all religions are built upon the knowledge of the forces of the environment extant at the time of the development of the religion and upon whatever else the founders and leaders contribute to that knowledge."<sup>31</sup>

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30 Roucek, Social Control, 101.

31 Ibid., 101.



Without hesitation the author has gotten into the field proper to theology, assuming that religion is dependent upon man alone and leaving little or no room for the supernatural. This is clear evidence of the way in which many modern sociologists pass off their preconceived theological beliefs as part and parcel of "scientific sociology." The author confirms this a few sentences later when he says that "religion results from the intellectual powers of man."<sup>32</sup> There should be no surprise then that the concept of religion is a very confused one in sociology.

There are also a number of sociologists who stress the emotional aspects of religion, making religion for the most part a kind of emotional response on the part of man to things which he cannot yet comprehend scientifically, the implication being that once man understands phenomena scientifically which he did not understand before they must lose all religious significance for him. The tendency here seems to be to regard religion as an intermediate phase between ignorance and scientific knowledge. All of which is philosophical and theological speculation and not sociology; and it is not even good philosophy or theology.

Professors Ogburn and Nimkoff represent this school of thought as is evident from their words that

While it is possible to define religion as an emotional reaction to the mysterious or to a belief in a higher power, it is well to supplement such a definition with the idea that organized religion may be a complex of functions relating to many aspects of social life.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 101.

<sup>33</sup> Ogburn and Nimkoff, Sociology, 441.

Such definitions are one-sided and definitely not empirical since they do not recognize the intellectual and rational aspects of religion. They seem to regard man as a passive creature under the control of emotions, and they ignore the empirical evidence that religion is for not a few men a matter of intellectual conviction and not wholly an emotional response and reaction. Though he does not doubt in the least the sincerity and intellectual honesty of the sociologists holding such opinions, the present writer cannot help but feel that these men are unconsciously allowing their own preconceived ideas to influence their sociological thinking.

Certainly such definitions do not seem to result from intensive empirical research in the field of religion. At least, the conclusions reached do not seem to be justified by the research which has been done in the field.

There are a number of sociologists who have formulated definitions of religion which are the result of careful and impartial study of all religious associations. This is perhaps the most fruitful approach for it closes the door to much personal speculation and reports merely what religion is in practice.

Professors Timasheff and Facey offer such a description of religion:

Briefly, the possession of a common creed, cult, and code is the bond of membership in religious associations. In each religious association, the members possess a common creed, or set of religious beliefs, that is, beliefs which are concerned with man's relation to a Being recognized as the Supreme Being, called God.<sup>34</sup>

All of the various definitions which we have seen thus far, with the

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<sup>34</sup> Nicholas S. Timasheff and Paul W. Facey, S.J., Sociology: An Introduction to Sociological Analysis, Milwaukee, 1949, 163.

exception of the one just quoted have one thing in common: they all contain, either implicitly or explicitly, a value judgment as to the objective validity of religion. All of them, one way or another, reflect the personal view of their authors concerning religion. To the degree that these definitions are an expression of the definer's own personality, to that degree they lack objectivity and value.

The definition of Doctor Timasheff and Father Facey, however, passes no judgment on religion; it merely gives an objective accounting of the elements which go to make up a religion--any religion--and leaves theology where it belongs: in the hands of the theological experts and not to the not so tender mercies of the sociologist.

A similarly objective point of view is expressed by Professor Sorokin in his definition of religion:

Religion is a set of the ultimate values expressed in a credo, objectified by vehicles of a cult and socialized by conduct complying with the religious norms which unite members into one religious group. . . . The ultimate nature of the values is another term for what others call God. . . . Being ultimate the value of religion are not only rational but superrational.<sup>35</sup>

For Catholics it will be of some interest that the empirical, sociological definitions proffered by Timasheff and Facey and Sorokin come remarkably close in meaning to the authoritative definition found in the Catholic Encyclopedia, which is more correct from the etymological point of view than many definitions. It defines religion as

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<sup>35</sup> Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, 225.

the voluntary subjection of oneself to God, that is to the free, supernatural Being (or beings) on whom man is conscious of being dependent, of whose powerful help he feels the need, and in whom he recognizes the source of his perfection and happiness. It is a voluntary turning to God. In the last analysis it is an act of the will.<sup>36</sup>

From the standpoint of sociology alone there is no possibility of proving whether or not a religion is of divine origin; and it is not the purpose nor the intention of this paper to attempt to prove that the Roman Catholic religion is divinely inspired. The purpose in detailing above the present tendencies among sociologists in their approach to religion has been to show that many of them are taking a theological or philosophical approach to religion and not a sociological one. Few of them, indeed, may boast of a truly objective, sociological approach; in religion, at least, they seem to have left their empirical approach behind. Doctor Timasheff and Father Facey, however, have indicated the path which sociologists should follow when treating of religion:

It should be noted that sociology does not determine whether or not the object of this quest is an objective reality. The investigator of society encounters religious associations. His mental subtraction from the lives of their members of the interaction which goes on within them indicates that through their creeds, cults, and codes, they satisfy needs of their members which spring from a quest which is concerned with God. Questions relating to the objective reality of the quest, or to the success with which the various religious associations satisfy the needs related to it, are treated in philosophy and theology.<sup>37</sup>

This, it seems to the present writer, is the only valid approach for the sociologist; he is by reason of his discipline interested in the social

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36 "Religion," Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, 1913, XII, 739.

37 Timasheff and Facey, Sociology, 165-166.

manifestations<sup>38</sup> of religion in the lives of men and societies and how religion affects the behavior of groups and how religion affects social organizations and societies. The sociologist is also interested in the role of religion in social integration and disintegration.

This brings us to the question of the function and purpose of the sociology of religion. One of the pioneer writers in the sociology of religion says that the task of the sociology of religion is "the study of the interrelation and interaction of religion and society with special emphasis on the typology of religious groups."<sup>38</sup>

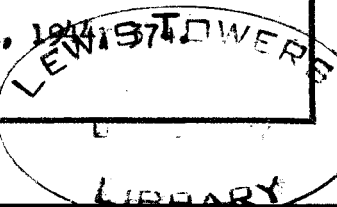
The sociologist must be concerned with the social manifestations of religion and from his viewpoint he must identify religion with the way men act in religious associations. It is precisely through these rites and institutions, or creeds, cults, and codes that the sociologist comes to know and be able to describe religious associations. It is not religion per se in which the sociologist is interested, but, in Professor Wach's words, "the study of the interrelation and interaction of religion and society with special emphasis on the typology of religious groups."

A similar viewpoint is expressed by Professors Wilson and Kolb:

Fortunately the problem of analyzing religious behavior is simpler than that of trying to establish a universally valid definition of the nature of religion. Furthermore, our interest in religious behavior is restricted to its significance in relation to social structure. Regardless of how religion originated or what it means in all of its variations, it tends to develop into a collective activity which reaffirms the ultimate values and solidarity of a

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<sup>38</sup> Joachim Wach, Sociology of Religion, New York, 1944.



unified society. This function implies pre-existing consensus.<sup>39</sup>

Professor Wach finds that religious experience expresses itself in three distinct ways: (1) theoretical expression, or doctrine; (2) practical expression, or cultus; and (3) the sociological expression, or the social relationships resulting from religion.<sup>40</sup> It might be pointed out here that both the theoretical and practical expressions have an almost overwhelming influence on the social relationships and structures which result from the particular form of religion. The social organization in an area where the Roman Catholic religion is predominant will differ profoundly from the organization where Calvinism is predominant, for example, as Tawney has demonstrated.<sup>41</sup>

An adequate sociological definition of religion incorporating the essential characteristics is the following which defines religion as

The social institution built up around the idea of a super-natural being or beings, and the relation of human beings to them. . . . Every true religion involves three major aspects. (1) A conception of the nature and character of divinity. (2) A set of doctrines concerning the reciprocal duties and obligations between divinity and humanity. (3) A set of behavior patterns designed to conform to the will of God and to assure to the individual believer the approval of his conscience and whatever rewards or freedom from penalties in this world or the next are included in the doctrines of his particular faith.<sup>42</sup>

For the purposes of this study the idea of religion as a social in-

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<sup>39</sup> Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb, Sociological Analysis, New York, 1949, 651.

<sup>40</sup> Wach, Sociology of Religion, chapter II.

<sup>41</sup> R. H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, New York, 1926.

<sup>42</sup> Henry Pratt Fairchild, ed., Dictionary of Sociology, New York, 1944, 256.

stitution is especially appropriate since this study is concerned especially with a specific religious institution--the Roman Catholic Church and how well the Roman Catholic religion, through the Church, exerts social control over the behavior patterns of its believers.

Actually, the point must be made and understood that it is not the Church--in this case the Roman Catholic Church--which exercises social control but, rather, it is the religion, the doctrine, and the individual's acceptance or rejection of it which decides his behavior. Nonetheless, it is impossible from a sociological viewpoint to separate the religion from the Church for two reasons: (1) the Church is the organized social manifestation of the religion; and (2) the Church, in turn, is the social organization which administers the religious doctrine, organizes and carries out the ceremonies flowing from the doctrine, and perpetuates the doctrine by passing it on from one generation to the next. The Church is a necessity flowing from Roman Catholic doctrine.

Since the Roman Catholic Church is the institutionalized expression of the Roman Catholic religion it is a legitimate object of sociological study. As was stated in the previous chapter, this study is primarily concerned with the Roman Catholic religion in the United States; our study has now resolved itself into a study of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

Doctrine qua doctrine is not a valid object of our study; that is for the theologians. But we are interested in the behavior in society resulting from doctrine. Hence, from our sociological point of view, we are studying the Roman Catholic religion "in action" in society when we study the

## Roman Catholic Church.

The next step is now to make up a special or operational definition of social control as it will be used in this study. Social control, in this study, refers to the planned methods by which the Roman Catholic Church in the United States persuades, or compels, or both, its members to conform to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion and the ecclesiastical laws of the Roman Catholic Church.

The problem is in what ways is the Roman Catholic religion as represented in the Roman Catholic Church an instrument and source of social control and how effective is the Church's social control (according to the special definition of social control).

### Summary

This chapter has concerned itself with the sociological concepts of social control and religion. Since there is no generally accepted definition of social control a number of representative definitions were studied with a view to picking out the essential elements of an adequate definition. Since the concept is such a broad one, it was demonstrated that both a general and a special definition should be formulated. The general definition suggested was: Social control is the method, planned or unplanned, conscious or unconscious, by which a society persuades or compels, or both, individuals or other societies to conform to its standards.

A similar study was made of some representative definitions of the concept of religion. It was discovered that many of the definitions were in reality not sociological definitions, but reflected the personal convictions



of their authors. An adequate definition was found already formulated in the Dictionary of Sociology: this definition was selected since it was a truly sociological definition.

Following this sociological definition it was found to be necessary to keep this study in the realm of sociology to study the Roman Catholic religion as it appeared in its institutionalized form: the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, a special definition of social control was formulated for use in this study: Social control, in this study, refers to the planned methods by which the Roman Catholic Church in the United States persuades or compels, or both, its members to conform to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion and the ecclesiastical laws of the Roman Catholic Church.

Although it is true that the Roman Catholic Church does make some effort to control the behavior of non-members (e.g., control of movies, efforts to prevent unfavorable legislation affecting morals from being passed), this study is primarily concerned with the Church's control over its own members.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AS A SOURCE AND INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL CONTROL

The next point with which we are concerned is in what planned ways does the Roman Catholic Church in the United States persuade or compel, or both, its members to conform to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion and the ecclesiastical laws of the Roman Catholic Church.

It must be noted initially that the Church in the United States is in many ways an autonomous organization, and except for matters involving faith and morals, has great freedom of action in administrative and organizational decisions, since the Church's policy is always to delegate as much authority as possible to those actually living in an area.

We see, then, that although there are approximately twenty-seven million Roman Catholics in the United States they are not under the direct control of any one member of the hierarchy; from the standpoint of social control, this is an important factor to remember.<sup>1</sup>

It should be pointed out, too, at this point that the purpose of

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1 For a general discussion of the organization of the Church in the United States from which the above and part of the following was taken, see: Harry Hansen, The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1951, New York, 1951, 481-501; Franciscan Clerics, National Catholic Almanac, New Jersey, 1947, passim.

this chapter is not to outline all the ways in which the Roman Catholic Church in the United States is a source and instrument of social control; it would take a doctoral dissertation to fully explore this field. This chapter is concerned only with outlining some of the more obvious agencies of social control to indicate the Church's method in exercising social control.

### 1. The National Catholic Welfare Conference

Perhaps the most outstanding, organized agency of social control to be found within the Roman Catholic Church in the United States is the National Catholic Welfare Conference.<sup>2</sup>

The NCWC began to operate in 1923. It had begun as the National Catholic War Council during the first World War; in 1919 it continued under the name of National Catholic Welfare Council. In 1923, "Conference" was substituted for "Council."<sup>3</sup>

Archbishop Austin Dowling has described the NCWC as follows:

The National Catholic Welfare Conference is a voluntary association of the bishops. It has not and never can have any mandatory or legislative power. Nothing can be done in a diocese except by the permission of the ordinary. But every bishop gains by contact with his fellow bishops and the very statement of common problems and the discussions thereon are in themselves helpful.<sup>4</sup>

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2 Hereafter referred to as the NCWC.

3 Brother Jude Aloysius, F.S.C., (Cantwell), The Attitude of the Catholic Press Regarding the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, Unpublished master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, 1948, 16.

4 Quoted in National Catholic Almanac, 1947, 409.

In general outline,<sup>5</sup> the NCWC is composed of eight departments operating under an administrative board made up of ten bishops and archbishops who are chosen at the annual meeting of the hierarchy.

(1) Executive Department: This department includes the Bureau of Immigration, which aids Catholic immigrants; the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, a catechetical group working among Catholics not attending parochial schools; Bureau of Information, a general clearinghouse of Catholic information; Catholic Action, the official organ of the NCWC is published monthly; and the Publications Office, which makes available literature to aid in Catholic Action activities.

(2) Education Department: The activities of this department include collecting statistics on Catholic education; supplying information; gives scholarships to Catholic colleges to students from Canada and Latin America; aids in obtaining lay teachers for Catholic schools; and working with governmental agencies in the field of Catholic education.

(3) Press Department: This department works to improve the Catholic Press in the United States by supplying it with news gathered by a large world-wide staff of lay and clerical journalists maintained by the NCWC and by supplying news features, photographs, syndicated features, and similar newspaper needs. In 1947, the NCWC Press Department was serving over 400 Catholic publications, both in the United States and other countries.

(4) Social Action Department: The following activities are engaged

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 409-424.

in by this department: industrial relations, Family Life Bureau, Rural Life Bureau, Peace and Post-War Reconstruction Work; and encouraging Parish credit unions.

(5) Legal Department: The collection and dissemination of legal and legislative information of interest to Catholic organizations is the concern of this department.

(6) Department of Catholic Action Study: Assists in furthering Catholic Action by such means as disseminating papal documents and doing research and preparing reports on Catholic Action activities.

(7) Youth Department: Created in 1940, this department is especially interested in promoting wholesome activities for Catholic youth and in promoting the National Catholic Youth Council, the federating agency for all approved Catholic youth groups.

(8) Department of Lay Organization: Two separate organizations--the National Council of Catholic Men and the National Council of Catholic Women--make up this department. These two organizations are engaged in federating Catholic lay organizations of men and women respectively and seeking to unite them, provide them with information, and to help them participate more fully in the life of the United States.

Besides these main departments, there are also two others. One is War Relief Services--NCRS, which was set up in 1943 to aid people involved in the second World War in a variety of ways. The other department is made up of Episcopal Committees, such as the Committee for Refugees; the Committee on Obscene Literature; Committee on Motion Pictures; Committee on the Pope's

Peace Points; Committee for the Spanish-Speaking; Committee on Confraternity of Christian Doctrine; and other special committees.

The preceding is merely a sketchy outline of some of the work carried on by the NCWC, but it should serve the dual purpose of indicating why this chapter will not attempt to explore fully, either quantitatively or qualitatively, all the organized methods of social control employed by the Church; and, secondly, it should show that the Church is making important attempts to control the religious and moral lives of its members. The remainder of the chapter, then, will be devoted to listing some of the other agencies through which the Church seeks to exercise social control. Most of the following material is concerned with well-known, and frequently nationally affiliated organizations and makes no attempt to list the many parish discussion groups, clubs, and sodalities for age- or sex-graded groups.

## 2. Education<sup>6</sup>

The Church carries on an extensive educational system in many general and special fields. The following data for 1946 gives an idea of the control exercised in this area by the Church. There were 238 major and minor seminaries with a total of 21,970 students. There were seventy-three universities and colleges for 93,451 men students; it must be remembered that many men were not yet out of the armed forces until the following year, so these figures must be added to considerably. Colleges and universities for

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<sup>6</sup> Material for rest of chapter from Hansen, World Almanac, 481-501; Franciscan Clerics, National Catholic Almanac, passim., unless otherwise noted.

women numbered 123 in 1946 and there were 35,064 students. Diocesan Teachers' Colleges and Normal Schools numbered thirty-eight with 10,285 students. There were 2,128 secondary schools with 420,707 students and 8,097 elementary schools with 2,086,794 students. This makes a grand total of 10,697 schools of all kinds with 2,688,271 students.

The most effective control over the education of children in the Church is Canon 1374, which provides that Catholic children must not attend schools which are secularistic or non-Catholic except with the permission of their Bishop.

In the United States there are three Catholic schools completely devoted to the care and education of the blind. They are located in New York City, Jersey City, New Jersey, and Lansdale, Pennsylvania.

There are about thirteen schools for the deaf under the auspices of the Church; one estimate puts the number of Catholic deaf boys and girls at about 4,000, with only about 1,400 of these in Catholic schools.

In the field of the education of retarded children, there are six Catholic schools devoted exclusively to this type of work.

In the field of informal education there has been a great effort made to develop non-credit schools for the education of employers and employees in Catholic social principles. These schools began to gain momentum in the early thirties after the encyclical letter Quadragesimo Anno by Pius XI in 1931. In 1946 there were about seventy schools spread all over the United States, with especial concentration in industrial cities.

Other organizations which have education in the social teachings of

the Church as one of their aims are such groups as the Catholic Labor Alliance, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, and the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems.

Another important informal means of education and control are the annual pastoral letters promulgated by the United States hierarchy at their annual meeting and usually concerned with some current important problem. Many of the bishops issue pastoral letters also for their own dioceses.

Another form of informal education is the Cana and Pre-Cana Conferences, which have been organized to educate the laity for marriage and family life. This movement, begun in 1943, is organized on a decentralized basis, with the tendency to avoid national organization. By 1949, in the Chicago area alone, 4,325 couples had participated in Cana Conferences.<sup>7</sup>

### 3. Professional Organizations

With Church approval and encouragement, Catholic professional laymen and laywomen have banded together into many organizations to improve their own professional status, to encourage each other in bringing Catholic principles into their work, and to play their part in following the directives of the Popes to organize society into professional and occupational groups.

Some of the groups which fall under this heading are: American Catholic Historical Association; American Catholic Philosophical Association; American Catholic Sociological Society; American Catholic Theological Society;

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<sup>7</sup> Edward Duff, "Cana's Growing Pains," America, New York, LXXXIV, January 13, 1951, 428-429.



Catholic Anthropological Conference; Catholic Economic Association; Catholic Film and Radio Guild; Catholic Hospital Association of the United States and Canada; Catholic Institute of the Press; Catholic Press Association; Catholic Writer's Guild of America; Federation of Catholic Physicians' Guilds; and the Catholic Lawyers' Guild.

Many of these associations and societies publish journals and hold annual conventions where reports are made on the progress of the group and, usually professional, papers are read.

#### 4. Miscellaneous Groups

Besides the professional and occupational groups listed above, there are innumerable groups of local, regional, and national scope interested in furthering the work of the Church in some general way or among a special group, such as students or ethnic groups.

Some of these would be the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America; St. Ansgar's Scandinavian Catholic League of New York; Slovak Catholic Federation of America; Women's Catholic Order of Foresters; Holy Name Societies; Family Rosary Crusade; Newman Clubs for Catholic students in non-Catholic colleges and universities; Confraternity of the Immaculate Conception; Kolping Society of America, for young men working in large cities; and the National Catholic Women's Union.

The above four general divisions have just begun to scratch the surface of the many concrete planned ways in which the Church acting through its clerical and lay members seeks to bring the Roman Catholic religion into the lives of the Church's members so that it will bring their lives into con-

formity with the standards of the Church.

#### Summary

The present chapter has been concerned with indicating some of the ways in which the Roman Catholic Church is an instrument and source of social control, as the term is understood in this study. No attempt was made to cover the entire scope of the Church's attempts to exercise social control over its members. To give a representative view four types of organizations were discussed: The National Catholic Welfare Conference; Education; Professional Organizations; and Miscellaneous Organizations.

It was seen that the Church reaches into the lives of its members in a variety of ways. Both the laity and the clergy work together to bring the Roman Catholic religion into effect in the lives of its adherents by organizations designed to foster a religious spirit in Catholics and frequently at the same time to help further their material progress.

The purpose of this chapter was to show in what ways the Roman Catholic religion, as represented in the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, is an instrument and source of social control, in the sense of the special definition. The object of the following chapter is to investigate how effective in practice is the Church's social control.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH'S SOCIAL CONTROL

The previous chapter was concerned with showing some of the major ways in which the Church attempts to bring the doctrine of the Roman Catholic religion into effect in the daily lives of its members. It was seen that the Church's attempts, both through the clergy and the lay members, are many and of great variety. Our concern now is to see if these efforts are of any avail; that is, does all this effort on the part of the Church really control the lives of its members?

This study is perhaps the least rewarding in the sense that few definite conclusions are easily available. On the other hand, this chapter will have value in showing where research has been done in this important field and where further research is needed.

Research in the interrelations of religion and social control has been conducted in a number of fields. In some cases, as in many population studies, the primary end was not to explore this interrelationship, but in the course of the investigation many pertinent factors were brought to light, which we may legitimately use.

Some of the areas of research include the study of the relationship between religion and birth control, suicide, crime and delinquency, divorce, morality, population, family stability, movies, socio-economic attitudes, and

mental health. None of these fields has been exhausted so far as research is concerned.

It would be impossible for the purpose of this thesis to fully investigate what has been done in all the fields just listed; hence, this paper shall confine itself to a brief survey of what has already been done in some of these research areas, and select only two--the relation between religion and crime and delinquency and religion and marriage--for a somewhat more detailed study. It is hoped that by outlining some of the more important possible fields for research, the groundwork might be laid for a series of future theses and studies into these fields. It might be noted here, also, that although not a few studies have been made on the general relation between religion and other factors, the surface has hardly been scratched in studying the relation between the Roman Catholic religion and other factors; a vast field of possible research area exists.

### 1. The Roman Catholic Religion and Marriage

Under this general heading, a multitude of studies have been made and are possible. As with many of the studies to be discussed, most of the investigations made on any wide scale have not been made specifically with the Roman Catholic religion primarily in mind. Some of the studies possible under this general aspect are family size of Catholics (compared, of course, with mixed marriages or with other religions or people with no religions), divorce, birth control, separations, or the differential divorce, separation, or family size rates among Catholics with varying degrees of education in Catholic schools.

Many studies have shown that religion per se is an important factor in marriage and family life.<sup>1</sup> Some of these studies have also brought out such factors as the differential divorce rates of Catholics and others.

Weeks' study, for example, which investigated the marital status of 6,548 families of public and parochial school children in Spokane, Washington, disclosed a divorce rate of 3.8 among Catholics, 10.0 among Protestants, 17.4 in mixed marriages, and 23.9 where there was no religion.<sup>2</sup> Bell's study, made at the other border of the country, in Maryland, investigated the marital status of 13,328 families of both mixed and non-mixed (from the standpoint of religion) marriages; he found a divorce rate of 6.4 among Catholics, 4.6 among Jews, 6.8 among Protestants, 15.2 in mixed marriages, and 16.7 where there was no religion in the family.<sup>3</sup>

Mixed marriages offer a fruitful area for research into the related field of the Roman Catholic religion and social control. A good start has already been made by the Landis' in their studies at Michigan State:

A study was made of 4,108 mixed and non-mixed marriages among the parents of college students in Michigan. . . . Using separa-

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1 For example, see Lewis M. Terman, Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness, New York, 1939; E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage, New York, 1939; Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, Building a Successful Marriage, New York, 1948; Howard M. Bell, Youth Tell Their Story, Washington, D.C., 1938; H. Ashley Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupation," Social Forces, Chapel Hill, XXI, March, 1943.

2 Weeks, "Differential Divorce Rates by Occupation," Social Forces, XXI, 336.

3 Bell, Youth Tell Their Story, 21.

tion and divorce as an index of failure, the study showed that mixed marriages in which both husband and wife hold to their separate religions have a much higher rate of failure than other marriages. Where both parents were Catholic the divorce rate was lowest, only 4.4 per cent of the marriages ending in divorce; if both were Protestant, 6.0 per cent ended in divorce. If neither was religious, 17.9 per cent ended in divorce. The highest divorce rate of all existed in marriages in which the husband was Catholic and the wife Protestant. Of this group 20.6 per cent were divorced.<sup>4</sup>

In the area of marital stability and formal Catholic education, Monsignor Bukowski's study is a good beginning. In a very limited study he attempted to compare the Catholic college alumni divorce and separation rate with the divorce and separation rates of non-college Catholics and non-Catholic college alumni. Although his methodology leaves something to be desired, his study shows that Catholic college alumni have a divorce and separation rate of 1.54 per cent compared to about 6.0 per cent among non-college Catholics and 6.0 per cent for the alumni of non-Catholic colleges.<sup>5</sup>

Another possible approach to the study of the Catholic religion and the social control it exercises is what is sometimes called the social anthropological approach. This is found incidentally in some of Warner's works.<sup>6</sup>

The relation of birth control and the members of the Roman Catholic Church is another area in which we might test the effectiveness of the Church's social control under the general heading of marriage. Since the Roman Catholic

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4 Landis, Building a Successful Marriage, 138-139.

5 Arthur F. Bukowski, "The Stability of the Marriages of Catholic College Graduates," American Catholic Sociological Review, Chicago, XII, March, 1951.

6 For example, see W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups, New Haven, 1945, 118.

religion specifically forbids Catholics to practice artificial birth control, such practice, or lack of it, among Roman Catholics is a valid test of the Church's effectiveness in this area. It must be noted here that there is a great deal of difficulty in this research area in gathering meaningful data.

One of the difficulties is to get the cooperation of agencies which would be necessary to help gather the data. A further complication is that, even assuming that Catholic hospitals would cooperate as the non-Catholic urban hospitals did for Pearl,<sup>7</sup> the chances are that Catholic women in a Catholic hospital would not be likely to admit they practiced artificial birth control. This is why Pearl did not collect data from Roman Catholic hospitals in his study of 30,949 women, but concentrated on non-Catholic hospitals in the northeastern area of the United States; however, Catholic (including Eastern and Roman) women who attended these non-Catholic hospitals for their deliveries are included, and they make up 32.8 per cent of the total number of cases.<sup>8</sup>

This fact makes his find the more interesting, however, since it might be assumed that, other factors being equal, these women would not be the most devout, since they did not attend Catholic hospitals for the delivery of their children. Yet, in his study of abortion, Pearl found that:

The Jews stand at the top of the list in the proportion of total reproductive wastage caused by resort to criminal abortion. Next in order comes the No Religion group, and next below that

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7 Raymond S. Pearl, The Natural History of Population, New York, 1939, 172.

8 Ibid., 181.

the Protestants. The Catholics as a group resort least often to this dubious practice. These results suggest that the sanctions of the Catholic Church still have some statistically demonstrable effect upon the everyday behaviour of even its more sophisticated communicants.<sup>9</sup>

This is not to suggest, however, that religion is the most important factor, for as Pearl says: "In considering the influence of contraceptive practices in relation to fertility the religious differential may probably be justly regarded as the next in order of importance after the economic and educational."<sup>10</sup>

A possible further area of research is the relation between religion and the birth rate. In this area it is important to make studies which adequately indicate the relative importance of religion among the other important factors of income, education, and occupation. One study seems to indicate that Catholic marriages are 18.0 per cent more fertile than Protestant marriages.<sup>11</sup> But Stouffer reached the conclusion that the Catholic birth rate is declining much more rapidly than the Protestant birth rate.<sup>12</sup> However, there are some things that could be criticized about Stouffer's methodology in his study. Another viewpoint is expressed more recently by Sister Leo Marie.<sup>13</sup>

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9 Ibid., 239.

10 Ibid., 234.

11 Frank W. Notestein, "Class differences in Fertility," The Annals, Philadelphia, CLXXXVIII, November, 1936.

12 Samuel A. Stouffer, "Trends in Fertility of Catholics and Non-Catholics," American Journal of Sociology, Chicago, XLI, September, 1935, 143-166.

13 Sister Leo Marie, O.P., "Trends in Catholic Population in the United States," ACSR, Chicago, VI, March, 1945.



The preceding is merely a rough outline of some of the major studies that have been made and an indication of where further research might be attempted. There are many reasons why further studies should be made. For one thing, many of the studies cited above were only incidentally concerned with the effect of the Roman Catholic religion on its members' conduct. Another reason is that, for our purposes, many of the preceding studies are inadequate; for example, neither the study made by Bell, nor the one made by Weeks makes a distinction between valid and invalid marriages, something which is of great importance in the relation between the Roman Catholic religion and social control. There is still much to be done in this area of research and Catholics are the logical and ideal ones to conduct the research.

## 2. Religion and Crime and Delinquency

This field is one of the most controversial and certainly one which offers many opportunities for further research. Much has been said and written about the relationship between crime and religion and delinquency and religion, and not a little of it represents biased and prejudiced viewpoints; however, there has been comparatively little done from a scientific point of view.

Every point of view is represented on this subject. We find, at one end of the scale, the words of Harry Elmer Barnes:

Summing up, then, prison populations show an overwhelming majority of those who claim religious affiliations. In the population at large, a high percentage of church membership has no apparent influence in suppressing criminality in this community. Therefore, pending further study, we may accept Dr. Miner's conclusions that 'there is little evidence that the churches play any

major part in the prevention of crime.<sup>14</sup>

The late Edwin Sutherland treads the middle ground in his viewpoint, when he writes:

There is no specific evidence regarding the effect of religion, as such, on crime. Certain external expressions of religion are found to be slightly related to crime. Persons who have membership in churches are committed to prison slightly less than persons who are not members, but the relationship is not entirely consistent.<sup>15</sup>

The other end of the scale is represented by Edwin J. Cooley, in his famous and oft-quoted statement, which he made after completing a large and significant study of probation and delinquency: "The most vital force in the upbuilding of the character of youth is the influence of religion and the Church."<sup>16</sup>

The relation between the effectiveness of the Roman Catholic religion and crime and delinquency is a particularly challenging area for research. One reason for this is because of the controversy centered about this relationship. Another reason is that here is a real challenge to the sociologist interested in true scientific work. A truly adequate study is faced with a number of difficult problems, chief of which is separating the relative influence of religion from the many other related factors such as economic, social, educational, cultural, and environmental conditions, which also enter into the total social situation. Not the least of the other problems is how to measure what

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14 Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Institutions, 714.

15 Edwin H. Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, 3rd ed., New York, 1939, 195.

16 Edwin J. Cooley, Probation and Delinquency, New York, 1927, 14.

real influence<sup>\*</sup> religion exerts and how it exerts this influence. Each factor must be isolated and measured to show its true significance.

Sutherland gives an example of this:

In America the Baptists and the Catholics have the highest rate of commitment to those prisons which report religious affiliations. This is apparently explained by the fact that most of the Negroes are Baptists and most of the recent immigrants are Catholics. Similarly, an intensive analysis of the differences of crime rates in Hungary resulted in the conclusions that these differences were due not to the differences in creeds but to the differences in the economic, educational, and family status of the members, to the differences in places of residence, and to the differences in age and sex.<sup>17</sup>

This gives some indication of the complicated nature of such a study. It requires intensive analysis and painstaking research; it is not something which can be decided by one or two small studies. Many factors must be sifted and nothing may be overlooked. With this in mind, Barnes' broad generalizations mean little or nothing since he does not make adequate allowance for the differences between nominal and real members of churches, for one thing.

It seems true, however, that mere church membership does not effectively control the individual's behavior in relation to crime and delinquency. The Delinquency Committee of the White House Conference of 1930, in a study of 2,191 delinquents, discovered that thirty-seven per cent of them had no church affiliations.<sup>18</sup> This means that sixty-three per cent of the

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17 Sutherland, Principles of Criminology, 195.

18 White House Conference, The Delinquent Child, New York, 1932, 143.

delinquents in this study had some church connection. The conclusion at which many writers jump is that religion plays no significant part in preventing crime and delinquency, or, even, more strongly, that religion is a cause of crime and delinquency. The difficulty is that "some church connection" is meaningless unless it is further broken down. Cooley's study of about 3,000 offenders indicates the importance of this.

That church attendances and religious observances were generally slighted by the offenders is proved by the fact that 2,082 or 68.2 per cent of the total were either irregular in their observances or had no contact whatever with religious organizations. The remaining 971 or 31.8 per cent were regular in their church attendance.<sup>19</sup>

By breaking down the general term "some church connection" Cooley has just about reversed the apparent findings of the White House Conference Delinquency Committee. This further demonstrates the necessity for careful methodological and procedural analysis. As Cooley found in his study: "In the majority of instances, there had been little religious training and religious observances were irregular or had been abandoned. Without this stabilizing influence, character deterioration frequently followed."<sup>20</sup>

A further difficulty is to be found in the registration of individuals according to religion. The first point that must be made is brought out by Fathers Kalmer and Weir, when they write: "There are no official or other dependable compilations of data on the religion of prisoners throughout the United States."<sup>21</sup>

19 Cooley, Probation and Delinquency, 89.

20 Ibid., 71.

21 Leo Kalmer, O.F.M., and Eligius Weir, O.F.M., Crime and Religion, Chicago, 1936, 69.

Besides the fact that many offenders list themselves as affiliated with a church in order to curry favor while institutionalized, or, possibly, to influence parole possibilities, it is also true that many are included who are nominally Catholics. Such a case exists in the English Borstals for juvenile offenders, where twenty per cent of the offenders in Borstal Training are registered as Catholics, which twenty per cent includes those who have only been baptized and have received no religious instruction, and many who do not frequent the Sacraments. The Catholic boy in Borstal Training has little or no knowledge of the Faith, "even when he has been to a Catholic school."<sup>22</sup>

This is further shown in a study of 100 delinquents in a reformatory by Homer Dickerson. Out of sixty-three Roman Catholics only eight were regular attendants, one attended frequently, nine seldom attended, and forty-five never attended. Similar findings were reported for other religions.<sup>23</sup>

In the literature on the relationship between religion and crime and delinquency, many statements such as the following may be found: "Many testimonials from authoritative leaders might be offered to substantiate the important part the church plays and can play in preventing delinquency."<sup>24</sup> Or, like this quotation:

As stated previously, opinions differ in regard to the influ-

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<sup>22</sup> Ralph Owen, "The Delinquent in Borstal," Blackfriars, England, XXXI, November, 1950, 534.

<sup>23</sup> Homer L. Dickerson, "Juvenile Criminals and the Church," The Missionary Review of the World, New York, LVIII, June, 1935, 298-300.

<sup>24</sup> T. Earl Sullenger, Social Determinants in Juvenile Delinquency, New York, 1936, 308.

ence of religion and the church, but few studies adequately show the relationship. It is generally believed that an effective church program is a powerful force in community life and plays a dynamic part in the prevention of delinquency.<sup>25</sup>

While statements such as those just quoted carry with them the weight of authority, they are far from the last word on the subject and they do not adequately disprove the studies that show that religion has little or no effect on the prevention of crime and delinquency. What is needed are more empirical studies to bring out the truth in the matter. And these studies, to be adequate, must bring out the relative influence of all the factors involved.

The brief outline just sketched gives some idea of the possible areas of research in this broad field. Studies might include: investigation of comparable areas of the city where there are churches and where there are few or no churches; the reliability of religious statistics of offenders; an adequate definition of who might be termed a practicing Catholic and who is merely a nominal Catholic; studies of the relation between the amount of formal religious education and the rate of crime and delinquency, such as was done for education and divorce; investigation as to religion and type of crime committed; and investigation of crime and delinquency rates before and after a church in an area began an intensive campaign to prevent crime and delinquency through increased religious participation.

These are a few of the possible studies that might be made. One of the difficulties facing the researcher is the fact that since most areas have

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<sup>25</sup> Martin H. Neumeyer, Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society, New York, 1949, 286.

some kind of church in them it is difficult to make comparisons; however, it seems to the present writer that one of the most fruitful approaches is to compare areas where there are no churches with areas of comparable social situations where churches exist. It is easy to point out a slum area with a high crime and delinquency rate where there are a fair number of churches and say that the presence of churches proves that religion is ineffective; the real question is: How would the situation be if those churches were not there?

As was stated in the beginning of this chapter, this study is in many ways a frustrating one insofar as few definite conclusions may be reached, based upon an adequate number of empirical studies. However, so far as the effectiveness of the Roman Catholic Church in preventing crime and delinquency is concerned, the great weight of the opinion seems to be that it is a potent influence in controlling behavior in this area. Yet, there is enough evidence to indicate that the Church could be doing a better job. Studies are needed to refine the above generalizations into statements of fact.

The relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and crime and delinquency has been explored in some detail; similarly with the relationship with marriage. Now we shall merely look briefly at some of the other possible fields which might help to solve the question of how effective a social control is exerted by the Roman Catholic Church.

### 3. Religion and Suicide

There is practically nothing of significance to be found on such studies in the United States, indicating that this area would be a fruitful one

for future empirical research. There is no comparable study to that made by Durkheim in Europe. However, on the basis of European studies, "We may infer that the suicide rate is higher among the Protestant groups than among the Catholics or the Jews."<sup>26</sup>

#### 4. Religion and Attitudes and Opinions

Although nothing of significance has been published by Catholics concerning the relation between the Roman Catholic Church and the attitudes and opinions of its members on selected issues, the extensive studies being carried on at the present time by Fathers Harte and Mulvaney and Doctor Nuesse at Catholic University of America promises much in the future.

This trio is engaged in testing the relationship between Catholics and their attitudes and opinions to discover if, and in what way, being Catholics has influenced them and exerted control over their attitudes and opinions. One of their preliminary studies concerned with over 2,000 non-student Catholics has revealed that although Catholic attitudes approximate the teachings of their religion in theory, Catholics seems to be reluctant to put this theory into action.<sup>27</sup> This is evidenced by the following:

Equality for the Negro in his choice of a place to live produced, as might be expected, a reversal in the response pattern. On Item 5, which states that 'Negroes should be allowed to buy or

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<sup>26</sup> Mabel A. Elliott and Francis E. Merrill, Social Disorganization, revised edition, New York, 1941, 558.

<sup>27</sup> Thomas J. Harte, C.Ss.R., Bernard G. Mulvaney, C.S.V., and C. J. Nuesse, Chairman, "Sociogram Analysis of Catholic Attitudes Toward the Negro," Publication No. S-2, December, 1950, mimeographed, private distribution.



rent homes\* any place they want to,' only 38.0 per cent approved, and 62.0 per cent disapproved.<sup>28</sup>

In summarizing an earlier study on Catholic opinion, according to formal Catholic education, on the issues of the use of the atom bomb, displaced persons, and the practice of euthanasia, Father Harte reported:

The preceding conclusion suggests the hypothesis that the higher ratings of advertence to principles on euthanasia reflect formal classroom instruction on this subject. On the other hand, the low ratings on this subject, as on the atom bomb and displaced persons issues, may be related to the absence of such formal instruction.<sup>29</sup>

Such studies as the above, and those forthcoming, do much to illustrate how effective or ineffective the Church's social control is, and it helps explain why.

Another study<sup>30</sup> has indicated that, at least as far as political and economic attitudes are concerned, social and economic position is of more significance than religion.

In the field of racial attitudes, the master's thesis of Mr. Edward Marciniak<sup>31</sup> is an excellent example of what might be done. His study of

28 Ibid., 9.

29 Thomas J. Harte, C.Ss.R., "Catholic Education as a Factor in Catholic Opinion," American Catholic Sociological Review, Chicago, X, March, 1949, 30.

30 Wesley and Beverly Allinsmith, "Religious Affiliation and Politico-Economic Attitude: A Study of Eight Major U. S. Religious Groups," Public Opinion Quarterly, New Haven, XII, Fall, 1948, 377-389.

31 Edward Allen Marciniak, The Racial Attitudes of Students in the Catholic Colleges of the Chicago Area, Unpublished master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois, 1942.

students in the Catholic colleges in the Chicago area might well be emulated by colleges in other areas so a more extensive body of knowledge might be accumulated on this topic.

Marciniak's thesis would seem to suggest that formal indoctrination is a decisive factor in the attitudes of Catholic students toward races other than their own. He found that "Sociology students consistently obtained a higher score on the attitude scale than any other major subject group."<sup>32</sup> He notes that in many cases teachers of sociology were very concerned with the race problem.

So far nothing conclusive has resulted from the studies in this area of research, but they are very promising and it may be hoped that they will shed much more light on the effectiveness of the Church's social control.

### 5. Religion and Character

This section has been inserted to mention an important and oft-quoted study<sup>33</sup> which is distinctly unfavorable to the idea that social control is effectively exerted by religion. Although this study is neither directly concerned with parochial school children, nor Catholic children in particular, the results of this study have been freely applied in the form of unwarranted generalizations, by other than the authors of the study.

This is not good science, but the authors are usually careful to couch their words in such a way as to avoid being pinned down. For example,

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 95.

<sup>33</sup> Hartshorne and May, Studies in Deceit.

one such author writes:

The first volume, Studies in Deceit, indicated that orthodox religious training, either Christian or Jewish, did not promote honesty or reliability. To the contrary, children who had been exposed to progressive educational methods, based upon secular premises and the exploitation of modern psychology, appeared to have a far better record as to honesty and dependability.<sup>34</sup>

Though Barnes gives no specific page reference, his conclusions would seem to be based, at least in part, on the following sentence:

On the other hand, attendance at Sunday school or membership in at least two organizations which aim to teach honesty does not seem to change behavior in this regard, and in some instances there is evidence that it makes children less rather than more honest.<sup>35</sup>

The present writer does not know in the "some instances" whether or not the children were being forced to attend Sunday school or the other organizations and had, perhaps, formed a negativistic attitude because of it. The point is that Professor Barnes does not give any indication that he knows either and yet he does not hesitate to make broad generalizations. From the scientific standpoint of seeking to advance in possession of the truth, and not trying to prove foregone conclusions, it would seem that Professor Barnes falls far short of this ideal.

For nowhere does he point out the inadequacies of Hartshorne and May's study, which the authors themselves note; nor does he give any indication that he had read a rather important conclusion which the author's reached:

This does not imply that the teaching of general ideas, standards, and ideals is not desirable and necessary, but only that the

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<sup>34</sup> Harry Elmer Barnes, Social Institutions, 713.

<sup>35</sup> Hartshorne and May, Studies in Deceit, Book I, 15.

prevailing ways of inculcating ideals probably do little good and may do some harm.<sup>36</sup>

As indicated in the Introduction to this thesis, it is unfortunate that in an area such as this there are so few studies that it is almost impossible to make any comparisons between different studies. Here is one area, then, where many new studies are needed, for if many studies all reach the conclusions reached by Hartshorne and May it will be an important addition to our knowledge of the effectiveness of the Church's social control. However, in our present state of knowledge, there is no possibility of making valid generalizations.

A further possible area of research is a study of the Church at work in the missions; that is, how the Church's social control brought into an area where it had never existed before, even indirectly, affects a culture and the agencies of social control in a culture. This is especially valuable since in primitive groups the variable factors involved stand out more clearly for purposes of study.

Here, as elsewhere, the investigator must be careful in separating the influence of the missionaries' culture from the influence of their religion. Sister Mary Henry has done some work in this field showing the influence of the Spanish on the family life of the Pueblo Indians.<sup>37</sup> There is a whole possible area of research in the Southwestern part of the United States.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid., Book I, 413.

<sup>37</sup> Sister Mary Henry, O.P., "Family Life Among the Pueblo," American Catholic Sociological Review, Chicago, VI, June, 1945, 83-90.

The early Jesuit missionaries in the northern United States also played an important part in bringing religion into the culture of other Indian groups.

Outside the United States proper, anthropologists have covered the role of religion in an indirect manner.<sup>38</sup> In the course of their general investigation of primitive cultures they have unearthed much of pertinent interest, but little has been done on the effect of the Roman Catholic religion on primitive cultures. The influence of the Jesuit missionaries in a country like Paraguay would be an informative investigation.

#### Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to make a preliminary investigation of the effectiveness of the Church's social control (as understood in our special definition) in some outstanding areas of research and to indicate where future research might be done. Two research areas--the Roman Catholic religion and marriage and the Roman Catholic religion and crime and delinquency--were selected for more detailed study for two reasons: (1) enough has been done in these two fields to draw some tentative conclusions and hence make a detailed study easier and more fruitful; and (2) it would be impossible, within the scope of this thesis, to go into detail in every research field.

Although the majority of the studies indicate that the Roman Catholic Church is effectively exerting social control in many respects, the em-

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<sup>38</sup> For example, see Robert Redfield, Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village, Chicago, 1930; Basil Matthews, O.S.B., "West Indian Beliefs and Superstitions," American Catholic Sociological Review, Chicago, VI, October, 1943, 139-143.

empirical evidence is by no means complete. To arrive at definite conclusions, many more studies are needed in the indicated fields.

## CHAPTER V

### THE FUTURE OF RELIGION AS A FORM OF SOCIAL CONTROL

There is little specific material to be found on the future of the Roman Catholic religion as a form of social control, but there is some material on the future of religion in general. There are those who claim that religion is dead or has outlived its usefulness. If this be true, then there is little use in a thesis such as this suggesting many future studies in various areas of religion and social control. Therefore, it is fitting that this paper should devote at least a few pages to the future prospects of religion from the standpoint--as this whole study has been--of the sociologist and socially-minded thinker.

Perhaps the major consideration as to the future of religion as a form of social control is whether or not religion in the future will sensibly be based upon a relationship with God or whether the trend continues toward centering religion around man in a humanitarian approach and making it a kind of social ethics. As Father Murray comments:

The plan for a 'community' church advocated by so many sociologists, usually indicates not only that faith is thereby regarded chiefly as a matter of feeling, but also that religion is man-centered. . . . Sociologists, at any rate, would utilize the 'spiritual forces' of the individual for the welfare of the community through the establishment of frankly non-demoninational churches. The original and basic source of true spiritual force

would thus be ignored.<sup>1</sup>

It has been pointed out many times<sup>2</sup> that the real effectiveness of religion as a form of social control depends largely upon the concept of a supernatural Being, or beings, which the members of a religious group have. A "religion" built up entirely around natural objects and ignoring the spiritual or supernatural would seem to be so lacking in effective sanctions as to make it a weak form of social control.

However, it is of some importance to note that almost without exception sociologists recognize the importance of some form of religion to bring about social control in society. The following is an example of this recognition, even though this particular example shows also how sociologists insert value judgments into their work:

The reason why religion is necessary is apparently to be found in the fact that human society achieved its unity primarily through the possession by its members of certain ultimate values and ends in common. Although these values and ends are subjective, they influence behavior, and their integration enables the society to operate as a system. Derived neither from inherited nor from external nature, they have evolved as a part of the culture by communication and moral pressure. They must, however, appear to the members of society to have some reality, and it is the role of religious belief and ritual to supply and reinforce this appearance of reality.<sup>3</sup>

It was pointed out briefly in the Introduction that there are two major trends in the thought about the efficacy of religion as a form of social

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1 Murray, Introductory Sociology, 770-771.

2 For example, see Rousek, Social Control, 107; Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, 228-229.

3 Kingsley Davis and Wilbert E. Moore, "Some Principles of Stratification," American Sociological Review, Menasha, Wisconsin, IX, April, 1945, 243.



control: One school of thought denies both the objective validity of religion and its efficacy as a potent form of social control; the other, whether or not it accepts the validity of religion, believes that religion is both an effective and a most necessary instrument of social control.

Professors Ogburn and Nimkoff represent this latter trend very well as was shown earlier. Even men such as Ellwood, with their humanitarianism, and apparent unconcern over the objective validity of religion place all their faith for the future of society into their idea of religion. As Ellwood wrote during World War I:

For an actually realized humanitarian religion, sanctioning and enforcing a humanitarian ethics, would be our surest guarantee of establishing social justice and future good will between classes, nations, and races, and the surest preventive of the recurrence again as much a calamity as the present war.<sup>4</sup>

Even from the viewpoint of utility and objective thinking, religion appears as a necessity for many writers. In his study of juvenile delinquency, Neumeyer came to the conclusion that

Churches can provide spiritual guidance, help children gain a proper perspective of life and develop character that enables them to overcome temptations and to face difficulties with confidence. They likewise can provide spiritual guidance by private counseling and through worship and instruction. In its role as a community institution, the church provides opportunities for young people to form wholesome associations.<sup>5</sup>

Ever since the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on a nice, undemanding form of humanitarian religion, there has been much emphasis on the

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4 Ellwood, "Religion and Social Control," Scientific Monthly, VII, 348.

5 Neumeyer, Juvenile Delinquency, 286.

preaching of a "social gospel" which is in accordance with the precepts and ends of humanitarianism. Clark, in his study of business and social control, digresses slightly to distinguish three stages in the types of religions; they were medievalism, Puritanism, and the modern social religion. He saw many important changes taking place:

The relation of religion to social control has been, and is, important, and is changing in definite and important ways. There has been a movement away from priestly oligarchy and toward a democratic religion, away from a self-centered scheme of personal salvation to a spirit of unselfish brotherhood, from an almost exclusive emphasis on the next world to a dominant interest in this, and from definite control of social behavior through a stage of relative indifference to a period in which the task of religion is conceived as the motivation of individuals in accord with a human and social gospel, at once forming ideals and strengthening the power behind them.<sup>6</sup>

From the standpoint of the psychology of religion, there would seem to be an important future for religion in the lives of men. As Leo XIII puts it:

To fix the gaze on God, and to aim earnestly at becoming like Him, is the supreme law of the life of man. For we were created in the divine image and likeness, and are vehemently urged, by our very nature, to return to Him from whom we have origin.<sup>7</sup>

Religion tends to integrate the personality of an individual around major values and to give shape and purpose to the life of the individual. The Roman Catholic religion, through its Sacraments, gives comfort to the emotions of its adherents by providing for every crisis in an individual's life. Father

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6 John M. Clark, Social Control of Business, New York, 1926, 254.

7 Leo XIII, The Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens, New York, 1941, 3-4, Paulist Press pamphlet.

Keenan sums it up in these words: "Peace follows integration. In the integration which follows from sacramental life, one rests on the bosom of Christ"<sup>8</sup>

The Roman Catholic religion gives a complete way of life to its members, giving them direction in every aspect of life, and promising them a reward in eternity if they conscientiously follow the road pointed out by the Church; it is an emotion-satisfying experience to belong to the Church. Comparing the psychological experience of belonging to the Communist Party and the Roman Catholic Church, Arthur Schlesinger says of communists:

In the end, they become so involved socially and psychologically that the threat of expulsion strikes them as ex-communication would a devout Catholic. . . . And many, once they make the break, have become so dependent emotionally on discipline that, like Louis Budenz and Elizabeth Bentley, they rush to another form of discipline in the Roman Catholic Church, moving from one bastion to another in their frenzied flight from doubt.<sup>9</sup>

Although this explanation does not take the theology of conversion into account, it is probably a sound social and psychological explanation, showing once again the need man has for the social and psychological features of religion.<sup>10</sup> Man, then, has a psychological need for religion, by the very nature of human nature.

No modern psychologist or psychiatrist, with all his accumulated knowledge about the psychological and psychiatric aspects of religion, has

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8 Alan Keenan, O.F.M., Neuroses and Sacraments, New York, 1950, 161.

9 Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., The Vital Center, Boston, 1949, 106.

10 For a more thorough study of the psychology and theology of conversion, see Fulton J. Sheen, Peace of Soul, New York, 1949, chapters 12 and 13.

added much to the ancient dictum of St. Augustine: Thou has made us for Thyself, O God, and our heart is restless until it rests in Thee.<sup>11</sup>

Following an interview with Father Raphael C. McCarthy, S.J., the prominent Catholic psychologist, Father Daniel A. Lord, S.J., summed up the relation between religion and mental health:

Religion, then, is important for more reasons than those that regard the soul. It gives a plan of life and hence a sense of stability; troubled minds are unstable minds. It gives dignity to life; mental diseases are often linked with an inhuman lack of dignity. It creates a true and saving humility; mental patients are so often devilishly proud. It restrains wild emotions; wild emotions lead to nervous disorders. It offers the release of the confessional and the peace of mind that follows an acceptance of God's providence and the forgiveness of sins.

Far from being a cause of insanity, the true religion is one of the strongest forces for insuring a peaceful life, well-controlled emotions, and a wholesome mind.<sup>12</sup>

There is another approach to the present subject of the future of religion as a form of social control, and that is the historical approach. Some sociologists have looked over the whole of human history to see what historical role religion has played and have attempted to predict what the future of religion will be. For the most part, as with Clark, they predict that the form of religion will change, but, with the possible exception of men like Barnes, they all foresee an important future for religion. In particular it is difficult to understand why the men who use this historical approach, and,

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11 Quoted by Rev. James M. Gillis, C.S.P., Address on the Catholic Hour, National Broadcasting Company, November 10, 1940.

12 Daniel A. Lord, S.J., Is Religion Bad for Your Mind?, St. Louis, Missouri, 1946, 32, Queen's Work pamphlet.

therefore, should know better, predict a change in doctrine and dogmas. Some of them through ignorance, perhaps, believe that the Roman Catholic religion, for example, has changed in the past and will change in the future to meet changing conditions; they do not make the necessary distinction between change in emphasis and the development of doctrine, and a fundamental change.

Sorokin represents this point of view when he writes:

Some contend that in the future, religion and religiosity will be replaced by irreligiosity and disappearance of religion. Such contentions are unfounded. While the concrete forms of this or that religion may come and go, religion has been the perennial phenomenon of human history and will remain such in the future. As a system of ultimate values-meanings-norms, there is no reason to believe that such systems will disappear, or that mankind will not be able to integrate its ideas, values, and norms to the highest level of ultimate forms, as it has been able to do in the past. Such a theory of regress is absurd. This or that belief, dogma, ritual, or other concrete form of religion will certainly change as in the past, but religion in new concrete forms will certainly remain.<sup>13</sup>

The Catholic sociologist has the most cause for assurance concerning the future of religion. He has, on the one hand, all the knowledge that he has gleaned from sociology pointing to the universality of some form of religion in the past, in the present, and in all societies. On the other hand, he has the assurance of his Divine Teacher that He shall be with His Church even unto the end of the world. Strengthened by both his natural and his supernatural knowledge, the Catholic sociologist may look with confidence to the future.

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<sup>13</sup> Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality, 229.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSIONS

The primary purpose of this thesis, as was noted in the Introduction, has been, first, to attempt to develop a conceptual scheme around the concepts of religion and social control; and, secondly, to briefly sketch an outline of the part that the Roman Catholic religion plays in social control in the United States.

In our study of the concepts of religion and social control, four valuable conclusions have been reached as to how these terms must be conceived within the sociological framework of this thesis:

- 1) From a sociological point of view, religion must be conceived in terms of its social effects; the inherent and objective truth of any particular religion is not within the scope of sociology per se. Therefore, if a sociologist is to study religion he must make the primary object of his study the social manifestations of a religion. In practice, this virtually means that the sociologist must content himself with studying the organized religions throughout the world through the social structures which have been erected about them. It is quite true, for example, that in the United States there are millions of individuals who do not fall into the orbit of any organized religion, and yet they profess to possess a religion. How should the sociological student of religion meet this difficulty? Two indirect approaches are

possible. One is to study these individuals from the standpoint of who is not being reached by organized religion. The other is to study how the lack of religious participation has affected the social structure as a whole, by comparing it to similar societies where there is active participation in organized religion.

2) A corollary of this is that many modern sociologists do not have a true sociological concept of religion to guide them in their work. Far too many of them study religion from the standpoint of their own prejudices and theological convictions, allowing these to guide their work. There is a further complication insofar as some sociologists, such as Ellwood, take a humanitarian approach to religion, neglecting the important fact that an essential element of religion is the recognition of a dependent relationship between the individual and a supernatural Being, or beings.

3) Social control is a concept which is so broad that any attempt to limit it for the purpose of a particular study would make it generally inapplicable. The only solution for this is to approach this large field from two directions. One is to have a general definition which will be all-embracing; and the other is to formulate special definitions to fit individual studies.

4) The concept of social control is not generally understood in the field of sociology today and, as yet, there has not been enough work done in this important field, which not a few sociologists would make the center of sociological study. This investigation has shown that the only really fruitful approach is one which takes both the general and special aspects of the

problem into account. One important point, however, is that social control is too broad a concept to consider it only in relation to the possibility of dominating or physical control being used to bring it about. The term suggests much more than that and is more of a guidance and direction than merely physical force.

Conclusions of a more limited value were reached in considering the Roman Catholic Church as a source and instrument of social control. The value was limited since this is merely a brief exploration of a very special aspect of the general concept of social control.

1) The Roman Catholic Church, in regard to social control, is not an organized hierarchy seeking to enforce its will upon subservient and slavish Church members. In the first place, the Bishop is autonomous in his diocese in the United States in relation to other Bishops; there is no Primate in the United States. While it is true that the hierarchy is organized and that they do cooperate, this is a voluntary arrangement. Secondly, the role of the layman is an important one and must not be overlooked in considering the Church and social control.

2) The Church, through both its lay and clerical members, is an important source of social control. As was briefly demonstrated, there are many organizations set-up to persuade or compel the Church member to live up to his religion. It should never be forgotten, though, that the sanctions employed by the Church are merely spiritual and the individual member is legally free to accept or reject the Church's social control any time he so desires. The Church's organizations attempt to provide for the control (as understood



in our special definition) of its members in every department of their life, both natural and supernatural.

3) In this study we have been primarily interested in the Church's attempts to bring the Roman Catholic religion into the lives of its members. What should not be overlooked is the fact that by making better Catholics of its members the Church is also helping the State to exercise social control because Church members who live their religion are consequently better citizens of the State.

It was seen in the attempt at a preliminary study of the effectiveness of the social control exerted by the Church that many factors are at work making this a fruitful field for further research. This, of course, was one of the aims of the study: to briefly point out the fields for research, what had been done in them, and what remained to be done. Some of the conclusions reached were:

1) No one area of research has been exhausted in trying to determine the relationship between the Roman Catholic religion and various indices of social control. Many areas of research have not even been investigated, as yet.

2) Here, as we have seen elsewhere in our investigation, the situation is sometimes confused by the attempts of some students of the problem to prove a pre-conceived point. This unscientific approach is especially noticeable in the writings of those who are opposed to the content of religion and apparently are trying to gather proof that religion is of no consequence. On the other hand, there are those who try to make religion too im-

portant a factor; for the most part, these groups use a non-sociological approach.

3) The weight of the available evidence seems to indicate that religion is not only an important factor in social control, but it is, in all probability, the most basic and decisive form of social control for, at least, Church members. Studies are needed to show what is the most decisive form of social control for those who profess no religion, belong to no organized religion, or for groups such as organized atheists, or those with humanitarian religious beliefs.

4) Religion is only one form of social control among many. It is the most basic and most decisive only for those people who make religion an important part of their lives. Future studies are needed to show how the Church brings religion into the lives of its members and how effective it is in its attempt. Why does the Church reach some people and not others? That is the question we must investigate. To do that it is necessary to take all the related social factors into account and determine why religion has worked in some cases and failed in others. How does a particular social situation tend to foster or disrupt religious participation?

5) This line of investigation into the relationship between the Roman Catholic religion and social control has importance for us as Catholic sociologists on two levels: First, as sociologists, we are interested in the way in which the Roman Catholic religion tends to integrate or disintegrate society, and what are its social manifestations and effects. Secondly, as Catholics, we wish to know where the Church has failed or succeeded in bring-

ing religion into the daily lives of its members as an effective instrument of social control. We want to know how the Church brings--successfully or unsuccessfully--religion to the individual members. The Church appeals to individuals by giving them something to live up to; we want to know what social factors affect the Church's attempt and in what way these social factors operate.

Again, as Catholic sociologists, we have a three-fold interest in the future of religion, and particularly the future of the Roman Catholic religion:

1) Every society has had some form of religion. Although some changes are possible in the future in external forms, there is no reason to believe that religion qua religion will not continue to exist and permeate the lives of the members of society. Along this line of thought, it might be appropos to suggest that investigation might be made into the modern substitutes for true religion, such as science, communism, and a "society" in the Durkheimian sense which exists over and beyond the individuals who make it up, to see if possibly these substitutes might fall into the sociological category of religion.

2) For Catholic sociologists, an appropriate area of future study might be in testing the effectiveness in the social lives of Catholics of the Church's teachings on social justice and social charity. Evidence suggests that these teachings are becoming increasingly important in the lives of many members of the Catholic Church.

3) Our last conclusion also is of particular interest to the soci-

ologist who is also a Catholic. And that is the Divine Assurance that the Roman Catholic religion shall remain and persist until the end of time. The Catholic sociologist has an important potential contribution to make as to how effective the Church shall be in the future.

APPENDIX

LETTER SENT TO TEN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGISTS REQUESTING  
INFORMATION ON SUBJECT OF THESIS

Dear Sir:

I am a student at Loyola University (Chicago) working on a Master's thesis tentatively entitled "The Role of Religion in Social Control," under the direction of Rev. Ralph A. Gallagher, S.J. The thesis is generally concerned with the role of religion, but especially the role of the Catholic religion in social control.

There are very few books on this subject, so as one of a group interested in social control, I am writing to you for some information: Would you name some books for me appropriate to my subject? Or would you direct me to an appropriate bibliography? Do you know of any thesis or other work similar to my subject? I should appreciate any information you may be able to give me to help me with my thesis.

For your convenience I am enclosing a self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Very truly yours,

Donald J. Thorman

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