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Attitudinal Variations of Catholic High School Senior Girls Especially Towards Social Responsibility Related to Social Class and Ethnic Background

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ATTITUDINAL VARIATIONS OF CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOL SENIOR
GIRLS ESPECIALLY TOWARDS SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY
RELATED TO SOCIAL CLASS AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND

by

Paula McNicholas Condon

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of
the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

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LIFE

Paula McNicholas Condon was born in Chicago, Illinois, on November 13, 1930.

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To my husband, parents, and family for their help, encouragement, and generosity--my loving thanks.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

Definition of the Problem and Purpose of the Study

The deep concern and sometimes heated discussions among those interested in education and particularly in religious formation requires some investigation of the complex issues related to the Catholic school system in America today. Many reasons for this current examination of Catholic schools have been suggested by numerous commentators and their reflections on this question have raised innumerable other questions. It is imperative to understand the broad framework in which the issue must be considered and then attempt to specify the most important aspects for future policies.

Historically, the ultimate justification for and objectives of the Catholic parochial system of education in America are to be found in Pius XI's, Encyclical on Christian Education:

Education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must do here below in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created.

. . . .

It must never be forgotten that the subject of Christian education is man whole and entire, soul united to body in unity of nature, with all his faculties, natural and supernatural, as right reason and revelation show him to be; man, therefore, fallen from his original estate, but redeemed by Christ and restored to the supernatural condition of adopted sons of God. . . .¹

However, questions are being currently raised in public forum as to whether

¹William J. McGucken, The Philosophy of Catholic Education (New York, n.d.), p. 16.

these words encourage, let alone demand, a total Catholic system of education; it is obvious that the American Catholic school system is unique in the world and therefore could not possibly be the only satisfactory fulfillment of the stated goals of the encyclical. The genesis and evolution of the American Catholic school system must be examined if we are to assess the present situation.

In a necessarily summarized manner, it is of note that the stated concern of the American bishops with the religious education of youth began with Bishop John Carroll. "To devise means for the religious education of Catholic youth--that precious portion of pastoral solicitude, was the way he described his task in his installation sermon in Baltimore on December 12, 1790."² This episcopal concern continued.

By the time of the Third Plenary Council in 1884, almost all traces of any dependence upon public education had disappeared. At that council, not only were all pastors directed to construct, within a period of two years, parochial schools attached to their churches, but parents were commanded to send their children to these schools. Voted down only by the narrowest margin was a decree which would have excluded from the sacraments parents who sent their children to public schools. In this respect it is worth noting that, beginning with a fairly mild urging of parochial education and parochial school construction by the First Provincial Council in Baltimore in 1829, the decrees of Provincial and Plenary Councils over the years became increasingly stringent on the need for Catholic education.³

The reasons for the establishment of a separate system are generally conceded to have been the fear of the secularizing influences of the public schools, the hostility found there towards Catholicism as such, and to the traditionally Catholic immigrant groups of those times. On the positive side, it was hoped that a separate system of education would strengthen a Catholic

²Daniel Callahan, The Mind of the Catholic Layman (New York, 1963), p. 10.

³Ibid., p. 57.

pattern of life and retard the leakage from the Church.

Almost without exception the opening remark in current debates on the Catholic school system in America is that "times have changed." It is from this starting point that we may then consider the various frames of reference within which the discussion continues. These major outlooks seem to be four: sociological, economic, educational, and religious, and they are used singly or in combination by those interested in this issue as they assess the situation today.

Let us first examine some of the basic sociological considerations inherent in this question. The fact that times have changed is evidenced by the difference between the early task of the Catholic schools which attempted the basic instruction, both academic and religious, of Catholic immigrants and their children. We compare this function to that of today where emphasis has shifted to a plea for overcoming the "siege mentality" of our instruction and the need for intellectual excellence among Catholics. The move from minority status, marginality, almost total lower class status, and related sociological conditions have caused much of the ferment in the self-examination being carried on by Catholics in America today, in their schools as well as in other aspects of their institutional life. The modification of the characteristics of the members of the Church during the past century has import for this study, especially as we note the higher level of educational attainment, the enlarged middle class, and other signs of upward mobility among Catholics.

Also of considerable sociological significance is the pattern of Americanization notable within the Catholic school system itself. This pattern may be identified in the parallel curricula of public and Catholic schools, the general commitment to competition and success as essential values

of American life, and other broad and similar, if not identical bases upon which both systems have been built.

It is probable, however, that the internal vulnerability of the Catholic educational system has not been carefully analyzed. This is bluntly put in the question: Have the Catholic schools become so "American" that they have become less "Catholic"? This has nothing to do with either theology or patriotism; it is concerned with the social trend toward broad, associational types of human relations at the expense of primary, integrated, and communal relations.⁴

It seems, then, that the American Catholic school system is obviously a combination of Catholic and American elements--a unique phenomenon in the Church today.

Of further sociological significance is the fact that today the charge of divisiveness is made by some Catholic critics rather than by the traditional promulgators of this view--those outside the Church. But there is some semantic confusion, it seems, in this argument. It is important to clearly determine what is meant by divisiveness. In the past, some non-Catholic critics have used the term to mean the alienation of Catholic children from the American way of life--by that, among other things, they meant commitment to a foreign value system. Others see a separate school system as divisive in that the children are segregated from interaction with other children who represent the pluralism found in fact in our society. These critics feel that this withdrawal from the civic dialogue continues into Catholic adulthood although this has not been definitively proven. If the Catholic schools, reflecting the total Catholic religious body, generate divisive tensions on certain values of the "American way of life" in being true to their beliefs, then these tensions are to some degree unavoidable and in reality can perhaps be commended because they reflect a religious body taking itself and its prophetic mission

⁴Joseph H. Fichter, Social Relation in the Urban Parish (Chicago, 1954), p. 169.

seriously. Parenthetically, it has been suggested that it is in precisely this area that Catholic schools as well as other religious institutions have been more American than Catholic in approaching their judgmental and possibly dissenting role in society.

However, if the schools are divisive in socializing Catholics away from community interaction and responsibility, then the charge of divisiveness, by whomever it is made, deserves attention. For in accepting pluralism as a societal value in a free society, we must encourage participation by all groups even though they may create problems that at times can fragment our society. Hopefully, these divisions will not be irremediable if determined and creative attempts are made to reduce them. But if no opposing viewpoints were allowed, there could soon be totalitarianism in America. Living pluralistically does not necessarily connote indifferentism, uncritical majoritarianism or complete conformity--even to the sometimes nebulous "American way of life."

In light of the distinctions just proposed, let us examine some statements currently made on divisiveness--admitting that there is some possible semantic confusion. "Consequently the Catholic school system, although it is not in the least divisive in the sense of alienating young Catholics from American ideals or the American way of life, does tend to foster a kind of socioreligious segregation and the idea that such segregation is a desirable thing."⁵ Mrs. Ryan apparently believes that the divisiveness of our schools is obvious and undesirable as they segregate young Catholics, but she also believes they are not divisive regarding the values of the American way of life.

⁵Mary Perkins Ryan, Are Parochial Schools the Answer? Catholic Education in Light of the Council (New York, 1964), pp. 55-56.

It would seem she does not see dissent as a necessary endeavor in a pluralistic society for any religious body. In answering Mrs. Ryan's remarks, Andrew M. Greeley addresses himself to divisiveness defined as a problem in intergroup tensions.

What this argument overlooks is that all education segregates. No school mirrors even in the roughest kind of approximation the variety of American society. Some schools segregate on religious lines, others on social and economic, others on cultural. Further, it is well known that even within schools the barriers do not fall and that indeed sometimes grow higher: the difficulties that lower class children have in the middle class educational system are so well documented as to be beyond question. Despite the inflated claims of some professional educators schools are not very effective in reducing intergroup tensions. And, as a matter of fact, a good argument could be made that at least on the high school level, many Catholic schools do represent a broader social and economic spectrum than do public schools.⁶

This researcher is not at all sure that these two writers are addressing themselves to precisely the same question.

In yet another statement which in general equates the old divisive tag with "cultural distinctiveness" we read: "Some form of cultural distinctiveness is of immeasurable importance in the maintenance of a liberal, pluralist society in America. One way of achieving this may be by allowing the various groups to educate their children as far as possible in the direction that they, not the state, the majority, or the educational theorists think best."⁷

And a final point of view:

The religious school is not divisive because American unity is not monolithic, but essentially pluralistic, and the religious school fits in very well as an American institution into the emerging pattern of American religious pluralism. It is not a threat to the public school, because the public school needs competition for its own good and for the good of American democracy, to which an educational monopoly in the hands of the state is quite abhorrent. The older charges against the religious school

⁶Andrew M. Greeley, "Conventional Wisdom and the Catholic Schools," New City (March 15, 1964), p. 8.

⁷Robert D. Cross, "The Schools in Modern Society," Catholic Mind (January, 1964), p. 31.

and so-called religious "separatism" are rapidly losing whatever point they may once have had, while the service the religious school and the educational cultivation of our religious traditions can render as a source of cultural diversity is becoming increasingly important. Both would seem to have a strong case before the court of public opinion at the present time.⁸

The most important question still remains unanswered, however. Is divisiveness engendered in our schools in terms of an aloofness towards the activities of the total community? If so, the advantages and disadvantages of the system must be re-evaluated with this potentially serious deficiency in mind.

A further sociological consideration which is indispensable to our comprehension of the controversy about parochial schools is that of the changing role of the layman as he interacts with members of the clergy within the social system of the Church today.

The combination of religious zeal and intelligent understanding of his faith characterizes in ever-increasing degree the layman today, especially in the United States. While many Catholic groups, outside of their spiritual interest, never reach higher intellectual plateaus than the fortunes of the major-league baseball teams, an interest characteristic of Sunday-morning Communion breakfasts of the Holy Name Society, other groups reach high levels of intellectual concern. The Catholic does not blindly follow the leadership of the clergy. Priests themselves will sometimes complain about the "Yes, Father," attitude of some laymen who adhere to an older and vanishing tradition. In the Catholic atmosphere of today the Catholic layman, while showing respect for the clergy, wants the reasons clearly laid down. This tendency grows alongside a very greatly deepened religious faith.⁹

Granted that there are important theological considerations in this phenomenon, certainly its sociological importance is evident.

We find ourselves today at a point in history where the role and dignity of the laity are a matter of deep concern for the clergy and the laity alike. Thirty years of dramatic and unprecedented development of the lay apostolate in this country has been accompanied by increasing papal interest. When Pope Pius XII spoke to the First World Congress of

⁸Will Herberg, "Religion, Democracy, and Public Education," Religion in America, ed. John Cogley (New York, 1958), pp. 146-147.

⁹Jerome G. Kerwin, Catholic Viewpoint on Church and State (New York, 1960), p. 175.

the Lay Apostolate in Rome in 1951, anyone who would have predicted what has actually happened between then and now probably would have been regarded as a dreamer. But it is a matter of record that years of growth seem to have been telescoped into a single decade.¹⁰

And in terms of the educational function of the Church and the layman it has been stated:

If one is considering how the lay person is to share in the unfulfilled work of Christ, the High Priest, it means--among other things that could be cited--that the lay person should have a voice in some of the councils within the Church. The lay faculty in our schools should be given a larger role in decision-taking and policy-making than is presently the case in many institutions. Further, every effort should be made to treat the layman as though he were in status, as he is in fact, a peer of the priest and religious in the Church's educational mission.¹¹

These then are many of the sociological questions inherent in the current discussions of the Catholic parochial schools.

Another central issue in examining questions germane to that school system today has its foundation in the economic aspects of the situation. It appears evident that the increasing costs of Catholic education, because of increasing population and other factors, are not being met satisfactorily today. The various suggestions offered to remedy these financial difficulties would entail a separate study, but it can be said that they range along a continuum which at one pole demands greater personal sacrifice by Catholics to pay rising costs to demands for a full share of tax dollars for the children in Catholic schools. In between are the various proposals of fringe benefits, tax credits, shared-time programs, and limited government aid. All of these solutions, it would seem, are based on the conviction that far-reaching modifications in the structure of our educational system are

¹⁰ Donald J. Thorman, The Emerging Layman (New York, 1962), p. 15.

¹¹ Philip Sharper, "The Council and the Laity," Catholic Mind (September, 1962), p. 29.

unnecessary. They address themselves rather to the economic problem as it exists in our pluralistic American society.

The denial of all manner of public aid to this kind of school system is an anomaly today. It represents a failure or a refusal to deal with the facts, with the altered realities of American life.

Here again, a true appreciation of sociological change serves to clarify a moral principle. The denial of aid to the religious school does not square with the fact of our pluralist social structure. One who sees this will likewise see that this denial does not square with the principle of distributive justice. American government today is not reckoning fairly with the diverse educational needs of the pluralist community which it is supposed to be serving. There is something wrong here. And the realization that something is wrong is forcing itself upon an increasing number of American citizens who understand both the nature of our society and the principles of our government.¹²

Needless to say, the whole spectrum of the economic argument will not be treated here.

The educational frame of reference in the debate on the schools occurs on two levels. There are those who base their discontent with the prevailing system on high pupil-teacher ratios, lack of books, materials, and facilities, credentials of faculty members, deficiencies in programing for handicapped children--in other words, problems of staffing, programing and facilities. It is evident that problems in these areas often reflect the current financial problems of the system.

Others question the general intellectual climate fostered by the philosophy of education they perceive as part of American Catholicism.

Thomas O'Dea summarizes the basic characteristics of the American Catholic milieu which inhibit the development of mature intellectual activity as: Formalism, Authoritarianism, Clericalism, Moralism, and Defensiveness. He further states that "these five factors have been found, often in terms of complex social configurations, to be present on both the manifest and the

¹²John Courtney Murray, We Hold These Truths (New York, 1960), p. 148.

latent levels of Catholic life in America."¹³ These alleged deficiencies in the intellectual formation of Catholics are explained to a degree by this statement: "In part it is due to the fact that up to recent years the principal energies of the Church have been expended on hundreds of thousands of immigrants. As D. W. Brogan, writing in 1941, said: 'Not until this generation has the Church been given time (with the cessation of mass immigration) to take breath and take stock.'"¹⁴ One may hope that time will be helpful in alleviating these shortcomings whether in the school system or within the total Catholic community. Trent asserts that Catholics are already leaving the authoritarian ghetto and going into the world of ideas and innovations. He further states that "no high order of intellectuality is possible without a spirit of dissent; that is, open, critical inquiry."¹⁵ And O'Dea warns, as it were, of the consequences of failure to meet this challenge. "If Catholics remain alienated from the intellectual life of America, if they remain entrenched within their own formulae and aloof from the common life, if they permit themselves to become identified with anti-intellectual outbursts, then Catholicism will fail to meet with the full power of which it is capable the challenge of our times."¹⁶

The final, and most important, frame of reference utilized in discussions of the Catholic school system is that which we will call religious. Surely this should be the main focus in attempts to evaluate the parochial

¹³Thomas F. O'Dea, American Catholic Dilemma (New York, 1958), p. 132.

¹⁴John Tracy Ellis, American Catholicism (Chicago, 1955), p. 147.

¹⁵James W. Trent, "Catholic Intellectual Life--The New Debate," Commonweal (October 2, 1964), p. 42. (This article is part of a three-part debate in this issue of Commonweal on the topic--the other two participants are Andrew M. Greeley and John D. Donovan.)

¹⁶O'Dea, p. 136.

school system in line with this suggestion.

Some Americans are of the opinion that the worship edifice and the home are entirely adequate for the work of religious formation, including its didactic aspect. These comprise a minority, for by far, the greater number is convinced that the work of the religious leader and the parent needs complementing by others who are especially skilled in religious pedagogy. . . .

In the Roman Catholic school, chief concern is to see that children or young men and women are made new in Christ. If this is not achieved, or is not achieved well, then, insofar the Catholic school has failed.¹⁷

It is impossible to consider this aspect of an examination of the Catholic schools in America without referring to many factors previously explored because there is an interrelatedness in all of these views that defies neat compartmentalization. However, it is in this area that a total perspective appears most needed. For it is here that the most pressing, ultimate questions arise. What is the function of the Catholic school within the total mission of the Church? Are the goals of the schools achieved through the current system? If so, how shall the system be expanded and improved to achieve the best possible results for children in these times? If goals are not being realized or if goals need re-evaluation, what are the possible and necessary alternatives to the present system, policies, and aims?

Certainly empirical studies can provide assistance as we search for answers to some of these questions. But at present demonstrable facts in these areas are meager and inconclusive. Also, some of these questions must be answered in even more comprehensive terms than scientific studies can provide, and some appear unanswerable at present in terms of a real consensus. Therefore, a consideration of various viewpoints seems necessary so that we may understand what is involved in the discussion.

Two aspects of the religious frame of reference become apparent at the

¹⁷Gerard S. Sloyan, "Religious Education," Commonweal (January 25, 1963), p. 459.

outset. One is concerned with the wide scope of religious formation in general as a function of the Church and the other with specific methods of instruction. The latter produces comments such as this one.

The kerygmatic way in religious education focuses on the love of God the Father for us, and our response of love through Christ. The sacraments show the Father's love and care for us: by the Mass and the keeping of the Commandments we show our love for him. . . .

A basic task of the religion teacher today is to peel off the abstract terminology of theologians that has gathered around the facts of the faith and to speak the way our Lord and the apostles did about the good news of salvation. This means rediscovering the vivid language of Bible and liturgy.¹⁸

The over-all religious formation of Catholics as a function of the Church raises another set of questions and opinions more sweeping and complex than any of the previous ones. Some address themselves, in the free and open discussions of the Council, to the possible need for "aggiornamento" in the thinking on Catholic education.

The general outlook of the Council is, then, sufficiently clear for us to begin to re-evaluate our present institutions and ways of doing things. A consensus of the majority of theologians is ordinarily taken as expressing the mind of the Church at a given time on a given topic. Certainly, then, the consensus of the majority of the bishops of the world, the supreme teachers of Christ's flock, as set forth in the debates at the first session as well as in the voting on the Constitution on the Liturgy, may be taken as expressing the mind of the Church as to the main lines of the "aggiornamento."

It is particularly urgent that we begin immediately to make an assessment of the Catholic school system in the light of the council, since all educational planning obviously must take future trends into consideration.¹⁹

And the most basic questions are being asked as to the effectiveness of Catholic education for the layman:

In any case, there seems little to guarantee that a Catholic education will greatly assist the layman in confronting and dealing with the kinds of moral, social, and spiritual problems which he is bound to confront in

¹⁸Walter M. Abbott, "Teaching the Faith Is for All," America (July 14, 1962), p. 485.

¹⁹Ryan, p. 4.

modern-day America. It may (and certainly should) assist him to some extent, but so many other influences will be at work on him that education alone is hardly sufficient to offset any disadvantages of family background or attitudes which he may bring with him. Nor will it guarantee the Church a better witness to Catholicism in the world. This conclusion, if valid, implies an urgent need that American education be subjected to a close and careful scrutiny--myth and theory no longer suffice.²⁰

Possibly one of the most repeated statements of concern about the products of Catholic schools involves their part in the social mission of the Church within the total community. "Is the Catholic high school so preoccupied with preparing the student for the hereafter that it neglects or belittles the here? We Catholics are involved in a tremendous complex of educational efforts, and we owe it to ourselves to make an objective analysis of these efforts."²¹ Even if demonstrable proof were provided that Catholics educated in Catholic schools were more socially aware than those educated in public schools, one could still say it is not enough. Somehow a total commitment to the facing and solving of problems within the community and those of all humanity must be engendered. Awareness is less than involvement.

The Christian does not have to choose between an interior tendency and a social tendency. He should be vividly aware that the full development of a man cannot come except through and for others. In the Communion of Saints man works out his salvation by saving other men.

Such a deep consciousness of human solidarity in Christ as well as the dignity of the individual in God's image seems absolutely necessary if the mature Catholic is to give a real and not merely notional assent to the clamant needs of fellow human beings less fortunate than himself.

How else will he understand that the slum is not a mere economic problem, but the capital social sin of our times, the symbol of community injustice and of man's unconcern about ills that mutilate and pervert the lives of his brothers? How else will he have the spirit of reverence and gratitude toward the workingman, of respect toward the Negro? Unless the Mystical Body has some meaning for him, he will never be disturbed to see God's image blurred and distorted beneath the filthy rags of the beggar or the pasty face of the wastrel. By itself no amount of economic theory on the maldistribution of wealth will enable him to see the utter disorder

²⁰ Callahan, p. 156.

²¹ Joseph F. Fichter, "Catholics and High Schools," America (September 15, 1962), p. 721.

and incongruity in people of Africa and Asia remaining hungry, disease-ridden and short-lived, while people in the United States continue to add calories to their diets and decades to their living span.²²

This statement of purpose is surely applicable to the whole institutional Church but is especially germane as a function of Christian education.

Exploring more fully the necessity of religious formation for all Catholics, we note this point of view: "For in trying to provide a total Catholic education for as many of our young people as possible, we have been neglecting to provide anything like adequate religious formation for all those not in Catholic schools, and we have been neglecting the religious formation of adults."²³ Mrs. Ryan asserts that the reason Catholics not in Catholic schools and Catholic adults are neglected in their religious formation is because we have committed virtually all our resources to the education and formation of only one age and place group--those in Catholic schools. She believes that the formation of a dynamically religious adult community is the primary need, and that the focus of Catholic effort should therefore be on the parish as a community of worship. Personnel, funds, etc., should be distributed, in her view, on this premise so that there would develop a deeper commitment among American Catholics, thus bringing them to a greater awareness of their responsibilities in community, national and international affairs. Mrs. Ryan asks, "Can the Church fulfill her main educational mission--to form a people acceptable to God--today and continue to provide the ancillary service of a parochial school system?"²⁴

²²Christopher F. Mooney, "Social Consciousness and the Catholic College Student," Catholic Mind (March-April, 1960), pp. 131-132.

²³Ryan, p. 175.

²⁴Mary Perkins Ryan, "The Real Question: A Reply," New City (March 15, 1964), p. 10.

These, then, are some of the varied voices currently speaking with concerned interest, in a spirit of Christian commitment, on the questions they see as relevant to Catholic schools in America today. They speak, it seems, because they desire that we may act so that "all things may be renewed in Him." Pragmatic decisions must, of course, be based on the highest goals to which one aspires. New social and existential realities are apparent and as culture changes, so too institutions must change.

At present, there seem to be two very general outlooks prevalent in the efforts to successfully educate. We may here designate these general outlooks as "Open" and "Closed." These two views are identified by different labels, are considered in many different ways and with various emphases. But, they are, it seems, generally identifiable in the attitudes and behavior of Catholics. They indicate basic questions of ultimate concern regarding the freedom of persons--freedom of conscience, obedience, authority, order, and related considerations. The "Closed" outlook may be exemplified by the Council of Trent approach which was considered apologetic, defensive, militant, and cautious. The ghetto situation and subsequent alienation of most American Catholic immigrants tended to solidify this view and is quite readily recognized and understood as a patterned method of educating Catholic children.

The "Open" attitude involves a reappraisal of goals and methods, such as a clarification of the virtue of obedience and its many ramifications. This statement specifically comments on the issue.

Obedience in the family and in education as a legitimate reality has a declining relevance and a very brief life expectancy as childhood recedes. The human process of growth is to a large degree the process of learning not to obey, for childhood is not a permanent disadvantage. The larger portion of one's life is to be lived as a constantly thinking, critically evaluating, self-determining adult. Our humanity, our dignity, our rationality, our freedom are to be respected. And because this is so,

our very autonomy requires the climate that encourages the progressive maturing of personal responsibility.

Areas of action suggested by this outlook are well stated here.

Another dynamic and striking element was the quick, new maturity achieved by that part of the laity who, having discovered the doctrine of the Mystical Body, understood that lay people, too, had an active role to play in the Church--with missionary responsibilities in the "secular city" that the world of tomorrow will be. Fidelity to the sacraments, obedience to their pastors--generosity in support of schools, parishes and seminaries--these things no longer summed up all the duties of the Christian. Interracial justice, the international policies of their country, the world of economics, the role of the professional--all these posed problems that concerned them too.²⁶

It would seem that the basis for this rethinking of the educational outlook and atmosphere in the Church has been officially required by statements such as this:

We reaffirm strongly that Christian social doctrine is an integral part of the Christian conception of life.

On this account, we ardently desire that more and more attention be given to the study of this doctrine. While we note with satisfaction that in some schools it has been taught with success for years, we strongly urge that it be included as an item in the required curriculum in Catholic schools of every kind, particularly in seminaries. It is to be inserted into the religious apostolate. It should be publicized by every modern means of mass communication--daily newspapers and periodicals, publications of both a scientific and a popular nature, radio and television.

In this task of communication, Our beloved sons of the laity can make a great contribution. They can do this by acquainting themselves with this doctrine, by making their actions conform to it and by zealously striving to make others understand its significance.²⁷

And most recently we note this most definitive declaration:

Since every man of whatever race, condition, and age is endowed with the dignity of a person, he has an inalienable right to an education

²⁵Paul Mundy, "Changing Educational Patterns Required by Changes in Society and the Church," NCEA Bulletin, Peace and Understanding through Education (August, 1965), p. 153.

²⁶Robert Bosco, "New Americans in the Kennedy Image," America (March 5, 1966), p. 321.

²⁷Pope John XXIII, Mater et Magistra: Christianity and Social Progress (New York, August 21, 1961), p. 61.

corresponding to his proper destiny and suited to his native talents, his sex, his cultural background, and his ancestral heritage. At the same time, this education should pave the way to brotherly association with other peoples, so that genuine unity and peace on earth may be promoted. For a true education aims at the formation of the human person with respect to his ultimate goal, and simultaneously with respect to the good of those societies of which, as a man, he is a member, and in whose responsibilities, as an adult, he will share. . . .

Moreover, they should be trained to take their part in social life, so that by proper instruction in necessary and useful skills they can become actively involved in various community organizations, be ready for dialogue with others, and be willing to act energetically on behalf of the common good.²⁸

Much of the preceding background has stemmed from the involvement of numerous interested persons of various professions and competencies, on all levels within the Church, who are concerned about the education of Catholic children. This interest and concern is informative, helpful, and necessary; still, there is further need for empirical evidence germane to the achievement of successful education in our rapidly changing world. However, empirical studies related to the Catholic school system are scant, especially as one considers its vital importance in the history of the American Church and its undoubted continuing effect.

Review of the Related Literature. A "moral advertence" study of Sister Ignatius Staley has some pertinence to this present study. Her major question was: "To what extent do Catholic high school students advert to moral principles when confronted with a social problem?"²⁹ She specifically focused on questions pertaining to racial prejudice.

²⁸Walter M. Abbott and Joseph Gallagher (eds.), The Documents of Vatican II, "Declaration on Christian Education" (New York, February 14, 1966), p. 639.

²⁹Sister Ignatius Staley, "An Inquiry into the Absence of Moral Advertence in a Sample of Catholic High School Students with Specific Focus upon Racial Prejudice" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1961), p. 160.

The findings of her study are of somewhat greater importance to this researcher's effort than others because she confined her investigation to Catholic students, all in Catholic high schools at the time of her study, and in general indicated their lack or absence of moral advertence regarding social problems. Staley did not, however, consider possible variations in response based on social class or ethnic background but only on total or partial Catholic education. It is the major conclusion of her study that a "higher proportion of morally conformable responses and of low scores, indicating less absence of moral advertence is associated with total Catholic education."³⁰

We also note Sister Leander Dell's thesis, "Descriptive Analysis and Comparison of Some Catholic Sophomores with Different Types of Education."³¹ For our purposes, this study has relevance as the author states that differences in responses differed more by the type of education of the child than by social class; and that ethnicity of the father was more important than social class for diverse responses. This author indicates especial interest in class and ethnicity as important indicators of the attitudes of Catholic students in Catholic schools but does not present data on this specific question. Dell's study would be supportive of Staley's findings that the type of education is the determinative factor in greater moral advertence. It also supports Lenski's finding that ethnicity is more important than social class in determining responses to moral questions.³²

The Rossis in "Some Effects of Parochial School Education in

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Sister Leander Dell, "A Descriptive Analysis and Comparison of Some Catholic Sophomores with Different Types of Education" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1964).

³² Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (New York, 1961).

America"³³ also addressed themselves to differences in responses between Catholics in public and parochial schools, as did Fichter in Parochial School.³⁴ Briefly, the Rossis found that parochial school Catholics are not very different from other Catholics in moral training. Fichter, however, states the general conclusion that the parochial school succeeds in developing a deeper social awareness among children than do public schools.

Of interest too is the work of Hubert Horan on leadership. It is Horan's major conclusion that the differences found between attitudes of leaders and non-leaders in St. Mary's school is not as consistent as the differences in attitudes among social classes but that "it may well be of the same nature; a more or less useful distinction of ideal types that is based on observable and measurable characteristics."³⁵ Horan, therefore, indicates social class as an important variable in the determination of attitudes but did not focus on this factor in his study. The present research hopes to do so.

The study of Lenski in the Detroit area was concerned with the possible effects of a specific religious membership on many areas of human behavior. One of his most relevant findings is that "socio-religious group membership is a variable comparable in importance to class both with respect to its potency and with respect to the range or extent of its influence."³⁶ This

³³Peter H. and Alice S. Rossi, "Some Effects of Parochial School Education in America," Daedalus, Spring, 1961.

³⁴Joseph Fichter, Parochial School (Notre Dame, Ind., 1958).

³⁵Hubert James Horan, "High School Leadership: A Study of Differential Characteristics of Emergent Leaders and Non-Leaders in a Small Private Roman Catholic Girls High School in a Large Midwestern City" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1965), p. 145.

³⁶Lenski, p. 129.

statement, of course, is applicable to a comparison of diverse religious groups. It is the intent of this study to assess the importance of social class within one religious grouping (the Catholic Church) and to focus primarily on possible differences in response to questions of social doctrine. The same method will be used to examine ethnicity as a variable. In general, Lenski states that Catholic school educated Catholics are more faithful to their religious obligations than are Catholics from public schools. He concludes this variation may be attributable to education but is not necessarily so.³⁷

The study of Paul Schindler agrees generally with Fichter, Dell, Staley, and Lenski when he concludes that students who had all Catholic education scored significantly higher in Catholic attitudes and values than did Catholics who received all or some public school education.³⁸ Richard Smolar, in his thesis, "Social Position and Age," suggests the importance of studying parochial secondary and university Catholic education for attitudes and behavior correlations.³⁹ But he does not, himself, examine this factor. Rather he is concerned with age, ethnicity and social class as they affect Catholics' attitudes; he does not focus on Catholic education as a variable or constant. His discussion of the theoretical significance of religion or ethnicity in influencing ethnic attitudes toward the dominant culture value system is, however, pertinent to this study.⁴⁰

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Paul T. Schindler, "An Evaluation of Factors Related to Attitudinal Internalization of the Catholic Value System" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1963).

³⁹Richard Bernard Smolar, "Social Position and Age: Their Relationship to Catholic Ethnic Attitude" (unpublished Master's thesis, Loyola University, Chicago, 1963), p. 169.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 4-9.

Finally, to be noted here is the most ambitious project in this field to date which is the Greeley-Rossi-Pinto study, The Social Effects of Catholic Education, made possible by a Carnegie Fund grant under the auspices of the National Opinion Research Center.⁴¹ It focuses almost exclusively on differences in respondents' educational background and their answers to questions on various aspects of the Catholic value system. The sample is national and compares Catholics of "All Catholic," "Some Catholic," and "No Catholic" education. Attitudes of a control group of Protestants are also included. The effects of social class according to the authors receive only a "passing allusion" and in their judgment this variable deserves a considerable amount of analysis.⁴² This report also suggests the "tremendous influence ethnicity may have on the effectiveness of parochial education."⁴³

One important general conclusion of this study holds that there is no significant difference in response concerning race, international relations or domestic economic problems based on type of education, and that value-oriented education may or may not be truly possible of achievement. Further evidence in support of this statement could have far-reaching ramifications for all educators--especially those in the Catholic school system.

Summarizing these related studies we find:

1. Fichter, Dell, Staley, Lenski, and Schindler see Catholic education as an important determinative factor in assisting moral advertence, with some distinctions among these authors between total and partial Catholic education.

⁴¹ Andrew M. Greeley, Peter H. Rossi, and Leonard J. Pinto, The Social Effects of Catholic Education (Chicago; National Opinion Research Center, 1964).

⁴² Ibid., p. 81.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 80.

2. No findings on the import of social class or a particular ethnic background for responses holding type of education constant.

3. Strong indications by all previous investigators that social class and/or ethnic background may be vital variables to our understanding of differences in response.

The question becomes, then, are the ethnic and social class variables important and useful distinctions of ideal types which are necessary and possibly indispensable in the search for answers to the etiology of Catholics' attitudes and therefore to the implementation of the goals of the Catholic school system in a changing world? It should be interesting to explore the variations in responses, especially on questions related to social responsibility, of the senior girls of two Catholic high schools, staffed by the same community of nuns, in which the students are generally regarded as of differing social class and differences in ethnic background are to be found. Thus, we may analyze their responses holding type of education constant and looking at social class and ethnicity as the variables possibly affecting their attitudes on these important topics.

Theoretical Considerations. "The process whereby personality is acquired through social interaction is known as socialization."⁴⁴ During this process, an individual learns the habits, customs, mores, etc., which are expected of him by the group. Some of these patterns are common to everyone within a society; others are peculiar to certain subcultures, racial, or ethnic groups. Many reflect the outlook of social class membership; others are unique to a peer group or perhaps a reference group. The principal agents of socialization are the family and other social institutions including, of

⁴⁴ Francis E. Merrill, Society and Culture (New Jersey, 1962), p. 151.

course, the school. Conformity to the group's expectations is brought about by the process of social control. The means of social control are both formal and informal and include rewards, satisfactions, sanctions, penalties, exclusion from the group, and other methods to insure compliance and predictability in relation to the behavior of individual members within a society.

The social class status and ethnic background of children directly affect the socialization process as the child develops a personality and forms attitudes toward religion and other aspects of the social system operative within a society. The impact of these two variables has not been fully clarified, however, and it would seem imperative that more information on these factors is mandatory for educators--especially in the Catholic school system. Speculations that higher class status, for example, is related to greater doctrinal orthodoxy are substantially unproven but persist as definite possibilities.

The importance, then, of the theory of social stratification for this study is apparent--particularly in one of its principal forms--that of social class--the other major form being caste with which we are not especially concerned. "A class is a comparatively permanent group of persons of all ages and both sexes who occupy a common social position in a hierarchical ranking within a given society."⁴⁵ Of particular import for our purposes are the dynamic aspects of social class as attitudes are formed, for we know that the patterned behavior of various social classes involves different rearing practices of children, varied occupational and educational aspirations for them, and, in other words, the development of "distinctive attitudes, values and styles of life."⁴⁶ The possible effects of differing social class membership

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 260.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 284.

are, then, a primary consideration of this thesis.

Much confusion has also been generated by the various outlooks toward ethnic background in sociological and general discussions. There is the historical normative concept of ethnicity which is that of "Americanization" in which ethnic minorities are expected to adjust to, and to accept the dominant culture as the "melting pot" theory suggests. There is also the view of ethnicity incorporated in the normative concept of "ethnic pluralism" in which the separate identity of the ethnic minority is maintained while sharing common American values with the rest of society. As one looks at both of these concepts it is also important to note that ethnic identification itself is not the only group-locating factor operative as the person acts within the totality of our society, but just how salient is this ethnic membership to minority persons as they form attitudes and interact with others? Various viewpoints germane to the question of ethnicity and Catholicism have been suggested. Commenting on one aspect of this issue, Greeley states that the drastic change he sees in the other-world perspective of Catholics "might be the result of a transitional process which is accompanying the later stages of the acculturation processes of the Catholic immigrant groups."⁴⁷ John L. Thomas holds that

there are relatively large minorities among the Catholic group. Although the Melting Pot is boiling steadily, the process of assimilation is far from completed. To be sure, these ethnic minorities embrace a common Catholic ideology, but the derivative institutional objectives, as well as the social means used to implement them reveal divergent cultural patterning of their Old World origin.⁴⁸

Fichter's position is somewhat different as he states that:

⁴⁷Andrew M. Greeley, "Anti-Intellectualism in Catholic Colleges," American Catholic Sociological Review (Winter, 1962), p. 367.

⁴⁸John L. Thomas, The American Catholic Family (New Jersey, 1956), p. 12.

Whatever we say of Catholicism, as practiced in America today, it must be understood in terms of the American culture, which discourages many aspects of "ethnic-group" survival, but which permits religious differentiation. When we talk about the survival and identity of the Catholic population as a social phenomenon, we must emphasize its religious meaning rather than its immigrant status. On the other hand, we do not mean to suggest that the change in immigrant status and the fading out of ethnic differences have so molded Catholics with other Americans that they are hardly distinguishable.⁴⁹

And Herberg adds a third interpretation:

To this new generation it seems obvious that ethnic separateness cannot and should not be perpetuated; to them the ethnic pluralism of the nationalist appears meaningless and incomprehensible, but they do not therefore fully share the dream of the "melting pot" enthusiasts. They realize that integration into American life implies assimilation to the American model in many crucial respects. However important the ethnic group may have been in the adjustment of the immigrant to American society, and however influential it still remains in many aspects of American life, the perpetuation of ethnic differences in any serious way is altogether out of line with the logic of American reality. The newcomer is expected to change many things about him as he becomes American--nationality, language, culture. One thing, however, he is not expected to change--and that is his religion. And so it is religion that with the third generation has become the differentiating element and the context of self-identification and social location.⁵⁰

The final viewpoint we will consider on this question is this one.

Religion and race seem to define the major groups into which American society is evolving as the specifically national aspect of ethnicity declines. In our large American cities, four major groups emerge: Catholics, Jews, white Protestants, and Negroes, each making up the city in different proportions. This evolution is by no means complete. And yet we can discern that the next stage of the evolution of the immigrant groups will involve a Catholic group in which the distinctions between Irish, Italian, Polish, and German Catholic are steadily reduced by intermarriage; . . .⁵¹

It is crucial to ascertain, if possible, which of these interpretations is most valid as we look at the relationship of Catholicism to ethnicity

⁴⁹Joseph Fichter, "The Americanization of Catholicism," Roman Catholicism and the American Way of Life, ed. Thomas T. McAvoy (Notre Dame, 1960), p. 120.

⁵⁰Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (New York, 1960), pp. 22-23.

⁵¹Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 314.

as a variable operating to achieve or thwart the goals of Catholic education in America today. These are some of the major issues we will attempt to examine and comment upon in discussions of the data of this study.

Because most previous studies indicate Catholic or public education as the most important variable for differences in responses, this study will hold type of education constant (at least ten years of a possible twelve in a Catholic school), and attempt to determine the import of the social class and ethnic variables within such a sample.

Hypotheses. The hypotheses of this study are three:

1. Attitudes of respondents in both schools will tend to vary according to their social class membership rather than reflect their common religious affiliation and Catholic education.
2. Differing ethnic backgrounds will be associated with variations in responses within a social class.
3. Students of the same ethnic background but of differing social class will tend to have similar attitudes.

CHAPTER II

THE METHOD AND TECHNIQUES OF THE STUDY

Sample Population and Procedures. It has been noted in Chapter I that the cited studies of Catholic students have focused on the extent of Catholic education as a variable in the research. Although the results of these studies are generally favorable to Catholic students educated totally or predominantly in Catholic schools in regard to areas of social responsibility, there are many current commentators who suggest that this area of religious formation requires increased attention. Human behavior by its very nature infers an imperfect condition and there is practical doubt that universal acceptance and practice of the social doctrine of the Church by her members will be achieved. But it is pragmatically sound that goals and aims be clearly defined, considering all aspects of the current parochial school situation, so that plans for the religious formation of Catholics may proceed. And so, in the practical sphere, questions arise as to the possible influence on attitudes and behavior and their relative effects as efforts are made to attain these goals.

It would seem necessary, then, that other factors besides type of education should be examined to assess their possible effects on the attitudes of Catholic young people--and, presumably, on their behavior--in areas where the Church desires the acceptance of specific norms. The two variables generally indicated by other studies as necessary areas of research were social class

and ethnic background as discussed in the previous chapter.

The universe selected for this study consists of the seniors of two Catholic girls' high schools which will be called "St. Ann's" and "St. Mary's." These two specific schools were chosen for several reasons. From personal experience, the writer knew that the majority of students in St. Ann's could be established as middle class, whereas those of St. Mary's would be working class. It was also known that some indications of the effects of a particular ethnic background might be studied because each school has many girls of Irish descent. The fact that the same community of nuns operate both schools was considered important because this would eliminate possible influence based on the customs and traditions of different religious communities in areas of social action and the like. Both schools have lay teachers on their faculties and the curriculum of both for religious instruction is similar. This last factor will be commented upon later. All of the students are of approximately the same age and urban.

Finally, and from a practical point of view, perhaps most important, the principals and senior homeroom teachers of both schools very graciously permitted the questionnaires to be administered. Their cooperation and interest was indispensable for this research.

The senior girls of these two schools answered the questionnaires during the same week of May, 1966. Each homeroom teacher administered it to her own class during the first class period of the day. Suggestions to the teachers who would administer the questionnaires were given to each homeroom teacher. A copy of these suggestions may be found in Appendix I. Salient points of this sheet included:

1. Emphasis on the fact that each student is to give her own opinion on these issues.

2. The questionnaire should be completed by the respondent without help from the teacher or comparisons with other students.
3. Teachers should stress the importance of the respondents' answers but should show disinterest in individuals' answers so that the girls will give sincere opinions and not the answers they think the teacher would approve.

After the questionnaires were returned to this writer, the process of separating respondents according to predetermined criteria was accomplished. The first part of the questionnaire gave the factual data about the students necessary for this procedure. This part of the questionnaire will be considered here because it was the personal background section which assisted in the determination of respondents for the final sample. The second part will be treated immediately following this explanation under the heading, "The Questionnaire."

Respondents for the final group to be studied were chosen based on these criteria:

1. The student must have had ten or more years in a Catholic school.
2. The respondent and both parents are Catholics who attend Church weekly. (This was done to eliminate dormant or marginal Catholics because of the widespread criticism of Lenski's method of using all who termed themselves Catholics.)
3. Both parents are alive and living together.
4. The social class of the respondents had to meet the requirements of middle or working class based on the Hollingshead and Redlich system of stratification.¹

The procedure suggested by item 4 above included these aspects for the respondents of each school. There were 321 questionnaires returned by St. Ann's school as 25 girls were absent the day they were administered. This makes the total of 346 in the St. Ann senior class. Of the 321 questionnaires

¹See August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York, 1958), pp. 387-407.

returned there were 128 which met all the requirements of the criteria. Those which did not meet the stipulations set for inclusion in the final sample totaled 193. There were 16 incomplete questionnaires, 63 which either gave insufficient information to determine class position or were Classes IV or V according to the Hollingshead and Redlich scale, and 114 which failed to meet the other conditions of the criteria.

Of these 128 students selected 44 were Class II or upper middle class, 60 were Class III or lower middle class, and there were 24 students whose fathers' occupation and level of education placed them in Class I according to the Hollingshead and Redlich Two-factor Index of Social Position. It was decided to include these 24 Class I respondents with the Class II and Class III students and operationally define these 128 respondents as middle class for the reporting of data in the study. The inclusion of this cluster of 24 girls in the middle class grouping was based on the more subtle factors which Hollingshead and Redlich suggest as indicative of Class I membership--none of which are characteristics of these 24 students. For example, although the specific area of residence for the students who attend St. Ann's school was not asked by the questionnaire, the general residential area which the school serves is not "the best" of the larger community which is one of Hollingshead and Redlich's stipulations for Class I membership. Nor is the educational level of the mothers in this group in accord with Hollingshead and Redlich's determination that Class I mothers have at least some college. Even the more tenuous aspects of Class I membership such as acceptance in the social register of a community, lineage, and the like indicate that the students of these 24 families are similar to upper middle class families in these characteristics and their general style of life rather than Class I families. Given these circumstances then, the middle class group of this study was

operationally defined as Classes I, II, and III of the St. Ann's respondents and throughout the text and tables, these 128 students will be collectively treated as the middle class sample.

The total senior class of St. Mary's school was 245 of which 14 were absent the day the questionnaires were administered. Those not meeting the conditions of the criteria and therefore excluded from the final sample among the 236 questionnaires returned totaled 171 of which 13 were incomplete, 48 had either insufficient information to determine class position or were clearly Classes II or III, and 110 which failed to meet all the other conditions for inclusion in the final sample of the study. Those meeting all stipulations in the St. Mary's group was 60.

An operational definition was also established for the determination of the working class sample of the study. As was previously mentioned, the final group of St. Mary's respondents totaled 60--of whom 41 were Class IV according to the Two-factor Index and 19 were Class V. These two groups were combined and called the working class sample of the study. It was again the more subtle factors as was noted for the selection of the middle class group which indicated that these 19 students of Class V position should be included in the working class sample. Although Hollingshead and Redlich state that 41 per cent of Class V families are broken, these respondents are all from two-parent homes. Their mothers' educational level exceeds the eight years which Hollingshead and Redlich stipulate in their research as the median for Class V mothers. Also these students attend a parochial school which conflicts with the statement that the Catholic children of Class V families are predominantly public school educated. In summary, these characteristics indicate that these 19 respondents are similar to the 41 Class IV students in significant ways and have therefore been included in the operational definition

of the working class sample as the data of this study is reported.

5. Finally, it was desired that the ethnic background of the students be established for comparative purposes.

Because both schools were known to have representative numbers of girls of Irish descent, the questionnaires of each school were again examined and in both schools those respondents who were of Irish background both on their mother's and father's sides were selected. To avoid assimilation problems only respondents of third generation or longer in this country were included for the Irish subgroup as well as for the other two groupings of non-Irish or a mixture of Irish and other nationality background(s). Comparisons will be made between Irish and non-Irish within each school with class held constant, as well as between the Irish group of the two schools where class status is different but ethnic background the same. When this selection process was completed, the totals of each group became:

	Irish	Non-Irish	Mixed
Middle Class--St. Ann	33	29	66
Working Class--St. Mary	18	25	17

It was also decided that descent itself was not of the only importance in a study such as this but the salience it has for respondents. The variations within and between the ethnic groups were interesting and will be presented in Chapter IV.

Summarizing the criteria by which the sample population of each school was chosen, it is to be noted:

1. Ten or more years of a possible twelve in Catholic schools.
2. Parents and student at least modal Catholics according to Fichter's typology.²

²Joseph H. Fichter, Social Relations in the Urban Parish (Chicago, 1953), p. 22.

3. Both parents alive and living together.
4. Students' ethnic background determined by at least third generation on both sides.
5. St. Ann's respondents were operationally defined as middle class based primarily on the Hollingshead and Redlich Two-factor Index of Social Position.
6. St. Mary's students operationally defined as working class in the same manner as item 5 above.

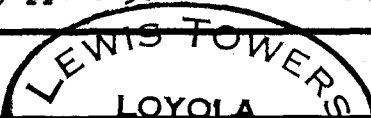
The final question in this section (Item 21) was included to see if the political party preference of these respondents' parents correlated with class and/or ethnic background as many previous investigators have stated.

The Questionnaire. The major part of the questionnaire was designed to determine these students' views on issues primarily related to social responsibility, and their knowledge of and agreement with the social doctrines of the Catholic Church, in which all respondents stated active membership. The origin of these questions, their purposes for this study, and the comparisons to be made will comprise the next part of this thesis.

Questions 1 through 10 of the second part of the questionnaire were taken from the National Opinion Research Center's instrument³ which was also used by Horan.⁴ Each is specifically focused on one or more aspects of the social doctrine of the Church. They are concerned with contemporary social problems such as racial and ethnic prejudice, birth control, religious, academic and civil liberties, the function of the Church in the "secular city," labor unions, and other related issues. All of these questions relate to issues upon which the teaching arm of the Church has made clear pronouncements. Greeley, Rossi, and Pinto found that respondents in their sample who went exclusively to Catholic schools were "more likely to agree with Church

³Greeley, Rossi, and Pinto, pp. 8-9.

⁴Horan, p. 156.



authority than others."⁵ One task of this research is to see if this teaching authority is accepted by the Catholic educated individuals of this study and to compare percentage of assent or disagreement within the subgroups for possible differences which may correlate with class status or ethnic background.

Question 12 focuses on altruism versus materialism in the choice of adult occupation as the students are asked if they would choose a job which assured them of a comfortable and secure life for themselves and their families or a job which made it possible for them to do good to others and improve society. Questions 13 and 14 are designed to assess the respondents' views on the permissibility of using atomic bombs--specifically stating "even if they are immoral would the United States be allowed to use them against Communism or as a retaliatory measure?" These last three questions are from de Cruz's questionnaire.⁶

Respondents' attitudes towards the Church's right to speak on various social issues is examined in the five parts of Item 15. These again are areas in which the Church has already spoken definitively--with the possible exception of "exaggerated advertising claims" which has received less emphasis than the other four: just wage, Negroes' right to social equality, birth control and divorce, and disarmament. The issue presented here is: to what extent do the respondents agree with the right of the Church to state these social doctrines as she has, in fact, done for many years?

Questions 16 and 17 seek to know whether these Catholic high school seniors would wish our surplus food to be shared with other foreign peoples in need--and, in the second instance, with the people in Communist countries "if

⁵Greeley, Rossi, and Pinto, p. 39.

⁶de Cruz (from M.A. thesis still in progress).

their need is great." To feed the hungry would surely seem to be a basic desire and intention of committed Church members.

To assess the respondents' views on the rearing practices in their homes and the personal characteristics of their parents, questions 18 and 19 were included. Question 18 will provide an idea of permissive, mixed, or strict parental regulation of their daughters' activities. Question 19 will indicate the students' opinions of their parents' personality traits along a favorable, mixed, or unfavorable continuum.

It was hoped that questions 20 and 21 will provide information pertinent to the "tone" of each school as students choose the procedure they would follow if they have been unfairly treated by a teacher or when they find themselves in disagreement with something a teacher says. Question 22 asks a description of the teachers they have had this year in terms of personal traits which are especially relevant to an educator. Question 23 asks the kinds of students the respondents think their teachers prefer and will give information helpful in evaluating whether a more authoritarian or free atmosphere is seen as the reality of St. Ann's and St. Mary's by their senior students. The preceding six questions either alone or in combination should indicate something of the social control factors that these girls see as operative within their family and school milieu. They, too, have been taken from the NORC instrument.

Question 24 is a four point quiz on Catholic doctrine which in the present writer's view would not be considered difficult for high school seniors all educated for ten years or more in a Catholic school. Identification of the encyclical "Mater et Magistra" as concerned with socio-economic conditions will be of particular import for one aspect of this study, that is, knowledge

of the social doctrine of the Church, which does not, however, necessarily indicate agreement either in word or action.

Question 25 which inquires "how close do you feel toward your religion" is designed to partially ascertain the respondents' own personal attitudes and feeling of involvement in the associational and communal aspects of Church membership.

To examine the attitude of the students on welfare state programs, question 26 was used from Dell's questionnaire.⁷ Views on the right of free speech including the right to criticize the President were explored in question 27 which is also from Dell's work.⁸

The relative importance of various traits that children should learn was asked in question 28. Most of the other investigators who used this kind of inquiry were especially concerned with the percentage of respondents who selected "to help others," or "to think for himself," and further comments will appear with the data on this issue. And finally, question 29 attempts to determine the probable decision the respondents will make when the time comes to send their own children to school. Will it be public, Catholic, or private?⁹

As Fichter has pointed out most of these questions have what might be called an "expected response" from the point of view of Catholic social doctrine. Chapters III and IV of this study will present the results with this

⁷Dell (thesis previously mentioned which used Lenski's questionnaire), p. 171.

⁸Ibid., p. 172.

⁹This was the wording of the questionnaire item. It was expected that the respondents would interpret "private schools" as those other than Catholic schools. The data suggests that this was their interpretation.

important statement in mind. An "expected response" may be either one answer such as "yes" or it may be within the range of "strongly agree" and "agree" combined to make the proper category. There are some items, however, which are not of this nature. Data on these will be presented from a descriptive or analytical point of view. Further comments on these delineations will be made as the results are presented because it is felt they will be more informative in that context.

The mode of presentation in Chapters III and IV will be tables indicating numbers and percentages based on previously explained criteria for all questions of the questionnaire that are significant for this study. Some personal judgment will be exercised by this writer as to included and omitted items and their presentation. Although this judgment may be open to question, it is most assuredly necessary for this thesis.

One last comment on the method of presentation. The reader's attention will, of course, be focused on the percentage differences found among the groupings. However, "suggestive" or "significant" differences between percentages of various subgroups will not be given because the final sample of each school is itself, by reason of the selection criteria, not a random sample. As Horan has noted in reference to the sample of his study which was very similar to this one, "all differences within that population are hence statistically significant, since (obviously), there is no risk that a population be atypical of itself."¹⁰ This statement is applicable to the samples of this thesis also. It was therefore determined that "large differences" would be pointed out on the basis of a magnitude of 8 or more percentage points of difference between classes or ethnic groups. Although the cutoff point is not the same, the

¹⁰Horan, p. 16.

rationale for this procedure is the same for this study as it was for Horan's work. He states:

As a practical measure of important difference, it was decided by the present writer to point out all differences larger than 10% of the total possible range. . . . This has several practical advantages. One has to draw the line somewhere, as with cutoff points in the nominations contained in the preceding chapter. A smaller difference than 10% would have increased the number of "important" differences among the groups to the point where the significant might well have been drowned under the masses of reported differences. . . . For all its patent disadvantages, it is convenient and serves to bring out the more salient points in the research.¹¹

This explanation is informative and concise and would seem to make clear one aspect of the method of presentation in the present writer's thesis.

Other Research Problems. As was previously explained in detail, the final sample of St. Ann's school is 128. For St. Mary's it is 60 respondents. For an analysis of responses based on social class these numbers are adequate. However, when they are divided into Irish and non-Irish for the ethnic background analysis the numbers become:

	Irish	Non-Irish
Middle Class--St. Ann	33	29
Working Class--St. Mary	18	25

These groups are not as large as one would wish in order to assure validity of patterns which may emerge. This factor, then, must be kept in mind as data on the ethnic groups is reported.

There also may be a built-in and unavoidable bias when the girls of each school are compared by class in relationship to their attitudes on various issues. It might be suggested that the religious instruction program of each school has been affected by the class status of the students. And therefore a middle class sample should be gathered from within the working

¹¹Ibid., pp. 99-100.

class school for control purposes. After careful examination of the questionnaires, however, this was found to be impossible of attainment. Utilizing the criteria previously enunciated, no such group could be found. Although there were several respondents from the working class school population who could be identified as middle class by the criteria set, their number dwindled as the other factors of the criteria were applied, such as parents and student modal Catholics and ethnic background stipulations. After applying the criteria then, the final number was far too small to be meaningful as a control group.

Returning to the original point raised, however, in discussions with religion teachers of each school this writer was convinced that the religious instruction and formation curricula in each school were of comparable emphasis and pedagogy. This is, of course, a judgment of these teachers and this writer which should be considered by the reader.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES ACCORDING TO SOCIAL CLASS

It is stated in innumerable sources that the attitudes of individuals are strongly influenced by the place that person occupies in the stratification system of a society. Having synthesized the findings of empirical studies to date on this point, Berelson and Steiner state definitively: "At present, at least in the United States, differences in opinions, attitudes, and beliefs stem from three major factors and two minor ones. The major factors are residence, ethnic status, and class; the minor ones are age and sex."¹ In this study, the respondents are all urban residents of a large midwestern city, their ages are seventeen or eighteen years, and they are all female. The other two factors, ethnic status and class, are the characteristics upon which this study will focus as data is presented, to discover possible differences in attitudes which may be attributable to these two variables.

Having explained in Chapter II the process by which the middle class and working class samples of this study were selected, it is now possible to present results on the various questionnaire items according to this two-class breakdown. Each item will be preceded when it is meaningful by a statement of the "expected response" from the standpoint of Catholic teaching. As the tables and explanations are presented indicating the differences in response

¹Bernard Berelson and Gary A. Steiner, Human Behavior (New York, 1964), p. 570.

between classes, a commentary on "large differences" will also be made. It was previously explained that these groups are not random samples so it is impossible to employ standard tests of statistical significance or difference. Therefore, these "large differences" will be pointed out on the basis of a magnitude of difference of more than eight percentage points on any item between the two classes. This has been done after all the data was examined so that the important points of difference in the study could be clearly presented in an informative context. Horan's explanation of this procedure which he also utilized, was previously quoted.²

TABLE 1.--Class differences in attitudes towards atheists
as good citizens

Question 1. Only people who believe in God can be good
American citizens

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	13	10.2	2	3.3
Agree	18	14.1	6	10.0
Disagree	59	46.1	33	55.0
Strongly disagree	33	25.8	16	26.6
No opinion	5	3.9	3	5.0
	N = 128		N = 60	

In answer to this first item, the expected response would be disagree or strongly disagree. The percentage of middle class respondents who are within this category is 71.9 per cent and in the working class 81.0 per cent. This would indicate that more middle class respondents are less tolerant of atheists than working class students whose large 9.1 per cent difference

²Horan, pp. 99-100.

shows more respondents in accord with the official American position on civil liberties. This difference is not in accord with accepted theory that an authoritarian position is more often taken by the lower classes in relation to areas such as civil liberties.³

TABLE 2.--Comparison of attitudes towards Church teachings by social class

Question 2. The teachings of my Church are old fashioned and superstitious

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	0	0	0	0
Agree	6	4.6	1	1.6
Disagree	47	36.7	23	38.3
Strongly disagree	72	56.3	34	56.6
No opinion	3	2.3	2	3.3
	N = 128		N = 60	

Question 2 shows a 92.0 and 94.9 per cent of expected response of disagree or strongly disagree from the St. Ann's and St. Mary's respondents, respectively. Clearly, the students of this study are opposed to the view which holds that religious doctrine is old fashioned and superstitious. The absolute numbers in both classes who give the expected response is significant for this question.

The expected response for statement 3 would be disagree or strongly disagree. Both groups are almost identically inclined toward family planning as 68.7 per cent of the middle class falls within this category and 68.3 per cent of the working class respondents agree. From this data class does not

³Berelson and Steiner, p. 572.

TABLE 3.--Social class differences in attitudes towards family planning

Question 3. A family should have as many children as possible and God will provide for them

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	10	7.8	5	8.3
Agree	23	18.0	11	18.3
Disagree	67	52.3	29	48.3
Strongly disagree	21	16.4	12	20.0
No opinion	7	5.5	3	5.0
	N = 128		N = 60	

TABLE 4.--Attitudes towards Negroes' desires for equality by social class

Question 4. Negroes would be satisfied if it were not for a few people who stir up trouble

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	10	7.8	3	5.0
Agree	28	21.9	15	25.0
Disagree	53	41.4	22	36.6
Strongly disagree	32	25.0	12	20.0
No opinion	5	3.9	8	13.5
	N = 128		N = 60	

appear to affect attitudes toward family planning among these respondents.

In answer to statement 4 the expected response would be disagree or strongly disagree. In the middle class group 66.4 per cent are within this range and in the working class it is 56.6 per cent. Also worthy of mention is the noticeable 13.5 per cent of the working class who have no opinion on this

statement. The large difference in response between the two classes would be in accord with many research findings that prejudice is more intense within a group when the minority group is seen as directly competitive with them. For example, the working class respondents might view Negroes as a threat to their own social and occupational aspirations.

TABLE 5.--Attitudes toward Negroes' "pushing themselves where they are not wanted" by social class

Question 6. Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	16	12.5	13	21.6
Agree	47	36.7	19	31.6
Disagree	41	32.0	18	30.0
Strongly disagree	16	12.5	4	6.6
No opinion	8	6.3	6	10.0
	N = 128		N = 60	

Examining Table 5, there appears to be a contradiction with item 4 in the response on this issue. The expected response would be disagree or strongly disagree. Although the direction of change is the same for both groups on the two statements, middle class respondents who are within the range of expected response total 44.5 per cent and working class is 36.6 per cent on this item. The substantive change is notable and indicates some conflict in both classes with the social doctrine of the Church on the issue of Negroes' right to social equality stated in these terms. The nature of the two statements may account for the difference in response as middle class white respondents may take on the feeling of "threat" as Negroes "push themselves where they

are not wanted"--that is, in the eyes of middle class whites, into similar occupations, neighborhoods, churches, and schools. In statement 4 this threat is not necessarily felt by this group. The drop in the working class percentage who give the expected response here may be merely a reinforcement of the explanation given for item 4.

TABLE 6.--Attitudes towards Church teaching on charity by social class

Question 5. Love of neighbor is more important than eating meat on Friday

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	62	48.4	35	58.3
Agree	52	40.6	21	35.0
Disagree	4	3.1	1	1.6
Strongly disagree	3	2.3	0	0
No opinion	7	5.5	3	5.0
	N = 128		N = 60	

It is encouraging to note from the standpoint of Catholic teaching on charity that the expected response to statement 5 presented in Table 6, is 89.0 per cent for St. Ann's respondents and 93.3 per cent for St. Mary's students. Although the samples are not scientifically comparable, it was of concern to many that the NORC found only 53 per cent of their "all Catholic" educated sample agreeing that love of neighbor preceded abstention from meat on Friday in the Catholic value system. This random sample, it should be noted, were adults who received their Catholic education a generation ago or more, and although the official teaching itself on the primacy of love has been the same throughout Church history, the time factor has perhaps influenced the relative emphasis on these points within the school system as the institutional

TABLE 7.--Class differences in attitudes towards Jewish business men

Question 9. Jewish business men are about as honest as other business men

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	16	12.5	7	11.6
Agree	54	42.2	32	53.3
Disagree	15	11.7	2	3.3
Strongly disagree	4	3.1	2	3.3
No opinion	39	30.4	17	28.3
	N = 128		N = 60	

Church has possibly modified what may be termed its juridical stance.

The results of statement 9 shown above should give an expected response of agree or strongly agree. This response is elicited from 54.7 per cent of the middle class respondents and 64.9 per cent of the working class group. The difference in possible anti-Semitism between the two classes appears to coincide with the findings of Allport.

Finally, it seems fairly well established that white people in the lower socio-economic levels are, on the average, more bitterly anti-Negro than white people at the higher levels. The reverse situation holds for anti-Semitism, which seems relatively more pronounced at the higher socio-economic levels than at the lower.⁴

It can be seen that this finding of Allport's also reinforces the commentary made on the two preceding items related to Negroes' rights. Again, the "threat" element of prejudice seems apparent for both of these issues.

Parenthetically, a few respondents added personal comments on this topic of anti-Semitism. One who strongly agreed with the statement explained

⁴Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York, 1954), p. 78.

that she worked for a Jewish businessman and had experience that proved them as honest as others. A few mentioned their lack of experience and therefore the impossibility of responding. Both classes showed very large numbers responding "no opinion"--30.4 per cent middle and 28.3 per cent for the working. However, even without personal experience it would seem possible for these students to form and state their attitude. Many factors are probably operative in this phenomenon. Parental views would be influential; one might also ask in light of recent Council developments on the Declaration of the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions whether or not the teaching Church has been as clear and emphatic in this sensitive area as might be expected from her official position.

TABLE 8.--Attitudes towards books written by Communists in Public Libraries by social class

Question 7. Books written by Communists should not be permitted in public libraries

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	6	4.6	1	1.6
Agree	19	14.8	12	20.0
Disagree	76	59.3	27	45.0
Strongly disagree	24	18.8	13	21.6
No opinion	3	2.3	7	11.6
	N = 128		N = 60	

To explore respondents' attitudes toward another facet of civil liberties is the purpose of statement 7, Table 8. This item would have an expected response of disagree or strongly disagree. In conformity with this expectation, 78.1 per cent of the middle class and 66.6 per cent of the working class

respondents answered in this manner. Contrary to their greater tolerance for atheists than were middle class respondents, the working class indicates here a large difference of 11.5 per cent between themselves and middle class respondents as 21.6 per cent strongly agree, or agree, that books written by Communists should be banned from public libraries. This result, unlike the data in item 1 in this study, is more in accord with previous research that a higher class would be more positively inclined toward civil liberties than a lower socio-economic class.

TABLE 9.--Social class differences in attitudes towards unions

Question 10. Working men have the right and duty to join unions

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	30	23.4	23	38.3
Agree	69	53.9	27	45.0
Disagree	14	10.9	6	10.0
Strongly disagree	2	1.6	0	0
No opinion	13	10.2	4	6.6
	N = 128		N = 60	

Considering the comprehensive pronouncements of the Church during the last century on the issues raised in statement 10 above, one would expect agree or strongly agree responses. In the middle class 77.3 per cent indicate attitudes within this range and in the working class the percentage of concurrence is 83.3. Although this question was taken intact from the NORC instrument which had several pre-testings, the present writer was apprehensive that the combination of "right and duty" in this item might cause some confusion.

There may be many who strongly admit the right but do not necessarily accept the duty of union membership. A few respondents, of their own volition, commented in just these terms. The numbers were small but it was felt that the delineation made by these respondents merited at least this short comment.

TABLE 10.--Attitudes toward Christians' obligation to fight poverty and injustice in this life by social class

Question 8. My religion teaches that a good Christian ought to think about the next life and not worry about fighting poverty and injustice in this life

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	0	0	1	1.6
Agree	0	0	0	0
Disagree	43	33.5	24	40.0
Strongly disagree	85	66.4	31	51.6
No opinion	0	0	4	6.6
	N = 128		N = 60	

TABLE 11.--Attitudes towards religious bodies' obligation to influence social conditions by social class

Question 11. Religion ought to concentrate just on the worship of God and give up trying to clean up slums and other social conditions

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	2	1.6	0	0
Agree	5	3.9	0	0
Disagree	32	25.0	20	33.3
Strongly disagree	89	69.5	38	63.3
No opinion	0	0	2	3.3
	N = 128		N = 60	

The results of the above two items are of special importance to this study as they touch upon Catholics' involvement in the "secular city." The expected response of disagree or strongly disagree for item 8 is given by 99.9 per cent of the St. Ann respondents and 91.6 per cent of the St. Mary girls. For statement 11, we find 94.5 per cent of the middle class and 96.6 per cent of the working class respondents giving the expected response of disagree or strongly disagree to this statement.

The dualism so often ascribed to the Catholic population of this country in terms of lack of participation in works of social responsibility is overwhelmingly denied by the stated attitudes of the respondents in this study. Focusing on Fichter's previously cited query "are we more concerned with the hereafter than the here?" these students clearly believe that their Church recommends social actions to improve the "here." One may suggest that these results do not deny the possibility that the emphasis was not always as strong for this position within the teaching Church. It seems plausible, however, that this modification in attitudes is the natural result of a long but continuous development to the culmination found in Vatican II's Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.

Profound and rapid changes make it particularly urgent that no one, ignoring the trend of events or drugged by laziness, content himself with a merely individualistic morality. It grows increasingly true that the obligations of justice and love are fulfilled only if each person, contributing to the common good, according to his own abilities and the needs of others, also promotes and assists the public and private institutions dedicated to bettering the conditions of human life.⁵

And it is Callahan's assertion on this point that

this emphasis has reflected a theological response to the recognition that Christianity, including Catholicism, is failing to make a vital impact on society. But it also reflects the need of Catholics to find a

⁵In Abbott and Gallagher (eds.), p. 228.

spirituality which will take account of their desire to escape from a narrow, socially defensive Catholicism to a confident, positive, creative Catholicism.⁶

TABLE 12.--Differences in choice of later life occupations by social class

Question 12. If you had to choose one or the other of the following, which would you prefer:

- A) A job which assured you of a comfortable and secure life for yourself and family, or
- B) A job which made it possible for you to do good to others and improve society

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
A	67	52.3	21	35.0
B	59	46.1	39	65.0
No opinion	2	1.6	0	0
	N = 128		N = 60	

Examining the results of question 12 the large difference is rather striking. In the middle class group 52.3 per cent choose an occupation which assures a comfortable life and 46.1 per cent an occupation which makes it possible to do good and improve society. Of the working class respondents, however, 35 per cent select a comfortable life and 65 per cent an occupation of service to others. In other words, there is a 19 per cent spread between the two classes which indicates that more respondents have materialistic attitudes in the middle class and there are more altruistic individuals in the working class sample of this study when a choice of later life occupation is the criterion.

It is impossible for this writer to give a conclusive explanation of

⁶Callahan, pp. 167-168.

this data. It may be possible, however, to suggest that the lack of service as a life goal among the middle class group is related to the warning that Gibson Winter has given in The Suburban Captivity of the Churches.⁷ He notes the trivialization and juvenilization of life in suburbia and we may wonder if this phenomenon might not be apparent here among the middle class respondents who, in many social characteristics, resemble the suburban Protestants of whom Winter speaks. Also relevant to the choice of occupations assuring a comfortable life in the middle class group may be the recency of attainment of middle class status by the respondents' parents. The security of higher class status increases over time and may bring a reawakening of social responsibility as some commentators have suggested.

TABLE 13.--Attitudes towards the use of atom bombs to overcome Communism by social class

Question 13. Even if atom bombs were immoral, would the United States be permitted to use them if that were the only way to overcome Communism?

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	30	23.4	8	13.3
No	56	43.8	22	36.6
Don't know	42	32.9	30	50.0
	N = 128		N = 60	

Questions 13 and 14 shown in Tables 13 and 14 are related considerations. The first part of both questions, even if atom bombs were immoral, should, it seems, be of prime importance to these respondents as they reply.

⁷Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of the Churches (New York, 1960).

TABLE 14.--Attitudes towards the use of atom bombs as a retaliatory weapon by social class

Question 14. Even if atom bombs were immoral, would the United States be permitted to use them to retaliate against an enemy who attacked the United States with such weapons?

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	90	70.3	30	50.0
No	18	14.1	10	16.6
Don't know	20	15.7	20	33.3
	N = 128		N = 60	

However, it can be seen that 23.4 per cent of the middle class group and 13.3 per cent of the working class feel that an immoral means (as the wording of the question states) may be used when overcoming Communism is the goal (statement 13). And 70.3 per cent of the middle class and 50 per cent of the working class answer that the United States may use an immoral means as a retaliatory weapon (statement 14). It is interesting to note that question 13 shows 32.9 per cent of the middle class and 50 per cent of the working class responding "don't know," and question 14 shows 15.7 per cent of the middle and 33.3 per cent of the working class students answering "don't know."

Further, only a minority of respondents in both classes--43.1 per cent of the middle class and 36.6 per cent of the working class--give the expected response of "no" to question 13. An even smaller minority of students--14.1 per cent of the middle class and 16.6 per cent of the working class--give the expected "no" to question 14. The absolute numbers who would permit immoral means to achieve what they obviously consider a good end is striking in light of Catholic teaching on this principle.

Further, the variations between classes shows a large difference on both questions. This difference indicates for both items that the working class is more inclined to accept the teaching of the Church in this area of international responsibilities and the middle class shows more respondents who are willing to choose what might be called the expedient answer to such a dilemma.

Although the samples are not fully comparable, it is of interest to note that Staley found 18.3 per cent of her total sample who gave the expected response to an inquiry similar to question 13 and 1.5 per cent who gave the expected response to item 14.⁸ de Cruz received the expected response from 46 per cent of his sample on item 13 and from 23 per cent for question 14.⁹

TABLE 15.--Attitudes towards the right of the Church to speak on selected issues of contemporary concern by social class

Question 15. Some people say that the Church has no right to speak on the following subjects. Indicate how you feel

Only those who answered "should speak" are shown	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Employer's obligation to pay a just wage	100	78.1	48	80.0
The Negroes' right to social equality	120	93.8	48	80.0
Birth control and divorce	126	98.4	55	91.6
Disarmament	80	62.5	45	75.0
Exaggerated advertising claims	30	24.2	14	23.3

⁸Staley, pp. 69-70.

⁹de Cruz (previously cited M.A. thesis still in progress).

Question 15 asks the respondents if the Church has the right to speak on five issues of contemporary concern to society. In fact, the Church has spoken in some way on all of them which are presented in Table 15. It seems obvious, however, that within the teaching Church relative emphasis has been placed on these issues for many complex reasons. For example, birth control and divorce regulations have obviously been given more attention within the Catholic value system than have any of the others. The percentage of agreement in both classes that the Church should speak on these questions can be seen in the preceding table. The responses seem to reflect the relative stress the Church has put upon these various issues in her role as teacher. In both classes, the highest percentage agree that the Church has the right to speak on birth control and divorce. Next in percentage of agreement in both St. Ann's and St. Mary's groups is on the Negroes' right to social equality which does, however, show a 13.8 per cent spread between the classes. Again this might be a difference based on the "threat" element seen by working class respondents.

Both groups are similar in approval of the Church speaking on employers' obligation to pay a just wage. The issue of disarmament shows a 12.5 per cent large difference between the classes, which, as before, indicates the working class as more inclined to accept the Church's involvement in this area of concern. This would reinforce the results of questions 13 and 14 on the use of atomic bombs. The last point, exaggerated advertising claims, finds both classes less sure of the right of the Church to speak, and it should also be noted that this issue received a high number of "no opinion" replies--in the middle class 35 per cent and in the working class 43.3 per cent had "no opinion."

TABLE 16.--Social class differences in attitudes towards sharing surplus food with nations who have a food shortage

Question 16. Nations like ours with surplus food have the obligation to establish foreign aid programs to help those nations with a food shortage

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Agree	120	93.8	59	98.3
Disagree	6	4.6	1	1.6
Don't know	2	1.6	0	0
	N = 128		N = 60	

TABLE 17.--Social class differences in attitudes towards sharing surplus food with Communist peoples

Question 17. If you agree would you also be willing to share our surplus food with the people of Communist countries if their need is great?

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	86	67.2	45	75.0
No	25	19.5	5	8.3
Don't know	17	13.2	10	16.6
	N = 128		N = 60	

As can be seen in the tables above, both classes agree with our obligation to establish foreign aid programs to nations with a food shortage--93.8 per cent of the middle class answer "yes" and 98.3 per cent of the working class concur. However, when the surplus food is to be sent to Communist peoples, the percentages of expected response drop to 67.2 per cent of the middle

class respondents and 75 per cent of the working class. The changes in reply seem to indicate some ambivalence toward feeding the hungry when the ideology of Communism is introduced.

The next section of the questionnaire--items 18 through 23--were included to explore these respondents' attitudes towards the methods and "tone" of social control they see within their family and school situations. Rather than reporting on every facet of each item shown in their entirety in the questionnaire, which would have been extremely cumbersome and unmanageable, a criterion was established which combined the related answers to each question. This provided an encompassing response category for each combination of answers. For example, in question 18 which asks the students the rules their parents have for them, the categories were called "permissive," "mixed," and "strict." If a respondent answered "no rules" for any of the items mentioned, this student became a part of the permissive family controls grouping. If a respondent checked all items, she would be counted within the strict category. The mixed group was determined by both the numbers of rules checked and the relative importance of the activity. Horan stipulated two or three rules as relatively permissive¹⁰ so this study set six or seven of the total of nine as the guidelines for the mixed group. Admittedly, this method involves a decision by this writer based on Horan's original judgment. This should be kept in mind as the data is presented.

Question 18, Table 18, shows 48.3 per cent of the working class respondents who assess their family controls as permissive. Indicating a spread of 17 points, only 31.3 per cent of the middle class students' answers are within this category. Although Psathas was comparing middle and lower class

¹⁰Horan, p. 124.

TABLE 18.--Respondents' assessment of social control factors in their home by social class

Question 18

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Permissive	40	31.3	29	48.3
Mixed	75	58.6	28	46.6
Strict	13	10.2	3	5.0
	N = 128		N = 60	

TABLE 19.--Respondents' assessment of parents' personality traits by social class

Question 19

	Middle Class				Working Class			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Favorable	51	39.8	75	58.6	20	33.3	26	43.8
Mixed	60	46.8	42	32.8	32	53.3	28	46.6
Unfavorable	17	13.2	11	8.6	8	13.3	6	10.0
	N=128		N=128		N=60		N=60	

high school students, he found a similar pattern--the lower the class the more permissive the parental controls.¹¹

The categories for Question 19 which asks a description of parental traits, were established as "favorable," "mixed," and "unfavorable" both for

¹¹George Psathas, "Ethnicity, Social Class, and Adolescent Independence from Parental Control," American Sociological Review (August, 1957), p. 421.

fathers and mothers. In both classes, mothers were rated more favorably than fathers in traits the students see as affecting their relationship with their parents. In the middle class, fathers received a favorable rating by 39.8 per cent of their daughters and mothers 58.6 per cent. In the working class, the results were 33.3 per cent favorable to fathers and 43.3 per cent to mothers. We might also note the large difference of 13.3 per cent more favorable responses for mothers in the middle class sample than in the working class group.

TABLE 20.--Attitudes towards teachers when a student feels an injustice has been done by social class

Question 20. If you feel that you were treated unfairly in some way by a teacher, do you:

1. Feel free to talk to the teacher about it?
2. Feel a bit uneasy about talking to the teacher?
3. Feel it would be better not to talk to the teacher?
4. Don't know

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
1.	33	25.8	19	31.6
2.	56	43.8	22	36.6
3.	38	29.7	19	31.6
4.	1	.8		
N = 128			N = 60	

The students' choice of behavior if they feel they were unfairly treated by a teacher or if they disagree with something a teacher says, is examined in Tables 20 and 21. The results for question 20 indicate much similarity between the two classes--25.8 per cent of the St. Ann's girls feel free to talk with the teacher about the unfairness and 31.6 per cent of the St. Mary's students agree. In the middle class 43.8 per cent feel uneasy and 36.6 per cent of the working class concur. Finally 29.7 per cent of the St. Ann's

TABLE 21.--Attitudes towards teachers when a student disagrees with something the teacher said by social class

Question 21. If you disagree with something the teacher said, do you:

1. Feel free to disagree with the teacher in class?
2. Feel uneasy about disagreeing in class?
3. Feel it would be better not to disagree in class?

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
1.	80	62.5	27	45.0
2.	37	28.9	13	21.6
3.	11	8.6	20	33.3
	N = 128		N = 60	

respondents and 31.6 per cent of the St. Mary's feel it would be better not to talk to the teacher.

The results of question 21 indicate that 62.5 per cent of the middle class students would feel free to disagree with the teacher in class but only 45 per cent of the working class group would do so--a large difference of 17.5 points. Feelings of uneasiness are the replies of 28.9 per cent in the middle and 21.6 per cent in the working class. And finally, only 8.6 per cent of the middle class respondents feel it would be better not to disagree in class but 33.3 per cent of the working class would not do so--this is a very large differential of 24.7 points. Perhaps the results of the next question will give greater insight into this data.

When the personal and professional traits of their teachers are asked in item 22 and categories of "favorable," "mixed," and "unfavorable" are established, we find 41.4 per cent of the middle class respondents favorable to their teachers, 43.8 per cent mixed, and 14.8 per cent unfavorable. These

TABLE 22.--Respondents' assessment of personality and professional traits of teachers by social class

Question 22				
	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
1.	53	41.4	11	18.3
2.	56	43.8	25	41.6
3.	19	14.8	24	40.0
		N = 128		
			N = 60	

percentages are reversed, however, for answers 1 and 3 as the working class students respond 18.3 per cent favorable, 41.6 per cent mixed, and 40 per cent unfavorable. This data shows the possible relationship to the results of question 21--the view of working class students that it is better not to disagree with a teacher in class. Possibly, the results of these questions are related to the complex issue of the strong middle class orientation of American schools--including Catholic schools. Further comments on this phenomenon will be found in Chapter IV.

TABLE 23.--Respondents' assessment of the kinds of students their teachers like by social class

Question 23				
	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Docile	19	14.8	11	18.3
Mixed	100	78.1	40	66.6
Independent	9	7.0	9	15.0
		N = 128		
			N = 60	

The final item in this section is shown in Table 23. Here we find greater similarity in response between the St. Ann and St. Mary respondents. Separating the traits the respondents feel their teachers like, to make three categories of "docile," "mixed," and "independent," it can be seen that in the middle class sample 14.8 per cent think their teachers like docile students, 78.1 per cent answer mixed, and 7.0 per cent independent. For the working class, 18.3 per cent reply docile, 66.6 per cent mixed, and 15.0 per cent independent. No large differences appear but the higher percentage at the extremes for St. Mary's respondents is notable.

TABLE 24.--Correct answers to the doctrinal quiz by social class

Correct definition given for:	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
The Incarnation	111	86.7	35	58.3
Supernatural Life	109	85.2	49	81.6
The Mystical Body	109	85.2	41	68.3
Mater et Magistra	91	71.1	36	60.0

A doctrinal quiz of four items comprises the next part of the questionnaire. Table 24 indicates that there is a large difference between the two classes for three of the four definitions--in all three cases middle class respondents are more knowledgeable. Specifically, there is a 28.4 point spread for the Incarnation; 16.9 for the Mystical Body; and 11.1 for "Mater et Magistra." It is interesting to see that the middle class percentage of correct responses shows a marked drop in defining "Mater et Magistra" compared to the other items, whereas the working class students were more familiar with the social encyclical than they were with a definition of the Incarnation.

TABLE 25.--Feelings of "closeness" to Church or religion
by social class

Question 25				
	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Very close	47	36.7	24	40.0
Pretty close	65	50.8	28	46.6
Not too close	14	10.9	6	10.0
Not at all close	2	1.6	2	3.3
N = 128			N = 60	

Table 25 presents the answers of these students to question 25. Both groups are clustered at one end of the continuum between "very close" and "pretty close"--one of these two answers is given by 87.5 per cent of the middle class respondents and 86.6 per cent of the working class group. It should be remembered that one point of the criteria for selecting respondents for this final sample was weekly Church attendance for both student and her parents. These figures may not be representative, then, of all the senior girls of these two Catholic high schools.

To examine attitudes toward welfare state programs question 26 was included. From Table 26 it can be seen that both classes agree by 59.3 per cent of the middle and 56.6 per cent of the working class that the government is doing "about right" in this area. Responses also show that 17.1 per cent of the middle class respondents reflect a concern that the government is doing "too much" but only 11.6 per cent of the working class students concur. And finally, 22.7 per cent of the middle class respondents answer "not enough" and 30.0 per cent of the working class students agree. There are no large

TABLE 26.--Attitudes towards welfare state programs by social class

Question 26. Some people say the government should do more than it is in connection with problems such as housing, unemployment, social security and so on. But others say the government is already doing too much along these lines. On the whole, would you say that what the government is doing now is:

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Too much	22	17.1	7	11.6
About right	76	59.3	34	56.6
Not enough	29	22.7	18	30.0
No response	1	.8	1	1.6
	N = 128		N = 60	

TABLE 27.--Social class differences in attitudes toward free speech

Question 27. In our country the Constitution guarantees the right of free speech to everyone. In your opinion does this include the right for someone to make speeches criticizing what the President does?

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	95	74.3	45	75.0
No	32	25.0	15	25.0
No response	1	.8	0	0
	N = 128		N = 60	

differences, then, in response by class according to the data of this study on this issue.

Question 27 again focuses on civil liberties as can be seen in Table

27. Seventy-five per cent of the girls in both classes are agreed that free speech includes the right to criticize the President. One-fourth of both groups denies this liberty. Again there is no evidence that the working class is less willing than the middle class to endorse civil liberties. Of the 25 per cent denying this right, one may ask if their view of authority is such that conflict ensues when American values meet Catholic values. As Callahan has commented: "as a member of the Church the layman is under an authority very different from that of the state. There are many things about the exercise of authority in the Church which cannot be decided by democratic methods."¹²

TABLE 28.--Attitudes towards the most important trait children should learn by social class

Question 28. Here is a question about children. If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him for life?

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
To obey	12	9.4	8	13.3
To be well liked or popular	0	0	3	5.0
To think for himself	62	48.4	26	43.3
To work hard	11	8.6	1	1.6
To help others when they need help	42	32.9	22	36.6
No response	1	.8	0	0
	N = 128		N = 60	

¹²Callahan, p. 173.

In an attempt to determine the trait these respondents consider the most important for children to learn, question 28 was used. The highest percentage in both classes chose "to think for himself"--48.4 per cent middle class and 43.3 per cent of the working class. "To help others when they need help" was chosen by 32.9 per cent of the middle class group and 36.6 per cent of the working class. "To obey" is the selection of 9.4 per cent of the middle class and 13.3 per cent of the working class; "to work hard" 8.6 per cent middle and 1.6 per cent working; "to be well liked or popular"--none in the middle class and 5.0 in the working class. The high incidence of choices for helping others noted by Dell among her Catholic educated sample is repeated here. But "to think for himself" is of greater incidence among these respondents than was found in her grouping.¹³ It is well to remember that the time elapsed between various studies may be an important factor in the data. Whether this is the reason for the different results of Dell's thesis and the present writer's is, of course, moot. But, as always, many complex causes are probably involved--the time factor is merely one which is often ignored.

TABLE 29.--Attitudes towards choice of schools for their children by social class

Question 29. Assuming that you marry and have a family, would you probably decide to have your children attend a:

	Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Public school	10	7.8	7	11.6
Catholic school	113	88.3	51	85.0
Private school	2	1.6	2	3.3
No response	3	2.3	0	0
	N = 128		N = 60	

¹³Dell, p. 81.

Table 29 indicates strong views by both classes that they would choose Catholic schools for their children. In the middle class 88.3 per cent would decide on Catholic schools and 85 per cent of the working class would agree. Those commentators who tell us that Catholic schools are desired by the large majority of Catholics are corroborated in their view by the respondents of this study. This is true, of course, at this moment in time. The possibility of a changed consensus based on a rethinking of all the issues involved is also present, as Michael Schiltz has recently commented.¹⁴

TABLE 30.--Parents' political party preference by social class

Question 21. Do you know your parents' political preference?

	Middle Class				Working Class			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Democrat	70	54.6	75	58.6	40	66.6	39	65.0
Republican	36	28.1	31	24.2	6	10.0	6	10.0
Other	2	1.6	2	1.6	1	1.6	1	1.6
Don't know	20	15.6	20	15.6	13	21.6	14	23.3
	N=128		N=128		N=60		N=60	

Finally, question 21 of the first section of the questionnaire is presented and asks the political party preference of these respondents' parents. Table 30 indicates that, absolutely speaking, the Democratic Party is favored in both classes as has been traditionally true for American Catholics. Comparing the two classes, however, it is evident that both for fathers and mothers

¹⁴Michael E. Schiltz, "An Open Letter to Albert J. Belanger," New City (March, 1966), pp. 2-5.

there is a large difference between them showing more Republicans in the middle class. Related to this kind of pattern Callahan has stated: "It is likely that increased Catholic prosperity will mean an even heavier Catholic support for the Republicans in the sixties than in the fifties."¹⁵

Having completed the data by social class a few general comments and conclusions are appropriate. Of a total of eighteen items which focus on social responsibility, and where there is a possibility for a large difference between the classes, there are eleven where the large difference occurs. It may be recalled that in Chapter II these "large differences" were stipulated as at least 8 percentage points of difference between the classes. These eleven items include two related to civil liberties although the large differences do not follow a pattern. On one question the middle class respondents are more favorable toward a particular facet of civil liberties (books written by Communists in public libraries); on another the working class is more favorable toward the civil liberty in question (only those who believe in God can be good American citizens).

There are three questions concerned with Negroes' rights--for all three the large difference indicates greater inclination on the part of the middle class respondents to accept the teaching of the Church on this issue. One statement involves anti-Semitism and here the working class respondents are more in conformity with official Church doctrine.

The two questions on the use of atom bombs to overcome Communism or as a retaliatory weapon show a large difference between middle and working class respondents--in both cases the middle class is less willing to follow Catholic teaching involving immoral means.

¹⁵Callahan, p. 159.

Disarmament again shows a large difference between the classes which indicates the greater willingness of the working class to accept the right of the Church to speak on this issue. A large difference in response on adult occupational choices indicates more working class respondents answering "service to society," and more middle class who replied "a comfortable life." And finally, the eleventh issue which shows a large difference asks approval or disapproval of welfare state programs. Fewer middle class respondents favor greater government involvement in housing, unemployment, social security, and so on, than do working class students.

The issues of social responsibility presented by the questionnaire on which no large differences were found in this study included: unions, the involvement of religious bodies in social problems, just wage, exaggerated advertising claims, surplus food programs to countries with a food shortage or to Communist peoples, and the right of free speech including the right to criticize the President.

Data on other areas besides social responsibility has also been presented on which attitudes of the St. Ann and St. Mary respondents differ. These included: large differences between the classes on rules in their homes --more working class girls indicated a permissive pattern; a more favorable image of parents in the middle class; more in the middle class who would disagree in class with a teacher; more with favorable images of teachers in the middle class; more in the middle class who are knowledgeable on doctrinal questions; and, finally, more in the middle class whose parents favor the Republican party.

No large differences were found on family planning, their Church as old-fashioned and superstitious, love of neighbor or abstinence from meat on

Friday as the most important value within the Catholic value system, birth control and divorce, how to proceed if a teacher is unfair, image of the kind of students they think teachers prefer, closeness to their Church, the most important trait a child should learn, and choice of Catholic schools for their own children.

Greeley, Rossi, and Pinto's contention which was previously cited that those educated in Catholic schools are more likely to accept Church authority on the issues examined in this study than are those who received public school education may be substantially correct. However, this data indicates some wide variations among these totally Catholic educated high school seniors on these areas of interest and concern which would suggest the basic importance of other variables in the formation of attitudes of Catholics--in this case, social class. This, of course, was not denied by these researchers, but was not included in their preliminary report. Further comments and interpretations of these results will be made in Chapter V as summaries and conclusions for all the data is presented.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF RESPONSES ACCORDING TO IRISH AND NON-IRISH DESCENT AND SOCIAL CLASS

This chapter will be concerned with the attitudes of the previously explained subgroups gathered from each of the two total school samples. These are:

	Irish	Non-Irish
Middle Class--St. Ann	33	18
Working Class--St. Mary	18	25

There will be three separate foci as data on these subsamples are presented. First, we wish to compare the responses of the girls in both schools who specify Irish descent--here ethnicity will be constant and class a variable. Comparisons of the non-Irish respondents of the two schools would, of course, be meaningless for this study because their ethnic backgrounds are not identical. Multi-nationality descents from all parts of Europe are claimed in both schools so nothing of value could be concluded from such a comparison.

Second, and third, we will compare the Irish and non-Irish samples within each school holding class constant and using ethnicity as the variable. Here, of course, girls of Irish and another descent(s) have been excluded--that is, the mixed category included in the samples for Chapter III, has been removed before this tabulating and reporting began. In this comparison the many variations in nationality background of the non-Irish sample may introduce some defect in the results but it was not possible to control this factor,

although it should be noted that there was no preponderance of one country or geographic area dominating this group in either school. It would seem that, having mentioned this unavoidable methodological difficulty, patterns which result from the data will be suggestive of the possible effects of Irish nationality background. The results may also serve as an indication that any ethnic background--even third generation or more--may have important effects on the formation of Catholics' attitudes. Type of education has received some attention in regard to this attitude formation but we are interested here in other factors that may be significant for our understanding of this process.

For a more comprehensive understanding of the influence of particular ethnic backgrounds on the attitudes of young Catholics adequate numbers of Polish, Italian, German, and other ethnic descent respondents would have to be analyzed and compared for diverse attitudes. This was neither possible nor was it the intent of this limited study. Rather it was hoped that by examining and reporting the attitudes of one ethnic group--the Irish respondents of both schools--it could be ascertained if this one ethnic background might be established as influential on attitudes as they were compared with the attitudes of students of other ethnic backgrounds but of similar age, residence, sex, religion, education and the like. If it can be shown that these Irish respondents, identical in these stipulated characteristics but differing in ethnic descent have large differences in their attitudes towards the Catholic value system from the non-Irish of the two schools, then perhaps further study could suggest how other specific ethnic backgrounds might result in disparate responses by other young Catholics.

Because of the multitude of comparisons that could be made using the data gathered for this section, the method of reporting will be explained here

in some detail and deviations from this procedure will be the exception. The present writer is well aware that interesting and/or informative points may be left untouched because of the need for limitation. However, there is little choice but to establish these guidelines and follow them rather closely in this chapter.

The general mode of presentation of data will follow that of Chapter III. After the table is introduced, large differences (as in Chapter III 8 percentage points will be considered large) can then be pointed out between Irish middle class and Irish working class. Following this, the large differences between Irish middle and non-Irish middle class will be noted. And finally, large differences between Irish working class and non-Irish working class will be presented. When meaningful, the expected response will be identified for the question. Any necessary explanation and commentary for the item will be given before the next table is introduced.

Due to the more numerous and involved groupings and results of this chapter, however, percentages themselves will be omitted from the text in this section contrary to their inclusion in Chapter III. They are, of course, readily available in table form immediately preceding each commentary. It was felt that this should be done to eliminate the tedium and confusion that such a presentation might offer.

It is important to remember that our interest in this chapter is based on three primary questions. Is there a large difference between the attitudes of Irish middle class respondents and Irish working class students on the issues presented by the questionnaire? Is there a large difference between the attitudes of Irish middle class girls and non-Irish middle class respondents? Is there a large difference between Irish working class students and non-Irish

working class students? These are the most important results we wish to examine for their meaning in relation to the attitude formation of Catholic educated respondents. Absolute numbers in relation to these attitudes are not the major focus here nor will they be treated extensively.

TABLE 31.--Ties to the country of ancestry by ethnicity and class--Irish subgroup

Question 18. Would you say you or your parents feel cultural, national or emotional ties to the country or countries from which your people immigrated?

Irish											
Middle Class						Working Class					
Fathers		Mothers		Students		Fathers		Mothers		Students	
No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Very strong ties	0 0	1 3.0	2 6.1	0 0	1 5.6	1 5.6	5 15.2	3 9.1	5 15.2	2 11.1	2 11.1
Strong ties	5 15.2	3 9.1	5 15.2	2 11.1	2 11.1	2 11.1	13 39.4	15 45.5	8 24.2	5 27.8	6 33.3
Some ties	13 39.4	15 45.5	8 24.2	5 27.8	6 33.3	6 33.3	11 33.3	8 24.2	11 33.3	6 33.3	8 44.4
Few ties	11 33.3	8 24.2	11 33.3	6 33.3	6 33.3	6 33.3	4 12.1	6 18.2	7 21.2	3 16.7	3 16.7
No ties	4 12.1	6 18.2	7 21.2	5 27.8	3 16.7	3 16.7					
N=33		N=33		N=33		N=18		N=18		N=18	

Tables 31 and 32 indicate the results of question 18 in the first part of the questionnaire. Its purpose is to ascertain the importance the respondent and her parents attach to membership in their particular ethnic group and this question partially serves this purpose. A large difference between the Irish middle class respondents and Irish working class is apparent when we combine "very strong," "strong," and "some ties," as an indication of notable awareness of nationality background. More Irish middle class parents and students specify these stronger ties than do Irish working class parents and students. There is a large difference between Irish working class and non-Irish

TABLE 32.--Ties to the country of ancestry by ethnicity and class--non-Irish subgroup

Question 18. Would you say you or your parents feel cultural, national or emotional ties to the country or countries from which your people immigrated?

	Non-Irish											
	Middle Class						Working Class					
	Fathers		Mothers		Students		Fathers		Mothers		Students	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Very strong ties	2	6.9	5	17.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strong ties	7	24.1	4	13.8	4	13.8	7	28.0	7	28.0	3	12.0
Some ties	5	17.2	5	17.2	5	17.2	10	40.0	9	36.0	7	28.0
Few ties	6	20.7	6	20.7	7	24.1	3	12.0	5	20.0	7	28.0
No ties	9	31.0	9	31.0	13	44.8	5	20.0	4	16.0	8	32.0
	N=29		N=29		N=29		N=25		N=25		N=25	

working class parents which shows more with stronger ties in the non-Irish group. The students also reflect this pattern based on a large difference between Irish middle class girls and non-Irish middle class students--the Irish having many more who feel ties to ethnic background. This data indicates then, that, in general, cultural, national and emotional ties to the country of ancestry are felt by more in the Irish middle class, and on the contrary, they are felt by more in the working class of the non-Irish subgroup. As was previously mentioned all respondents in the study are at least third generation in America.

Question 19 reinforces the results of the previous item as it shows that family enjoyment derived from nationality background is more prevalent in the Irish middle class than in the non-Irish middle class. Tables 34 and 35 which follow give the results of question 20 and repeat the pattern of greater

TABLE 33.--Family enjoyment derived from ethnic background by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 19. Does your family find enjoyment in celebrations, customs, music, etc., which reflect the country or countries of your forbears?

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle		Working		Middle		Working	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Very much	11	33.3	6	33.3	8	27.6	9	36.0
Some	10	30.3	6	33.3	8	27.6	8	32.0
Little	11	33.3	6	33.3	10	34.4	4	16.0
None	1	3.0	0	0	3	10.3	4	16.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

TABLE 34.--Pride of nationality background by ethnicity and social class--Irish subgroup

Question 20. How would you say you and your parents feel about your nationality background?

	Irish Subgroup											
	Middle Class						Working Class					
	Fathers		Mothers		Students		Fathers		Mothers		Students	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Very proud	17	51.5	18	54.5	16	48.5	9	50.0	8	44.4	10	55.6
Proud	13	39.4	12	36.4	13	39.4	6	33.3	8	44.4	5	27.8
Some pride	2	6.1	2	6.1	2	6.1	1	5.6	1	5.6	2	11.1
Little pride	1	3.0	1	3.0	2	6.1	1	5.6	1	5.6	0	0
None	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5.6	0	0	1	5.6
	N=33		N=33		N=33		N=18		N=18		N=18	

TABLE 35.--Pride of nationality background by ethnicity and social class--
non-Irish subgroup

Question 20. How would you say you and your parents feel about your nationality background?

	Non-Irish Subgroup											
	Middle Class						Working Class					
	Fathers		Mothers		Students		Fathers		Mothers		Students	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Very proud	10	34.5	11	37.9	10	34.5	7	28.0	7	28.0	6	24.0
Proud	10	34.5	10	34.5	9	31.0	12	48.0	12	48.0	11	44.0
Some pride	5	17.2	3	10.3	7	24.1	4	16.0	4	16.0	5	20.0
Little pride	3	10.3	4	13.8	2	6.9	1	4.0	1	4.0	2	8.0
None	1	3.4	1	3.4	1	3.4	1	4.0	1	4.0	1	4.0
	N=29		N=29		N=29		N=25		N=25		N=25	

salience toward ethnic background in the Irish middle class than in the Irish working or non-Irish of either class.

Examining Tables 34 and 35, it can be seen that it is specifically fathers of the Irish middle class who reflect greater salience based on responses of "very proud," "proud," and "some pride," in their nationality background. So the pattern remains throughout the presentation of data for these three items which are somewhat indicative of the salience of ethnic background. More Irish middle class respondents and their parents have stronger ties to the country of their ancestry, enjoy symbols and celebrations related to it, and more state greater pride in their heritage than in either the Irish working class or in both of the non-Irish subgroups.

If higher status within our society (in this case a middle class position versus working class) ordinarily indicates that the assimilation process

is nearer to completion, then it would seem that assimilated though they may be in many obvious ways, the Irish middle class of this study exhibit signs of cultural pluralism in their image of self. This is unlike the "melting pot" concept which requires the extinction of such ethnic awareness. In other words, these results may indicate a contradiction of Warner's view that "the rise to higher position implies a break from the ethnic identity and eventual assimilation."¹ Whether these results could be generalized for all Irish middle class members would be impossible without much greater study. Also in need of empirical validation would be any conclusion that such a pattern prevails within other ethnic groups in relation to class.

Attention will now be focused on the major part of the questionnaire --part 2--which deals primarily with attitudes toward social responsibility.

TABLE 36.--Irish and non-Irish descent and class differences in attitudes towards atheists as good citizens

Question 1. Only people who believe in God can be good American citizens

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	4	12.1	0	0	4	13.8	1	4.0
Agree	3	9.1	3	16.7	5	17.2	3	12.0
Disagree	19	57.6	11	61.1	10	34.5	12	48.0
Strongly disagree	6	18.2	4	22.2	10	34.5	8	32.0
No opinion	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	1	4.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

¹Charles F. Marden and Gladys Meyer, Minorities in American Society (New York, 1962), p. 429.

The results of question 1, shown in Table 36, indicate no large differences between any of the subgroups on this question of civil liberties when the expected response category includes "disagree" or "strongly disagree." Nor do we find any large differences in the range of expected response for item 2 shown below in Table 37--again combining "disagree" and "strongly disagree" answers for the comparison.

TABLE 37.--Comparison of attitudes towards Church teachings by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 2. The teachings of my Church are old fashioned and superstitious

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Agree	1	3.0	1	5.6	3	10.3	0	0
Disagree	16	48.5	7	38.9	13	44.8	10	40.0
Strongly disagree	15	45.5	10	55.6	13	44.8	14	56.0
No opinion	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	1	4.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

In the area of family planning, a large difference is noted between the St. Ann and St. Mary Irish respondents which shows the working class respondents less inclined to family planning. And a very large difference (25 percentage points) appears between the working class Irish and working class non-Irish indicating that family planning is much more approved in this non-Irish group than in the Irish of this class. These results suggest that attitudes toward family planning may be influenced both by class and ethnicity and is especially noticeable between Irish and non-Irish of the working class.

TABLE 38.--Differences in attitudes towards family planning by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 3. A family should have as many children as possible and God will provide for them

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	1	3.0	2	11.1	2	6.9	3	12.0
Agree	9	27.3	5	27.8	5	17.2	2	8.0
Disagree	17	51.5	8	44.4	14	48.3	13	52.0
Strongly disagree	4	12.1	2	11.1	6	20.7	7	28.0
No opinion	2	6.1	1	5.6	2	6.9	0	0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

TABLE 39.--Attitudes towards Negroes' desires for equality by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 4. Negroes would be satisfied if it were not for a few people who stir up trouble

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	4	12.1	2	11.1	0	0	1	4.0
Agree	7	21.2	6	33.3	12	41.3	6	24.0
Disagree	17	51.5	7	38.9	10	34.5	9	36.0
Strongly disagree	5	15.2	1	5.6	5	17.2	6	24.0
No opinion	0	0	2	11.1	2	6.9	3	12.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

Item 4 shown in Table 39 tests for prejudice against Negroes and should have an expected response of disagree or strongly disagree. There is a large difference between the Irish middle and working class respondents on this issue showing greater conformity by the middle class to the official teaching of the Church. More Irish middle class girls are also less prejudiced than are the non-Irish middle class students. However, in the working class, the results are reversed. More non-Irish respondents show less prejudice than do Irish.

TABLE 40.--Attitudes towards Negroes' "pushing themselves where they are not wanted" by class and Irish and Non-Irish descent

Question 6. Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	6	18.2	3	16.7	4	13.8	5	20.0
Agree	9	27.3	8	44.4	14	48.3	7	28.0
Disagree	13	39.4	7	38.9	3	10.3	7	28.0
Strongly disagree	3	9.1	0	0	6	20.7	2	8.0
No opinion	2	6.1	0	0	2	6.9	4	16.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

A related question, item 6, is shown in Table 40 which reinforces these findings. Large differences are found between the groups in the same pattern as was explained in question 4--with the exception of that between Irish and non-Irish working class respondents which shows no large difference. It would seem, then, that both class and ethnic background may affect attitudes on this issue also.

Another aspect of inter-group relations is explored by item 9, Table

TABLE 41.--Irish and non-Irish descent and class differences in attitudes towards Jewish businessmen

Question 9. Jewish businessmen are about as honest as other businessmen

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	2	6.1	1	5.6	7	24.1	4	16.0
Agree	16	48.5	10	55.6	9	31.0	12	48.0
Disagree	5	15.2	0	0	5	17.2	1	4.0
Strongly disagree	1	3.0	1	5.6	0	0	1	4.0
No opinion	9	27.3	6	33.3	8	27.6	7	28.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

41. There are no large differences between the groups pertaining to the honesty of Jewish businessmen. However, the direction of difference between the classes follows the pattern noted in the previous chapter--there are more respondents indicating possible anti-Semitism in both middle class groups than in the working class groups. For this study, then, class status would seem to be the indicator of possible anti-Semitism following Allport's theory of prejudice based on an apprehension of direct competition with the minority group.² Again, as in Chapter III, many "no opinion" responses are recorded for this item.

Attitudes toward charity are the focus of question 5 shown in Table 42. Again as was determined in Chapter III, there are no large differences between the students of St. Ann's and St. Mary's on this statement. It seems worthy of mention again, that 90+ per cent of all respondents in the total universe

²Allport, p. 78.

TABLE 42.--Attitudes towards Church teaching on charity by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 5. Love of neighbor is more important than avoiding meat on Friday

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	18	54.5	10	55.6	18	62.1	13	52.0
Agree	13	39.4	8	44.4	9	31.0	10	40.0
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strongly disagree	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No opinion	1	3.0	0	0	2	6.9	2	8.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

TABLE 43.--Attitudes towards books written by Communists in public libraries by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 7. Books written by Communists should not be permitted in public libraries

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	2	6.1	1	5.6	1	3.4	0	0
Agree	5	15.2	4	22.2	3	10.3	7	28.0
Disagree	17	51.5	10	55.6	19	65.5	7	28.0
Strongly disagree	8	24.2	1	5.6	6	20.7	8	32.0
No opinion	1	3.0	2	11.1	0	0	3	12.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

agree that love of neighbor is more important than abstaining from meat on Friday.

Another facet of civil liberties is explored in question 7 and the results may be seen in Table 43. Here two large differences are apparent which indicate that more respondents of the Irish middle class would permit books written by Communists in the public libraries than would girls of the Irish working class. And more non-Irish middle class would support this view than Irish middle class. These findings indicate both class and ethnicity operative as these respondents form attitudes on civil liberties. In terms of class differences, they suggest that the middle class is more inclined to support these liberties than is the working class. The fact that the non-Irish are more inclined to support this liberty than are the Irish of the same status might be an area for further study.

TABLE 44.--Attitudes towards Christians' obligation to fight poverty and injustice in this life by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 8. My religion teaches that a good Christian ought to think about the next life and not worry about fighting poverty and injustice in this life

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	0	0	1	5.6	0	0	0	0
Agree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Disagree	11	33.3	6	33.3	14	48.3	10	40.0
Strongly disagree	22	66.7	10	55.6	15	51.7	12	48.0
No opinion	0	0	1	5.6	0	0	3	12.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

TABLE 45.--Attitudes towards religious bodies' obligation to influence social conditions by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 11. Religion ought to concentrate just on the worship of God and give up trying to clean up slums and other social conditions

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	1	3.0	0	0	1	3.4	0	0
Agree	3	9.1	0	0	1	3.4	0	0
Disagree	7	21.2	4	22.2	5	17.2	12	48.0
Strongly disagree	22	66.7	13	72.2	22	75.8	12	48.0
No opinion	0	0	1	5.6	0	0	1	4.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

Two related questions, 8 and 11, are presented in Tables 44 and 45. The issue for both is the attitudes respondents have formed toward the need for individual Christians and their Churches to participate in activities concerned with contemporary social and economic problems. The data for question 8 indicates responses are based on class membership; that is, both Irish and non-Irish middle class respondents support involvement of the Church in secular affairs more than do the Irish or non-Irish working class and there are large differences apparent as we examine the expected response of disagree or strongly disagree for item 8. However, question 11 results show no large differences although the absolute number who give the same expected response for this statement is very high as it is for question 8.

Table 46 gives the results of item 10 and suggests that attitudes towards the "right and duty" to join unions may be affected both by class and ethnic background. Specifically, there is a large difference in response

TABLE 46.--Irish and non-Irish descent and class differences in attitudes towards unions

Question 10. Working men have the right and duty to join unions

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Strongly agree	5	15.2	11	61.1	7	24.1	6	24.0
Agree	21	63.6	6	33.3	9	31.0	13	52.0
Disagree	3	9.1	1	5.6	5	17.2	5	20.0
Strongly disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
No opinion	4	12.1	0	0	8	27.6	1	4.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

between all three groups which shows: more of the Irish working class than Irish middle class who agree with the statement; more of the Irish middle class than non-Irish middle class who agree; more of the Irish working class than non-Irish working class who concur. Support for the statement, then, is strongest in the Irish working class, next in the non-Irish working class, next in the Irish middle and least in the non-Irish middle.

Another item on which both class and ethnicity seem to affect attitudes is question 12 shown in Table 47. And the differences between the groups are very large. There are 47 percentage points between the number of Irish middle and Irish working class respondents choosing a comfortable life rather than a life of service to society. The non-Irish middle class students also choose service by 18.8 points over the Irish middle class. In the working class more of the Irish group choose service over the comfortable life chosen by a greater number of non-Irish (23.3 point spread). Ranged along a

TABLE 47.--Differences in choice of later life occupations by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 12. If you had to choose one or the other of the following, which would you prefer?

- A. A job which assured you of a comfortable and secure life for yourself and your family, or
- B. A job which made it possible for you to do good to others and improve society

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
A	21	63.6	3	16.7	13	44.8	10	40.0
B	11	33.3	15	83.3	16	55.1	15	60.0
No opinion	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

continuum, service orientation is highest in the Irish working class, then non-Irish working, next non-Irish middle and lowest in the Irish middle class (only 33.3 per cent of this group). Although many current commentators see the middle class as the major source of volunteers for the Peace Corps, Vista, Papal Volunteers and other service organizations, these results would not support such a view. It would be within the working class sample of this study that such altruistic individuals might be found. This finding repeats and reinforces the data presented on this question in Chapter III. It is possible, of course, that the definition of middle class used by those who make such a prediction is inclusive enough to cover the working class respondents of this study if only three classes are envisioned.

Again the results of two related questions will be considered as we look at Tables 48 and 49--questions 13 and 14. For the first, item 13, there

TABLE 48.--Attitudes towards the use of atom bombs to overcome Communism by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 13. Even if atom bombs were immoral, would the United States be permitted to use them if that were the only way to overcome Communism?

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	3	9.1	3	16.7	10	34.5	3	12.0
No	17	51.5	9	50.0	13	44.8	7	28.0
Don't know	13	39.4	6	33.3	6	20.7	15	60.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

TABLE 49.--Attitudes towards the use of atom bombs as a retaliatory weapon by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 14. Even if atom bombs were immoral, would the United States be permitted to use them to retaliate against an enemy who attacked the United States with such weapons?

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	22	66.7	10	55.6	20	69.0	14	56.0
No	5	15.2	3	16.7	6	20.7	4	16.0
Don't know	6	18.2	5	27.8	3	10.3	7	28.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

is a large difference between Irish and non-Irish working class respondents with more of the non-Irish of this group supporting use of atomic bombs to overcome Communism even if they are immoral. On item 14 the large difference

appears between the Irish middle and Irish working classes with more of the middle class group who would permit the bomb to be used in retaliation even if immoral. Question 13 indicates ethnicity operative and 14 suggests class as the variable. Such a divergence on two related issues might suggest possible psychological implications as respondents answered which were not foreseen. In terms of item 13, these might be related to a difference in students' views of the often stated opinion that Communism is the major threat to the world. The results of question 14 might reflect one of the questionable implications of the "just war" theory in the minds of these respondents--that to defend oneself by retaliation in kind is permissible.

The expected response of "no" to question 13 is given by 51.5 per cent of the Irish middle class girls and 50 per cent of the Irish working class students. A minority of the non-Irish middle class--44.8 per cent--give the expected response to question 13 and only 28 per cent of the non-Irish working class answer "no" to question 13. The percentages giving the expected response of "no" for item 14 follow the same pattern noted in Chapter III. Only a small minority of all subgroups give the expected response--15.2 per cent of the Irish middle class girls, 16.7 per cent of the Irish working class, 20.7 per cent of the non-Irish middle class and 16.0 per cent of the non-Irish working class answer that if atom bombs are immoral the United States could not use them as a retaliatory weapon.

On the five parts of question 15 shown in Table 50 it would be expected that the respondents would answer that the Church does have a right to speak on these issues. We find large differences based on this expected response between Irish middle class and Irish working class and also between Irish working class and non-Irish working class in relation to an employers' obligation to pay a just wage. More Irish working than Irish middle class

TABLE 50.--Attitudes towards the right of the Church to speak on selected issues of contemporary concern by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 15. Some people say that the Church has no right to speak on the following subjects. Indicate how you feel.

Only those who answered "should speak" are shown	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Employers' obligation to pay a just wage	26	78.8	16	88.9	21	72.3	20	80.0
The Negroes' right to social equality	29	87.9	15	83.3	28	96.6	22	88.0
Birth control and divorce	32	97.0	17	94.4	29	100.0	24	96.0
Disarmament	23	69.7	13	72.2	16	55.1	20	80.0
Exaggerated advertising claims	9	27.3	3	16.7	9	31.0	7	28.0

students answer "yes" on this issue and more Irish working than non-Irish working class concur.

The right of the Church to speak on the Negroes' right to social equality shows only one large difference in response. The Irish middle class is less inclined to approve this right than are the non-Irish middle class girls.

There are no large differences between any of the subgroups on the Church's right to speak on birth control and divorce. Absolutely speaking, at least 94 per cent of all groups agree that this is a proper subject for authoritative Church teaching.

The issue of disarmament finds one large difference--more of the Irish middle class agree it is a right of the Church to speak than in the non-Irish middle class. Exaggerated advertising claims as a proper area of Church

concern is approved by more Irish middle than Irish working class students and by more non-Irish working class than Irish working class respondents.

The data on the various subjects of this section indicate that both class membership and ethnic background may affect attitudes on these topics. Only birth control and divorce are approved by all groups to approximately the same high degree. Percentages of affirmative responses seem to reflect the varying emphasis the teaching Church has placed on these questions over a period of time as was mentioned in Chapter III. These results may also suggest that once decisions are made on the priority that specific values should hold within the Catholic system, implementation based on these preferential goals is possible as the teaching function of the Church is fulfilled.

TABLE 51.--Irish and non-Irish descent and social class differences in attitudes towards sharing surplus food with nations who have a food shortage

Question 16. Nations like ours with surplus food have the obligation to establish foreign aid programs to help those nations with a food shortage. What is your opinion?

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Agree	30	90.9	18	100.0	25	86.2	24	96.0
Disagree	3	9.1	0	0	3	10.3	1	4.0
No opinion	0	0	0	0	1	3.4	0	0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

Questions 16 and 17 shown in Tables 51 and 52 touch upon another aspect of charity--foreign aid programs to provide food from U.S. surplus for any people in need and to Communist people if "their need is great." More in

TABLE 52.--Irish and non-Irish descent and social class differences in attitudes towards sharing surplus food with Communist peoples

Question 17. If you agree (to question 16) would you also be willing to share our surplus food with the people of Communist countries if their need is great?

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	21	63.6	13	72.2	21	72.3	20	80.0
No	6	18.2	1	5.6	7	24.1	3	12.0
Don't know	6	18.2	4	22.2	1	3.4	2	8.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

the Irish working class approve foreign aid programs to any and all people in need than in the Irish middle class. When it is Communist peoples, another large difference appears between non-Irish middle class and Irish middle class in which more of the non-Irish approve this practice of sharing surplus food even with Communist peoples in need than do middle class Irish respondents.

TABLE 53.--Respondents' assessment of social control factors in their homes by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 18

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Permissive	11	33.3	11	61.1	7	24.1	10	40.0
Mixed	19	57.6	5	27.8	19	65.5	14	56.0
Strict	3	9.1	2	11.1	3	10.3	1	4.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

Table 53 which gives the results of question 18 indicates that family patterns are assessed by the respondents along this continuum. Most who answer permissive are found in the Irish working class, next in the non-Irish working class, then in the Irish middle, and the least number of permissive category responses are found in the non-Irish middle class. The greater permissiveness of working class rearing patterns was shown by the data in Chapter III as it is here. The results, however, indicating that within the same class more Irish parents are permissive than non-Irish might conflict with the often stated opinion that authoritarianism is to be found in the rearing practices of Irish background families.

TABLE 54.--Respondents' assessment of parents' personality traits by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 19

	Irish								Non-Irish							
	Middle Class				Working Class				Middle Class				Working Class			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent
Favorable	15	45.5	20	60.6	6	33.3	9	50.0	8	27.6	12	41.3	9	36.0	8	32.0
Mixed	15	45.5	10	30.3	2	11.1	0	0	15	51.7	12	41.3	3	12.0	2	8.0
Unfavorable	3	9.1	3	9.1	10	55.6	9	50.0	6	20.7	5	17.2	13	52.0	15	60.0
	N=33		N=33		N=18		N=18		N=29		N=29		N=25		N=25	

Favorable, mixed and unfavorable reactions to parents' characteristics are shown in Table 54. More Irish middle class than Irish working class respondents are favorable to both of their parents. More Irish middle are also favorable to their parents than are non-Irish middle class respondents. A large difference also appears as more Irish working class girls respond

favorably to their mothers than do non-Irish working class respondents. For both of the preceding items ethnicity and class seem to have affected attitudes.

Questions 20, 21, 22, and 23 of the questionnaire attempted to explore the respondents' attitudes towards their teachers and the atmosphere of each school. Because of their limited importance to this study and the absence of firm conclusions, only impressions will be given for them rather than tables and citations of large differences as we have done throughout this chapter. Although there were no conclusive patterns on any of these items, there was a tendency for both middle class groups to feel freer to disagree with teachers in class than did working class respondents and for both groups of middle class students to rate teachers more favorably than did working class girls. Of all groups, the Irish middle class had the largest number who had a generally positive attitude toward their school atmosphere and their teachers. Previously mentioned was the prevalent theory that American schools are generally of middle class orientation primarily because most teachers, at present, are from this segment of the population. In light of the results above, indefinite and inconclusive though they are because of methodological difficulties, it would be interesting also to know the percentage of teachers of Irish descent who staff the schools of this study.

Table 55 gives the results of the four part doctrinal quiz which comprised item 24 of the questionnaire. More middle class respondents of both Irish and non-Irish groups gave correct answers to the first three of these questions than did working class Irish or non-Irish. But there is a large drop in the percentage of Irish middle class students who could choose the correct definition of "Mater et Magistra" and therefore only a 3 point percentage spread is apparent between these Irish middle class respondents and

TABLE 55.--Correct answers to the doctrinal quiz by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 24

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
The Incarnation	27	81.8	12	66.7	23	79.3	17	68.0
Supernatural Life	30	90.9	14	77.7	26	89.7	22	88.0
Mystical Body	28	84.8	11	61.1	25	86.6	18	72.0
Mater et Magistra	23	69.7	12	66.7	23	79.3	19	76.0

the Irish working class group on this question. This same drop causes a large difference to appear between Irish and non-Irish middle class on identification of this social encyclical. Any conclusion would be pure speculation but the phenomenon seems curious.

TABLE 56.--Feelings of "closeness" to Church or religion by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 25

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Very close	11	33.3	8	44.4	8	27.6	8	32.0
Pretty close	19	57.6	9	50.0	16	55.1	14	56.0
Not too close	2	6.1	1	5.6	5	17.2	3	12.0
Not at all close	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

There is only one large difference to be noted from Table 56, item 25. More Irish middle class feel "very close" or "pretty close" to their religion than do non-Irish middle class girls. Apparently religious knowledge has no important effect on respondents' feelings of closeness to their religion as the large differences noted for question 24 (the doctrinal quiz) do not appear for this item.

TABLE 57.--Attitudes towards welfare state programs by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 26. Some people say the government should do more than it has in connection with problems such as housing, unemployment, social security and so on. Others say the government is already doing too much along these lines. On the whole, would you say what the government is doing now is:

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Too much	8	24.2	1	5.6	5	17.2	5	20.0
About right	18	54.5	9	50.0	15	51.7	14	56.0
Not enough	7	21.2	8	44.4	9	31.0	6	24.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

Focusing on one answer--"too much"--to question 26 which requests attitudes toward welfare programs, large differences are noted between all groups in Table 57. More Irish middle class girls answer "too much" than Irish working class students. More non-Irish working class say "too much" than Irish working class. More Irish middle class respond "too much" than non-Irish middle class. Both class and ethnic background seem to affect attitudes in this area. However, these results do not conclusively affirm this conclusion but they are indicative of such a pattern.

TABLE 58.--Irish and non-Irish descent and class differences in attitudes toward free speech

Question 27. In our country the Constitution guarantees the right of free speech to everyone. In your opinion does this include the right for someone to make speeches criticizing what the President does?

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Yes	29	87.9	13	72.2	24	82.1	20	80.0
No	4	12.1	5	27.8	5	17.9	5	20.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

Results on question 27, Table 58, show that there is a large difference between Irish middle and Irish working class percentages with more in the middle class supporting the right to criticize the President than in the Irish working class. This difference agrees with current theory that civil liberties are more highly supported in the middle class than in the working class. However, as this is the last presentation of a question dealing with civil liberties it should be finally noted that fluctuations of diverse kinds have been found in this study between, and among, classes and ethnic groups on this question which suggest no real pattern in the response of these students on the broad issue of civil liberties.

Table 59 presents these respondents' answers to question 28. Of note is the large difference between Irish middle class and Irish working class respondents as 51.5 per cent of the first choose "to think for myself," but only 27.8 per cent of the second choose this trait as the most important for a child to learn. In the Irish working class the largest group--44.4 per cent--

TABLE 59.--Attitudes towards the most important trait children should learn by Irish and non-Irish descent and class

Question 28. Here is a question about children. If you had to choose which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him for life?

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
To obey	4	12.1	3	16.7	1	3.4	3	12.0
To be well liked or popular	0	0	1	5.6	0	0	0	0
To think for himself	17	51.5	5	27.8	14	48.3	15	60.0
To work hard	3	9.1	1	5.6	3	10.3	0	0
To help others when they need help	9	27.3	8	44.4	11	37.9	7	28.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

choose "to help others when they need help." This finding seems to support this groups' high percentage of occupational choice of service to society noted in question 12. Both non-Irish groups have the highest percentage choosing "to think for himself." Also of note is the large difference between Irish middle and non-Irish middle who choose "to obey." More Irish of this class favor this trait than do non-Irish middle class.

The results of item 29, are shown in Table 60. Absolutely speaking, all groups would choose a Catholic school for their children by large majorities. There is, however, one large difference between Irish and non-Irish working class respondents which shows more Irish working class girls selecting a Catholic school. In descending order, Catholic schools are the choice of

TABLE 60.--Attitudes towards choice of schools for their children by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 29. Assuming that you marry and have a family, would you probably decide to have your children attend a:

	Irish				Non-Irish			
	Middle Class		Working Class		Middle Class		Working Class	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Public school	0	0	1	5.6	4	13.8	4	16.0
Catholic school	30	90.9	17	94.4	25	86.2	20	80.0
Private school	3	9.1	0	0	0	0	1	4.0
	N=33		N=18		N=29		N=25	

TABLE 61.--Parents' political party preference by Irish and non-Irish descent and social class

Question 21

	Irish								Non-Irish							
	Middle Class				Working Class				Middle Class				Working Class			
	Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother		Father		Mother	
	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent	No	Per Cent
Democrat	19	57.6	23	69.7	14	77.8	12	66.7	12	41.3	11	37.9	17	68.0	18	72.0
Republican	9	27.3	6	18.1	2	11.1	2	11.1	11	37.9	11	37.9	3	12.0	3	12.0
Other	1	3.0	1	3.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Don't know	4	12.1	3	9.1	2	11.1	4	22.2	6	20.7	7	24.1	5	20.0	4	16.0
	N=33		N=33		N=18		N=18		N=29		N=29		N=25		N=25	

Irish working class respondents, Irish middle, non-Irish middle, and least among non-Irish working.

Finally, Table 61 shows the results of question 21 from the first part

of the questionnaire asking political party preference of parents. There is a large difference between fathers of Irish middle and Irish working class students with more Republican fathers in the middle class and more Democrats in the Irish working class. Mothers of the two Irish groups, however, remain similar in their Democratic party preference. In both of the non-Irish groups, more mothers and fathers of the middle class girls are Republicans and more in the working class are Democrats showing a large difference on this item. The table would seem to indicate stronger Democratic tendencies in the two Irish groups than among the non-Irish, but also the influence of class membership for middle class Irish fathers and all parents in the non-Irish subgroups.

The presentation of data for this chapter--and study--is now complete and a return to the questions posed at the beginning of this section is appropriate. Basically, they asked whether a particular ethnic background might affect respondents' attitudes towards the issues raised in the questionnaire. Based on the findings of this chapter, we answer a qualified "yes"--on certain issues it seems to affect them. However, it has been apparent that although large differences have been found between the Irish and non-Irish groups on some questions indicating possible ethnic influence, similar large differences have also appeared on the same item between Irish middle and Irish working class respondents which then infers a class influence on the particular attitude.

In order to show the data of this chapter in as clear and concise a manner as possible, this section will end with a schematic presentation indicating the broad issues of major concern for the study, the variable, if any, which seems to affect the attitude according to the data presented in this chapter and the possible conclusion which may be drawn.

ATTITUDES WHICH APPEAR TO BE AFFECTED BY CLASS ONLY

Anti-Semitism--more middle class respondents are less inclined to accept Church teaching on this issue

Participation by the Church in contemporary social problems--more middle class girls favor involvement

Political party preference of parents--more Republicans in the middle class

ATTITUDES WHICH APPEAR TO BE AFFECTED BY ETHNICITY ALONE

None

NO DIFFERENCES IN ATTITUDES BY ETHNICITY OR CLASS

The teachings of the Church as old-fashioned and superstitious

Love of neighbor is more important than abstaining from meat on Friday

Birth control and divorce

CONFUSED RESULTS

Civil liberties

ATTITUDES WHICH APPEAR TO BE AFFECTED BOTH BY ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND SOCIAL CLASS

Family planning

Negroes' rights

Foreign aid food program

Domestic welfare programs

Unions and a just wage

Choice of later life occupation

Use of atom bombs even though immoral

Exaggerated advertising claims

Salience of nationality background

Family rearing practices

Favorable image of parents

Attitudes towards teachers and schools

Doctrinal knowledge

Trait most important for a child to learn

Choice of Catholic school for their children

This data has shown, then, that in most areas of social responsibility which are the major interest of this thesis, attitudes are probably influenced both by ethnic background and class. In a comparison of the two variables, class membership appears to be the stronger and more recurring variable affecting respondents' attitudes. This will be further discussed in Chapter V. The less emphasized points of this study such as family rearing practices, attitudes towards teachers and school, etc. also indicate the possible effects of ethnic and class membership upon attitudes of respondents again showing the probably greater effect of class. Further commentary and synthesis of these findings will be given in the next and final chapter of this study as all data is summarized and conclusions are suggested.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY

This chapter has four major purposes: a brief review of the problem and methodology of the study; a synthesis of the data and its effects on the hypotheses proposed in Chapter I; limitations of the study; and finally, areas the study has suggested for further research.

The Problem and Method. In its broadest terms, the problem of this thesis involves an attempt to examine the complex question of why people think and behave as they do. Specifically, the focus is on the attitudes of young Catholics, especially, although not exclusively towards issues of social responsibility, and the possible variables which may be operative as this process of attitude formation takes place. The multitude of apparent to obscure motivations that may affect human attitudes and behavior are inherent in such an investigation.

The role and effectiveness of the Catholic schools in America today have been discussed, questioned, debated, and even attacked by responsible persons who are generally conceded to be motivated primarily by a desire to implement the demands of "aggiornamento" as it relates to American Catholic schools. A process such as updating or renewal, then, requires that the current functions and dysfunctions of the system be identified, their relative importance assessed in a total perspective, and plans made to implement any decisions based on this comprehensive evaluation of the goals, aims, and success of the system.

Agreement, therefore, on the identity of the dysfunctional aspects--or perhaps less than desired or possible success--of the Catholic school system in America is necessary for this task. If, then, as has been traditionally acknowledged, the major function of the Catholic schools is to impart a value system, a commitment to certain beliefs and actions, then attitudinal studies should be helpful in determining if this function is being satisfactorily fulfilled within the present structure. For this purpose, some investigations have been made which compare the attitudes of Catholics educated totally or predominantly in Catholic schools or public schools to determine which type of education is more successful for the imparting of the official goals. Parenthetically, some confusion may arise here because there are many who are currently suggesting changes in the goals, a need for emphasis on different aspects of the value system, and other rather basic alterations in the total aims and structure of the system. Although these modifications may be important, necessary, and to some even inevitable, they are not the major issue in this thesis. Rather, the purpose is to assess the achievement of goals which have been clearly defined by the teaching Church in her official social doctrine for many years.

Further, the question has been asked whether the ethnic background and social class of these Catholic educated respondents might affect their attitudes on these social doctrines and other issues to a significant degree. For this purpose, then, the total senior classes of two Catholic girls' high schools were asked to answer the questionnaire to be found in Appendix II. Samples for the comparisons by class were then selected from the total populations based on these criteria:

1. The student must have had ten or more years in a Catholic school.

2. Respondent and parents both modal Catholics.
3. Both parents alive and living together.
4. St. Ann's respondents were operationally defined as middle class based primarily on the Hollingshead and Redlich Two-Factor Index of Social Position.
5. St. Mary's students operationally defined as working class in the same manner as item 4 above.

In addition to these stipulations, samples for the comparison by ethnicity for the Irish subgroups from both schools were required to be Irish both on their mother's and father's side and all ancestry was third generation or more in this country. The non-Irish subgroups were also required to be third generation or more in this country and no stated Irish ancestry either on their mother's or father's side. This selection process produced 128 respondents operationally defined as middle class and 60 working class respondents also defined operationally so that a comparison by class might be accomplished. For the ethnic comparison, there were 33 Irish and 29 non-Irish in the middle class, and 18 Irish and 25 non-Irish in the working class. The questionnaire used in this research was compiled from several sources: the NORC instrument, Dell's (which was taken from Lenski's), de Cruz', Schindler's, and several original questions. For a more detailed explanation of this procedure, see Chapter II. The tabulation of responses by class and ethnicity then made it possible to ascertain those attitudes which appear to be influenced by the social class or ethnic background of the respondents of this study.

Synthesis of the Data. Of all the issues explored by the questionnaire, only three showed no large differences in respondents' answers by class or ethnic background either in Chapter III or Chapter IV. Very large majorities (over 90 per cent) of all groups tabulated agreed that: the teachings of

the Church are not old fashioned and superstitious; love of neighbor is more important than abstaining from meat on Friday; and that birth control and divorce are proper issues upon which the Church should speak.

Secondly, there were three topics where class alone appeared to be the variable affecting respondents' attitudes. The first was anti-Semitism which consistently showed more students of the working class in conformity with Church teaching in this sensitive area of human interrelationships than middle class respondents. The second was political party preference of parents. More Republicans were found in the middle class groups than in the working class irrespective of ethnic background. And the final area upon which class appeared to be the variable affecting attitudes is that of religious involvement in contemporary social conditions and problems such as slums, poverty, and injustice. More of the middle class respondents believe their Church and individual Christians should be engaged in attempts to solve these social ills than do working class respondents.

Combining the data of Chapters III and IV, there were no topics of any nature treated by the questionnaire items which indicated ethnic background alone as the determinative variable which influenced the respondents' attitudes. In areas where ethnicity seemed to have some effect as one comparison was made, further results eventually indicated class membership as a cross-variable.

On only one topic was there confusion or conflict in the data and that was on the broad issue of civil liberties. No pattern emerged either by class or ethnic background which could be considered conclusive--both classes and ethnic subgroups showed confused results throughout the study.

By far, the majority of students' attitudes appeared to be influenced

both by class membership and ethnic background. This means that on a particular item of the questionnaire a large difference in the percentage of expected response was shown between middle and working class respondents in Chapter III, and again in Chapter IV a large difference in percentages appeared between Irish and non-Irish respondents of either or both classes suggesting ethnic influence on the attitude. Presenting the results of one question again should clarify this point. In Chapter III we noted a large difference between the percentages of middle class respondents and working class respondents favoring the "right and duty to join unions" with more in the working class who were inclined to do so. A class difference therefore could be inferred. In Chapter IV, the results for the same item showed there was also a large difference between Irish and non-Irish in the middle class indicating many more Irish who approved this statement than did non-Irish of the same class status. We could therefore conclude that on the issue of the "right and duty to join unions," attitudes seem to be affected both by class membership and, in this study, ethnic background.

In schematic form the major issues of this study on which both variables seemed operative will be presented and the differing attitudes apparent between groups as respondents answered the questionnaire will be stated. It should be remembered that these statements of differing attitudes are based on "large differences" (8 percentage points) between the groups as was explained prior to the presentation of data in Chapters III and IV.

NEGROES AND SOCIAL EQUALITY

1. More in the middle class gave expected response than in the working.
2. More Irish middle class than non-Irish middle gave this response.
3. More non-Irish working than Irish working class gave the expected response.

RIGHT AND DUTY TO JOIN UNIONS

1. More in the working class gave expected response than in the middle.
2. More Irish middle than non-Irish middle gave expected response.

CHURCH'S RIGHT TO SPEAK ON A JUST WAGE

1. Expected response given by more Irish working than Irish middle class.
2. More Irish working than non-Irish working gave this response.

USE OF ATOMIC BOMBS EVEN IN IMMORAL SITUATIONS

1. More working class than middle gave expected response.
2. More Irish working class than non-Irish working class gave the expected response.

FOREIGN AID FOOD PROGRAMS

1. More Irish working class than Irish middle gave expected response.
2. More non-Irish middle than Irish middle class gave this response.

DOMESTIC WELFARE PROGRAMS

1. Expected response given by more Irish working than Irish middle class.
2. More non-Irish middle than Irish middle gave this response.
3. More Irish working than non-Irish working class gave expected response.

FAMILY PLANNING

1. More middle class than working class respondents inclined to family planning.
2. More non-Irish working than Irish working class students support family planning.

DOCTRINAL KNOWLEDGE

1. More correct answers in the middle than working class.
2. More non-Irish middle class respondents gave correct answers than Irish middle class students.

CHOICE OF LATER LIFE OCCUPATIONS

1. More in the working class are service oriented than in the middle.
2. More Irish working class are service oriented than non-Irish working.
3. More non-Irish middle class are service oriented than Irish middle.

MOST IMPORTANT TRAIT A CHILD SHOULD LEARN

1. First choice of the largest number in all subgroups was "to think for himself" except--
2. The first choice of the largest number in the Irish working class was "to help others when they need help."

Relation of the Data to the Hypotheses. How, then, does this presentation affect the hypotheses stated in Chapter I which are:

1. Attitudes of respondents in both schools will tend to vary according to their social class membership rather than reflect their common religious affiliation and Catholic education.
2. Differing ethnic backgrounds will be associated with variations in responses within a social class.
3. Students of the same ethnic background but of differing social class will tend to have similar attitudes.

It is apparent that a total acceptance or rejection of any of these hypotheses is not suggested by the data. Hypothesis 1 is, however, accepted for all items except three previously cited as we note that although the respondents are all modal Catholics and predominantly Catholic educated, there are some variations based on class status for all other items of the questionnaire. It would seem, then, that once modal religious membership and type of education are held constant, there are still large differences between the attitudes of middle and working class respondents on various attitudes with specific focus on issues of social responsibility. Previous studies which evaluated Catholic or public school education as the determinative variable affecting attitudes are surely of import to an understanding of this total process of attitude formation among Catholics. But it also seems clear that other factors such as social class must also be considered for a comprehensive explanation of this process.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 infer that ethnic background should be a stronger

factor in the determination of attitudes than social class. The hypotheses were framed in this manner, as was explained in an earlier chapter, because both Dell and Lenski stated this conclusion from their research. However, this study finds a contrary result; class appears to be the stronger influence. It should be noted again that Dell questioned her own procedure in relation to the class factor because the educational level of the father was not requested in her research instrument. Hypotheses 2 and 3, then, are rejected as they suggest ethnicity as a stronger influence on attitudes than social class. But they are accepted as they indicate that ethnic background operates as a contributing factor to differences in response on many issues for the students of this study. Further explanation of these conclusions follows.

Although there were many items on which ethnic background seemed to affect a particular attitude, there were none on which ethnicity alone seemed to be the single variable producing differences in response. On all topics where differences occurred between ethnic subgroups, class, too, was influential. And on almost all items the magnitude of difference in responses appeared largest between the classes--not between ethnic subgroups. It would seem a highly plausible inference, then, that class is the stronger variable when the differences in the attitudes of the respondents of this study are examined. This conclusion does not, of course, negate the previously acknowledged interrelatedness of class and ethnicity. But it was hoped that the relative influence of each might be assessed to some degree if attempts were made to isolate each factor and the results then examined for the possible effects of each on the attitude of these respondents.

What further implications can be drawn from these remarks that the ethnic variable is still of some import as these students state their atti-

tudes towards Catholic and American values and, we presume, conduct themselves according to their statements? The concept of "ethnic pluralism," introduced in Chapter I is obviously pertinent. It is important to understand that there are two related but distinct applications of this concept inherent in the discussion. In its traditional sense, the concept applies to those who maintain a separate ethnic identity while sharing common American values with the rest of society. It is distinct and different from the "melting pot" theory which suggests that ethnic groups lose their ethnic identity or awareness as they adjust to and accept the dominant culture--the process also called "Americanization" or conformity to the "American way of life."

Ethnic pluralism applied within a Catholic group, such as the respondents of this study, is analogous to its meaning when applied to the total American society. Here the concept connotes a sharing of common Catholic values with other Church members while still retaining an ethnic awareness which may influence attitudes on specific aspects of the total Catholic value system. From this point of view the question becomes: do the respondents of these ethnic subgroups reflect modal Catholic membership and score according to the official Catholic value system suggesting the "melting pot" theory operating within the Church? Or are there differences observed in attitudes between delineated ethnic groups which may be attributable to their ethnic background? The same question may be posed substituting social class for ethnicity. In both cases the respondents of this study indicate differences in attitudes toward Catholic teaching which seem to reflect their nationality background and, even more strongly, their social class membership.

Considering the traditional meaning of the concept--strongly related to the commentary above--it is evident that membership in the Catholic Church

does cause differences in the attitudes of Catholics in relationship to some aspects of the American value system; i.e., the desirability of public school education for all. This, and other deviations from the demands of the "melting pot" concept are surely based on membership in the Catholic Church. But we may also wonder if, as pluralism operates in a dynamic society, other factors besides socio-religious bonds might be more influential on attitudes and behavior --even on those generally thought to be primarily affected by specific Church membership.

It may be recalled that various viewpoints on the concepts of pluralism or the melting pot as the reality of current American society were presented in Chapter I. Briefly, Thomas held that although the melting pot might be achieved eventually, assimilation of Catholic ethnic groups is far from complete today; Greeley views Catholic immigrant groups as in the later stages of the acculturation process; Fichter holds that American culture discourages ethnic group survival and so Catholics must be discussed primarily as a religious group; Herberg sees ethnic differences disappearing in the third generation and religion becoming the differentiating element; and Glazer and Moynihan agree with Herberg but add "race" as another aspect of group identification in America.

There seems to be no doubt that the interrelatedness of all of these factors cited by the commentators above causes complexity and some confusion in any endeavor to specify the basis upon which attitudes are formed--either by the respondents of this study or any other given group. But the exclusion of social class as a major determinant of attitudes by these men seems curious. However, Berelson and Steiner, also previously cited, include class status as a major factor in the formation of attitudes, opinions and beliefs.

The results of this study conform to this view; class membership appears significant as the attitudes of Catholics are formed. In other words, although the respondents are all modal Catholics, their education has been predominantly in Catholic schools, and their nationality status is third generation or more in this country, there are still important differences in their attitudes towards specific aspects of Church teaching by social class. And although class appears to be the stronger variable in this study for reasons previously noted, ethnicity is also apparent as another factor to be considered as the success of imparting the Catholic value system is evaluated today.

It would seem clear, then, that a combination of all the factors suggested by these commentators is necessary to a full understanding of the formation of Catholics' attitudes and their behavior at present--Church membership, social class, ethnic background, type of education, and undoubtedly, many others not yet evaluated. Callahan has noted this complexity in establishing etiology as he states:

Now for many Americans it is taken for granted that a strong measure of aggressive Catholic unity already exists. This is hardly correct. Catholics have been for a number of years sharply divided on many major issues, ranging from domestic politics to the meaning of papal teachings. It is hard to think of a single major national issue within the past decade that did not see Catholics opposed to one another; and the same can be said of a great variety of theological issues. Moreover, since Catholics now occupy all steps on the social ladder, there are important class and educational distinctions among Catholics, differences which in practice lead to many conflicts. As far as Catholics are concerned there are good reasons to doubt the validity of Will Herberg's and Gerhard Lenski's thesis that "The successor of the ethnic subcommunity is the socio-religious community." What these observers fail to recognize is that many Catholics resist strenuously any tendency to see their loyalty to the Church as equivalent to an identity with the Catholic "socio-religious community." More precisely, it could be said that Catholics are now faced with a choice between trying to erase any suggestion that such a cohesive social community exists (or should exist) and trying to form such a community and making it a strong social and political reality.¹

¹Callahan, pp. 168-169.

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This commentary raises the further question whether, as many contend, all differences should be deliberately lost either within the Catholic community or within the total American society so that the "melting pot" theory may be implemented. Many argue in a contrary manner that these differences should be encouraged in order to promote cultural or ethnic pluralism and its many ramifications both in the Church and the nation. Time and the length of this paper prohibit a full discussion of this point of view but its importance should not be ignored. However, we may state the general conclusion that no matter what people suggest should occur on this issue, pluralism appears to be the current reality at least for the respondents of this study.

The "ethnic focus" has been primarily on the attitudes of the Irish subgroups in this thesis. The fact that American Catholics of Irish descent have distinguishing and different characteristics from those of other immigrant groups is a necessary and basic consideration for this research both in an historical context and from a sociological point of view. Although the existential implications may vary, these differences also occur for other ethnic groups based on their particular historical circumstances, traditions and so on. This fact has been discussed and demonstrated by sociologists, psychologists, historians, journalists, and many others. In relation to a specific characteristic of the Irish in America, for example, one need only read the Devon Commission report of 1845 dealing with land practices in Ireland to understand why the Irish became and remained an urban population in the United States.² The agricultural disasters recounted in this report combined with the tradition of primogeniture and other aspects of the land situation in Ireland help to explain this phenomenon. Necessary for a full

² Cecil Woodham-Smith, The Great Hunger (New York, 1962).

understanding of the process of assimilation of the Irish in America is the knowledge that they spoke the language of the inhabitants of the new land and therefore were able to adopt the patterns of the new culture more easily and quickly than were many other ethnic groups. The strong influence of the Irish on American Catholicism is also important for a complete understanding of their current position in America. This fact is also important as we examine the behavior of other Catholic immigrant groups in relation to the American Catholic Church.³

As these, and many other circumstances of American Catholics of Irish descent are reflected upon, the reasons for possible differences in their attitudes and behavior from other American Catholics become more understandable. Whether the effects of a different sociological and historical condition will continue to influence this or any group as it interacts within the total American society or the Church can only be determined over time.

But the most basic point of this commentary which was previously stated, bears repetition--the etiology of peoples' attitudes and behavior is most complex and therefore requires that efforts to explain it be comprehensive and fully aware of the interrelatedness of a multitude of factors. At present, a Catholic "melting pot" seems as unreal as an American "melting pot." To surmise that either will occur is speculative. Therefore, as attempts are made by the teaching Church to assist her members in acceptance and implementation of a specific value system, it would seem important that she be cognizant of the many variables affecting a successful imparting and attainment of these aims and goals.

Limitations of the Study and Suggestions for Further Research. The

³John Tracy Ellis, American Catholicism (Chicago, 1955).

limitations of this study have been commented upon as they were relevant to a specific point made in the text. Therefore, a very brief summary of these problems should suffice here.

The impossibility of finding enough respondents to form a control group of middle class respondents within the working class school population and vice versa was the first difficulty mentioned. These groups could not be found in a large enough number to prohibit bias which might occur because of differences in the religious curriculum of each school. However, the judgment that these curricula were, in fact, of comparable emphasis and pedagogy was made by religion teachers of each school and this writer. Such a judgment is of some importance as data is presented and interpreted in relationship to the class variable.

The criteria set for a determination of respondents for the final samples were stringent enough (for reasons fully explained in Chapter II) to produce smaller subgroups for the ethnic comparisons than is considered adequate. This unavoidable situation might limit to some degree the validity of patterns of attitudes which have been pointed out for these subgroups.

Finally, the use of indices for certain groups of questions rather than full reporting of responses to each may be questioned. However, it was felt that such a tool would be helpful in presenting the respondents' general attitudes toward the "permissive, mixed, or strict," atmosphere of their homes, for example. As assessment of this attitude was our purpose in these questions the use of indices then was considered a fruitful procedure.

A study such as this which endeavors to answer a few specific questions seems invariably to raise many more than it settles. For example, it would be interesting to know whether variations in attitudes by social class

and ethnicity found among these respondents might also be evident in a random sample of young Catholics throughout the national population. Theories or opinions stating the greater authoritarianism of Catholic schools and/or Irish descent parents might be more fully explored for factual information and more clearly defined etiology, if possible. If Irish background American Catholics exhibit certain differences in attitudes even though third generation or more in America, what, if any, are the particular effects noted for the attitudes of German, Polish or other ethnic backgrounds of the same generation in America?

Perhaps the primary area suggested by this study for further research is the question of the importance of religion in the home as it relates to other factors such as type of education, SES, and cultural or ethnic factors. One suspects that home and parental influence may be the most significant variable in the attitudes of young Catholics as many educators state quite emphatically in regard to numerous related educational controversies. Whether these attitudes change as the experiential background of these young Catholics enlarges, is also an area of interest unexplored at present. Or do the early primary group relationships "take" and last into adulthood as attitudes towards issues of concern in the Church and larger society are implemented?

Comprehensive studies which attempt to deal with these kinds of questions are surely necessary. In all probability, efforts to assess the situation of Catholic education must be a continuing and expanding endeavor for as times change, so too institutions must change. And if the Catholic schools as institutions of American society are to fulfill their functions for all, then further study in all areas pertinent to their goals and effectiveness will always be desirable in an ever-changing world.

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APPENDIX I

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

You are one of many students who are filling out this questionnaire. The research is designed to give important data on students' opinions on topics of current interest. The information that you give will be kept strictly anonymous and confidential. Feel free to answer exactly the way you feel. Please answer all the questions. Do not give your name. Thank you for your help!

BACKGROUND

- C 1. Your age: _____ Your Religion: _____ Your Race: _____
- O 2. How many years have you attended a Catholic School? _____
- C 3. Occupation of father: (Please avoid terms like "salesman, manager, office worker," etc. Use descriptions like, "automobile insurance salesman, head of filing department in large Loop department store, manager of three-employee office for roofing supplies" etc.)

- C 4. Religion, if any, of father _____
- O 5. Country of father's birth _____
- C 6. National descent of father _____
- O 7. What generation are you in America on your father's side? (The generation who immigrated are called "first," etc.) _____
- C 8. How often did your father attend his church in the past four weeks?
(Check one.)
_____ 0 times
_____ 1 time
_____ 2 times
_____ 3 times
_____ 4 times
_____ more than 4 times
_____ don't know

C 9. What is the level of your father's education? (Check one)

- ☐ Grammar school
- ☐ Some high school
- ☐ High school graduate
- ☐ Some College
- ☐ College graduate
- ☐ Post Graduate
- ☐ None of these
- ☐ Don't know

S 10. To which social and economic class would you say your family belongs? (check one)

- ☐ upper class
- ☐ middle class
- ☐ working class
- ☐ lower class

C 11. Occupation of mother: (Please be specific as for father's occupation)

C 12. Religion, if any of mother

O 13. Country of mother's birth

C 14. National descent of mother

O 15. What generation are you in America on your mother's side? (The generation who immigrated are called "first," etc.)

C 16. How often did your mother attend her church in the past four weeks? (check one)

- ☐ 0 times
- ☐ 1 time
- ☐ 2 times
- ☐ 3 times
- ☐ 4 times
- ☐ more than 4 times
- ☐ don't know

C 17. What is the level of your mother's education? (check one)

- ☐ Grammar school
- ☐ Some high school
- ☐ High school graduate
- ☐ Some college
- ☐ College graduate
- ☐ Post Graduate
- ☐ None of these
- ☐ Don't know

- 0 18. Would you say that you or your parents feel cultural, national, or emotional ties to the country or countries from which your people immigrated? (Check one for Father, Mother, Yourself.)
- | | Father | Mother | Yourself |
|---------------------|--------|--------|----------|
| 1. very strong ties | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. strong ties | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. some ties | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. few ties | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. no ties | _____ | _____ | _____ |
- 0 19. Does your family find enjoyment in celebrations, customs, music, etc. which reflect the country or countries of your forbears? (check one)
- | | |
|--------------|-------|
| 1. very much | _____ |
| 2. some | _____ |
| 3. little | _____ |
| 4. none | _____ |
- 0 20. How would you say you and your parents feel about your nationality background? (Check one for Father, Mother, and Yourself.)
- | | Father | Mother | Yourself |
|-----------------|--------|--------|----------|
| 1. very proud | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. proud | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. some pride | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. little pride | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 5. none | _____ | _____ | _____ |
- 0 21. Do you know your parents' political preference? (check one)
- | | Father | Mother |
|-----------------|--------|--------|
| Democrat..... | _____ | _____ |
| Republican..... | _____ | _____ |
| Other..... | _____ | _____ |
| Don't know..... | _____ | _____ |

QUESTIONNAIRE

Here are some statements. How much do you agree or disagree with each one? (Check one for each statement.)

- N 1. Only people who believe in God can be good American citizens.
- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| Agree..... | 2 |
| Disagree..... | 3 |
| Strongly disagree.. | 4 |
| No opinion..... | 5 |
- N 2. The teachings of my church are old fashioned and superstitious.
- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| Agree..... | 2 |
| Disagree..... | 3 |
| Strongly disagree.. | 4 |
| No opinion..... | 5 |

- | | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------|---|
| N | 3. A family should have as many children as possible and God will provide for them. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| N | 4. Negroes would be satisfied if it were not for a few people who stir up trouble. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| N | 5. Love of neighbor is more important than avoiding meat on Friday | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| N | 6. Negroes shouldn't push themselves where they are not wanted. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| N | 7. Books written by Communists should not be permitted in public libraries. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| N | 8. My religion teaches that a good Christian ought to think about the next life and not worry about fighting poverty and injustice in this life. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| N | 9. Jewish businessmen are about as honest as other businessmen. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| N | 10. Working men have the right and duty to join unions. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |
| S | 11. Religion ought to concentrate just on the worship of God and give up trying to clean up slums and other social conditions. | Strongly agree..... | 1 |
| | | Agree..... | 2 |
| | | Disagree..... | 3 |
| | | Strongly disagree.... | 4 |
| | | No opinion..... | 5 |

- C 12. If you had to choose one or the other of the following, which would you prefer?
- 1 (a) _____ a job which assured you of a comfortable and secure life for yourself and your family, OR
- 2 (b) _____ a job which made it possible for you to do good to others and improve society.
- C 13. Even if atom bombs were immoral, would the United States be permitted to use them if that were the only way to overcome Communism? (check one)
- Yes..... 1
No..... 2
Don't know.. 3
- C 14. Even if atom bombs were immoral, would the United States be permitted to use them to retaliate against an enemy who attacked the United States with such weapons? (check one)
- Yes..... 1
No..... 2
Don't know.. 3
- C 15. Some people say that the Church has no right to speak out on the following subjects. Indicate how you feel about it by placing an "X" in the appropriate column.
- | | No right
to speak | Should
speak | No
opinion |
|--|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|
| Employers' obligation to
pay a just wage..... | | | |
| The Negroes' right to
social equality..... | | | |
| Birth control and divorce..... | | | |
| Disarmament..... | | | |
| Exaggerated advertising claims..... | | | |
- C 16. Nations like ours with surplus food have the obligation to establish foreign aid programs to help those nations with a food shortage. What is your opinion? (check one)
- Agree..... 1
Disagree..... 2
No opinion..... 3
- C 17. If you agree, would you also be willing to share our surplus food with the people of Communist countries if their need is great? (check one)
- Yes..... 1
No..... 2
Don't know..... 3

- N 18. Below is a list of items on which some parents have rules for their teen-age children, while others do not. Check the ones for which your parents have definite rules.

<input type="checkbox"/> Use of the family car	<input type="checkbox"/> Time spent on homework
<input type="checkbox"/> Time for being in at night on weekends	<input type="checkbox"/> Against going out with certain boys
<input type="checkbox"/> Amount of dating	<input type="checkbox"/> Against going out with certain girls
<input type="checkbox"/> Time spent watching TV	<input type="checkbox"/> No rules for any of the above
	<input type="checkbox"/> Against going steady

- N 19. Below is a list of items. Check the ones which best describe what your mother and father are like. Check all that apply.

	Father	Mother		Father	Mother
Treats me as an adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Knows the score.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fair.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Hard to please.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patient.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Self-controlled.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Intelligent.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Easy to talk to.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stern.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Quick-tempered.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Head of the house....	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Lets me work things out	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- N 20. If you feel that you were treated unfairly in some way by a teacher, do you--? (check one)

1 ☐ feel free to talk to the teacher about it?
 2 ☐ feel a bit uneasy about talking to the teacher?
 3 ☐ feel it would be better not to talk to the teacher?

- N 21. What if you disagree with something the teacher said. Do you--? (check one)

1 ☐ feel free to disagree with the teacher in class?
 2 ☐ feel uneasy about disagreeing in class?
 3 ☐ feel it would be better not to disagree in class?

- N 22. Thinking of all of the teachers you have had this year, what words below best describe most of them? (check all that apply)

Interested in the subject	<input type="checkbox"/>	Interested in books.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stern.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	Narrow-minded.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Devout.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	Intelligent.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Nervous.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	Patient.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Fair.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	Unhappy.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hard to please.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	Knows the score.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Self-controlled.....	<input type="checkbox"/>	Easy to talk to.....	<input type="checkbox"/>
Interested in students...	<input type="checkbox"/>	Likes us to think for ourselves.....	<input type="checkbox"/>

- N 23. Teachers sometimes like certain kinds of students. Here is a list. Check all which describe the kinds of students you think your teachers like best.

Quiet.....	Asks questions.....
Thinks for herself.....	Polite.....
Obedient.....	Interested in ideas.....
Quick to memorize.....	Voices her own opinions.....
Neatly dressed.....	Active on teams or clubs.....
Likes to work on her own.....	Interested in books.....

24. Here is a quiz which touches on the teachings and beliefs of the Catholic Church. Check the answer that comes closest to being correct in your opinion.

N	The word used to describe the fact that the Second Person of the Holy Trinity became man is.....	Transfiguration.....
		Incarnation.....
		Transubstantiation.....
		Immaculate Conception.....

N	Supernatural life is.....	The life we received from our parents.....
		Sanctifying grace in our soul.....
		Life after death.....
		The power to work miracles.....

N	The "Mystical Body" is.....	Christ's body in heaven....
		Christ in Holy Communion...
		Christ united with His followers.....
		None of the above.....

C	The Encyclical "Mater et Magistra" of Pope John XXIII deals with.....	Christian marriage.....
		Christian education.....
		Socio-economic conditions..
		Papal infallibility.....

N 25.	How close do you feel toward your church or religion?	1. very close.....
		2. pretty close.....
		3. not too close.....
		4. not at all close.....

- D 26. Some people say the government should do more than it has in connection with problems such as housing, unemployment, social security, and so on. But others say the government is already doing too much along these lines. ON THE WHOLE, would you say that what the government is doing now is:

1. too much.....
2. about right.....
3. not enough.....

D 27. In our country the Constitution guarantees the right of free speech to everyone. In your opinion, does this include the right for someone to make speeches criticizing what the President does?

1. yes.....
2. no.....

D 28. Here is a question about children. If you had to choose, which thing on this list would you pick as the most important for a child to learn to prepare him for life? (check one)

1. to obey.....
2. to be well liked or popular.....
3. to think for himself.....
4. to work hard.....
5. to help others when they need help.....

D 29. Assuming that you marry and have a family, would you probably decide to have your children attend a--?

1. public school.....
2. Catholic school.....
3. private school.....

THANK YOU FOR CONTRIBUTING YOUR TIME
IN ANSWERING THESE QUESTIONS!

APPENDIX II

SUGGESTIONS TO THE TEACHER WHO ADMINISTERS

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Please read the paragraph at the top of page one with the students and mention specifically that we wish each student to give her own opinion.
2. Ask the students to read and fill in the questionnnaire without your help or comparison of answers among themselves.
3. If the student is not living with her original parents, she should answer pertinent questions as referring to the "parents" with whom she lives at the present time.
4. Please give the impression that this questionnaire is considered important and that their answers are important but please do not show an interest in their personal answers on the paper. This might cause the students to put down an answer they think you would approve rather than their own sincere opinion.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME AND COOPERATION!

APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Paula McNicholas Condon has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

Jan. 24, 1967
Date

Paula McNicholas Condon
Signature of Adviser