

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT: A SOCIAL
MOVEMENT OF THE 1960'S

by

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The 1960's are more than a decade removed from us. For many Americans these years were traumatic times filled with tension, fear and challenges to ideals or beliefs. For others, the sixties were inspiring—a time for examining the principles on which our society is founded, and the authority and institutions which support it. It would seem unlikely, therefore, if not impossible, for anyone who experienced the intensity of the social movements of the sixties to remain unchanged. The question we face today is to what extent have the sixties affected those who were caught up in one or more of the social movements.

Some believe that the activists involved in the social movements of the sixties no longer question the principles of our society or the authority and institutions which support it. It is argued that the activists, due to the pressures of 'making it' have become more moderate or even conservative politically and accept financially rewarding and conventional occupational pursuits.¹ Since the activists are no where to be found in the media or in the streets, it is assumed that they have settled into middle-class suburbs, voting as liberal Democrats.² Are these valid assumptions? Is it realistic to assume these activists who placed so much faith and

hope in their ideologies would have rejected their goals in the face of repression and indifference and allow themselves to be co-opted by the pressures of 'making it'?

The answers to these questions are important in understanding the significance of the social movements of the sixties in our society and indeed, the future impact these movements may have and have had on our institutions. It is the purpose of this study, therefore, to investigate the inception and evolution of a singular social movement of the 1960's and analyze the perceived effects this movement had on its members and the institutions within which those members live. The social movement I will be investigating is the Christian Family Movement (CFM). I will be analyzing the perceived effects of the movement on its members within the institutions of religion and the family.

CHAPTER I.

CATHOLIC SOCIAL ACTION AND THE EMERGENCE OF CFM

Historically, the interests of Catholic social reformers and those outside the Church have often coincided despite the fact that American Catholics generally held aloof from popular reform movements. (Beginning with the Knights of Labor controversy in 1887 leading Catholic social movements of non-Catholic origin. This became more common after World War I.) During these years both Catholic and secular social reformers were primarily concerned with the rights of labor and the amelioration of the condition of the poor.³ Even today concern about the position of the Black in American society serves to perpetuate old alliances. But if Catholics have been interested in many of the same problems as reformers outside the Church there has always been, in theory at least, a difference in emphasis and to some extent, in motivation between Catholics and their secular allies. The Church is the expounder of natural law and the protector of the rights of men as men. The Church's mission is essentially a supernatural one and this gives a distinctive character to her concern with human society.⁴

Modern Catholic social movements have been motivated not solely by a revulsion against social and

economic injustice per se nor by a desire to weaken a Socialist or Communist challenge but also by the realization that a man's ability to attain his supernatural destiny is affected by the earthly conditions under which he lives. This motivation is unknown to purely secular reformers.

Catholic concern with social questions is based in part at least on the belief that a minimum amount of leisure and of material goods is necessary if men are to have an opportunity for normal family or religious life. There has also been the realization that a minimum standard of living is ordinarily a prerequisite for the development of an integrated, truly human being, capable of the free acts necessary to a meaningful spiritual life. Behind Catholic social movements has been the implicit belief that a world in which the so-called "working class" had a higher quantitative material standard of living would not only be a wealthier and more abstractly just world but would result in a substantial improvement in the quality of individual and social existence.⁵ Under the influence of these beliefs and the historical role of Catholic social movements, the Christian Family Movement was conceived.

The Christian Family Movement is an important social movement in American Catholic history. It represents the coming together of Catholic activism and American liberalism. These two phenomenon were stimulated

by Vatican II and the Civil Rights movement. CFM was one of the first fully lay-directed forms of Catholic Action in America. Its founders, almost exclusively from Chicago, Illinois and South Bend, Indiana, were less ridden with the fears and suspicions which loomed over the efforts of similar lay-initiated movements on the East coast. There the memory of struggles over lay trusteeism made the going much harder for autonomous lay activities and in particular for those with an interest in influencing social and political affairs in the public arena.⁶

The Christian Family Movement exceeded two precedent-setting limitations in American Catholic lay activities and became one of the more nationally prominent indications of the ferment in Chicago's liberal Catholic circle. On the one hand, it outdistanced the longer standing, and seemingly less imaginative, clerically dominated National Councils of Catholic Men and Women.⁷ On the other hand, it exceeded in both concern and activity, the level of involvement organizations like the Cana Conference were able to sustain in programs of social reconstruction beyond the unit of the family. In these two sets of accomplishments CFM at once reflected and helped shape an intense and fruitful period of liberal thought and activity in Chicago in the 1940's and 1950's.

When you search the numerous byways of Catholic action in the United States, you keep coming back to a small group of men who met in Chicago in 1943 in a rather floundering quest for an effective christian life. It was February of 1943, when seven men sat in a law office, after hours, talking, arguing, and theorizing. The seven were Father C. J. Marhoefer, Dr. William Burke, Frank Crowe, Patrick Crowley, Edmund F. Egan, Paul A. Hazard, Jr., and Frank Mancina. Except for the fact that one of the men was a priest, there was little to mark it overtly as an extraordinary group. There were two lawyers, an insurance man, two businessmen, and a former seminarian. In this meeting, and those that followed, were planted the seeds of the Christian Family Movement, the Cana and Pre-Cana Conferences, the Foundation for International Cooperation, Christian Family Mission Vacations and the thousands of "little actions" that began in thousands of communities across the globe.

A key figure who emerged during the period in question (1930's and 1940's) to play a role in spreading beliefs and precipitating Catholic action was Canon Joseph Cardijn of Belgium who had been active in mobilizing Belgian Catholics for lay action. Cardijn had combined three prevailing ideas that had roots in Papal encyclicals. Observe, judge and act—otherwise known as the Review of Life—was the plan of action. That is, he called for studies of the scripture, observation of the societal and

community environment (Social Inquiry), and comparison of the latter with Christian teaching (Judge), in order to arrive at an action to bring to fruition those teachings.

The seven men believed that, to pursue effective action, the adoption of the Cardijn plan was requisite. These Chicago businessmen and professionals had been looking for a role to play in reshaping their environment; they were predisposed to act. Discussions among themselves and with local clergy, set within the framework provided by the encyclicals, combined to provide momentum. In addition to the impetus provided by the encyclicals directly, other factors came into play to precipitate action and define the posture of the Catholic Church, in terms of social control. First, the founders began to realize that their ideas were shared not only in Chicago but in other large cities across the country as well. Second, clerical involvement functioned to maintain the impetus already underway and presented a 'permissive' Church posture. Third, the successes of some actions (e.g., help in organizing and promoting the Family Life Conference sponsored by the National Catholic Welfare Conference) provided stimuli to continue. That is, growth was feeding upon early and timely ventures that met with success.⁸ As a result, steps were taken to outline methods and tactics for spreading the word of the mission and to standardize practices.

Father C. J. Marhoefer served the group as chaplain. Under his guidance, they met weekly, trying first one technique and then another. Although their continuing aim was concrete action, their efforts were usually frustrated by lack of a common environment in their jobs or in their several communities. They needed something that was common to all their lives and yet which held real meaning for each person. The group then come under the influence of Father John Delaney of New York who suggested that emphasis be placed on family renewal. The field was indeed fertile and the common factor was at last found. Thus was achieved the distinctive characteristic that was to mark CFM—the social inquiry technique applied to family life.

According to John R. Marolo, most social movements feature the development of means by which authority is distributed based upon some special spiritual quality—this is the charismatic leader. The Christian Family Movement was no exception to this characteristic of movements with its leadership. The Christian Family Movement is so tightly identified with the names of Patrick and Patricia Crowley that they often have been called "Mr. and Mrs. CFM." Pat and Patty were in their tenth year of marriage (1947) and the parents of four children when they helped launch this family-based form of Catholic social action which would take them well beyond the boundaries of their Illinois home and would lead eventually to leadership in an international family life

movement with members in thirty countries. Pat, a corporation lawyer with offices in Chicago's Loop, and Patty, a graduate of Trinity College and a one-time student at the Sorbonne in Paris, became CFM's first national executive couple in 1949, and retained that post until 1969, five years before Pat's death. They served as the President Couple of the International Confederation of Christian Family Movements until 1974 and now as then—even in Pat's absence—continue to be regarded as the symbolic center of CFM.

Social movements like CFM emerge as the consequence of a multiplicity of social forces and events. CFM emerged in a society in which glaring socio-economic gaps had generated a crisis conducive to collective response. Suburbanization, post-war prosperity and the apparent breakdown of the family and other forms of strains within the family set the stage for a movement oriented to the family. Suburbia was often a society with shallow, if any, roots. This was partly due to the father's time spent commuting to and from work, thereby spending less time with his family than his contemporary on a farm or in a smaller community. Wives were under pressure to raise the family and keep up the house denied any participation in the 'intellectual' life. Parents worried if their children would grow up with warped moral

values as a result of suburbia's artificial, snobbish and materialistic outlook.⁹

The strains mobile Catholics felt were made meaningful with the publication of Papal Encyclicals during the 1930's and 1940's. These statements, which reaffirmed traditional religious and social values, attempted to identify the causes of confusion and discrepancy between church dogma and daily living. They offered means by which the difficulties could be overcome. In this respect, the encyclicals functioned to spread the belief that all things had to be "returned to Christ." But, beyond this, the documents fulfilled other functions. By calling for the emergence of a lay apostolate, the Church implied a new role for the Catholic laymen, thus serving as a crucial stimulant to the action that ensued. Further, the encyclicals reflected a new permissive posture in the Church. Pushing her laymen outward as apostles was something new for the Catholic Church.¹⁰

Four important Papal Encyclicals were circulated over the period of about fourteen years, 1930-1944. The issues these encyclicals addressed had increasingly become troublesome as Catholics climbed the status ladder and discovered qualitatively different pressures than those for which they had been prepared. Pope Pius XI's "On Christian Marriage," the first of these encyclicals, had immediate relevance to Catholics who faced strain-inducing life situations. The first part catalogued

existing conditions in family life and discussed the "vices opposed to conjugal union."¹¹ The 'vices' noted were temptations for using contraception, abortion, infidelity, separation and divorce.

In that letter, the Pope had accorded formal Church recognition to those pressures as problems with which to contend. In a way, the Encyclical documented what had already been observed (e.g., rising divorce rates, declining birth rates); but the Encyclical served, at the least, the function to mold the problems into a package and spread ideas. Going a step further, it recommended practices to ameliorate the state of affairs. Active participation by laymen in discussion and instruction focusing on marriage and family life, careful deliberation before entrance into the union of marriage, and sound economic planning to remove material factors as obstacles to successful marriages, were among the most important suggested avenues out of the dilemma faced by Catholics. Marital indissolubility was reaffirmed. Within the Encyclical also were the seeds for Catholic action outside of the family, i.e., charity to those who are the unfortunate. This appeal was later expanded in the Pope's "Fortieth Year," on reconstruction of the social order. Here the idea of the lay apostolate was born. In "Fortieth Year," His Holiness presented a rather gloomy assessment of worldly affairs and likened the situation to a partial retrogression to paganism. Perhaps the most

interesting facet of this encyclical as a call-to-arms is the delayed affect it had in mobilizing people for action. Thus, with respect to the call to action by Pius XI, while many Catholics probably were sensitive to that call, its success was realized only after great numbers of Catholics experienced social mobility and felt the full impact of the strains on their ideology. It was, then, perhaps ten years after the encyclical that its mobilizing potential began to be realized. When the timing was right, the 1940's, the call-to-action was utilized as part of the rationale for action by laymen.¹² In echoing the call, Pius XII added that the "life of the family had a special part to play."¹³ This appeal gave further shape to the role of Catholic action via the family, and eventually became an integral segment of CFM's ideology.

The first semblance of organization structure, the permanent representative body called the Coordinating Committee, emerged from the 1949 meeting called at Childerly Retreat in Wheeling, Illinois. It was attended by fifty-nine delegates from eleven cities and marked the formal recognition of nationwide mobilization. Participants at the meeting felt that activities in various cities needed to be guided and that the guidelines should result through dialogue among the active groups. Hence the minutes of the meeting record the following resolution:

Resolved that a coordinating committee be set up with one representative from each Federation

of lay people engaged in the family apostolate in the United States, for the purpose of aiding in the exchange and dissemination of information, problems, action and related matters of interest between the Federations for mutual benefit of all, with no power to act for or on behalf of any Federation so represented;
 With such committee to have the power to appoint an executive committee and a secretary of its own choosing with the newspaper Act as the official publication.¹⁴

Act later became a monthly magazine. The executive committee mentioned above represented the top policy-making body and consisted of members chosen from the coordinating committee.

Subsequent to the 1949 meeting, the coordinating committee immediately set out to program the future activities of the newly formed movement. Preparations for a 1950 national conference were laid, as well as proposals for adoption of the movement. Minutes of the committee's meetings included the following proposals, all of which were agreed upon by the representatives at the 1950 meeting:

1. To officially name the mission the Christian Family Movement
2. To set the goals as the following—"promote the Christian way of life in the family, in the families of the community and in the institutions affecting the family by serving, educating and representing the family"¹⁵
3. To adopt the following as a means of implementing the aforementioned objectives—to form small groups of married couples who use the inquiry, judge and act technique. Regular meetings should be held with the counsel of a chaplain

4. To present, for the first time, a yearly program to guide the work of the apostolate. The common problem for the year 1950-1951 was to be "Economics of the Family," e.g., cost of living, credit buying, housing, etc.

Each successive year the participants in conventions represented more and more cities, and more and more people. Even as early as 1951, 97 cities had CFM action groups including Tokyo, Berlin, London and some cities in Latin America. Also, some very prominent names came to be associated with the movement not so much in terms of membership, but in terms of participation in national conferences. In 1949, the Chicago federation published the first edition of a booklet entitled For Happier Families. Within a year, more than 2,500 copies had been distributed. Within 15 years, more than 400,000 copies had been printed and spread throughout the world. By the end of 1956 it was estimated there were 20,000 couples and 700 priests in cities throughout the U.S. active in CFM. In 1963, some 40,000 married couples were represented by 75 couples and 30 chaplains from 60 dioceses at the Coordinating Committee meeting.¹⁶

The goals and ideological framework of CFM can be gleaned from the following passages:

The Christain Family Movement...is a program which offers the dedicated Christian a way in which he can show Christlike love, not only for his own family, but for families everywhere. CFM is concerned that all people, as children of God, live the fully human lives He intends for them.¹⁷

One of the primary purposes of the Christian Family Movement is to activate members of the Mystical Body, men and women who will answer the Holy Father's call to work together in rebuilding the entire world to transform from savage to human, from human to divine...according to the heart of God.

The seriousness with which the CFM'ers conceived the mission is seen in the following:

CFM is not a social club. It requires a deep commitment to Christ and a willingness to change and grow...CFM is not intended solely for the purpose of deepening the spiritual awareness of the individual. Naturally, this will occur as the concerns and efforts of the individual are directed outward...Actions of CFM are not confined to improving one's own family, or even to those concerns that we readily agree are family concerns. It is the purpose of CFM to open the apostolate of the family to those considerations that determine its mission among the peoples of the world. 19

CHAPTER II.

THE 1960'S AND THE EVOLUTION OF CFM

The inception of CFM occurred in the 1940's. Although its membership grew and its influence became stronger throughout the 1940's and 1950's, it was the 1960's which saw CFM burst upon the American scene with leaders drawn from Catholic activist groups throughout the world. It is necessary, therefore, that the 1960's be examined as this decade provided the impetus for CFM to evolve into a true social movement. Though much of the activism of the 1960's occurred on the campuses, the intensity of the turmoil could not have escaped the young adults involved in CFM.

The Baby Boom of 1948 through 1953 resulted in the dominance of the late 1960's by the children born in this time period. Consequently, the center of population gravity had shifted from age 35 in 1960 to age 17 in 1964 and remained there until 1971.²⁰ Thus, the period from 1964 to 1971 was dominated (through size alone) by a category of persons who naturally rebel against authority and take opinions, attitudes and concerns principally from their peers rather than from their families. There was also a sense of economic security

for college graduates and no serious problem of unemployment in the sixties. The fact that students were segregated from the rest of society on their college campuses is not a unique characteristic of the sixties. However, this did add impetus to the development of collective conscience among students and rendered mass mobilization possible.

It was clear that discontent and radicalization permeated both the campus and the black ghettos. Activism in the sixties may have begun as an expression of those with intellectual origins but soon events demonstrated that this segment of youth was far more extensive and far more capable of having an impact on wider circles of people than anyone had previously thought. This activism was attributable to the incapacity of established liberal and moderate forces to promote effective social reform.²¹

The failure of reform had two important consequences. First, there was an illegitimation of the political institutions and of the authority on which these institutions were established and maintained. The political institutions were not able to demonstrate to the activists an ability to openly and fairly respond to their grievances, demands and fears. This was particularly important in that many individuals felt their very lives threatened by the continuation of existing policies (i.e., Vietnam). The second consequence is based on a "historically validated generalization the generational revolt is most likely to occur when 'adult' political

reform movement and activity is weak."²² The needs and desires of youth were not being satisfied through the existing institutions and no attempt was being made on the part of adults to change this situation. In the case of the students, it appears that the failure of existing institutions to adapt and reform to their needs led to the development of a social movement. As will be demonstrated, such a failure within the institution of religion led to the development of CFM qua social movement.

Not only were the members of CFM aware of and influenced by the discontent and radicalization on the campuses in the 1960's but they were also either directly or indirectly exposed to the issues of the Civil Rights movement. The sixties began with sit-in movements led by southern black college students. This movement ushered in an active mass protest phase led by the new militant but nonviolent civil rights leadership. While the Southern Christian Leadership Conference led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. played a prominent role in the movement, new civil rights associations appeared which had the financial and moral support of liberal white churchmen and students. Their activities captured the support and enthusiasm of liberal and progressive world opinion. Despite legislative victories (i.e., the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act), no tangible benefits and relief

for the central problems facing Northern working and lower-class blacks was provided.

Attempts by the new civil rights leadership and organizations to mobilize the black urban masses remained by and large unsuccessful because these organizations had a Southern base and because their efforts at improving housing and job opportunities for blacks in the North were met by increased resistance from Northern whites whose enthusiasm for the black cause was considerably weaker when the satisfaction of black aspirations would require a change in their way of life rather than of Southerners, and because the solution to the problems produced by de facto segregation and the goal of integration are considerably more intractable and costly²³ than was true for desegregation in the South.

The failure of existing institutions to respond to the problems facing Northern working and lower-class blacks resulted in urban riots extending from 1964 to the riot wave following Martin Luther King's assassination in 1968. The later sixties saw the rise of militant-radical leaders and organizations outbidding each other in their extreme demands and militant rhetoric and turning against the moderate leadership. As a result of these events, a philosophy of violent self-defense and violent overthrow or at least attack upon the structure of American society by a small yet substantial proportion of young black and white activists became acceptable.²⁴

It is not the purpose of this brief survey of the 1960's social milieu to either support or condemn

the events and ideologies presented. Rather, it is to illustrate that CFM, as any social movement, does not grow and evolve in a vacuum. It was influenced and changed by the social environment in which its members lived. The multi-dimensional character of a social movement assumes the molding of its methods, members and ideology by the social environment at any given period of time. Therefore, the history of American Catholic social action and the radicalized social milieu of the sixties both set the stage and the boundaries for the evolution of the Christian Family Movement.

A social movement occurs when a fairly large number of people band together in order to alter or supplant some portion of the existing culture or social order. In order to be called a social movement, the behavior must appear more than once and must be repeated in some organized fashion. There is no exact number of people that must band together. However, a social movement which seeks to become large must include people with diverse interests, and include them on a segmental basis, so that each finds something within it, although few will be in total agreement with all policies and practices. Both to pursue common needs and for congeniality, social movements tend to attract categories of members.²⁵

According to Roberta Ash, a social movement is a set of attitudes and self-conscious action on the part of a group of people directed toward change in the social structure and/or ideology of a society and carried on outside of ideologically legitimated channels or which uses these channels in innovative ways. Such activity as organizational movements or attitudinal changes without action would be excluded from a social movement.²⁶ The definition of activist is essential to this study as only a small proportion of those participating in the sixties movements are considered "activists." The activist is defined as any person who was involved in protest politics, radical leftist movements or actively pursued an ideological commitment to social change in a leftist direction. This definition excludes those who were solely involved in student government or other established organizations not committed to active social change.²⁷

The goals which movements set out to achieve range from total to partial reconstruction of the social order. With respect to the former, members conceive of themselves as the chief architect of the new order of things. Their broadly scoped collective actions (religious, secular, or both) are what Neil Smelser terms value-oriented movements and are defined as attempts "to restore, protect, modify or create values in the name of a generalized belief."²⁸ This belief, founded on political, religious or economic principles, is the binding force

behind the participant's activism and defines the goal(s) of the movement. Ventures of such a magnitude involve changes in values and subsequent redefinitions of normative structures; i.e., the fixed relationships between elements in society that prescribe a specific course of action that should (is supposed to) follow in a given situation. Changes in the means by which individuals are motivated (politically, religiously, economically), and the creation of new means for defining and employing manpower and technical facilities, are additional ventures of such action.

On the other hand are those movements that pursue limited goals, i.e., something less than a total reconstruction of the social order. These are labeled by Smelser as norm-oriented movements—attempts "to restore, protect, modify or create norms in the name of generalized belief."²⁹ The tactics used may be geared to directly affect the norms in question or work through an existing agency.

A social milieu conducive to norm-oriented movements is one where normative change is possible without consequent change in the value system. Otherwise a value-oriented movement will emerge. That is, in a milieu in which attempts at normative change generalize into conflicts which call into question the values themselves, of which the norms are the regulative devices governing behavior within the value framework, limited

changes are not possible. The possibility of normative conflicts spreading to the value level is shaped by the nature of the social arrangements that characterize a given society. Such determinants include the degree to which institutions overlap, the extent to which political, economic and ethnic differences coincide, (i.e., the extent to which interests rooted in these phenomena are reducible to one another), and the probability that initially divergent interests will coalesce under certain conditions, e.g., political or economic crises.³⁰

The United States is considered to be a pluralistic society, one in which there exists a plurality of interest groups that are independent and non-inclusive. Such groups are social classes, ethnic and racial groups, kinship, political parties, and so on. They are non-inclusive in that people sharing the same ethnic heritage may differ with respect to party affiliation, economic interest, group participation and status position. While there may be some measurable degree of convergence, it is not total convergence, and convergence itself is variable, depending upon the issue.

Pluralism in the United States is rooted in many sources, the most important being the differentiation between institutions, that within institutions, and the supporting role the steady flow of immigration has played traditionally. Differentiation between institutions is buttressed by such formulas "as 'separation of church and

state,' 'civil control of military power,' 'separation of church and school,' 'academic freedom,' 'freedom of expression'...³¹ Neil Smelser observes that these concepts imply maximum independence of institutions with limitations on each one as far as interference with the central political institutions. He states further that, "This high level of differentiation accounts in part for the relative predominance of norm-oriented movements as the typical mode of expressing collective grievance..."³² in countries such as the United States. Such an arrangement can be contrasted with pre-industrial Europe where institutions were overlapping; e.g., church and state were inseparable.

We can categorize CFM as a norm-oriented movement because the ideology of the mission traces the perceived unsatisfactory state of affairs to normative regulation, not to the content of the widely cherished religious, political and social values in the United States. Using different terminology, I believe Wm. Bruce Cameron would agree with this statement. He would categorize CFM as a revisionary social movement; i.e., a movement desiring to change but not to threaten the existing structure as a whole.³³

CHAPTER III.

THE EMERGENCE AND EVOLUTION OF THE FLINT CFM CELL

As a means of gaining further insight into the dynamics of CFM as a social movement additional information was collected from individuals who were active in the movement. Although CFM is still an active organization, its membership has fallen to current number of 6000. It has 150 local groups divided into 23 regional groups.³⁴ Today there are no active local groups in the Flint area. The following data are derived from interviews with seven individuals who actively participated in CFM from 1961 to 1965. Three women and four men were interviewed, including two couples.

Mr. Abel (this and all following names are fictitious) was 27 years old when he joined CFM and had 3 children after 4 years of marriage. He was a salesman and had three years of college. He considered himself a devout Catholic upon joining CFM. As a result of his activism, he changed professions becoming involved in the Urban League.

Mrs. Abel was 25 when she and Mr. Abel became involved in CFM. She had a Bachelors degree and was a medical technologist, working part-time since the birth of their last child. She did not become as active in CFM as her husband due to the necessities of caring for the house and family.

Mr. Black initially thought CFM was simply a support group for young families. He was 28 years old when he became involved in CFM, had 5 children and had been married eight years. He was a truck driver. He became very active in third-party house buying and after his involvement in CFM, in drug rehabilitation for young people. He later became involved in real estate.

Mrs. Carter also held a Bachelors degree and was a medical technologist. She was 28 years old when she joined CFM, had 3 children and had been married 5 years. She grew up in a very small town in Michigan where her family was quite active in the Church. Upon joining CFM, she became very active in politics and was a McCarthy delegate to the 1968 Democratic Convention. She and Mr. Carter divorced in the 1970's.

Mrs. Dudley was a housewife with four children when she and Mr. Dudley joined CFM. She was 32 years old and had been married 10 years. Her family was also very involved in the Church. Her sister was a nun and she attended a parochial school throughout her twelve years of education.

Mr. Dudley was also 32 years old when he and his wife joined CFM. He was a utility man and continues to hold that position. He was "born and raised" a Catholic and attended Church regularly. He felt that CFM was the first contact he had with the problems in society that the Church was not dealing with.

Mr. Engle had a Bachelors degree and was a therapist when he joined CFM. He was 29 years old, had 3 children and had been married 4 years. He was very active in the civil rights movement in college. He is still a therapist. He and Mrs. Engle divorced in the 1970's.

All were asked the same questions using the method of the focused interview, although questions were not always approached in the same order (See Appendix I).

The Christian Family Movement was introduced to this area by Mr. Farley, who moved to Flint in 1961 from Detroit where he had been an active member of CFM. Mr. Farley was interested in forming a CFM group in Flint and asked his parish priest for names of couples who might be interested in such an activity. Shortly after Pope John XXIII issued his encyclical "Mater et Magistra," Mr. Farley began contacting these potential members. In his encyclical, Pope John emphasized the role of the laity in a personal and active Christian commitment to the world. According to those I spoke with, this encyclical deeply influenced their decision to join CFM. Mr. Farley organized the meetings which involved eight to twelve people. The group initially studied the recently released encyclical and attempted to find ways of living up to its message. It was not until 1962 that the group attained a steady membership and was meeting on a regular, weekly basis.

By 1963, there were several groups or cells of CFM couples in the Flint area. Through the influence of Mr. Farley and the national CFM organization which issued a yearly program to guide the work of the local cells, racism and political activism were chosen as the arena's of study for 1963. In the political arena, members of CFM ran for precinct delegates. With little opposition they were elected and went to State and County conventions to attempt to influence the party platforms—to align them

more closely with Christian doctrine. On the issue of racism, CFM members supported the open housing ordinance and the Black candidate for mayor who supported this ordinance. Their involvement in these issues began when a Black Catholic doctor moved to Flint and found it difficult to buy decent housing. For help he turned to CFM members.

This scenario of the formation of CFM in the Flint area is not unlike that which occurred in hundreds of towns across the U.S. Most CFM cells were founded by past members moving into new areas. The encyclical "Mater et Magistra" had a great influence on many Catholics who were eager to become socially and politically involved in their communities. This encyclical legitimized their activism which was regenerated by weekly CFM meetings. These meetings were small, usually involving four to six couples, and included a study of scripture concluded by an action which would be carried out to promote the Christian way of life.

A series of five questions were asked the informants of my study to establish that they were representative of the couples involved in CFM in the 1960's, using 1965 as the base year. CFM Survey, published by the Christian Family Movement in July 1969 found that the typical CFM husband was between 31 and 40 years of age. The male informants interviewed ranged in age from 32 to 37 in 1969 and the female participants

ranged from 30 to 37. The CFM Survey found that the CFM couple was at various stages in the family cycle. The number of years married varied from four to twenty years with an average of eight. For the five families involved in my interviews, the number of years married ranged from eight to fourteen. Family sizes varied also. The CFM couple had between two and five children according to the 1969 Survey. My participant families had between three and five children during their involvement in CFM.

As those I interviewed, the typical CFM couple was set apart from the general population in that they were very likely to be either a college graduate or had some college experience. Three of my participants had college degrees and two others had college experience. Total family income of the CFM couple was an additional characteristic which set it apart from the general population. The CFM survey found that total family income of the couple averaged \$12,675. Although I could not determine my informants' exact total family income, their professions indicated incomes above the national average.

These five areas of personal and family characteristics clearly demonstrate that the individuals I interviewed were demographically representative of CFM members in the 1960's, the height of CFM activism. In the five categories of age, number of years married, number of children, education and family income, those spoke with

were easily comparable to their fellow CFM members in the 1960's. The fact that the informants were asked to recall impressions and observations of fifteen years ago does not necessarily threaten the validity of the data. This could, in fact, improve its usefulness in that the years may facilitate a sense of objectivity to the informant's views.

Most couples initially heard of CFM from a friend or a priest and joined primarily because they were in agreement with its goals. They considered themselves active in CFM, attended all or most of their group activities. The fact that CFM was an activity in which the husband and wife could participate as a couple was a very important reason for their participation.³⁵

Both my group and the CFM survey group perceived the movement as a loosely structured organization and preferred it to be that way. For the most part the couples would not have preferred any major policy changes with respect to the movement's objectives or the means by which those objectives were achieved. The couple felt that the individual action groups remaining autonomous units, free from any extensive national ties to CFM facilitated the way they chose their actions in confronting important, and perhaps unique, local problems. While it was stated that CFM should not shy away from topics of controversial political importance, according to the CFM Survey, most action groups felt that CFM

should not have given its official support to the candidates or programs of any particular political party. The group surveyed also expressed a feeling that actions of public protest such as picketing, public meetings, marching, etc. should not appropriately be included among CFM methods. My study and the survey found that couples tended to feel that the allegiance of CFM to the local Bishop was secondary to the achievement of CFM goals and that the Bishop's positive sanction was not a necessary prerequisite for official CFM actions.

Such attitudes and lack of action to promote societal change obviously run counter to the definition of a social movement. As stated earlier, the activist is defined as any person who was involved in protest politics or actively pursued an ideological commitment to social change in a leftist direction. Although the CFM Survey did not bring such activists forward, they were present and served as catalysts for the evolution of CFM into a social movement. As the CFM Survey indicates, the majority of CFM members were not activists. For the most part they followed the Review of Life Method of social inquiry only through to the second step but seldom carried through to the third and final step—that of action.

As was demonstrated earlier, those I interviewed were representative of the total CFM membership in terms of personal and familial characteristics. However, this group also represents that small fraction of activists

within CFM. As occurred with the youth on the campuses and elsewhere, the needs and desires of this group of young couples were not being satisfied through existing institutions. They turned to the religious institution of the Catholic Church as a means to express their dissatisfaction. The failure of this institution to adapt and reform to these member's needs led to the development of CFM qua social movement.

There are no doubt numerous reasons why this one cell of CFM couples in Flint developed into a group of activists. A major cause was definitely the personalities of those in this cell and their predisposition to act. Beyond the personal factor, however, I feel was a unique social process which occurred within this cell. These couples were the first couples introduced to CFM by Mr. Farley. They had been exposed to ideas about social reform, political action and society through the Papal encyclicals, Vatican II, CFM literature and the influences of Mr. Farley. They assimilated their peers' values of dissent and the contempt for modern American society which was being expressed daily on the college campuses and in the ghettos. This assimilation process was coupled with a determination to work toward correcting injustices. Most of their initial work, however, was met with staunch opposition not only from adversaries, but also from supposed allies (i.e., the Catholic Church). This opposition served to perpetuate and reinforce the couple's

actions to promote social justice in their community. Most subsequent groups in the Flint area did not experience the overt and covert opposition as did this initial cell of CFM couples.

All save one had picketed during their involvement in CFM and four had picketed the Bishop during the dedication of a local church. The church was being built in an economically depressed area of Flint and the CFM group had petitioned the Bishop to use some of the donations received to build the church to help vitalize the surrounding neighborhood. The petition, however, went unheeded. Even in the 1960's Catholic parishoners picketing the Bishop was well outside ideologically legitimated channels, or at the least was a means of using these channels in innovative ways. Another example which demonstrates the activism within CFM was the technique of third-party house buying in order to integrate neighborhoods. All those I interviewed actively supported or participated in the purchase of homes in white neighborhoods under assumed identities on behalf of black families. Not only was this innovative, but also quite dangerous. Such harrassment as telephone tappings, real estate 'black lists' and threats of physical violence were experienced by some of those interviewed. As these examples illustrate, certain members of CFM were activists who cast the organization into the role of a social movement which attempted to change the social structure and ideology of our society.

The July 1969 survey of CFM members investigated the perceived impact of CFM on a number of areas within the institutions of the family and religion. Since a comparative study of this survey and my research would be impractical, I list the findings of the 1969 survey as a point of reference for my research, to be used as an indication of CFM member's attitudes in the 1960's (See Tables I-IV). Those members who I interviewed were actively involved in CFM from three to five years.

Voluntary organizations have a positive impact on personal growth according to the CFM'ers I spoke with. The degree of this impact is viewed as dependent on the principles and goals of the organization and the sincerity of those involved. According to Mrs. Carter, "The goals and ideals of the organization determine whether the people involved will grow... CFM, due to the role of altruism in the movement, caused tremendous growth in the individuals." Volunteer organizations which simply offer the opportunity for friends and neighbors to socialize are not seen as being particularly positive to personal growth. Only one of those I interviewed felt that voluntary organizations did not have a positive impact on community growth. The others believed there could be a positive impact, but the organization had to be well financed, and have strong leadership. As Mr. Abel stated, "The system is unmoved by any voluntary group unless it is well financed and organized... CFM was the best

financed and organized Catholic group (he knows of). They all believed that voluntary organizations serve to educate the community and inform the general public of communal needs. The participants felt that CFM had a very positive impact on the Flint community in the area of housing. They were charter members of HOME (Housing Opportunities Made Equal) Inc., which initiated the practice of the third-party house buying mentioned earlier. This group of CFM activists also claims sole responsibility for forcing the local newspaper to drop the headings "Colored/White" from its real estate advertisements.

All informants felt that CFM improved husband-wife understanding. Mr. Black felt that "CFM broke down barriers and led to a common challenge that could be shared." Mrs. Dudley shared this view stating, "It (CFM) taught us to be expressive and openly honest with each other." This improved understanding, however, did not always lead to a better marriage. Three of those members I spoke with had divorced since their involvement in CFM. All participants agreed that CFM offered a broader base for communication and sensitized the couples to existent needs that had not been brought forward before CFM involvement. The meetings gave the couples a chance to discuss issues that may have never come up in daily conversation. CFM, unlike the Catholic Church or society as a whole, treated women and men as equals, thus allowing and expecting women to use their talents and abilities,

Two participants felt that some of the men found it difficult to accept their wives as equals, as fellow "people" striving for a common goal. Mrs. Carter stated that, "CFM treated men and women equally...a lot of men couldn't handle this; that is, seeing their wives become individual people." This, it is believed, led to problems in the marriages. For all members, CFM served as a kind of support group with which to discuss and attempt to resolve major issues of modern life. The most important of these issues was invariably the practice of birth control.

For most of those members I spoke with, CFM had little effect on parental guidance of their children. Most members felt that their basic beliefs in child rearing were reinforced by CFM. According to Mrs. Dudley, "The only effect it had was incidental—my basic beliefs didn't change but these beliefs were supported by other CFM couples." Six of those I interviewed expressed a desire to instill in their children a sense of social justice and their responsibility to society. No one believed, however, that this sense of responsibility had to be expressed in a Christian context. As one participant stated, he wanted to teach his children that, "you've got to give some of yourself for nothing." All participants had children when they initially became involved in CFM. Though their philosophies on child rearing had been established, CFM precipitated a parental responsibility in the area of social responsibility.

In the areas of family religious life and identification with Catholicism, five of the participants saw CFM as the "vehicle" by which their discontent with the institutional church was voiced and expressed. As Mr. Engle stated:

At the beginning of CFM, I espoused most Catholic teachings. But as the family grew and the reality of caring for the children became difficult, birth control was needed for us. CFM brought out the feeling that I could think and feel and act on my own. It did not question or hinder my belief in Christ's teachings. The challenging came from outside sources that CFM got me into.

They wanted their children to see Christ not only in the Eucharist but also in the poor, which the institutional church often times hindered. Although initially the Church was seen as an ally, these members soon began to see the Church as an adversary. Involvement in CFM exposed the problems in society that the Church was either unwilling or unable to deal with. Four of these five members no longer identify themselves as Catholics or with any other denomination. As Mr. Engle stated, "CFM made me a better Christian, but a lousy Catholic." The fifth member identifies herself as a Christian rather than a Catholic. Two of the participants continue to identify themselves as Catholics. Curiously, neither of them expected any more support for CFM or a more favorable response to it from the institutional church than they received. Both had had previous experience in dealing

with the Church as an institution and believed from the onset of CFM activism, that the Church would be antagonistic. These two participants do not feel CFM had any effect on their Catholic beliefs or their identification with the goals of Catholicism. Mrs. Carter said, "I identified myself as a liberal Catholic and considered myself a Catholic all the time. I expected the Church to be exactly the way it was (towards CFM). I had had other confrontations. CFM was good in that it offered support to my struggle against the Church's conservative teachings."

Thus, for those who hoped that CFM would have a significant impact on the institutional Church as well as the political and social institutions encompassing all dissatisfied Christians, disillusionment led to an abandonment of their Catholic tradition. Yet through their activism, all members were attempting to "promote the Christian way of life in the family, in the families of the community and in the institutions affecting the family by serving, educating and representing the family." This was the goal of CFM. Their degree of success may be impossible to determine but their effort is unquestionable.

There is little doubt that CFM was effective in easing those participants of the original cell in Flint into the role of social activists. They become involved in innovative and ideologically unacceptable means of promoting social change during their participation in CFM. Since their involvement in CFM, all have continued to be

involved in voluntary associations and other community activities which promote social justice. Two former members changed professions in order to deal more directly with the problems of the poor and the amelioration of their condition.

This original Flint cell represents a group of activists within CFM which was formed out of the extremely intense social issues they encountered at the time their political consciousness was being formed. These former activists are structurally located in positions where they can serve as societal critics and catalysts for the transformation of social relations and culture. They are also in the very powerful positions to influence the ideological commitments of their children, other students and their associates. Though they may encounter apathy, powerlessness and repression, these former CFM activists are not strangers to repressive strategies and can, no doubt, adopt counter strategies.

CHAPTER IV.

ORGANIZATION AND DECLINE OF CFM

Existing literature has suggested that the ability of a movement to achieve its goals over time is related to its ability to balance ideology and emotional enthusiasm with bureaucratic organizational skills. What has not been stressed, however, is the way in which strain and conflict emerge and become a part of a social movement. From a practical point of view, it becomes important to understand at what point and under what circumstance strain and conflict begin to emerge, and the kinds of mechanisms or processes which are available to a particular social movement to help it control conflict and maintain some degree of equilibrium in order to survive as a goal-achieving organization.

Strain and conflict are inevitable in any social organization which persists over time and is founded on the principles characteristic of CFM. That is, democratic theory has as its key proposition that "who says democracy says effective opposition." The existence of effective opposition to those in control is the sine qua non of democratic organization as we understand it in the United States. CFM emerged as a social movement in a time of social disorder and change in the U.S., as seen in the two

World Wars, continuing urbanism and later in the 1960's. It was a collective action movement aimed at giving the Catholic lay couple the opportunity to develop initiative and some autonomy for social action at the parish and community level.

An organization committed to local initiative and autonomy of action, must expect to become the source of conflict and strain if it persists for any period of time. For conflict and strain are the stuff of the democratic process. This is ordered conflict, conflict within a set of ground rules which are generally accepted. As the work of others has shown, there is a direct relation between social class, education, income, and participation in the democratic process in American society. CFM's recruitment was largely from the middle and upper-middle classes, the better educated and higher income Catholic couples, people who by their social background were tuned to the democratic game. The point is, that social movements like any other forms of social organizations do not operate in a vacuum. They are influenced by the larger and smaller social systems of which they are an inevitable part.

CFM's peculiar history, and the character of its emerging goals, in combination with an emergent middle-class Catholic population, set the boundaries for recruitment. This fact, in turn, and in combination with a deliberately contrived socialization process, defined

the areas that represented the sources for stability in the organization. But since neither recruitment nor socialization were complete and perfect, as they are not in any social organization, the sources for strain and conflict were inevitably present also.

The direction and early control of conflicts in CFM were shaped by the decentralized decision-making apparatus which functioned (1) to generate broadly based policy frameworks and (2) to set the stage, via inter-level linkages, for a patterned grievance type of machinery³⁶ (See Diagram 1). The latter also implied that there existed shared conceptions of ground rules for conflict, e.g., that competing factions respected opposing viewpoints. In this respect, more or less everyone got a chance to be heard; again, policy decisions were general, and to compromise a likely outcome.

With respect to conflict resolution in the movement, rule by the majority was the norm. Since such a rule was difficult, if not impossible to implement in every case, this norm was complemented by two other processes of an accommodative nature, vis., patterned evasion at the local level and/or insulation of the competing factions. Consequently, via these processes, the movement was able to withstand conflicts that could not be resolved through compromise or the acceptance of one point of view to the exclusion of the other(s).³⁷

Social movements that persist through time experience a rather predictable sequence of changes, particularly with respect to changes in structure. Such a transition involves the incorporation into the movement of more and more features that may be subsumed under the category organizational. One of these features is the emergence of differentiated roles such as, in the case of CFM, the Executive Secretary Couple, Federation Leader Couple, Area and so on (See Diagram 1). Another important feature is the development of means by which authority is distributed in different quantities (for accomplishing different tasks, for example, authority differences based upon knowledge or, in some cases, upon some special spiritual quality that is presumably an endowment of some individual or individuals and which is usually not transferable—this, of course, is the Charismatic leader). A third major feature is the development of decision-making mechanisms. In CFM, the development of the Executive Coordinating and program Committees are examples of the steady development of a decision-making apparatus. Finally, for our purposes here, a major feature that emerges is a set of rules to govern the conduct of the members when such conduct is relevant to organizational stability and the successful achievement of goals. In a word, much of the transition involves formalization, that is, the establishment of standard rules and roles for the governing of a relationship.

As CFM 'aged,' it began to incorporate features similar to other organizations with respect to differentiation (defining standard roles) and coordination (defining an authority structure). Two phenomena combined in such a way as to provide gaps between organizational expectations for policy development and implementation, and organizational reality. First, the size, membership mobility and frequency of meetings of the Coordinating Committee were features which prevented that Committee from operating as the major decision-making body. As a result, that body which had the most durability in terms of membership, met most frequently and was smaller, namely, the Executive Committee, also had the greater opportunity to exercise control. The first and third characteristics combine to provide a real organizational dilemma. For leadership turnover and representation are democratic ideals but prevent effectiveness and efficiency, while leadership stability and reduced size may be less conducive to democratic decision-making, but are conducive to effectiveness and efficiency.

A second departure from organizational expectations had to do with Chaplain participation in the movement. At the action (local) group level, extensive penetration into action group activities correlated negatively with chances for success, as success was defined in the movement. But here too a dilemma appeared. CFM needed Church organization at the Parish level in

order to legitimize its (CFM's) existence and to contact potential members. At the same time, the movement, in effect, rendered itself amenable to local control.

It appears that the Christian Family Movement qua social movement was on the decline in the later 1960's. In the place of a movement there was developing a well-structured and routinized organization with flexible goals and adaptive latent functions that satisfied an ever-changing membership. Two categories of people who might have served the movement well (and themselves, of course) were not recruited in any substantial amounts. Certainly the movement must have felt that it offered the newly married couple much that can be helpful throughout the various family stages. Equally important was the service that those who had passed into the later stages and were without children at home could have derived from the movement. The movement may have passed up a reservoir of talent with this age group. For this category of people contains those who probably have the fewest debts and, therefore, fewer financial restrictions on leadership duties; and conceivably have the most time to devote to the movement. This exclusive nature of CFM was seen by several of those I interviewed as a failure of the movement to incorporate the diversity of membership needed to maintain social activism over time.

The failure to recruit a diverse membership may be one reason for the decline of CFM. There are of course others of which the previously mentioned policy development and organizational conflicts can be included. Some past activists in CFM believe that its elitism was a cause for its decline as well as the tendency of CFM to "push CFM'ers out" into other activities. As one participant stated, "I look at CFM as something we outgrew. We got involved in Civil Rights through CFM; once we were involved, this occupied all of our time and we no longer needed CFM to keep us going." He compared this tendency to going to college and selecting a major field of study and then graduating. Once employed, one does not return to formal education to perform his duties but rather, relies on experience.

Others have suggested more profound reasons for the decline of CFM. Jame Smurl believes that CFM experienced a series of "crises" in the middle 1960's. These crises were the result of CFM's heavy reliance upon two European Catholic sources which, while admittedly containing some insights transferable across cultures, were so contextually specific in their European sensibilities about modernity that their linguistic and conceptual patterns were bound to ring truer abroad than here at home. In its reliance upon the social encyclicals of the popes and upon the Catholic Action methodologies developed by French and Belgian clergymen-preeminently

Canon Cardijn's method—CFM took on a social and cultural mindset which caused many of its policies and activities to be perceived as "foreign" by all sorts of Americans, including many of its own members.³⁸

Much to their credit, CFM'ers were more attentive to the social encyclicals than were most American Catholics. Much to their detriment, however, this attentiveness entailed of necessity the appropriation of a language about a conception of social justice which resonated poorly and was ill understood by most Americans. Smurl believes that not only did the social profile of the membership of CFM add impetus to the decline of the movement in the 1960's but also their cultural profile. He feels that this characteristic of CFM'ers facilitated a dissonance between CFM's philosophy and the prevalent ethos of Americans. The incompatibility became more evident and more damaging to the movement as wave after wave of social upset washed upon the shorelines of American culture in the mid-sixties.³⁹

By virtue of its dependence on papal social doctrine in the fifties and sixties—and including the papal precedents to which Vatican II's documents appealed—CFM became profoundly counterintuitive to or out of joint symbolically with the prevalent American cultural sense of meaning and value. It did not share sufficiently and express itself consistently in specifically American cultural forms of the moral and religious understandings which were the glue binding this nation together as a people. Although CFM may have been uniquely American in the sense that its talents for organizational flexibility and effectiveness reverberated positively with the

utilitarian strains in our culture, it seems to have become fatally dissonant in its conception of what that organizational expertise ought to be doing and for which moral and religious reasons.⁴⁰

Thus it could be argued that CFM had been from the start, and became more perceptible in the 1960's, a radically inauthentic American experiment—or at least one which was destined to be so perceived.

The phenomena associated with the rise and decline of CFM are in some respects little more than variations on the conventional theme of "being Catholic in America." In other respects, however, they offer unconventional accounts of ethical and cultural dimensions peculiar to the way this traditional theme was played out in the experience of CFM. I have examined CFM both as a social movement and as an organization, giving accounts of its effects on past members and the institutions within which they live. Their involvement with CFM has deeply affected their personal and family lives and has offered the opportunity to explore the confluence of several puzzling conceptions of what it means to be a Catholic, American, and to be concerned actively with what is called "social justice."

The following data were taken from "The CFM Couple," Maiolo, et al, Research Report Number III.

TABLE I

YEARS IN CFM AND THE PERCEIVED IMPACT OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS ON PERSONAL AND COMMUNITY GROWTH

Years in CFM	VA's good for community not for member	VA's good for members but little effect on community	VA's very good for member and community	VA's little good for either
	%			
0-1	4.4	23.6	61.6	1.6
1-2	1.2	24.4	65.8	1.0
3-5	2.5	22.4	69.0	1.1
6-10	7.5	16.2	75.4	.7
11+	-	7.4	92.6	-

TABLE II

PERCEIVED EFFECT OF CFM ON HUSBAND-WIFE UNDERSTANDING BY YEARS IN CFM

Years in CFM	Bettered	Hindered	No effect	NR
0-1	57.6	-	32.7	9.7
1-2	73.4	-	23.7	3.0
3-5	80.4	1.4	13.4	4.7
6-10	83.6	.7	11.4	4.3
11+	91.7	-	8.3	-

TABLE III

PERCEIVED EFFECT OF CFM ON PARENTAL GUIDANCE
OF CHILDREN BY YEARS IN THE MOVEMENT

Years in CFM	Bettered	Hindered	No effect	NR
0-1	45.2	-	39.6	15.2
1-2	55.6	.9	34.3	8.9
3-5	69.2	.5	19.6	9.3
6-10	82.9	.7	10.7	5.7
11+	88.9	-	8.3	2.8

TABLE IV

PERCEIVED EFFECT OF CFM ON FAMILY LIFE
BY YEARS IN THE MOVEMENT

Years in CFM	Bettered	Hindered	No effect	NR
0-1	62.2	.5	25.3	11.5
1-2	70.7	.3	23.4	5.3
3-5	79.0	.8	12.8	6.3
6-10	82.9	.4	10.0	5.7
11+	91.7	-	8.3	-

STRUCTURE OF CHRISTIAN FAMILY MOVEMENT

John and Lucy Christian, members of this ACTION GROUP, St. Mary's parish

Bob and Helen Black, ACTION GROUP LEADERS and therefore members of

the SECTION for St. Mary's along with other leaders of action groups.

Their leaders, Joe and Maria Lopez, are the SECTION LEADER COUPLE for St. Mary's parish, and therefore representatives at meetings of

south REGION A, led by

Dick and Lucy Agostino, REGIONAL COUPLE. (New, small federations do not have this intermediate step in structure. Section leaders themselves take part in federation meetings.) The Agostinos represent their region, made up of several parishes, at meetings of

EMERALD CITY FEDERATION.

This federation is headed by Jerry and Betty Elefson. This couple is usually called the FEDERATION PRESIDENT COUPLE.

The Elefsons (or sometimes another designated couple) are members of the

NATIONAL COORDINATING COMMITTEE

along with other president or contact couples—one for each diocese having CFM.

Serving this Coordinating Committee is

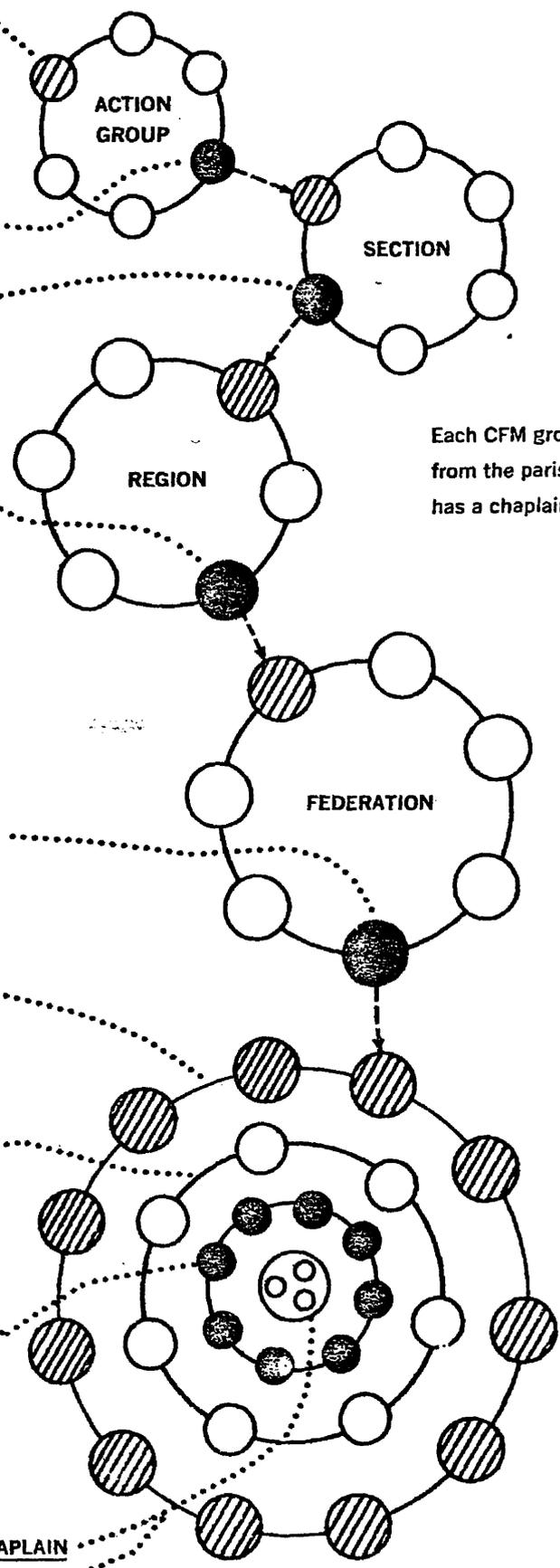
the PROGRAM COMMITTEE, made up of about 7 couples from various areas. Their task is to develop program materials which reflect the consensus.

Emerald City diocese and nearby dioceses having CFM choose an AREA COUPLE to serve on the EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, a nuclear group which serves the movement on a continuing basis, and serves in general as an agenda committee for the Coordinating Committee.

NATIONAL CHAPLAIN and ASSISTANT NATIONAL CHAPLAIN

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY COUPLE

full-time workers for CFM.



Each CFM group, from the parish level up, has a chaplain

Taken from This is CFM; Christians in the World, reprinted from For Happier Families, 1965 edition.

APPENDIX I

QUESTIONS OF THE RESEARCH

Over what period of time were you actively involved in CFM?

In 1962, (the height of the participant's involvement):

- a) What was your age?
- b) How many children did you have?
- c) What was your occupation?
- d) How many years of education did you have?
- e) How many years had you been married?

Do you feel that voluntary organizations have an impact on personal and community growth?

Do you feel CFM had any effect on your husband-wife understanding?

Did CFM have any effect on your parental guidance?

Did CFM have any effect on your family's religious life?

Do you feel that CFM had any effect on your identification with Catholicism, its goals and ideals?

FOOTNOTES

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