



Beyond Punishment: Law, Family, Education, and Religion as Interlocking Institutions of Social Control and the Production of Legitimate Social Order-A Review

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ABSTRACT

Social control is often understood narrowly through rules, surveillance, sanctions, and punishment. Such a perspective, however, inadequately explains why individuals comply with norms when enforcement is absent, why coercive institutions sometimes undermine rather than strengthen order, and why societies with similar formal regulations can exhibit markedly different levels of cooperation and cohesion. This qualitative literature review develops an integrated account of social control by examining four interlocking institutions: law, family, education, and religion. Drawing primarily on peer-reviewed journal literature published between 2020 and 2026, the review synthesizes evidence concerning legal legitimacy, procedural justice, parenting and moral socialization, school discipline and restorative practices, religiosity and prosociality, social norms, trust, and collective efficacy. The findings indicate that sustainable social order depends less on the independent strength of individual control institutions than on their capacity to transform external expectations into internalized self-regulation. Procedural fairness, relational trust, belonging, legitimacy, moral internalization, and institutional alignment emerge as central mediating mechanisms. Conversely, coercion, discriminatory enforcement, exclusionary discipline, excessive control, institutional contradiction, and ingroup-outgroup boundary formation can generate cynicism, resistance, polarization, and fragile order. The article proposes an Integrated Institutional Social Control Framework (IISCF) that distinguishes legitimate, internalized social order from coerced conformity. It concludes that effective social-control policy should prioritize legitimacy-enhancing, relational, inclusive, and institutionally coordinated approaches rather than reliance on punishment alone

INTRODUCTION

The maintenance of social order is one of the oldest and most persistent questions in sociology, criminology, political science, education, psychology, law, and the study of religion. Every society must develop mechanisms through which individuals learn behavioral expectations, recognize limits on permissible conduct, coordinate their actions with others, resolve conflicts, and determine which authorities deserve obedience. Yet social order cannot adequately be explained by punishment alone. Most everyday conformity occurs without direct police supervision, judicial intervention, school suspension, parental punishment, or religious sanction. Individuals routinely cooperate, reciprocate, observe norms, and restrain self-interest even where violations are difficult to detect. Contemporary research on social norms therefore emphasizes internalization, social learning, conditional preferences, and concerns about self- and social image alongside external sanctions (Gross and Vostroknutov, 2022). Experimental research likewise demonstrates that informal group norms can materially alter compliance with formally imposed rules and that social proximity can either stabilize or erode norm adherence (Bicchieri et al., 2022; Govindan, 2022).

This distinction is fundamental. A society in which individuals obey exclusively because they anticipate punishment is categorically different from one in which people recognize norms as legitimate, perceive institutions as fair, and regard cooperation as morally or socially appropriate. Both societies may display observable conformity at a particular moment, but their resilience differs. Coercive compliance may disappear when surveillance weakens, enforcement becomes costly, or political authority loses capacity. Internalized compliance, by contrast, can reproduce itself through expectations, identities, relationships, and reciprocal trust. This suggests that the theoretically important outcome is not merely order, but legitimate and sustainable social order.

Social cohesion adds another layer of complexity. It should not be equated with uniformity, consensus, or an absence of disagreement. Aruqaj (2023) conceptualizes cohesion as multidimensional and connected with relationships among individuals, communities, and institutions. Research on collective efficacy similarly distinguishes social cohesion itself from the capacity and willingness of community members to activate shared relationships through informal social control (Gearhart, 2022; Gearhart, 2024). Trust and compliance also vary across socioeconomic and cultural milieus, demonstrating that apparently cohesive societies may contain substantially different modes of institutional attachment and normative orientation (Schröder et al., 2022).

The central premise of this article is that social order emerges from an institutional ecosystem rather than from a single control institution. Four institutions are particularly important. Law establishes formal rules, allocates rights and obligations, authorizes enforcement, and communicates public standards of conduct. Family provides much of the earliest relational experience of rules, authority, reciprocity, trust, responsibility, and moral evaluation. Education extends socialization beyond kinship and places children and adolescents within structured environments where institutional rules, peer

expectations, teacher authority, cooperation, competition, and civic norms are encountered simultaneously. Religion, where socially salient, can provide moral vocabularies, rituals, collective identities, community networks, meaning systems, and expectations concerning conduct toward both insiders and outsiders.

These institutions do not operate independently. Legal socialization research demonstrates that attitudes toward parents and teachers can be connected with later attitudes toward legal authority, indicating that experiences with authority are transmitted across institutional domains (Fine and van Rooij, 2021; Rodrigues and Medina, 2021). Parental warmth and monitoring interact with peer environments; schools can either reinforce family-taught norms or subject young people to contradictory experiences of authority; religious identity can strengthen altruism and solidarity while simultaneously sharpening social boundaries. Institutional interaction is therefore not incidental – it is part of the mechanism through which social control is reproduced. The urgency of reconsidering social control has increased because several conventional institutions of authority face contested legitimacy. Formal institutions can possess legal power without enjoying equivalent social legitimacy. Schools can impose discipline while weakening students' sense of belonging. Families can monitor adolescents without necessarily altering peer trajectories. Religious communities can strengthen bonding solidarity while weakening bridging trust. During societal crises, citizens may comply with common rules for markedly different reasons, including trust, fear, solidarity, habit, or perceived necessity. Research differentiating social from institutional trust also warns against assuming straightforward causal relationships among trust, well-being, and institutional quality (Glatz and Schwerdtfeger, 2022).

A second reason for reconsideration concerns the limits of punitive control. Exclusionary school discipline is explicitly intended to remove disruptive behavior and protect learning environments, yet a major meta-analysis found that exclusionary discipline predicted increased subsequent delinquency (Gerlinger et al., 2021). Research examining suspension for comparatively minor infractions also questions whether such punishment benefits either suspended students or their classmates (Wang et al., 2023). The analogous problem in law is that police authority cannot necessarily convert coercive capacity into legitimacy. Procedural justice research consistently finds associations between fair treatment and legitimacy, but the causal structure is more complicated than a simple sequence from fair procedure to compliance (Nagin and Telep, 2020; Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith, 2020). This review therefore moves beyond the proposition that “law + family + education + religion produce social order.” Instead, it asks under what conditions these institutions produce order, through which mechanisms, for whom, and with what unintended consequences. Eight related questions organize the analysis: How should contemporary research distinguish social control, conformity, compliance, social cohesion, and social order? Through what mechanisms does each of the four institutions influence behavior? How do formal and informal controls interact? What roles are played by procedural fairness, legitimacy, trust,

belonging, and internalization? When do institutions complement rather than contradict one another? When does control become coercive or exclusionary? How do culture, inequality, pluralism, and life-course processes moderate these relationships? Finally, what integrated framework best explains the transition from external regulation to legitimate social order?

The article makes three principal contributions. First, it integrates bodies of literature that are usually analyzed separately. Second, it places legitimacy and norm internalization, rather than punishment, at the center of social-control theory. Third, it proposes the Integrated Institutional Social Control Framework (IISCF), which conceptualizes legitimate order as an emergent outcome of interaction among institutional authority, norm communication, socialization, relational trust, fairness, belonging, internalization, and collective efficacy.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social Control, Social Norms, and the Difference between Compliance and Internalization

Social control encompasses the processes through which societies, communities, organizations, and relationships regulate conduct and encourage conformity with collective expectations. Formal control is usually associated with codified authority: legislation, regulation, judicial decisions, policing, administrative rules, and organizational discipline. Informal control occurs through less formally codified mechanisms such as disapproval, reputation, family expectations, peer responses, reciprocal obligations, community intervention, and moral judgments. The distinction is analytically useful, but empirical institutions frequently combine both. Schools have codified regulations and informal peer cultures; families establish explicit rules but enforce many expectations relationally; religions can combine formal doctrine with decentralized community norms. Recent norm research makes clear that external sanctioning represents only one explanation for conformity. Gross and Vostroknutov (2022) differentiate internalization, conditional social learning, and self- or social-image mechanisms. Bicchieri et al. (2022) demonstrate experimentally that norm compliance responds asymmetrically to what others do and that social proximity can prevent erosion in compliance. Govindan (2022) shows that non-binding informal norms affect whether individuals subsequently comply with formal egalitarian rules. These findings have an important implication for institutional theory: formal rules operate within a pre-existing normative environment rather than replacing it.

Compliance should consequently be differentiated from internalization. A person may comply with a rule because of deterrence, surveillance, reputational concerns, respect for authority, a belief that the rule is substantively correct, or because the required conduct has become integrated into personal values. These mechanisms are behaviorally similar in the short term yet sociologically distinct. Internalized control is especially consequential because it lowers dependence on continuous external enforcement. Van Petegem et al. (2021), applying self-determination concepts to legal socialization, show why distinguishing identified internalization from externally regulated obedience improves understanding of compliance and defiance among adolescents.

Social Order, Cohesion, Trust, and Collective Efficacy

Social order is best understood here as a condition in which interactions become sufficiently predictable, conflicts can be regulated, rights and responsibilities carry meaningful expectations, and individuals can coordinate conduct without continuous coercive intervention. This definition avoids equating order with complete agreement. Diversity of values, lifestyles, religious identities, and political perspectives can coexist with orderly institutions when actors possess mutually intelligible rules for handling disagreement. Social cohesion is related but narrower and more relational. Aruqaj (2023) emphasizes its multidimensionality, including interpersonal relations, connectedness, orientation toward the common good, and institutional dimensions. Research on collective efficacy provides a bridge from cohesion to behavioral regulation. Gearhart (2022) argues that social cohesion, mutual efficacy, and informal social control should remain analytically separate: cohesive relationships become socially consequential when groups believe that collective intervention is possible and are prepared to act. The subsequent multilevel analysis by Gearhart (2024) further supports treating these as distinguishable constructs rather than collapsing them into a single measure. A recent systematic review and meta-analysis similarly found that police trustworthiness, rather than institutional authority in the abstract, was the policing dimension most consistently associated with collective efficacy, reinforcing the importance of trustworthy institutional presence for community-level cooperation (Yesberg et al., 2024).

Trust is similarly plural. Interpersonal trust, generalized trust, institutional trust, and confidence in particular authorities are not interchangeable. Glatz and Schwerdtfeger (2022) found limited evidence for simple causal pathways among institutional trust, social trust, and subjective well-being. Meanwhile, Schröder et al. (2022) demonstrate that social cohesion during crisis varies by socioeconomic position and cultural values. The implication is that social order should not be modeled as the product of a single generalized “trust variable.” Trust develops within specific relationships and institutional experiences. At the political-institutional level, a meta-analysis of 61 studies and more than 3.5 million observations found weak-to-moderate relationships between political trust and outcomes including compliance and policy preferences, while also identifying substantial geographical and methodological gaps (Devine, 2024).

Procedural Justice, Institutional Legitimacy, and Legal Socialization

Legitimacy refers broadly to the perceived appropriateness of an authority, institution, or normative system and its entitlement to exercise power. Procedural justice research proposes that people care about how authorities make decisions and treat those subject to them, not only about material outcomes. Yet contemporary work has substantially refined this proposition. Nagin and Telep (2020) argue that evidence connecting procedurally just policing directly to legal compliance has often been overstated. Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith (2020) likewise challenge simplistic causal interpretations of correlations between procedural justice and police legitimacy. Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) add that procedural-justice theory can obscure structural inequality when it assumes

an underlying consensus about policing and authority. These criticisms do not make fairness irrelevant. Rather, they require a more precise causal architecture. Legal socialization research indicates that fairness is associated with attitudes toward authority, cynicism, and internalization, but outcomes depend on prior experiences, identity, social context, effectiveness, and institutional history. Fine and van Rooij (2021), for example, show that perceived legitimacy of teachers and police and perceptions of bias are associated with obligation to obey. Nam et al. (2024) find that procedural justice remains strongly related to legitimacy, although its capacity to offset perceived ineffectiveness varies across samples and racial groups. This conditional interpretation is reinforced by a meta-analysis of 123 policing studies, which found significant associations of both procedural justice and social identity with legitimacy while also documenting meaningful contextual heterogeneity (Chan et al., 2025).

Legal socialization is especially useful for the present review because it bridges institutions. Rather than treating attitudes toward law as emerging only during encounters with police or courts, the framework considers how young people develop understandings of authority progressively. Rodrigues and Medina (2021) found that attitudes toward parents and teachers can predict later attitudes toward police. Fine et al. (2022) further demonstrate that perceptions of police legitimacy exhibit developmental patterns and can be influenced through structured positive contact. Thus legal legitimacy is partly built before citizens enter courtrooms or encounter criminal law.

Institutional Complementarity and Institutional Conflict

The theoretical move proposed here is to treat the four institutions as potentially complementary, substitutive, compensatory, or contradictory. Complementarity exists when family, school, law, and religion communicate broadly compatible principles—for example, respect for others, nonviolence, reciprocity, responsibility, and fair dispute resolution. Substitution occurs when one institution performs a regulatory function weakened elsewhere. Compensation occurs where another institution deliberately repairs deficits, such as schools providing stable relational support when family environments are disrupted. Contradiction emerges where different institutions demand incompatible behavior or embody opposing understandings of legitimate authority. The consequences of contradiction may be especially significant for adolescents and culturally plural societies. If young people are taught that legitimate authority listens, explains, and respects dignity at home but encounter arbitrary punishment at school, the school may undermine rather than reinforce internalized respect for authority. Conversely, relationally legitimate institutions may generate transferable expectations regarding how authority should operate. This logic provides the conceptual foundation for the IISCF developed later.

Figure 1 summarizes the central theoretical departure of this review: law, family, education, and religion should not be treated as four independent “causes” of order, but as interacting institutional inputs whose effects depend on mediating processes of fairness, trust, belonging, legitimacy, and internalization. The framework therefore directs attention to the quality of institutional

interaction rather than treating stronger control as inherently equivalent to better social order.

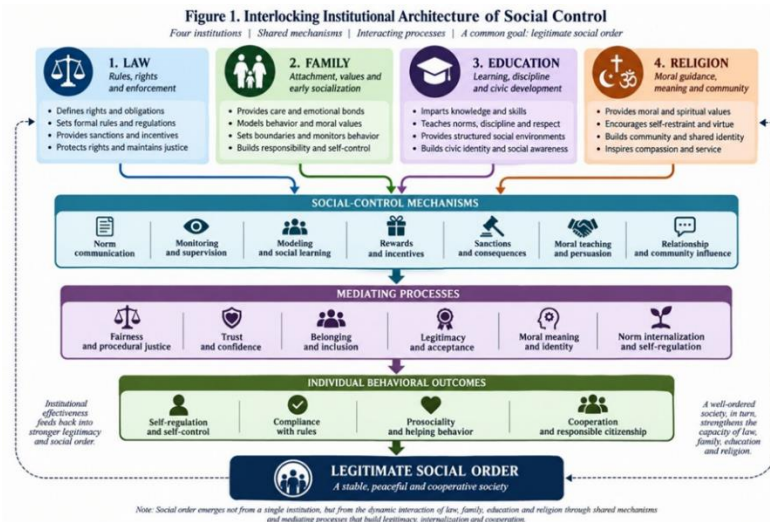


Figure 1. Interlocking Institutional Architecture of Social Control

Figure 1 therefore rejects an additive model in which increasing the power of each institution automatically increases order. A legally powerful state can be socially illegitimate; a highly controlling family can produce resistance; an extremely punitive school can increase alienation; and a strongly bonded religious community can coexist with distrust of outsiders. Institutional effects are consequently conditional on how authority is exercised and interpreted.

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative literature review (QLR) with an integrative and interpretive orientation. It was intentionally designed as neither a systematic literature review nor a meta-analysis. Its purpose was not to identify every eligible publication within a predefined universe, calculate pooled statistical effects, or produce a PRISMA-based estimate of evidence completeness. Instead, the purpose was to connect theoretically fragmented literatures in sociology, criminology, developmental psychology, education, behavioral economics, and religious studies and to develop an integrated explanatory framework. Contemporary methodological work on integrative reviews supports the use of inductive, deductive, and framework-based synthesis and emphasizes the value of narrative presentation, conceptual maps, and analytic matrices when the research objective is theoretical integration (Younas et al., 2022). Literature identification was purposive and iterative. Searches were organized around five overlapping conceptual blocks: (1) social control, social norms, collective efficacy, social cohesion and trust; (2) procedural justice, legal legitimacy, legal socialization and compliance; (3) parenting, parental monitoring, warmth, family functioning and prosocial development; (4) school discipline, school climate, teacher–student relationships, restorative practices and exclusionary discipline; and (5) religiosity, religious socialization, religious identity, trust, prosociality, tolerance and intergroup relations. Priority

was given to journal articles published between 2020 and 2026 and to peer-reviewed research with clear theoretical or empirical relevance.

The review emphasized recent empirical studies, longitudinal research, experimental evidence, meta-analyses, and theoretically consequential reviews. Literature was selected for its capacity to illuminate a mechanism rather than simply because it mentioned “social control.” For example, parenting research was included where it informed attachment, monitoring, self-control, delinquency, or prosociality; education research was selected where it illuminated punitive versus relational regulation; and religion studies were included where they investigated trust, altruism, tolerance, group identity, or cohesion. Bibliographic metadata and DOI information were cross-checked against publisher or scholarly database records during manuscript preparation to reduce citation and reference inconsistencies. The analytical procedure occurred in three stages. First, the literature was coded for core mechanisms including rules, sanctions, monitoring, socialization, modeling, fairness, legitimacy, attachment, trust, belonging, identity, internalization, prosociality, exclusion, resistance, and collective efficacy. Second, these concepts were grouped by institutional domain and compared across law, family, education, and religion. Third, cross-domain patterns were interpreted abductively to identify recurring causal sequences and contradictory cases. This procedure made it possible to distinguish mechanisms found repeatedly across institutions from mechanisms that were institution-specific.

Contradictory findings were retained deliberately. This was particularly important because an article concerned with legitimate social order would become analytically weak if it considered only evidence showing successful social regulation. Studies showing that monitoring did not produce anticipated longitudinal effects, restorative justice failed to eliminate disparities, religiosity produced ingroup bias, or procedural fairness did not guarantee compliance were treated as theoretically informative negative cases. This approach supports a conditional rather than deterministic theory of social control. The resulting synthesis should therefore be interpreted as a theory-building review. It provides broad interdisciplinary coverage and a transparent conceptual architecture but does not claim exhaustive retrieval, formal risk-of-bias scoring, or quantitative generalizability across all countries and populations.

RESULTS

Theme One: Law – From Coercive Enforcement to Legitimate Authority

Law represents the most visible formal mechanism of social control because it defines legally permissible conduct and authorizes coercive enforcement. Yet the reviewed literature consistently indicates that legal authority cannot be reduced to deterrence. Nagin and Telep (2020) caution that the proposition “procedural justice causes compliance” is not as empirically settled as it is sometimes presented. Pina-Sánchez and Brunton-Smith (2020) similarly found that relationships between fairness and legitimacy are affected by temporal ordering and unobserved common causes. These findings argue against replacing a crude deterrence model with an equally crude fairness model.

A better interpretation is that procedural justice contributes to a broader legitimacy process. Individuals evaluate whether authority treats them respectfully, permits voice, applies decisions impartially, and exercises power within normatively acceptable limits. Those experiences shape—but do not mechanically determine—whether an institution is regarded as legitimate. Nam et al. (2024) show that procedural fairness remains strongly associated with police legitimacy even when perceived effectiveness is considered, but its protective influence differs across groups. Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) further warn that procedural-justice theory becomes incomplete if social inequality and structurally contested police–citizen relations are ignored.

Legal socialization evidence makes the mechanism more developmental. Van Petegem et al. (2021) demonstrate the usefulness of distinguishing internalized reasons for obeying the law from externally regulated obligation. Fine and van Rooij (2021) show that teacher legitimacy, police legitimacy, perceptions of bias, deterrence, morality, and individual dispositions are all implicated in attitudes toward legal obligation. These findings suggest that obedience is not a single psychological variable; it can arise from substantially different motivational structures. The developmental character of legitimacy is reinforced by longitudinal and youth-focused studies. Cavanagh et al. (2022) found that justice-involved adolescents' legal cynicism was associated with their perceived treatment by police and that fairer perceived treatment corresponded with less cynicism and lower reoffending through the modeled pathways. Hofer et al. (2020) similarly found procedural justice associated with lower legal cynicism among urban adolescents experiencing police contact, while harsh situational features were associated with greater cynicism. Piccirillo et al. (2021) show that both direct and vicarious police experiences can shape legitimacy trajectories among Brazilian adolescents.

The broader implication is that state authority generates social order through two analytically distinct pathways. The first is instrumental: actors comply because violation is costly or enforcement likely. The second is normative-relational: actors recognize authority as appropriate and integrate legal expectations into a broader conception of rightful conduct. Formal enforcement remains necessary, especially where serious harms are involved, but the normative pathway reduces the amount of force required to sustain compliance. Legal socialization also demonstrates why law cannot be separated from family and education. Rodrigues and Medina (2021), using longitudinal evidence from Brazilian adolescents, found that attitudes toward parents and teachers help explain later attitudes toward police. Fine et al. (2022) found that youth perceptions of police legitimacy decline developmentally but can be improved through repeated positive, non-enforcement-oriented encounters. Wolfe and McLean (2021) additionally show that social identity—in their case national identity—intersects with police-legitimacy evaluations. Law therefore enters an already-socialized individual whose expectations concerning authority have been partly constructed elsewhere. The law theme consequently supports a first major proposition: legal power and legal legitimacy must be distinguished. A government can possess strong coercive capacity yet face widespread

cynicism. Conversely, a legitimate institution can obtain considerable voluntary cooperation with less frequent coercion. Social order is likely to become more durable when law is not only enforceable but normatively defensible.

Theme Two: Family—Relational Authority, Monitoring, Warmth, and Internalized Regulation

Family is distinctive because its regulatory function typically begins before children can understand formal legal institutions. Early family interactions teach turn-taking, reciprocity, emotional regulation, sharing, obligation, consequences, and the meaning of authority. Unlike state law, parental authority is embedded in attachment and repeated intimate interaction. This gives families unusual capacity to connect behavioral rules with emotional relationships and moral interpretation. A large meta-analysis by Wong et al. (2021) found meaningful associations between parenting and prosocial behavior across developmental stages and cultural settings, with authoritative parenting positively and authoritarian parenting negatively associated with prosociality. The distinction matters because both approaches involve control, but they differ in responsiveness and the relational conditions under which authority is exercised. Warmth and reasoning can therefore coexist with behavioral boundaries; social control need not imply permissiveness. Research on delinquency provides convergent evidence concerning relational quality. Walters (2021) examines parental warmth and self-efficacy in relation to delinquency, while Jacobsen and Zaatut (2022) report that the quality of parent-child relationships can matter more for delinquency than household composition alone. Yun and Cui (2020), comparing American and South Korean adolescents, found a protective association between parental warmth and delinquency that differed in magnitude across cultural contexts. These results caution against interpreting family regulation through simplistic structural categories such as two-parent versus single-parent households.

Studies among higher-risk populations reinforce this relational perspective. Folk et al. (2020) found that family functioning was prospectively related to substance use and delinquent behavior among court-involved youth and argued for treating youth problems within family systems rather than isolating the individual. Backman et al. (2021), using repeated observations of young offenders, found parental warmth associated with lower psychopathic traits, whereas hostility was associated with higher levels of these traits and offending. These findings do not establish that parental behavior alone determines delinquency, but they demonstrate that relational climate is part of the developmental ecology of self-regulation. Monitoring is more complicated than conventional social-control models imply. Vaughan et al. (2022) found that although greater parental monitoring was associated with less delinquent-peer affiliation between individuals, longitudinal within-person evidence for monitoring changes producing subsequent reductions in peer delinquency was limited. Their findings directly caution against assuming that “more monitoring” is necessarily an effective intervention target. Monitoring may partly be a response to adolescent behavior, and different monitoring practices can have different meanings depending on trust, disclosure, family climate, and peer context. The interaction between monitoring and wider culture is illustrated by

Du et al. (2026). Their longitudinal study of Mexican-origin families found that family instability was related to reduced maternal monitoring and subsequently greater delinquency, while family-obligation values and deviant-peer affiliation moderated the protective role of monitoring. Schiavone et al. (2025), studying Brazilian adolescents, likewise connect parental monitoring and family bonding with patterns of self-control and delinquency. These findings support a contextual model in which family social control operates through relationships, identities, cultural expectations, peer environments, and individual dispositions rather than through parental surveillance in isolation.

Family control can also become counterproductive. Psychological over-control, hostility, arbitrary punishment, inconsistent rules, or regulation lacking relational legitimacy can encourage secrecy or oppositional behavior rather than internalization. The central question is therefore not whether parents exercise authority, but how authority is exercised and whether children progressively understand, accept, and internalize its normative basis. Experience-sampling evidence further shows that adolescents report more positive affect during and after autonomy-supportive parent interactions, whereas psychologically controlling interactions are linked to more negative affect, underscoring the value of distinguishing guidance from intrusive control (van der Kaap-Deeder et al., 2023). This distinction makes the family a critical first component of the IISCF. Through secure relationships, explanation, modeling, consistent expectations, and proportionate consequences, family regulation can move behavior from external supervision toward autonomous self-regulation. But that developmental movement is conditional. Excessive or hostile control may preserve short-term obedience while weakening longer-term legitimacy.

Theme Three: Education – Discipline, Belonging, Relationships, and Restorative Regulation

Educational institutions occupy an intermediate position between intimate family regulation and impersonal state authority. Schools possess codified rules, formal sanctions, bureaucratic authority, and sometimes direct relationships with policing systems. Simultaneously, they are dense relational environments in which students learn from teachers, peers, informal hierarchies, extracurricular groups, and everyday experiences of inclusion or exclusion. Schools are therefore hybrid social-control institutions. Teacher-student relationships constitute one mechanism through which school authority becomes socially meaningful. Longobardi et al. (2021) found positive relationships between teacher-student relationship quality and children's prosocial behavior, partly through attitudes toward school. Endedijk et al. (2022), in a large meta-analysis, demonstrate that teacher-student relationship quality is linked to peer relationships and that student behavior and relationship quality are dynamically connected. Luo et al. (2023) similarly found that positive school climate was related to adolescent prosociality through perceived social support and resilience.

These findings suggest that schools regulate behavior partly through belonging. A student who experiences teachers as trustworthy and the school as a legitimate community may follow rules for reasons different from a student

who experiences institutional authority primarily as surveillance. Belonging converts the school from a coercive environment into a valued social membership. It also increases the reputational and moral meaning of prosocial conduct because expectations come from relationships that matter. A 2024 meta-analysis of 79 studies further found that constructive cultural-diversity climates were associated with intergroup, academic, and socioemotional outcomes, including belonging, whereas colorblind approaches showed comparatively weak evidence of benefit (Bardach et al., 2024). The clearest evidence for the limits of punitive control concerns exclusionary discipline. Gerlinger et al. (2021) synthesized 274 effect sizes from 40 studies and concluded that exclusionary discipline was meaningfully associated with higher subsequent delinquency. Wang et al. (2023) further show why exclusionary discipline may have consequences beyond the individually suspended student. These findings challenge the assumption that removing “problematic” individuals necessarily increases collective order. Punishment can alter relationships to the institution, interrupt learning, stigmatize students, and change peer environments.

Restorative practices represent an alternative conception of school social control. Rather than equating accountability with exclusion, restorative models attempt to acknowledge harm, provide voice, rebuild relationships, establish responsibility, and reintegrate community members. Weber and Vereenoghe's (2020) review found encouraging indications for reductions in suspensions and behavioral referrals and possible benefits for student-teacher relationships, while also emphasizing that much of the evidence base remained methodologically limited. Recent integrative review literature also frames restorative practice as a direct alternative to exclusionary school discipline, highlighting the need to evaluate whether relational repair is accompanied by measurable reductions in exclusionary practices (Samimi et al., 2023). Subsequent research illustrates both promise and limitations. Gregory et al. (2022), using a cluster-randomized evaluation, found substantially fewer students receiving discipline incident records in schools assigned to a whole-school restorative-practices intervention after one year. Weber, Rehder and Vereenoghe (2021) report evidence concerning classroom climate following teacher training in restorative practices. Joseph-McCatty and Hnilica (2023), examining restorative circles, show that implementation quality depends on supports, teacher practice, and everyday organizational barriers. Restorative control is therefore not a technique that functions independently of institutional capacity.

Hollands et al. (2022) provide an especially important negative case. Their natural experiment found no statistically significant improvement on most short-term outcomes and found adverse student-reported personal-safety results, although longer implementation was associated with reductions in suspensions for Black students. The study suggests that restorative systems may require time, fidelity, and organizational commitment. Grant et al. (2022) likewise examine restorative practices in relation to school climate and teacher turnover intentions, emphasizing the relevance of whole-school conditions rather than isolated disciplinary encounters. Questions of inequality further complicate restorative approaches. Davison et al. (2022) found substantial declines in suspensions under

restorative justice but little improvement for Black students, resulting in widened racial disproportionality in the studied context. Marcucci et al. (2026) therefore argue that the anti-carceral promise of school-based restorative justice must be evaluated critically, especially where restorative practices become layered onto existing punitive institutional structures rather than replacing their underlying logic. The educational evidence particularly supports the continuum shown in Figure 2: externally imposed rules do not automatically become internalized norms. The transition requires relational and interpretive processes that can be interrupted by exclusion, unfairness, or institutional distrust.

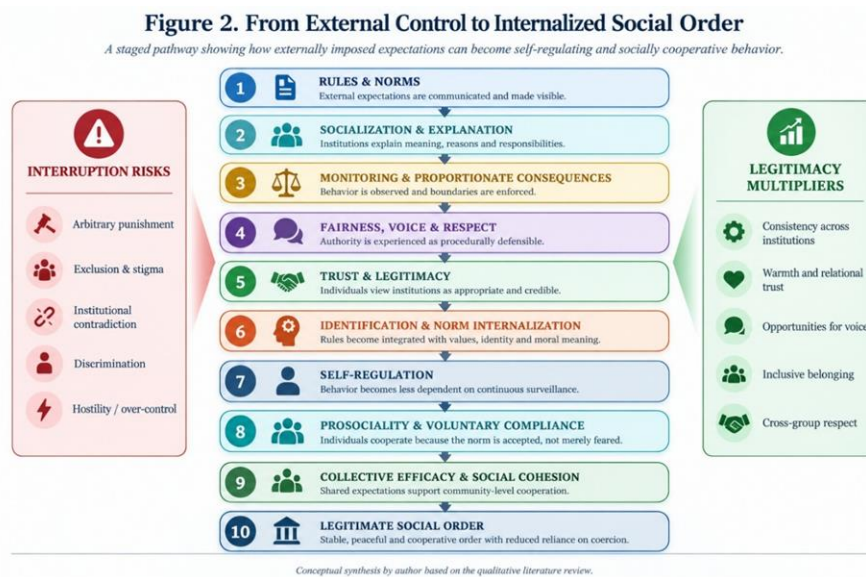


Figure 2. From External Control to Internalized Social Order

Figure 2 highlights a critical distinction between discipline and disciplinary legitimacy. Schools inevitably require rules. The issue is whether disciplinary practices strengthen students' capacity for self-regulation and responsibility or merely produce temporary obedience. Restorative approaches are theoretically valuable precisely because they attempt to preserve accountability while avoiding the institutional detachment associated with exclusion.

Theme Four: Religion—Moral Community, Prosociality, Trust, and Boundary Formation

Religion constitutes perhaps the most complex of the four institutions because its social-control influence varies substantially across societies and individuals. Religious traditions can provide moral narratives, ritual practices, sacred authority, expectations concerning self-restraint, community obligations, charitable norms, and dense social networks. At the same time, religious identity can differentiate insiders from outsiders and thereby produce both solidarity and social boundaries. The most comprehensive recent evidence concerning religiosity and prosociality is the meta-analysis by Kelly et al. (2024), based on 701 effects across 237 samples and more than 800,000 participants. The authors found a positive but modest overall association between religiosity and

prosociality, with a considerably stronger relationship for self-reported than directly measured prosocial behavior. This difference cautions against assuming that moral self-conception translates perfectly into behavioral generosity.

Research in adolescence produces a similarly qualified pattern. Arslantürk and Harput (2021), studying Turkish adolescents, found positive associations among religiosity, values, and prosocial characteristics but no evidence that students in religious schools were inherently more prosocial than students in general schools. Religious schooling as an organizational category therefore cannot be assumed to generate prosocial conduct automatically. Trust depends particularly on whether religion operates as belief, belonging, network participation, or group identity. Valente and Okulicz-Kozaryn (2021), using long-running U.S. survey data, found that social religiosity such as service attendance and organizational membership predicted greater trust, whereas individual religiosity measures could display different or negative associations. The distinction reinforces the broader argument of this review: institutions matter partly because of the relationships and networks through which they operate, not merely because of abstract beliefs. Experimental studies make the ingroup-outgroup problem explicit. Xia et al. (2021), studying Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, and nonbeliever participants in China, found that religious identity affected fairness, trust, and cooperation differently across groups and identified evidence of ingroup favoritism in parts of the sample. Dhami et al. (2024), using lab-in-the-field experiments involving Hindus and Muslims in India, similarly demonstrate strong religious-identity effects on beliefs, trust, reciprocity, and prosociality, including polarization effects under particular conditions.

Real-world giving exhibits comparable boundaries. Goldner et al. (2025), in a field experiment in Jerusalem, found religiosity positively associated with donation and hospitality but also identified nuanced ingroup favoritism among co-religionists. Religious prosociality must therefore be assessed not merely by asking “does religion increase generosity?” but “toward whom is moral obligation extended?” Evidence concerning community cohesion is equally non-linear. Hager (2022), studying communities in southeastern Peru, found lower indicators of community cohesion in villages with Protestant missions than in Catholic comparison villages, with weakened social networks offered as a major explanatory mechanism. The study is important because it demonstrates that increasing the strength of a religious identity can reshape rather than simply increase social capital. Religious diversity does not necessarily undermine cohesion either. Ezzy et al. (2020) argue that social cohesion should not be used as a euphemism for cultural uniformity or protection of established privilege. They advocate more nuanced conceptualizations capable of accommodating religious diversity, reasonable pluralism, and deep equality. Lapis (2025), comparing religious-education policy in England, Japan, and Italy, similarly shows that social cohesion is framed through inclusion, belonging, common values, and orientation to the common good, but these concepts are interpreted differently across institutional and national contexts.

Indonesian evidence is especially instructive for plural societies. Ardi et al. (2021) found that relationships between religious schemas and tolerance varied according to the outgroup concerned and highlighted the importance of intergroup exposure and dialogue. Zaduqisti et al. (2020) found that Islamic political moderation was positively associated with tolerance and reconciliation toward non-Muslim outgroups, partly through a higher-order national identity. Religious socialization can therefore support cohesion when moral identities are nested within inclusive superordinate identities rather than organized around rigid exclusion. The religious theme leads to an important refinement of social-control theory. Religion can strengthen self-regulation and solidarity because sacred or moral obligations may operate even without external surveillance. Yet strong internalization is not inherently socially beneficial: an exclusionary norm can also become deeply internalized. The normative content of the rule and the scope of the moral community must therefore remain part of the analysis.

Theme Five: Interlocking Institutions and the Production of Authority

Across the four literatures, a common pattern emerges. Institutions regulate conduct through different immediate instruments, but several mediating mechanisms recur: legitimacy, relational trust, attachment or belonging, identity, fairness, moral meaning, and internalization. Law uses formal rules and coercive capacity but depends partly on legitimacy. Families possess relational authority but work most effectively when control is accompanied by warmth and consistency. Schools possess organizational rules but rely on belonging and relationship quality. Religion possesses moral and symbolic authority but its consequences depend on how identities and obligations are defined. This convergence suggests that the institutional source of a norm may be less important than the pathway through which it becomes behaviorally meaningful. The same behavioral prohibition—do not harm another person—may be articulated simultaneously as a legal prohibition, parental teaching, school rule, and religious moral principle. When institutions communicate convergent expectations and embody them consistently, multiple sources of authority can reinforce internalization. Conversely, if a child hears “treat everyone fairly” at home but experiences arbitrary discrimination at school or observes selective legal enforcement, institutional contradiction may weaken the credibility of the norm itself.

The evidence on norm compliance further explains why institutional alignment matters. Informal norms influence compliance with formal rules (Govindan, 2022), and compliance can erode when individuals observe norm violations among socially relevant others (Bicchieri et al., 2022). Institutional systems therefore create feedback loops. When families, schools, communities, and public authorities visibly follow the standards they demand from individuals, they help construct descriptive expectations that compliance is normal. When authorities systematically violate their own stated principles, cynicism may spread. This is particularly important for legitimacy. Legal socialization findings suggest that perceptions of one authority domain can shape perceptions in another. Social control is therefore path-dependent: people do not evaluate every new institution as if they had no prior history. Experiences

of respect, hostility, exclusion, responsiveness, or bias become interpretive resources for subsequent encounters.

DISCUSSION

From Institutional Strength to Institutional Legitimacy

The first major conclusion is that social-control effectiveness should not be measured primarily by institutional strength. A powerful police force, highly controlling parenting, strict schools, and intensely disciplined religious communities could coexist without producing legitimate social order. Increasing each institution's capacity to punish may even amplify conflict where people experience that capacity as arbitrary or exclusionary. The more useful distinction is between coercive capacity and legitimacy-generating capacity. Coercive capacity changes the immediate cost of noncompliance. Legitimacy-generating capacity changes how individuals interpret the norm and the authority behind it. Both may matter, but they are not substitutes. Serious violence, abuse, fraud, and threats to public safety require enforceable law; children need boundaries; schools require mechanisms for responding to harmful conduct. The critical argument is not "abolish sanctions." It is that sanctions should operate within systems that remain procedurally defensible, relationally intelligible, and proportionate. This conclusion accords with the revisionist procedural-justice literature. Nagin and Telep (2020) appropriately caution against claiming that fair procedures alone generate compliance, while Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) warn that an exclusive focus on interpersonal fairness can overlook structural inequalities. The IISCF therefore treats procedural justice as one component of legitimacy rather than a universal causal switch.

The Integrated Institutional Social Control Framework

The synthesis supports an Integrated Institutional Social Control Framework (IISCF) consisting of five analytical layers. The first layer contains institutional sources of authority: law, family, education, and religion. The second contains the mechanisms these institutions use: norm communication, modeling, monitoring, rewards, sanctions, relational influence, moral teaching, and dispute resolution. The third contains interpretive mediators: fairness, trust, belonging, legitimacy, identity, and moral meaning. The fourth contains individual behavioral outcomes: self-regulation, compliance, prosociality, and cooperation. The fifth contains societal outcomes: collective efficacy, cohesion, predictable cooperation, and legitimate order. The framework is intentionally non-linear. Behavioral outcomes feed back into institutions. High voluntary compliance may increase institutional trust because authorities require less intrusive control. Widespread cynical noncompliance may induce governments or schools to intensify surveillance, potentially creating a coercion-distrust spiral. Similarly, families may respond to adolescent secrecy with increased monitoring, which can further alter disclosure and trust. Institutional behavior and individual behavior are therefore reciprocally connected. Figure 3 illustrates why institutional alignment alone is insufficient. The same degree of normative alignment can produce very different social orders depending on whether the aligned institutions are regarded as legitimate.

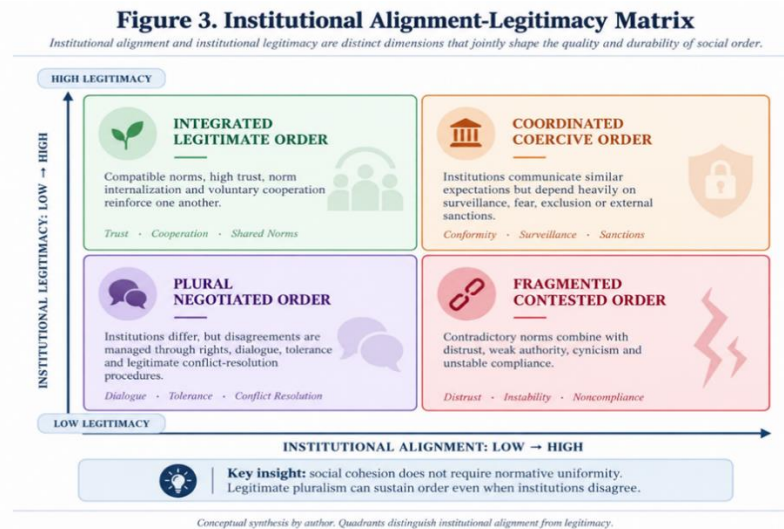


Figure 3. Institutional Alignment–Legitimacy Matrix

The upper-left quadrant represents the most sustainable form of order. Norms are reasonably aligned, and authority is accepted as legitimate, allowing institutions to reinforce one another without requiring identical values. The lower-left quadrant is equally important because contemporary plural societies do not require total normative homogeneity. Legitimate institutions can manage disagreement through constitutional rights, deliberation, tolerance, and negotiated coexistence. The model thus separates cohesion from conformity. The upper-right quadrant represents a less desirable but potentially stable condition: institutions agree with each other but are regarded as coercive. Strong surveillance and punishment can maintain observable order, yet compliance may be fragile and dependent on continuing enforcement. The lower-right quadrant combines institutional contradiction and low legitimacy, creating the greatest potential for cynicism, polarized identities, norm uncertainty, and conflict.

Internalization as the Missing Bridge

The second major contribution of the review is to identify internalization as the missing bridge between institutional regulation and sustainable order. Social-control theories often move too quickly from rules to compliance. Yet between them lie interpretation and motivation. The evidence reviewed here suggests a more realistic sequence. Individuals first encounter norms through institutions. They observe whether important others follow those norms. They assess whether authorities behave consistently and fairly. They experience relationships of belonging or exclusion. They evaluate whether norms fit identities and moral commitments. Only then may externally articulated expectations become internalized. This mechanism appears in multiple domains. Van Petegem et al. (2021) explicitly connect procedural justice to internalization of law. Parenting research shows stronger prosocial outcomes for authoritative rather than authoritarian approaches (Wong et al., 2021). School-climate research identifies social support and resilience as mediators between institutional climate and prosocial behavior (Luo et al., 2023). Religious research demonstrates that identity and belief structures condition trust and reciprocity (Dhami et al., 2024).

The recurrence of analogous mechanisms across domains strengthens the integrative argument. Internalization also clarifies why legitimate social order is normatively different from obedient authoritarian order. Deeply internalized norms can sustain cooperation even when enforcement is absent. Nevertheless, internalization is not intrinsically virtuous. Individuals can internalize discriminatory, violent, or exclusionary norms. The content and institutional legitimacy of socialization must therefore be evaluated alongside its effectiveness.

Institutional Complementarity, Substitution, and Contradiction

The third contribution is the proposition that institutional relationships can take several forms. Complementarity exists when different institutions reinforce compatible norms and legitimate methods of exercising authority. Families may teach responsibility, schools provide opportunities to practice it, religious communities frame it morally, and law establishes a formal baseline. Substitution occurs when one institution partly performs functions weakened in another. Schools may provide stable adult relationships for children facing family disruption. Community and religious organizations may organize mutual assistance where public welfare systems are thin. Law may establish protections against abusive family or religious practices. Substitution can therefore be socially valuable, but excessive dependence on one institution may create vulnerabilities. Compensation is more deliberate. Restorative school programs, for example, can attempt to repair harms created by exclusionary disciplinary systems. Positive non-enforcement contact with police can potentially counter previously negative images of authority, as youth legitimacy research suggests (Fine et al., 2022). Contradiction occurs when institutions communicate incompatible rules or models of authority. Such contradictions are unavoidable in plural societies and are not inherently pathological. Problems arise when there are no legitimate meta-rules for handling them. Constitutional law, rights protections, civic education, interfaith dialogue, and inclusive schools can all function as mechanisms through which societies regulate disagreements among normative communities.

The Double-Edged Character of Social Control

Social control should consequently be understood as a double-edged process. The conventional literature often asks whether institutions successfully prevent deviance. A more critical question is whether control practices themselves create forms of harm, distrust, inequality, or exclusion. School exclusion provides perhaps the clearest example. Punishment intended to suppress misconduct may predict increased delinquency (Gerlinger et al., 2021). Restorative practices can reduce discipline incidents (Gregory et al., 2022) but may fail to reduce racial disparity (Davison et al., 2022). Thus even reform strategies require analysis of distributional consequences. Legal control raises a parallel concern. Procedurally respectful policing cannot fully resolve legitimacy problems rooted in unequal treatment, historical conflict, or disagreement about the social role of police. Schaap and Saarikkomäki (2022) make this point explicitly. A legitimacy-centered model must therefore include structural fairness alongside interpersonal fairness.

Family control also has limits. Greater monitoring does not automatically reduce affiliation with delinquent peers longitudinally (Vaughan et al., 2022), while hostility is associated with problematic behavioral development (Backman et al., 2021). The relevant contrast is between control embedded in supportive relationships and control that erodes autonomy, communication, or trust. Religion illustrates another version of the double edge. Religious identity can motivate charity and cooperation, yet experimental evidence indicates that prosociality may be group-bounded (Xia et al., 2021; Goldner et al., 2025). The social-order benefits of religious moral communities therefore depend partly on whether moral obligations extend across group boundaries. The synthesis therefore yields two competing pathways from institutional control to social order, summarized in Figure 4. The critical difference is not whether institutions regulate behavior, but whether regulation produces legitimacy and inclusion or distrust and exclusion.

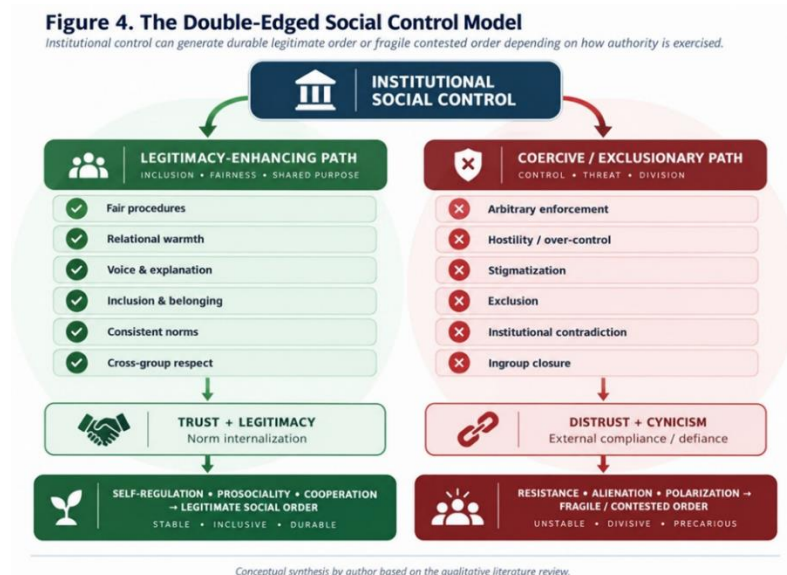


Figure 4. The Double-Edged Social Control Model

The figure demonstrates why “social order” itself requires qualification. Both pathways can produce periods of behavioral conformity. The legitimacy-enhancing pathway, however, is more capable of sustaining cooperation when surveillance is weak and social conditions change because regulatory expectations have been internalized rather than merely imposed.

Inequality, Culture, and Pluralism as Boundary Conditions

No general theory of social control can ignore inequality. Experiences of schools, police, families, and religion are socially stratified. Individuals may encounter different levels of surveillance and punishment, unequal access to supportive institutions, and different opportunities to have their voices recognized. The effectiveness of control consequently varies not simply because individuals respond differently but because institutions treat populations differently. Culture also shapes the interpretation of authority. Yun and Cui's (2020) cross-national findings on parental warmth illustrate that similar

relational constructs can have different behavioral significance across cultural settings. Du et al. (2026) further show how culturally embedded family-obligation values interact with monitoring and delinquency. These findings caution against assuming that family or institutional practices have identical meanings everywhere.

Religious pluralism provides an analogous challenge. The objective in diverse societies cannot be complete moral uniformity. Ezzy et al. (2020) argue that cohesion should not become a justification for defending established privilege, while Indonesian research demonstrates that tolerance depends on the framing of religious identity and exposure to difference (Ardi et al., 2021; Zaduqisti et al., 2020). Legitimate order in plural societies must therefore incorporate institutional rules for peaceful disagreement. A holistic model should thus replace the goal of normative sameness with the goal of compatible coexistence under legitimate meta-norms. Individuals may disagree about religion, morality, lifestyles, and political preferences while sharing commitments to nonviolence, reciprocal rights, fair procedures, and peaceful resolution of disagreement.

Implications for Law and Public Institutions

The strongest practical implication for governments is that enforcement strategies should be assessed not only for immediate behavioral effects but also for their effects on institutional legitimacy. Authority should be capable of enforcing clear boundaries, particularly where conduct harms others, while ensuring procedural safeguards, transparency, proportionality, review mechanisms, and protection from discriminatory application. Legal institutions should also recognize that legal socialization begins outside legal institutions. Civic legitimacy is influenced by experiences with family, teachers, schools, neighborhoods, and identity. Partnerships between justice institutions and educational or community organizations should therefore avoid treating citizens as passive subjects of compliance campaigns. The objective should be to cultivate informed, critical, and reciprocal relationships to law.

Implications for Families

Family policy and parenting interventions should emphasize authoritative relational regulation rather than an undifferentiated increase in monitoring. Evidence on warmth, relationship quality, family functioning, and monitoring shows that behavioral boundaries work within relational systems. Parenting interventions should therefore integrate communication, emotional availability, consistent expectations, adolescent disclosure, reasonable monitoring, and gradual autonomy. A related implication is that adolescents should not be isolated conceptually from their families and peers. Folk et al. (2020) show why youth behavior should be understood holistically, while Vaughan et al. (2022) demonstrate bidirectional complexities between parents and peer affiliation. Intervention designs focused only on “fixing” individual adolescents are consequently likely to miss significant parts of the regulatory ecology.

Implications for Educational Institutions

Schools should treat discipline as part of education rather than as a separate punitive apparatus. The educational purpose of discipline should be to

develop responsibility, repair harm, protect safety, strengthen self-regulation, and preserve legitimate membership wherever possible. Restorative models are promising but should not be romanticized. They require training, implementation fidelity, time, organizational support, teacher buy-in, student trust, and continuous evaluation for unequal outcomes (Hollands et al., 2022; Joseph-McCatty and Hnilica, 2023). A school cannot meaningfully call itself restorative if relational practices are merely layered over an unchanged culture of exclusion. School climate should also be treated as an educational outcome in its own right. Longobardi et al. (2021), Endedijk et al. (2022), and Luo et al. (2023) collectively demonstrate that relational environments, prosociality, peer relationships, social support, and student attitudes are intertwined. Institutions interested in social order should therefore ask not only whether students are following rules, but whether they are learning how to participate cooperatively in communities.

Implications for Religious Organizations

Religious organizations can contribute to social order by cultivating self-restraint, mutual assistance, responsibility, reconciliation, and service. Yet their greatest contribution in plural societies may depend on expanding moral concern beyond narrowly defined ingroups. The evidence suggests several relevant distinctions: social participation can affect trust differently from private religiosity (Valente and Okulicz-Kozaryn, 2021); religiosity's relationship with prosociality is modest and measurement-sensitive (Kelly et al., 2024); and religious identity can generate both generosity and group boundaries (Dhami et al., 2024; Goldner et al., 2025). Religious leadership interested in social cohesion should consequently promote bridging relationships, intergroup dialogue, inclusive moral narratives, and peaceful coexistence rather than treating cohesion as cultural homogeneity. Religious education deserves particular attention. Lapis (2025) demonstrates how education about religion has increasingly been assigned social-cohesion functions, while Arslantürk and Harput (2021) caution against assuming that religious schooling itself automatically generates superior prosociality. The relevant educational question is not simply whether students receive religious instruction, but whether such instruction develops informed moral reasoning, respectful encounter, and capacities for coexistence.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This qualitative literature review began with a deceptively simple proposition: law, family, education, and religion are major institutions of social control. The evidence reviewed here indicates that the proposition is broadly correct but radically incomplete. These institutions do not automatically generate social order merely because they make rules, monitor behavior, teach morality, or impose sanctions. Their effectiveness depends on how individuals interpret authority and how the institutions interact with one another. The central conclusion is that sustainable social order is an emergent institutional achievement rather than the mechanical outcome of punishment. Law contributes formal standards and enforceable rights; family provides early relational and moral socialization; education extends normative learning into

organizational and civic settings; and religion can supply moral meaning, communal identity, and self-regulatory commitments. None is sufficient by itself.

The most important bridge between institutional regulation and durable cooperation is the transformation of external expectations into internalized norms. Procedural fairness, relational warmth, trust, belonging, institutional legitimacy, moral meaning, and opportunities for responsible participation support that transformation. When institutions are broadly aligned around compatible principles and exercise authority legitimately, control can become increasingly self-regulatory. Individuals cooperate not simply because violation is costly, but because norms become integrated into identities, relationships, and expectations of reciprocal conduct. The reverse pathway is equally important. Coercion without legitimacy, hostile family control, exclusionary school discipline, discriminatory enforcement, religious boundary-making, and contradictions among institutional norms can generate distrust, cynicism, alienation, secrecy, polarization, and resistance. Observable conformity under such conditions should not be mistaken for cohesive social order. The proposed Integrated Institutional Social Control Framework therefore distinguishes legitimate social order from coerced conformity and conceptualizes institutional alignment and legitimacy as separate dimensions. This distinction is particularly important for diverse societies, where sustainable cohesion cannot reasonably require identical values. Legitimate pluralistic order is possible when people and institutions disagree substantively while sharing fair procedures, reciprocal rights, nonviolent interaction, and recognized mechanisms for resolving conflict.

A comprehensive policy agenda should consequently move from “more control” to “better-regulated legitimate authority.” Governments should combine enforceable law with procedural and structural fairness. Families should combine boundaries with warmth, explanation, communication, and gradual autonomy. Schools should move away from unnecessary exclusion and toward relational, restorative, and educational forms of accountability while monitoring equity. Religious institutions should strengthen moral responsibility and community support while extending solidarity across group boundaries.

FURTHER STUDY

Future research should test the IISCF directly through longitudinal, multilevel, and cross-cultural designs. Especially valuable would be studies following individuals across family, school, religious, community, and legal domains simultaneously rather than examining each institution separately. Research from the Global South is also essential because much existing theory remains disproportionately shaped by particular Western institutional configurations. Finally, digital socialization should become a fifth major research domain: online networks increasingly transmit norms, reward conformity, punish deviation, create identities, and compete with traditional institutions for authority. The broader implication is straightforward but consequential. A well-ordered society is not one in which citizens are constantly controlled. It is one in which legitimate institutions have helped people develop the capacity and motivation to regulate themselves while cooperating respectfully with others.

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