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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE
AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT
OF AMERICAN MEN

by

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ABSTRACT

THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICAN MEN

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The interrelationships between religious preference and socio-economic achievement for American men were examined by using data derived from two national surveys conducted in 1960. Information about husbands was obtained from 3,256 women ages 18-44 years comprising one sample, and information about 2,997 heads of spending units was obtained in the other survey.

Multiple classification analysis was used for determining the contribution of initial religious preference, father's occupational status, and several background characteristics for determining educational achievement. Religious preference alone was found to account for 5 to 9 per cent of the variation in education, but this amount was reduced when socio-economic origin and background variables were also considered. Nevertheless, sizable differences in educational achievements among the religious groups were still observable.

Initial religious preference made little additional contribution to the explained variation in occupational achievement beyond that attributable to father's occupational status and respondent's education. Substantial

income differences among the religious preferences existed even after the effects of father's occupational status, respondent's education, and respondent's occupational status were statistically removed. With regard to educational attainment, occupational achievement, and income the Baptists ranked at or near the bottom, while the Jews were at the top.

Religious mobility (defined as a change in religious preference) occurring during various stages of the life cycle was examined for patterns that could be related to socio-economic achievement. Over one-third of the men did not have the same religious preference as their father, and about 17 per cent no longer had their initial preference. Marrying appeared to be an important event in the life cycle for religious mobility to occur. Much of the religious mobility observed appeared unrelated to socio-economic achievement. However, analysis of the average socio-economic statuses of men leaving certain religious preferences for certain other religious preferences indicated that atypical educational attainment, with regard to the origin preference group, may directly, or indirectly through assortative mating, influence men to change their religious preference.

PREFACE

This study was undertaken in 1966 to consider a question that scholars and laymen have asked for several decades: Does a man's religion affect his socio-economic achievement? It was felt that the two sets of data available to the author and the use of a multivariate analysis procedure could extend the previous considerations of the topic. The reader must evaluate the success of this undertaking. As an aid in doing this he may wish to consider that the author was born into a home with a Methodist mother and a "Protestant unspecified" father. At the age of four the author began attending the Presbyterian church, and at marriage took a Lutheran bride. Hopefully, these characteristics have not entered into the research.

Any short comings of this report rest upon the author, while any merits must be shared with several people.

The Population Studies Center at the University of Michigan provided financial, computer, and clerical assistance throughout the duration of the study. J. Michael Coble provided data processing and programing skills and services without which this dissertation could not have been completed.

Enough appreciation cannot be expressed to my committee members, Drs. Duncan, Gurin, Laumann and Schuman, for their continuous encouragement throughout the four years; for their understanding; and for their research skills they have shared with me. My chairman, Professor Otis Dudley Duncan, merits special thanks for guiding me through the day to day experiences of becoming a sociologist.

No research project can be finished without being in written form. Much thanks and appreciation is given to Suanne Norton, whose typing skills and concerned effort has allowed the concluding of this dissertation to be the pleasant and fulfilling experience that it should be.

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CHAPTER I

AN OVERVIEW

The analysis in the following chapters examines the relationships between religious preference and socio-economic achievement. More specifically, we are concerned with whether a person's religious preference has any effect on his socio-economic achievement. This question has interested scholars for several decades without a definite conclusion being reached. Many researchers have observed differences between religious groups with regard to socio-economic status. They have usually interpreted these differences as resulting from differences in values about work and/or differences in motivation.

Several other plausible interpretations can be offered. Some religious groups may be more effective in socializing their followers to a common set of values held by many Judeo-Christian religions. Several religious groups operate their own school systems. These school systems may provide advantages or handicaps in terms of skills for competing in sustenance activities. In addition, religious discrimination or its counter part religious group cohesiveness may provide obstacles for followers of some religious groups and advantages for followers of other groups with regard to socio-economic achievement. The above explanations of difference are all directly related to the religious groups. Several other interpretations of differences in socio-economic achievement that are only indirectly related to the religious groups are also possible.

It is known that there is both a tendency for intergenerational inheritance of socio-economic status and of religious preference; though certainly, socio-economic and religious mobility are prevalent. It is difficult to determine the effect of religious preference on socio-economic achievement without also considering socio-economic origin statuses. Furthermore, religious preference is also correlated with race, region, and national origin. These three characteristics are also correlated with socio-economic achievement. Any investigation that attempts to determine the effect of religious preference on socio-economic achievement must also sort out the effects of race, region, and national origin.

Not only are we interested in determining any effects religious preference might have on socio-economic achievement, but we are also interested in the converse. Does a person's socio-economic achievement have any effect on his later religious preference. Several plausible hypotheses also exist to explain any observed effects.

If a person encounters upward or downward social mobility his style of life is most likely to change. Many of his friends and associates will be new as a result of his newly acquired position. It would not be unexpected if his old religious group no longer met his needs as well as some new religious preference might. Socio-economic achievement occurring before marriage may tend to increase the probability of marrying someone with a different religious preference, and thus increase the chances for a religious preference change. In addition, geographical mobility often accompanies socio-economic mobility. Changing one's geographic location may lead to a religious preference change because religious groups are not uniformly located throughout the United States.

In the following chapters we consider many of the explanations for differences in socio-economic achievements observed among religious groups

in the United States.. We also consider some of the interpretations that relate socio-economic achievement to religious preference changes. If we are successful in eliminating any of these possible hypotheses and are able to indicate which ones merit further investigation, we will have accomplished our purpose.

In Chapter II the works of previous scholars who have focused on the connections between religious preference and socio-economic achievement are reviewed and appraised. Since the appearance of Max Weber's essays "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" (1905) and "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" (1920), many studies have tested an hypothesis relating religious preference with socio-economic achievement ("Protestant Ethic hypothesis") attributed to the two essays. Recently, several writers have pointed out important inconsistencies and errors in the derivation of the hypothesis from Weber's essays. Nevertheless, much of the knowledge relating religious preference with socio-economic achievement comes from studies designed to test the "Protestant Ethic hypothesis".

The recent work by Blau and Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (1967), provides a model for the process of social stratification into which religious preference can be incorporated. The classic work by Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (1929), provides a framework to consider the ways in which socio-economic achievement may be related to changes in religious preference.

In Chapter III the two sets of data used in the analysis are described, the variables involved are operationally defined, and the sets of data are compared and evaluated with two other sets of data containing religious preference and socio-economic achievement for the same population. One set of data was collected for the 1960 Growth of American Families Study (GAF) and consists of a sample of 3,256 men married to women ages

18-44 in the U.S. The other sample results from the 1960 Income and Welfare Study (I & W) and consists of a sample of more than 2,900 adult men in the U.S. Twelve religious preference categories are used. Education and income are measured in years and dollars, respectively, while occupational status is measured using Duncan's socio-economic status index for occupations. Race, region, farm experience, national origin, and church membership are also defined. The GAF and I & W data are compared with data from the 1957 Current Population Survey and with data collected about the same time by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). The reader is also cautioned about some problems in the data.

In Chapter IV the basic model of the process of social stratification is presented and three techniques of analysis are compared. Advantages obtained over previous studies as a result of using these data sets and techniques of analysis are indicated. Specifically, results obtained using multiple-classification analysis, multiple regression analysis with dummy variables, and covariance analysis are compared.

In Chapter V the effects of religious preference on educational achievement are examined. The contribution of religious preference, alone and in conjunction with the other independent variables, to the "explained" sum of squares for education is examined. Also, the gross and net deviations from the mean educational achievement for each religious preference group are analyzed. Religious preference groups are divided into subgroups on the basis of race and region of the respondents. The gross and net deviations from the mean educational attainment are studied for each of the religion-race-region categories.

In Chapter VI the influence of religious preference on occupational achievement and income is investigated. A similar format to Chapter V is used. Educational achievement is now considered as an independent

variable influencing occupational status. Occupational status is added to the independent variables when income is considered. Both the influence of initial religious preference and current religious preference are considered with regard to occupational achievement. The GAF sample is divided into church members and non-members and the influence of religious preference on occupational achievement is analyzed for both subsamples.

In Chapter VII religious mobility in the U.S. is described. Since very little attention has been devoted to this topic, the chapter begins by discussing some of the problems involved in defining and measuring religious mobility. Some of the reasons why people may change their religious preference are considered. The growth and decline of various religious groups as the result of religious mobility is indicated. Each origin preference group is then examined with regard to the later religious preferences selected by its adherents and the number of people changing to each group. Finally, some interpretation is offered for the patterns resulting from a quasi-independence model applied to the religious mobility data.

In Chapter VIII the influence of socio-economic on religious mobility is investigated. The effects of income, occupational status, education, and father's occupational status on religious preference changes are examined.

In Chapter IX the previous analyses are summarized and conclusions are drawn. Indications for future research are also suggested.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT; A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In the chapters to follow we are concerned with an analysis of how religious preference influences socio-economic achievement, and vice versa. A large body of theoretical explanations and empirical findings has developed concerning the effect of religion on socio-economic achievement. Very little scientific study, however, has focused on the ways in which socio-economic achievement may influence changes in religious preference. In both cases we are left without clear understanding of the role played by each variable in the determination of the other.

Two essays by Max Weber, "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" and "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism" (first published in 1905 and 1920, respectively) have influenced much of the research on the relationship between religious preference and socio-economic achievement. From these two essays an hypothesis to explain differences in the socio-economic achievements of Protestants and Catholics has resulted. The hypothesis states that internalization of Protestant values leads to higher motivation to succeed in the economic sphere of life. Researchers have attempted to show the validity or invalidity of the hypothesis by citing differences or no differences in socio-economic achievements between Protestants and Catholics.

Some scholars have questioned whether Weber believed that Protestant-Catholic differences in socio-economic achievement observed in the sixteenth

through nineteenth century could be explained by the hypothesis (Demerath and Hammond, 1969), while others have provided convincing arguments that the hypothesis is of little value for interpreting socio-economic differences in modern-day America (Greeley, 1964). In this investigation we will draw on the results of the many studies that were designed to test the "Protestant Ethic hypothesis" (ill-conceived though they may have been), and attempt to benefit from the criticisms of the hypothesis by studying differences among the Protestant denominations. Furthermore, we shall examine the relationships between religious preference and socio-economic achievement without considering extensively the socio-psychological processes of internalization of values and motivation.

2.1 Protestant-Catholic Differences in Socio-economic Achievement Based on Non-national Data

Lenski's study, The Religious Factor (1961), provides one of the most thorough examinations of the relationship between religion and the other institutions of American society. Using data from a sample of Detroit residents in 1958, he concluded that Protestants are more likely than Catholics to rise in the economic system even when differences in father's occupational status are taken into account (Lenski, 1961; 85). The differences are especially pronounced at the upper-middle class level. In addition, Lenski (1961; 97 & 357) found that Protestants view work differently than Catholics. Protestants are more inclined to adopt a rationalistic orientation while Catholics tend to accept a traditionalistic view of work.

Weller (1960) combined data from surveys of Detroit residents in 1952-1958 to specify further the Protestant-Catholic differences in achievement found by Lenski. Using data for white males raised in

communities of 25,000 or more population in non-southern states, he found that Protestants advanced further in the job world than Catholics, holding constant ethnic and class origin. Furthermore, he concluded that these differences existed for younger as well as older men.

On the other hand, Burchinal (1962), using data for men who were married in Iowa between 1953 and 1957, concluded that there was little difference between the occupational distributions of Catholics and church-Protestants, except at the professional level. Furthermore, Catholic grooms have higher occupational statuses than Protestant grooms who are not identified with any specific denomination, and Catholic grooms also have higher occupational positions than grooms who specify no religious preference. Burchinal (1962: 532) concluded that Lenski's finding of widening differences in achievement between Protestants and Catholics is probably true for areas dominated by small and middle-sized cities and smaller metropolitan areas.

Lenski was criticized for not taking into account that Detroit Catholics differed in ethnic background from Catholics in the nation as a whole (Babbie, 1965: 47). A greater weakness found in most non-national studies in the attempt to compare Protestants with Catholics in terms of achievement without taking into account the vast difference from one location to another in the denominational composition of the "Protestant" category.

Even if Detroit and Iowa Catholics are the same in terms of socioeconomic achievement, we would expect Burchinal and Lenski to reach different conclusions. The term "Protestant" does not have the same meaning in Detroit as it does in Iowa or in most other parts of the country. Zelinsky (1961) and Gaustad (1962) have described the regional segregation by religious preference that exists in the nation and the differential preference of the followers of some denominations for urban residence

(e.g., Baptists in the South, Lutherans in the rural North Central states). These denominational differences in regional location and in size-of-place preferences cause the denominational composition of the "Protestant" category to vary from place to place. This compositional variation is very important when studying socio-economic achievement because there exists a very wide range among the denominations in socio-economic status. It is for this reason that non-national studies that fail to take account of the denominational composition of the "Protestant" category will reach equivocal conclusions about differences in socio-economic achievement among religious groups.

2.2 Protestant-Catholic Differences in Socio-economic Achievement Based on National Data

Five prominent studies have used national survey data to investigate Protestant-Catholic differences in socio-economic achievement. Even using national data, the researchers have not been able to agree on whether Protestants enjoy greater achievement, the same achievement, or less achievement than Catholics.

Cantril (1943) using public opinion poll data for 1939-1940 concluded that the proportion of Protestants, relative to Catholics, increases at each higher level of education and economic status. This relationship was true at each level except the lowest. Cantril explained this exception by pointing to the large number of southern Protestants in this group.

Lipset and Bendix (1962) using data for 1952 and 1955 state that occupational differences exist between Protestants and Catholics only for first and second generation Americans. When parental foreign origin is controlled differences in social mobility between Protestants and Catholics disappear.

Goldstein (1969) reporting on 1957 data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau indicates that in terms of educational achievement and percentage of men with white collar occupations Jews are at the top, followed by white Protestants, then Catholics, and finally nonwhite Protestants. He also notes that standardizing for education and using only the urban population reduces the occupational differences, but does not eliminate them. Furthermore, he observed that Jews are ahead in income, but that little difference in income exists between Protestants and Catholics. Using just the urban population and standardizing for occupation sharply reduces the income differences among the groups.

Organic (1963) used data from the 1960 Growth of American Families Study (Whelpton, et al., 1966), but restricted his analysis to white Christians with non-farm origins. He controlled for differences in ethnicity, as well as several other factors, and concluded that Protestants have higher occupational statuses than Catholics.

Glenn and Hyland (1967) made use of eighteen national surveys conducted between 1943 and 1965 to explore differences in achievement between Protestants and Catholics. They observed that Protestants ranked well above Catholics in terms of income, occupation, and education at the end of World War II. However, since that time Catholics have made such dramatic gains that they have surpassed the Protestants in most aspects of socioeconomic status. Only in the percentage who have been to college do the Protestants still excel (Glenn and Hyland, 1967: 84-85). They suggest that this reversal between the two religious groups has occurred because the Catholics have overcome their immigrant handicaps and capitalized on their advantages in regional and urban location. In fact, Glenn and Hyland point out that in large non-southern metropolitan areas Protestants still hold the advantage.

If we accept the conclusions of Cantril, Glenn, and Hyland that Protestants had higher socio-economic statuses in the 1940's than Catholics, but that Catholics now have higher statuses than Protestants, then we can understand why the other investigators found differences and no differences during the interim period. However, in several of the studies the urban population or the non-farm population was examined separately and the conclusion reached was that Protestants still have higher statuses than Catholics in urban non-southern locations.

It seems appropriate, especially in the light of our earlier discussion of denominational composition of the "Protestant" category, to raise the issue of whether or not some of the denominations within the "Protestant" category lagged behind the Catholics and the remaining Protestant groups. The differences in social status (measured in terms of income, occupation, or education) among the various major Protestant denominations are larger than any documented variation between Catholics and Protestants, as a whole, as will be shown in the next two sections. Furthermore, Stark and Glock (1968) have found that vast differences in religious beliefs, ritual, devotionism, and religious knowledge exist among the several Protestant denominations. We can at least speculate that variation about beliefs that relate directly to the socio-economic sphere of life also occurs among the denominations. The ambiguity that exists when evaluating Catholic socio-economic achievements relative to Protestant achievements is eliminated when the question is restated in terms of Catholic achievements relative to the achievements of the various Protestant groups.

2.3 The Denominations Considered: Religious Preference Differences in Socio-economic Achievement in Non-national Data

A study of eight churches in the San Joaquin Valley in California by Goldschmidt (1944) illustrates the differences in occupational status among the various denominations. He points out that those denominations in which the congregation places great importance upon "feeling the spirit" tend to have lower occupational statuses than those denominations with an educated clergy. Much heterogeneity in occupational status is observed for Catholics. Seldom does a small single community reflect the situation of the nation, but in this case definite variation among Protestant denominations in occupational status and the diversity within the Catholic group appears to be similar to the pattern found by researchers using national data.

Mayer and Sharp (1962) combine survey data about Detroit residents for the years 1954-1959. They rank religious groups on net achievements based upon the difference between an "achieved status" index and an "ascribed status" index. Their ranking places Baptists and Catholics at the bottom. They also present data on Negroes for four religious groups separately.

Laumann (1969) using data from a sample of white males 21-64 years old who were living in the Detroit metropolitan area in 1966 found that with regard to education, occupational status, and income Jews and Congregationalists are at the top; Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Lutherans, and No religious preference are all above the grand mean; Catholics are very near the mean; and Baptists and other fundamentalists are below the mean. As we shall observe in the next section this ranking is also found by many of the most recent national studies.

2.4 The Denominations Considered: Religious Preference Differences
in Socio-economic Achievement in National Data

Six studies using national data merit discussion in this section. Each study investigated the differences in socio-economic achievement among religious groups while distinguishing separate Protestant denominations.

Pope (1948) used 1939-1940 social poll data and 1945-1946 voter poll data. He concluded that in terms of educational achievement Baptists are the least educated and Congregationalists are the most educated. Catholics are above the Baptists and almost on a par with the Lutherans. Jews are near the top and almost at the same level as the Presbyterians. Since Pope was using a voter sample, most southern Negroes were excluded.

Using data collected by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan in 1957, Lazerwitz (1961) stated that education, occupation, and income sort the religious groups into a social hierarchy with Episcopalians, Jews, and Presbyterians at the top; Methodists, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics in the middle; and white Baptists and Negro Baptists at the bottom. The "no-religion" group was found to be bi-modal with respect to socio-economic status.

Bogue (1959) reached almost the same conclusions using 1953 and 1955 data collected by the National Opinion Research Center. He ranked the groups in terms of average educational attainment as follows: Episcopal, Jewish, Presbyterian, Methodist, Other Protestant, Lutheran, No Religion, Roman Catholic, and Baptist. Similar rankings were observed for occupational achievement and income. Also, Morgan and his associates (1962), while primarily interested in variables other than religious preference, provide data from a 1960 Survey Research Center survey that indicate a similar ranking of religious groups with regard to income.

Gockel's (1969) recent study of the relationship between religious preference and income should serve as a model for future studies, both in terms of methodology and types of relationships investigated. The ranking of religious groups by income, occupation, and education based on Gockel's data also is very similar to those found by Laumann, Pope, Lazerwitz, Bogue, and Morgan.

Using a regression analysis, with each of thirteen religious groups introduced into the regression equation as a dummy variable, Gockel examines the role of education, occupational SES, race, region, and size-of-place variations among the religious groups in accounting for differences in income. The results from this analysis indicate that the income differences are greatly attenuated when these variables are controlled, but that Congregationalists, Episcopalians, and Jews still have incomes that are more than \$500 above the mean. Smaller differences remain for some of the other groups.

Two generalizations can be drawn from the studies that have used national data to investigate the relationship between religious preference and socio-economic achievement. First, there is much agreement in the ranking of religious groups by educational attainment, occupational achievement, and income. Second, large differences are observed among the Protestant denominations for all three measures of socio-economic achievement with the Catholic preference group above the Baptists and equal to or below most of the other major denominations.

Several questions remain concerning the relationship between religious preference and socio-economic achievement. Most studies observed only an association between current religious preference and one or two indicators of socio-economic achievement. Very little emphasis has been placed on the process of socio-economic achievement. Few attempts have

been made to describe when and how religious preference influences socio-economic achievement. Only a limited amount of research has attempted to control for the relationship between early socio-economic status and religious preference when considering the effect of religious preference on later socio-economic achievement.

2.5 Religious Preference in the Process of Social Stratification

Blau and Duncan (1967) in The American Occupational Structure present a basic model for the process of social stratification. They adopt a life cycle approach and demonstrate the effect of social origin variables such as father's occupation and father's education on the educational achievement of the son. Their model also traces the influence of social origin variables and education on occupational achievement at various points in the son's career. (A diagram of the model and a more detailed discussion is presented in Chapter IV.) Since Blau and Duncan were using data collected in the Current Population Survey they did not have information about the respondents' religious preference, and thus religion is not considered in the basic model. Any future study that analyzes the determinants of socio-economic achievement must either extend or modify the basic model presented by Blau and Duncan. The research reported in this volume adopts the life cycle approach and the emphasis on process and extends the model to include early religious preference as a causal factor for later socio-economic achievements.

2.6 The Effect of Socio-economic Achievement on Later Religious Preference

Niebuhr in his classic book The Social Sources of Denominationalism (1929) provides a rationale for considering the effects of socio-economic achievement on changing religious preferences. He describes how the

Protestant denominations resulted from the differences in social class that existed. His contention is that each denomination was organized to meet the needs of a particular social class position in the society and not a result of differences in theology or dogma.

For the denominations, churches, sects, are sociological groups whose principle of differentiation is to be sought in their conformity to the order of social classes and castes. It would not be true to affirm that the denominations are not religious groups with religious purposes, but it is true that they represent the accommodation of religion to the caste system. They are emblems, therefore, of the victory of the world over the church, of the secularization of Christianity, of the church's sanction of that divisiveness which the church's gospel condemns (Niebuhr, 1929: 25).

Each new religious group forms to meet the needs of a given group of people with certain socio-economic characteristics. As the average economic position of the members of a given religious group changes the religion changes accordingly. As Niebuhr states:

So regarded, one phase of the history of denominationalism reveals itself as the story of the religiously neglected poor, who fashion a new type of Christianity which corresponds to their distinctive needs, who rise in the economic scale under the influence of religious discipline, and who, in the midst of a freshly acquired cultural respectability, neglect the new poor succeeding them on the lower plane. This pattern recurs with remarkable regularity in the history of Christianity. Anabaptists, Quakers, Methodists, Salvation Army, and more recent sects of like type illustrate this rise and progress of the churches of the disinherited (1929: 28).

While Niebuhr describes the formation and changes of religious groups with regard to the average socio-economic position of their members, our primary concern is with changes in religious preference of individuals that may be related to changes in socio-economic status. Our question is: If a religious group serves the needs of a single socio-economic group and modifies its position as the average needs of the group change, what happens to the individual whose socio-economic position changes much faster or much slower than the average for the religious group that he

is affiliated with? In Chapter VIII we adopt as assumptions Niebuhr's contentions about the formation and on going functions of the religious groups and explore the consequences with regard to socio-economic achievement and religious mobility of individuals.

The research literature provides very little information concerning religious mobility. The only analysis that considers changes among the various Protestant denominations, as well as changes to and from the Catholic and Jewish religions, is the work by Stark and Glock (1968). They present data for a sample of California residents and for a national sample of whites. In the national sample about 60 per cent of the Protestants, 86 per cent of the Catholics, and 89 per cent of the Jews have the same religious preference as their fathers. Stark and Glock classify the various religious groups into conservative, moderate, and liberal groups and then examine the religious mobility to see if there is an observable pattern. They suggest that a pattern of religious preference mobility from conservative to moderate to liberal may exist, but with their limited data they caution the reader of the tentative nature of their hypothesis.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTION AND EVALUATION OF THE DATA

The first section of this chapter acquaints the reader with the two sets of data, 1960 Growth of American Families Study (GAF) and 1960 Income and Welfare Study (I & W), used for this secondary analysis relating religious preference to socio-economic achievement. Then, we compare the data on religious preference from the GAF and I & W samples with two other national samples and find that the data we are using are similar to those collected by the Census Bureau and the National Opinion Research Center. Next, a description of each of the major variables to be used is presented. Finally, we discuss three problems that arise in attempting to study the relationship of religious preference to socio-economic achievement using these two sets of data. The first relates to the problem of setting up meaningful categories of the religious preference variable. The second problem concerns the difficulties encountered whenever a multivariate analysis is undertaken with a sample size that is less than desired. The third problem stems from the differences in the two universes from which our samples are drawn.

The data used here were collected for two studies by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center in 1960. The primary analysis for the first study was done by Whelpton, Campbell, and Patterson with their results published in Fertility and Family Planning in the United States (Whelpton, et al. 1966). The second study was done by Morgan and his associates and the findings were published in Income and Welfare in the United States (Morgan, et al. 1962).

3.1 The GAF Data

The Whelpton, et al., study was the second in the series of Growth of American Families Studies that have gathered data about the attitudes and behavior that determine the number of children born to married couples in the United States. The sample for this set of data was an area probability sample of households in the United States. An 88 per cent completion rate yielded 3,322 interviews. Some 6 per cent of the eligible respondents refused interviews and an additional 6 per cent were missed primarily because the interviewer was not able to find the eligible respondent at home. The 3,322 respondents consist of 2,986 white women who were 18-44 years of age and currently married, 270 nonwhite women who were 18-39 years of age and currently married, and 66 white women who were previously married, but not currently married. These 66 nonmarried women are excluded from this analysis, since most of the questions raised here deal with information about the respondent's husband. Thus, we are able to make statements about the relationship between religious preference and socio-economic achievement patterns for men who were currently married to either white women ages 18-44 years or nonwhite women ages 18-39 years at the time of the study. Statements about single, separated, or divorced men, and men married to older women cannot be made using the GAF data.

The GAF data, while being collected primarily for a fertility study, lend themselves well to our purpose. Religious preference and socio-economic status are known to be related to fertility behavior, (Freedman, et al., 1959; 100) and thus, extensive information about these variables was collected. Also, one of the principal designers of the interview schedule had an interest in the relationship between religious preference and socio-economic achievement patterns. As a result,

questions were asked and coded in a way that permits such analysis (Organic, 1963).

A complete religious preference history was taken for both husband and wife, along with a single statement about the religious preference of the mother and father of each. A religious preference was coded for both the husband and the wife at four points in each life; first preference, preference immediately prior to marriage, preference five years prior to the time of the study, and the current religious preference at the time of the interview. Religious preference was also coded for each parent of both spouses, but not in as great detail. For the respondent and her spouse, coding was done in sufficient detail to allow the distinguishing of over fifty different religious groups. Information was also collected regarding church membership, church attendance, and the amount of parochial education, along with some other measures of religious behavior.

Socio-economic measures include the amount of education completed by the husband at the time of the interview, occupation of the husband's father, occupation of the husband five years prior to the interview and at the time of the interview, and the husband's income. Occupations were coded using approximately forty categories. Most of these can be matched by appropriate combinations of 1950 Census categories, which enables establishing approximate Duncan SES scores for each coded category (Reiss, 1962).

Other variables used in the multivariate analysis, such as race, longest region of residence before marriage and current region of residence, farm residence, and the original nationality of each parent, have been coded.

3.2 The I & W Data

The Morgan et al. study was undertaken to provide knowledge about the processes involved in attaining income with an emphasis placed on low income families. The sample was a multistage area probability sample drawn by the Survey Research Center. The interviewers were able to complete 2,997 interviews with heads of spending units. A spending unit consists of all the members of a family who pool their incomes for major items of expense. The head of a spending unit is the major earner in the spending unit, usually the husband in the case of a married couple. Of the 2,997 interviews, 305 were from a supplementary sample of low incomes. Thus, low income families were oversampled and the 305 low income family interviews must be given one-half the weight of the others. The completion rate was about 79 per cent.

The I & W study ascertained the religious preference of the respondent's father along with the current religious preference of the respondent. Detailed categories were again used as in the GAF study. Questions concerning church attendance of the respondent and his father were also asked.

Socio-economic variables in the I & W study consist of the number of years of schooling completed and the usual occupation of the respondent's father, the education of the respondent, the respondent's first full time occupation, as well as his current occupation, and several measures of his income.

3.3 Religious Preference Categories Defined

While religious preference was coded in great detail in each study, it was necessary to condense the preferences into a number of categories that contain a large enough number of responses to make our analysis meaningful and yet maintain religious group identities. The twelve categories shown in Table 3.1 were selected because they permit comparison

TABLE 3.1

Percentage Distribution for Religious Preference Categories Used in This Study,
the 1960 Growth of American Families Study, and the Income and Welfare Study

Category in This Study	Categories in I & W Study	Categories in GAF Study	Per cent of Sample	
			I & W	GAF
All groups			100.0	100.0
I Baptists	Baptists	Baptist Southern Baptist Primitive Baptist or Free Will Baptist	21.5	22.2 0.0
II Lutheran	Lutheran	Lutheran	6.6	7.0
III Methodists	Methodist	Methodist African Methodist Episcopal	16.2	14.7 0.0
IV Presbyterian	Presbyterian	Presbyterian	6.0	4.8
V Congregational	Congregationalists and Disciples of Christ, United Church of Christ	Congregational Evangelical and Reformed United Church of Christ	....	1.4 0.6 0.2
VI Episcopal	Episcopalian	Episcopalian, Anglican, Church of England	1.7	....
VII Protestant Unspecified	Protestant sect, NA what denomination	Protestant; no denomination given	3.0	....
			....	2.3
			4.4	3.3

TABLE 3.1--Continued

Category in This Study	Categories in I & W Study	Categories in GAF Study	Per cent of Sample	
			I & W	GAF
VIII Protestant Other	Other Protestant Sects: Assemblies of God, Brethren groups, Christian churches, Church of Christ, Church of God, (in Christ), First Christian, Holiness groups, Jehovah's Witness, Mission churches and Missionary groups, Moravian, Nazarene churches, Pentecostal groups, Reformed churches of Christ, Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists			
		United Missionary or Protestant Missionary Church of God	9.5	....
		Nazarene or Free Methodists	....	0.0
		Church of God and Christ	....	0.4
		Plymouth Brethren	....	0.5
		Pentecostal or Assembly of God	....	0.1
		Church of Christ	....	0.0
		Salvation Army	....	1.0
		Seventh Day Adventist	....	1.8
		Other Fundamentalist	....	0.1
		Non-denominational Protestant Church	....	0.9
		Community church (no denominational basis)	....	0.1
		Other Protestant (not listed here)	....	0.1
		Reformed, Dutch Reformed, or Christian Reformed	....	0.5
			....	0.3

TABLE 3.1--Continued

Category in This Study	Categories in I & W Study	Categories in GAF Study	Per cent of Sample		
			I & W	GAF	
XII No Religion	Mormon, Unitarian, Universalist	Quakers	2.0		
		Unity		.2	
		Mohammedans		.0	
		Buddhists		.0	
		Hindu		.2	
		Other Religions		.0	
		Christian Scientists		.0	
		Spiritualists		.4	
		Latter Day Saints, Mormons		.0	
		Unitarian or Universalist		.3	
		Jehovah's Witness		.1	
				.2	
			</		

among the largest religious groups and allow the same combinations of smaller groups into the larger categories for each set of data.

For the most part, the grouping of codes into the twelve major categories was straightforward. In a few cases it was necessary to place a religious group into a category where it definitely did not belong, but it was impossible to separate it from other religious groups with which it had previously been combined. This was the case for Disciples of Christ, Jehovah's Witness, and Evangelical and Reformed in the I & W data. Of course, there would be some disagreement if other persons were to do the grouping, but the discrepancies would be over groups that are small in size and changing them from one group to another would have little effect on the outcome of the analysis.

3.4 Occupational Socio-economic Status, Education, and Income

Most of the other variables mentioned above (such as education, father's occupation, respondent's occupation, and income) need little explanation. Occupations were coded in greater detail in the GAF study than in the I & W study, but it was necessary in both instances to separate many of the codes into their component U.S. Census codes so that Duncan SES scores could be assigned. The procedure used was to weight each census code score by the number of U.S. males in that census category based on the 1960 census; thus, recombining census code scores in this manner to arrive at an aggregate SES score for each occupation category in each study. For educational achievement and income received, year of school completed and dollars received are the measures, respectively, with mid-points being assigned for interval-coded data, and values assigned to open ended intervals based on available census data.

3.5 Region, Race, Farm Experience, and National Origin Defined

Region of residence (current and during childhood) consists of the four regions of the U.S.: Northeast, North Central, South, and West, with a foreign-born category added for childhood residence. Race is dichotomized as white or nonwhite. Farm experience is determined by whether a person has ever lived on a farm prior to his marriage. Nationality can only be ascertained from the GAF data. Eight categories have been devised from the coded answers to the question, "What is the original nationality of his family on his father's side?" The eight categories are: 1) English, 2) Irish, 3) German, 4) Other Northwest European, 5) Central and Eastern European, 6) Southern European, 7) Other nationalities and combinations, and 8) N.A.'s and Negro.

3.6 Race, Region, and Religion as a Single Variable

A single variable consisting of forty-eight categories was constructed from the race, region, and religion variables. The twelve religious categories were used, as well as the two racial categories, with South and non-South as the only regional distinctions. This variable allows us to consider racial and sectional differences within each religious group. In many cases the actual organization of the religious group is formed on this basis, e.g. the United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A. which is a non-Southern organization and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. which is a Southern organization. We can also distinguish nonwhite Baptists from white Baptists, in both regions. Of course, all forty-eight categories do not have enough cases in them to warrant detailed study, such as nonwhite Jews in the South or nonwhite Lutherans outside the South.

3.7 Church Membership

In part of the analysis the GAF sample is divided into those respondents that said they were members of a church or synagogue and those

that said they were not. When this is done, the relationships between the independent and dependent variables are determined separately for those who are members and those who are not. Other variables will be described as they are brought into the discussion.

3.8 Data Evaluation: Comparisons of the GAF and the I & W Samples with the CPS and the NORC Samples

The distribution of population by religious groups and especially by religious groups within sub-areas or sub-groups of the population is not extensively documented. For the most part, the government has felt that it was improper to collect statistics on religious preference, so there are few official statistics. The exception is the March 1957 Current Population Survey (CPS) that contained a question on religion (U.S. Census, 1958 a & b). The other data on religious preference and other social characteristics were collected by The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and are found in Bogue's work, The Population of the United States (1959).

At this point, it is useful to make comparisons among the GAF, I & W, CPS, and NORC samples both to evaluate the GAF and I & W data, and further to substantiate our knowledge of the distribution of the population by religious preference within other social groupings.

In this section, rather than using the twelve religious groupings listed in Table 3.1, categories in the GAF and I & W data are combined to most closely approximate the religious groupings used by the Census Bureau and by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC).

The following ten tables (Tables 3.2 through 3.11) are presented in a form to facilitate comparisons among the different sources of data rather than among religious groups. Any discussion of the variations among religious groups for any given characteristic will be left until

later chapters dealing with the substantive analysis. The focus at this point is on how well the data from the GAF and I & W samples resemble data from the NORC and CPS samples. In each table, categories for every variable in the GAF and I & W data were set up to closely correspond to the categories in the other two studies.

In Table 3.2 the percentage distribution is given for the population of each study by the current religious preference of the respondents, with the GAF distributions for both men and women being shown. The largest discrepancy occurs for the Roman Catholic group with the I & W and NORC

TABLE 3.2

Percentage Distributions for Current Religious Preference;
GAF , I & W, NORC, and CPS Samples

Religion	GAF		I & W	NORC	CPS	Largest Difference
	Men	Women				
Total	100.2	100.0	100.0	99.7	100.0	
All Protestants	65.6	65.4	69.8	71.5	66.2	6.1
Baptist	21.6	22.0	21.5	22.0	19.7	2.3
Methodist	14.4	13.9	16.2	17.4	14.0	3.5
Presbyterian	5.3	5.7	6.0	6.7	5.6	1.4
Lutheran	7.0	7.0	6.6	7.6	7.1	1.0
Episcopal	2.2	2.5	3.0	2.8	n.a.	.8
Other Protestant	15.1	14.3	16.5	14.9	19.8	2.2
Roman Catholic	24.9	26.5	21.9	21.1	25.7	5.4
Jewish	4.4	4.3	2.9	3.0	3.2	1.5
Other Religions	2.4	2.7	2.5	1.4	1.3	1.4
No Religions	2.6	1.0	2.2	2.8	2.7	1.8
N.A.	0.3	0.1	0.7	...	0.9	0.8

Indexes of Dissimilarity

GAF					
Men	—	3.1	5.3	6.6	4.5
Women		—	7.1	8.0	5.7
I & W			—	4.3	5.6
NORC				—	7.6
CPS					—

studies both finding about 4 to 5 per cent fewer Catholics than the GAF and CPS studies. Examining the indexes of dissimilarity among the several studies, we see that at most 8 per cent of any distribution would have to be redistributed in order to make it congruent with any of the others. Thus, we determined that the data, as they have been coded and classified for the GAF and I & W studies, yield distributions by religious preference similar to those found by NORC and CPS. Let us examine the degree to which this is also true for the cross-classification of religious preference by the other variables relevant to this study for which data are available.

From Table 3.3 it is clear that with regard to race, the distributions for whites by religious preference differ with the same magnitude as the total population, while for nonwhites, we find very close agreement between the GAF and CPS studies. The I & W study, however, found more nonwhite Roman Catholics and Methodists and fewer Baptists than either of the other two studies. NORC data on race are not available.

Tables 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6 relate to the evaluations that can be made for the data among studies with regard to religious preference and region of residence at the time of the study. For the religious groups shown in Table 3.4 we find close agreement of the distributions, with the most incongruence occurring in the Western region. Table 3.5 shows the distribution by region within each religious group for the same three studies as in the previous table. Close agreement is found for the two largest religious groupings, but for the smaller groups the regional distributions are less congruent. Table 3.6 permits the same type of comparisons as the previous table, but allows us to examine the major Protestant denominations in addition to the other religious groupings. In this case the comparisons are among GAF, I & W, and NORC samples.

TABLE 3.3

Percentage Distribution for Current Religious Preference by Race;
GAF, I & W, and CPS Samples

Religion	White				Non White			
	GAF	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference
Total	99.9	100.1	100.1		100.1	100.1	100.0	
All Protestants	63.3	67.9	62.4	5.5	88.5	87.2	85.4	3.1
Baptist	18.1	18.2	15.1	3.1	59.6	50.8	59.1	8.8
Lutheran	7.6	7.3	7.9	0.6	0.4	0.9	0.3	0.6
Methodist	14.1	15.7	13.1	2.6	17.8	20.6	17.0	3.6
Other Protestant	17.9	20.2	20.5	2.6	9.6	13.5	8.0	5.5
Roman Catholic	27.4	23.2	27.8	4.6	5.6	10.8	6.4	5.2
Jewish	4.8	3.2	3.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	...	0.0
Other Religions and N.A.'s	1.8	3.4	2.2	1.6	3.0	1.6	2.8	1.4
No Religion	2.6	2.4	4.0	1.6	3.0	0.5	5.4	4.9

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Indexes of Dissimilarity

GAF I & W CPS	White			Non White		
	GAF	I & W	CPS	GAF	I & W	CPS
	—	6.4	5.3	—	12.7	3.3
		—	7.8		—	14.5

TABLE 3.4

Percentage Distribution by Current Religious Preference by Region; GAF, I & W, and CPS Samples

[illegible]

TABLE 3.5

Percentage Distribution by Region of Residence by Current Religious Preference; GAF, I & W, and CPS Samples

Region	GAF	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference
Protestant					Roman Catholic			
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0		100.1	100.1	100.0	
Northeast	15.7	14.4	16.8	2.4	41.1	40.1	46.0	5.9
Northcentral	31.5	30.4	30.4	1.1	28.0	28.1	28.1	0.1
South	40.0	40.7	38.3	2.4	13.7	9.1	13.9	4.8
West	12.9	14.5	14.5	1.6	17.3	22.8	12.1	10.7
Jewish					Other Religions			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1		100.0	100.1	100.0	
Northeast	58.3	64.8	69.1	10.8	24.7	30.9	41.9	17.2
Northcentral	29.9	25.6	11.9	18.0	22.1	33.0	26.5	10.9
South	6.9	4.8	7.7	2.9	13.0	14.9	17.4	4.4
West	4.9	4.8	11.3	6.5	40.3	21.3	14.2	26.1
No Religion					Not Reported			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Northeast	16.3	20.6	11.2	9.4	37.5	29.0	23.3	14.2
Northcentral	25.6	18.6	32.1	13.5	0.0	6.5	28.9	28.9
South	30.2	40.2	34.7	10.0	37.5	41.9	33.7	8.2
West	27.9	20.6	22.1	7.3	25.0	22.6	14.1	10.9

Indexes of Dissimilarity

	GAF-I & W	GAF-CPS	I & W-CPS
Protestant	2.4	2.8	2.4
Roman Catholic	5.6	5.2	10.8
Jewish	6.5	18.0	13.7
Other Religions	19.0	26.1	13.6
No Religion	14.3	11.0	15.0
Not Reported	10.9	28.9	22.4

TABLE 3.6

Percentage Distribution by Region of Residence by Current
Religious Preference (Protestant Denominations);
GAF, I & W, and NORC Samples

Region	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
Baptist					Methodist			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.1	
Northeast	8.3	8.4	8.3	0.1	19.4	18.3	20.1	1.8
Northcentral	20.5	19.3	15.6	4.9	30.5	28.4	32.6	4.2
South	61.1	60.2	69.4	9.2	38.8	41.4	35.2	6.2
West	10.1	12.1	6.7	5.4	11.3	11.9	12.2	0.9
Presbyterian					Episcopal			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1		100.1	100.1	100.2	
Northeast	20.5	18.6	30.1	11.5	42.9	32.6	37.2	10.3
Northcentral	33.9	40.3	32.0	8.3	20.0	25.0	15.6	9.4
South	27.5	24.7	21.6	5.9	24.3	27.3	26.4	3.0
West	18.1	16.4	16.4	1.7	12.9	15.2	21.0	8.1
Lutheran					Other Protestant			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		99.9	100.0	100.0	
Northeast	18.9	13.8	24.0	10.2	15.7	13.6	15.0	2.1
Northcentral	61.4	58.6	54.4	7.0	34.9	33.0	33.5	1.9
South	8.3	12.8	6.6	6.2	32.2	34.3	29.6	4.7
West	11.4	14.8	15.0	3.6	17.1	19.1	21.8	4.7
Indexes of Dissimilarity								
	GAF-I & W		GAF-NORC		I & W-NORC			
Protestant Total	2.4		2.3		3.2			
Baptist	2.1		8.3		9.2			
Methodist	3.2		3.7		6.3			
Presbyterian	6.4		9.6		11.5			
Episcopal	10.3		10.2		10.4			
Lutheran	7.9		8.7		10.4			
Other Protestant	4.1		4.7		4.7			
Roman Catholic	5.6		6.7		7.6			
Jewish	6.5		18.5		17.8			
Other	13.6		18.4		16.3			
No Religion	14.3		9.5		17.6			

Small indexes of dissimilarity occur for all groups in all comparisons except for Episcopal, Other religions, and No religion categories.

Age and religious preference are examined in Tables 3.7 and 3.8.

TABLE 3.7

Percentage Distribution by Current Religious Preference by Age;
GAF, I & W, and CPS Samples

Religion	GAF	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference
Under 25					25 to 34			
Total	100.1	100.0	100.1		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Protestant	71.1	71.1	66.1	5.0	67.4	71.0	64.8	6.2
Roman Catholic	22.8	24.2	26.9	4.1	25.6	23.7	28.0	4.3
Jewish	1.3	1.2	2.5	1.3	2.3	1.9	2.8	0.9
Other Religions	1.8	2.0	2.1	0.3	2.5	1.9	1.8	0.7
No Religion	3.1	1.5	2.5	1.6	2.2	1.5	2.6	1.1
35 to 44					45 to 64			
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.1	100.0	
Protestant	63.2	66.2	64.5	3.0	63.2	70.8	66.6	7.6
Roman Catholic	24.5	24.6	27.7	3.2	25.0	18.2	24.0	6.8
Jewish	6.4	3.0	3.2	3.4	6.2	4.5	4.0	2.2
Other Religions	2.8	3.6	2.1	1.5	2.9	3.6	2.5	1.1
No religion	3.0	2.6	2.5	0.5	2.7	3.0	2.9	0.3
65 and over								
Total	...	100.0	100.0					
Protestant	...	75.3	70.0	5.3				
Roman Catholic	...	17.7	20.8	3.1				
Jewish	...	1.1	3.4	2.3				
Other Religion	...	4.4	2.8	1.6				
No Religion	...	1.5	3.0	1.5				
Indexes of Dissimilarity								
	GAF-I & W		GAF-CPS		I & W-CPS			
Less than 25	1.7		8.0		5.1			
25 to 34	3.6		4.4		6.3			
35 to 44	3.9		4.3		3.3			
45 to 64	8.6		3.4		5.9			
65 and over	...		...		6.9			

TABLE 3.8

Percentage Distribution by Ages by Current Religious Preference;
I & W and CPS Samples

Age	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference	I & W	CPS	Largest Difference
Protestant			Roman Catholic			
Total	100.1	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Under 25	8.0	9.1	1.1	8.7	9.9	1.2
25 to 34	22.3	21.8	0.5	23.7	24.3	0.6
35 to 44	22.8	21.4	1.4	27.0	23.8	3.2
45 to 64	33.6	32.9	0.7	30.6	30.7	0.1
65 and over	13.4	14.8	1.4	10.0	11.3	1.3
Jewish			Other Religions			
Total	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	
Under 25	3.2	6.6	3.4	5.0	8.8	3.8
25 to 34	14.4	18.8	4.4	13.0	17.9	4.9
35 to 44	25.6	20.7	4.9	27.3	20.3	7.0
45 to 64	52.0	39.6	12.4	37.4	35.8	1.6
65 and over	4.8	14.3	9.5	17.3	17.2	0.1
No Religion			All Religions			
Total	100.0	99.9		100.0		
Under 25	5.2	10.1	4.9	7.9		
25 to 34	14.4	21.0	6.6	21.9		
35 to 44	27.8	19.8	8.0	24.1		
45 to 64	44.3	33.9	10.4	33.8		
65 and over	8.3	15.1	6.8	12.4		
Indexes of Dissimilarity						
				I & W-CPS		
Protestant				2.6		
Roman Catholic				3.2		
Jewish				17.3		
Other Religions				8.7		
No Religions				18.4		

Close agreements between samples are present for the comparisons made with the notable exceptions of the I & W sample containing more Jewish and No religion people in the middle age groups than the CPS sample.

Tables 3.9, 3.10, and 3.11 portray religious preference by education, occupation group, and income, respectively. In each case, the comparisons

TABLE 3.9--Continued

Education	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
Other Protestant								
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	99.8	99.9	
Elementary 0-8	23.2	34.7	42.4	19.2	16.8	29.4	41.2	24.4
High School 1-3	27.6	23.0	18.5	9.1	26.3	23.7	20.6	5.7
High School 4	32.0	27.6	20.5	11.5	36.5	29.7	22.4	14.1
College 1-3	8.6	6.9	9.2	2.3	9.1	8.7	8.9	.4
College 4 or more	8.6	7.8	9.4	1.6	11.3	8.3	6.8	4.5
Jewish								
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1		100.1	99.9	99.9	
Elementary 0-8	4.9	8.0	25.9	21.0	14.2	28.1	48.0	33.8
High School 1-3	9.7	16.0	13.2	6.3	18.8	13.0	11.0	7.8
High School 4	20.8	23.2	27.8	7.0	43.5	34.3	22.4	21.1
College 1-3	23.6	17.6	10.9	12.7	7.1	7.9	5.7	2.2
College 4 or more	41.0	35.2	22.3	18.7	16.5	16.6	12.8	3.8
All Religions								
Total	100.2	99.9	99.9		100.0	100.1	100.0	
Elementary 0-8	22.2	41.2	42.8	20.6	18.7	30.1	40.7	20.0
High School 1-3	29.1	10.3	20.4	18.8	23.4	21.8	20.2	3.2
High School 4	25.6	14.4	16.9	11.2	34.2	16.0	21.1	18.2
College 1-3	10.5	10.3	8.8	1.7	10.4	20.5	9.6	10.9
College 4 or more	12.8	23.7	11.0	12.7	13.3	11.7	8.4	4.9

TABLE 3.9--Continued

	Indexes of Dissimilarity		
	GAF-I & W	GAF-NORC	I & W-NORC
Protestant Total	12.9	20.2	9.7
Baptist	14.2	25.6	12.6
Methodist	17.4	19.2	7.9
Presbyterian	16.8	23.0	21.3
Episcopal	6.7	27.0	24.1
Lutheran	22.3	23.9	13.7
Other Protestant	11.5	20.6	11.6
Roman Catholic	12.7	24.5	12.0
Jewish	11.8	31.5	22.5
Other Religions	14.9	33.9	19.9
No Religion	30.1	20.8	14.2
All Religions	21.4	22.0	15.8

TABLE 3.10--Continued

Occupation	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
Episcopal								
Total	99.9	100.1	100.2		100.0	99.9	99.9	
Prof. and Tech.	24.6	24.0	19.6	5.0	11.6	8.5	8.0	3.6
Farm Oper., or Mgrs.	0.0	2.5	1.5	2.5	18.3	15.6	15.6	2.7
Mgrs., Off., Prop.	30.8	34.7	20.4	14.3	15.6	10.6	15.4	5.0
Clerical Workers	9.2	9.9	11.0	1.8	5.4	7.4	5.4	2.0
Sales Workers	6.2	6.6	5.4	1.2	7.1	5.3	4.4	2.7
Craftsmen	16.9	11.6	16.7	5.3	19.6	25.2	24.0	5.6
Operatives	9.2	6.6	9.6	3.0	13.4	16.7	15.1	3.3
Service Workers	1.5	0.0	10.7	10.7	2.7	3.5	6.2	3.5
Farm Laborers	0.0	1.7	..	1.7	1.8	2.1	0.6	1.5
Laborers, Nonfarm	1.5	2.5	5.3	3.8	4.5	5.0	5.2	0.7
Other Protestant								
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1		99.9	99.9	100.2	
Prof. and Tech.	9.1	9.5	10.4	1.3	13.0	8.6	9.6	4.4
Farm Oper., or Mgrs.	8.9	9.4	11.6	2.7	3.1	5.0	5.4	2.3
Mgrs., Off., Prop.	11.7	12.6	10.2	2.5	13.0	13.8	11.4	2.4
Clerical Workers	6.5	4.2	7.0	2.8	6.2	5.2	7.6	2.4
Sales Workers	6.3	4.0	3.4	2.9	8.3	6.1	4.6	3.7
Craftsmen	23.1	25.1	19.9	5.2	22.4	21.8	21.6	0.8
Operatives	22.0	20.6	21.6	1.4	22.5	24.6	23.8	2.1
Service Workers	2.2	5.1	6.8	4.6	5.6	7.0	8.6	3.0
Farm Laborers	1.9	2.9	2.4	1.0	0.1	1.4	3.0	2.9
Laborers, Nonfarm	7.3	6.6	6.8	0.7	5.7	6.4	4.6	1.8
Roman Catholic								

TABLE 3.10--Continued

Occupation	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
Jewish					Other Religions			
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	99.9	100.0	
Prof. and Tech.	27.3	27.6	17.6	10.0	21.0	13.3	17.7	7.7
Farm Oper. or Mgrs.	0.0	0.0	1.3	1.3	2.5	4.2	4.6	2.1
Mgrs., Off., Prop.	50.3	30.1	36.0	20.2	12.3	13.3	15.2	2.9
Clerical Workers	3.5	4.9	9.6	6.1	7.4	5.8	2.2	5.2
Sales Workers	11.9	19.5	15.0	7.6	8.6	10.0	3.0	7.0
Craftsmen	2.8	8.1	7.2	5.3	19.8	23.3	18.0	5.3
Operatives	2.8	9.8	12.0	9.2	18.5	24.2	16.9	7.3
Service Workers	0.7	0.0	...	0.7	2.5	5.0	14.4	11.9
Farm Laborers	0.0	0.0	...	0.0	1.2	0.8	1.2	0.4
Laborers, Nonfarm	0.7	0.0	1.3	1.3	6.2	0.0	6.8	6.8
No Religion					All Religions			
Total	100.0	100.1	100.0		99.9	100.1	100.0	
Prof. and Tech.	15.7	31.9	11.7	20.2	13.2	11.4	10.0	3.2
Farm Oper. or Mgrs.	3.6	6.4	13.0	9.4	6.2	8.2	10.8	4.6
Mgrs., Off., Prop.	16.9	6.4	13.0	10.5	15.8	13.7	12.6	3.2
Clerical Workers	2.4	2.1	0.8	1.6	5.7	5.4	6.4	1.0
Sales Workers	3.6	0.0	4.2	4.2	7.1	5.7	4.8	2.3
Craftsmen	18.1	21.3	20.2	3.2	20.5	21.7	19.4	2.3
Operatives	25.3	14.9	19.6	10.4	20.3	20.3	20.3	0.0
Service Workers	3.6	4.3	10.8	7.2	3.8	5.6	7.6	3.8
Farm Laborers	3.6	0.0	3.7	0.1	1.2	2.1	2.0	0.9
Laborers, Nonfarm	7.2	12.8	3.0	9.8	6.1	6.0	6.1	0.1

TABLE 3.10--Continued

Occupation	Indexes of Dissimilarity				Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
	GAF	I & W	NORC						
	GAF-I&W	GAF-NORC	I&W-NORC						
Protestant Total	5.7	10.0	7.0						
Baptist	8.8	13.4	7.6						
Methodist	7.9	15.2	10.7						
Presbyterian	16.8	14.8	17.8						
Episcopal	10.1	16.7	22.7						
Lutheran	12.6	10.6	7.7						
Other Protestant	6.8	9.6	8.8						
Roman Catholic	8.2	10.6	7.0						
Jewish	21.6	24.7	15.4						
Other Religions	15.9	17.5	23.3						
No Religion	28.5	19.4	32.4						
All Religions	5.8	9.8	5.8						

TABLE 3.11

Percentage Distribution by Income of Head of Household by Current Religious Preference; GAF, I & W, and NORC Samples

Income	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
Protestant Total								
Total	99.9	99.9	100.2		100.1	100.0	99.7	
Less than \$1,000				5.6				8.7
\$1,000 to \$1,999	2.6	6.0	8.2	5.6	3.9	8.5	12.6	6.7
\$2,000 to \$2,999	5.4	9.2	11.0	5.1	8.5	9.1	15.2	6.9
\$3,000 to \$3,999	10.1	9.5	14.6	8.6	14.2	12.1	19.0	6.7
\$4,000 to \$4,999	13.5	9.0	17.6	6.9	15.9	11.1	17.8	5.5
\$5,000 to \$7,499	15.6	10.5	17.4	7.9	18.3	12.8	15.2	14.3
\$7,500 to \$9,999	27.7	27.3	19.8	9.5	24.5	28.1	13.8	7.3
\$10,000 and over	15.9	14.8	6.4	8.4	9.6	11.3	4.0	4.9
	9.1	13.6	5.2		5.2	7.0	2.1	
Methodist								
Total	100.0	100.1	100.1		100.0	99.9	100.1	
Less than \$1,000				5.5				4.9
\$1,000 to \$1,999	1.5	5.7	7.0	5.7	0.0	4.9	2.4	6.7
\$2,000 to \$2,999	3.9	9.2	9.6	3.9	1.8	3.4	8.5	5.4
\$3,000 to \$3,999	7.4	9.2	11.3	9.0	5.3	3.8	9.2	12.3
\$4,000 to \$4,999	12.3	9.2	18.2	5.3	11.2	5.7	18.0	15.5
\$5,000 to \$7,499	15.2	11.3	16.6	4.1	11.8	5.3	20.8	10.6
\$7,500 to \$9,999	28.1	25.2	24.0	12.8	34.1	26.6	23.5	16.1
\$10,000 and over	20.3	12.2	7.5	12.2	22.9	25.1	9.0	16.4
	11.3	18.1	5.9		12.9	25.1	8.7	
Presbyterian								
Total	100.0	100.1	100.1		100.0	99.9	100.1	
Less than \$1,000				5.5				4.9
\$1,000 to \$1,999	1.5	5.7	7.0	5.7	0.0	4.9	2.4	6.7
\$2,000 to \$2,999	3.9	9.2	9.6	3.9	1.8	3.4	8.5	5.4
\$3,000 to \$3,999	7.4	9.2	11.3	9.0	5.3	3.8	9.2	12.3
\$4,000 to \$4,999	12.3	9.2	18.2	5.3	11.2	5.7	18.0	15.5
\$5,000 to \$7,499	15.2	11.3	16.6	4.1	11.8	5.3	20.8	10.6
\$7,500 to \$9,999	28.1	25.2	24.0	12.8	34.1	26.6	23.5	16.1
\$10,000 and over	20.3	12.2	7.5	12.2	22.9	25.1	9.0	16.4
	11.3	18.1	5.9		12.9	25.1	8.7	

TABLE 3.11--Continued

Income	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
Episcopal								
Total	99.8	100.0	100.1		100.2	100.1	99.9	
Less than \$1,000	1.4	0.0	6.4	6.4	4.0	4.1	3.6	0.5
\$1,000 to \$1,999	2.9	3.8	8.4	5.5	2.7	7.6	8.1	5.4
\$2,000 to \$2,999	1.4	9.1	10.9	9.5	7.1	6.9	13.2	6.3
\$3,000 to \$3,999	2.9	3.0	11.2	8.3	11.1	7.6	19.4	11.8
\$4,000 to \$4,999	7.2	6.1	15.8	9.7	18.6	6.2	19.2	13.0
\$5,000 to \$7,499	30.4	21.1	23.6	9.2	27.0	35.2	23.0	12.2
\$7,500 to \$9,999	24.6	28.0	9.7	18.3	18.6	16.6	8.2	10.4
\$10,000 and over	29.0	28.8	14.1	14.9	11.1	15.9	5.2	10.7
Other Protestant								
Total	100.0	100.0	100.1		99.9	100.1	99.9	
Less than \$1,000	2.3	5.1	8.4	6.1	1.0	2.3	5.0	4.0
\$1,000 to \$1,999	5.6	13.3	9.6	7.7	2.7	5.9	7.2	4.5
\$2,000 to \$2,999	11.3	9.7	15.7	6.0	5.4	7.0	11.7	6.3
\$3,000 to \$3,999	14.8	9.2	16.2	7.0	12.3	10.5	18.4	7.4
\$4,000 to \$4,999	13.4	11.1	20.2	9.1	17.8	9.2	19.6	10.4
\$5,000 to \$7,499	29.4	26.6	18.6	10.8	36.0	33.6	25.0	11.0
\$7,500 to \$9,999	15.6	15.0	6.2	9.4	16.6	16.1	8.4	8.2
\$10,000 and over	7.6	10.0	5.2	4.8	8.1	15.5	4.6	10.9

Roman Catholic

TABLE 3.11--Continued

Income	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference	GAF	I & W	NORC	Largest Difference
Jewish								
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0	100.0	
Less than \$1,000	0.7	1.6	1.3	0.9	1.2	7.2	2.2	6.0
\$1,000 to \$1,999	0.7	1.6	7.3	6.6	2.4	9.4	16.4	14.0
\$2,000 to \$2,999	2.1	3.2	6.2	4.1	4.8	4.3	17.4	13.1
\$3,000 to \$3,999	4.9	3.2	11.6	8.4	7.1	8.6	16.2	9.1
\$4,000 to \$4,999	6.2	3.2	11.8	8.6	17.9	8.6	15.1	9.3
\$5,000 to \$7,499	11.8	24.0	31.5	19.7	32.1	27.3	22.1	10.0
\$7,500 to \$9,999	17.4	17.6	11.4	6.2	25.0	10.1	7.2	17.8
\$10,000 and over	56.2	45.6	18.9	37.3	9.5	24.5	3.4	21.1
All Religions								
Total	99.9	100.1	99.9		99.9	99.9	100.1	
Less than \$1,000	4.7	2.1	10.2	8.1	2.1	5.0	7.3	5.2
\$1,000 to \$1,999	8.1	13.4	7.2	6.2	4.5	8.4	10.0	5.5
\$2,000 to \$2,999	11.6	5.2	13.0	7.8	8.5	8.5	13.8	5.3
\$3,000 to \$3,999	17.4	15.5	12.2	5.2	12.8	9.3	17.4	8.1
\$4,000 to \$4,999	8.1	10.3	19.7	11.6	15.6	9.9	17.7	7.8
\$5,000 to \$7,499	22.1	28.9	18.4	10.5	29.0	28.6	21.3	7.7
\$7,500 to \$9,999	19.8	14.4	7.6	12.2	16.5	15.0	7.0	9.5
\$10,000 and over	8.1	10.3	11.6	3.5	10.9	15.2	5.6	9.6

made among the GAF, I & W, and NORC samples reveal less congruence for these three variables than those previously discussed. Within each religious group the GAF respondents appear to be more highly educated, have higher occupational statuses, and earn more money than the I & W respondents, who are in turn higher than the NORC respondents. It must be remembered that the GAF data are restricted to people of younger ages than the other two studies. In addition, the I & W sample was completed five to eight years after the NORC data were collected. We know that the younger cohorts are exceeding older ones in amounts of education, occupational statuses, and the incomes they attain. The elimination of several of the older cohorts from the GAF data and one or two from the I& W data could produce the differences that occur between the three sets of data.

Since we find no consistent biases in either the GAF or the I & W samples with regard to religious preference and the other variables examined, and only a few moderate incongruences with the CPS and NORC studies, we shall consider the two sets of data to be near approximations of the characteristics found in the U.S. population in 1960; remembering, of course; the age, sex, and marital status restrictions that are imposed.

3.9 Difficulties Arising From the Data

Basically, there are three problems that need resolving at this point. First, there is no widely accepted way to classify people by religious preference into meaningful homogeneous religious groupings. Second, the multivariate analysis we propose to undertake will necessitate basing conclusions on small sample frequencies. Third, our solution to the second problem, to analyze two sets of data separately, demands that we consider the differences in the universes from which the two data samples were drawn.

Defining meaningful religious groupings is very similar to the problem Blau and Duncan faced in setting up occupational categories to represent the occupational structure (Blau and Duncan, 1967; 24). The twelve religious groupings decided upon are the results of this social scientist's attempt to delineate meaningful homogeneous groupings that would reflect the major differences in the religious structure of America. The fact that some of these groupings are not homogeneous is obvious to the most casual reader, e.g. "Other Protestants" and "Other religious groups." Furthermore, any of the other ten religious groupings contain several subgroups that may be different from each other. For instance, "Presbyterians" could be separated into United Presbyterians of the U.S.A., Cumberland Presbyterians, and Presbyterian of the U.S. Each one of these three groups maintains its own organization and each draws its membership from a different region of the country. Gaustad's Historical Atlas of Religion in America describes the various religious groups that make up each of our twelve religious groupings and relates their history and geographical concentrations in the U.S. (Gaustad, 1962).

Three criteria were used in determining the religious groupings to be used: (1) homogeneity within groups, (2) no group could contain less than 2 per cent of the total sample in both sets of data, and (3) it had to be possible to define each group in both sets of data. Given the limitations stated above regarding the homogeneity of the religious groupings, we, nevertheless, assume each of the twelve groupings to be a meaningful category with important differences from each of the other categories. The one exception is "Other religions" which is a residual category that is included in our analysis for completeness only. Regarding our second criteria, i.e. minimum size of a category, we have included all religious groups that were coded by the original investigators that

represent at least 2 per cent of the sample in one or both of the data sets. If our sample sizes were larger we could eliminate this criterion and examine other specific religious groups that would be of interest, e.g. Mormons and Jehovah's Witnesses. Our third criterion is necessary since in a few cases two religious preference groups were coded in a single category and there was no way we could separate them.

Our second problem stems from the fact that we desire to undertake a multivariate analysis that requires considering several independent variables simultaneously, resulting in small frequencies in many categories of each variable. Even though our methodology allows us to gain the greatest efficiency from our data, we will, nevertheless, analyze both sets of data separately and only discuss conclusions that are consistent with both sets of data. We do this in order to increase our confidence that we are observing actual differences, rather than differences due to sampling variability.

The third problem arises because the GAF data represent a subpopulation more restricted with respect to age and marital status than the I & W data. Differences observed between the two sets of data could be reflecting these differences between the respective universes rather than sampling variability. In many instances we can consider this possibility by considering the subsample from the I & W data that corresponds exactly to the universe of the GAF data to see if the differences disappear. Of course, this further reduces the sample size under consideration for the I & W data when we do this.

3.10 Summary

In this chapter we have described the GAF sample and the I & W sample and the data derived from each upon which our secondary analysis is based. We have outlined the major variables to be considered in our

analysis. We have compared the two sets of data we are using with other national studies and found them to be similar. Finally, we have considered the problems of defining meaningful religious groupings, multivariate analysis with a limited sample size, and difficulties stemming from the two universes from which our samples are drawn. Each of these problems hopefully has been satisfactorily resolved for the reader, so that he shares the author's confidence in the results of the study.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter we begin by reviewing the basic model used by Blau and Duncan to describe the process of socio-economic achievement as a framework in which to evaluate three alternative techniques of analysis that may be used. We intend to use the Blau and Duncan model as the starting point for our study and to modify it by adding religious preference as an additional origin variable. We have compared the results of the path analysis from the Blau and Duncan study with the results obtained from the Income and Welfare Study (I & W) and 1960 Growth of American Families Study (GAF) data wherever possible.

The major portion of the chapter is devoted to the comparison of the three techniques of analysis that can be used for analyzing data that consist of a quantitative dependent variable and either qualitative or quantitative independent variables. The three techniques are: multiple-classification analysis, multiple regression analysis using dummy variables, and covariance analysis. A simplified model in which father's occupational status and initial religious preference are both assumed to influence the amount of education a person receives is used to illustrate each of the three techniques and to serve as a comparison among the techniques.

Since no difference is observed in the conclusions for the illustrative example among the three techniques, we have selected multiple-classification analysis to be used exclusively throughout the study.

Further support is added to our decision by demonstrating the extent to which our data meet the additive assumption made necessary by the use of multiple-classification analysis. This is done by using a covariance procedure to test the assumption of a common regression slope among religious preference categories for the dependent variable regressed on one of the independent variables other than religious preference. In some cases our data have met this assumption, in other cases there are slight deviations. In the latter case we have decided to tolerate some error or build an interaction variable to remove the additive assumption. Finally, we discuss how the selection of our procedures has allowed us to eliminate several weaknesses of other studies that have focused on a similar topic.

4.1 The Basic Model of Socio-economic Achievement

In order to have a framework in which to evaluate the alternative methods of analysis available, we need to set forth the process by which socio-economic status is achieved. In doing so, we shall draw heavily on the work of Blau and Duncan (1967). Their model of the process of socio-economic achievement is based on a chronological ordering of the variables found to be relevant to the process. The variables are ordered chronologically with regard to the points in an individual's life when they are presumed to have an effect. Social origin variables, e.g. father's education and father's occupation, influence an individual's early achieved statuses, e.g. his education and his first job. Both origin and early achieved statuses then influence his later socio-economic statuses, e.g. his current occupation and his current income. The model is a very useful one because additional variables can be examined by hypothesizing their position in the schema and determining

their relationship with the other variables. In fact, the major thrust of this study is to modify the basic model proposed by Blau and Duncan to include religious preference.

It is important that we verify that Blau and Duncan would have reached the same conclusions using our data. Figure 4.1 corresponds to Blau and Duncan's Figure 5.1 (Blau and Duncan, 1967:170). We have inserted the path coefficients that are derived from the I & W data. Comparing the two figures reveals a few discrepancies; but in general, it remains true that social origin statuses have little direct effect on first job and current occupational statuses, but do have an indirect effect as mediated through educational achievement.

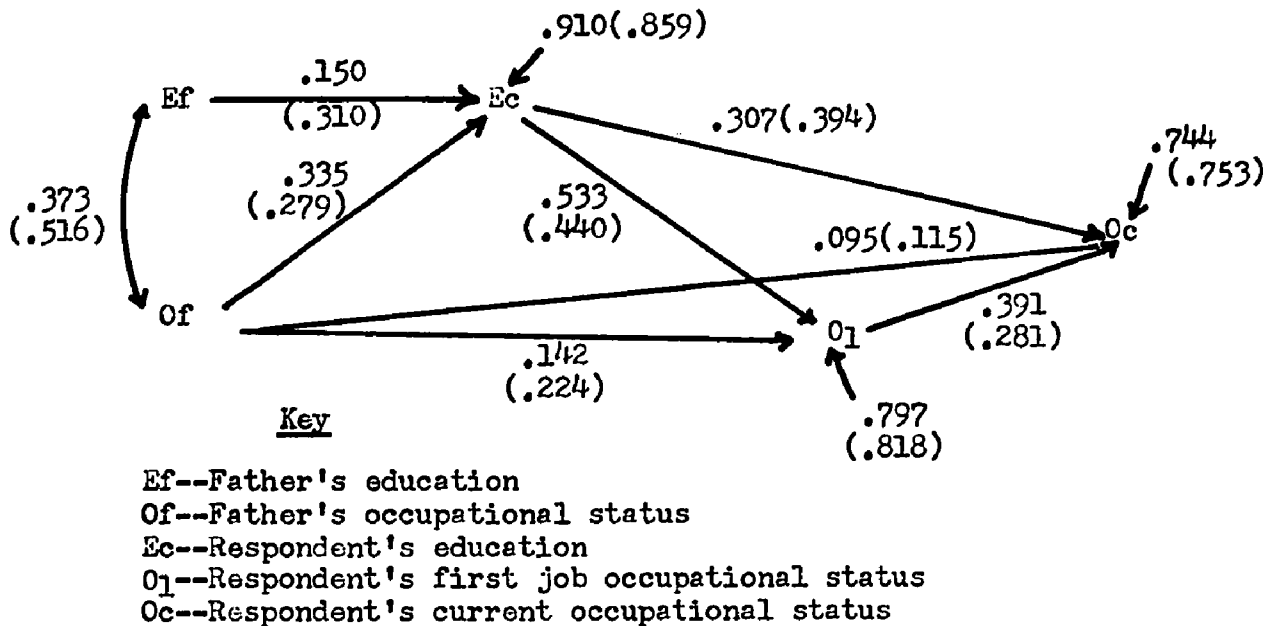


Figure 4.1 -- Basic Model for the Process of Stratification (Source: The basic model comes from Figure 5.1 in The American Occupational Structure, Blau and Duncan, 1967, p. 170. The path coefficients shown with the model are for the I & W data with the corresponding coefficients from the Blau and Duncan data shown within the parentheses.)

The correlation coefficients computed from the path diagram reproduce the observed ones almost perfectly for the two cases where the algebra does not force it to be so; namely, current occupation with father's education and first job with father's education. The comparisons are .200 with .196 and .198 with .208, respectively.

The largest discrepancies between the two sets of data occur when examining the relative roles of father's education and first job. Some insight is gained by examining the difference between the zero-order correlation coefficients in the two studies as shown below the diagonal in Table 4.1. We observe that for the I & W data the correlations of father's education with all other variables in the basic model fall substantially below those in the Blau and Duncan study. While it is not possible to determine precisely what part of these differences is due to sampling variability and what part is due to differences in procedure, it is most likely that the latter is the primary cause.

TABLE 4.1

Zero-order Correlations for I & W and GAF Samples (Above Diagonal)
and Differences Between Blau and Duncan Correlations and
I & W and GAF Correlations (Below Diagonal)

	I & W Sample					GAF Sample		
	Oc	O ₁	Ec	Of	Ef	Oc	Ec	Of
Oc	.....	.605	.574	.352	.206	Oc	.....	.599
O ₁	-.064	.....	.589	.351	.196	Ec	-.003	.....
Ec	.022	-.015	.....	.391	.275	Of	.015	.011
Of	.053	.066	.047	.....	.373			.....
Ef	.114	.136	.178	.143	.....			

Key

Same as in Figure 4.1

Note:

A positive value below the diagonal indicates the Blau and Duncan correlation to be the larger, whereas, a negative value indicates the correlation from this study is the larger one.

The procedural differences are two in number. First, the I & W data have father's education coded into one category for those with one to eight years of schooling rather than the three separate categories in the Blau and Duncan study. This single category was inadvertently assigned a value of eight in computing the correlations, when it should have been somewhat less. The second procedural difference is that 14 per cent of the fathers, for whom no educational grade was reported, are grouped with those who had completed some high school, instead of being treated as a separate category or eliminated as was done in the Blau and Duncan study.

Most of the analysis presented here does not involve regression analysis using father's education. When multiple classification is our mode of analysis, the first difference in procedure does not apply and we are only confronted by the not ascertained being placed with the some high school men. Since the variable, father's education, enters into our analysis only in a minor way, the time and cost of changing the procedures to make them conform with those of Blau and Duncan outweigh the benefits of slight changes that would be expected.

No explanation is given for the differences involving the first job, other than to note that the first job is slightly less correlated with education and current occupation in the I & W sample and education and current occupation are slightly more correlated.

For the GAF data, we do not have measures of father's education or first job status. The zero-order correlations between those variables in the basic model, for which we do have measures, and their comparisons with those of Blau and Duncan's study are shown in Table 4.1. In general, except for the differences noted above, we shall assume that the relationships found in the Blau and Duncan study hold true for our data unless

otherwise noted. We have introduced the basic model at this point so that the illustration based on one segment of the model used in the next section will be meaningful to the reader.

4.2 Comparison of Three Techniques of Analysis

Our major task in this chapter is to consider three techniques of analysis that are suitable for the questions we are attempting to answer and the data that we are using. Multiple-classification analysis, multiple regression analysis using dummy variables, and covariance analysis are techniques that allow the researcher to analyze the influence of both quantitative and qualitative independent variables on a quantitative dependent variable. Each technique requires the investigator to make somewhat different assumptions about the relationships between his variables. We will state these assumptions for each technique as we consider each method individually. The reader may also wish to consult chapter four in Blau and Duncan's (1967) work, where each method is discussed in greater detail.

To facilitate our comparison of the three techniques of analysis we have selected two examples from our later analysis for which we shall apply each of the techniques and then compare the results. These two examples were selected because they illustrate the least and greatest differences for the variables considered in this study resulting from the methods of analysis.

For the first example we have chosen to examine the influence of father's occupational status and initial religious preference on the amount of education one receives. We are assuming that religious preference and father's occupational status are correlated and determined simultaneously and that both influence educational achievement. In the

second example, father's religious preference and current education influence current occupational status. For each example we are interested in answering two questions. First, what role does religious preference play in accounting for the variation in educational achievement (or occupational achievement in the second example)? Second, what are the differences in educational achievement (occupational achievement) among the religious preference groupings after differences in father's occupational (current education) status have been taken into account?

To answer the first question we shall consider the decomposition of the sum of squares of the dependent variable as computed using each of the three techniques. We shall be concerned with the amount of the variation "explained" (1) by religious preference alone, (2) in combination with the other independent variable, and (3) net of the other independent variable. To answer the second question we shall consider the net deviations for each religious group from the mean educational level or occupational level for the total population after the differences in father's occupational status or current educational achievement have been taken into account.

4.3 Multiple-classification Analysis

Multiple-classification analysis allows us to consider several independent variables simultaneously without diluting our data so much that the results are meaningless. With this method each independent variable is treated like a qualitative variable whether it is or not. No order is assumed among the categories of the classificatory variables. Of course, when quantitative variables are made classificatory, some precision is lost. Only the dependent variable needs to be quantitative. While we do not have to make assumptions about the relationship between the dependent variable and any of the independent variables, we must

assume that the net effect of each independent variable is additive with regard to the other independent variables. Stating this another way, we must assume that for each category of a given independent variable, there is a common slope representing the relationship of each of the other independent variables with the dependent variable. The extent to which this assumption is not met, indicates the presence of some interaction of the independent variables with regard to their effect on the dependent variable. We will consider how well our data meet this assumption later in this chapter when the covariance method is considered.

Using multiple classification to consider the first example, we see from the upper panel of Table 4.2 that father's occupational status

TABLE 4.2

Two Illustrative Examples Using Multiple-classification Analysis, Covariance Analysis, and Regression Analysis to Allocate the Total Sum of Squares

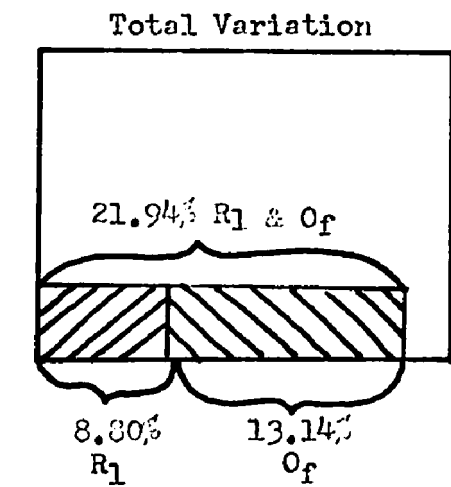
Variables (1)	GAF Data		I & W Data	
	Multiple Classifi- cation (2)	Covariance & Multiple Regression (3)	Multiple Classifi- cation (4)	Covariance & Multiple Regression (5)
Per Cent of Total Sum of Squares for Education				
Initial Religious Preference (R_0) ^a	8.80	8.80	5.03	5.01
Father's Occupational SES (O_f)	18.22	18.42	15.48	15.30
R_0 , O_f	21.94	21.90	17.77	17.42
R_0 , net O_f	3.72	3.48	2.29	2.12
O_f , net R_0	13.14	13.10	12.72	12.41
Per Cent of Total Sum of Squares for Current Occupation				
Initial Religious Preference (R_0)	7.81	7.81	5.88	5.88
Current Education (E_c)	40.14	35.86	37.85	32.99
R_0 , E_c	41.36	37.32	39.13	34.51
R_0 , net E_c	1.21	1.46	1.28	1.52
E_c , net R_0	33.55	29.51	33.25	27.11

^aRespondent's first preference in the GAF sample; father's preference in the I & W sample.

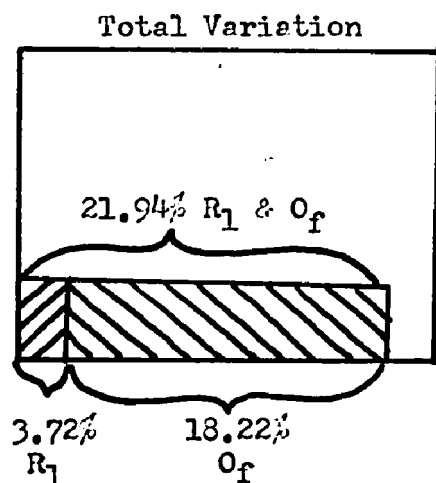
"explains" 18.22 per cent and 15.43 per cent of the variation in education for the GAF and I & W data, respectively. First religious preference for the GAF data and father's religious preference for the I & W data accounts for 8.80 and 5.03 per cent of the total sum of squares of the education variable, respectively. Together, father's occupational status and initial religious preference "explain" 21.94 and 17.77 per cent of the total sum of squares, respectively for the GAF and I & W data.

When we wish to examine the percentage of the total sum of squares "explained" by one variable, net of the other variable, there are two possibilities. (See Figure 4.2). We can allow initial religious preference to "explain" all of the variation that it can, including any that is accounted for jointly with father's occupation. Then assign the difference between this amount and the amount "explained" by the two variables together to father's occupation. If we proceed in this manner, then initial religious preference accounts for 8.80 per cent and father's occupational status "explains" an additional 13.14 per cent with religious preference fixed, as can be seen for the GAF data in Table 4.2. Using the same procedure for the I & W data, initial religious preference can account for 5.03 per cent of the variation, with an additional 12.72 per cent "explained" by father's occupational status with religious preference fixed.

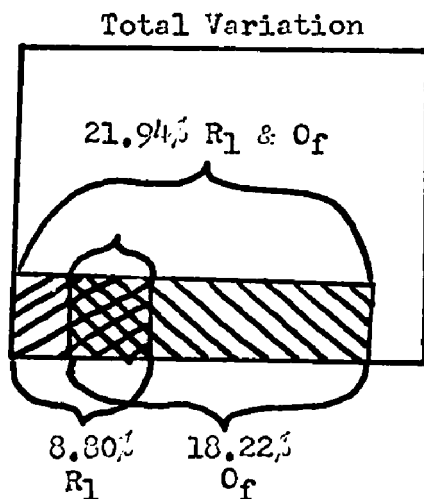
The second possibility is to allow father's occupational status to "explain" all of the variation that it can, whether it be directly or indirectly through religious preference, and then assign to initial religious preference the difference between that amount and the total amount "explained" by the two variables together. Following this procedure, father's occupational status "explains" 18.22 per cent of the total sum of squares and religious preference accounts for an additional 3.37 per cent



Line	Variation Accounted For	
1	21.94%	Explained by R_1 & O_f
2	(-) 3.80%	Is the most R_1 can explain by itself
3	13.14%	Explained by O_f with R_1 fixed



4	21.94%	Explained by R_1 & O_f
5	(-) 18.22%	Is the most O_f can explain by itself
6	3.72%	Explained by R_1 with O_f fixed

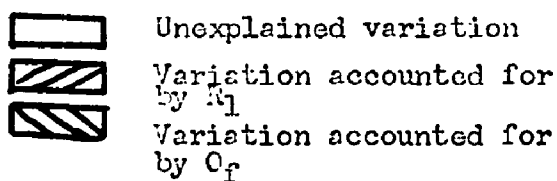


Calculation of the Overlap

$$\begin{array}{r}
 18.22\% \text{ line 5} \\
 (-) 13.14\% \text{ line 3} \\
 \hline
 5.08\% \text{ overlap}
 \end{array}$$

OR

$$\begin{array}{r}
 8.80\% \text{ line 2} \\
 (-) 3.72\% \text{ line 6} \\
 \hline
 5.08\% \text{ overlap}
 \end{array}$$



R_1 First Religious Preference
 O_f Father's occupation

Figure 4.2 -- Allocation of Total Sum of Squares for Education Using Multiple-classification Analysis: An Example Using GAF Data.

when father's occupational status is fixed, with regard to the GAF sample. For the I & W data 15.48 per cent and an additional 2.29 per cent are the corresponding amounts.

The two possibilities arise because father's occupation and initial religious preference are not statistically independent. Thus, we have a positive overlap of 5.08 per cent between the two variables as is shown graphically in Figure 4.2 for the GAF data. A similar overlap of 2.74 per cent is found in the I & W data. Figure 4.2 also illustrates the calculations performed in the two procedures above for the GAF data. Corresponding comparisons may be drawn for the second example using the information in the lower panel of Table 4.2.

To answer our second question we examine the net deviations from the mean of the dependent variable for each religious preference group. The net deviations are determined by subtracting the mean value of the dependent variable from the calculated mean for each religious group assuming no difference among the groups on the other independent variable. Columns two and four of Table 4.3 reveal the net deviation from the mean educational level of the population for the GAF and I & W data, respectively. The Jewish group has the largest advantage when the effect of father's occupational status has been equalized, about 1.7 years of schooling more than the average. The "Protestant unspecified" group has the largest net disadvantage in both samples eight-tenths of a year in the GAF data and one-half of a year in the I & W data.

Columns six and eight show the deviations from the mean occupational status for each of the initial religious preference groupings net of educational achievement for the GAF and I & W data, respectively. There are approximately eleven units separating the religious group with the greatest advantage from the one with the largest disadvantage. The

TABLE 4.3

Educational Attainment by Initial Religious Preference for Two Illustrative Examples Using Multiple-classification Analysis, Covariance Analysis, and Regression Analysis (In Deviations From the Grand Mean)

Initial Religious Preference (1)	Educational Attainment Net of Cf				Occupational Achievement Net of Ec				
	GAF Data		I & W Data		GAF Data			I & W Data	
	M.C.A. (2)	C.A. & R.A. (3)	M.C.A. (4)	C.A. & R.A. (5)	M.C.A. (6)	C.A. & R.A. (7)	M.C.A. (8)	C.A. & R.A. (9)	
1. Protestant	-.81	-.85	-.49	-.38	-2.29	-2.99	1.49	.79	
2. Unspecified	-.71	-.63	-.47	-.42	-2.45	-1.52	-3.62	-3.43	
3. Baptist	-.62	-.58	1.18	1.01	-1.91	-2.61	-.29	1.52	
4. No Religion	-.30	-.28	.03	.11	-.62	-1.22	-.11	-.46	
5. Protestant Other	-.05	-.09	-.33	-.30	.79	.43	.15	-.39	
6. Catholic	.16	.26	.09	.14	-1.55	-2.79	1.99	2.36	
7. Lutheran	.44	.46	.13	.15	.05	-.12	.86	.59	
8. Other Religions	.43	.33	-.16	-.20	2.80	2.35	-1.79	-1.23	
9. Presbyterian	.85	.83	1.36	1.16	4.83	4.34	2.98	3.92	
10. Congregational	1.09	1.01	.99	.84	-3.35	-3.08	3.67	5.30	
11. Episcopal	.80	.73	1.12	.97	4.66	5.86	3.81	3.08	
12. Jewish	1.77	1.78	1.72	1.50	7.40	9.51	7.94	10.19	

Symbols

Cf Father's Occupation
 Ec Respondent's Education
 M.C.A. Multiple-classification Analysis
 C.A. & R.A. Covariance Analysis and Regression Analysis

Jewish group again has the largest advantage, while the largest disadvantage falls upon the Congregational group in the GAF data and upon the Baptist group in the I & W data.

While both our examples have included only two independent variables, several independent variables may be used with the multiple-classification technique. We shall discuss the differences between the values calculated using multiple-classification and the other two techniques after we have considered the assumptions necessary for the latter two procedures.

4.4 Multiple Regression Analysis Using Dummy Variables

Multiple regression analysis provides the second mode of analysis for our three variable model of educational achievement. In order to compute the total sum of squares in this manner, father's occupation is assumed to have a linear relationship with education. Religious preference is used as a set of twelve dummy variables, with the value of one if the respondent is a member of that specific religious group and zero if he is not. Then we follow the usual procedures of linear regression and regress educational achievement on father's occupational status and the set of twelve initial religious preference variables. Using this procedure, 21.94 and 17.42 per cent of the total sum of squares is accounted for in the GAF and I & W data, respectively, by father's occupation and initial religious preference as seen in Table 4.2.

Two differences exist in the methods used to compute the total sum of squares between the multiple regression analysis and the multiple-classification procedure. In the multiple-classification analysis the father's occupational status scores were grouped into eight categories and no assumption was made about the rank order of the categories or about the relationship of father's occupation with education; whereas in the linear regression procedure we had to assume that the relationship

between father's occupation and education was linear. Also, in the multiple-classification analysis we were able to allocate those who did not report father's occupation to a broad category; but in the linear regression method we had to assign a specific score.

What conclusions can be drawn from the decomposition of the "explained" sum of squares using the dummy variable regression procedure? Columns three and five of the upper panel of Table 4.2 summarize the decomposition of "explained" sum of squares. The results vary only slightly from those obtained using multiple-classification analysis. It is evident that any explanatory power lost by using broad groupings instead of the specific status scores in the multiple-classification analysis is offset by the added "explanation" from avoiding the assumption of linearity in this example. (It is most likely true that neither influence is very extensive here.)

Columns three and five of the lower panel of Table 4.2 represent the corresponding calculations for our second example: initial religious preference and current education influencing current occupational status. It is evident in this case that there is some difference between the multiple-classification procedure and the regression analysis. Requiring education to be linearly related to current occupation, as we do in the multiple regression analysis here, decreases the "explained" sum of squares by approximately 4 per cent. We could make use of a curvilinear multiple regression technique, but this has not been done.

In answering our second question, we see that columns three, five, seven, and nine of Table 4.3 indicate the net deviations for the initial religious preference groupings for our two examples for each set of data using the multiple regression technique. Each net deviation is the regression coefficient for the corresponding dummy variable. The

deviations for the first example are almost identical with those computed using the multiple-classification procedure; whereas, those in the second example differ somewhat between the two methods. As with multiple-classification, we can add additional quantitative or qualitative independent variables to the analysis.

4.5 Covariance Analysis

We can also make use of covariance analysis to answer the same questions dealt with above by multiple classification and multiple regression analysis. This is possible since in our first example the dependent variable, education, is quantitative along with one of the independent variables, father's occupational status. The other independent variable, religious preference, is classificatory. The same situation exists for the other example. We make no assumptions about the relationship of either the dependent or independent quantitative variable to the classificatory one, but we do assume that the relationship between father's occupational status and educational achievement is linear within each religious category.

The "explained" sum of squares resulting from the covariance analysis is identical with the multiple regression analysis using dummy variables. The difference between the grand mean and the adjusted means provides net deviations identical with those found using the regression technique since the same assumptions were made. That is, the quantitative independent variable has the same slope within each category of religious preference. This assumption is common to all three techniques. The covariance analysis allows us to examine how well the data meet this assumption.

Table 4.2 summarizes the results for the three variable model from the two methods of analysis: multiple classification and covariance analysis.

As Table 4.2 shows, there is very little difference between the multiple classification analysis and the covariance analysis for the I & W data and only a slight variation between the two methods for the GAF data. The covariance analysis "explains" an additional 1.46 per cent for father's occupational status and initial religious preference together, with corresponding changes in the decomposition of the "explained" sum of squares. Similar conclusions were reached using regression analysis, also.

If the reader is convinced, as we are, that the same conclusions will be reached no matter which of the three techniques are used, we shall focus on multiple-classification analysis and consider how well our data meet the additive assumption. The reader is referred to Hill, (1959) Melichar, (1965) Suits, (1957) and Blau & Duncan (1967:128) if he is interested in pursuing the computational procedures or desires a further explanation of multiple classification analysis.

Covariance analysis provides a way of examining our data to see if an independent variable operates on a dependent variable in the same way for each category of a control variable. By using religious preference as a control variable consisting of twelve categories, we can compare the slopes of a dependent variable regressed on one of our independent variables, as long as both dependent and independent variables are quantitative.

We carried out covariance analyses using initial religious preference (father's or first) as a control variable with education, occupation, and income variables taking the roles of dependent and independent variables as previously hypothesized.

In order for the additive model to represent the data accurately, the slope for each category of the control variable would have to be the same as in all the others. The extent to which they are not the same indicates the degree to which the additive model does not accurately describe the relationships under study. Walker and Lev (1953) outline the procedure for the appropriate statistical test to determine if there is a common slope among all categories of the control variable.

Table 4.4 provides the means, slopes, and Y intercepts for our two examples for both sets of data. Looking at current education regressed on father's occupation for each category of religious preference in early life, we see that the slopes range from .045 to .075 in the GAF data and from .047 to .084 for the I & W data. In both sets of data, we see that the Baptist and "Protestant unspecified" groups are at the upper extreme, while the Protestant other group is at the lower extreme. The other two groups at the extremes (Episcopal in the GAF data and Other religions in the I & W data) do not maintain their position in both sets of data.

The striking fact is that there is such a similarity among the slopes. Rather than to attempt an explanation of these minor differences at this point, we simply note them and focus our attention on the other example which poses more of a problem.

For current occupation regressed on current education within each initial religious preference group, we see that the GAF data slopes range from 3.13 to 6.33 and the I & W data slopes range from 2.93 to 5.54. Baptists and Protestant Unspecified groups are found to have slopes at the lower extreme in the GAF sample. They have slopes of 3.13 and 3.27 respectively, compared to the average within slope of 4.01. The Jewish group also has a somewhat similar slope of 3.65. At the upper extreme the Congregationalists have a slope of 6.33. All other groups have slopes between 4.07 and 4.99 in the GAF data.

TABLE 4.4

Covariance Analysis for Two Examples: Education on Father's Occupation
Within Initial Religious Preference Groups and Occupation on
Education Within Initial Religious Preference Groups

Initial Religious Preference (1)	GAF Data				I & W Data			
	Means		Slope	Y-Inter- cept	Means		Slope	Y-Inter- cept
	(2) ^a	(3) ^b	(4)	(5)	(6) ^a	(7) ^b	(8)	(9)
Ec on Of								
R's Education Regressed on Father's Occupation								
1. Protestant Unspecified	10.1	20.9	.073	3.6	10.2	25.2	.081	3.2
2. Baptist	10.5	23.5	.075	3.7	10.0	22.7	.082	3.2
3. No Religion	10.7	25.9	.052	9.4	11.6	24.5	.050	10.3
4. Protestant Other	10.9	23.8	.045	9.8	10.7	25.1	.047	9.5
5. Catholic	11.4	28.2	.063	9.6	10.5	27.8	.056	8.9
6. Lutheran	11.5	25.4	.057	10.1	10.8	26.4	.065	9.1
7. Methodist	11.9	23.7	.063	10.1	10.9	27.8	.055	9.4
8. Other Religions	12.1	32.7	.058	10.2	10.4	24.9	.084	8.3
9. Presbyterian	12.7	34.5	.055	10.8	12.4	34.7	.063	10.2
10. Congregational	13.0	35.2	.054	11.0	12.2	37.7	.065	9.8
11. Episcopal	13.3	45.3	.071	10.1	12.5	40.1	.058	10.2
12. Jewish	14.2	43.5	.056	11.8	13.2	42.1	.061	10.6
Average within Slope			.063				.064	
Oc on Ec								
R's Occupation Regressed on Education								
1. Protestant Unspecified	29.4	10.2	3.27	- 3.8	34.1	10.2	3.16	1.3
2. Baptist	32.2	10.5	3.13	- .6	29.2	10.0	2.93	- .2
3. No Religion	32.1	10.7	4.18	-12.8	39.7	11.6	4.74	-15.2
4. Protestant Other	34.2	10.9	4.05	- 9.9	34.6	10.7	4.03	- 8.6
5. Catholic	37.7	11.4	4.07	- 3.6	33.8	10.5	3.68	- 4.7
6. Lutheran	35.2	11.5	4.34	-20.7	37.8	10.8	3.67	- 1.9
7. Methodist	39.5	12.0	4.78	-17.6	36.4	10.9	3.48	- 1.6
8. Other Religions	42.5	12.1	4.97	-17.5	32.7	10.4	4.07	- 9.6
9. Presbyterian	46.9	12.7	4.99	-16.3	45.0	12.4	4.55	-11.3
10. Congregational	40.6	13.0	6.33	-41.4	45.9	12.3	5.54	-22.0
11. Episcopal	50.7	13.2	4.03	- 3.4	44.7	12.5	4.27	- 8.8
12. Jewish	53.1	14.2	3.55	6.2	54.1	13.2	3.59	6.2
Average within Slope			4.01				3.59	

^aDependent variable means: top panel, respondent's education;
lower panel, respondent's occupational status.

^bIndependent variable means: top panel, father's occupational status;
lower panel, respondent's education.

In the I & W data Baptists and Protestant Unspecified also have the lowest slopes, 2.93 and 3.16, respectively. Methodist, Jewish, Lutheran, and Catholic groups have slopes in the 3.40 to 3.70 range. Protestant Other and Other religions have similar slopes of 4.03 and 4.07, respectively; followed by Episcopal, Presbyterian, and No Religion with slopes ranging from 4.27 to 4.74. Congregationalist are again at the upper extreme, as in the GAF data, with a slope of 5.54.

Rather than start any substantive analysis here by offering detailed explanations as to why the slopes may differ as they do, we simply state a few of our suspicions and indicate the alternatives which faced us regarding methodological procedures.

Several factors may cause the differences we observe in the two examples. With regard to current education regressed on father's occupation, it may be that for the Baptists and the Protestant Unspecifieds it is simply a regression toward the mean. That is, their fathers are so low on the occupational scale that obtaining the minimal amount of schooling allowed in our country necessitates that these two groups have a steeper slope than the other groups. It is also true that the large proportion of nonwhites in the Baptist group also contributes to the difference in the relationship between current education and father's occupation. We feel justified in emphasizing the similarity among the slopes in this example, and do not make any judgment at this point as to the reasons for their minor differences. We shall delay any explanation until we have examined these variables in a wider context.

Our second example is more of a problem, for we cannot emphasize the similarity in slopes among the initial religious preference groups with regard to current occupation regressed on current education. Focusing first on the GAF data alone, we see that Baptists and Protestant

Unspecifieds have very low slopes. We suggest that if these two groups obtained higher amounts of education than what their social origins suggested, then it is possible they were not able to translate this extra education into occupational achievement because of their origin handicap or racial discrimination in the case of many of the Baptists; thus, producing a low slope for occupation regressed on education. The Jewish group also has a less steep slope. In this case, we note that their mean educational achievement is 14.2 years of schooling, or just over two years of college. With most Jews receiving such high educational attainment, regression toward the mean can occur. There is little room for the Jew to move up on the occupational scale, but there is space on the ladder for him to move down. The remaining religious groups in the GAF data have somewhat similar slopes, with the exception of the Congregational group. The reasoning is much the same for the I & W data. While the groups at both extremes remain the same there is less clustering of groups between the higher and lower slopes.

Table 4.5 indicates that religious preference and current education appear to interact with each other to some extent with regard to their influence on current occupational status for both sets of data and with regard to their influence on family income in the I & W data. With only a few other exceptions religious preference can be assumed to have an additive effect with some degree of confidence. We have not created an interaction variable for religious preference and education in these two cases, but have decided to tolerate some error in the additive assumption. With regard to possible interaction between religious preference and race or region we have created a single variable that considers race and region separately for each religious preference, thereby eliminating the additive assumption where this constructed variable is used. Little difference can

TABLE 4.5

Covariance Analysis: F Test For Common Slopes Within
Religious Categories For Selected Dependent and
Independent Variables, GAF and I & W Data

Independent and Dependent Variables	GAF Data		I & W Data	
	Within R_1	R_c	Within R_f	R_c
Ec regressed on E_f O_f	.91 ^a		1.48 ^a 2.22 ^a	
Oc regressed on O_f Ec	1.61 ^a 4.62	1.90 ^a 6.30	2.18 ^a 3.82	3.50 5.28
I _f regressed on O_f Ec Oc	1.68 ^a 1.48 ^a 1.79 ^a	1.15 ^a .83 ^a 1.20 ^a	3.11 3.98 1.66 ^a	2.16 ^a 3.15 2.50

^aIndicates slopes that do not differ by more than chance
at the 99th percentile.

Symbols

- R_1 First religious preference of the respondent
- R_f Father's religious preference
- R_c Respondent's current (1960) religious preference
- E_f Father's education
- O_f Father's occupational status
- E_c Respondent's education
- O_c Respondent's current occupational status
- I_f Respondent's family income

be seen in the conclusions reached using the interaction variable from those reached using the three variables based on the additive assumption. We have not evaluated the possibility of an interaction between religious preference and farm experience or nationality nor have we created an interaction variable to remove the assumption of additivity, but proceed as if they are additive. We doubt if any other alternative would change the results substantially.

We conclude that in most cases our data meet the additive restriction necessary for multiple-classification analysis. In those cases where they do not meet the restriction we hope the reader will agree to tolerate as error in the model any interaction effects that have not specifically been considered. We do not suspect that our conclusions would be substantially different if we did not make the assumption of additivity among our independent variables with regard to each dependent variable.

4.6 Advantages Over Other Studies Derived From the Data and Methods Used

Both the data and the methodology used in this study enable us to overcome several of the weaknesses found in previous studies that focused on the relationship between religious preference and socio-economic achievement. First, in most of the previous studies (e.g. Lenski, 1961; Gockel, 1969; and Goldstein, 1969) the indication of religious preference was the current religious preference of the individual at the time of the study. It was assumed that his current religious preference was his life long religious preference. In this study we focus on initial religious preference (either father's preference or the respondent's first preference). For if religious preference has a causal relationship with socio-economic achievement, it needs to be determined at a point in the life cycle prior to the points at which socio-economic achievement is measured.

The second advantage found in this study over many of the previous studies is that more detailed religious groups are considered, rather than only the Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups that have been previously examined. Some researchers, e.g. Burchinal (1962) and Glenn and Hyland (1967), have concluded that there is little difference in socio-economic

achievement between Protestants and Catholics. They have based their conclusion on the fact that almost no differences in the various measures of socio-economic status are observed between the two categories. However, upon examining the means for the several large religious groups that comprise the Protestant category, one observes that several Protestant groups have mean socio-economic statuses far above the Catholic mean, while some Protestant groups are below the Catholic mean. Thus, considering only the Protestant category, and not the many groups comprising it, masks much of the heterogeneity among the various Protestant religious groups.

The third improvement results from being able to consider socio-economic origins of the respondents. Previous studies have not examined advantages or disadvantages placed upon their followers with regard to the socio-economic positions of their families of orientation. This study takes into account differences in father's occupational status among the religious groups before examining differences in current socio-economic status among the religious groups. Fourth, through the use of multiple-classification analysis several factors can be considered simultaneously rather than the traditional way of examining the relationship of only one or two independent variables at a time.

The fifth innovation is the consideration of the possible relationships between changing religious preference and socio-economic achievement. In most previous works, e.g. Lenski (1961), Gockel (1969), and Goldstein (1969) only religious preference at a single point in the life cycle (usually current religious preference) has been considered. Here we consider initial religious preference as well as current preference, and we attempt to relate the changes in preference that occur with socio-economic achievements.

The sixth and final difference from many of the previous studies on this topic is that our data are from national samples that include most of the adult male population in their universes. This is unlike many of the earlier works that were based only on samples from cities or metropolitan areas.

In no way do we mean to imply that this is the first study on this topic that has ever incorporated any of the above six features. Instead, we recognize that most of the earlier studies were unable to incorporate most of these points as a result of the lack of development of data collection procedures and the limited techniques of analysis available at the time they were done.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter we have described the basic model for the process of social stratification used by Blau and Duncan and indicated at what points we intend to extend the model by considering religious preference. Three methods of analysis (multiple-classification analysis, multiple regression analysis with dummy variables, and covariance analysis) were considered for use in this study. Multiple-classification analysis was selected over the other two, since it did not differ greatly from them and was the most convenient to use. It was also demonstrated by using the covariance procedure that the additivity assumption necessary for multiple-classification analysis is approximately valid for most of the relationships under consideration. We concluded by discussing the combination of innovations found in this study that have been absent in most of the previous studies on religious preference and socio-economic achievement, such as considering early religious preference, considering detailed religious groupings, eliminating social origin differences among religions before considering socio-economic achievement, considering

several independent variables simultaneously, considering the effects of changes in religious preference on socio-economic achievement, and finally using data representative of the adult male population of the country as a whole.

CHAPTER V

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ON EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

In this, the first substantive chapter, the focus is on educational achievement, the first of the three indicators of socio-economic achievement to be considered. The discussion centers around two questions. First, how important is initial religious preference in accounting for variation in the amount of educational achievement? Second, why do the religious preference groups differ in average educational attainment?

There are several plausible ways that early religious preference might influence the amount of schooling that an individual receives. The early religious training given a child shapes his values. For example, if his religious instruction teaches knowing right from wrong and living according to the Ten Commandments are the crucial factors leading to salvation, then "book learning" and a college degree may not be very important to him. However, if a child's religious training teaches that he has been placed on Earth as a trustee and administrator of God's world, and that he must try to understand the functioning of its various systems in order to guide the world wisely; then education and advanced degrees would be necessities to fulfill the child's trusteeship. Failing to obtain the most education possible would be failing to develop his God given abilities to the fullest, and thereby sinning against God. Yet, a child of another religious faith may have emphasized to him the suffering and evils in the world that need to be remedied in order to bring about Heaven

on Earth. Thus, this child sees that the roles most suited to accomplish this task (such as doctor, minister, scientist, or lawyer) require long training periods through formal education. Acquiring a lengthy formal education is a necessity for him if he is to follow his religious catechism.

These illustrations lead us to hypothesize that a child's early religious training may shape his attitudes toward education. In turn, these attitudes determine how far the child goes in school.

Studies have indicated that differences exist among religious groups in the amount of schooling their adherents receive (e.g., Goldstein, 1969). Few of these studies, however, have attempted to account for these differences. Most of the studies have failed to consider the differences among the religious groups in such important characteristics as father's occupation, race, region of residence, farm background, and national origin; all of these influence the direction and the distance one moves in the stratification system.

Our contention is that differences in socio-economic achievements observed among the religious groups may be attenuated when differences in father's occupation, race, and other background characteristics are taken into account.

5.1 Cautions About the Data

Again we must remind the reader that the data for this study are based on two national samples of about 3000 cases each. One set of data relates to men married to women 18-44 years old, while the other set of data is for all adult men without regard to age or marital status. Both limitations (small sample size and differences in age and marital status) cause concern at this point in the analysis. In an attempt to lessen the

probability of interpreting findings resulting solely from sampling error, we have decided to consider only patterns or relationships that appear in both sets of data. Following this procedure, we shall discuss only those patterns that are present in both the GAF and I & W data. We will indicate where inconsistencies occur between the two sets of data without attempting to explain them. The one exception to this is the consideration of the national origin variable available only in the GAF data. In this case, we present the findings only so that other researchers may attempt to validate or invalidate them. A further refinement (again, with the cost of further reducing our sample size) relates to the differences between the two samples in age and marital status. The I & W sample is comprised of all men who would be eligible for the GAF sample plus older married men and single men. Therefore, we also consider the subsample of the I & W data that is exactly comparable to the GAF data in these respects. In this manner, if we observe inconsistencies between the GAF data and the I & W data that are not present between the GAF data and the exactly comparable subsample of the I & W data, then we can attribute the disagreement to the age and marital status differences in the two samples. Of course, we would also need to verify that no discrepancies exist between the I & W sample and the I & W subsample, when none exist between the GAF and the total I & W sample, in order for our reasoning to be sound.

5.2 Initial Preference and Educational Achievement

Initial religious preference accounts for 8.8 and 5.0 per cent of the variation in educational achievement in the two samples as shown in Table 5.1 on line 3. The first column in each of the three panels of Table 5.2 indicates the deviations from the grand mean expressed in number of years of schooling completed for each religious preference. The grand means and

TABLE 5.1

Percentage of the Total Sum of Squares Explained for Education by
Selected Variables for the GAF and I & W Samples

Variables ^a	GAF Sample	I & W Sample	
		Entire Sample	Subsample ^b
1 Ef	n.a. ^c	11.42	12.30
2 Of	18.22	15.48	17.47
3 R ₀	8.80	5.03	5.98
4 Ra	3.31	2.42	3.01
5 Re ₀	3.99	3.84	2.86
6 Fm	7.02	9.12	9.82
7 Na	9.66	n.a.	n.a.
8 RRR	13.06	11.00	13.41
9 Of R ₀	21.94	17.77	20.34
10 Of R ₀ Ra	22.73	18.47	21.27
11 Of R ₀ Re ₀	23.49	19.91	...
12 Of R ₀ Fm	23.34	21.04	...
13 Of R ₀ Ra Re ₀	24.05	20.40	22.26
14 Of Ra Re ₀ Fm	22.96	21.40	...
15 Of Ra Re ₀ Fm R ₀	25.51	23.43	25.60
16 Ra Re ₀ Fm	11.57	12.62	...
17 Ra Re ₀ Fm R ₀	16.62	15.80	...
18 Na R ₀	14.80	n.a.	n.a.
19 Of Na	22.42	n.a.	n.a.
20 Of Na R ₀	24.79	n.a.	n.a.
21 Of Na R ₀ Ra	24.85	n.a.	n.a.
22 Of Na Ra Re ₀ Fm	25.24	n.a.	n.a.
23 Of Na Ra Re ₀ Fm R ₀	27.26	n.a.	n.a.
24 Ef Of	n.a.	19.49	20.75
25 Ef Of R ₀	n.a.	21.44	23.32
26 Of RRR	24.63	21.42	...
27 Of RRR Fm	25.93	24.01	...
28 Of RRR Na	26.39	n.a.	n.a.
29 Of RRR Na Fm	27.79	n.a.	n.a.

^aSymbols:

- 1 Ef Education of the respondent's father
- 2 Of Occupational SES of the father
- 3 R₀ Early religious preference of the respondent
- 4 Ra Race
- 5 Re₀ Region of the country respondent spent most time in before marriage
- 6 Fm Farm experience
- 7 Na National Origin on father's side
- 8 RRR Interaction variable composed of race, region, and early religious preference

^bThis subsample contains almost 54 per cent of the total sample and corresponds exactly to the GAF sample. That is, it is made up of married men, who are married to women ages 18 to 44 years old.

^cOriginal study did not collect data on these characteristics.

TABLE 5.2

Educational Attainment by Initial Religious Preference for GAF and I & W Samples
(In Deviations From the Grand Mean)

Initial Religious Preference	Gross	Other Variables in Model a						
		Of	OfRa	OfReo	OfFm	OfRa ReoFmNa	OfNa	OfRa ReoFmNa
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
GAF Sample								
Protestant								
Unspecified	-1.29	-.81	-.91	-.81	-.79	-.89	-1.26	-.83
Baptist	-.96	-.71	-.56	-.47	-.59	-.26	-.57	-.24
No Religion	-.71	-.62	-.64	-.75	-.53	-.67	-.81	-.70
Protestant Other	-.54	-.30	-.34	-.31	-.18	-.24	-.50	-.29
Catholic	-.08	-.05	-.13	-.13	-.22	-.33	-.08	-.07
Lutheran	.10	.16	.08	.12	.28	-.04	-.29	-.12
Methodist	.50	.44	.47	.46	.49	.52	.47	.44
Other Religions	.63	.43	.45	.39	.47	.46	.42	.33
Presbyterian	1.24	.85	.81	.73	.84	.68	.81	.63
Congregational	1.52	1.09	1.03	.87	1.05	.81	.84	.67
Episcopal	1.82	.80	.75	.88	.63	.68	1.20	.50
Jewish	2.75	1.77	1.72	1.70	1.55	1.49	2.70	1.72
Entire I & W Sample								
Protestant								
Unspecified	-.60	-.49	-.55	-.66	-.44	-.64		
Baptist	-.79	-.47	-.32	-.17	-.26	.04		
No Religion	.90	1.18	1.27	1.24	1.14	1.30		
Protestant Other	.00	.08	.00	.22	.25	.23		
Catholic	-.26	-.33	-.40	-.51	-.56	-.69		
Lutheran	.07	.09	-.01	-.11	.18	-.07		
Methodist	.22	.18	.21	.22	.24	.26		
Other Religions	-.39	-.16	-.12	-.15	-.30	-.20		

TABLE 5.2--Continued

Initial Religious Preference	Gross	Other Variables in Model ^a						
		Of	OfRa	OfReo	OfFm	OfRa ReoFm	Na	OfNa ReoFmNa
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Presbyterian	1.77	1.36	1.29	1.14	1.21	.97		
Congregational	1.63	.99	.94	.59	.77	.45		
Episcopal	2.04	1.12	1.08	1.08	.94	.97		
Jewish	2.68	1.72	1.64	1.53	1.39	1.30		9
I & W Subsample								
Protestant								
Unspecified	-.86	-.76	-.82	-.93	-.73	-.94		
Baptist	-.87	-.56	-.42	-.27	-.40	-.07		
No Religion	.02	.49	.54	.35	.58	.49		
Protestant Other	-.05	.00	-.08	.15	.16	.17		
Catholic	-.06	-.12	-.18	-.31	-.30	-.47		
Lutheran	.70	.77	.66	.58	.88	.60		
Methodist	.31	.23	.26	.31	.27	.33		
Other Religions	.44	.34	.27	.48	.44	.46		
Presbyterian	1.14	.73	.65	.55	.53	.34		
Congregational	1.57	.96	.95	.72	.61	.46		
Episcopal	1.60	.65	.60	.56	.55	.48		
Jewish	3.15	2.22	2.14	1.99	1.91	1.73		

^aSymbols:

Of Father's occupational SES

Ra Race

Reo Childhood region of the country

Fm Childhood farm experience

Na National Origin on father's side of the family

the standard deviations for the respective panels are: GAF sample, a mean of 11.44 years of schooling and a standard deviation of 3.17 years; I & W total sample, a mean of 10.44 years and a standard deviation of 3.69 years; I & W subsample, a mean of 11.20 years and a standard deviation of 3.33 years. It is reassuring to note that the GAF and the I & W subsample are almost identical with regard to their means and standard deviations of school years completed.

Each of the three panels reveals that large differences in educational attainment occur among the religious groups. There is a difference of three and one-half to four years of schooling between the religious group having the lowest educational attainment and the group with the highest attainment. Such a difference is seen to be consequential when we remember that it represents the difference between completing slightly more than the tenth grade and having completed two years of college.

The top panel of Table 5.2 has the twelve religious groups listed in order of their gross deviations from the grand mean in the GAF sample. The middle and lower panels each follow this same order for listing the religious groups, but the rank ordering does not completely hold true for the I & W total and subsample. In both cases Other religions is placed several positions nearer the top of the scale than in the GAF data. No doubt, this is because it is a residual group composed of all neo- and non-Christian groups such as Jehovah's Witnesses and Buddhists, whose composition may vary greatly from sample to sample. In addition to the neo- and non-Christian groups, a large part of this category consists of those respondents for religious preference was not ascertained. Therefore, we will not mention this group, other than to indicate its presence since any interpretation of its relationship with the socio-economic variables would be only speculative.

Examining the I & W subsample we see that in addition to Other religions being misplaced, that No religion and Protestant other both have higher educational attainments than in the GAF data, but are nevertheless in the approximately correct positions. The only other variation in the I & W subsample listing worth noting is that the Protestant unspecified, Lutheran, and Jewish groups have about one-half a year more schooling than is indicated in the GAF data. Thus, we conclude that other than the Other religions category and the differences in the means indicated, there is little difference in the over-all ranking of religious preference groups between the GAF data and the I & W subsample. With some exceptions the ranking in the I & W total sample is similar to the GAF ranking. Note, however, the higher value for the No religion group.

We conclude that: (1) Protestant unspecified and Baptist groups are substantially below the mean educational level for U.S. men; (2) No religion (exception in I & W total sample), Protestant other, and Catholic groups are at or slightly below the mean level of education; (3) Lutheran and Methodist groups are slightly above the mean; (4) Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal groups are at least an additional one-half a year higher above the mean than Lutheran and Methodists groups; and (5) the Jewish group has the highest mean educational attainment of all religious groups (one-half to one and one-half years more than the next highest group).

5.3 Group Differences in Educational Achievement Net of Father's

Occupational Status

Do the differences in educational achievement among the religious groups increase, decrease, or persists when we equate the groups for such characteristics as father's occupational status, race, region, farm ex-

perience, and national origin? Taking into account one or more of these characteristics in each instance, we consider the net effect of each religious group. For the sake of clarity, we shall describe only the patterns observed in the GAF data and point out the differences in the I & W data whenever they occur.

We see in Table 5.1 (line 9 minus line 2) that religious preference accounts for an additional 3.72 per cent of the variation, net of that accounted for by father's occupational status alone in the GAF sample, and an additional 2.29 per cent in the I & W data. Thus, when father's occupational status is considered first, it accounts for over four-fifths of the variation "explained" by religious preference and father's occupational status together. Nevertheless, religious preference still makes a contribution of its own.

Considering educational attainment among religious groups net of father's occupational status, we notice that the difference between the least educated group and the most educated group has been substantially reduced. A difference of four years separate the Protestant unspecified group from the Jewish group when no other variables are considered, but only 2.6 years separate the two groups after considering father's occupational status. We also notice that the rank ordering is preserved, except for the position of the Episcopal group which is somewhat lower.

A closer examination reveals that the handicap placed on Protestant unspecified by their father's occupational status is most severe in the GAF sample, and that after making the adjustment for father's occupation the net deviations in the GAF data (-.81) and in the I & W subsample (-.76) are very similar. It is clear that father's occupation acts as a handicap to the Protestants unspecified and the Baptist in educational achievement. In fact, their educational attainment would increase almost one-quarter of

a year if this handicap was removed. The role of father's occupation is unclear with regard to No religion and Protestant other groups. It is either somewhat of a handicap or has no influence on the amount of schooling obtained by the followers of these two groups. All panels of Table 5.2 indicate that father's occupational status for those who are Catholics, Lutherans, or Methodists is neither a handicap nor an advantage to them. Father's occupation is a definite advantage for those who are Presbyterians and Congregationalists. If the influence of father's occupation is eliminated, these two groups would attain almost five months less schooling, on the average, than they actually do. The remaining two religious groups (Episcopal and Jewish) receive the largest advantage of any group from father's occupational status. Removing this advantage reduces the average educational attainment for both groups by almost a whole year.

We conclude that a sizable part of the differences in educational attainment among the religious groups is a result of the differences in father's occupational status among the groups. Nevertheless, substantial differences remain in educational achievement after father's occupational status has been taken into account. The extreme case is that of the Episcopal group, where over half of the 1.8 years advantage is attributable to their advantage in having fathers from the higher occupational statuses. Even after this advantage is removed, however, the Episcopal group still exceeds the grand mean for educational attainment by over six-tenths of a year of school.

5.4 Additional Controls for Race, Childhood Region, and Farm Experience

The religious groups are known to differ in their racial, regional, and farm background composition. Each of these variables is also related to educational achievement. Is there any "explained" variation that can

be attributed to religious preference after race, region, farm experience, and father's occupational status are considered first? If religious preference does have some additional effect on education, what are the differences in average educational attainment among the religious groups that cannot be attributed to the advantages or handicaps of race, region, farm experience, and father's occupational status experienced by each group?

Race, region, and farm experience considered together account for approximately 12 per cent of the variation in educational achievement in the two samples (Table 5.1, line 16). An additional 5.0 and 3.2 per cent of the variation in education is explained by religious preference beyond that attributable to race, region, and farm experience in the GAF and I & W samples, respectively (Table 5.1, line 16 minus line 17). Almost six-tenths of all the variation explained by religious preference is non-overlapping with the other three variables.

Addition of father's occupational status shows that initial religious preference accounts for 2.6 and 2.0 per cent of the variation explained beyond that attributable to the four variables (Table 5.1, line 14 minus line 15). Thus, the five variables together account for approximately one-fourth of the variation in educational achievement. While the influence of religious preference does not vanish when the other four variables are considered, the amount of importance that can be attached to an increment in the "explained" sum of squares of 2.0 to 2.5 per cent may be small.

However, the differences in educational achievement that remain after differences in race, region, and farm experience are taken into account are interesting. Columns 3, 4, and 5 of Table 5.2 show the deviations from the mean educational achievement of all men for each religion after differences in father's occupational status and each of the other

three variables have been controlled. The cumulative effects of these variables can be seen by comparing column 6 with columns 1 and 2 of Table 5.2.

Only one religious group is handicapped by the influence of the three variables, three groups receive no advantage or handicap, six religious groups receive an advantage, and the data are unclear about one group as to whether it is handicapped or undergoes no net change. The effects from the three variables are not completely overlapping, nor do they offset one another, for the change in the means are no longer two-tenths of a year of school or less. The Baptist group which is the only group that definitely suffers a handicap, would increase its mean educational level by one-half a year of school if it had the same racial, regional, and farm backgrounds as the population as a whole. No religion, Methodist, and Protestant unspecified are unaffected by the three variables, or any advantage from one is offset by one or both of the other two variables. Protestant other followers either experience no net change or suffer a slight handicap. Episcopal and Lutheran groups receive two-tenths of a year or less advantage; while Catholics, Congregational, and Jewish groups benefit from three-tenths to five-tenths of a year more schooling as a result of their backgrounds relating to race, region, and farm experience. The Presbyterian group experiences advantages of two-tenths to four-tenths of a year.

When we examine the differences in educational achievement among the religious groups net of father's occupational status, race, region, and farm experience we see that most groups have net deviations that are substantially smaller (in absolute values) than their unadjusted ones. There are notable exceptions, such as the Catholics and Methodist, which we will discuss later. We may illustrate this point another way. Using

the mean for the U.S. as the standard, almost three-fourths of the handicap experienced by the Baptists is due to their disadvantaged positions relating to father's occupation, race, region of residence, and farm background. At the other end of the scale almost one-half of the advantage observed for the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal groups is attributed to their superior backgrounds in race, region, farm experience, and father's occupational status.

5.5 Religious Group Differences in Educational Achievement Controlling For National Origin

Any investigation of the role of religious preference in socio-economic achievement that fails to consider nationality would be incomplete. Previous research has indicated that religious preference and national origin are interconnected (Laumann, 1969). Other researchers have pointed out the role of national origin in influencing socio-economic achievement (Blau and Duncan, 1967; Duncan and Duncan, 1968; Duncan, Featherman, and Duncan, 1968).

Our study of national origin is somewhat restricted since only the GAF study ascertained relevant information. As a result, our conclusions concerning the relationship of the roles of religious preference and national origin in influencing socio-economic achievement will have to be of a more tentative nature than if both data sets were available for comparison. It is also likely that the conclusions may not be the same as those reached if a sample covering all adult men was used, since there is reason to believe that nationality is losing its importance. This results from the large reduction in the number of immigrants since the 1920's. Thus, we would suppose that ethnic origin might play a more important role for those men over forty-five that are not included in the GAF sample than for those men under forty-five that are included.

It is important that we make the distinction between national origin and nativity or parentage before proceeding. The data that we are using indicates national origin. It is based on the respondents' answers to the question, "What is the original nationality of his family on his father's side?" Obviously, this is not the same as determining a respondent's nativity or parentage by ascertaining his birthplace, his father's birthplace, or his grandfather's birthplace. Most everyone in the study indicated a country or list of countries in response to the national origin question. If we were to focus our attention only on nativity or parentage we would be concerned with a much smaller segment of our sample as shown in Table 5.3.

TABLE 5.3

Percentage of Men with Parent or Grandparent Born Outside the U.S. by Initial Religious Preference, GAF Sample

Initial Religious Preference	One or both parents born outside U.S.	One or more grandparents born outside U.S.
Protestant		
Unspecified	9.3	21.3
Baptist	2.7	7.2
No Religion	9.8	26.5
Protestant other	7.0	11.7
Catholic	45.8	70.4
Lutheran	25.4	58.3
Methodist	5.4	15.7
Other Religions	13.8	24.1
Presbyterian	9.0	23.9
Congregational	15.5	39.4
Episcopal	24.3	40.5
Jewish	86.8	93.8

The table indicates that less than 22 per cent of the men had one or both parents born outside the United States and only 36 per cent of them had one or more grandparents born in foreign lands. Also, it is important

to notice the high degree of association between religious preference and the chances of being a first or a second generation American. If you are a Baptist, the chances are less than three in one hundred that you had a parent born outside the U.S.; whereas, if you are a Jew the chances are almost eighty-seven in one hundred that one or both of your parents were not born in the United States. A similar pattern exists between religious preference and grandparents born outside the country with only minor variations as indicated in Table 5.3. As a result of the different time patterns followed by the various sections of Europe in immigrating to the U.S., the national origin variable is reflecting both variations in cultural norms and values and variations in the length of time in which the respondents' families have been in the U.S.

Eight national origin groupings were selected with the intention of presenting as many separate categories as feasible. The eight groupings are seen in the stub of Table 5.4. We selected the national origin for

TABLE 5.4

Percentage of Men and Women Whose Father and Mother Were
of the Same National Origin Group by National Origin
Group of Father, GAF Sample

National Origin Group of Father	Per Cent Whose Father & Mother Were the Same National Origin	
	Men	Women
English	50.3	48.4
Irish	42.8	38.5
German	53.2	43.8
Other Northern & Western European	48.7	42.5
Central & Eastern European	86.1	83.7
Southern European	85.5	83.9
Other National Origins	84.8	74.0
Negro & Not Ascertained	100.0	100.0

the father's side because the other characteristics also deal with the father, such as father's occupation and father's education. We could have easily used mother's national origin or introduced two variables into the model to make use of national origin on both sides of the family. As Table 5.4 indicates, there is a high proportion of the respondents whose father and mother are of the same national origin. Little difference in the effect of national origin would be anticipated if mother's national origin was substituted, or if both national origins were used. The various concentrations of the eight national origins in each of our twelve religious groups are shown in Table 5.5.

As Table 5.1 indicates, national origin accounts for almost 10 per cent of the variation in educational achievement by itself. This is just slightly more than the amount of the variation accounted for by religious preference alone. Line 19 of Table 5.1 reveals that father's occupational status and national origin "explain" just over 22 per cent of the variation in educational achievement. Again, this is almost the same amount accounted for by religious preference and father's occupational status together. Coupling these similarities with the knowledge of the strong relationship between religious preference and national origin seen in Table 5.5, we raise the question, are national origin and religious preference two variables that are actually indicating the same characteristic in the population?

If nationality and religious preference are both representations of a single characteristic, then when considered together in the same model the amount of the variation "explained" should be about the same as when just one of them is considered. However, this is not the case. Together, the two variables account for 14.80 per cent of the variation in educational achievement, or over 5 per cent more of the variation than is "explained"

TABLE 5.5

Percentage of Men Whose Fathers Are of a Given National Origin Group
By Initial Religious Preference, GAF Sample

Initial Religious Preference	National Origin Group of the Father (See Note)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Protestant	13.9	3.7	14.8	13.0	1.9	1.9	49.1	1.9
Unspecified	13.7	6.9	7.5	7.4	0.3	0.0	41.0	23.3
Baptist	17.7	11.8	18.6	8.8	3.9	1.0	33.3	4.9
No Religion	17.2	8.4	14.7	8.1	0.7	0.7	44.3	5.9
Protestant Other	5.7	12.3	16.0	5.1	19.9	15.3	24.7	1.1
Catholic	5.3	2.2	48.7	32.5	1.8	0.9	7.9	0.9
Lutheran	23.9	5.0	15.3	10.0	1.3	0.8	33.9	9.8
Methodist	29.3	5.2	8.6	13.8	1.7	0.0	39.7	1.7
Other Religions	39.4	5.2	13.6	12.3	1.9	1.3	24.5	1.9
Presbyterian	43.7	8.5	22.5	14.1	2.8	0.0	8.5	0.0
Congregational	55.4	5.4	8.1	9.5	0.0	2.7	17.6	1.4
Episcopal	0.7	0.7	9.0	0.7	72.2	2.1	14.6	0.0
Jewish								
Total	15.5	7.5	15.6	9.5	9.1	4.5	30.6	7.9
								100.2

Note:

National Origin Groups

- 1 English
- 2 Irish
- 3 German
- 4 Other Northern & Western European
- 5 Central & Eastern European
- 6 Southern European
- 7 Other National Origins
- 8 Negro & Not Ascertained

by either religious preference or national origin alone. (Table 5.1, line 18 compared with line 3 or line 7).

Consider the effect of national origin in conjunction with the other variables we have previously discussed. If we allow father's occupational status and initial religious preference to "explain" all the variation they can, we see that adding national origin allows us to account for an additional 2.9 per cent of the variation in educational achievement. When we consider all of the variables that have been previously introduced into the model (father's occupation, initial religious preference, race, region of the country, and farm experience), we see that national origin adds approximately an additional 1.75 per cent to the sum of squares "explained" by the variables. Thus, the six variables together account for 27.26 per cent of the variation in educational achievement.

We have verified that national origin and religious preference are highly associated with each other, but are not completely overlapping in their effects on education. In fact, although national origin and religious preference appear to account for similar amounts of "explained" variation in educational achievement, it is well to consider both in a model related to educational achievement. Religious preference still accounts for 2.02 per cent of the variation when all five variables have been considered including national origin. This is only slightly less than the 2.55 per cent added by religious preference when only four other variables were examined with national origin excluded. However, including national origin did increase the total amount of variation "explained" by approximately 1.75 per cent. It is evident that no study of educational achievement should consider religious preference without taking account of national origin. It is also evident that religious preference is not simply expressing the effects of national origin, but has a contribution of its own to make to the understanding of educational achievement.

Column 7 of the top panel of Table 5.2 reveals the differences among religious groups in educational achievement after differences in national origin have been taken into account. Half of the groups are unaffected by national origin, while the other half either receive an advantage or handicap from their national origins.

The changes in the net deviations for the religious groups that occur when we account for national origin, father's occupational status, race, region, and farm experience can be seen by comparing column 9 with column 6. Only the Congregational and Episcopal groups experience any sizable change in amount of schooling, and then only three-tenths of a year or less. There is little or no change for all other groups. Perhaps, if we take account of differences in father's occupational status, race, region of residence, and farm experience, we need not be too concerned if we fail to also consider national origin. Of course, our earlier caution that we are not considering men of all ages and that national origin may have been more influential on the educational careers of older cohorts needs to be recalled here.

5.6 Father's Education Considered

In Blau and Duncan's research (1967) father's education plays a major role in determining educational achievement. In fact, father's education and father's occupation are seen as the two most influential variables in accounting for the variation in educational achievement, with the two variables having almost equal importance.

We have waited until this point in the discussion to introduce father's education into the model because, like national origin, only one of the samples includes information concerning it. In this case, only the I & W data has information about father's education. The cautions indicated

earlier about drawing conclusions based on a single set of data also apply here. In the I & W sample father's education alone accounts for only 11.42 per cent of the variation and this is somewhat less than the 15.48 per cent accounted for by father's occupational status (Table 5.1). The two variables account for 19.49 per cent of the variation together.

Does the introduction of father's education into the model modify the role played by religious preference? The role played by religious preference is almost unchanged. When religious preference is considered after father's occupation has "explained" all the variation it can, it adds an additional 2.35 per cent to the amount of variation explained. When both father's occupation and father's education have accounted for all the variation possible to attribute to them, the addition of religious preference adds an increment of 1.95 per cent to the "explained" variation. We conclude that father's education is a major factor in accounting for the variation in educational achievement, but that its inclusion in the model does not significantly modify the role played by religious preference.

5.7 Influence of Religious Preference on Educational Achievement

Within Racial and Regional Categories

We have previously considered race, region, and religious preference as individual variables, each combining with the others in an additive way. Now we shall consider the possibility that the additive assumption is not appropriate when considering the effect of race, region, and religious preference on educational achievement. In Chapter IV by using covariance analysis we were able to determine that the additive model was appropriate for father's occupation and religious preference, but because of the qualitative nature of the variables race and region we could not use the same technique with them.

Anyone familiar with the doctrinal positions and organization of religious groups in America would suggest that while the same name of a religious group may be used in the South and in the other regions, or by whites and nonwhites, in actuality, the beliefs and organization of many of the groups are very different. For instance, a respondent who indicates his religious preference as Presbyterian and who resides in Michigan is most likely affiliated with the United Presbyrerian Church of the U.S.A.; whereas if he says he is a Presbyterian and resides in Georgia he most likely is associated with the Presbyterian Chruch of the U.S. These two groups have maintained separate organizations since the Civil War. Similar illustrations could be cited for many of the other religious groups. Furthermore, it is only in recent years that churches have begun to have both whites and nonwhites in the same church. Our concern is that by considering religious groups without regard for their racial or regional composition we might be eliminating much of the heterogeneity that exists between religious groups with the same denominational name, and thereby not allowing religious preference to account for all of the variation in educational achievement for which it is actually responsible.

A new variable was constructed by subdividing the twelve religious groups by race (white and nonwhite) and by region (South and non-South) thus producing forty-eight categories. Of course, some of these categories have zero frequency, such as the category for non-white Jews living in the South.

Comparisons of the amounts of "explained" variation on lines 26, 28, and 29 with lines 13, 15, and 23, respectively, of Table 5.1 indicate that the interaction of religious preference with race and region explains approximately .5 per cent more of the variation in educational achievement than when the additive effects of the three variables were considered.

We conclude that using the twelve categories of religious preference as our religious variable and allowing race and region to enter the model with additive effects is an appropriate method, and that an interaction variable made up of the three characteristics adds little to the variation explained.

Even though little additional variation is explained using religious preference, race, and region as a single variable, we can benefit by comparing the differences in educational achievement of the various religious groups both within and across racial and regional categories. We are interested in determining whether religious groups have similar patterns of influence with regard to educational achievement, regardless of their geographical location or their racial characteristics. There are several specific questions that we shall consider. Does the rank ordering of religious groups by educational achievement observed earlier hold true within each regional and racial division? Are the differences among the religious groups of the same general magnitude within each regional and racial division? Does controlling for other variables (such as father's occupation and farm experience) have the same effect on educational achievement for the various religious groups within each regional and racial division?

5.8 Educational Differences among Religious Groups Within Regional and Racial Divisions

By examining column 3 for Northern (non-Southern) whites in each set of data (Tables 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8), we see that the upper and lower end of the ranking is preserved, but little difference can be found among the several groups in the middle. To be more specific, for the Northern whites, Protestant unspecified retains its position as the religious group

TABLE 5.6

Educational Achievement by Initial Religious Preference by Region and Race,
GAF Sample (Expressed as deviations from the grand mean)

Initial Religious Preference (1)	Frequencies (2)	Gross Effects (3)	Other Variables in the Model ^a	
			Of (4)	Offm (5)
White Northerners				
Protestant				
Unspecified	70	-.93	-.48	-.49
Baptist	165	.04	.01	.06
No Religion	75	-.21	-.20	-.10
Protestant Other	154	.03	.23	.34
Catholic	733	-.03	.00	.18
Lutheran	216	.03	.09	.21
Methodist	271	.82	.69	.71
Other Religions	39	.97	.86	.81
Presbyterian	116	1.13	.78	.75
Congregational	65	1.47	1.05	1.01
Episcopal	57	1.86	.78	.61
Jewish	137	2.71	1.78	1.58
Nonwhite Northerners				
Baptist	45	-.60	-.31	-.59
Catholic	7	-2.73	-1.82	-2.19
Methodist	14	1.42	1.82	1.67

TABLE 5.6--Continued

Initial Religious Preference	Frequencies	Gross Effects	Other Variables in the Model ^a	
(1)	(2)	(3)	Of (4)	Offm (5)
White Southerners				
Protestant				
Unspecified	36	-2.05	-1.63	-1.52
Baptist	399	- .78	- .60	- .39
No Religion	20	-1.49	-1.30	-1.22
Protestant Other	103	-1.16	- .97	- .81
Catholic	87	- .30	- .37	- .44
Lutheran	10	1.26	1.50	1.57
Methodist	157	.41	.23	.32
Other Religions	13	- .52	- .66	- .36
Presbyterian	35	1.79	1.30	1.40
Congregational	5	1.56	1.44	1.41
Episcopal	16	2.00	1.28	1.10
Jewish	7	3.70	2.46	2.19
Nonwhite Southerners				
Baptist	126	-2.99	-2.23	-2.17
Methodist	36	-1.86	- .97	- .84

^aSymbols:

Of Father's occupational status
Fm Farm experience

TABLE 5.7

Educational Achievement by Initial Religious Preference by Region and Race,
Entire I & W Sample (Expressed as deviations from the grand mean)

Initial Religious Preference	Frequencies	Gross Effects	Other Variables in the Model	
(1)	(2)	(3)	Of (4)	Offm (5)
White Northerners				
Protestant				
Unspecified	84	-.21	-.23	-.20
Baptist	121	.42	.27	.34
No Religion	22	1.38	1.61	1.46
Protestant Other	99	.87	.77	.79
Catholic	439	-.28	-.33	-.55
Lutheran	153	-.11	-.07	.01
Methodist	178	.56	.47	.46
Other Religions	69	.04	.20	.01
Presbyterian	75	2.00	1.62	1.46
Congregational	30	1.49	.93	.72
Episcopal	45	1.83	1.12	.96
Jewish	64	2.63	1.75	1.45
Nonwhite Northerners				
Baptist	26	.89	.79	.39
Catholic	13	-2.04	-1.18	-1.25
Methodist	11	1.28	1.93	.15

TABLE 5.7--Continued

Initial Religious Preference	Frequencies	Gross Effects	Other Variables in the Model ^a	
(1)	(2)	(3)	Of (4)	Offm (5)
White Southerners				
Protestant				
Unspecified	22	-1.85	-1.48	-1.37
Baptist	246	- .73	- .36	- .09
No Religion	6	-2.94	-2.35	-1.95
Protestant Other	103	- .60	- .38	-1.11
Catholic	40	.90	.25	.10
Lutheran	13	2.18	2.10	2.16
Methodist	128	.23	.01	.18
Other Religions	15	-1.37	-1.12	- .93
Presbyterian	16	1.56	1.04	.96
Congregational	0	-----	-----	-----
Episcopal	7	3.28	1.63	1.47
Jewish	1	5.56	4.38	4.17
Nonwhite Southerners				
Baptist	96	-2.91	-2.18	-1.89
Methodist	32	-2.09	-1.31	-1.11

^aSymbols:

Of Father's occupational status
Fm Farm experience

TABLE 5.8

Educational Achievement by Initial Religious Preference by Region and Race,
I & W Subsample (Expressed as deviations from the grand mean)

Initial Religious Preference (1)	Frequencies (2)	Gross Effects (3)	Other Variables in the Model ^a	
			Of (4)	Offm (5)
White Northerners				
Protestant	49	-.20	-.14	-.16
Unspecified	57	.40	.34	.37
Baptist	13	.65	.97	.96
No Religion	52	1.02	.83	.87
Protestant Other	229	-.03	-.03	-.21
Catholic	69	.37	.49	.63
Lutheran	84	.33	.21	.23
Methodist	34	-.08	-.09	-.29
Other Religions	44	1.33	.96	.72
Presbyterian	12	1.30	.75	.41
Congregational	23	1.15	.48	.39
Episcopal	29	3.15	2.30	2.01
Jewish				
Nonwhite Northerners				
Baptist	16	.24	.42	.04
Catholic	8	-1.95	-1.45	-1.53
Methodist	8	.80	1.53	1.19

TABLE 5.8--Continued

Initial Religious Preference (1)	Frequencies (2)	Gross Effects (3)	Other Variables in the Model ^a	
			Of (4)	Offm (5)
White Southerners				
Protestant				
Unspecified	14	-2.70	-2.53	-2.41
Baptist	148	-.81	-.51	-.27
No Religion	4	-2.95	-2.43	-2.17
Protestant Other	70	-.72	-.49	-.25
Catholic	30	.57	-.09	-.22
Lutheran	10	3.00	2.71	2.61
Methodist	73	.61	.39	.51
Other Religions	5	-1.20	-1.12	-.85
Presbyterian	9	.92	.37	.52
Congregational	0	-----	-----	-----
Episcopal	6	3.14	1.82	1.68
Jewish	0	-----	-----	-----
Nonwhite Southerners				
Baptist	46	-3.00	-2.31	-2.17
Methodist	13	-1.92	-1.25	-1.31

^aSymbols:

Of Father's occupational status
Fm Farm experience

with the least amount of education, while the Jewish group remains far ahead of all other groups in educational achievement. Furthermore, Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian groups have similar amounts of education that place them below the Jewish, but above all other groups, just as they are in the earlier ranking. No further distinctions can be made among the other six groups.

For the Southern white comparisons, we see that the general ordering is preserved with the exception that the Baptist and Lutheran groups both appear nearer the top. For the nonwhite groups, we have listed only two or three religious groups in each region because of the small number of cases in the other groups. Based on the observations from both the GAF and I & W samples, it appears that Northern nonwhite Catholics are less educated, on the average, than Northern nonwhite Baptists, who, in turn, are less educated than Northern nonwhite Methodists. For the Southern nonwhite groups the data suggest that the Baptists are, on the average, about one year less educated than the Methodists.

What are the differences in educational achievement between Southern and Northern followers of a given religious preference? For each of the religious groups under consideration we can compare the Southern white followers with those who are of the same religious preference and white, but not raised in the South. For Baptists, Catholics, and Methodists, we can also make similar comparisons for nonwhite followers.

Tables 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8 indicate that the Southern Protestant unspecified group has a much larger educational disadvantage than does its northern counterpart. In fact, it is almost exactly equal to the difference in means between the Southern and the Northern regions without regard to religious preference: one and two-tenths years. Both the Southern and Northern Protestant unspecified followers would have higher educational

achievements if it were not for their relatively low father's occupational statuses (Tables 5.6, 5.7, and 5.8; column 4). Neither group receives any advantage from its farm background (column 5).

Each racial and regional division for the Baptist category is large enough to examine, and each of the four is quite different from the other. White Baptists who grew up outside the South have a mean educational attainment equal to the average number of school years completed by the adult male U.S. population. (Of course, they are still below the mean for all men raised outside the South.) They are neither helped nor hindered in their educational pursuits by their father's occupational status or farm background. It is not unexpected that the nonwhite Baptists raised outside the South have a lower educational level than the white Baptists raised in the same region, but it is unexpected that the nonwhite Northern Baptists exceed the educational levels of both the white and nonwhite Baptists who grew up in the South. Furthermore, the nonwhite Baptists from the North have a handicap from their father's occupation positions, but this handicap is offset by the equally large advantage they gain by having a lack of farm backgrounds. The white Southern Baptists have a mean educational level that is the same as that of all people living in the South without regard to race or religion. Father's occupational status and farm background both act as a handicap to the white Southern Baptists with regard to their educational achievement. The nonwhite Southern Baptists have the lowest educational attainment of any group; almost three years less education, on the average, than that of the total population. Three-fourths of a year of this disadvantage can be attributed to their father's occupational status. Nonwhite Southern Baptists only experience a slight further handicap from their farm backgrounds.

With regard to the No religion group, the data are unclear. We may say that white Southerners with no religion have substantially lower educational achievements than do their Northern counterparts. Father's occupation and farm experience do not appear to be an advantage to either group.

The data are also unclear about the Protestant other group. Here too, the Northern whites have higher educational achievements than their Southern counterparts, but we cannot be sure about the size of the difference.

White Catholics, no matter what part of the country they were raised in, receive less than, or just as much education as the total population. They do not appear to have any advantage or disadvantage from their father's occupational position, but white Catholics have an advantage from not having lived on a farm. The I & W data for the Southern white Catholics do not follow this pattern exactly. Instead, the mean for the group is above the others, but resembles the others only after the effects of father's occupation have been eliminated. The nonwhite Northern Catholics have the lowest educational attainment for any group outside the South. They are handicapped by their father's occupation, but receive an advantage from their lack of farm background.

The Lutherans who grew up outside the South and are white attain an educational level at, or slightly above, the level of the population as a whole. Their father's occupational status has little bearing on their educational achievements, but they are somewhat handicapped by their farm backgrounds. The Southern white Lutherans achieve a much higher educational level than do their Northern counterparts. The mean educational attainment of the Southern Lutherans resembles the level attained by Presbyterians and

Congregationalists from the Southern and Northern regions. Furthermore, this high level of educational achievement cannot be attributed to any advantage from father's occupation or farm experience.

Both the Southern and Northern white Methodists have educational achievement levels approximately one-half year above the average for the total population. Those white Methodists raised outside the South are not influenced by the occupations of their fathers or by their farm backgrounds, whereas those raised in the South are handicapped by their father's occupation and have received an advantage from their lack of farm background. The nonwhite Northern Methodist group is the only nonwhite group that exceeds the educational levels of both its two white counterpart groups. In addition, it has a handicap from father's occupation, but receives an advantage from lack of farm experience. Unlike the first three Methodist groups, the nonwhite Southern Methodist group is below the grand mean for educational attainment; approximately two years below the mean. Nonwhite Southern Methodists are handicapped by father's occupation and unaffected by their farm backgrounds.

The Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, and Jewish groups have a common pattern with regard to educational achievement. The three Protestant groups have mean educational attainments from one to two years above the mean for the total population, with the Jewish group being even higher. All four groups have an advantage from their father's occupational status and receive some advantage from their lack of farm experience. Unlike the other religious groups, both the level of achievement and the influence of father's occupation and farm experience do not differ from one region to the other for the white followers of these groups.

In summary, for the white religious groups, Protestant unspecified, Baptist, No religion, and Protestant other Northern groups all surpass their Southern counterparts by at least one and two-tenths years of school (the difference between the Southern and Northern means). On the other hand, for the other five white religious groups the Southern groups equal or exceed the educational attainments of their Northern counterparts. For those nonwhite groups that we observed, we see that they resemble neither their regional counterpart nor either of the two groups outside their region with the same name.

5.9 Discussion and Conclusions

Throughout this section we have focused on two questions: First, what is the role of religious preference in accounting for the variation in educational achievement when considered in conjunction with other variables? Second, what are the roles of the other relevant variables in "explaining" the variation in educational achievement when considered in conjunction with religious preference?

In answering the latter question we have shown that father's occupational status plays a major role in accounting for the variation in educational achievement even when religious preference has been considered. Region of the country in which one grew up, farm experience, national origin and father's education all appear to aid in accounting for variation in amounts of schooling beyond that attributable to religious preference, although they all have a sizable positive overlap with religious preference. Race appears to add little "explanation" that has not already been attributed to religious preference.

With regard to the first question, we have shown that religious preference accounts for 5 to 8 per cent of the variation in educational achieve-

ment by itself. When it is considered in conjunction with father's occupational status much of its "explaining" power overlaps with father's occupation. Religious preference still explains an additional 2 per cent of the variation even when father's occupational status, race, region, farm experience, and national origin have been considered previously. While in no way can this 2 per cent be considered as a major contribution, it is nevertheless large enough to cause us to pursue the inquiry further by examining the specific differences among the religious groups in educational achievement and attempting to discover the role played by the other variables in determining these differences.

If we asked the traditional question, what is the difference in educational achievement between Protestants, Catholics, and Jews; we would have to conclude that there is no difference between Protestants and Catholics, and that Jews have a much higher achievement. If we are only concerned with deciding whether Catholics are different from the average American in educational achievement, we can stop here. However, if one is concerned with determining whether differences exist among religious groups, then he must undertake a more detailed analysis.

"Catholic" can be considered as a single religious organization with regard to goals, chain of authority, socialization of members, boundary maintenance, and all other essential elements of an organization. "Protestant" fails to meet any of these requirements as an organization. In fact, the only description that applies to Protestant is that it is non-Catholic and no members existed prior to the time of Martin Luther.

Protestant is a category that contains several religious groups. Each group within this category has had its own founding father, its own historical development, its own geographic location in Europe and to a large extent its own geographical region in the U.S., and has maintained its own

organization separate from the other religious groups. The only factor that is common throughout is that they are non-Catholic, or in some instances anti-Catholic. This polarization away from the Catholic religious organization does not imply any reason why all Protestant religious groups should have similar goals for their members with regard to socio-economic achievement. For those who would offer the "Protestant Ethic" as the common factor among Protestant groups, we refer to our earlier discussion of it in Chapter II. Here, we only restate that it is not a theory to explain individual socio-economic behavior; that it concerns only Protestant groups that make up a small percentage of the total Protestant category; and that the differences thought to have been observed by Weber's student have been shown to be erroneous (Demerath and Hammond, 1969).

As support of our contention that Protestant is not a homogeneous category for considering differences in socio-economic achievement, consider the mean educational levels of the eight Protestant groups under study here. Only three groups (Lutheran, Methodist, and Protestant other) have educational levels that are within one-half year of the mean of the Catholics and the population as a whole. Baptist and Protestant unspecified (perhaps the only category for which Protestant is a meaningful term) are approximately one full year below the grand mean; while Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal groups are from one to one and three-quarters years above the mean. The difference between the Baptist group and the Episcopal group equals or exceeds the difference between the Catholic and the Jewish groups. It appears that it is necessary to compare differences among religious groups rather than differences among religious categories, for it is within the group that values are adopted, norms established, and the process of socialization undertaken.

While we have observed differences in educational levels among the religious groups, we cannot attribute these differences in achievement to specifically religious influences until we have considered differences in backgrounds on non-religious characteristics among the groups. We only have to look at our analysis for Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopal, or Jewish groups to see the importance of considering differences in father's occupation, race, region, and farm experience before describing differences in educational attainment among religious groups as resulting from religious factors as such. Our analysis indicates that the difference in educational achievement between Baptists and Catholics would disappear, or perhaps even be reversed, if the two groups had the same composition with regard to father's occupation, race, region, and farm experience. Furthermore, we see that the gap between Methodists, and Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal groups would vanish if Methodists had the same backgrounds as the other three religious groups. A further comparison reveals yet another pattern. While both the Episcopal and Jewish group would achieve much lower educational levels if they did not have the social origins that they do, nevertheless, the magnitude of the differences between the two groups is almost unaffected after differences in origins have been taken into account.

To summarize the net effect of father's occupation, race, region, and farm experience on the differences in educational achievement among religious groups; Baptist and Protestant other are handicapped, Protestant unspecified, Methodist, and Lutheran are unaffected; Catholic, Presbyterian, Congregational, Episcopal, and Jewish have advantages; while No religion cannot be generalized.

Our analysis has indicated that the various background variables affect each religious group in different ways, and that the additive effect

of father's occupation, race, region, and farm experience together often suppress the fact that these factors are influencing the group in opposite directions. Furthermore, we found that when these four factors have been considered, there is little additional information gained by considering national origin at least for the younger cohorts of the population. Both for theoretical and empirical reasons, father's occupation appears to be the most important background characteristic to consider before attempting to examine differences in educational achievements among religious groups.

While several reasons can be found for considering religious preference, race, and region as one variable, we have demonstrated in this chapter that in actuality little additional explanation of the variation in educational achievement is gained thereby. Nevertheless, similarities in relative educational achievements among the groups within regional and racial categories were observed, while several differences in educational attainment across these categories exist for many religious groups.

We need to caution that the sizable differences that remain in educational achievement among the religious groups might be attributable to other variables that we have not considered rather than differences in values or ethics of the groups. Our major contribution has been to eliminate many of the factors that are known to influence educational achievement, so that the magnitude and direction of differences in educational attainment that may be attributable to religious characteristics can be examined. We shall proceed to do the same thing for occupational achievement and income in the two chapters to follow.

CHAPTER VI

THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE ON OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND INCOME

Many studies have reported the relationship between religious preference and occupational achievement (Mack, 1956; Lipset and Bendix, 1959; Weller, 1960; Lenski, 1961, Organic, 1963; Glenn and Hyland, 1967). However, most of these studies have used only three religious categories (Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish) and a limited number of occupational groupings. Usually the differences in social origins and educational attainment for the religious groups have not been considered.

Instead of asking the traditional question of whether Protestants do better than Catholics, we focus on a more general question: Are there differences in occupational achievement and/or income among the several religious preference groups? Furthermore, are there differences in occupational achievement or income that exist among the groups after any differences in social origin and educational achievement have been considered?

In previous studies current religious preference is usually the only indicator of religious preference. In this chapter, as in chapter five, we consider initial religious preference (father's or first preference) to have influence on occupational achievement and income, if religion makes any contribution at all. However, we also report the results using current religious preference and church membership as criteria for studying occupational achievement. (Often the use of

slightly different questions or variables introduces ambiguity into the comparison of results from several studies. The presentation of our results using initial preference, current preference, and church membership is an attempt to reduce this problem.)

Differences in occupational achievement and income among the religious groups within a given regional and racial setting are also analyzed. Does being an adherent of a given religious group have the same effect on occupational achievement or income for a person who is a northerner as for one who is a southerner? Are there differences in achievement between black and white Americans that are related to religious preference? The multiple-classification analysis using the composite variable of religion within racial and regional categories provides partial answers to these questions.

6.1 Initial Preference and Occupational Achievement

Initial religious preference accounts for 6 to 8 per cent of the variation in occupational achievement in the Growth of American Families (GAF) and the Income and Welfare (I & W) samples. However, the introduction of initial religious preference into the stratification process model, after father's occupational status and educational attainment have already been considered, adds less than 1 per cent to the explained sum of squares (Table 6.1). Nevertheless, sizable differences may occur among the smaller religious groups that would have little effect on the amount of the total variation explained, but would be interesting in their own right.

In fact this is the case. For all three sets of data displayed in Table 6.2 the difference in occupational SES between the lowest and highest religious groups is twenty-five or more points on a ninety-six

TABLE 6.1

Percentage of Total Sum of Squares for Occupational Status
Explained by Selected Variables for the GAF Sample
and the I & W Total Sample and Sub-sample

Variables (1)	Per Cent Explained		
	GAF (2)	I & W Total (3)	I & W Sub- sample (4)
1 Of	14.38	12.26	12.74
2 Ec	40.15	37.85	36.98
3 Ro	7.81	5.88	5.85
4 Rc	9.13		
5 Ra	3.63	3.09	3.04
6 Reo	1.52	2.30	1.78
7 Fm	5.93	7.64	7.08
8 Na	7.32	n.a.	n.a.
9 RRR	11.19	11.17	7.78
10 EcRo	41.36	39.13	38.14
11 EcOf	41.84	39.42	38.41
12 EcOfRo	42.64	40.36	39.34
13 EcOfRc	42.77		
14 EcOfReo	42.02	39.86	38.86
15 EcOfFm	42.16	40.46	39.21
16 EcOfReoRo	42.69	40.58	39.68
17 EcOfFmRo	42.83	41.23	40.00
18 RaReoFm	9.38	10.46	10.45
19 RaReoFmRo	14.01	13.79	13.80
20 RaReoFmEcOf	43.21	41.47	40.18
21 RaReoFmEcOfRo	43.78	42.02	40.82
22 NaEcOf	43.06	n.a.	n.a.
23 NaEcOfRo	43.67	n.a.	n.a.
24 NaRaReoFmEcOf	43.41	n.a.	n.a.
25 NaRaReoFmEcOfRo	43.98	n.a.	n.a.
26 RRREcOf	43.86	41.88	41.34
27 RaReoEcOfRo	43.49	41.13	40.18
28 RRRFmNaEcOf	44.35	n.a.	n.a.

Symbols:

Of Father's occupational score
 Ec Educational attainment
 Ro Initial religious preference
 Rc Current religious preference
 Ra Race
 Reo Childhood region
 Fm Farm experience
 Na National origin
 RRR Race by childhood region (north and south) by initial
 religious preference
 n.a. National origin not available in the I & W sample

TABLE 6.2

Occupational Achievement by Initial Religious Preference for the GAF and I & W Samples (In Deviations from the Mean)

Initial Religious Preference	Deviations from the Mean Occupational SES				
	Gross	Net of:			
		Of ^a	EcOf ^a	EcOfRa ReoFm ^a	EcOfRa ReoFmNa ^a
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
GAF Sample ^b					
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 8.18	- 5.41	- 1.62	- 2.33	- 2.17
2 Baptist	- 5.39	- 3.63	- 2.02	- .53	- .41
3 No Religion	- 5.44	- 4.63	- 1.87	- 1.64	- 1.80
4 Protestant Other	- 3.37	- 1.74	- .25	- .06	.03
5 Catholic	.11	.01	.61	- .57	- .71
6 Lutheran	- 2.40	- 1.41	- 1.20	- 1.29	- 1.50
7 Methodist	1.90	1.59	.14	.55	.63
8 Other Religions	4.89	3.02	2.50	2.91	2.48
9 Presbyterian	9.30	6.71	4.33	4.05	3.99
10 Congregational	2.99	.14	- 3.78	- 4.33	- 4.64
11 Episcopal	13.13	6.28	3.12	2.10	2.03
12 Jewish	20.54	14.41	5.82	4.76	5.28
I & W Total Sample ^b					
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 1.03	- .31	1.56	1.41	...
2 Baptist	- 5.96	- 4.34	- 3.17	- 1.88	...
3 No Religion	4.55	5.53	.52	1.56	...
4 Protestant Other	- .53	.21	.07	.23	...
5 Catholic	- 1.30	- 1.55	.00	- 1.12	...
6 Lutheran	2.70	2.99	1.96	1.95	...
7 Methodist	1.28	1.03	.68	.99	...
8 Other Religions	- 2.45	- 1.63	- 1.43	- 1.43	...
9 Presbyterian	9.81	7.07	2.61	1.83	...
10 Congregational	10.75	6.89	2.77	1.51	...
11 Episcopal	9.51	4.81	2.62	2.11	...
12 Jewish	19.00	13.54	7.05	5.62	...
I & W Subsample ^b					
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 1.20	...	2.03	1.68	...
2 Baptist	- 5.86	...	- 2.90	- 1.84	...
3 No Religion	- .23	...	.24	1.08	...
4 Protestant Other	- .56	...	.19	.44	...
5 Catholic	- .86	...	- .03	- 1.24	...
6 Lutheran	3.96	...	1.21	2.01	...
7 Methodist	1.29	...	.47	1.05	...
8 Other Religions	- 2.73	...	- 1.38	- 1.62	...

TABLE 6.2--Continued

Initial Religious Preference	Deviations from the Mean Occupational SES				
	Gross		Net of:		
		Of ^a	EcOf ^a	EcOfRa ReoFm ^a	EcOfRa ReoFmNa ^a
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
9 Presbyterian	10.17	...	4.73	3.81	...
10 Congregational	11.14	...	4.45	3.63	...
11 Episcopal	6.59	...	-.58	-1.62	...
12 Jewish	22.17	...	7.28	5.77	...

^aSymbols:

Of Occupational SES of the father
 Ec Educational attainment of the respondent
 Ra Race
 Reo Childhood region
 Fm Farm experience
 Na National origin

See the text of chapter three for categories used.

^bGAF sample comprises men who are married to women in the child-bearing years.

I & W sample comprises men who are spending unit heads.

I & W subsample comprises men who are married to women in the child-bearing years.

Note: The entries in column 3 were computed using linear regression analysis rather than multiple-classification analysis. Therefore column 3 and column 4 should not be compared with each other.

point scale where the standard deviation for each sample is twenty-two. The Jewish adherents are at the top and average over nineteen points above the mean for the total population. In the GAF sample the Protestant unspecified group has the lowest mean, whereas in the I & W total and subsample the Baptist group has this distinction. The reader will note that the religious groups are listed in the stub of Table 6.2 from lowest to highest educational attainment as observed in the GAF sample. This listing of the groups also orders them with regard to occupational achievement with only two groups being misplaced (Lutheran and Congregational).

For most of the religious groups there is little difference among the samples in the size of the deviation from the mean occupational score. The Protestant unspecified, No religion, and Congregational groups are the least congruent between samples. A partial explanation of the differences for the Protestant unspecified and No religion groups may be the use of father's preference in the I & W sample and first preference in the GAF sample. In Chapter seven we show that these two groups have the smallest proportion of sons accepting the father's religious preference of any group. Therefore, these two groups may have quite different characteristics because of the difference in the question's reference point in the two samples. Furthermore, the differences in age of the men for the two samples may affect the No religion category. When current religious preference is used instead of initial preference, the difference between the samples for these two groups are smaller.

6.2 Religious Group Differences in Occupational Achievement Net of Father's Occupation and Education Influences

When the differences in social origins are removed by statistically controlling for father's occupational status, the range between the lowest and highest group is reduced by more than 25 per cent so that only a ten point gap remains (see Table 6.2 note). The same groups remain at the top and bottom as observed for the unadjusted means with few changes in the relative positions of the groups occurring. Even though there is a substantial narrowing of the differences among the groups some religious groups still achieve markedly higher occupational statuses than others.

Controlling for differences in both father's occupational status and educational attainment reduces the range of occupational statuses than others.

Controlling for differences in both father's occupational status and educational attainment reduces the range of occupational status scores to less than two-fifths of its original spread. There is a difference of about ten points separating the lowest group from the highest in each set of data as seen in column 5 of Table 6.2. The Jewish group still has the highest occupational achievement; over five points above the mean for the total population. Jews are not only born into families with relatively high occupational status and obtain a disproportionately large amount of education, but go on to achieve higher occupational status than do other men with similar backgrounds. This is also true for Presbyterians, but to lesser degree. Congregational and Episcopal men may also follow this pattern, but the GAF and I & W samples are inconsistent on this point. For most of the other groups the differences in occupational achievement are eliminated, or at least reduced, by controlling for differences in father's occupational status and educational attainment. However, the Baptists still have a disadvantage of over two points relative to the total population.

6.3 Additional Controls for Race, Farm Background, and Childhood Region

Race, farm background, and region of origin are factors known to account for differences in occupational achievement (Blau and Duncan, 1967). However when these three characteristics are introduced into the model very little reduction in the difference between the lowest and highest religious groups results. These three characteristics handicap the Baptist group more than any other group since it has disproportionately more men who are Negro, men who were raised on a farm, and men who grew up in the South. The Jewish and Presbyterian groups maintain their superiority while the other groups increase or decrease their positions slightly depending on their racial, regional, and farm

background composition.

6.4 Differences Net of National Origin Influence

For the GAF sample we may consider the handicaps or advantages received by each group from its national origin composition. Duncan and Duncan (1968) have reported the differences in occupational achievement by national origin groups. However, when national origin is considered along with the other five characteristics previously discussed, little change is perceived. The span between the lowest and highest group remains the same and only slight changes in the mean occupational status of each religious group occur.

We conclude that the large differences in occupational status observed among religious preference groups result mainly from inequalities in social origin and educational achievement. Only the Jews and Presbyterians achieve substantially higher occupational statuses than can be attributed to their previous status positions. While race, region of origin, and farm background are important characteristics for explaining the occupational achievement for two or three religious groups, they cause only minor changes from the patterns observed when only father's occupation and respondent's educational attainment are controlled. The addition of national origin to the model already containing the other five variables produces little over-all change in the occupational achievements expected for the religious groups.

6.5 Current Preference and Occupational Achievement

Only small differences in the mean occupational achievement of any group occur when current religious preference is used instead of first religious preference. Comparison of the deviations from the grand mean for the current preference groups (Table 6.3, col. 3) with those

TABLE 6.3

Occupational Achievement by Current Religious Preference for the GAF
Sample; All Respondents, Church Members, and Non-members

Current Religious Preference	Group Means	Deviations from the Grand Mean			% Church Members
		Gross	Net of:		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	EcOf ^a	EcOfRa ^a ReFm	(6)
All Respondents					
1 Protestant					
Unspecified	28.73	- 8.84	- 2.73	- 2.14	6.0
2 Baptist	30.93	- 6.64	- 2.67	- .61	64.4
3 No Religion	37.02	- .55	- .29	- .41	4.6
4 Protestant Other	32.68	- 4.89	- 1.00	- 2.84	65.8
5 Catholic	37.55	- .02	.54	- 1.22	87.5
6 Lutheran	36.25	- 1.33	- .42	.30	76.8
7 Methodist	39.28	1.70	- .06	.43	68.9
8 Other Religions	42.85	5.28	2.36	3.36	60.7
9 Presbyterian	47.61	10.03	5.10	3.10	71.9
10 Congregational	43.47	5.89	- .45	- .05	70.9
11 Episcopal	53.33	15.75	3.69	1.90	78.6
12 Jewish	58.15	20.57	6.00	9.92	62.5
Church members					
1 Protestant					
Unspecified	26.83	-12.19	- 8.56	- 9.03	
2 Baptist	32.29	- 6.74	- 3.27	- 2.32	
3 No Religion	52.75	13.72	3.68	2.70	
4 Protestant Other	34.55	- 4.48	- .51	- .39	
5 Catholic	38.33	- .70	.61	- .10	
6 Lutheran	35.33	- 3.70	- 1.50	- 1.39	
7 Methodist	40.99	1.96	- .59	- .27	
8 Other Religions	45.68	6.65	4.41	5.06	
9 Presbyterian	50.05	11.02	5.63	5.34	
10 Congregational	47.57	8.55	1.56	1.53	
11 Episcopal	53.55	14.52	4.33	3.90	
12 Jewish	56.40	17.37	4.89	4.65	
Non-members					
1 Protestant					
Unspecified	28.53	- 5.14	- .61	- .96	
2 Baptist	28.23	- 5.44	- 1.22	- .01	
3 No Religion	36.38	2.71	.71	1.15	
4 Protestant Other	28.35	- 5.32	- 2.11	- 2.32	
5 Catholic	30.98	- 2.70	- 1.96	- 2.89	
6 Lutheran	40.96	7.28	4.03	3.33	
7 Methodist	33.87	.19	.37	.22	

TABLE 6.3--Continued

Current Religious Preference	Group Means	Deviations from the Grand Mean			% Church Members
		Gross	Net of:		
				EcOf ^a	EcOfRa ^a ReFm
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
8 Other Religions	39.36	5.69	- .65	- .34	
9 Presbyterian	39.81	6.14	3.06	2.50	
10 Congregational	30.00	- 3.67	- 6.24	- 7.85	
11 Episcopal	54.14	20.47	2.50	.96	
12 Jewish	60.31	26.64	8.18	6.75	

^aSymbols:

Ec Education of the respondent
 Of Occupational SES of the respondent's father
 Ra Race
 Re Current region
 Fm Farm experience

for the initial preference groups (Table 6.2, col. 3) reveals that only four groups have average occupational statuses that differ by more than two points. The No religion group has the largest difference (4.9 points). It is clear that men whose fathers had no religious preference have a different socio-economic status from men who adopt no religious preference initially, and they in turn have a different socio-economic status from men who have no religion later in life. This variation over the life cycle occurs only for the No religion category.

Identical conclusions are reached whether current preference or first preference is considered. The amount of variation accounted for by religion is the same in each case, by itself and in conjunction with father's occupation and education (Table 6.1). Furthermore, the range between the lowest and highest occupational score for the groups is 29 points and is reduced to 9 points when father's occupation and education

are taken into account using current religious preference as the criterion. (Compare this with 29 points and 10 points for first religious preference.) The effect of controlling for the differences in father's occupation, respondent's education, race, region, and farm experience is nearly the same for the current religious preference groups as it is for the first preference groups, as can be seen by comparing columns 4 and 5 in Table 6.3 with columns 4 and 5 in Table 6.2, respectively.

6.6 Church Membership and Occupational Achievement

It is well known that being able to state a religious preference does not indicate that the person is religious. In fact, religiosity appears to be a multi-dimensional phenomenon (Stark and Glock, 1968; Demerath and Hammond, 1969). Church membership is one of the dimensions most frequently used to indicate some interest in religion other than just being able to state a preference.

Demerath and Hammond (1969:) warn us that using church membership to indicate an interest in religion may be inappropriate and furthermore that religious membership is related to social class.

Certainly one should avoid the quick assumption that church members are always highly religious in their personal beliefs and activities or that nonmembers are otherwise irreligious. Membership in churches, like membership in virtually every other type of voluntary organization, is directly related to social class, but there are other measures of religiosity that have negative relations with class, and one cannot help wondering whether high-status church membership is frequently a matter of form rather than substance. Ours is increasingly a society of joiners, and for many, church membership may mean little more than another membership in their roster of affiliations.

With these two points in mind we can ask whether religion has the same influence on occupational achievement for church members as it does for those who do not indicate membership in any church.

About 69 per cent of the GAF respondents indicated they were members of some church at the time of the study. The percentage of church members varies by religious group with 88 per cent of those indicating a Catholic preference being members of a church. Most of the other groups have 60 to 80 per cent of their adherents who are actually members, as can be seen in column 6 of Table 6.3. The Protestant unspecified and No religion categories have 6 per cent or fewer men indicating church membership. For these two groups church membership probably does not signify an importance of religion for their lives.

Those who indicate membership in a church or synagogue have a mean occupational socio-economic status over five points above the mean for those who are not church members. Thus the GAF data confirm the previously stated relationship between church membership and social class. For seven of the twelve religious groups the respondents who are church members have mean occupational scores that exceed the mean scores for the corresponding non-members by five or more points (compare column 2 in the middle and lower panels of Table 6.3). The Baptist church members also have higher occupational status than the non-members, but less than the difference observed between the members and non-members for the whole sample. For the Protestant unspecified, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Jewish categories the non-members have higher occupational scores than the members.

Given the fact that occupational scores for most religious groups are higher for church members than for non-members, would we still draw the same conclusions about the relationship of religious preference to occupational achievement using just church members as we did using all men without regard to membership status? Column 3 of the middle panel of Table 6.3 indicates the gross deviation for each group from the mean

occupational score of 39.03 for all church members. Columns 4 and 5 provide the net deviation for each group when the listed variables are statistically controlled. If we disregard the Protestant unspecified and No religion groups in the church membership panel as being small and hard to interpret, then it appears that the religious groups with high occupational status are able to maintain their advantage over the other groups more than when membership was not considered. For the non-members only Presbyterians, Lutherans, and Jews have an advantage after the five variables have been controlled. We note however, for the Jews membership in a synagogue is not an advantage. Those who are not members have a higher occupational score and are able to maintain a larger advantage after controls are introduced relative to the other non-members.

We conclude that when studying the relationship between religion and occupational achievement, using church membership as the criterion, the results would vary somewhat from when preference is used as the only criterion. The groups would still be ranked in the same order with regard to occupational status, but when origin and early achievement controls are introduced the religious groups with the higher occupational statuses still maintain their advantage. The Jews, however, hold an advantage very similar to the higher status Protestant denominations when membership is considered, rather than a clearly superior one as observed when membership is not considered.

6.7 Influence of Religious Preference on Occupational Achievement for White and Nonwhite Northerners and Southerners

Thus far in this chapter we have considered race, childhood region, and initial religious preference as having additive effects on occupational achievement. Earlier we hypothesized that as a result of the organization

of many religious groups into northern and southern units and because of the racial separation present in many of the groups there may be some interaction effects between the race, region, and religious preference variables with regard to achievement. As with educational achievement, the interaction effects are small when a single variable consisting of forty-eight categories denoting the racial and regional subgroups for each of the religious groups is used. Additional variation explained by the interaction variable above that explained by the additive variables amounts to .37 and .75 per cent for the GAF sample and I & W total sample, respectively.

While the amount of additional variation is small using the interaction variable, nevertheless, considering the gross and net effects of the individual categories of the region by race by religion variable is useful if for no other reason than to show what changes would result if we had excluded nonwhites and southern whites from our samples, as other researchers have done. Table 6.4 shows the gross deviations from the grand mean and the net deviations when father's occupation, respondent's education, and farm experience are controlled for twenty-eight of the forty-eight categories. Each of the twelve religious groups is considered for the northern whites and the southern whites; and the Baptist and Methodist groups are shown separately for the northern nonwhites and southern nonwhites. The remaining twenty nonwhite categories are combined into two residual categories (All other preferences) and shown for northerners and southerners. The individual category frequencies are small and those categories with a base of less than fifteen are noted in the table. Since the individual cell frequencies are small we will not consider a detailed analysis of the information in Table 6.4. What conclusions we do draw must remain tentative.

TABLE 6.4

Occupational Achievement by Regional Background, Race, and Initial Religious Preference for the GAF Sample and I & W Sample

Region by Race by Initial Religious Preference (1)	Deviations from the Grand Mean Occupational Score			
	Gross Effects		Net Effects ^a	
	GAF (2)	I & W (3)	GAF (4)	I & W (5)
Grand Mean, All Groups	37.57	35.13		
Northern White	2.07	2.31		
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 7.93	1.10	- 1.41	2.39
2 Baptist	- .58	- .28	.43	- 1.03
3 No Religion	- 4.16	7.73	- 1.31	2.05
4 Protestant Other	- 2.65	3.57	- .65	1.82
5 Catholic	.09	- 1.16	.08	- .61
6 Lutheran	- 2.64	.87	- .65	1.00
7 Methodist	4.50	2.77	1.96	1.60
8 Other Religions	7.66	- .96	3.27	- 1.94
9 Presbyterian	7.87	10.14	3.35	2.38
10 Congregational	2.79	9.59	- 3.93	1.91
11 Episcopal	14.28	7.20	3.31	1.64
12 Jewish	20.30	18.59	5.38	6.43
Northern Nonwhite	- 7.96	- 2.64		
13 Baptist	-12.46	- 7.90	- 9.21	-10.94
14 Methodist	- .00 ^b	- 9.42 ^b	- 2.54 ^b	-10.41 ^b
15 All Other Preferences	- 4.01	4.44	....	....
Southern White	- .57	- 1.08		
16 Protestant Unspecified	- 7.36	- 7.50	- 1.63	- 1.16
17 Baptist	- 2.79	- 4.54	.29	- .75
18 No Religion	- 5.87	-20.97 ^b	- .01	-11.44 ^b
19 Protestant Other	- 2.97	- 3.27	2.14	.23
20 Catholic	.79	4.00	.29	.64
21 Lutheran	4.73 ^b	24.25 ^b	3.79 ^b	17.72 ^b
22 Methodist	2.20	2.99	.45	2.27
23 Other Religions	- .57 ^b	- 7.10	3.14 ^b	- 1.71
24 Presbyterian	15.23	9.90	8.72	2.55
25 Congregational	- 3.17 ^b	----- ^b	- 5.60 ^b	----- ^b
26 Episcopal	9.36	24.29 ^b	.06	8.35 ^b
27 Jewish	25.14 ^b	44.87 ^b	1.95 ^b	16.18 ^b
Southern Nonwhite	-16.83	-15.38		
28 Baptist	-17.39	-16.25	- 8.72	- 7.66
29 Methodist	-18.24	-10.15	-10.71	- 3.94
30 All Other Preferences	-12.19	-18.48	....	....

^aNet of Father's occupational SES and farm experience and education.
^bBased on less than 15 cases.

.... Not computed

----- No cases

Some of the earlier studies restricted their samples to northern white respondents (e.g., Weller, 1960) while another considered only whites (Organic, 1963). The first twelve lines in Table 6.4 indicate deviations from the total population mean for the religious groups for white northerners only.

Would we reach different conclusions using only a white northern sample from those reached using the total sample? Considering only the GAF data, we see that the first six groups in Table 6.4 are all below or very near to the mean occupational status for the U.S. The other six groups have scores that are substantially above the U.S. average (and above the white northern average of 39.64). This is the same division observed for the total GAF sample in Table 6.2.

However, several groups have occupational scores that are quite different when only white northern followers are considered than when all followers are considered. The Baptist and the Methodist groups both have much higher scores when the nonwhites and southern whites are excluded. Nevertheless, the white northern Baptists are still below the national mean and are over two and one-half points below the white northern mean. Other religions is the only other group to increase its position by more than the difference between the total mean and the white northern mean. All of the other groups slightly increased, stayed the same, or especially in the case of the Presbyterians, somewhat decreased. For the I & W sample many of the same patterns are observed. The Baptist move up when the nonwhites and white southerners are excluded but still remain below the mean. The reader may compare column 3 of Table 6.4 with column 2 in the middle panel of Table 6.2 for the other changes.

When father's occupation, respondent's education, and farm experience are controlled we observe that the net deviations for the religious groups

composed of only white northerners are very similar to those of the total sample. With the exception of the increase in mean occupational scores for the Baptists, Methodists, and Other religions the religious groups of white northerners have similar occupational patterns similar to the total U.S. population. For several of the groups such as Congregational, Lutheran, and Jewish this is necessarily so because they have very few followers who are not white and not raised in the North. For many of the other groups it is a matter of homogeneity of members raised in the North and South and few nonwhite members. Only the Baptist and Methodist groups have many nonwhite members.

Several of the religious groups have so few white southern adherents that we are unable to consider their occupational achievements. Jews, Congregationalists, and Lutherans each have less than fifteen such followers as respondents in both of our samples. For the groups that have fifteen or more followers in both the GAF and I & W samples we see that the agreement between the samples for the southern whites is quite close with the exception of the Catholic and Presbyterian groups. For the southern white groups the Protestant unspecified, Baptist, Protestant other, and perhaps the No religion group have definitely lower occupational achievements. The Catholic and Methodist groups appear to be intermediate while the Presbyterians and perhaps the Episcopals have the highest occupational achievements. In general, the ranking of religious groups for southern whites is similar to the ranking of the groups for the total U.S. population represented in our samples.

There is a substantial narrowing of the differences in occupational means for the religious groups with southern white followers when father's occupation, respondent's education, and farm background differences are

statistically controlled. For those groups with sizable representations of southern whites, only the Presbyterians have a definite advantage indicated by both samples. For the remaining groups less than four points separate the lowest group from the highest group. In the case of southern whites it appears that the differences in occupational achievement among the religious groups is largely due to differences in social origin and educational attainment.

Are there differences among the religious groups for nonwhites as there are for the whites? We cannot adequately answer this question with the data at hand. For the northern nonwhites the Baptist group is the only group with a large enough representation to consider. We can compare it with other northern nonwhites who are followers of other religious groups excluding Methodists. The contrast is quite striking (line 13 and 15, Table 6.3), but its meaning is unclear. No doubt the All other preference category contains those Negroes who have reached the middle class and found their way into the high status Protestant denominations, but it also contains all of the nonwhite-non-Negro population who have substantially higher occupational achievements.

In the case of the southern nonwhites three groups can be considered: Baptist, Methodist, and All other preferences. There is no group that appears to have a definite advantage or disadvantage among the three categories with regard to each other. Less than four points separate the groups in the GAF data and less than eight points in the I & W data, with no consistent pattern emerging. Thus, for the larger southern non-white groups at least, there is little difference among religious groups in occupational achievement. When social and educational differences are controlled no clear pattern of advantage or disadvantage emerges.

6.8 Initial Preference and Income

Gockel (1969) has considered the importance of religious group affiliation in influencing income taking into account differences in education and occupation. In this section we examine the same questions that concerned him, but extend the analysis to include father's occupational status as well.

In the GAF sample initial religious preference accounts for almost 12 per cent of the variation in income (Table 6.5). The respective amounts for the I & W total sample and subsample are 7 per cent and 8 per cent. When we add initial religious preference into the stratification process model after having considered father's occupation, respondent's education, his occupational status, as well as his other background characteristics of race, childhood region, and farm experience, religious preference still accounts for an additional 2 to 3 per cent of the variation in income. These seven variables account for 28.83, 21.91, and 20.25 per cent of the variation in income for the GAF, I & W total, and I & W subsamples, respectively, as can be seen on line 19 in Table 6.5. Religious preference has a small, but nevertheless appreciable, influence on income; just as it did on educational attainment.

The difference between the lowest and highest income averages for the religious groups is large. Over \$6,300 separates the two extremes in the GAF sample and about \$8,200 is the difference for both total and subsamples in the I & W data. The respective means and standard deviations are: GAF \$6,784 and \$3,902; I & W total sample \$6,485 and \$5,634; and I & W subsample \$6,972 and \$4,987.

As with education and occupation, the Jews definitely have the highest average income; over \$5,200 above the mean in all three samples.

TABLE 6.5

Percentage of Total Sum of Squares for Income Explained by
Selected Variables for the GAF Sample and the I & W
Total Sample and Sub-sample

Variables (1)	Per Cent Explained		
	GAF (2)	I & W Total (3)	I & W Sub- sample (4)
1 Of	10.99	5.57	4.62
2 Ec	17.34	12.03	10.25
3 Oc	17.68	14.17	11.14
4 Ro	11.85	6.96	8.07
5 Ra	3.48	2.11	2.18
6 Reo	2.43	2.37	1.88
7 Fm	3.35	4.46	4.47
8 Na	8.55	n.a.	n.a.
9 RRR	15.09	9.58	10.61
10 OcRo	23.64	17.66	15.84
11 EcRo	23.12	16.21	15.05
12 OcEc	.....	17.64	14.93
13 OcEcRo	26.91	20.66	18.67
14 OcEcOf	.....	18.44	15.74
15 OcEcOfRo	28.21	21.11	19.19
16 RaReoFm	7.22	6.99	7.04
17 RaReoFmRo	15.52	11.22	12.24
18 RaReoFmOcEcOf	25.46	19.62	17.41
19 RaReoFmOcEcOfRo	28.83	21.91	20.25
20 NaOcEcOfRo	29.23	n.a.	n.a.
21 NaRaReoFmOcEcOf	26.53	n.a.	n.a.
22 NaRaReoFmOcEcOfRo	29.38	n.a.	n.a.
23 RRRocEcOf	29.45	21.88	19.90
24 RaReoOcEcOfRo	28.83	21.58	19.62
25 RRRFmOcEcOf	29.45	22.13	20.50
26 RRRFmNaOcEcOf	30.01	n.a.	n.a.

Symbols:

Of Father's occupational score
 Ec Educational attainment
 Oc Occupational score of respondent
 Ro Initial religious preference
 Ra Race
 Reo Childhood region
 Fm Farm experience
 Na National origin
 RRR Race by childhood (north or south) by initial
 religious preference
 n.a. National origin not available for I & W samples.
 Not computed.

The Baptist group has the lowest income: at least \$1,000 less than the average in all of the sets of data examined here. The ranking of religious groups by educational achievement that was made for the GAF data in Table 5.7 also orders the groups with regard to income quite well. Only the No religion category is more than two positions out of place.

There is substantial agreement among samples about the position of eight of the twelve religious groups. Two other groups besides the Baptist have incomes that are far below the average. The Protestant other category is at least \$670 below the mean, while the Protestant unspecified group is \$100 or \$670 below the national average, depending on the sample. At the other end of the scale, the Presbyterians and Episcopalian, as well as the Jews, far exceed the mean income for the men in our samples. The Presbyterians average \$950 or \$1,790 more than the national mean, whereas the Episcopalians exceed the mean by \$2,400 or \$2,600, and the Jews by \$5,260 or \$6,770. Clearly in the middle are the Catholics and the Methodists with deviations from the national mean of \$140 below or \$310 above and \$90 below or \$330 above for the two groups respectively. For the other four groups (Lutheran, Other religions, No religion, and Congregational), the data are inconsistent about the ranking on income.

Perhaps the differences in income among the religious groups is related to the differences that exist in socio-economic origins of the groups' adherents. In column 3 of Table 6.6 father's occupational status is statistically controlled. It appears that many of those religious groups whose adherents have incomes substantially below the mean do have socio-economic origin handicaps while many of the groups with followers having incomes substantially above the mean have advantages from their

TABLE 6.6

Income by Initial Religious Preference
for the GAF and I & W Samples

Initial Religious Preference	Deviations from the Mean Total Family Income					
	Gross	Net of				
		Ofa	Oc Ec	OcEcOf	OcEcOf RaReoFm	OcEcOf RaReo FmNa (7)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
GAF Sample						
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 673	- 312	0	113	- 1	73
2 Baptist	-1068	- 839	- 623	- 566	- 343	- 278
3 No Religion	657	553	- 250	- 254	- 357	- 369
4 Protestant Other	- 889	- 676	- 584	- 536	- 585	- 520
5 Catholic	- 137	- 150	- 145	- 147	- 237	- 296
6 Lutheran	10	139	133	163	- 37	- 95
7 Methodist	188	147	26	29	67	104
8 Other Religions	492	247	137	117	90	51
9 Presbyterian	951	613	250	158	78	53
10 Congregational	892	520	423	337	204	89
11 Episcopal	2601	1708	1599	1427	1457	1396
12 Jewish	5257	4458	3647	3373	3346	3284
I & W Total Sample						
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 107	2	40	68	- 105	...
2 Baptist	-1492	-1248	- 867	- 830	- 669	...
3 No Religion	- 57	91	- 617	- 544	- 532	...
4 Protestant Other	- 673	- 563	- 594	- 547	- 611	...
5 Catholic	309	272	425	417	355	...
6 Lutheran	822	866	676	678	555	...
7 Methodist	- 90	- 128	- 242	- 270	- 268	...
8 Other Religions	- 897	- 755	- 634	- 614	- 630	...
9 Presbyterian	1793	1381	775	728	591	...
10 Congregational	123	- 456	- 861	-1020	-1054	...
11 Episcopal	2037	1331	853	795	969	...
12 Jewish	6683	5864	4635	4403	4555	...
I & W Subsample						
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 272	...	- 35	- 68	- 259	...
2 Baptist	-1491	...	- 941	- 927	- 739	...
3 No Religion	- 582	...	- 394	- 310	- 315	...
4 Protestant Other	- 694	...	- 616	- 585	- 566	...
5 Catholic	264	...	277	247	99	...
6 Lutheran	1073	...	740	762	800	...
7 Methodist	331	...	148	151	206	...
8 Other Religions	- 705	...	- 454	- 361	- 422	...
9 Presbyterian	1311	...	652	637	485	...
10 Congregational	- 661	...	-1579	-1625	-1665	...
11 Episcopal	2180	...	1475	1554	1538	...
12 Jewish	6768	...	4858	4629	4597	...

TABLE 6.6--Continued

^aThe values computed in this column were computed using regression analysis and therefore should not be compared with those in column 4 which were computed using multiple-classification analysis.

Symbols:

Of	Father's occupational score
Oc	Respondent's current occupational score
Ec	Respondent's educational attainment
Ra	Race
Reo	Childhood region
Fm	Farm experience
Na	National origin

father's occupational status. However, controlling for the handicap or advantage narrows the range between the lowest and highest income groups by about \$1,000 in both samples, but still leaves unexplained large differences in income among the groups.

We have already discussed the influence of religious preference on educational attainment and occupational achievement. It seems that the important question at this point is whether differences in income among religious groups persists after differences in education and occupation have been controlled. Column 4 of Table 6.6 reveals that they do.

Controlling for educational and occupational differences reduces the range between the lowest and highest group by over one-third in the GAF and I & W total sample and by almost one-fourth in the I & W subsample. However there are differences of more than \$4,200 between the two extremes in each of the samples. These large differences are not due just to the very high incomes of the Jews. To cite one example, more than \$1,600 separates the Baptists and the Epsicopilians in each sample.

When father's occupation, respondent's education, and respondent's current occupation are simultaneously controlled little difference is observed from the results found when only education and current occupation were controlled, as can be seen by comparing column 5 with column 4 in Table 6.6.

If we statistically control for race, childhood region, and farm experience, as well as father's occupation, respondent's education, and current occupation, will the differences in income among the religious groups be further attenuated or vanish? We know they will not completely disappear for the allocation of the total sum of squares (Table 6.5) indicated that religious preference has an independent influence of its own. Column 6 of Table 6.6 indicates that for most groups some change occurs in income by controlling for differences in race, region, and farm experience. However, large differences still exist, and all of the changes are not in the direction that would narrow the income differences among the groups.

Of the twelve religious preference groups used here it is apparent that after controlling for differences in social origin and early and current achievement that three of the groups still have much lower incomes than the average, two groups have substantially higher than average incomes, and four groups have incomes near the mean national income in our samples. For three groups (Congregational, Lutheran, and Other religions) the data are unclear as to their positions.

The Protestant other group has an average income that is over \$550 less than the mean. They do not suffer from severe handicaps of low socio-economic origin, education attainment, or occupational achievement and are either unaffected by or perhaps experience slight advantages from their racial, regional, and farm backgrounds. The Baptists earn from

\$340 to \$740 less than the sample averages. Unlike the Protestant others they do experience severe handicaps from the six variables considered, but removing these handicaps still does not bring them up to the average income. The No religion group has an average income that falls from \$320 to \$530 below the mean. There is some inconsistency among the samples with regard to advantages or disadvantages resulting from the background and achievements of the men with no religion. The GAF and I & W total sample both indicate substantial advantages from educational and occupational achievement for this group, whereas a slight disadvantage appears in the I & W subsample.

Incomes for the Jews exceed the mean by \$3,350 to \$4,600 after statistically controlling for the six background and achievement variables. As we have indicated earlier the Jews have the highest socio-economic origins, the highest educational attainments, and the highest occupational achievements. Even when we control for these advantages, they still far exceed the other religious groups in income. The Episcopalians come the nearest to equaling the Jews' income as any group, both actually and after controls on background and initial achievements have been introduced. They have income levels from \$970 to \$1,540 above the average after the six controls have been considered. They experience advantages from their fathers' position, educational attainment, and occupational achievement, but still have higher income than can be attributed to these factors.

The Presbyterians' income level is substantially above the mean; but when father's occupation, respondent's education, and respondent's occupation are controlled, it becomes obvious that much of the reason for their income level can be traced to advantages on these three variables. However, they do maintain a slight advantage of \$80 to \$590 (depending on the sample) after all six variables have been controlled.

The Methodists have an average income that is close to the mean for the nation. The GAF sample and the comparable subsample of the I & W study indicate levels from \$190 to \$330 above the mean while the total I & W sample shows an average income for the Methodist men of \$90 below the mean. When the background, educational achievement, and occupational achievement are taken into account we see that the Methodists have a slight net advantage from these variables. In each sample the income level is reduced when the six variables are controlled so that the range is from \$210 above the mean to \$270 below the mean. We conclude that the Methodists have an average income that is similar to the average of all U.S. men and that controlling for social origin and educational and occupational achievement does not greatly alter their position.

While some differences are observable, the Catholics resemble the Methodists with regard to income achievement. They average from \$310 above the mean for the I & W total sample to \$140 below the mean for the GAF sample. In some cases the Catholics experience advantages from their composition on one variable that are offset by handicaps on others. Thus the income level for the Catholics after controlling statistically for the differences in father's occupation, educational attainment, occupational achievement, as well as race, childhood region, and farm experience range from \$360 above the mean for the I & W total sample to \$240 below the mean for the GAF sample.

Those who indicate that they are Protestant but specify no denomination have incomes that are below the average. It appears that this results from low educational attainment and occupational achievement. When these two variables as well as father's occupation, race, region, and farm experience are controlled the income for the Protestant unspecified group ranges from the sample mean to \$260 below the mean.

In the case of the Lutheran and the Other religion groups there is a difference of over \$1,000 among the samples in the average income of the groups. When father's occupation, respondent's educational achievement, respondent's occupational achievement, as well as race, region, and farm experience are taken into account, there is still disagreement among the samples as to the income levels of the two groups. It appears that the Other religion group would have an average income that is near the mean or somewhat below the mean while the Lutheran group has an income level near the mean or somewhat above the mean, when the six variables are statistically controlled.

There is a difference of over \$1,200 in the expected income level of the Congregationalists between the GAF and I & W samples after the background and educational and occupational achievement variables have been controlled. This results from the unadjusted incomes of the Congregationalists being very different in the two samples and not from different effects of the six variables. Both studies show that the Congregationalists receive substantial advantages from their origin statuses and their initial achievements.

When national origin is controlled, as well as the previously mentioned characteristics for the GAF sample, little change is observed in the incomes of the religious groups. In fact the largest change amounts to only \$75.

We conclude that at least five out of the twelve religious groups examined here have differences in income that are not attributable to differences in father's occupation, respondent's educational achievement, respondent's occupational achievement, race, childhood region, or farm experience (or national origin in the GAF data). These differences may be due to dissimilarities in the religions themselves or they may be due

to nonreligious variables not discussed here that vary systematically among the religious groups. Gockel (1969) examined income for essentially the same religious groups that we have used with the exception that Mormons are treated as a separate group in his analysis. After controlling for education, occupation, race, region, and size of place, Gockel found that Jews, Episcopalians, and Congregationalists still have incomes that are substantially above the mean, while Baptists and Protestant others have incomes substantially below the mean. The remaining groups (excluding Mormons) were found to have incomes very near the mean.

There is a very high degree of agreement between Gockel's findings and the results of our analysis of the GAF and I & W samples. The same religious groups have high incomes after differences in prior achievements and racial and regional composition are controlled, with the exception of the Congregationalists. For this group there are large differences among the three samples as to its income level which may result from differences in coding (see Table 3.1). Agreement is also found between Gockel's work and ours with regard to the religious groups with low income levels after controls are introduced.

Some variation in the actual dollar amount of the advantages of the higher groups can be observed between the two studies. This is most likely due to differences in the values assigned to the upper open end income category in each analysis. The over-all similarity between the three sets of data is reassuring.

6.9 Influence of Religious Preference on Income for White and Nonwhite Northerners and Southerners

Considering race, childhood region, and religious preference as a single variable, as we did earlier regarding educational and occupational

achievement, adds very little to the total sum of squares explained for income. Only 0.6 per cent for the GAF sample and 0.2 per cent for the I & W sample additional variation is explained for the income variable when we consider the interaction of the three variables listed above.

Nevertheless, consideration of the forty-eight categories formed by separating each religious group into four subgroups determined by the racial and regional backgrounds is useful. Table 6.7 shows the results of such analysis for income using the same categories as in Table 6.3.

We see that there is still a wide range of income levels among the religious groups when we consider only the northern whites. The low average income of the Baptists is not due solely to a large number of nonwhites and southern whites. Northern white Baptists receive from \$400 to \$500 less than the average income. The Protestant other group also earns less than the mean even when only northern whites are considered. At the other end the Presbyterians, Episcopalians, and Jews earn more than \$1,000 above the U.S. average. Even when father's occupation, respondent's educational attainment, and respondent's occupational achievement differences have been controlled, differences in income between the lowest and highest group exceed \$3,500 in both samples. The large differences reflect something more than just the superior achievement of the Jews; for there is a difference of over \$1,200 between two Protestant denominations (Baptist and Episcopal) in both samples.

Differences in income among the religious groups for southern whites are also large. However when father's occupation, respondent's education, and current occupation are controlled, the differences are substantially attenuated for those groups with a large enough representation in the South to provide stable comparisons. Thus it appears that differences in income for the larger groups in the South with white followers are due

TABLE 6.7

Income by Regional Background, Race, and Initial Religious
Preference for the GAF Sample and the I & W Sample

Region by Race by Initial Religious Preference (1)	Deviations from the Grand Mean Income (In Dollars)			
	Gross Effects		Net Effects ^a	
	GAF (2)	I & W (3)	GAF (4)	I & W (5)
Grand mean, All Groups	6127	6485		
Northern White	464	628		
1 Protestant Unspecified	- 156	181	563	96
2 Baptist	- 408	- 499	- 388	- 580
3 No Religion	- 531	1268	- 294	367
4 Protestant Other	- 716	- 198	- 508	- 618
5 Catholic	- 102	368	- 99	356
6 Lutheran	- 2	757	167	790
7 Methodist	659	137	360	- 249
8 Other Religions	1203	- 655	632	- 686
9 Presbyterian	1138	2046	469	921
10 Congregational	785	71	266	-1069
11 Episcopal	2918	1673	1699	695
12 Jewish	5127	6526	3328	4212
Northern Nonwhite	-1227	- 438		
13 Baptist	-1706	- 663	- 906	- 470
14 Methodist	609 ^b	-1407 ^b	659 ^b	-1128 ^b
15 All Other Preferences	-1409	110	...	...
Southern White	- 306	- 554		
16 Protestant Unspecified	-1506	- 891	- 762	72
17 Baptist	- 683	-1294	- 411	- 622
18 No Religion	91	-2736 ^b	583	- 576 ^b
19 Protestant Other	- 755	- 891	- 363	- 223
20 Catholic	- 250	890	- 305	286
21 Lutheran	16 ^b	1587 ^b	- 230 ^b	19 ^b
22 Methodist	101	375	- 176	184
23 Other Religions	-1284 ^b	-3183	-1119 ^b	-2088
24 Presbyterian	559	1000	- 615	- 83
25 Congregational	2116 ^b	----- ^b	1802 ^b	----- ^b
26 Episcopal	1278	4549 ^b	360	1813 ^b
27 Jewish	7859 ^b	16659 ^b	5595 ^b	13495 ^b
Souther Nonwhite	-2928	-3310		
28 Baptist	-2923	-3470	-1350	-1393
29 Methodist	-3145	-2745	-1766	-1405
30 All Other Preferences	-2655	-3402	...	...

^aNet of father's occupation, education, and current occupation score, and farm experience.

^bBased on less than 15 cases.

... Not computed.

--- No cases.

primarily to differences in backgrounds and early achievements rather than any differences in the religions themselves.

For the northern nonwhite religious groups, our samples provide little conclusive evidence. The Baptist group is the only single group with more than fifteen followers in each sample. The northern nonwhite Baptists have expected incomes that are similar to those of the white Baptists in both the North and the South after background differences and differences in initial achievement have been taken into account.

For the southern nonwhites, there is little difference between the Baptists, Methodists, and the All other preference category in income. Controlling for background and achievements in education and occupation still leads to the same conclusion. Southern nonwhites on the average, whether they are Baptist, Methodist, or something else, earn about \$3,000 less than the average man in the U.S. They still have a handicap of more than \$1,300 when differences in father's occupation, respondent's educational attainment, respondent's occupational achievement, and farm experience are considered. Of course there may be some southern nonwhites in religious groups that have too small a representation in the South for us to consider that may deviate substantially from this pattern. As a result, our conclusions must be restricted to the Baptists and Methodists and the aggregate of the remaining groups.

6.10 Summary

In Chapter four we found that educational achievement varied by religious preference groups even after differences in several initial characteristics had been removed. In this chapter we see that occupational differences in achievement by religious groups become attenuated when background characteristics and initial achievement variations are taken

into account. The additional variation in occupational achievement explained by initial religious preference is small. Very few groups have consistent advantages or disadvantages that are of sizable magnitude when background characteristics and initial achievement are considered. These conclusions are valid whether initial religious preference is the criterion or whether current religious preference is used.

Our data support the conclusion that people who officially join religious groups are apt to have higher social status than those who do not join. We note that when considering only those who are church members some religious groups maintain advantages in occupational achievement after initial background and achievement differences are statistically removed. For those who are not church members smaller differences in occupational achievement among the groups remain after differences in background and education have been considered than for the corresponding comparisons for the church members.

Considering the religious groups separately by racial and regional groupings indicates that the relative ranking of the groups by occupational status is similar for northern and southern whites. Differences among the religious groups tend to persist for the northern whites even after initial characteristics are taken into account. On the other hand, for southern whites the occupational achievement differences among the groups appear to be due primarily to background and educational differences. For the nonwhites we are not able to consider a large number of religious groups. Northern nonwhite Baptists have lower occupational achievements than other northern nonwhites considered in the aggregate, but this may be due to differences in racial composition within the nonwhites rather than to religious differences. Southern nonwhites are severely handicapped no matter what their religious preference.

Religious preference accounts for an additional 2 to 3 per cent of the variation in income even when differences in backgrounds and educational and occupational achievements are considered. Part of the differences among the religious groups in income can be related to associated differences in father's occupation, respondent's education, and respondent's occupation, as well as race, childhood region, and farm experience; nevertheless, large advantages or disadvantages are present for several groups.

When income differences among the religious groups are considered within racial and regional groupings, the ranking of the religious groups by income is similar for northern and southern whites. After advantages or handicaps from father's occupation, respondent's educational attainment, respondent's occupational achievement, and farm experience have been taken into account, the northern white groups still have large income differences. Unlike their northern counterparts, the southern white groups have only small income differences when background and initial achievements are considered. For the northern nonwhites our data are inadequate. The southern nonwhites exhibit little difference in income among the groups.

In general, it appears that religion (or some characteristic related to religion that is not examined here) has a detectable influence on education and income that is not related to the handicaps or advantages stemming from race, childhood region, farm experience, father's occupation, or initial achievements. On the other hand, occupational achievement differences among religious groups appear to be related to differences among the groups in background and educational achievement.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGIOUS MOBILITY

Unlike geographic mobility and socio-economic mobility, religious mobility has received little attention from the social scientist. No doubt this inattention has resulted from two reasons. First, the lack of religious statistics in the U.S. has hindered the development of the study of the religious characteristics of the nation. Second, religious mobility is thought to be slight and thus, has received less examination than other types of mobility. The stereotypical American is born into a family with both parents of the same religious preference. He attends religious instruction classes and at puberty becomes a member of his parents' church. When he marries he selects a mate of the same religious preference as his own and the cycle begins again with the birth of their first child. While this may be the modal pattern in the U.S., it is certainly not the only pattern. Over one-third of American men do not have the same religious preference as their fathers, over 17 per cent of them do not have the same religious preference as they did when they were a child, and over one-third of them married a spouse of a different religious preference than their own. Religious preference inheritance, stability, and homogamy are the dominant patterns in America, but nevertheless there is a sizable amount of religious mobility that merits investigation.

In the first part of this chapter we consider some of the possible factors that influence people to change their religious preference. In

addition, we consider the initial questions raised in any type of mobility study: what are the boundaries one must cross to be considered mobile and what are the appropriate time periods in which to count the number of moves? The main body of the chapter is devoted to documenting the gross and net amounts of religious mobility for the population and for each religious preference group, as well as describing the patterns of mobility that occur. A quasi-independence model of religious mobility is introduced to aid in determining the channels of religious mobility. We conclude the chapter with a further discussion of the relationship between the motivating factors of religious mobility and the existing amounts and patterns of religious mobility.

7.1 Motivating Factors for Religious Mobility

While there are probably as many reasons for changing religious preference as there are people who change religions, we have condensed most of these reasons into four "motivating factors." We do not mean to imply that these factors are exhaustive or mutually exclusive.

7.1.1 Dissatisfaction With Current Religious Situation

An individual may become dissatisfied with the theology of his church and seek a different religious group whose teachings better meet his personal needs. However, it need not be theology that spurs a person to change his religious preference. In many cases it is a matter of becoming dissatisfied with the leadership of the church or with some of its members or with the programs of the church. When this happens one is apt to seek a different religious preference in order to find a church that meets his needs and is still in his geographical area. For some this leads to a change from a specific religious group to the Protestant unspecified preference or to the No religion category. Many other change denominations.

7.1.2 Marrying a Mate of a Different Faith

While most men marry women who have the same religious preference as their own, a sizable number of men do not. Those men who decide to marry someone of a different religious preference are faced with four primary alternatives: (1) Either both husband and wife keep his and her own religious preference, or (2) the husband persuades his bride to change to his preference, or (3) he changes his own preference to hers, or (4) they both change to a third religious preference. The extent to which each of these alternatives is followed by the population will be explored later in this chapter in Table 7.16. Marriage to a person of a different religious preference often results in religious mobility by one or both spouses, and furthermore, even if no mobility takes place the marriage signifies a certain degree of acceptance of a different religious preference than one's own. The prescribed roles of the family and the close relationship of husband and wife cause a difference of religious preference among mates to act as a motivating factor on one or both spouses to change religious preference.

7.1.3 Geographic Mobility as an Occasion for Religious Mobility

Geographic mobility can lead to religious mobility when the individual's new place of residence makes it inconvenient for him to attend functions at the church in his former locality. Most likely such individuals seek a church in their new location of the same religious organization as in their previous community, but they may not be able to find a suitable church of the same denomination. A change in residential location may result in some religious preference other than the mover's current preference providing advantages that are not met by his current preference. In these instances they change their religious preference.

While it is very likely that geographic mobility is an important influence on religious mobility, we do not consider it here since a large amount of additional coding would be necessary, and it is this author's understanding that this project has already been undertaken by H. Organic.

7.1.4 Socio-economic Mobility as a Reason for Religious Mobility

Just as geographic mobility can be thought of as an occasion for religious mobility so may socio-economic mobility. When a man changes his educational level, his occupation, or his amount of income (the three most common indicators of socio-economic achievement) he frequently experiences a change in his style of life, a separation from former friends, and a need for new acquaintances and role relationships. It is possible that these changes also include a change in religious preference. A man with a new position in the socio-economic structure may feel uncomfortable in the social setting of his earlier religious preference and, therefore, seek a religious preference that is more compatible with his new status.

The next chapter is an investigation of the relationship between socio-economic achievement and religious mobility. It is frequently very difficult to determine whether socio-economic mobility is influencing one to change religions or whether one's socio-economic mobility is facilitated by having changed religious preference. Furthermore, we know that socio-economic mobility is often accompanied by geographic mobility. This causes additional difficulties in attempting to determine what factors have precipitated a particular religious move or how much religious mobility can be attributed to each factor.

People may change their religious preference for other reasons such as a child changing his preference when his parents change theirs or the merging of two previously separate religious denominations. The four

factors listed above are hypothesized as the main elements leading to religious mobility. The analysis in the remaining part of this chapter will be presented in a manner to allow examination of hypotheses bearing on the importance of the factors of marriage and socio-economic achievement.

7.2 Problems of Defining and Measuring Religious Mobility

7.2.1 What Are the Boundaries?

A similar problem arises when attempting to define a religious move as occurs in defining a geographical move. What kind of change will be considered a move and what changes will not be considered moves? In studying geographic mobility a decision must be made whether the relevant boundary is to be a dwelling unit, a city limit, a county line, a state line, a regional division, or some other geographical division. Similarly, when studying religious mobility a meaningful boundary must be selected to define what will be considered a religious move. Several possibilities exist. The changing from one congregation or parish to another could be considered a religious move. Another possibility would be to define as movers only those who change religious bodies, such as change from American Lutheran to Missouri Synod Lutheran or United Presbyterian of the U.S.A. to Presbyterian U.S. A further possibility would be to consider only those who leave their denomination for another as having made a religious move, such as Lutheran to Presbyterian or Baptist to Catholic. The selection of a boundary is especially important when considering the amount of religious mobility because the expansion or contraction of the boundary is inversely related to the amount of mobility observed. For the following analysis we have chosen to define those men who have changed from one of the twelve religious groupings defined in Chapter III to another as being religiously mobile. This definition closely approximates the

third possibility listed above and will produce the smallest amount of religious mobility of the three boundaries considered.

An additional problem arises in defining religious mobility. In studying geographical mobility one can physically observe when someone has crossed a boundary, but in studying religious mobility it is often more difficult to determine if a religious move has taken place. In some countries of the world, and perhaps for some selected areas in the U.S., a researcher could use church records to study religious mobility. However, church records are inadequate for examining religious mobility for the U.S. population as a whole. In this study we have relied solely on individuals being able to state their current religious preference and being able to recall their religious preference at each point in their lives all the way back to their first preference. In most cases, we consider only the subjective determination of religion, that is, "preference." However, for current religion the more objective criterion of church membership is also considered. In the Income and Welfare (I & W) study the interviewer inquired about the respondent's current religious preference and the religious preference of his father. For the Growth of American Families (GAF) data the interviewer obtained a complete religious mobility history for the husband and the wife from the wife. Of course, both sets of data are subject to the errors of recall and lack of information by the respondents.

7.2.2 What Are the Relevant Time Periods?

In any mobility study the length of the time period in which a move may take place must be determined. It is possible to consider the religious mobility that occurs in a single year, in a five year period, or some other period of time. A period determined by the occurrence of events such as

birth, the onset of puberty, marriage, and the present may also be relevant. We shall consider religious mobility during both fixed time periods and periods determined by events such as strategic points in the life cycle.

In the analysis to follow we use a five year time interval so that we may make use of the information obtained in the GAF study that recorded religious preference at the time of the study in 1960 and religious preference five years prior to the study. Thus, we will consider the amount of religious mobility and the patterns of religious mobility that occurred in the five year period between 1955 and 1960.

We will consider to a larger extent religious mobility that occurs in a period fixed by two events in the life of the respondents. The I & W study provides a measure of intergenerational religious mobility, since it ascertained the religion of the respondent's father and the respondent's current religion. We assume that the father's religious preference refers to the childhood years of the respondent. A religious mover in the I & W sample is anyone who at the time of the study had a different religious preference than his father, whether he initially took on a different preference and maintained it throughout his life, or whether he took on the same preference as his father and later changed his preference, or he may have even changed his preference more than once. All that we know for sure is that there has been an intergenerational change in religious preference relative to the father's religious preference.

From the GAF study we are able to consider several measures of intragenerational religious mobility. We will consider three periods: initial religious preference (assumed to be determined in the early childhood years) to religious preference at the time of marriage, religious preference at the time of marriage until the time of the interview in

1960, and the whole period from initial religious preference to the time of the interview.

Sometimes it is useful to distinguish yet another form of religious mobility. We refer to the consideration of the husband's religious preference as the origin preference and the wife's preference as the destination, or vice versa. With regard to social mobility the wife's father's position is often considered as her origin and her husband's position as her destination. With regard to religious mobility, it is not quite so obvious that there is an origin and a destination when neither partner changes his or her preference. Nevertheless, there is a certain amount of acceptance on the part of one mate of the other's religious preference. To this extent it is interesting to observe the number of adherents of the various religious groups that will make this kind of acceptance and to observe the patterns of acceptance that occur among the several religious groups.

7.2.3 Problems in Counting the Number of Religious Moves

Whenever mobility is measured by cross-classifying people in a origin location by their destination location, there is a likelihood that some people will have moved more than once during the period and only one move counted or that they have moved and then returned to their origin during the period and no moves counted. It appears that when studying religious mobility these two problems are at a minimum, even for the longest intervals. Table 7.1 indicates that 82 per cent of the population in the early adult years have never changed their religious preference. Of the remaining 18 per cent who have made a religious move, only one out of every nine of these movers has made more than one change during his lifetime. While the percentage who have made one religious move varies greatly among the

TABLE 7.1

Number of Religious Preferences by First Religious Preference,
for Men in the GAF Sample (Percentage of each religious
group having the indicated number of preferences)

First Religious Preference	Number of Religious Preferences					Total
	1	2	3	4 or more	N.A.	
1 Protestant Unspecified	83.3	11.1	1.9	0.0	3.7	100.0
2 Baptist	85.6	12.2	1.9	0.1	0.1	99.9
3 No Religion	48.0	49.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	99.9
4 Protestant Other	77.3	19.8	2.2	0.7	0.0	100.0
5 Catholic	90.8	8.3	0.7	0.1	0.0	99.9
6 Lutheran	76.8	21.5	1.3	0.4	0.0	100.0
7 Methodist	77.4	20.1	2.1	0.4	0.0	100.0
8 Other Religions	53.5	29.3	1.7	0.0	15.5	100.0
9 Presbyterian	73.6	20.7	4.5	0.7	0.7	100.2
10 Congregational	73.2	23.9	2.8	0.0	0.0	99.9
11 Episcopal	64.9	29.7	5.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
12 Jewish	99.3	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	81.9	15.6	1.8	0.2	0.5	100.0

religious groups (from less than 1 per cent for the Jewish group to 49 per cent for the No religion group), there is very little difference among the groups in the percentage who have changed their religious preference more than once (from none for the Jewish group to 5 per cent for the Episcopal group). We need not concern ourselves over multiple religious moves, at least for the period from childhood to middle age.

We cannot be sure what proportion of those making one or more intra-generational religious moves may have also made an intergenerational move

by adopting initially a different religious preference than their father's. Our data are inadequate at this point. Tables 7.2 and 7.3 with their condensed religious preference categories provide the only data available on

TABLE 7.2

Inflow Percentage Distributions for Father's Religious Preference
(Combined categories) to First Religious Preference, GAF Men

First Religious Preference	Father's Religious Preference						
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	No Preference	Other Religions	Don't Know & Not Ascertained	Total
1 Protestant Unspecified	80.6	3.7	0.0	1.9	0.0	13.9	100.1
2 Baptist	92.4	1.0	0.0	1.5	0.1	5.0	100.0
3 No Religion	58.4	6.9	1.0	18.8	1.0	13.9	100.0
4 Protestant Other	91.9	1.1	0.0	1.5	0.0	5.5	100.0
5 Catholic	9.2	88.0	0.0	1.1	0.1	1.7	100.1
6 Lutheran	96.9	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	100.0
7 Methodist	92.7	2.5	0.0	1.1	0.0	3.8	100.1
8 Other Religions	76.3	3.4	0.0	3.4	10.2	6.8	100.1
9 Presbyterian	91.0	3.9	0.0	2.6	0.0	2.6	100.1
10 Congregational	91.6	4.2	0.0	1.4	1.4	1.4	100.0
11 Episcopal	89.2	8.1	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.4	100.1
12 Jewish	1.4	0.0	97.9	0.0	0.0	0.7	100.0
13 All Protestants	92.0	2.2	0.0	1.3	0.1	4.4	100.0
Total	65.6	24.1	4.4	1.8	0.3	3.9	100.1

TABLE 7.3

Inflow Percentage Distributions for Mother's Religious Preference
(Combined categories) to First Religious Preference, GAF Men

First Religious Preference	Mother's Religious Preference						
	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	No Preference	Other Religions	Don't Know & Not Ascertained	Total
1 Protestant Unspecified	82.4	6.5	0.0	1.9	0.0	9.3	100.1
2 Baptist	95.4	0.7	0.0	0.3	0.0	3.7	100.1
3 No Religion	68.3	5.0	3.0	11.9	0.0	11.9	100.1
4 Protestant Other	94.5	1.1	0.0	0.7	0.0	3.7	100.0
5 Catholic	5.1	94.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.4	100.0
6 Lutheran	96.5	3.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4	100.0
7 Methodist	96.7	1.5	0.0	0.4	0.0	1.5	100.1
8 Other Religions	79.7	1.7	0.0	0.0	10.2	8.5	100.1
9 Presbyterian	94.8	3.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	99.9
10 Congregational	97.2	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	100.0
11 Episcopal	94.6	4.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	100.1
12 Jewish	1.4	0.0	98.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
13 All Protestants	95.0	1.7	0.0	0.4	0.0	2.8	99.9
Total	66.8	25.3	4.5	0.7	0.2	2.4	99.9

intergenerational religious mobility from parental religious preference to the initial religious preference of the son. However, we can estimate the number of men who have an initial religious preference that is different from their father's by making four assumptions which are listed

below. These estimates will allow us to construct a table similar to Table 7.1 that will indicate the distribution of number of religious preferences from father's preference until the time of the study for men in each religious preference group.

The major problem in determining the number of men with a different religious preference than their father's is the missing information for each Protestant group in Table 7.2 concerning the amount of denominational preference inheritance. For the No religion, Catholic, Other religions, and Jewish groups, Table 7.2 indicates the percentage of men with fathers who had a different preference. To derive the percentage of each Protestant group with fathers of a different preference we make the following assumptions. First, we assume that a man's initial religious preference is either the same as his mother's or his father's. Therefore, if we know what percentage of each religious group had mothers and fathers with the same religious preference we can determine that their sons have the same preference as the father, since there is no chance for change. Here we assume that the extent of religious homogamy at the time of the GAF study existed for the fathers and mothers of the respondents. We need to decide how many of the respondents whose parents had different religious preferences selected their mother's religious preference. A comparison of Tables 7.2 and 7.3 suggests that we would not be greatly in error in assuming that one-half chose their mother's preference and one-half their father's preference. With these three assumptions we determined the number of men (for each first religious preference group that had a different religious preference than their father's preference). Finally, by assuming that the same probabilities exist for changing religious preference intragenerationally for those who made an intergenerational change and those who did not, we are able to compute the number of men

with only one preference from father's preference to the time of the study, as well as the number of men who have had two, three, or four or more preferences. These estimates are provided in Table 7.4.

From Table 7.4 we estimate that 68 per cent of the men in the U.S. still have the same religious preference as their fathers when they reach middle age. This compares closely with the actual 63.9 per cent computed for the I & W data for men of all ages. When we consider both intra- and

TABLE 7.4

Estimated Number of Religious Preferences by First Religious Preference
by First Religious Preference Groups (Percentage of each group
having the indicated number of preferences)

First Religious Preference	Estimated Number of Religious Preferences					Total
	1	2	3	4 or more	N.A.	
1 Protestant Unspecified	46.1	43.3	6.0	0.9	3.7	100.0
2 Baptist	73.7	22.4	3.3	0.4	0.1	99.9
3 No Religion	9.0	48.2	40.3	2.4	0.0	99.9
4 Protestant Other	63.8	29.8	5.3	1.1	0.0	100.0
5 Catholic	79.9	18.2	1.6	0.2	0.0	99.9
6 Lutheran	66.1	29.2	4.1	0.6	0.0	100.0
7 Methodist	63.9	30.1	5.2	0.8	0.0	100.0
8 Other Religions	9.1	49.4	24.6	1.4	15.5	100.0
9 Presbyterian	59.9	30.5	7.5	1.5	0.7	100.1
10 Congregational	59.3	33.3	6.8	0.5	0.0	99.9
11 Episcopal	49.5	38.0	11.2	1.3	0.0	100.0
12 Jewish	97.2	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
Total	67.9	25.6	5.3	0.6	0.5	99.9

Note: See Sec. 7.2.3 of the text for assumptions and estimating procedures.

inter- generational changes our estimates indicate that only 6 per cent of the men make more than one religious preference change during the period. With the two notable exceptions of No religion and Other religions, we are missing only a small percentage of the religious moves when we consider the religious preference at the beginning and at the end of a period without regard to possible multiple moves during the period.

7.3 Growth or Decline of Religious Preference Groups as a Result of Religious Mobility

Table 7.5 indicates the percentage increase or decrease in the size of each of the religious groups resulting from religious mobility. Of

TABLE 7.5
Percentage Increase or Decline for Current Religious Groups Resulting from Religious Mobility During Selected Periods

Religious Preference	I & W Data	GAF Data		
	R_f to R_c (1)	R_1 to R_c (2)	R_m to R_c (3)	R_5 to R_c (4)
1 Protestant Unspecified	-17.4	- 8.0	- 9.0	- 7.0
2 Baptist	- 4.1	- 4.7	- 1.4	- 0.4
3 No Religion	26.8	-15.9	-27.2	-17.1
4 Protestant Other	9.4	10.2	5.6	4.6
5 Catholic	- 2.2	0.4	0.8	1.2
6 Lutheran	-14.1	0.0	0.0	0.9
7 Methodist	3.1	- 1.9	0.6	1.9
8 Other Religions	-54.1	5.0	1.6	- 5.0
9 Presbyterian	29.6	9.4	4.7	1.8
10 Congregational	15.3	17.4	17.4	12.8
11 Episcopal	18.2	5.7	10.0	- 2.9
12 Jewish	- 3.2	0.0	- 0.7	0.7

Symbols:

R_f Father's religion
 R_1 First religion
 R_m Religion at marriage
 R_5 Religion in 1955
 R_c Current religion in 1960

course, the actual growth or decline for a group may not be determined from the table since it does not include the children who adopt a religious group for the first time, nor those people who leave a religious preference group as the result of death, nor those who are religiously mobile and not included in the age groups found in the samples.

The four periods during which growth (or decline) is studied are of decreasing duration from column one to column four in Table 7.5. Column one is based on the I & W sample and includes both intergenerational and intragenerational mobility for the life of the respondents. Column two includes only intragenerational mobility and is based on the GAF sample. Column three allows examination of growth that results from religious mobility from the time of marriage to the present (1969). For four-fifths of the GAF sample this period is longer than five years. Thus we assume in our discussion that the period covered in column three includes the column four period, as well as additional years.

If a religious group experienced growth through every period, (i.e. father's preference to first preference, first preference to preference at marriage, preference at marriage to preference in 1955, and preference in 1955 to preference in 1960), then it would have descending positive values in columns one through four. The Presbyterian group is the only one to do so (30 per cent, 9 per cent, 5 per cent, and 2 per cent). The Presbyterian group also has the distinction of having the largest percentage increase from father's preference to current preference (30 per cent).

Three other groups experienced large increases of 15 per cent or more during the period from father's preference to current preference. Each of the three groups (No religion, Congregational, and Episcopal) has its own characteristic pattern of growth resulting from religious mobility.

The No religion group experienced 27 per cent growth over the period from father's preference to current preference (line 3, column 1 of Table 7.5). Since columns two through four indicate substantial decline during the intragenerational periods (except the period marriage to 1955) there must have been sizable intergenerational growth from father's preference to son's first preference for the No religion group (See line 3 in Table 7.2).

The Congregational group has experienced most of its growth due to religious mobility as a result of men switching after marriage (line 10 of Table 7.5). Over two-thirds of this growth took place during the 1955-1960 period (compare column 4 with columns 1, 2, or 3 of line 10). This is a 13 per cent increase for the period. It is interesting to note that while the Presbyterian group grew at twice the rate of the Congregational group over the whole period from father's preference to current preference (30 per cent as compared to 15 per cent). The Congregational group grew over six times faster than the Presbyterian group during the five year period 1955-1960 (13 per cent as compared to 2 per cent).

The Episcopal group has fluctuated from period to period with regard to growth and decline resulting from religious mobility. The inter- and intragenerational period from father's preference to current preference indicates an increase of 18 per cent for the Episcopal group. Other periods of growth were from father's preference to first preference and from marriage preference to 1955 preference. The Episcopal group experienced a decline of 3 per cent during the five year period as well as a decline from first preference to marriage preference.

The Protestant other group experienced a moderate increase of 9 per cent during the period from father's preference to current preference. Its size remained unchanged as a result of mobility from father's pre-

ference to son's first preference. The largest increases occurred during the periods from first preference to marriage and from 1955 to 1960.

Four groups (Baptist, Catholic, Methodist, and Jewish) experienced little net change as the result of religious mobility during any of the periods. In no case did any of the four groups experience an increase of more than 5 per cent during any period.

The Protestant unspecified group and the Lutheran group both decreased from father's preference to current preference as a result of religious mobility. The Protestant unspecified group decreased sharply from father's preference to son's first preference and again during the five year period. For the other periods little change took place.

The Lutheran membership also decreased sharply from father's preference to son's first preference. Almost no change occurred during the other periods for the Lutheran group. The changes for the Other religions category, which consists of all preferences not included in the other eleven groupings and the not ascertained preferences, are shown in line 8 of Table 7.5.

We have proceeded in this discussion of net increases or decreases in religious groups resulting from religious mobility with little concern for the reliability and validity of the data at hand. Both the smallness of the sample sizes and the difference between the study populations should not be left unconsidered when examining the statements made above. Furthermore, the reader must be aware of the problems of inferring changes from retrospective data.

The major conclusions resulting from this discussion are that three-fourths of the twelve religious preference groups have (1) 5 per cent or less net change in a five year period, (2) 10 per cent or less net change from first preference to current preference, and (3) 20 per

cent or less net change from father's preference to current preference as a result of religious mobility.

In the following paragraphs we examine the components of the net changes discussed above to determine the amount and patterns of in- and out- religious mobility. We will further evaluate whether the net changes observed in Table 7.5 are consistent with the rest of our knowledge about religious mobility.

7.4 Outflow Patterns of Religious Mobility for Religious Preference

Groups

Table 7.6 indicates (in columns one through five) the percentage of the population who changed religious preference during a given period and (in column six) the percentage of husbands who married a spouse with a different religious preference. The table also shows what percentage of each religious group left the group during the period.

For the male population as a whole, 34 per cent have a different religious preference than their father. One-half as much religious mobility occurs during the first preference to current preference period as occurs from father's preference to current preference. By the time of marriage 10 per cent of the men in the GAF sample have given up their first religious preference for some other preference. Religious mobility does not stop with marriage. During the period from marriage until the time of the interview, 9 per cent of the men changed their religious preference. In fact, during the five year period from 1955 to 1960, although most of the men were already married before the start of the period, 5 per cent of the men adopted a new religious preference. Finally, it appears that religious heterogamy occurs with the same over-all frequency as intergenerational religious mobility (36 per cent and 34 per cent, respectively).

TABLE 7.6

Percentage Leaving a Given Religious Preference Group During Five Periods
and Percentage of Husbands of a Given Preference Marrying
a Wife of a Different Group, GAF and I & W Samples

Religious Preference Group	Father's Pref. to Current Pref. (1)	1st Pref. to Current Pref. (2)	1st Pref. to Marriage Pref. (3)	Marriage Pref. to Current Pref. (4)	1955 Pref. to Current Pref. (5)	Husband's Pref. to Wife's Pref. (6)
1 Jewish	4.7	0.7	0.0	0.7	0.0	5.5
2 Catholic	14.8	9.0	5.5	3.9	2.5	22.6
3 Baptist	31.2	13.7	7.9	7.0	2.8	27.9
4 Methodist	37.4	21.5	13.2	11.4	4.3	40.8
5 Lutheran	40.5	21.9	12.7	11.4	5.3	42.1
6 Episcoapl	42.6	35.1	24.3	12.7	9.7	55.6
7 Protestant Other	43.5	19.0	11.0	9.8	6.2	33.4
8 Presbyterian	44.3	25.8	13.5	15.9	6.0	50.9
9 Congregational	45.9	25.3	17.1	11.3	4.0	53.5
10 Other Religions	64.2	37.9	17.2	27.1	18.7	72.9
11 No Religion	64.3	51.0	22.5	33.0	20.4	85.7
12 Protestant Unspecified	77.1	17.6	7.4	12.8	9.3	80.7
13 All Groups	34.1	17.2	9.8	9.2	4.7	35.7

TABLE 7.7

Outflow Percentages for Father's Religious Preference
to Current Religious Preference, I & W Sample

Father's Religious Preference	Current (1969) Religious Preference (See Stub)												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1 Protestant Unspecified	22.9	19.7	1.3	20.6	8.5	2.7	13.9	1.8	4.0	2.7	1.8	0.0	99.9 (112)
2 Baptist	4.0	68.8	0.7	6.2	1.8	1.8	9.4	0.8	3.9	0.4	2.0	0.0	99.8 (489)
3 No Religion	5.7	10.0	35.7	10.0	11.4	0.0	11.4	2.9	7.1	0.0	2.9	2.9	100.0 (35)
4 Protestant Other	5.8	15.4	2.4	56.5	1.0	2.4	10.6	2.4	2.6	0.5	0.5	0.0	100.1 (208)
5 Catholic	0.4	1.8	2.9	1.9	85.2	2.2	2.7	0.7	1.5	0.6	0.0	0.0	99.9 (497)
6 Lutheran	2.4	3.3	1.2	5.7	5.4	59.5	8.5	1.2	6.6	3.0	3.0	0.0	99.8 (166)
7 Methodist	5.4	10.9	0.3	5.0	3.5	2.5	62.6	1.6	5.7	1.0	1.5	0.0	100.0 (343)
8 Other Religions	5.7	11.4	3.6	12.4	8.3	3.1	11.9	35.8	3.6	1.0	3.1	0.0	99.9 (97)
9 Presbyterian	4.3	7.6	2.2	6.5	5.4	1.1	10.8	2.2	55.7	0.0	4.3	0.0	100.1 (93)
10 Congregational	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0	4.9	6.6	1.6	9.8	3.3	54.1	13.1	0.0	100.0 (31)
11 Episcopal	3.7	7.4	0.0	1.9	5.6	7.4	3.7	0.0	11.1	1.9	57.4	0.0	100.1 (54)
12 Jewish	0.0	0.0	4.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	95.3	100.0 (65)
Total	4.3	21.5	2.2	10.5	22.2	6.6	16.2	2.9	6.0	1.6	3.0	2.9	99.9 (2190)

TABLE 7.8

Outflow Percentages for First Religious Preference
to Current (1960) Religious Preference, GAF Men

First Religious Preference	Current Religious Preference (See Stub)												Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1 Protestant Unspecified	82.4	0.0	5.6	3.7	2.8	1.9	.9	0.9	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.1 (108)
2 Baptist	0.3	86.3	0.5	4.0	2.3	1.5	3.1	0.7	0.8	0.1	0.4	0.0	100.0 (735)
3 No Religion	0.0	7.8	49.0	8.8	11.8	2.9	14.7	2.9	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.9 (144)
4 Protestant Other	0.4	4.4	0.7	81.0	1.5	1.8	5.9	0.4	1.8	1.1	1.1	0.0	100.1 (273)
5 Catholic	0.5	1.3	2.2	0.7	91.0	0.4	1.7	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.0	100.1 (830)
6 Lutheran	0.0	1.8	0.4	4.4	3.1	78.1	4.0	0.4	4.4	3.5	0.0	0.0	100.1 (228)
7 Methodist	0.4	5.0	0.6	3.8	3.4	2.3	78.5	1.1	2.7	1.3	0.8	0.2	100.1 (478)
8 Other Religions	0.0	3.5	3.5	3.5	1.7	6.9	8.6	62.1	6.9	3.5	0.0	0.0	100.2 (58)
9 Presbyterian	1.3	3.2	1.3	1.3	3.2	3.9	4.5	1.3	74.2	1.9	3.9	0.0	100.0 (155)
10 Congregational	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.8	7.0	2.8	4.2	2.8	1.4	74.7	4.2	0.0	99.9 (71)
11 Episcopal	0.0	2.7	0.0	1.4	10.8	2.7	1.4	1.4	8.1	6.8	64.9	0.0	100.2 (74)
12 Jewish	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.3	100.0 (102)
Total	3.1	21.6	2.7	9.3	25.6	7.0	14.4	1.9	5.3	2.6	2.2	4.4	100.1 (3256)

TABLE 7.9
Outflow Percentages for First Religious Preference to Religious
Preference at the Time of Marriage, GAF Men

First Religious Preference	Religious Preference at the Time of Marriage (See Stub)												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1 Protestant Unspecified	92.6	0.0	1.9	0.9	4.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0 (108)
2 Baptist	0.0	92.1	0.4	1.8	1.4	0.7	2.0	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.1	0.0	100.0 (735)
3 No Religion	0.0	3.9	77.5	3.9	6.9	2.0	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.1 (102)
4 Protestant Other	0.4	2.6	0.7	89.0	1.1	0.7	2.9	0.7	0.4	1.1	0.4	0.0	100.0 (273)
5 Catholic	0.6	1.0	1.6	0.2	94.5	0.1	1.2	0.2	0.4	0.1	0.1	0.0	100.0 (830)
6 Lutheran	0.0	0.9	1.8	3.1	2.2	87.3	0.8	0.4	2.6	0.9	0.0	0.0	100.0 (228)
7 Methodist	0.4	2.3	0.6	2.7	2.7	2.1	86.8	0.0	1.3	0.6	0.2	0.2	99.9 (478)
8 Other Religions	0.0	0.0	3.5	0.0	1.7	5.2	5.2	82.8	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.1 (58)
9 Presbyterian	0.7	1.9	1.3	1.9	1.3	2.6	1.9	1.3	86.5	0.0	0.7	0.0	100.1 (155)
10 Congregational	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.4	5.7	1.4	2.9	0.0	1.4	82.9	2.9	0.0	100.0 (71)
11 Episcopal	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	8.1	1.4	2.7	1.4	6.8	2.7	75.7	0.0	100.2 (74)
12 Jewish	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0 (144)
Total	3.4	21.9	3.4	8.8	25.8	7.0	14.3	1.8	5.0	2.2	1.9	4.5	100.0 (3256)

TABLE 7.10

Outflow Percentages for Religious Preference at the Time of Marriage
to Current (1960) Religious Preference, GAF Men

Marriage Religious Preference	Current Religious Preference (See Stub)												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1 Protestant Unspecified	87.2	0.9	2.8	2.8	0.0	0.9	0.9	0.9	2.8	0.9	0.0	0.0	100.1 (109)
2 Baptist	0.0	93.0	0.3	2.7	1.0	0.7	1.5	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.3	0.0	100.1 (712)
3 No Religion	0.9	3.6	67.0	3.6	4.5	3.6	9.8	3.6	1.8	1.8	0.0	0.0	100.2 (112)
4 Protestant Other	0.7	2.1	0.0	90.2	0.4	1.4	4.2	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.1 (287)
5 Catholic	0.0	0.5	0.8	0.4	96.1	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	0.0	100.2 (840)
6 Lutheran	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.9	0.9	88.6	3.1	0.4	2.2	2.6	0.4	0.0	100.0 (228)
7 Methodist	0.2	3.4	0.0	1.3	0.9	0.4	88.6	0.9	2.6	1.1	0.6	0.0	100.0 (466)
8 Other Religions	0.0	3.4	0.0	6.8	1.7	1.7	3.4	72.9	5.1	3.4	1.7	0.0	100.1 (59)
9 Presbyterian	0.6	1.8	0.6	1.2	1.8	1.2	3.1	1.2	84.1	1.2	3.1	0.0	99.9 (163)
10 Congregational	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	1.4	2.8	2.8	0.0	1.4	88.7	1.4	0.0	99.9 (71)
11 Episcopal	0.0	3.2	0.0	1.6	3.2	1.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.2	87.3	0.0	100.1 (63)
12 Jewish	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.3	100.0 (145)
Total	3.1	21.6	2.7	9.3	25.6	7.0	14.4	1.8	5.3	2.6	2.2	4.4	100.0 (3256)

TABLE 7.11
Outflow Percentages for Religious Preference Five Years Prior (1955)
to Current (1960) Religious Preference, GAF Men

1955 Religious Preference	Current Religious Preference												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1 Protestant Unspecified	90.7	0.9	1.9	2.8	0.9	0.9	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0 (107)
2 Baptist	0.0	97.2	0.0	1.6	0.4	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	100.0 (705)
3 No Religion	1.9	1.0	79.6	3.9	1.9	2.9	5.8	1.9	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	99.9 (103)
4 Protestant Other	0.3	0.3	0.0	93.8	0.0	1.0	3.4	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	99.8 (290)
5 Catholic	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	97.5	0.1	0.1	0.5	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	100.0 (843)
6 Lutheran	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.4	0.9	94.7	0.4	0.0	0.9	1.3	0.4	0.0	99.9 (226)
7 Methodist	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.4	0.9	0.4	95.7	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.4	0.2	100.2 (460)
8 Other Religion	0.0	3.1	0.0	6.3	0.0	1.6	3.1	81.3	1.6	3.1	0.0	0.0	100.1 (64)
9 Presbyterian	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.6	1.8	0.6	94.0	0.6	0.6	0.0	100.0 (168)
10 Congregational	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.3	96.0	0.0	0.0	99.9 (75)
11 Episcopal	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.4	0.0	1.4	1.4	0.0	1.4	2.8	90.3	0.0	100.1 (72)
12 Jewish	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	100.0 (143)
Total	3.1	21.6	2.7	9.3	25.6	7.0	14.4	1.9	5.3	2.6	2.1	4.4	100.0 (3256)

TABLE 7.12

Outflow Percentages for Husband's Religious Preference at the Time of Marriage to Wife's
Religious Preference at the Time of Marriage, GAF Sample

Husband's Religious Preference	Wife's Religious Preference (See Stub)												Total
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1 Protestant Unspecified	19.3	22.9	1.8	13.8	16.5	3.7	9.2	1.8	7.3	3.7	0.0	0.0	100.0 (109)
2 Baptist	1.1	72.1	0.4	7.2	5.5	1.5	8.7	0.6	1.0	0.7	1.3	0.0	100.1 (712)
3 No Religion	2.7	15.2	14.3	12.5	27.7	3.6	12.5	1.8	6.3	1.8	0.9	0.9	100.2 (112)
4 Protestant Other	1.4	10.8	0.7	66.6	6.3	2.8	7.3	1.4	2.4	0.4	0.0	0.0	100.1 (287)
5 Catholic	1.2	4.3	1.4	1.4	77.4	3.2	4.8	0.6	2.5	1.8	1.3	0.1	100.0 (840)
6 Lutheran	0.0	5.7	0.0	3.1	13.6	57.9	10.5	1.3	2.6	2.2	2.6	0.4	99.9 (228)
7 Methodist	0.6	16.7	0.6	5.4	6.4	1.1	59.2	1.5	4.1	1.9	2.4	0.0	99.9 (466)
8 Other Religions	1.7	10.2	1.7	17.0	8.5	5.1	5.1	27.1	13.6	5.1	5.1	0.0	100.2 (59)
9 Presbyterian	0.0	7.4	0.6	6.1	11.0	4.9	11.7	1.2	49.1	1.8	6.1	0.0	99.9 (163)
10 Congregational	0.0	2.8	1.4	2.8	18.3	5.6	8.5	1.4	7.0	46.5	5.6	0.0	99.9 (71)
11 Episcopal	0.0	6.4	1.6	3.2	19.1	1.6	7.9	4.8	9.5	0.0	44.4	1.6	100.1 (63)
12 Jewish	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.7	2.8	0.0	0.7	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	94.5	100.1 (145)
Total	1.5	22.7	1.3	10.5	26.7	6.4	14.8	1.5	5.4	2.5	2.6	4.3	100.2 (3256)

The religious preference groups are listed in Table 7.6 beginning with the group that experienced the smallest out-movement during the interval from father's preference to current preference and ending with the largest per cent leaving. Laumann (1968) found a similar ranking of religious groups by per cent of friends selected from outside the group. Note that the ordering of the first five groups (Jewish through Lutheran) would be virtually unchanged no matter which interval of time we used as the criterion for ranking. Furthermore, the remaining groups are also in order with regard to the amount of mobility during the periods in columns two through six. (Exceptions to this are Episcopal group that has a higher percentage mobile in some intervals than would be expected on such a ranking and the Protestant other group that has a lower percentage mobile in some intervals than would be indicated by its position). Also, the Protestant unspecified group has a high degree of intergenerational religious mobility and religious heterogamy, but a relatively low amount of intragenerational mobility. The patterns of religious mobility for each group will be discussed in this section in turn as the groups are listed in the stub of Table 7.6.

Two questions are paramount in this section. (1) What proportion of each religious preference group leaves it for another during any given period in a lifetime? (2) To what religious groups do these individuals move? The questions are stated in terms of outflow from the groups and with regard to supplying the other religious preference groups. It would be just as logical to consider the inflow to the groups and from where the groups recruited their adherents.

Previous chapters have indicated the Jews have the highest educational attainments, occupational achievements, and income of any group. This

chapter shows they have the least tendency toward religious mobility of any of the religious groups. Less than 5 per cent of the men with Jewish fathers had adopted another religion at the time of the study. Less than 1 per cent of the men who indicated their first preference was Jewish changed to another preference. Furthermore, less than 6 per cent of the Jewish men married non-Jewish brides. Column 12 in Tables 7.7 through 7.12 reveals that there is almost no movement into the Jewish group from the other preference groups during any period in the life cycle. The achievements noted previously must be attributed solely to the Jewish group for it is a highly endogamous group with little entrance or exit except through birth and death. The lack of religious mobility separates the Jewish group from all other preference groups in this chapter as its achievements did in the three previous chapters.

The Catholics have a substantially larger percentage who adopted a different religious preference than the Jews, but smaller than the other preference groups. About 15 per cent of the men with Catholic fathers left the Catholic religion for another preference by the time of the study. Intragenerational changes were made by 9 per cent of the Catholics, while 23 per cent of the men found non-Catholic mates.

While relatively few men leave the Catholic group, those that do show little selectivity in choosing a destination group. The slight preference for the No religion group may result from men who are not practicing Catholicism as a result of divorce or other church law violations, but have no reason to adopt a Protestant preference. The tendency for Catholic men who marry outside their own religious preference to select Baptists and Methodists to a greater extent than the other groups may not indicate a conscious preference for women from these two groups, but may result simply because the Baptist and Methodist groups are larger than the other nine preference groups.

Over 31 per cent of the men who had Baptist fathers were not Baptists at the time of the interview. This is twice the rate of intergenerational mobility experienced by the Catholic group. In each of the five periods shown in Tables 7.7 through 7.11 the Baptists supplied the Protestant other and Methodist religious groups more frequently than they did any other group.

The tendency for Baptists to adopt Protestant other and Methodist as their new preference may result from several factors. Almost one-fourth of the Baptists are Negroes. The only other preference groups with large numbers of Negroes are the Protestant other, Methodist, and Catholic groups. If a Negro Baptist changes religious preference, his greatest chance is finding a Negro church that is either Methodist or a church that is classified in the Protestant other group. Furthermore, the Baptist group has its largest representation in the South. The Methodist and Protestant other groups also have a high proportion of their people in the South. If an individual is a Baptist and living in the South and decides to change his religious preference, then he is most likely to encounter a Methodist or Protestant other church. Similarities in social status of members and in dogma may also facilitate movement from Baptist to Methodist and Protestant other groups.

The Methodist group and the other eight preference groups yet to be discussed all have higher mobility rates during each interval than the national average for men without regard to preference (exception: Protestant unspecified), whereas the Jewish, Catholic, and Baptist groups all have mobility rates that are less than the national average for men. It is more difficult to summarize the patterns of mobility for the Methodist than for the first three groups discussed. In four out of the six indications of religious mobility, more Methodist movers select the Baptist

group as their new preference than any other group. Several preference groups in addition to the Baptist receive men who have left the Methodist group. In general, we notice that the migration stream from Baptist to Methodist observed earlier is matched by a flow from Methodist to Baptist. Later when we discuss the Protestant other group we will observe that these three groups have reciprocal flows.

With regard to intragenerational religious mobility and mate selection patterns, the amount of mobility for the Lutherans closely resembles the Methodist group. Lutheran men who marry outside their own preference select primarily from Catholic and Methodist women. Religious migration flows also exist in the inter- and intragenerational periods from the Lutherans to the Catholic and Methodist groups.

About 43 per cent of the men with Episcopalian fathers adopted a different religious preference. The amount of intragenerational religious mobility for the Episcopal group far exceeds any of the groups discussed so far. It ranks third from the top in percentage of men changing to another preference during that period. The 24 per cent change during the interval preceeding marriage for the Episcopal group is the largest change for the twelve groups in that period. When selecting a mate, 56 per cent of the Episcopalian men marry women who have a different preference. Over three-fourths of the men making an intergenerational change away from the Episcopal preference adopted one of four preference groups: Presbyterian, Baptist, Catholic, or Lutheran. The Catholic group is favored over the others when Episcopalian men select their wives.

The pattern of movement for men who leave the Protestant other category is quite clear. A reciprocity of exchanges between Protestant others, Baptists, and Methodists exists for intergenerational, as well as for intragenerational movements, and in mate selection. Several factors

are at work to produce this result. The large size of each group has some influence. The similarity in location, racial composition, socio-economic status of its members, as well as similarities in religious beliefs are other factors that support a tendency for those leaving one of the groups to adopt either of the two remaining ones.

Intergenerational religious mobility occurs for 44 per cent of the men who had Presbyterian fathers. With regard to intragenerational mobility, over one-fourth of the men who initially were Presbyterian left that group for another preference. In selecting a mate over one-half of the Presbyterian men selected a non-Presbyterian spouse.

Those men who leave the Presbyterian preference have a tendency to select the Methodist group as their new preference. However, slightly less than one-fourth of the Presbyterian men who change their preference become Methodists. The other three-fourths select one of several groups. In selecting a spouse the same pattern occurs, with almost as many Catholic women being selected as Methodist women. In general, during each interval in the life cycle the Presbyterian preference supplies members predominantly to the Methodist group, but also to several other groups.

The amount of religious mobility for the Congregational group is very similar to that for the Presbyterian group at each stage of the life cycle. The small number of Congregationalists in the two samples makes it difficult to observe a pattern for those who leave the Congregational group.

The Other religions category is a residual one composed of all respondents who indicated a religious preference that could not be placed in one of the other eleven groups and all those for whom the interviewer failed to determine a preference. We will not elaborate the amount of mobility that occurs for this category since the origin preference of the men is nonspecific. We note that the amounts of religious mobility are

of a similar magnitude as those for men with No religious preference. It may be that many of the men for whom a religious preference was not reported are actually men with no religious preference, or vice versa.

Almost two-thirds of the men who had fathers with No religious preference adopted a specific religious preference for themselves. For those men who indicated they did not have a religion in their early life, 51 per cent had a religious preference at the time of the study. Very few men who have No religious preference marry women who also do not have a religious preference. About six out of every seven men without a religion select a bride with a religious preference. The intragenerational movement from the No religion category to some other group and the selection by the men with No religion of a spouse from another group are the largest for any of the twelve groups considered. The four largest religious groups (Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, and Protestant other) receive the most men leaving the No religion category. This is true intergenerationally, intragenerationally, and in selecting a mate.

Intergenerational mobility occurs more often for those men whose fathers were Protestant and had no specific denomination or church than for any other group. Men who are in the Protestant unspecified category have the second greatest tendency to select a spouse from another group. However, for the men who initially are in the Protestant unspecified category, or who subsequently indicate their religious preference as Protestant unspecified, the trend to leave that category for another preference is relatively small. Only 18 per cent of the men whose first preference was Protestant unspecified adopt a different religious preference.

The pattern of groups selected by men who leave the Protestant unspecified preference is complex. Those men whose fathers were Protestant unspecified selected the Baptist and Protestant other groups almost equally.

About 20 per cent chose each group. That far exceeds the preference for any of the other groups.

From first preference to preference at marriage almost 5 per cent of the Protestant unspecified men have become Catholic. This is almost 2 per cent more than was observed in Table 7.8 for the whole interval from first preference to current preference. For some of these men becoming Catholic is a way to facilitate their marriage and they either change back to Protestant unspecified or perhaps they may move into the No religion category after marriage. Further support is added to our hypothesis that the change to Catholic at the time of marriage is to oblige the bride is found in Tables 7.11 and 7.12. No men having the Protestant unspecified preference at the time of marriage change to Catholic between their marriage and the time of the study. Thus, it is only before marriage that the Catholic preference is selected. Furthermore, a preference for Catholic women by Protestant unspecified men can be seen in Table 7.12. Over 16 per cent of the men select Catholic brides. The only other group that receives more attention from the Protestant unspecified men is the Baptist women.

7.5 The Quasi-independence Model of Religious Mobility

The above discussion of religious mobility for each of the twelve religious groups considered only the amount and patterns with little attention to the reasons for the selection or avoidance of one group by another. For some of the groups we hypothesized that the mobility patterns reflected the size of the groups to which a member could move. (See the No religion group as an example.) For other groups the movement was predominantly to a small group, thus the pattern could not be due to the size of the group.

In this section we investigate the hypothesis that men who decide to change religious preference select a new preference at random. We have illustrated throughout this chapter that the dominant pattern is for an individual to keep the same religious preference he begins with; that is, to take on the religion of his parents, to keep that preference throughout his life, and to marry someone with the same preference. What about those men who do make a preference change? It is possible that they adopt a specific new preference because it has a church nearby or because a friend invites them to attend services. If this is the case, then the group with the most churches or the most members would attract the largest number of the religiously mobile. The group with the second largest membership would receive the second largest number of religious movers, and likewise for the rest of the groups.

A model that allows one to disregard those who do not change religious preference and compute an expected number of movers for each group based on the size of the origin group and the destination group has been devised by Goodman (1965). This model may be used to examine the hypothesis that the actual religious mobility observed does not differ from the random religious mobility model more than would be expected by chance as long as there is a minimum of five "expected cases" in each cell of the religious mobility table. Unfortunately, many of the cells in the religious mobility tables from both of our sets of data have less than five "expected cases."

The relative departures based on the Goodman quasi-independence model for those cells having at least five "expected cases" are shown for intergenerational religious mobility based on the I & W sample and for intragenerational religious mobility based on the GAF sample in Tables 7.13 and 7.14, respectively. Our discussion of the quasi-independence model must take the nature of an illustration of how the model may be

TABLE 7.13

Relative Departures from Frequencies Expected on the Model of Quasi-independence
for Father's Religious Preference to Current (1960) Religious Preference,
I & W Sample^a

Father's Religious Preference	Current Religious Preference (See Stub)											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Protestant Unspecified	...	.19	...	.67	.27	-.45	-.16	...	-.51	...	...	...
2 Baptist	.15	...	-.56	.10	-.40	-.18	.25	-.39	.04	...	.28	...
3 No Religion	...	-.24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
4 Protestant Other	.27	.55	...	...	-.76	-.19	.07	...	-.46	...	...	...
5 Catholic	-.72	-.42	...	-.18	...	...	-.13	...	-.03	...	...	...
6 Lutheran	-.37	-.60	...	-.08	.60	...	.01	...	.60	...	...	...
7 Methodist	.31	.21	-.85	-.27	-.05	-.08	...	.00	.27	...	-.24	...
8 Other Religions	-.04	-.12	...	.28	.57	...	-.08	...	-.44	...	...	...
9 Presbyterian	...	-.21	...	-.09	...	...	.13	.27	...	...	...	...
10 Congregational	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Episcopal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Jewish	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

^aRelative departures shown only for those cells with five or more expected cases.

TABLE 7.14

Relative Departures from Frequencies Expected on the Model of Quasi-independence for First Religious Preference to Current (1960) Religious Preference, GAF Sample^a

First Religious Preference	Current (1960) Religious Preference (See Stub)											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Protestant Unspecified	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2 Baptist	...	...	-.48	.73	.03	.10	.07	...	-.46	-.84	...	...
3 No Religion	...	.10	...	.12	.51	...	.46	...	-.62	...	...	...
4 Protestant Other	...	.51	...	...	-.54	-.05	.42	...	-.13	...	...	...
5 Catholic	...	-.04	2.14	-.53	...	-.60	-.13	...	-.16	...	...	...
6 Lutheran	...	-.44	...	.26	-.10	...	-.11	...	.93	...	...	...
7 Methodist	...	.45	-.64	-.02	-.11	.01	...	-.03	.08	-.11	...	...
8 Other Religions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 Presbyterian	...	-.14	...	-.69	-.21	...	-.14	...	...	...	...	...
10 Congregational	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Episcopal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Jewish	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

^aRelative departures shown only for those cells with five or more expected cases.

useful for analyzing religious mobility if a set of data with a large sample size were available. Any substantive interpretations must remain tentative.

The relative departures in Tables 7.13 and 7.14 are computed by subtracting the expected number of cases from the observed number of cases and dividing the difference by the expected number of cases, computed using the quasi-independence method. A relative departure of minus one is the lower limit and represents no observed cases in the cell. A relative departure of zero indicates the observed number of cases is equal to the number expected in the model. A value of plus one indicates twice as many observed cases than expected by chance. The upper limit is determined by the specific data.

In Table 7.15 we have assumed that intergenerational religious mobility follows the same patterns as intragenerational religious mobility, as was shown to be the case in most instances in the earlier part of this chapter. We have combined the observed frequencies from the I & W sample with those of the GAF sample, and we have done the same thing for the expected frequencies for each sample. Relative departures were then computed based on the data from the combined samples. They are shown in Table 7.15 for those cells with at least ten "expected cases." For eighty-two of the possible origin by destination combinations our sample size is too small to allow us to examine the relative departures.

We have somewhat arbitrarily established three categories for considering religious mobility patterns: (1) Preference for a destination group as indicated by a relative departure of .20 or greater; (2) Avoidance of a destination group as indicated by a relative departure of $-.20$ or less; and (3) neither a preference nor avoidance for a destination group as indicated by relative departures in the range from $-.19$ to $.19$. The

TABLE 7.15

Relative Departures from Frequencies Expected on the Model of Quasi-independence for
Origin Preference to Current (1960) Preference, GAF and
I & W Samples Combined^a

Origin Preference	Destination Preference (See Stub)											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Protestant Unspecified	...	.05	...	.63	.21	...	-.25	...	-.40	...	...	...
2 Baptist	.13	...	-.52	.34	-.18	-.04	.18	-.20	-.15	-.71	.08	...
3 No Religion	...	-.07	...	.10	...	...	.28	...	...	...	...	...
4 Protestant Other	.24	.53	...	...	-.65	-.12	.19	...	-.34	...	...	...
5 Catholic	...	-.25	...	-.36	...	.16	-.13	...	-.09	...	...	...
6 Lutheran	...	-.55	...	.04	.19	...	-.04	...	.74	...	...	...
7 Methodist	.24	.29	-.73	-.16	-.09	-.03	...	-.02	.19	-.09	-.19	...
8 Other Religions	...	-.16	...	.10	...	...	-.01	...	...	...	...	...
9 Presbyterian	...	-.18	...	-.38	...	...	.00	...	...	...	...	...
10 Congregational	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Episcopal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Jewish	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

^aRelative departures shown only for cells with ten or more expected cases. See text for explanation of how the samples were combined and the relative departures computed.

category represents religious mobility that would occur if random selection were taking place or if men selected a new preference in some way related to the sizes of the origin and destination groups.

For twenty-nine out of the fifty origin by destination combinations for which the relative departures are shown in Table 7.15 the number of men selecting a new preference is what would be expected by chance. For nine cells of the table there appears to be a preference for the given religious groups, since at least 20 per cent more men selected the preference than would be expected by the quasi-independence model. In the remaining twelve cells an avoidance of the given religious groups appears to exist.

7.6 Religious Preference Migration Streams Due to Chance

For twenty-nine out of the fifty origin by destination combinations for which the relative departures are shown in Table 7.15 the number of men selecting a new preference is what would be expected by chance. Eighteen of the twenty-nine cells actually form nine reciprocal pairs (e.g. Baptists selecting Protestant unspecified and Protestant unspecifieds selecting Baptist) with the number of men selecting each new preference being about what would be expected in the quasi-independence model. Several of the mobility streams that were apparent when only the number of men making the preference change was considered now have less importance when the quasi-independence model is used as a base line (e.g. Baptists changing to Methodist).

7.7 Religious Preference Migration Streams Not Due to Chance

For nine cells in Table 7.15 there appears to be a definite preference the given destination group by men in the given origin groups as indicated by at least 20 per cent more men changing to the group than would be

expected by chance. Figure 7.1 shows these selection patterns. The origin group is at the foot of the arrow, with the destination group at the head of the arrow. We observe that a mutual attraction exists between Protestant other and Protestant unspecified and between Protestant other and Baptist.

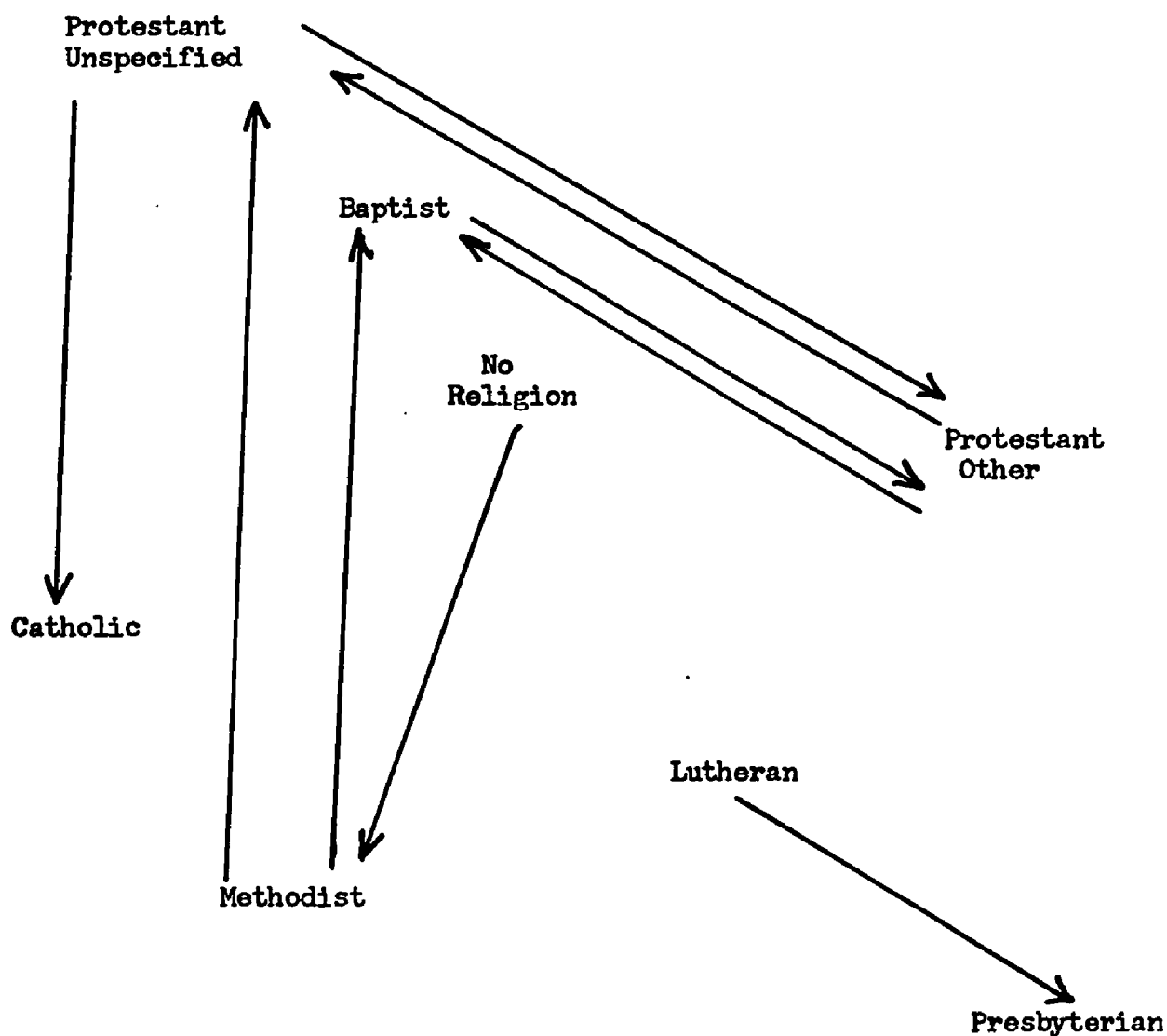


Figure 7.1--Religious Mobility Preference Patterns Based on Relative Departures from Frequencies Expected on the Quasi-independence Model (Relative departures of .20 or greater.)

Figure 7.2 shows the avoidance patterns observed using the quasi-independence model for the twelve cells in Table 7.15 that have at least 20 per cent fewer men selecting a given destination preference than expected. A mutual disinterest by Protestant others and Catholics and by

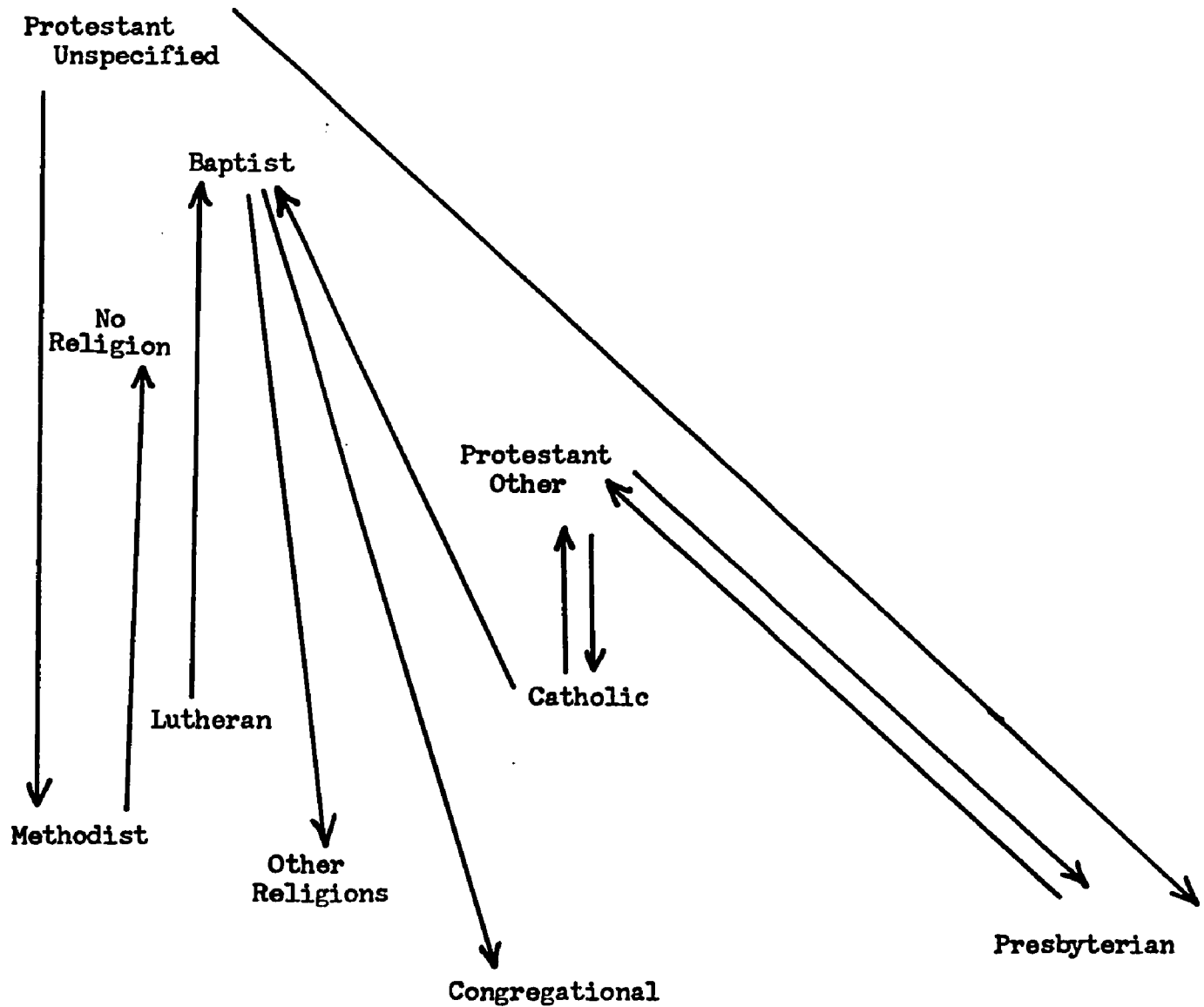


Figure 7.2--Religious Mobility Avoidance Patterns Based on Relative Departures from Frequencies Expected on the Quasi-independence Model (Relative departures of $-.20$ or less.)

Protestant others and Presbyterians is observed. Only with the Methodist and Protestant unspecified and the Methodist and No religion do we observe an avoidance by one group and a preference by the other.

7.8 Religious Group Socio-economic Status and Religious Mobility Patterns

The religious groups are listed in Table 7.15 in rank order by their mean educational level from lowest to highest. The ranking is also approximately correct for occupational socio-economic status and income of the groups. The quasi-independence model would be a useful tool for examining the relationship between religious mobility and the average socio-economic statuses of the origin and destination religious preference groups if we had a large enough sample to permit examination of the relative departures for the entire religious mobility table. However, we are limited by the size of our samples to the extent that for most of the cells in the corners of the table we have no reliable data. In the next chapter we do examine the relationship between changing religious preference and the respondent's socio-economic status relative to his origin and destination preferences' average statuses. Other factors besides socio-economic position influence the patterns of religious mobility.

7.9 The Relationship of Marriage with Religious Mobility Patterns

Some religious mobility may occur because of marriage as hypothesized earlier. However, for about one-half of the couples, marriage was not a possible source of religious mobility for either mate, since each had selected a spouse of the same religious preference as his own (See Table 7.16). Each mate in the other half of the couples was faced with the decision to change his or her religious preference to the mate's. About 36 per cent of the couples decided to marry without either partner changing to the other's religious preference. Another 12 per cent of the couples

TABLE 7.16

Amount of Religious Mobility Prior to Marriage for Husbands
and Wives and Amount of Religious Homogamy at the
Time of Marriage, GAF Sample

Husband's Mobility and Homogamy	Wife's Mobility		
	Changed Preference	Did not change Preference	Total
Changed Preference, Alike	1.8	5.3	7.1
Changed Preference, Not Alike	2.6	0.1	2.7
Did Not Change Pre- ference, Alike	7.1	50.2	57.2
Did Not Change Pre- ference, Not Alike	4.0	29.0	33.0
Total	15.4	84.6	100.0

had one of the spouses change his or her religious preference to that of the other mate, while for 2 per cent of the couples both spouses changed preference before marriage to a new common preference.

The assumption we have made thus far is if one or both spouses changed religious preference at or before marriage and it was religiously homogamous, then the religious mobility took place to facilitate the homogamy. Of course this need not be the case. One or both of the spouses may have changed preferences before meeting their future mate, resulting in the individual actually selecting a mate who was of his own religion.

To estimate how many men or women change their religious preference before marriage for reasons unrelated to marriage, we can consider the men and women who change preferences but marry a spouse of a different religion. Table 7.16 indicates that 2.7 per cent of the men and 6.6 per cent of the women change religious preferences before marriage for non-

marital reasons. A closer examination reveals that 5.3 per cent of the men change their religious preference and marry a women having the same new religion who has never changed her preference. This contrasts with the .1 per cent of the men who changed their religious preference and married a woman with a different religious choice who has never changed her religion. The corresponding figures for women who change their preference and marry nonchanging men with the same and different preferences are 7.1 per cent and 4.0 per cent respectively.

If a man changes his preference before marriage, he is most likely adopting the religious preference of his future bride. From Table 7.16 we estimate 5 per cent of the men in our sample made a religious move before marriage to facilitate a religiously homogamous marriage. It is more difficult to determine what percentage of the women made such moves. Women are more willing to change their religious preference than men, and perhaps more willing to change for other reasons besides marriage. Table 7.17 indicates women changing religious preference before marriage have a

TABLE 7.17

Percentage of Religiously Homogamous Marriages for Men and Women
Who Change and Do Not Change Their Religious
Preference Before Marriage, GAF Sample

	Percentage Homogamous		
	Change	Do Not Change	Total
Men	72.4	63.4	64.3
Women	57.3	65.6	64.3
Both Spouses Change Preference			40.8
Only One Spouse Changes Preference			74.9
Neither Spouse Changes Preference			63.4

lower percentage of homogamous marriages than do women not changing religions. However, the reverse is true for men. Men changing religious preference make religiously homogamous matches 72 per cent of the time; whereas those not changing result in 63 per cent religiously homogamous marriages. We estimate from 3 to 7 per cent of the women change their preference to match that of their future husband.

It is possible some of the religious moves made by the husband before marriage not related to the marriage itself may have been unknown to the wife and therefore not reported to the interviewer. However, since women change their religious preference more than men during the periods after the marriage (See Table 7.18), the fact that they also change their preference more frequently before marriage should not lead us to doubt the validity of our data.

We may examine the importance of marriage for precipitating a religious preference change in another way. Table 7.17 shows the percentage of men and women of each religious preference who changed religions during the period 1955-1960, given their marital status in 1955. Those men and women who were single in 1955 married during the period, since only married couples were interviewed in 1960 for the study. Thus we may compare the rates of mobility during a five year period for those married during this interval with those already married before 1955.

Two and one-half times as many of the newly married change their religious preference as men and women who were already married before the period. Furthermore, with only three exceptions a greater percentage of those married during the period change preferences than those already married for each religious preference group. We estimated above that 5 per cent of the men changed religious preference for their future bride. This amount is further substantiated in Table 7.18 because the average of

TABLE 7.18

Percentage of Men and Women Who Changed Their Religious Preference During the Period 1955-1960, by Marital Status in 1955 and Religious Preference in 1955, GAF Sample

1955 Religious Preference	Women		Men	
	Single in 1955	Married before 1955	Single in 1955	Married before 1955
Protestant Unspecified	9.1	21.2	11.5	9.0
Baptist	11.0	5.4	6.0	2.0
No Religion	42.9	17.7	36.4	15.4
Protestant Other	12.9	5.2	9.7	5.4
Catholic	5.1	2.0	4.8	2.0
Lutheran	24.4	3.8	9.7	4.7
Methodist	17.5	7.1	8.9	3.3
Other Religions	25.0	14.6	25.0	17.9
Presbyterian	28.1	4.8	20.6	3.3
Congregational	26.9	10.4	0.0	4.8
Episcopal	9.5	6.5	16.8	7.4
Jewish	8.3	0.9	0.0	0.0
All Preferences	13.3	5.0	9.1	3.7
Number of Cases	(618)	(2592)	(618)	(2595)

Note:

In 43 cases the respondent was married in 1955 and 1960, but not to the same spouse. These 43 cases have been excluded.

all men without regard to religious preference is 5.4 percentage points higher for men marrying during the period than for those already married. It is possible for some religious groups the percentage is actually much higher. The figures in Table 7.18 suggest this is the case, but we

will not elaborate on the differences among the groups since many cells represent such few cases.

Table 7.19 shows the relative departures based on the quasi-independence model for husband's religious preference by wife's preference at the time of marriage. Five pairs of religious groups have at least 50 per cent more people marrying than would be expected by chance (i.e., Baptist men-Protestant other women, Methodist men-Baptist women, No religion men-Catholic women, Catholic men-Lutheran women, and Lutheran men-Catholic women). Three pairs of religious groups intermarry much less than would be expected by chance (i.e., Baptist men-Presbyterian women, Catholic men-Protestant other women, and Methodist men-Lutheran women). Unfortunately our sample size is too small to consider all possible pairs.

7.10 Summary

Studying the amount of religious mobility and the patterns of religious mobility is somewhat easier than studying other types of mobility since most of the men who change religious preference do so only once in their lifetime. The problems of multiple moves within a period and moves away from and then back to the same preference are minimal.

Religious mobility is worthy of investigation even though it is most likely that 68 per cent of the men accept their father's religious preference in childhood and never change from that preference throughout their life. Several religious groups experience large increases or decreases in the size of their adult membership because of selective religious mobility.

The amount of religious mobility that occurs depends on the stage in the life cycle that is being examined and on the specific religious preference group under question. Of those who do make a religious move, the religious group which they select may be influenced by one or more of the following

TABLE 7.19

Relative Departures from Frequencies Expected on the Model of Quasi-independence
for Husband's Religious Preference at the Time of Marriage by Wife's
Religious Preference at the Time of Marriage, GAF Sample^a

Husband's Religious Preference	Wife's Religious Preference (See Stub)											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1 Protestant Unspecified	...	.34	...	.37	.01	...	-.40	...	...	...	...	...
2 Baptist	...	...	...	.68	-.22	-.28	.33	...	-.63	...	-.15	...
3 No religion	...	-.16	...	.18	.59	...	-.23	...	...	...	...	...
4 Protestant other	...	.37	...	...	-.17	...	.04	...	...	...	...	...
5 Catholic	...	-.27	...	-.58	...	.88	-.09	...	.18	...	.10	...
6 Lutheran	...	-.39	...	-.43	.53	...	.27	...	...	...	...	...
7 Methodist	...	.62	...	-.12	-.35	-.65	...	...	.08	...	...	...
8 Other religions	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9 Presbyterian	...	-.35	...	-.08	.01	...	.14	...	...	...	...	...
10 Congregational	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11 Episcopal	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12 Jewish	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

^aRelative departures shown only for cells with ten or more expected cases.

factors: the group from which they are leaving, the relative size of the other groups, the differences in socio-economic status of the groups, and the selection of a mate.

CHAPTER VIII

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT AND RELIGIOUS MOBILITY

In Chapters V and VI we found that a relationship exists between religious preference and socio-economic achievement. The patterns of religious mobility were examined in Chapter VII. In this chapter we consider several hypotheses concerning the relationship between religious mobility and socio-economic achievement.

Few guidelines exist for formulating hypotheses relating to religious mobility and socio-economic achievement since little empirical investigation of the topic has been reported. Thus, the hypotheses that follow are based more on their general plausibility than on a body of theory or research. They must be considered as statements to organize our discussion and as a basis for the development of more refined hypotheses for future study.

First of all, it is possible that no relationship exists between socio-economic achievement and religious mobility. If this were the case people who change their religious preference would do so for reasons that are unrelated to their socio-economic achievement. Furthermore, if this hypothesis of no relationship is true, then changing to another religious preference would have no affect on subsequent socio-economic achievement. No doubt, some of the religious mobility that occurs is unrelated to socio-economic achievement. People leave one church for another (and in so doing may change from one denomination or major religious group to another--our definition of religious mobility) for many of the same reasons as they

change their membership in other groups. They may experience interpersonal conflicts that can only be eliminated by leaving the group; they may become dissatisfied with goals of the group; or they may be drawn to another group by its attractive attributes. Specifically with regard to religious mobility, people may seek a change because of conflict with other active church members, the emphasis of the church program may undergo a change in direction such as a shift in concern from world missions to a concern for the local community's disadvantaged people; or some nearby church of a different denomination may erect a new building that provides a more convenient opportunity to worship. Most likely some of the religious mobility that occurs does so for reasons similar to these. However, we are interested in determining if any of the religious mobility that occurs appears to be related to socio-economic achievement. If reasons unrelated to socio-economic achievement are the only ones that lead to religious mobility, then we would expect to find little difference in the socio-economic characteristics of those who change their preference and those who do not.

Next we consider the possibility that a relationship does exist between religious mobility and socio-economic achievement. Several plausible hypotheses can be formulated as to the nature of such a relationship.

First, people may change their religious preference in order to facilitate their socio-economic achievement. For men in occupations that benefit from many acquaintances (such as real estate broker or insurance salesman) changing from a religious group with few potential clients to a group with many could have a substantial effect on their socio-economic achievement. The logic is based on the reasoning that if a man is selling houses valued at \$35,000 he is likely to meet more potential clients in a Presbyterian or Episcopal congregation than in a Baptist one, since the

average income of those in the former is substantially higher than those in the latter. Another common illustration is the individual who joins the religious group of his boss with the expectation that doing so will aid him in his career. Both of these examples suggest how religious mobility may influence the socio-economic achievement of the rational calculating career-oriented man. To evaluate this hypothesis, an attempt to determine whether men who change religious preferences have greater subsequent socio-economic achievements than men who do not change preferences will be made.

Second, we hypothesize a relationship between religious mobility and socio-economic achievement with causation running in the opposite direction. Men having socio-economic achievements substantially different from the average achievements of the followers in their preference group may change to a religious preference better suited to their own position. Homogeneity with regard to socio-economic status in residential areas, mate selection, and other groups is well documented for the U.S. (Duncan and Duncan, 1955; Warren, 1966; Laumann, 1966; ch. 5; Laumann, 1969). In earlier chapters we reviewed the findings that indicated large differences among religious groups in socio-economic achievement. Thus, it would be no great surprise to discover that men seek a religious group whose followers have a socio-economic status and a style of life similar to their own. Therefore, when a person experiences a substantial shift up or down in his socio-economic level, we hypothesize he will seek a religious preference whose followers more closely resemble his new status than his previous position.

A final hypothesis to be considered in this chapter states that socio-economic achievement influences religious mobility indirectly through the mate selection process. A substantial amount of the religious mobility that occurs appears to be related to getting married, as was seen in the

previous chapter. Almost 30 per cent of all the religious moves made by men in the GAF sample were made prior to their marriage and facilitated a religiously homogamous marriage. Specifically, men with socio-economic achievements substantially above or below the norm of their religious group are placed in geographic and social locations during the mate selection period where the percentage of potential mates not of their religious preference is higher than the corresponding percentage of potential mates for men with socio-economic achievements similar to the norm of the religious group.

Several premises are involved in this hypothesis. Suppose a father begins with a socio-economic status congruent with his religious preference, but as a result of his career development he obtains a socio-economic position that is either above or below the average of those who share his religious preference. His children either benefit by his extra achievement or are handicapped by his lack of achievement, relative to the children whose fathers have the same religious preference and the average socio-economic achievement for the group. This advantage or disadvantage will be expressed by the amount of education obtained. The son of a father with atypical socio-economic achievement for his religious preference group will be engaged in educational activities or economic pursuits in the post-high school years that are very different from those in his religious preference age cohort. For example, if he has gone on to college when most of the youth in his religious preference seek employment after high school, he will be geographically and socially segregated from them in most cases. Furthermore, it is in these post-high school years when the mate selection process takes place.

The research literature on mate selection indicates there is a strong likelihood for men to marry women that have similar socio-economic status

and live nearby (Warren, 1966; Marvin, 1918; Clarke, 1952). For most men this also means marrying someone with the same religion. However, for the man obtaining more or less education than the average for his religious group, the probability that girls around him with a similar socio-economic status will be of a different religious preference is increased. As a result, the probability of his selecting a wife with a religious preference other than his own is increased. If he does select a wife with a similar socio-economic status and different religious preference, there is a high probability he will change to his wife's religious preference. He would not only be conforming to the norm of only one religion for each nuclear family, but he would also be adopting a religious preference with followers having socio-economic positions and life styles that are more like his own than those of his previous religious preference group. Thus, socio-economic achievement leads indirectly to a change in religious preference as a result of the mate selection process.

If socio-economic achievement does influence religious mobility indirectly through the mate selection process, then we will expect to find differences in socio-economic status early in the life cycle (i.e. for father's occupational status and respondent's education) between those who are religiously mobile and those who are not. Furthermore, the difference between the religiously mobile and the non-mobile for any given religious origin preference should be in the same direction as the difference between the average socio-economic status of the origin group and the average socio-economic status of the destination group.

With the available data we cannot do more than begin an analysis of the above hypotheses. It would be impossible to definitely reject or confirm any of the above suggested relationships. Instead, we shall attempt to focus the questions more clearly and point the direction for further

research on this topic. We must also caution that the above hypotheses are not necessarily alternative ones. It may be that in some segments of the U.S. population the relationship between socio-economic status and religious mobility follows one pattern while in other segments another pattern exists. We can only hope to discover relationships that are so widely present that they are visible in samples of moderate size.

8.1 Modifications of Methods and Procedures

Thus far we have used twelve categories for the religion variable. In this section it is necessary to reduce the number of categories in order to maintain an adequate number of cases in most categories of the religious mobility variable constructed by cross-classifying early religious preference by 1960 religious preference. Eight categories are used. These consist of five of the original twelve continuing as separate categories (Lutherans, Protestant unspecified, Catholics, Jews, and No religion) and three categories resulting from the combination of the remaining seven groups. Specifically, Baptists and Protestant others (B-Po) are combined to form one group; Other religions, Congregationalists, and Methodists (Or-M-C) form the second group; while Presbyterians and Episcopalians (P-E) make up the third composite category. The religious preferences are combined in this manner with the intention of making each category as homogeneous as possible with regard to both religious orientation and socio-economic achievement. Combining the Baptists and Protestant others categories is appropriate, since they have similar socio-economic statuses and the Protestant other category is comprised mainly of small fundamentalist sects (see Table 3.1) that resemble the Baptist orientation to religion. Likewise, the Presbyterians and Episcopalians are similar to each other in socio-economic status and religious position. Some question arises, however, with regard

to the Other religions-Methodist-Congregational combination. The Congregational group is difficult to place, since for our data the average socio-economic status of the group resembles the Presbyterian-Episcopalian group in some instances and the Methodist group in others (see Table 5.2, 6.2, and 6.6). We have placed the Congregationalists with the larger group (Methodists), thereby minimizing the effect of the Congregationalists. The Other religion category is small in size and resembles the Methodists in socio-economic status. However, many of the groups making up the Other religions category have quite different religious orientations. With these possible exceptions in mind, most of the religious mobility that takes place between religious groups that are in the same category represents neither a major change in religious orientation nor a change in the average socio-economic status associated with religious preference.

Most of our discussion in this chapter focuses on the differences among the means of the sixty-four categories in the religious mobility variable for the several measures of socio-economic status. For the GAF sample the religious mobility variable consists of the cross-classification of the eight first preference categories with the eight "preference in 1960" categories. Likewise, for the I & W sample the religious mobility variable is constructed by cross-classifying father's religious preference by 1960 religious preference. In most presentations of the data we will omit the Jews from both the origin and destination classification since only four men left the Jewish preference and only two men became Jews for both samples combined.

So far we have analyzed the data from each sample separately. We will continue to do this where feasible. However, it will be necessary to combine the two samples in some instances in this chapter in order to obtain a substantial number of cases for most of the categories of the

religious mobility variable. We caution the reader to remember the differences between the two samples with reference to early religious preference and age and marital status.

8.2 Income and Religious Mobility

Religious mobility adds 4 per cent to the explained variation in income when considered along with father's occupation, education, and occupational status for the I & W sample. However, when we consider the additional variation explained by the early to current preference variable beyond that explained by father's occupational status, education, current occupational status, and early religious preference, we see that it amounts to less than 2 per cent for both samples. No doubt, it would be slightly more if we used twelve categories instead of eight, but the way in which we combined the categories to form the religious mobility variable suggests that it would not be appreciably more. While religious mobility does not contribute much to the explanation of the total variation in income, we are interested, nevertheless, in the patterns of income for men with various religious mobility patterns.

Men who change religious preference have higher socio-economic statuses than those who do not. This is true for all of the measures of socio-economic achievement, not just for income. Specifically, in the I & W sample men who change religious preference earn \$138 more, on the average, than those who do not change preferences (Table 8.1). For the men in the GAF sample who change preferences, their average advantage is \$527 over those remaining in their original preference.

Comparing those who leave a given religious group with those who remain in that group we see that the average incomes are quite different for most of the groups. However, not all of the differences are in the

TABLE 8.1

Average Income by Religious Preference Mobility, American Men,
1960, GAF and I & W Samples

Religious Preference	Average Income in Deviations from the Grand Mean					
	I & W Sample			GAF Sample		
	Non- mobile (1)	Changes to (2)	Changes from (3)	Non- mobile (4)	Changes to (5)	Changes from (6)
1 Baptist and Protestant other (B-Po)	-1546	-1049	- 394	-1209	- 612	497
2 Lutheran	380	588	1474	50	896	- 134
3 Catholic	258	526	606	- 211	453	616
4 Other religion, Congregational, and Methodist (Or-M-C)	- 125	904	- 433	241	859	532
5 Protestant unspecified	- 272	- 849	- 59	- 509	- 830	-1442
6 No religion	63	- 747	- 123	-1464	- 192	119
7 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	2245	1270	1263	1490	1678	1466
8 Jew	6864	2015	2986	5296	-1284	- 284
All Preferences	- 42	96	96	- 78	449	449

same direction in both samples. Only the No religion group in the I & W sample and the Lutheran and Presbyterian-Episcopalian (P-E) groups in the GAF sample have differences of less than \$300 between those who left a religious group and those who remained in it. (Compare column 1 with 3 and column 4 with 6 in Table 8.1) Four groups have differences in the same direction in both samples. Those who leave the Baptist-Protestant other (B-Po) and Catholic preferences have higher average incomes than those who remain, while P-E's who change preferences have lower average incomes in both samples than the non-changers.

Using the destination preference of the religious changers instead of the origin preference, we see that those moving into a religious group have incomes that are quite different from those who have always been associated with that group. Comparing columns 1 with 2 and 4 with 5 in Table 8.1 reveals that again only three groups have incomes that have less than \$300 difference between the new arrivals and those who have always been that preference. In this case, the Lutherans and Catholics in the I & W sample and the P-E's in the GAF sample are the groups with similar incomes.

From the above discussion, we have seen that without regard to specific religious preferences men who change their preference have higher socio-economic statuses than those who do not. However, this pattern does not hold up for each of the eight religious groups in the study. Furthermore, only half of the groups have differences in incomes between the movers and the non-movers that are in the same direction in both samples. While it is clear that there is definitely some relationship between income and changing religious preference, just comparing the movers with the non-movers does not reveal the nature of the relationship. We are also unable to confirm that men leaving a religious group have incomes less similar to those

that remain than the incomes of men who are coming into the group. However, we cannot deny that this is the case either. It appears that the relationships between socio-economic status and religious mobility may differ depending on one's specific origin and/or destination group.

Table 8.2 shows deviations from the mean income of \$6665 for each origin by current religious preference combination for men with the two samples combined. Those cells in the table having a small number of cases have been noted. The deviations for cells with less than fifteen cases have been included only for the sake of completeness and will not enter into the discussion to follow. The corresponding tables for the two samples separately are Tables 8.3 and 8.4 and will be used for comparison purposes when considering the net income deviations. The arrangement of religious preference groups in Table 8.2 provides a ranking of the preferences from lowest to highest income according to origin preference categories, destination preference categories, and preference categories of the non-movers (row marginals, column marginals, and the main diagonal, respectively).

8.3 The Baptist-Protestant Other Preference and Its Relationship to Income

One of our hypotheses suggests that men change their religious preference in order to find a religious group whose followers have styles of life, and therefore incomes similar to their own. If this is true we would expect to find that incomes of men moving into a new religious group resemble those of men who are already there. We shall examine four of the eight religious preference categories in some detail with regard to this hypothesis.

The Baptist-Protestant other (B-Po) group has the lowest income when considering men who do not change religious preference (\$1,322 below the average of all men). Men who become B-Po later in life resemble those who remain B-Po all their life. All of the other origin preference categories

TABLE 8.2

Income by Early Religious Preference by 1960 Religious Preference,
American Men, Combined Samples

Early Religious Preference	Average Income in Deviations from the Grand Mean							
	1960 Religious Preference (See Stub)							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	-1322	-2780 ^b	-2113	182	44	791	813	-1116
2 No religion	- 112 ^b	-1091	3076 ^a	-1380 ^b	- 144 ^b	502 ^a	4150 ^a	- 452
3 Protestant unspecified	-1114	-2364 ^a	- 404	699 ^a	250 ^b	-3699 ^a	3630 ^a	- 410
4 Catholic	- 768	304	640 ^a	- 31	1383	2606 ^a	220 ^b	37
5 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	-1151	- 580 ^a	-1062 ^b	1297	112	545	1239	51
6 Lutheran	-1015 ^b	4211 ^a	1581 ^a	-1294 ^b	1573	180	2145 ^b	345
7 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 650 ^b	-1330 ^a	597 ^a	1823	3368	772 ^a	1767	1643
All Preferences	-1258	- 787	- 648	24	309	321	1609	

Note: Early religious preference refers to first preference in the GAF sample and father's religious preference in the I & W sample.

Mean income for all men is \$6665.

Jews have been omitted from the table since only 4 men left the Jewish preference and only 2 men joined the Jewish preference after leaving some other preference.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases

^bMean based on 15 to 29 cases

TABLE 8.3

Income by Early Religious Preference by 1960 Religious Preference,
American Men, I & W Sample

Early Religious Preference	Average Income in Deviations from the Grand Mean							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	-1546	- 287 ^a	101	135	-2147	-3121 ^a	957 ^a	-1246
2 Catholic	- 128 ^b	258	641 ^b	- 368 ^a	1929 ^a	380 ^b	2496 ^a	310
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	-1482	1416 ^b	- 125	797	- 790 ^b	-1816 ^a	620 ^a	- 243
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 517 ^b	670 ^a	4923 ^b	2245	1697 ^a	- 317 ^a	-2249 ^a	1884
5 Protestant unspecified	- 930	1138	421 ^b	5180 ^a	- 272 ^b	-3783 ^a	-3542 ^a	- 108
6 No religion	-1588 ^a	- 95 ^a	-1088 ^a	1611 ^a	3256 ^a	63 ^a	...	- 56
7 Lutheran	- 629 ^b	-1104 ^a	2290 ^b	3957 ^b	1761 ^a	- 171 ^a	380 ^b	821
All Preferences	-1415	293	243	1723	- 693	- 540	447	

Note: Early religious preference refers to father's religious preference.

Mean income for all men is \$6485.

Jewish men have been omitted from the table since few men enter or leave the Jewish preference other than at birth.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

^bMean based on 15 to 29 cases.

TABLE 8.4

Income by Early Religious Preference by 1960 Religious Preference,
American Men, GAF Sample

Early Religious Preference	Average Income in Deviations from the Grand Mean						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	-1209	406 ^b	124	2510 ^b	49 ^a	-2118 ^a	685 ^b
2 Catholic	-1402 ^b	-211	2064 ^b	716 ^a	-34 ^a	271 ^b	3549 ^a
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (O-M-C)	-420	1238 ^b	241	2016 ^b	-2284 ^a	716 ^a	510 ^b
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	-684 ^a	2523 ^a	2163 ^b	1490	-2284 ^a	-2284 ^a	2653 ^a
5 Protestant unspecified	-1284 ^a	-284 ^a	216 ^a	-1284 ^a	-509	-1951 ^a	-3784 ^a
6 No religion	451 ^b	-1868 ^a	49 ^b	9466 ^a	...	-1464	382 ^a
7 Lutheran	-1356 ^a	-1427 ^a	827 ^b	-584 ^a	...	13216 ^a	50
All Preferences	-1144	-149	370	1541	-544	-915	236

Note: Early religious preference refers to first preference.

Mean income for all men is \$6784.

Jewish men have been omitted from the table since few men enter or leave the Jewish preference other than at birth or death.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

^bMean based on 15 to 29 cases.

send men with incomes below the grand mean. Furthermore, the average income is \$650 or more below the mean for men who become B-Po for five out of the six groups (Table 8.2, column 1). Men beginning as B-Po but leaving organized religion for the No religion or Protestant unspecified categories have incomes averaging \$800 to \$1,500 less than men beginning as B-Po and not changing their preference. Men whose origin preference is B-Po but later change to Catholic or Other religion-Methodist-Congregationalist (Or-M-C) preferences have incomes similar to men who begin with these preferences and do not change. Likewise, B-Po men who change to either the Lutheran or Presbyterian-Episcopalian (P-E) preferences have incomes averaging \$800 above the mean and thus have incomes that more closely resemble their destination preference than their origin preference, but are not the same. Clearly, the movement into and out of the B-Po religious preference is consistent with the hypothesis that men change their religious preference to a preference whose followers have incomes similar to their own.

8.4 The Presbyterian-Episcopalian Preference and Its Relationship to Income

At the other end of the continuum men who begin as Presbyterian-Episcopalian (P-E) and do not change their preference have incomes averaging about \$1800 above the mean for all men. All of the other origin preferences send men to the P-E preference with incomes that exceed the grand mean. Furthermore, most of the groups send men with incomes at least \$800 more than the average man's income. The Catholic origin preference is the only exception (Table 8.2, column 7). With regard to men who begin as P-E's and change their preference, we see that those who adopt the B-Po preference have average incomes \$650 below the mean, or more than \$2,400 less than men who remain P-E throughout their lives. Those men who leave the P-E preference for the Catholic or Or-M-C preferences have average incomes that are similar

to, or substantially above, the incomes of men who do not change preferences. Too few P-E men change to the remaining preferences for us to consider their income levels.

8.5 The Catholic Preference and Its Relationship to Income

Men who are life-long Catholics have incomes similar to the grand mean (\$31 less). Men who begin as Catholics but later change to B-Po have incomes averaging more than \$700 less than men remaining Catholic. Catholic men who change to P-E or No religion have similar incomes to those of Catholic men who do not change. On the other hand, those Catholic men who switch to Or-M-C have an average income that exceeds those who remain behind by more than \$1,400. With regard to men who adopt a Catholic preference at some point later in life, we see that men who begin as Lutherans or with No religion have incomes averaging more than \$1,200 below the income for always Catholic men. Only men who arrive at the Catholic preference by way of B-Po origins have similar incomes to men that are life-long Catholics. Men who leave either the Or-M-C or the P-E preference for the Catholic one have average incomes that exceed those for the always Catholic men by more than \$1,300. With the exception of the exchange of men with the B-Po group we find very little support from examining the Catholic preference category for the hypothesis that men change their religious preference in order to find a preference with men whose incomes are similar to their own.

8.6 The Other Religions-Methodist-Congregational Preference and Its Relationship to Income

The men who start out with an Other religion-Methodist-Congregational (Or-M-C) preference and later change to B-Po or Protestant unspecified have incomes at least \$1,100 below the average income of men who remain

Or-M-C. Only men changing to the Lutheran preference have incomes similar to their non-changing Or-M-C counterparts. At the other extreme, men who adopt either the Catholic preference or the P-E preference have average incomes that exceed the average income of the life-long Or-M-C men by \$1,100. Turning to those men who leave their origin preference to become Or-M-C's, we see that the average incomes of men from the B-Po, No religion, and Protestant unspecified preferences are all similar to the average income of the life-long Or-M-C men. On the other hand those men coming from the Catholic, Lutheran, and P-E preferences have incomes that far exceed those of the always Or-M-C men.

We note without offering an explanation that the average income of men who are life-long Catholics and of men who are life-long Or-M-C's are both near the income for all men, and yet, those men who leave the Catholic preference for the Or-M-C preference and vice versa have incomes that are more than \$1,200 above the average income of all men. Furthermore, this pattern exists for these two preference groups when our two samples are examined separately. Why men with higher than average incomes change from Catholic to Or-M-C and men with equally high incomes who begin as Or-M-C adopt a Catholic preference remains an unsolved mystery. The remaining three preference groups have many cells with too few cases to base a mean income upon, so we shall omit any detailed discussion of them.

Table 8.2 indicates that many of the average incomes associated with the various religious mobility patterns are such as we would expect to find if men select a new religious preference on the basis of obtaining a preference with the followers having incomes similar to their own. Of the four groups examined in detail only the Catholic group did not fit the pattern. Likewise most of the observations made here would also be consistent with the hypothesis that men change their religious preference

in order to facilitate their socio-economic achievement. We shall examine this hypothesis in greater detail immediately below. On the other hand, only those moving into and out of the Catholic preference group support the hypothesis of no relationship between religious mobility and socio-economic achievement. However, even the exchange between the Catholic and B-Po preferences indicate a relationship between religious preference and income.

8.7 Religious Preference Change as a Means for Increasing Income

Do men change their religious preference to increase their income? In considering this question we assume that most men who change their preference do so at a point in time sufficiently prior to the survey to allow the new religious preference to have influenced their income by the time of the survey. In fact, this assumption is borne out by the GAF sample in which three-fourths of the men who change their religious preference did so at least five years before the study (Table 7.6).

If the hypothesis is true, men changing to religious preferences with higher average incomes will have higher incomes themselves than men who do not change religious preference, after statistically controlling for previous socio-economic achievements. The rationale indicated earlier suggests that only a move from a religious preference with a relatively low average income to one with a relatively high average income will facilitate increased income.

An examination of the net deviations from the mean income controlling for father's occupational status, education, and current occupation SES reveals very little support for the hypothesis. With regard to men who begin as B-Po and change to some other preference, only those men changing to Lutheran or Catholic have incomes \$600 or more than those who did not

change (Tables 8.5 and 8.6). Furthermore, men moving to the P-E preference groups have incomes that are very similar to the non-movers. It is for these men that we would expect the greatest increase to occur.

The other origin-destination combinations in which we would expect to find support of the hypothesis in most cases do not support it. In those few instances that do, an examination of the two samples separately usually indicates contradictory results. Furthermore, taking into account the number of religious moves that are made to preferences that could not possibly support the hypothesis, we must conclude that little, if any, of the religious mobility that occurs is the result of men attempting to increase their income directly. We will raise the question again with regard to occupational achievement later.

8.8 Occupational Status and Religious Mobility

Religious mobility accounts for less than 2 per cent of the variation in occupational status beyond that attributable to father's occupation, respondent's education, and early religious preference. Even though religious mobility adds very little to the explained sum of squares for occupational achievement, the pattern of occupational achievement for men with various religious mobility histories are of interest.

The pattern of occupational achievement is similar to that of income with regard to religious mobility. Just as men who change preferences have higher incomes than men who do not, we find that men who change preferences have occupations averaging three points higher on the Duncan SES index than men who do not change (Table 8.7). This results because men leaving the B-Po, Lutheran, and Catholic preferences have higher occupational statuses than men remaining, which offsets the lower achievements of the men leaving the P-E origin preference. Men leaving the three remaining

TABLE 8.5

Net Income Deviations from the Mean by Early Religious Preference
by 1960 Religious Preference, American Men, I & W Sample

Early Religious Preference	1960 Religious Preference (See Stub)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 803	- 144 ^a	- 31	-1213	-1938	-1032 ^a	568 ^a
2 Catholic	473	416	944	-1732 ^a	2424 ^a	- 892	1914 ^a
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	- 612	1206	- 377	- 584	- 919	- 426 ^a	- 103 ^a
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 350	- 754 ^a	679	849	3593 ^a	240 ^a	-1919 ^a
5 Protestant unspecified	- 234	415	321	3239 ^a	- 280	-1241 ^a	-1835 ^a
6 No religion	-2005 ^a	85 ^a	-2290 ^a	1405 ^a	1399 ^a	56 ^a	... ^a
7 Lutheran	- 766	-1906 ^a	2224	2061	1795 ^a	-3190 ^a	614

Note: Table presents net income deviations after controlling for current occupational SES, education, and father's occupational SES.

Early religious preference refers to father's preference.

Mean income for all men is \$6485.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

TABLE 8.6

Net Income Deviations from the Mean by Early Religious Preference
by 1960 Religious Preference, American Men, G/F Sample

Early Religious Preference	1960 Religious Preference (See Stub)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 638	62	- 236	1078	621 ^a	-1652 ^a	126
2 Catholic	- 625	- 184	1426	- 103 ^a	127 ^a	- 353	2758 ^a
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	- 93	1078	21	1043	-1821 ^a	- 170 ^a	- 271
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 618 ^a	2008 ^a	665	552	-1494 ^a	-3202 ^a	1625 ^a
5 Protestant unspecified	444 ^a	- 578 ^a	1362 ^a	- 899 ^a	291	-2063 ^a	-1785 ^a
6 No religion	655	-1492 ^a	621	9454 ^a	...	- 993	- 24 ^a
7 Lutheran	- 1528 ^a	-1695 ^a	495	-1034 ^a	...	12353 ^a	331

Note: Table presents net income deviations after controlling for current occupational SES, education, and father's occupational SES.

Early religious preference refers to first preference.

Mean income for all men is \$6784.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

TABLE 8.7

Average Occupational SES by Religious Preference Mobility,
American Men, 1960, GAF and I & W Samples

Religious Preference	Religious Preference Mobility					
	I & W Sample			GAF Sample		
	Non- mobile 1	Changes to 2	Changes from 3	Non- mobile 4	Changes to 5	Changes from 6
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 6.4	- 5.2	1.5	- 6.3	- 4.3	7.1
2 Catholic	- 1.8	4.1	1.3	- .2	1.6	3.2
3 Other religions, Meth- odist, and Congrega- tional (Or-M-C)	1.8	3.2	.0	2.0	5.2	3.7
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	12.0	12.9	5.7	11.2	13.1	8.4
5 Protestant unspecified	2.0	1.4	- 1.9	- 9.6	- 2.5	- 1.3
6 No religion	3.8	6.3	5.0	- 4.7	4.9	- 6.2
7 Lutheran	- 2.2	- 2.8	9.9	- 4.3	9.4	4.5
8 Jewish	18.0	44.9	39.5	20.5	31.4	26.4
All Preferences	- .9	2.1	2.1	- .7	3.8	3.8

Note: Table presents deviations from the mean Duncan occupational SES score which is 35.1 for the I & W sample and 37.6 for the GAF sample.

groups have higher occupational achievements than men remaining in one sample, but lower achievements in the other sample (Table 8.7).

We are not only concerned with comparing occupational achievements of preference changers with non-changers, but we are also concerned with more detailed comparisons of achievements for men changing to a specific preference with (a) men who have always had that preference and (b) men who remain in the origin preference. Using the mean occupational status for all men of 36.6 as our reference point, men who begin and remain in the B-Po category have occupational statuses averaging more than six points below the mean. Men who begin as B-Po but later change to another preference have occupational achievements averaging from 2.6 to 11.1 points above the mean, depending on the specific destination preference. The exception is for men leaving organized religion for the Protestant unspecified or No religion designations who have achievements below the mean.

Looking at men who begin in some preference other than B-Po but change to B-Po; we see that only men coming from the Lutheran preference have occupational statuses above the mean, men leaving the No religion category have occupational achievements about two points below the mean, and men leaving each of the other four preference categories have occupational statuses at least four points below the mean. In Table 8.8 the reader can examine the relative occupational achievements for men leaving, joining, and remaining in each of the other religious preference categories.

In general, the pattern of occupational achievements for men whose origin and destination preferences are B-Po, Or-M-C, Catholic, or P-E is similar to the corresponding pattern of incomes describe in the early part of this chapter. Taking each of these four categories separately as origin preferences, we see that the occupational achievements of men with B-Po destinations are the lowest, occupational statuses of men with Or-M-C and

TABLE 8.8

Current Occupational SES by Early Religious Preference by 1960 Religious Preference, American Men, Combined Sample

Early Religious Preference	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Total
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 6.3	3.6	2.7	11.1	- 1.4	-11.7	3.1	- 4.7
2 Catholic	-10.9	- .7	5.0	9.7	6.3 ^a	10.0	- 3.8 ^a	- .4
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	- 5.5	.2	2.0	13.3	- 4.6	2.8 ^a	8.0	1.7
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 4.3	7.0	15.9	11.6	5.4 ^a	7.7 ^a	7.6 ^a	10.2
5 Protestant unspecified	- 8.7	10.6 ^a	2.9	18.7 ^a	- 6.6	- 2.1 ^a	-18.0 ^a	- 4.7
6 No religion	- 1.8	7.6	- 4.7	2.7 ^a	12.9 ^a	- 2.4	.6 ^a	- 2.5
7 Lutheran	3.4	5.6	3.8	15.2	10.2 ^a	23.4 ^a	- 3.5	- .3
All Preferences	- 6.1	- .3	2.4	11.9	- 4.0	1.7	- 1.7	

Note: Table presents deviations from the mean Duncan occupational SES score of 36.6 for the combined samples.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

Catholic destinations are intermediate, and occupational achievements of men with P-E destinations are the highest. The only exception to the pattern is that men with P-E origins and Or-M-C destinations have slightly higher occupational achievements than men with P-E origins and destinations.

Our three hypotheses for why a relationship should exist between socio-economic achievement and religious mobility stated in terms of occupational achievement are: (1) men change their religious preference to bring it in line with their occupational achievement, (2) occupational achievement and religious mobility are related because men change their preference as a result of mate selection which is influenced by earlier socio-economic achievements and social origins, and (3) men change their religious preference so as to facilitate their occupational achievement.

Considering the last hypothesis first, there is little evidence that men change their religious preference to facilitate their occupational achievement. An examination of Tables 8.9 and 8.10 indicate that changing religious preference to a preference with higher average occupational SES for its followers does not result in greater socio-economic SES for the changers, after controls for earlier achievement and background are made. Where the expected pattern appears the differences in occupational SES scores are much less than those observed in Table 8.8.

If the hypothesis that men change religious preference to bring it in line with occupational status is correct, then the association between education and religious preference mobility would appear weaker than that between occupational SES and religious mobility. However, if it does not, then the observed pattern in Table 8.8 between occupational achievement and religious mobility most likely results from changes in religious preference associated with social statuses determined earlier in the life cycle which are correlated with occupational achievement. We shall defer further

TABLE 8.9

Net Occupational SES Deviations from the Mean by Early Religious Preference
by 1960 Religious Preference, American Men, I & W Sample

Early Religious Preference	1960 Religious Preference (See Stub)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 2.8	.0 ^a	- .2	.4	3.1	-10.5 ^a	- 8.3 ^a
2 Catholic	- 7.0	.1	3.1	3.9 ^a	12.3 ^a	5.4	-10.1 ^a
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	- .7	- .2	.5	5.1	- 2.7	- 4.0 ^a	- 1.0
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 2.4	- 2.6 ^a	6.4	2.5	11.5 ^a	17.6 ^a	4.0 ^a
5 Protestant unspecified	- 2.0	7.3	1.5	12.2 ^a	4.6	1.5 ^a	-12.7 ^a
6 No religion	1.4 ^a	- 5.5 ^a	3.2 ^a	-11.5 ^a	16.3 ^a	1.2 ^a	 ^a
7 Lutheran	2.7	3.4 ^a	6.8	5.5	9.2 ^a	17.4 ^a	- .4

Note: Table presents net occupational SES deviations from the mean of 35.1 after controlling for education and father's occupational SES.

Early religious preference refers to father's preference.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

TABLE 8.10

Net Occupational SES Deviations from the Mean by Early Religious Preference
by 1960 Religious Preference, American Men, GAF Sample

Early Religious Preference	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 2.3	1.9	2.9	4.6	10.6 ^a	3.5 ^a	5.6
2 Catholic	- 6.7	.6	4.9	4.3 ^a	8.8 ^a	.4	- 7.5 ^a
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	- .8	- 4.4	- .4	6.8	- 9.5 ^a	4.9 ^a	7.0
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 2.1 ^a	3.7 ^a	7.1	4.3	- 8.7 ^a	- 10.2 ^a	9.2 ^a
5 Protestant unspecified	- 7.1 ^a	20.5 ^a	.4 ^a	21.1 ^a	- 2.8	- 2.1 ^a	- 1.4 ^a
6 No religion	- .4	- 4.8 ^a	- 3.8 ^a	11.8 ^a	...	- 1.3	- 7.4 ^a
7 Lutheran	1.6 ^a	2.3 ^a	- 1.4	5.1 ^a	...	18.1 ^a	- 2.0

Note: Table presents net occupational SES deviations from the mean of 37.6 after controlling for education and father's occupational SES.

Early religious preference refers to first preference.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

discussion of this topic until we have examined the relationship between education and religious mobility.

8.9 Education and Religious Mobility

It makes little sense to suppose that men change religious preference to facilitate educational achievement, since for most men changes from one preference to another occur after formal education has been completed. Thus, considering variation in education explained by religious mobility would be simply an exercise in arithmetic.

Men who change religious preferences have slightly more education than men who do not in each of the samples (.3 years more for the GAF and .5 years more for the I & W sample). As with income and occupational achievement this is not true for each individual religious preference category.

Table 8.11 shows the deviations from the average educational attainment (expressed in years of school completed) for each of the forty-nine origin-by-destination religious preference combinations for the men in the GAF and I & W samples combined. The over-all pattern observed reveals that educational achievement is related to religious mobility in much the same way as income and occupational achievement appear to be.

For the four religious preference categories considered in detail in the above two sections the ordering with regard to the educational achievements of the men who do not change preferences is the same. B-Po men who do not change preferences obtain almost one year less schooling than the average man; men who are life-long Catholics receive only .2 of a year less schooling than the average and those who remain Or-M-C receive only .6 of a year more than the mean; while men who stay P-E obtain 1.8 years more education than the mean for all men in the two samples.

TABLE 8.11

Education by Early Religious Preference by 1960 Religious Preference,
American Men, Combined Sample

Early Religious Preference	1960 Religious Preference (See Stub)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 1.0	.7	.5	2.2	- 1.4	- 2.3	1.4
2 Catholic	- .9	- .2	.4	2.0	- 2.0 ^a	1.3	1.3 ^a
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	- 1.4	1.0	.6	1.6	- .4	- .7	1.2
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- .1	1.4	1.9	1.8	.3 ^a	1.0 ^a	.4 ^a
5 Protestant unspecified	- 1.7	- .0 ^a	- 1.1	1.3 ^a	- 1.2	- 1.0 ^a	- 3.0 ^a
6 No religion	.0	- .1	- .9	2.0 ^a	1.0 ^a	- .5	1.7 ^a
7 Lutheran	.1	1.2	.0	2.7	.0 ^a	.4 ^a	- .4
All Preferences	- .7	- .1	1.4	1.5	- 1.3	- .2	- .1

Note: Table presents deviations from the mean number of years of schooling of 11.0 for the combined I & W and GAF samples.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

Within each origin category, men whose destination preference is B-Po receive the least amount of education; men whose destination preference is either Catholic or Or-M-C obtain an intermediate amount of schooling; while men whose final preference is P-E receive the most education. The only exception, as before, is men who were P-E and became Or-M-C obtain slightly more education than men who begin and remain P-E. Since most religious mobility occurs near the completion of schooling (Chapter VII) and the same pattern between education and religious mobility is observed as was observed for income and occupation with religious mobility, we believe that men tend to change religious preference to bring it in line with their style of life as indicated by their educational attainment. Furthermore, it appears that most of the relationship between income and occupation with religious mobility results from the fact that income and occupational status are highly correlated with education. Before we expand our reasoning for the observed relationship between education and religious mobility we need to consider the role father's occupational status may play with regard to religious mobility.

8.10 Father's Occupational Status and Religious Mobility

Father's occupational status could affect the respondent's later religious preference in two ways. First, fathers who obtain occupational achievement that surpasses (or lags behind) men with the same religious preference as their own may change religious preference to bring it in line with their new occupational status. Most likely any children still living in the parental home when the father changes his religious preference will also change their religious preference. Thus, respondents would have a different current religious preference than their initial religious preference.

In light of our discussion above, the following possibility seems more likely. Occupational achievement of fathers that is greater (or less) than the typical amount for a given religious preference may not cause a father to change his religious preference, but it most likely will lead to more (or less) education for the son than is typical for someone with that religious background. This atypical education may then lead to a religious preference change for the son.

Table 8.12 shows the deviations from the average father's occupational SES score for each of the origin by destination religious preference categories for the men of both samples combined. It is clear that there are traces of the over-all pattern observed between the other three indicators of socio-economic achievement and religious mobility present between father's occupation and religious mobility. However, it is also obvious that there are many more exceptions from the expected pattern. For instance, men whose initial preference is B-Po or Or-M-C follow the prescribed pattern of having the lowest father's occupational achievements if their later preference is B-Po, the highest father's occupation achievements if their destination preference is P-E, and intermediate social origins if their later preference is either Catholic or Or-M-C. On the other hand, within the Catholic origin preference there is little difference in father's occupational achievement between men who remain Catholics and men who become B-Po. An additional nonconformity to the predicted pattern is observed for the P-E origin category; men who change to either Catholic or Or-M-C have higher social origins than those men who remain P-E.

Since the relationship between father's occupational status and religious mobility of the respondent is less pronounced than between respondent's education and religious mobility, it is likely that obtaining more (or less) education than is usual for men with a given religious preference leads to

TABLE 8.12

Father's Occupational SES by Early Religious Preference by 1960 Religious Preference, American Men, Combined Sample

Early Religious Preference	1960 Religious Preference (See Stub)						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1 Baptist and Protestant Other (B-Po)	- 4.8	5.3	.7	10.1	- 5.5	- 7.9	4.7
2 Catholic	.1	.0	2.4	4.1	5.9 ^a	13.2	8.9 ^a
3 Other religions, Methodist, and Congregational (Or-M-C)	- 3.2	2.1	1.3	5.3	3.5	12.7 ^a	.5
4 Presbyterian and Episcopal (P-E)	- 2.5	16.2	12.4	10.4	.0 ^a	- 5.0 ^a	2.6 ^a
5 Protestant unspecified	- 4.7	5.9 ^a	- 2.6	3.1 ^a	- 6.0	- 3.3 ^a	- 9.9 ^a
6 No religion	- 2.1	- 3.3	- 1.1	- 2.4 ^a	-16.0 ^a	- 1.9	4.2
7 Lutheran	- 1.5	- 4.0	.8	5.2	.8 ^a	.9 ^a	- 2.3
All Preferences	- 4.6	.3	1.3	8.7	- 4.1	2.1	- 1.0

Note: Table presents deviations from the mean father's occupational SES score of 27.6 for the combined I & W and GAF samples.

^aMean based on less than 15 cases.

religious mobility, rather than exceptional father's occupational achievement directly causing a change in religious preference. In this way fathers who have higher occupational achievements than are usual for men with their religious preference facilitate educational attainment for their sons and fathers with lower than expected occupational achievements handicap their son's education. In either case the atypical educational achievements of the son may lead to a change in religious preference.

8.11 Conclusions

At the beginning of this chapter we suggested several hypotheses relating to socio-economic achievement and religious mobility. Unfortunately the data at hand do not permit us to examine each hypothesis in as much detail as desirable. Specifically, the sample sizes are too small to allow us to examine as many individual religious preference categories as seems appropriate. Even with the limited number of categories used and the combining of the GAF and I & W samples we are still unable to examine all of the origin-by-destination preference combinations. Combining the two samples further complicated the analysis, since initial religious preference in the I & W sample means father's religious preference and it means respondent's first religious preference in the GAF sample. Differences in age and marital status also exist between the two samples. Even with these limitations in the data, several tentative conclusions are formulated relating socio-economic achievement with religious mobility.

First, there are instances in the data examined that indicate many changes in religious preferences are unrelated to socio-economic achievement. On the other hand, there are observable patterns in both sets of data, when considered separately or combined, that indicate a relationship between socio-economic achievement and religious mobility. Men who select the B-Po

preference tend to have socio-economic achievements (income, occupational status, or educational attainment) that are substantially below the average no matter what their initial religious preference may be. Likewise, those men who change to P-E preferences have substantially higher than average socio-economic achievements, regardless of their initial preference. Men who select Catholic, or Or-M-C as their second preference tend to have socio-economic achievements similar to men that have always held these preferences. (Exceptions were noted above.)

Very few men change their religious preference to aid them in their socio-economic achievements. Instead, it appears that socio-economic achievement in amounts greater or less than is typical for men of a given religious preference group leads to changes in religious preference. This is more likely to happen as a result of atypical educational achievement than because of occupational achievement or income. This can be understood in two ways. First, educational attainment is the single most important variable for determining a man's style of life. Thus, a man who receives more or less education than most men who share his initial religious preference will have a different style of life (values, attitudes, goals, and needs) from men who obtained the usual amount of education. Since there is a tendency for religious groups to serve primarily one stratum of people, the man with the atypical education (and thus atypical life style) no longer feels comfortable with his first religious preference. He seeks a religious preference that will meet his new needs and allow him to associate with people with life styles similar to his own, just as he selects a neighborhood to reside in with people like himself or selects a social organization whose members have similar characteristics to his own.

The second explanation of how atypical education leads to religious mobility is really but one specific example of a presumed general tendency to select friends, associates, and organizations whose individual or collective socio-economic status is like one's own. A man with an atypical educational attainment (with regard to his initial religious preference group) is more apt to select a mate who has a different religious preference from his own than is a man who obtains the usual amount. This results because of the geographical and social sorting process performed by education at the time of mate selection. Furthermore, the religious preference of the wife is more apt to better fulfill the needs of the new style of life of the man (that has resulted from his atypical educational achievement) than does his own origin preference. The pressure towards a religiously homogamous marriage as well as the advantages of the wife's preference tends to cause the husband to select the wife's preference as his new preference.

The relationship between occupational achievement and income with religious mobility results primarily because educational attainment is highly correlated with later measures of achievement. Father's occupational achievement is seen to indirectly lead to religious mobility by the son, since social origins provide advantages or handicaps for educational achievement.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

The research reported in this work investigated some of the inter-relationships between religious preference and socio-economic achievements of American men. The importance of religion in the process of socio-economic achievement and the specific contributions of several major religious preferences to the status acquisition process were studied. In addition, the influence of socio-economic achievement on men changing their religious preference was considered.

The data derived from two national surveys of American men conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan in 1960. Information about husbands was obtained from 3,256 women ages 18-44 years in the second of the series of Growth of American Families Studies (Whelpton, et al., 1966). The second data set was obtained from interviews of 2,997 heads of spending units collected by Morgan and associates (1962) for a study of income and welfare in the United States.

Information about the respondent's father's occupational status and the respondent's education, occupation, and income, as well as several background variables such as race, region, and farm experience were obtained in each sample. The GAF sample obtained information about the husband's first religious preference, preference at the time of marriage, preference in 1955, and preference in 1960 from the wife; as well as the corresponding information for herself. The I & W sample has information about the respondent's father's religious preference and the respondent's 1960

religious preference. Twelve religious preference categories were used: (1) Baptist, (2) Congregational, (3) Episcopal, (4) Lutheran, (5) Methodist, (6) Presbyterian, (7) Protestant other, (8) Protestant unspecified, (9) Catholic, (10) Jewish, (11) No religion, and (12) Other religions (Table 3.1).

Comparisons were made with regard to religious preference and socio-economic variables among the GAF sample, I & W sample, and two other national samples (NORC and CPS) collected at about the same time. Only minor differences were observed. The reader was cautioned to remember that the GAF sample included only younger men who were married, whereas the I & W sample covered men of all ages and marital statuses.

In Chapter IV we described the model for the process of socio-economic achievement used by Blau and Duncan (1967) in anticipation of its use in the discussion of the influence of initial religious preference on education, occupational status, and income in Chapters V and VI. However, most of Chapter IV was devoted to consideration of the possible modes of analysis available for determining the contribution of religious preference in the process of socio-economic achievement. Multiple classification analysis was found to be well suited. Little interaction effect was found among religious preference and the independent socio-economic variables with regard to the various dependent variables. Where there was evidence of interaction, it was of such small magnitude that the amount of error introduced could be easily tolerated.

We concluded the chapter by indicating several innovations of this study not found in previous investigations into the relationships between religious preference and socio-economic achievement. First, most previous studies have considered only current religious preference, whereas we

began with initial religious preference (father's preference or respondent's first preference). By doing so we considered religious preference for a point in the life cycle that is prior to the determination of socio-economic achievement rather than simultaneous with the measurement of achievement. Second, we considered several Protestant denominations separately, rather than considering only a single Protestant category as was done by many investigators (Lenski, 1961; Organic, 1963; Weller, 1960) until recently. The importance of this rests on the fact of large differences in socio-economic achievement observed among the various Protestant groups. Third, very few studies have considered the extent of the relationship between intergenerational transmission of socio-economic status and religious preference. In this study we have statistically controlled for differences in father's occupational status when examining the effect of initial religious preference on education, occupational status, and income. Fourth, the use of multiple classification analysis enabled us to consider several independent variables simultaneously without exhausting the number of cases within specific categories. Fifth, most previous investigations have considered only religious preference at a single point in the life-cycle, whereas we considered both initial preference and "current preference" so as to be able to study the relationships between changing religious preference and socio-economic achievement. Finally, our data are from national samples which permitted us to consider our findings as representing the situation for men in the nation as a whole, rather than having to restrict them to a given regional, metropolitan, or racial group as others did (Lenski, 1961; Organic, 1963; Weller, 1960).

In Chapter V we considered the effect of religious preference on educational attainment. Initial religious preference was found to account for

5 per cent of the variation in education in the I & W sample and almost 9 per cent in the GAF sample.

Large differences in educational achievement were found among the religious groups. Baptists and Protestant unspecified men have substantially less education than the average American man; Catholics, Protestant others, and perhaps No religion men obtain about the average educational achievement or slightly less than the average; Lutheran and Methodist men achieve slightly more than the average; Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal men have educational attainments substantially above the national average, and Jewish men have extremely high educational achievements relative to the rest of the population. These findings agree in general with those of Lazerwitz (1961), Pope (1948), and Bogue (1959).

Next, the possibility that much of the influence on educational achievement attributed to religious preference might actually result from intergenerational transmission of socio-economic status and religious preference was examined. Much of the variation in educational achievement "explained" by religious preference is also accounted for by considering the influence of father's occupational status. However, religious preference accounts for 2 to 4 per cent of the variation in education beyond the variation attributable to father's occupational status. Correspondingly, the differences in average education between the lowest and highest religious preferences group is attenuated when father's occupation is held constant, but there is very little change in the ranking of religious preferences by education after statistically equating the groups with regard to father's occupational status. A difference of more than 1.5 years of schooling remains between the lowest and highest preference.

The addition of controls on respondent's race, childhood region, and farm experience further reduced the amount of variation in educational

achievement attributable solely to religious preference; nevertheless, 2 per cent remained so allocated. A discussion of the various handicaps and advantages received by each religious preference as a result of its composition on each of the three variables was discussed in detail. National origin was found to account for little of the relationship between religious preference and education when father's occupational status, race, childhood region, and farm experience had previously been taken into account.

Since many religious organizations have few followers in more than one regional (South, non-South) and racial (white, nonwhite) category, we investigated the relationship between religious preference and educational achievement separately within each racial-regional category. Patterns among the religious groups in educational achievement similar to those for all men were found for whites in both the South and the North. However, the level of educational attainment differed between regions for some groups, but not for others. The concentration of nonwhites almost exclusively in the Baptist and Methodist groups prohibited detailed analysis of relationships between religious preference and education for nonwhites. Little additional variation in educational achievement was "explained" by allowing race, region, and religious preference to interact, as compared to the additive effect of the three variables.

Much of the variation in educational achievement among the religious preferences can be attributed to intergenerational transmission of both status and religious preference from father to son. However, there remain differences in educational attainment among the preference groups, even after controlling for additional background differences, that are large enough to merit further investigation. Rhodes and Nam (1970) have observed differences among religious preference groups in educational aspirations of teenage boys. When this fact is coupled with our observation of actual

differences in educational achievement, we are led to suspect that differences in values pertaining to education and/or differences in effectiveness in socialization of educational values exist for some religious groups. Efforts to measure differences in values relating to educational achievement and differences in socialization among the religious groups would appear to be appropriate in future investigations of the relationship between religious preference and educational achievement.

In Chapter VI initial religious preference is found to "explain" little of the variation in occupational achievement beyond the amount attributable to father's occupational status and respondent's education. However, large differences in average occupational status are observed between the religious preferences with the lowest and highest achievements. These differences are substantially reduced when the preferences are statistically equated on father's occupational status and respondent's education, but a spread of ten points on a ninety-six point scale remains. Jews are found to have high origin status; to obtain a disproportionately greater amount of education; and go on to achieve a higher occupational status than men with similar backgrounds. Presbyterians have a similar pattern, but to a lesser degree. Baptists are just the opposite. They start with low origins; obtain less education than other men with similar origins; and later achieve lower occupational status than men with similar backgrounds. Introducing controls for race, region, and farm experience identifies part of the reason for the Baptist's lower occupational status, but not all of it. Jews and Presbyterians still maintain their advantage. Controlling for national origin makes very little difference in the average occupational achievements of the religions, after having controlled for other background and earlier achievement variables.

Consideration of a possible interaction effect among race, region, and religious preference adds less than 1 per cent to the "explained" variation in occupational status beyond that attributable to the three variables when considered in the additive model. The religious groups remain ranked in about the same order with regard to occupational status when the white northerners and white southerners are considered separately. Controlling for backgrounds and early achievement eliminates most of the differences among the southern white preferences with large enough representation to evaluate. However, differences in occupational achievements remain for white northern preferences even after controls on background and early achievements are made.

When current religious preference is used instead of initial religious preference the same conclusions are reached regarding the effect of religious preference on occupational achievement. Only the No religion preference shows a moderate difference in average occupational status between initial and current preference. This evidently is a result of men with different occupational characteristics being attracted to the No religion preference at different stages in the life cycle.

The effect of religious preference on occupational achievement was examined separately for church members and nonmembers using the GAF sample. The data confirmed the findings of others (Demerath and Hammond, 1969) that church membership and status are related. The church members had occupational statuses more than five points above the nonmembers. This was not only true on the whole; seven of the twelve preference groups had this large a difference between members and nonmembers. The differences in occupational status observed among the religions with regard to church members are less attenuated when background and early achievements are controlled than are the differences for nonmembers when controls are introduced. Only Jews

who are nonmembers begin with an advantage over their member counterparts and maintain a large advantage over other nonmember preference groups when statistical controls for background and early achievements are made.

Initial religious preference was found to explain an additional 2 to 3 per cent of the variation in income after father's occupational status, respondent's education, occupational status, race, region, and farm experience were considered. Jews, Episcopalians, and Presbyterians were substantially above the mean. Catholics and Methodists had incomes similar to the grand mean. Substantially below the average income were the Baptists, Protestant others, and the Protestant unspecified. The remaining four preferences cannot be easily ranked because of differences observed between the two samples. Introducing controls for background characteristics and earlier achievements does not eliminate the differences in income among the preference groups. Large differences remain. Our findings are very similar to those of Gockel (1969).

When we considered race, region, and religious preference as a single variable little additional variation in income was explained beyond that explained using the three variables in an additive model. However, large differences in income were observed among the preference groups for the white northerners. Even after controls for father's occupational status, respondent's education, and occupation were made; more than \$3,500 separated the lowest group from the highest. Just within the Protestant groups \$1,200 separated the Baptist from the Episcopal preference. White southerners were also observed to have large differences among the preferences in income, but these differences were greatly attenuated when controls for background and early achievements were introduced.

Our analysis has shown that religious preference-- or some characteristic related to religious preference that was not studied here-- has a

small, but measurable effect on educational attainment and income (and on occupational achievement for church members) that cannot be attributed to social background or early achievement. We lacked the necessary information to determine the early mechanisms by which religious preference influences socio-economic achievement. Perhaps future investigations might explore the values and attitudes about education by those groups found to be at the lower and upper end of the educational scale. Examining the Baptists for an anti-intellectual attitude (as might be expressed by an emphasis on feelings and testimonials rather than on educated clergy and liturgy) may be useful. On the other hand, positive attitudes toward education by the Jews also need to be investigated more fully. However, what is needed to understand the differences in socio-economic achievements among the religious groups is not only the differences in values and attitudes, but how these differences are transmitted and maintained by the religious groups.

In Chapter VII we presented a detailed description of the religious mobility patterns for American men and related them to patterns of socio-economic status and marriage. Chapter VII laid the groundwork for our analysis in Chapter VIII of the effect of socio-economic achievement on religious mobility.

We defined religious mobility for this analysis as changing one's preference from one of the twelve religious groups used in this study to another. Preference at various points in time and stages of the life cycle were determined in retrospect by asking the respondent to recall former religious preferences and preferences of parents. For the GAF sample we have data for both the husband and wife (as reported by the wife), so we also examined the extent of religious preference homogamy.

Religious mobility was shown to be related to getting married. About 5 per cent of the men were estimated to have changed their religious preference to match that of their bride's. The importance of marriage for religious mobility was further illustrated by the fact that during a five year period more than two and one-half times as many men and women who married during the period changed their religious preference as did men and women who were already married at the beginning of the period. Using the quasi-independence model for husband's religious preference by wife's preference revealed many of the same greater-than-expected-by-chance patterns for inter-marriage religious mobility as observed for inter-generational and intra-generational religious mobility.

Our analysis indicates that the amount of religious mobility varies with the stage of the life cycle that is studied and with the specific religious preference investigated. The preference selected by those making a religious preference change is determined in part by the preference that they are leaving, by the relative size of the possible destination preferences, by the differences in socio-economic status of the origin and destination preferences, and by the religious preference of one's future mate.

In Chapter VIII we examined several ways in which socio-economic achievement and religious mobility may be related. In order to do so, we had to combine some of the religious preference categories further, thereby reducing the total number of categories considered to eight. We also had to combine the two samples for part of the analysis, remembering of course the differences in universes and differences in definition of initial religious preference for the two samples. These two alterations in our methods of analysis were necessary to overcome the small frequencies in

many of the cells in the initial-by-current religious preference tabulation. Even with these procedures several of the religious mobility combinations have too few cases for analysis.

However, we were able to suggest several tentative conclusions relating to religious mobility and socio-economic achievement. First, much of the religious mobility that occurs is not related to socio-economic achievement, either as a cause or as an effect. Both in Chapters VII and VIII a substantial part of the religious mobility observed does not follow a pattern that would indicate that the men changing preferences were doing so with regard to their own socio-economic status or the average socio-economic status of their origin or destination preference. Some other explanation is necessary for this part of the religious mobility observed.

On the other hand, some patterns of religious preference mobility appear to be related to socio-economic achievement. Men selecting the Baptist-Protestant other preferences have socio-economic achievements substantially below the average for all men. Men selecting Catholic or Other religions-Methodist-Congregationalist preferences have socio-economic statuses near the mean for all men in most cases. Those who select the Presbyterian-Episcopalian preferences tend to have substantially higher achievements than the average. In each case the destination preference appeared to be more closely related to the level of socio-economic achievement than the origin preference.

Changing religious preference appears to be unrelated to socio-economic achievements subsequent to the preference change. On the other hand, socio-economic achievement in amounts greater or less than the typical amount for a given religious preference leads to changes in religious preference. A man's educational attainment seems to be more important than occupational achievement or income for understanding religious preference changes. This

results because education, more than any other socio-economic variable determines a man's style of life. Thus, a man with an atypical amount of education with regard to his religious preference group will have a different set of values, attitudes, goals, and needs than most men with his religious preference. Religious preferences tend to serve primarily one stratum of people, and so the man with the atypical educational level has little in common with the rest of the followers of that preference. However, he does have a life style similar to men in certain other religious preferences. As a result, we conclude that a tendency exists for men with atypical education to select a new religious preference with followers who are similar to himself, just as he selects a neighborhood, friends, and organizations with homogeneous characteristics similar to his own.

A special case of selecting associates with similar styles of life is the selection of a mate. Men tend to select a wife with similar educational achievements as their own. As a result of the segregation by educational levels at the time of mate selection, a man with atypical education with regard to his religious preference group is more apt to select a wife with a different religious preference than is a man with an average amount of education. Selecting a mate with a different religious preference tends to cause the man to change his religious preference to that of his wife. This is especially so when the wife's preference more closely reflects the style of life of the husband than does the husband's own preference.

The observed relationship between religious mobility and occupational achievement and income results primarily from the association between religious mobility and educational attainment and, in turn, the association between education and occupational achievement and income. Father's occupational achievement indirectly leads to religious mobility of the son by providing advantages or handicaps for the son's educational achievement.

Religious mobility was found to be quite extensive. Over one-third of the men did not have the same preference as their father at the time of the study. More than 17 per cent of the men no longer had their initial religious preference. Furthermore, over one-third of the men had married women with a different preference than their own.

The twelve religious preference groups were found to vary with regard to the percentage of men who had changed to some other preference. The Jews had less than 1 per cent leave, whereas the No religion preference had an exodus of 49 per cent. However, very few men change their preference more than once in a lifetime.

We considered four out of the many plausible reasons for changing religious preferences. The four reasons considered were (1) dissatisfaction with one's current religious situation because of such things as theology, program emphasis, or personal conflicts with other church members; (2) geographical relocation of one's residence so as to make one's former church inconvenient; (3) marrying someone with a different religious preference; and (4) socio-economic mobility that creates differences in lifestyle so as to make a new preference more attractive than the former preference. The last two explanations for religious mobility were evaluated in terms of the religious mobility patterns observed.

The patterns of movement away from each of the twelve religious preferences to the other preferences during various intervals in the life cycle were described. The extent to which these patterns could be described by a quasi-independence model based on the percentage of each group changing preferences and the size of the groups was evaluated. Much of the mobility that took place could be understood with such a model. However, several situations of substantially more and substantially less movement than would be expected by chance were observed.

While much of the religious mobility observed in Chapter VII cannot be explained by relating it to socio-economic achievements, there are several patterns of interchanges among religious preference groups that appear to be related to the socio-economic achievements of the men changing preferences. Future research that would examine which men with atypical socio-economic achievements actually change preferences and which ones do not is needed. Also, study of how the origin preference and the preference of a man's potential mate interact with each other and with his socio-economic status to determine his later religious preference would clarify the relationships observed.

In summary, much of the differences in educational attainment, occupational achievement, and income observed among the larger religious preferences can be attributed to intergenerational transmission of socio-economic status and religious preference; however, not all of the differences can be understood in this way. For men with certain religious preferences (Baptist at the lower end and Presbyterians and Jews at the upper end) differences in socio-economic achievement appear to be related to their religious preference. Similarly, much of the religious mobility observed was found to be unrelated to socio-economic achievement; but not all of the religious preference changes were unrelated to socio-economic achievement. A tendency for men to select a religious preference with followers having similar socio-economic characteristics to their own was observed. This process is most likely also related to the mate selection process for many men.

The secondary analysis of the two sets of data available to this author has outlined the extent of religious preference's contribution to the process of socio-economic achievement of American men and the extent of the role of socio-economic achievement in determining later religious

preference. The specific form these causal factors take needs to be examined by future research using studies designed especially for this purpose. Such studies should obtain information concerning the individual's religious beliefs, attitudes, and practices, as well as his religious preference at several points in the life cycle. Questions designed to determine the extent and content of the socialization of the religious group with regard to socio-economic achievement of the individual are also needed. Furthermore, future investigations of this topic should have samples large enough in size to allow for detailed examination of many of the smaller religious groups. The findings of the research reported here indicate there is enough evidence to merit further investigation of the relationships between religious preference and socio-economic achievement for American men.

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