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RELIGION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

by
Neil Jack Weller

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of the requirements for the degree of
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This study is an investigation into the extent and nature of Catholic-Protestant differences in social mobility in a contemporary American industrial metropolis--the metropolitan area of Detroit, Michigan.

Background

A central issue in the sociology of religion concerns the effects of religious values upon social mobility and economic achievement. In his analysis of the relationships between religious and economic institutions in Western society, Max Weber emphasized the significance of the Protestant ethic for the rise of capitalism.[1] Most important in influencing sociological theory upon this question has been Weber's hypothesis that Protestantism, especially Calvinism, motivates economic achievement, and consequently social mobility. Assuming the validity of the Weberian thesis for the early stages of Western capitalism, what is the current relevancy of this dictum? Do Catholics and Protestants differ appreciably in social mobility in our

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[1]Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930).

materialistic, welfare-oriented, bureaucratically organized, industrial society? Research evidence is at present inadequate to satisfactorily answer this question. This is the case despite the importance of the Weberian thesis for social organizational theory. This thesis presents some recent empirical findings addressed to these issues.

Study of religious differences in social mobility merits attention for a variety of reasons. First, sociologists today appear generally to be both deficient and inconsistent in their treatment of this issue. Weber's theory is presented in most introductory texts, typically in a most favorable light, giving credence to Field's contention that it is a "strongly entrenched position";[1] but seldom is the question of current religious differences in economic achievement raised. While no strict interpretation of the authors' views is possible, the tacit implication is that such religious differences persist. By contrast, religious affiliation infrequently turns up as a control factor in the research literature on social mobility, level of aspiration, achievement motivation, and deferred gratification. Does this imply that most persons engaged in such research hold that religious differences are now insignificant? Within the specialized province of the sociology of religion surprisingly little empirical research has been done on this basic theoretical issue. While Birnbaum's

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[1]Arthur Jordon Field, "Comment on 'The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility'," American Sociological Review, XXI (October, 1956), 621.

contention that American work in the sociology of religion reflects "very little else" than a "dutiful utilization of Troeltsch's distinction between sect and church"[1] is doubtless a rhetorical overstatement, it does serve to point up the serious deficiency in empirical research on the relationship between religious affiliation and economic attitudes and behavior.

Second, recent years have witnessed a renewal of interest in the sociological study of religion. One result of this trend has been the advancement of conflicting theories, each with merit, which directly or tacitly suggest opposing hypotheses regarding the potency of religious values in conditioning economic attitudes and behavior in modern society. The issue is not simple. For the effects of urbanization and industrialization on religious institutions are such that religion today constitutes a paradox in our culture. Social forces converge to isolate religious belief from the round of daily secular activity, thereby weakening its authority. Other urban forces, a reaction to the first set of pressures, push for the resurgence of religiosity within the urban milieu. Due to the paucity of good research evidence, the issues raised by these conflicting theories are still largely unresolved.

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[1]Norman Birnbaum, Review of Sociology of Religions: A Trend Report and Bibliography, by United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), 421.

Finally, the ever increasing collectivization and bureaucratization of economic structure in industrial society, and the resulting changes in motivation for work, complicate the problem of religious differences in mobility achievement. Theoretically, the question is not as simple as the customary formulation posits--namely, whether or not Catholics have absorbed the dominant mobility ethic of materialistic Protestant society in sufficient degree to equal Protestants in economic achievement.

The Weberian thesis.--In his celebrated essay on the Protestant ethic, Weber asserts that Catholicism and Protestantism possess divergent orientations toward life whose impact extends to secular as well as sacred affairs.[1] Weber stresses the ideological consistency of spiritual Protestantism, especially the left wing of the Reformation, with the doctrines of secular capitalism; and, conversely, the obstructive ideological climate of Catholicism for the ascendance of the capitalistic system.

Catholic doctrine, in Weber's view, centers upon an other-wordly justification for the performance of worldly tasks. Work is viewed as punishment, done in expiation for sin, the purpose being purification through humility. Leisure, not secular work, is given the higher place in the scheme of values. Only sacred callings are fully honored.

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[1]Weber, op. cit.

Finally, money, very significantly, cannot legitimately beget money.

Weber emphasizes the crucial differences of the Protestant ethic from Catholic doctrine. Rational, utilitarian Protestantism is in harmony with capitalism which, in its market phase, is a rational bureaucratic organization whose purpose is the acquisition of financial profit. Moreover, Luther and Calvin sanctify work. Work is to be done for its own sake. The individual adds to his spiritual stature by work, contributing to the glory of God. In the concept of the secular "callings," Protestantism honors all types of legitimate economic activity as having their rightful part in contributing to the exaltation of the Divine, since they are part of the Divine plan for the individual. Secular economic activity is further encouraged by Calvin's distinction between usury and interest. Thrift, self-denial, industry, and sobriety, all values essential for the rising capitalistic order, are virtues within the ascetic ideal integral to Calvinist doctrine.

The hypothesizing of relationships between religious affiliation and economic behavior perforce implies certain assumptions about the conditioning of motives and needs in the individual by his religious sub-culture. Implicit in the classical depiction of the Protestant ethic is the assumption that Protestants who have internalized the tenets of their faith are more likely than Catholics to possess basic motives, needs, and values productive of individual

economic achievement and social mobility. Protestant more than Catholic doctrine contains an image of secular work as a positive virtue and an opportunity for spiritual fulfillment, sanctifies industriousness and productivity, legitimizes economic acquisitiveness, and emphasizes individual responsibility and prerogative. Consequently, the Protestant more than the Catholic is likely: (1) to perceive work as a positive opportunity and instrument for the attainment of desired secular goals; (2) to equate economic failure with personal defect and thus develop strong ego-needs for economic success; (3) to have personal distress (superego reactions) associated with leisure; (4) to exhibit attitudes favorable to individualistic and competitive economic activity.

Reputable scholars have disputed some of Weber's hypotheses dealing with the causational sequence of social change involved in the relationship between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism.[1] These disputes, however, do not bear directly on the problem at hand. What is relevant is Weber's depiction of the harmonious relationship between Protestant, as contrasted to Catholic, and capitalistic doctrine--a portrayal which is not essentially disputed by such critics of Weber as Tawney, Fanfani, Yinger, and

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[1]A summation of these criticisms may be found in J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society, and the Individual (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957), Pt. I, Chap. VIII and Pt. II, Sec. 6.

even Marx.[1] Without entering into the issue long disputed by economic historians as to the degree of causal significance of Protestantism in facilitating the rise of capitalism, it is possible, nonetheless, to evalute the subsequent linkages between Protestantism and capitalism by means of empirical evidence garnered through the historical method and comparative cultural analysis. Bierstedt succinctly sums up this evidence:

> If we ask in what countries capitalism has attained its highest development, we find in fact that they are all Protestant countries, England and the United States, for example, in contrast to Italy and Spain. In countries that were both Protestant and Catholic, like Germany, it is clear from the evidence that Weber himself adduces that it is the Protestants who, by and large, became the capitalistic entrepreneurs and who responded to the challenge of the Industrial Revolution. Even persecuted Protestants, like the Huguenots of France, demonstrated their business acumen in the countries that gave them sanctuary, especially in England, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and the United States. Most striking of all, of course, is the contrast mentioned first. If one compares the industrial and capitalistic developments of Spain and her colonies on the one hand, and England and hers on the other, the evidence in support of Weber's theory is impressive indeed. After the Reformation Spain declined and England prospered. Mexico, a Catholic country, is still, like Spain, largely unindustrialized, whereas her neighbor to the North is the exemplification of industrial might.[2]

In the United States, there were strong Protestant influences contributing to the development of the American

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[1]For the most lucid and eloquent statement see, R.H. Tawney, Religion and the Rise of Capitalism (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1926).

[2]Robert Bierstedt, The Social Order (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1957), pp. 530-31.

Dream ideal and the Horatio Alger myth.[1] In this regard, Protestantism in the United States has traditionally sanctioned and at times championed attitudes affirming social mobility, personal initiative for success, educational and occupational training, entrepreneurial values, and independent self-employment.[2] Such was the case in most extreme form during the period between the Civil War and World War I. During this interval the Protestant ethic affirmed values and skills which were especially required and rewarded as a result of the conditions then prevalent in America--namely, a fluid class structure, expanding commerce, massive development of industry and finance, and a seemingly inexhaustible supply of cultivatable land and exploitable natural resources.

Even if it is granted (and we are prepared to do so) that the historical evidence in support of the Weberian thesis is impressive, this need not mean that the presumed past Catholic-Protestant individual social mobility differences will persist in technologically advanced, highly secularized, modern industrial societies.

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[1]R. Richard Wohl presents a stimulating discussion of these American myths in his article "The 'Rags to Riches Story': An Episode of Secular Idealism," Class, Status, and Power, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 388-95.

[2]The historical relationship between Protestantism and the economic and social systems is explored in detail in Marquis W. Childs and Douglas Cater, Ethics in a Business Society (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954).

A general discussion of the historical and sociological context characterizing the present day relationship between religious institutions and the industrial order will be presented at this point as a background for understanding the conflicting perspectives with which different theorists approach the question of religious affiliation and social mobility in modern society.

The Changing Urban Way of Life

It is generally agreed that the social order of contemporary urban America is pre-eminently materialistic in character. Role and status in the occupational structure, aside from sex and age, are the most crucial determinants of privilege, prestige, and power. The dominant values in the urban ethos pertain to pecuniary-status security and achievement. The knowledge and skills most highly rewarded are those convertible into economic productivity and translatable in terms of economic rationality and utility. Major sources of personal stress as well as social alienation and conflict are frequently attributed to periodic but pervasive dislocations within the economic system and individual failure in the competitive struggle for economic position and social status. However, the nature of the economic and social system has changed sharply during this century. Consequently, the motives and methods for achieving social mobility have also shifted.

The traditional stereotypes of the American ethos, social structure, and character structure emerged within the historical context of Puritanic dedication and self-denial, agrarian individualism, pioneering self-reliance, and nineteenth century capitalistic entrepreneurship. The urban social order during the period of post-Civil War urban growth and industrial expansion retained substantial continuity with these agrarian, individualistic, and religious roots. The populations of the cities and towns were overwhelmingly rural in origin. Organizational structure, whether in business, government or voluntary groups, was comparatively undeveloped. Individual initiative and self-reliance was possibly an honored virtue; but, more frequently than not, it was a necessary virtue. The competitive struggle, often for survival, was fierce. Humanitarian social legislation was not up to the level of the Elizabethan Poor Laws. The waves of immigrants, comprising distinct unacculturated religious-ethnic groups, were vast in number and powerful in social impact. The educational system was comparatively undeveloped as a widespread crucial mechanism for immigrant acculturation, dissemination of middle class values, and social mobility. A generalized urban ethos, although surely emerging, was not yet crystallized. The populace was highly segmented; moreover, the standardizing influences exerted by the mass media were not yet operative. Urbanism was not the way of life for most of the country.

The Puritanic heritage and the European religious traditions of the immigrants, both Protestant and Catholic, had a vitality which was heightened by ethnic and religious cohesion, conflict, and discrimination. The need for an other-worldly attachment may well have been reinforced by an eighty hour work week and widespread poverty. The significance of religion under these conditions was further highlighted by the embryonic nature of unionism. There was also a conspicuous absence of important urban reform or revolutionary groups that might have served as outlets for active social change as an alternative to religious sublimation

The emergent ethos, social structure, and character structure of the modern American metropolis clearly differ from those of the urban community of a century past. The population is now predominantly urban in origin. Organizational structure has proliferated in size, complexity, and in scope of activities encompassed--be it in government, business, education, religion, or leisure. Widespread poverty has been abolished; and, the material standard of living is unprecedented, especially for the working class. The economic system is increasingly bureaucratized; with the working class being progressively unionized, while the white collar, managerial, and professional strata are located increasingly in corporate structures or group arrangements. The artisan is being replaced by the operative, the entrepreneur by the administrator. Both depend increasingly upon seniority rather than assessment of individual

competitive effort for their advancement in pay, job security, and rank. The role of the state as the caretaker for minimal mass economic welfare has been accepted. Mass immigration has long ceased. The impact of acculturation on the second and third generations, despite frequent resistance by their elders, has been strong and swift. Compulsory education is now the rule for the working class. Higher education has become the key avenue for social mobility into and within the middle class. Advanced education is now a necessity for technical and professional work. A dominant urban ethos, complex to be sure, has crystallized. The mass media have, by their standardizing effects on the population, helped both to shape the nature of the ethos and accelerate conformity to it. Urbanism is now the way of life for most of the nation.

Recent efforts at conceptualizing the changing American character structure have emphasized the remolding of personality along lines consistent with the changes in social structure. The unifying idea in the depiction of the new type of "other-directed,"[1] "welfare-bureaucratic,"[2] or "organization"[3] man is the devaluation of individual

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[1]David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

[2]Daniel Miller and Guy E. Swanson, The Changing American Parent: A Study in the Detroit Area (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958).

[3]William H. Whyte, Jr., The Organization Man (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

self-reliance, initiative, risk, independence, creative expression, and moral directive. These qualities have been replaced, it is asserted, by collective or organizational dependence, conformity, control, adjustment, routine, and loyalty. At the core of these conceptualizations of the changing American character is the idea of the dissociation of the modern metropolite from the cultural roots nourished in the agrarian order and still cultivated in the incipient industrial community. Old systems of belief and modes of behavior are frequently inadequate as prescriptions for social integration and control and for directing personal conduct and understanding. As a result, new patterns of conduct and belief have developed that are more functional as lubricants for organizationalism as a way of life. A basic question arising is what role traditional religious groups have in the social order of the industrial metropolis. It is a social order characterized by material prosperity, increased leisure time, and the new stereotypes of the American Dream. These stereotypes, which idealize bureaucratic advancement within the large organization, are considerably different from the Horatio Alger folklore--new idealizations which are disseminated by the mass media to the members of a wide range of social strata.

Religion in the Changing Urban Social Order

In theory, adherents of religious belief systems are affected by their creeds. Members may be directed by

their faiths and derive support for their hopes and fears in the areas of life which are most meaningful. Presumably, in a community such as Detroit, these areas would include the meaning and motivation for work, the valuations placed on economic acquisition and "invidious" display of status, and the ideologies, myth, and folklore which are used to support and rationalize these needs and values. What happens in point of fact is obscure and complicated by the anomalous position of religion as a social force in industrial society. The classic theoretical depictions of the urban community by Simmel, Park, and Wirth focused upon the weakening and possible demise of religious vitality within urban life. However, the traditional viewpoint is being questioned and the problem reformulated as a result of both empirical research and changes in theoretical orientation. Research on familial and informal social relations in Detroit has demonstrated that the alteration of functional relationships is not to be equated with their loss of function.[1] The development of structural-functional theory has focused attention on the interdependencies between social sub-systems and the auxiliary functions that secondary institutions may serve as adaptive mechanisms in connection with dominant structures.

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[1]Morris Axelrod, "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Large Urban Community" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Dept. of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1953), Chap. V.

Diverse factors have interacted to diminish the influence of religion as a means of social control and integration. The same factors have attenuated the capacity of religious belief to provide a meaningful design for living. Cultural forces displacing religion include the ascendance of scientific logic and empiricism, newly developed technical and professional skills, and the development of secular agencies for the indoctrination and enforcement of norms. The emphasis on secular criteria for ego-validation and the growth of a myriad of activities to compete for leisure time have further reduced the impact of religion. The very type of secularism which Protestantism rationalized has abetted the emphasis on worldly goals and creeds which has isolated the less "vulgarized" meanings of religious belief from the experience of daily life. It is also likely that the ultra-conservative economic doctrines espoused by some major Protestant denominations during the period of industrial and commercial expansion following the Civil War disenchanted many members of the working class.

Paradoxically, it has been often remarked, urban life generates acute needs for meaningful integration of purpose and activity, as well as for the reduction of tension. The implementation of these functions has been frequently, but by no means assuredly, associated with religious roles and beliefs. The institutionalization of occupational ennui and the structured strain inherent in the malintegration between status expectations and reality are

generally held to be sources of sizable personal stress in industrial society. These tensions are further catalyzed by the emphatic weighting of material values and the doctrines of individual opportunity and responsibility linked to our open class system. Much has been written on the deviance and emptiness which often ensue--for those who succeed as well as those who fail.

The resultant search for meaning, sanctuary, and value symmetry is reflected by such indices as rising church membership, revivalist crusades, booming "positive thinking," revitalized biblical scholarship, and a variety of esoteric religious groups. There are, without doubt, diverse manifestations of religiosity emergent in our society. Nonetheless, their meaning is uncertain. The "religious revival" may be no more than a symptom of tension and emptiness--as well as prosperity, increased leisure, and the use of religious roles as a channel for mobility or, at least, increased respectability.

Increased importance is being accorded the secularization process as a factor in the current resurgence of religiosity. Sklare asserts that a major paradox exists in that personal behavior is becoming increasingly secularized at the same time that organized religion is gaining in strength.[1] In his typology of religious groups, Pfautz places the church and the denomination at the forefront

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[1]Marshall Sklare, Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955), p. 89.

of secularization.[1] Salisbury's research suggests that "secular values are taking precedence over sacred values among the adherents of major American faiths."[2] David O. Moberg's research indicates the prime motivation for church membership is secular in character. He hypothesizes that a major reason for the rapid growth of churches at present is increased secularization.[3] Schneider and Dornbusch's analysis of the current inspirational literature emphasizes its rational, utilitarian, and individualistic qualities--a type of spiritual technology akin to the physical technology that is magic.[4]

Divergent Theoretical Orientations

As a result of these paradoxical circumstances currently surrounding organized religion, the crux of the issue underlying opposing orientations to the problem of religious affiliation and social mobility revolves about the extent to which religion exerts an influence upon

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[1]Harold W. Pfautz, "The Sociology of Secularization: Religious Groups," American Journal of Sociology, LXI (September, 1955), 121-23.

[2]W. Seward Salisbury, "Religion and Secularization," Social Forces, XXXVI (March, 1958), 197-205.

[3]American Sociological Society, Proceedings of Fiftieth Annual Meeting, 1955.

[4]Louis Schneider and Sanford M. Dornbusch, "Inspirational Religious Literature: From Latent to Manifest Functions of Religion," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (March, 1957), 476-81.

behavior in spheres of paramount secular importance in modern society. That is, in the current scene, are the effects of varying sectarian experience sufficiently diverse in nature, pervasive in depth, and inclusive of the populace to constitute religious experience as a systematic institutional force in conditioning economic attitudes and behavior?

Weber's own answer to this question, submitted a half-century ago, was in the negative.

> Since asceticism undertook to remodel the world and to work out its ideals in the world, material goods have gained an increasing and finally an inexorable power over the lives of men as at no previous period in history. Today the spirit of religious asceticism--whether finally, who knows?--has escaped from the cage. But victorious capitalism, since it rests on mechanical foundations, needs its support no longer....the idea of duty in one's calling prowls about in our lives like the ghost of dead religious beliefs. Where the fulfillment of the calling cannot be related to the highest spiritual and cultural values, or when, on the other hand, it need not be felt simply as economic compulsion, the individual generally abandons the attempt to justify it at all. In the field of its highest development, in the United States, the pursuit of wealth, stripped of its religious and ethical meaning, tends to become associated with purely mundane passions, which often actually give it the character of sport.[1]

Weber's prediction, notwithstanding, tangential fact and opinion are frequently encountered which suggest that Catholics may lag behind Protestants in individual economic prowess in contemporary American society. Some pertinent current theories and evidence bearing on the problem will, therefore, be reviewed in the following sections of this chapter.

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[1]Weber, op. cit., pp. 181-82.

Rationales in support of Protestant superiority.--Some sociologists of religion, most notably Will Herberg, maintain that American society is increasingly comprised of relatively self-contained Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish sub-communities whose members relate to the larger society through their religious groups.[1] If so, despite the common exposure of members of both faiths to the secular mobility ethic, Protestantism and Catholicism may condition different economic attitudes and behavior, since their divergences in theological doctrine concerning secular callings and worldly success have not changed essentially from the historical period analyzed by Weber.[2] Herberg sees the resurgent interest in religion at this time as not stemming primarily from secularization; in his opinion, it results, instead, from a personal need of modern man to sustain some vestige of inwardness and personality against the corroding effects of a mass culture.

The implications of Herberg's tripartite community hypothesis have been extended by Lenski directly to the issues of social mobility and occupational choice. Lenski hypothesizes that Protestants tend to identify with the middle class values predominant in American Protestantism,

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[1]Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1956).

[2]The significance of Herberg's thesis for explanation of comparative Catholic-Protestant rates of vertical mobility is examined more closely later in this chapter and in following chapters.

while Catholics tend to identify with working class values historically predominant in American Catholicism.[1] If true, the implications may well be of signal importance in producing differential rates and patterns of social mobility between the two religious groups.

Rationales in support of Catholic equality.--On the other hand, strong theoretical reasons can be adduced why religious values may well fail to influence economic achievement in our society. Mack, Murphy, and Yellin, reflecting Weber's own viewpoint, argue cogently that:

> We can accept the evidence of a historical relationship between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism, but we cannot assume the existence of any relationship between the Protestant and Catholic ethics and role performance in contemporary American society....The theoretical question which remains unanswered because of a lack of data is whether the Catholic and Protestant faiths in contemporary American society exert a potent enough influence on behavior to be accurately designated "directives."...Intuitively a good argument can be made for the idea that the "American Dream," the mobility ethic, is so strong in our culture that it will override in influence sub-cultural religious dogma. That is, a child socialized in contemporary American society will be less conditioned by either the [doctrine of] Catholic other-worldly salvation...or the Protestant [doctrine of] salvation through works...as such than by the positive value which our society places upon upward mobility striving.[2]

In addition to the factors set forth by Mack and his associates, important pressures for religious equality of

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[1]Gerhard E. Lenski, A Proposal for the Study of Religion in the Metropolitan Community, Detroit Area Study Research Paper No. P-11a, 1957, p. 11.

[2]Raymond W. Mack, Raymond J. Murphy, and Seymour Yellin, "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," American Sociological Review, XXI (June, 1956), 295-96.

achievement might result from the ongoing transformation of the dominant secular values which motivate striving and define success, as well as from the potential changes in the opportunities possible and skills required for individual economic advancement. As a result of increasing welfare-bureaucracy and economic abundance in urban-industrial America, the traditional American honored Protestant virtues of individualistic entrepreneurship, occupational pride in workmanship, and industrious thrift are increasingly supplanted by security-striving and welfarism, seniority promotion and standardized fractionated work roles, and a predominant emphasis upon values oriented toward material consumption. Under these conditions of increasing organization and hierarchization of work and expansion of government regulatory and welfare services, two important possible developments emerge. First, dominant American Protestantism's secular values are indirectly but implicitly becoming Catholicized at the same time that Catholics increasingly assimilate the material success ethic, making the strain for sectarian sameness double-edged. Second, even if Protestants retain a more achievement-oriented sub-culture, the increasing organizational rigidification of work structure might limit the extent to which these aspirations can be fully realized.

Research Evidence Bearing on the Problem

Empirical research on contemporary Catholic-Protestant differences in social mobility is indeed

very limited. Moreover, it is fragmentary, inconclusive as a result of research design, and more often than not it bears on the problem only indirectly. One not surprising result of this situation is that the available evidence is contradictory in nature.

Evidence indicating superior Protestant achievement. --Martin Offenbacher's study of Catholic-Protestant differences in economic and educational achievement in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century has had considerable influence over subsequent thought upon the problem of religious values and social mobility, principally due to the fact that it was the only study made directly dealing with mobility rates. Offenbacher's data demonstrated that Protestants surpassed Catholics in economic and educational achievement. Serious questions recently raised concerning the validity of Offenbacher's data are reported by Lipset and Bendix:

> It is significant that when Kurt Samuelsson, a Swedish scholar, recently replicated the most frequently cited study of the influence of religion on achievement [Offenbacher's], he found that it contains serious methodological errors. These errors invalidate its conclusion that German Protestants show higher rates of educational and economic achievement than Catholics.[1]

If Offenbacher's early data are in fact erroneous, there are then no available data which directly indicate

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[1]Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society ("A Publication of the Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California"; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), p. 54. In their discussion, Lipset and Bendix present examples of Samuelsson's criticisms and contrary findings.

that Protestants currently exceed Catholics in social mobility. That Protestant superiority may well be the case, however, is indicated indirectly by several threads of evidence of varying nature. First, the studies of contemporary American elites all conclude that Catholics are underrepresented, if not nearly devoid of elite membership. It is to be expected that in proper Yankee culture Catholics will be with only rare exception excluded from the social register. In Philadelphia, in 1940, Catholics comprised only 1 per cent of the social register.[1] It might be less expected that Catholics would be severely underrepresented in the "power elite." In his controversial analysis of this group, Mills unqualifiedly contends that such is the case.[2] If one agrees with his exclusion from the "power elite" of most political leaders and all labor leaders, Mills brings strong evidence to bear in support of his contention that one basic characteristic of this business dominated elite group is its clear-cut pattern of Protestantant affiliation. It is regrettable that in his study of labor leaders Mills makes no cross-break by religious affiliation.[3] Mills has shown, however, that Catholics are markedly underrepresented

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[1]E. Digby Baltzell, Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), p. 236.

[2]C. Wright Mills, The Power Elite (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956).

[3]C. Wright Mills, The New Men of Power: America's Labor Leaders (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1948).

in Congress. His analysis reveals that although Catholics comprised 34 per cent of the American population in 1950, they accounted for only 12 per cent of the membership of the Senate and 16 per cent of the membership of the House of Representatives.[1] Of much greater pertinence to the question of social mobility are the business elite studies. Unfortunately, only three such studies analyze this elite's religious composition. Nonetheless, they conclusively demonstrate the extreme Catholic underrepresentation at the top of the business pyramid from the period following the Civil War, when no Catholics were numbered among America's industrial leaders,[2] through the first decade of this century when Catholics comprised 7 per cent of the elite,[3] up to mid-twentieth century America, in which Catholics make up one-third of the population but comprise less than one-eleventh of the "big business executives."[4]

Second, Catholics lag behind Protestants in higher education, very notably in the scholarly and

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[1]Mills, The Power Elite, p. 249.

[2]Frances W. Gregory and Irene D. Neu, "The American Industrial Elite in the 1870's: Their Social Origins," Men in Business: Essays in the History of Entrepreneurship, ed. William Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), p. 200.

[3]William Miller, "The Recruitment of The American Business Elite," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. LXIV, No. 2 (1950), p. 249.

[4]Mabel Newcomer, The Big Business Executive: The Factors that Made Him, 1900-1950 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), pp. 46-49.

scientific fields.[1] This fact has not only been observed by non-Catholics, but has been reported with concern by Catholic educators and scientists.[2] Knapp and Goodrich report that for starred men of science "some Protestant denominations are proportionately several hundred times more strongly represented" than are Catholics.[3] Unfortunately, these studies do not contain adequate controls for social origins. Since Catholics derive in smaller proportions than do Protestants from the middle classes, which are major suppliers of scholars, scientists, and other professionals, precise comparisons of religious rates in producing the educational elite are not possible.

Due to the broad scope of skills, talents, and achievements encompassed, Who's Who listings afford one of the best indices of the relationship between religion and educational and economic elite position in America. Baltzell reports that Catholics account for only 4 per cent of the Philadelphians listed in Who's Who in 1940.[4]

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[1]Robert H. Knapp and Hubert B. Goodrich, Origins of American Scientists (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 274-80; Dael Wolfle, America's Resources of Specialized Talent (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pp. 167-68; Robert H. Knapp and Joseph J. Greenbaum, The Younger American Scholar: His Collegiate Origins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

[2]J. M. Cooper, "Catholics and Scientific Research," Commonweal, June 6, 1945, pp. 147-49.

[3]Knapp and Goodrich, loc. cit.

[4]Baltzell, op. cit., p. 236.

The composition of elite groups, whether status, power, business, or educational, is important despite their small numbers because of the key roles elites occupy in society, and because differences in elite membership are more likely than not symptomatic of differences in achievement in the lower levels of the social system. Nonetheless, the very rarefied position and extremely limited size of elites make elite analyses of limited relevance for the problem of overall social mobility differentials for the entire mass of the population. In this latter area, to repeat, there is no evidence to indicate that Catholics lag behind Protestants.

Herberg, as discussed earlier in this chapter, has hypothesized the existence of major differentiated Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish sub-cultural worlds within American community structure as a whole. The significance of this fact, if true, for the conditioning of both economic and noneconomic values is considerable. It is the belief of Milton M. Gordon that:

> To the extent that ethnic factors in combination with social class factors tend to delimit the area of intimate social contact in the adult world, and concomitantly provide the social setting for the socialization of the child, it is clear that American society consists of a series of "invisibly" delineated smaller societal units with varying degrees of interrelationship and each with its own variation and version of the American cultural pattern.[1]

Empirical studies of American community life tend to support Herberg's hypothesis of the tripartite religious

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[1]Quoted in Baltzell, ibid., p. 262.

division of the local American community. For example, after extensive analysis of New Haven, Hollingshead concludes:

> The New Haven community's current social structure is differentiated vertically along racial, ethnic, and religious lines, and each of these vertical cleavages, in turn, is differentiated horizontally by a series of strata or classes that are encompassed within it....The white world is divided by ethnic origin and religion into Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish contingents....
>
> In short, a major trend in the social structure of the New Haven community during the last half-century has been the development of parallel class structures within the limits of race, ethnic origin, and religion....This principle of parallel structures for a given class level, by religious, ethnic, and racial groups, proliferates throughout the community.[1]

The impact of religious values upon economic achievement and social mobility in contemporary American society, social class position held constant, has been demonstrated in analyses comparing Jewish and non-Jewish groups. Glazer has shown the significance of the values of education, sobriety, deferred gratification, and occupational independence, all cherished in Jewish culture, for the steadily increasing concentration of Jews in nonmanual occupations in America.[2] In an excellent analysis, Fauman has demonstrated statistically that Jews vastly exceed non-Jews in occupational mobility in Detroit as a result of differences

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[1]August B. Hollingshead, "Trends in Social Stratification: A Case Study," American Sociological Review, XVII (December, 1952), 685-86.

[2]Nathan Glazer, "The American Jew and the Attainment of Middle-Class Rank: Some Trends and Explanations," The Jews: Social Patterns of an American Group, ed. Marshall Sklare (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958), pp. 138-46.

within the same social class in valuation of education and occupational independence.[1] Strodtbeck has found that Jews and Italian Catholics in New Haven had significant differences in values crucially related to social mobility.[2] He found that Jews more than Italian Catholics viewed the world in a rational-utilitarian perspective, were willing to forsake old social ties in order to facilitate social mobility, gave preference to individualistic rather than collective credit for work, and had high educational and occupational expectations for sons.

The most relevant (and potentially the most important) current research concerned with the relationship of religious values to social mobility and economic achievement is the pioneering work being done by McClelland and his associates.[3] In an effort to relate basic psychological concepts of motivation to important practical facets of human behavior, McClelland has undertaken an empirical study

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[1]Joseph Fauman, "Occupational Selection among Detroit Jews," ibid., pp. 119-37.

[2]Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," ibid., pp. 147-65; Fred L. Strodtbeck, "Family Interaction, Values, and Achievement," in David C. McClelland et al., Talent and Society (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1958), pp. 135-95.

[3]David C. McClelland, A. Rindlisbacher, and Richard de Charms, "Religious and Other Sources of Parental Attitudes Toward Independence Training," Studies in Motivation, ed. David C. McClelland (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1955), Pt. III, pp. 389-97; David C. McClelland, "Some Social Consequences of Achievement Motivation," Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1955, ed. Marshall R. Jones (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1955), pp. 41-65.

of religious differences in some of the values implicit in the motivational paradigm underlying the concept of the Protestant ethic. McClelland hypothesizes that Protestantism induces greater economic achievement than Catholicism by means of conditioning in the individual a greater generalized need for achievement in relating to the world. In turn, one way that greater achievement orientation is affected is through earlier emphasis on independence in child training. Preliminary studies by McClelland and his coworkers indicate that independence training and need achievement are significantly related, that Protestants exceed Catholics in independence training, and that Protestants are more achievement-oriented than Catholics. As McClelland himself recognizes, the crucial step, still undone, is next to demonstrate that independence training and basic need achievement are significantly related to differences, specifically, in economic achievement and social mobility. Meanwhile, McClelland's work is already highly suggestive and exciting in its potentialities for contributing to the understanding of the linkage between the social and psychological planes involved in the relationship between religious affiliation and social mobility.

Two recent studies have some bearing on the relationship between Protestant values and economic behavior. In an American study of role behavior in an industrial setting, Protestant manual workers evinced more achievement-oriented behavior (rate-busting) than did their

Catholic coworkers.[1] However, the sample was very small and the findings are highly inconclusive. A study in Sweden of mobility among evangelical Protestants uncovered significantly greater mobility behavior among both children and adults who conformed to strict Calvinist tenets--it is significant that these people were labelled as "nonconformists" in the study because of their deviation from current Swedish behavioral patterns--when compared to persons from non-churchgoing homes.[2]

Evidence indicating equality of Catholic achievement. --Despite the important inferential evidence indicating Protestant superiority in social mobility, the handful of empirical studies which have dealt directly with the problem are unanimous in concluding that Catholics and Protestants share equally in occupational mobility--no data are available concerning income and educational achievement--in modern industrial society.

Two studies based on national probability samples, in 1953 and in 1955, report that there are virtually no differences between Catholics and Protestants in occupational

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[1]Orvis Collins, Melville Dalton, and Donald Roy, "Restriction of Output and Social Cleavage in Industry," Applied Anthropology, V (Summer, 1946), 1-31.

[2]This Swedish study by Hans Zetterberg is discussed in Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

mobility in West Germany.[1] The 1955 study concludes:

> Households of Catholic affiliation tend to occupy a slightly lower position in the social structure than Protestant households. The difference is greatest at the very top of the social pyramid--the upper-middle stratum--where the Protestants are, in terms of percentage, almost twice that of the Catholics. However, intergenerational patterns of upward and downward social mobility among Catholics approach very closely those of Protestants. The same is true of intragenerational mobility, 1939-55....the fact that the German social system has become an achievement society for both Protestants and Catholics is a development of bureaucratization which implies that mobility is not merely capitalist entrepreneurship but also the result of the routinization of careers.[2]

The West German studies afford the best available data on Catholic-Protestant differences in individual social mobility. In the analysis of religious differences, however, these studies did not control for sex, regional area, degree of urbanization, refugee status, labor force status, and, most important, farm origin. The question arises, which is unanswered, as to whether one or more of these uncontrolled factors may have confounded the findings. A second question posed by the German data is its degree of applicability to the United States since, as Janowitz points out in his report on the 1955 study, there is less opportunity for mobility in West Germany than in the United States.[3] The less the opportunity for mobility in a

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[1] The 1953 data were gathered by the UNESCO Institute in Cologne and are cited in ibid., p. 53. The 1955 data are reported in Morris Janowitz, "Social Stratification and Mobility in West Germany," American Journal of Sociology, LXIV (July, 1958), 14-15.

[2] Janowitz, loc. cit. (Italics ours.)

[3] Ibid., pp. 12-14.

society, the less will differences in mobility aspiration between groups result in differences in mobility achievement. Thus, if Protestants possess values more favorable to social mobility than Catholics, these values presumably would eventuate in greater religious differences in mobility achievement in the United States than in West Germany because of the greater opportunities open to the striver.

Data collected in 1952 in a national sample by the Michigan Survey Research Center indicate a predominant pattern of equality in social mobility between white American Protestants and Catholics.[1] Employing a dichotomous break between nonmanual and manual occupational origin and destination, and controlling for immigrant generation, no religious differences were uncovered in either origin group within the second generation, nor among cohorts of nonmanual origin within the third generation. Interestingly, Protestants surpassed Catholics only within manual origin in the third (and beyond) immigrant generation group. However, these findings are most inconclusive. The Survey Research Center data were based upon an insufficient number of cases--for example, 20 Catholics of nonmanual second generation origin. Sex, geographical region, and degree of urbanization were not controlled in the study. In addition, in the analysis of the Survey Research Center data, the occupational status categorization was limited to a manual-nonmanual dichotomization, and no analysis was undertaken of such

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[1]Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., pp. 51-52.

relevant issues as magnitude of mobility achievement or attainment of elite occupational positions.

The findings of Mack, Murphy, and Yellin are in accord with those reported by the two previously cited studies.[1] Their research uncovered no important differences between Catholic and Protestant white American males in three white collar destination groups--salesmen, engineers, and bank officials and clerks--with regard to occupational mobility achievement and aspiration. However, the findings are highly inconclusive due to limitations of research design and sample. Since the sample was limited to job applicants who had college degrees or substantial experience in white collar work, there is a strong possibility that the study involved a self-selected sample of mobility-oriented Catholics. Controls for region, degree of urbanization, and farm origin were not applied. Since the study analyzed only a most limited segment of the labor force for differences in upward mobility exclusively--downward mobility and stability were combined to make for an upwardly mobile-nonmobile categorization--no information was secured in regard to religious differences in downward mobility, magnitude of upward mobility achievement, and attainment of elite position. Moreover, no analysis of religious differences by strata of origin was undertaken.

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[1]Mack, Murphy, and Yellin, op. cit., pp. 295-300.

Two additional European studies of much narrower scope report findings of equal or superior Catholic mobility achievement. A Dutch study concludes that religious affiliation has little impact on occupational success among the employees of the Phillips Works.[1] In an English study, 16.8 per cent of Catholic children of working class origin in the town of Middlesbrough were admitted to the University-oriented high school compared to only 10.5 per cent of Protestant children of similar background.[2]

Since this handful of European and American studies affording the only available data directly comparing Catholic-Protestant rates of individual occupational mobility are unanimous in reporting the absence of any important differences, it is well to be aware of the important limitations and narrow scope of these studies (in which the question of religious differences was either of no concern or of only minor interest in the original collection of the data) lest the premature and unwarranted conclusion be drawn that significant religious differences in economic achievement are not present in contemporary industrial society.

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[1] I. E. van Hulten, Styging en daling een modern grootbedriff (Leiden: Steufert Kroese, 1954), p. 116, cited by Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 54.

[2] Jean E. Floud et al., Social Class and Educational Opportunity (London: Heinemann, 1956), pp. 134-38, cited by Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., pp. 53-54.

Some Central Research Issues and Hypotheses

The preceding review of theory and research bearing on the problem of current religious differences in social mobility points up the complex and contradictory forces prevailing in modern society making for both the persistence and decline of the assumed past Protestant superiority in social mobility. Research evidence may be pointed to in support of both possibilities. However, prior research permits only the most tentative of conclusions, especially for the United States. Instead, more questions are raised by existing research than are resolved. The resolution of these issues is complex but essential for increased understanding of the operation of contemporary religious institutions and, in broader perspective, the processes of social organization and social change in urban society. Nonetheless, the battery of questions addressed to these issues which follows has been up to now virtually untouched by refined empirical research.

Prior research has been limited simply to study of gross differences between religious groups in occupational mobility. Analysis has not previously been undertaken of differences in patterns between origin strata, by destination level, and of modes of economic achievement other than occupational mobility. It is these deficiencies, as well as failure to institute adequate controls for life-chances and socialization experience, which have rendered previous research of limited value for understanding the nature and

extent of religious differences in social mobility throughout the overall social structure of the industrial community.

The present research focuses upon the following questions:[1]

(1) Do Catholics and Protestants differ in occupational mobility, income mobility, and self-employment?

(1.1) Do Catholics and Protestants differ in achieved income (holding the higher paying jobs within occupational destination strata) when occupational mobility patterns are the same?

(1.2) Do patterns of religious differences in income mobility vary appreciably from the patterns exhibited in respect to occupational mobility?

(1.2.1) Among cohorts of similar social origin and income destination, do Catholics and Protestants display variant rates of occupational mobility; that is, does one religious group achieve equal income with the other by means of lower status occupations?

(2) Is education as a mechanism for social mobility exploited to a smaller degree by Catholics than by Protestants?

(2.1) Do educational patterns suggest either the operation of lower life-chances restraining Catholics or that structural rigidity in mobility opportunities restrains Protestants in mobility achievement?

(3) If Protestants exceed Catholics in mobility achievement, which strata, both of origin and destination, constitute the loci of these differences?

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[1]The discussion which ensues in the remainder of this chapter pertains to an urban-industrial population for which life-chances and socialization experience have been stringently controlled. Research design is discussed at length in Chap. II.

(3.1) Do social origin groups differ appreciably in their patterns of Catholic-Protestant differences in social mobility?

(3.2) Are Catholics inferior to Protestants in elite and extreme mobility achievement while equal in moderate mobility achievement?

(4) Is age associated with varying patterns of Catholic-Protestant differences in economic achievement? Specifically, is age related to religious differences in economic achievement in a pattern indicative of increasing Catholic equality in economic achievement?

If we are able to supply some answers to these questions, a sound beginning will have been made in resolving some important issues concerning the influence of religious values upon social mobility in industrial society.

In view of the conflicting social processes operative in our society and inconsistent research findings, we believe that any set of hypotheses about religious affiliation and social mobility that is sweeping in scope and extreme in character would be both premature and oversimplified. We expect that analysis of the questions posed will demonstrate that there are important limiting conditions upon any dominant pattern of either Protestant superiority or Catholic equality which may be uncovered.

In the following pages we shall discuss some issues implied in the preceding set of questions. We anticipate that Catholic-Protestant differences do not comprise a simple and uniform pattern. Since the sub-culture of each origin and destination stratum possesses its unique constellation of values, opportunities, and prerequisites for

social mobility, Catholic-Protestant mobility differentials presumably will vary by origin group, destination level, and mode of economic achievement.

Income achievement.--Religious differences in income achievement and self-employment as well as in occupational mobility require investigation. Workers with varying degrees of skill and prestige will of necessity be included within each of the occupational categories employed in our analysis of occupational mobility. In order to further differentiate between Catholic and Protestant attainment within the occupational system, analysis will be undertaken of religious differences in income achievement within occupational destination strata.

Furthermore, income merits study because it probably most closely pertains to the central urban values of success in the acquisition and consumption of material goods and services. The correlation of income with occupational stratum level is far from perfect. Under these circumstances, it is possible that Catholics and Protestants differ in the importance they place upon the monetary rewards of work relative to the importance accorded to nonmaterial values (such as occupational prestige and independence) which also are associated with work. If such should be the case, it is possible that the patterns of religious differences for occupational mobility and income mobility will differ in character. One possibility, specifically, might be that Catholics and Protestants differ in their acceptance of

marginal professional, proprietary, and lower white collar positions which entail the sacrifice of income for the gaining of prestige and other intangible values from work. Thus, Catholics and Protestants could achieve equal income by means of different occupational statuses. That is, among cohorts of similar social origin and income achievement, we may find that Protestants and Catholics will display different rates of occupational mobility.

Self-employment.--By virtue of the Protestant ethic, Protestants should esteem self-employment more than Catholics. This may be deceptive. The motivations and preconditions for self-employment in contemporary society differ from those of only a half-century past, reflecting the changes toward increased bureaucratization and large scale organization in the occupational system. Achievement motivation can no longer be equated readily with the desire for self-employment. In considering this change, Washburne comments:

> The process [bureaucratization] of necessity has been accompanied by a modification in our values of rugged individualism and by a relative loss of status of the individual entrepreneur. Nowadays, the popular idea of the self-made man is one who started out as stock clerk and finally became first vice-president of the company, rather than the merchant who expanded his pushcart to a chain of stores wholly owned by himself.[1]

In considering motivations for self-employment, therefore, achievement needs and even entrepreneurial values must be

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[1]Norman F. Washburne, Interpreting Social Change in America ("Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology"; Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1954), p. 43.

distinguished from the valuation attached to occupational independence. Despite the emergent organizational values in industrial society, insofar as self-employment today reflects primarily an esteem of occupational independence, we still might expect to find that as a result of their respective heritages, more Protestants than Catholics are self-employed. Arrayed against this consideration, however, are other current motivations leading to self-employment which are more pertinent for Catholics. Self-employment is reported to be the most cherished dream and frequently used channel of manual workers for gaining white collar employment.[1] These workers by and large lack the formal training required for other types of white collar employment. In addition, the ethnicity factor has often made self-employment both a necessity and an advantage for minority group members desirous of white collar status.[2] Since these varied factors tend in theory to cancel each other out, it will be of considerable interest to see whether or not Catholics and Protestants actually differ appreciably in rates of self-employment.

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[1]Robert H. Guest, "Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Sociological Review, XVIV (April, 1954), 155-63; Ely Chinoy, Automobile Workers and the American Dream (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1955).

[2]Cf., Frances A. Ianni, "Residential and Occupational Mobility as Indices of the Acculturation of an Ethnic Group," Social Forces, XXXVI (October, 1957), 65-72.

Educational attainment.--Education merits study since religious differences in educational attainment may provide some valuable explanations of patterns of religious differences in occupational and income achievement. Education is a key mechanism for social mobility in urban society. It is also the best single reliable index of aspiration and effort for social mobility. Furthermore, since Catholics are a religious minority and also generally have lower ethnic status, they may encounter more discrimination in employment. Consequently, if with an equal amount of education Catholics have less occupational or income mobility than Protestants, the possibility of inferior life-chances for Catholics is suggested as one explanation.

Analyses of educational attainment may disclose patterns with quite opposite implications. Mack, Murphy, and Yellin have pointed out that:

> It is conceivable that the Protestant ethic might be operative as a value system without producing statistically significant results in performance....if we accept the dicta of those who tell us that the American class structure is becoming more rigid, we must admit that the sub-cultures of Protestantism and Catholicism might engender different value systems without producing different rates of mobility, simply because mobility was not available to the striver...[It is necessary to] guard against the possible error of concluding that Catholic and Protestant Americans share a value system, where actually they might only share a social structure which does not allow them to implement the differences in their beliefs....[1]

Thus, if the Catholics should lag further behind in education than in occupational and income achievement, the

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[1]Mack, Murphy, and Yellin, op. cit., p. 299.

possibility is suggested that Protestants are not able to realize fully their greater achievement aspirations due to inadequate opportunities for mobility within the economic system itself--or because the skills provided by education are not necessarily the skills rewarded at some points in the occupational structure.

Differences by extent, type, and destination of mobility.--Insofar as religious differences in achievement obtain, it is of especial importance to analyze differences in extreme mobility (multiple step ascent and descent), crossing the blue-white collar line (both upward and downward movement), and achievement of elite status positions.[1] These mobility patterns and economic destinations constitute especially critical tests of individual achievement in industrial society, since (for the bulk of the labor force) work structure is increasingly bureaucratized, job-security values are of crucial importance, and promotions more and more are routinized on the basis of seniority. Under these conditions, if there are in fact differences between Catholic and Protestants in industriousness, deferred gratification for occupational training, initiative, risk, desire for independence, and the drive to excel, they are most likely to be manifest in those facets of social mobility which have been specified.

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[1] In this study elite status positions refer to upper white collar occupation, annual personal income in excess of $10,000, and graduation from college.

Religious differences and social origin.--The motivation for upward mobility may be in part a function of occupational role expectations. Persons experiencing socialization in different occupational sub-cultures may show different attitudes toward mobility as a result of the internal components of parental occupational roles. Similarly, the impact of religious values upon social mobility may vary with stratum of occupational origin, since religious attitudes toward mobility necessarily derive their significance within the total configuration of values and opportunities prevailing in each stratum. Consequently, analysis of Catholic-Protestant mobility differentials will be undertaken for each of four major occupational strata.

Age groups and trends in religious differences.--Aside from Offenbacher's questionable data dealing with Catholic-Protestant differences in social mobility in Germany at the end of the nineteenth century, no data on religious differences in rates of individual social mobility for recent times are available. In approaching the problem of religious differences in social mobility, therefore, we have been able only to assume upon the basis of generally accepted indirect evidence that Protestants in the past exceeded Catholics in individual mobility aspiration and achievement. Furthermore, due to lack of comparable data for any earlier period on Catholic-Protestant differences in economic achievement, there is no precise basis for

interpreting what trends our findings may signify. Nonetheless, the problem of current change is of primary importance. Although at this time it might be found that Protestants exceed Catholics in social mobility, if social forces are currently operating to eliminate or reduce these differences, any Catholic lag uncovered would be only temporary. Therefore, although the present situation cannot be compared with any previous period for purposes of trend analysis, we shall analyze intradenominational and interdenominational differences in economic achievement by age groups within our current population in an effort to throw whatever light is possible on trends in this area.

Needless to say, if Protestant superiority does increase in direct relationship to age, this may be merely the result of religious differences in intragenerational mobility (Protestants increasingly outdistancing Catholics as their careers unfold) rather than the product of basic trends toward homogenization stemming from Catholic assimilation and Protestant devaluation of the mobility ethic. However, it is possible to distinguish between these alternative possibilities (as will be done in Chapter V) by analysis and comparison of Catholic and Protestant intradenominational differences by age in occupational and income achievement and by interpretation of patterns of educational attainment by age group.

In Chapter II, we shall discuss some aspects of the methodology and research design. Special consideration will

be given to the problem of properly delimiting the population studied in order that socialization experience and life-chances for Catholics and Protestants are as equal as possible.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN

Conditions of Research

Despite the centrality of the Weberian thesis for social organizational theory, there have not been any prior empirical studies of comparative religious achievement in socio-economic mobility which both adequately control extraneous influences while encompassing, nonetheless, the wide range of social strata found within a major American industrial community. If the complex issues raised in Chapter I regarding religious differences in contemporary industrial society are to be meaningfully tested, the research should be designed so that (1) stringent controls for life-chances are applied (2) to a population inclusive of all major social strata (3) who share in common the experience of childhood socialization as well as adult participation within the milieu of urban-industrial life. In order to meet these criteria this study has focused upon an investigation of religious differences in social mobility among a stringently delimited cross-sectional sample--embracing, however, all major socio-economic strata--of the Detroit metropolitan community.

Source of Data and Sample Design

The empirical data upon which this analysis is based were gathered from 6 cross-sectional probability sample surveys of the adult population in the Detroit metropolitan area, 1952-58, conducted by the Detroit Area Study, a research group of the University of Michigan.[1] In 5 of these 6 annual surveys, the sampling procedure employed was a three-stage, cluster, area sample. The area embraced in the Detroit Area Study surveys is the census tracted area in Wayne, Macomb, and Oakland counties. This area embraces 87 per cent of the population of the standard metropolitan area of Detroit. The samples we have used with the exception of the 1955 survey were designed to yield a cross-section of all adults in the Detroit metropolitan area living in private households. The portion of the adult population excluded is probably less than 5 per cent for years other than 1955. In this year the eligible population was circumscribed to households having a married couple. In the three-stage--tracts, blocks, and dwelling units--area sampling technique employed, the probability of selection of every dwelling unit is known. Probabilities proportional to the size of the selection unit governed selection at each stage. Each dwelling unit contained within the tracted area possessed an equal chance of

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[1]For a more extensive discussion of the Detroit Area Study, see Ronald Freedman, "The Detroit Area Study: A Training and Research Laboratory in the Community," American Journal of Sociology, LIX (January, 1953), 30-33.

entering the sample.[1] The results of Detroit Area Study sample surveys consistently check very closely with census figures in those cases where comparisons are possible.[2] There is, consequently, good basis for concluding that the samples used offered a reasonably accurate picture of the adult population of the Detroit metropolitan community.

Interviewing for Detroit Area Study surveys is conducted by trained graduate students and professional interviewers retained by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. The interview response rate for the selected sample for the years included in this study averages about 88 per cent. These conditions furnish additional basis for confidence in the reliability of our data.

Since our research design (to be discussed below) eliminated large segments of the total population from the sample, this project is based on a sample derived from a cumulation of cases drawn from six different annual surveys in order to maximize sample size and minimize errors due to sampling variation. Such combining of data from several annual studies is possible because the Detroit Area Study samples have been designed to enable this procedure, and the

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[1] A detailed description of the sample design may be found in Leslie Kish and Lysle Sommers, Selection of a Sample of Dwelling Units for the Detroit Metropolitan Area (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research Center, 1951).

[2] The Detroit Area Study has reported some of these comparisons; see, e.g., A Social Profile of Detroit (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 1952).

data necessary for this study were gathered in comparable form in all six surveys used.

Both the approximate sampling errors and the approximate sampling errors of differences have been calculated for the present sample. These calculations are reported in Appendix Tables 4-6. Specifically, Table 4 in the Appendix presents calculations of sampling errors (P = .90), and Appendix Tables 5 and 6 report sampling errors of differences (one-tail P = .10 and two-tail P = .10).

It will be appropriate in the large majority of cases to employ the one-tail distribution (Appendix Table 5) for estimating sampling errors of differences. This is due to the fact that past theory and research afford grounds for predicting that Protestant superiority (or Catholic equality) in mobility achievement will be uncovered, but <u>not</u> that Catholics will surpass Protestants in educational and economic attainment. The .90 level of probability has been selected in order to minimize the number of socially significant findings that might possibly be rejected when the size of the samples compared is small due to several controls being implemented simultaneously.

Tables 4-6 in the Appendix are presented, primarily, for the benefit of readers who are strongly interested in the results of tests of statistical significance. In our analysis and interpretation of the research evidence, however, we shall stress the importance of patterns of findings rather than tests of statistical significance. This issue will be discussed more fully in Chapter III.

The Detroit Metropolitan Community

Detroit perhaps more than any other city typifies to most Americans the modern industrial colossus. Where in an earlier time Chicago was heralded as "hog-butcher to the world," Detroit during this generation has been celebrated as the "arsenal of democracy" during war and "automobile capital of the world" in time of peace. The growth of Detroit to a current size of almost 4 millions, fifth largest metropolitan area in the United States, marked a swift and spectacular response to the development of automotive transportation by a community only thirteenth largest in the country at the turn of the century. In but three decades, from 1900 to 1930, Detroit increased five-fold in population. Population growth since World War II has been steady; however, it has not been unusual in character.

The impact of auto manufacturing on the remarkable growth of Detroit has been powerful and is manifest in important facets of community life. Despite a substantial diversification in productive and commercial enterprise, Detroit's economic life is marked by an unusual concentration for so large a city of workers and resources within one industry--automobile manufacturing. Nonetheless, Detroit's occupational status structure fairly closely resembles that typical of industrial America. The concentration of male workers in manual occupations is somewhat high, 67.4 per cent, compared to the national average for urban males,

61.2 per cent. In 1950, however, the proportion of workers in upper white collar occupations, 18 per cent, was only 4.1 percentage points under the national average; moreover, the 14.6 per cent of Detroit's labor force employed in lower white collar positions compared closely to the national average of 16.7 per cent.[1] More important, however, the occupational structure of Detroit increasingly approximates that found throughout the United States. Whereas in 1940 the proportion of blue collar workers in Detroit exceeded the national average by 11.6 percentage points, this over-representation was cut to 6.2 by 1950. The present occupational structure of Detroit is not only reasonably typical of industrial America; Detroit's occupational composition is also quite stable. During the decade from 1940-1950, Detroit's largest change in occupational composition was an increase of 3.1 percentage points in the proportion of upper white collar workers. The mean shift in occupational distribution over all four major strata amounted to a difference of only 1.6 per cent.[2]

The circumstances surrounding automotive manufacture, however, do dictate some important secondary characteristics of Detroit's economic life. Large scale organization largely dominates the work situation. Fully 70 per cent of

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[1]These figures compare the employed male labor force over 14 in the urbanized area of Detroit and the employed male urban labor force over 14 in the United States. U.S., Bureau of the Census, Seventeenth Census of the United States: 1950.

[2]Idem, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940.

Detroit's currently employed adult male workers are employed in enterprises hiring more than 100 workers. Traditional entrepreneurial activities are engaged in by comparatively few. Only 7 per cent of the adult male workers are self-employed. The highly successful organization of the large masses of factory workers, a development which has largely transpired since the advent of industrial unionism under the CIO and which was significantly spearheaded by the United Automobile Workers in Michigan in the 1930's, has made Detroit a landmark of success and power for trade unionism. Organized labor's wages are high, and its political influence is undeniably important.

In the course of its rise to industrial pre-eminence, Detroit has attracted and rewarded vast and diversified numbers of migrants. The attraction of Detroit to both native and foreigner, ruralite and urbanite, Negro and white, and northerner and southerner alike has been such that each of these groups is strongly represented in the community. Newcomers comprise the large majority of the population. Only one-third of Detroit's adult population was born in the community. Southerners, colored and white alike, have migrated to Detroit in large numbers. Negroes comprise one-quarter of the population of Detroit proper and about 17 per cent of the total population of the metropolitan community. Approximately one-sixth of Detroit's adult white residents are of southern origin. The foreign born of over 50 ethnic groups constitute 15 per cent of the population of Detroit.

Scotland, England, and Canada in addition to Germany, Poland, Italy, and Russia have each contributed over 10,000 persons among Detroit's present group of foreign born.[1] Persons having an American farm background make up about 15 per cent of the adult population of Detroit.

Detroit provides a most appropriate setting for testing issues revolving about the impact of urbanization and industrialization upon religious influence. With its large and heterogeneous population, advanced technology and extreme industrialization, unusual degree of organization and bureaucratization of work, entrenched trade unions, and high income level, Detroit embodies to unusual degree the ideal-typical characteristics of modern industrial society.

Delimitation of the Population Studied

By virtue of the cross-sectional probability sample employed by the Detroit Area Study, all the major occupational, income, and educational strata necessary for analysis of religious differences by origin group and destination level are included in the sample.[2] In order that extraneous influences be minimized when Catholic-Protestant differences in economic behavior are examined, careful consideration must

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[1]Harry Sharp and David Sirota, The Nationality Background of Detroit Area Residents, Detroit Area Study Research Paper No. 1203 (Mimeograph), 1957, pp. 1-2.

[2]The present sample is comprised entirely of Roman Catholics and Protestants. Members of other religious groups and respondents who either entertained no religious preference or whose religious preference was not ascertained have been excluded from the sample.

be given to delimiting the population to be studied within these major socio-economic strata. This need is accentuated due to the extreme diversification in the origins of Detroit's population.

Our data contain the control variables essential for delimiting the population to those adult residents of the metropolis who also were raised within either an urban-industrial community or in communities within the orbit of the urban-industrial way of life.[1] Three fundamental reasons prompt this restriction. First, the principal theoretical issues surrounding the problem of current Catholic-Protestant differences in social mobility are rooted in whether or not under the structural and motivational conditions associated with technologically advanced, highly secularized industrialism, there is any longer any basis for expecting Protestants to exceed Catholics in economic achievement. Consequently, a major goal in designing the research has been to secure as pure a sample as was feasible of persons whose total social conditioning--that is, both early socialization experience as well as later adult role performance--has been within the context of the urban-industrial setting. Second, it is only under these conditions that there exists

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[1]For persons who neither were natives of Detroit nor had migrated to Detroit by age 10 or earlier, the community of orientation--that is, the community in which the individual was raised during the formative years between 10 and 21--was assumed to be the community of longest previous residence prior to migrating to Detroit. When community of longest previous residence was not ascertained, the community in which the person was born was assumed to be his community of orientation.

a genuine sociological common denominator for Catholics and Protestants within the Detroit community. For example, the number of Catholics in the Detroit community of rural or southern origin is statistically insufficient for comparison with Protestants of such origins under the control conditions essential for the basic problems dealt with in this study. Finally, the selected urban-industrial prototype is itself most crucial because it constitutes the main wave of the future in an American society which is increasingly dominated by the values and organizational patterns of the industrial metropolis.

In addition, the data contain control variables essential for reducing the confounding influences of differential life-chances and either atypical participation or nonparticipation in the occupational system. The problem of differential opportunity, present in all studies of vertical mobility, is of prime importance when comparing Catholic and Protestant achievement.

In accord with these considerations, the population studied has been restricted to: white males, currently employed in the labor force, who are heads of households, and who were raised within a northern-urban-American community. That is, in order to reduce confounding influences, simultaneous controls were instituted through eliminating from the sample the following groups: women, Negroes, southern migrants, immigrants, migrants who grew up outside the central city or ring of a standard metropolitan area,

persons of farm origin or destination, and persons not both currently in the labor force and head of a household. In the following pages we shall discuss more fully the reasons for delimiting the population in this manner.

Women.--Although some women both work full-time and occupy the position of head of the household, the factors surrounding the differentiation of sex roles in American society make their position not at all comparable with that of male breadwinners. For this reason, the study deals only with males.

Negroes.--Imposing barriers of discrimination confront Negroes in Detroit as elsewhere in American society and limit their opportunities for economic achievement. Since Negro religious affiliation is virtually entirely Protestant, the inclusion of Negroes in the sample would only serve to stack the deck in favor of Catholic equality or superiority in mobility achievement. Moreover, as regards the Protestant ethic, the religious affiliation of most Negroes traditionally has been Protestant more in name than in fact. The escapist and emotional nature of sectarian Negro religion is more akin to Catholic other-worldliness than to Protestant this-worldliness. Although secular protest is increasingly important in the urban middle class Negro church, at this time such themes affect only a small minority of Negro church members. As Negroes become more thoroughly urbanized, they apparently diminish their

participation in religious activity more frequently than they adopt an increasingly militant religious protest.[1]

Farm destination.--The elimination of persons currently employed in agriculture involves only a handful of cases, a number so small as to be unsusceptible to statistical analysis. Even if such analysis were possible, farm employment would not be comparable with urban employment for purposes of occupational and income mobility analysis.

Farm and nonurban origin.--There are compelling reasons for excluding persons of farm and nonurban origin from the population studied. There are special methodological difficulties in assigning origin status to persons of farm background. Insufficient data were available to adequately interpolate the occupational status of farm fathers in accord with the status criteria underlying urban occupational structure.

More significantly, however, previous research evidence indicates that degree of urbanization of community of orientation is related to mobility achievement. After a detailed analysis of available research dealing with the effects of childhood residence on the social mobility process, Lipset and Bendix conclude that the following patterns are suggested by the data:

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[1]For an insightful treatment of the effects of urbanization upon Negro religious patterns, see J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society, and the Individual (New York: Macmillan, 1957), pp. 183-94.

1. There is more upward and less downward mobility in large cities than in small towns.
2. The larger the community in which the son of a worker grew up, the better his chances for upward mobility, a relationship that does not hold for the sons of nonmanual fathers.
3. The positive effect of being reared in a large city on occupational opportunities is found among those with less than a high school education. Among those who have a high school education or better, size of community of orientation is not positively related to greater opportunity.[1]

Indeed, the pattern of relationship between degree of urbanization of community of orientation and social mobility was found to be reversed for sons of nonmanual fathers. In this group, educational attainment is inversely related to degree of urbanization of childhood residence. Moreover, among residents of the metropolis, downward mobility across the white-blue collar line is more likely for native urbanites than for migrants from nonmetropolitan areas. The advantage of small town youth of middle class origin over their social class cohorts raised in large cities is especially manifest in the larger numbers of the former group achieving non-bureaucratic or entrepreneurial positions. In the large urban center, sons of nonmanual fathers from small cities exceed those from large cities in both self-employment and professionalization. These major patterns uncovered by American studies are confirmed by studies undertaken in Sweden, Germany, Holland, and Belgium.[2]

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[1] Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 213.

[2] Ibid., pp. 204-19.

Opportunities for upward mobility are greatest in large urban centers due to the complex division of labor, the proliferation and specialization of occupations, the very high rate of economic and population growth, and the comparatively low birth rates characterizing metropolitan areas. Educational facilities for lower class children are best in large urban areas. The aspiration of lower class children for skilled work and nonmanual work is stimulated by the greater perception of and opportunities for these types of work in the large urban center. As a consequence, growing up in the large city facilitates social mobility for sons of manual workers more than rural and small town childhood residence does for lower status migrants. On the other hand, it is likely that middle class values dictating the imperatives of white collar status are effectively transmitted to middle class youth in small communities; moreover, the greater rigidity of class lines in small communities may make for more effective transmission among the middle class of white collar occupational imperatives in small communities than in larger urban centers. In reference to the differential effects of degree of urbanization on motivation for occupational status, Lipset and Bendix comment:

> The implication of these analyses of the situation of middle-class youth is that the motivational advantages and objective opportunities of those who grow up in a large city are counterbalanced by the motivational pressures induced by the rigidities of the status system of smaller communities. On the other hand, among working-class youth, the rigidities of small-town structures

> will probably operate to reinforce the liabilities flowing from the working-class status of their families.[1]

Since degree of urbanization of community of orientation is related to social mobility patterns and Protestants hail from rural communities much more than Catholics, degree of urbanization of community of orientation must be controlled in this investigation. If this were not done, bias favoring Catholics would be operative among cohorts of blue collar origin, bias in favor of Protestants would be operative among cohorts of white collar origin, and undue advantage would accrue to Protestants of both origins in relation to self-employment. Since the number of Catholics of farm and nonmetropolitan area background is insufficient for necessary statistical analysis, the analysis has been limited to comparison of persons raised within the central city or ring (excluding farms) of a standard metropolitan area.[2]

This restriction of the sample, however, is not only the result of methodological rigor. Such delimitation of the population is consistent with the central objectives of the study to which reference has already been made. Specifically, two theoretical considerations in limiting the population studied to persons whose community of orientation was within the orbit of the metropolitan community are:

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[1] Ibid., p. 225.

[2] In cases where metropolitan area status of community of orientation was not ascertained, persons raised in communities of less than 25,000 population were excluded from the sample.

(1) the central theoretical issues at stake pertain to the potency of the urban-industrial ethos and social structure in overriding religious sub-cultural influences; (2) the crucial nature of the urban-industrial prototype population in view of the steadily increasing trend toward urbanism as the American way of life. The criterion of childhood residence within the central city or ring of a standard metropolitan area was adopted as a compromise between, on the one hand, limiting the project ideally to study of religious differences between natives of central cities within major metropolitan areas and, on the other hand, retaining a sufficient number of Protestants within the study to permit statistical analyses under the maximum number of simultaneous controls.

Southern region.--Inhabitants of the Detroit area whose childhood residence was in the southern states have been excluded from the sample (irrespective of the degree of urbanization of their community of orientation).[1] This decision was made primarily because of the lag in industrialization and large scale bureaucratization of work in the South. While this lag is currently being diminished at a rapid rate and may not be of major importance for children

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[1]The southern states are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia. For our purpose, it would have been preferable not to have classified Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, and Texas as southern states. Their prior classification as southern states by the Detroit Area Study necessitated our handling these states in similar fashion.

being raised in southern urban communities at this time, differences between the South and other regions of the United States were probably of substantial importance at the time that the majority of Detroit adults of southern urban background were residents in the South. Even at the present time, the South is apparently distinctive in important facets of economic structure:

> The analysis of regional differentials in income largely resolves itself into an investigation of the factors that differentiate the South from the rest of the Nation. The major conclusion suggested by the regional analysis is that, even when the data are properly controlled with respect to color, sex, residence, and size of community, there is an income differential between the South and the other regions. This differential does not appear to be related to the occupational composition of the southern labor force. It is tentatively concluded that other factors such as the pay-and-price structure, the industrial structure, differences in productivity, or perhaps even imperfections in the competitiveness of the labor market may account for the income differential between the South and the rest of the Nation.[1]

Southern urban migrants to Detroit are predominantly of Protestant persuasion. Any biasing influences associated with southern background, therefore, would systematically affect religious differences in mobility. Consequently, southern urban migrants were not included in the analysis.

By virtue of the restrictions placed upon the sample which have already been enumerated, the sizable number of socalled southern "hillbilly" migrants in Detroit have been excluded from the population studied.

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[1]Herman P. Miller, Income of the American People ("Census Monograph Series"; New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1955), p. 3.

Immigration and ethnic status.--Immigrants typically are handicapped in the competitive struggle for economic success. Such has been the case in America where immigrants, frequently the "uprooted" in spirit and experience, have been confronted by language barriers, ethnic discrimination, educational requirements and job skills for which they were unprepared, and cultural values surrounding work, job training, and economic success which were alien to those they knew and understood in their homelands. As a result, immigrants settling in America's great urban centers have more often than not entered the economic arena at the lowest levels, being concentrated in the poorest paying, least prestigeful jobs.[1] The more impoverished, the less industrially developed, and the more deficient the educational facilities offered the lower classes in the immigrant's country of origin, especially when it was a non-English speaking country, the more likely has it been that the immigrant would occupy a position at the bottom of the occupational ladder in the American metropolis. The influence of foreign birth, therefore, must be controlled in studying religious differences in social mobility. This stricture is applicable in the case of Detroit, since the 15 per cent of the population who are foreign born are comprised of a disproportionately high number of Catholics from the non-English speaking, industrially retarded countries of

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[1]Cf., E. P. Hutchinson, Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950 ("Census Monograph Series"; New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956).

southern and eastern Europe. Consequently, immigrants have been excluded from the population studied.

Ethnic descent, however, may still be related to religious differences in economic achievement within the nonimmigrant population. Ethnic stratification is one factor generally believed relevant for life-chances that persists within the native-northern-urban population. Fifty per cent of the Catholics in our sample are of lower status central, southern, and eastern European descent and 50 per cent are of higher status northwestern European background. Protestants, on the other hand, are overwhelmingly, 87 per cent, of northwest European origin. Thus, if any lag by Catholics in social mobility should be discovered, it may be in part attributable to inferior life-chances resulting from ethnic discrimination. Catholic-Protestant mobility differences, therefore, have been analyzed among both origin cohorts of northwestern European descent and among origin cohorts whose ethnic roots were elsewhere in Europe.

Additional restrictions on the population.--In order that the income data would not be confounded by such circumstances as retirement, unemployment, disablement, and student status, only persons currently employed full-time in the labor force are included in the sample. In order to minimize the confounding effects of temporary, atypical employment unrelated to subsequent career patterns among young unmarried males, only heads of household are dealt with in the study. Among young adults, even if unmarried,

heads are likely to have more responsibility for themselves and others than are non-heads; therefore, heads are also more likely to be in jobs related to long range career patterns. In order that the interrelationships between occupational, income, and educational achievement could be analyzed, only persons whose positions were ascertained on all three variables were included in the sample. These restrictions reduced the sample by approximately 7 per cent.

Description of the sample.--While between 2,000-2,500 males were interviewed, the restrictions imposed on the population reduced the sample used to 1,177 cases. As a consequence of these restrictions, the sample differs from the unrestricted sample of Detroit. Inspection of Tables 1-2 shows clearly that in comparison with the overall population sampled in 1956, the population studied has substantially higher occupational, income, and educational attainment, higher occupational origin (which is concentrated within the upper portions of the two major strata), and a slightly higher proportion of self-employed workers. The delimitation of the population also has clearly had the effect of increasing the ratio of Catholics to Protestants.

Some Methodological Considerations

The problem of secondary analysis.--This study involves secondary analysis of data collected by an established research organization for a variety of primary research objectives differing from the central goals of this study.

TABLE 1

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, AND OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, IN ORIGINAL DETROIT AREA SAMPLE (1956), AND IN PRESENT DELIMITED SAMPLE, IN PERCENTAGES[a]

Selected Characteristics	Original Detroit Area Sample (1956)	Present Delimited Sample
Religious Affiliation		
Catholic	34	52
Protestant	58	48
Other	8	0
Total	100	100
Number of Cases	1756	1177
Occupational Origin		
Upper White Collar	13	22
Lower White Collar	5	6
Upper Blue Collar	22	35
Lower Blue Collar	32	37
Farm	24	0
Not Ascertained	4	0
Total	100	100
Number of Cases	1756[b]	1177
Occupational Destination		
Upper White Collar	18	28
Lower White Collar	11	14
Upper Blue Collar	23	32
Lower Blue Collar	45	26
Not Ascertained	3	0
Total	100	100
Number of Cases	1756[b]	1177

[a]It would have been preferable to compare our delimited sample of cases cumulated from 6 Detroit Area Study surveys, 1952-1958, to all males sampled during these years. However, we had no data on the latter group. We have used, therefore, the original 1956 sample of the Detroit Area Study, which is comprised of every adult in the households selected, because it afforded the best set of data we had available.

[b]Calculations based on occupational status of head of household for each person in the sample.

TABLE 2

SELF-EMPLOYMENT, INCOME, AND EDUCATION, IN ORIGINAL DETROIT AREA SAMPLE (1956) AND IN PRESENT DELIMITED SAMPLE, IN PERCENTAGES[a]

Selected Characteristics	Original Detroit Area Sample (1956)	Present Delimited Sample
Self-Employment		
Self-Employed	7	9
Not Self-Employed	93	91
Total	100	100
Number of Cases	1756[b]	1177
Income		
$10,000 and over	6	9
$7,000-$9,999	15	17
$5,000-$6,999	27	37
Under $5,000	47	37
Not Ascertained	5	0
Total	100	100
Number of Cases	1756[c]	1177
Education		
College Graduate	6	10
Some College	9	12
High School Graduate	30	35
Not Graduate High School	52	43
Not Ascertained	3	0
Total	100	100
Number of Cases	1756	1177

[a] Cf., n. "a" in Table 1.

[b] Calculations based on labor force status of head of household for each person in the sample.

[c] Calculations based on income (1955) of head of household for each person in the sample.

Both advantages and disadvantages stem from this circumstance.

Although case studies of religious influence in the economic sphere have been done on particular religious groups and within limited contexts, little empirical research in this area has been done at a level inclusive of the bulk of the population residing in the modern industrial metropolis. A most important virtue of the Detroit Area Study data for this project is the inclusiveness of the sample. Since it is a cross-sectional sample of a major metropolitan area, our analysis has been able to encompass all of the major occupational and income levels comprising the urban class structure. The use of such a large representative sample requires the collaboration of many persons. A doctoral dissertation of the magnitude of this project could not have been undertaken by a student working independently. In addition, the excellence of the demographic data provided by the original studies has made it possible to apply controls for socialization experience and life-chance, heretofore unused, which are essential for the problem. The failure to apply such controls has placed an important limitation upon the value of prior statistical analyses in this area of research.

As a consequence of the condition of secondary analysis, however, some data relevant to the problem were not available for study, and the failure to overweight selected groups in the sample restricted the analysis.

The analysis of occupational mobility has of necessity been limited to intergenerational mobility due to the absence of adequate data on intragenerational mobility patterns. Since data on fathers' income and education were unavailable, fathers' occupation has had to be employed as the control for origin in analyzing income and educational achievement, as well as for measuring occupational mobility. Adequate information was unavailable concerning the religious interest of the respondents, and no data had been collected regarding religious conversions. In addition, if a sample were designed expressly for the present research problem, it would be desirable to overweight the sample with Catholics of third, fourth, and fifth immigrant generation and Protestants of more recent immigrant generation, as well as with Catholics of higher ethnic status and Protestants of lower ethnic status. This would permit more refined analysis of the effects of immigrant generation and ethnicity than were possible with the purely cross-sectional sample design.

Generalizability and significance of findings.--It is not possible at this time to directly check the applicability of the Detroit data to other major American metropolitan areas. Similar studies of the relationship between religious affiliation and social mobility have not been undertaken in any other urban community. However, although Detroit has unique industrial and ethnic features, there is no basis for assuming Detroit to be so unique that our

findings will lack relevance for other major metropolitan areas in the United States.

The findings, of course, will have relevance only for similarly delimited populations in other communities. This delimitation of the population should enhance the applicability of the Detroit data to other major metropolitan areas, since features of ethnic composition, migration, and immigration unique to each specific metropolis are to a large degree controlled in the restricted population under consideration. For example, the especially high concentration in Detroit of both white and Negro southern migrants is not a matter of direct importance in influencing our findings.

Possibly the most important demographic characteristic of the population studied is the specific ethnic composition of the Catholic group. Persons of Polish descent comprise 28 per cent of the Catholic sample, for example, while persons of Italian descent comprise only 10 per cent. This might possibly have the effect of making the Detroit findings more relevant for such cities as Milwaukee, Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland, than for Boston and New York. Additional studies of communities with Catholic ethnic composition differing from Detroit are required before this question can be answered.

Detroit is not strictly representative of American urban communities. Instead, Detroit represents an extreme of current urban-industrial development. This should

enhance, if anything, rather than diminish the significance of the findings. It is generally accepted in sociology that the urban-industrial center is the dominant node of influence in our society, that the processes of urbanization and industrialization are rapidly spreading, and that the urban-industrial way of life is increasingly the way of life for all of our society. Thus, it is hoped that the study of religious affiliation and social mobility within Detroit's native urbanite population will contribute towards the understanding of the ties between religious and secular affairs which emerge under the cultural conditions within which we may predict more and more Americans will be living in the future.

The Analysis Plan

The comprehensive plan guiding the analysis is as follows:

In Chapter III, religious differences in economic achievement--occupational mobility, self-employment, and financial success--will be examined and religious patterns in respect to the relationships between these measures of achievement will be scrutinized.

In Chapter IV, religious differences in educational attainment will be described. A major purpose of the analysis will be to gain additional insight into the meaning of the differences in economic achievement between Catholics and Protestants uncovered in Chapter III.

In Chapter V, the first part of the chapter will investigate the effects of ethnic status on religious differences in economic and educational achievement. Variations between age groups in patterns of Catholic-Protestant differences in economic and educational achievement and the significance of the trends which are indicated will be dealt with in the second half of the chapter.

In Chapter VI, the research findings will be summarized and synthesized in broad perspective. Consideration will be given to the implications of the research evidence for present theory and future research.

CHAPTER III

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION AND ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT

This chapter will present a profile of religious differences in occupational mobility, self-employment, and income achievement. Examination will be undertaken of how Catholic-Protestant differences in vertical mobility vary by social origin, level of destination, and magnitude of mobility. Religious differences in occupational mobility and income mobility next will be compared. Catholics and Protestants of the same origin then will be compared for differences in income among workers who have arrived in the same occupational destination and also for differences in occupational composition among persons who have arrived in the same income stratum. The chapter will conclude with an interpretation of the research findings and a discussion of issues related to these findings.

Religious Affiliation and Occupational Status

Due to the basic importance of occupational role in determining prestige, influence, wealth, and style of life, sociological studies of social mobility have focused primarily upon movement within the occupational structure. For the purposes of the present analysis of intergenerational

stratum mobility, respondents and their fathers were divided into four occupational skill categories: (1) upper white collar--professional, managerial, and proprietary workers; (2) lower white collar--clerical and sales workers; (3) upper blue collar--skilled and supervisory manual workers; (4) lower blue collar--other manual workers.[1] A more refined breakdown would have been desirable, but in view of the restricted number of cases available under the controls planned, it seemed far more desirable to confine the analysis to these fundamental categories than to sacrifice valuable controls or to attenuate further the number of cases available.

The categorization of occupations used emphasizes the conventional distinction between manual and nonmanual jobs and the basic division customarily made within each major stratum. We are assuming that in our sample movement from blue collar to white collar employment constitutes upward mobility. This assumption is warranted because prior research demonstrates that in comparison with skilled as well as nonskilled male blue collar workers, both upper and lower male white collar workers generally have greater prestige, education, and identification with the middle class, and patterns of social and political behavior and

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[1]For purposes of discussion, the terms "upper blue collar" and "skilled" will be used interchangeably, as will "lower blue collar" and "nonskilled." Whenever the term "white collar" is used without further differentiation, it will refer to all nonmanual workers, not to lower white collar workers exclusively, as is sometimes the practice.

attitudes more similar to the upper middle class.[1] The present classification also has been adopted because it affords the maximum amount of continuity with prior research. In addition, it relates most closely to the theoretical issues outlined in Chapter I--for example, the hypothesis that Catholics and Protestants of similar position (when either white collar or blue collar) differ in subjective class identification or reference-group. Since income and educational achievement will be analyzed both independently and in relationship to occupational attainment, individual occupational ratings have not been assigned with regard for differences in income and education.

Religious differences in occupational origin and occupational destination.--[2] Table 3 presents Catholic and Protestant percentage distributions for occupational origin and destination. It is evident that in our sample Protestants are more highly situated in both origin and destination. In both cases, although the two groups are equally represented in the middle strata, Protestant superiority is manifest at the extremes of the occupational ladder.

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[1] A detailed listing of research supporting these conclusions may be found in Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., pp. 14-17. The relation of occupational strata to income and patterns of consumption will be discussed more extensively later in this chapter.

[2] In reporting the research findings, the data always will be presented in the form of Catholic and Protestant percentage distributions for occupational--and, subsequently, for self-employment, income, and educational--destination in order that percentage differences in achievement may be readily evaluated under a variety of control conditions.
In addition to the magnitude of percentage differences,

TABLE 3

OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN AND OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION (CURRENT AND RECONSTRUCTED), BY RELIGION, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Group	Types of Occupational Status and Religion				
	Catholic			Protestant	
	Origin	Destination (Current)	Destination (Reconstructed)[a]	Origin	Destination (Current)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Upper White Collar	16	23	25	28	34
Lower White Collar	6	14	15	7	14
Upper Blue Collar	33	32	30	36	31
Lower Blue Collar	45	31	30	29	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	613	613	613	564	564

[a]Based upon current Catholic rate of occupational mobility within each origin stratum (weighted by N's) and Protestant percentage distribution of occupational origins.

Sons in both groups register an increase in white collar work in comparison with their fathers. However, the upgrading of the Catholic respondents over their fathers is greater than that registered by the Protestants. For example, in percentage of white collar workers, the ratio of sons (column 3) to fathers for Catholics is 1.44, while the ratio for Protestants is only 1.21. Similarly, Catholics compare more favorably with Protestants in destination than in origin. In percentage of upper white collar workers, for example, the ratio of Protestants to Catholics has been cut from 1.75 among fathers to a current ratio of 1.50 among sons.

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the ratio of percentages between Catholics and Protestants arriving in a specified destination or at a particular cumulative point along the destination scale may be of considerable importance. Although the percentage difference between religious groups may be relatively small, the difference may be meaningful and revealing if the ratio of percentages issues a large quotient. This will be true especially when the proportions involved are small (20 per cent and below) and the theoretical significance of the issue at stake is large. For example, studies of occupational mobility demonstrate that the frequency of sons of lower blue collar fathers arriving in upper white collar jobs is low. Therefore, it is unlikely that there will be a large percentage difference between Catholics and Protestants of lower blue collar origin in their rate of arrival in the upper white collar stratum. Nonetheless, hypothetically, if 16 per cent of Protestant and 8 per cent of Catholic sons of lower blue collar origin arrive in the upper white collar group, the fact that proportionately twice as many Protestants as Catholics make the "rags-to-riches" leap in mobility assumes considerable substantive importance in view of its pertinence for evaluating differences in "need achievement" and the "drive to excel." If the implications drawn from the high ratio are reinforced by further findings of a consistent nature, there is good reason to conclude that the difference uncovered has substantive meaning and is not (despite the small percentage difference) the result of sampling error.

The intergenerational trend toward a levelling of religious differences in occupational distribution is to be expected, however, as a consequence of the overall upgrading in status composition of the labor force. Thus, the mathematics of the situation favor the Catholics, since the probability of upward mobility is inversely related to origin status. This structural advantage accruing to the Catholics is especially relevant due to the great amount of downward mobility among persons of white collar origin and the very considerable quantity of upward mobility achieved by persons of blue collar origin within the sample (Table 4).

In order to correct for this structural factor and thereby secure comparable rates of individual mobility for Catholics and Protestants, we calculated what the occupational distribution of the Catholic respondents would have been had their fathers' occupational distribution been the same as the Protestant fathers (column 4 in Table 3). With Catholic origins adjusted to duplicate Protestant origins, based upon rates of Catholic and Protestant individual mobility prevailing within each origin stratum in the sample, comparison of columns 4 and 6 in Table 3 reveals that Protestants would exceed Catholics in occupational achievement. Thus, the intergenerational gains registered by Catholics are the result of structural advantage and not higher rates of individual mobility within origin strata. Indeed, if current Catholic and Protestant rates of individual mobility within each origin group persist, and other

TABLE 4

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Destination	Occupational Origin			
	Upper White Collar	Lower White Collar	Upper Blue Collar	Lower Blue Collar
Upper White Collar	43	33	28	19
Lower White Collar	21	26	11	10
Upper Blue Collar	18	24	36	38
Lower Blue Collar	18	17	25	33
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	256	76	407	438

factors remain constant, it may be extrapolated upon the basis of the findings that Catholic-Protestant differences will become stabilized with Protestants exceeding Catholics in upper white collar positions by a margin of four to three, while Catholics will exceed Protestants among nonskilled workers at a rate of approximately three to two. To put this another way, it may be observed from the data in columns 4 and 5 in Table 3 that if Catholics were confronted with the same probabilities for vertical mobility as now obtain for Protestants on the basis of their distribution of occupational origins, Catholic sons at their present rate of individual mobility within origin strata would fail to replace their fathers in upper white collar positions and would end up in nonskilled jobs no less frequently than their fathers. Protestant sons, on the other hand, exceed their fathers in the rate at which they get to the top by one-fifth and are found proportionately one-fourth less at the bottom of the occupational pyramid.

It is significant that when the distribution of Catholic occupational origins is adjusted upward to equal the Protestant distribution, Catholic sons display virtually the same occupational distribution as that based upon their current distribution of origins. This is the case despite the fact, which is apparent from the data in Table 4, that occupational origin is directly related to occupational destination in the sample as a whole. This suggests that a main reason why Catholics lag behind Protestants in

rates of individual mobility is that Catholics of higher occupational origin do not greatly exceed Catholics of lower occupational origin in occupational achievement--while, at the same time, origin is apparently related significantly to destination among Protestants. In order to analyze this factor more fully as well as other sources of Protestant superiority in occupational mobility, it is necessary to examine religious differences in achievement among origin cohorts. This will be done in the following section.[1]

Catholic-Protestant differences in intergenerational occupational stratum mobility.--As inspection of Table 5 indicates, the sheer volume of mobility, both upward and downward, displayed by the sample is vast. Mobility far exceeds stability. Aside from upper white collar Protestants, no origin stratum in either religious group approaches having one-half of its members stable. Notwithstanding the highly fluid mobility patterns exhibited by both groups, it is clear from the comparisons of origin cohorts in Table 5 that Protestants excel in occupational achievement.

There are three critical points on the occupational scale (designated henceforth as the "cumulative points") at which Catholic and Protestant origin cohorts must be compared for the purpose of tallying their overall differences in occupational achievement: (1) percentage of upper white

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[1]Age has not been controlled in the analysis in this chapter, since religious differences in occupational (as well as income and educational) mobility among age cohorts are expressly dealt with in Chapter V.

TABLE 5

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Destination	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Upper White Collar	32	49	28	38	28	27	16	26
Lower White Collar	22	20	22	30	10	13	11	7
Upper Blue Collar	20	17	22	25	31	40	39	36
Lower Blue Collar	26	14	28	7	31	20	34	31
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	99	157	36	40	202	205	276	162

collar workers; (2) cumulative percentage of upper and lower white collar workers; (3) cumulative percentage of workers having skilled and white collar status.[1] By adopting consistently the criterion that a 5 percentage point or greater increment at a cumulative point by one group signifies a substantive superiority in occupational achievement at that point on behalf of that group, a simple but useful technique is afforded for measuring the degree of consistency or pervasiveness of a pattern of either Protestant or Catholic superiority in respect to mobility achievement under any specified set of controls. The procedure to be followed subtracts the number of cumulative points at which Catholics exceed Protestants by 5 or more percentage points from the number of cumulative points at which Protestants exceed Catholics by 5 or more percentage points, and divides

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[1]There is, of course, no need for dealing in cumulative percentages when concern is with the nature of the specific differences in the occupational (or income, self-employment, and educational) distributions of Catholics and Protestants. Consequently, the data will not be presented in the form of cumulative percentages in the tables. Needless to say, however, the assessment of religious differences in overall occupational mobility achievement must be based on comparison of cumulative percentages. For example, it may be of interest to know that in a specified origin group religion A has a higher rate of lower white collar workers than does religion B; however, as to whether religion A's increment in lower white collar workers signifies superiority or inferiority in total occupational mobility achievement depends on whether the increment in lower white collar workers occurs when religion A has an equal or greater proportion of upper white collar workers than does religion B (as with Protestant sons of lower white collar origin in Table 5), or results from religion A's lagging behind in proportion of upper white collar workers (as with Catholic sons of lower blue collar origin in Table 5). The tabular form in which the data are presented readily enables the reader to tally visually the cumulative percentages by scanning the tables.

this score by the number of cumulative points (in the table) at which comparison is possible. It may be noted that this formula distinguishes between Catholics surpassing and merely equalling Protestants in achievement. Consequently, a high score by Protestants is made less likely; also, Catholic superiority is able to be scored as readily as Protestant superiority.[1]

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[1]This ratio hereafter will be designated as the "superiority quotient." This measure is only an index of the consistency or pervasiveness of patterns signifying either Protestant or Catholic dominance. It should be noted that the measure does not take into account the magnitude of differences beyond the 5 percentage point threshold, nor the ratio of percentages between religious groups, nor the theoretical significance of the locations registering differences. There is no hard and fast criterion for interpreting the superiority quotient. In our opinion, a ratio as low as ± .40 begins to indicate a definite general pattern of dominance on the part of one or the other religious group.

The 5 percentage point criterion will be employed in the analysis for the sole purpose of calculating the superiority quotient. Since any test of significance is of an arbitrary character, we have adopted the 5 percentage point criterion because it provides a suitable standard, neither too stringent nor too lenient, for evaluating whether or not a pattern of either Protestant or Catholic superiority is manifested in occupational (and also income and educational) mobility under specific control conditions. On the one hand, if all cumulative percentage point differences between religious groups, no matter how small, were counted in tabulating the superiority quotient, the latter measure would lose meaning, since it would be in part based on minuscule differences. On the other hand, because of the frequency with which small proportions are encountered in the extreme ranges of the status scales used and the small numbers of cases frequently involved when several controls are implemented simultaneously, patterns of Catholic or Protestant superiority would be obscured if such a conservative criterion as either a large percentage point difference or statistical significance at the .05 (or the .10) level was adopted as the standard of evaluation. The reader, however, may ascertain the statistical significance of the findings by referring to Appendix Tables 4-6. These tables, as discussed previously in Chapter II, present calculations of both sampling errors (P = .90) and sampling errors of differences (one-tail P = .10 and two-tail P = .10) for the present sample.

Based upon the 5 percentage point criterion, a consistent pattern of Protestant superiority is uncovered in Table 5. It holds for at least one cumulative point within each origin stratum. In all four origin groups, on the other hand, there is not one cumulative point where Catholics are superior to Protestants. Thus, in Table 5, which contains comparisons of religious differences within four origin strata inclusive of twelve cumulative points, the superiority quotient is .75. Protestants surpass Catholics at all cumulative points save for the two entailing upward mobility among sons of upper blue collar origin and the one differentiating between upward mobility and stability among sons of lower blue collar origin. It is symptomatic of Catholic-Protestant differences that among the Protestants it is the upper white collar stratum, while among the Catholics it is the lower blue collar stratum, whose members are most stable.[1]

Protestants enjoy more upward mobility, both moderate and extreme. It is noteworthy in appraising religious differences in the drive for economic success that there are proportionately eight Protestants to every five Catholics who begin at the bottom and manage the three step jump required to move up to the top of the occupational ladder.[2]

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[1]It may be observed that the percentage ratio of upper white collar stability/lower blue collar stability for Protestants is 1.58 and for Catholics .94.

[2]The question arises as to how meaningful is this difference. Although the test of significance ($P < .05$) shows that the relationship could hardly have arisen by

In addition, Protestants have a marked superiority in white collar stability. Although in neither group are the sons of upper white collar fathers marked as yet by conspicuous success in matching their fathers' occupational achievement, Protestant sons are appreciably more successful than Catholic sons. Among respondents of lower white collar origin, the cumulation of Protestant increments in both white collar destinations makes for a substantial Protestant superiority in overall white collar membership. Catholics in turn are more downwardly mobile, notably in multiple step descent across the blue collar line.

As a consequence of these patterns, religious differences are concentrated within the two extreme destination strata. Protestants of all origins except the upper blue collar definitely excel in achieving entrepreneurial-professional status. Protestants of lowest origin come

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chance, statistical significance is something quite apart from substantive meaningfulness. The latter must be interpreted relative to theoretical issues and in the context of what the research seeks to prove. If the goal is to demonstrate that comparatively few men climb the full occupational ladder, the data for both groups--84 per cent of the Catholics and 74 per cent of the Protestants do not--is strongly corroborative. On the other hand, by virtue of the fact that such a full climb is so seldom experienced and that it is one of the most basic mobility patterns in respect to which Protestant superiority would be expected with reference to the theory of the Protestant ethic, considerable weight must be accorded the finding that under controlled conditions, the ratio of Protestants to Catholics is so high among persons displaying a pattern of extreme mobility. A variety of questions are raised by this finding. Does the Protestant superiority decrease when ethnic status is controlled? Is this difference concentrated primarily among older men? Are many of the Protestants located in low-paying managerial and proprietary positions? These questions will be explored below in this and following chapters.

close to equalling Catholics of highest origin in attaining upper white collar work.[1] In sharp contrast, Catholics, due to downward mobility, end up in nonskilled positions with strikingly greater frequency than Protestants. Almost twice as many Catholics of upper white collar origin and four times as many Catholics of lower white collar origin descend to nonskilled status as do their respective Protestant cohorts. Catholics in both strata of white collar origin, despite their lag in reaching the top destination stratum, do not arrive in larger numbers than Protestants in the intermediate destination strata. Thus, their lag at the top of the occupational structure is counterbalanced by their excess at the bottom. In fact, religious differences are more pronounced at the lower extreme of the occupational pyramid than at the top. While managing to keep pace with their Protestant cohorts in moving upward to both white collar strata, Catholics of upper blue collar origin slip down to nonskilled jobs to a significantly greater extent than do the Protestants--at a rate of three Catholics for every two Protestants. It is only among the sons of nonskilled workers that Catholics do not substantially exceed Protestants in working at nonskilled jobs.

Table 5 shows that Catholics of blue collar origin compare much more favorably with Protestant cohorts than do Catholics of white collar origin. In both white collar

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[1]The reciprocal relationship is very different. Protestants of highest origin attain highest destination at three times the rate true of Catholics of lowest origin.

strata, Protestants have substantial superiority of attainment at all three cumulative points--that is, in the percentages attaining upper white collar jobs, total white collar membership, and rising above nonskilled labor. In both blue collar strata, the Protestants have an important superiority of attainment at only one cumulative point--lesser down mobility among workers of upper blue collar origin and greater extreme mobility among workers of lower blue collar origin. By calculating the mean of percentage differences between Protestants and Catholics over the three cumulative points within each origin stratum, it is possible to compare directly the magnitude of religious differences between origin groups. The mean cumulative percentage differences are as follows:[1] upper white collar, 14.7; lower white collar, 16.3; upper blue collar, 4.0; lower blue collar, 6.3.[2] It may be observed that the average difference for the white collar strata is three times that

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[1]Whenever percentage differences are presented throughout this report, positive numbers will signify Protestant superiority and negative numbers will signify Catholic superiority.

[2]It should be noted that the effect of basing the mean on differences at the cumulative points is such as to weight the importance of a difference on the basis of how high up on the destination variable it occurs. For example, a 10 point difference between religious groups in percentage of upper white collar members will average out as a mean cumulative percentage difference (designated henceforth in footnote reference as "MCPD") of 10, if the group with the lower proportion of upper white collar members does no better than equal the other group in proportion of lower white collar and upper blue collar members. Thus, the MCPD provides an adjustment which takes cognizance of the fact that the smaller the proportion of its membership which one group has relative to the other in the top status destination, the

for the blue collar strata. Catholics, in brief, suffer by comparison much more from an excess of downward mobility than from a deficiency in upward mobility.

Why do Catholics of blue collar origin compare much more favorably with Protestant cohorts than do Catholics of white collar origin? One reason is clear. In respect to occupational destination status, Catholics of white collar origin do not end up very much higher than Catholics of blue collar origin. Catholic sons of upper white collar fathers are engaged in nonskilled work almost as frequently as are Catholic sons of nonskilled workers. Among Protestants, overall differences in achievement between the nonmanual and manual origin strata are substantially larger. The mean cumulative percentage differences in occupational destination obtaining between workers of white collar origin and blue collar origin within the Protestant and Catholic groups are, respectively, 21.7 and 10.7.

The latter scores may be compared to the mean cumulative percentage differences in occupational destination which obtain between Protestants and Catholics in the white collar and blue collar strata of origin--15.5 and 5.2, respectively. This affords a way of evaluating the

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greater is the relative proportion of total members that that group has available for arriving in the next highest status destination. Despite the weighting of differences by destination level, the MCPD is by its very nature a conservative measure which tends to obscure extreme differences at specific key points and does not take into account the ratio of percentages between religious groups.

importance of religion in relation to occupational achievement, since it is widely assumed by sociologists that occupational origin is the most important single factor predictive of occupational destination. Compared to occupational origin, therefore, religion is characterized by a relatively strong relation to occupational destination. The difference in destination status between Protestant and Catholic cohorts of white collar origin is approximately half again as large as the difference between the two major occupational origin strata within the Catholic group.

Consequently, there is a sound basis for concluding that religious differences in occupational mobility are meaningful. Due to the vast complexity of urban life, no single factor may be expected to bear more than a limited relationship to occupational destination. Under such circumstances, it has been a matter of considerable surprise to us to discover the relative strength of the relationship between religion and occupational mobility. The implication of these findings for methodological procedure in studies of occupational aspiration and achievement is apparent. Methodological rigor necessitates control of the religious variable in mobility studies whenever possible. This is seldom done at the present time.

Religious Affiliation and Self-Employment

Self-employment has traditionally been identified in the United States with qualities considered integral to

the Protestant ethic--strong achievement need and the drive to excel, industriousness and thrift, venturesomeness and risk. As a result of the steadily increasing bureaucratization and collectivization of work in the Detroit community, comparatively few--only 9 per cent--of our sample are self-employed. A further consequence of the changing conditions surrounding work has been the apparent devaluation of self-employment by many persons oriented to the success ethic. Conversely, self-employment is increasingly the main channel for white collar work open to men without advanced education or inherited business and frequently affords a protection from discriminatory employment practices while providing competitive advantages to enterprising members of minority groups.[1]

Under these conditions, what is the religious composition of the self-employed in the sample? There is not a large difference in the overall rates of self-employment for the two groups--7.2 per cent for Catholics and 10.0 per cent for Protestants. However, inspection of Table 6 discloses that when origin cohorts are compared, Protestants are self-employed at a higher rate than Catholics in every stratum other than the upper blue collar. Since in two of these strata Protestants are self-employed at rates approximately double those for Catholics, the pattern which emerges from the research evidence indicates, despite

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[1]For a more extended discussion of our assumptions in respect to the relationship between religious affiliation and self-employment, see our discussion of this question in Chapter I.

TABLE 6

SELF-EMPLOYMENT, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Self-Employment	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Self-Employed	11	15	8	18	7	7	5	9
Not Self-Employed	89	85	92	82	93	93	95	91
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	99	157	36	40	202	205	276	162

plausible reasons for expecting homogenization, that Protestants probably work for themselves more than do Catholics, especially among the sons of white collar workers.[1]

Religious Affiliation and Material Success

As work becomes more bureaucratized and economic abundance more widespread, there are related trends in urban society toward increasing routinization and segmentation of both manual and nonmanual work roles, mechanization and status upgrading of blue collar jobs, security-striving on the job, promotions by seniority rather than merit, and last, expansion of the horizon in regard to the consumption of material goods and services. As a result of these developments, there has been an important closing of the gap between the bulk of blue collar jobs and white collar jobs in the conveniences, comforts, safety, and dignity afforded the worker, as well as in the styles of living and status symbols available to the worker when he is off the job.[2] Moreover, Herman Miller reports that although the occupational structure has been essentially stable as far as rank by level of income is concerned, an important narrowing of

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[1] It would have added precision if self-employment status of fathers also had been controlled. This information, however, was not available for the majority of the respondents.

[2] A recent work placing considerable emphasis upon these developments is that by Vance Packard, The Status Seekers (New York: David McKay Company, 1959).

the gap in income between occupational strata occurred in the United States from 1939 to 1949:

> There were comparatively few changes in the relative income position of occupations dominated by wage or salary workers. With very few exceptions, the occupations studied retained their same relative position when ranked by income in 1939 and 1949....[Nonetheless] there was a marked change in the distribution of wage or salary income in the United States between 1940 and 1950....the greatest relative gains were made by the lowest paid occupations....This narrowing of the gap between high-paid and low-paid occupations was in part responsible for the overall diminution in the spread of incomes over the decade.[1]

It should be noted, however, that in some instances--this pertains, most notably, to the relationship between some occupations in the lower white collar and upper blue collar strata--occupational prestige rank and income may be inversely related.

These income trends characteristic of the nation at large are much in evidence within the sample of workers from the Detroit community. Table 7 discloses that while income and occupation are on the whole highly related, the relationship is neither simple nor linear, except for top-level income. Instead, on the basis of income, three basic occupational groupings emerge--the upper white collar at the top, the lower white collar and upper blue collar together in the middle, and the lower blue collar at the bottom. Although lower white collar workers, due to the inclusion of high level sales personnel, definitely exceed upper blue collar workers in annual earnings of more than

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[1]Miller, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

TABLE 7

INCOME, BY OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION,
IN PERCENTAGES

Income	Occupational Destination			
	Upper White Collar	Lower White Collar	Upper Blue Collar	Lower Blue Collar
$10,000 and over	21	11	3	1
$7,000-$9,999	29	12	20	5
$5,000-$6,999	32	33	44	34
Under $5,000	18	44	33	60
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	331	163	375	308

$10,000, as many upper blues as lower whites earn in excess of $7,000 and substantially more upper blues than lower whites earn better than $5,000. In addition, although lower blue collar workers lag far behind the other strata in earnings, it may well be more significant that 40 per cent of this group earn in excess of $5,000 a year. Since this represents only the personal income of the respondent and a large proportion of Detroit families have more than one breadwinner, we may assume that the median family income of the lower blues in the sample is in excess of $5,000 yearly.[1]

Under the changing conditions found in Detroit and in urban areas nationally, status differences between jobs have decreased in importance and status symbols have become increasingly attached to patterns of consumption. In turn, status symbols based upon the worker's role as consumer rather than producer are more and more independent of occupation, as goods and services become financially and socially available to a large range of occupational strata. As this has happened, it is likely that the status of a job is more dependent on income and, consequently, workers attach increased importance to monetary rewards in selecting jobs.

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[1]The median family income of operatives and service workers who were family heads in the labor force in the full sample drawn by the Detroit Area Study in 1955 was $5,000. On this basis also we can assume that the median family income of lower blue collar workers in the present restricted sample is in excess of $5,000. Cf., A Social Profile of Detroit: 1956 (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1957), p. 30.

Because of the changing values surrounding work and the imperfect relationship between occupational rank and income, it cannot be assumed that Catholics will necessarily lag behind Protestants in income mobility to a degree commensurate with their lag in occupational mobility. In Chapter I, we discussed the possibility that patterns of religious differences for occupational mobility and income mobility might differ in character if Catholics and Protestants should differ in their esteem of monetary rewards relative to the more intangible benefits which are associated with work. If Catholics focus to greater degree than Protestants on the purely material aspects of the success ethic, Catholics might approach equality of income with Protestants despite their lesser achievement in occupational status. If this should be true, it would be likely also that Catholics (even when status of origin is the same) will be situated to some extent in lower status occupations than Protestants having equal income.

Consideration of religious differences in income will begin with discussions of differences in income distribution and income mobility, and the comparative size of religious differences in occupational mobility and income mobility.

A comparison of income distributions among Catholics and Protestants.--[1] Inspection of Table 8 discloses that

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[1]Needless to say, the selection of income categories is in some measure arbitrary. The categorization adopted

TABLE 8

INCOME (CURRENT AND RECONSTRUCTED), BY RELIGION, IN PERCENTAGES

Income	Religion		
	Catholic (Current)	Protestant (Current)	Catholic (Reconstructed)[a]
$10,000 and over	6	12	7
$7,000-$9,999	15	20	16
$5,000-$6,999	37	36	37
Under $5,000	42	32	40
Total	100	100	100
Number of Cases	613	564	613

[a]Based upon current Catholic rate of income mobility within each origin stratum (weighted by N's) and current Protestant percentage distribution of occupational origins.

when no adjustment is made in the Catholic distribution of origin status, Protestants are more highly situated in regard to annual personal income. Twice as many Protestants as Catholics have annual incomes exceeding $10,000. Although Catholics compare more favorably with Protestants in earning from $7,000 to $10,000 yearly, the total proportion of Protestants earning better than $7,000 is substantially greater than the proportion of Catholics.

Since data on fathers' income were unavailable, fathers' occupation has been employed as the control for origin in analyzing income achievement. It may be observed in Table 9 that income destination is directly related to occupational origin. While differences within each of the two major origin strata are unimportant, there are meaningful differences between respondents of white collar and blue collar origin in earnings. These differences, which are confined to the extreme levels of income, are most pronounced at the highest level where workers of white collar background arrive almost three times as frequently as those of blue collar background.

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embraces relatively high income levels because in the problem under study it is most important to screen out the high-level achievers in each origin group and each occupational destination. The breakdown of income also reflects the fact that at least modest prosperity is enjoyed by a substantial segment of the sample. The same income typology will be employed throughout all origin strata and occupational destinations in order to facilitate comparison of income differences when origin and destination are controlled simultaneously. Income in this study refers exclusively to the respondent's personal income, not total family income.

TABLE 9

INCOME, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN,
IN PERCENTAGES

Income	Occupational Origin			
	Upper White Collar	Lower White Collar	Upper Blue Collar	Lower Blue Collar
$10,000 and over	17	15	7	5
$7,000-$9,999	19	20	18	16
$5,000-$6,999	34	40	35	38
Under $5,000	30	25	40	41
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	256	76	407	438

It has already been observed in Table 3 that Protestants exceed Catholics in white collar origin. In order to correct for religious differences in origin and thereby secure comparable rates of individual income mobility for Catholics and Protestants, we calculated what the income distribution of the Catholics would have been had they been distributed between origin strata the same as the Protestants. With Catholic origins adjusted to duplicate Protestant origins, based upon rates of Catholic and Protestant income achievement prevailing within each origin stratum, Protestants exceed Catholics in income achievement to virtually the same degree that obtains when Catholic origins are not adjusted upward (Table 8). Since the current and reconstructed Catholic income distributions are virtually the same, it is clear that the Catholics' lag in income is related to their rate of individual income mobility within origin strata rather than to a disadvantage in origin status. On the basis of religious differences in individual mobility, therefore, it may be expected that the important Protestant superiority in elite income will persist. In the section which follows, the sources of religious differences in income will be analyzed within strata of origin.

Catholics, Protestants, and rates of income mobility. --It is clear from the comparisons of origin cohorts in Table 10 that Protestants excel in income achievement. The upper blue collar stratum is the exception to this pattern. Among workers of upper blue collar origin, Catholics and

TABLE 10

INCOME, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Income	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	12	20	11	20	6	6	3	8
$7,000-$9,999	17	20	19	20	17	20	13	20
$5,000-$6,999	36	33	39	40	36	34	38	40
Under $5,000	35	27	31	20	41	40	46	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	99	157	36	40	202	205	276	162

Protestants have virtually identical attainments. Within each of the other three origin strata, however, the consistent pattern of Protestant superiority holds at all three cumulative points--that is, the cumulative percentages having annual income equal to or greater than, respectively, $10,000, $7,000, and $5,000.[1] There is not one cumulative point in any origin stratum at which Catholics are superior to Protestants.

In the three origin strata where religious differences in income are found, Protestants far excel in achieving the elite positions. In both white collar origins, Protestants reach the $10,000 bracket at almost double the rate of Catholics; while among cohorts of nonskilled origin, Protestants achieve this income level almost three times as frequently and earn more than $7,000 yearly almost twice as often. Other than among workers of lower blue collar background, Catholics and Protestants are represented in approximately equal proportions in the $5,000-$10,000 income range. Since Catholics at best only equal Protestants in representation at the intermediate levels, the preponderance of Protestants at the top of the income ladder is counterbalanced by an increment of Catholics at the bottom. Indeed, there are proportionately more Catholics from white collar homes than Protestants from lower blue collar homes earning less than $5,000.

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[1]The superiority quotient is .75.

Catholics of blue collar origin, on the whole, compare more favorably with Protestant cohorts in earning power than do Catholics of white collar origin.[1] However, this is attributable entirely to the virtually identical income distributions of Catholic and Protestant sons of upper blue collar background. In marked contrast, the most crucial differences in income separating Protestants from Catholics are to be found among workers of lower blue collar origin.

The mean cumulative percentage differences in income between respondents of white collar origin and of blue collar origin in the Protestant group and in the Catholic group are, respectively, 12.7 and 9.3. By comparison, the mean cumulative percentage differences in income between Protestants and Catholics in the white collar strata of origin and in the blue collar strata of origin are, respectively, 9.5 and 5.8. Thus, although occupational origin is generally more strongly related than religion to income destination, differences in the strength of these relationships are not great at some points. Religious differences in income among cohorts of white collar origin are as large as the differences in income separating Catholics of white collar origin from Catholics of blue collar origin and are not substantially less than the differences between sons of white collar workers and sons of blue collar workers within the

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[1]The MCPD's in income between religious groups for origin strata are as follows: upper white collar--9.0; lower white collar--10.0; upper blue collar--1.3; lower blue collar--10.3.

Protestant group. Since in these respects religion stands up relatively well in comparison with stratum of origin as an independent variable relating to income achievement, there is additional reason for concluding that religious differences in income mobility are important. It is noteworthy, however, that neither independent variable accounts for a great amount of difference.[1] It is evident that the factors influencing personal income are very complex.

A Comparison of Religious Differences in Occupational Mobility and Income Mobility

Since large scale consumption of material goods and services is so heavily stressed in all social strata and status symbols attached to patterns of consumption are so broadly diffused (democratized) throughout groups of diverse occupational skill and prestige in the mid-twentieth century mass society, elaborate satisfaction of material values is central to the mobility ethic held by the bulk of the population in the modern metropolis. It has been seen among the sample studied (Table 7) that there is not always a positive relationship between income and occupational rank. Moreover, although as a group nonskilled workers have the lowest income, a sizable portion of them are quite prosperous.

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[1] In regard to evaluating this finding, however, it bears reiterating that the measure employed (the MCPD) is highly conservative, since it averages out differences over the several scale points and makes no allowance for the relative importance of percentage differences at specified strategic points.

It is possible under these circumstances that Catholic aspirations and achievements are such that Catholic assimilation of the success ethic is more manifest in income achievement than in occupational prestige mobility. The behavioral data with which this study deals do not enable direct inquiry into Catholic-Protestant differences in social values and personal motives surrounding the work role. A related question meriting consideration in the present study, however, is whether or not Catholics achieve greater comparative equality with Protestants in income mobility than in occupational mobility. Although comparison of religious differences in Tables 5 and 10 can afford no complete answer to the question of whether the magnitude of religious differences varies between occupational mobility and income mobility, such comparison does serve to shed some valuable light on the problem.[1]

It is clear, on the basis of the breakdown of income employed, that religious differences in income rank are less

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[1]The distributions of differences which emerge in respect to each variable are, of course, related to the specific breakdowns of occupation and income used. Since the occupational and income typologies adopted have effectively isolated appreciable religious differences in some theoretically significant facets of economic achievement, they provide a good and not entirely arbitrary basis for comparison of patterns of religious differences in occupational and income status. The comparison is fruitful even though the diverse character of the income and occupational scales means that comparison and interpretation of religious differences between the two variables will be only approximate rather than precise in nature.

than religious differences in occupational rank in all origin strata with the exception of the lower blue collar. The mean cumulative percentage differences between Catholics and Protestants for occupational destination are 14.7, 16.3, and 4.0, respectively, for persons of upper white collar, lower white collar, and upper blue collar origin. Their respective differences in income destination are 9.0, 10.0, and 1.3. In each of these three origin groups, the higher proportion of more prestigeful workers among the Protestants does not result in commensurate income advantages for the Protestants. Among cohorts of upper blue collar origin, for example, the more favorable balance between skilled and nonskilled manual workers among the Protestants does not result in a corresponding Protestant superiority in income. Moreover, religious differences throughout the three highest status origin groups are much less pronounced in the lowest income stratum than in the lowest occupational stratum.[1] This indicates that many Catholic nonskilled workers can and do earn as much or more than many higher prestige Protestant workers.[2]

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[1]In these three origin strata, the ratios of denominational percentages (Catholic/Protestant) for lower blue collar destination and for income under $5,000, respectively, are as follows: upper white collar--1.86 and 1.30; lower white collar--4.0 and 1.55; upper blue collar--1.55 and 1.03.

[2]One important effect of the variation between religious differences in occupational mobility and income mobility involves the pattern of religious differences in occupational status among workers of comparable financial position. This issue is discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Two exceptions are found to the pattern of lesser differences in income mobility than in occupational mobility. There is, first, a notable similarity between patterns of religious differences in income and occupational achievement at the top of the scales. Indeed, income differences confirm even more emphatically than occupational differences that Protestants far excel in achieving the elite economic positions.[1] The Catholic lag in upper white collar positions is clearly reflected in the small number of Catholics earning "big money."

Respondents of lower blue collar origin constitute a second exception. In this stratum, Catholics lag to a considerably greater degree in income than in occupational attainment.[2] While in respect to occupational mobility Protestants excel markedly only in upper white collar destination, they appreciably outdistance Catholics at all cumulative points along the income scale--at $10,000, $7,000,

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[1]Although percentage differences between religious groups are greater in the top occupational stratum than in the top income stratum, comparison within origin strata of ratios of percentages (Protestant/Catholic) in these respective economic destinations points up the greater Protestant dominance at the top of the income pyramid: upper white collar origin--1.53 and 1.67; lower white collar origin--1.36 and 1.82; lower blue collar origin--1.63 and 2.67. Respondents of upper blue collar origin register no religious differences in either case.

[2]The MCPD's for occupational rank and income rank are, respectively, 6.3 and 10.3. The ratios of percentages (Protestant/Catholic) at the cumulative points proceeding down the scales are as follows: for occupational rank--1.63, 1.22, 1.05; for income rank--2.67, 1.75, 1.26.

and $5,000. This means that the occupational mobility data mask the true extent of religious differences in economic achievement among sons of nonskilled workers. For income differences within the group make it evident that Protestants tend more to monopolize the top positions within the same destination than to achieve higher occupational levels.[1]

Religious Differences in Income within Occupational Destination Strata[2]

It has been found that Catholics compare more favorably with Protestants in income mobility, on the whole, than

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[1]Comparison of Catholics and Protestants in respect to differences within each group between members of white collar and blue collar origin in occupational and income destination discloses one factor which underlies the finding that religious differences in income status are smaller than in occupational status. Although sons of white collar origin exceed sons of blue collar origin in occupational destination to a much greater degree among Protestants than among Catholics, this pattern largely disappears in respect to income position. While the MCPD's between the white collar and blue collar origin strata in respect to income rank (9.3) and occupational rank (10.7) are approximately the same among Catholics, such differences are for Protestants much smaller in income rank (12.7) than in occupational rank (21.3). It already has been observed that Catholics of blue collar origin do not lag too far behind their Protestant blue collar origin cohorts in occupational rank. However, since workers of white collar origin exceed workers of blue collar origin in occupational rank to a much larger degree among Protestants than among Catholics, important religious differences emerge between Protestants and Catholics of white collar background. Thus, on the whole, the fact that smaller differences in income level than in occupational level separate Protestants and Catholics appears to be related primarily to the inability of Protestants of white collar origin to convert their large superiority in occupational status into commensurate superiority in income status. One basic source of this pattern becomes apparent in Chapter V, in which the relation of age to mobility differentials between Protestants and Catholics is closely analyzed.

[2]The income data in this study pertain to total annual personal income from all sources. For purposes of simplicity

in occupational mobility. Does this signify that Catholics equal or even surpass Protestants in achieved income (occupy in equal or greater share the more prestigeful, skilled, and desirable positions) within occupational destination strata? The strata which have been employed in the analysis of occupational mobility are of necessity gross in nature. Important differences in achievement prevail within occupational strata. Size of income is the best available single criterion for measuring differences in achievement between persons within the same occupational stratum.

Income differences when occupational destination is controlled.--Table 11 presents data on income distribution for occupational destination strata when religion is controlled. Inspection of Table 11 discloses that there is no cumulative point within any occupational stratum (save for a slight edge in the proportion of upper white collar workers earning more than $5,000) at which Catholics exceed Protestants in income. On the contrary, it is the Protestants who enjoy a disproportionately high share of the larger incomes in each stratum.[1] Protestants have appreciably higher rates of upper white collar workers earning more than $10,000 and lower white collar workers earning more than $5,000.

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and brevity in the discussion which ensues throughout the thesis, income will be alluded to as if it were derived exclusively in connection with the individual's principal occupational activity. This is, doubtless, true in very large degree for an overwhelming majority of the respondents.

[1]The superiority quotient is .50.

TABLE 11

INCOME, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, IN PERCENTAGES

Income	Occupational Destination and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	16	24	10	14	3	5	0	2
$7,000-$9,999	31	28	13	11	16	25	4	7
$5,000-$6,999	37	29	28	37	48	39	30	40
Under $5,000	16	19	49	38	33	31	66	51
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	142	189	82	81	198	177	191	117

Catholics lag appreciably in the proportions of skilled manual workers earning more than $7,000 and nonskilled workers earning more than $7,000 and $5,000.

Income differences when occupational origin and occupational destination are simultaneously controlled.--Since income is related to origin status, the Protestant superiority in income within occupational destination strata may result from religious differences in occupational origin. Analysis of religious differences in income among cohorts sharing the same occupational origin as well as occupational destination discloses that this is in part the case. As Table 12 shows, Catholics approach equality of income with Protestants within the white collar destination strata when origin is controlled.[1]

The blue collar occupations, however, present a different picture. In these destination strata, the findings reported in Table 13 reveal that the Protestant superiority in income generally persists when origin status is standardized. Protestants reach the upper income levels at a much higher rate than Catholics. Although religious differences at the top of the income ladder are greater among upper blue collar workers--across all three origin strata in this

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[1]Among workers in upper white collar positions, the superiority quotient is .11. It should be noted that in this group, however, Protestants are, on the whole, situated at both extremes of the income scale in greater proportions than Catholics. Among workers in lower white collar positions, the superiority quotient is .17.

TABLE 12

INCOME WITHIN WHITE COLLAR DESTINATION STRATA, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES[a]

Income	Upper White Collar Destination					
	Occupational Origin and Religion					
	Upper White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	25	32	14	14	9	15
$7,000-$9,999	35	23	30	30	33	34
$5,000-$6,999	31	29	40	29	35	34
Under $5,000	9	16	16	27	23	17
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	32	77	57	56	43	42

Income	Lower White Collar Destination					
	Occupational Origin and Religion					
	Upper White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar[b]	
	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	18	16	5	8	--	--
$7,000-$9,999	9	12	15	11	--	--
$5,000-$6,999	23	34	25	27	--	--
Under $5,000	50	38	55	54	--	--
Total	100	100	100	100	--	--
Number of Cases	22	32	20	26	32	9

[a]Too few cases in lower white collar origin group for analysis in either destination stratum.

[b]Too few cases in lower blue collar origin group.

TABLE 13

INCOME WITHIN BLUE COLLAR DESTINATION STRATA, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES[a]

Income	Upper Blue Collar Destination					
	Occupational Origin and Religion					
	Upper White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	0	4	6	4	1	7
$7,000-$9,999	15	31	18	22	16	25
$5,000-$6,999	60	23	44	39	48	46
Under $5,000	25	42	32	35	35	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	20	26	63	82	107	59

Income	Lower Blue Collar Destination					
	Occupational Origin and Religion					
	Upper White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	0	5	0	0	0	2
$7,000-$9,999	4	4	5	10	2	6
$5,000-$6,999	36	59	27	34	31	35
Under $5,000	60	32	68	56	67	57
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	25	22	62	41	94	52

[a]Too few cases in lower white collar origin group for analysis in either destination stratum.

destination stratum, there is a mean Protestant-Catholic difference of 12.3 percentage points in the proportion of members earning $7,000 or more--religious differences in income are more consistently concentrated among nonskilled manual workers.[1]

A refined analysis of religious differences in occupational mobility.--The preceding analysis disclosed that when occupational mobility patterns are the same among manual workers, Protestants achieve higher incomes than Catholics. This means that religious differences in economic achievement among origin cohorts are sometimes manifested not only in greater occupational mobility on the part of Protestants, but also in their occupying the higher-paying--and, presumably, more skilled and prestigeful--jobs within destination strata. By assessing according to origin strata the data presented by destination strata in Tables 12-13, it is possible to get a clearer picture of the degree to which each origin stratum contributes to the Protestant superiority in income among origin cohorts arriving within the same occupational stratum.[2] By so doing, the analysis of religious differences (based on Table 5) is supplemented.

Viewed in this manner, the research evidence discloses that Catholic sons of upper white collar origin and

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[1]As a consequence, the superiority quotients are .33 and .77, respectively, for workers situated in upper blue collar and lower blue collar jobs.

[2]Due to an insufficient number of cases, such an appraisal is not possible for respondents of lower white collar background.

upper blue collar origin who arrive in all occupational destination groups other than the lower blue collar, compare favorably in income achievement with their Protestant cohorts. Among respondents of lower blue collar background, in contrast, Catholics trail Protestants in income in all occupational destination strata.[1]

Do Catholics substitute comparative monetary success for their lag in occupational status?--It has been seen that in Detroit acquisitive values can be reasonably well satisfied by a substantial portion of nonskilled workers; furthermore, skilled manual workers by and large have larger earnings than workers in the lower white collar group. Under these circumstances, it is possible that an important factor accounting for why Catholics fail to do as well as Protestants in occupational mobility is that Catholics are attracted to a greater degree to well-paying jobs of lower status while Protestants are more attracted to jobs which entail a sacrifice of income for the satisfaction of non-monetary values. This line of reasoning appears at first blush to be supported by the finding that Catholics compare more favorably with Protestants in income mobility, on the whole, than in occupational mobility.

Several additional questions pertinent to this issue are, however, in order at this point. Are Catholics in fact

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[1]Arranging the data by occupational destination, the superiority quotients are as follows for each origin stratum analyzed: upper white collar--.25; upper blue collar--.08; lower blue collar--.88.

strongly represented among the more highly paid skilled and nonskilled manual workers? Do the majority of nonskilled Catholic workers earn more than $5,000, outdistancing nonskilled Protestant workers in income? Do skilled Catholic workers have larger incomes than Catholics in lower white collar jobs and, equally important, surpass both lower white collar and upper blue collar Protestants in income? If so, is it the upper blue collar stratum in which the excess of downwardly mobile Catholic sons of white collar origin is located? In such measure as the answers to these questions are in the affirmative, it could be argued that Catholics successfully trade (whether deliberately so or not) prestige for income in work, and, thus, compensate for their high rate of downward mobility in occupational status by monopolizing the high-paying manual jobs.

It is already clear from the analysis of income differences within destination strata (Table 11), however, that far from being overrepresented, Catholics lag substantially behind Protestants in earning the larger incomes obtained by a good share of both upper and lower blue collar workers. Among nonskilled workers, over twice as many Protestants as Catholics earn more than $7,000 and, proportionately, Protestants constitute a meaningful majority of those relatively successful nonskilled workers earning above $5,000--while one-half of the Protestants fall in this group, only one-third of the Catholics reach it. While one-third is not an insignificant proportion, it cannot be argued vigorously

that Catholics generally are successful in trading occupational prestige for jobs that are easily available with good income. Certainly, it cannot be maintained that the large excess of occupational downward mobility to nonskilled work exhibited by Catholics is in part compensated for by Catholics monopolizing the high-paying nonskilled jobs. This conclusion is reinforced by the finding that even when social origin is controlled for persons arriving in manual jobs, Protestants still manage to reach the higher income levels at a much higher rate than Catholics.

Although Catholics fail in practice to compete effectively with Protestants for the higher incomes found among manual workers, this does not mean that many Catholic manual workers do not earn as much or more than many higher prestige Protestant workers. Inspection of Table 11 shows that the statistical odds are such that a Catholic desiring to earn over $5,000 is wise to forsake lower white collar work and instead acquire a manual skill. This course of action also gives him almost as good a chance of making over $7,000 as does lower white collar work. Moreover, the skilled Catholic worker (aside from the highest income level) stacks up quite well in comparison with the Protestant lower white collar worker--considerably better, in fact, in respect to likelihood of earning $5,000 a year than does the lower white collar Catholic. This is true despite the fact that in competition for the larger earnings (more than $7,000) within his own stratum, the skilled Catholic worker lags appreciably

behind his Protestant fellows. That Catholics in skilled manual work do succeed in making more money (other than at the highest level) than both Catholics and Protestants who select clerical and sales positions is demonstrated more precisely by comparison of Catholics in skilled positions with both their Catholic and Protestant origin cohorts who are in lower white collar work (Tables 12-13). Within each origin group where comparison is possible, Catholic skilled workers have a higher proportion, typically much higher, earning more than $5,000 than is the case with Catholic and Protestant lower white collar workers.

In view of the relatively favorable position of the skilled Catholic worker, it would appear reasonable to expect that the increment of downwardly mobile Catholics of white collar origin would result in a higher proportion of skilled workers among Catholics than among Protestants. Insofar as this were the case, there would be a considerable dulling of the impact which religious differences in downward mobility across the blue collar line have upon comparative religious rates of economic success. However, such is not the case. The data already reported demonstrate that the proportionately greater number of Catholic than Protestant workers of white collar origin who are downwardly mobile results in no appreciable difference in comparative religious rates of skilled workers, but produces, instead, a large bulge of Catholics situated in nonskilled jobs. The opportunities for money-making available to this increment of nonskilled

Catholic workers of nonmanual origin are patently less than those available to Protestant sons who remain stable in nonmanual positions.

Religious Differences in Occupational Status among Workers of Comparable Financial Standing

Although, in general, occupational status and income status are directly related in the sample, there is a considerable overlap in income distributions between occupational strata. In addition, Catholics generally compare more favorably with Protestants in income mobility than in occupational mobility. It is likely under these conditions that Catholics systematically achieve equal income with Protestants by means of lower status occupations. That is, among cohorts of similar social origin and income destination, Protestants may be expected to display greater occupational achievement than Catholics. That Catholics may tend to a lesser degree than Protestants to accept those marginal professional and proprietary positions which provide prestige and occupational independence at the sacrifice of income has already been indicated by the comparatively lower proportion of Catholics (when origin is controlled) located among upper white collar workers earning less than $5,000--the single instance reported in which Catholics evince a potentially important superiority in economic achievement when compared to Protestants.

The initial comparison of religious differences in occupational mobility and income mobility among origin cohorts

indicated that Catholics predominate in the lower reaches of the income ladder to a lesser degree than is the case at the bottom of the occupational structure. The analysis also disclosed that Catholics were at the same time underrepresented in the income elite to an even greater degree than in the occupational elite. It was thus indicated that the Catholic lag in occupational achievement is reflected more at the top than at the bottom of the income scale. Therefore, the additional question is raised: How far up the income ladder will Catholics, when equal to Protestants in income achievement, still be distributed appreciably lower than Protestants in respect to occupational status?

Approximate answers to these questions were secured by analyzing religious differences in occupational distribution among origin cohorts of comparable rank on the income scale. It is clear from the information contained in Table 14 that there are large differences in occupational composition between Catholics and Protestants having incomes of less than $5,000. Protestants occupy to an appreciably greater degree than Catholics those marginal proprietary, professional, and managerial positions which provide an added measure of prestige or independence but afford small monetary rewards. Conversely, Catholics are concentrated in nonskilled jobs. This disparity, while lacking a consistent pattern among workers of lower blue collar origin, increases sharply as origin status rises.[1]

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[1]The superiority quotient is .67. The MCPD's for each origin stratum in ascending order of status are, respectively, -1.3, 14.0, and 21.0.

TABLE 14

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION AMONG RESPONDENTS WITH INCOME UNDER $5,000, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES[a]

Occupational Destination	Occupational Origin and Religion					
	Upper White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P
Upper White Collar	9	29	11	19	8	13
Lower White Collar	32	28	14	17	13	6
Upper Blue Collar	15	26	24	36	30	25
Lower Blue Collar	44	17	51	28	49	56
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	34	42	82	81	128	52

[a]Too few cases for analysis in lower white collar origin group.

In addition, the important difference between Protestants and Catholics of upper white collar origin in occupational status persists among workers whose incomes range from $5,000-$6,999. Protestants are located principally in white collar positions and Catholics in blue collar.[1] In general, however, pronounced patterns of religious differences in occupational status are not present among origin cohorts situated in the three higher income strata. (The superiority quotients for religious differences in occupational status among workers earning $5,000-$6,999, $7,000-$9,999, and $10,000 and over are, respectively, .22, -.33, and 0.0.)

Thus, the fact that Protestants do not fully convert their superior occupational achievement into commensurate superiority in income is reflected in the lower portion of the income ladder. This is especially true of workers of upper white collar background. It is in the range up to $7,000, contingent upon origin status, that Catholics capitalize on the imperfect relationship between occupational status and income status. Catholics are required to have equal occupational achievement with Protestants for membership in the two highest income strata. Catholics lag in occupational mobility; consequently, Catholics also lag to a marked degree in achieving the larger monetary rewards.

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[1] While only 37 per cent of the Protestants work at blue collar jobs, 58 per cent of the Catholics are so employed. (This control group is comprised of 52 Protestants and 36 Catholics.)

Conclusion

In this section, the principal findings reported in this chapter first will be summarized. Issues arising from these findings then will be discussed.

Summary.--The research evidence indicates the significance of religious affiliation as a correlate of economic achievement. Protestants excel in occupational mobility, income mobility, and self-employment. However, the analysis has demonstrated that there are important limiting conditions attached to the dominant pattern of Protestant superiority which has been uncovered. Instead of following a simple and uniform pattern, Protestant-Catholic mobility differences were found to vary by origin group, destination level, and mode of economic achievement.

In the competition for occupational position, the Protestant superiority is heavily concentrated within the highest and lowest destination strata and is much greater among cohorts of white collar origin than of blue collar origin. Although the predominance of Protestants in the elite income group is even somewhat more pronounced than it is in the elite occupational stratum, the Protestants' superiority in income mobility in all origin strata except the lower blue collar tends generally to be less important than is their superiority in occupational mobility. Differences again are limited almost exclusively to the highest and lowest destinations. In the three highest strata of

origin, superior Protestant occupational achievement does not result in commensurate income advantage. Among sons of lower blue collar fathers, on the other hand, Protestant superiority in economic achievement manifests itself more in income attainment than in occupational attainment. Consequently, when religious differences in economic achievement are evaluated with both occupational mobility and income mobility in view, it is seen that Protestant attainment exceeds that of Catholics to an appreciable degree among the sons of nonskilled workers as well as among sons of both upper and lower white collar background. The most striking finding in respect to the variation in religious differences between origin strata is the unique pattern of near equality of attainments between Catholics and Protestants of upper blue collar background. This distinctive pattern is further evidenced in respect to self-employment.

When the analysis of occupational mobility is refined by means of analyzing income differences among origin cohorts who have arrived in the same occupational stratum, it is seen that Catholics tend generally to equal Protestants in income when they are working in white collar jobs but to lag behind when in skilled-supervisory work and, especially, nonskilled work. When again occupational origin and destination are controlled simultaneously, Catholics of both upper white collar and upper blue collar origin compare favorably with Protestants in earnings in all occupational strata except nonskilled work; while, on the other hand, among

workers of lower blue collar background, Catholics lag behind irrespective of the destination in which they have arrived jointly with Protestants. Thus, the interesting pattern emerges that Catholic-Protestant differences in economic achievement are concentrated jointly among workers of white collar origin and among workers of blue collar destination.

The overflow of Catholics downwardly mobile across the blue collar line does not result in a larger proportion of Catholics than Protestants in upper blue collar work, but only in a large Catholic increment among the nonskilled. In respect to income, these Catholics fall far behind their Protestant origin cohorts who are in skilled and white collar jobs. Moreover, it is not in the white collar occupations that Catholics lag appreciably behind Protestants in income; rather, Catholics trail primarily in the manual working trades, the positions in which they are most likely to be situated. The effect of these conditions is such that Catholics do not achieve financial superiority in lieu of their inferior attainment of occupational status. Catholics patently fail to compensate for their excessive downward mobility by means of securing the more desirable manual jobs. However, since more Protestants gravitate toward higher status jobs affording small income--this situation is most prevalent among Protestants of upper white collar background--the proportion of workers earning less than $5,000 comprised of white collar job-holders is greater among Protestants than

among Catholics and the proportion of workers earning between $5,000 and $6,999 comprised of blue collar job-holders is greater among Catholics than Protestants.

Discussion.--Powerful forces are at work in the modern industrial community which should produce equality of economic achievement between adherents of America's two major religions. These forces include bureaucratization, secularization, and the increasing emphasis placed on job security and social welfare goals. In view of these equalizing forces, the consistent pattern of Protestant superiority in social mobility uncovered is impressive. This is especially so because of the magnitude of Protestant superiority exhibited in some key facets of vertical mobility. In the discussion which follows, we shall examine, primarily, two provocative, interrelated ideas discussed in Chapter I--the hypothesis of differentiated religious sub-communities and the hypothesis of differential class identification--for the insights they may contribute to explaining the patterns of religious differences in economic achievement disclosed by the research.

Although the research evidence indicates that on the whole Protestants excel in economic achievement, this is not to say that significant signs of homogenization are nowhere visible on the horizon. The major religions approach equality of representation in the middle ranges of occupational and financial achievement. Catholics are found in

lower white collar positions almost as frequently as Protestants. As many Catholic as Protestant sons of skilled manual workers cross the white collar line. Virtually as many Catholics as Protestants who begin at the bottom of the occupational ladder manage to climb above their origin.

Nonetheless, consistent with historical and comparative cultural evidence, as well as with the recent findings of studies of elite membership, educational attainment, and need achievement, the balance of evidence indicates that Protestantism is the more achievement-oriented sub-culture at this time. It is noteworthy that Catholic-Protestant differences are most evident in achieving extreme mobility, maintaining inherited white collar status, and securing entrepreneurial-professional and elite income rank. It is these mobility patterns and status destinations that embody some of the most critical tests of achievement open to the striver in a welfare-bureaucratic system in which the routinization of careers has increased in importance as the basis for mobility for the bulk of jobs, while the part played by capitalist entrepreneurship in the mobility process has steadily declined. The mobility patterns and status destinations in which Protestants excel are those which especially involve or require deferred gratification for occupational training, independence on the job, industriousness, risk, initiative, and the drive to excel--that is, traits which customarily have been associated with the Protestant ethic.

The magnitude of occupational differences within the white collar strata of origin--especially, the potency of religion as an independent variable in comparison with occupational origin--was unexpected. That the main focus of Catholic-Protestant differences would be at the bottom of the occupational ladder rather than the top--while this holds primarily for workers of white collar background, it is also true for respondents from upper blue collar homes--was still less anticipated. Although Weberian theory readily affords a basis for interpreting religious differences in elite destination and extreme mobility, the major differences between Catholics and Protestants in rates of nonskilled manual workers suggests factors are operating that entail more than theological divergencies. The research indicates clearly that religious differences in economic achievement stem more from the excess of Catholic downward mobility across the blue collar line, especially into the ranks of the nonskilled workers, than from any other pattern. Underlying this pattern is the crucial fact that Catholics of white collar origin are distributed throughout the occupational structure in much the same fashion as are Catholics of blue collar origin. In marked contrast, Protestants of white collar origin greatly exceed Protestants of blue collar origin in occupational attainment.

The theories of Herberg and Lenski considered jointly shed some light on these findings. If viable religious sub-communities are present in the city as Herberg

hypothesizes and community studies report, religious groups should develop distinctive views of life and condition in their members (to varying degree) distinctive motives and needs. Since in respect to economic affairs Catholicism and Protestantism differ both in theological doctrine and historical experience, it would not be surprising if differences in economic attitudes and behavior were fostered in their different sub-communities.

In brief, with the crystallization of such separate Protestant and Catholic sub-cultural worlds as have been reported, it is reasonable to assume that traditionally predominant social class and economic achievement values characteristic of each group are to some degree perpetuated irrespective of current socio-economic position and circumstance. Although the Catholic Church by virtue of its organizational structure appeals to the whole community, as a result of historical factors in America, Catholicism has been primarily the church of the masses, the proletariat, in the urban-industrial community. In contrast with this is the proliferation of class-typed sectarian groups comprising American Protestantism. The business and professional classes have dominated the urban middle class Protestant churches. These churches represent a natural rapprochement between secular business values and the "vulgarized" Calvinistic doctrine.

In commenting on the role played by motivation in influencing social mobility, Lipset and Bendix conclude:

> Both reference-group theory and the data on role conformity, anticipatory socialization, and reference-group behavior suggest that by merging the sociological and psychological approaches to the study of social mobility we may be able to advance the study of the mechanisms by which individuals and groups reach their positions in the stratification structure.[1]

Attempting just such a theoretical merger in pursuing the implications of Herberg's thesis for issues of social stratification, Lenski has suggested that Catholics and Protestants in the middle class differ in respect to the classes serving as reference-groups for them:

> These distinctive views [of life held by Catholics and Protestants] might reflect in part the theological and social doctrines of the religious institution at the center of the sub-community, but they might also represent the peculiar social experiences of the majority of the members. Thus, it may be that Catholics whose socio-economic position is upper-middle class, may in many respects think and act like working class people because of their involvement in the Catholic sub-community which is predominantly working class.[2]

This hypothesis is very relevant in view of recent research findings. Research evidence strongly indicates substantial differences between social strata in motivation for social mobility. The conclusions of a large variety of studies are that both adults and children of white collar origin score significantly higher on the following facets of mobility orientation than do adults and children of blue collar origin: the value placed on formal education, especially college education; the value placed on nonmanual work; belief in the opportunity for mobility; expectation of

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[1] Lipset and Bendix, op. cit., p. 259.

[2] Lenski, op. cit., p. 11.

achieving cherished mobility values; need achievement; deferred gratification pattern.[1]

In view of class differences in mobility orientation, the hypothesis of differential class identification between religious groups bears some crucial implications for the major issues under consideration. For white collar origin, in effect, it means that for Protestants (due to the predominantly middle class character of Protestantism in America) religious and class values are consistent in promoting a high mobility orientation; while for Catholics, religious and class values conflict with the result that Catholics may be expected to lag behind Protestants in economic achievement. Restating this theory in terms which apply reference-group theory to social mobility, it is suggested that Catholics of white collar origin undergo inverse "anticipatory socialization." That is, they absorb and conform to in youth, especially in the parochial high schools which are subject to comparatively little economic segregation, the norms and behavior traits of working class strata, while nonconforming to their own group of origin. Thus, the hypothesis of differential class identification,

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[1]Some recent studies which report such findings include: Herbert H. Hyman, "The Values Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," Class, Status, and Power, eds. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-42; Elizabeth Douvan, "Social Status and Success Striving," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LII (March, 1956), 219-23; August B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1949); Bernard C. Rosen, "The Achievement Syndrome: A Psychocultural

with its implicit assumption of Catholic-Protestant differences in achievement orientation, affords a valuable basis for explaining: first, the vastly greater proportion of Catholics of white collar background who become nonskilled workers; second, the small differences in achievement between Catholics of white collar and blue collar origin.

The concepts of the religious sub-community and differential class identification also help in the interpretation of some related findings. Catholics achieve generally greater equality with Protestants in income mobility than in occupational mobility. This fact is reflected in the finding, among cohorts of similar social origin and income achievement within the lower income range, that Protestants are located higher up in the occupational structure. That is, within the lower income strata, Catholics achieve equal income with Protestants by means of lower status occupations. This results in part from the greater propensity of Protestants (mostly of upper white collar background) to accept those marginal professional, managerial, and proprietary positions which provide small income but give greater prestige and independence than manual labor. The pattern emerging from these differences suggests that Catholics may have assimilated foremost the materialistic facets of the

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Dimension of Social Stratification," American Sociological Review, XXI (April, 1956), 203-11; Louis Schneider and Sverre Lysgaard, "The Deferred Gratification Pattern: A Preliminary Study," American Sociological Review, XVIII (April, 1953), 142-49; Richard M. Stephenson, "Mobility Orientation and Stratification," American Sociological Review, XXII (April, 1957), 204-12.

success ethic. (At least, basing our speculation solely upon the patterns emerging from the behavioral data to which our study is limited, when compared to Protestants, Catholic success is more manifest in income achievement than in occupational prestige mobility.)

This pattern is not surprising. In comparison with the heritage of Protestantism, Catholic sub-culture generally contains less powerful traditions of entrepreneurship, identification with vocation and pride in craft, and professionalization. These traditions were especially stimulated among Protestants (in the urban setting as well as the rural) by the historical emphasis upon secular "callings," santification of work, and individual religious self-reliance. Consequently, in encountering a system of welfare-bureaucracy characterized by security-striving, routinized seniority promotion, wide-spread economic abundance, and sumptuously acquisitive values, it may be that Catholics more readily respond to the purely material values within the contemporary secular ethos.

Such values are satisfied to an unprecedented degree and with a minimum amount of formal training within the ranks of the industrial metropolis' collectively organized and highly paid nonskilled work force. In this light, it could be expected that Catholics would tend to a lesser degree than Protestants to seek those peripheral managerial and professional positions which, though demanding more educational preparation than nonskilled work, frequently

offer additional rewards of only intangible value. Such divergent orientations to work are more likely to the extent that there are separable religious sub-communities facilitating differential class identification between Catholics and Protestants.

Several additional findings reported in this chapter merit further comment. The question arises as to why religious differences among sons of nonskilled origin are more pronounced in income mobility than in occupational mobility--a pattern unique among origin strata. This condition most likely is the product of converging religious and class influences. Among workers of lower blue collar background, the greater drive to economic achievement apparent in Protestants has been channeled in a manner which reflects the tendency of the working class to attach less value to nonmanual work and occupational training and to perceive less opportunities for nonmanual work than is the case in the white collar groups.

This line of reasoning is not applicable to the problem posed by the pattern of religious differences--or, more appropriately, the lack of differences--uncovered among persons coming from upper blue collar homes. Protestants of skilled manual origin are unique in failing to outdistance Catholics in substantial measure. It is noteworthy that sons from skilled Protestant homes exhibit greater occupational stability than any other origin group, Catholic or Protestant, save for Protestants of upper white

collar origin. It is possible that the tradition of pride in craft, the emphasis on what Veblen labelled "workmanship," and the identification with "calling" may be sufficiently potent to produce among skilled Protestants a singular emphasis upon vocational inheritance at the expense of social mobility values. While Protestants of skilled origin cross the white collar line little more than either Catholics of skilled origin or Protestants of nonskilled origin, they still display an appreciably lower rate of nonskilled workers than either of the latter groups. The testing of this hypothesis is a line of inquiry that future attitude research might profitably pursue.

The hypothesis that white collar Catholics tend to employ the working class as a normative reference-group was found useful for interpreting mobility differences between Catholics and Protestants of white collar origin. In contrast, religious differences within the blue collar strata of origin do not lend themselves to explanation by means of the correlative hypothesis that blue collar Protestants are distinguished from Catholic cohorts by their identification with the middle class. It is our conviction that investigation of these two correlative hypotheses should constitute one of the central goals for future empirical research in the sociology of religion.

It has been observed among origin cohorts that, on the one hand, Catholics employed in white collar work shape up rather equally with similarly employed Protestants

in earnings; on the other hand, blue collar Catholic workers are much less effective in competing with Protestants for income within their strata. The reverse pattern might have been expected for several reasons. There should be greater opportunities available in white collar work for Protestants both to demonstrate their greater achievement motivation and as a result to reap increased financial rewards. Insofar as Catholics are subject to religious discrimination, the impact of such practices should be greater in white collar jobs. If the higher rate of Catholics descending across the blue collar line represents the deflection of a singularly large number of talented young Catholics into manual work as a result of sub-cultural religious influences, this should be manifested in high Catholic achievement in the manual work force.

Despite these possibilities, Protestant advantages in income are piled up within the blue collar occupations. An explanation might possibly be found in the pattern of religious differences in income found among origin cohorts working at upper white collar jobs. The predominant trend here is for Protestants to have higher rates of workers in both the top and bottom income groups. This is consistent with the Protestant ethic thesis: Protestants display a greater drive to excel, which results in greater elite membership; as well as a greater attraction to minor entrepreneurial positions, which results in greater membership in the lowest income stratum. On the other hand, there is in

the manual trades no comparable conflict between factors, both of which are consistent with the Protestant ethic, which may serve to cancel out Protestant income superiority resulting from the stronger striving for economic success among Protestants. Moreover, it appears that sub-cultural religious influences on Catholics serve more to heighten the selectivity of Catholics destined for white collar work than to pour an overflow of talented Catholics into manual labor.

In accounting for the findings reported up to this point, we have interpreted the evidence as indicating that Protestants are more achievement-oriented than Catholics. This tentative conclusion will be tested directly in Chapter IV through examination of the relationship between religious affiliation and educational attainment. It is also possible, however, that the Catholic lag in economic achievement may be in part the result of anti-Catholic discrimination. This issue will be attacked indirectly through analysis of the educational data. The possibility of ethnic discrimination handicapping Catholics in social mobility will be dealt with directly in Chapter V. It is possible that religious differences in economic achievement vary between age groups. This problem will be explored in Chapter V in order to see if the pattern of religious differences by age groups indicates that Catholics are narrowing the gap in success between themselves and Protestants.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, EDUCATION, AND ECONOMIC SUCCESS[1]

Introduction

The significance of educational background for economic success.--[2] As a consequence of the increasing bureaucratization and mechanization of work in the modern industrial community, formal educational training has become a crucial element in the urban worker's efforts to attain economic success and social mobility. The reasons for this are clear. A steadily growing proportion of available jobs

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[1]For purposes of discussion, the terms "college," "advanced," and "higher" will be used interchangeably to refer to education beyond high school received in liberal arts colleges and technical and professional schools. Respondents must have completed at least one full year of college work to be classified as having had "Some College" and have completed the requirements of a four-year program to be classified as "College Graduate." Due to the unavailability of such information for the majority of the respondents, apprenticeship and other types of "on-the-job" training have not been considered in assigning educational status, analyses of religious differences in types of training received, degree awarded, or institution attended have not been undertaken, and classification of respondents on the basis of parochial or public school training has not been made.

In discussing "success"--or "status," "mobility," "achievement," and so forth--the term "economic" refers jointly to occupational prestige and income.

[2]Abundant evidence supports the following brief summary statement concerning the significant influence exerted by education upon the achievement of occupational and

require nonmanual skills. These skills, in turn, are procured more and more through formal schooling. Applicants for positions which provide highly prized income and prestige rewards encounter steadily rising educational prerequisites.

Under these conditions, advanced education following high school graduation has become the primary channel used for social mobility into and within the middle class, and is now a virtual necessity for persons who seek technical and professional positions. In manual work, a high school diploma is increasingly a prerequisite for the more desirable jobs. Since education is directly related to the status of the individual's first job, the significance of educational training for economic success is pointed up by the finding that an individual's first job upon entering the labor force is significantly related to his long-term occupational status. For these reasons there is in industrial society a strong relationship between educational attainment and economic status.

This relationship is clearly evident in the Detroit sample (Table 15). There is a linear relationship between education and occupation at each cumulative point on the occupational scale, with substantial (although somewhat unequal) differences in occupational achievement present between

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financial status. In respect to this topic, comprehensive treatments of relevant theory and empirical evidence may be found in the following volumes: Lipset and Bendix, op. cit.; Joseph A. Kahl, The American Class Structure (New York: Rinehart and Company, 1957); Herman Miller, op. cit.; Lawrence Thomas, The Occupational Structure and Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1956).

TABLE 15

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION AND INCOME,
BY EDUCATION, IN PERCENTAGES

Selected Characteristics	Education			
	College Graduate	Some College	High School Graduate	Not Graduate High School
Occupational Destination				
Upper White Collar	86	52	26	11
Lower White Collar	9	25	16	10
Upper Blue Collar	3	11	34	42
Lower Blue Collar	2	12	24	37
Total	100	100	100	100
Income				
$10,000 and over	23	10	10	4
$7,000-$9,999	31	24	21	11
$5,000-$6,999	31	36	40	34
Under $5,000	15	30	29	51
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	112	147	409	509

adjacent educational strata.[1] Although the relationship is less extreme, education is also directly related to income. In fact, income differences between educational strata are pronounced in the Detroit sample. On the basis of education, three basic income groupings emerge among the respondents--college graduates at the top, persons with some college and high school graduates in the middle, and non-high school graduates at the bottom.[2]

Research objectives.--In view of the importance of education for economic success, the research objectives in this chapter are two-fold. The first is to provide much needed descriptive information on the significance of education for religious differences in economic achievement. There is at present scant empirical data available which deal in detail with the multi-faceted relationships between education, religion, and occupation and income. Heretofore, such data have not been reported for a stringently controlled, cross-sectional sample of a major metropolitan community.

The second (and primary) goal in analyzing the educational data is to gain greater insight into the factors which

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[1]The MCPD's in occupational status between adjacent educational strata are as follows: College Graduate and Some College--20.7; Some College and High School Graduate--24.3; High School Graduate and Not Graduate High School--16.3.

[2]The MCPD's in income status between adjacent educational strata are as follows: College Graduate and Some College--16.0; Some College and High School Graduate--0.7; High School Graduate and Not Graduate High School--14.7.

underlie Catholic-Protestant differences in vertical mobility. This will necessitate further consideration in the light of the educational material of the major hypotheses which have been advanced to account for the findings reported in the preceding chapter. Formal educational training is strongly related to economic success in the population under study. Thus examination of religious differences, both in securing schooling and in exploiting the training acquired for economic gain, promises to provide increased understanding of the forces producing differences between Protestants and Catholics in occupational and income status.

There are several questions which merit particular attention in this chapter. Foremost among these is to determine the relative importance, in the sample as a whole and in the variations between origin strata, of two alternate sources which may contribute to the economic superiority of the Protestant respondents: (1) Protestants may secure a greater amount of education than their Catholic origin cohorts; or (2) Protestants may achieve greater economic success than Catholics who are their equals in educational status. It is possible, in theory, for the Protestant superiority in economic success to result in part from each of these sources. In point of fact, each factor does contribute to the differences between religious groups in vertical mobility.

In evaluating the research evidence, the basic issue on which attention will be focused is in what measure the Protestant economic superiority stemming from each source may

be symptomatic of greater motivation and aspiration for economic success on the part of Protestants. It is particularly important but difficult to appraise the relative significance of the factors which may underlie the finding (to be reported below) that Protestants fare better economically than Catholics who are their educational peers. Three major hypotheses will be considered: (1) Protestants are more strongly motivated to achieve economic success; (2) Protestants receive educational training of greater vocational value; (3) Catholics are handicapped in economic competition due to religious (or ethnic) discrimination.

Content and organization of the chapter.--In accord with these research objectives, examination will be undertaken of how Catholics and Protestants differ in distribution between educational strata and in educational mobility among origin cohorts. Catholics and Protestants of comparable educational status will also be compared for differences in occupational and income status.

The remainder of the chapter will be divided into two main parts. The research findings will first be concisely reported. Following this, consideration will be given to the implications of these findings for the issues which have been outlined above.

Research Findings[1]

A comparison of educational distributions among Catholics and Protestants.--Inspection of Table 16 discloses that when no adjustment is made in the Catholic distribution of origin status, Protestants are more highly situated in regard to educational status. Proportionately, almost twice as many Protestants as Catholics are college graduates. The proportion of respondents failing to secure a high school diploma is appreciably higher among Catholics than among Protestants.

Since data on fathers' education were unavailable, fathers' occupation has been employed as the control for origin in analyzing educational attainment. It may be observed in Table 17 that educational destination is directly related to occupational origin. It has already been observed in Table 3 that Protestants generally have higher origin status than Catholics. In order to correct for religious differences in origin and thereby secure comparable rates of individual educational mobility for Catholics and Protestants, we calculated what the educational distribution of the

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[1]The expansion of educational facilities during this century has produced an inverse relationship between age and educational status. It is pertinent to point out at this time, therefore, that differences between religious groups in age composition are insufficient in 3 of the 4 origin strata to affect significantly the findings reported in this chapter. The exception is the lower white collar group. This fact is noted, when relevant, in reporting the findings in this chapter. A detailed analysis of religious differences in social mobility within age strata will be presented in Chapter V.

TABLE 16

EDUCATION (CURRENT AND RECONSTRUCTED), BY RELIGION, IN PERCENTAGES

Education	Religion		
	Catholic (Current)	Protestant (Current)	Catholic (Reconstructed)[a]
College Graduate	7	13	7
Some College	11	14	13
High School Graduate	31	38	32
Not Graduate High School	51	35	48
Total	100	100	100
Number of Cases	613	564	613

[a]Based upon current Catholic distribution of educational status within each origin stratum (weighted by N's) and current Protestant percentage distribution of occupational origins.

TABLE 17

EDUCATION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN,
IN PERCENTAGES

Education	Occupational Origin			
	Upper White Collar	Lower White Collar	Upper Blue Collar	Lower Blue Collar
College Graduate	20	12	8	5
Some College	19	17	12	8
High School Graduate	32	31	38	34
Not Graduate High School	29	40	42	53
Total	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	256	76	407	438

Catholics would have been had they been distributed between origin strata in the same proportions as the Protestants.

With Catholic origins adjusted to duplicate Protestant origins, based upon rates of Catholic and Protestant educational achievement prevailing within each origin stratum, Protestants exceed Catholics in educational attainment to virtually the same degree that obtains when Catholic origins are not adjusted upward (Table 16). Consequently, the Catholic lag in education appears to be attributable to a lower rate of individual educational mobility within origin strata rather than to a disadvantage in origin status. In the section which follows, the sources of religious differences in education will be analyzed within strata of origin.

Catholics, Protestants, and rates of educational mobility.--Inspection of Table 18 shows that among origin cohorts, Protestants exceed Catholics in educational attainment in each origin stratum except the lower white collar.[1] Protestant superiority is especially pronounced among sons of upper white collar parentage. Also notable is the high concentration of Catholics among high school drop-outs.

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[1]The superiority quotient is .42. The MCPD's for each origin stratum in descending order of status are as follows: 18.3, -3.3, 6.3, and 4.3.

Within the lower white collar stratum, the proportion of respondents 40 and older is substantially higher among Protestants than Catholics. Among workers of lower white collar background who are under 40, Protestants far outdistance Catholics in education. Due to an insufficient number of Catholics, comparison is not possible among workers 40 and over. The significance of age for religious differences in social mobility will be dealt with at length in the next chapter.

TABLE 18

EDUCATION, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Education	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
College Graduate	9	28	11	13	8	8	4	5
Some College	21	17	20	15	9	16	8	7
High School Graduate	28	34	33	30	35	40	30	42
Not Graduate High School	42	21	36	42	48	36	58	46
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	99	157	36	40	202	205	276	162

By contrast, critical differences in securing advanced education are not exhibited in any origin stratum other than the upper white collar.

Variations in economic success within educational strata.--When education is controlled, as is shown in Table 19, Catholics and Protestants who pursued their academic training beyond high school differ little in occupational status. Protestants, however, fare better in occupational success among respondents whose education was limited to high school graduation or less.[1]

Since occupational destination varies with occupational origin, it would be reasonable to expect that the Catholic lag in occupational success among persons without college training is due in part to the generally lower origin status of the Catholic respondents. The Protestant superiority, nonetheless, generally persists when education and origin are controlled simultaneously. In both non-college strata, in fact, differences between religious groups open up at some points when origin cohorts are compared.[2] Among these two lower educational strata, religious differences

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[1]The superiority quotient is .25. The MCPD's for each educational stratum in descending order of status are as follows: 1.0, -3.7, 5.0, and 7.3

[2]These data are reported in full in Appendix Table 1. The superiority quotients for religious differences in occupational destination among origin cohorts who are high school graduates and who are high school drop-outs are, respectively, .50 and .58. Based upon the ratio of proportions between religious groups, Protestants frequently exhibit impressive indications of superiority.

TABLE 19

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, BY RELIGION
BY EDUCATION, IN PERCENTAGES

Occupational Destination	Education and Religion							
	College Graduate		Some College		High School Graduate		Not Graduate High School	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Upper White Collar	88	86	49	54	23	27	9	13
Lower White Collar	5	11	33	18	16	17	9	11
Upper Blue Collar	5	2	9	13	34	35	40	46
Lower Blue Collar	2	1	9	15	27	21	42	30
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	40	72	69	78	193	216	311	198

in occupational status are concentrated at the bottom of the occupational ladder.[1]

The data presented in Table 20 disclose that when educational status is held constant, Protestants are found more frequently in the top income stratum, Catholics more often are located in the middle income range, and the two groups are situated in relatively equal proportions at the bottom rung of the income ladder.[2] Religious differences in income among educational peers persist, though lessened somewhat in importance, when origin status is standardized. Appreciable Protestant advantages in income obtain among high school drop-outs (within the lower white collar and lower blue collar origin strata) and among high school graduates (within all origin strata except the upper blue collar). Conversely, Catholics display a small superiority in income, except in the highest range, among origin cohorts with partial college training.[3]

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[1]The mean difference between the proportion of Protestants and Catholics attaining upper white collar positions is 5.8 percentage points (calculated for all eight control groups comprised of origin cohorts of equal educational status reported in Appendix Table 1). By contrast, a mean difference of 14.3 percentage points separates the two religious groups in rate of lower blue collar employment.

[2]The superiority quotient is .58. The MCPD's for each educational stratum in descending order of status are as follows: 9.3, 0.0, 6.0, and 5.0.

[3]Religious differences in income among cohorts of similar origin and education are reported for all educational strata except that comprised of college graduates in Appendix Tables 2-3. The superiority quotients for high school drop-outs, high school graduates, and persons with partial college training are, respectively, .33, .50, and -.33.

TABLE 20

INCOME, BY RELIGION, BY EDUCATION,
IN PERCENTAGES

Income	Education and Religion							
	College Graduate		Some College		High School Graduate		Not Graduate High School	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	10	30	7	13	9	10	3	6
$7,000-$9,999	40	25	29	19	16	25	9	13
$5,000-$6,999	33	31	35	37	42	39	35	33
Under $5,000	17	14	29	31	33	26	53	48
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	40	72	69	78	193	216	311	198

Although there are insufficient cases to implement simultaneous controls for occupational origin and religion among college graduates, the important religious difference in earning power exhibited in Table 20 is probably misleading. Due to a large variation in origin status between Protestant and Catholic college graduates, the income differential between origin cohorts is doubtless less than appears at first blush.[1]

Summary.--Two basic findings emerge from these data: (1) holding occupational origins constant, Protestants tend to get somewhat more education than Catholics; (2) on the whole, however, these differences do not seem to account for more than a part of the greater economic success of the Protestants noted in Chapter III.

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[1]The origin status of Catholic college graduates is as follows: upper white collar--22 per cent; lower white collar--10 per cent; upper blue collar--38 per cent; lower blue collar--30 per cent. In sharp contrast, 60 per cent of the Protestant college graduates in the sample come from upper white collar homes. Seven per cent are from lower white collar homes. Only 22 per cent of the Protestant college graduates are of upper blue collar origin, and a mere 11 per cent are sons of nonskilled workers.

There is only one origin stratum, the upper blue collar, in which each group has sufficient college graduates to warrant comparison between Catholics and Protestants. In this case, Catholics not only equal, but surpass Protestants in income achievement. The MCPD is -9.3. The 16 Protestant respondents are overrepresented at both extremes of the income scale when compared to their 15 Catholic cohorts. In surpassing their Protestant cohorts in income, Catholic respondents of upper blue collar origin are no doubt atypical. Catholics in this origin stratum consistently show up more favorably than Catholics of either higher or lower origin status when comparison is made between Protestant and Catholic origin cohorts.

Thus the research demonstrates two reasons why Protestants, as a group, surpass Catholics in economic status. First, at the outset of their careers, Protestants generally secure more education than Catholics of comparable social origin. Second, among educational peers, Protestants, on the whole, surpass Catholics in economic mobility.

The relative importance of these two sources of Protestant economic superiority varies between origin strata. On the one hand, the small Protestant advantage in economic status among sons of upper blue collar background is due entirely to more extensive schooling. (When education is controlled, Catholics fare better, albeit very slightly, in both occupational and income status.) A similar though less pronounced pattern occurs among sons from upper white collar homes. Although Protestants generally do secure higher economic status when education is held constant among respondents of highest origin status, the more crucial factor leading to inequality between Protestants and Catholics in economic success is their exceedingly large disparity in amount of scholastic training. Among sons of lower blue collar and lower white collar origin, on the other hand, the principal reason why Protestants enjoy more economic success is because they outperform their Catholic educational peers in the competition for occupational status and monetary reward.

An Interpretation of the Research Findings

The Protestant superiority in vertical mobility reported in the present chapter is sufficiently consistent

in overall pattern and sufficiently pronounced in specific instances to command notice and raise issues requiring thoughtful interpretation. A careful and reflective assessment of the research findings should be of considerable value. This applies even in those cases where the limitations of the data necessitate some educated guesses based upon what may be inferred from the specific data at hand and from previously established knowledge and theory. By such reasoned speculation, however, we hope to bring into clearer focus a variety of problems which merit further study.

The discussion which ensues focuses mainly upon consideration of the causes which may produce and the importance which may adhere to the major overall findings: namely, Protestants are characterized by higher educational status among origin cohorts and higher economic status among educational peers. The commentary will be concerned principally with generalized differences which in various measure may distinguish the Protestant and Catholic sub-communities from each other.

It is manifest that the factors distinguishing the two groups vary in character and importance according to social, economic, and educational levels. This is so because religious differences in educational or economic status, as the case may be, vary by strata of origin and destination and between occupational and income mobility, and are sometimes insignificant or completely absent. On the other hand, sight should not be lost of the significant fact that there

are few instances in which Catholics exhibit an important and sustained superiority in educational or economic status.

Protestant superiority in educational status among origin cohorts.--In the carefully matched cross-sectional sample of Catholic and Protestant workers investigated in Detroit, Protestants in general secure more education than Catholics of comparable social origin. What significance may be attached to this finding? Is it justifiable to conclude that Protestants exceed Catholics in motivation to achieve economic success? If educational status is in general a valid index of aspiration for social mobility, an affirmative answer would seem well-founded. However, is there warrant for the generally accepted assumption that educational preparation is a prime indicator of status goals?

The answer would seem to be that there is, since the assumption is grounded solidly upon the facts of modern economic life. As knowledge proliferates and skills grow more complex, increased training is required for professional, technical, administrative, and skilled manual work. The willingness to defer immediate financial and familial gratification which schooling typically implies is surely one of the best indications of serious status aspirations. Educational training demonstrates something more than mere lip-service acceptance of the success ethic. As schooling increases, so does the indication of tangible effort to acquire those vocational skills and social graces essential for the man who would realistically seek high social position.

Educational preparation may in part be viewed as a rational sacrifice in which the present is mortgaged in order to gain future rewards. Thus it is not surprising, within the purview of Weberian theory, to find that Protestants invest in education more extensively than Catholics. "Self-denial" and "thrift" are facets of impulse-renunciation central to the achievement of worldly success in the Protestant ethic. Formalized educational training has especial significance for economic achievement in modern society. It might be expected, therefore, that Protestants would outstrip Catholics in exploiting the mobility potential of this specific facet of the generalized "deferred-gratification" syndrome traditionally associated with the Protestant ethic.

The value placed upon learning and intellect must also be considered in accounting for religious differences in education. Esteem of learning should be distinguished from mobility aspiration in assessing the significant factors which motivate some persons to pursue their educational training. Divergences between Catholicism and Protestantism in theological doctrine and organizational structure have probably led Protestants to esteem learning and stress formal education in larger measure than is characteristic of Catholics.

In appraising the historical forces which stimulated the rise of universal public education in the United States, Robin Williams stresses the following factor:

> The early dominance of sectarian Protestantism in America, with its reliance upon individual access to religious truth as revealed in the Bible, was a real spur to elementary education. Most sects required that their members learn to read; many established schools and colleges. In more subtle ways, also, neo-Calvinistic movements created a predisposition toward formal education. The churches, at war among themselves, could well utilize literate defenders and argumentative skills; the school provided an agency for the total discipline so important to the sterner branches of ascetic Protestantism; and the intellectual schematization of knowledge fitted the concept of an ordered, (and for many sects) predestined, world.[1]

Williams believes, moreover, that this high valuation accorded formal education has continued to be a vital force in the Protestant sub-culture straight through to the present time.

In contrast, although the Catholic Church has waged an unremitting struggle to maintain direct, full-fledged control over the education of its members, the fundamentals of Catholic dogma traditionally have encouraged an unique arrogation of intellectual functions by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. In these circumstances, the Catholic Church has not been noted for propagating intellectual self-reliance and an independent quest for knowledge among its lay members.

Consequently, it is necessary in evaluating religious differences in achievement motivation to take special note of the effect which religious differences in the esteem of education per se could potentially have on Protestant-Catholic differences in economic achievement. Namely, stronger motivation for economic achievement need not be the sole factor responsible for superior Protestant achievement

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[1]Robin M. Williams, Jr., American Society (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957), p. 272.

in occupational and income mobility. Because of the positive relation between education and economic status, the Protestants' increment in economic mobility may be in part an indirect result of their greater proclivity toward individual intellectual responsibility and learning.

Jews probably comprise a notable example of a group which has experienced economic benefits for this reason. For in all likelihood the economic success of Jews is in part a byproduct of the singularly high intrinsic value Jewish culture accords learning and intellect. Although they pose a far less striking case than Jews, Protestants may still be similar in experiencing this secondary (or indirect) source of economic success.

The disparity between Protestants and Catholics in educational attainment--in particular, the persistent difference in rate of drop-outs before finishing high school--is sufficient to indicate that the two groups could vary in economic aspiration, deferred gratification, esteem of learning, or in some combination of these factors. Nonetheless, it is perhaps more noteworthy that religious differences in amount of schooling are typically modest in size. In but one origin stratum, the upper white collar, are differences truly impressive.

This situation results at least in part from two significant facts. First, whether the result of personal choice or legal compulsion, the acquisition of a high school diploma is now, irrespective of religion, more the rule than the

exception among native white males in the urban community, save possibly for the case of sons of nonskilled workers. Second, irrespective of religion, education beyond the secondary level is shared in by only a small minority of youths who hail from homes enjoying less than upper white collar status. The latter factor is especially true of sons of nonskilled workers. In this group apparently even the more highly motivated strivers make relatively little use of higher education as a means for social mobility.

Thus, while Protestants do excel in vertical mobility in part because they secure more schooling, the result of the aforementioned levelling influences on educational status is such that much of the economic advantage which Protestants enjoy results from their outdistancing Catholics who have had an equal amount of formal education. When education is standardized among origin cohorts, Protestants register some important (although unequal) advantages in occupational or income mobility in each origin stratum other than the upper blue collar.

Protestant superiority in economic success among educational peers.--Why do Catholics, unless they are among the small segment (18 per cent) who attend college, typically achieve less economic success than Protestants who have a comparable amount of education? Three major explanations must be considered. It is possible that Catholics suffer from discrimination when competing in the job market. It is also possible that Catholic students attending parochial schools

receive an inferior education in respect to either basic academic training or the more applied vocational skills. It is possible, too, that Catholics having education of comparable vocational value as Protestants have less drive to exploit their education for purposes of economic advancement. That is, in brief, Catholics may be less successful due to discriminatory employment practices, deficient intellectual and vocational skills, lower achievement motivation, or some combination of these factors.

It is regrettable that the available data do not permit definitive appraisal of the relative importance of each factor. Nonetheless, analysis of the problem leads us to conclude tentatively that differential achievement motivation is the principal source of religious differences in economic success among educational peers. We shall present at this time a discussion of the factors supporting this interpretation.

Religious discrimination and economic status.--[1] Let us consider first the possibility that the Catholic lag may

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[1] In the ensuing discussion, in accord with the issues raised in this chapter, analysis of the likelihood of religious discrimination impeding Catholic economic achievement is limited to appraisal of the data on religious differences in economic achievement within educational strata which have been reported. Consequently, it is necessary to rely upon indirect criteria for inferring whether or not religious discrimination against Catholics is a significant factor in accounting for religious differences in economic success among educational peers. In Chapter V, the effects of religious differences in ethnic status composition will be analyzed directly in order to see the significance of this specific factor in accounting for religious differences in achieving occupational, income, and educational status within origin strata.

result in part from religious discrimination in the job market. It is commonly assumed that Catholics, as a religious minority, are to some degree handicapped in economic competition. The data at hand are too oblique to provide direct, clear-cut confirmation or rejection of this contingency. This limitation, notwithstanding, the importance of discrimination as a contributing factor may be assayed indirectly. This can be accomplished through examining, first, the educational strata (control groups) and, second, the occupational and income levels (within educational control groups) wherein Catholics compare least favorably to Protestants in economic success.

We assume that if anti-Catholic bias is present in the competitive working community, its impact will be experienced more harshly by those persons working in or seeking work in white collar jobs. These positions typically are more rewarding in prestige and income. Thus the staffing of white collar positions entails the application of more selective criteria in screening workers to be hired and promoted. Consequently, it is also reasonable to assume that if Catholics suffer occupational discrimination, they should lag behind Protestants in economic success (when education is controlled), primarily, within the higher educational strata. Discriminatory practices would more likely be encountered by Catholics who have had college training, since they are more apt to compete in that higher sector of the labor market in which discrimination is more likely to occur.

The research clearly shows, however, even in the face of a handicap in origin status, that Catholics who are college graduates or who have some college experience compete effectively with Protestants for occupational position. Instead, religious differences in occupational position are confined to the two lower educational strata. Differences are most pronounced among respondents who did not complete high school. Among origin cohorts within the two lower educational strata, moreover, Protestants achieve their superiority in occupational status mainly as the result of Catholic overrepresentation in nonskilled work, rather than because Protestants have cornered the market for upper white collar positions. These patterns obtain in all strata of origin.

Analysis of religious differences in income within educational strata also reinforces the conclusion that the superior Protestant achievement is not largely attributable to economic bias fettering Catholic workers. The patterns of religious differences which have been uncovered do not strongly indicate that Catholics are systematically confronted by pervasive religious discrimination in the vocational marketplace. It has been seen that Protestant income superiority, when origin status is standardized, is centered among the lower rather than the higher educational strata.[1]

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[1]There is further reason to infer that religious discrimination is not a significant obstacle blocking economic mobility for Catholics. If discriminatory employment practices hamper Catholics in their efforts to realize fully the economic benefits of their educational preparation, Catholics should tend to be held down to occupational and income levels open to Protestants of inferior educational status. The

It is also possible, contrary to our assumption, that some combination of factors may produce more intensive economic discrimination against Catholics--in respect, especially, to job promotions--in the lower sector of the occupational hierarchy. This possibility, however, assaults our common sense knowledge that the thoroughness of ferretting out both relevant and extrarelevant factors in an applicant's background and the use made of such information increase as the position sought increases in status. The implausibility of this explanation for the Detroit community is further accentuated because of the large proportion of manual workers employed under conditions of highly impersonal large scale organization, the pioneering liberalism of the United Automobile Workers in respect to problems of discrimination in Detroit's large industrial enterprises, and the prominent positions of leadership which Catholics occupy in the older (AFL) craft unions.

Economic success and religious differences in quality of education and motivation for economic achievement.--Examination of the data at hand has indicated that it is unlikely that lower life-chances attributable to discriminatory practices pose a crucial social obstacle to Catholic

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analysis of data from the Detroit project (not reported in the present study) clearly demonstrates, however, that Protestants surpass Catholics in educational preparation among respondents in the same occupational and income strata. While this finding also fails to rule out the possibility that Catholic workers are confronted by widespread practices of economic discrimination, it further reduces the likelihood that this factor is one of significance.

economic success. In order to account for the research findings, therefore, it is necessary to consider other possible sources of differences and to evaluate their relative importance.

The disparities between Protestants and Catholics in economic success uncovered in some groups having similar social origin and quantity of education might stem from religious differences in quality of education. Protestants may receive education of superior vocational value. The patterns exhibited could signify that, compared to nonsectarian public and private schools, Catholic parochial schools provide, in general, education of inferior quality or, in particular, training that is less attuned to the demands of the vocational marketplace. The two educational systems may vary in breadth of curriculum and quality of instruction. On the other hand, although not varying appreciably in these essentials, subtler distinctions may still profoundly influence mobility orientations. Catholic students may not be confronted with pressures and stimuli for secular success to the same degree as their Protestant peers trained under nonsectarian auspices. Or it is possible that, essentially, Protestants simply have greater achievement motivation. That is, Protestants have greater drive than Catholics to exploit schooling of comparable occupational utility (as well as other nonacademic resources) in order to gain economic success.

There are good reasons for believing that differences in achievement motivation, stemming in part from scholastic experience, are more important than differences in quality of educational facilities and services in accounting for the research findings. The importance of formal education for training in marketable vocational skills increases directly with level of education. Consequently, if the vocational value of the training received by students in Catholic schools is sub-standard, the resulting disadvantages for Catholic students engaged in economic competition with Protestant educational peers should increase directly as educational status rises. Yet religious differences in economic success within educational strata are greater among persons with lesser education.

In contrast to the limited importance of vocational training in elementary school and possibly during the first half of high school, potent influences on social values and status aspirations are exerted by the school beginning in the earliest grades.[1] Furthermore, there are insufficient grounds for concluding on the basis of standard educational criteria that public schools are superior to parochial schools in Detroit.[2] Scholastic requirements placed upon

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[1]Two good studies affording detailed empirical evidence of such conditioning of status orientations are: Hollingshead, op. cit.; W. Lloyd Warner, Robert J. Havighurst, and Martin B. Loeb, Who Shall Be Educated? (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944).

[2]While only 1 out of every 3 of its adult residents was born in the Detroit area, twice as high a proportion of

students in "traditionally-oriented" parochial schools are frequently greater than those encountered by students in more "progressively-oriented" public schools. The displacement of traditional learning skills in the curriculum by "life-adjustment" courses is as a rule less marked in parochial schools. Similarly, firmer discipline and greater respect for the authority of the faculty are typically found in parochial schools.

It is more likely that any qualitative differences in school experience which might serve to handicap Catholics

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the present sample of respondents are native Detroit area residents. Detroit was the community of orientation of a still higher proportion of the respondents. Consequently, comparison of Detroit's public and parochial school systems is highly pertinent.

Information on parochial school attendance, unfortunately, was not available for most Catholic respondents. Thus it has not been possible in the present analysis to differentiate between Catholics educated in parochial schools and in public schools. In interpreting the research findings, nonetheless, we assume that a substantial proportion of the Catholic respondents received the bulk of their education in parochial schools.

Research conducted by the Detroit Area Study in 1958 reveals that approximately one-third of the unrestricted adult Catholic population received half or more of their education in Catholic schools. We do not know, however, the extent to which this finding is applicable to our stringently delimited sample of Detroit's adult Catholic population. We surmise that since the proportion of Catholics who are native Detroiters in the population under study is much higher than that in the total adult Catholic population of Detroit, the proportion of Catholics in our sample receiving half or more of their education in Catholic schools is higher than that found in the adult Catholic population at large in Detroit. The basis for this assumption is the fact that the Detroit diocese has an extensively developed parochial school system at all levels of education.

in economic competition are rooted in value orientations more than scholastic programs. It is most unlikely that the psychological attributes, philosophical values, and pedagogical techniques of teachers in parochial schools make them effective purveyors of a gospel which deifies the ethic of secular success. The instructional staff of the parochial school is comprised predominantly of individuals predisposed to select an occupational position (as well as a singularly inclusive social role) within a highly authoritarian system. This system enjoins an unique rejection of competitively pursued secular status values. It can scarcely be expected that such self-selected personnel will be as effective as public school teachers in inculcating the secular values, motives, and individualistic initiative which make for successful status-striving.

The schism in values may be further accentuated by a gap in social origins between the personnel who are recruited for teaching in public schools and parochial schools. Since we lack empirical data, we can only speculate that public school teachers--in particular, girls who are teaching as a stop-gap pre-marital or pre-pregnancy experience--are in larger measure comprised of persons either of middle class background or strivers from working class homes. For the latter group teaching is a means to what is perceived, solely on the basis of secular values, as self-bettering social mobility.

Without succumbing to the blandishments of those who would have an exaggerated "child-centeredness" and "permissiveness" dominate the classroom, one may still question whether the authoritarianism to which Catholic pedagogy traditionally has been anchored has salutary effects in stimulating vertical mobility in today's labor market. Aggressive initiative and mastery of the cult of "glad-hand" personality are now often essentials (and frequently more important than technical competence) for the "status-seeker." We refer to the striver who aims for a measure of occupational ascent and financial success which extends beyond that provided by the typical assembly-line or white collar job's guarantee of security and, in some cases, promotion, through seniority.

Insofar as Catholic parochial schools transmit more effectively than nonsectarian public and private schools the essential ethical precepts of Christian morality, the Catholic worker, paradoxically, may also be handicapped in many of the more brutal areas of business skirmishing and professional in-fighting.

It is noteworthy that Catholics of upper white collar background are closer in educational attainment to both Protestants and Catholics of lower blue collar origin than to their Protestant origin cohorts.[1] This may be due in part to the fact that Catholics are more often sons of

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[1]While the MCPD by which Catholics of upper white collar origin lag behind their Protestant origin cohorts in educational attainment measures 18.3, the MCPD's for their advantage over Protestants and Catholics of nonskilled origin, respectively, amount to only 8.7 and 13.0.

small proprietors. It also is probably indicative of a Protestant-Catholic difference in class values among workers of upper white collar background. The evidence suggests that the two religious groups are oriented toward different reference-groups when setting their educational and economic goals.

There is reason to suspect that the system of separate parochial schools maintained by the Church facilitates the development of a downwardly mobile status orientation among Catholic students of upper white collar origin. In contrast to the Protestant youth of upper white collar origin attending a public school, the Catholic youth from an upper white collar home, by virtue of attending a parochial school, will more likely be subjected to social pressures which indirectly condition working class values and cultivate a comparative depreciation of education.

Two factors combine to help produce this situation. First, there are relatively fewer families of upper white collar status in the Catholic population. Second, residential stratification according to socio-economic position probably results in less social and economic stratification in the parochial schools than in the public schools. The reason for this is that there are fewer parochial schools covering the vast physical expanse of the metropolitan community, even in a diocese with as extensively developed a parochial school system as is operated in Detroit. This is true, in particular, at the secondary school level.

Consequently, Protestant children of upper white collar parentage are more likely to attend schools in which they comprise a dominant segment of the school population, encounter peer group and parental influences pushing them toward upper middle class goals, and benefit from a curriculum firmly anchored in college-preparatory training. By contrast, Catholic youth from upper white collar homes are more likely to find themselves a smaller and less dominant segment of a more economically heterogeneous student body for whom college preparation is less emphasized and middle class values less stimulated. Under these conditions the Catholic child of upper white collar background is more likely than his Protestant counterpart to undergo inverse "anticipatory socialization" as a result of his school experience. That is, the Catholic child is more apt to absorb working class values, cultivate working class goals, and conform to working class behavior patterns.

We have assumed that public school teachers surpass parochial school personnel in origin status, personal aspirations for social mobility, and social values congenial to secular status-striving. If correct, differences between teaching staffs comprise an additional important source of the impressive differences in educational status which distinguish Protestants and Catholics who are raised in upper white collar homes. The importance of this factor is increased insofar as public school teachers who excel in stimulating high status aspirations are concentrated, as

they doubtless are to some degree, in schools in upper middle class neighborhoods.

The finding that Protestant-Catholic differences in economic success are concentrated among persons with a high school education or less may be considered further at this time in the light of the several factors touched upon when pondering the question of religious differences in achievement motivation. This pattern may result in part from the fact that sectarian influences impeding mobility more strongly permeate the education of the two lower educational strata. It is likely that the proportion of all Catholic primary and secondary school students who attend parochial schools is substantially higher than the proportion of all Catholic college students who are enrolled in Catholic colleges and universities. When college training is received at Catholic institutions, particularly in view of the fact that many persons who are not Catholics attend these schools, it is likely that advanced education provides the Catholic student some measure of emancipation from sub-cultural religious influences uncongenial to economic mobility.

An additional factor must also be taken into account. It may well be the most important reason why the comparatively small proportion of Catholics who pursue their education beyond high school compare so much more favorably with their Protestant educational peers than is the case with Catholics who terminate their education at or prior to high school graduation. When each group is compared to the

members of their own religion who acquire a secondary school education or less, Catholics who pursue an advanced education may comprise a more highly select group of talented and mobility-oriented persons than college-trainees of Protestant persuasion. This would be likely insofar as the Catholic sub-community is not as fertile a breeding ground for high mobility orientation as is the Protestant.

The potential significance of the "education explosion."--The discussion in this section has attempted to delineate and account for the major patterns of religious differences in vertical mobility which have been revealed by the data reported in the present chapter. Important as some of these differences are, however, perhaps the most significant finding reported is that the more education Catholics acquire, the more favorably they compete in the marketplace with Protestants who have an equal amount of schooling. By and large, although lagging in number, those Catholics who manage to get some measure of college experience compete on equal terms with their Protestant counterparts in securing the economic rewards available in the industrial community.

In the United States, educational opportunities for the mass of the population have steadily increased during the last century, continue to do so at the present time, and are expected to increase at an accelerating rate in forthcoming years, especially, at the college level. The consequences of this trend could be of utmost importance in

their bearing on the future relationship between religious affiliation and social mobility. Such would be the case if younger Catholics come to share equally with their Protestant age cohorts in gaining the benefits of the "education explosion," and if they should be able to exploit their college training for social and economic success with as much effectiveness as the select but limited group of adult Catholic males of varied age represented in the present sample.

It also is possible that the quality of Catholic college students will appreciably decline. If this transpires as a result of having proportionately more Catholic youth securing advanced education, the significance of the "education explosion" for reduction of religious differences in vertical mobility will be substantially curtailed. Questions such as these will be explored in the next chapter in the course of analyzing the significance of the age factor for the problem of religious affiliation and vertical mobility.

First in Chapter V, however, examination will be made of the impact of ethnic status on religious differences in social mobility. The objectives will be to see if the Catholic lag in mobility achievement is in some measure attributable to ethnic discrimination and whether the magnitude of religious differences in vertical mobility varies between groups of higher and lower ethnic status.

CHAPTER V

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ETHNIC STATUS AND AGE FOR RELIGIOUS DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL MOBILITY

The significance of two basic sociological variables, ethnicity and age, for Catholic-Protestant differences in social mobility is examined in the present chapter.

Religious Affiliation, Ethnic Status, and Social Mobility

The problem.--The purpose of the analysis in this section is to assess the significance of ethnicity for mobility differentials both within and between religious groups. Ethnic descent constitutes a dimension of social status which has traditionally been considered to exert an influence upon vertical mobility within the American urban community.[1] The higher a worker's ethnic status, the less likely it is that he will be impeded by discriminatory

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[1] Informative discussions of the history, values, status, and life-chances of the principal ethnic groups of European descent situated in the United States may be found in the following volumes: Bernard Barber, Social Stratification (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957); W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945); Oscar Handlin, The American People in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954); Sister Frances Jerome Woods, C.D.P., Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1956).

employment practices and the more likely that he will have assimilated American urban middle class values surrounding work, education and vocational training, and economic success. For these reasons, workers of northwestern European extraction might reasonably be expected to achieve greater social mobility than workers whose ethnic roots were in the less industrially advanced countries of central, southern, and eastern Europe.

The Catholic and Protestant groups vary considerably in ethnic composition. Fifty per cent of the Catholic respondents are of low status central, southern, and eastern European derivation and 50 per cent are of high status northwestern European background.[1] By contrast, 83 per cent of the Protestants are members of the higher ethnic stratum. Thus it is possible that ethnicity is a factor significantly related to differences between Catholics and Protestants in educational and economic attainment. In order to minimize this potentially confounding influence, comparative Catholic-Protestant rates of vertical mobility among occupational origin cohorts have been analyzed within each of the two

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[1]Great Britain, Ireland, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, France, Germany, and Canada (excluding French Canada) are classified as northwestern European nations in the present study. The remaining countries of Europe are classified as central, southern, or eastern European.

For simplification, respondents of northwestern European descent will also be referred to as members of the "higher" ethnic stratum and as persons of "high" ethnic status. Conversely, respondents of central, southern, and eastern European extraction will also be referred to as members of the "lower" ethnic stratum and as persons of "low" ethnic status.

major ethnic strata. The size and ethnic composition of the present sample precludes use of a more refined typology of ethnic status.[1]

Research findings.--Comparative rates of Catholic and Protestant vertical mobility among occupational origin cohorts are presented in Tables 21 and 22, respectively, for respondents of central, sourthern, and eastern European descent and respondents of northwestern European descent.[2] Summary measures based upon these data are reported in Table 23. In the discussion which follows in this section, all references to column numbers pertain to Table 23.

The data presented in Tables 21-23 disclose that ethnicity is neither strongly nor consistently related to social mobility in the present sample of workers studied in Detroit. As column 3 shows, there is typically only a small positive relationship between ethnicity and vertical mobility among Catholics of upper and lower blue collar origin. Although differences in achievement between ethnic strata are more pronounced among Catholics of upper white collar background, there is a marked relationship between ethnicity and socio-economic achievement only in respect to income.

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[1]The number of respondents of lower white collar origin and central, southern, and eastern European descent is insufficient to warrant comparison of Catholic-Protestant differences in vertical mobility in this control group.

[2]Ethnic descent was not ascertained for a randomly distributed portion of the sample: 86 of the 613 Catholics and 76 of the 564 Protestants.

TABLE 21

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, INCOME, AND EDUCATION AMONG RESPONDENTS OF CENTRAL, SOUTHERN, AND EASTERN EUROPEAN DESCENT, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Selected Characteristics	Occupational Origin and Religion					
	Upper White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P
Occupational Destination						
Upper White Collar	32	50	25	30	13	26
Lower White Collar	16	22	10	6	9	0
Upper Blue Collar	16	6	39	52	43	48
Lower Blue Collar	36	22	26	12	35	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Income						
$10,000 and over	7	22	4	0	3	7
$7,000-$9,999	6	17	13	30	11	16
$5,000-$6,999	39	50	44	37	33	45
Under $5,000	48	11	39	33	53	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Education						
College Graduate	3	17	7	18	5	10
Some College	26	22	8	9	7	0
High School Graduate	29	56	32	43	30	58
Not Graduate High School	42	5	53	30	58	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	31	18	72	33	150	31

TABLE 22

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, INCOME, AND EDUCATION AMONG RESPONDENTS OF NORTHWESTERN EUROPEAN DESCENT, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Selected Characteristics	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Occupational Destination								
Upper White Collar	33	51	33	32	26	26	18	25
Lower White Collar	25	18	19	32	12	15	11	7
Upper Blue Collar	20	20	24	27	30	37	34	36
Lower Blue Collar	22	11	24	9	32	22	37	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Income								
$10,000 and over	18	20	5	20	8	7	1	8
$7,000-$9,999	27	22	28	18	17	18	15	21
$5,000-$6,999	33	30	48	44	32	32	42	35
Under $5,000	22	28	19	18	43	43	42	36
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Education								
College Graduate	15	31	14	12	7	5	3	3
Some College	18	17	24	15	10	18	10	9
High School Graduate	29	30	29	32	41	39	30	36
Not Graduate High School	38	22	33	41	42	38	57	52
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	55	115	21	34	98	150	91	104

TABLE 23

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, INCOME, AND EDUCATION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, BY ETHNIC STATUS, BY RELIGION, IN MEAN CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES[a]

Mobility Measure	Occupational Origin	MCPD's in Social Mobility, By Occupational Origin				
		Between the Higher and Lower Ethnic Strata, By Religion[b]		Between Protestants and Catholics, By Ethnic Stratum[c]		
		Catholics	Protestants	No Ethnicity Control	Lower Ethnic Stratum	Higher Ethnic Stratum
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Occupation						
	Upper White Collar	8.3	3.0	14.7	18.7	13.3
	Lower White Collar	d	d	16.3	d	8.7
	Upper Blue Collar	-0.7	-3.0	4.0	6.7	4.3
	Lower Blue Collar	3.3	-0.3	6.3	8.7	5.0
Income						
	Upper White Collar	23.0	-5.3	9.0	26.0	-2.3
	Lower White Collar	d	d	10.0	d	7.0
	Upper Blue Collar	2.7	-2.7	1.3	5.0	-0.3
	Lower Blue Collar	3.7	1.0	10.3	11.3	8.7
Education						
	Upper White Collar	6.7	2.0	18.3	20.3	15.7
	Lower White Collar	d	d	-3.3	d	-7.0
	Upper Blue Collar	4.3	-8.3	6.3	15.3	2.7
	Lower Blue Collar	0.0	-8.3	4.3	9.7	1.3

[a]For an explanation of this measure, see the discussion pertaining to it in the section on "Catholic-Protestant differences in intergenerational occupational stratum mobility" in Chapter III.

[b]Positive numbers signify superiority of the higher (northwestern European) ethnic stratum and negative numbers signify superiority of the lower (central, southern, and eastern European) ethnic stratum.

[c]Positive numbers signify Protestant superiority and negative numbers signify Catholic superiority. For purposes of comparison, the MCPD's between religious groups which obtain when ethnic status is uncontrolled are presented in column 5, "No Ethnicity Control." They are based on Tables 5 and 10 in Chapter III and Table 18 in Chapter IV.

[d]Too few cases in lower ethnic stratum.

It will be noted in column 4, that within the Protestant group, in contrast to the Catholic, the lower ethnic stratum does, on the whole, somewhat better in economic and particularly educational attainment. Comparison of columns 3 and 4 reveals that Catholics manifest a more positive (or less negative) relationship between ethnic status and occupational, income, and educational status than Protestants in all occupational origin strata.

Since ethnicity is not, generally speaking, an important correlate of social mobility, the variation between Catholics and Protestants in ethnic background does not account for the important religious differences in social mobility reported in Chapters III-IV. In fact, contrary to our expectation, failure to control for ethnicity serves to conceal several notable cases of Protestant superiority in economic and educational achievement. This becomes clear upon closer examination of Protestant-Catholic mobility differentials within the two ethnic strata.

Table 21 discloses that in the lower ethnic stratum, Protestants consistently surpass their Catholic cohorts in each origin group in occupational, income, and educational status. The margin of Protestant superiority is usually pronounced. It is frequently very large. The summary presented in column 6 points up the consistent direction of religious differences in the lower ethnic stratum and the impressive size which these differences commonly attain. It may be observed that there are clear-cut patterns of

Protestant superiority exhibited within the lower ethnic stratum which are not apparent when ethnicity is uncontrolled. This is the case in respect to superiority in education within the lower blue collar group, and in all three facets of social mobility within the upper blue collar group.

The research findings (summarized in column 7 and reported in full in Table 22) reveal that in some cases within the higher ethnic stratum, Protestants also attain important margins of superiority over their Catholic origin cohorts. Most notably, Protestants are characterized by more white collar occupational stability, lower rates of employment in nonskilled jobs within all origin groups, more education within the upper white collar group, and greater income within the lower blue collar group. Thus some of the most crucial patterns of Protestant superiority manifested in the absence of a control for ethnicity are also in evidence among the sub-sample of respondents of northwestern European descent.[1] This continuity is especially marked in respect to occupational mobility. Comparison of Table 22 with Table 5 in Chapter III reveals that the Protestant superiority in occupational mobility is in no instance appreciably diminished by controlling for ethnicity, except for upward mobility among persons of lower white collar background.

It should be noted, however, that standardization of ethnic status does effect some reductions of religious

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[1]Comparison of columns 5 and 7 discloses that religious differences in the higher ethnic stratum are in most cases only slightly smaller than differences uncovered in the total sample prior to the application of the control for ethnicity.

differences in income and education within the higher ethnic stratum. For example, although Catholics show up a bit less favorably, religious differences in rates of members of upper and lower blue collar origin who do not complete high school are of no particular consequence among respondents of northwestern European extraction.

It may be observed through comparison of columns 6 and 7 that the degree to which Protestants surpass their Catholic origin cohorts in vertical mobility generally varies in only small measure between ethnic strata. Variations between ethnic strata in the degree of Protestant superiority in income in the upper white collar origin stratum and in education in the blue collar origin strata constitute exceptions to this rule. In the former case, the variation between ethnic strata in respect to Protestant-Catholic mobility differentials clearly hits its peak.[1]

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[1]Nonetheless, the variation between ethnic strata in the pattern of religious differences in income is inconsistent. In the lower blue collar stratum of origin, and probably also in the lower white collar, Protestants of high ethnic status exceed Protestants of low ethnic status in the margin by which they surpass their Catholic origin cohorts in earning top-level income. (In the lower white collar group, the Protestant increment among the sub-sample of high ethnic status exceeds that observed in the full sample.)

It should be noted also that the pattern of religious differences in vertical mobility in the upper white collar group is highly inconsistent. Catholics manage to achieve slightly higher income despite their very large lag in occupational and educational status. If religious differences in ethnic status within the upper white collar group handicap Catholics in vertical mobility, standardization of ethnic status serves only to eliminate the Catholic disadvantage in income among respondents of northwestern European extraction.

Table 23 is arranged to allow for evaluation of the comparative significance of religion and ethnic status in accounting for the Catholic lag in social mobility. In each case, as is shown by comparison of columns 3 and 6, Catholics of low ethnic status trail Protestants of comparable status to a greater degree than they trail Catholics who enjoy high ethnic status. Similarly, comparison of columns 3 and 7 discloses that in 6 of 9 test cases, Catholics of high ethnic status lag behind Protestants who are in their own ethnic stratum in greater measure than they surpass their fellow Catholics who have low ethnic status. The evidence thus indicates that Protestant-Catholic differences in vertical mobility are attributable more to differences in religious affiliation than ethnicity. Indeed, the most important effects of standardizing ethnic status involve increases, rather than reductions, in the magnitude of religious differences in social mobility.

Discussion.--The research has disclosed that Protestants of central, southern, and eastern European extraction are characterized by notable success in achieving educational and economic status. In fact, contrary to our expectation, an inverse relationship (although slight) between ethnicity and vertical mobility is generally exhibited within the Protestant group. A problem is posed: Why does this condition prevail? The present data, unfortunately, are insufficient to provide a clear answer to this question. However, three hypotheses, which we believe to be most pertinent, will

be considered in the discussion which follows. In order of their increasing significance, these hypotheses deal with the potential influences exerted by (1) sampling error, (2) religious conversion, and (3) minority group status.

Due to the small number of Protestant respondents in the lower ethnic stratum, it is possible that the highly favorable pattern of status achievement uncovered in this group is, primarily, the result of chance sampling variation. However, in view of the consistency with which Protestants of low ethnic status either approximate or surpass other Protestants and exceed Catholics in both ethnic strata in status achievement, it is unlikely that systematic sampling error is a critical factor underlying the research findings. The pattern under consideration is found in each sub-sample of occupational origin cohorts; furthermore, it holds true for all dimensions of social mobility investigated--occupation, income, and education.

A more likely explanation of the strong showing made by Protestants of central, southern, and eastern European descent is that they are comprised in part of upwardly mobile workers of Catholic origin who have converted to Protestantism. In the light of their study of social class in New Haven, Hollingshead and Redlich conclude that religious conversion of this type is not uncommon among persons of working class origin who arrive in the lower middle class:

> The identification of upwardly mobile individuals with Protestant religious denominations is an interesting phenomenon. As individuals have moved toward middle class

> status, they have become either leaders in the Roman Catholic Church or members of Protestant denominations, principally Congregational or Episcopal, which has raised the percentage of Protestants in this stratum above what the figures on ethnic origin would indicate. There has been no comparable movement of individuals of Yankee, Scottish, English, Welsh, or Scandinavian origins into the Roman Catholic Church. We infer that upward mobility has led to greater defections from the Roman Catholic Church than is true of either Protestants or Jews.[1]

Data on the frequency and conditions under which Catholics convert to Protestantism are not available for the present sample. However, since only 24 per cent of the lower ethnic stratum is of Protestant persuasion, it is likely that a large proportion of these respondents is of Protestant origin. Protestants comprise an equal or greater proportion of the population of a number of countries in central, southern, or eastern Europe. Countries which were predominantly Protestant prior to World War II, for example, include Estonia (where Lutherans alone comprised 79 per cent of the population), Finland (almost completely Protestant), and Latvia (55 per cent Protestant).[2]

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[1] August B. Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), p. 101.

The problem of religious conversions among members of the business elite, though much ballyhooed, has received little systematic attention from sociologists. Newcomer apparently believes that conversions are not particularly frequent. Although she states that there is some evidence that church membership is occasionally changed, all the cases cited by her, with but one exception, involve change from one to another Protestant denomination. (Newcomer, loc. cit.)

[2] "Foreign Countries," The 1960 World Almanac and Book of Facts, ed. Harry Hansen (New York: New York World-Telegram Corporation, 1960), pp. 319-95.

Due to the complexity of the problem, evaluation of the significance of conversion for religious differences in social mobility in the lower ethnic stratum is extremely difficult in the absence of thorough background data. Did the respondent himself convert to Protestantism or did another member of his family convert in an earlier generation? If the latter, the respondent probably was raised within the Protestant sub-community and should not be classified as a convert. In cases where the respondent himself converts to Protestantism and achieves relatively high socio-economic position, high mobility aspiration may constitute the effect, more than the cause, of membership in the Protestant sub-community. That is, a Catholic may be motivated, primarily, to become a Protestant for reasons other than the improvement of his social and economic position; but, participation within the Protestant sub-community after conversion may raise the convert's status aspirations and promote high status achievement.[1]

A third factor, minority status, is, in our opinion, primarily responsible for the impressive socio-economic achievement typically exhibited by Protestants of low ethnic status. Due to their minority ethnic group status, Protestants

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[1]It is also possible that the higher Catholic ethnic stratum includes some persons of Protestant origin. In such a case, if converts should include a disproportionately high number of Protestants of low mobility orientation, mobility rates would be artificially deflated within the Catholic group and inflated within the Protestant. However, we have no information about either the frequency or the motivation for such conversions for the present sample.

of central, southern, and eastern European extraction have a relatively low degree of status crystallization and probably occupy a marginal position within the Protestant sub-community. Consequently, it is very possible that they have particularly strong needs (as do Jews, for example) to achieve high educational and economic status.

Although minority ethnic status may be a necessary and significant factor underlying the great "push" exhibited by this group, it is not necessarily a sufficient explanation for their success. A question requiring further study is to what extent does membership in the Protestant or Jewish sub-community, as opposed to the Catholic, constitute a necessary catalyzing agent in order that marginal, uncrystallized status position induce strong compensatory needs for success. In this light, we may consider the case of Catholics of upper white collar origin. They have minority status in respect to religious membership; in addition, they comprise, as Catholics, a minor proportion of the upper white collar origin stratum. Nonetheless, their marginal, uncrystallized status does not stimulate an especially notable degree of socio-economic achievement. On the contrary, this Catholic group is distinguished by its comparatively low accomplishment, except for the relative financial success of members of northwestern European extraction.

Determination of the limiting conditions which may attach to any generalizations in this area is essential. For example, the degree of "Catholic" type response (comparatively

low mobility aspiration and achievement) among Catholic workers may vary directly with the proportion of the population comprised of Catholics. Since Catholics comprise approximately one-half of the white Christian population of Detroit, future studies, should they be made, of comparative rates of Catholic and Protestant vertical mobility in communities where Catholics constitute a much smaller segment of the population will be of considerable value.

Religious Affiliation, Age, and Social Mobility

The problem.--This study has disclosed that at the present time, generally speaking, Protestants surpass Catholics in social mobility in Detroit. Because lack of comparable data for any earlier period precludes precise comparison, it has not been possible to know what trends may be signified by the patterns of religious differences uncovered. These patterns might be ephemeral. Social forces may have been set in motion in the urban community which have not only already effected significant changes from past patterns of religious differences in status achievement, but whose unabated operation will produce still further changes of significance.

If as a result of the increasing bureaucratization and collectivization of work in industrial society, Protestants increasingly depreciate work, competition, and achievement, as is frequently alleged, younger Protestants could be expected to have lower mobility aspiration than older

Protestant workers. Moreover, if Catholic workers are increasingly assimilating the secular success ethic, as is generally assumed, younger Catholics could be expected to surpass older Catholic workers in mobility aspiration. Under such circumstances, it would be likely that analysis of religious differences in social mobility would disclose a trend toward increasing Catholic equality in status achievement.

In view of the importance of this possibility, the relationships between age and mobility differentials, within and between the two religious groups, will be analyzed to see if any trends in comparative Catholic-Protestant rates of educational and economic achievement are discernible. For purposes of analysis, differentiation will be made between respondents 39 and younger and respondents 40 and older.[1] By using this conventional dichotomization of age

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[1]Due to the stringent delimitation of the present sample, approximately three-fourths of the respondents are between 30 and 50, with the greater proportion between 30 and 40. While the age distribution of the respondents has the drawback of preventing a more elaborate breakdown of age groups for statistical analysis, it has the virtue of minimizing any confounding influences attributable to atypical patterns of employment, since the latter are more likely to be present among the youngest and oldest workers in the sample.

The majority of respondents, 64 per cent, are located within the younger age group. Catholics and Protestants are distributed within age strata in approximately equal proportions. Sixty-seven per cent of the Catholics and 61 per cent of the Protestants are under 40. Within each occupational origin stratum except the lower white collar, moreover, the two religious groups have roughly the same proportion of members in each age category. The percentages of Catholics and Protestants, respectively, who are under 40 within each origin stratum are as follows: upper white collar--62 and 56; lower white collar--75 and 52; upper blue collar--66 and 64; lower blue collar--69 and 65.

groups when controls for religion, occupational origin, and age are implemented simultaneously, sufficient cases are available to warrant statistical analysis of mobility patterns within all control groups except that comprised of older Catholics of lower white collar background.

This typology has also been selected because it distinguishes, in general, between those respondents who entered the labor force during the Depression era and those who did so during the more prosperous war and postwar years. Consequently, some light also might conceivably be shed upon the nature of the relationship between the magnitude of religious differences in social mobility and the level of economic opportunity and welfare encountered by urban workers. Based upon an age cohort analysis of intergenerational mobility in a national sample of adult males, Lenski reports that the percentage of white collar job-holders among white collar workers' sons who were born during 1903-1912, is much lower than that found among either older or younger respondents of the same origin in his sample.[1] He interprets this finding as reflecting in at least partial measure:

> ...the influence of the depression of the thirties. Men of this age (17-26 years) were especially vulnerable at the outset of the depression. This age, which includes the years when advanced education and the first full-time employment are normally obtained, is a critical period in occupational careers.[2]

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[1]Gerhard E. Lenski, "Trends in Inter-Generational Occupational Mobility in the United States," American Sociological Review, XXIII (October, 1958), 514-23.

[2]Ibid., p. 521. By dichotomizing the age variable at 40, most respondents in the older age group (approximately 80 per cent of whom are between 40 and 50) were born within

Although the economic growth and expansion of educational opportunities that have characterized the last two decades might well have produced a spurt toward generally increased mobility achievement throughout the younger age cohort, Catholics may have especially benefited from these conditions. Catholics constitute a minority religious group. The Catholic group, moreover, has traditionally been comprised to a disproportionately high degree of members of low economic and ethnic status. If as a consequence Catholics were more vulnerable to the economic and educational restrictions imposed by the Depression, Catholics in particular may have profited from the general increase in opportunities for economic and educational mobility. In this light, specific measures whose effects were to promote equality of opportunity and facilitate social mobility--the G. I. Bill of Rights, for example--could well have been a more important boon to Catholics than to Protestants. Catholic mobility rates may also have risen due to a considerable breakdown, as a result of military experience, of mobility-impeding ethnic group pressures.

Research findings.--Comparative rates of Catholic and Protestant vertical mobility among occupational origin cohorts are presented in Tables 24 and 25, respectively, for the

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the same span of years as were the respondents in the atypical age cohort reported by Lenski. In no origin stratum, unfortunately, are there sufficient cases to warrant statistical analysis of religious differences in social mobility among persons old enough to have established their careers prior to the 1930's.

TABLE 24

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, INCOME, AND EDUCATION AMONG RESPONDENTS 39 YEARS AND YOUNGER, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Selected Characteristics	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Occupational Destination								
Upper White Collar	32	44	30	33	28	32	16	30
Lower White Collar	19	18	14	38	11	15	13	4
Upper Blue Collar	21	19	26	24	29	36	38	35
Lower Blue Collar	28	19	30	5	32	17	33	31
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Income								
$10,000 and over	6	11	4	10	4	3	1	5
$7,000-$9,999	15	19	22	33	12	20	14	18
$5,000-$6,999	37	40	44	38	42	32	36	43
Under $5,000	42	30	30	19	42	45	49	34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Education								
College Graduate	10	26	11	19	8	9	6	8
Some College	23	22	15	24	10	22	9	10
High School Graduate	32	36	33	38	38	47	35	45
Not Graduate High School	35	16	41	19	44	22	50	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	62	88	27	21	134	131	191	106

TABLE 25

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, INCOME, AND EDUCATION AMONG RESPONDENTS, 40 YEARS AND OLDER, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Selected Characteristics	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C[a]	P	C	P	C	P
Occupational Destination								
Upper White Collar	32	57	--	42	28	19	14	16
Lower White Collar	27	23	--	21	9	8	9	13
Upper Blue Collar	19	13	--	26	35	47	41	39
Lower Blue Collar	22	7	--	11	28	26	36	32
Total	100	100	--	100	100	100	100	100
Income								
$10,000 and over	22	32	--	32	12	12	6	14
$7,000-$9,999	21	22	--	5	25	22	13	25
$5,000-$6,999	35	24	--	42	26	36	40	32
Under $5,000	22	22	--	21	37	30	41	29
Total	100	100	--	100	100	100	100	100
Education								
College Graduate	8	29	--	5	4	5	1	0
Some College	19	12	--	5	7	7	7	2
High School Graduate	22	32	--	21	30	27	18	36
Not Graduate High School	51	27	--	69	59	61	74	62
Total	100	100	--	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	37	69	9	19	68	74	85	56

[a] Too few cases for statistical analysis.

younger respondents (21-39 years) and the older respondents (40 years and older). Summary measures based upon these data are reported in Table 26. In the discussion which follows in this section, all references to column numbers pertain to Table 26.

The summary presented in column 6 shows clearly that Protestants appreciably surpass Catholics in educational and economic attainment among workers 39 and younger, except for income within the upper blue collar group. It may be observed in Table 24 that substantially higher rates of high school drop-outs, nonskilled manual workers, and wage earners making less than $5,000, prevail, in general, in the Catholic group. Conversely, there are in the Protestant group appreciably higher proportions of workers who have college training, white collar positions, and earnings in excess of $7,000.

The relationship between religion and vertical mobility is less pronounced among workers 40 and older. As column 7 disclosed, Protestants equal or surpass Catholics in educational, occupational, and financial status in all origin strata, except for occupational mobility among workers of upper blue collar background. Nonetheless, inspection of Table 25 reveals that substantial Protestant increments in socio-economic status occur consistently only among workers of highest origin status. Aside from the large differences in income among respondents of nonskilled manual background, religious differences in vertical mobility are insignificant among older workers of blue collar origin.

TABLE 26

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION, INCOME, AND EDUCATION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, BY AGE, BY RELIGION, IN MEAN CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCES[a]

Mobility Measure	Occupational Origin	MCPD's in Social Mobility, By Occupational Origin				
		Between the Older and Younger Age Strata, By Religion[b]		Between Protestants and Catholics, By Age Stratum[c]		
		Cath-olics	Protes-tants	No Age Control	Younger Age Stratum	Older Age Stratum
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Occupation						
	Upper White Collar	4.7	14.3	14.7	10.7	20.3
	Lower White Collar	d	-1.7	16.3	18.3	d
	Upper Blue Collar	0.7	-14.0	4.0	9.0	-5.7
	Lower Blue Collar	-3.7	-6.7	6.3	7.0	4.0
Income						
	Upper White Collar	19.3	17.7	9.0	8.7	7.0
	Lower White Collar	d	4.7	10.0	11.3	d
	Upper Blue Collar	11.3	11.7	1.3	1.0	1.3
	Lower Blue Collar	5.7	10.0	10.3	9.0	13.3
Education						
	Upper White Collar	-8.0	-5.0	18.3	16.7	19.7
	Lower White Collar	d	-32.3	-3.3	15.7	d
	Upper Blue Collar	-8.7	-20.7	6.3	12.0	0.0
	Lower Blue Collar	-12.0	-16.3	4.3	6.0	1.7

[a]For an explanation of this measure, see the discussion pertaining to it in the section on "Catholic-Protestant differences in intergenerational occupational stratum mobility" in Chapter III.

[b]Positive numbers signify superiority of the older age stratum (40 and older) and negative numbers signify superiority of the younger age stratum (39 and younger).

[c]Positive numbers signify Protestant superiority and negative numbers signify Catholic superiority. For purposes of comparison, the MCPD's between religious groups which obtain when age is uncontrolled are presented in column 5, "No Age Control." They are based on Tables 5 and 10 in Chapter III and Table 18 in Chapter IV.

[d]Too few cases in Catholic group.

Comparison of columns 6 and 7 demonstrates that aside from occupation in the upper white collar stratum, in no case does age bear a strong direct relationship to the size of the Protestant advantage. The research findings thus fail to indicate a trend toward reduction of religious differences in rates of social mobility. The data suggest, instead, a trend in the opposite direction within the three lower origin strata. In both the lower blue collar stratum (except for income) and the upper blue collar stratum, important Protestant increments in social status prevail among younger workers that do not obtain within the older group. The variation is especially prominent within the upper blue collar stratum.

It seems safe to assume, moreover, that the margin of Protestant superiority among respondents of lower white collar origin also is inversely related to age. In this origin stratum, the Protestant advantage in occupational, financial, and particularly educational status within the sub-sample of younger workers (column 6) in each case exceeds that found within the combined sub-sample of older and younger workers (column 5). Younger Protestants, furthermore, appear in a very favorable light when compared to older Protestants (column 4). A more pronounced inverse relationship between age and education is manifested among Protestants of lower white collar background than obtains in any other origin stratum within either religious group. As a consequence, it is likely that the younger Protestants eventually will

substantially surpass the older Protestants in occupational and income status. The younger group already compares favorably in respect to the proportions of its members who avoid nonskilled jobs and secure white collar positions, and who earn in excess of $5,000 and $7,000.

The variation between age strata in religious differences in social mobility differs among respondents of upper white collar origin. Protestants extensively outdistance Catholics in achieving educational, occupational, and financial status in both age strata. Aside from occupational mobility, younger Protestant workers attain margins of superiority over Catholics only slightly smaller than the increments, which are extremely large, registered by Protestants 40 and older.

Relations between age and social status among occupational origin cohorts within the Catholic and Protestant groups, respectively, are summarized in columns 3 and 4. It will be noted that the patterns of religious differences in status achievement that have been reported reflect the fact that when younger workers are compared to older workers within their own religious group, Protestants under 40 compete, on the whole, more effectively than Catholics under 40. (For each respective row, the difference which results from subtracting the measure in column 6 from that in column 7 is equal to the difference which results from subtracting the measure in column 3 from that in column 4.)

If age had typically been directly related to the margin of Protestant superiority in social mobility, an important problem of interpretation would have been posed. Such a pattern might have signified either a basic trend toward equalization of Catholic and Protestant mobility rates or merely that Protestants, due to greater intragenerational mobility, increasingly outdistance Catholics as their careers unfold. This problem is not posed. For age is, primarily, inversely related to religious differences in social mobility. Consequently, a different question is raised. Do Catholics and Protestants attain similar occupational and income levels at different ages? That is, does it take Catholics a longer time than Protestants to reach the higher economic levels? If such would be the case, some of the more pronounced religious differences in occupational and income status present among the younger respondents might eventually decline.

This possibility is not likely, however, in view of the critical Protestant advantage in <u>education</u> uncovered throughout the sub-sample of younger workers. Since the younger Protestants probably have yet to secure the full economic benefits of their greater educational preparation, the impressive lead which they have already attained over their Catholic cohorts in occupational status is likely to increase. Due to their higher educational and occupational status, it is also probable that the younger Protestant respondents will subsequently expand their present

financial advantage.[1] It appears especially likely that religious differences in income will increase among younger workers of upper blue collar background. The overall income equality manifested in this group is far out of line with the Protestants' superior educational and occupational status.

Discussion.--In the light of theories of social change currently enjoying wide acceptance, two significant questions emerge in connection with the present research findings: (1) Why are appreciable religious differences in social mobility present among workers under 40; and (2) Why is the magnitude of Protestant superiority in mobility achievement inversely related, on the whole, to age? If Protestants increasingly depreciate the ethic of hard work and are less energized by the achievement motive, and Catholics increasingly internalize the mobility ethic, we could expect the evidence to indicate a trend toward equality of socio-economic achievement between the two groups. Similarly, a change in this direction would be likely if mobility rates among Catholics more than Protestants should have been curtailed as a result of the abnormal economic conditions prevailing during the Depression, due to the former group's generally lower religious, ethnic, and economic status.

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[1] Miller has demonstrated that the variation of income by age for American males is directly related to amount of education. The relative increase in income which occurs between the late twenties and age 50 is, for example, proportionately three times greater for college graduates than for high school drop-outs. See Miller, op. cit., pp. 64-68.

It has been observed, however, that religious differences in social mobility in Detroit are generally larger among younger workers. It is true that the evidence indicates that younger Catholic workers have considerably higher educational status than their older co-religionists, and already approach the latter in occupational status. However, the findings certainly do not indicate that the changing conditions of work in America have reduced mobility aspiration and achievement among younger Protestant workers. Although the performance of the younger Catholics suggests that the secular success ethic is increasingly assimilated by Catholic workers, religious differences in mobility achievement indicate that Protestants under 40 are currently more highly motivated to achieve social status than Catholics of similar age.

Among Protestants and Catholics who have entered the labor force since the end of the Depression, there can be little doubt that Protestants have more fully exploited the unusual expansion of educational and occupational opportunities. Most notable is the substantial increase within the three lower origin strata (as well as the sustained high level within the upper white collar stratum) of Protestant superiority in educational status. As a result of these differences in education between religious groups, the younger Protestants will probably further increase the increment in occupational and financial status which they already exhibit.

The present research thus indicates the advisability of reappraising the observations of those social analysts who stress the devaluation of achievement, the decline of the ascetic orientation to work, the rise to supremacy of the "social ethic" over the Protestant ethic, and the homogenization of values and character structure among the urban masses, in the United States during the last century.

In a salient essay, Seymour M. Lipset has recently undertaken such a critique.[1] He contends "that the interplay between the democratic equalitarian ideal and the strong achievement orientation in America has been a continuing theme throughout American history."[2] In this context, Lipset comments:

> Such observers as David Riesman and William H. Whyte, Jr., who maintain essentially that in the past century there has been a change in values from the dominance of individualism and achievement to those of group identification and security, would seem to be minimizing...the persistent vitality of the achievement motive and the ethic of hard work in the present day.
>
> Both equalitarianism and achievement are dominant values articulated in existing institutional structures. Though they manifest certain contradictory features, neither value seems likely to cease playing a significant role. It is strange that in an age in which all the empirical evidence demonstrates that there is more upward social mobility than at any time in our history--in which large numbers of workers respond to a reduction of the work week by taking second jobs, in which more married women continue their careers after marriage on both the working-class and middle-class level, and in which the advertising industry, which most typifies an America oriented to mass consumption, demands and secures a prolonged work week from its creative personnel--it is strange that in such an age men see the norms of hard work and achievement as dead. A systematic examination

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[1] "Trends in American Society," An Outline of Man's Knowledge of the Modern World, ed. Lyman Bryson (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), pp. 389-417.

[2] Ibid., p. 411.

> of the available evidence suggests....that both equalitarianism and achievement have remained the dominant values in most existing institutional structures.[1]

Viewed in broad perspective, Lipset maintains that:

> both the equalitarian and achievement value strands in the United States remain strong, but changing conditions sometimes strengthen one at the expense of the other, or change the internal content of each. As the possibility of building up a major enterprise of one's own has declined, it has been replaced by the opportunity to move up the bureaucratic elite. The politics of liberalism and equality have fostered institutional changes, such as the constant spread of public education and training plans within corporations, which have increased opportunities for advancement.[2]

Lipset's interpretation is consistent with our evidence that neither have mobility opportunities diminished nor has mobility aspiration died among younger workers. Instead, this group currently exhibits high rates of upward intergenerational social mobility and promises to attain still higher status as its members' careers progress. However, our findings also strongly suggest that the success ethic has not been standardized among adherents of America's two major religions, but rather is internalized in greater measure by workers of Protestant persuasion.

The question remains, however, as to why the magnitude of Protestant superiority in social mobility is

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[1] Ibid., pp. 391-92. In arguing "that the work orientation has not declined," Lipset further points out that "trade unions such as the United Automobile Workers and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union have found that enforced retirement has deleterious effects on the social life and physical health of their members, who in fact prefer work to leisure, a phenomenon that is completely incomprehensible to workers from many European and Latin American countries." (Ibid., p. 414.)

[2] Ibid.

inversely related, on the whole, to age. This pattern is probably a result of the significant changes in economic structure and ideology which occurred in the United States from the 1930's to the 1950's.

Economic conditions may have held down religious differences in social mobility among the older respondents. The large majority of them either entered the labor force or were seeking to establish their careers during the Depression. Due to financial pressures which forced many persons to cut short their education and to severely limited economic opportunities, many men doubtless were prevented from achieving the degree of social mobility which they otherwise would have attained. In evaluating the effects of the Depression on rates of intergenerational occupational mobility, Lenski hypothesizes that the "economic crisis of the 1930's" had "a levelling effect on job opportunities" among workers who were then entering the labor force, since the difficulty of securing a college education may have forced many workers "to become established in blue collar jobs from which upward movement later proved impossible."[1] If Protestants should have surpassed Catholics in mobility aspiration, it is unlikely that commensurate religious differences in mobility achievement would have occurred under these conditions.

Furthermore, it is likely that the relative emphasis placed upon achievement and equality as values in the dominant secular ethos--that is, the legitimacy which each is

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[1]Lenski, loc. cit.

accorded vis-a-vis the other--has a significant bearing on the magnitude of religious differences in social mobility. Lipset argues vigorously (and presents impressive evidence) that the effect of the prosperity of the 1950's has been to give "legitimacy again to many basically conservative American institutions and values."[1] He contends that the reaction in the 1950's "against the seeming decline in the Protestant ethic of achievement and hard work....should be viewed as the counterpart of the concern with the seeming decline of equality which moved comparable groups [the intellectual middle classes] in the 1930's."[2] Lipset goes so far as to claim that the reason for the tendency "to deprecate some of the consequences of equality" is that once again "the values of achievement are dominant in a conservative political and economic atmosphere" in which the equalitarian ideological emphases of the 1930's "have been almost completely reversed."[3]

Insofar as Lipset is correct, it is probable that in respect to comparative Catholic-Protestant rates of social mobility, the 1930's provided conditions more advantageous for Catholic workers, and the subsequent period of economic boom has provided conditions more favorable for Protestant workers. As a consequence of the social innovations promulgated by the New Deal in its effort to implement the equalitarian ideal, significant gains in social and economic

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[1]Lipset, op. cit., p. 412. [2]Ibid., pp. 412-13.

[3]Ibid.

position were enjoyed by the bulk of Catholic manual workers in the 1930's. During this time when liberal politics and equalitarian ethos were ascendant, the most underprivileged social strata (of European descent) secured marked gains in their relative economic position as a consequence of the widespread unionization of the urban manual labor force and the general redistribution of services, income, and goods.

On the other hand, religious attitudes toward mobility necessarily derive their significance within the total configuration of values, as well as opportunities, prevailing in the political and economic systems. Consequently, in evaluating the significance of political and ideological change for comparative religious rates of social mobility, it is necessary to take into account the likelihood that the impact of religious values upon mobility varies with changes in the dominant secular ethos. Due to the emphasis on equalitarian values during the Depression, religious differences in achievement needs were less likely to crystallize and result in mobility differentials than during the period of postwar prosperity in which achievement values have been paramount.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The objective of this study has been to appraise the effects of religious values upon vertical mobility in contemporary American urban-industrial society. Although impressive historical and comparative cultural evidence strongly suggests that Protestants surpassed Catholics in status aspirations and economic achievement during the early stages of Western capitalism, it cannot be assumed that the two groups will differ appreciably in social mobility in our highly secularized, bureaucratized, welfare-oriented, industrial society. In respect to this problem, current theories conflict, and empirical evidence is both inadequate and contradictory.

This thesis has reported some recent findings of an investigation of the relation between religious affiliation and social mobility, focusing on: (1) comparative rates of intergenerational occupational, income, and educational mobility among Catholics and Protestants; (2) the strata, both of origin and destination, which constitute the loci of religious differences in mobility behavior; (3) the significance of differential life-chances and structural rigidity in the occupational system itself for religious differences

in social mobility; (4) the implications for assessing the character of current social trends in the United States which may be derived from the relationships uncovered between age and Catholic-Protestant differences in educational attainment and economic achievement.

A cross-sectional probability sample of the Detroit metropolitan area was studied. In order to standardize life-chances and socialization experience, the population was restricted to white Catholic and Protestant male heads of household, currently employed in the labor force, who were raised within a northern-urban-American community.

Summary

The findings indicate that Protestants excel in occupational and income mobility. Their superiority in economic competition is concentrated within the highest and lowest destination strata. Protestants more frequently achieve the select positions at the top of the occupational and income pyramids. Catholics are more downwardly mobile, especially in multiple step descent across the blue collar line--notably, to the status of nonskilled worker. Catholics characterized by the latter pattern of movement earn far less than their Protestant origin cohorts who are located in skilled and white collar jobs.

Within occupational destination strata, Catholics tend generally to equal Protestants in income when they are working in white collar jobs, but they lag behind Protestants

when employed in skilled-supervisory work and, especially, nonskilled work. Thus Catholics fail to compensate for their excessive downward movement in occupational status by means of securing the more remunerative manual jobs.

Mobility differentials between Protestants and Catholics vary by origin group and mode of economic achievement, as well as by destination status. Religious differences in economic achievement are larger among cohorts of white collar origin than of blue collar origin. This pattern reflects the finding that differences in occupational destination between origin strata are appreciably smaller among Catholics than among Protestants. In addition, the Protestant superiority in occupation exceeds that registered in income within each origin stratum except the lower blue collar. In larger view, the general pattern which emerged showed religious differences in economic achievement to be concentrated, on the one hand, among workers of white collar origin and, on the other hand, among workers located in blue collar jobs.

Among origin cohorts, Protestants typically surpass Catholics in education. Superior educational attainment, however, does not seem to account for more than a part of the Protestants' advantage in occupation and income. Protestants also excel because they outperform Catholics who have a comparable amount of education. The disparity, however, is, on the whole, inversely related to educational status. It is generally found only among workers who have no college training.

Thus it is unlikely that the Catholic lag in economic success among educational peers is attributable to religious discrimination, since such an impediment would more likely be encountered in that sector of the job market open to persons with college training.

On the basis of the evidence, it is also unlikely that Catholics are seriously handicapped in economic competition due to ethnic discrimination. Catholic-Protestant divergences in ethnic composition do not seem to account in significant measure for religious differences in social mobility. Ethnic status was found to be, on the whole, neither strongly nor consistently related to mobility differentials either within or between religious groups. In general, important patterns of Protestant superiority in social mobility prevail when ethnic status is held constant, especially among workers of central, southern, and eastern European descent.

By contrast, an important inverse relationship between age and magnitude of religious differences in social mobility appears in each origin stratum except the upper white collar. Among workers under 40 at all origin levels, Protestants display an appreciable superiority over Catholics in mobility achievement. As a consequence of the substantial Protestant increment in education among the younger workers, it is likely that religious differences in occupation and, especially, income will increase as the careers of these workers unfold.

Interpretations and Conclusions

The Detroit data show that Protestants typically exceed Catholics in education and economic achievement. Since there is no significant indication that either religious or ethnic discrimination poses an important obstacle to economic mobility for Catholics, the balance of evidence uncovered in Detroit suggests that Protestants are generally more highly motivated to seek socio-economic success than Catholics. The hypothesis that Protestants surpass Catholics in achievement orientation is supported by recent findings of varied studies of achievement needs, elite membership, and higher education, as well as by historical and comparative cultural evidence.

Consequently, the findings of this investigation, especially the results of the age cohort analysis of intergenerational mobility, cast considerable doubt upon the validity of the principal assumptions which have led some observers to hypothesize that religion bears no significant relationship to economic achievement in modern industrial society. In view of the generally high rates of upward mobility in Detroit--in particular, the educational attainments and economic successes of the younger respondents--there is no warrant for assuming that either mobility opportunities or status aspirations have diminished as a result of the bureaucratization of work in the contemporary urban community. However, the pathways leading to social ascent

and the skills required for the climb have changed during the last century. The decline of the self-employed, individualistic entrepreneur and the concomitant rise of the college trained, "other-directed" corporate administrator surely constitute a significant example of such change.

It is apparent, moreover, that the transformations which have occurred cannot be equated with a depreciation of work, competitition, and achievement among members of the labor force. Although expressed in new contexts, integral parts of the Protestant ethic--the ascetic orientation to work, for example--seemingly manifest a persisting vitality among a sizeable segment of urban workers.[1]

Furthermore, despite the crucial importance of the success ethic, secularization, mass consumption, and security values as basic components of the dominant secular ethos in our welfare-bureaucratic society, it does not appear that achievement needs, status values, and mobility orientations have become homogenized among the urban masses to the far-reaching extent claimed by some social analysts. In respect to religion, the research findings indicate that in mid-twentieth century America, Protestants more than Catholics internalize the achievement motive and the ethic of hard work.

Protestants appear to excel in patterns of mobility which embody some of the most critical tests of achievement

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[1]For a more extended discussion of these issues, see the section on "Religious Affiliation, Age, and Social Mobility" in Chapter V.

open to the high-powered striver in a welfare-bureaucratic system. One of various pertinent findings may be cited to substantiate this assertion. Namely, among younger members of the labor force, Protestants climb from the bottom to the top of the occupational ladder at virtually double the rate of Catholics (30 versus 16 per cent). It is also noteworthy that the mobility patterns in which Protestants excel appear to be those requiring traits which have traditionally been associated with the Protestant ethic--for example, deferred gratification for occupational training. In light of the special significance of formal education for economic achievement in modern society, the vast superiority in educational status attained by Protestants within the younger age group is of paramount importance. It is likely that some significant roots of the Protestant increment in education are located in the impulse-renunciation syndrome central to the achievement of worldly success in the Protestant ethic.

Our findings do indicate, however, that the magnitude of Protestant superiority in socio-economic achievement is directly related to the amount of opportunity for upward social mobility afforded by the occupational structure and to the relative stress placed on the achievement ideal in the American ethos. It appears likely, for example, that the inverse relationship between age and Protestant superiority in education is in substantial measure attributable to the restriction of educational and economic opportunities

and the supremacy of the democratic equalitarian ideal during the economic crisis of the 1930's.

It also seems likely that these historical factors account, at least in part, for the comparatively small differences uncovered between religious groups in the upper blue collar origin stratum and, in particular, the proclivity for occupational stability exhibited by Protestant members of this origin group. With age standardized, it was revealed that these patterns occur primarily among older workers; younger Protestants, on the other hand, attain some substantial advantages in vertical mobility over their upper blue collar Catholic origin cohorts.

During periods of national prosperity and economic expansion, nonetheless, there also are, unquestionably, powerful forces at work in modern society that could be expected to effect an homogenization of Catholic-Protestant achievement needs, social values, and, consequently, economic achievement. The mass media, for example, disseminate the secular success ethic to a wide range of social strata throughout the urban community. In view of this, what are the sociological and psychological mechanisms by which Catholics and Protestants develop sufficiently different orientations to socio-economic achievement that the two groups manifest fairly consistent and sometimes pronounced differences in vertical mobility?

We have hypothesized, along with Herberg, Lenski, and others, that the three major religions in America now

constitute viable, self-contained sub-communities whose members relate to the larger society through their religious groups and whose impact extends to secular as well as sacred affairs. Moberg has pointed out that "many of the social sources of the Dutch verzuiling [the system of vertical differentiation based upon religion] and some of the historical circumstances that led to it are evident in contemporary America."[1] In his opinion, vertical pluralism in the Netherlands resulted from a relative increase in size and power of the minority religious group which, in turn, brought about an intensified struggle for power between denominations. Consequently, there were increased efforts made to shelter church members from influences considered detrimental to religious faith--this served to promote group exclusiveness--and a steady increase in the success of religious groups in gaining government support for sectarian educational and welfare institutions.

Moberg hypothesizes that "the present Dutch pattern of vertical pluralism may therefore be the future pattern of relationships between religion and society" in America.[2] As evidence in support of this hypothesis, he cites the

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[1]American Sociological Society, Proceedings of Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting (Chicago, Ill., 1959), pp. 94-95. We wish to express our grateful appreciation to David O. Moberg for making available to us the unpublished manuscripts for the paper to which reference has been made, "Religion and Society in the Netherlands and in America," and for "Social Differentiation in the Netherlands," a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society, April 17, 1959.

[2]Moberg, loc. cit.

increasing identification of persons by religious affiliation, a decline in the significance of nationality differences that have traditionally exerted divisive influences within religious sub-communities, the growth in numbers and strength of religious and parochial schools, and increased government aid to church related schools, welfare agencies, and hospitals. Moberg also contends that this hypothesis is supported by the increasing charges of anti-Americanism levelled against proponents of the separation of church and state, and by the increasing emphasis on the religious principles of "sphere sovereignty" and "subsidiarity."

Insofar as the metropolitan area is characterized by the development of differentiated religious sub-communities, as seems likely in view of the findings of recent community studies, religious groups may well develop distinctive views of life and produce in their members (to varying degree) dissimilar motives and needs. Thus it would not be surprising if somewhat divergent economic attitudes and behavior were conditioned in the Protestant and Catholic sub-communities. For in economic affairs, the two religious groups vary both in theological doctrine and historical experience. We have hypothesized, therefore, that traditional variations between the two groups in fundamental social and economic values are to some degree perpetuated in the contemporary urban community.

Special emphasis has been accorded to the hypothesis that Protestants tend more to identify with the middle class

values historically predominant in American Protestantism, while Cathclics tend to identify with working class values historically predominant in American Catholicism. This hypothesis of divergent reference-group orientation, which is implicit in the concept of Catholic-Protestant differences in achievement orientation, is valuable in explaining why so many Catholics of white collar origin become nonskilled workers, and why differences in achievement between Catholics of white collar origin and Catholics of blue collar origin are frequently of little consequence. In addition, this hypothesis helps to account for why Catholics generally achieve greater equality with Protestants in income mobility than in occupational mobility, and, especially, for why younger Protestant workers have or may be expected to garner the enormous economic benefits of the "educational explosion" to a vastly greater degree than their Catholic age cohorts.

The picture which emerges when the last four patterns of differences are viewed together suggests that Catholics may have primarily assimilated the purely materialistic values which in part comprise the success ethic. This is understandable. In the Catholic sub-community, the laity is generally exposed to relatively weak traditions of entrepreneurship and professionalization; identification with vocation and pride in craft; and, finally, an esteem of learning and emphasis on the laymen's independent quest for knowledge. In comparison, these traditions have been more prominent in the Protestant heritage, due to the historical

emphases upon secular "callings," sanctification of work, and individual religious self-reliance.

In encountering an economic system characterized by extensive security-striving and routinized seniority promotion, widespread material abundance, and values emphasizing consumption more than saving, the result may be that Catholics more readily respond to the purely material values within the contemporary secular ethos. With a minimum amount of formal training, such values are satisfied to a degree without precedent within the ranks of the highly paid, collectively organized nonskilled work force situated in the industrial metropolis. Due to the crucial significance of education for economic success in the modern occupational system, however, Catholics are severely handicapped in competing for both the more esteemed and the more remunerative positions available to the urban worker.

We believe that this project constitutes a sound beginning in resolving some important issues concerning the influence of religious values on social mobility in industrial society. At the very least, this study should serve to highlight some of the manifold questions which remain unanswered. For example, in accounting for the findings of the Detroit study, we cannot entirely dismiss the possibilities of anti-Catholic discrimination, inadequate control of ethnic status, religious conversions, and systematic intra-origin stratum differences favoring the Protestants--all factors whose impact is likely to be greatest at the higher

levels of the occupational structure. These contingencies might profitably be investigated by those future comparative studies whose general objectives and designs will be such as to provide necessary replications of this research.

On the basis of our experience, we believe the following lines of inquiry to be those that future research might most profitably explore in pursuing the present problem. In respect to the nature of the community studied, it would be advantageous to investigate religious differences in social mobility in a metropolitan area that differs from Detroit in the ethnic composition of the Catholic group and in which Catholics comprise a smaller proportion of the total white Christian population. In consideration of the sample to be selected, it would be desirable to overweight the following groups: (1) Catholics of third immigrant generation and beyond and Protestants of more recent arrival; (2) Catholics of high ethnic status and Protestants of low ethnic status; (3) members of both religious groups whose careers were established prior to the Depression. This would enable more refined analyses of the importance of immigrant generation, ethnicity, and age than were possible with the purely cross-sectional sample design which we have used.

In the light of the questions which have arisen and the working hypotheses which have been advanced in the course of this project, future research addressed to the comparative study of mobility aspiration and achievement among Catholics

and Protestants might do well to focus on some of the more important objective and attitudinal factors which we have not been able to deal with adequately. Paramount among these are the following research issues: (1) the differentiation of religious sub-communities within the metropolis; (2) class identification and reference-group orientation; (3) the meaning and motivation for education and work; (4) the significance of parochial schools for the conditioning of low mobility aspirations among Catholics; (5) patterns of intra-generational mobility; (6) type, frequency, and motivation for religious conversion; (7) the stimulation of compensatory needs for achievement of high educational and economic position among workers characterized by marginal, uncrystallized social status.

In conclusion, although religious differences in social mobility vary between the several dimensions of social status investigated, and also by stratum of origin and destination, Protestant-Catholic differences are sufficiently consistent and pronounced to bear witness to the current relevancy of the Weberian thesis in Detroit. Although Detroit has unique industrial and ethnic features, there is now no significant basis for assuming Detroit to be so unique that these findings lack relevance for other metropolitan areas in the United States.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATION AMONG HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND NON-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

High School Graduates

Occupational Destination	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Upper White Collar	32	28	17	34	27	24	18	30
Lower White Collar	11	28	42	50	17	14	12	7
Upper Blue Collar	29	26	33	8	32	41	38	38
Lower Blue Collar	28	18	8	8	24	21	32	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	28	54	12	12	71	82	82	68

Non-High School Graduates

Occupational Destination	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
Upper White Collar	17	24	8	24	14	9	4	9
Lower White Collar	22	24	0	23	4	7	9	7
Upper Blue Collar	27	28	23	47	39	56	45	45
Lower Blue Collar	34	24	69	6	43	28	42	39
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	41	33	13	17	98	74	159	74

TABLE 2

INCOME AMONG NON-HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES AND HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES

Income	Non-High School Graduates							
	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	7	6	0	24	5	5	1	3
$7,000-$9,999	10	15	15	12	10	12	7	13
$5,000-$6,999	32	27	46	23	31	30	38	42
Under $5,000	51	52	39	41	54	53	54	42
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	41	33	13	17	98	74	159	74

Income	High School Graduates							
	Occupational Origin and Religion							
	Upper White Collar		Lower White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	11	17	17	8	10	5	7	12
$7,000-$9,999	11	22	17	25	14	24	20	29
$5,000-$6,999	53	41	33	67	42	37	39	35
Under $5,000	25	20	33	0	34	34	34	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	28	54	12	12	71	82	82	68

TABLE 3

INCOME AMONG RESPONDENTS WITH FROM 1-3 FULL YEARS OF COLLEGE EDUCATION, BY RELIGION, BY OCCUPATIONAL ORIGIN, IN PERCENTAGES[a]

Income	Occupational Origin and Religion					
	Upper White Collar		Upper Blue Collar		Lower Blue Collar	
	C	P	C	P	C	P
$10,000 and over	19	22	0	9	0	8
$7,000-$9,999	24	11	45	27	22	8
$5,000-$6,999	33	33	33	37	35	42
Under $5,000	24	34	22	27	43	42
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number of Cases	21	27	18	33	23	12

[a] Too few cases for analysis in lower white collar origin group.

TABLE 4

APPROXIMATE SAMPLING ERRORS[a]

Sample Percentage	Sample Size							
	700	500	300	200	100	75	50	25
50%	3	4	5	6	8	9	12	17
30 or 70%	3	3	4	5	8	8	11	15
20 or 80%	3	3	4	5	7	8	9	13
10 or 90%	2	2	3	4	5	6	7	10
5 or 95%	1	2	2	3	3	4	5	8

[a]Chances are 90 in 100 that the central value lies within the reported value, plus or minus the number of percentage points shown in this table. (We counsel the reader that due to the clustering of interviews in 5 of the 6 samples from which the data were cumulated, an upward adjustment of no more than a few percentage points is generally required to attain the .90 level of significance.)

TABLE 5

SAMPLING ERRORS OF DIFFERENCES: ONE-TAIL P = .10[a]

Sample Size	300	200	100	75	50	25
	For Percentages from 35 to 65 Per Cent					
300	5	6	7	8	10	14
200		7	8	9	10	14
100			9	10	11	14
75				10	12	15
50					13	16
25						18
	For Percentages around 20 and 80 Per Cent					
300	4	5	6	7	8	
200		5	6	7	8	
100			7	8	9	
75				9	10	
50					10	
	For Percentages around 10 and 90 Per Cent					
300	3	4	4	5		
200		4	5	5		
100			6			

[a]Differences required for significance in comparison of percentages from two different sub-groups. (We counsel the reader that due to the clustering of interviews in 5 of the 6 samples from which the data were cumulated, an upward adjustment of no more than a few percentage points is generally required to attain P = .10.)

TABLE 6

SAMPLING ERRORS OF DIFFERENCES: TWO-TAIL P = .10[a]

Sample Size	300	200	100	75	50	25
	For Percentages from 35 to 65 Per Cent					
300	7	8	9	11	13	17
200		8	10	11	13	17
100			12	13	14	18
75				13	15	19
50					17	20
25						23
	For Percentages around 20 and 80 Per Cent					
300	5	6	8	8	10	
200		7	8	9	11	
100			9	11	12	
75				12	12	
50					13	
	For Percentages around 10 and 90 Per Cent					
300	4	5	6	7		
200		5	6	7		
100			7			

[a] Differences required for significance in comparisons of percentages from two different sub-groups. (We counsel the reader that due to the clustering of interviews in 5 of the 6 samples from which the data were cumulated, an upward adjustment of no more than a few percentage points is generally required to attain P = .10.)

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