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Religious preference and worldly success: A comparison of Protestants and Catholics

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RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE AND WORLDLY SUCCESS: A COMPARISON
OF PROTESTANTS AND CATHOLICS

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Sociology
and the 374
Faculty of the College of Graduate Studies
University of Omaha

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts in Sociology

by
James W. Crowley
June 1967

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Accepted for the faculty of the College of Graduate Studies of the University of Omaha, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.

John A. Ballweg
Chairman *Sociology*
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CHAPTER I

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

The problem of theory construction toward a sociological understanding of the religious-economic relationship has relied to a great extent upon the work of a German social scientist, Max Weber.¹ Historical observations made by Weber, which described a meaningful relationship between Protestantism and modern industrial capitalism,² stimulated scholars from a number of fields to continue investigation of this relationship. The Weberian thesis advanced the position that religious and economic phenomena within a society were mutually interdependent. More specifically, Weber was concerned with the 'economic ethics of a religion'³ in relation to the

¹Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, trans. by Talcott Parsons (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958). The book contains the statement of Weber's analysis of the religious-economic relationship. Weber's work is a response to the work of Karl Marx who considered religious motivation as a dependent variable; whereas Weber took a multi-causal position and religious motivation was among the determinants which caused the economic structure.

²For an expository treatment of the various ideal types of capitalism and world religions delineated by Weber, see, H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds. and trans.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), pp. 65-74 and Part 3. Throughout this thesis the term capitalism refers to Weber's conception of the modern industrial capitalism type.

³P. A. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories

economic institution. This relationship was considered as a factor which gave rise to modern capitalism. The present study attempted to explore and delineate^{1e} the nature of the religious-economic relationship in contemporary society.

THE SPIRIT OF MODERN CAPITALISM

According to Weber, in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, the Protestant religious ethic facilitated the rise of modern capitalism. The spirit of modern capitalism to which Weber referred was an "ideal type"⁴ characterized by a rationally organized and managed economic enterprise consisting of exact scientific principles, the concept of private property, production for a market, production for money, and maximum efficiency in work. Work required the complete devotion of a man to his calling, vocation, or activities within this economic system. At the individual level, work became a goal and

(New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), p. 674. By 'economic ethics of religion' Weber referred not so much to the various theological dogmas of religion but to the totality of practical forms of conduct.

⁴Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 59. An ideal type is an analytical tool of sociological investigation developed by Weber. It refers to the construction of certain elements of reality into a logically precise conception. The term 'ideal' has nothing to do with evaluations of any sort. For analytical purposes, for example, one may construct ideal types of prostitution as well as of religious leaders. The term does not mean that either prophets or harlots are exemplary or should be imitated as representatives of an ideal way of life.

represented the principle function of a person's life as well as the primary purpose for existence. Men were evaluated and paid according to the efficiency of their work -- the less effective the performance of work activity, the lower the rate of compensation. In addition, the individual attached great value to rationalism, utilitarianism, initiative, and inventiveness. These values were opposed to the values of traditionalism, superstition, and magic which were judged inappropriate from the standpoint of developing rational methods.⁵ Finally, individuals who lived successfully and achieved in the capitalistic system espoused the virtues of orderly conduct, honesty, diligence, efficiency, sincerity, truth, and integrity.⁶

In Weber's conception, capitalism was the highest form of rational operations developed in part by irrational religiously based attitudes.⁷ According to Weber, Protestantism became the fountainhead of incentives favoring rational pursuit of economic gain. Worldly activities were given positive spiritual and moral meaning with the emergence of the various forms of Protestantism developed

⁵Sorokin, op. cit., pp. 676-677; A similar description is available in Gerth and Mills, op. cit., pp. 67-68.

⁶Sorokin, op. cit., p. 678.

⁷Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 68.

during the Reformation. Particularly Puritanism, as a variation of the Protestant ethos, emphasized the necessary values of planning and self-control that were necessary in capitalistic economic activities.⁸

RELIGIOUS IDEAS THAT AIDED THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

Differentiation between Protestant and Catholic behavior was attributed to two religious ideas found in the teachings of early Protestant writers. Luther's concept of the 'calling' and Calvin's concept of 'predestination' were the fundamental religious cognitions that Weber considered as generating the ascetic discipline for work and activity which would give rise to capitalism.

The calling. The concept of 'calling' referred to a task set by God and fulfilled in worldly affairs. Worldly affairs for the Protestant became the highest form of moral activity the individual assumed in life. On the other hand, 'calling' for the Catholic rested solely on the fulfillment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world. For Weber, this moral justification of worldly activity was

⁸ Reinhard Bendix, Max Weber: An Intellectual Portrait (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1960), pp. 81-86.

the most important result of the Reformation for the rise of modern capitalism.⁹

Predestination. Predestination was a salient characteristic in the dogma of Calvinism. The doctrine of predestination embodied the religious belief that man had fallen into a state of sin and had lost his ability to do anything on his own to bring about salvation. By decree of God some men were predestined to an everlasting death.¹⁰ God did not exist for men -- but men for the sake of God. Only a small proportion of men were chosen for eternal grace. According to Calvinist doctrine, man could not use the help of a priest or sacrament for his salvation, nor was there any church that directed man in his relationship with the supernatural being. Calvinism served to eliminate forms of behavior, such as magic and superstition, which were designed to achieve salvation. According to this religious attitude the world existed for the glory of God. The elected believer was in the world solely to increase the glory of God by fulfilling His commandment to the best of his ability.¹¹ According to Weber, Calvinism was a more rational religious ethic opposed to irrational activity.

⁹Weber, op. cit., pp. 79-81.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 98-102.

¹¹Ibid., pp. 98-102.

Ideally, as Calvin stated his dogma, the elect were subjectively certain they were among the chosen agents of the Lord and in the state of grace. In practice, those who were among the elect were never completely sure of eternal life since they visibly differed in no way from the damned. There was a constant element of self doubt concerning one's own selection, but the believer could enhance self confidence by absolute duty in the daily struggle of life. In everyday life anxiety about the certainty of membership in the elect group could be relieved by intense worldly activity. For example, relief from anxiety came with the acquisition of wealth and property. Material success in the world was viewed as a clear mark of selection by the Lord.¹²

The Catholic lived a moral life by fulfilling traditional duties rather than exclusively rational activities. Instead of a unified systematic way of life the Church prescribed a series of individual acts that allowed the believer to atone for particular sins, repeated chances for salvation, and assurance against damnation.¹³ Conversely, Calvinism did not demand singular good works on the part of the member; but a

¹²Ibid., pp. 110-112.

¹³Ibid., p. 116.

systematic monolithic life of good works. There was no place in Calvinism for the Catholic concepts of sin, repentance, atonement, and release followed by renewed sin.¹⁴

The meaning of time. The virtuous use of time was of paramount importance in the Calvinist religious attitude that also aided the rise of capitalism. Mismanagement of time was one of the deadliest sins since life was infinitely short and precious in order to assure oneself of selection. Procrastination was the thief of time and lost time through sociability, idle talk, luxury, and excessive sleep was defined as morally deplorable because every hour lost was an hour lost in the labor for the glory of God. Concomitantly, unwillingness to work was symptomatic of the individuals lack of grace.¹⁵

Inner and other-worldly asceticism. The key change in history was the translation of societal institutions from traditionalism to rationalism. As society became increasingly rational, Weber noted that a tension emerged between religious attitudes and the economic sphere. According to Weber there were two social-psychological means of tension reduction between traditional and rational social action. These avenues of escape were

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 117.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 157-158.

dichotomized into other-worldly asceticism (mysticism) and the inner-worldly ascetic religious orientation.¹⁶

The other-worldly type reduced tension by social action directed away from any concern with the state of the world.¹⁷ Action in the world was opposed since it endangered the equilibrium of the religious state. The other-worldly ascetic was characterized by a mode of religious behavior that valued possession rather than action; the individual looked upon himself as a vessel of the divine rather than a tool.¹⁸

On the other hand, the inner-worldly ascetic resolved the religious-economic estrangement in a rationalizing world by social action that attempted to achieve mastery over the world. In principle, the inner-worldly type sought to extend his mastery to all aspects of the human condition.¹⁹ Mastery over the world was achieved especially through work in a worldly vocation.²⁰ According to these constructed types, Protestantism

¹⁶ Gerth and Mills, op. cit., pp. 332-333.

¹⁷ Max Weber, The Sociology of Religion, (trans.) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1963), pp. li-lii.

¹⁸ Gerth and Mills, op. cit., p. 325.

¹⁹ Weber, The Sociology of Religion, p. lii.

²⁰ Gerth and Mills, loc. cit.

characteristically developed the inner-worldly ascetic type of behavior among its followers, while Catholicism followed the other-worldly orientation.

VERIFICATION OF THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

Weber supported his Protestant Ethic hypothesis with three types of evidence. First, the historical analysis of the teachings of both Calvin and Luther were compared with the Catholic religious ethic.²¹ The analysis indicated that within Protestantism there existed a value orientation for rational conduct in the world, while Catholicism remained emersed in a traditional value system that directed behavior away from worldly activity.²² Secondly, Weber observed among the Western European nations, for example; Germany, France, England, Netherlands, and Scotland -- Calvinism was associated with intense business activity and wealth in a Capitalist economic system.²³ Finally, Weber indicated that within Germany the children of Protestant families attended business schools in greater numbers than did the non-Protestant part of the population. Moreover, the

²¹This point has been the subject matter of the discussion presented in previous sections of this paper.

²²See Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, especially Chapter IV.

²³Ibid., pp. 40-44.

Catholic population was underrepresented in educational institutions which prepared students for industrial and commercial occupations; the Catholic group was over-represented in schools such as the Gymnasium which emphasized the humanistic value orientation. Weber also noted that Catholics did not maintain proportional representation among skilled laborers in modern industry. Furthermore, there was a greater propensity for Catholics to remain as journeymen rather than move up to positions of master craftsmen; Protestants more often filled the upper ranks of skilled labor and administrative positions.²⁴

Based on these data presented above, Weber suggested the interdependent relationship between the Protestant religious ethic and the rise of the capitalistic economic structure in society. Although he presented an in-depth account of these sociological variables, his work has a number of limitations and qualifications which have been pointed out by other scholars.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 36-39; Also Robert K. Merton (rev. ed.) Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 590-595. Merton pointed out the marked tendency for Protestants as contrasted with Catholics to pursue scientific and technical studies as a result of Merton's analysis of data gathered in the 1880's in Germany. For bibliographic references concerning the debate stimulated by Weber on this point, see Merton, pp. 595-596.

CRITICISMS OF THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

The results of a study that analyzed sociological writing for the period between 1930 to 1960 indicated that Max Weber's theory of the religious-economic relationship has been the predominate explanation of Protestant and Catholic differences utilized by American sociologists.²⁵ The study concluded: among social scientists, the Protestant Ethic might be described as a "received doctrine of faith."²⁶ Yet, there have been some scholars who have suggested that the major premise of the Weberian theory was faulty and should be abandoned in favor of other explanations.²⁷ Other critiques have suggested that Weber failed to establish a causal relationship and also that his concepts such as capitalism and protestantism

²⁵Richard L. Means, "Weber's Thesis of the Protestant Ethic: The Ambiguity of Received Doctrine," Journal of Religion, 45 (January, 1965), pp. 1-2. The study included all books on sociological theory published in the United States; a sample of 139 research monographs quoted most often in the five most recent and popular sociology textbooks; and an analysis of all articles that used Protestantism as a research variable in leading sociological journals.

²⁶Ibid., p. 1. According to Means, a received doctrine of faith refers to the tendency of social scientists to accept a theory without criticism or empirical tests.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 3-5.

are difficult to operationally define.²⁸

The problem of causal significance. Historians have criticised the Weberian thesis by examination of the original sources of Calvin's teachings. For example, historian André Biéler²⁹ carried out extensive analysis of Calvin's teachings on economics and social matters and found in Calvin's work little indication that he supported the capitalistic form of economics. According to Biéler, Calvin was one of capitalism's most obvious critics. Historians have also noted that nineteenth century Protestantism described by Weber was not Puritan and Calvinistic in the sense that Calvin's Geneva was Calvinistic since several centuries of social change had intervened.³⁰

A sociologist, George Homans,³¹ elaborated the point that Puritanism did not create the economic attitudes of industry. For example, he illustrated that Protestantism was accepted for strategic reasons by part of the English commerce as a support for the

²⁸Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, see the foreword by R. H. Tawney, pp. 1-11.

²⁹André Biéler, La Pensée économique et social de Calvin (Geneva: Librairie de l'Université, George and Cie, S.A., 1959). Quoted in Means, op. cit., p. 3.

³⁰Means, loc. cit.

³¹George Caspar Homans, Sentiments and Activities (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1962), pp. 182-191.

already existing economic view in the seventeenth century. Homans wrote that historians, including Weber himself had good reason to believe that the Protestant Ethic hypothesis was a one-sided argument and perhaps the thesis that industrial capitalism encouraged Protestantism was a worthy direction for exploration.

Weber assumed only Protestantism and partly Judaism were inimical to traditionalism, magic, and superstition. Sorokin³² pointed out that he saw nothing, for example, in the texts of Confucianism compared with the teachings of Protestantism that were more inclined toward religious prescriptions of irrational other-worldly behavior. Sorokin wrote that the system of Confucianism was as much a consistent, pragmatic, and rationalized style of social life free from mysticism and magic as Protestantism. Finally, Sorokin criticised Weber on the sparse statistical support Weber had for his assertion that the Protestant population was economically more advantaged; since Weber depended on data almost exclusively taken from Baden in Germany.³³

³² Sorokin, op. cit., pp. 694-696.

³³ Ibid., p. 696; See also, Kurt Samuelsson, Religion and Economic Action: A Critique of Max Weber (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 16-17. Samuelsson pointed out that Weber relied on absolute figures when he found German Protestants owned a greater amount of land than did Catholics. According to Samuelsson, if Weber had used proportional figures based on the number of Protestants and Catholics in the population, both groups would have been equally represented in land ownership in Germany.

The problem of conceptual clarification. The precise meaning of Weber's Protestant Ethic concepts have left researchers with the problem of quantification. The Protestant concept was used by Weber to describe a limited number of Protestant groups; however, the application of the term has been indiscriminately applied to all Protestantism. There was ambiguity even in the way Weber used the term Protestantism; he did not take into account the forms of Protestantism that opposed Calvinism. For example, in the middle of the eighteenth century a series of revolts took place against Calvinism in the American colonies that divided Protestantism into a number of sects which broke away from the Calvinist doctrine. Moreover, the Arminian wing which stressed the free will of man was also a strong influence in Protestantism; although its exact influence is difficult to calculate.³⁴

Another problem within the thesis was the use of the term 'capitalism.' As Tawney³⁵ pointed out, Weber seemed to restrict the existence of capitalism to fit his argument. According to Tawney, there was no lack of capitalist spirit in Venice and Florence in the fourteenth

³⁴Means, op. cit., p. 7.

³⁵This criticism was taken from the foreword of Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, p. 7, which was written by Tawney.

century, or in the Antwerp of the fifteenth century before the era of Calvinist teachings. Further, it has been historically documented that the spirit of capitalism existed long before the Reformation occurred. It was known that the capitalist spirit was not universally associated with Protestantism, for example; it also existed within the Catholic Church among the Jesuits and in the thriftiness of the Franciscans.³⁶

The 'calling' as Weber used it in his thesis was also difficult to empirically test and validate. It was questionable if the idea of the calling actually had the special significance for Calvinism that the Weberian analysis suggested that it did.³⁷ It has been noted that the idea of the calling had little influence in Calvinism and further it had existed for many centuries before the Reformation.³⁸

SUMMARY

The material presented was an exposition of Max Weber's thesis of the "Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism." It was the noted German's analysis that

³⁶ Samuelsson, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

³⁷ In the foreword of Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, p. 9. This was another criticism leveled by Tawney.

³⁸ Samuelsson, op. cit., p. 17.

delineated the interrelationship between the Protestant religious ethic which divinely sanctioned a rational way of life and aided the most rational form of industrial capitalism to emerge. Since the publication of his thesis at the beginning of the twentieth century, some scholars have dismissed it as historically untenable;³⁹ some supported the idea that Protestantism was causally related to the rise of capitalism;⁴⁰ while others say Weber only opened up an interesting area for further investigation.⁴¹ Nevertheless, his work stimulated a voluminous amount of theoretical and empirical response among academicians. The Weberian question has been termed the most viable topic in the sociology of religion today.⁴²

By way of review of the literature, the next chapter deals with specific empirical investigations that have centered on the question of the relevance of the religious-economic relationship in contemporary industrial society. It was on the basis of the empirical research to be presented that the hypothesis for the present study will be developed.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 12-14.

⁴⁰ Talcott Parsons, The Structure of Social Action (2nd ed.; New York: Glencoe Free Press, 1949), pp. 530-533.

⁴¹ Reinhard Bendix, op. cit., p. 85.

⁴² Norval D. Glenn and Ruth Hyland, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success: Some Evidence From National Surveys," American Sociological Review, 32 (February, 1962), p. 73.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

When compared to the worldly success variable, religion as a sociological variable has been given cursory treatment by the researchers. Instead of an index of religious commitment the investigators simply reported religious preference and have by-passed the various dimensions of religiousness. The task of measurement of religiousness remains before the social scientist.¹ On the other hand, worldly success has been measured by occupational prestige, educational achievement and economic level. If the Protestant Ethic, as Weber defined it, remains a viable explanation in the contemporary social system, then the Protestant religious category rather than the Catholic should be expected to excel on those dimensions of worldly success.

EVIDENCE SUPPORTING THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

The Detroit Area Studies. In the past decade a growing debate has emerged in the sociology of religion. The issue in the debate has centered on what scholars have

¹Glenn M. Vernon, Sociology of Religion (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962), pp. 43-57; and Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Religion and Society in Tension (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965), pp. 18-38.

termed the "Weberian Controversy." Generally, this term has referred to the sociological question of the relationship between religious preference and worldly success. Since Lenski² presented empirical evidence that supported Weber's Protestant Ethic hypothesis, there has been a growing body of empirical work both supporting the classic hypothesis and, more recently, questioning its usefulness as a tenable explanation.

According to Lenski, white Protestants were in the ranks of the upper-middle class more often than Catholics. On the other hand, Catholics were in the lower half of the working class three times more frequently than Protestants.³ The Lenski study further pointed out that, when comparisons were limited to third-generation Americans raised in the Northeast, differences between socio-religious groups proved more pronounced than similar comparisons involving the total sample. This suggested that the difference may not stem simply from lingering cultural traditions of the past, but that conditions of life in the modern metropolis may actually generate, or magnify,

²Gerhard Lenski, (rev. ed.), The Religious Factor: A Sociologist's Inquiry (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Co., 1961), Lenski interviewed 656 subjects in a 1958 Detroit Area Study.

³Ibid., p. 84.

differences between socio-religious groups. Lenski concluded that a distinctive religious orientation was associated with and influenced other social institutions in everyday life.⁴

Weller⁵ found between Protestants and Catholics raised in Northern American communities of 25,000 or more, Protestants advanced further in the job world. When he controlled for ethnicity, class, and age these relationships did not diminish.

Jackson-Crockett⁶ and Organic⁷ conducted surveys under the direction of the Survey Research Center reported in 1962 which both supported the findings of Lenski's earlier study.

⁴Ibid., p. 114.

⁵Neil J. Weller, "Religion and Social Mobility in Industrial Society," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1960), quoted in Lenski, op. cit., p. 88. Weller analyzed 1,100 respondents.

⁶Elton Jackson and Harry J. Crockett, Jr., "Occupational Mobility in the United States," (unpublished paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings, 1962), quoted in Lenski, op. cit., p. 88. Jackson-Crockett studied national samples and found differences larger than Weller's study.

⁷Harold N. Organic, "Religious Affiliation and Social Mobility in Contemporary American Society: A National Study," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963). This study was quoted in Lenski, op. cit., p. 88. Organic's findings were similar to the other studies quoted.

Mayer and Sharp's⁸ analysis in a 1962 survey of 9,000 Detroit area adults indicated that:

Jews, followed closely by Episcopalians and Calvinists, have achieved the greatest worldly success. In the middle range are the remaining Protestant groups, with Baptists falling toward the end of the economic scale. Catholics have achieved the least.⁹

Mayer and Sharp concluded that religious preferences appeared to have meaningful consequences for economic success, quite apart from other background factors associated with religion.¹⁰

A need achievement motivation study. The achievement motivation variable has also been added to the controversy. In a 1959 study, Rosen¹¹ supported the hypothesis that many ethnic and racial groups vary on their orientation toward achievement. The Rosen study of 954 subjects in 64 communities in the Northeast found Jews, Greeks, and Protestants more likely to possess achievement values, higher educational and vocational aspirations than Italians and French Canadians. The last two groups were primarily composed of Catholics.

⁸Albert J. Mayer and Harry Sharp, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success," American Sociological Review, 27 (April, 1962), 218-227.

⁹Ibid., p. 226.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 227.

¹¹Bernard C. Rosen, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome," American Sociological Review, 24 (April, 1962), p. 216.

EVIDENCE OPPOSING THE PROTESTANT ETHIC

A need achievement motivation study. Despite these findings of Lenski, his students, and Rosen's motivation study, further evidence has also been presented that was contrary to the Weberian theory. Notably, another achievement motivation study suggested that Catholic men tended to have higher need achievement scores than Protestants.¹² The authors attributed this difference to a religious difference associated with differential child-rearing practices within Protestant and Catholic religions. The authors suggested that future research:

...has to take full account of the particular social background of Catholics and Protestants before one can begin to understand differences in the achievement motivation of religious groups. Catholic doctrine must have a great deal of influence on child-rearing and hence the creation of personality dispositions. But situational effects that the social milieu has on these dispositions -- region, socio-economic status, education, income, size of family -- may be so large as to cancel out any real differences between personality dispositions of Catholics and Protestants which may be there. With Catholics, evidently, we must take these other characteristics into account before we can get a meaningful picture of the impact of their religion on their motives and thinking. Especially important may be the extent to which they are a minority group in a given area . . . The Protestant Ethic does seem

¹² Joseph Veroff, Sheila Feld, and Gerald Gurin, "Achievement Motivation and Religious Background," American Sociological Review, 27 (April, 1962), p. 216.

to work simply only at the upper status positions of a well integrated fairly prosperous, economic structure, in the established Northeastern parts of the United States. Perhaps this region is more typical of the European structure Weber originally observed.¹³

Intergenerational studies. Additional challenging evidence has been reported by Lipset and Bendix.¹⁴ They reviewed the data collected by Stouffer that indicated occupational distribution of third-generation Protestants and Catholics differed from that of immigrants and sons of immigrants, but there was little or no differences between occupational status achievement by third-generation Catholics and Protestants, except that more Protestants than Catholics were farmers.¹⁵ Another study of Protestants and Catholics conducted by the Survey Research Center found no significant differences in upward mobility when length of residence in the United States was controlled.¹⁶

Cross cultural studies. Two cross cultural studies have indicated religious affiliation was not associated with differential worldly success. First, a national sample of Germans by the UNESCO Institute in Cologne showed identical rates of mobility between Protestants and Catholics.

¹³Ibid., p. 217.

¹⁴Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, Social Mobility in Industrial Society, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1959), pp. 48-56.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 49. ¹⁶Ibid., p. 51.

And secondly, a Dutch study reported religious affiliation among the factors which seemed to have little influence on the success of individuals.¹⁷

A study of high status positions. Mack, Murphy and Yellin's¹⁸ 1956 analysis of 2,205 white male engineers, bankers, and salesmen concluded that among these relatively high status groups no differences existed between Protestant and Catholic social mobility. According to these researchers, the general American ethos seemed to override subcultural influences in high status groups.

Educational achievement studies. Another aspect of the ongoing exploration of the religious-economic relationship has been with the aspect of the effects of religious school background on success values. Bressler and Westoff¹⁹ tested the hypothesis that those individuals who have had education solely in religious schools were

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁸ Raymond W. Mack, Raymond J. Murphy, and Seymour Yellin, "The Protestant Ethic, Level of Aspiration, and Social Mobility: An Empirical Test," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 295-300. See Lenski, op. cit., p. 83. Lenski challenged the uses of statistical techniques by these authors. According to Lenski, if the authors had analyzed their data using the statistical test properly then their conclusions would have indicated Protestants occupied the higher status positions more often than Catholics.

¹⁹ Marvin Bressler and Charles F. Westoff, "Catholic Education, Economic Values, and Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, 69 (November, 1963), pp. 225-231.

more likely to have failed to internalize or achieve worldly success more often than those with education in secular schools. They found no evidence that supported this hypothesis. They concluded that sociologists over-emphasized the monolithic unity of the Roman Catholic Church's teaching on economic matters and neglected opposing tendencies within the Catholic tradition. Moreover, Bressler and Westoff pointed out that the school was only one of many socializing agencies, and the school's sovereignty in the domain of values may be highly circumscribed by other agencies of socialization.

The National Opinion Research Center (NORC) has also conducted research in the continuing debate. NORC has attempted to discover the educational and occupational differentials between the Protestant and Catholic religious categories. First, a career aspirations study of 1961 college graduates from 135 American colleges found Catholics were no less likely than Protestants to choose the physical sciences as a career.²⁰

²⁰ Andrew M. Greeley, Religion and Career (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), pp. 137-140. Greeley has criticised Lenski's study, The Religious Factor, for failure to control for ethnicity. Greeley argued that Lenski's data actually measured ethnic differences rather than Protestant-Catholic religious differences. Secondly, he noted that Lenski's conclusions were frequently based on small numbers and did not warrant analysis because of the risk of sampling variability.

Greeley also provided a summary of the ongoing

A second study specifically examined the nature of the occupational choices by the religious groups for scientific vocations. According to the Protestant Ethic hypothesis, an occupational choice by a person for a career in the sciences indicated a tendency to engage in active mastery over the environment and the adoption of a rational efficiency value orientation.²¹ Therefore, if Weber's work was an effective explanation, then Protestants should out-rank Catholics in scientific careers -- especially when the Catholic individual was educated in a parochial school system. The Warkov-Greeley study²² conducted by the National Opinion Research Center found that persons 25 years of age and over who had a parochial school background were underrepresented in the physical and life sciences, social sciences, and mathematics. However, among those scientists in the younger 20-24 age group, parochial school training made advancement in the sciences no less likely

discussion dealing with the questions of the adequacy of Catholic education in America and anti-intellectualism within the Catholic Church. See especially, Chapter One.

²¹Seymour Warkov and Andrew M. Greeley, "Parochial School Origins and Educational Achievement," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1966), p. 405.

²²Ibid., pp. 408-409.

than does a public elementary or high school background. For this age group the data indicated that parochial school origins may be advantageous.²³

Secondary analyses studies of national sampling data. Additional national sampling data has provided more conflicting or at least equivocal evidence for the Protestant Ethic position. Glenn and Hyland²⁴ have analyzed 18 national samples for a period from 1943 to 1964 which compared Protestants and Catholics on three status variables: occupational prestige, educational achievement, and income level. The authors contrasted earlier national samples with those samples gathered in the 1960's. Their findings indicated that in this period Protestants representation decreased at the upper and lower nonmanual occupations and increased sharply in nonmanual occupations, and Catholics were more highly represented in both nonmanual and lower nonmanual occupations.²⁵

In regard to the educational variable the findings were similar to the occupational changes. Protestant

²³Ibid., p. 410.

²⁴Norval D. Glenn and Ruth Hyland, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success: Some Evidence From National Surveys," American Sociological Review, 32 (February, 1967), pp. 73-85.

²⁵Ibid., p. 75.

representation increased at the lowest level and Catholic representation declined at the lowest level and increased at the high school and college levels. Catholics were moving ahead in median years of school but remained underrepresented at the college level.²⁶ In 1943 Protestants were well above Catholics in economic status; but by 1964 Protestants were disproportionately located at the highest and lowest economic levels. These economic differences were statistically significant. Finally, comparisons between Protestants and Catholics living in metropolitan areas of the United States indicated Catholics had a median family income nearly \$900 higher than Protestants.²⁷

Glenn and Hyland attributed these dramatic social changes of Catholics to their heavy concentration in the larger non-Southern metropolitan regions of the United States. According to the authors, the probability of upward mobility of sons of manual workers varies directly with the size of the community of orientation. Since Protestants had a greater concentration in Southern and rural areas, they had an ascribed handicap in an urbanized

²⁶ Ibid., p. 76.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 78.

society and this accounted for their recent lower rate of upward mobility in a national sample. In order to correct for the regional bias, Glenn and Hyland analyzed non-Southern communities with 250,000 or more residents. With these test variables their data indicated Protestants ranked slightly above Catholics on each status variable.²⁸ They concluded their study with the statement:

We cannot say that by controlling region, community-size and age we are comparing people who have had equal opportunities for upward mobility. We know that more of the Catholics were offspring of immigrants, but, on the other hand, more of the Protestants were undoubtedly migrants from the South and from small towns and rural areas. Unfortunately, there is no way to assess accurately the relative importance of these two handicaps. Parental economic, occupational, and educational status is a crucial unknown, and thus uncontrolled aspect of the opportunity structure, but the earlier data on Protestant-Catholic status differences suggest that this factor favored the Protestants.²⁹

Broom and Glenn³⁰ conducted secondary analysis on seven national surveys between 1953 and 1961 which found there were fewer attitude and behavioral differences among Protestants and Catholics than between Christians and

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 80-81.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 82.

³⁰ Leonard Broom and Norval D. Glenn, "Religious Differences in Reported Attitudes and Behavior," Sociological Analysis, 27 (No. 4, Winter, 1966), pp. 187-209.

Jewish groups.³¹ When the total sample was analyzed, taking into account religious differences by work attitudes, it was found that Protestants gave the greatest verbal commitment to work, when the sample was controlled for region and community-size an equal percentage of non-Southern metropolitan Protestants and Catholics said they enjoyed work so much they found it hard to put it aside. Although these findings were not conclusive, it was suggested that there were little if any differences in attitudes toward work between Protestants and Catholics of the same age who lived in the same sized communities.³²

The analysis of Glenn-Hyland and Broom-Glenn of 25 national surveys spanning a period of 20 years have discovered three findings which were of particular relevance to the present study: First, in the last 20 years there has been a trend toward increasing similarity in social status between Protestant and Catholic groups. Secondly, when the size of the community was 250,000 or more and in a non-Southern region of the United States,

³¹Ibid., p. 209. The authors analyzed 40 questions concerned with religious attitudes and behavior. The areas of interest included: family, leisure, political, racial, and economic attitudes.

³²Ibid., p. 187.

then Protestant and Catholic differences diminished even further. Third, there has also been a convergence of attitudes and behavior between Protestants and Catholics.

STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

Based on the evidence reported in these national studies it is hypothesized that:

- I. Occupational status of Protestants and Catholics is likely to be similar in a Midwestern city in which neither religion represents a clear majority.
- II. The income level of Protestant and Catholic families is likely to be similar in a Midwestern city in which neither religion represents a clear majority.
- III. The educational level of Protestants and Catholics is likely to be similar in a Midwestern city in which neither religion represents a clear majority.
- IV. Intergenerational occupational mobility is likely to be greater among Catholics than Protestants.
- V. Intergenerational educational mobility is likely to be greater among Catholics than Protestants.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the present study, the following operational definitions were used:

- A) Religion, the independent variable, was determined by the respondent's self-identification in answer to the questions: Do you have a religious preference? And if so: What is your religion?

B) Occupational status, a dependent variable, was defined by the Bureau of Census categories and these categories were then collapsed into four broad categories: upper nonmanual which included professionals, proprietors, managers, and officials; lower nonmanual included clerical workers and sales workers; upper manual included skilled craftsmen and farmers; lower manual included semi-skilled craftsmen, operatives, service workers, and laborers.

C) Intergenerational vertical social mobility, a dependent variable, referred to the measurement of upward movement in occupational status, as defined above, and education between the respondent and his father.

D) Protestant Ethic refers to the phenomenon of higher occupational, economic, and educational levels to be associated with persons making Protestant religious preferences.

SUMMARY

The studies presented in this chapter represented a series of attempts by investigators to test the Protestant Ethic in an industrialized society. Clearly, the results of these studies taken collectively have not settled the issue. Although authors who have analyzed the more recent national studies reported in the literature have suggested that

Protestant-Catholic differentials in worldly success have increasingly diminished in the last generation. These studies have pointed out that when region, community-size, and age were controlled, few salient differences were evident between Protestants and Catholics. Whenever differences were found they were considered to be associated with such characteristics as: the cultural history of the group, ethnicity, region, immigrant status, age, and family size. Conspicuously absent from the explanatory variables was the religious factor.

Based on the trend toward greater convergence between the two groups it was hypothesized that the Protestant and Catholic groups were more likely to be similar on the various indicators of worldly success and in the last generation greater intergenerational social mobility has taken place among the Catholic group.

The next chapter reports the study design and the methods employed in the present study to test the hypotheses.

CHAPTER III

SAMPLE AND METHODS

THE SAMPLE

Sample subjects for this study were Protestant and Catholic fathers with a son or daughter of junior high school age. In order to test the hypotheses proposed in the previous chapter, it was necessary to secure a representative sample of fathers in the 'stable'¹ phase of their work careers. This stage of the work career presented the opportunity to compare Protestants and Catholics in relation to their occupational and economic success. Furthermore, fathers in the stable phase of their work careers and with a child of junior high school age were more likely to have achieved their highest level of educational attainment.

The sample frame from which fathers were selected formed part of the information obtained in a 1966 elementary school census. Students included in the sample attended

¹Miller and Form divided the active work-life into three phases: 'initial', 'trial', and 'stable'. The 'stable' period takes place at that time of life when occupational identity has crystalized and before retirement; this period is described by the authors as between the age of 35 and 60. While admitting that there is a great deal of variation in career patterns, extensive examination of work histories indicated what they described as the 'stable' phase. See: Delbert Miller and William Form, Industrial Sociology, 2nd edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 592.

private and parochial schools as well as those enrolled in the public school district. Only children born during the year 1954 were included in the sample frame.²

Additionally, the population had several other characteristics which were advantageous to further understanding of the religious-economic relationship. First, the sample was drawn in an urbanized area of 350,000 persons. Secondly, neither religious group enjoyed clear majority status.³ Finally, the study included largely third-generation Americans.⁴

²Children born in 1954 were between the ages of 11 and 13 at the time this study was conducted in the fall and winter of 1966 and 1967. The sample was drawn as a part of a more extensive research project and the present study included only one aspect of a multi-purpose study design.

³In 1958 the Omaha Area Council of Churches conducted a census of church affiliation in the Midwestern city. It was found that 57.5 per cent of 82,112 households surveyed were Protestant and 34.4 per cent were Catholic. The Protestant category was composed of: Baptist, 6%; Lutheran, 16%; Presbyterian, 12%; Methodist, 10%; United Church of Christ, 3%; and no other denominations were represented by more than 2%. Major changes in the religious population have not occurred since 1958. This study is unpublished.

⁴Eighty-one point four per cent of the white population in Omaha was third-generation or more, 13.9 per cent was second generation, while 4.7 per cent was foreign born in the 1960 census. Reference: Omaha City Planning Department, Omaha Population Study, Report No. 151, 1965.

DATA COLLECTION

The information was collected by personal interviews carried out in the homes of the respondents. Contact with the respondent was first established by letter⁵ which informed the prospective interviewee about the nature of the interview. The letter was followed up promptly by teams of two trained⁶ interviewers composed of both graduate and undergraduate students. In a majority of cases the interview teams which contacted the respondents included at least one graduate student. As many as six attempts were made to obtain the interview. Completion of the interview schedule required 40 to 50 minutes. The interview⁷ was conducted by using structured questions. The questions have been used extensively in previous research. Finally, an audit was conducted for every completed interview to verify that each interview was executed by the interview teams.

⁵See Appendix A for a reprint of the cover letter sent to each respondent.

⁶Each interviewer was given a three-hour orientation which introduced the teams to the techniques of interviewing. Each team then conducted two interviews to pretest the instrument before actually contacting a respondent.

⁷For a copy of the interview schedule see Appendix B.

SAMPLE SIZE

Initially 388 possible cases were randomly selected from the total population of 5,897 students in the school census.⁸ Of the 388 cases selected for the study, 55 or 14 per cent could not be contacted because they had moved out of the city, were never home when the interview teams called on them, or the address did not exist.⁹

The size of the sample was further reduced by the selection criteria set for the respondent to have qualified for the interview. In order to have been included in the sample the respondent had to meet the following requirements: 1) both parents lived together in the same household; 2) a child born in 1954; 3) the child lived in the home and was in 'normal' health; 4) white; 5) lived within the city limits of the Midwestern city; and 6) both parents submitted to the interview simultaneously in separate areas of the

⁸Cases were drawn from census lists by use of a table of random numbers presented by: R. A. Fisher and F. Yates, Statistical Tables for Biological, Agricultural and Medical Research, (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, Ltd., 1963).

⁹Those parents who moved out of the city totaled 42 cases, 5 respondents were never found at home, and 8 addresses did not exist.

home. As a result of these selection criteria 100 possible fathers or 30 per cent of the sample were disqualified.¹⁰

By subtracting the number of fathers who could not be contacted (N=55) and those who were declared ineligible (N=100), 233 fathers or 61 per cent of the total sample (N=388) were defined as eligible to be interviewed. Of these 233 qualified subjects, 54 refused to submit to the interview for a refusal rate of 23 per cent. The interviews completed totaled 179, a completion rate of 77 per cent. Of the 179 completed interviews, 15 fathers reported no religion and there were 3 Jewish fathers, leaving 161 fathers who indicated Protestant or Catholic religious preferences. These 161 fathers became the sample subjects for this study.

There was no reason to conclude that those persons who refused were selective of any particular stratum of the population. When the respondents who had refused to be interviewed were plotted on a 1960 census tract map of the Midwestern city¹¹ it was found that no census tract or area of the city showed a cluster of refusals.

¹⁰Sixteen respondents were disqualified because one of the parents was deceased or ill. Divorced and separated parents represented 24 cases. There were 37 respondents who could not be interviewed simultaneously. And finally, 23 subjects were ineligible because they lived outside the city limits, were Negro, had a retarded child, or twins.

¹¹See Appendix C for a copy of the census tract map.

STATISTICAL TEST OF THE HYPOTHESES

The technique of statistical analysis used to evaluate the data was the chi-square. The chi-square technique tests whether or not the findings which have been empirically obtained have differed by greater than chance from the theoretically expected findings. The chi-square test was chosen since it assumes the data is at least nominal, randomly and independently selected, and the theoretically expected frequencies of each cell of the table achieved 5 or more cases.¹²

The chi-square value was obtained by computing the theoretically expected frequency for each cell of the table by multiplying the marginal totals of columns and rows for each cell divided by the total number of the table. The square of the difference between the observed and expected frequencies was then divided by the theoretically expected frequency. The total for each cell was then added which

¹²For a more complete description of the values and limitations of chi-square, see: George A. Ferguson, Statistical Analysis in Psychology and Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959). The minimum expected frequency of 5 per cell is described by H. M. Blaylock, Jr., Social Statistics (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960) pp. 213-230. While some disagreement developed on this point in the past, the minimum of 5 is generally considered adequate for analysis. An earlier view indicating the need for 10 was expressed by: G. U. Yule and M. G. Kendall, An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics (London: Griffin Publishing, 1947).

yielded the chi-square value. Finally, the hypothesis that the empirical results did not differ by greater than chance was tested by comparing the obtained chi-square value with a sampling distribution of chi-square values.¹³

SUMMARY

This chapter concerned the study design for testing the hypotheses. The nature of the sample, techniques used to gather the data, results of the data gathering procedures, and the statistical test used to analyze the findings were discussed. The next chapter presents the findings of the study.

¹³Blaylock, op. cit., pp. 212-219.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

The hypotheses tested in this study were analyzed with data collected from 161 Midwestern fathers who reported either a Protestant or Catholic religious preference. The Protestant group¹ was made up of 81 subjects whose mean age was 40.2 years old compared with the Catholic subject whose mean age was somewhat older -- 42.7 years. The 80 Catholic fathers were about one year younger than Protestant fathers at the time of marriage; the mean age of Catholics was 23.2 while the corresponding figure for Protestants was 24.1. The fathers were white, and were located in a Midwestern metropolitan area with a population of 350,000.

The first three hypotheses tested in this study predicted that no statistically significant differences existed between Protestants and Catholics on the three worldly success variables: occupational status, income level, and educational achievement. The last two hypotheses are concerned with the changes in worldly success over the last generation. The design of this chapter is to present the results related to each of these five predictions.

¹The Protestant fathers included: 26 Lutherans, 19 Methodists, 15 Presbyterians, 7 Baptists, 6 Episcopalians, and no other denomination is represented by more than 3 fathers.

Hypothesis I. The first hypothesis predicted that:

Occupational status of Protestants and Catholics is likely to be similar in a Midwestern city in which neither religious group represents a clear majority.

Data relating to the first hypothesis is presented in Table I. The findings indicate that Protestant fathers are more likely to be found in the occupations of the upper nonmanual category (professionals, proprietors, managers, and officials). On the other hand, Catholic fathers are overrepresentative of the lower manual statuses (semi-skilled craftsmen, operatives, service workers, and laborers). Nearly one out of every two Protestants (48.1%) in the sample compared with slightly over three out of every ten Catholics (30.7%) are in the upper nonmanual class. At the other end of the occupational system, in the lower manual class there are slightly more than three times as many Catholics as Protestants. The chi-square value obtained from these data indicate that the occupational status differences between Protestant and Catholic fathers is statistically significant at the probability level less than .01. The greatest proportional differences occurred at the extreme ends of the occupational hierarchy. Seven out of every ten Protestants (67.9%) are likely to be found in nonmanual occupations while slightly over one out of every two Catholics (54.9%) are in the non-manual occupations. When Protestant and Catholic fathers'

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC
FATHERS BY OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Religion	Occupational Status				Row Totals
	Lower Manual	Upper Manual	Lower Non-Manual	Upper Non-Manual	
Protestant	7	19	16	39	81
Catholic	23	13	18	26	80
Column Totals	30	32	34	65	161

 $x^2 = 12.37$

d.f. = 3

 $p. < .01$

occupational statuses are compared using the middle range occupational categories there is a greater similarity between the two groups. A comparison was conducted for the fathers in the middle range occupations, that is, lower nonmanual and upper manual classes. It was found that 43 per cent of the Protestants and 39 per cent of the Catholics held these occupations. This is considerably less than the differences that had appeared at the extreme ends of the occupational hierarchy.

Hypothesis I was not supported by the evidence found with this sample. The data appeared to lend support to the position that religious affiliation is a significant influence in worldly success. These findings are similar to those reported in the Detroit Area Studies by Lenski and his students which also reported differences between the two religious groups.² The hypothesis in the present

²The specific findings of this research is more fully developed in Chapter II of this study, pp. 17-20. see: Gerhard Lenski, (rev. ed.), The Religious Factor: A Sociologist's Inquiry (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday and Co., 1961); Neil J. Weller, "Religion and Social Mobility in Industrial Society," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1960); Elton Jackson and Harry J. Crockett, Jr., "Occupational Mobility in the United States," (unpublished paper presented at the American Sociological Association meetings, 1962); Albert J. Mayer and Harry Sharp, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success," American Sociological Review, 27 (April, 1962), 218-227; Harold N. Organic, "Religious Affiliation and Social Mobility in Contemporary American

study had been based upon a more recent secondary analysis study by Glenn and Hyland³ and National Opinion Research Center studies reported by Warkov and Greeley⁴ which found that Protestant-Catholic differences in occupational status were diminishing or non-existent.

Hypothesis II. It was proposed that:

The income level of Protestant and Catholic families is likely to be similar in a Midwestern city in which neither religion represents a clear majority.

The data related to the second hypothesis are presented in Table II. When annual family income was divided into categories ranging from less than \$6,000 to more than \$15,000, a greater number of Protestants than Catholics were found in the ranks of the upper economic categories. This difference was statistically significant at the .02 level. Similar to the results concerning the occupational variable, the most salient differences existed at the upper and lower ends of the income scale. Four of every ten (42%)

Society: A National Study," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Michigan, 1963).

³See Chapter II, pp. 26-28. Norval D. Glenn and Ruth Hyland, "Religious Preference and Worldly Success: Some Evidence From National Surveys," American Sociological Review, 32 (February, 1967), pp. 73-85.

⁴See Chapter II, p. 25. Seymour Warkov and Andrew M. Greeley, "Parochial School Origins and Educational Achievement," American Sociological Review, 21 (June, 1966), p. 405.

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC
FATHERS BY INCOME LEVEL

Religion	Annual Family Income					Row Totals
	5,994 or less	6,000 to 8,999	9,000 to 11,999	12,000 to 14,999	15,000 or over	
Protestant	3	23	21	14	20	81
Catholic	11	33	20	7	9	80
Column Totals	14	56	41	21	29	161

$$\chi^2 = 12.88$$

$$d.f. = 4$$

$$p. < .02$$

Protestants had a total family income of \$12,000 or more compared with two of every ten (19.7%) Catholic fathers. More succinctly, twice as many Protestants as Catholics fell into the two highest (\$12,000 to \$14,999 and \$15,000 or more) income categories. In the middle income range (between \$9,000 and \$12,000), the greatest similarities between the two religious groups occurred. Twenty-six per cent of the Protestant fathers and 25 per cent of the Catholic fathers reported incomes in the middle range. The highest concentration of Catholic family incomes (41%) are found in the \$6,000 to \$9,000 category. Among those families who earned less than \$6,000 it was four times more likely to have been a Catholic rather than a Protestant family.

The findings related to hypothesis II do not support the predicted relationship of no difference between the two religious groups. Although the data does not support the hypothesis, it was consistent with the findings reported for occupational status. As in the findings reported for occupations, further evidence was added for the Protestant Ethic position and for those students who suggest that religion is among the variables which provides the motivation to achieve greater worldly success.

Hypothesis III. The third hypothesis stated that:

The educational level of Protestants and Catholics is likely to be similar in a Midwestern city in which neither religion represents a clear majority.

The data relating to information reported by the fathers on the educational variable are summarized in Table III. Responses were divided into four categories: less than a high school education, high school graduate, some college, and a college graduate or more.

A chi-square test yielded no significant difference associated with religious affiliation and educational achievement at the .05 level. However, the chi-square value was significant at the .20 level. Although the educational differences are not significant at the critical level, a number of differences did appear. Protestant and Catholic fathers were disproportionately represented at the highest educational levels. Nearly twice as many Protestants (33%) as Catholics (18%) received college degrees. Furthermore, nearly one-half the Protestant fathers (48%) had an education beyond the high school level; about one-third (36%) of the Catholics were in the same category. At the opposite extreme in educational attainment, 21 per cent of the Protestants and 28 per cent of the Catholics had less than a high school education. Thus, there is a clear indication that

TABLE III

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC
FATHERS BY EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Religion	Educational Level				Row Totals
	Some high school or less	High school graduate	Some College	College Graduate or more	
Protestant	17	25	12	27	81
Catholic	22	29	15	14	80
Column Totals	39	54	27	41	161

$$x^2 = 5.39$$

$$d.f. = 3$$

$$p. < .20$$

Protestants tend to show greater educational achievement than Catholics despite the fact that the differences were not significant at the .05 level.

Clearly the data presented to test occupational and income differences between the two groups did not support the hypotheses. Based on the findings related to the educational variable, the predicted relationship is supported by the data. In the area of education, the Protestant Ethic pattern did not hold. The smaller differences observed between the two religious groups in educational achievement may be a clue to a trend toward smaller differences in the occupational and income indicators of worldly success in the future.

Based on the data relating to the first three hypotheses, the over-all generalization which can be made is that at the highest levels of worldly success it is likely that twice as many Protestants as Catholics are in these categories. Twice as many Protestants as Catholics are in the upper nonmanual occupational statuses; twice as many Protestants have a family income over \$12,000; and finally, twice as many Protestants have graduated from college.

Hypothesis IV. The fourth hypothesis predicted

that:

Intergenerational occupational mobility is likely to be greater among Catholics than Protestants.

The hypothesis was tested by evaluating the direction of change between the respondent's father's occupational status, at the time when the respondent was 12 years of age, with the respondent's present occupation. Cases were divided into three categories: those in which the respondent had higher occupational status than his father, those in which both generations were the same, and those which were characterized by lower occupational status in the present rather than in the former generation. The results of the test of the hypothesis are presented in Table IV. The hypothesis was not supported by the data. Slightly over one-half (54%) of all Protestant fathers in the study had moved upward in occupational status compared with about two-fifths (39%) of all Catholic fathers. About 40 per cent of the fathers in both groups (39% for Protestants and 42% for Catholics) remained in the same occupational status. Catholics were twice as likely to have had lower occupational status than their fathers; 20 per cent of the Catholics in the sample moved down while 8 per cent of the Protestants fathers had lost occupational status in the last generation. The over-all differences between the two

TABLE IV

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY BETWEEN RESPONDENT
AND RESPONDENT'S FATHER BY
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Religion	Down	Same	Up	Row Totals
Protestant	6	30	41	77*
Catholic	15	32	30	77**
Column Totals	21	62	71	154

$$x^2 = 5.626 \quad \text{d.f.} = 2 \quad p < .10$$

* The number of Protestant fathers was reduced from 81 to 77 since four of the respondents were unable to supply information about their parents' occupational background.

** The number of Catholic fathers was reduced from 80 to 77 since three of the respondents were unable to supply information about their parents' occupational background.

groups was significant at the .10 level using chi-square analysis.⁵

The meaning of these data concerning intergenerational occupational mobility is limited unless interpreted in the light of the occupational standing of the religious groups in the respondent's father's generation. Obviously, if there have been great differences in the occupational distribution of both groups it would modify the meaning of the reported changes. According to the Protestant Ethic hypothesis, Protestants would be expected to hold higher occupational status than Catholics. The occupational status of Protestant and Catholic fathers a generation ago is summarized in Table V. The results of this study indicate Protestants were slightly overrepresented in the upper nonmanual class (25%) compared with Catholic fathers (18%). On the other hand, Catholics were slightly overrepresented in the lower manual class (29% compared with 25% for the Protestant fathers). In the middle range occupations, that is, the upper manual and lower nonmanual strata, there was a difference of 3 per cent favoring the

⁵The obtained chi-square value is 5.626. In order to be significant at the .05 level the chi-square value needed was 5.991. Since the chi-square value is virtually at the .05 level it is considered that the relationship is significant and Protestants have moved upward in occupational status compared with Catholics within the last generation.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION OF PROTESTANT AND
CATHOLIC RESPONDENT'S FATHER'S
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Religion	Lower Manual	Upper Manual	Lower Non- Manual	Upper Non- Manual	Row Totals
Protestant	19	35	4	19	77
Catholic	22	30	11	14	77
Column Totals	41	65	15	33	154

$$x^2 = 4.628$$

$$d.f. = 3$$

$$p. < .30$$

Protestant fathers. When the occupational variable was dichotomized into manual and nonmanual categories, 3 per cent more Catholic fathers fell into the nonmanual class. However, three times as many Catholics were holding lower nonmanual occupations. Generally, Protestants had higher occupational status than Catholics; but the differences between the two groups was not statistically significant at the .05 level.⁶

According to these data it would seem that the two groups had similar opportunities to move up or down in the occupational status system within the last generation and no further qualification is needed concerning the finding that greater upward occupational mobility has occurred among the Protestant group.

Hypothesis V. The final hypothesis tested in this study predicted that:

Intergenerational educational mobility is likely to be greater among Catholics than Protestants.

This hypothesis was tested by evaluating the direction of change in educational achievement between the respondents and their fathers. Again, as in the test of hypothesis IV, the direction of change was assessed in relation to three categories: downward change, similarity for both generations,

⁶The chi-square value for this relationship was significant at the .30 level.

and upward movement in the present generation. The results for this test of the relationship are presented in Table VI. The final hypothesis was not supported since no statistical difference was found to exist between the two groups.

Higher educational achievement was equally characteristic for both Protestants and Catholics. In the present generation, about three out of every four Protestants (77%) and Catholics (78%) had achieved an educational level higher than their fathers. About 13 per cent of both groups had the same amount of education as their fathers (15% for Protestants and 12% for Catholics) and nearly 8 per cent of both groups had less education than their fathers.

As with hypothesis IV, greater perspective is added to the analysis of the educational changes by an examination of the educational differences which existed between the two groups in the previous generation (see Table VII). For the purposes of analysis, educational levels were divided into: some elementary school, elementary school graduate, some high school, high school graduate, and some college or more. The relationship between the religious groups in the past generation on the educational variable was statistically significant at the .20 level (using a chi-square test); higher educational levels were more characteristic of the Protestant group. This difference was evident when a number

TABLE VI

EDUCATIONAL MOBILITY BETWEEN RESPONDENT
AND RESPONDENT'S FATHER
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Religion	Down	Same	Up	Row Totals
Protestant	6	11	58	75*
Catholic	7	9	58	74**
Column Totals	13	20	116	149

$$x^2 = .272$$

$$d.f. = 2$$

$$p. < .99$$

* The number of Protestant fathers was reduced from 81 to 75 since six of the respondents were unable to supply information on the educational background of their parents.

** The number of Catholic fathers was reduced from 80 to 74 since six of the respondents were unable to supply information on the educational background of their parents.

TABLE VII

RESPONDENT'S FATHER'S EDUCATIONAL
LEVEL BY RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE

Religion	Educational Level					Row Totals
	Some Elementary School	Eighth Grade Graduate	Some High School	High School Graduate	Some College or More	
Protestant	15	27	8	12	13	75
Catholic	24	25	4	15	6	74
Column Totals	39	52	12	27	19	149

$$\chi^2 = 6.3930$$

$$d.f. = 4$$

$$p. < .20$$

of comparisons were made between Protestants and Catholics. For example, twice as many Protestants (17%) as Catholics (8%) had attended college. At the lowest educational level more than three out of every ten Catholic fathers (34%) had less than an eighth grade education, while two out of every ten Protestant fathers (20%) were in this category. Twice as many Protestants (11%) compared to Catholics (5%) had some high school education. The greatest similarity between the religious groups occurred among the fathers who had graduated from elementary school and high school; 36 per cent of the Protestants had graduated from elementary school and 16 per cent from high school which was relatively similar to the 34 per cent and 20 per cent respectively reported by Catholic fathers.

One possible explanation for the findings relating to similarities and differences in educational attainment appears feasible. If it is agreed that upward mobility from the lower educational strata is easier than movement upward from the higher educational levels, then it would seem somewhat easier for Catholic fathers to have displayed vertical change in the present generation. This appears likely since Catholics tended to have lower educational achievement in the past. However, it has been shown (Table VI) that the frequency and direction of changes for the respondent compared with his father were virually the same for the two religious groups.

SUMMARY

Data presented in this chapter was designed to test a series of hypotheses involving religious preference and worldly success. Generally, evidence for verification of the hypotheses was lacking; only one of the five relationships followed the predicted direction.

Protestant fathers were found to have significantly higher occupational and educational status than Catholics, while it was hypothesized that no differences would appear. The single area in which a hypothesis was supported involved educational attainment. No statistically significant difference was found for the two groups on the amount of educational achievement. However, Protestants tended to be overrepresented at the highest educational levels and Catholics were concentrated at the lower levels.

With regard to the two hypotheses which predicted greater intergenerational change for Catholics than Protestants--neither was verified. Findings indicated that attainment of higher occupational status was more characteristic of Protestants than Catholics. Data relating to the educational variable reflected the increased emphasis placed upon education in the present generation, but failed to detect a significant difference in the pattern for

Catholics and Protestants. It was noted that Catholics had a greater opportunity to increase educational attainment since their fathers were somewhat below the Protestant group in formal education.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION

Sociological texts frequently accept the Protestant Ethic hypothesis of the religious-economic relationship as a "received doctrine of faith." This study was designed to test the efficiency of Weber's theory as a viable explanation in contemporary industrialized society. Recently there have been a number of national studies which indicate attitudes and worldly success differences for Protestants and Catholics have converged. According to these studies, the Protestant Ethic does not explain the religious-economic relationships as well as it has in the past.

The present study was conducted in a large metropolitan area where neither religious group has a numerical majority in the population. The respondents lived in a family setting and were in the stable phase of their work careers. These characteristics provided a research situation conducive to the examination of religious affiliation as a factor in differential occupational, economic, and educational status. The possible intervening factors of recent ethnic origin (for the Catholic group) and rural background (for the Protestant group) were considered handicaps neutralized in an urban environment which would not bias the ability of either

religious group to achieve worldly success in the past generation.

Despite the studies which have questioned the usefulness of the Protestant Ethic in contemporary society, the data of this study indicate that differential worldly success is associated with religious affiliation. In general, the present study contributes another set of data to the continuing debate concerning the Weberian question. The findings indicate: Protestants have maintained higher occupational and economic status and, to a lesser extent, tend to have attained higher educational levels when compared with Catholics. In the last generation Protestants have shown greater upward mobility in occupational status than Catholics. However, both groups have made similar educational gains.

These results appear to verify the Protestant Ethic and support the findings of the Detroit Area Studies conducted by Lenski and his students. It was found that in a Midwestern metropolitan community -- among stable fathers who make either a Protestant or Catholic religious preference -- that the Protestant Ethic predicts the relationship between the two religious groups rather than the predictions proposed by this study.

Although it appears that the Protestant Ethic is clearly supported by the data, there are several qualifications which must be made before these results can be regarded as unequivocal evidence for verification of the Protestant Ethic. For example, measurement of the religious variable was relatively unsophisticated. Before conclusive generalizations can be drawn concerning this question, the key concept of religion will necessarily have to be operationalized beyond the rather oversimplified measure available to the investigator at this time. It is possible that merely having the respondent report his religious affiliation is not adequate in attempts to evaluate the religious factor in empirical research. A variety of dimensions are involved in the religious phenomenon which have not been incorporated into a standardized index of religiosity. For example, religious preference does not reflect anything about the depth of religious commitment. The current measures of religion do not tap the content of the belief structure, the style of religious expression, or the manner in which the individual experiences his religious involvement. No existing technique has been developed to quantify the influence of time spent in religious devotion. In short, there is no body of knowledge which the researcher can call upon to systematically

scale the religious role in society. Thus, the first qualification for the findings in the present study is lack of a sophisticated index of religiosity. If a more refined index of religiosity were available, for research purposes the results of this study might be substantially altered.

The findings might also be refined if the exact ethnic composition of the sample were known. It is possible, (although unlikely since only about 5 per cent of the Midwestern city was foreign born), that the ethnic factor could have directly influenced the results of the study. However, a measure of the nature and the extent of the lingering sub-cultural characteristics associated with immigration were not taken into account in the analysis of the data. These are particularly important to consider when evaluating the Catholic groups' level of worldly success. On the other hand, the problems of socialization to the urban way of life encountered by those individuals who migrate from the rural and small town environments is generally not clearly understood by social scientists, and even less study has been given to the relationship between religious values and urbanization. More extensive knowledge of the rural factor is essential in order to assess the Protestants' opportunity to compete for worldly success. Whether or not the ascribed handicaps of ethnic and rural

backgrounds do operate to cancel each other out, (as it was assumed in this study), is at this time another empirical question which deserves future study. It is suggested that the findings of this study might be significantly influenced by these factors and that ethnicity and rural background might even be the explanation of religious differences in worldly success. If more refined measures were available for the investigator, then their exact bearing on the religious-economic relationship would be understood. In this research, and in the empirical studies in the past, the precise measurement of religiosity, ethnicity, and socialization to the urban way of life have not met the requirements for definitive study.

The findings related to the intergenerational mobility hypotheses also require further qualification. Several intervening factors would seem to need greater clarification before the "Weberian Controversy" has been resolved. The data indicate no significant differences between Protestants and Catholics among the respondent's father's generation, while significant differences exist among the two religious groups in the contemporary society. These rather inconsistent findings in the light of the Protestant Ethic, might be due to the limitations of the measurement of religion mentioned above. In addition to

this qualification, the religion of the respondent's father was inferred from the religious preference of the respondent. The amount of variability associated with this procedure and the actual religion of the parent is unknown. What effect this factor has on the results of the tests of the intergenerational mobility hypotheses is an empirical question which is not contained in the data. Moreover, it would possibly explain why no significant differences exist in the past generation between the two religious groups.

CONCLUSION

Generally the findings of this study supported the Protestant Ethic, although the limitations of accepting these data without future study and clarification were pointed out. Even though the predictions of this study were not empirically verified, several conditions do continue to exist in the society today which demand that the Protestant Ethic hypothesis continue to be tested in future research. The American society has been increasingly characterized by a liberal democratic political organization in which the economic system has been substantially transformed from a more purely Capitalistic model of Weber's era. Generally, the American society has tended to move toward more specialized and highly

differentiated social institutions which has led to greater compartmentalization of behavior among members of society. For example, it would be possible in the existing pluralistic American social system for an individual to maintain seemingly conflicting behavioral patterns. One might have a value orientation detrimental to worldly success while participating in the religious role (for example, the Catholic may have an other-worldly orientation as Weber described); yet, these values may have minimal influence on the rational values demanded in the economic sphere. And finally, the pervasive bureaucratic style of life which has emerged in the United States would seem to lessen the efficiency of the Protestant Ethic hypothesis. Bureaucracy, among other things, rewards the individual for belonging, getting along, and adjusting to the system. This highly rational form of social organization has afforded the American society the luxury of a leisure ethic and an economy-valuing consumption rather than the capitalist spirit of risk-taking, industry, and frugality.

Moreover, it might be argued that the Protestant Ethic is now a less fruitful explanation since there has been a period of time for the assimilation to the dominant values of the culture for the 30 million immigrants who came to the United States in the last century. This

factory accompanied by the process of urbanization in the United States would seem to level the handicaps of the Protestant rural background and the Catholic groups' more recent ethnic status. As the religious groups are demographically characterized as third-generation Americans and at least second-generation city dwellers, it would seem both religious groups have a greater opportunity to compete in the job market and educational institutions with nearly the same credentials in the present generation. However, the exact interplay of the ethnic and rural factors in the religious-economic relationship remains an empirical question for future research.

In addition to these more generalized conditions within the society, conditions within the religious groups themselves also suggest the hypotheses of this study might be found when more sophisticated measurement of religion, ethnicity, and rural background are available. Herberg¹ pointed out the emergence of what he described as the "American Culture Religion" which refers to the social phenomenon among Americans that it is not particularly important what religion one belongs to or what one

¹Will Herberg, Protestant, Catholic and Jew (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1956), p. 53.

believes but instead it is the fact that one is religious. Parsons² and Johnson³ have also discussed the high commitment of American religious groups to the American value system. Another aspect of the conditions within the religious institution which would indicate that the Protestant Ethic would not operate is the emphasis placed on the ecumenical movement in the past decade. This factor seems to be associated with the increasing homogeneity of the values and attitudes of the two religious groups and concomitantly greater similarity in the life styles of the two religious groups which is fostered by similar occupational, economic, and educational backgrounds.

In order to further understand the dynamics of the religious-economic relationship in contemporary society several variables must be more precisely measured and taken into account in future research. Namely, religiosity, ethnicity, and rural background will facilitate the investigator in his search for a more accurately defined set of variables and greater confidence in the reliability and validity of his work which will carry the theory and research closer to statements of causal inference concerning the religious and economic relationship in society.

²Talcott Parsons, Structure and Process in Modern Society, (New York: Free Press, 1964), Chapter X.

³Berton Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize in Dominant Values?" Social Forces, 39 (May, 1961), 309-316.

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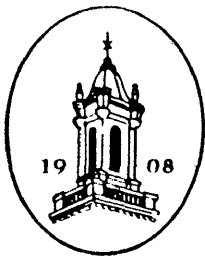
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APPENDIX A



MUNICIPAL UNIVERSITY OF OMAHA
OMAHA, NEBRASKA 68101
402 / 553-4700

We are conducting a scientific survey designed to study Omaha parents and their patterns of raising children. Your cooperation is appreciated for we feel that you can make an important contribution to the scientific understanding of this area of family life. We think also that you will find that this is a very interesting experience.

Two graduate students from the University of Omaha will contact you within the next few days. We would like the opportunity to interview both of you at the same time. The interview will take about 30 to 45 minutes. Information that you give us will be used for scientific purposes, and your answers will be treated with the strictest confidence.

Thank you for your courtesy.

Sincerely yours,

Cora A. Martin

Cora A. Martin, Ph.D.
Director, Research on Family Life

APPENDIX B

RESPONDENT NUMBER _____ DATE _____

TIME INTERVIEW BEGAN: _____ TIME INTERVIEW ENDED: _____

CIRCLE ONE: HUSBAND

WIFE

This interview is designed to give us an understanding of parent-child behavior. This is an area in which we need much more information. Before we begin, let me express a word of caution. We have found that in answering our questions, people will often naturally try to put their best foot forward, so to speak. They will tell us what they think we want to hear rather than what they really believe to be true, or they will tell us how they wish they behaved, rather than how they usually act. Therefore, at the very beginning we want to encourage you to be completely frank in answering our questions. There are no right and wrong answers. We are interested in how you as parents go about the business of raising your children. And, of course, we want to remind you that you may be completely confident that what you report this evening will be used only for scientific study and will never at any time be identified with you personally.

Now, since we are interested in your children and your role as a parent, we would like to start by getting the names and ages of your children:

NAME (FIRST NAME ONLY) All Children	AGE	SEX	SCHOOL GRADE
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

SELECT THE BOY OR GIRL 11 or 12 YEARS OLD.

We will ask all of our questions about _____.

Are the children in parochial school?

6. Can you recall ever discussing TV programs about great Americans with _____? No _____

Yes _____

Would you say that you do this

always _____
 often _____
 sometimes _____
 seldom _____
 never _____

Now I am going to read you stories about situations which might be like something that you could expect to happen with _____. Whether or not this has ever happened, try to think what you would do if it did come up, and tell me. Again, please tell us what you think you would do, not what you think you ought to do. (To interviewer: Probe question, if parent does not answer with a punishment,--"What if the same thing happened again?")

1. Suppose you give _____ permission to go to the park with some friends, and find out later that he (she) has actually gone downtown instead of to the park. What would you most likely do when he (she) comes home?

Why?

2. Suppose you look out the window and you see _____ get angry and haul off and hit a neighbor _____ without a good reason. What would you most likely do? _____ (use same sex as child)

Why?

3. Suppose _____ has been expecting to go swimming on Saturday, and it becomes impossible for some good reason. When you inform him (her) that he (she) can't go, he (she) begins to cry and runs from the room, slamming the door very hard behind him (her).

What would you most likely do?

Why is that?

4. Imagine that you discover _____ snitching pocket money from your (your wife's) purse.

What would you most likely do?

Why is that?

5. Suppose _____ leaves his (her) personal belongings lying all over the house for you and your (wife/husband) to pick up.

What would you most likely do?

Why?

7. Suppose you are going to visit friends on a Sunday afternoon and _____, who knows you plan to leave in ten minutes, goes out to play. When it's time to leave you can't find him (her). After 30 minutes you locate him (her) at a friend's house.

What would you most likely do?

Why is that?

8. Do you allow _____ to date in the sense of going to a party at a home of some friend where there will be an equal number of boys and girls?

Yes _____

No _____

Why?

9. What do you think of the old saying, "Spare the rod and spoil the child."

10. Who in your family really has the final say about things concerning _____'s discipline, e.g. staying out late, getting special privileges, etc? HAND CARD

- _____ 1. Really up to husband
 _____ 2. Mainly up to husband, but wife's opinion counts a lot
 _____ 3. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to husband
 _____ 4. Both parents exactly equal
 _____ 5. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to wife
 _____ 6. Mainly up to wife, but husband's opinion has counted a lot
 _____ 7. Really up to wife.

11. Do you ever feel unsure of yourself when you deal with _____?
Would you say that this happens:

_____ always
 _____ often
 _____ sometimes
 _____ occasionally
 _____ never

12. Do you think your husband (wife) is ever unsure of himself (herself) when he (she) deals with _____? Would you say that he (she) feels unsure:

_____ always
 _____ often
 _____ sometimes
 _____ occasionally
 _____ never

13. Do you have a religious preference? Yes _____ (skip to 13c) X

No _____ (ask 13a)

(a) Have you ever belonged to a religious congregation?

Yes _____ (ask 13b)

Which? (be specific)

No _____ (skip to 14)

(b) When did you leave it?

(c) What is your religion? (be very specific)

(d) Have you always been a _____? Yes _____ (skip to 14)

No _____ (ask 13e)

(e) What was your previous religious affiliation?

(f) When did you change?

(g) Why did you change?

14. How often do you attend religious services?

_____ once a week or more
 _____ once or twice a month
 _____ less than once a month
 _____ never

15. How important would you say your religion is to you? Would you say

_____ extremely important
 _____ very important
 _____ rather important
 _____ not very important
 _____ not at all important

16. Which one of you is primarily responsible for _____.

	Father	Mother	Both	Neither
Attending weekly services				
Attending other than the major weekly service				
Praying before meals				
Praying before bedtime				
Participation in family devotions				

17. How important do you think it is that _____

	Very important	Important	Not very important	Not at all important
Attend church services every week?				
Attend other than the major religious service every week?				
Pray before meals?				
Pray before bedtime?				
Participate in family devotion e.g. evening prayers, bible reading, etc.				

18. We are used to using thermometers to measure heat. Let's use this same device to estimate how you feel about your religion.

- (a) For example, if valuable were at 100 and worthless at 0, where would you rate your feelings? _____
- (b) If strong were 100, and weak were 0? _____
- (c) If deep were 100, and shallow were 0? _____
- (d) If active were 100, and passive were 0? _____
- (e) If fair were 100, and unfair were 0? _____

19. Which of the following is primarily responsible for teaching a child (Mark "1" for primary reason, "2" for second reason.) Which is the second most important?

	School	Church	Family	None
How to treat those from different races				
Personal responsibility				
Responsibility to others				
Concern for those with less than he/she has materially				
Sexual standards				
Religious behavior				
Tolerance of others opinions				
Patriotism				

- rd I 20. Here are some reasons different people have given for wanting to have their children finish a certain amount of education. Which one of these would you say is most important? (HAND CARD) Least important? (Mark "M" for most and "L" for least)

1. _____ To obtain a better job or income
2. _____ To obtain a broader outlook on life
3. _____ To improve one's social position in the community
4. _____ To be helpful to other people
5. _____ To use their special abilities or talents
6. _____ To develop personality
7. _____ To develop moral standards

21. How far would you like _____ to go in school?

(Don't read choices)

Don't know _____

High School _____

Some college _____

Finish college _____

Trade school after high school _____

Professional education _____

22. How far do you think realistically that _____ will go in school?

(Don't read choices)

Don't know _____

High School _____

Some college _____

Finish college _____

Trade school after high school _____

Professional education _____

23. Here are three different kinds of jobs. If you were advising _____ who had to make a choice among the three, which would you feel he should pick?

1. _____ A job which pays a moderate income but which he/she is sure of keeping.
2. _____ A job which pays a good income but which there is a 50/50 chance of losing.
3. _____ A job which pays an extremely good income if he/she makes the grade, but in which they will lose almost everything if they don't make it.

24. What would you prefer as a life career for _____?

25. What do you expect as a life career for _____?

26. Which of these statements do you agree with most completely?

- _____ Mothers have a right to a career
- _____ Mothers may work if it is desirable to supplement the family income
- _____ Mothers should remain at home with their families
- _____ Part time work for mothers is all right provided that the children are taken care of

27. Would you simply tell me whether you agree or disagree with these statements: (if agree with qualification code agree; same for disagree)

	Agree	Disagree	NA
a. In a family it is the husband who usually should make the most important decisions.			
b. A married woman with small children at home should have complete freedom to compete with men for any job she desires.			
c. It is a good thing for a husband and wife occasionally to take separate vacations.			
d. Most parents in these times are not strict enough with their children.			
e. A wife should give up her own occupation if that will help in her husband's success.			

28. Now, we are interested in what people call work. Which one of these statements best explains the difference between something you would call work and something you would not call work:

(Interviewer: Enter "1" in the appropriate blank below.)

Now, in your opinion, which one of the statements is the second best explanation of the difference between something you would call work and something you would not call work: (Interviewer: Enter "2" in the appropriate blank below.)

1. _____ Work is not enjoyed, not liked.
2. _____ Work is exertion, physical or mental.
3. _____ Work is something for which you are paid.
4. _____ Work is required, something you have to do.
5. _____ Work is something productive; a contribution.
6. _____ Work is scheduled and done regularly.

29. If you had enough money to live comfortably without working would you:

1. _____ feel better
2. _____ feel the same
3. _____ feel worse
0. _____ does not apply

30. If you didn't have a job, but did have enough money to live comfortably without working would you:

1. _____ feel better
2. _____ feel the same
3. _____ feel worse
0. _____ does not apply

31. Some things about our jobs are more important than others. Listed on this card (Interviewer: HAND RESPONDENT CARD) are eight statements given by a group of people as things they considered important about their jobs. In your opinion, which one of these statements best explains what you think (would think) most important about your job?

(Interviewer: Enter "1" in the appropriate blank below.)

Now, in your opinion, which one of the statements is the second best explanation of what you think (would think) important about your job?

(Interviewer: Enter "2" in the appropriate blank below.)

1. _____ enables me to make a good living for myself and my family
2. _____ a way of filling the day or passing the time
3. _____ a source of self respect
4. _____ gives me the chance to be with people
5. _____ gives purpose to my life
6. _____ provides a secure future for me and my family
7. _____ a way of getting recognition and respect from others
8. _____ provides me with new and interesting experiences

32. Finally, we would like to ask you a few questions about yourself to use when we classify your answers. As sociologists, we are interested in categories of people, and these questions allow us to put you in the kind of category that we have found makes the most difference.
- a. How long have you and your husband/wife been married? _____ Years
 - b. Is this your first marriage? Yes _____ No _____
 - c. How old were you and your husband/wife when you married?
 _____ H _____ W
 - d. How far did you go in school?
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
 Trade school (get specific name) _____
 Professional (get specific name) _____
 - e. *WAS ANY OF THIS PAROCHIAL? How much?*
 How far did your father go in school? (Please make an estimate)
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
 - f. How far did your mother go in school? (Please make an estimate)
 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16
 - g. What was your father's occupation when you were about your son's (daughter's) age? (Be specific.)
 If farming:
 (1) How many acres in the farm? _____
 (2) Did your father own or rent? _____
 - h. What is your occupation? (Be specific and list part-time work for wives)
 - i. Which of these comes closest to your total family income before taxes last year? HAND CARD
 1. _____ under \$3000
 2. _____ \$3000 - \$5,999
 3. _____ \$6000 - \$8,999
 4. _____ \$9000 - \$11,999
 5. _____ \$12000- \$14,999
 6. _____ \$15000- \$19,999
 7. _____ \$20,000 or more
 8. _____ refused
 - j. How long have you lived at this address? _____ years
 a. Where did you live just before this? _____

ard
VIII

Interviewer _____

Field Number _____

Respondent Number _____

Summary remarks - (Include such things as estimate of respondent's cooperativeness, brief description of the house - size, state of repair or anything else of interest.)

APPENDIX C

ECOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO REFUSED TO BE INTERVIEWED

