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PROFILES AND TRENDS IN CATHOLIC
INTERFAITH MARRIAGES IN UTAH

by

Deborah Brown Ascione

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Family and Human Development

DEDICATION

This paper is dedicated to my family, Frank, Matthew, Catherine, and David. Your love, your encouragement, your understanding, and your sacrifices are written on every page.

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The completion of this thesis would not have occurred without the support and encouragement of many people. I would like to express my deep appreciation to them.

In Salt Lake City:

- To Bishop William K. Weigand; Father Robert Bussen, Vicar General; and Mrs. Bernice Mooney, Archivist; thank you for giving me permission to use the diocesan marriage records. I hold dear the trust you place in me.

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Deborah Brown Ascione

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ABSTRACT

Profiles and Trends in Catholic
Interfaith Marriages in Utah

by

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Utah State University, 1990Major Professor: Jay D. Schvaneveldt
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The purpose of this study was to investigate the phenomenon of interfaith marriage. It is a comparative study using archival data. Utah Catholic interfaith marriage trends over 31 years were compared with three other Catholic dioceses in the United States similar in size or in other demographic characteristics. Results indicate that Utah is not atypical in its intermarriage patterns.

In addition, a micro-level analysis of Catholic interfaith marriages at three points in time was conducted for the Diocese of Salt Lake alone. Statistical analysis employed primarily measures of central tendency. Results indicate that Catholics intermarrying in Utah are older than the national median, that Catholic women marry out almost twice as frequently as Catholic men, that over time Catholics in Utah intermarry most often with Mormons, and

that most Catholic intermarriage takes place in the Salt Lake metroplex, an urban rather than rural area.

(99 pages)

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

For centuries, survival of particular religious or ethnic groups depended in part on restricting marriage to members within the group. Fear of losing their identity led most religious or ethnic groups to strongly discourage exogamous marriage. For example, the Jews have practiced this restriction from ancient times to present-day America. The Roman Catholic Church has enacted similar sanctions for its members.

The interfaith marriage rate has shown a gradual but steady increase among Roman Catholics since 1910 in the United States. This study focuses on such questions as: What are the dimensions of Catholic interfaith marriage in Utah? Do such marriages occur so rarely that they can be dismissed as scattered incidents, or are they so commonplace as to be a normal marriage pattern?

Rationale or Purpose

The investigator first became interested in the phenomenon of interfaith marriage as a result of six years' work with married couples in the Catholic Marriage Encounter Movement in Utah. A common opinion expressed by many

interfaith couples is the belief that, although their level of marital satisfaction is high, their self-identity is low; they judge themselves as somehow "less" than same-faith couples. In addition, particular family difficulties need to be faced and reconciled for personal happiness, relations with kin, and the best interests of children. The Roman Catholic population is in a unique situation in Utah, being one of the few places in the United States where this major religion is in a minority position in relation to the predominant faith and culture, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). It is scientifically useful to compare the Diocese of Salt Lake with three other dioceses in the United States that have comparable proportions of Catholics in the total population. No causal model is presented, but some state and local conditions are examined. For example, does the exclusivity of the Roman Catholic and Mormon religions influence the rate of intermarriage more than might be expected between other religions?

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical Treatment

The phenomenon of interfaith marriage has no doubt been going on as long as people have had the capacity to travel significant distances from their home culture, meet people of "foreign" or different backgrounds, and fall in love. The Roman emperor Constantine prohibited marriage between Christians and Jews as early as A.D. 37; such unions were declared to be adulterous.

For centuries, the Jewish rabbinate has strongly discouraged intermarriage with gentiles unless very specific stipulations are agreed to. These include the conversion of the other-faith spouse to Judaism, the raising of children as Jews, and joining a Jewish congregation.

Like Catholics, Jews are family-oriented. A wedding is not just an event of commitment between two individuals but a binding of two families . . . Behind Jewish opposition to interfaith marriage lies a very real fear based upon centuries of persecution, social pressure and even forced conversions. (Fisher, 1988, p. 3)

Roman Catholicism has had almost identical stipulations. "Catholics have been encouraged to marry Catholics on grounds that it is both good for their marriages and a good influence on their religious devoutness" (Udry, 1966, p. 219). However, Church opposition to mixed marriages "is not

confined to any one faith but is a general policy of all churches, differing only in degree and details" (Bossard & Boll, 1957, p. 85).

Interfaith marriage only began to be recognized in the eighteenth century with the separation of church and state in some European countries. With recognition came prohibition and all manner of laws, guidelines, and warnings against such marriages. In 1825, Prussia declared that children of interfaith marriages be raised in the religion of the father. In 1868, Russia and Austria forbade marriage between Christians and Jews unless the Jew was baptized. Lithuania and Yugoslavia prohibited interfaith marriage until World War II. Until 1940, Poland declared that male children had to take the religion of their fathers while females took their mothers' religion (Gordon, 1964). The popular belief among Jewish leaders has been whenever intermarriage is freely practiced, the Jewish spouses are "lost" to Judaism.

There's often a feeling among Jewish communities when one member "marries out" that a subsequent divorce is almost beneficial, since it proves conclusively that the relationship was doomed from the start, and has simply run its course to failure. (Kaye, 1980, p. 165)

Yet, over time language, religion and, to a lesser extent, diet have been among the more persistent aspects of different national pasts in people's private lives. Once cultural integration has been achieved, the opposite tendency slowly begins. As one becomes more family-minded,

roots start growing again, and a new appreciation of one's ethnic heritage forms. More than language and diet, religion especially conveys the values that are judged important (Bossard & Boll, 1957).

There is value in the deliberate cultivation of family identity through establishing family rituals and . . . a religious context contributes to establishing a family identity and the forming of the family story" (Kennedy, Cleveland, & Schumm, 1983, p. 147).

Reasons for Opposing Interfaith Marriage

Such a longstanding tradition of opposition to interfaith marriage, especially on the part of clergy, has included several factors:

1. There is a desire to preserve and increase the number of members in each denomination. Mixed marriages are seen as a threat to membership strength. Parents of different faiths cannot easily fulfill the function of cultural transmission to children. "Further, the strain imposed on interpersonal relationships within the family . . . should peak when the child becomes old enough to attend religious services" (Babchuk, Crockett, & Ballweg, 1967, p. 552). Children of such unions are usually lost to one or both of the churches of the parents, and the children, in turn, tend to engage in mixed marriages. This is supported by Zimmerman and Cervantes (1960) who, after examining 9,000 mixed-marriage cases, found that 6 out of 10 children of Catholic-Protestant marriages end up rejecting

all religions. In addition, they reported that about half of all Catholic men who marry outside their faith eventually abandon their Catholic faith. Greeley (1971), however, did not find an appreciable decline in denominational membership among the major religions. He reported that when Catholics intermarry, the non-Catholic is likely to convert. When Protestants marry across denominational lines, change usually occurs to maintain homogeneity in the family.

Glenn (1982) also supports the finding of Greeley (1971) with his conclusion that a great deal of religious conversion takes place at the time of or in anticipation of marriage and occurs for the express purpose of achieving homogeneity in the current preference. Babchuk et al. (1967) report that 73% of the marriages in their sample experienced a change to a common religious affiliation, and they interpret this religious mobility as an effort on the part of spouses to enhance the stability of the family. Greeley (1971) asserts that denominational homogeneity for three-fourths of the population may be rooted in the belief that religious differences are not good for marital relationships or for children.

2. Theological beliefs and forms of worship are not the only differences among religions. "When Catholics in an area are mostly of a single ethnic group, Catholic intermarriage rates are low, since intermarriage then involves crossing an ethnic as well as a religious line" (Udry, 1966, p. 217). Indeed, some researchers believe that

the increase in interfaith marriage is due to the disappearance of many ethnic barriers in the American culture that used to parallel religious barriers. Any religion with vitality and values prescribes deeds, good works, and observances that characterize a daily lifestyle. Expectations about one's lifestyle if one is a "member" solidify into requirements. Religious deeds may evidence themselves in dress, diet, and recreation. National origin variations within larger religious groups (for example; Italian versus Irish Catholics, German versus Russian Jews) can compound religious differences to make everyday living difficult. Therefore, the cultural adjustments that partners in an interfaith marriage must make are far-reaching. The union of two cultural backgrounds brings with it the two kinship groups that personify and support those cultures.

McFarlane's (1979) study of mixed marriages in Northern Ireland found kinship networks to be very vocal in their disapproval of such marriages. Conflicts arise, for example, when Irish extended-family members assume the inherent dominance of the male in important domestic matters.

Relatives and friends who directly or indirectly express this attitude (of disapproval) provide constant irritation to an interfaith relationship and . . . may only further confuse the major issues of the conflicts. (Kaye, 1980, p. 165)

The external sanction against intermarriage (i.e.; the threat of loss of the approval of significant others)

increases the pressures on a couple who might not otherwise be opposed to mixed marriage. Such unions may experience increased stress in their decisionmaking regarding which church to attend, which church to support financially, and which religious heritage to pass along to children, if any. In addition, there are questions about which ethnic neighborhood to live in and whose national diet to adopt. All these factors may combine to increase tension and confusion and decrease marital quality. Early research asserted that persons of different religions seemed to be more prone to marital instability than same-faith persons.

Bean and Aiken (1976) conclude that the strain and tension in interfaith conjugal relationships, due to conflicts regarding priorities and goals, may influence sexual relations and contraceptive behavior. Glenn (1982) also examines reports of degree of marital satisfaction among exogamous couples. He concludes that white males evaluate their marriages more negatively than white females. Glenn hypothesizes that this difference is due in part to a greater ability of wives to control the religious socialization of their children.

Since religious upbringing of the child often constitutes a source of conflict between parents, the move toward becoming religiously similar can be seen as a strain-reducing, family-integrating, influence. (Babchuk et al., 1967, p. 554)

3. The impact of culture is especially evident in some of the most intimate aspects of life such as marital relationships and childrearing. A study by Prince (1962)

found the following trends: (a) in interfaith marriages, the tendency is for the wife to change faith more often than the husband; (b) children in cross-religious marriages tend to follow the religion of the mother; and (c) couples in interfaith marriages most often try to resolve their differences over religion by each spouse maintaining his or her own religious faith. As a society, it is still expected that marriage is a pervasive relationship, an emotional one and, ideally, a permanent one.

The vast collective experience of church ministers leads to expression of general policies regarding family unity and stability. Religious control of human conduct is a necessity for such stability. This can be true of many people who have strong convictions about their own behavior and how to treat others and yet have no specific church affiliation. The continuing importance and influence of group attitudes and values is recognized past the time when many may sever their church connections. Thus, religions regard marriage and family life as a special domain of their interest and control. "Religion and family have a great deal in common in basic ideology, at least in the Western world where Jewish-Christian tradition . . . prevails" (Landis, 1966, p. 283).

Lay Response to Religious Opposition
to Interfaith Marriage

Even those "scientific" individuals who have accepted secularized ways of thought have replaced an old standard with a set of new terms to rationalize their ideas and defend their lifestyles. Their adherence to these ideas can be just as devout as any religious individual's. The increased secularization of western culture has been accompanied by a decrease in the control of churches over members' lives, including marriage. A secular society encourages acceptance of new values and ways of thought, not necessarily the old, traditional, and religious. A secular society is open, with resistance to change at a minimum. "A wide choice of conduct is permitted to the individual, including his marriage" (Bossard & Boll, 1957, p. 65). Even when one chooses to continue as a "believer," then religion, "interpreted as a complex pattern of faith, belief, values, and morals as well as rituals and observances, is a matter of individual decision and responsibility" (Kaye, 1980, p. 13).

Being educated to their right of individual development, twentieth-century young people marry on the basis of romantic love and of their own personal choice, not that of extended-family members. A high premium is set on romantic attraction and the pursuit of individual happiness and personal growth. The movement to view marriage as a

civil contract has also increased the willingness to dissolve that contract by state authority when it is no longer satisfying. A more secular society appears to have increased the extent and altered the character of interfaith marriage while reducing the social concern about it.

Jacks (1967) conducted a survey of college freshmen's and sophomores' attitudes toward interfaith marriage. He found that, overall, Catholics take an intermediate position on such unions, with Protestants at the high-acceptance level and Jews at the low-acceptance level. Protestant students are slightly more accepting of Catholics than of Jews as marriage partners. Catholics show a significantly greater readiness to accept Protestants rather than Jews in marriage (73% versus 47%, respectively). There appears to be a rising trend from freshman to sophomore year toward acceptance of Protestant partners and diminishing uncertainties about intermarriage.

Baber (1953), as cited by Landis (1966), uses questionnaire data drawn from a university student sample as well. Using these survey results, Landis (1966) concludes that about half of the college students sampled would readily cross religious barriers in marriage if there were other aspects of the relationship deemed satisfactory.

Landis (1966) asserts:

Young people of all faiths, with increased education in secular schools rather than in academies and church colleges, are becoming considerably sophisticated in matters of mate choice where religion is concerned. They are

increasingly inclined to defy church edicts and admonitions in their mate choice. (p. 278)

In contrast, Anderson (1968) conducted a study with all male respondents in which he measured religious communality by four variables for Protestants, Catholics and Mormons. His four variables are (a) religious preference of three closest friends, (b) strength of self-identity with a religious group, (c) frequency of attendance at religious services, and (d) attitude toward religious intermarriage. His results show that Catholics display the most activity in formal religious participation (9 out of 10 reported weekly attendance). Opposition to mixed marriage was broken down this way: Mormons, 50%; Protestants, 33%; Catholics, 19%. All indices show a sizeable portion of all three religious groups partially committed to "ethnic enclosure" or religious communality.

In 1970, Bumpass assessed trends in intermarriage in the United States and stated that, in addition to a loosening of social norms and secularization of society, there are four other factors that contribute to the steady increase in interfaith marriage: (a) relative sizes of religious groups and availability of mates; (b) ethnic origin; (c) social and educational levels; and (d) spatial segregation, place of residence. Bossard and Boll (1957) perhaps best present these findings and the lay response to traditional opposition to interfaith marriages:

1. Churchmen are protective and only concerned with membership strength because of the resulting financial benefits of that strength.
2. The various churches create the problems in mixed marriages by their very opposition to it. The stigma placed on mixed marriages is what initiates marital stress.
3. Religion should not be as important as it once was in the personal act of selecting a lifetime mate. People are living in a secular age. The privilege and responsibility of mate selection should be solely in the hands of the individuals concerned.

How Interfaith Couples Adjust

Six patterns of adjustment to religious differences in marriage emerge from the literature review: (a) One mate's acceptance of the religious culture of the spouse; i.e., conversion.

When Catholics marry into other denominations, the non-Catholic is likely to convert. Protestants may marry across denominational lines, but then denominational change occurs in order to maintain religious homogeneity in the family environment. (Greeley, 1971, p. 951)

- (b) Social isolation or withdrawal from most social contacts that are church affiliated. This often results in the children being raised without any church connections. "Today a child is likely to learn about religion only in the home, or from involvement in a religious institution, should the parents decide to join" (Kaye, 1980, p. 4). (c)

Maintaining very separate paths or "personal schematization" (Bossard & Boll, 1957). "The religious issue for many couples is in reality a church attendance issue" (Landis, 1966, p. 285). A typical compromise is that sons follow the religion of the father and daughters follow that of the mother. This may result in a double life, with two sets of standards and two sets of teachings, alternate home observations, and attendance at both houses of worship. (d) "Many of those who intermarry do not subscribe to the position of their (religious) group even before they meet their future spouses" (Heiss, 1961, p. 228). Religious numbness or indifference of the two people prior to marriage may result in fewer children or voluntary childlessness. (e) When casual indifference to religion progresses to open antagonism, such persons who marry often find their satisfaction and devotion in various causes and ideologies. Life objectives may become educational attainment or material successes. (f) Spouses who each have a balanced personality, sufficient intelligence, and a strong love for each other will compromise on the issues inherent in their cultural differences. Mutual respect and tolerance of one another's beliefs are key. Some of the basic ideologies of religion itself might include self-sacrifice, loyalty, faith, and love. These religious virtues are also among the virtues that make marriage work.

It is believed that the resulting strength of character developed in the face of such stresses enriches family life.

But even when there is an apparently successful adjustment to the interfaith marriage, there is also a continuing awareness of it. It takes time for family patterns like those mentioned above (for example, the number of children to have) to crystallize as a societal habit. Problems in any marriage will change, requiring new adjustments as the marriage ages and changes. These changes are a natural part of the family life cycle. In interfaith marriages, family happiness is not accidental or incidental but an achievement over time. "Any final verdict on a particular mixed marriage must rest with the people personally concerned with it" (Bossard & Boll, 1957, p. vi).

Conceptual Framework

There has been very little coherent theory applied to the topic of interfaith marriage in the literature. Only a few studies have been conducted following the structuralist framework and have included such variables as (a) educational and occupational statuses and their effects on interfaith marriages, (b) spatial segregation and availability of mates, and (c) ethnic origin. One study by McFarlane (1979) mentions the costs/rewards (exchange theory) of crossing over between Protestants and Catholics. Most recently, Wilkinson and Tanner (1980) and Petersen (1986) used reference group theory from sociology as a point of departure for examining religious commitment among the intermarried. Presumably, when one participates in networks

of persons who share one's beliefs and view of the world, these ideas are reinforced and personally plausible. However, if an individual does not have access to such networks and, therefore, does not receive the social support and reinforcement for his notions about the world, the individual begins to doubt the plausibility of his beliefs.

The persons within one's plausibility structures who are most crucial in ensuring that one's world views remain plausible are those who are of greatest emotional significance to the individual [i.e., spouses]. (Petersen, 1986, p. 725)

Thus, the plausibility thesis lends itself to studying types of religious marriage and religious commitment.

In previous research on this topic (Ascione, 1984), the investigator suggested that social scientists refrain from viewing interfaith marriage as deviant and focus instead on what factors it has in common with all marriages using the conceptual frameworks of role theory or conflict theory. Briefly, one might establish a continuum, with homogamy having low value or salience on the left end (perhaps personified by Unitarians) and homogamy having high value on the right end (perhaps personified by Orthodox Jews). If both a husband and wife place low value on homogamy, then interfaith marriage may not be a problem for them. If, however, one spouse places high value on homogamy and yet enters an interfaith marriage, the result may be role strain for that individual. Role strain is defined as "the stress generated within a person when he cannot comply . . . with the expectations of a role" (Burr, 1973, p. 129). Such role

strain may be manifest in reports of poor self-esteem or low marital satisfaction. This is a qualitative aspect of interpreting interfaith marriage.

For the purposes of the present study, the approach is a comparative one, presenting a macro-level survey of the population, focusing attention on the varying rates of intermarriage among four Catholic dioceses in the United States. In addition, specific features of interfaith marriage samples drawn at three points in time between 1955 and 1986 are reported for the Diocese of Salt Lake only. In the absence of a specific theory to critique or rework, the investigator presents some givens about intermarriage that have been borne out consistently in the literature and which serve as the bases for hypotheses.

Crossing economic, social, and religious lines to marry is considered part of the American creed of tolerance and social opportunity. Indeed, "long-held religious traditions are seldom actively cherished as part of the American dream. Our conscious emphasis is on assimilation" (Kaye, 1980, p. 4). The percentage of different religious faith marriages has steadily increased since the beginning of the twentieth century. Mixed marriages result from mixed populations, and by the 1920s 30 different national origin groups were represented in good numbers in the United States. In addition, the mobility of marriageable people has increased. In their desire to conform to many of the external facets of American life, young people of different racial and national

backgrounds, meeting in school and work settings, have increasingly married with less concern for crossing religious lines. These givens are the foundation for Hypothesis 1.

Culture can be described as the continuity of ways of living and ways of thinking of a people. An interfaith marriage does not merely join two people who attend different churches but two people who come from different cultures. For example, the Mormon culture has a history of development and a wide range of characteristics beyond its worship service. Among the Mormon ways of thinking about marriage and family life is a cultural belief in early marriage and childbearing. It appears that among Mormons, a young age at marriage plus a lengthening period of formal education lead to more young people moving from post-high school to marriage and job with little or no intervening experience. The influence of a cultural climate that encourages early marriage is the basis for Hypothesis 2.

Some interfaith marriages also involve inter-class marriage, and varied social classes have different styles of living. "Religious denominations of a community often differ in the social prestige or status attributed to them" (Bossard & Boll, 1957, p. 47).

Much of this social rating of denominations and of separate churches grows out of the ethnic make-up of the group, the relative time of their arrival in this country, and the extent to which they have become established. (Bossard & Boll, 1957, p. 48)

Sometimes marriage is used as a status-achieving device, with a calculated interest in "marrying up," especially for females. Burchinal and Chancellor (1962a) report that 42.7% of Catholic brides in interreligious marriages marry grooms of middle and high occupational levels compared to 30.1% of Catholic brides who marry grooms with low occupational status. Croog and Teele (1967) hypothesize that Catholic females married to college-educated Protestant men are better educated themselves and may be less tied to Catholic cultural traditions. Thus, they may adopt the Protestant cultural systems of their husbands. The resulting marriage may combine not only two religious cultures but also two different social backgrounds. Rosenthal (1970) also concludes that for different social mobility among couples who divorce, subsequent intermarriage will occur for the more upwardly mobile spouse. These assertions are the basis for Hypothesis 3.

The religious make-up of the population of a particular area also has an influence on the types of marriages that are contracted. Additionally, the relative number of persons of marriageable age in any religious group will influence mate selection. The smaller the number of persons of marriageable age in a religious group, the higher will be the percentage of persons in that group who enter into mixed marriages (Glenn, 1982). These assertions are the basis for Hypothesis 4.

When single persons of marriageable age live in geographic areas where there are many other single persons of marriageable age who attend the same church and/or who live nearby, they will find their mates among them. When such persons are not available, they will find their mates among other groups (Greeley, 1971).

A person in the marriage market who is in a racial, ethnic, religious, or socio-economic category which is a small minority in a particular area and which has a badly unbalanced sex ratio among the unmarried may find that his 'field of eligibles' is so restricted that he must marry exogamously, take a mate of low social desirability, or migrate if he wishes to marry at all. (Udry, 1966, p. 224)

This is the basis for Hypothesis 5. These hypotheses are now presented in a more formal manner.

Hypotheses

1. The rate of intermarrying among Utah Catholics over a 31-year time line follows the same general upward trend as that for other dioceses with similar percents of Catholics or other demographic features in the community population (Boise, Phoenix/Tucson, and Oklahoma City/Tulsa).
2. The age at marriage of Catholic men and women who intermarry in Utah is younger than the global national median age at marriage.
3. Catholic women in Utah contract more mixed marriages than Catholic men.

4. A greater proportion of mixed marriages in the Catholic Church in Utah are contracted with Mormons than with any other religious group.
5. There are proportionally more Utah Catholic interfaith marriages in rural than in urban areas.

CHAPTER III

PROCEDURES

Definitions

Nominal

For the purposes of this study, the term interfaith marriage, or mixed marriage, refers to those marriages that were performed under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church between a Catholic and a non-Catholic spouse. A diocese in the Roman Catholic faith is a specified geographical area, usually determined by the number of Catholics residing in the area and presided over by a Catholic Bishop and a clerical hierarchy. Smaller geographical units within a diocese, each with its own church building, are called parishes. A diocese may consist of a large urban area (for example, the Archdiocese of Los Angeles) or it may be defined by state boundaries. The Diocese of Salt Lake actually encompasses the entire state of Utah.

In this study, age refers to the age in years of the individual at the time of marriage.

Categorical

Interfaith couples marrying in the Catholic Church are granted permission to marry through the issuance of a dispensation. This variable is discrete and varies in two

ways. A dispensation for disparity of worship is granted for the marriage between a baptized Catholic and another baptized Christian; for example, a Lutheran. A dispensation for disparity of cult is granted for the marriage between a baptized Catholic and an unbaptized individual or an individual whose rite of initiation is not recognized as being comparable to baptism; for example, Buddhists, Quakers, Jehovah's Witnesses, Salvation Army members, Universalists, or Christian Scientists. This latter dispensation is also the type granted for the marriage between a Catholic and a Mormon.

Design

The study is primarily comparative in nature. It is divided into two parts, the first being a comparison of interfaith marriage rates in Utah with three other Catholic dioceses in the United States. The guidelines for an interfaith or mixed marriage in the Catholic Church remained stable until the Vatican II Council of the early 1960s, at which time some liberalization took place:

In recent decades, particularly the period following Vatican II, there have been extensive changes in the canonical and theological attitudes toward mixed marriages. This change is partly rooted in the sociological reality of large numbers of non-Catholic Christians living in many areas of the world, thus making mixed marriages more commonplace and socially acceptable. With the Second Vatican Council there also came an acceptance of the ecumenical movement as well as advances in the Church's teaching on religious freedom. (Coriden, Green, & Heintschel, 1985, p. 801)

The investigator has developed a time line of the rates of interfaith marriage over 31 years to see if the changes in canon law may have affected certain populations. The dioceses chosen for comparison with Utah are as follows:

1. Diocese of Tulsa - This community is similar to the profile of the Diocese of Salt Lake in the percent that the Catholic population is of the total population (.043 versus .039 respectively). In addition, the Tulsa diocese has one prominent non-Catholic faith community, the Southern Baptists, to be drawn upon for potential mates, similar to the situation with the Mormon community in Utah. The Diocese of Tulsa was made separate from the Diocese of Oklahoma City in February 1973.

2. Dioceses of Boise and Phoenix - These two Catholic communities in the Intermountain West neighbor Salt Lake and may be expected to have similar cultural features in their populations. For example, the percent of the Mormon denomination in each total state population results in Utah, Idaho, and Arizona being ranked as #1, #2, and #5, respectively, among the 50 states. In Idaho, the Catholic population constitutes 7.5% of the total population, slightly higher than in Utah. Although the percent Catholic population in the total population is higher in Arizona (17.8%), the 31-year pattern of interfaith marriage remains very closely aligned with the pattern in the other three dioceses included in the study. The Diocese of Tucson was

made separate and distinct from the Diocese of Phoenix in December 1969.

Data collection procedures for this part of the study involved compiling the figures for rates of intermarriage in all four dioceses from a standardized volume published every year in the United States. An annual canonical report is sent from every parish to its diocese. These raw data are compiled and published in The Official Catholic Directory (1987), and the same vital statistics are reported for every diocese in America. The vital statistics used in this part of the study include the Catholic population (in numbers) of the diocese, the total population (in numbers) of the diocese, the total number of Catholic marriages performed, and the total number of those Catholic marriages that are interfaith. Figures for this part of the study appear in Chapter IV.

The second part of this study examines previously unused archival data at the Diocesan Pastoral Center in Salt Lake City. Sacramental marriage records on file there contain certain demographic data for each partner in an interfaith marriage. This is a restricted study in the absence of complete data on all mixed marriages, but there is quite satisfactory information on mixed marriages in which Catholic nuptials were held. Nineteen fifty-nine is used as a baseline for interfaith marriages before new guidelines were in effect; 1986 is the most recent year for which complete data are available; and 1974 was chosen as an

intermediate year, selected to avoid an abnormal point in time for assessing trends.

Data collection for the second part of the study involved examining a standardized device called a sacramental record card for each marriage performed in the Diocese of Salt Lake each year. Such a card is filled out by the parish priest in whose parish the wedding occurred, one for the bride and one for the groom. Identical vital statistics are recorded for each marriage partner. Because these data are entered on each card by the same cleric in most instances, every twentieth pair of cards was checked to establish consistency of the information recorded. Samples of sacramental record cards appear in Figure 1.

At the time of data collection, the sacramental records in Salt Lake were simply filed alphabetically. Due to time-of-day and day-of-week restrictions on access to the files, it took the investigator seven weeks to examine 35.3 linear feet of file cards in 10 drawers. In other words, a search of approximately 46,640 cards (110 cards/inch) yielded 502 cases for the three sample years under investigation (1959 \bar{n} = 111; 1974 \bar{n} = 231; 1986 \bar{n} = 160). One should note that the investigator consistently found fewer mixed marriage cases on file per year than are reported in The Official Catholic Directory (1987). Published figures for the three sample years are as follows: 1959 \bar{n} = 132; 1974 \bar{n} = 269; 1986 \bar{n} = 197. This could be explained by (a) clerical error

MARRIAGE

(Name)	(Name)
(Birth Date)	(Birth Date)
(Birth Place)	(Birth Place)
(Baptism Date)	(Baptism Date)
(Baptism Place)	(Baptism Place)
(Father's Name)	(Father's Name)
(Mother's Maiden Name)	(Mother's Maiden Name)
(Marriage Date and Place)	
(Witnesses)	
(Priest/Deacon)	
(Dispensation)	

Make two records of each marriage for filing under each name—one card with each name in upper left hand corner.
SEND TO CHANCERY, 27 C STREET, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84103

MARRIAGE

(Name) [REDACTED]	(Name) [REDACTED]
(Birth Date) April 16, 1954	(Birth Date) November 9, 1951
(Birth Place) Salt Lake City, UT	(Birth Place) Price, UT
(Baptism Date) September 25, 1954	(Baptism Date) LDS
(Baptism Place) Our Lady of Lourdes SLC	(Baptism Place)
(Father's Name) [REDACTED]	(Father's Name) [REDACTED]
(Mother's Maiden Name) [REDACTED]	(Mother's Maiden Name) [REDACTED]
(Marriage Date and Place) May 18, 1974, Our Lady of Lourdes, SLC	
(Witnesses) [REDACTED]	
(Priest/Deacon)	
(Dispensation) Mixed Religion and Disp. Cult	

Make two records of each marriage for filing under each name—one card with each name in upper left hand corner.
SEND TO CHANCERY, 27 C STREET, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH 84103

Figure 1. Sacramental record cards.

in searching the file drawers on the part of the investigator, (b) inconsistent submission of written records on the part of the parish staffs, or (c) inaccurate recording of diocesan data on the part of the Directory publishers.

More accurate accounting of the discrepancies between diocesan-reported mixed marriage rates in The Official Catholic Directory (1987) and those actually identified in the sacramental record card archives would require examinations of parish records for every marriage in each parish. The frequencies of interfaith marriages and the geographic size of the Salt Lake diocese suggest the enormity and impracticality of such a procedure.

The investigator was allowed to photocopy all the relevant sacramental records for the three sample years. These photocopies were brought back to Utah State University for analysis, leaving the Salt Lake files intact. Ideally, a sample card yields the following information: (a) age at marriage of the bride and groom, (b) which spouse is non-Catholic, (c) faith heritage of the non-Catholic, (d) type of dispensation granted, (e) urban-rural distribution of mixed marriages (i.e., regional differences), and (f) region of origin of the bride and groom.

Sample

The population for this study is all the marriages performed with Catholic nuptials in the Diocese of Salt Lake

over 31 years. The sample or subset for the second part of the study is every interfaith marriage sacramental record for 1959, 1974, and 1986.

There are two additional important features about this sample of interfaith marriages. An effort was made to determine whether any of the marriages in the sample is a second or subsequent marriage for one or both spouses. Such a subsequent marriage could be indicated on the sacramental record cards by the following notations:

1. Decree of Nullity - indicates one spouse had a prior marriage that needed annulment, and it was granted.
2. Marriage Tribunal File Case # - an indication that a spouse's prior marriage was reviewed by the diocesan marriage tribunal.

In the entire sample of 502 cases, such notations appear on the records of only 21 couples. The investigator proceeded on the assumption, therefore, that 95.8% of the sample are first marriages for both spouses and only 4.2% of the sample involve a subsequent marriage for at least one of the spouses.

As a result of the Vatican Council II, Catholics were given permission to marry, under certain conditions, in a place other than a Catholic church. Such permission is called a dispensation from canonical form. In this sample there are 21 indicators of such a dispensation, or 4.2% of all cases. Of the 21 marriages performed outside a Catholic church, 16 were performed in churches or chapels of other

denominations; 5 marriages were performed in secular buildings, such as a country club or reception center. The relatively low frequency of Catholic marriages being performed outside Catholic churches may be partially explained by this attitude:

Marriage plays an important role in establishing a sense of religious identity. How you see yourself religiously and who you see your people to be are questions that are raised and answered, at least implicitly, in the choice of wedding rite and ritual. (O'Rourke, 1988, p. 2)

No account can be taken of the educational or occupational status or background of men and women at the time of marriage. If the sacramental record card revealed the conversion or Catholic baptism of one of the spouses immediately prior to the marriage date, that case was not included in the study. Conversion in anticipation of marriage is an indication that the couple is no longer interfaith. No account can be taken of a conversion or Catholic baptism of one of the spouses subsequent to the marriage; that would require additional field study.

Ethical Considerations

The Official Catholic Directory (1987) volumes used in part one of the study are a part of the public domain, and specific cooperation for their use is not necessary. For the second part of the study, permission was secured from the Vicar General and from the Archivist of the Diocese of Salt Lake to examine the sacramental record card files.

Informed consent of the subjects themselves was not required. However, in order to maintain the confidentiality of the interfaith couples involved, no photocopies of sacramental record cards were retained by the investigator without first blacking out the names of the couple, their parents, and their witnesses. A sample of a record card with this information deleted also appears in Figure 1. In addition, the investigator has agreed to give the diocese all computer disk materials. Since the study did not use live human subjects, approval for the study from the Institutional Review Board was readily obtained.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

Measurement and Analysis

Data Transformation

A computer data file, based on the information that could be extracted from a sacramental record card, was established as follows:

<u>Columns</u>	<u>Data</u>
1-2	Last two digits of sample year
3-5	Case number
6-7	Husband's (H) age at marriage 99 = missing data
8-9	Wife's (W) age at marriage, same code as above
10-11	Husband's denomination 01 = Catholic 02 = Mormon 03 = Episcopalian 04 = Methodist 05 = Greek Orthodox 06 = Presbyterian 07 = Baptist 08 = Lutheran 09 = Church of Christ

ColumnsData

10 = other
99 = missing data

12-13 Wife's denomination,
same code as above

14 Type of dispensation granted
1 = worship
2 = cult

15 Place of marriage
1 = Salt Lake metroplex
2 = Carbon County
3 = rural
9 = unknown or out of state

16-17 Husband's region of origin (birthplace)
01 = Utah
02 = northeastern U.S.
03 = southeastern U.S.
04 = northern midwest
05 = southern midwest
06 = mountain states other than Utah;
i.e., Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado,
Montana
07 = northwestern U.S.
08 = southwestern U.S.
09 = foreign
99 = missing data

<u>Columns</u>	<u>Data</u>
18-19	Wife's region of origin, same code as above
20-21	Month of marriage

An explanation of the rationale used to determine column 15 is in order. Hypothesis 5 in this study asserts that there are proportionally more Utah Catholic interfaith marriages performed in rural rather than urban areas. Presumably, where there is a larger pool of potential Catholic mates to select from (urban areas), Catholics opt for homogamy. Where the pool of potential Catholic mates is small (rural areas), Catholics more often seek marriage partners from other groups (Burchinal & Chancellor, 1962b). For the purposes of this study, however, urban and rural areas could not be defined in the traditional demographic way. Historically in Utah, large concentrations of Catholics are not always found in urban centers. Therefore, the religious concentration characteristics usually attributed to urban populations were assigned to (1) the Salt Lake metroplex including Weber, Davis, and Salt Lake counties, and (2) to Carbon County in central Utah, where the Italian and Irish descendants of Catholic coal miners, shepherders, and railroad workers are still concentrated ("we are Catholic more by culture and environment" [Kaye, 1980, p. 58]). These geographic areas would be judged to still contain the largest pools of potential Catholic mates

and, thus, would be expected to yield low levels of mixed marriage. All other geographic areas in Utah were labeled rural, using percent Catholic population as the criterion and, thus, might be expected to yield higher levels of mixed marriage. A map of the Catholic Diocese of Salt Lake appears in Figure 2.

Record Linkage

Due to a wide variation among Catholic pastors in recording age information, particularly the ages of non-Catholic parties, the age variable initially contained a high rate of missing data. In an effort to improve this variable, record linkage was used to supply missing ages by calculating the age at marriage based on the baptismal date when the birthdate was absent. Catholics and most Protestants confer baptism or rites of initiation in infancy, usually during the first year of life. If the actual birthdate is missing, one can substitute the baptismal date as a point of departure for determining age at marriage, except when the baptism date indicates a range of less than 16 years between baptism and marriage. The record linkage calculation improves the accuracy of age analysis by 37 cases (33.3%) in 1959, by 46 cases (19.9%) in 1974, and by 10 cases (6.2%) in 1986. Precedent for the use of record linkage to match marriage records with birth records can be found in Christensen and Barber (1967).

Utah State Parishes, Missions & Stations

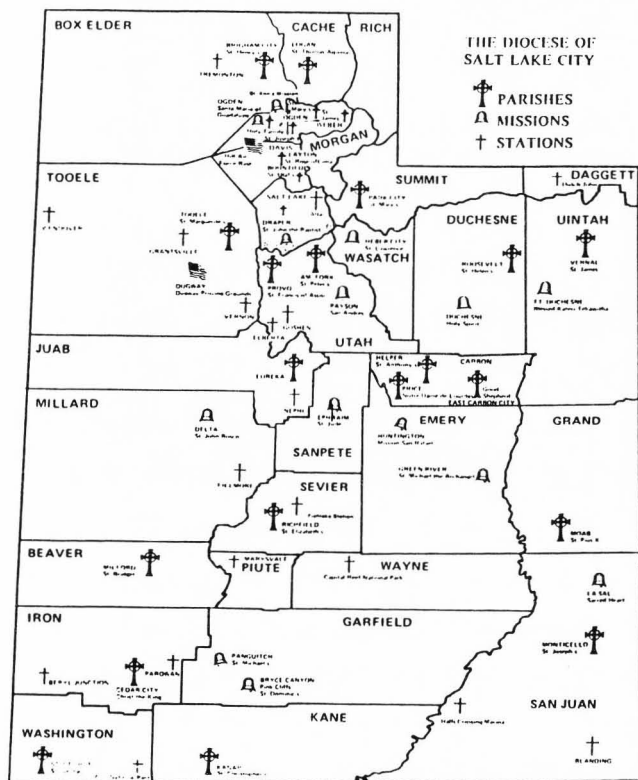


Figure 2. Map of Utah state parishes, missions, and stations.

Time Line

Figures 3, 4 and 5 depict the trend in interfaith marriage in Utah compared to three similar dioceses over 31 years. Although the two most closely aligned dioceses, in terms of percent mixed marriages and pattern shape, are Salt Lake and Boise, all three figures depict quite similar trends among the four dioceses in the sample. Thus, support is found for Hypothesis 1, that the pattern of Catholic intermarriage in Utah is not atypical from other dioceses with similar characteristics. A possible explanation for the pattern that emerges is inhibition, floodgate, and stability; that is, from the mid-1950s until the mid-1960s, Catholics were somewhat inhibited about contracting interfaith marriage as a result of the sanctions existing prior to Vatican Council II. From the late 1960s to the late 1970s, with the "trickle-down" effect from a more ecumenical approach to marriage, Catholics increased their participation in interfaith marriage as if floodgates previously closed were now opened. This release coincided with a more liberal social and economic climate in America as well. Finally, from the late 1970s to the present, there has been a slowdown in the interfaith marriage rate that might be seen as a return to a stable rate, a return to a more conservative or orthodox view of marriage, which also coincides with a national political and social climate. These figures are most useful in illustrating that the Utah

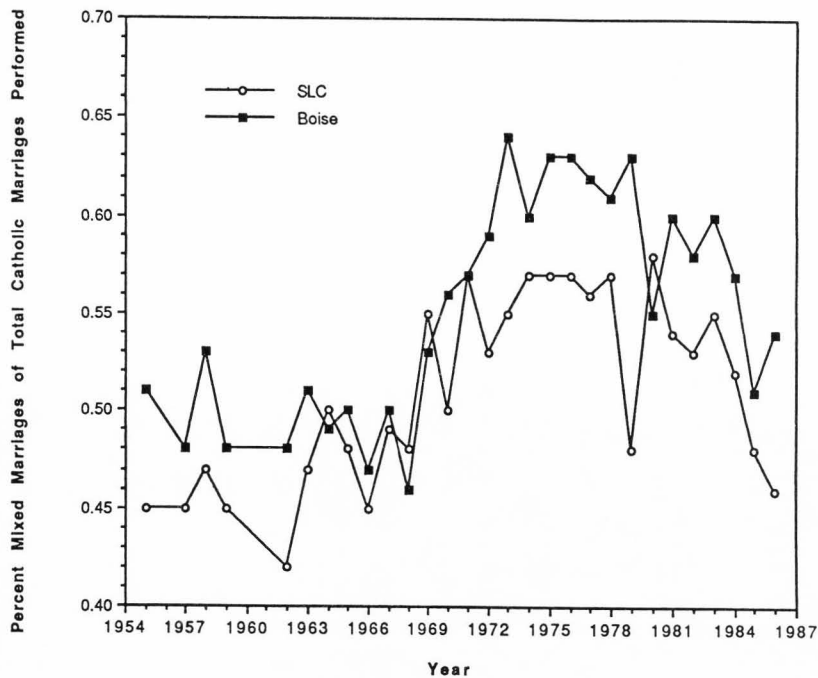


Figure 3. Salt Lake/Boise time line.

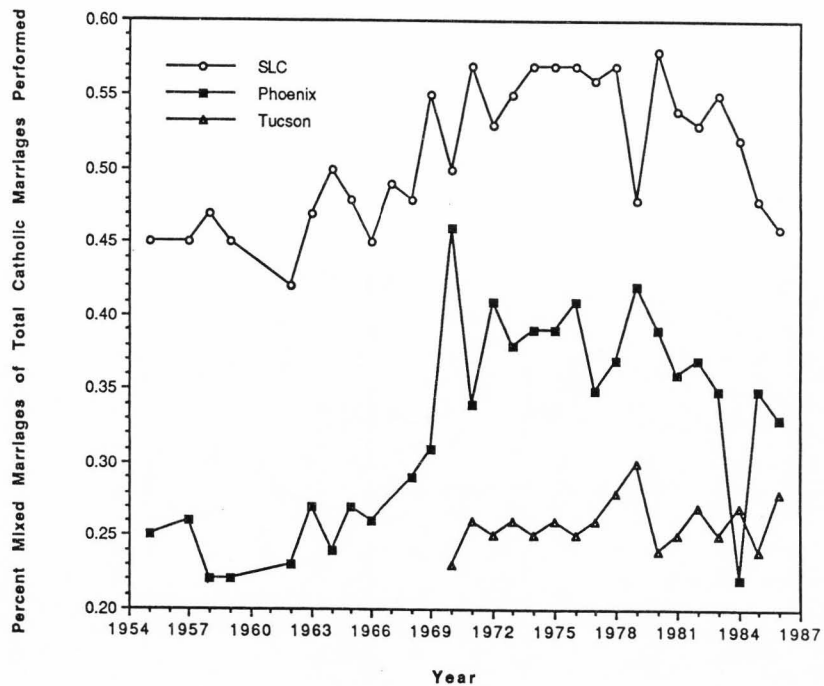


Figure 4. Salt Lake/Phoenix-Tucson time line.

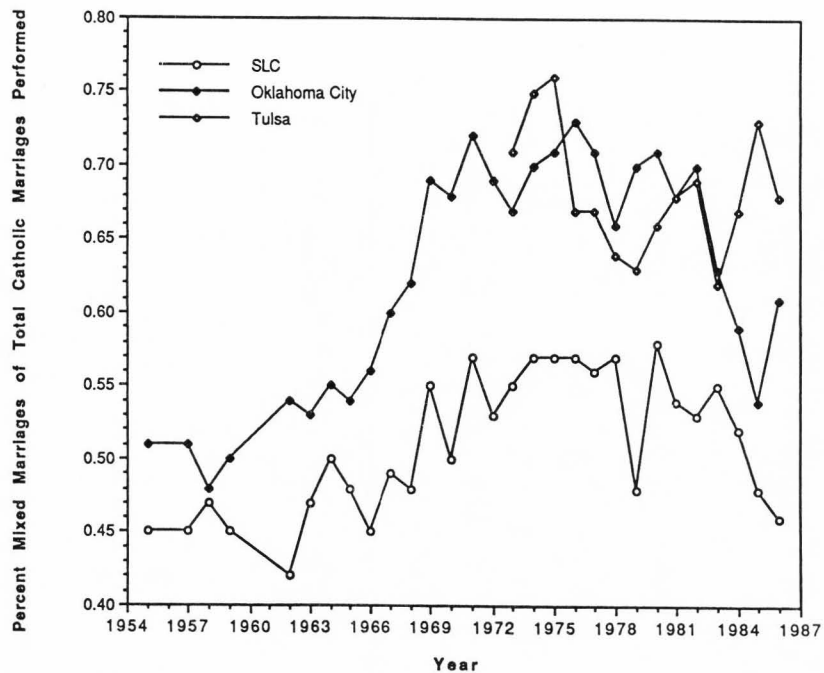


Figure 5. Salt Lake/Oklahoma City-Tulsa time line.

experience of Catholic exogamy is not uniquely different from that of similarly composed communities.

Many studies attribute the growth in exogamous marriage to an increasingly secular society that places less emphasis on religious values. An alternative explanation for the floodgate phenomenon may be the emphasis on modern ecumenism. As a result of the Vatican II Council in the early 1960s, the Catholic Church altered its previous conservative conviction that its own faith was the only legitimate one. While the Church still does not encourage intermarriage, it has evolved to a position of respecting

. . . the religious sensibilities of Christians from other denominations and recognizes other Christian churches as avenues of holiness. So . . . are Judaism and the major non-Christian religions. (Madden, 1988, p. 1)

The social climate created by accepting the legitimacy of other faiths may be characterized as liberal, and the saliency of sanctions against mixed marriage may be reduced. As a result, the frequency of such marriages increases.

Certainly, some of the most useful data to emerge from this study are the ages at marriage of Catholic brides and grooms who enter interfaith marriages in Utah. Because of the unique cultural emphasis on early marriage and childbearing in Utah, it was hypothesized that couples in interfaith unions would be younger than the national median age. Table 1 illustrates a comparison of the Utah sample to national figures, and it is apparent that the sample is actually older than anticipated. More specifically, men in

Table 1

Median Ages at First Marriage of Utah Sample and National Men and Women, by Year

Year	First marriage	M	F
1959	Utah sample median age*	28.0	24.0
	National median age**	22.5	20.2

*Total cases = 111; missing case for men = 34, for women = 32.

**Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1961). Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census; Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 96 and 105.

Year	First marriage	M	F
1974	Utah sample median age*	24.0	22.0
	National median age**	22.5	20.6

*Total cases = 231; missing cases for men = 40, for women = 29.

**Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1976). Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 287. Based on sample.

Year	First marriage	M	F
1986	Utah sample median age*	26.0	24.0
	National median age**	24.6	22.8

*Total cases = 160; missing cases for men = 7, for women = 4.

**Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census (1988). Most recent figures are from 1984. Number of states reporting 1979-1984, 42. Includes D.C. U.S. National Center for Health Statistics, Vital Statistics of the United States, annual; Monthly Vital Statistics Report; and unpublished data.

Catholic interfaith marriages in Utah, at three points in time, are consistently older than the national median age at first marriage for men by 5.5, 1.5, and 1.4 years, respectively. Similarly, women in this Utah sample are consistently older than their national counterparts by 3.8, 1.4, and 1.2 years, respectively. Thus, we do not find support for Hypothesis 2. It is useful to reiterate that the national figures given are median ages at first marriage, and it is presumed that 95.8% of the diocesan sample are first marriages as well. One conclusion from this examination of the age variable may be that Mormon cultural influences for early marriage appear to be offset by other compelling factors for those who enter interfaith marriages in Utah. A discussion of what those factors may be appears in the summary and discussion chapter.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 present the mean age at marriage for men and women under different conditions. First, Table 2 shows the mean age of Catholic men and women, with all other denominations collapsed into the category "non-Catholic." One should read the table for each sample year diagonally. In 1959, for example, Catholic men with a mean age of 28.0 years married non-Catholic women with a mean age of 25.9 years. Similarly, non-Catholic men with a mean age of 25.8 years married Catholic women with a mean age of 23.7 years. Across time, Catholic men are older than non-Catholic men by a range of 1.2 to 2.5 years. Non-Catholic women are older than their Catholic counterparts by a range of 1.6 to 2.2

Table 2

Mean Age at Marriage of Men and Women Based on Denomination,
by Year

Year	Denomination	M*	F**
1959	Catholic	28.0 (\underline{n} = 36)	23.7 (\underline{n} = 60)
	Non-Catholic	25.8 (\underline{n} = 41)	25.9 (\underline{n} = 19)
1974	Catholic	26.6 (\underline{n} = 86)	23.6 (\underline{n} = 135)
	Non-Catholic	25.4 (\underline{n} = 105)	25.8 (\underline{n} = 67)
1986	Catholic	28.8 (\underline{n} = 53)	25.1 (\underline{n} = 105)
	Non-Catholic	26.3 (\underline{n} = 100)	26.7 (\underline{n} = 51)

*Total Catholic men = 185; total non-Catholic men = 317;
missing cases for men due to age = 81 or 16.1%.

**Total Catholic women = 317; total non-Catholic women =
185; missing cases for women due to age = 65 or 12.9%.
Missing Catholic cases (M & F) due to age = 27 or 5.4%.
Missing non-Catholic cases (M & F) due to age = 119 or
23.7%.

Table 3

Mean Age at Marriage of Men and Women Based on Type of
Dispensation Granted, by Denomination and by Year

Year	Dispensation	M	F
1959	Worship		
	Catholic	33.7 ($\underline{n} = 4$)	25.2 ($\underline{n} = 9$)
	Non-Catholic	26.8 ($\underline{n} = 8$)	32.2 ($\underline{n} = 4$)
	Cult		
	Catholic	27.3 ($\underline{n} = 32$)	23.5 ($\underline{n} = 51$)
	Non-Catholic	25.5 ($\underline{n} = 33$)	24.2 ($\underline{n} = 15$)

Total worship cases = 15; missing cases for men due to age = 3 or 20%; missing cases for women due to age = 2 or 13.3%.

Total cult cases = 96; missing cases for men due to age = 31 or 32.3%; missing cases for women due to age = 30 or 31.2%.

Year	Dispensation	M	F
1974	Worship		
	Catholic	30.8 ($\underline{n} = 26$)	25.5 ($\underline{n} = 34$)
	Non-Catholic	29.0 ($\underline{n} = 24$)	28.5 ($\underline{n} = 23$)
	Cult		
	Catholic	24.8 ($\underline{n} = 60$)	23.0 ($\underline{n} = 101$)
	Non-Catholic	24.4 ($\underline{n} = 81$)	24.4 ($\underline{n} = 44$)

Total worship cases = 60; missing cases for men due to age = 10 or 16.7%; missing cases for women due to age = 3 or 5%.
 Total cult cases = 171; missing cases for men due to age = 30 or 17.5%; missing cases for women due to age = 26 or 15.2%.

Year	Dispensation	M	F
1986	Worship		
	Catholic	30.5 ($\underline{n} = 19$)	27.1 ($\underline{n} = 31$)
	Non-Catholic	28.5 ($\underline{n} = 31$)	27.5 ($\underline{n} = 19$)
	Cult		
	Catholic	27.9 ($\underline{n} = 34$)	24.2 ($\underline{n} = 74$)
	Non-Catholic	25.4 ($\underline{n} = 69$)	26.1 ($\underline{n} = 32$)

Total worship cases = 50; no cases missing.

Total cult cases = 110; missing cases for men due to age = 7 or 6.4%; missing cases for women due to age = 4 or 3.6%.

Table 4

Mean Age at Marriage of Men and Women Based on Region of Origin (Native Versus Non-Native Utahns), by Year

Year	Origin	M	F
1959	Native Utahns	26.9 (\bar{n} = 30)	23.8 (\bar{n} = 32)
	Non-natives	26.7 (\bar{n} = 47)	24.5 (\bar{n} = 47)

Total cases = 111; missing cases for men due to age = 34 or 30.6%; missing cases for women due to age = 32 or 28.8%.

Year	Origin	M	F
1974	Native Utahns	24.2 (\bar{n} = 100)	22.6 (\bar{n} = 92)
	Non-natives	27.9 (\bar{n} = 91)	25.8 (\bar{n} = 110)

Total cases = 231; missing cases for men due to age = 40 or 17.3%; missing cases for women due to age = 29 or 12.5%.

Year	Origin	M	F
1986	Native Utahns	25.8 ($\underline{n} = 60$)	24.0 ($\underline{n} = 73$)
	Non-natives	28.1 ($\underline{n} = 93$)	27.0 ($\underline{n} = 83$)

Total cases = 160; missing cases for men due to age = 7 or 4.4%; missing cases for women due to age = 4 or 2.5%.

years. The interfaith combination of Catholic man/non-Catholic woman is consistently of an older age at marriage over time. The rate of exogamy for all Catholic women in the sample is almost double that for Catholic men. This finding supports Hypothesis 3, that Catholic women contract more mixed marriages than Catholic men in Utah.

Table 3 depicts the mean age at marriage for men and women depending on what type of dispensation has been granted prior to marriage. One will recall that dispensations are of two types. Dispensations for worship are granted for the marriage between a Catholic and another baptized Christian; dispensations for cult are granted for the marriage between a Catholic and an unbaptized individual, or one whose rite of initiation is not recognized, including Mormonism. Table 3 should also be read diagonally in each sample year. A very consistent trend is revealed across time and gender; i.e., the Catholic man/non-Catholic woman pair is always older than the non-Catholic man/Catholic woman pair, repeating the pattern shown in Table 2. Further, Catholic men granted a dispensation for worship are consistently older than Catholic men granted a dispensation for cult by a range of 2.6 to 6.4 years. Similarly, non-Catholic men granted a dispensation for worship are consistently older than non-Catholic men granted a dispensation for cult by a range of 1.3 to 4.6 years. Within each dispensation class, Catholic men are older than non-Catholic men with a dispensation for

worship by a range of 1.8 to 6.9 years. Catholic men are older than non-Catholic men with a dispensation for cult by .4 to 2.5 years.

An identical profile is found for women. Catholic women granted a dispensation for worship are consistently older than Catholic women granted a dispensation for cult by a range of 1.7 to 2.9 years. And, non-Catholic women granted a dispensation for worship are older than non-Catholic women granted a dispensation for cult by a range of 1.4 to 8.0 years. Within each dispensation class, non-Catholic women are older than Catholic women with a dispensation for worship by a range of .4 to 7.0 years. Similarly, non-Catholic women are older than Catholic women with a dispensation for cult by a range of .7 to 1.9 years. In sum, over time the oldest spouse in the sample is a Catholic man obtaining a dispensation for worship (X age = 31.7 years), and the youngest spouse in the sample is a Catholic woman getting a dispensation for cult (X age = 23.6 years).

Table 4 presents another pattern of the age variable based on the region of origin of interfaith men and women married in the Catholic Church in Utah. Unlike Tables 2 and 3, one should not read Table 4 diagonally. For native Utahns in the sample, both men and women, mean ages decrease from Time 1 to Time 2 and increase again from Time 2 to Time 3. Specifically, for native men, age decreases by 2.7 years

and then increases by 1.6 years. For native women, age decreases 1.2 years and then increases again by 1.4 years.

In contrast, the mean age for non-native men and women in the sample increases steadily over time. For men, mean age increases 1.4 years from 1959 to 1986; for women, mean age increases 2.5 years during the same time frame. This latter finding is consistent with a national social trend over these years to delay marriage until completion of education and/or initial career goals. With the exception of the native and non-native men married in 1959, whose ages are nearly equivalent, the non-native spouses in the sample are consistently older than their native counterparts in every sample year by a range of .7 to 3.7 years.

A central question of the study is an examination of who the Catholic spouses in the sample selected to marry. Table 5 gives a complete breakdown of the denominations of non-Catholic spouses by gender and by year. Due to rounding, percents in the table do not always total 100.0. Consistent with Hypothesis 4, the largest non-Catholic source of mates is the Mormon population, accounting for 43.7% of all male spouses over time and 50% of all female spouses. Although this outcome was anticipated, there is another finding that was expected but did not materialize. The Greek Orthodox faith has a historical record of presence in Utah similar to that of Catholics; i.e., counting many members among the early railroad and mining workers who came to Utah during the nineteenth century. Additionally, the

Table 5

Denominations of Non-Catholic Spouses, by Year

Denominations of non-Catholic men marrying a Catholic woman, by year			Denominations of non-Catholic women marrying a Catholic man, by year		
<u>1959</u>					
Mormon	43.5%	(\underline{n} = 30)	Mormon	66.7%	(\underline{n} = 28)
Lutheran	5.8	(\underline{n} = 4)	Methodist	4.8	(\underline{n} = 2)
Presbyterian	4.3	(\underline{n} = 3)	Episcopalian	2.4	(\underline{n} = 1)
Episcopalian	1.4	(\underline{n} = 1)	Greek Orthodox	2.4	(\underline{n} = 1)
Methodist	1.4	(\underline{n} = 1)	Other	2.4	(\underline{n} = 1)
Church of Christ	1.4	(\underline{n} = 1)			
Other	1.4	(\underline{n} = 1)			
Total non-Catholic men = 69; missing cases due to denomination = 28 or 40.6%.			Total non-Catholic women = 42; missing cases due to denomination = 9 or 21.4%.		

Denominations of non-Catholic men marrying
a Catholic woman, by year

Denominations of non-Catholic women marrying
a Catholic man, by year

1974

Mormon	50.7%	(<u>n</u> = 72)	Mormon	51.7%	(<u>n</u> = 46)
Episcopalian	6.3	(<u>n</u> = 9)	Presbyterian	6.7	(<u>n</u> = 6)
Methodist	5.6	(<u>n</u> = 8)	Baptist	6.7	(<u>n</u> = 6)
Baptist	2.8	(<u>n</u> = 4)	Methodist	3.4	(<u>n</u> = 3)
Lutheran	2.8	(<u>n</u> = 4)	Greek Orthodox	3.4	(<u>n</u> = 3)
Other	2.8	(<u>n</u> = 4)	Other	3.4	(<u>n</u> = 3)
Presbyterian	2.1	(<u>n</u> = 3)	Lutheran	2.2	(<u>n</u> = 2)
Greek Orthodox	1.4	(<u>n</u> = 2)	Church of Christ	2.2	(<u>n</u> = 2)
Church of Christ	1.4	(<u>n</u> = 2)	Episcopalian	1.1	(<u>n</u> = 1)

Total non-Catholic men = 142; missing
cases due to denomination = 34 or 23.9%.

Total non-Catholic women = 89; missing cases
due to denomination = 17 or 19.1%.

Denominations of non-Catholic men marrying
a Catholic woman, by year

Denominations of non-Catholic women marrying
a Catholic man, by year

1986

Mormon	36.8%	(<u>n</u> = 39)	Mormon	31.5%	(<u>n</u> = 17)
Methodist	8.5	(<u>n</u> = 9)	Methodist	9.3	(<u>n</u> = 5)
Baptist	5.7	(<u>n</u> = 6)	Lutheran	9.3	(<u>n</u> = 5)
Lutheran	4.7	(<u>n</u> = 5)	Presbyterian	7.4	(<u>n</u> = 4)
Other	4.7	(<u>n</u> = 4)	Baptist	5.6	(<u>n</u> = 3)
Presbyterian	2.8	(<u>n</u> = 3)	Episcopalian	3.7	(<u>n</u> = 2)
Episcopalian	.9	(<u>n</u> = 1)	Other	3.7	(<u>n</u> = 2)
Church of Christ	.9	(<u>n</u> = 1)			

Total non-Catholic men = 106; missing
cases due to denomination = 37 or 34.9%.

Total non-Catholic women = 54; missing cases
due to denomination = 16 or 29.6%.

Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic faiths worldwide have enjoyed an affinity that is both historical and theological (Kaye, 1980). Although there is disagreement on a few beliefs, most notably the issue of the infallibility of the Pope, Orthodox followers have accepted the Nicene Creed (or creed of orthodoxy) since A.D. 381. In addition, the Greek Orthodox Church recognizes a Catholic marriage ceremony, though it is sometimes suggested that couples be married in both churches (Kaye, 1980). The investigator expected to find marriage between these two groups a fairly frequent occurrence in the sample. A similar case could be made for interfaith marriage between a Catholic and an Episcopalian (Udry, 1966), especially because of the covenant relationships and shared ministries of these two denominations in Utah (Mooney & Stoffel, 1987). In fact, however, Catholic/Greek Orthodox unions account for only 1% of the total interfaith sample, and Catholic/Episcopalian unions constitute only 2.9% of the total sample.

In the computer data file, category 10 was established for coding men's and women's religious affiliations other than the specific denominations listed in Table 5. This category appears as "Other" in the table. In the final analysis of the sample, only 16 cases (10 men, 6 women; or 3.2%) appear in this category. A breakdown of these other religious affiliations is as follows: seven Protestant (no denomination given); two Congregational; one Evangelical United Brethren; one Disciple of Christ; one Jehovah's

Witness; one Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion (Pretoria, South Africa); one Buddhist; one Serbian Orthodox; one Pentecostal. By year, these other denominations occur in the following frequencies: 1959, two; 1974, seven; 1986, seven. The entire diocesan sample does not contain a single Catholic/Jewish intermarriage case.

Table 6 illustrates more clearly and simply a trend over time in the types of marriage contracted. Catholic men consistently marry fewer Mormon women over time, decreasing their numbers by 15% from 1959 to 1974 and decreasing their numbers by 20.2% from 1974 to 1986. Simultaneously, Catholic men married more women of other Christian faiths, increasing their numbers by 17.3% from 1959 to 1974 and increasing again by 9% from 1974 to 1986. The pattern of increasing marriage to Christians of other faiths holds up for Catholic women as well. From 1959 to 1974, such unions increased by 9.5% and increased again by 2.9% between 1974 and 1986.

The pattern for Catholic women marrying Mormon men is slightly different over time. While the rate of such marriages shows an increase of 7.2% from 1959 to 1974, the rate drops 13.9% from 1974 to 1986. This finding may be explained by the inhibition, floodgate, and stability pattern mentioned earlier in this chapter to explain the overall trend in interfaith marriage in Utah. Perhaps in the last 15 years Catholic women have been marrying fewer Mormon men in Utah because of an increase in orthodoxy on

Table 6

Total Profile of All Non-Catholic Spouses, by Year

Year	Denomination	M	F
1959*	Mormon	43.5% ($\underline{n} = 30$)	66.7% ($\underline{n} = 28$)
	All other faiths	15.9 ($\underline{n} = 11$)	11.9 ($\underline{n} = 5$)
	Missing cases =	40.6 ($\underline{n} = 28$)	21.4 ($\underline{n} = 9$)
1974**	Mormon	50.7% ($\underline{n} = 72$)	51.7% ($\underline{n} = 46$)
	All other faiths	25.4 ($\underline{n} = 36$)	29.2 ($\underline{n} = 26$)
	Missing cases =	23.9 ($\underline{n} = 34$)	19.1 ($\underline{n} = 17$)
1986***	Mormon	36.8% ($\underline{n} = 39$)	31.5% ($\underline{n} = 17$)
	All other faiths	28.3 ($\underline{n} = 30$)	38.9 ($\underline{n} = 21$)
	Missing cases =	34.9 ($\underline{n} = 37$)	29.6 ($\underline{n} = 16$)

*Total non-Catholic spouses = 69 men, 42 women.

**Total non-Catholic spouses = 142 men, 89 women.

***Total non-Catholic spouses = 106 men, 54 women.

the part of Mormon men, which could discourage exogamous marriage. In addition, particularly in the Salt Lake environs, the pool of potential Mormon spouses may be seen to decline as the potential pool of other Christian individuals increases.

The data in Table 7 support the findings in Tables 5 and 6 in another way. Specifically, the table shows the results of a chi-square analysis of the types of dispensations granted to couples each sample year. Clearly, dispensations for cult (which will most likely involve a Catholic/Mormon marriage) outnumber dispensations for worship by three to one over time. However, dispensations for cult drop by 17.7% from Time 1 to Time 3 while dispensations for worship more than double in number during the same time frame, an increase of 17.8%. In other words, marriages to Mormons are decreasing while marriages to Christians of other faiths steadily rise in number. The chi-square analysis results are significant, indicating that the dispensations granted for couples are correlated with sample year.

Figure 6 depicts in a histogram format the data in Table 7. For each sample year, the total number of marriages performed in the Salt Lake diocese (homogamous and heterogamous) is contrasted with the percent of those marriages that are interfaith. Additionally, the mixed marriage bar is divided into worship and cult proportions. One can more readily see the dispensations for cult

Table 7

Dispensations Granted for Couples, by Year

Year	Worship	Cult	Row total
1959	15 (13.5%)	96 (86.5%)	111 (22.1%)
1974	60 (26.3%)	171 (73.7%)	231 (46.0%)
1986	50 (31.3%)	110 (68.8%)	160 (31.9%)
Column total	125 (24.9%)	377 (75.1%)	502 (100.0%)

$$\chi^2 (2) = 11.29, p = .00354.$$

decreasing and the dispensations for worship increasing over time. Also, the inhibition, floodgate, and stability pattern of interfaith marriage is reflected once again.

Table 8 illustrates the growth of the Utah population over time and the growth of the Catholic population in direct proportion to it. From 1959 to 1986, both groups nearly double, and the Catholic population remains a very stable average 4.2% of the total. It is reasonable to expect that other Christian denominations experienced the same steady growth in numbers during the same time frame. Thus, the increase in interfaith marriages to Christians of other faiths may be accounted for in part by having more potential mates to choose from in these groups. As stated earlier, the literature suggests that the highest rates of interfaith marriage occur in rural rather than urban areas. Table 9 presents information about the geographic place of

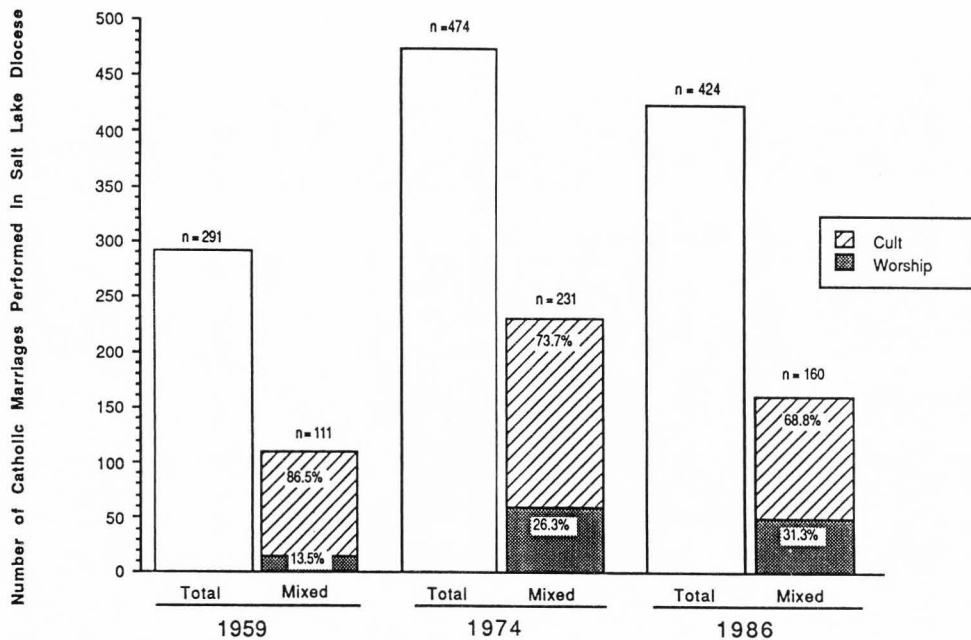


Figure 6. Number of Catholic marriages performed in the Diocese of Salt Lake.

Table 8

Religious Profile of Salt Lake Diocese*

Year	Total population	Catholic population
1959	850,000	36,954 (4.3% of total)
	} increased by 26.5%	} increased by 27.7%
1974	1,157,000	51,093 (4.4% of total)
	} increased by 30.0%	} increased by 23.0%
1986	1,652,000	66,394 (4.0% of total)

Total population increase (1959-1986): 802,000 or 48.5%.

Total Catholic population increase (1959-1986): 29,440 or 44.3%.

*Source: The Official Catholic Directory (1987).

Table 9

Place of Marriage for Men and Women, by Denomination and by Year

Year	<u>SLC metroplex</u>		<u>Carbon County</u>		<u>Rural</u>	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>1959</u>						
Catholic	34 (80.9%)	49 (71.0%)	1 (2.4%)	6 (8.7%)	6 (14.3%)	12 (17.4%)
Non-Catholic	49 (71.0%)	34 (80.9%)	6 (8.7%)	1 (2.4%)	12 (17.4%)	6 (14.3%)

Total Catholic men = 42; total non-Catholic men = 69.

Total Catholic women = 69; total non-Catholic women = 42.

Missing cases due to place = 3 or 2.7%.

Year	SIC metroplex		Carbon County		Rural	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>1974</u>						
Catholic	61 (68.5%)	97 (68.3%)	10 (11.2%)	17 (12%)	13 (14.6%)	23 (16.2%)
Non-Catholic	97 (68.3%)	61 (68.5%)	17 (12%)	10 (11.2%)	23 (16.2%)	13 (14.6%)

Total Catholic men = 89; total non-Catholic men = 142.

Total Catholic women = 142; total non-Catholic women = 89.

Missing cases due to place = 10 or 4.3%.

Year	SLC metroplex		Carbon County		Rural	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>1986</u>						
Catholic	38 (70.4%)	83 (78.3%)	3 (5.6%)	5 (4.7%)	6 (11.1%)	15 (14.1%)
Non-Catholic	83 (78.3%)	38 (70.4%)	5 (4.7%)	3 (5.6%)	15 (14.1%)	6 (11.1%)

Total Catholic men = 54; total non-Catholic men = 106.

Total Catholic women = 106; total non-Catholic women = 54.

Missing cases due to place = 10 or 6.3%.

the interfaith marriages performed by denomination and by year. The findings partially support the anticipated outcome stated in Hypothesis 5 with regard to Carbon County. Defined as a Catholic urban center due to the relatively high proportion of Catholics in the total population, Carbon County has the lowest rate of interfaith marriage across all three sample years. Perhaps the religious orthodoxy of this Catholic area is supported or reinforced by strong ethnic traditions that discourage exogamy. Support for such an interpretation appears in Kaye (1980):

It's fashionable nowadays to look down on closed ethnic environments, and to object to their exclusivity and their parochialism. But it is very different when you see these communities from the inside. When people talk of enclaves of ethnics, they must remember that often such separation has developed because of outside discrimination and hostility, so that we have found it safer and more comfortable to be with people who think the same way as we do and who live the same kind of lives. When the majority of the community does not follow the same beliefs, observe the same practices, hold the same values, it is often essential to have a tight ethnic group to provide security for those who hold on to those ideas. (The ethnic group serves) a social and cultural purpose as well as a religious one . . . (p. 193)

The strength of ethnic ties may also explain the absence of more Greek Orthodox spouses in this sample (Table 5).

The results reported in Table 9 do not support Hypothesis 5 with regard to the Salt Lake metropolis. Defined as another Catholic urban center, the Salt Lake environs consistently have the highest rather than lowest rates of interfaith marriage over time. This finding

actually replicates results reported by Heiss (1960) and may be explained by the concept of propinquity; that is, in urban centers, while having exposure to increased numbers of potential Catholic mates, Catholic men and women have increased opportunities to meet greater numbers of non-Catholics as well. An alternative explanation for the Salt Lake metroplex results may be that the salience of norms for religious endogamy among Catholics may remain stronger among men and women who are more continuously reminded of ethnic values as norms than among men and women who have migrated to a more socially diverse area. Or, the results may not be congruent with expected findings due to the definition of urbanism used for the Salt Lake metroplex.

Interfaith marriage in rural areas consistently takes the intermediate rate position over time. Compared with rates for the Salt Lake metroplex, rural results are sufficiently low as to not lend support for Hypothesis 5. In sum, for both Catholic men and women across three points in time, the consistent pattern that emerges is Salt Lake metroplex = high, rural = medium, Carbon County = low rates of marriage between Catholics and non-Catholics.

Finally, Figure 7 illustrates graphically the frequency of all diocesan marriages in the sample performed by month. Consistent with the most popular months of marriage nationally, one notes a low and somewhat flat rate followed by a jump for summer and a return to a flat rate at the end of the year.

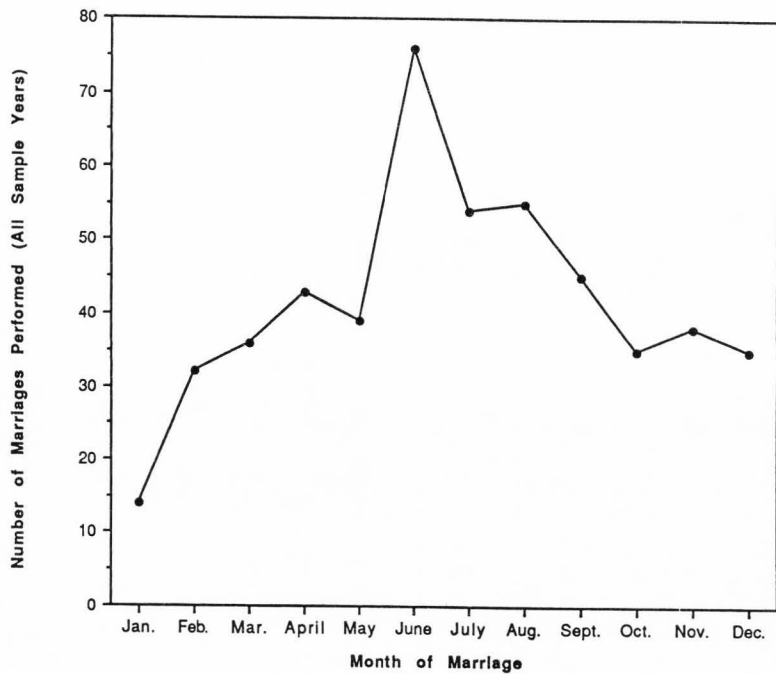


Figure 7. Total frequency of marriages performed, by month.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Summary

In both historical and contemporary contexts, the family and religion have been closely linked social institutions (Marciano, 1987). Cultivation of the family group involves the development of a family heritage and the deliberate building of a family identity. In this endeavor, religious life often makes a contribution. This linkage has led religious and ethnic groups to preserve their particular identity by discouraging marriage to individuals outside the group. Although the complications with kinsmen alluded to in McFarlane's (1979) study may have originated during the Irish civil wars, cultural conflicts also take place in several places in the United States, including Utah. Fear of losing membership, political or economic resources, and religious fervor have all been powerful motivations to support endogamy. As examples, Jews and Roman Catholics have practiced restrictions on mate selection.

In this study, a comparison has been drawn between Catholic intermarriage in Utah and three other Catholic dioceses in the United States that share similar population or demographic characteristics. Comparing at the macro level, Utah is not atypical in terms of the pattern of

interfaith marriage rates for Catholics over 31 years. The more internal patterns in each diocese (Boise, Phoenix/Tucson, Oklahoma City/Tulsa) are not known.

Interfaith marriage is a specific example of a behavior that manifests the problems between maintaining religious or ethnic enclaves and assimilating subcultures into the larger society. In particular, one can assert that interfaith marriage among Catholics in the United States has shown a steady increase since the early twentieth century. Broderick (1979) demonstrated graphically that the southwestern U.S., with less than 5% Catholics in the population, had an interfaith marriage rate of approximately 73%. Consistent across time, Madden (1988) reports that "in some Southern and Western cities it (Catholic intermarriage) may run as high as 80 percent" (p. 1). In contrast, on the East Coast with its large and well-established Catholic population centers, the intermarriage rates can be as low as 14%.

The implications for families and communities when certain individuals ignore, convert, or mix religion in marriage are far-reaching. Marital satisfaction and marital outcomes and parental lifestyles and transmission of values are all affected when interfaith marriage occurs. Interfaith marriage is the general issue that has been assessed in this research. Since Utah is generally considered to be a homogeneous population in both northern European ancestry and Mormon religious tradition, it is

useful to assess the intermarriage behavior of a worldwide, "mainline" religion such as Catholicism.

In the Salt Lake diocese, an examination of Catholic sacramental marriage records was conducted. Of all the interfaith marriages performed in the Church, a sample was drawn at three points in time: 1959, 1974, and 1986. Analysis of background information on each bride and groom permitted certain conclusions about age at marriage for men and women, the faith heritage of non-Catholic spouses, the proportions of dispensations for worship and cult, and the geographic distribution of the interfaith marriages performed.

The first major outcome of this study relates to the age at first marriage of Catholic men and women in interfaith marriages. Under a variety of conditions, the entire sample is older than average. This finding was not predicted because of Mormon cultural influences, but it is still consistent with previous research regarding who is most likely to engage in intermarriage (Burchinal & Chancellor, 1962a, 1962b; Heiss, 1960; Udry, 1966). The older age at first marriage can be accounted for by these possible explanations:

1. Older men and women (middle to late twenties and beyond) are more likely to be emancipated from their parents. Therefore, parental influence to observe religious endogamy norms may be considerably lessened. The desire to enjoy the marital status, role satisfaction, and social

acceptance that come with being married may outweigh previously held beliefs against intermarriage. As one gets older, he/she may believe one no longer has the luxury of being particular about religion as one's marriage chances begin to decline.

Emancipation from parents may be the common outcome from two distinctly different sets of parental characteristics. On the one hand, parents who themselves were intermarried or who provided a rather secular upbringing may have considerably weakened the social barriers against intermarriage for their adult children. In such cases, pressure from parents for endogamous marriage would be of little consequence. On the other hand, religiously devout parents may not object to the intermarriage of their adult children if they see permitting independent mate choice as a higher value.

2. Late age at marriage may be a result of an over-attachment to parents. When people do not detach from their parents at the age-appropriate stage of development (middle through late adolescence), they may not develop the personal autonomy needed to enter the marriage market in early adulthood. Conversely, when parents cling to their adult children beyond the time when they should have been encouraging emancipation, their dependent behavior may discourage some individuals from "abandoning" their parents to make a life of their own. Evidence of this possibility,

however, is probably restricted to very few cases of late marriage.

3. The supply of previously unmarried marriage partners has, until very recent years, declined as age increases. It becomes increasingly difficult to find a previously unmarried mate who not only meets certain personal criteria for educational level, occupational and social status, common interests, and romantic love, but who also is of one's own religion. Thus, the saliency of norms that support same-faith marriage would be expected to decline in older individuals.

4. Lastly, despite a social climate that is both religiously ecumenical and secular, it may be that older adults are more thoughtful and prepared, less spontaneous or impulsive, about making the decision to marry across denominational lines. While enjoying courtship and all the elements of mutual attraction, it may be that a potentially intermarried Catholic acknowledges carrying something of an additional burden when not in essential agreement with a prospective spouse. Extra time may be required to communicate about and negotiate some of the potential areas of conflict mentioned in Chapter II. There may also be an effort not to minimize or underestimate the importance of pressures from church and family. These factors could combine to delay Catholic intermarriage until the individual feels confident about future mutual satisfaction from the union.

Across place and across years, there are more Catholic women marrying outside their faith than there are Catholic men. Postponing first marriage and even permanent singlehood are characteristics not just of contemporary Catholic women but of all American women born during the post-World War II era. Glick (1988) refers to the shortage of men of marriageable age as a marriage squeeze. One of the ways in which women of marriageable age can attempt to correct the gender imbalance is that they may marry men who would not previously have been selected in certain marriage markets. Thus, Catholic women might be more inclined to marry non-Catholic men. Perhaps because they are more often the party marrying out, there has been more conscientious recordkeeping on Catholic women, as evidenced by fewer missing data for women in this sample. Although for Catholic men and women the frequency of marrying out follows the inhibition, floodgate, and stability pattern described earlier, women consistently reduced the percent of Mormon men they married over time. Possible explanations for this pattern include (a) increasing accessibility of Catholic men over time, (b) the increased orthodoxy of Catholic women over Catholic men, and (c) increased immigration of men to Utah who are not Catholic but who are also non-Mormon (for example, men working in the energy industry). Similar possible explanations can be suggested for the overall pattern of increasing marriage to other Christians and decreasing marriage to Mormons, as evidenced by

dispensations for worship and cult; that is, the pool of other Christians from which prospective spouses could be drawn has increased over time. Also, the return to stability after the floodgate phenomenon in the 1970s may imply a reaffirmation of religious loyalties among Catholic men and women of marriageable age. Modern ecumenism may be more limited to Catholic-liberal Protestant unions because such unions fill the need for plausibility structures better. Across time and across gender, after Mormons the diocesan sample most often married Methodists, Lutherans, and Presbyterians, respectively.

The other principal finding of this research relates to the urban/rural distribution of interfaith marriages in Utah. As expected, in Carbon County, which is defined as an urban center for Catholics, intermarriage rates are lowest. The investigator believes that this can be accounted for by intergenerational orthodoxy due to ethnic traditions in this area. This finding lends support to the plausibility thesis mentioned earlier (Petersen, 1986). In brief, when individuals who hold particular values surround themselves with a network of people who hold the same values, they are reinforced for believing in their particular way, and their beliefs remain plausible and credible. The ethnic traditions characteristic of Carbon County appear to strongly encourage endogamy.

For children brought up in minority religious communities today, the delicate balance they must try to maintain between the education of the

modern world and the ancient practices and beliefs of their parents can lead to great tension . . . For [some], the old ways provide a secure umbilical cord to the years before their birth, linking them to the history and traditions of the past, and giving them strong emotional ties to it. For some children, the old religious ways are easy to follow and comforting to keep . . . (Kaye, 1980, p. 198)

On the other hand, such low rates of interfaith marriage may be explained by propinquity and availability. People will tend to choose for marriage other people who are similar to themselves in social background and will choose a spouse who lives close to them. When both of these elements are present, marriage is much more likely to occur. This factor may not only explain low rates of intermarriage for Catholics in Carbon County but for Greek Orthodox individuals as well. Thus, the very low representation of Greek Orthodox in the diocesan sample may demonstrate the same inverse relationship between intermarriage and the proportions of Greek Orthodox in the total population. Even in the face of increased secularism in an area like Carbon County, religion may remain an important disqualifier in courtship.

The propinquity/availability argument can also be used to explain the highest rates of Catholic mixed marriage in the Salt Lake metroplex. A willingness to migrate to urban areas may be joined by a willingness to assimilate into the larger society. One way to exhibit this desire for assimilation is to marry on an equal basis with individuals

of another group. "Marriage becomes an ultimate mark of social acceptance" (Monahan, 1973, p. 195).

Another possible explanation for the findings in the Salt Lake metroplex is emancipation from strong religious traditions. Religious traditions in families can be viewed as a burden to maintain and as segregating one from the outside world. Emancipation from long-held beliefs and observances may lead one to have more in common with another similarly emancipated individual, even if they are of a different faith, than one has in common with a devout member of their own faith.

Limitations

It would be well to point out the data limitations of this research. Caution must be used in generalizing these findings to all Catholic men and women in mixed marriages because the sample is drawn from only one geographic area. A number of important social factors closely associated with mate selection cannot be addressed because such information is not obtainable from the sacramental marriage records.

There are some research method questions that can be raised here. Computerization of all the diocesan sacramental records is reportedly in progress and should facilitate data collection and analysis and reduce clerical error for future researchers. Cross-referencing more than one sacramental record category should increase accuracy and permit follow-up studies that sufficiently substantiate the

correlates of interfaith marriage. Additionally, examination of subsequent sacramental participation by the children of the couples in this study, for example, would permit researchers to get a fuller picture of family religious histories.

Religious affiliation at the time of marriage is treated as a variable, but one does not assume this accurately reflects lifelong membership. What has been the rate of post-matrimonial conversion, how soon after marriage did a change in religious affiliation occur, and in which direction did it occur? The bulk of research indicates that among couples who change to a common faith tradition, the change will be in the direction of the spouse having higher social status. If Catholic brides marry outside their faith in an effort to "marry up," one might predict that more of the Catholic women in the diocesan sample would convert to another religion than Catholic men. However, the historical family tradition of women as "keepers of the kin," entrusted with the transmission of cultural and religious values to subsequent generations, might work against this prediction.

In how many of these unions have the Catholic spouses stopped their religious participation, as measured by church attendance and sacramental reception, for the sake of matrimonial harmony? Previous research reports higher levels of church participation among children from exogamous marriages than among children whose parents have no religious affiliation. When spouses elect to become

religiously neutral, the harmful affects of intermarriage on childrearing become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Another important limitation to these data is that only diocesan-reported Catholic mixed marriages are examined. However, earlier studies (e.g., Monahan, 1973) have reported a fundamental relationship between interfaith marriage and civil ceremony. In some cases, the civil marriage proportions doubled or tripled when there was a mixed faith union. We might, therefore, speculate that more Catholic interfaith marriage is occurring in Utah outside the auspices of the Church. Perhaps the findings regarding older age at marriage and geographic distribution of such marriages would be altered considerably if civil weddings involving intermarried Catholics could be taken into account.

This concludes examination of the trends and profiles of Catholic interfaith marriage in the last 31 years. One of the most eloquent passages found during the literature review describes the effect of early religious socialization on subsequent family life (Kaye, 1980). It reads as follows:

Your religious beliefs are like your first language. No matter how fluent you become in another tongue, the language you learned first will always be with you The ideas we absorb and the emotional ties we form in the earliest years affect our development for the rest of our life, and religious influences are a part of the picture. We can never completely erase them, even if we eventually reject them. We must acknowledge them as a permanent part of our experiences and identity. (p. 13)

For any marriage to succeed there have to be several areas of compatibility, including social, economic, educational, emotional, ethnic, political, cultural, and religious. An interfaith relationship may well provide a constant topic for discussion, especially if the spouses decide to individually maintain their religious affiliations; the subject of religion doesn't go away.

Recommendations

Interpretation of these findings should include possible applications. Within the state of Utah, at least, knowing the most likely gender, age, and geographic location for interfaith marriages to occur should permit religious leaders to better anticipate and meet the pre-marriage preparation needs of such couples. In addition, the post-marriage enhancement/enrichment movement, encompassing a variety of programs in different faith expressions, can assist couples in increasing the frequency and effectiveness of their communication in this area. Verbal support for these unions on the part of all faith ministers and practical assistance in negotiating skills and stress relief will be welcomed resources.

Future research in this area might include securing information regarding other variables highly correlated with mate selection. For example, a random sample of the parishes in the Diocese of Salt Lake might provide additional data on the intermarried Catholic couples

included in this study. More detailed questionnaire information collected at the parish level might include the educational level of the bride and groom, the socioeconomic status of their parents, and the religious background of their parents (i.e., did the subjects in this study come from an interfaith home?) (Heiss, 1960). Also, what portion, if any, of the subjects' education was spent in parochial school?

This study has not addressed marital outcomes. There is some research to suggest that interfaith marriages involving Mormons, both Catholic-Mormon and Protestant-Mormon combinations, are consistently less stable than are Catholic-Protestant marriages (Bahr, 1981). Since the diocesan sample reported here contains a preponderance of the Catholic-Mormon marriage type, the implications for pre-marital counseling and preparation of such couples are significant. It would be useful to determine what proportion of this diocesan sample has divorced and how many of those divorces were civil or church-sanctioned annulments.

Finally, one future avenue of research might be to examine diocesan baptismal records to see how many of these Utah interfaith couples have experienced a post matrimonial conversion to Catholicism, both in frequency and gender.

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