Factors Related to Interreligious Marriages in Iowa, 1953-57

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CONTENTS

SUMMARY

Religious affiliations of brides and bridegrooms and other information from Iowa marriage records from 1953 through 1957 were used to test hypotheses for the relations between religious endogamy norm saliency and possible reference group experience differences. Religious endogamy rates were used as direct measurements, and interreligious marriage rates were used as inverse measurements of religious endogamy norm saliency. The separate and joint ages of the brides and bridegrooms, their age differences, the status levels of the bridegrooms, the state of residence of the brides, and church or civil wedding ceremonies were used as measures of reference group experiences which might differentially affect religious endogamy norm saliency. Ten hypotheses were tested separately for the first-marriage and the remarried populations in Iowa for the period of observation. The analyses were restricted to religiously endogamous or interreligious marriages involving Catholics, church-affiliated Protestants, persons who identified themselves only as Protestants but who were not affiliated with any particular denomination and persons who indicated that they had no religious affiliation.

In the first-marriage populations, the ages of brides and bridegrooms were separately and jointly related to religious endogamy. Peak endogamy occurred during the twenties. Interreligious marriage rates were greatest at the extreme ends of the age distributions. Religious endogamy norm saliency was not related to bride and bridegroom age differences. There was a slight direct association between norm saliency and the occupational status levels of the bridegrooms. The ages of the spouses and the status levels of the bridegrooms interacted most frequently to produce the highest interreligious marriage rates among couples where the spouses were 18 or younger or 30 and older and where the bridegrooms had lower status occupations. The highest rates of religious endogamy occurred among spouses in their early or middle twenties where the bridegrooms had high-status occupations. Religious endogamy norm saliency was lower for brides who were not residents of Iowa and for those whose were married in civil ceremonies.

None of the hypotheses involving the ages of the spouses was supported in analyses based on the remarriage populations. With this exception, the relationships described for the first-marriage populations also were observed, though in more attenuated form, for the remarriage populations.

In all marriage populations, greater support for all hypotheses was observed for Catholic spouses than for spouses who reported affiliation with any Protestant denomination. Religious endogamy norm saliency was considerably lower among remarriages than among first marriages. Greater differences in interreligious marriage rates were found between first-married and remarried Catholic spouses than among comparable spouses who reported affiliation with any Protestant denomination.

Men engaged in farming generally had lower interreligious marriage rates than men in nonfarm occupations of comparable status levels. Similar results were observed for brides married to these men.

Apart from the spousal religious affiliation combinations, civil weddings were differentially related to the ages of the brides and inversely related to the occupational status levels of the bridegrooms in the same manner as were the interreligious marriage rates. Civil wedding rates were greater among endogamous Catholic first marriages than among first marriages of persons claiming affiliation with any Protestant denomination.

Iowa Catholic diocese-reported marriage data also were obtained for 1953 through 1957. These data permitted comparisons of state-reported and Catholic church-reported marriage data. In contrast to state records, the church records included more Catholic endogamous marriages and fewer marriages of Catholics with non-Catholics or marriages involving at least one Catholic party. The Catholic endogamous marriage proportions varied according to the source and type of data: 65 percent of all state-reported marriages involving Catholics were endogamous, and 74 percent of all diocese-reported marriages involving Catholics were endogamous; 70 percent of all state-reported first marriages involving Catholics were endogamous; only 37 percent of the state-reported remarriages involving Catholics were endogamous.

On a county basis, the frequencies and proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages for all state-reported data were highly correlated with similar data based on diocese records.

The Catholic endogamous marriage rates, based on state-reported first marriages, all state-reported marriages or diocese-reported marriages, were positively and highly related to the proportion of Catholics in the population of the 99 Iowa counties. These relations were not altered when partial correlations for the proportion of urban inhabitants per county were calculated. Zero-order correlations between endogamous marriage rates and urban levels per county were nonsignificant. Control on the proportion of the population per county which was Catholic, produced a low, negative relationship between Catholic endogamous marriage rates and the urban levels of the Iowa counties.

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Although studies of the correlates of interreligious marriage are highly relevant for theories of mate selection and marital success, there has been little research on this topic. Furthermore, with the exception of the data reported by Glick (9), most generalizations related to the correlates of interreligious marriages are seriously limited by sampling considerations. Probably the most extensive studies of correlates of interreligious marriages involving Catholics have been done by Thomas. These studies were limited to analyses of parish or diocese records which contained only Catholic church-sanctioned marriages (20, 21). Generalizations of results from the few community studies also are limited because the samples were drawn from specific communities and, in some cases, from relatively atypical communities (8, 12, 13, 15, 16).[3]

The sampling limitations of most of the available studies were overcome, for the most part, in data available on marriages in Iowa. Since 1953, the religious affiliations or preferences of brides and bridegrooms have been obtained from Iowa marriage records. The Iowa marriage record data permit identification of various bride-bridegroom religious affiliation combinations for a large population of marriages. As such, these data for the brides' and bridegrooms' religious affiliations at marriage provide several unique research opportunities in the United States.

The Problem

Some preliminary analyses of the 1953 marriage data have been presented (7, 19). The purpose of this report is to extend these analyses from 1953 through 1957 and to test the association of selected personal and social characteristics of the brides and bridegrooms with interreligious marriage rates. Knowledge of the rates of interreligious marriages for a large population of marriages is not available. The present study will provide this information for a defined universe of marriages in one state for a 5-year period. However, information about factors which are related to religiously endogamous or interreligious marriage rates is more valuable than descriptions of the rates. The correlates of interreligious marriages may indicate trends in the frequency of such marriages.

In the present investigation, analyses of factors related to interreligious marriage rates were limited to data which were available from the tabulating cards based on the Iowa marriage records. These factors included the ages of the brides and bridegrooms, the occupations of the bridegrooms, the state of residence of the brides and bridegrooms, whether the marriage was conducted as a church or civil ceremony and whether the marriage was a first marriage for both parties or a remarriage for one or both parties.

At the empirical level, the research problem may be defined as: What relationships exist between interreligious marriage rates and the ages of brides, the ages of bridegrooms, the differences in ages between brides and bridegrooms, the prestige levels of occupations of the bridegrooms, the state of residence of the brides, and whether the wedding was conducted as a church or civil ceremony? Each of the variables just cited also may be considered as an index of a conceptual variable. For instance, interreligious marriage rates may be taken as measures of the saliency of the religious endogamous norm. Also, each of the other variables may be used as measures of reference groups which may differentially reinforce or weaken adherence to the religious endogamy norm. At a conceptual level, the research problem becomes: How does religious endogamy norm saliency vary among different subgroups in American society?

The sociological meaning of some of the concepts used in the previous discussion may not be clear to all readers. Some general sociological concepts are used to provide conceptual unity for the hypotheses tested in this study. Results of analyses based upon tests of more general conceptual relationships may contribute to broader generalization of the findings of this study. A brief glossary of concepts and terms used in this bulletin is provided in Appendix B.

Value implications are implicit in most of the analyses included in this bulletin. For some persons, these implications may be associated with strong emotional reactions. The purpose of this bulletin is to report research data pertaining to factors related to inter-

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religious marriage rates. In no way should the presentation of these data be construed to represent either suggestions for more tolerant attitudes toward interreligious marriages or suggestions for more critical views toward interreligious marriages. Because of the emotional and value conflicts frequently associated with discussion of interreligious marriages, it is important to have well-established knowledge about the rates of these marriages and some of the factors which may be related to these marriages.

METHOD

The universe of interest for this investigation included all marriages of white couples in Iowa from 1953 through 1957. The development of types of religiously endogamous and interreligious marriages was limited by the characteristics of the population studied. Since there were few marriages involving Jews or other non-Christians, all marriages involving members of non-Christian faiths were omitted from the study. The remaining persons were classified as (a) church-Protestants, those who gave a specific denominational affiliation — Methodist, Lutheran, Seventh-Day Adventist, etc.; (b) Protestants, those who merely referred to themselves as Protestant but gave no specific denominational affiliation; (c) those who said "none" in relation to their religious affiliation or preference; and (d) Roman Catholics.

In the original analyses, the four religious affiliation types were retained as separate categories. Marriages in which the religious affiliations of brides and bridegrooms were not identical were defined as interreligious marriages. On this basis, 16 types of bride-bridegroom religious affiliations were developed. This classification was used to test the hypothesis for the relationship between age levels of brides and occupational levels of bridegrooms with interreligious marriages rates.

Inspection of the results led to the decision to use a more simplified definition of interreligious marriage. This was done by combining the no-religion-preference and the Protestant categories. This decision was based on two observations: (a) the interreligious marriage rates among the Protestant or religiously nonaffiliated brides and Catholic bridegrooms were relatively similar and generally higher than marriage rates involving church-Protestant brides and Catholic bridegrooms; and (b) the religiously nonaffiliated population was relatively small and could not be adequately used in cross-classification analyses.

As a result, only six spousal religious combinations instead of 16 were employed for subsequent analyses. As shown later in table 1, religiously endogamous marriages are represented by church-Protestant brides married to church-Protestant bridegrooms or Catholic brides married to Catholic bridegrooms; interreligious marriages are represented by the other four types which involved either a church-Protestant or Catholic bride married to a bridegroom who was not of the same religious affiliation as the bride. Similar religiously endogamous and interreligious marriage types based upon the bridegrooms' religious affiliations are shown later in table 3. Because of their limited theoretical importance, analyses are not reported for combinations involving other spousal religious affiliations which are not included in marriages with church-Protestant or Catholic spouses.

HYPOTHESES

The family is an indispensible social system in all societies. Because of its importance to the maintenance and the perpetuation of society, the selection of marriage partners, which serves as the basis of all family groups, is never left to chance or conducted in the context of absolute freedom of choice. It is controlled in varying degrees by culturally defined mate-selection norms. The content and saliency of these norms and the mechanics for enforcing these norms vary considerably among societies.

Within contemporary American society, the saliency of various mate-selection norms and the enforcing mechanisms also vary considerably. Mate-selection norms which have high saliency allow very little deviation and carry heavy penalties for deviation. In the United States, such mate-selection norms generally are based upon legal requirements—such as laws against marriages between specified relatives, or, in some states, as prohibitions against interracial marriages. In other states, the racial endogamous marriage pattern is maintained on the strength of cultural norms and associated sanctions. Other mate-selection norms have less saliency and, hence, allow greater variation in selection of marriage partners. These norms prescribe, but do not require, that one select a marriage partner from approximately the same socio-economic status level, educational level, ethnic group or religious faith as one's own. For most variables other than race, it probably is more appropriate to describe mate-selection patterns in the United States as statistical probabilities rather than as absolute or near-absolute modes of behavior (6, 13).

Endogamous marriage patterns which display considerable variation, as do interreligious marriage patterns (20), suggest that religious endogamy norm saliency probably differs considerably among various reference groups. The hypotheses upon which this investigation was organized were developed from this premise. Religiously endogamous or interreligious marriage rates constitute valid and probably highly reliable measures of religious endogamy norm saliency. Endogamous marriage rates for specified categories of persons were used as direct measures of religious endogamy norm saliency. Interreligious marriage rates for specified categories of persons were used as inverse measures of religious endogamy norm saliency. Unfortunately, only limited data were available from the Iowa marriage records for use as measurements of variables which might be related to levels of norm saliency. There were sufficient theoretical or empirical grounds for expecting religious endogamy norm saliency to vary with age levels of the spouses, the occupational status levels of the bridegrooms, the state of residence of the brides and the choice of a church or civil marriage ceremony. Hypotheses for the relations between religious endogamy norm saliency and these variables are developed in the remainder of this section.

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Inspection of the results led to the decision to use a more simplified definition of interreligious marriage. This was done by combining the no-religion-preference and the Protestant categories. This decision was based on two observations: (a) the interreligious marriage rates among the Protestant or religiously nonaffiliated brides and Catholic bridegrooms were relatively similar and generally higher than marriage rates involving church-Protestant brides and Catholic bridegrooms; and (b) the religiously nonaffiliated population was relatively small and could not be adequately used in cross-classification analyses.

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Endogamous marriage patterns which display considerable variation, as do interreligious marriage patterns (20), suggest that religious endogamy norm saliency probably differs considerably among various reference groups. The hypotheses upon which this investigation was organized were developed from this premise. Religiously endogamous or interreligious marriage rates constitute valid and probably highly reliable measures of religious endogamy norm saliency. Endogamous marriage rates for specified categories of persons were used as direct measures of religious endogamy norm saliency. Interreligious marriage rates for specified categories of persons were used as inverse measures of religious endogamy norm saliency. Unfortunately, only limited data were available from the Iowa marriage records for use as measurements of variables which might be related to levels of norm saliency. There were sufficient theoretical or empirical grounds for expecting religious endogamy norm saliency to vary with age levels of the spouses, the occupational status levels of the bridegrooms, the state of residence of the brides and the choice of a church or civil marriage ceremony. Hypotheses for the relations between religious endogamy norm saliency and these variables are developed in the remainder of this section.

Ages at Marriage

Some scattered research data suggest that reference-group experiences of persons who married at less than 19 years of age would more likely permit or encourage interreligious marriages than corresponding reference group experiences of persons who married in their early or middle twenties. Most marriages of 16-, 17- and many 18-year-olds occur in opposition to adult norms for the proper minimum ages for marriage. Generally, school, church and community groups, as well as parents and many magazine and newspaper articles deplore young marriages (4).

Marriages at these ages apparently represent departures from the views of the adult community and reflect greater emphasis on immediate gratifications associated with love and marriage in American society. The mate-selection norms of the premarital reference groups of the married teenagers probably are based more on romantic and individualistic criteria than corresponding norms of the adult reference groups (1). Under these conditions, the religious endogamy norm would be weaker among the reference groups of younger persons. Comparisons of attitudes toward interreligious dating among high school and college students, matched on religiosity and status levels, supported this view (2). More favorable attitudes toward interreligious dating among high school aged youth and the higher incidence of premarital pregnancy when they marry probably serve to increase interreligious marriage rates among teenagers (4).

Persons who enter their first marriage in their early or middle twenties represent a selective portion of all previously unmarried youth. They apparently feel less urgency for satisfying needs associated with love and marriage; they probably have continued dating and courtship relationships; and they probably have substituted adult-level reference groups for their former high school or immediate post high school reference groups. Their variety in heterosexual relationships, substitution of reference groups and greater maturity should increase their cognizance and acceptance of the religious endogamy norm.

Thus, the first hypothesis becomes: Religious endogamy norm saliency is lower among persons who marry at 18 or younger than among those who marry later, especially those who marry in their early or middle twenties.

The association of age-graded, reference-group experiences and the saliency of the religious endogamy norm probably becomes invalid sometime after the middle or later twenties. For persons who enter their first marriage in their later twenties or at older ages, desires to enjoy marital status and role satisfactions may overcome previously internalized norms against interreligious marriage. The age-graded features of the American mate selection system limit the supply of previously unmarried marriage partners. Finding a previously unmarried mate of one's own religious faith who meets other personal criteria is more difficult for the unmarried persons who are in their late twenties or older. For these reasons, rather than for reference-group influences and norm internalization, religious endogamy norm saliency is expected to be lower among persons who are in their late twenties or older.

On the foregoing bases, the final hypothesis for relations between interreligious marriage rates and ages at marriage became: Interreligious marriage rates are differentially related to the ages at marriage. Religious endogamy norm saliency should be greatest among persons who married in their early or middle twenties and should decline among persons who married at either younger or older ages.

This hypothesis was tested for the relations between interreligious marriage rates and the ages of brides and bridegrooms separately and for the joint ages of brides and bridegrooms.

Spousal age differences also were tested for association with interreligious marriage rates. Marriages between persons of similar ages or between persons whose ages are within several years of one another is the customary pattern in American society. The median age difference between husbands and wives in the United States is about 2.5 years, with the husband being the older. Marriages of women to men younger than themselves represent deviations from the normatively expected pattern of mate selection. It was hypothesized that deviation in mate selection in regard to spousal age levels also would be related to deviation in regard to religious endogamy.

Occupational Status of Bridegrooms

Several observations suggest that middle-class reference groups in the family, school, church and community systems probably support the religiously endogamous mate-selection norm more strongly than do lower-class reference groups. In this study and in others the ages of the brides and bridegrooms and the social-status levels of the bridegrooms were positively related. On the average, the higher-status bridegrooms and their brides were older than bridegrooms and brides of lower status. Therefore, the conditions cited in support of the first hypothesis should partially support the second, also. The study of Iowa youth showed that, apart from the confounding influence of religiosity, high school and college students from lower-status families had more favorable attitudes toward interreligious dating and marriage than did students from higher-status families (2).

The well-documented inverse relations between status levels and some forms of social deviation—such as premarital coital relations, illegitimacy, premaritally pregnant brides and young marriages—suggest greater emphasis among lower-status persons on immediate gratification patterns associated with sex and marriage. For these reasons the saliency of the religious endogamy norm was expected to be directly related to status. This hypothesis is contrary to the formulations of Thomas (20) or Locke, Sabagh and Thomes (17).

The direct relationship between norm saliency and status was tested for the populations of brides as well as for bridegrooms. Status data were available only for bridegrooms. These data were used in the analyses for brides on the assumption of social-status assortative mating.

Age Levels and Occupational Status of Bridegrooms

Age levels of the brides or bridegrooms and occupational-status levels of the bridegrooms were expected to interact to produce the greatest rates of interreligious marriages at youngest age and lower status levels or among oldest age and lower status levels. The least interreligious marriage rates were expected in the middle age ranges and high status levels.

Migratory Marriages and Church or Civil Weddings

The hypotheses for the relationships between the age and status variables with religious endogamy norm saliency were based on the premise that religious endogamy norm saliency varies among different reference groups. While its saliency may vary, in general, religious endogamy still may be considered a marriage norm in the United States (9). Interreligious marriages represent departures from this norm. Two other characteristics, marriages of out-of-state brides in Iowa (termed migratory marriages) and civil weddings represent additional deviations from current marriage norms in the United States. These three forms of normative deviation probably are interrelated.

Persons who are involved in migratory marriages or in civil marriage ceremonies probably have different orientations toward marriage than those who abide by the norms for these two marriage characteristics. If they exist, the differences in marriage orientations between these two groups of persons are a function of the different socialization and other premarital reference-group experiences that the two groups have had. The reference-group experiences of persons involved in migratory or civil marriages should provide less support for the religious endogamy norm.

The data available for use in the present investigation do not permit determination of the direction of causality among the variables under study. We cannot say whether or not reference-group experiences associated with marriage orientations which result in migratory marriages or civil weddings contribute to the likelihood of interreligious marriages; or whether or not, given the circumstances which have led to interreligious marriages, more of these couples than the religiously endogamous couples prefer or feel forced to marry in another state or to be married by a civil official. The present data permit only a test of the association of religious endogamy norm saliency and migratory marriage and civil ceremony rates.

On these bases two hypotheses follow: (a) Religious endogamy norm saliency is lower among couples involved in migratory marriages than among couples who marry in the bride's state of residence. (b) Religious endogamy norm saliency is lower among couples whose marriages are performed by civil officials compared with couples whose marriages are performed by clergymen.

Tests of the Hypotheses

The universe of interest for the sample included all marriages involving white couples in Iowa from 1953 through 1957 who met certain specifications. The hypotheses could have been tested with all of the data derived from this population. More precise tests could be obtained if this population were further refined. This was done by creating two populations: (a) marriages in which neither person had been married before and (b) marriages in which one or both parties had been married previously.

All analyses were conducted separately for the first-marriage and remarriage populations and were combined for the total population. In this report, data are presented for tests based upon the first-marriage and remarriage populations. Tables for the total population may be obtained from the senior author. Total population tables are not included in this publication since the results for the total population generally are very similar to those obtained for the first-marriage population, and, while the total results would add little additional information, they would add considerably to the length of the report.

The dichotomy based on first marriages and remarriages also made it possible to compare interreligious marriage rates between the two populations and to compare the relative association of each factor tested with interreligious marriage rates in the two marriage populations.

All marriages of Catholics with non-Catholics included in the study population were considered as interreligious marriages. As such, three interreligious marriage rates, based on the population of Catholic brides or bridegrooms, could have been used to test any of the hypotheses. The three interreligious marriage rates included (a) marriages of Catholics to church-Protestants, (b) marriages of Catholics to other spouses and (c) all marriages of Catholics to either church-Protestant or other spouses. The third interreligious marriage type represented the combination of the former two types of interreligious marriage and may be called the combined Catholic interreligious marriage rate. Use of the combined interreligious marriage rate was considered adequate for testing the hypotheses for the populations of Catholic marriages.

Three interreligious marriage rates were also derived for the church-Protestant marriage populations. These included (a) the marriages of church-Protestants to Catholics, (b) the marriages of church-Protestants to other spouses and (c) the combined interreligious marriage rate based on the foregoing two types of interreligious marriages. The marriages of the church-Protestants to Catholics clearly represented interreligious marriages. This interreligious marriage rate was used to test the hypotheses for the church-Protestant marriage populations. Interreligious marriages represented by unions of church-Protestants and other spouses were theoretically less important and probably would not provide critical tests of the hypotheses. Therefore, the church-Protestant interreligious marriage rates involving other spouses were not used in testing the hypotheses. Instead, the church-Protestant and Catholic interreligious marriage rates and the combined church-Protestant interreligious marriage rates were used for the tests based on the church-Protestant populations.

Data for all types of religiously endogamous and interreligious marriages are presented for those who may wish to examine more detailed interreligious marriage patterns than are discussed in the text of this report.

Analyses of interreligious marriage rates based on the Catholic populations of brides or bridegrooms were expected to provide more critical tests of the hypotheses than comparable analyses based on the populations of church-Protestant brides or bridegrooms. This expectation was based upon the fact that the Catholic population comprised about 16 percent of the population in Iowa in 1960. The church-Protestant category represented the vast majority of the persons who were married during the period of observation. Because of their more frequent numbers, church-Protestants had a much greater opportunity for endogamous religious marriages on the basis of chance acquaintance alone than was true for Catholics. Several studies support the inverse relationship between Catholic interreligious marriage rates and the proportion of Catholics in a population (11, 17, 20).

In addition to the Iowa vital statistics marriage-record data, data for Catholic endogamous and interreligious marriages were obtained from Catholic diocese records. Some analyses based on the Catholic diocese data are presented in the last section of this bulletin and in Appendix A.

AGE LEVELS AND INTERRELIGIOUS MARRIAGE RATES

Ages of Brides

It was predicted that interreligious marriage rates would be higher for younger brides, decline for brides in their early and middle twenties and rise again for older brides. The data shown in table 1 are used to test this hypothesis for first marriages of brides.

The relationships between the combined interreli-

gious marriage rates and the ages of the church-Protestant and Catholic brides supported the hypothesis. However, the association was much greater among the Catholic brides. For both groups of brides, lowest interreligious marriage rates occurred at the 21-22 age level. Rates increased among brides who were either younger or older than the 21- or 22-year-old brides.

Among the Catholic brides, young age at marriage was highly associated with interreligious marriage. Interreligious marriage rates for Catholic brides who were 18 or younger were considerably greater than the total interreligious marriage rate for Catholic brides. From age 19 or older the combined interreligious marriage rates among Catholic brides were less than the total interreligious marriage rate.

The religious endogamy rate of 87.0 percent among all church-Protestant brides was greater than that among all Catholic brides, 75.8 percent. The greater religious endogamy among church-Protestant brides as compared with Catholic brides of each age level was apparently a reflection of the differential densities of the two religious types in the Iowa population. At all age levels, church-Protestant brides who were involved in interreligious marriage more frequently married bridegrooms in the "other" category.

Religiously endogamous and interreligious marriage rates for brides involved in remarriages are shown in table 2. Two sets of results are clear: (a) Interreligious marriage rates were higher at every age level in the remarried population than in the first-marriage population for church-Protestant or Catholic brides. (b) The relationship between interreligious remarriage rates and the brides' age levels was not clear.

The reduction in religious endogamy rates from the first-marriage population to the remarriage population for church-Protestant brides was only about 7 percent, from 87.0 to 80.4 percent. For Catholic brides, religious endogamy rates declined about 26

Table 1. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms by ages of brides, first marriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliation of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Ages of brides								
		16 and under	17	18	19	20	21-22	23-24	25-29	30 and over
ChP-ChP	87.0	84.2	85.3	86.3	87.5	88.3	88.6	87.6	86.8	83.1
ChP-C	5.5	6.3	5.3	5.4	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.5	6.3	7.1
ChP-O	7.5	9.5	9.4	8.3	7.3	6.5	6.2	6.9	6.9	9.8
Combined interreligious	13.0	15.8	14.7	13.7	12.5	11.7	11.4	12.4	13.2	16.9
Total (No.)	49,066	3,121	4,202	10,476	8,564	6,682	8,659	3,462	2,585	1,315
C-C	75.8	51.9	64.8	65.1	77.1	81.0	83.1	81.1	77.2	75.9
C-ChP	15.7	26.2	23.2	21.5	14.8	12.6	11.8	13.5	15.0	16.1
C-O	8.5	21.9	12.0	13.4	8.1	6.4	5.1	5.5	7.8	8.0
Combined interreligious	24.2	48.1	35.2	34.9	22.9	19.0	16.9	19.0	22.8	24.1
Total (No.)	17,636	717	885	2,859	2,830	2,633	3,793	1,923	1,411	585

[a] ChP refers to specified Protestant church or denominational affiliation, C to Roman Catholic affiliation, and O to persons who indicated they were merely Protestant or had no church affiliation. The religious affiliation of the bride is shown on the left and the groom on the right for each combination.

Table 2. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms by ages of brides, remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Ages of brides								
		17 and under	18	19	20	21-22	23-24	25-29	30 and over
ChP-ChP	80.4	75.7	77.2	79.0	80.4	80.4	78.3	79.0	81.4
ChP-C	7.2	5.8	6.9	7.1	6.4	7.4	9.2	8.2	6.8
ChP-O	12.4	18.5	15.9	13.9	13.2	12.2	12.5	12.8	11.8
Combined interreligious	19.6	24.3	22.8	21.0	19.6	19.6	21.7	21.0	18.6
Total (No.)	16,582	276	568	618	687	1,408	1,222	2,450	9,353
C-C	50.2	52.7	38.8	41.6	44.8	50.5	52.6	52.7	50.6
C-ChP	25.0	28.9	29.2	29.2	25.2	24.4	22.8	24.2	25.0
C-O	24.8	18.4	32.0	29.2	30.0	25.1	24.6	23.1	24.4
Combined interreligious	49.8	47.3	61.2	58.4	55.2	49.5	47.4	47.3	49.4
Total (No.)	3,707	38	144	120	147	311	272	666	2,009

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

percent, from 75.8 to 50.2 percent, from the first-marriage to the remarriage population. At three age levels, 18, 19 and 20, a majority of the Catholic brides involved in remarriages married interreligiously. The highest rate of religious endogamy among the remarried Catholic brides was only 52.7 percent which occurred at two age levels—17 and under, and 25 to 29.

There appeared to be no clear relationship between the church-Protestant-Catholic marriage rates or the combined interreligious marriage rates and the ages of the church-Protestant brides who were involved in remarriages. Among the remarriages of Catholic brides, the combined interreligious marriage rate was higher among younger brides, declined with increasing ages of brides, reached its minimum at ages 23 to 29 and then increased only slightly at age 30 and over. The only exception to this general pattern occurred for the interreligious marriage rate based on the small number of 17-year-old bridegrooms.

Ages of Bridegrooms

The percentages in tables 3 and 4 are based upon the church affiliations of the bridegrooms as shown at the left of the tables. The expected differential pattern for the relationship between interreligious marriages and ages of bridegrooms at first marriages were observed for both church-Protestant and Catholic bridegrooms. However, variations in interreligious marriage rates by the ages of the church-Protestant bridegrooms were small.

Variations among interreligious marriage rates were much greater for Catholic bridegrooms and strongly supported the hypothesis. Again, the highest interreligious marriage rates were found for the bridegrooms who were 18 or younger, the rates declined consistently from ages 19 through 29 and then rose slightly for age 30 and over.

Interreligious marriages were more frequent in the remarriage population than in the first-marriage population for both church-Protestant and Catholic bridegrooms (see table 4). The differences were much larger for the two rates among Catholic bridegrooms. Approximately 79 percent of the first marriages of Catholic bridegrooms included religiously endogamous marriages as compared with 50 percent for remarriages. Approximately 91 percent of the first marriages among church-Protestant grooms were religiously endogamous marriages as compared with 89 percent for remarriages.

Interreligious marriage rates and the ages of the church-Protestant or Catholic bridegrooms involved in remarriages were unrelated. For the church-Protestant bridegrooms, religious endogamy rates were high and, except for the bridegrooms of 18 years of age or younger, showed practically no variation by the ages of the bridegrooms. This may have been due partially to the small number of cases of younger church-Protestant bridegrooms who were involved in remarriages, but it is more likely a function of the relative availability of young unmarried or divorced church-Protestant females.

While the number of cases was small, it may be significant that most of the teenaged Catholic bridegrooms involved in remarriages entered interreligious marriages. These remarriages involved a young bridegroom and a previous divorce for one or both parties. These conditions apparently are associated with a greater probability of subsequent interreligious marriage.

Joint Ages of Brides and Bridegrooms

Religious affiliation combinations by the joint ages of brides and bridegrooms are shown in table 5 for the first marriages and, in table 6, for the remarriages. Five of the seven categories based on increasing ages of brides and bridegrooms, are used to test the hypothesis that interreligious marriage rates are differentially related to the joint age levels of brides and bridegrooms. The two age categories where the brides were older than the bridegrooms are discussed separately in the next section.

Table 3. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms by ages of bridegrooms, first marriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Ages of bridegrooms					
		17 and under	18	19	20-22	23-29	30 and over
ChP-ChP	91.2	88.9	91.7	92.0	91.6	90.6	90.1
C-ChP	5.9	7.9	4.9	4.9	5.5	6.6	6.8
O-ChP	2.9	3.2	3.4	3.1	2.9	2.8	3.1
Combined interreligious	8.8	11.1	8.3	8.0	8.4	9.4	9.9
Total (No.)	46,815	1,519	3,009	4,936	18,140	16,575	2,636
C-C	78.9	54.9	58.1	73.1	77.5	83.3	79.6
ChP-C	15.8	25.7	29.4	20.8	16.4	13.1	16.0
O-C	5.3	19.4	12.5	6.1	6.1	3.6	4.4
Combined interreligious	21.1	45.1	41.9	26.9	23.5	16.7	20.4
Total (No.)	16,950	459	531	1,125	5,816	7,754	1,265

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

Table 4. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms by the ages of bridegrooms, remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliation of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Ages of bridegrooms					
		18 and under	19	20-22	23-29	30 and over
ChP-ChP	88.7	81.0	89.7	88.2	88.0	89.1
C-ChP	6.2	9.5	3.4	6.2	6.6	6.0
O-ChP	5.1	9.5	6.9	5.6	5.4	4.9
Combined interreligious	11.3	19.0	10.3	11.8	12.0	10.9
Total (No.)	15,022	42	58	842	3,977	10,103
C-C	49.7	12.5	40.0	51.0	49.5	49.7
ChP-C	32.0	25.0	45.0	27.7	31.4	32.6
O-C	18.3	62.5	15.0	21.3	19.1	17.7
Combined interreligious	50.3	87.5	60.0	49.0	50.5	50.3
Total (No.)	3,744	8	20	220	1,088	2,408

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

Table 5. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms by joint ages of brides and bridegrooms, first marriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliation of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Ages of brides and bridegrooms						
		Both 19 or under	Bride 19 or under, groom 20 or older	Both 20-24	Bride 20-24, groom 25 or older	Both 25 or older	Groom 19 or under, bride 20 or older	Groom 20-24, bride 25 or older
ChP-ChP	87.0	87.3	85.8	88.9	86.5	85.3	91.4	87.0
ChP-C	7.5	5.3	5.5	4.9	6.2	6.6	4.2	6.4
ChP-O	7.5	7.4	8.7	6.2	7.3	8.1	4.4	6.6
Combined interreligious	13.0	12.7	14.2	11.1	13.5	14.7	8.6	13.0
Total (No.)	49,066	8,950	17,413	12,237	5,686	3,319	902	559
C-C	75.8	62.0	70.6	82.6	82.2	76.4	68.7	78.9
C-ChP	15.7	23.6	18.2	12.0	12.6	15.6	19.7	13.9
C-O	8.5	14.4	11.2	5.4	5.2	8.0	11.6	7.2
Combined interreligious	24.2	38.0	29.4	17.4	17.8	23.6	31.3	21.1
Total (No.)	17,636	1,933	5,359	5,143	2,936	1,675	273	317
ChP-ChP	91.2	91.4	90.8	92.7	90.6	88.6	91.3	88.5
C-ChP	5.9	5.3	5.9	5.3	6.8	8.2	6.0	8.0
O-ChP	2.9	3.3	3.3	2.0	2.6	3.2	2.7	3.5
Combined interreligious	8.8	8.5	9.2	7.3	9.4	11.4	8.7	11.5
Total (No.)	46,815	8,561	16,444	11,733	5,431	3,194	903	549
C-C	78.9	63.8	73.7	85.0	84.9	82.2	80.0	82.8
ChP-C	15.8	25.0	18.8	12.0	12.3	14.1	16.2	11.9
O-C	5.3	11.2	7.5	3.0	2.8	3.7	3.8	5.3
Combined interreligious	21.1	36.2	26.3	15.0	15.1	17.8	20.0	17.2
Total (No.)	16,950	1,880	5,138	4,993	2,845	1,558	234	302

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

Table 6. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms by joint ages of brides and bridegrooms, remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliation of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Ages of brides and bridegrooms						
		Both 19 or under	Bride 19 or under, groom 20 or older	Both 20-24	Bride 20-24, groom 25 or older	Both 25 or older	Groom 19 or under, bride 20 or older	Groom 20-24, bride 25 or older
ChP-ChP	80.4	75.0	77.9	80.0	79.5	81.2	89.7	73.9
ChP-C	7.2	11.8	6.5	7.7	7.9	7.0	7.7	10.2
ChP-O	12.4	13.2	15.6	12.3	12.6	11.8	2.6	15.9
Combined interreligious	19.6	25.0	22.1	20.0	20.5	18.8	10.3	26.1
Total (No.)	16,582	68	1,394	1,087	2,204	11,408	39	382
C-C	50.2	53.8	41.2	49.0	50.8	51.0	28.6	52.4
C-ChP	25.0	23.1	29.4	22.7	24.7	24.7	42.8	27.6
C-O	24.8	23.1	29.4	28.3	24.5	24.3	28.6	20.0
Combined interreligious	49.8	46.2	58.8	51.0	49.2	49.0	71.4	47.6
Total (No.)	3,707	13	289	251	474	2,568	7	105
ChP-ChP	88.7	85.0	88.0	88.4	88.8	89.0	87.5	83.4
C-ChP	6.2	5.0	6.9	5.8	5.9	6.1	7.5	8.6
O-ChP	5.1	10.0	5.1	5.8	5.3	4.9	5.0	8.0
Combined interreligious	11.3	15.0	12.0	11.6	11.2	11.0	12.5	16.6
Total (No.)	15,022	60	1,233	983	1,973	10,395	40	338
C-C	49.7	36.8	43.8	48.2	47.3	51.2	22.2	48.2
ChP-C	32.0	42.1	33.4	33.0	34.3	31.1	33.3	34.2
O-C	18.3	21.1	22.8	18.8	18.4	17.7	44.5	17.6
Combined interreligious	50.3	63.2	56.2	51.8	52.7	48.8	77.8	51.8
Total (No.)	3,744	19	272	255	510	2,565	9	114

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

The interreligious marriage rates for marriages of church-Protestant brides or bridegrooms with Catholic spouses and the combined church-Protestant interreligious marriage rates were slightly lower among couples where both spouses were 19 or younger than among couples where the bride was 19 or younger and the bridegroom was 20 or older. This difference was opposite from that which was expected. However, as expected, the interreligious marriage rates were lower among the couples involving church-Protestants who were both 20 to 24 years of age as compared with comparable couples where brides were 19 or younger and grooms were 20 or older. The interreligious marriage rates increased slightly and consistently for the next two older age levels. The differences among rates, however, were small for either the church-Protestant brides or bridegrooms.

Considerably stronger support for the hypothesis was found for the association of interreligious marriage rates among Catholic brides or bridegrooms and the joint age levels of the spouses. Interreligious marriage rates were highest when both spouses were 19 or younger. They reached their low points when both spouses were 20-24 or when the bride was 20-24 and the bridegroom was 25 or older. The interreligious marriage rates then increased slightly for the age categories where both spouses were 25 or older or where the bridegroom was 19 or younger and the bride was 20 or older.

Among church-Protestant brides involved in remarriages the rates for marriages with Catholic bridegrooms or the combined interreligious marriage rates were higher at all joint age levels than among comparable interreligious marriage rates for church-Protestant brides who were married for the first time. Differences in marriage rates for church-Protestant bridegrooms involved in remarriages and first marriages with Catholic brides were smaller and inconsistent. The combined interreligious marriage rates for remarriages of church-Protestant bridegrooms generally were greater also than comparable rates for first marriages of church-Protestant bridegrooms. At all joint age levels, interreligious remarriage rates of Catholic brides or bridegrooms were considerably greater than among Catholic brides or bridegrooms in their first marriages.

There was no evidence of a differential relationship between interreligious marriage rates and joint ages of spouses involved in remarriages. The youngest joint age category should be excluded because of the small number of cases. When this is done, the differences among the combined interreligious marriage rates for the church-Protestant bridegrooms were all within 1 percentage point of one another. Comparable rates for the church-Protestant brides were within approximately 3 percentage points of one another. The interreligious remarriage rates for church-Protestant brides to Catholic bridegrooms and for church-Protestant bridegrooms to Catholic brides also showed very little variation. More variation was observed among the interreligious marriage rates among Catholic brides or Catholic bridegrooms. Instead of a differential pattern, however, there was a slight decline in the combined interreligious marriage rates for Catholic brides or bridegrooms in relation to the increasing joint-age levels of the spouses.

Spousal Age Differences

Greater proportions of the interreligious marriages were expected among couples where the brides were older than their bridegrooms. Two spousal age combinations in which the brides were older than their bridegrooms were presented in tables 5 and 6. The hypothesis was tested by comparing interreligious marriage rates among each of the two age categories where the bride was older than the bridegroom with the age category where the same age combination was used, but where the bridegroom was older than the bride. The interreligious marriage rates for the age combination involving brides who were 20 or older with bridegrooms who were 19 or less were compared with the interreligious marriage rates for couples where the age relationships were reversed. A similar procedure was followed for the comparisons of the two age categories involving brides who were 25 or older and were married to bridegrooms who were 20 to 24 and vice versa.

Thus, 12 tests of the hypothesis could be made. Differences of less than 1 percent, interpreted as null differences were observed for five comparisons. For three tests, interreligious marriage rates were lower among the age combinations which included older brides than bridegrooms in comparison with reversed age combinations. These results were contrary to the predicted direction. The other four tests supported the hypothesis, but the largest differences were only about 2 percent. These data failed to provide a sufficient basis for rejecting the null hypothesis. In terms of the age categories used for the first marriages, there appeared to be no differences in interreligious marriage rates among couples where brides were older as compared with couples where bridegrooms were older.

As shown in table 6, remarriages involving 19-year-old bridegrooms married to brides who were 20 or older occurred too infrequently for interpretation. Two sets of observations can be drawn for the association of the direction of bride-bridegroom age differences and interreligious remarriage rates for brides who were 25 or older and married to bridegrooms who were 20-24 years of age. One, the interreligious re-

marriage rates for the 20- to 24-year-old bridegrooms married to brides who were 25 or older, were uniformly higher than among the couples where neither party had been married previously. Two, the hypothesis that interreligious remarriage rates would be higher among couples where 20- to 24-year-old bridegrooms were married to brides who were 25 or older in comparison with the reversed spousal age categories received little support. All differences based on church-Protestant brides or bridegrooms ranged between 3 and 6 percent. For the comparisons based on Catholic brides or bridegrooms interreligious remarriage rates were slightly lower for the age categories where brides were older.

Additional tests of the spousal age difference hypothesis were based on the direction and sizes of bride-bridegroom age differences. Three age difference categories were defined; a difference of less than 1 year, the bride at least 1 year older, and the bridegroom at least 1 year older. Percentages of couples in each age-difference category and the mean age differences of brides and bridegrooms were obtained for each spousal religious affiliation combination. These data are shown in table 7 for first marriages and in table 8 for remarriages. The state of residence of the bride was controlled in all analyses.

It was expected that a greater percentage of the couples where the brides were older than the bridegrooms would be interreligiously married. Comparisons of the interreligious marriage rates for church-Protestant brides married for the first time who were Iowa residents failed to support this hypothesis. The comparison for Catholic brides supported the hypothesis, but the results based on Catholic bridegrooms failed to support the hypothesis. A greater proportion of the church-Protestant bridegrooms who married Catholic brides or nonchurch-Protestant brides also included couples where the brides were older than the bridegrooms. In total, only three of the six tests based upon Iowa resident brides in first marriages supported the hypothesis under test.

Less support was found for the hypothesis based upon first marriages of brides who were not residents of Iowa. Only two of the six tests, both based upon church-Protestant bridegrooms, supported the hypothesis. In both tests, about 1 percent more of the interreligiously married church-Protestant bridegrooms married older brides than the bridegrooms who married endogamously. Furthermore there was no consistent pattern in the direction of mean differences among the religious affiliation combinations for the three specified age-difference classifications. The absolute mean age differences, presented in table 7, also showed only very small variations. On the basis of these additional analyses, the null hypothesis was retained for differences in the proportions of interreligious marriages among the couples married for the first time where brides were older than the bridegrooms in comparison with other spousal age combinations.

All differences among the remarriages which involved resident Iowa brides supported the hypothesis. The differences, however, ranged from only 1 to 7 percent. Small and inconsistent differences were observed between interreligious remarriage rates where brides were not Iowa residents. Taken together, the

Table 7. Percentages of couples in three spousal age difference categories and absolute spousal age differences by spousal religious affiliation combinations and brides' state of residence for first marriage, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Bride Iowa resident percentages					Bride not Iowa resident percentages				
	Number of couples	Same age	Bride older	Bride-groom older	Absolute mean age difference	Number of couples	Same age	Bride older	Bride-groom older	Absolute mean age difference
ChP-ChP	37,027	13.6	9.9	76.5	2.8	5,659	11.9	10.2	77.9	3.2
ChP-C	1,868	11.3	9.3	79.4	3.2	811	10.5	8.5	81.0	3.4
ChP-O	3,199	10.5	8.0	81.5	3.3	502	8.6	8.6	82.8	3.9
Combined interreligious	5,067	10.8	8.5	80.7	3.2	1,313	9.7	8.5	81.8	3.6
Total (No.)	42,094	13.3	9.7	77.0	2.9	6,972	11.5	9.9	78.6	3.3
C-C	11,999	11.7	10.6	77.7	3.1	1,364	9.5	11.2	79.3	3.3
C-ChP	2,038	11.3	12.6	76.1	3.1	736	9.6	11.6	78.8	3.2
C-O	860	8.8	11.5	79.7	3.1	639	8.3	10.3	81.4	3.3
Combined interreligious	2,898	10.6	12.2	77.2	3.1	1,375	9.0	11.0	80.0	3.2
Total (No.)	14,897	11.5	10.9	77.6	3.1	2,739	9.3	11.0	79.7	3.3
ChP-ChP	37,027	13.6	9.9	76.5	2.8	5,659	11.9	10.2	77.9	3.2
C-ChP	2,038	11.3	12.6	76.1	3.1	736	9.6	11.6	78.8	3.2
O-ChP	1,139	12.5	9.7	77.8	3.1	216	7.9	10.2	81.9	3.7
Combined interreligious	3,177	11.7	11.6	76.7	3.1	952	9.2	11.2	79.6	3.3
Total (No.)	40,204	13.5	10.0	76.5	2.9	6,611	11.5	10.4	78.1	3.2
C-C	11,999	11.7	10.6	77.7	3.1	1,364	9.5	11.2	79.3	3.3
ChP-C	1,868	11.3	9.3	79.4	3.2	811	10.5	8.5	81.0	3.4
O-C	465	11.0	11.4	77.6	3.2	443	9.3	9.2	81.5	3.2
Combined interreligious	2,333	11.3	9.7	79.0	3.2	1,254	10.0	8.8	81.2	3.3
Total (No.)	14,332	11.7	10.4	77.9	3.1	2,618	9.8	10.0	80.2	3.3

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

Table 8. Percentages of couples in three spousal age difference categories and absolute spousal age differences by spousal religious affiliation combinations and bride's state of residence for remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Bride Iowa resident percentages					Bride not Iowa resident percentages				
	Number of couples	Same age	Bride older	Groom older	Absolute mean age difference	Number of couples	Same ages	Bride older	Groom older	Absolute mean age difference
ChP-ChP	9,253	6.3	20.9	72.8	6.1	4,075	6.5	24.2	69.3	6.1
ChP-C	612	5.5	28.3	66.2	5.6	586	5.5	23.2	71.3	6.2
ChP-O	1,469	5.9	22.3	71.8	6.0	587	6.1	26.3	67.6	6.7
Combined interreligious	2,081	5.8	24.0	70.2	5.9	1,173	5.8	24.7	69.5	6.4
Total (No.)	11,334	6.2	21.5	72.3	6.0	5,248	6.4	24.3	69.3	6.2
C-C	1,060	8.3	23.7	68.0	5.6	799	7.4	24.4	68.2	5.7
C-ChP	458	6.3	26.4	67.3	6.0	469	6.2	23.9	69.9	6.2
C-O	404	7.4	23.0	69.6	5.8	517	7.0	25.3	67.7	5.8
Combined interreligious	862	6.8	24.8	68.4	5.9	986	6.6	24.6	68.8	6.0
Total (No.)	1,922	7.6	24.2	68.2	5.8	1,785	7.0	24.5	68.5	5.8
ChP-ChP	9,253	6.3	20.9	72.8	6.1	4,075	6.5	24.2	69.3	6.1
C-ChP	458	6.3	26.4	67.3	6.0	469	6.2	23.9	69.9	6.2
O-ChP	542	7.8	22.3	69.9	6.0	225	5.3	20.9	73.8	6.6
Combined interreligious	1,000	7.0	24.2	68.7	6.0	694	5.9	22.9	71.2	6.3
Total (No.)	10,253	6.4	21.2	72.4	6.1	4,769	6.4	24.0	69.6	6.2
C-C	1,060	8.3	23.7	68.0	5.6	799	7.4	24.4	68.2	5.7
ChP-C	612	5.5	28.3	66.2	5.6	586	5.5	23.2	71.3	6.2
O-C	306	5.6	28.1	66.3	6.1	381	6.8	24.7	68.5	6.1
Combined interreligious	918	5.6	28.2	66.2	6.0	967	6.0	23.8	70.2	6.2
Total (No.)	1,978	7.0	25.8	67.2	5.7	1,766	6.6	24.1	69.3	6.0

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

results for remarriages cannot be regarded as providing a sufficient basis for accepting the hypothesis under test.

When the results of all the tests were considered, the null hypothesis was retained for the association of interreligious marriage rates with bride-bridegroom age differences.

Several other comparisons between the first marriages and remarriages may be of interest. In comparison with first marriages, the remarriages included smaller proportions of similarly aged spouses, smaller proportions of couples where the bridegrooms were older than their brides, and larger proportions of couples where brides were older than bridegrooms.

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF BRIDEGROOMS AND INTERRELIGIOUS MARRIAGE RATES

One of the hypotheses of the present investigation was that interreligious marriage rates are inversely related to the occupational status of the bridegrooms. The occupational status of the bridegrooms was available from the Iowa marriage record data in the 11-point occupational classification shown in table 9. Ten of the occupational categories are used in the tests of the hypothesis. The armed forces category is not used because it probably contained much greater and unknown degrees of occupational status variations than any of the other categories. Data for the armed forces category are shown at the extreme right of the table. Otherwise, the occupations are considered as ranked hierarchically from left to right representing high to low occupational status.

The data based upon the occupational classification are used to test the hypothesis in two ways: (a) by analyzing the percentages of interreligious marriages among each occupational group; and (b) by analyzing the interreligious marriage rates among three more general status-ranked sets of occupations. The first method of analysis permitted identification of variations in interreligious marrage rates among all occupational groupings. The second method permitted assessment of the relationship for broader occupational categories by eliminating some of the smaller and sometimes inconsistent variations in interreligious

Table 9. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms based upon religious affiliations of brides and by occupation of bridegrooms, first marriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Occupations of bridegrooms										
		Professional	Farm operators	Proprietors, managers, officials	Clerks	Sales	Crafts	Operatives	Domestic service	Farm laborers	Other laborers	Armed forces
ChP-ChP	87.0	90.8	91.4	88.6	86.5	87.2	84.0	83.0	77.4	87.4	81.9	86.0
ChP-C	5.5	4.4	2.7	6.0	6.9	7.2	7.0	7.0	9.1	4.1	7.2	5.7
ChP-O	7.5	4.8	5.9	5.4	6.6	5.6	9.0	10.0	13.5	8.5	10.9	8.3
Combined interreligious	13.0	9.2	8.6	11.4	13.5	12.8	16.0	17.0	22.6	12.6	28.1	14.0
Total (No.)	49,066	10,212	9,357	1,226	2,130	2,002	5,902	6,050	482	341	6,087	5,277
C-C	75.8	77.9	86.2	77.8	77.1	79.4	72.7	70.0	70.1	79.4	69.5	70.4
C-ChP	15.7	16.4	9.9	15.6	15.4	14.6	17.8	17.7	19.3	17.8	17.3	18.6
C-O	8.5	5.7	3.9	6.6	7.5	6.0	9.5	12.3	10.6	2.8	13.2	11.0
Combined interreligious	24.2	22.1	13.8	22.2	22.9	20.5	27.3	30.0	29.9	20.6	30.5	29.6
Total (No.)	17,636	2,701	3,350	338	1,016	890	2,341	2,369	244	73	2,415	1,679

[a] For definitions of the religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

marriage rates among the adjacent occupational groupings.

The professionals, farm operators, proprietors, managers and officials were included in high occupational levels; bridegrooms in clerical, sales or craft occupations were combined for the intermediate level; and operatives, domestic servants, farm laborers and other laborers were included in the low occupational status level.

Religious Affiliations of Brides, Occupations of Their Bridegrooms and Interreligious Marriage Rates

Some fluctuations in interreligious marriage rates occurred among the occupational groupings shown in table 9. However, inverse relationships were noticeable between the occupational levels of the bridegrooms and either of the two interreligious marriage rates used for the church-Protestant brides or the combined interreligious marriage rate used for the Catholic brides. The relationships are best summarized by the interreligious marriage rate for the three occupational groupings.

The combined interreligious marriage rates for first marriages of church-Protestant brides by the three occupational groupings were 9.1 for the high, 14.8 for the middle and 17.6 for the low status grouping. The combined interreligious marriage rate for the first marriages of Catholic brides married to high-status bridegrooms was 17.9, 24.8 for those married to middle-status bridegrooms and 30.1 for those married to low-status bridegrooms.

Identification of farm occupations, in both the high-status and in the low-status level, permitted testing an additional hypothesis. Most farm operators and farm laborers are farm-reared. At the time of marriage, men in these farm occupations represent a selected residual of all farm-reared men. Not only have they probably had their socialization experiences in rural social systems but they have remained in rural areas. These men should, therefore, adhere strongly to rural value and normative orientations.

Generally, these men should be expected to seek wives who also adhere to rural value systems and norms. Rural reference groups might be expected to support the religious endogamy norms more strongly than urban reference groups. Some data support the assumption of probable greater rural support for the religious endogamy norm. Values to maintain marriage and against divorce apparently are greater among farm or rural reference groups than among urban reference groups (10, 18). One consequence of the greater rural normative orientations against

divorce should be reflected in norms which seek to avoid circumstances which may lead to marital conflict and ultimately, in some cases, to divorce. Norms against interreligious marriages may be a case in point. Interreligious marriages introduce heterogeneous elements into the kinship system and are generally known to have higher divorce rates than religiously endogamous marriages.

Other data suggest that Protestant farm parents hold more conservative religious beliefs and are more active in churches than nonfarm Protestant parents. Also farm-reared college students are more active religiously and hold more conservative religious beliefs than nonfarm-reared college students (3). It should follow that these farm parents and associated rural groups would provide greater encouragement for support of the religious endogamy norm than the urban parents and associated reference groups.

These observations lead to the hypothesis that interreligious marriage rates are lower among couples where bridegrooms are engaged in farm-related occupations than among couples where bridegrooms are engaged in nonfarm occupations of approximately comparable status levels. This hypothesis was supported for interreligious marriage rates based upon church-Protestant and Catholic brides who entered first marriages. Among church-Protestant brides married to Catholic bridegrooms, the lowest of all interreligious marriage rates was observed for brides married to farm operators. The next lowest interreligious marriage rate was observed among church-Protestant brides married to farm laborers. The combined interreligious marriage rate for church-Protestant brides was also lowest among those married to farm operators. The combined interreligious marriage rate for church-Protestant brides married to farm laborers was less than half of that for church-Protestant brides who were married to other laborers. It is probably significant that the combined interreligious marriage rate for church-Protestant brides married to farm laborers was lower than comparable rates for church-Protestant brides married to bridegrooms in any middle or lower status of occupational grouping. The lowest and second lowest combined interreligious marriage rates were observed for Catholic brides married to farm operators and farm laborers, respectively.

For all except the domestic servant and other laborer occupational groupings, combined interreligious marriage rates were higher for church-Protestant brides involved in remarriages than for the first marriages of church-Protestant brides. The combined

interreligious remarriage rates for Catholic brides were uniformly higher in all occupational group comparisons than rates for Catholic brides who entered first marriages. The differences were greater between the first marriages and remarriages of Catholic brides than for the first marriages and remarriages of church-Protestant brides.

A slight inverse relationship also was observed between interreligious remarriage rates for either church-Protestant or Catholic brides and the occupational status of their bridegrooms. The combined interreligious remarriage rates were 15.0, 18.6 and 23.1 for church-Protestant brides married to high, middle and low status bridegrooms, respectively. Comparable rates for the Catholic brides were 45.9, 48.8 and 52.5. Although differences among interreligious remarriage rates were relatively small, the consistent direction of the differences supported the hypothesis for the remarriage populations as well as for the first-marriage populations. Details are shown in table 10.

Also, as with first marriages, church-Protestant brides who were involved in remarriages with bridegrooms employed as farm operators or farm laborers had lower interreligious marriage rates than brides married to men in nonfarm occupations of comparable status levels. The hypothesis for lower interreligious remarriage rates also was supported for Catholic brides married to farm operators. This hypothesis was not tenable for Catholic brides married to farm laborers. However, the cell for remarriages involving Catholic brides and farm laborers included only 12 cases and cannot be considered as providing a reliable basis for the test of the hypothesis.

Religious Affiliations and Occupations of Bridegrooms and Interreligious Marriage Rates

In table 11, the religiously endogamous and interreligious marriage rates are presented for the cross classifications based upon the occupational status levels of the bridegrooms and the church affiliations of the bridegrooms and their brides. These data suggest that the status levels of bridegrooms had a relatively weak association, though in the expected direction, with the interreligious marriage rates among first marriages. The combined interreligious marriages by the three occupational status groupings for the church-Protestant bridegrooms were, from high to low status, 6.5, 10.4 and 11.3, respectively. Comparable rates for Catholic bridegrooms also showed a slight inverse association with occupational status: 14.7, 22.7 and 26.8, respectively, from high to low status levels.

Church-Protestant bridegrooms engaged in farming operations had the lowest marriage rates with Catholic brides as well as the lowest combined interreligious marriage rates. The combined interreligious marriage rate among church-Protestant bridegrooms employed as farm laborers was lower than those among all other occupational groups except for farm operators and professional men.

The hypothesis of the lower interreligious marriage rates among men employed in farming as compared with nonfarm jobs was supported for Catholic bridegrooms who were farm operators, but not for Catholic bridegrooms who were farm laborers. The interreligious marriage rate for Catholic farm laborers was not substantially different from interreligious marriage rates among Catholic bridegrooms in other low-status occupations.

As shown in table 12, there was very little variation among interreligious marriage rates for church-Protestant bridegrooms who were involved in remarriages. The combined interreligious remarriage rates among church-Protestant bridegrooms in the high, middle and low status levels were 9.1, 11.8 and 12.8, respectively. These data offered only meager support for

Table 10. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms based upon religious affiliations of brides and by occupations of bridegrooms, remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Occupations of bridegrooms										
		Professional	Farm operators	Proprietors, managers, officials	Clerks	Sales	Crafts	Operatives	Domestic service	Farm laborers	Other laborers	Armed forces
ChP-ChP	80.4	84.2	86.8	83.0	81.6	82.2	79.5	76.5	78.1	83.6	77.0	73.9
ChP-C	7.2	6.1	3.6	7.4	8.3	7.9	7.0	8.6	10.4	1.5	8.0	9.2
ChP-O	12.4	9.7	9.6	9.6	10.1	9.9	13.5	14.9	11.5	14.9	15.0	16.9
Combined interreligious	19.6	15.8	13.2	17.0	18.4	17.8	20.5	23.5	21.9	16.4	23.0	26.1
Total (No.)	16,582	1,370	2,256	1,305	678	1,208	3,536	3,012	675	67	1,880	595
C-C	50.2	50.0	61.3	50.0	56.2	51.8	49.9	46.6	58.3	38.4	45.4	41.7
C-ChP	25.0	31.2	26.3	29.0	22.5	25.5	23.4	25.4	20.5	30.8	21.6	28.8
C-O	24.8	18.8	12.4	21.0	21.3	22.7	26.7	28.0	21.2	30.8	33.0	29.5
Combined interreligious	49.8	50.0	38.7	50.0	43.8	48.2	50.1	53.4	41.7	61.6	54.6	58.3
Total (No.)	3,707	250	315	300	187	294	817	768	161	12	464	139

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

Table 11. Percentages for religious affiliation combinations of brides and bridegrooms based upon religious affiliations of bridegrooms and by occupations of bridegrooms, first marriage, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Occupations of bridegrooms										
		Professional	Farm operators	Proprietors, managers, officials	Clerks	Sales	Crafts	Operatives	Domestic service	Farm laborers	Other laborers	Armed forces
ChP-ChP	91.2	93.7	93.8	90.0	90.1	90.6	89.1	89.1	85.0	92.5	88.4	90.5
C-ChP	5.9	4.5	3.6	7.2	7.7	6.8	7.5	7.4	10.7	4.0	7.4	6.2
O-ChP	2.9	1.8	2.6	2.7	3.2	2.6	3.4	3.5	4.3	3.5	4.2	3.3
Combined interreligious	8.8	6.3	6.2	9.9	10.9	9.4	10.9	10.9	15.0	7.5	11.6	9.5
Total (No.)	46,815	9,900	9,121	1,206	2,044	1,925	5,564	5,636	439	322	5,641	5,017
C-C	78.9	79.5	90.5	82.7	79.2	79.2	75.7	73.6	73.7	74.4	72.8	74.1
ChP-C	15.8	16.7	7.8	14.1	14.9	16.0	18.3	18.7	19.0	17.9	18.9	18.8
O-C	5.3	3.8	1.7	3.2	5.9	4.8	6.0	7.7	7.3	7.7	8.3	7.1
Combined interreligious	21.1	20.5	9.5	17.3	20.8	20.8	24.3	26.4	26.3	25.6	27.2	25.9
Total (No.)	16,950	2,644	3,190	525	988	893	2,249	2,253	232	78	2,305	1,593

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total	Occupations of bridegrooms										
		Professional	Farm operators	Proprietors, managers, officials	Clerks	Sales	Crafts	Operatives	Domestic service	Farm laborers	Other laborers	Armed forces
ChP-ChP	88.7	90.1	92.6	88.9	87.9	88.4	88.2	86.4	89.4	90.3	87.6	88.4
C-ChP	6.2	6.1	3.9	7.1	6.7	6.7	6.0	7.3	5.6	6.5	6.1	8.0
O-ChP	5.1	3.8	3.5	4.0	5.4	4.9	5.8	6.3	5.0	3.2	6.3	3.6
Combined interreligious	11.3	9.9	7.4	11.1	12.1	11.6	11.8	13.6	10.6	9.7	12.4	11.6
Total (No.)	15,022	1,280	2,113	1,220	630	1,122	3,189	2,667	589	62	1,652	498
C-C	49.7	50.6	63.3	52.3	52.8	51.8	50.6	46.6	45.9	62.5	43.9	39.7
ChP-C	32.0	33.6	26.9	33.4	28.1	32.8	30.8	33.7	34.1	12.5	31.6	37.7
O-C	18.3	15.8	9.8	14.3	19.1	15.4	18.6	19.7	20.0	25.0	24.5	22.6
Combined interreligious	50.3	49.4	36.7	47.7	47.2	48.2	49.4	53.4	54.1	37.5	56.1	60.3
Total (No.)	3,744	247	305	287	199	293	805	768	205	8	481	146

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.

the hypothesized inverse relationship between inter-religious remarriage rates and status levels of bride-grooms. Greater support for the hypothesis was found in relation to the interreligious remarriage rates among Catholic bridegrooms in the three status categories: 44.2 for the high; 48.8 for the middle and 54.3 for the low-status category.

Church-Protestant bridegrooms who were farm operators were less likely than other high-status church-Protestant bridegrooms to enter remarriages with Catholic brides. The church-Protestant bride-grooms who were farm laborers appeared to enter remarriages with Catholics about as frequently as other low-status church-Protestant bridegrooms. The combined interreligious remarriage rates for church-Protestant bridegrooms supported the farm-nonfarm hypothesis. The lowest and second lowest combined interreligious marriage rates were observed for farm operators and farm laborers. The interreligious re-marriage rates for Catholic bridegrooms engaged in either type of farming occupation also were lower than rates for all other occupational groups.

AGES OF BRIDES AND BRIDEGROOMS BY OCCUPATIONS OF BRIDEGROOMS AND INTERRELIGIOUS MARRIAGE RATES

Analyses not included in the present report indi-cated that the mean ages of the bridegrooms at mar-riage were directly related to their occupational status, regardless of the spousal religious classifica-tion. Low status bridegrooms had the youngest ages at marriage, and high status bridegrooms had the oldest mean ages at marriage. Similarly, the mean ages of brides were directly related to the occupation-al status levels of the men they married. Because the age and status variables were interrelated, it

seemed desirable to test the joint effects of ages at marriage and status levels of bridegrooms upon inter-religious marriage rates. The hypothesis for the joint relationship of these two variables with inter-religious marriage rates is simply the combinaton of the separate hypotheses involving the age and status variables.

The tests of this hypothesis were based upon the multiple classification of the spousal religious affilia-tion types by the three combined status levels defined previously, the five age categories for first marriages shown in table 13 and the six age categories for re-marriages shown in table 14. In tables 13 and 14, only the percentages for interreligious marriages are presented.

Interreligious Marriage Rates by the Religious Affiliations and Ages of Brides and the Occupations of Their Bridegrooms

The pattern of interreligious marriage rates based upon the cross classification by ages of brides and status levels of bridegrooms for the first marriages supported the hypothesis. As shown in table 13, the interreligious marriage rates for either church-Prot-estant or Catholic brides at all age levels declined consistently from the low- to high-status categories. Within each of the three status categories, inter-religious marriage rates were highest for the extreme age categories and lowest for one or more of the middle age categories. The ages of brides and status levels of bridegrooms combined to produce the highest interreligious marriage rates among church-Protestant or Catholic brides in the low status and youngest age level or low status and oldest age level. The lowest interreligious marriage rates were observed for first marriages of church-Protestant or Catholic brides who

Ages of brides	Total		Occupational status levels of bridegrooms							
			Low		Middle		High		Armed forces	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Church-Protestant brides										
17 or under	7,323[a]	15.2	2,966	17.9	1,363	16.2	2,134	10.4	860	16.0
18	10,476	13.7	3,604	16.8	2,206	14.5	3,305	9.7	1,361	13.9
19-22	23,905	11.9	5,132	17.2	4,732	14.2	11,372	8.1	2,669	13.1
23-29	6,047	12.8	985	18.9	1,373	13.8	3,327	10.1	362	16.3
30 and over	1,315	17.0	273	23.4	360	22.2	657	11.9	25	8.0
Total (No.)	49,066	---	12,960	---	10,034	--	20,795	--	5,277	--
Catholic brides										
17 or under	1,602	40.9	706	43.5	357	39.2	375	36.5	164	43.9
18	2,859	34.9	1,113	39.1	652	37.7	751	26.1	343	35.6
19-22	9,256	19.3	2,455	23.6	2,171	19.9	3,662	14.4	968	25.8
23-29	3,334	20.6	685	25.1	888	21.6	1,574	17.7	187	23.5
30 and over	585	24.1	142	29.6	179	25.1	247	17.8	17	58.8
Total (No.)	17,636	---	5,101	---	4,247	---	6,609	---	1,679	---

[a] In each cell the percentage represents the proportion of interreligious marriages among all marriages for any age and occupational status cell. The number of cases for each cell are provided to indicate the probable reliability of the interreligious marriage rates for each cell.

Table 14. Interreligious marriage rates among church-Protestant and Catholic brides by the ages of the brides and the occupational status levels of their bridegrooms, remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

| Ages of brides | Total | | Occupational status levels of bridegrooms | | | | | | | |
| | | | Low | | Middle | | High | | Armed forces | |
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Church-Protestant brides										
17 or under	276[a]	24.3	150	27.3	68	20.6	35	11.4	23	34.8
18	568	22.7	278	24.5	151	26.5	92	9.8	47	25.5
19-22	2,713	19.9	1,111	21.5	830	18.8	571	18.0	201	19.9
23-29	3,672	21.2	1,256	25.2	1,200	21.9	1,022	14.8	194	25.3
30-34	2,003	22.4	665	26.9	692	20.2	587	18.2	59	39.0
35 and over	7,350	17.6	2,174	20.9	2,481	18.2	2,624	13.8	71	32.4
Total (No.)	16,582	--	5,634	---	5,422	--	4,931	--	595	
Catholic brides										
17 or under	38	47.4	23	52.2	7	14.2	4	50.0	4	75.0
18	144	61.1	64	59.4	42	57.1	19	52.6	19	84.2
19-22	578	52.8	255	54.1	182	53.8	104	48.1	37	51.3
23-29	938	47.3	357	47.1	329	45.4	203	49.8	49	53.1
30-34	507	50.5	188	50.5	197	51.3	108	44.4	14	85.7
35 and over	1,502	49.1	513	54.8	547	48.6	426	43.4	16	31.2
Total (No.)	3,707	---	1,400	---	1,304	--	864	--	139	

[a] See table 13 for an explanation of the bases of the percentages and the reason for reporting the number of marriages for each cell.

were between 19 and 22 years of age and who were married to high-status bridegrooms.

Analyses of the remarriage data based upon the ages of brides and the status levels of grooms were limited by the small number of cases in some of the cells, as shown in table 14. In general, there was no marked pattern between interreligious remarriage rates and the ages of brides and occupational status levels of grooms.

Interreligious Marriage Rates by the Religious Affiliations, Ages and Occupations of the Bridegrooms

Greatest interreligious marriage rates were expected among younger or older bridegrooms who had low-status occupations. In general, the results in table 15, supported this hypothesis. Religious intermarriage rates based upon each of the age groupings declined from the low- to the high-status categories. Also, within each status category, the interreligious marriage rates were generally higher for the youngest or oldest age levels. These patterns were more evident in the classifications based upon Catholic bridegrooms than upon church-Protestant bridegrooms.

Several exceptions to these trends occurred among the interreligious marriage rates for Catholic bridegrooms. The interreligious marriage rate for the youngest and high-status Catholic bridegrooms was the highest instead of the lowest as expected. The rate for the 18-year-old middle-status Catholic bridegrooms was greater, not less, as expected, as compared with the rate of the 17 years of age or younger middle-status Catholic bridegrooms. Among high-status Catholic bridegrooms who were 30 or older, the interreligious marriage rate was practically equal to, not greater as expected, the rate for the 23- to 29-year-old high-status bridegrooms.

Among the church-Protestant bridegrooms, the lowest interreligious marriage rate was observed for the 19- to 22-year-old high-status bridegrooms. The rates for all high-status church-Protestant bridegrooms, regardless of age, however, were relatively low. Highest and relatively similar interreligious marriage rates among church-Protestant bridegrooms were found for the low-status bridegrooms, regardless of age, and for all except the 18- to 22-year-old middle-status bridegrooms.

The lowest interreligious marriage rate among

Table 15. Interreligious marriage rates among church-Protestant and Catholic bridegrooms by their ages and occupational status levels, first marriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

| Ages of bridegrooms | Total | | Occupational status levels | | | | | | | |
| | | | Low | | Middle | | High | | Armed forces | |
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Church-Protestant bridegrooms										
17 or under	1,519[a]	11.1	536	13.2	202	14.9	648	8.8	133	8.3
18	3,009	8.3	1,082	10.0	587	6.6	940	6.8	400	10.0
19-22	23,076	8.3	6,300	10.6	4,280	9.8	8,959	5.5	3,537	9.4
23-29	16,575	9.4	3,603	12.4	3,820	11.2	8,244	7.0	908	9.8
30 and over	2,636	9.9	516	12.0	645	12.0	1,436	8.3	39	10.3
Total (No.)	46,815	---	12,037	---	9,534	---	20,227	--	5,017	---
Catholic bridegrooms										
17 or under	459	45.1	200	46.5	111	39.6	105	50.5	43	39.5
18	531	40.9	213	43.7	111	50.4	129	31.0	78	35.8
19-22	6,941	23.2	2,227	28.0	1,522	24.8	2,148	15.7	1,044	26.5
23-29	7,754	16.7	1,920	21.3	2,023	18.0	3,410	12.7	401	20.2
30 and over	1,265	20.4	308	26.9	362	26.3	568	12.5	27	33.3
Total (No.)	16,950	---	4,868	---	4,129	--	6,360	--	1,593	---

[a] See table 13 for an explanation of the bases of the percentages and the reason for reporting the number of marriages for each cell.

Table 16. Interreligious marriage rates among church-Protestant and Catholic bridegrooms by their ages and occupational status levels, remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

| Ages of bridegrooms | Total | | Occupational status levels | | | | | | | |
| | | | Low | | Middle | | High | | Armed forces | |
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Church-Protestant bridegrooms										
22 or younger	942[a]	12.0	425	10.8	225	16.0	138	18.4	154	11.6
23-29	3,977	12.0	1,507	12.9	1,263	12.8	996	10.0	211	10.4
30 and over	10,103	10.9	3,038	13.0	3,453	11.1	3,479	18.8	133	13.6
Total (No.)	15,022	---	4,970	---	4,941	--	4,613	--	498	---
Catholic bridegrooms										
22 or younger	248	51.2	116	55.2	68	51.5	32	37.5	32	50.0
23-29	1,088	50.5	498	53.7	351	46.2	183	44.8	56	67.9
30 and over	2,408	50.2	848	54.5	878	49.6	624	44.5	58	58.6
Total (No.)	3,744	---	1,462	---	1,297	--	839	--	146	---

[a] See table 13 for an explanation of the bases of the percentages and the reason for reporting the number of marriages for each cell.

Catholic bridegrooms was found for high-status bridegrooms who were 30 and older. The rate did not vary greatly among the high-status Catholic bridegrooms who were 19 and older. In the low- and middle-status categories, the lowest interreligious marriage rates were observed for the 23- to 29-year-old bridegrooms. Highest rates were found among younger Catholic bridegrooms regardless of their occupational status.

The small number of remarriages which involved bridegrooms who were 22 or younger made it necessary to combine all bridegrooms through age 22 into one age category. Therefore, only three age categories are used in table 16. There was little variation by either age or status levels in interreligious remarriage rates among either the church-Protestant or Catholic bridegrooms. However, there was a slight decline, as hypothesized, in interreligious remarriage rates by the status levels of Catholic bridegrooms.

STATE OF RESIDENCE AND INTERRELIGIOUS MARRIAGE RATES

The data in table 17 were used to test the hypothesis that interreligious marriage rates are associated with an out-of-the-state residence for the bride. Analyses

Table 17. Percentages of couples for which brides were Iowa residents by the spousal religious affiliation combinations and type of marriage, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	First marriages		Remarriages	
	No.	%	No.	%
ChP-ChP	42,686[b]	86.7	13,328	69.4
ChP-C	2,679	69.7	1,198	51.1
ChP-O	3,701	86.4	2,056	71.4
Combined interreligious	6,380	79.4	3,254	64.0
Total	49,066	85.5	16,582	68.4
C-C	13,363	89.8	1,859	57.0
C-ChP	2,774	73.5	927	49.4
C-O	1,499	57.4	921	43.9
Combined interreligious	4,273	67.8	1,848	46.6
Total	17,636	84.5	3,707	51.8
ChP-ChP	42,686	86.7	13,328	69.4
C-ChP	2,774	73.5	927	49.4
O-ChP	1,355	84.0	767	70.7
Combined interreligious	4,129	76.9	1,694	59.0
Total	46,815	85.9	15,022	68.2
C-C	13,363	89.8	1,859	57.0
ChP-C	2,679	69.7	1,198	51.1
O-C	908	51.2	687	44.5
Combined interreligious	3,587	65.0	1,885	48.7
Total	16,950	84.6	3,744	52.8

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.
[b] In each cell, the percentage represents the proportion of resident-Iowa brides among all marriages shown by the number of cases for each spousal religious classification. The number of cases may be used in judging the reliability of the percentages.

were limited to the residence of the bride because of the customary practice of having the wedding in the home town of the bride.

All tests supported the hypothesis for analyses of both first marriages and remarriages of church-Protestant or Catholic brides or bridegrooms. Larger percentages of couples with brides as Iowa residents were observed among the couples who married within their own faith as compared with interreligious marriages. The differences were larger among Catholic brides or bridegrooms than among church-Protestant brides or bridegrooms.

The data in table 18 permitted retesting the association of interreligious marriage patterns with migratory marriage rates within controlled levels for the ages of the brides. In each of the seven age levels for church-Protestant brides, smaller percentages of the brides who married interreligiously were residents of Iowa. The same pattern was observed among all but the youngest Catholic brides. At each age level, the percentage differences of Iowa brides in the endogamous and interreligious marriages were greater among Catholic brides than among church-Protestant brides. The analyses based on the control for the brides' ages provided additional strong support for the hypothesis under test.

Apart from the spousal religious classification, the ages of the brides and their state of residence were related. The lowest percentages for resident Iowa brides occurred at age 16 and the highest at age 21 or 22.

TYPE OF MARRIAGE CEREMONY AND INTERRELIGIOUS MARRIAGE RATES

Interreligious marriage rates were expected to be associated with civil marriage ceremonies and religiously endogamous marriage rates with marriages performed by clergymen. Tests of this hypothesis for first marriages are based upon the data presented in table 19. In these analyses, the ages of brides and the status levels of bridegrooms were controlled because the type of wedding might vary with the age and status variables independent of the spousal religious affiliation combinations.

The percentages of civil ceremonies for the total first marriage comparisons provided the most general test of the hypothesis. These percentages are reported as the last two sets of rows in table 19. For both church-Protestant and Catholic brides, civil cere-

Table 18. Percentages of couples for which brides were Iowa residents by spousal religious affiliation combinations and ages of brides, first marriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Ages of brides													
	16 or under		17		18		19		20		21		22	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
ChP-ChP	2,627[b]	78.1	3,584	89.0	9,038	84.5	7,497	88.9	5,897	89.2	4,614	89.7	2,668	88.9
ChP-C	198	65.7	221	75.6	568	59.0	447	69.4	348	76.7	256	74.2	175	74.9
ChP-O	296	81.4	397	92.7	968	76.3	620	89.7	436	89.2	346	87.6	161	82.0
Combined interreligious	494	75.1	618	86.6	1,536	69.9	1,067	81.2	784	83.7	602	81.9	336	78.3
Total	3,121	77.6	4,202	88.6	10,574	82.3	8,564	88.0	6,681	88.5	5,213	88.9	3,004	87.7
C-C	372	49.7	574	84.7	1,860	81.9	2,181	91.9	2,133	93.7	1,793	93.8	1,359	94.7
C-ChP	184	69.6	205	72.2	617	61.3	418	73.0	333	76.9	273	83.5	160	83.1
C-O	157	46.5	106	66.0	383	47.3	231	59.7	167	64.1	102	64.7	89	73.0
Combined interreligious	341	58.9	311	70.1	1,000	55.9	649	68.2	500	72.6	375	78.4	249	79.5
Total	713	54.1	885	79.5	2,860	72.8	2,830	86.5	2,663	88.7	2,168	91.1	1,608	92.4
Grand total	3,834	73.2	5,087	87.0	13,434	80.3	11,394	87.6	9,344	88.6	7,381	89.5	4,612	89.4
All marriages[c]	4,967	72.6	6,112	86.7	15,735	79.4	12,968	86.1	10,360	87.8	8,131	88.6	5,059	88.1

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.
[b] See table 17 for the explanation of the bases of the percentages and the reason for reporting the number of marriages for each cell.
[c] All marriages represents the marriages included in the "grand total", based on church-Protestant and Catholic brides, plus all brides who were in the denominationally unspecified Protestant and the "no" religion categories.

686

Table 19. Percentages of civil marriage ceremonies by spousal religious affiliation combinations based on religious affiliations and ages of brides and the occupational status levels of bridegrooms, first marriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Ages of brides and religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total		Occupational status levels of bridegrooms							
			Low		Middle		High		Armed forces	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
17 or under										
ChP-ChP	6,211[b]	6.9	2,434	8.9	1,142	5.4	1,913	4.8	722	8.4
ChP-interreligious	1,112	17.6	532	17.9	221	16.7	221	14.9	138	22.5
Total	7,323	8.6	2,966	10.5	1,363	7.3	2,134	5.8	860	10.7
C-C	946	25.6	399	31.8	217	32.7	238	7.6	92	28.3
C-interreligious	656	37.2	307	40.7	140	37.9	137	27.0	72	40.3
Total	1,602	30.3	706	35.7	357	34.7	375	14.7	164	33.5
18										
ChP-ChP	9,039	7.8	2,997	10.4	1,886	7.7	2,984	4.8	1,172	8.9
ChP-interreligious	1,437	25.0	607	27.7	320	24.4	321	17.1	189	30.7
Total	10,476	10.2	3,604	13.3	2,206	10.1	3,305	6.0	1,361	11.9
C-C	1,860	17.6	678	24.6	406	18.2	555	7.4	221	20.8
C-interreligious	999	45.9	435	51.3	246	46.3	196	33.2	122	46.7
Total	2,859	27.5	1,113	35.0	652	28.8	751	14.1	343	30.0
19-22										
ChP-ChP	21,069	2.8	4,244	5.3	4,058	2.8	10,447	1.5	2,320	3.6
ChP-interreligious	2,836	14.4	888	20.2	674	14.2	925	9.5	349	12.6
Total	23,905	4.1	5,132	7.9	4,732	4.4	11,372	2.2	2,669	4.8
C-C	7,465	4.7	1,875	7.6	1,739	5.7	3,133	2.0	718	6.5
C-interreligious	1,791	27.5	580	34.0	432	29.9	529	17.2	250	30.0
Total	9,256	9.1	2,455	13.8	2,171	10.5	3,662	4.2	968	12.6
23-29										
ChP-ChP	5,276	2.4	799	6.8	1,183	2.3	2,991	1.2	303	4.0
ChP-interreligious	771	12.7	186	18.8	190	14.2	336	7.7	59	16.9
Total	6,047	3.7	985	9.0	1,373	3.9	3,327	1.8	362	6.1
C-C	2,648	3.7	513	8.8	696	3.6	1,296	0.9	143	10.5
C-interreligious	686	22.0	172	32.6	192	21.4	278	15.8	44	22.7
Total	3,334	7.4	685	14.7	888	7.4	1,574	3.6	187	13.4
30 and over										
ChP-ChP	1,091	5.6	209	9.6	280	7.5	579	3.3	23	4.3
ChP-interreligious	224	17.9	64	28.1	80	16.2	78	11.5	2	0.0
Total	1,315	7.7	273	13.9	360	9.4	657	4.3	25	4.0
C-C	444	7.2	100	13.0	134	8.2	203	3.9	7	0.0
C-interreligious	141	27.0	42	33.3	45	26.7	44	15.9	10	50.0
Total	585	12.0	142	19.0	179	12.8	247	6.1	17	29.4
Total on ages										
ChP-ChP	42,686	4.5	10,683	7.8	8,549	4.3	18,914	2.4	4,540	5.8
ChP-interreligious	6,380	17.2	2,277	21.7	1,485	16.9	1,881	11.2	737	19.4
Total	49,066	6.1	12,960	10.2	10,034	6.2	20,795	3.2	5,277	7.7
C-C	13,363	7.9	3,565	13.9	3,192	8.8	5,425	2.6	1,181	11.3
C-interreligious	4,273	32.4	1,536	40.0	1,055	33.1	1,184	20.6	498	35.3
Total	17,636	13.8	5,101	21.8	4,247	14.8	6,609	5.8	1,679	18.5

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.
[b] In each cell, the percentage represents the proportion of civil weddings among all marriages for any age and occupational status cell. The number of cases for each cell are provided to indicate the probable reliability of the civil wedding rates.

monies occurred about four times more frequently among all interreligious marriages than among all religiously endogamous marriages. This ratio also was observed in each of the three status levels for all church-Protestant or Catholic brides. When status was ignored and age was used as the control variable, as shown in the five sets of totals on the left of the table, all comparisons agreed with the expected direction of difference. Furthermore, the expected direction of difference in the proportions of civil ceremonies between the interreligiously married and the religiously endogamous married couples was observed in all 30 joint-age and status comparisons for church-Protestant brides and Catholic brides.

The relationships between the age and status variables and civil wedding rates are worthy of brief comment. The hypotheses for the relationships between age or status levels and interreligious marriage rates should apply equally well to relationships between the age and status variables and civil marriage rates. This is suggested on the basis that interreligious marriages and civil marriages each may be conceptualized as patterns of deviation from conventional courtship and marriage norms.

In all comparisons among civil wedding percentages for church-Protestant or Catholic brides in the five age levels and for the four total sample analyses, an inverse relationship was observed between status level and percentages of civil weddings.

The hypothesis for the differential relationship between the ages of the brides and the percentages of civil marriage ceremonies also was strongly supported. The percentages of civil ceremonies were greater for couples, regardless of spousal religious affiliations, which included brides who were in the extreme age categories. The lowest rates of civil ceremonies generally occurred among couples where the brides were between 23 and 29 years of age.

The age and status variables interacted to produce the least incidence of civil weddings among couples which included brides between 23 and 29 who were married to high-status bridegrooms. The greatest rates of civil ceremonies were observed among couples involving brides who were 17 or 18 years old and married to low-status bridegrooms.

Civil wedding rates for endogamous Catholic marriages were at least minutely greater than those for endogamous church-Protestant marriages in 14 of the 15 comparisons between matched-age cells in the three status levels. Ten of the percentage differences were less than 3 percent. The five larger differences occurred in the two younger levels of each low- and of each middle-status cell and in the oldest-age level of the low-status cell. Otherwise, differences in rates of civil marriage ceremonies between endogamous Catholic marriages and endogamous church-Protestant marriages were negligible in the high-status levels regardless of the ages of the brides. Also, the differences were negligible between the two groups of brides who were 19 or 20 years of age, regardless of the status of their bridegrooms.

In all 15 comparisons between church-Protestant

interreligious marriages and Catholic interreligious marriages in which the ages of brides and the status levels of bridegrooms were controlled, civil marriage ceremonies were greater among the interreligious Catholic marriages. The mean difference in civil ceremony rates between the two interreligious marriage types was 14.6 percent compared with 3.6 percent for the two endogamous marriage types.

Greater proportions of the interreligious remarriages also were conducted as civil ceremonies in comparison with the religiously endogamous remarriages (see table 20). Differences in the expected direction were found for each of the 12 comparisons between e n d o g a m o u s church-Protestant remarriages and church-Protestant interreligious remarriages or between endogamous Catholic remarriages and Catholic interreligious remarriages. The hypothesis that interreligious marriage rates and civil marriage ceremonies are related was uniformly upheld by the analyses of the remarriage data.

Civil ceremonies were more frequent among couples involved in remarriages than among those who were entering first marriages, regardless of spousal religious affiliation combinations, ages of brides, status levels of bridegrooms or the interaction of these variables. Differences in civil ceremonies between the first marriages and remarriages were greater for the Catholic-based analyses than for the church-Protestant-based analyses.

There was an inverse relationship between the civil wedding rates and the status levels of bridegrooms involved in remarriages. This was observed for all four spousal religious affiliation combinations for the comparisons among the total status groupings. The inverse relationship between civil marriage rates and status levels also was observed for 13 of the 16 comparisons based on the four spousal religious affiliation

combinations in each of the four age levels. The exceptions were observed for the 18-year-old brides in the endogamous Catholic and interreligious Catholic marriages and for the 23- to 29-year-old Catholic brides married to Catholic bridegrooms. The bulk of the data supported the hypothesis for the inverse relationship between status levels and civil remarriages.

Within the limits of the age classification used for the ages of the brides, there was no support for the expected differential relationship between age levels and rates of civil remarriages. Instead, civil ceremony rates for remarriages generally declined from age 18 or under to age 30 or over.

The interaction of the age and status variables for the remarried couples failed to produce the clear pattern observed for the similar analyses for the first marriages. The only common finding among civil wedding rates for the couples in the four religious affiliation types was that the lowest civil ceremony rates occurred when the brides were 30 years or older and were married to high-status bridegrooms. In the other two status levels and for the high-status Catholic interreligious remarriages, the least civil marriage rates scattered from 18 and under to 30 and older.

The civil remarriage rates were greater among endogamous Catholic remarriages than among endogamous church-Protestant remarriages. This difference was found in all 12 comparisons based upon the age and status categories. Civil marriage ceremony rates also were greater among the Catholic interreligious remarriages in the 12 comparisons with church-Protestant interreligious remarriages.

DEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF ENDOGAMOUS CATHOLIC MARRIAGES
Method

Several studies in the United States have shown

Table 20. Percentages of civil marriage ceremonies by spousal religious affiliation combinations based on religious affiliations and ages of brides and the occupational status levels of the bridegrooms, remarriages, Iowa, 1953-57.

Ages of brides and religious affiliations of brides-grooms[a]	Total		Occupational status levels of bridegrooms								
			Low		Middle		High		Armed forces	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
18 or under										
ChP-ChP	648[b]	19.8	319	24.8	165	16.9	114	10.5	50	18.0
ChP-interreligious	196	46.9	109	48.6	54	42.6	13	53.8	20	45.0
Total	844	26.1	428	30.8	219	23.4	127	15.0	70	25.7
C-C	76	63.2	37	70.3	24	50.0	11	54.6	4	100.0
C-interreligious	106	73.6	50	76.0	25	80.0	12	66.7	19	63.2
Total	182	69.2	87	73.6	49	65.3	23	60.9	23	69.6
19-22										
ChP-ChP	2,174	16.3	871	20.0	674	15.0	468	11.5	161	15.5
ChP-interreligious	539	42.3	240	45.4	156	40.4	103	38.8	40	40.0
Total	2,713	21.4	1,111	25.5	830	19.7	571	16.5	201	20.4
C-C	273	55.3	117	64.1	84	50.0	54	44.4	18	55.6
C-interreligious	305	69.2	138	76.6	98	64.3	50	54.0	19	79.0
Total	578	62.6	255	71.0	182	57.7	104	49.0	37	67.6
23-29										
ChP-ChP	2,893	16.2	940	21.7	937	16.1	871	10.7	145	14.5
ChP-interreligious	779	42.6	316	46.8	263	42.2	151	33.8	49	44.9
Total	3,672	21.8	1,256	28.0	1,200	21.8	1,022	14.1	194	22.8
C-C	494	56.5	189	56.6	180	60.0	102	45.1	23	78.3
C-interreligious	444	67.6	168	73.2	149	68.5	101	56.3	26	69.7
Total	938	61.7	357	64.4	329	63.8	203	50.7	49	73.5
30 and over										
ChP-ChP	7,613	16.0	2,205	23.3	2,582	16.7	2,742	9.5	84	15.5
ChP-interreligious	1,740	39.7	634	44.5	591	42.3	469	28.6	46	54.3
Total	9,353	20.4	2,839	28.0	3,173	21.4	3,211	12.3	130	29.2
C-C	1,016	47.2	325	60.3	377	52.0	301	26.2	13	69.2
C-interreligious	993	64.6	376	68.9	367	67.6	233	53.2	17	58.8
Total	2,009	55.8	701	64.9	744	59.7	534	38.0	30	63.3
All ages										
ChP-ChP	13,328	16.3	4,335	22.4	4,358	16.3	4,195	10.0	440	15.5
ChP-interreligious	3,254	41.3	1,299	45.6	1,064	41.0	736	31.5	155	46.5
Total	16,582	21.2	5,634	28.7	5,422	21.3	4,931	13.8	595	23.5
C-C	1,859	51.5	668	60.5	665	53.8	468	33.1	58	70.7
C-interreligious	1,848	66.6	732	71.9	639	67.8	396	54.6	81	67.9
Total	3,707	59.0	1,400	66.4	1,304	60.7	864	42.9	139	69.1

[a] For definitions of religious affiliation symbols, see table 1.
[b] See table 19 for the bases of the percentages and the reason for reporting the number of cases for each cell.

that endogamous Catholic marriage rates vary directly with the Catholic proportions of the population studied (17, 20). Heer has reported similar results for Canada (11). The studies conducted in the United States have two limitations: (a) Endogamous Catholic marriage rates were based only on marriages reported by the Catholic church. (b) Large and internally heterogenous sampling units such as dioceses or states were used as the bases of the analyses. The Iowa marriage data greatly overcame these limitations. The Iowa data provided an opportunity to retest the generalization on the basis of state-collected marriage records as well as for Catholic church-reported marriages. Counties were used as the units of observation in the present study. The counties represented smaller and more sociologically homogenous areas than have been used in previous studies. Also, the present study permitted a methodological refinement in that zero-order and partial correlation analyses were used to test the association of demographic characteristics with endogamous Catholic marriage rates.

The 99 counties of Iowa were used as the units of observation. All state-recorded marriages involving Catholics during the 5-year period were classified as endogamous Catholic marriages or interreligious Catholic marriages. Endogamous, interreligous Catholic and total frequencies of marriages involving at least one Catholic party were developed for each county for the first-marriage and remarriage populations. Proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages were developed separately for each marriage population for each county. Only couples including resident Iowa brides were used in the analyses of the state-reported marriage data. The control on the state of residence of the bride was necessary because out-of-state marriages tend to be concentrated in certain Iowa counties.

Diocese records were used to obtain the frequencies of endogamous Catholic and interreligious Catholic marriages for each parish during the 5-year period. Data for all parishes in the same county were combined into one set of results for the frequencies of endogamous Catholic and interreligious Catholic marriages for that county. This procedure involved an unknown degree of error because some parishes crossed county lines. Maps or other accurate delineations of parish boundaries were unavailable. Discussion with diocese officials led to the conclusion that the only feasible manner in which to handle the data was to assign all data for a given parish to the county in which the church was located. The proportion of endogamous Catholic marriages among all marriages involving Catholics was determined for each county.

The number of persons listed as members of each parish also was obtained from the diocese records. The memberships for all parishes within each county were combined to obtain an estimate of the Catholic population in the county. Total county population estimates for each year were obtained from the State Division of Vital Statistics. The total population estimates and the Catholic population estimates were used to obtain the proportion of Catholics in the population of each county for the 5-year period.

The test of the association between the endogamous

Catholic marriage rates and the proportions of the populations which were Catholic was based upon an implicit assumption. It was assumed that couples, or at least brides who are married in a given county, had lived and conducted their mate selection in that county. It is not known to what degree this assumption was true, but the results of the numerous propinquity studies support this assumption (14).

The degree of urbanization for each county was based on the 1960 census definition of the proportion of inhabitants living in places over 2,500 (5). Urban levels also were tested for association with the endogamous Catholic marriage rates.

Hypotheses

Three measures were available for Catholic endogamous marriage rates for each county over the 5-year period. They were based on state-reported first marriages and remarriages and diocese-reported total marriages. Each of these measures was expected to be positively related to the proportion of the Catholics in the county population.

In counties where a high proportion of the population is Catholic, the statistical chances of acquaintance, association, dating and consequent courtship and marriage among two previously unmarried Catholics are high. In counties which have low Catholic population proportions, the opportunities for a Catholic to select a marriage partner who meets his personal criteria and who is also a Catholic are much less. It also is probable that, in the counties where a smaller proportion of the population is Catholic, the socialization influences of the churches, parochial schools and Catholic youth organizations are less strong than in counties having a high proportion of Catholics. As a result, norm saliency against interreligious marriages may be lower among Catholic youth in counties with low Catholic population proportions.

The second hypothesis is that Catholic endogamous marriage rates are negatively related to the proportion of the county population which is urban. The present study has shown that interreligious marriage rates involving bridegrooms engaged in farming were generally lower than those involving bridegrooms in nonfarm occupations of comparable status. These data and general theoretical systems related to farm-nonfarm value differences suggest that norm saliency against interreligious marriage is greater among rural reference groups than among urban reference groups.

The hypotheses are tested, first, by zero-order correlations and, second, with appropriate partial correlation analyses where such analyses appear warranted.

Findings

The correlation coefficients used in testing the two hypotheses are given in table 21. All three coefficients for the association of the Catholic endogamous marriage rates with the proportion of Catholics in the county populations were significant beyond the 1-percent level. Correlation coefficients were similar for analyses based on the state-reported first marriages and the diocese-reported marriages, and both exceeded the coefficient for the state-reported remarriages.

Table 21. Correlations among proportions of endogamous marriage rates, Catholic proportions in county populations and levels of urbanization for the 99 Iowa counties, 1953-57.

	State-reported first marriages	State-reported remarriages	Diocese-reported marriages
Proportion of Catholics in county population	0.66 [a]	0.44 [a]	0.60 [a]
Percent of county population which is urban	0.01	0.00	-0.12

[a] $r = 0.20$, $df = 97$, $P < 0.05$; $r = 0.26$, $df = 97$, $P < 0.01$.

There was no statistical support for the other hypothesis. The null hypotheses could not be rejected for the relation between the Catholic endogamous marriage rates and the proportions of urban inhabitants in the counties.

Partial correlation analyses were undertaken for some of the zero-order correlations reported in table 21. The additional correlation coefficient needed for these analyses was the proportion of Catholics in the population to the proportion of urban residents, 0.12. When partial correlation analysis was used to control on the urban variable, the zero-order correlation between the diocese-reported endogamous marriage rates and the proportions of Catholics in the county populations increased only slightly, from 0.60 to 0.62. Partial correlation analyses with controls on the urban variable failed to change the original correlations between the state-reported first or remarriage endogamous Catholic marriage rates and the proportions of Catholics in the county populations.

These partial correlation analyses indicate that the proportion of Catholics in the population remained a factor in the state- or diocese-reported Catholic endogamous marriage rates apart from the urbanization of the population units.

When the proportion of Catholics in the population was controlled in partial correlation analysis, the coeficient for the association between urbanization and the diocese-reported Catholic endogamous marriage rates rose to -0.24, $P < 0.05$. This partial correlation coefficient suggested that urbanization had a slight negative association with diocese-reported Catholic endogamous marriage rates. There was no point in testing the same relationship for the state-reported data and urbanization.

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COMPARISONS OF STATE- AND DIOCESE-REPORTED MARRIAGE DATA[4]

Much of the current knowledge about correlates of interreligious marriages involving Catholics in the United States is based upon analyses of Catholic church data (8, 17, 20, 21). In some cases, generalizations based upon church data may not be properly extended to the total populations of all endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages because the Catholic church records include only a portion of all endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages. However, until Iowa began obtaining religious affiliation of brides and grooms in 1953, there was no opportunity for determining what, if any, discrepancies existed between rates of correlates of Catholic church-reported endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages and similar data for all endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages. The present data permitted identification of possible discrepancies between the two sets of data.

The marrage data collected by the Iowa Division of Vital Statistics were assumed to include all or practically all marriages performed in Iowa which involved Catholics. Data obtained from the records of the four Iowa dioceses were used for the parameters of all Catholic church-sanctioned endogamous and interreligious Catholic marriages. These two sets of data permitted development of three sets of analyses: (a) comparisons of state and diocese-reported Catholic endogamous, interreligious Catholic and total marriage frequencies; (b) comparisons of proportions of endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages in each set of data; and (c) determination of correlation coefficients for the association of the state- and diocese-reported frequencies and proportions.

Comparisons of the State- and Diocese-Reported Marriage Frequencies

Comparisons between the frequencies of endogamous Catholic and interreligious Catholic marriages as reported by each source of data are shown in table A-1. These comparisons suffer from two major shortcomings: (a) The state-reported data could be divided into first marriages and remarriages and then combined for all marriages, but this control could not be applied to the diocese data. (b) The state of residence for the brides could be controlled for the state-reported data but not for the diocese-reported data.

It was expected that the diocese-reported marriage frequencies, especially for the interreligious marriage types, would be less than the comparable frequencies based on the state-reported first-marriage or total marriage frequencies. This was expected because the diocese data included only Catholic church-sanctioned marriages. Previous analyses indicated that about 8 percent of the first marriages involving Catholic

brides married to Catholic bridegrooms and about 32 percent of the first marriages involving Catholic brides and non-Catholic bridegrooms were civil ceremonies. The diocese-marriage records would not include these marriages, although they would be included in state records.

Differences between the two sets of records might also be expected because of differences in definitions of religious affiliation. The state's definition of a Catholic rests on self-identification. We cannot assume that everyone who considers himself a Catholic is a member of a Catholic parish or is considered a Catholic according to the regulations of the Catholic Church. Some of the state-reported endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages not sanctioned by the Catholic Church would not be defined in the same way by the church. Various differences can and probably have occurred between self-identification or church-recognition regarding Catholic church membership. Differences in the definitions would be associated with a greater or lesser number of Catholics in one or the other set of marriage data.

Just as the state lists some interreligious marriages and perhaps Catholic endogamous marriages that are unknown to the Catholic Church, the church performs some marriarges that are unknown to the state. These are the instances in which a couple was married according to the criteria of the state but not according to those of the church and later, even many years later, have a church-sanctioned marriage ceremony. According to the Catholic Church, the latter ceremony constituted the only valid marriage. These marriages would be recorded by the Catholic Church as a marriage for the year in which the Catholic marriage ceremony was performed. However, their numbers and the extent to which they include interreligious Catholic marriages are unknown.

Endogamous Catholic marriages

As shown in table A-1, the frequency of the diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages was greater than the comparable state-reported first-marriage frequency for Iowa resident brides. Over the 5-year period, there were 3,509 more endogamous Catholic marriages reported by the church than by the state for first marriages of Iowa resident brides.

A possible explanation for the unexpected result may be the effect of the residence control for brides which was imposed on the state-reported data. When the endogamous Catholic couples which included brides who were not Iowa residents were added to the endogamous Catholic couples which included brides who were Iowa residents, the state-reported frequency for first marriages of endogamous Catholic couples was still 2,146 cases less than the frequency of endogamous Catholic marriages reported by the dioceses. The control on previous marital status may have contributed to the greater number of diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages.

When the first marriage-remarriage control was also dropped from the state data, the church still recorded 287 more endogamous Catholic marriages.

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brides married to Catholic bridegrooms and about 32 percent of the first marriages involving Catholic brides and non-Catholic bridegrooms were civil ceremonies. The diocese-marriage records would not include these marriages, although they would be included in state records.

Differences between the two sets of records might also be expected because of differences in definitions of religious affiliation. The state's definition of a Catholic rests on self-identification. We cannot assume that everyone who considers himself a Catholic is a member of a Catholic parish or is considered a Catholic according to the regulations of the Catholic Church. Some of the state-reported endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages not sanctioned by the Catholic Church would not be defined in the same way by the church. Various differences can and probably have occurred between self-identification or church-recognition regarding Catholic church membership. Differences in the definitions would be associated with a greater or lesser number of Catholics in one or the other set of marriage data.

Just as the state lists some interreligious marriages and perhaps Catholic endogamous marriages that are unknown to the Catholic Church, the church performs some marriarges that are unknown to the state. These are the instances in which a couple was married according to the criteria of the state but not according to those of the church and later, even many years later, have a church-sanctioned marriage ceremony. According to the Catholic Church, the latter ceremony constituted the only valid marriage. These marriages would be recorded by the Catholic Church as a marriage for the year in which the Catholic marriage ceremony was performed. However, their numbers and the extent to which they include interreligious Catholic marriages are unknown.

Endogamous Catholic marriages

As shown in table A-1, the frequency of the diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages was greater than the comparable state-reported first-marriage frequency for Iowa resident brides. Over the 5-year period, there were 3,509 more endogamous Catholic marriages reported by the church than by the state for first marriages of Iowa resident brides.

A possible explanation for the unexpected result may be the effect of the residence control for brides which was imposed on the state-reported data. When the endogamous Catholic couples which included brides who were not Iowa residents were added to the endogamous Catholic couples which included brides who were Iowa residents, the state-reported frequency for first marriages of endogamous Catholic couples was still 2,146 cases less than the frequency of endogamous Catholic marriages reported by the dioceses. The control on previous marital status may have contributed to the greater number of diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages.

When the first marriage-remarriage control was also dropped from the state data, the church still recorded 287 more endogamous Catholic marriages.

Table A-1. Frequencies of endogamous, interreligious and all marriages involving Catholics based on state- and diocese-marriage records, Iowa, 1953-57.

| | State-reported marriages | | | | | | Catholic diocese-reported marriages |
| | Iowa resident brides | | | All brides | | | |
Marriage types	First marriages	Remarriages	All marriages	First marriages	Remarriages	All marriages	
Endogamous Catholic marriages	12,000	1,051	13,051	13,363	1,859	15,222	15,509
Interreligious Catholic marriages	5,231	1,758	6,989	7,860	3,733	11,593	5,325
All marriages involving Catholics	17,231	2,809	20,040	21,223	5,592	26,815	20,834

The deletion of the resident and remarriage controls brought the state and church records more closely in line with one another. Apparently, the endogamous Catholic marriages reported by the dioceses contained a significant number of marriages involving out-of-state brides and remarriages.

Interreligious Catholic marriages

For the 5-year period, the dioceses reported 94 more interreligious marriages than were reported by the state for first marriages involving Iowa resident brides. When the residence control was dropped, the state reported 2,535 more interreligious first marriages than the church. When the resident status was ignored and when first marriages and remarriages were combined, the state reported 6,268 more interreligious marriages than did the dioceses. Put differently, when all marriages were used, the state reported more than twice as many Catholic interreligious marriages as did the dioceses.

All marriages involving Catholics

The church recorded about 6,000 fewer marriages with at least one Catholic party than did the state during the 5-year period. Church and state reports, however, were only about 400 marriages apart, with the church recording the lower number, when remarriages were excluded from the state data. If only the data for marriages which involved resident Iowa brides were used, the dioceses reported about 800 more marriages involving a Catholic than did the state. Finally, diocese records showed 3,603 more marriages involving a Catholic than did the state-reported first marriages of Iowa resident brides.

Endogamous and Interreligious Catholic Marriage Rates

The data in table A-1 were used to compute the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages among all marriages involving at least one Catholic. The endogamy rates varied according to the source and type of data: 65 percent of *all* state-reported marriages which involved a Catholic were endogamous; 70 percent of all state-reported *first* marriages which involved a Catholic were endogamous; and 74 percent of all diocese-reported marriages were endogamous. Only 37 percent of the state-reported *remarriages* which involved a Catholic were endogamous.

Correlations Among State- and Diocese-Reported Marriage Data

Correlation coefficients were obtained for the association of the state- and diocese-reported marriage data based upon the 99 Iowa counties. For these analyses, the state-reported data were limited to couples which included resident Iowa brides. For the state data, the county in which the wedding occurred was used to aggregate frequencies. The county in which the parish church was located was used in a similar manner for the diocese data. All data were based on the 1953-57 period.

A low correlation, $r = 0.218$, was observed for the relationship between the frequency of the state-reported endogamous Catholic first marriages per county and the frequency of diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages. When the remarriages were included among state-reported endogamous Catholic marriages, the correlation between all state-reported endogamous Catholic marriages and the diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages rose to 0.997. An almost perfect correlation, $r = 0.996$, also was obtained between the state-reported marriage frequencies for all first marriages involving at least one Catholic party, whether endogamous Catholic or interreligious, and all diocese-reported marriage frequencies. In a similar manner, a nearly perfect correlation, $r = 0.993$, was discovered between all state-reported marriages, including both first marriages and remarriages, involving at least one Catholic party and all diocese-reported marriage frequencies.

The rise in the correlation coefficients between first and total state-reported endogamous Catholic marriage frequencies and the diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriage frequencies was apparently due to the inclusion of the remarriage data in the state-reported frequencies. The correlation coefficients between the frequencies of diocese-reported endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages or all marriages involving Catholics and the three comparable figures for all state-reported marriages indicated that the three sets of frequencies were almost perfectly related to each other. These near perfect relationships existed even though the original frequencies in each set of data showed large differences. Apparently these differences were relatively uniform among the 99 Iowa counties.

The correlation for the relationship between the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages among all state-reported *first* marriages which involved Catholics and the diocese-reported proportions among *all* marriages was 0.860. A correlation of 0.778 was observed between the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages among the state-reported *marriages and remarriages* involving one or more Catholics and the diocese-reported proportions among *all* marriages.

Implications

The purpose of the analyses of the two sets of

marriage data was to determine to what degree generalizations about endogamous and interreligious Catholic marriage patterns which have been based on Catholic church records could be extended to the total population of endogamous and interreligious Catholic marriages. The total population of such marriages would include those marriages sanctioned by the Catholic Church as well as those marriages which were not valid church marriages. Comparisons of marriage data collected by the Iowa Division of Vital Statistics and similar data reported by the Iowa dioceses permit the only available tests of this methodological problem.

The differences and similarities in the two sets of Iowa data suggest inferences which may be applicable beyond the borders of Iowa and beyond the 5-year period of observation. At least two characteristics of Iowa, however, may limit generalizations based on the present analyses. One, Iowa is only slightly more urban, 53 percent, than rural according to the 1960 census. Two, Catholics constitute appoximately 16 percent of the Iowa population. Iowa is not typical of the nation in either characteristic. Relationships between marriage data based on Catholic church records and parameters for all marriages involving Catholics, represented by the state-reported data in Iowa, may vary with a number of other characteristics. Such characteristics may include the ranges and medians of the Catholic proportion in the population, levels of urbanism and associated educational and occupational structures, ethnic composition, or the socio-economic levels of the Catholic and non-Catholic populations in the areas under study.

Nevertheless, the Iowa data represent the only basis for comparisons between the two sets of data. On the basis of the two sets of Iowa data, it appears that Catholic church-reported marriage data and the corresponding data for the population of Catholics who married in a given period of time differ in the following ways:

1. The church data include significantly fewer marriages with at least one Catholic party. The total number of such marriages obtained from the diocese records was about 77 percent of the number of marriages with at least one Catholic recorded by

the state. Presumably most of the difference can be accounted for by Catholics who are married in a civil ceremony only.

2. The church data include more Catholic endogamous marriages. The reasons for this are not apparent from the present study. The dioceses may report some cases of endogamous marriages which the state does not because of subsequent religious validation of civil marriage ceremonies. Data are not available to suggest other factors which may have contributed to this discrepancy.

3. A 9-percent higher rate of endogamous Catholic marriages is reported by the dioceses than by the state for all marriages involving Catholics. When the diocese data and state-reported first-marriage frequencies are compared, the dioceses report a 4-percent higher rate of endogamous Catholic marriages.

4. Fewer interreligious Catholic marriages are reported by the dioceses. This difference is particularly pronounced if remarriages are included in the state data. If remarriages are included, the state records showed over twice as many interreligious Catholic marriages (11,593 vs. 5,325) as the church's records. Apparently, Catholics who are parties to interreligious marriages are less prone to have a Catholic ceremony, and Catholics who are parties to interreligious *remarriages* are decidedly less likely than other Catholics to have a Catholic marriage ceremony.

5. Finally, the correlation data suggest that discrepancies in state- and diocese-reported data are apparently relatively consistent among the 99 counties in Iowa. When remarriages are included among the state-reported data, the absolute frequencies of endogamous Catholic marriages and of all marriages involving Catholics were highly correlated with the comparable diocese marriage frequencies. High relationships also were found between the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages based on state-reported first or total marriages and the proportion of endogamous Catholic marriages based on the diocese data. These relationships suggest that correlates of interreligious Catholic marriages which have been established on diocese-reported data probably can be generalized to the total population of endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages.

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The church recorded about 6,000 fewer marriages with at least one Catholic party than did the state during the 5-year period. Church and state reports, however, were only about 400 marriages apart, with the church recording the lower number, when remarriages were excluded from the state data. If only the data for marriages which involved resident Iowa brides were used, the dioceses reported about 800 more marriages involving a Catholic than did the state. Finally, diocese records showed 3,603 more marriages involving a Catholic than did the state-reported first marriages of Iowa resident brides.

Endogamous and Interreligious Catholic Marriage Rates

The data in table A-1 were used to compute the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages among all marriages involving at least one Catholic. The endogamy rates varied according to the source and type of data: 65 percent of *all* state-reported marriages which involved a Catholic were endogamous; 70 percent of all state-reported *first* marriages which involved a Catholic were endogamous; and 74 percent of all diocese-reported marriages were endogamous. Only 37 percent of the state-reported *remarriages* which involved a Catholic were endogamous.

Correlations Among State- and Diocese-Reported Marriage Data

Correlation coefficients were obtained for the association of the state- and diocese-reported marriage data based upon the 99 Iowa counties. For these analyses, the state-reported data were limited to couples which included resident Iowa brides. For the state data, the county in which the wedding occurred was used to aggregate frequencies. The county in which the parish church was located was used in a similar manner for the diocese data. All data were based on the 1953-57 period.

A low correlation, $r = 0.218$, was observed for the relationship between the frequency of the state-reported endogamous Catholic first marriages per county and the frequency of diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages. When the remarriages were included among state-reported endogamous Catholic marriages, the correlation between all state-reported endogamous Catholic marriages and the diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriages rose to 0.997. An almost perfect correlation, $r = 0.996$, also was obtained between the state-reported marriage frequencies for all first marriages involving at least one Catholic party, whether endogamous Catholic or interreligious, and all diocese-reported marriage frequencies. In a similar manner, a nearly perfect correlation, $r = 0.993$, was discovered between all state-reported marriages, including both first marriages and remarriages, involving at least one Catholic party and all diocese-reported marriage frequencies.

The rise in the correlation coefficients between first and total state-reported endogamous Catholic marriage frequencies and the diocese-reported endogamous Catholic marriage frequencies was apparently due to the inclusion of the remarriage data in the state-reported frequencies. The correlation coefficients between the frequencies of diocese-reported endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages or all marriages involving Catholics and the three comparable figures for all state-reported marriages indicated that the three sets of frequencies were almost perfectly related to each other. These near perfect relationships existed even though the original frequencies in each set of data showed large differences. Apparently these differences were relatively uniform among the 99 Iowa counties.

The correlation for the relationship between the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages among all state-reported *first* marriages which involved Catholics and the diocese-reported proportions among *all* marriages was 0.860. A correlation of 0.778 was observed between the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages among the state-reported *marriages and remarriages* involving one or more Catholics and the diocese-reported proportions among *all* marriages.

Implications

The purpose of the analyses of the two sets of

marriage data was to determine to what degree generalizations about endogamous and interreligious Catholic marriage patterns which have been based on Catholic church records could be extended to the total population of endogamous and interreligious Catholic marriages. The total population of such marriages would include those marriages sanctioned by the Catholic Church as well as those marriages which were not valid church marriages. Comparisons of marriage data collected by the Iowa Division of Vital Statistics and similar data reported by the Iowa dioceses permit the only available tests of this methodological problem.

The differences and similarities in the two sets of Iowa data suggest inferences which may be applicable beyond the borders of Iowa and beyond the 5-year period of observation. At least two characteristics of Iowa, however, may limit generalizations based on the present analyses. One, Iowa is only slightly more urban, 53 percent, than rural according to the 1960 census. Two, Catholics constitute appoximately 16 percent of the Iowa population. Iowa is not typical of the nation in either characteristic. Relationships between marriage data based on Catholic church records and parameters for all marriages involving Catholics, represented by the state-reported data in Iowa, may vary with a number of other characteristics. Such characteristics may include the ranges and medians of the Catholic proportion in the population, levels of urbanism and associated educational and occupational structures, ethnic composition, or the socio-economic levels of the Catholic and non-Catholic populations in the areas under study.

Nevertheless, the Iowa data represent the only basis for comparisons between the two sets of data. On the basis of the two sets of Iowa data, it appears that Catholic church-reported marriage data and the corresponding data for the population of Catholics who married in a given period of time differ in the following ways:

1. The church data include significantly fewer marriages with at least one Catholic party. The total number of such marriages obtained from the diocese records was about 77 percent of the number of marriages with at least one Catholic recorded by the state. Presumably most of the difference can be accounted for by Catholics who are married in a civil ceremony only.

2. The church data include more Catholic endogamous marriages. The reasons for this are not apparent from the present study. The dioceses may report some cases of endogamous marriages which the state does not because of subsequent religious validation of civil marriage ceremonies. Data are not available to suggest other factors which may have contributed to this discrepancy.

3. A 9-percent higher rate of endogamous Catholic marriages is reported by the dioceses than by the state for all marriages involving Catholics. When the diocese data and state-reported first-marriage frequencies are compared, the dioceses report a 4-percent higher rate of endogamous Catholic marriages.

4. Fewer interreligious Catholic marriages are reported by the dioceses. This difference is particularly pronounced if remarriages are included in the state data. If remarriages are included, the state records showed over twice as many interreligious Catholic marriages (11,593 vs. 5,325) as the church's records. Apparently, Catholics who are parties to interreligious marriages are less prone to have a Catholic ceremony, and Catholics who are parties to interreligious *remarriages* are decidedly less likely than other Catholics to have a Catholic marriage ceremony.

5. Finally, the correlation data suggest that discrepancies in state- and diocese-reported data are apparently relatively consistent among the 99 counties in Iowa. When remarriages are included among the state-reported data, the absolute frequencies of endogamous Catholic marriages and of all marriages involving Catholics were highly correlated with the comparable diocese marriage frequencies. High relationships also were found between the proportions of endogamous Catholic marriages based on state-reported first or total marriages and the proportion of endogamous Catholic marriages based on the diocese data. These relationships suggest that correlates of interreligious Catholic marriages which have been established on diocese-reported data probably can be generalized to the total population of endogamous or interreligious Catholic marriages.

GLOSSARY OF CONCEPTS AND TERMS
USED IN THE BULLETIN

1. *Catholic church affiliation* - The Iowa marriage record form simply asks "Religious Denomination" and is followed by a blank. Generally, the person performing the wedding completes the form. Any person for whom Catholic was reported was classified as having a Catholic church affiliation.

2. *Church-Protestant affiliation* - Any person for whom a Protestant denomination was listed on the marriage record was defined as having a church-Protestant church affiliation. The term church-Protestant was used to distinguish between those persons for whom a Protestant denomination was reported and those persons who were reported to be Protestants but for whom no denomination was reported and those who were reported to have no religious affiliation.

3. *Church sanctioned weddings* - These were weddings which were performed by clergymen regardless of the setting of the wedding—whether it was in a church, the clergyman's home or elsewhere.

4. *Civil weddings* - These were weddings which were performed by any authorized civil official.

5. *First marriages* - These were first marriages for both spouses.

6. *Interreligious marriages* - In this study, interreligious marriages were represented by marriages of Catholics with non-Catholics or by church-Protestants with nonchurch-Protestants.

7. *Migratory marriages* -Any marriage involving a bride who was not a resident of Iowa at the time of marriage was defined as a migratory marriage.

8. *No religious affiliation* - This term refers only to persons for whom "none" or "no" religion was reported on the marriage record.

9. *Norm saliency* - A social norm is a cultural product of a group or society designed to regulate members' behavior by defining what is the expected or the ideal behavior in a given context. In complex societies as our own which are undergoing secularization of values, endogamous mate selection norms which previously may have been accepted generally may vary in the degree to which they are currently reinforced among subgroupings in the society. Saliency is used to describe the degree to which adherence to the norm is expected of members of various subgroups in our society. In this study, norm saliency is measured by the proportion of persons from some group who entered religious endogamous marriages, thus, adhering to the religious endogamy norm, or, inversely, by the proportion of persons from the same group who entered interreligious marriages, thus, deviating from the norm.

10. *Protestant* - In this bulletin, Protestant refers to persons for whom only the term Protestant, but for whom no specific denomination was reported on the marriage record. This usage is more restricted than the usual definition of Protestant which generally includes any member of a Protestant denomination.

11. *Reference group* - Reference groups are groups in which a person usually interacts, although they may be collectivities with whom he identifies by establishing a symbolic relationship but with whom he does not have personal interaction. The important characteristic of reference groups is that they are groups from which one derives normative orientations, self-perceptions, self-evaluations and legitimation for his behavior. Ideally, a person's reference groups can be established only by obtaining information which describes with what groups an individual identifies and, hence, derives his standards for his behavior. In this study, measures of persons' reference groups were limited to data available from the Iowa marriage records.

12. *Religious endogamy norm* - This is one of the several American mate selection norms which prescribe selection of marriage partners from one's status level, education level, ethnic group, nationality and religious affiliation and, in the case of race, which virtually require selection of marriage partners from the same racial group as one's own. Religiously endogamous marriages represent adherence to the prescribed religious endogamy norm. They are defined in this study as marriages of Catholics to Catholics or church-Protestants to church-Protestants.

13. *Remarriage* - The term remarriage is used in this bulletin to describe any couple where either or both parties had been married previously.