

Survival Rates Among Religiously Homogamous And Interreligious Marriages

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Generalizations about differences in marital survival rates among religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages are limited by sampling and other methodological considerations. Data collected by the Division of Vital Statistics of the Iowa State Department of Health provided an opportunity for undertaking more precise tests of differences in marital survival rates among religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages. In Iowa since 1953 the religious affiliations of brides and bridegrooms have been listed on marriage records, and the affiliations of husbands and wives have been listed on divorce records. These data were used to define various types of religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages and divorces which occurred in Iowa from 1953 through 1959.

A method was developed to estimate the survival rates for various types of marriages for each of the years from 1953 through 1959. The seven yearly estimates were used in a regression equation for predicting survival rates among the various religious types for the eighth year. The survival rates for the eighth year were used to test a series of hypotheses for differences in survival rates among religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages. Ages of the brides and occupations of the husbands were used separately and jointly as control variables in the analyses.

As expected, higher marital survival rates were found for the homogamous Catholic marriages (96.2 percent) than for the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages (86.2 percent) or for interreligious marriages of Catholics and church-Protestants or Protestants (77.6 percent). Also, a larger proportion of the interreligious marriages were estimated to have ended in divorce than of the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. Survival rates for interreligious marriages involving Catholic wives and non-Catholic husbands were 5 percent higher than for interreligious marriages involving non-Catholic wives and Catholic husbands.

Higher survival rates were expected among marriages between Protestants who reported the same denominational affiliations compared with marriages between Protestants who reported different denominational affiliations. This hypothesis was not supported. There were virtually no differences between the survival rates of the denominationally homogamous and mixed Protestant marriages.

Survival rates for denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages also were compared with those for the homogamous Catholic marriages. The hypothesis that the homogamous Catholic marriages would have higher survival rates was supported in an absolute sense only. Differences in survival rates between the homogamous Catholic marriages and denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages ranged from 2 percent for the homogamous Lutheran

marriages (94.1 percent) to 6 percent for the homogamous Baptist marriages (89.8 percent). Survival rates for the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages were closer to those for the homogamous Catholic marriages than they were to the undifferentiated church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. This apparently occurred because of the low survival rates among the marriages which involved unaffiliated Protestants.

Survival rates for marriages involving Catholics and persons who reported Protestant denominational affiliations ranged from 81.6 percent for Catholic-Baptist marriages to 90.5 percent for Catholic-Lutheran marriages. These survival rates approached those for the homogamous Catholic marriages or the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages and, in some cases, exceeded the survival rates for the undifferentiated church-Protestant or Protestant homogamous marriages. The lower survival rates observed for the undifferentiated church-Protestant or Protestant marriages or for the marriages of Catholics with church-Protestants or Protestants apparently were due to the inclusion of the marriages involving the unaffiliated Protestants in the church-Protestant or Protestant category. Marriages between two unaffiliated Protestants had a survival rate of only 35.2 percent. The survival rate for marriages of persons who reported no denominational affiliation with those who did was considerably higher, 82.7 percent.

Smaller differences among survival rates were observed for the religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages when the brides were 20 years of age or older and when the husbands were employed in high-status occupations. The differences between the homogamous Catholic marriages and the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages with these characteristics was only 3 percent. Differences in survival rates between the homogamous Catholic marriages and homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages and all interreligious marriages with these characteristics were 8 and 5 percent, respectively.

Otherwise, the age and status variables altered the sizes of the differences in marital survival rates among the religious affiliation types, but the application of these controls generally did not change the patterns already described.

The greatest variance in marital survival rates was associated with the ages of brides. The occupational status of the husbands was the next largest source of variance, and, among the three main effects which were observed, the religious affiliation type was the third largest source of variance.

The mean lengths of marriage before divorce also were compared among several of the religious affiliation types. Approximately the same maritalduration mean, 6.9 years, was found for the interreligious marriages involving Catholic wives as for those with Catholic husbands. In all comparisons based on the age and status control variables, the homogamous Catholic marriages had larger mean durations, up to 2 years, than the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. The mean duration for all homogamous Catholic marriages which ended in divorce was 10.6 years compared with 9.2 years for all homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages.

The marital survival rates and durations of marriages were related separately and jointly with the age and status variables—apart from the religious affiliation types. Survival rates were lower among the marriages involving brides who were 19 years of age or younger as compared with brides who were 20 or older. Marital durations increased directly with the joint ages of the brides and bridegrooms. Marital survival rates and durations of marriage were directly related to the status levels of the husbands.

The greatest variance in the marital durations also was associated with the joint ages of the brides and bridegrooms. The religious affiliation type was the next largest source of variance, and the status of husbands was the third largest source of variance.

A correlation of 0.88 was observed between the marital survival rates and the durations of marriages.

Survival Rates Among Religiously Homogamous and Interreligious Marriages

by Lee G. Burchinal and Loren E. Chancellor²

One of the basic generalizations in predicting marital success is that personal and social homogamy is positively related to marital satisfaction, happiness or stability.3 In particular, family sociologists have emphasized the positive relations between religious homogamy and marital success. However, these generalizations regarding the relationship between religious homogamy and marital stability are derived mainly from the results of several studies based on restricted or atypical samples of the married population (1,11,13,16,17,23). No controls for age at marriage or status level (variables known to be related to divorce rates apart from interreligious marriage rates) were used in these studies. These obvious limitations of the available studies, however, have not deterred most family textbook writers from making wide use of the data.

Vernon (21) suggests that most marriage and family textbook writers present an implicit bias against interreligious marriages by the way in which they interpret divorce-rate differentials between religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages. The bias, he suggests, is revealed in the degree to which the writers overemphasize the hazards of interreligious marriages. The tendency to overemphasize the hazards of interreligious marriages probably is related to the strong value commitments centered on the religious and family institutions in our society.

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³Homogamy refers to the tendency of persons with certain characteristics to marry persons with the same characteristics. It may refer to similar physical or psychological characteristics as well as to group membership characteristics such as race, ethnic origin, religious affiliation and social status. Certain endogamous mate-selection norms—cultural prescriptions to marry a person from within a defined group of which one is a member—are responsible for homogamy in regard to many group characteristics. Cultural norms prescribing religious endogamy are responsible for the large proportion of religiously homogamous marriages. These are marriages of Catholics to Catholics, members of one Protestant denomination to members of the same denomination or, more broadly defined, members of any Protestant denomination. Marriages of Jews with Jews also represent religiously homogamous marriages. Since there were few such marriages in Iowa relative to those of Protestants and Catholics, Jewish homogamous or interreligious marriages were not considered in the present investigation.

Because of the strong value orientations related to religious endogamy, it is imperative to have accurate knowledge of the consequences of interreligious marriages. The present study focuses on only one possible outcome of interreligious marriages; namely, divorce rates. In the absence of accurate knowledge of possible divorce-rate differences between religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages, beliefs may be accepted as facts. Under such conditions, personal and social conflict and unnecessary problems may arise. If interreligious marriages have substantially higher divorce rates or lower survival rates than religiously homogamous marriages, persons entering the mate-selection process should be acquainted with this information before they contemplate entering interreligious marriages. If, on the other hand, there are no substantial differences between divorce or survival rates of interreligious and religiously homogamous marriages, this knowledge also should be generally known.

Some scattered data point to an increase in the rate of interreligious marriages in the United States (3,8,10,20,22). If these data are correct, they present an additional reason for having more reliable data on divorce or survival rate differences among the several types of religiously homogamous or interreligious marriages. The purpose of this investigation was to help provide such information by undertaking more precise tests of the relationship between spousal religious affiliations and marital survival rates than have been reported previously.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this section, the research data on mate selection and religious endogamy norms are reviewed to establish generalizations which are relevant to this study. These generalizations were used to develop the main hypotheses of this investigation.

The generalization that interreligious marriages have higher divorce rates than religiously homogamous marriages rests mainly upon three large-scale studies. Bell's study of 13,528 cases, conducted in Maryland (1), and Weeks' study of 5,490 cases, conducted in Spokane, Washington (23), were based on data obtained from high

Table I. Divorce rates by spousal religious affiliations reported by studies in Maryland, Washington and Michigan.

Religious affiliations of spouses	Bell study, Maryland (1)ª	Weeks study, Washington (23)		Landis study, Michigan (13)	Approximate mean of the three studies (13)
Both Catholic	6.4	3.8		4.4	5.0
Both Protestant	6.8	10.0	4	6.0	8.0
Catholic and Protestant	15.2	17.4		14.1	15.0
Catholic mother				6.7	(100 min 100 m
_ Catholic father		_		20.6	
Total number of cases	13,528	5,490		4,108	-

The number in the parenthesis refers to the reference number of the study; see the list of literature cited for the complete citation.

school students. Landis' study of 4,108 cases was based upon responses from college students in Michigan (13). Table 1 provides a summary of the findings of these three studies.

The results given in table 1 clearly indicate that Protestant-Catholic interreligious marriages have greater divorce and separation rates than do homogamous Catholic or homogamous Protestant marriages. The Protestant-Catholic marriages have only a slightly lower divorce and separation rate than marriages in which both parties had no religious affiliations.

Other data are in agreement with these findings. Burgess and Wallin found that broken engagements were more frequent among couples from different major religious affiliations than among couples from the same major religious faith. Twenty-seven percent of the couples with the same religious affiliation broke their engagements compared with 41 percent of the couples with different religious affiliations (5, p. 289). Heiss (11) observed poorer marital outcomes among a sample of midtown Manhattan, New York, interreligiously married Catholics than among homogamous Catholic marriages. The conclusion for the Jewish sample was about the same as for Catholics, but there appeared to be little difference in marital outcome for homogamously or interreligiously married Protestants. Marital outcome was measured in terms of attitudes toward and satisfaction with the marital relationship, number of children born, reported problems over children, religiosity and interpersonal relationships outside the family.

Analyses of Philadelphia court records indicated that Protestants have a higher incidence of divorce than Catholics, although there was considerable divorce among the latter. Monahan and Kephart found that, "Mixed marriages may (or may not) be more prone to end in divorce, but they show no undue tendency toward desertion" (17, p. 454).

Data reported by Chancellor and Monahan (7,16) provided virtual enumeration of marriages by the religious affiliations of spouses for Iowa in 1953. These data suggested that Catholic interreligious marriages were more likely to end in divorce than Catholic homogamous marriages. In these analyses, however, estimates of relative divorce-proneness among religiously homogamous or interreligious marriages were determined by comparing the proportions of marriages among various couple-religious combinations which involved a previously married person. Various percentage distributions based on the first-marriage population, remarried population and divorce population were used to draw inferences regarding the stability of marriages among religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages.

Landis (13) explored the outcomes of interreligious marriages in more detail than others. He found that 7 percent of the 90 interreligious marriages involving a Catholic wife and a Protestant husband ended in divorce or separation, whereas 21 percent of the 102 interreligious marriages involving a Catholic husband and a Protestant wife ended in divorce or separation.

The findings reviewed to this point suggest three generalizations:

1. Divorce rates are considerably greater among Protestant and Catholic interreligious marriages than among Protestant or Catholic homogamous marriages.

2. Divorce rates are slightly lower among Catholic homogamous marriages than among Protestant homogamous marriages.

3. Divorce rates are greater among interreligious marriages involving Catholic husbands and Protestant wives than among interreligious marriages involving Catholic wives and Protestant husbands.

Of the three generalizations, the third rests upon the most tenuous grounds. The Landis samples were highly selective in that they were based upon the families of college students and included only a small number of couples in each of the two interreligious marriage categories. The Bell and Weeks samples included a broader social base, because high school, rather than college, students provided data for their families. But even the use of high school students involves limitations. These include the selective characteristics of high school dropout rates, the concentration of divorces in the early years of marriage (while the children are in their preschool or early school years) and the various errors involved in obtaining data from children about their parents' marital histories and previous or present religious affiliations. Another limitation of these three studies and the others previously cited is the absence of control variables.

Generalizations from studies of factors related to interreligious marriage rates, on the one hand, and to divorce rates, on the other hand, question the validity of the three generalizations. Among other things, interreligious marriage rates are related to younger ages at marriage, low status levels and civil weddings (2,3,6). Ages at marriage show a slight or moderate relation to social status (4). On the other hand, status (9,12,15,23) and age at marriage (2,14) are inversely related to divorce rates.

HYPOTHESES

Given these associations, relationships between spousal religious affiliations and divorce rates must be tested with controlled comparisons, based on ages at marriage and status levels, before valid conclusions may be drawn. In the present analyses, attempts are made to provide more careful tests of the three generalizations by undertaking controlled comparisons based on ages at marriage and status levels. The three generalizations provide the basis for the initial four hypotheses of this study. Instead of divorce rates, marriage survival rates are used in formulating and testing the hypotheses.⁴

In an attempt to replicate parts of the previous studies, no differentiation was made among marriages of persons reporting affiliation with various Protestant denominations. However, because of probable differences in identification with the religious institutions in the Protestant tradition, a distinction later is made between persons who reported specific Protestant denominational affiliation and persons who reported themselves to be Protestants (but who failed to provide a specific denominational affiliation). The former are referred to as "church-Protestants," and the latter, as "Protestants" in this study. In testing the first four hypotheses, marriages of either church-Protestants or Protestants with persons reporting either type of religious affiliation were considered to be religiously homogamous marriages.

The first four hypotheses are:

- 1. Survival rates are greater among homogamous Catholic marriages than among interreligious marriages of Catholic husbands and church-Protestant or Protestant wives or among interreligious marriages of Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands.
- 2. Survival rates are greater among homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages than among either type of church-Protestant or Protestant-Catholic interreligious marriages.
- 3. Survival rates are greater among homogamous Catholic marriages than among homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages.
- 4. Survival rates are greater among interreligious marriages involving Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands than among interreligious marriages involving church-Protestant or Protestant wives and Catholic husbands.

*Survival rates, rather than divorce rates, are used in the hypotheses to avoid the implicit bias of loading results against interreligious marriages. This point is discussed in detail by Vernon (21). For example, the divorce data in table 1 may be used to show that the divorce rate of all interreligious marriages (using the approximate mean of the three studies) is 3 times that of the homogamous Catholic marriages and is 1.9 times that of the homogamous Protestant marriages, Comparisons of the survival rates, however, show that 85 percent of the interreligious marriages had survived compared with 95 percent of the homogamous Catholic marriages and 92 percent of the homogamous Protestant marriages are approximately 1.1 times greater than the survival rate of the interreligious marriages. Divorce as well as survival rates could be presented, but this would require two sets of tables and unnecessary discussion. If only one set of results is presented, it seems appropriate to use the set which described chances of success, defined as survival, rather than chances of failure, defined as divorce.

Another limitation of previous studies is that all Protestants are combined in developing spousal religious affiliation types (see table 1), even though considerable ideological and social variation exists among various Protestant denominations. Further refinements in the development of spousal religious affiliations were possible with the present data. There were sufficient numbers of cases for some of the larger Protestant denominations in Iowa to permit identification of some types of denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages and to identify certain denominationally mixed Protestant marriages and certain Catholic-Protestant denominational interreligious marriages. Marriages of Methodists with Methodists, for instance, represent denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages. Marriages of Methodists with any non-Catholics included in the study constitute denominationally mixed Protestant marriages. Marriages of Methodists with Catholics represent a specific type of Catholic-Protestant denominational interreligious marriage.

A logical extension of the argument of greater cultural similarity and, hence, greater compatibility and less potential for strain and conflict among homogamous Protestant or Catholic marriages as compared with Protestant-Catholic interreligious marriages suggests a fifth hypothesis:

5. Survival rates are greater among denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages than among denominationally mixed Protestant marriages.

This hypothesis can be tested for Methodists, Lutherans, Presbyterians and Baptists.

Identification of the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages permitted a retest of the comparisons used to test the third hypothesis. Very likely, Catholic homogamous marriages more clearly represented homogamous marriages than did the marriages of any church-Protestant or Protestant with any other church-Protestant or Protestant. The third hypothesis should be retested by comparing survival rates of the homogamous Catholic marriages with those of the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages. Because of the differences in the positions of the Catholic Church and most Protestant churches on divorce and remarriage, the third hypothesis was expected to be supported when the survival rates of the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages were compared with those of the homogamous Catholic marriages. Thus, the sixth hypothesis becomes:

6. Survival rates are greater among homogamous Catholic marriages than among denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages.

There are insufficient empirical or theoretical grounds for developing hypotheses for survivalrate differences among the marriages of Catholics with members of each of the Protestant denominations just cited. Thus, comparisons of differences in survival rates among the marriages of Catholics with members of the denominations previously cited are conducted merely on an ex-

ploratory basis.

The mean length of marriage prior to divorce also was determined for the homogamous Catholic marriages, homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages, and the two main types of interreligious marriages. These data may be used to test four additional hypotheses which are analogous to, and are used as, supplemental tests of the first four hypotheses of this study. Among marriages which end in divorce:

7. The marital duration is shorter among church-Protestant or Protestant-Catholic marriages than among homogamous Catholic mar-

riages.

8. The marital duration is shorter among church-Protestant or Protestant-Catholic marriages than among homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages.

9. The marital duration is shorter among homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages than among homogamous Catholic mar-

riages.

10. The marital duration is shorter among the marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives with Catholic husbands than among the marriages of Catholic wives with church-Protestant or Protestant husbands.

These last four hypotheses also may be considered in terms of one rank-order hypothesis: namely, homogamous Catholic marriages have the longest duration, followed by homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages; then come marriages of Catholic wives with church-Protestant or Protestant husbands, and the marriage of church-Protestant or Protestant wives with Catholic husbands have the shortest duration.

The rationale for the four additional hypotheses or the single rank-order hypothesis just presented rests on four sets of conditions: (1) the stronger position of the Catholic Church against divorce and remarriage as compared with most Protestant denominations; (2) the differential internalization of these values by Catholics and non-Catholics; (3) the potential for greater strain and conflict in the interreligious marriages as opposed to the religiously homogamous marriages; and (4) the differences in male and female orientations toward home and family roles and religious identifications.

For the seventh and eighth hypotheses, it was assumed that, if tensions or conflicts associated with spousal religious differences contributed to divorce rates, the divorces should occur sooner, on the average, among interreligious marriages than among religiously homogamous marriages. In the interreligious marriages, various conflicts which might lead to divorce in most circumstances could be increased by the religious differences between the spouses. The divorce would occur sooner, in many cases, among the interreligious marriages because of the added potential for conflict or rationalization of marital difficulties. In

the religiously homogamous marriages, levels of conflict similar to those which might be experienced in the interreligious marriages, but apart from religious differences, would, it is assumed, require a longer period of time before they were accepted as grounds for divorce.

The ninth hypothesis was based primarily on the stronger position of the Catholic Church against divorce and remarriage. Also, the homogamous Catholic marriages undoubtedly reflect greater religious homogamy than the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. The latter includes a wide variation in denominational affiliations. Presumably, the greater religious homogeneity and perhaps social homogeneity of the homogamous Catholic marriages also might contribute to their higher survival potential.

The tenth hypothesis rested upon two sets of conditions. First, it was assumed that the stronger injunctions of the Catholic Church against divorce and remarriage should contribute to a greater reluctance of Catholics to seek a divorce than would be true among Protestants. Internalization of the injunctions against divorce and remarriage was expected to be stronger among Catholic wives, whether they were married to Catholic husbands or to non-Catholic husbands, than among Catholic husbands. This sex difference in orientations toward marital stability was expected because women, as contrasted to men in American society, expect to achieve a greater portion of their life satisfactions from home and family roles. Protestant wives also were expected to have a stronger orientation toward home and family life and, hence, to be more committed to marital stability than Protestant husbands. However, because of the differences in religious reinforcement for the value of marital indissolubility, the Protestant wives generally might be less reluctant than the Catholic wives to obtain a di-

Second, Landis argues that marriages of Protestant wives to Catholic husbands should present greater tensions and conflicts, especially in the child-rearing area, for the wives and their husbands than the marriages of Catholic wives to Protestant husbands (13). His arguments are based upon the compatibility of or discrepancy between the religious faith of the mother and her responsibility in rearing her children in her faith or that of her husband's.

It is a natural process for the Catholic mother to raise her children as Catholics since this is the religious experience she had during her period of socialization. The Catholic mothers who had a Catholic-sanctioned wedding and who married a non-Catholic are protected in the process of child rearing by the antenuptial agreement which their husbands signed. On the other hand, the Protestant wife who agreed to have her children reared as Catholics may find her child-rearing role more difficult than she expected. The differences which may arise between the Protestant wife and her

Catholic husband in regard to the religious development of the children may contribute to other tensions and conflicts in their marriages and consequently contribute to a divorce.

Apart from the main focus of the study, the controls for age at marriage and status level permit tests of four additional hypotheses. These

hypotheses are:

11. Survival rates are lower for marriages involving younger brides than for marriages involving older brides. To test this hypothesis, ages of brides were dichotomized at 19 or younger and 20 or older.

12. Survival rates are directly related to the occupational status of the husbands. The code used to classify the husbands' occupations into three status levels is described later.

13. The mean durations of marriages prior to divorce are shorter for marriages involving younger spouses than for marriages involving older spouses.

14. The mean durations of marriages prior to divorce are directly related to the occupational

status of the husbands.

All hypotheses related to survival rates are tested first. Subsequent analyses are presented for the marital-duration hypotheses and for the four age-and-status hypotheses.

METHOD

Development of Marital Survival Rates

All data were derived from analyses of the marriage record IBM cards maintained by the Division of Vital Statistics of the Iowa Department of Health. Data from marriage and divorce records were analyzed for a 7-year period, from 1953, the first year in which religious affiliation data were obtained, through 1959. These data represented the total populations of Iowa marriages and divorces during the period of observation. Marriage and divorce data for each of these 7 years were used to develop a series of marriage survival rates for the populations of each of the spousal religious affiliation types developed for this study. This was done by first obtaining marriage frequencies per year for each religious type and for several subtypes, which are explained later. Frequencies of marriages in each religious type or subtype which ended in divorce during each of the 7 years were subtracted from the original marriage frequencies for each type. Marital duration was used to match year of divorce with year of marriage. The ratio of the surviving marriages over the total number of original marriages for each religious type was used as the survival rate for each type. Survival rates were determined for the seven maritalduration periods.

These survival rates are used to test the hypotheses developed earlier. Only group matching techniques were used for all analyses; individual marriage cases were not followed for divorce or

vice versa. This cohort type of analysis involves obvious limitations, which are discussed later. Nevertheless, because of the large numbers of cases and the lack of any feasible alternative, this procedure was followed in developing the survival rates.

With this general statement of the method used, the refinements and details can be presented. Several controls were imposed on the marriage data to make the marriage population more homogenous. Since there were few Jewish persons married in Iowa during this period, all marriages involving Jewish persons were deleted from the universe. To further refine the universe of interest, all marriages of previously divorced persons and all marriages of nonwhite persons were excluded from the study. For reasons which are discussed later, only those marriages of couples who were residents of Iowa were included in the study population. Thus, the universe of marriages studied included white, first-marriage. Iowa-resident couples for whom certain other data were available. These data included the religious affiliations of the brides and bridegrooms, the ages of the brides at marriage and the occupations of the bridegrooms.

The analyses began with the development of the spousal religious affiliation types, which are shown in table 2 and in the tables in the appendix. The number of marriages occurring within each of the 7 years was obtained for each religious type and, depending on the total number of marriages in each religious type, for several subsamples of each type. The subsamples were based on the ages of the brides and the occupations of the bridegrooms.

For the types with large numbers of cases, marriage frequencies per year were obtained for six subgroups—brides who were 19 years of age or less and who married low-, middle- or high-status bridegrooms and brides who were 20 and over and who married bridegrooms in one of the three status levels. Totals were also derived for each age level and for the three status levels.

For religious affiliation types which contained fewer cases, subtotals were obtained only for the two age levels and the three status levels, but not for the six more detailed subsamples. And, finally, because there were still fewer cases for interreligious marriages and divorces between Catholics and members of any specific Protestant denomination, only total frequencies were obtained for each of these interreligious marriage types.

The occupational trichotomy was based on the 11-point occupational code used by the Iowa Division of Vital Statistics. The high-status category included professional men, farm operators and managers, managers, officials and proprietors; the middle-status category included men in the sales, clerical and craft occupations; and the low-status category included operatives, domestic servants, farm laborers and other laborers. The couples with bridegrooms in the remaining occupational category, the armed forces, were deleted from the

analyses because no further data were available to indicate the status level of the bridegrooms.

Use of the marriage and divorce cohort-linked analysis involved limitations associated with migration in and out of the state during the period of observation. However, it was possible to impose some controls on the data to minimize survival-rate errors associated with the migration of couples after marriage. All couples who were married in Iowa during the 7-year period, but who were not Iowa residents, were deleted from the marriage population. Few of the nonresident couples who were married in Iowa, and who might seek a divorce, would obtain their divorces in Iowa. Including these nonresident couples in the marriage frequencies very likely would distort the analyses. Unfortunately, no controls could be applied to correct for migration of resident couples out of the state after marriage. The lack of control for postmarital migration, however, probably is not serious. First, there are no theoretical grounds for assuming that family migration would be selective by spousal religious affiliation types. Second, the controls on age and status (both related to migration) virtually should eliminate any relationship which may have existed between family migration and the religious affiliation types.

Iowa requires a residence of 1 year previous to seeking a divorce. Thus, couples married outside of the state are not likely to obtain divorces in Iowa. This legal requirement reduced the number of such divorces included in the Iowa divorce population. However, some divorces were included in the analyses for which the marriages were not performed in Iowa. Additional controls could have been established to eliminate all divorce cases for which the marriages were not performed in Iowa during the 7-year period. These controls were not applied because inclusion of the couples who were married in another state and later divorced in Iowa during the 7-year period of observation served to offset partially the out-migration and possible later divorce of couples married in Iowa during the observation period. Again, it was assumed that migration into Iowa was not related to religious affiliation.

The divorce population originally consisted of all previously first-married, white couples who identified with one of the religious bodies included in this study. All divorces meeting these requirements were classified into one of the spousal religious affiliation types. For the types with greater frequencies, data on divorces which occurred during 1953 through 1959 were collated and classified by the ages of brides and the occupations of the bridegrooms as described for the marriage population. Otherwise, analyses were conducted for the total populations or separately by the two age and three status categories.

The final control applied to the divorce data was the duration of the marriage. Divorce cases which met all previous requirements were classified by duration of marriage. All divorces which were granted from 1953 through 1959 but where the marriage occurred prior to 1953 were deleted from subsequent analyses. For the remaining divorces, seven duration periods were established: (a) less than 12 months, (b) 12-23 months, (c) 24-35 months, (d) 36-47 months, (e) 48-59 months, (f) 60-71 months and (g) 72-83 months. Divorces which occurred within the first year of marriage were subtracted from the original marriage frequencies for the year of marriage. For example, divorces granted in 1953 for marriages having durations of less than 12 months were subtracted from the 1953 marriage frequencies. Similarly, divorces granted in 1954 for marriages having durations of less than 12 months were subtracted from the 1954 marriage frequencies. This process was continued through the 1959 marriage and divorce data. In all cases, appropriate matching was followed on spousal religious type, and, in some cases, on age and occupational status. Thus, for the marriage survival comparisons based on the less-than-12-months duration period, all seven cohorts of marriage- and divorcelinked data were used.

For each succeeding duration period, the data for one marriage cohort was deleted, because the divorces occurred among marriages performed before the period of observation used in the study. For instance, the 1953 divorces which included marriages of 12-23 months duration, the 1954 divorces which included marriages of 24-35 months duration, and so on, to the 1959 divorces which included marriages of 84-95 months duration, were deleted from the analyses. Thus, it was possible to develop marital survival rates for the second duration period for six marriage cohorts those marriages which occurred during 1953 through 1958. Five cohorts of data were available for the third duration period, four for the fourth, three for the fifth, two for the sixth and finally only one, the 1953 marriage cohort data, was available for the seventh duration period.

Marriage survival rates were first computed for each spousal religious affiliation type and for the age and status subgroups in each type for the first duration period. Computation of the marriage survival and divorce frequencies for the remaining six duration periods became successively more complex. Instead of computing marriage survival or divorce rates for each specific duration period, cumulative rates were established. The rates for the second duration period included all data for the divorces granted before 24 months of marriage; rates for the third period included divorces granted before 36 months of marriage, and so on through the last duration period. The cumulative marriage and divorce frequencies for total spousal religious affiliation types for each duration period are shown in table A-1 in the Appendix. Similar tables were developed for each age and status subgroup but are not reported.

A detailed description of the method used to derive the survival rates for the seven duration periods is available elsewhere (18).

Seven survival rates were available for each

spousal religious affiliation type and for the various subtypes based on the age and status variables. Survival rates for each duration period, shown in table A-2 of the Appendix, could have been used to test the hypotheses. Use of this procedure would have required discussing each hypothesis in relation to seven sets of survival This would have involved unnecessary duplication since the seven survival rates were not independent of one another. With the exception of the first duration period, each survival rate was dependent on all preceding survival rates. Instead of using the data for each duration period or of arbitrarily selecting certain survival periods for testing the hypotheses, data for all duration periods were used to estimate survival rates for the eighth-year duration period. A regression technique described by Snedecor (19, pp. 153-156) was employed to estimate the eighthperiod survival rates. Graphs of the survival rates over the seven duration periods indicated that the decline in survival rates was mostly linear.

This contention was supported by the results, since the differences between groups were relatively larger for the survival rates than for the mean duration indexes. Since the mean duration indexes are based on only those cases involving divorce, these indexes are independent of the survival rates and reflect the quadratic component in the decline over time of surviving marriages. That is, if the divorces which occur in one group occur late, the mean duration index will be high; whereas if the divorces which occur in another group occur early, the mean duration index will be low. In either group the survival rate may be either high or low.

Use of the regression analysis to estimate survival rates for the eighth year was prompted by several considerations. First, the 7-year period could be considered a sample of a population of 7-year periods. All data could be used to estimate survival rates for the eighth-year period. The eighth-year survival rates, therefore, would be more reliable estimates of the marital survival of each religious type than would the survival rates for any particular duration period. Second, use of a single survival rate for each spousal religious affiliation type or subtype simplified testing the hypotheses and discussing the results. One table instead of seven could be used to present the data used to test the hypotheses. The estimated survival rates for the eighth duration period, which represent single survival rate estimates for each population of marriages, are used to test all hypotheses.

Limitations

Limitations associated with migration patterns already have been discussed. Also, the method of analysis used in this study required several assumptions which are sociologically unrealistic. These were unavoidable but, with one exception, probably had little bearing on the results. It was

assumed that the spousal religious affiliation types accurately described the religious affiliations of the couples both at the time of marriage and of divorce and that no conversions from one faith to the other had occurred between the time of marriage and divorce. Undoubtedly, various kinds of errors occurred when persons reported their religious affiliations on either the marriage or divorce records.

For instance, it was unlikely that all spouses in the religiously homogamous marriages had similar religious backgrounds. Undoubtedly, some religiously homogamous couples, particularly among homogamous Catholic marriages, included persons who were converted to the faith of their spouses before marriage. Although some of these marriages were included as religiously homogamous marriages, the spouses had different religious experiences during their socialization periods, and these experiences may have become a source of tension or conflict after marriage.

Other errors in analyses probably are related to conversions or other changes of one or both parties after marriage but before divorce. The extremely low survival rates among the homogamous Protestants probably can be explained best by an inflation of reported Protestant affiliation at the time of divorce.⁵ Possibly some persons reported themselves to be members of a Protestant denomination at the time of marriage and reported themselves merely as Protestant at the time of divorce. Other changes in reported religious affiliations of one or both spouses after marriage could influence the results in numerous ways. Changes in the religious affiliations of one or both parties after marriage could have changed given types of religiously homogamous marriages into interreligious marriages or into other types of religiously homogamous marriages at the time of divorce. Still other changes could have altered given types of interreligious marriages or religiously homogamous marriages into other types of interreligious or religiously homogamous marriages.

No data were available to indicate to what extent the spousal religious affiliation types accurately represented the religious backgrounds and affiliations of the brides and bridegrooms or what changes in affiliations occurred between marriage and divorce. All analyses were conducted on the assumption of static conditions regarding spousal religious affiliation before and after marriage.

Three conditions, however, probably limited the degree to which changes in reported religious affiliations may have influenced the results. The large number of cases available for most total or subgroup analyses limited the degree to which changes in religious affiliations may have affected the results. Also, with the exception of the Protestant category (which undoubtedly was inflated with divorces of persons who reported other re-

⁵Remember that, in this study, Protestant refers to persons who reported only a Protestant affiliation but who did not specify any denominational affiliation. The term church-Protestant is used to identify the persons who reported a specific Protestant denominational affiliation.

ligious affiliations at the time of marriage), there were no grounds for expecting systematic changes from any given affiliation at marriage to some other affiliation at divorce. The probable inflation of divorces in the Protestant category suggests that the survival rates are overestimated or inflated for most other spousal religious affiliation types. It is assumed that the overestimation is relatively systematic among all but the Protestant categories. And third, the relatively short time period of observation, 7 years, probably limited the number of changes in religious affiliations. If analyses were extended over a longer period of time, changes in religious affiliations between marriage and divorce would seriously limit the present method of analysis.

The analyses also proceeded on the assumption that the husbands' occupational status levels were similar at the time of marriage and at the time of divorce. Some social mobility undoubtedly occurred, but the changes in occupational levels during the short period of observation probably

would not greatly alter the results.

Also, divorce was the only measure of the dependent variable. No data were available for marital separations, which may be greater among homogamous Catholic marriages than among the other religious affiliation types. The results, therefore, are limited to marital survival rates based on divorce rates. Extension of these marital survival rates to total marital dissolution rates, which include separations as well as divorces, is possible only on the basis of certain assumptions. These assumptions include estimates of differences in marital separations between Catholics and non-Catholics. Because no data are available for differences in nondivorce separations among various spousal religious types, the presently defined marital survival rates are not generalized to total marital dissolutions.

The final limitation is that the analyses are based on cross-sectional data rather than on longitudinal data. The analyses were designed, however, to approximate results which, it is assumed, would be obtained if a longitudinal investigation

were conducted.

MARITAL SURVIVAL RATES BY RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF THE SPOUSES Homogamous Catholic, Church-Protestant or Protestant Marriages and Interreligious Marriages

The first four hypotheses of this investigation can be reorganized into one rank-order hypothesis: Marital survival rates are highest among the homogamous Catholic marriages; next among homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages; followed by marriages of Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands; and the marital survival rates are lowest among marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives and Catholic husbands. Data for testing this rank-order hypothesis and the four hypotheses which it contains are given in table 2.

In table 2, ages of brides and status levels of husbands are used separately and jointly as control variables. The classification of the survival rates by the four religious types, ages of brides and status levels of bridegrooms suggested use of the analysis of variance model for analyzing sources of variance among the survival rates. The magnitude of differences in survival rates which were associated with the religious classifications could be compared with the magnitude of differences in survival rates which were associated with either of the control variables or with the interactions among any of the variables. Use of the analysis of variance test to estimate the significance of differences associated with various sources of variance in the marital survival rates would be unnecessary, even inappropriate, because marital survival rates were developed for total populations. Rather, the sizes of the mean squares were compared to determine the relative contribution of each source of variance to the total variance in marital survival rates. This method of analysis was used to provide a perspective for viewing differences in survival rates associated with the religious affiliation types in relation to the age and status variables.

The marital survival rates represent proportions. These proportions were converted by an arc-sine transformation to homogenize their variances. The results of the three-way analysis of variance calculations, based on the arc-sine trans-

formations, are given in table 3.

The mean squares associated with the three two-way interactions or the one three-way interaction were small relative to the mean squares for the three main effects. Although relatively similar in size, the mean square for the religious typology was the smallest of the three, that for the status of the husbands was intermediate, and the mean square associated with the age dichot-

omy was the largest.

Our main interest is in the survival rate differences among the four religious affiliation types. In table 3, the large mean square associated with the religious affiliation types shows that this classification was an important source of the total variance among the marital survival rates. Variations in survival rates by the religious affiliation types may be determined from table 2, but these variations can be seen more readily from the graphs in figs. 1 and 2. The arc-sine transformations were used in developing these graphs. Because the interaction among the variables appeared to be only a minor source of variation, the graphs report only the relations between the transformed survival rates among the four religious types and the three status levels and, separately, by the two age levels. As can be seen in table 2, the influence of age on survival rates was similar within each status level of the four religious types, and the influence of status was similar in each age classification of the four religious

The rank-order hypothesis was uniformly supported by the data in figs. 1 and 2. Within each

Table 2. Marital survival rates among four types of religiously homogamous or interreligious marriages by the ages of brides and the status of husbands at divorce.

				Age	es of bride	s and stat	tus of t	iusbands				
Spousal religious	-	19 or younger				20 or older				All brides		
affiliation types Total	Low	Middle	High	Total	Low	Middle	High	Total	Low	Middle	High	
Catholic-Catholic	88.3	92.6	97.2	92.9	95.5	97.6	99.4	97.9	92.3	96.0	98.6	
Profestant or Profestanta	68.1	81.5	93.2	80.9	83.1	92.0	96.3	92.7	72.7	86.2	94.9	
Catholic wife 79.8 Catholic husband 74.8	63.9 56.3	74.3 68.3	86.7 84.2	73.0 67.0	77.4 77.7	89.4 82.4	91.1	86.9 84.5	69.2 64.0	82.4 75.3	89.4 87.9	
Total	60.3 70.0	71.2 82.8	85.5 93.3	70.1 81.8	77.6 86.1	86.1 93.0	91.0 96.7	85.8 93.5	66.8 75.8	79.1 87.5	88.7 95.3	

a Church-Protestant refers to persons who reported affiliation with a specific Protestant denomination. Protestant refers to persons who reported themselves to be Protestant but who do not specify any denominational affiliation.

Table 3. Results for the three-way analysis of variance of marital survival rates based on spousal religious affiliation types, ages of brides and status levels of husbands.

Source of variation	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares
Spousal religious affiliation ty	pes 3	303.579
Ages of brides		372.172
Status of husbands Spousal religious affiliation		342.621
types by ages of brides Spousal religious affiliation	3	2.792
types by status of husbands	6	6.631
Ages of brides by status of hu Spousal religious affiliation type	usbands 2	17.256
ages of brides by status of h		1.169
Total	23	7

status or age level, the transformed marital survival rates declined from those for the homogamous Catholic marriages, to those of the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages, further to the marriages of Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands and finally to the marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives and Catholic husbands. Some support was found for the four original hypotheses. Controls for ages at marriage among brides or status levels of husbands failed to alter substantially the relative sizes of the marital survival rates among the four religious affiliation

types.

Additional information relative to survival rates among the four religious types can be obtained from table 2 and figs. 1 and 2. First, the sizes of the differences in survival rates among the four sets of marriages varied considerably. For instance, the largest differences were observed between the homogamous Catholic marriages and the two types of interreligious marriages. The church-Protestant or Protestant homogamous marriages also had consistently higher survival rates than those of either type of interreligious marriage. However, these differences were not as large as those for the comparisons involving the homogamous Catholic marriages and the interreligious marriages. In all comparisons, the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages had lower survival rates than the homogamous Catholic marriages. Differences in marital survival rates between the two religiously homogamous marriage types were approximately comparable to the differences between the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages and the total population of interreligious marriages.

The least support was found for the fourth hypothesis. In both figs. 1 and 2, the transformed

marital survival rates were lower among the marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives and Catholic husbands than among the marriages of Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands. However, the differences in survival rates between the two interreligious marriage types generally were the smallest of any in the four sets of comparisons. Also, within the six age-and-status subsamples presented in table 2, two comparisons involved a difference of less than 1 percent.

The second observation which may be drawn from the data in table 2 and figs. 1 and 2 is that the age and status variables influenced the differences in marital survival rates among the four religious types. As can be seen in fig. 1, the smallest variations in survival rates among the four spousal religious affiliation types were observed among the high-status couples, and the greatest variations were observed among the lowstatus couples. As shown in fig. 2, greater variations in survival rates among the four religious types occurred among the couples involving younger brides than among the couples involving older brides.

Another way of viewing data in the two figures is to compare differences in survival rates by the three status levels or two age levels within each spousal religious affiliation type. Survival rates among homogamous Catholic marriages showed less variation by either the status or age levels than was observed for the other three religious types. The spread in survival rates by status

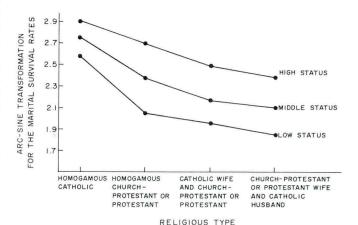


Fig. 1. Marital survival rates among four spousal religious affiliation types by the status levels of the husbands.

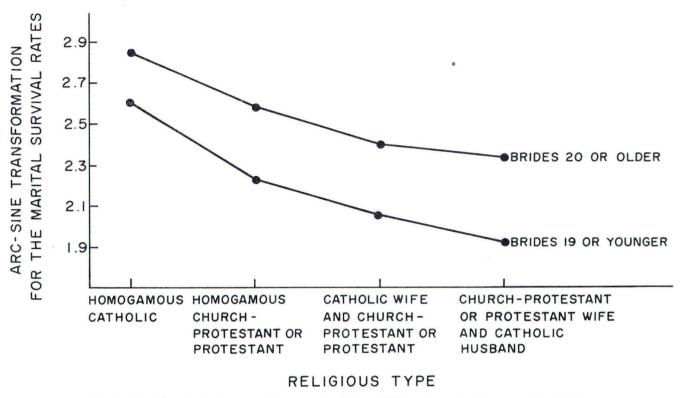


Fig. 2. Marital survival rates among four spousal religious affiliation types by the ages of the brides.

levels among the three remaining marital types was approximately comparable. Differences in survival rates between marriages involving older and younger brides increased from the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages to the marriages of Catholic wives and non-Catholic husbands and were greatest between the marriages of non-Catholic wives and Catholic husbands.

The influence of the two control variables on the four sets of survival rates suggests another way of considering the first two hypotheses. The results in table 2 also can be used to determine whether there are some age-and-status combinations for which the survival rates of interreligious marriages exceed those of the religiously homogamous marriages represented by other age-and-status combinations.

Among marriages involving younger brides, none of the survival rates in any of the six cells for either type of interreligious marriage exceeded the lowest survival rate for homogamous Catholic marriages involving younger brides. However, the survival rate for interreligious marriages involving younger Catholic brides married to high-status non-Catholic husbands only was 2 percent lower than the survival rate for homogamous Catholic marriages involving young brides and low-status husbands. Three survival rates for interreligious marriages involving older brides exceeded the survival rate for homogamous Catholic marriages involving young brides and lowstatus husbands. The survival rates for both interreligious marriage types involving older brides

with high-status bridegrooms were only 1 percent lower than the homogamous marriages of younger Catholic brides who married middle-status husbands. Among the older brides, survival rates for homogamous Catholic marriages in the low status level exceeded those of the interreligious marriages in all three status levels. These differences ranged between 5 and 19 percent.

For the comparison of survival rates of interreligious marriages and the homogamous Catholic marriages, the answer to the question is clear. There were six age-and-status combinations for which the survival rates of interreligious marriages closely approximated or exceeded those for the younger bride and low- or middle-status husband combinations for the homogamous Catholic marriages.

Twenty-two survival rates for interreligious marriages, represented by various age-and-status combinations, either closely approximated or exceeded other age-and-status combinations for the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. Close inspection of table 2 will reveal these differences.

Survival rates for various age-and-status combinations among homogamous Catholic marriages also may be compared with the survival rates among other age-and-status combinations for the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. In nine comparisons involving older age levels or higher status levels among the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages as compared with the homogamous Cath-

olic marriages, the survival rates were within 1 percent of one another (or lower) among the homogamous Catholic marriages.

An increase in one status level or movement to the higher age level resulted in reversals of most of the differences which existed in favor of higher survival rates among the interreligious marriages with Catholic wives in comparisons with interreligious marriages with Catholic husbands.

Denominationally Homogamous and Mixed Protestant Marriages

Sufficient numbers of marriage and divorce cases were available to develop four sets of denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages and denominationally mixed Protestant marriages. These types were based on Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist affiliations. Survival rates for the age dichotomy and the status trichotomy as well as for the total population in each marital type are presented in table 4.

The hypothesis was that the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages have higher survival rates than the denominationally mixed Protestant marriages. This hypothesis is tested by the data for the four denominations just specified. Additional data are given for two residual categories: (1) the homogamous or mixed non-affiliated Protestant marriages; and (2) the marriages among persons reporting Protestant denominational affiliations other than the four previously listed. For convenience, the marriages among these residual church-Protestants are called homogamous other church-Protestant marriages.

Only about 1 percent more of the homogamous than of the mixed Lutheran marriages had survived. A difference of 1 percent in favor of the hypothesis was observed for the two comparisons based on the ages of the brides. Null differences were observed in two of the three status groups, whereas a difference of 1 percent in support of the hypothesis was observed in the high-status comparison.

All of the differences in survival rates between the homogamous Methodist and mixed Methodist marriages or the homogamous Presbyterian and mixed Presbyterian marriages were contrary to

Table 4. Marital survival rates among denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages by the ages of brides and the status of husbands at divorce.

		Ages of	brides	10540e1 11 000			
Spousal religious			19 or	20 or	Stat	us of husk	pands
	otal	younger	older	Low	Middle	High	
Lutheran-Lutheran	94.1	90.9	97.0	86.6	93.2	97.7	
Lutheran-non-Catholic	93.0	90.1	95.9	86.6	93.1	96.5	
Methodist-Methodist	91.4	88.3	95.6	83.9	90.2	96.3	
Methodist-non-Catholic	92.9	90.0	96.5	87.3	92.3	96.8	
Presbyterian-Presbyterian '	91.0	88.3	94.0	83.5	90.2	94.3	
		92.5	96.6	90.4	92.9	97.2	
Baptist-Baptist	89.8	87.1	95.4	83.8	93.5	93.4	
Baptist-non-Catholic		87.5	93.9	83.8	90.7	95.7	
	35.0	16.2	62.6	-0.7	43.0	73.2	
	82.7	76.1	91.5	74.8	0.08	93.4	
other church-Protestants	94.0	92.2	96.6	88.6	92.8	97.9	

"See the footnote to table 2 for definitions of church-Protestant or Protestant. Non-Catholic in this table refers to any church-Protestant or Protestant affiliation other than the denomination specified in the combination.

the predicted direction. Approximately 2 percent more of the mixed Methodist marriages had survived as compared with the homogamous Methodist marriages. Otherwise, the differences in the two age comparisons and the three status comparisons ranged from less than 1 percent to 3 percent. Approximately 4 percent more of the mixed Presbyterian than homogamous Presbyterian marriages had survived. The differences in the survival rates at each of the two age levels or three status levels ranged from 3 to 7 percent, all being contrary to the predicted direction.

The comparisons involving the two Baptist categories presented mixed results. The total comparison produced a null difference. Otherwise, the differences for the age-and-status comparisons ranged from 3 percent in favor of the hypothesis to 2 percent against the hypothesis.

The foregoing comparisons provided no support for the hypothesis under test. All differences were small, and a greater number of the differences failed to support the hypothesis.

The two nonaffiliated Protestant categories were not used to test the hypothesis because there were reasons for expecting lower survival rates among the marriages of nonaffiliated Protestants in comparison with the marriages of nonaffiliated Protestants and church-Protestants. Higher survival rates were expected among the mixed Protestant marriages because at least one partner of these marriages reported a specific denomina-tional affiliation. In general, persons with some religious affiliation, as contrasted to persons who are without a religious affiliation, should be expected to adhere more strongly to the norm for marital permanence. On this basis, marriages involving two nonaffiliated Protestants might be expected to have lower survival rates than marriages where one partner reported affiliation with some Protestant denomination.

The data in table 4 support this argument. Survival rates were considerably greater among the mixed Protestant marriages than among the homogamous Protestant marriages. However, other conditions probably influenced the survival rates of the homogamous Protestant marriages. Except possibly for the high status level, it is doubtful if the survival rates of the homogamous Protestant marriages actually were as low as those reported in table 4. In particular, the -0.7 rate for the low-status category must, by definition, be incorrect. This rate indicated that there would be more divorces among homogamous Protestant low-status couples in the eighth-duration period than there had been marriages for these couples. The probable explanation is that some persons who reported themselves to be members of a Protestant denomination at the time of marriage reported themselves as unaffiliated Protestants at the time of divorce. Public censure of divorce and the critical view of many Protestant clergymen influence some members of Protestant churches to feel reluctant to identify their church affiliation at the time of divorce.

The other residual category was represented by the marriages of any church-Protestants not previously specified in the marriages of Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians or Baptists. Generally, the survival rates for this heterogeneous category of church-Protestants were high and were similar to those of the homogamous Lutheran marriages.

The survival rates of the denominationally homogamous or mixed church-Protestant marriages were confined to a very narrow range—from 94.1 for the homogamous Lutheran marriages to 89.8 for the homogamous Baptist marriages.

Homogamous Catholic Marriages and Denominationally Homogamous Protestant Marriages

Previous tests showed that the homogamous Catholic marriages had higher survival rates than the homogamous marriages of church-Protestants or Protestants. The latter category, however, included considerable denominational variation. Therefore, the original comparisons were reconsidered by comparing the survival rates of the homogamous Catholic marriages with those of the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages. The appropriate data from tables 2 and 4 are used to test the sixth hypothesis of this study—that homogamous Catholic marriages have higher survival rates than denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages.

Survival rates for denominationally mixed Protestant marriages also could be compared with those for the homogamous Catholic marriages. The original hypothesis did not include this comparison because the denominationally mixed Protestant marriages were expected to have had lower survival rates than the denominationally homogamous marriages. Actually, there was no substantial difference between the survival rates of the denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages. Thus, similar results would be obtained for comparisons of survival rates between either set of denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages and homogamous Catholic marriages. For simplicity, however, the hypothesis is limited to the comparisons involving denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages.

The arc-sine transformations for the survival rates, presented in figs. 3 and 4, are used to test this hypothesis. The graphs in figs. 3 and 4 provided consistent support for the sixth hypothesis, although the differences in survival rates between the homogamous Catholic marriages and the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages were small. The ranking of the survival rates among the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages in relation to the homogamous Catholic marriages varied by the age and status variables. In general, however, the survival rates of the homogamous Lutheran marriages and the residual church-Protestant marriages were closest to those of the homogamous Catholic marriages. Survival rates for these marriage types were followed by those for homoga-

mous marriages of Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists, in that order. Differences between the survival rates for denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages and homogamous Catholic marriages were considerably smaller than the differences between those for the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages and homogamous Catholic marriages. The only exception to this convergence in transformed survival rates occurred for the comparisons involving high-status couples. These observations suggested that the lower survival rates for the homogamous church-Protestant and Protestant marriages were due primarily to the inclusion of the Protestants in the church-Protestant and Protestant classification.

The transformed survival rates shown in figs. 3 and 4 also may be compared to determine if, regardless of the ages of the brides or status levels of the husbands, the homogamous Catholic marriages always had higher survival rates than the denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages. All survival rates of denominationally homogamous marriages (or mixed Protestant marriages) involving brides who were 20 years of age or older approximated or exceeded the rates for the homogamous Catholic marriages involving brides who were 19 years of age or younger. Three of the transformed survival rates denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages represented by middle-status bridegrooms equalled or surpassed those for the homogamous Catholic marriages represented by low-status bridegrooms. All survival rates for denominationally homogamous marriages mixed Protestant marriages) with high-status bridegrooms exceeded the survival rates for the

Interreligious Marriages With Protestant Denominations Specified

bridegrooms.

Survival rates also were determined for marriages of Catholics with Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Protestants and the residual, or other church-Protestants. The small numbers of cases prevented age and status subsample comparisons.

homogamous Catholic marriages with low-status

The rank-order of the survival rates for these interreligious marriages was Catholic-Lutheran, 90.5 percent; Catholic-Presbyterian, 89.8 percent; Catholic-other church-Protestant, 89.1 percent; Catholic-Methodist, 83.8 percent; Catholic-Baptist, 81.6 percent; and Catholic-Protestant, 28.7 percent. From table 2, we can observe that the survival rate of all interreligious marriages was 77.6 percent. Again, it seemed that the inclusion of the unaffiliated Protestants lowered the survival rate for all interreligious marriages.

Rank-Order of Survival Rates for All Religious Affiliation Types

A more comprehensive perspective of the sur-

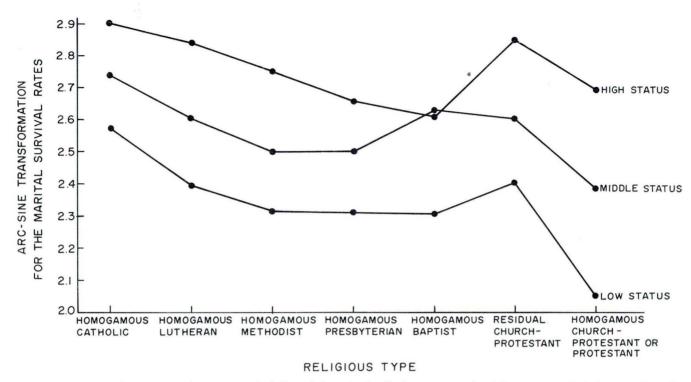


Fig. 3. Marital survival rates among homogamous Catholic and denominationally homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages by the status levels of the husbands.

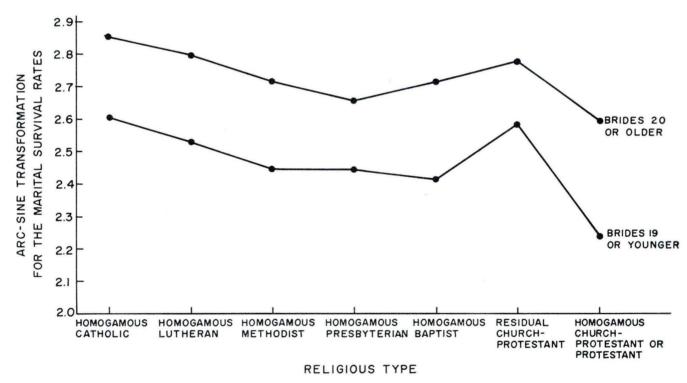


Fig. 4. Marital survival rates among homogamous Catholic and denominationally homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages by the ages of the brides.

Table 5. Rank-order of marital survival rates for each spousal religious affiliation type.

Spousal religious affiliation type	Marita survival rate
Homogamous Catholic	96.2
Presbyterian-non-Catholic	94.6
Homogamous Lutheran	94.1
Other church-Protestant	04.0
Lutheran-non-Catholic	
Methodist-non-Catholic	00.0
Homogamous Methodist	01.4
Homogamous Presbyterian	
Catholic-Lutheran	
Baptist-non-Catholic	
Catholic-Presbyterian	00.0
Homogamous Baptist	00.0
	89.1
Church-Protestant or Protestant-	07.1
1 1 5 1 1 1 5 1 1	86.2
Catholic-Methodist	00.0
B 1 1 1 6 11 11	00 7
0 11 11 15 11 1	0.1
Catholic-interreligious	25.0
Homogamous Protestant	00.7
Catholic-Protestant	
Total population	87.6

vival rates for the different religious types may be gained from a rank-order of all survival rates. The rank-order of survival rates for all marriages in each religious affiliation type is presented in table 5.

Several observations may be drawn from table 5. First, the survival rates formed a continuum with no large gaps between the various denominational affiliation types. The only sharp break in survival rates occurred between the total Catholic interreligious marriage survival rate and the survival rates of the homogamous unaffiliated Protestant marriages or the Catholic-unaffiliated Protestant marriages. The probable spurious nature of the latter two estimates has been discussed already.

Second, the homogamous Catholic marriages had the highest survival rate. However, the survival rates for mixed Presbyterian, homogamous Lutheran, other church-Protestant, Lutheran or Methodist and homogamous Methodist or Presbyterian marriages ranged from 91.0 to 94.6 percent and closely approached the 96.2 percent which was observed for the homogamous Catholic marriages.

Third, the survival rates for a group of interreligious marriage types as well as religiously homogamous marriage types ranged within one percentage point of another. Survival rates for Catholic-Lutheran, mixed Baptist, Catholic-Presbyterian, homogamous Baptist and Catholicresidual church-Protestant marriages ranged between 89.1 percent and 90.5 percent.

Fourth, the lower-middle segment of the array included homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages, the marriages of Catholics and Methodists or Baptists, unaffiliated Protestants and other non-Catholics and the total for all interreligious marriages.

And, fifth, at the bottom of table 5 were the homogamous unaffiliated Protestant marriages and those of Catholics and unaffiliated Protestants.

The separation of the marriages involving unaffiliated Protestants and church-Protestants illustrates the weakness of previous studies where

all persons of any Protestant persuasion were combined into one category. Marital survival or divorce rates for this general category were compared with similar rates for homogamous Catholic marriages. The extremely low survival rate of the marriages involving unaffiliated Protestants (35.0 percent) and the relatively low survival rate for the mixed Protestant marriages (82.7 percent) contributed to the total survival rate of 86.2 percent for the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. Otherwise, the survival rates for marriages involving church-Protestants only ranged from 94.1 percent for homogamous Lutheran marriages to 89.8 percent for homogamous Baptist marriages.

MARITAL DURATIONS BY THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS OF THE SPOUSES

A rationale was developed previously for the following hypotheses. Among marriages ending in divorce:

1. Interreligious marriages have shorter durations than homogamous Catholic marriages.

2. Interreligious marriages have shorter durations than homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages.

3. Homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages have shorter durations than ho-

mogamous Catholic marriages.

4. Marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives with Catholic husbands have shorter durations than marriages of Catholic wives with church-Protestant or Protestant husbands.

The reader is reminded that these mean duration indexes were not necessarily dependent on the survival rates. The results indicate that the groups having the higher survival rates also have the longer durations and vice versa. This relationship between these indexes was an empirical finding, however, and not a necessary result brought about by statistical artifacts.

These four hypotheses also can be expressed in one rank-order hypothesis: Among marriages ending in divorce, homogamous Catholic marriages have the longest duration; homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages are next; followed by marriages of Catholic wives with church-Protestant or Protestant husbands; and the marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives with Catholic husbands have the shortest duration. The four religious types appear in table 6 according to this expected order for duration of marriage. If the mean years of marriage for each religious affiliation type decline regularly from the homogamous Catholic marriages through to the marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives with Catholic husbands, all four hypotheses will be supported.

The analyses were conducted with controls for the ages of both spouses at marriage and for the occupations of the husbands at divorce. Although data for the armed forces category are reported, these data are not included in the analyses. As

Table 6. Mean years of duration of marriage prior to divorce by the ages of spouses at marriage, religious affiliations of spouses at divorce and the status of the husbands at divorce.

A was a frame and set					Status c	of husbands				
Ages of spouses at marriage and	To	tal	Lo	w	Mid	dle	Hi	gh	Armed	Forces
spousal religious affiliation typesa	No. cases ^b	Mean years	No. cases ^b	Mean years	No. cases ^b	Mean	No. cases ^b	Mean years	No.	Mean
Both 19 or younger Homogamous Catholic	197	7.1	96	5.9	51	8.4	33	10.8	17	2.4
Homogamous church- Protestant or Protestant Catholic wife and	3,177	6.4	1,694	5.9	771	7.8	390	8.6	322	2.6
non-Catholic husband	167	4.0	89	4.0	35	6.1	14	3.0	29	1.8
Catholic husband	206 3,747	4.2 6.2	118 1,997	3.9 5.7	48 905	5.6 7.6	13 450	5.5 8.6	27 395	2.5 2.5
Bride 19 or younger, bridegroom 20 or older Homogamous Catholic	467	10.1	252	9.3	125	11.3	17	12.0	13	3.8
Homogamous church- Protestant or Protestant Catholic wife and	4,960	9.3	2,473	8.8	1,360	10.1	849	11.2	278	3.4
non-Catholic husband	271	7.0	137	6.9	72	8.2	37	7.2	25	3.2
Catholic husband	338 6,036	7.1 9.1	165 3,027	6.3 8.6	99 1,656	8.4 10.0	1,009	9.0 11.0	28 344	4.2 3.5
Bride 20 or older, bridegroom 19 or younger Homogamous Catholic	29	15.4	12	13.3	7	13.6	9	20.6	Ĭ	7.0
Homogamous church- Protestant or Protestant Catholic wife and	364	9.8	177	8.3	97	12.4	66	12.1	24	3.3
non-Catholic husband Non-Catholic wife and		4.4	13	3.2	12	5.7	3	2.7	2	6.5
Catholic husband	25 448	5.8 9.5	16 218	6.6 8.2	118	1.5 11.6	2 80	5.0 12.5	5 32	5.0 3.9
Both 20 or older Homogamous Catholic Homogamous church-	535	11.9	204	10.4	203	13.5	106	13.0	22	6.3
Protestant or Protestant		11.9	1,211	11.0	1,044	12.6	922	13.4	133	5.1
non-Catholic husband Non-Catholic wife and		8.9	108	8.4	66	10.0	57	9.0	13	7.1
Catholic husband		8.6 11.6	114 1,637	8.7 10.6	86 1,399	8.2 12.4	64 1.149	10.0	16 184	4.5 5.4
Total for all ages Homogamous Catholic Homogamous church-	1,228	10.6	564	9.2	386	12.1	225	12.6	53	4.4
Protestant or Protestant		9.2	5,555	8.4	3,272	10.4	2,227	11.7	757	3.3
non-Catholic husband Non-Catholic wife and		6.8	347	6.5	185	8.3	111	7.5	69	3.4
Catholic husband	849 14,600	6.9 9.1	413 6,879	6.3 8.2	235 4,078	7.7 10.3	125 2,688	9.1 11.5	76 955	3.7 3.4

aFor definitions of religious affiliation types, see table 4.

bThe number of cases represents all divorces occurring among couples in each religious affiliation type from 1953 through 1959.

for the original test of the first four hypotheses. an analysis of variance was first computed to determine the degree to which variations in marital survival rates were associated with each of the several sources of variation. The four religious types and the three status levels used in these analyses are reported in table 6. Only three of the four age levels in table 6 were used in the analyses. The age classification in which brides were older than their bridegrooms was deleted because of the small number of cases upon which some of the means were based. The mean squares associated with each source of variation among the mean marital duration periods are reported in table 7.

The largest mean square was observed in relation to the ages of the brides, the mean square associated with religious affiliation type was the next largest, and the mean square associated with the status levels of husbands was the third largest. Mean squares for the several interaction effects were so small that they may be ignored.

Present interest focuses on the large variations in marital survival rates which were associated with religious affiliation type. The most general test of the rank-order hypothesis and, hence, of the four specific hypotheses can be based on the totals reported in table 6.

The mean years of marital duration for all Catholic homogamous marriages, 10.6, exceeded

those for the other three types. The mean duration period for homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages was 9.2 years. There was a difference of only 0.1 year between the two interreligious marriage types, and this difference was contrary to the predicted direction. These results supported the first three hypotheses, but not the fourth hypothesis.

Variations in marital duration periods among the four religious types also can be compared within each of the status and age controls as shown in figs. 5 and 6. The comparisons within the status levels uniformly supported the first three hypotheses. In each status level, Catholic homogamous marriages had the longest duration. followed by the church-Protestant or Protestant homogamous marriages and then by the mar-

Table 7. Results for the three-way analysis of variance of marital durations based on spousal religious affiliation types, ages of brides and status levels of husbands.

Source of variation	Degrees of freedom	Mean squares
Spousal religious affiliation types	3	29.270
Ages of brides	2	59.134
Status of husbands	2	13.514
Spousal religious affiliation types by ages of brides Spousal religious affiliation	6	0.301
types by status of husbands	6	2.046
Ages of brides by status of husband		0.106
Spousal religious affiliation types by ages of brides by status of husban	ds 12	0.523
Total	35	

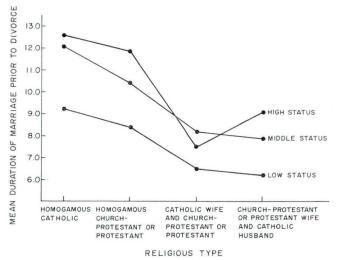


Fig. 5. Mean durations of marriages among four religious types by the status levels of the husbands.

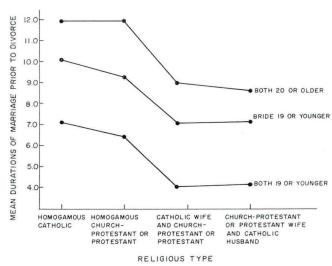


Fig. 6. Mean durations of marriages among four religious types by the ages of the brides and bridegrooms.

riages of Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands. Further slight declines in the lengths of marital duration were observed for the marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives and low- or middle-status Catholic husbands. However, instead of declining further, as was observed for the two lowest status levels, the mean length of marriages involving church-Protestant or Protestant wives and high-status Catholic husbands increased markedly relative to the marital duration of the other type of interreligious marriage.

In each set of the three results based on the spouses' ages, the homogamous Catholic marriages had the longest duration; the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages had the next longest mean duration. But there was virtually no difference, or a slight reversal, in the expected mean lengths of marriage between the two interreligious marriage types. Contrary to the hypothesis, in two of the three age comparisons, the Catholic-husband marriages had at least a slightly longer duration than the Catholicwife marriages. When both spouses were 20 years of age or older at the time of marriage, homogamous Catholic marriages and the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages had similar mean durations, 11.9 years, and both were greater than the mean durations for the interreligious marriages. The difference of 0.3 year between the two interreligious marriage types in the high status level supported the fourth hypothesis in an absolute sense only.

Examination of the relative duration of marriages among the four religious affiliation types by the joint classification based on the spouses' ages at marriage and the status levels of husbands was limited because of the small frequencies in some cells. Despite some of these small frequencies, the mean marital durations were greater among the homogamous Catholic marriages or homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages than among either of the two types of interreligious marriages in all 12 ageand-status comparisons. These data further sup-

ported the first two hypotheses.

Support for the third hypothesis was found in 9 of the 12 comparisons between the homogamous Catholic marriages and the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. Seven of the 12 comparisons of marriage duration periods between the two types of interreligious marriages were contrary to the predicted direction. However, 4 of these 12 comparisons involved small cell frequencies. When only the 8 comparisons which were based on cell frequencies of at least 30 cases were used to test the fourth hypothesis, an even split in the direction of differences occurred. Four differences supported the fourth hypothesis, and four of the differences were contrary to this hypothesis.

All of the preceding data on durations of marriages among religious affiliation types can be summarized as providing clear support for the first two hypotheses, general support for the third hypothesis and no support for the fourth

hypothesis.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MARITAL SURVIVAL RATES AND THE DURATIONS OF MARRIAGES

Two rank-order hypotheses were advanced previously: one for differences in marital survival rates among the four main religious types and one for the differences in durations of marriage among these four religious types. In each case, arguments were advanced to support the following rank-order: homogamous Catholic marriages; homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages; marriages of Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands; and, finally, marriages of church-Protestant or Protestant wives and Catholic husbands. The general

support for each set of rank-order hypotheses suggested that marital survival rates are related to marital duration periods. This inference was tested by the rank-order correlation between the marital survival rates and mean length of marriage for the 24 age-and-status cells presented in table 2. The rank-order correlation between the two sets of data was 0.88. Higher marital survival rates and longer marital duration periods or, conversely, lower survival rates and shorter dura-

tion periods were related.

The two sets of data were not independent. Data for all of the couples included in the calculation of the marital survival rates also were used in the determination of the marital duration periods. However, the later set of data included cases other than those used in the calculation of the marital survival rates. The mean length of marriage was based on all divorces occurring between 1953 and 1959, regardless of when or in what state the marriages had occurred. The value of the correlation between these two sets of data lies in its power for predicting the rank-order of the other set of data if only one set of data is known. For instance, in analyses where survival rates are known for a given set of marriage types, the rank-order of their duration periods can be estimated. Or, one could estimate the rank-order of survival rates from data on duration periods for a given set of marriage types.

MARITAL SURVIVAL RATES AND DURATIONS BY THE AGES OF BRIDES AND THE STATUS OF HUSBANDS

Marital Survival Rates

Ages of brides. The dichotomy based on the ages of brides was the largest source of variance in marital survival rates (see table 3). The hypothesis was that marriages involving younger brides have lower survival rates than the marriages involving older brides. Data from tables 2 and 4 and from figs. 2, 4 and 6 are used to test this hypothesis. All results indicated that the large mean squares shown in table 3 supported

the hypothesis.

For the total population of marriages, the survival rate of all marriages involving brides who were 19 or younger was 81.8 percent, and, for brides who were 20 or older, it was 93.5 percent. The difference in survival rates between the marriages of younger and older brides ranged from 5 percent for the homogamous Catholic marriages to 12 percent for the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages and to 16 percent for the combined interreligious marriage types. These differences in survival rates between the marriages of older and younger brides are shown graphically in fig. 2.

Survival-rate differences between marriages of older and younger brides for denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages, reported in table 4, ranged from 5 to 8 percent, with 6 percent being the modal difference. Considerably larger, but probably unreliable, differences were observed between the survival rates of marriages involving older and younger brides where one or both spouses were unaffiliated Protestants. Differences in survival rates by ages of brides for the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages are presented graphically in fig. 4.

And, finally, for the four main religious types listed in table 2, differences in survival rates involving older and younger brides may be compared within each of the three status levels. Arcsine transformations for the marital survival rates of all marriages are plotted in fig. 7 by the age and status variables. In each of the three status levels, survival rates were lower among marriages involving younger brides. Greatest differences between survival rates of the marriages involving younger and older brides were observed among low-status couples. Differences in survival rates between the two age levels were related inversely with the status of the husbands.

The foregoing data clearly supported the hypothesis that younger marriages have lower survival rates, but the differences in survival rates varied considerably with the religious affiliations of the spouses and the status levels of the husbands.

Status of husbands. The mean square for the status trichotomy was the second highest mean square reported in table 3 for variations in marital survival rates. Survival rates were expected to be directly related to the status of the husbands. Data reported in tables 2 and 4 and in figs. 1, 3 and 7 showed that the large differences in survival rates represented by the mean square associated with the status classification strongly supported the hypothesis. As shown in table 2 for the total population, approximately 76 percent of the marriages with low-status husbands, 88 percent of the marriages with middle-status

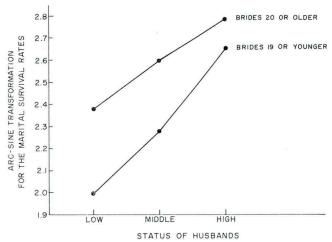


Fig. 7. Marital survival rates by the ages of the brides and the status of the husbands.

husbands and 95 percent of the marriages with

high-status husbands had survived.

Fig. 1 presents a graphic display of differences in survival rates among the three status levels for each of the four main religious types. Within each religious type, marital survival rates were directly related to the status of the husbands' occupations. With only one exception, the status comparisons based on the denominationally homogamous couples shown in table 4 and fig. 3 uniformly supported the hypothesis under test. The single exception occurred for the comparisons between high-status and middle-status homogamous Baptist couples. Instead of being higher, as expected, the survival rate for the high-status homogamous Baptist couples was slightly lower than the survival rate for the middle-status homogamous Baptist couples. The comparison between the middle- and low-status homogamous Baptist couples supported the hypothesis.

Fig. 7 also may be used to observe the relationship between status levels and survival rates within each of the two age levels. Among the marriages represented by either younger or older brides, there was a direct relationship between the husbands' occupational status and marital

survival rates.

The foregoing data provided strong support for the hypothesis that a direct relationship existed between status levels and marital survival rates.

Ages of brides and status of husbands. The data provided in table 2 and fig. 7 can be used to observe the joint influences of the age and status variables on the marital survival rates. A relatively clear pattern among the survival rates is evident in fig. 7. The highest survival rate was observed for the marriages of older brides and high-status husbands; survival rates were next highest and approximately comparable for the marriages of younger brides and high-status husbands or older brides and middle-status husbands; the survival rate for older brides married to lowstatus husbands followed; then came the rate for younger brides married to middle-status husbands; and lowest of all was the survival rate for younger brides married to low-status husbands. The extremes of this pattern were observed within each of the four religious types. Some fluctuations occurred among the four spousal religious affiliation types for the ranking of survival rates of marriages involving younger brides and high-status husbands and marriages involving older brides and middle-status husbands. Otherwise, the interaction between the age and status variables was a combination of the patterns observed separately for these variables.

Durations of Marriages

Ages of brides and bridegrooms. It was hypothesized that the mean length of marriages ending in divorce would be shorter for couples who were married at younger ages than for couples who were married at older ages. Data reported in table

6 and in figs. 6 and 8 are used to test this hypothesis. The atypical age category where brides were 20 years of age or older and bridegrooms 19 or younger was not used in the analyses because of the small frequencies for most cells.

The mean durations for all marriages in the three age categories used in table 6 increased directly with the joint ages of the spouses. The marital duration mean was 6.2 years for all marriages where both spouses were 19 years of age or younger; it was 9.1 years for all marriages of brides who were 19 or younger with bridegrooms who were 20 or older; and it was 11.6 years for all marriages where both spouses were 20 or older. As shown in fig. 6, the mean durations also increased uniformly with the increased joint ages of the spouses in each of the four religious types.

Furthermore, the data in fig. 8 show that the direct relationship between the length of marriage and the joint ages of the spouses at marriage was

observed in all three status levels.

All of the data provided strong support for the direct relationship between ages at marriage and marital durations prior to divorce. The large mean square, reported in table 7, for variations in marital duration periods associated with the age classification strengthened acceptance of the hypothesis.

Status of husbands. The mean square for variations in marital duration rates associated with the status of the husbands was less than that for the other two main effects listed in table 7. Nevertheless, the mean square for the status classification indicated that the mean marital duration periods were related to the status variable. The hypothesis was that the mean marital duration periods were directly related to the status levels of the husbands. The data in table 6 and in figs. 5 and 8 supported this hypothesis.

The mean duration of marriage for all lowstatus couples was 8.2 years. It was 10.3 years for all middle-status couples and 11.5 years for all

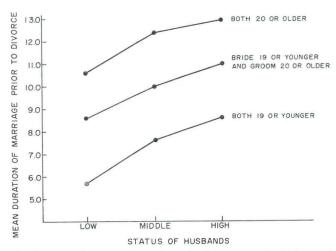


Fig. 8. Mean durations of marriages by the ages of the brides and the status of the husbands.

high-status couples. Other data from table 6 are presented in fig. 5. Clear support for the direct relationship between status levels and mean durations of marriage was found for three of the four spousal religious affiliation types listed in fig. 5. The only exception occurred among high- and middle-status marriages of Catholic wives and church-Protestant or Protestant husbands. Finally, the results displayed in fig. 8 show that, within each of the three age levels, there was a direct relationship between status and mean marital duration. The foregoing data strongly supported the hypothesis that there is a direct relationship between marital duration periods and status levels of husbands.

Ages of spouses and status of husbands. The joint effects of the age-and-status cross-classification may be observed most readily by referring again to fig. 8. The longest mean duration, 12.9 years, occurred among marriages in which both spouses were 20 years of age or older at the time of marriage and in which the husbands were employed in high-status occupations at the time of divorce. The shortest mean duration, 5.7 years, occurred among couples in which both spouses were under the age of 20 at the time of marriage, and the husbands were employed in low-status occupations at the time of divorce. Marital durations increased directly from low to high status within the youngest age level and continued in a similar manner in the age group where brides were younger than their bridegrooms. Also (with a loss of only 0.4 year between the high-status cell of the former age category and the low-status cell in the oldest age category) the direct relation of marital durations and status levels also continued uniformly in the oldest age category.

The combined effects associated with the age and status variables also were observed among similar comparisons within each of the four religious types. The longest duration periods in each religious type were observed among high- or middle-status couples in which the spouses were at least 20 years of age at the time of marriage, and the shortest duration periods were observed among the low-status couples in which the spouses were both under 20 years of age at the time of marriage.

One other set of data in table 6 has not been discussed—the marital duration periods for marriages in which the husbands were in the armed forces. In the four age-level comparisons and for the total population, the mean duration periods of marriages in which the husbands were in the armed forces were considerably shorter than those for marriages in any of the three occupational status categories. The mean duration of all marriages involving husbands who were in the armed forces was 3.4 years. The mean duration of all other marriages was 9.5 years. Also, large differences in duration periods between couples with husbands in the armed forces were observed among the comparisons based on the religious

affiliation types. In all cases, couples in the armed forces had shorter marital durations.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this investigation was to test differences in marriage survival rates among religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages. The main interest focused on the first 6 of 14 hypotheses. These hypotheses concerned differences in marital survival rates between Catholic homogamous marriages, church-Protestant or Protestant homogamous marriages and two general interreligious marriage types. Four additional hypotheses were advanced for differences in the mean lengths of marriages among these four religious types. Data from the tests of these four additional hypotheses are used as supporting data in discussing the results of the tests of the first four hypotheses. Two variables—ages of brides and status levels of husbands-were introduced as control variables in these analyses. Thus, marital survival rates or durations of marriage could be viewed as a function of three variables: ages of brides, status of husbands and religious affiliation types.

Large variances in marital survival rates were associated independently and jointly with the religious affiliation types, ages of brides and status levels of husbands. These results required reconsideration of the hypotheses tested in this investigation.

Three of the hypotheses for differences in marital survival rates require only brief discussion. First, there was virtually no support for the hypothesis that the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages had greater survival rates than the denominationally mixed church-Protestant marriages. Marriages between two persons who identified with a given Protestant denomination more frequently had slightly lower survival rates than marriages between persons who identified with different Protestant denominations. Apparently the ecumenical movement in American Protestantism has been accomplished successfully at the marital relations level.

Second, the hypothesis that marriages of Catholic wives and non-Catholic husbands have higher survival rates than the marriages of non-Catholic wives and Catholic husbands was neither strongly nor uniformly supported. Differences in survival rates between these two interreligious marriage types were considerably less than that reported by Landis. The total difference of 5 percent in survival rates in favor of the marriages of Catholic wives hardly seemed sufficient to support Landis' argument (13) of the greater strain in the interreligious marriages involving non-Catholic wives as compared with the marriages involving Catholic wives.

The two interreligious marriage types had approximately the same mean length of marriage before divorce, 6.9 years. Mean durations of marriage did not vary greatly between the two inter-

religious marriage types in any of the status or age comparisons. The number of children born to a couple generally is correlated with the couple's length of marriage. It is not surprising, therefore, that each interreligious marriage type also had approximately the same number of children,

1.3, by the time of divorce.

The foregoing data suggest that the potential for disagreements or conflicts over the religious education of the children was approximately similar in the two interreligious marriage types. This observation removes much of Landis' argument of greater stability in Catholic-wife interreligious marriages as compared with Catholic-husband interreligious marriages. It cannot be said whether the differences in survival rates between the two interreligious marriage types will increase as the duration of marriage increases or whether the differences will approach those reported by Landis for his small samples of interreligiously married parents of college-level students (13). However, for marriages ending in divorce before their eighth year, these Iowa data provide little support for the generalization of greater divorce among the marriages of non-Catholic wives and Catholic husbands as contrasted to the marriages of Catholic wives and non-Catholic husbands.

Hereafter, in this discussion, data for the total Catholic interreligious marriage type are used instead of the data for the two interreligious mar-

riage types.

Third, two hypotheses should be considered together. These are (a) the predictions of higher survival rates among homogamous Catholic marriages as contrasted to the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages and (b) the prediction of higher survival rates among the homogamous Catholic marriages and the denominationally homogamous Protestant marriages. The first of these two hypotheses was supported in all comparisons, especially when the comparisons involved younger brides and low-status or middlestatus husbands or older brides and low-status husbands. For these comparisons, differences in survival rates in favor of homogamous Catholic marriages were 20, 11 and 13 percent, respectively. When the survival rates of denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages were compared with those of the homogamous Catholic marriages, the differences in survival rates ranged between 2 and 6 percent. The homogamous Catholic marriages still maintained an advantage, but the deletion of the unaffiliated Protestants from the homogamous church-Protestant and Protestant category brought the survival rates of the church-related Protestant marriages closer to those for the homogamous Catholic marriages.

In an absolute sense, the small differences in survival rates between all homogamous Catholic marriages and those of the various denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages still supported the hypothesis under test. In a substantive sense, however, these small differences between survival rates of homogamous Catholic marriages and denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages cannot be considered as representing important differences.

Data also were available for comparing differences in the mean lengths of marriage between homogamous Catholic marriages and the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages. In most comparisons involving the age and status controls, the homogamous Catholic marriages had longer mean durations—up to approximately 2 years. The differences were greatest between the middle- and low-status couples and among couples where one or both spouses were under the age of 20 at the time of marriage. One limitation of these data is that analyses were not made for comparisons of mean durations between homogamous Catholic marriages and the various denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages. It may be conjectured that considerably smaller differences in marital durations would be observed for such comparisons. This hypothesis is based upon use of the correlation of 0.88 for the relationship between marital survival rates and the mean lengths of marital duration. The homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages had among the lowest survival rates. Shorter durations of marriage also might be expected for these marriages involving unaffiliated Protestants. If these marriages were deleted from the church-Protestant and Protestant category, longer durations might be expected among the remaining church-affiliated Protestant marriages.

The results of the tests of the hypotheses for differences between the religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages require more extensive discussion. Survival rates for a variety of religious affiliation types are relevant to the present discussion. These types include the homogamous Catholic, homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages, the denominationally specified Protestant and Catholic interreligious marriages and the total population of interreligious

marriages.

The data in table 2 and in figs. 1 and 2 provide support for the hypothesis that the homogamous Catholic or homogamous church-Protestant and Protestant marriages have higher survival rates than the interreligious marriages. However, both the homogamous church-Protestant and Protestant marriage type and the combined interreligious marriage type included couples where one or both spouses were unaffiliated Protestants. Previous data revealed the extremely low and probably spurious survival rates among the homogamous unaffiliated Protestant couples. Additional tests of the hypothesis for differences in survival rates between the homogamous Catholic marriages and interreligious Catholic marriages may be based on comparisons between the survival rates for the former marriages and those for marriages of Catholics with members of specific Protestant denominations. The data in table 4 and in figs. 3 and 4 document the need for these more refined comparisons. Also, these refined comparisons are more relevant to most premarital counseling situations involving questions of interreligious marriages. Most potential interreligious marriages which come to the attention of familylife educators or marriage counselors probably involve marriages of Catholics with members of

some Protestant denomination.

The survival rates of the interreligious marriages which involved a member of a Protestant denomination were considerably closer to the marital survival rates for the homogamous Catholic marriages than was found for the comparison involving the undifferentiated population of Catholic interreligious marriages. The marital survival rate of all homogamous Catholic marriages was 96.2 percent. The rate for all Catholic interreligious marriages was 77.6 percent. The lower survival rate for the undifferentiated population of Catholic interreligious marriages was largely due to the inclusion of the marriages of Catholics with unaffiliated Protestants. The survival rate for the latter marriages was 28.7 percent, whereas the survival rates for the interreligious marriages of Catholics with persons who reported an identification with a specific Protestant denomination ranged from 81.6 percent for Baptists to 90.5 percent for Lutherans.

These data still supported the hypothesis of higher survival rates among homogamous Catholic marriages than among interreligious marriages of Catholics and church-affiliated Protestants, but the magnitudes of the differences were reduced considerably. By themselves, the smaller differences hardly justify generalizations of considerably greater marital difficulties facing Catholics who marry outside of their faith, provided that the person they marry is identified or affiliated with a Protestant denomination, as compared

with those who marry endogamously.

Similar comparisons between the homogamous church-Protestant and Protestant marriages with interreligious marriages must be adjusted for the inclusion of the unaffiliated Protestants in the church-Protestant or Protestant homogamous marriage type and in the interreligious marriages. The survival rate for the nine denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriage types ranged from 94.6 to 89.8 percent. The median of this array was 92.9 percent, and the mean was 92.3 percent. Small differences were observed between either the median survival rate or the mean survival rate for the denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages and the survival rates for marriages of Catholics and churchaffiliated Protestants. These differences ranged between approximately 2 percent for the Catholic-Lutheran marriages to 11 percent for the Catholic-Baptist marriages and, as such, provided only meager support for the expectation of greater divorce rates among church-affiliated Protestants who married Catholics.

Three sets of observations further reduced the substantive importance of the observed differences in survival rates between the religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages. Two of these observations involved the age and status

variables. First, the mean squares for sources of variation in marital survival rates associated with these two variables were greater than the mean square for the religious classification. This observation indicates that the differences in marital survival rates were more a function of either of the two control variables than they were a function of the religious types. Second, the marital survival rates for interreligious marriages in some age and status subsamples exceeded those for religiously homogamous marriages in other age and status subsamples. Third, with the exception of the marriages involving unaffiliated Protestants, the rank-order of marital survival rates for all spousal religious affiliation types formed a pattern of continuous and small variations from one type to the next. Survival rates for some interreligious marriage types were interspersed with those for some denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages.

One of the important findings of the present investigation is that the lower survival rates of interreligious marriages were derived mainly from the marriages of Catholics with persons who apparently were not affiliated with a Protestant denomination. Apparently, the clash of religious values and beliefs less frequently led to divorce in the interreligious marriages than did circumstances associated with the lack of affiliation or identification with a church by the non-Catholic

partner.

This inference suggests some problems for additional research on factors influencing the outcome of interreligious marriages. What differences exist between Catholics who marry unaffiliated Protestants as compared with Catholics who marry denominationally affiliated Protestants? What differences exist between the two groups of Protestants? How are either of these sets of differences related to dating patterns, courtship, mate selection, subsequent marital relations and adherence to the norm of marital permanence de-

spite personal dissatisfaction?

At several previous points reference has been made to the fact that the present data provide only meager support for the popularly held belief that interreligious marriages result considerably more frequently in divorce than do religiously homogamous marriages. It is important to realize that approximately 78 percent of all marriages involving Catholics and non-Catholics in this study were estimated to have remained intact by the eighth year of marriage. This estimate was lower than the 85-percent estimate Landis derived from his and two previous studies (13). Three of the survival rates involving Catholics and persons who reported affiliation with various Protestant denominations included in the present study slightly exceeded the figure given by Landis, and two were slightly lower than his estimate.

Portions of the present data have particular relevance to the discussion of interreligious marriage for college students. Most college students marry after the age of 20. Most of the husbands involved in these marriages will be employed in

the high-status occupations. And, probably most of the college-educated Protestant spouses will identify or affiliate with some Protestant denomination. The smallest differences in survival rates between religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages in the present study were observed when brides were 20 years of age or older at marriage and husbands were employed in highstatus occupations. For the total population, there was a difference of approximately 8 percent between the survival rates of homogamous Catholic marriages with these characteristics and all interreligious marriages having the same characteristics. The corresponding difference involving the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages was only 5 percent. Also, the difference in survival rates between homogamous Catholic marriages involving older brides and high-status husbands and homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages with the same age and status characteristics was only 3 percent.

The small numbers of cases prevented reliable comparisons between survival rates of homogamous Catholic marriages of older brides and high-status bridegrooms and marriages of Catholics and denominationally affiliated Protestants involving older brides and high-status bridegrooms. For the same reason, comparisons were not made between the denominationally homogamous or mixed Protestant marriages involving older

brides and high-status husbands and marriages of Catholics with church-affiliated Protestants involving older brides and high-status husbands. However, various results from this study suggest that, if these additional comparisons had been made, even smaller differences in survival rates probably would have been observed between homogamous Catholic marriages or homogamous marriages of church-affiliated Protestants and interreligious marriages involving Catholics and church-affiliated Protestants. Various conditions associated with the age and status variables and Protestant church affiliations should further remove any substantive differences in marital survival rates between the religiously homogamous and interreligious marriages among American college-educated youth.

Little further comment is necessary for the tests of the last four hypotheses. Marital survival rates were consistently higher and marital durations longer among the marriages involving the older brides. Also, a direct relationship was observed between the status levels of the couples and marital survival rates or durations of marriage. These data further confirmed existing generalizations. The unique value of these tests, however, lies in the sizes of the populations studied and the fact that the generalizations remained virtually unchanged when other variables

were controlled.

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APPENDIX A Detail Tables From Which the Marital Survival Rates Were Calculated

Table A-I. Marriage and divorce frequencies for the spousal religious affiliation types for the seven duration periods for lowa first marriages, 1953-59.

		Years of marital duration before divorce									
Spousal religious affiliation types	Less than I	1	2	3	4	5	6				
Catholic-Catholic Marriages Divorces		11,960 96	9,898 139	7,791 155	5,598 145	3,413 121	1,640 76				
Church-Protestant or Protestant- Church-Protestant or Protestant ^a Marriages Divorces		44,357 1,468	36,209 1,937	27,906 2,009	19,924 1,774	11,997 1,283	5,7 28 758				
Catholic-interreligious Catholic wife Marriages Divorces	2,957 49	2,497	2,043 161	1,601 171	1,147 145	666 118	307 64				
Catholic husband Marriages Divorces	2,615	2,167 136	1,780 176	1,384 188	997 160	586 108	294 62				
Total Catholic-interreligious ^b Marriages Divorces	5,572 124	4,664 248	3,823 337	2,985 359	2,144 305	1,252 226	601 126				
Total of all cases ^b Marriages Divorces		60,981 1,812	49,930 2,413	38,682 2,523	27,666 2,224	16,662 1,630	7,969 960				
Lutheran Marriages Divorces		6,040 79	4,959 111	3,834 123	2,715 117	1,610	796 44				
Lutheran-non-Catholic ^e Marriages Divorces		7,966 149	6,445 187	4,994 180	3,521 155	2,069 102	952 52				
Methodist-Methodist Marriages Divorces		6,693 127	5,419 175	4,234 177	3,002 165	1,746 128	843 80				
Methodist-non-Catholic Marriages Divorces		10,445 194	8,440 245	6,515 235	4,605 198	2,752 131	1,298 82				
Presbyterian-Presbyterian Marriages Divorces		1,159 26	942 34	724 37	515 28	302 19	149				
Presbyterian-non-Catholic Marriages Divorces	4,763 22	3,984 53	3,212 70	2,488 73	1,751 63	1,054 38	526 28				
Baptist-Baptist Marriages Divorces	1,310	1,095 21	890 33	686 37	506 35	312 26	142 19				
Baptist-non-Catholic Marriages Divorces		2,937 72	2,381 102	1,842	1,300 87	783 58	368 32				
Protestant-Protestant Marriages Divorces	5,311 390	4,558 790	3,815 1,033	3,087 1,079	2,363 971	1,585 717	797 414				
Protestant-non-Catholic Marriages Divorces	2,926 54	2,477 118	2,004 139	1,589 147	1,126	692 80	321 51				
Other church-Protestant or Protestant- other church-Protestant or Protestant Marriages		6,031 88	4,942	3,823 7	2,708 102	1,595 75	728 46				
Catholic-Lutheran Marriages Divorces		1,242 36	1,026	814 45	592 37	347 24	170				
Catholic-Presbyterian Marriages Divorces		389 13	314	242 14	190 12	113	61				
Catholic-other church-Protestant Marriages Divorces	960	808 18	674 24	532 30	368 28	204 18	90				
Catholic-Methodist Marriages Divorces		1,198	961 59	739 60	518 54	295 44	130				
Catholic-Baptist Marriages Divorces	305	257 12	217 15	166 15	117 15	63 10	34 7				
Catholic-Protestant Marriages Divorces		770 130	631 184	492 195	359 159	230 121	116 67				

"Church-Protestant refers to persons who reported affiliation with any Protestant denomination. Protestant refers to persons who reported themselves to be Protestants but did not specify any denominational affiliation.

The total of all cases is based on the sums for the Catholic-Catholic marriages, those of any church-Protestant or Protestant to a church-Protestant or Protestant, and the Catholic-interreligious marriages. The remaining spousal religious affiliation categories represent special cases which had been previously included in the homogamous church-Protestant or Protestant marriages or Catholic interreligious marriages.

Non-Catholic is used to refer to affiliation with any religious body, other than Catholic, which was represented among marriages included in the study.

Table A-2. Marital survival rates for the spousal religious affiliation types for seven duration periods and as estimated for an eighth duration period by the ages of brides and the status of husbands at divorce.

and loaded the Indies Subbonds 1 0-1 0-2 0-3 0-4 0-5 0-6 by re Cellosic-Carbolic Carbolic Car	Deliminus affiliation	Clark	F		Years	of marital	duration be	fore divorc	е	0.7
19 or under	Religious affiliation types ^a and ages of brides	Status of husbands	Less than I	0 - 1	0 - 2	0 - 3	0 - 4	0 - 5	0 - 6	0-7 estimated by regression
middle	Catholic-Catholic 19 or under	low	99.5	97.7	95.7	93.9	91.4	88.1	86.2	88.3
Total 19 or under		middle	99.8							92.6 97.2
middle	Total 19 or under		99.7	98.5	97.4	96.5	95.0	92.8	91.3	92.9 95.5
Total Protectant or Prot	LO OI OIGE!	middle	99.7	99.5	99.3	98.8	98.8	98.2	96.5	97.6 99.4
Total Properties			99.8	99.6	99.3	98.9	98.7	98.4	97.5	97.9
Grand cital 99,8 97,2 98,6 98,0 97,4 98,5 98,4 98,0 97,4 98,5 98,4 98,0 97,4 98,5 98,4 98,0 97,4 98,5 98,4 98,0 97,4 98,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 97,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,5 98,4 98,5 98,5 98,5 98,5 98,5 98,5 98,5 98,5	Total middle status		99.8	99.2	98.6	98.1	97.6	96.2	94.0	92.3 96.0
Protestant church-Protestant	Grand total	~~~	99.9							98.6 96.2
Protestant church-Protestant	Church-Protestant or									
Por under	Protestant-church-Protestant									
Total 19 or under log										68.1
College		himb	00.2							81.5 93.2
middle	Total 19 or under 20 or older		98.2							80.9 83.1
Total 20 or older		middle	99.1	98.2	97.1	96.0	94.7	93.6		92.0 96.3
Total Injusticular status 98,7 97,0 94,9 92,9 91,1 88,3 84,8 8 101al Injusticular status 98,5 96,7 97,7 97,3 96,5 88,3 84,8 8 8 101al Injusticular status 98,5 96,7 97,7 97,3 96,5 88,3 84,8 8 8 101al 101	Total 20 or older		99.2	98.3	97.2	96.2	95.1	94.4	93.5	92.7 72.7
Grand forto 98.6 96.7 94.7 92.8 91.1 89.3 86.8 8	Total middle status		98.7	97.0	94.9	92.9	91.1	88.8	84.8	86.2
Catholic wife										94.9 86.2
19 or under	Catholic interreligious:				¥.					
Total 19 or under 10 w 93.7 94.0 89.4 88.0 88.2 75.9 72.2 75.9 72.2 75.9 72.2 75.9 75.2 75.2 75.9 75.2		Leve	07.0	01.7	05.7	01.5	7/ 5	// 0	// 2	12.0
Total 19 or under	17 or under	middle	97.6	94.0	89.4	88.0	86.2	76.9	72.2	63.9 74.3
middle	Total 19 or under		97.7	93.7	89.2	86.2	82.8	75.9	74.5	86.7 73.0
Total 20 or older 99.0 97.6 95.1 93.3 91.6 88.0 84.0 87.5 120 120 120 120 120 120 120 120 120 120	20 or older	middle	99.3					90.0	90.4	77.4 89.4
Total	Total 20 or older	high	98.9 99.0				95.4 91.6			91.1 86.9
Total high status	Total low status		97.7	93.3		84.1	79.5	72.4		69.2 82.4
19 or under	Total high status		98.9	97.7	96.2	94.6	93.5	90.4	89.5	89.4 79.8
	0 11 11 11 11 11 11									
middle	Catholic husband									
Total 9 or under	19 or under									56.3 68.3
20 or older low 98.3 95.3 89.8 86.7 82.6 80.0 86.7 77.7 795.2 93.9 90.3 88.0 88.0 89.1 88.0 89.1 89.5 98.3 97.3 96.3 97.3 99.3 98.0 88.0 89.1 89.5 98.3 97.3 96.3 97.3 99.3 97.3 99.3 94.0 87.3 97.3 99.5 99.3 97.3 99.3 97.3 99.3 97.3 99.3 97.5	Total 19 or under	high	98.0	95.1	92.7	91.4	93.2	88.8	88.8	84.2 67.0
Total 20 or older	20 or older	low	98.3	95.3	89.8	86.7	82.6	80.0	86.7	77.7
Total low status	T-1-1-20	high	00 E	98.3	97.3	96.3	95.3	94.0	87.3	82.4 91.0
Total high status 98.3 96.9 95.3 94.2 94.1 91.8 87.9 8 97.1 93.7 90.1 86.4 84.0 81.6 78.9 7 Total Catholic interreligious I 9 or under low 95.9 90.3 84.0 80.0 73.7 68.1 65.7 6 middle 93.4 96.0 93.8 82.1 91.6 88.6 88.4 7 81.1 75.9 72.7 7 Total 19 or under low 98.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 72.0 or older low 98.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.1 89.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 7 89.5 95.7 98.3 97.2 96.0 95.4 92.6 88.2 89.8 88.2 89.8 89.7 98.3 97.2 98.0 97.4 92.6 88.2 89.8 89.7 98.3 97.2 98.0 97.4 92.6 88.2 89.8 89.7 98.5 97.1 94.7 92.6 90.6 87.8 82.3 90.2 70.0 90.0 87.5 80.0 80.0 87.5 80.0 80.0 80.0 80.0 80.0 80.0 80.0 80	Total low status		95.9	91.1	84.9	81.3	75.1	73.3	73.2	84.5 64.0
Grand total										75.3 87.9
19 or under	Grand total		97.Ī							74.8
Middle										
Total 19 or under	19 or under	middle	97.3							60.3 71.2
20 or older low 98.5 95.7 91.0 87.5 83.4 80.2 78.0 78.0 78.0 79.0 78.0 79.0 78.2 89.8 88.2 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 89.8 99.8 99.7 98.3 97.2 96.0 95.4 92.6 88.2 99.8 99.8 97.1 94.7 92.6 90.6 87.8 85.7 89.6 97.1 94.7 92.6 90.6 87.8 85.7 89.6 97.1 94.7 92.6 90.6 87.8 85.7 89.6 97.1 94.7 92.6 90.6 87.8 85.7 89.6 97.5 97.9 97.2 92.0 89.2 86.9 82.3 80.2 97.0 97.9 97.9 97.9 97.0 9	Total 19 or under	high	98.4	96.0						85.5 70.1
Total 20 or older	20 or older	low	98.5	95.7	91.0	87.5	83.4	80.2	78.0	77.6 86.1
Total low status	Total 20 or older	high	98.7	98.3	97.2	96.0	95.4	92.6	88.2	91.0 85.8
Total high status 98.6 97.3 95.8 94.4 93.9 91.0 88.8 8 Grand total 97.8 94.7 91.2 88.0 85.8 81.9 79.0 7 Total of all cases 99.8 97.0 95.2 93.5 92.0 90.2 88.0 8 Lutheran-Lutheran 19 or younger 99.3 98.0 96.6 95.0 93.3 92.5 91.2 9 20 or older 99.1 97.4 95.3 98.1 90.0 87.0 87.2 9 middle 99.4 98.4 97.7 96.4 94.8 94.8 93.2 9 middle 99.8 99.4 98.9 98.6 98.5 98.4 98.3 9 Grand total 99.5 98.7 97.8 96.8 95.7 95.0 94.5 9 Lutheran-non-Catholic 19 or younger 98.9 99.4 98.9 98.6 98.5 98.4 98.3 9 Lutheran-non-Catholic 99.4 98.9 98.6 98.5 98.4 98.3 9 low 98.6 96.4 94.3 92.7 91.4 90.8 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0	Total low status		96.8	92.3	86.6	82.8	77.5	72.8	70.6	66.8
Total of all cases 99.8 97.0 95.2 93.5 92.0 90.2 88.0 8 Lutheran-Lutheran 19 or younger	Total high status		98.6	97.3	95.8	94.4	93.9	91.0	88.8	79.1 88.7
19 or younger										77.6 87.6
19 or younger	Luthara Luthara									
low 99.1 97.4 95.3 93.1 90.0 87.0 85.4 88 middle 99.4 98.4 97.7 96.4 94.8 94.8 93.2 99 99.5 99.5 98.5 98.5 98.4 98.3 99 99.5 98.7 97.8 96.8 95.7 95.0 94.5 99 99.5 99.5 99.7 97.8 96.8 95.7 95.0 94.5 99 99.5 99.5 99.7 99.8 99.8 99.7 99.8 99.8 99.7 99.8 99	19 or younger		99.3							90.9
high 99.8 99.4 98.9 98.6 98.5 98.4 98.3 99.5 Grand total 99.5 98.7 97.8 96.8 95.7 95.0 94.5 99.5 Lutheran-non-Catholic 19 or younger 98.9 97.4 95.8 94.8 93.7 92.9 92.3 97.5 20 or older 99.4 98.9 98.4 98.0 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 low 98.6 96.4 94.3 92.7 91.4 90.8 89.0 middle 99.1 98.3 97.3 96.7 95.5 94.3 95.1 97.5 high 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6 98.6 middle 99.1 98.6 98.6 98.8 97.9 97.7 97.6 98.6 middle 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6 98.6 middle 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6 98.6 middle 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6 98.6 middle 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6 98.6 middle 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6 98.6	20 or older	low	99.1					87.0	85.4	97.0 86.6
Lutheran-non-Catholic 19 or younger 98.9 97.4 95.8 94.8 93.7 92.9 92.3 9 20 or older 99.4 98.9 98.4 98.0 97.5 97.2 96.9 9 low 98.6 96.4 94.3 92.7 91.4 90.8 89.0 8 middle 99.1 98.3 97.3 96.7 95.5 94.3 95.1 9 high 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6 9		high	99.8						98.3	93.2 97.7
19 or younger 98.9 97.4 95.8 94.8 93.7 92.9 92.3 95.2 96.9 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 97.2 96.9 97.5 97.1 97.5 97.1 97.5 97.1 97.5 97.1 97.5 97.1 97.5 97.5 97.5 97.5 97.5 97.5 97.5 97.5	Grand total		99.5	98.7	97.8	96.8	95.7	95.0	94.5	94.1
20 or older 99.4 98.9 98.4 98.0 97.5 97.2 96.9 98.0 low 98.6 96.4 94.3 92.7 91.4 90.8 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0 89.0			15015					00 -		20.1
low 98.6 96.4 94.3 92.7 91.4 90.8 89.0 8 middle 99.1 98.3 97.3 96.7 95.5 94.3 95.1 9 high 99.5 99.0 98.6 98.3 97.9 97.7 97.6	19 or younger 20 or older		99.4	98.9	98.4	98.0	97.5	97.2	96.9	90.1 95.9
high		low	98.6		94.3	92.7			95.1	86.6 93.1
Grand total 99.2 98.1 97.1 96.4 95.6 95.1 94.5 9	Grand total	high	99.5	99.0	98.6	98.3	97.9	97.7	97.6	96.5 93.0

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Table A-2. (continued)

Deliaiana affiliation to a	C+-+	Lagrander	Less than		Years of marital duration before divorce				
Religious affiliation types ^a and ages of brides	Status of husbands	Less than	0 - 1	0 - 2	0 - 3	0 - 4	0 - 5	0 - 6	0 -7 estimated by regression
Methodist-Methodist					4				
19 or younger 20 or older		99.1	97.4 99.0	95.4 98.7	94.2 98.0	92.4 97.3	89.5 96.8	87.6 94.6	88.3 95.6
== == == == ===========================	low middle	98.4	96.4 98.3	93.8 96.9	92.5 95.1	89.8 92.7	87.2 89.6	82.I 88.4	83.9 90.2
	high	99.6	99.1	98.5	98.1	98.0	97.1	96.2	96.3
Grand total		99.2	98.1	96.8	95.8	94.5	92.7	90.5	91.4
Methodist-non-Catholic		98.9	97.3	95.9	94.8	94.0	93.2	91.0	90.0
20 or older		99.7	99.1	98.5	98.2	97.6	97.5	96.9	96.5
	low middle	98.6	96.5 98.2	94.7 96.8	93.1 95.8	91.9 94.9	91.2 94.0	90.1 92.2	87.3 92.3
Grand total	high	99.6	99.1 98.1	98.7 97.1	98.5 96.4	98.2 95.7	98.1 95.2	96.6 93.7	96.8 92.9
D									
Presbyterian-Presbyterian		98.8	97.3	95.1	92.7	92.0	91.7	91.0	88.3
		99.3	98.2	97.8	97.2	97.2	95.9	93.0	94.0
	low middle	99.3	95.9 98.8	93.2 97.1	89.3 96.2	88.4 94.5	89.2 89.8	87.9 82.1	83.5 90.2
Grand total	high	99.2	98.1 97.8	97.5 96.4	96.7 94.9	97.2 94.6	97.0 93.7	96.6 91.9	94.3 91.0
Orana Torar			77.0	70.1	11.1	71.0	75.7	,	
Presbyterian-non-Catholic									
19 or younger		99.3	98.1 99.2	97.1 98.4	95.9 98.1	95.3 97.4	95.3 97.4	91.7 97.2	92.5 96.6
20 01 01001	low	99.2	97.5	95.9	94.4	93.7	93.5 95.7	91.6	90.4 92.9
	middle high	99.8	98.3 99.3	97.7 98.8	96.7 98.5	95.4 98.0	97.9	97.6	97.2
Grand total		99.5	98.7	97.8	97.1	96.4	96.4	94.7	94.6
Baptist-Baptist							/	22.5	
19 or younger		99.1	97.6 99.1	95.4 98.2	93.2 97.4	91.0 97.1	89.4 96.2	83.5 93.3	87.1 95.4
20 01 01001	low	99.0	96.8 98.8	94.I 97.I	92.0 95.8	88.5 96.0	84.4 97.4	81.0 94.4	83.8 93.5
	middle high	99.8	99.0	98.2	96.5	95.4	94.4	87.5	93.4
Grand total		99.3	98.1	96.3	94.6	93.1	91.7	86.6	89.8
Baptist-non-Catholic					20.0				
19 or younger		99.0	97.0 98.5	94.9 97.0	92.9 96.1	91.9 95.3	90.4 95.7	87.6 96.2	87.5 93.9
	low	98.7	95.8 98.5	92.9 96.7	90.4 95.1	88.7 93.9	87.4 92.2	88.8 87.3	83.8 90.7
	middle high	99.7	98.7	97.8	97.2	97.2	97.7	97.0	95.7
Grand total	***************************************	99.2	97.5	95.7	94.1	93.3	92.6	91.3	90.0
Protestant-Protestant									
			78.5 89.7	65.9 84.2	55.1 80.1	47.0 76.3	39.5 75.7	25.9 75.0	16.2 62.6
20 or order	low	88.7	72.9	58.8	46.3	36.7	27.8	20.2	-7.0
	middle high	94.0	85.3 93.4	77.0 88.0	69.7 85.0	62.9 83.4	59.2 82.6	50.7 77.7	43.0 73.2
Grand total		92.7	82.7	72.9	65.0	58.9	54.8	48.1	35.0
Protestant-non-Catholic									
19 or younger 20 or older		97.7 98.9	93.3 98.1	90.5 96.6	87.4 95.4	86.3 93.9	83.3 94.6	76.3 93.2	76.1 91.5
20 01 0100	low	97.1	92.7	89.3	86.8	84.0	83.0	81.7	74.8
	middle high		95.4 98.1	93.5 97.3	89.5 96.2	88.0 96.8	85.6 95.8	72.7 92.7	80.0 93.4
Grand total			95.2	93.1	90.7	89.6	88.4	84.1	82.7
Other church Protestant-									
other church-Protestant		99.4	98.0	96.8	96.0	95.3	93.8	91.6	92.2
20 or older		99.7	99.3	98.7 95.3	98.2 94.2	97.5 92.8	97.4 91.2	96.7 86.6	96.6 88.6
	lowmiddle	99.3	97.3 98.6	97.7	96.8	95.7	93.1	91.0	92.8
Grand total	high		99.3 98.5	99.0 97.6	98.8 96.9	98.8 96.2	98.7 95.3	98.7 93.7	97.9 94.0
			97.1	96.0	94.5	93.8	93.1	94.1	90.5
	***************************************		96.7	95.5	94.2	93.7	92.0	91.8	89.8
	-Protestant		97.8	96.4	94.4	92.4	91.2	87.8	89.1
			96.7 95.3	93.9 93.1	91.9	89.6 87.2	85.I 84.I	80.0 79.4	83.8 81.6

 $^{{\}color{red} \bullet} \text{Definitions}$ for religious affiliation types are given in table A-I.

