


DE FACTO CONGREGATIONALISM AND SOCIOECONOMIC MOBILITY IN LAOTIAN AND VIETNAMESE IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES: A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS AND ECONOMIC CHANGE

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Sociologist R. Stephen Warner has recently proposed that immigrant religious organizations in the United States tend to take on a de facto congregational form. By this, he means that they tend to become voluntary gatherings with lay involvement and control and professionalized clergies. In this study, we provide descriptions of two Southeast Asian religious organizations, one Vietnamese Catholic and one Laotian Buddhist. We examine how the concept of a de facto congregation can provide a theoretical framework for understanding how ethnic communities in these two groups gave rise to immigrant ethnic congregations. Further, we attempt to describe the mechanics of congregationalization by discussing how members of the community in question formed their religious organizations for the perpetuation of cultural traditions. We suggest that although cultural preservation was a key manifest function of the church and the temple, these two also served a latent function of expressing and promoting socioeconomic mobility.

Both the voluntary character of the organizations and the mobility associated with them tended, ironically, to reshape the organizations into non-traditional congregational forms.

The sociologist of religion R. Stephen Warner has noted that relatively few studies of immigrant groups in the United States have considered the influence of religion on these groups (this point has also been made by a number of other scholars, including Christiano 1991; Kivisto 1992; Yoo 1996). This scarcity is perplexing, Warner suggests, because these groups have brought unfamiliar faiths into America and because religion has a vast influence on the new immigrant groups. Immigrants are often even more religious than they were at home, he argues, “because religion is one of the important identity markers that helps them preserve individual self-awareness and cohesion in a group” (Warner 1998a:193).

Immigrant religious institutions, since they are such key identity markers, function to preserve and symbolize the cultural practices and self-images of their adherents. Therefore, immigrant ethnic group members will often found a church or temple as a con-
One of the key traits of immigrant religious institutions in the United States may be the fact that Warner (1994, 1998) calls "de facto congregationalism." Warner writes, "We are seeing a convergence toward de facto congregationalism, or what I have been calling 'de facto congregationalism, more or less,' on the model of the reformed Protestant tradition of the Continental United States today." Warner describes as a congregational, rather than an institutional, constellation of religious groups. First, the members choose the type of gathering, the audience is mellow and members choose the location of their religious activities, rather than members have the congregation. The congregation, as a local, voluntary religious group, has been noted in the history of American society. Smith (1996) has argued that the local, voluntary religious groups in America formed in common worship, rather than in place. American
DATA AND METHODS

We rely primarily on qualitative data, gathered during intensive fieldwork in two Southeast Asian communities in Louisiana. The first author of this study worked as an English-as-a-Second-Language teacher, a high school substitute teacher and a volunteer with a youth group in the Vietnamese community of New Orleans from 1990 to 1995. During this time, he recorded numerous conversations with people in the community and witnessed changes in community structure. He studied the Laotian community of New Iberia in 1996 and 1997, attending church events and maintaining social contacts with local Laotians. In addition to information collected during daily interaction, he also conducted 63 unstructured interviews with Laotian immigrants. We used data from the 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing to provide information on socioeconomic mobility and changes in housing status.

The question of generalizability is always present in case studies. In the present study, we have selected two Southeast Asian groups, settled in the United States as a consequence of the great wave of refugee resettlement that began in the second half of 1975. It is entirely possible that the results we report here may not apply to some other immigrant groups. It may be that there are immigrant groups that are not particularly attached to their own religious traditions and would be unlikely to place religious institutions, of a congregational or other form, at the centers of their communities. It may also be that the two communities we are examining here may not, in some respects, be statistically representative of their own ethnic groups. With regard to the Vietnamese, for example, between one-quarter to one-third of Vietnamese in the United States are Catholics (Vidulich 1994; Zhou and Bankston 1998; Bankston forthcoming). The majority are Mahayana Buddhists. Even though Rutledge (1985) does find (in his own case study of another, predominantly Buddhist community) that Vietnamese Buddhism and Vietnamese Catholicism have quite similar social functions, we should use caution in extending results from these two communities to other immigrant residential concentrations or other immigrant groups.

Despite this caveat, though, we believe that a comparative case study of these two groups can be extremely useful. As Orum, Feagin, and Sjoberg (1991:13) have observed, one of the virtues of the case study is that "it lends itself to theoretical generation and generalization. Theoretical generalization involves suggesting new interpretations and concepts or re-examining earlier concepts and interpretations in major and innovative ways." Here, we are applying the concept of de facto congregationalism to two specific instances, suggesting that this concept can help us understand what is happening in these instances and exploring the concrete forms that the concept may take. Case studies of other immigrant communities may shed light on additional variations in the trend toward congregations, or on situations in which there are departures from the trend.

RESULTS: TWO SOUTHEAST ASIAN CONGREGATIONS IN SOUTHERN U.S. SOCIETY

I. A Vietnamese Catholic Congregation

Vietnamese people began moving into the New Orleans neighborhood in this case study in 1975. In that year, Associated Catholic Charities, one of the primary agencies in charge
TABLE 1
Selected Socioeconomic Characteristics of Census Tract Containing Versailles Village, 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census tracts</th>
<th>17.29</th>
<th>17.30</th>
<th>Vietnamese only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population</td>
<td>10,607</td>
<td>1,496</td>
<td>4,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>1,059</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4,854</td>
<td>960</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vietnamese</td>
<td>4,566</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>4,640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asian</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All families</td>
<td>2,411</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female-headed</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Males in labor force</td>
<td>62.5</td>
<td>88.8</td>
<td>55.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Unemployed</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Females in labor force</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Unemployed</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median family income ($)</td>
<td>17,044</td>
<td>38,864</td>
<td>1,5841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% Families below poverty</td>
<td>37.1</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% High School Graduate</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% College Graduate</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>38.3</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, Summary Tape File 3C

of refugee resettlement in the United States, placed 1,000 refugees in the Versailles Arms Apartments on the eastern edge of town. The area was then going through a time of economic hardship, partially as a result of the closing of a nearby NASA plant, making apartments available at a low cost. In 1976, another 2,000 Vietnamese arrived on their own. While Associated Catholic Charities continued to settle Vietnamese in the area, many other Vietnamese were drawn by ties to friends, relatives, and former neighbors.

The neighborhood is located almost entirely within a single census tract, Tract 17.29, although a small portion of it extends into another tract, Tract 17.30. Since the community was established by 1990 and since it primarily lies within a single census tract, it is possible to use census data to provide a socioeconomic profile. Some of the demographic characteristics of this community are provided in Table 1.

By 1990, the neighborhood was primarily black and Vietnamese: 45.76% of the total population was black and 43.05% were Vietnamese. To interpret these statistics correctly, it is important to emphasize that they do not mean that blacks and Vietnamese are evenly distributed on every street. While the two racial groups live in close proximity throughout this census tract, the Vietnamese are heavily concentrated in the area around the Catholic church. Many of the newer streets in the vicinity of the church bear Vietnamese names. In the years since 1975, the Vietnamese gradually tended to move out of the Versailles Arms apartments, initial focal point of their settlement, and into the nearby suburban, free-standing housing.

TABLE 2
Selected Housing Characteristics of Asians Residing in Tract 17.29 (Versailles Village) in 1980 and 1990

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1980</th>
<th>1990</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Units occupied by owner</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>37.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(N)</td>
<td>(86)</td>
<td>(358)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% All owner-occupied units occupied by Asians</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median persons per housing unit</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>4.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median persons per owner-occupied housing unit</td>
<td>5.71</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median persons per renter-occupied housing unit</td>
<td>6.01</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median rooms per housing unit</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median rooms per owner-occupied housing unit</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median rooms per renter-occupied housing unit</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1990

Many of the people in this area were struggling economically. Moreover, the Vietnamese showed even higher unemployment than their neighbors of other racial groups, with a male unemployment rate of 16.23%. However, they were much less likely to live in female-headed households: only 5.8% of Vietnamese families in the tract were headed by females, compared to over one-fourth of all families. In terms of education, the Vietnamese appear to be at a considerable disadvantage compared to their non-Vietnamese neighbors.

Despite the continuing poverty of the neighborhood, there is evidence that the Vietnamese experienced substantial upward mobility in the years since their arrival. Table 2 contains selected housing characteristics of Asians (as mentioned above, the category “Asians” in this tract is virtually synonymous with “Vietnamese”) in Tract 17.29, as shown in the 1980 and 1990 U.S. Census. Although the majority of Asians remain renters, rather than owners, home ownership has increased markedly, from only 15% to over 37%.

Asians have also increased greatly as a percentage of all homeowners in the tract, increasing from 3% to 28% of all homeowners in this ten-year period. Even this figure, however, does not take into account the growth in quality of housing for Vietnamese homeowners. A walk or drive down Dwyer Boulevard, one of the main streets in the neighborhood, shows even the casual observer several large, new homes, either recently constructed or in the process of construction. All of these new homes are Vietnamese-owned. By 1980, Vietnamese home-buying in the neighborhood had become so common that a Vietnamese developer, Mr. Hung Van Chu, created several new blocks, giving the streets Vietnamese names, such as Tu-Do (“Freedom”) and My-Viet (“America-Vietnam”).

As the Vietnamese in this location became upwardly mobile, one of their first communal actions was the establishment of a religious institution. The Vietnamese here are
The church serves as the center of social organization for the Vietnamese community. In the early 1980s, Vietnamese Catholics, 10% of the population, were predominantly Buddhist, 87% Catholic, 0.8% other. Catholics, who had been permitted to return from Vietnam, are now the largest religious group. The church has become a place of cultural and religious expression for Vietnamese people. The community has established parishes in various areas, including major cities and small towns. The church provides a sense of belonging and identity for Vietnamese immigrants and their descendants.

The church is a focal point for community events, including cultural festivals, religious ceremonies, and social gatherings. The church also serves as a center for prayer and spiritual guidance. Vietnamese Catholics participate in community activities, such as religious education programs, community service projects, and charitable organizations. The church has become an important institution for Vietnamese immigrants, offering them a sense of community and cultural identity.

The church's role in the community is significant, providing a space for religious and cultural expression. The church has become a symbol of Vietnamese identity and a source of pride for the community. The church continues to play a vital role in the lives of Vietnamese immigrants and their descendants, providing a sense of belonging and a platform for cultural expression.
power in Vietnamese Catholic churches has also been noted by others: "The demands on the Catholic Vietnamese community have been changing, too, as they progressed from docile obedience to the wishes of their local priests to involvement and leadership in parish life." (Vidulich 1994:12).

2. A Laotian Buddhist Congregation

Laotians began moving into Iberia Parish during the early 1980s, the peak period of Lao resettlement in the United States. Their concentration in this area was a consequence of secondary migration in search of job opportunities. At this time, the Federal Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) provided funding for training in pipe-fitting, welding, and related skills in demand in the Gulf Coast region. When a few Laotians found this training, and the jobs that followed it, word of available employment spread through ethnic networks and others began moving to the region.

Those who arrived in New Iberia came with little capital, often relying on the help of friends and relatives, and on the public assistance made available under the provisions of the U.S. Refugee Act of 1980. They had, therefore, relatively few choices in housing. They needed to seek the lowest possible rents and many had to live in some form of public housing. Since they relied heavily on co-ethnics, they also tended to cluster together. "I came here because I heard from my wife's brother that there were jobs here," one man told us. "When my family first got here, we stayed in the apartment with his (the wife's brother's) family."

For this reason, the Laotians established their first base on the southwestern part of the city, in a large complex of federally-subsidized, Section-8 housing. As is the case with much public housing in the United States, these apartments are located in a poor, decaying part of the city. It is located in a low-income neighborhood that was virtually entirely African American before the arrival of the Lao. The houses are small and old, many of them with peeling paint and collapsing porches.

The neighborhood also suffers from many of the social ills that plague America's poor neighborhoods. A policeman interviewed by the first author of this article reported that the police often refer to this area as "Dodge City" because of its frequent violence, much of which appears to be drug-related. Some idea of the economic status of the neighborhood in which the apartment complex is located may be obtained from Table 3, which provides information from the 1990 U.S. Census on the two block groups that contain the complex. In 1990, the poverty level for a family of four was a yearly income below $13,359 for a family of four or $6,652 for an individual. Both of these block groups had median household incomes below the poverty level for families of four people and they had median per capita incomes substantially below the poverty level for individuals. About 30% of households in both block groups were receiving public assistance.

In block group 1, one-third of the family households were headed by single women. In block group 2, this proportion was even higher, with over half of the family households headed by single women. It should be noted that these figures include the Laotians, among whom single female-headed families are still extremely rare (B anchston 1995a; 1995b). This is a neighborhood, then, in which many of the families are headed by single parents and in which a majority of the families and individuals live below the poverty level. Since ghetto poverty is a situation in which at least 40% of residents live below the poverty level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Selected Socioeconomic Characteristics of the Two Block Groups that Contained the Initial Laotian Settlement in Iberia Parish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Table 3</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median household income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$11,875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$13,125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median per capita income</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$4,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households on public assistance (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single female-headed hh's (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single male-headed hh's (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married-couple hh's (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census of Population and Housing, 1990

(Wilson 1996:6), we may safely label this a ghetto.

In most Lao families in which both parents can work, they do. Even after the CETA training that initially drew the group to this southern city ended during the Reagan administration, skilled labor in pipe-fitting and welding continued to be an ethnic specialization.

By the mid-1980s, it had become common for Laotian men with job skills to teach others. Those not in these blue-collar occupations most often worked in seafood and restaurant jobs. Since almost all of the women had extensive experience with sewing, embroidering, and related activities, these being crafts traditionally passed from mother to daughter, they were able to find work in regional textile mills. Many Laotian women found work just north of New Iberia, at a textile mill in nearby St. Martinville. Thus, by the mid-1980s almost all of the women were commuting to jobs in the north every day, while their husbands were commuting south to the Port of New Iberia. Even when both adults in a family held low-paying jobs, the combined incomes of two workers provided a base for upward mobility.

Between 1980 and 1982, then, Laotian families began to move out of the apartment complex into free-standing housing in the immediate area. "When we got jobs," one man told us, "the first thing we did was to start saving for a house." About 1983, those who had managed to amass sufficient capital began to move further north, out of the neighborhood, into middle-class neighborhoods, generally settling in small clusters. Between 1984 and 1986, they established clusters even further north within the city limits, purchasing comfortable suburban homes. The homes in the northernmost neighborhood within the city, into which the Laotians moved in 1985 and 1986, is an upscale area, with fairly large houses and spacious, well-kept lawns.

By 1986, the Laotians had established themselves sufficiently to begin planning their own community and cultural center. In that year, a number of men generally recognized as leaders formed the Temple Corporation, an association dedicated to building a Lao-style Buddhist temple that would be surrounded by an ethnic residential enclave. While in
the temple. In this way, the temple's role is to serve as a repository for the spiritual and religious needs of the community.

The temple is also a place where laity engage in religious activities. The temple's open courtyard is a space where people can come together to pray, meditate, and participate in various rituals. It serves as a focal point for the community, where people gather to celebrate festivals and other important occasions.

The temple's architecture reflects the Buddhist architectural style of the region. It is designed to provide a peaceful and serene environment conducive to religious practice. The temple's roofs are typically curved, a common feature in Buddhist architecture, symbolizing the roof of a pagoda.

In summary, the temple is a vital part of the local community, serving as a spiritual and cultural hub. It provides a space for residents to worship, learn, and connect with others. Through its architecture and rituals, it embodies the values and beliefs of the community, fostering a sense of identity and belonging.

By providing a place for religious practice and cultural expression, the temple plays a crucial role in maintaining the community's traditions and heritage. It serves as a reminder of the community's spiritual roots and a connection to the past.

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times, reported that he had arrived from Minnesota. "There were others (monks) there (in Minnesota). They needed me here. I like it better here because it is not so cold."

When we asked interviewees what they would do if the single monk currently at the temple moved to another temple, they all had the same answer; they would seek to bring in another life-long monk from another Laotian American community. The monastic order continues to lie at the heart of social relations, and it continues to be the chief mechanism for individual moral advancement, but monasticism has become a specialized job, rather than a stage of life.

Since the laity essentially hire the religious professional, decision-making in the religious institution has shifted from the monks to a committee of laity composed of the same successful skilled craftsmen and small business people who founded the temple. Phouvath Phouamdith has not a similar trend among Laotian Buddhist temples in Laos: "Temple projects in the new country are often started by lay community service groups, with some government funding. This means that the lay committee of the parent body like to continue the control of the temples, much against the wishes of many Buddhist monks who would prefer to look after their own religious affairs without the direction and interference of lay people as was traditional in Laos" (Phouamdith 1995). If the shift to lay control has not led to conflict in the temple we observed, this may be a consequence of the fact that there is only one monk who has necessarily accepted the professionalization of his status.

CONCLUSION

Although there are many differences between Vietnamese Catholicism and Laotian Buddhism, there are also some interesting parallels between the religious institutions of these two Southeast Asian communities, one on the outskirts of a large urban area, the other on the outskirts of a relatively small urban area. The two fit Warner's model of immigrant congregations, but they also provide more specificity on the development and functions of such congregations. We can observe the following common characteristics:

First, both religious institutions were established at a specific stage of socioeconomic mobility: when members of the ethnic communities had begun to experience collective socioeconomic upward mobility. In both cases, movement out of low-income rental housing into owner-occupied housing occurred immediately before the founding of the religious institution. After the group members had established themselves in housing, they turned their attention to establishing places of religious practice in order to maintain a sense of cultural identity. In both cases, the movement toward creating religious institutions as de facto congregations followed the experience of upward mobility.

Second, both institutions became geographically central to settlement. In the case of the Vietnamese, the church was located in the middle of spreading Vietnamese settlement. In the case of the Laotians, the temple was established outside of the urban area and away from the group's initial site. However, the difference here was largely due to differences in the availability of land. In both cases, the presence of a religious site was a strong inducement for settling or remaining in an ethnically concentrated area.

Third, both institutions had the primary manifest function of preserving cultural traditions. Vietnamese and Laotians saw religion as a cultural marker and as a way of preserving something of their homeland, and this was their explicitly stated motivation in establishing a church or temple.

Fourth, in both cases, the religious institutions had the latent function of serving as a network center of economic activities. This means that the religious institution was both an effect and a cause of socioeconomic mobility. This is clearest in the case of the Laotians, where temple membership afforded adherents access to mortgages and jobs. However, among the Vietnamese, as well, the church was a place where people obtained critical economic information. While mobility was initially a source of the formation of congregations, the congregations in turn fostered continuing mobility. In both cases, moreover, upward mobility is somewhat the reverse of the traditional pattern of assimilation. Mobility and the move to the suburbs is associated with a more ethnic way of life and with greater contacts inside the ethnic circle, rather than with assimilation into the white middle class.

Fifth, both saw some elements of "protestantization": a tendency of religious figures to become professionals employed by congregations, and a shift in power to lay committees. These trends were much less marked in the Vietnamese institution, because its religious figures were part of the established hierarchy of the American Catholic Church, but the trends were still notable for the Vietnamese. Again, this is traceable to the American social context of the Vietnamese church and the Laotian temple. In a manner consistent with Warner's thesis of de facto congregationalism, the adherents establish their religions and thereby form congregations by their own efforts in a religiously pluralistic society. The lay adherents provide the money and the direction and they tend to gain in power relative to the religious figures.

The concept of de facto congregationalism, then, can provide a useful way of understanding changes in the religious organizations of these groups. The present case study indicates that this recent idea of R.S. Warner's may have wide application in the study of immigrant religious groups in the United States. In order to see why immigrant religions tend to move away from a traditional ascribed basis and toward a congregational form, though, we suggest that it is important to consider the socioeconomic process that transforms religious structure and to consider how the changing immigrant congregations shape their members' dealings with the surrounding society.

NOTE

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RELIGIOUS INTERMARRIAGE IN DUBLIN: THE IMPORTANCE OF STATUS BOUNDARIES BETWEEN RELIGIOUS GROUPS

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Interrmarriage has long been recognized as one of the most robust boundaries between groups. This continues to be the case in the Republic of Ireland for intermarriage between Catholics and Protestants. This paper uses data from the Census of Population (1991) and loglinear modeling to examine religious, educational and class homogamy in Dublin. The main question which is posed is whether there is any evidence of social exchange between the characteristics of religion and level of education or class, which husbands and wives bring to their marriages. This question is a development on research on social exchange in ethnic and racial intermarriage. It is particularly interesting to look at the possibility of this type of exchange in marriage in Ireland given the traditional differences in social status between the religious groups. Our results show that the association between (i) the educational levels and (ii) the current class of husbands and their wives is weaker for marriages of the type Catholic husband/Protestant wife than it is for homogamous Catholic marriages. Protestants still enjoy high status and this appears to make it easier for Protestant, compared to Catholic, women of low education or manual class to marry Catholic husbands of high education or professional class. A knowledge of the status dimension to religious groups can therefore contribute to our understanding of the pattern of religious intermarriage.

Among the more salient characteristics by which intergroup distinctions are made are religion, class and education. There is a well-established tendency towards homogamy between spouses on these characteristics (Hollingshead 1950; Thomas 1951; Hout 1982; Kalmin 1991; Ultee and Luikx 1990). In the cases of class and education these are social positions which are commonly differentiated in a rank-order of status. As regards religious groups, it is not usual to rank them in order of status but this can be done. For example, in the United States, at least until recent decades, distinctions were commonly made amongst the Christian denominations in terms of prestige, with Episcopalians traditionally ranking higher than Catholics. The basis of this ranking was not just that, on average, the class position or educational level of Episcopalians was higher than that of Catholics. Furthermore, all Episcopalians and Catholics benefited or suffered to some degree from the reputation of their groups, irrespective of their individual class position or educational level. If people do rank the religious groups in terms of status, then we would expect to see evidence of it in their behaviour. In this paper we inves-