

## What is Your Major? Occupational Trajectories of Graduates of Religious Schools

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Do religious high schools influence the type of job and career achieved by their graduates? We might expect some influence, but many factors besides high school experiences, such as college attended and college major, shape the career path of young adults. Even these mediating variables, however, are likely to be substantially influenced by an individual's high school experience. For example, some nonreligious private schools have strong connections to elite liberal arts colleges, which may increase the likelihood of entering these colleges. Selective college recruiting, effective teacher recommendations, student expectations, etc., may vary by school sector and influence occupational outcomes through educational careers.

There are other ways that high school sector may influence occupational paths. Job and career trajectories of U.S. high school graduates are substantially determined by the choice of college major. High school experiences and guidance may influence the choice of college major both through academic offerings and curriculum in high school, which make some college majors more or less desirable and achievable, and through aspects of school culture that influence the priorities and orientations of their graduates when it comes to college major, job, and career. Yet we have little research that reveals whether religious school graduates are distinctive in their choice of major or not, much less a definitive explanation

of how religious schools influence college major and subsequent occupations attained.

What is the impact of attending a religious high school on jobs and careers taken up later in life? Do religious schools matter for educational and occupational career trajectories? In this report, we marshal evidence suggesting that religious school experiences shape the kind of majors their graduates take up and the jobs they attain. We explain school-work relationships with theories of educational and religious experiences of evangelical Protestant (EP) school graduates.

What follows is organized according to the chronological order of life events. We first discuss the kinds of colleges and universities that graduates attend, and consider their likelihood of transferring to another type of college. We then move to an analysis of their final major in college. The next step is graduation, and here we briefly consider the highest degree obtained by students from religious schools. Finally, we consider the types of occupations that religious school graduates occupy. Following a chronological outline should make the presentation clearer, but of course this chronology of events does not imply a particular causal order (e.g., first the student picks a college, then he or she decides whether to transfer, then chooses a major, and so on). Strictly speaking, a student has to pick a college before having an

official and final major, but some students pick a college because of its strengths in the particular major. The analysis in this paper is not designed to sort out all of the causal order issues, but to look for statistical associations between high school sector and outcomes related to job and career.

## Notes on Data and Methods

We rely primarily on the Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS), Second Follow-up (BPS:96/01), which began with a national U.S. sample of about 12,000 high school students in 1996 and followed up the sample three and six years later. This data are available from the National Center of Education Statistics, which is the research arm of the U.S. Department of Education. The BPS is one of the few large national studies that includes information on the choice of major areas of study by students from various school sectors.

The strength of this dataset is in its design as a large random sample of students followed over time with measures of the student's final major in college or university. The disadvantage of this dataset is that the more general category, non-Catholic religious schools, will have to stand in for the evangelical Protestant (EP) sector. This is not ideal, but the large majority of the students in non-Catholic religious schools would be from evangelical Protestant schools, such that non-evangelical Protestant school students in this sector would have to be extremely different from EP students if they were to shift the sector average substantially. In what follows, we will refer to this category as the evangelical Protestant, or EP, sector, though we must keep in mind that given data limitations the respondents in this sector include all non-Catholic religious school graduates. We estimate that 70-85% of graduates in this sector

would be EP graduates, but we are unable to separate those who are graduates of EP schools from those who are graduates of other non-Catholic religious schools. In several instances the BPS findings for the EP sector are quite consistent with findings from other major studies of EP schoolers, such as the Cardus Education Survey of 2011. That gives us more confidence that the findings for this sector are not being unduly skewed by the inclusion of a minority of non-EP schoolers in the "non-Catholic religious school" category available in the BPS data.

The analysis of the BPS data below focuses on basic descriptive differences between graduates of each of the school sectors available. In this report, we are not attempting to control for family background differences that might vary by school sector. For many of our findings of interest, however, the focus on average differences across school sectors are not likely to change when we add family background and other demographic variables to the analysis since in many cases we would expect that on family background factors EP students and Catholic students are not likely to vary significantly and differences between public and EP students would be expected to be even larger if family background were taken into account. For example, the difference between public and EP schoolers on the likelihood of holding professional jobs would likely be just as strong if not stronger if we accounted for the somewhat less privileged average family background of public school students.

## College Choice

One of the important steps toward achieving a particular type of job is attending a particular type of college. There are conflicting findings on whether attending an elite college or university

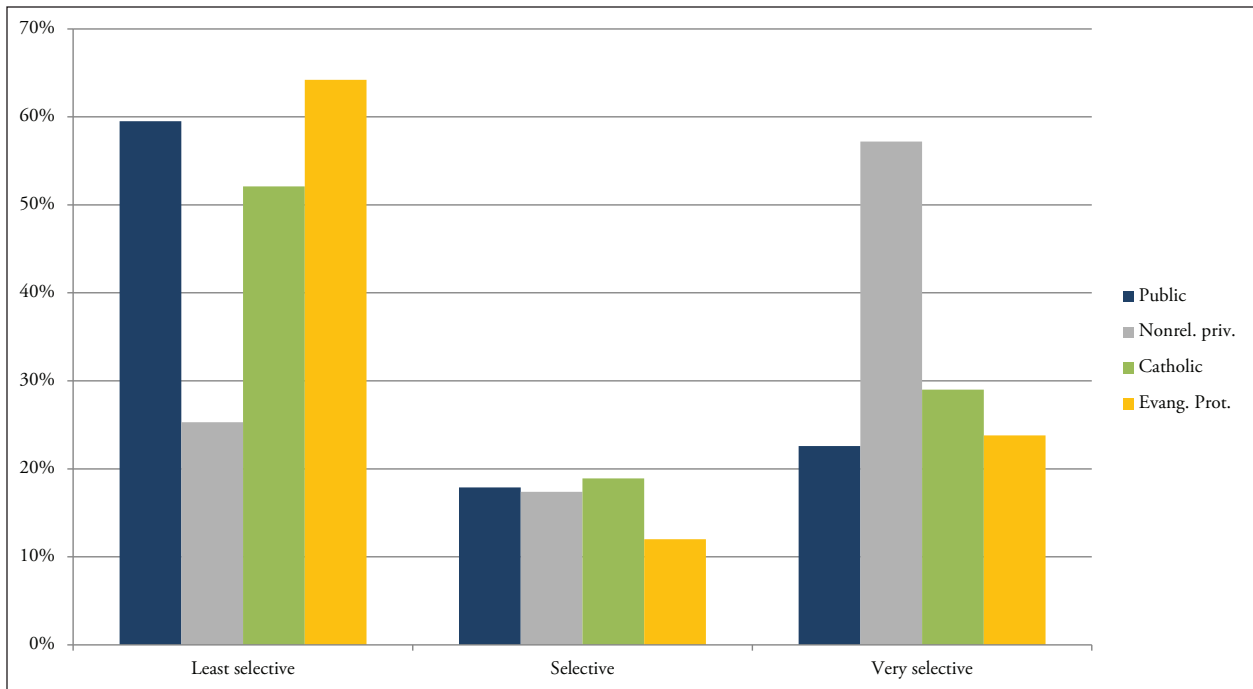


Figure 1. Admissions Selectivity of First University Attended

has an impact on socioeconomic status over the long-term, but we would expect that aspects of the college would at least influence the kinds of majors taken up by students. We would expect that an important pathway through which religious schools influence occupational positions of their graduates is through their influence on the college or university their students eventually attend.

To begin, we analyze the type of postsecondary institution first attended by high school graduates (see Figure 1). Our BPS findings reveal that evangelical Protestant (EP) school students are much more likely to attend public two-year institutions. About 45% of the sector attends these colleges, which is only slightly below the 47% of public school students who attend public two-year colleges. (Likely this percentage would be slightly higher if we were able to look at EP school students specifically, rather than the more general

category, non-Catholic religious schools.) The BPS data also shows that about 50% of graduates from EP high schools attend colleges that only offer an associate's degree. It also shows that the EP graduates are underrepresented in doctoral research universities, which is consistent with earlier findings from the 2011 Cardus Education Study. About 2% of students in the EP school category attend specialized theological schools, which include Bible Institutes. Although a small percentage, this is not surprisingly much more common among EP graduates than graduates of other sectors.

In terms of job and career, EP schoolers attending two-year colleges may be choosing these institutions to pursue a particular trade rather than a liberal arts education. The choice of a two-year college may represent a tendency among EP schoolers to see postsecondary education in terms of its connection to an expected occupation and

career. That may mean that EP schoolers have an occupational direction earlier in life than graduates of other sectors, but at the same time these decisions may represent job aspirations that do not include high status positions—at least as these are generally defined in American society.

Which school sectors are attending elite colleges and universities? The type of college attended is reflected in its selectivity, or the proportion of applicants that are admitted to the college. The findings by school sector are consistent with previous findings: over 64% of students from the EP sector attend colleges and universities that are “least selective,” which is higher than the 60% figure for the public school sector students. Only about 24% of EP school students attend the “very selective” colleges and universities.

In contrast, a much lower 52% of Catholic school graduates attend a “least selective” postsecondary institution and 29% attend a “very selective” institution. Of the nonreligious private school students, 57% attend “very selective” institutions and only 25% attend the “least selective” colleges and universities. Similar to earlier work (Cardus Education Study 2011), the difference in the types of postsecondary institutions attended by EP school students is evident here. The apparently wider variation in the types of institutions attended by EP schoolers may reflect a much greater academic diversity within the EP sector in comparison with the Catholic and nonreligious private sector.

### College Transfers

What is also of interest in the BPS data is information on college transfer rates. The dataset catalogues transfers to and from two- and four-year colleges. Both Catholic and EP school students appear to more likely to transfer from a four-year

institution to a two-year institution—potentially a form of “downward” mobility at least in terms of occupational and income trajectories. Especially for the EP sector, this may be due in part to women entering traditional marriages at a relatively young age. Note however that only a small percentage of graduates in these sectors move from a four-year to a two-year institution.

More definitively, the EP school students are more likely to transfer during their college career (about 45% transfer), and much more likely to transfer from two-year to four-year institutions (21% make this transfer). Of course these findings are tempered by the fact that there are more EP school students in two-year colleges to begin with, but the finding provides some evidence that many EP schoolers tend to start in lower-tier postsecondary institutions but end up in four-year colleges. Nonetheless, the fact that EP schoolers are beginning their postsecondary educational career in two-year institutions is likely to have an independent impact on career and income trajectories of students in this sector.

### College Major

The process of sorting individuals into jobs is affected by the chosen area of study in college or university. The BPS data reveal striking religious school differences in choice of major.

The results regarding final major for the EP sector reveal that, compared to public school students, students in the EP sector are disproportionately represented in the areas of health care and the social and behavioral sciences. They are slightly overrepresented in education compared to the public sector as well.

These tendencies may result from an orientation in the EP sector to majors and occupations that

involve directly addressing human needs, such as social work or related nonprofit positions, and they may reflect the EP focus on family and child socialization as well. The EP concentration in health care may be enhanced by the strong religious emphasis on health and health care within the Seventh Day Adventist denomination, which is well-represented in the EP school sector. These findings would in part explain why EP school graduates are not particularly likely to receive high incomes relative to the public school sector. The orientation to direct human service of the EP subculture, including as we have seen in the 2011 Cardus Education Survey, a de-emphasis on a high paying job, may lead to a concentration in these fields.

Students from the EP sector are particularly underrepresented in the life and physical sciences, computer and information sciences, and engineering. Some would argue that this reflects a conflict between the EP subculture and the scientific method, especially reflected in disputes about origins of the universe and human origins<sup>1</sup> but that would not explain why EP students are overrepresented in the social and behavioral sciences. And other studies have shown that EP students tend not to see a conflict between religion and science.<sup>2</sup> The underrepresentation in the sciences may instead result from the lack of access in EP schools to a rigorous sequence in math and science. Limited resources in many EP schools makes it difficult to offer a strong program in math and science, which would make it less likely that EP graduates take up these majors in college.

There is also some evidence in the BPS data that EP school students are less represented in mathematics, business and management, and perhaps also in the humanities. It is not clear why EP schools would turn their graduates away from business and management, though these

occupational directions may generate perceived conflict with other life goals, such as marriage and family or traditional religious ministry. It is also possible that the EP school experience reinforces tendencies within the EP subculture to devalue dominant status hierarchies, especially in relation to income and wealth. That may turn some EP schoolers away from high status and income positions in the business sector. An emphasis on living a meaningful life may be combined at many EP schools with a concern that many Americans instead pursue wealth and status through a sought after job or prestigious career track in the business world. Some research has shown that evangelical Protestants have lower levels of income and wealth, which may result from particular religious orientations to giving and saving.<sup>3</sup> The BPS findings offer another possible pathway—the choice of a field of study—through which evangelical Protestantism as practiced in EP schools shapes orientations to high-paying jobs.

Comparing the EP and Catholic sector provides a fascinating window into the relation between religious schools and occupational stratification in the US. The Catholic school sector varies markedly from the EP sector, and does not follow the nonreligious school sector either. Like the EP students, Catholic school students are overrepresented in comparison to public school students in the social and behavioral sciences. In contrast to the EP sector, they are overrepresented in life and physical sciences and engineering as well as in “other” technical or professional majors. Catholic school students are slightly overrepresented in the computer and information sciences and business and management fields as well.

What is particularly striking is that Catholic school students in contrast to the EP students are underrepresented in the low-paying humanities and education fields as well as to some

extent in the vocational-technical areas. It may be that some of this effect is due to the social mobility strategies of children of Catholic parents who were socially and economically marginal in earlier generations in part due to their particular immigrant history and experiences in urban ethnic enclaves.<sup>4</sup> It seems likely that both structural differences between Catholic and EP schools and cultural orientations rooted in religious subcultures lie behind the differences in areas of study.

Nonreligious private schoolers have a distinctive pattern as well. They are strongly overrepresented in the humanities and social and behavioral sciences. And they are somewhat overrepresented in the life sciences, mathematics, and engineering fields. The nonreligious private school students are underrepresented in computer and information science, education, health, and vocational-technical areas. Though less clear than the Catholic sector, the pattern is consistent with some of what we know about the nonreligious private sector. The interest in the humanities fields for many high SES students attending elite nonreligious schools makes sense, and may in part reflect the kind of elite liberal arts colleges often attended by nonreligious private school students. Yet there is substantial representation from this sector in professional fields that are both high status and have the potential for relatively high incomes.

Are the findings for EP school graduates, which show a tendency of EP schoolers to take up careers in the fields of education and health care, the result of traditional views of gender roles that push a large percentage of EP school females towards service careers? The differences for male and female EP schoolers provide some surprising evidence on this question. First, it does appear that education is primarily the purview of EP school females. Compared to their public school counterparts, the EP school males are

well-represented in the education sector but do not appear to be overrepresented in this field. The overrepresentation in the social and behavioral sciences is found among EP school males and not EP school females. There appears a slight tendency for EP school females to compare more favorably to females in other sectors when it comes to selecting humanities majors, while EP males are slightly behind their male peers in choosing the humanities. In contrast, both males and females from EP schools are overrepresented in the health care sector. And in terms of the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) majors, both male and female EP schoolers are underrepresented, with the exception that EP males compared to other males are quite likely to take up majors in computer and informational sciences while EP females are not particularly likely to do so relative to females in other sectors. Perhaps most surprising is that EP school females are strongly represented in business and management majors compared to their female counterparts in other school sectors, while EP males are quite unlikely to be found in a business or management major relative to their male peers. Perhaps the negative image within evangelical Protestantism of the pursuit of status and wealth through a career in business is generally connected with businessmen rather than businesswomen. But this is only speculation at this point; further research is needed to explain why EP males and females tend to differ in their choice of major.

In sum, the findings on majors by gender provide conflicting evidence on whether females are pushed toward more traditional careers through their EP school experience. On the one hand, EP school females are taking up majors in education and are more strongly represented in the humanities than the social and behavioral sciences, while EP school males (but not females) are well-represented in the computer and informational

sciences. On the other hand, there is little difference in the representation of EP school males and females in most STEM majors or in the health care sector. Moreover, the EP school females are well-represented in the business and management fields while the EP school males are not. These results certainly call for more research that considers the relationship between gender and more detailed types of majors. Thus far the only possible conclusion is that our results do not clearly support a traditionalist or egalitarian view of EP school effects.

### Graduation

Besides choice of major, the college credential has a strong impact on occupational trajectories. The BPS data sheds light on college graduation rates as well, which offer an opportunity to confirm educational attainment findings from the 2011 Cardus Education Survey (see Figure 2).

About 71% of private nonreligious school students graduate with a Bachelor degree, while only 44% of Catholic school students and 39% of EP school students complete the BA. The public school sector comes in at 29%, which is lower but likely not significantly lower than the non-Catholic religious school sector after accounting for family background. About 13% of the EP sector receive an Associate’s degree, which is much higher than the other private school sectors (both are less than 5%) and somewhat higher than the public school sector (11%). A fairly high percentage both of Catholic and EP school students did not complete a degree at this point in their lives (42 and 41%, respectively), which may result from an emphasis on marriage and family. Evidence for this is found in the BPS data on marital status. The data show that at this point in the longitudinal data collection nearly 38% of the EP graduates is married, which is higher than the public sector (31%) and much higher than the

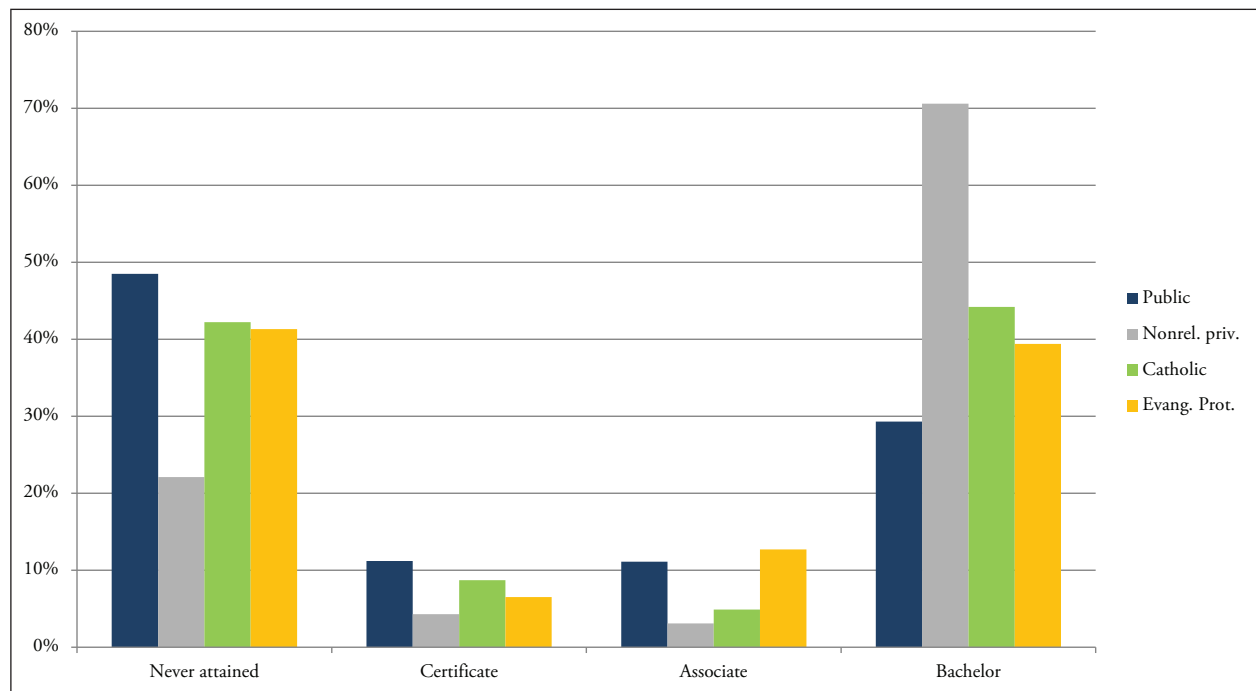


Figure 2. Highest Postsecondary Degree Obtained

nonreligious private sector (12%). About 21% of Catholic school students are married.

These findings substantially overlap with results from the 2011 Cardus Education Survey data. Using a multinomial logistical regression model predicting highest educational degree attained, we find that although EP schoolers are less likely to stop at the high school diploma than public schoolers (compared to completing the BA), they are just as likely as public schoolers to stop at the Associate's degree rather than going on to complete a four-year degree. Catholic and nonreligious private schoolers are not likely to end with an Associate's degree. In addition, the EP schoolers are more likely than public schoolers to terminate their education with a BA rather than attaining an advanced degree.

In sum, the findings on college choice and educational attainment appear consistent with the findings for college major: EP school graduates are on trajectories that may lead to lower occupational attainment and lower social mobility.

## Religious Schools and Occupation

We expect that college major differences by school sector would be reflected in the actual occupations of young adults. But it is not known whether there is an association between school sector and occupation. Based on our findings for college choice, major, and educational attainment, however, we would not expect EP schoolers to be in managerial or professional occupations. Nor would we expect EP schoolers to hold high status or high-paying jobs, given the types of schools that they attend. But the majors of EP schoolers prepare many of them to occupy jobs in the areas of health care and education.

The BPS data offer a window into the relationship between school sector and occupations that are taken up in the young adult years. We note however that these findings are based on jobs young adults take up after college and do not directly address the careers they take up later in life. In addition, the occupational information is much less precise in the BPS than are the details provided for final major in college. Still, the findings show some consistency with the 2011 Cardus Education Survey findings, which we discuss below.

The descriptive BPS findings show that EP graduates are well-represented in the construction, mining, and agricultural industries relative to the other school sectors. EP males are overrepresented in the construction trades while EP females are overrepresented in the agricultural and mining industries relative to their counterparts in the other sectors. About 13% of EP males report that they have a job in the construction industry, which is higher than the 4 and 3.5% of nonreligious private and Catholic school males, respectively, that report jobs in construction. About 8% of public school males report a job in construction. Nearly 20% of EP graduates report a job in retail trade (sales and rental), while only 5% of nonreligious private graduates, 9% of Catholic graduates, and 12% of public school graduates report a job in the retail sector.

EP graduates appear to be underrepresented in the professional and related services occupations. Slightly less than 5% of EP males are in the professional sector, which is lower than the 7% of males graduating from public schools, 10% from Catholic schools, and 14% from nonreligious private school. Similarly, EP school graduates are strongly underrepresented in occupations in business services compared to graduates in all other school sectors.



Interestingly, female EP school graduates are not underrepresented in the professional sector, since the 8% of EP school females in professional and related services compares favorably with the 7-8% of Catholic and public school females in this sector. It is lower, however, than the 13.5% of nonreligious private school females that report a professional occupation in their early career. Interestingly, both EP males and females are overrepresented in military careers, though the total numbers are relatively small in this sector.

The anomaly in these data, given the results for college majors, is the lack of clear tendency for EP graduates to be found in health care occupations early in their career. The EP males and females appear to be underrepresented in the health care sector relative to their counterparts in the Catholic and public school sectors. In addition, the EP females were highly likely (17%) to have a job in the entertainment and recreation services, and were well above all other sectors in likelihood of having a job in this sector. Both of these findings will require further analysis to confirm, since the entertainment and recreation finding will require more detailed analysis of specific occupations to determine why EP females would be attracted to that sector and since the health care finding stands in stark contrast to the findings for majors in college as well as the additional findings we present below.

The occupational findings are consistent with the findings for college major for careers in education, which are very likely among EP school females relative to the Catholic and public school sectors. Nearly 13% of EP females report a job in the educational sector, which is slightly more than the 12% of nonreligious school females in this sector and is well above the 4% in the public school sector and 6% in the Catholic school sector that were in the education sector.

While the findings are not clear-cut, they are consistent with the view that EP graduates are more likely to be in industrial sectors that have a preponderance of lower paying jobs and to be in occupations that involve direct care for others, especially children.

Additional detail on religious schools and occupation is available through a new analysis of the 2011 Cardus Education Survey (CES) data. In the CES data, the first striking finding regarding occupation is the difference between Catholic school graduates and their EP school counterparts. Our analysis estimated the likelihood that religious school graduates end up in professional or managerial jobs. The findings show that, on average and net of family background controls, Catholic school graduates do, and EP graduates don't. In fact, Catholic school graduates are more likely to hold professional or managerial jobs than public school graduates, even after accounting for differences in family background, and appear to be equal to nonreligious private school graduates in the likelihood of obtaining these high status jobs. In contrast, EP school graduates are less likely than Catholic school graduates to hold professional or managerial jobs. EP graduates appear to be less likely to hold these jobs than are public schoolers, though the difference is negligible.<sup>5</sup> When comparing the likelihood that EP graduates are in other occupational sectors compared to the managerial or professional category, we find that on average and net of the control variables EP school graduates are more likely to be found in the education and health sectors of our economy than they are to hold managerial or professional positions. But Catholic school graduates are more likely to be in professional and managerial positions than in other occupational sectors.

Combining this information with the fact that EP schoolers are more likely to attend two-year

postsecondary institutions, we would expect that the incomes of EP schoolers would be lower. Indeed, the findings from the 2011 CES survey show that there is very little difference after controlling for family background in the incomes of EP schoolers and public schoolers. Catholic and especially nonreligious private schoolers show significantly higher levels of income than public school graduates.

## Conclusion

What is the impact of attending a religious high school on educational and occupational attainment? How do religious schools influence orientations to work and life in ways that have a strong impact on occupational trajectories? The 2011 Cardus Education Survey shows that educational attainment for graduates of evangelical Protestant schools is relatively modest while Catholic and nonreligious private school graduates obtain more years of education. Certainly postsecondary educational experiences are key indicators of orientations to job and career and strongly influence career trajectories specifically and social mobility more generally. The type of college or university chosen by the graduate as well as major field of study set the stage for occupational outcomes. And these occupational directions are likely to be structured by one's high school. Cultural orientations learned within a particular high school environment, especially regarding the value of certain careers and views of work, as well as structural factors, such as the extent that a high school has ties to particular types of colleges, are likely to shape student educational choices and occupational outcomes.

How might EP schools influence the occupational direction of their graduates? Part of the answer may lie in tendencies within the evangelical Protestant subculture, which takes a dim view of

“worldly” status hierarchies and dominant forms of social “climbing.” In fact, EP identity is often built through the contrast between what are considered religious motivations and aspirations and the educational and occupational aspirations dominant in the surrounding culture and society. The EP subculture embeds a willingness to eschew success as measured by elite educational credentials and high status occupational positions, especially if the pursuit of these could be construed as a worldly pursuit of money, status, or a lavish lifestyle. There are competing themes in the EP movement, such as the prosperity gospel, and there is often a separation between belief and behavior.<sup>6</sup> But the dominant cultural theme among EPs is the spiritual value of giving up high pressure and competitive pursuits to gain status and wealth, especially if this would compromise religious ministry or commitments to marriage and family. This is particularly likely since evangelical institutions are often positioned as the antithesis of an individualistic, competitive workplace that is run according to the norms of money and power.<sup>7</sup> The modus operandi of evangelical congregations, for example, is often to provide what the workplace does not: meaning, values, and belonging.<sup>8</sup> The uneasy relationship between evangelicals and social advancement, reinforced within evangelical institutions, may partly explain why evangelical Protestants in the US have been shown to have lower levels of income and wealth.<sup>9</sup>

Is there evidence that EP schools encourage orientations to work and occupations that influence occupational attainment? The preliminary evidence from the BPS and the 2011 Cardus Education Survey provides some support for the hypothesis that EP schools channel their graduates toward particular careers. EP school graduates attend two-year colleges at higher rates, and, while they are also quite likely to transfer to four-year institutions, they are more likely to attend

less selective postsecondary institutions. This is of course partly the result of attending evangelical Protestant colleges. EP high schools influence this college choice through their relationships with EP colleges as well as by providing the cultural supports for the choice of a religious college. It is also possible that the academic opportunities within EP high schools and colleges make it less likely that EP school students have bridges to careers in the physical sciences.

We cannot ignore the possibility that attending an EP school reinforces negative attitudes toward science, perhaps including suspicion of scientists, which turns EP students away from pursuing science careers. But even if the lack of EP schoolers in the physical sciences is due to some sort of conflict between religious and scientific worlds, it is as likely that EP schoolers develop a sense that they are not welcome in fields that they perceive—rightly or wrongly—as dominated by naturalism or positivism. The ironic effect of publicity surrounding the “new atheists” may be that EP schoolers open to the study in the physical sciences get the message that they are considered outsiders to the fields of science. The effect of attitudes toward science and religion on both sides may be part of the story, but a more likely explanation for the underrepresentation of EP schoolers in STEM careers is that many EP schoolers are pulled into careers that involve human service.

Perhaps surprising to some critiques of conservative religion in the U.S., gender differences within the group of EP school graduates does not support a simple patriarchal story. EP women in the young adult years do not appear to be underrepresented in professional occupations or business management, although EP men are. But we do find that, in contrast to EP men, EP women are very likely compared to other women to be in the educational careers. More detailed analysis will be

necessary to sort out the differential effect of EP schooling on the occupational trajectories of men and women.

Although conclusive evidence is lacking, EP schools may institutionalize tendencies within the EP subculture that place a high value on service occupations that involve directly meeting personal needs. How EP schools do this is less clear. Whether intended or not, it may be that the service and mission orientation of EP school teachers and the interpersonal and religious emphases within EP schools have the effect of guiding EP schoolers toward service occupations that are not usually highly paid or highly valued in American society. That along with a cultural ethos that emphasizes avoiding the vain pursuit of things valued by the “world”—whether money, power, or educational credentials—may affect student choice of colleges, majors, and occupations. There are reasons to be critical of this tendency; even many EP schools emphasize the importance of being “salt and light” in all areas of life, including elite educational institutions and major institutions. For whatever reason, that emphasis does not seem to be substantially influencing EP students. But it is noteworthy that EP students are socialized and channeled in ways that make them more willing to make personal sacrifices in the “city of man” as they aspire to be faithful to their religious commitment to the “city of God.” In the midst of a generation of young adults who are “lost in transition,”<sup>10</sup> this effect of EP schools is perhaps both laudatory and an important contribution to the public good.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Darnell, Alfred and Darren E. Sherkat. 1997. “The Impact of Protestant Fundamentalism on Educational Attainment.” *American Sociological Review* 62(2):306-15.

<sup>2</sup> Longest, Kyle C. and Christian Smith. 2011. “Conflicting

or Compatible: Beliefs About Religion and Science among Emerging Adults in the United States.” *Sociological Forum* 26(4):846-69. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1573-7861.2011.01287.x>.

<sup>3</sup> Keister, Lisa A. 2008. “Conservative Protestants and Wealth: How Religion Perpetuates Asset Poverty.” *American Journal of Sociology* 113(5):1237-71; Keister, Lisa A. 2011. *Faith and Money: How Religion Contributes to Wealth and Poverty*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>4</sup> Greeley, Andrew M. 1967. *The Catholic Experience an Interpretation of the History of American Catholicism*. New York: Doubleday; McGreevy, John T. 1996. *Parish Boundaries: The Catholic Encounter with Race in the Twentieth-Century Urban North*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>5</sup> In our analysis of school sector and current occupation, we predict whether the respondent is in a professional or managerial position, a category defined by the US Census. Based on the CES United States sample, the Catholic and the nonreligious private schoolers compared to the public schoolers are more likely to hold professional or managerial occupations. In a logistic regression predicting whether respondents reported a professional occupation or managerial position, the coefficient for EP schoolers was somewhat positive, but not significantly different from public school graduates, as we would expect from our earlier findings on majors.

The CES data includes information on the industry in which the respondent works. Based on the descriptive statistics, it appears that EP school graduates are disproportionately represented in the health care and education industries. When predicting whether the respondent is in either of these industries, the results show that EP schoolers are more likely to be found in these occupations than Catholic schoolers (with a large coefficient of .5, though that is not quite statistically significant) and slightly more likely than public schoolers (logit of .17). This effect is stronger in earlier models, but the evangelical Protestant family variables soak up some of the difference here between the public and EP sector.

If we focus on the health care industry, we find that Catholics have a lower likelihood of being in health care occupations, and religious home schoolers are very unlikely to be found in health care. The EP schoolers are more likely to be in health care than the

Catholic and nonreligious private schoolers (logit of .7 compared to the Catholic schoolers) and slightly more likely than public schoolers to be in the health industry (logit of .27, though this is not statistically significant). In a model that only controls for demographics, the difference between public schoolers and EP schoolers is significant and strong (.53). The models that predict working specifically in the education industry do not show large differences across sectors. A slightly higher percentage of EP schoolers are in the education sector, but these are not statistically significant differences given our sample size (EP N=125). Further analysis shows that EP schoolers are somewhat less likely than public schoolers to be in professional and scientific industries, and are definitely much less likely than Catholic and nonreligious private schoolers to be in these industries net of family background controls.

After collapsing the industry categories into five and using a multinomial logistic model, the school sector findings are crisp. We find some evidence that EP schoolers are overrepresented compared to public schoolers in a category that includes retail, real estate, administrative, and services industries. These differences are stronger when the comparison is with Catholic and nonreligious private schoolers. Again, there is stronger evidence that EP schoolers tend to be in health care compared to public schoolers. The Catholic school findings show consistent evidence toward occupations that are in a category that includes professional, scientific, management, information or finance and insurance industries.

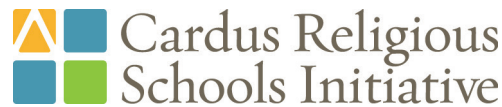
<sup>6</sup> Smith, Christian, Michael O. Emerson and Patricia Snell. 2008. *Passing the Plate: Why American Christians Don't Give Away More Money*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>7</sup> Fowler, Robert Booth. 1989. *Unconventional Partners: Religion and Liberal Culture in the United States*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co. Habermas, Jürgen. 1984. *The Theory of Communicative Action*. Boston: Beacon Press.

<sup>8</sup> Fowler 1989.

<sup>9</sup> Keister 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Smith, Christian, Kari Marie Christoffersen, Hilary Davidson and Patricia Snell Herzog. 2011. *Lost in Transition: The Dark Side of Emerging Adulthood*. New York: Oxford University Press.



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