

ABSTRACT

Others Like Me: What Constitutes a "Uniracial" Congregation
and How do they Affect Attitude and Action?

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Multiracial congregations have become a popular field of study despite the fact that they constitute a small fraction of religious organizations. Due to this recent focus, a lack of examination has been given to more prevalent congregations which consist of only one race. Also, recent literature has focused on congregational-level analyses, foregoing individual-level data. Thus, there is a dearth of information on who attends Uniracial congregations and what effects racial diversity has on attendee's belief and action. Building on the work of Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller (1984), and Emerson and Smith (2000), this paper paints a picture of these attendees while testing the salience of the 80/20 delineation currently used to define multiracial congregations. Through analysis of 1721 cases from the Baylor Religion Survey, Uniracial attendees are found to trust people of different races less, have contrary views of cross-racial adoption, and be less likely to support racial/ethnic organizations.

Others Like Me: What Constitutes a "Uniracial" Congregation
and How do they Affect Attitude and Action?

by

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The United States has come a long way in regards to racial and ethnic prejudice over the last 45 years, but evidence suggests that it remains divided in many foundational ways. Whether it is income, unemployment, poverty, arrest rates, or voluntary group participation, divisions still exist along the powerful boundary of color (Jaret, Williams Reid, and Adelman. 2003; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001; Parker, Stults, and Rice 2005). According to 2000 United States Census figures, the median family income for those that reported white alone was \$53,356 compared to \$33,255 for those that reported their race as black alone (U.S. Census Bureau 2007). These statistics show that when the division is narrowed down to dollars and cents, the division is deep and wide. Yet, the divisions are not confined only to figures to be found in the Census or crime statistics.

Religious organizations are also still divided by race (Emerson and Smith 2000; Dougherty 2003). Due to this persistent division, religious congregations have become a popular organizational setting for race studies. Much work has been done over the last decade to shed needed light on the topic of racial diversity in congregations (Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998; Christerson, Emerson and Edwards 2005; DeYoung et al. 2003; Dougherty 2003; Dougherty and Huyser forthcoming; Emerson 2006; Emerson and Kim 2003; Marti 2005; Yancey 2003). Yet, due to multiracial congregations being such a popular research focus, little attention has been given to the alternatives. Less than one in ten U.S. congregations fit the categorization of “multiracial,” while as many as half are

entirely homogeneous in racial composition (Dougherty and Huyser forthcoming). Thus, a chasm exists in our understanding of what the average attendee of a uniracial congregation looks like, and how these people differ behaviorally and attitudinally from those in mixed-race congregations.

This study fills this gap. The goals of the study are to: 1) contrast methodologies for categorizing the racial homogeneity of organizations, utilizing data on attendees of religious congregations, and 2) assess the relationship between attending a Uniracial congregation and various beliefs and behaviors.

Assessing Racial Diversity in Religious Organizations

Pettigrew, Kanter, and Martin are attributed with building the current standard for organizational critical mass in regard to racial diversity. Their works (Kanter 1977; Pettigrew 1975; Pettigrew and Martin 1986) have defined an organization as “multiracial” where *any organization in which less than 80% of members share the same racial background.*¹ This delineation has become widely accepted by those currently studying multiracial congregations (Emerson and Kim 2003; Emerson, Kimbro and Yancey 2002; Emerson and Smith 2000; Yancey 2003). It seems that only by default do we find that all congregations not fitting this criterion are loosely categorized by some as “uniracial” (Emerson and Kim 2003; Emerson, Kimbro and Yancey 2002) and by others as “monoracial” (Yancey 2003). On the surface, this delineation seems proper theoretically and methodologically on the organizational level because of the critical mass that is established and the significant works referenced to earlier (Kanter 1977;

¹ As stated previously, the dominance of a multiracial focus can even be seen in this definition.

Pettigrew 1975; Pettigrew and Martin 1986). Yet, it ignores the largely homogeneous nature of most U.S. congregations.

The popular picture of American religious communities has been that they are heavily uniraical. The United States Congregational Life Survey (USCLS) found that 49 percent of congregations are made up of one race. Chaves (1998) and Emerson and Kim (2003) state that the National Congregations Study found nearly 90 percent of American congregations are at least 90 percent one racial group, and nearly 80 percent of congregations are at least 95 percent one racial group. This begs the question, “How are these congregations, and the individuals that fill the pews, any different from more racially mixed congregations?”

One of the only studies to answer this question directly was done in 1984 by Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller. They analyzed two conditions: whites who attend church with blacks, and whites who do not attend church with blacks. Despite the limits of the analysis, their findings are important in order to lay a foundation for the current study. They found three sets of variables to be the most important in differentiating between these two conditions: region, socioeconomic status, and religious tradition.

Region is related to racial diversity in congregations due to the historical and cultural attitudes present toward race in the South and Midwest. Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller (1984, pg. 216) found that congregational attendees in these regions are more likely to frequent uniraical congregations than attendees in the East or the West, which has further support from Dougherty and Huyser (Forthcoming). They state that interaction is difficult in these regions because “racial attitudes, long-standing norms, and residence patterns” all reinforce separation between blacks and whites. This interaction

is not limited to any one sphere of society. It is expected that this regional effect on lack of racial interaction will still be significant despite the passing of almost three decades.

The second set of variables dealt with socioeconomic status. Education and income have historically been associated with lessening prejudicial attitudes toward those of a different race (Allport 1958; Blau 1997; Brewer 1965; Marsden 1987). Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller (1984, pg. 209) state that presumably education changes “the world view in which one was raised,” for cultural biases are lost when an individual is taken out of the context of their upbringing. Income has the same negative relationship toward being an attendee of a uniraical congregation, due to its strong correlation with education. By default, those that have higher education will make more money, thus correlating income with the lessening of prejudicial attitudes.

The third set of variables that distinguished whites who went to church with a black person versus those that did not was religious tradition. Denominational affiliation and racial diversity have very long and sordid histories. Much could be said about racial relationships within various denominations. Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller find that Catholics are more likely to worship interracially than any other group. This finding is supported by Dougherty (2003). There are a variety of reasons for which this may be true, first of which is that they were able to retain their black members during Reconstruction. The majority of denominations in the United States experienced splits along racial lines at this time, but Catholics were able to avoid this (Hadaway, Hackett and Miller 1984: 210). Catholics and Mainline congregations also report higher rates of interracial worship due to their polity structures. The imposing of integration from authoritarian structures and the planning behind churches' locations led to less

segregation (Hadaway, Hackett and Miller 1984: 210). This also will lead to less uniracial attendees than would be found in free-church movements such as are prevalent in Evangelical traditions. As Emerson and Smith (2000) argue, the structural and theological nature of Evangelicalism causes it to negatively effect such congregations from becoming multiracial. Emphasis on the individual instead of the group leads to greater homophily. This can be seen in the popular movement within Evangelicalism of the “homogeneous unit principle” in which recruitment is specifically focused on seeking out people similar to the existing membership (Carroll 1978; Wagner 1979). As McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook (2001, page 420) state, “race and ethnicity are clearly the biggest divide in social networks today...” When one speaks of homophily, race is the first characteristic that must be mentioned.

The Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller study may be able to establish somewhat of a foundation for understanding the uniracial attendee, yet it has a couple of drawbacks. First, it is extremely limited in scope. They only dealt with two settings: whites that attend church with blacks and whites that do not attend church with blacks. Also, their study was taken from the 1978 and 1980 General Social Surveys, which were administered more than a quarter-century ago. Much has changed in regard to religious congregations and racial attitudes in the United States since the 1970’s.

Apart from what was found by Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller, there have been two other variables that have helped paint a picture of the uniracial attendee. First, due to a cultural history of racial prejudice in the United States, older individuals are more likely to belong to uniracial congregations than younger attendees (Ammerman 1997; Brewer 1965; Marsden 1987). The significance of age tells a powerful story. Despite racial

prejudice's lingering affect on society, the very fact that age is positively related shows that racial prejudice still exists, but is lessening.

The second variable of significance outside of Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller (1984) is residential segregation (Ammerman 1997; Yancey 2003; Emerson and Kim 2003; Emerson 2006; and Dougherty and Huyser forthcoming). In this vein, Allport (1958) and others draw upon contact theory, arguing that residential segregation and homogeneity within neighborhoods limit congregational integration (Blau 1994; Emerson, Kimbro and Yancey 2000; Emerson and Smith 2000; Hadaway, Hackett and Miller 1984).

Effects of Congregational Composition

The racial composition of American congregations has handicapped their ability to effect widespread social change when it comes to racial prejudice. "For most of America's history, the church has been a preserver of the status quo in race relations," observed Allport (1954, 448). After more than 50 years of study on avenues to lessening racism, still a dominant answer is intergroup contact (Allport 1954; Patchen 1997). A positive aspect of "Contact theory" is that it spans all types of social organizations. Whether it is a religious congregation or school, this theory states that the more opportunities and experiences of equal and profitable interactions an individual has with someone of another racial or ethnic group, the less prejudicial attitudes the individual will espouse toward that racial or ethnic group (Allport 1954). Thus, in a social or religious context where frequent and equal contact is made with someone of another race, prejudicial barriers become disarmed. It is through such amicable contact that race barriers can be removed and others are no longer seen as a racialized "other."

Such contact can only be truly experienced either through social organizations or residential communities. Whether the social organization is associated with work, schools, governmental or civic organizations, or religious organizations, contact between different races is necessary to help develop egalitarian racial structures. Congregations are unique among these organizations in that they offer the opportunity to not only effect the way people act, but what they believe. Thus, the racial diversity of a congregation could conceptually possess a very high level of socializing power.

It is because of this potential that religious congregations have become a very popular organizational structure for race studies (Ammerman 1997; Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson 2005). Some see these congregations as the best hope for overcoming racial division in society (DeYoung et al. 2003). In addition, Yancey (1999) found that whites who acknowledged attending church with blacks exhibited more racially tolerant attitudes than those that did not. The same study showed that whites in residentially integrated communities did not show more racially tolerant attitudes than whites in racially segregated neighborhoods.

What Really Constitutes “Uniracial?”

Now that the racial diversity of a congregation has been found to possess relationships social variables, the focus must shift to defining what really constitutes a “Uniracial” congregation. In 2001, the median church attendance in the United States was 100 (Dudley and Roozen 2001). This means theoretically that under the most popular categories for delineating Uniracial congregations, the typical uniracial African-American congregation could have 20 white members and it not be seen as a critical mass, or substantively different from the African-American congregation that has 0 or 1

non-black attendee. It would seem that there is a great amount of difference between these two cases.

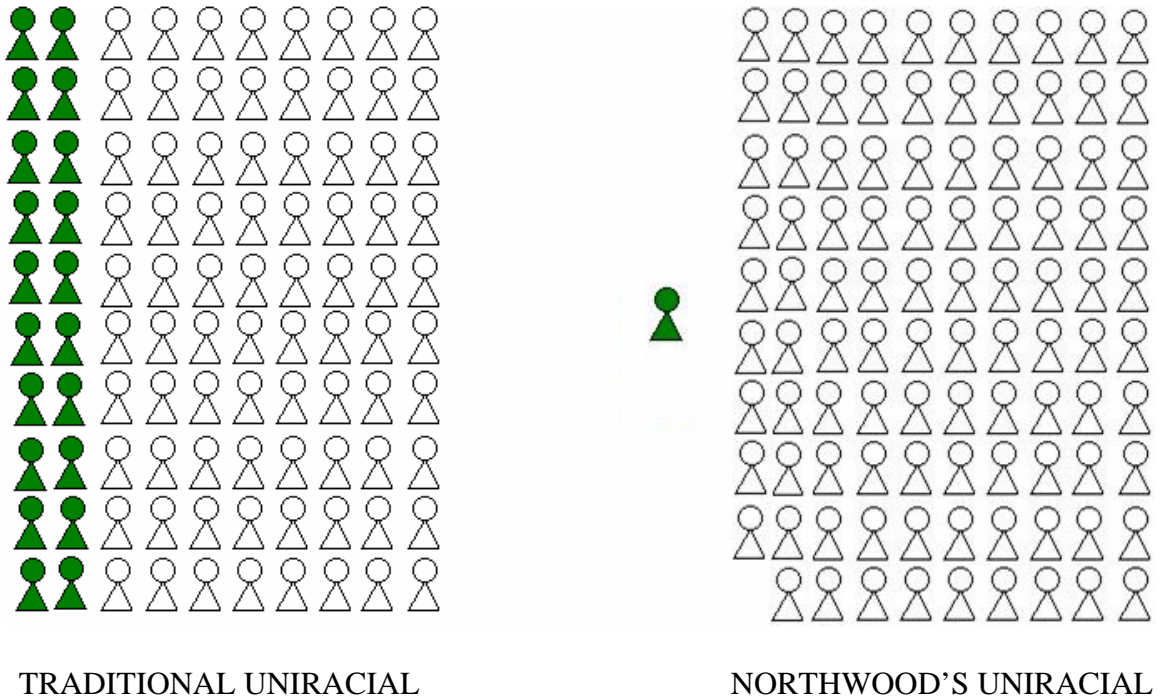


Figure 1: Two Methodologies of Categorizing Racial Diversity

Lawrence Northwood (1958) is one of the few scholars to look explicitly at same-race congregations as a conceptual category. In defining “uniracial,” he drew the line at “one adult member of another race than the majority, and in which the total number of such persons is not more than one percent of the congregation” (Northwood 1958, 151). Despite the age of this work and the fact that current expectations for levels of multiracial contact should be higher today, Northwood saw a substantive difference in such congregations, as opposed to those where the majority race constituted 98 percent of the congregation or less. This can be seen in Figure 1.

Northwood's categorization, which is very similar to the approaches of Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller (1984) and Yancey (1999) using the GSS, will be adapted in order to examine whether it is a better delineation for studying attendees of uniraical congregations than the current 80/20 divide. Hence, the term "Uniraical" will be reserved for *any religious congregation in which more than 98% of attendees share the same racial background*. Due to the primary focus of Pettigrew, Kanter, Martin, and Emerson and Smith, on multiraical cases, the term "Multiraical" will continue to be used for *any religious congregation in which less than 80% of attendees share the same racial background*. This leaves an intermediary grouping, which is effectively at the center of uniraical and multiraical. For comparative purposes, this grouping will be referred to as "Near Multiraical," where *any religious congregation in which more than 79% and less than 99% of attendees share the same racial background*.

CHAPTER TWO

Data and Methods

The data source for this analysis was the 2005 Baylor Religion Survey (BRS). The purpose of this survey was to give a snapshot of the religious attitudes of the American public. The survey is a nationally representative sample of 1721 English speaking adults collected by the Gallup Organization in 2005. The response rate was 46.4%. To best approximate population characteristics of the United States, all analyses feature weighted data (see Bader, Froese and Mencken 2006).

Analyses utilized the three comparative racial diversity categories, “Uniracial,” “Multiracial,” and “Near Multiracial”. These variables were based off of answers to the question, “About what percent of the people at your current place of worship are of the same race/ethnicity as you?” The variable, “Uniracial,” was constructed as a dichotomous variable that assigned 1 to all cases where the respondent stated that they attend a congregation that is 100 or 99 percent the same race as they are and assigned 0 to all of the other non-missing cases. The second category was called “Multiracial.” This dichotomous variable assigned 1 to all of the cases where the respondent attends a congregation that is between 79 and 21 percent the same race as they are, while assigning 0 to all other non-missing cases. The third category was designated by the creation of a variable called “Near Multiracial.” This is a dichotomous variable which assigns 1 to all cases where the respondent stated that they attend a congregation that is between 98 and 80 percent the same race as they are, while assigning 0 to all “Multiracial” and “Uniracial” cases.

There were three situations where groups of cases were lost. First, due to the nature of the study, it was necessary to eliminate a small amount of cases (54 or 3.14%) where the respondent stated that they attend a congregation that is 20 percent or less the same race as they are. It is impossible to ascertain the racial diversity of the congregations these respondents attend. The second set of cases are derived from those that simply state that they “Never Attend” religious services. This accounted for 370 cases or 21.50% of the total data set. The last set of cases that were lost were due to those that decided not to answer the question on racial diversity, 146 cases (8.48%) refused to answer this question. This resulted in a starting effective sample size of 1151.

The independent variables utilized in the analyses were, “Age” (continuous), “Education” (used intervally ranging from 1 = “No High School Diploma” to 5 = “Postgraduate work/Degree”), “Income” (used intervally ranging from 1 = “\$10,000 or less” to 7 = “\$150,000 or more”), “Region” (“South,” “East,” “West,” and “Midwest”), and “Religious Tradition” (“Evangelical Protestant,” “Mainline Protestant,” Catholic,” “Black Protestant,” and “Other Religion”).¹

The control variables utilized in the regression analyses were “White” (used as a dummy), “Female” (used as a dummy), “Married” (used as a dummy), “Number of Children” (continuous), “Religious at 12” (dichotomous variable where “Very” and “Somewhat” = 1 and “Not Very” and “Not” = 0), “Religious Service Attendance” (ranging from 1 = “less than once a year” to 8 = “Several times a week”), and “Congregation Size.” The size of the attendee’s congregation was examined by separating respondents who attend congregations of “less than 100,” “100-299,” “300-

¹ The version of the religious tradition variable utilized in the analyses consists of an aggressive missing field elimination technique (Dougherty, Johnson, and Polson 2006).

799,” and “800+.” There is one control variable which previous literature utilized, which was not available in the BRS data at the time of this study: racial composition of the neighborhood. Thus, it is not possible to test for the effects of living in racially homogeneous or heterogeneous neighborhoods on attendee’s racial attitudes and actions.

In examining the demographics of the various categories, two additional variables were analyzed. “Hours worked” (continuous) and “Length of Attendance.” “Length of Attendance” was analyzed via answers to the question “How long have you attended your current place of worship?” for which there were five responses: “One year or less,” “2-4 years,” “5-9 years,” “10-19 years,” and “20 or more years.”

The most salient way of assessing an individual’s racial attitudes is by assessing their attitudes on multiple levels. This study examines three levels: symbolic attitudes, concrete attitudes, and concrete action. Corresponding to these three levels, three variables are used: “Racial Trust,” “Adoption Wrong,” and “Racial Org. Involvement.” “Racial Trust” was formed by creating a dichotomous variable where those that stated that they trust people of other races “A lot” and “Some” were assigned 1. Those that responded that they trust people of other races “Only A Little” or “Not At All” were assigned 0. “Adoption Wrong” was formed by assigning those that felt adopting a child of a different race was “Not Wrong At All” to 1 and those that felt it was either “Only Wrong Sometimes,” “Almost Always Wrong,” or “Always Wrong” to 0. “Involvement with Racial Organizations” was formed by identifying whether the respondent had stated that they either “Belong,” “Contribute,” “Volunteer,” or “Hold a Leadership Position” with a Racial or Ethnic Organization. If a respondent answered yes to any of these

questions, they were assigned a 1. Those that did not respond yes to any of these were assigned a 0.

Due to the nature of the dependent variables being dichotomous, Logistic regression was utilized as the standard method of analysis to examine the three variables for significant relationships with attending the two types of congregations.² To compare effects of congregational types, two models were run for each dependent variable. First, a model was run with the “Multiracial” variable included. This would allow for any significant effects of attending a multiracial congregation to be found. The second model included the “Uniracial” variable in place of the “Multiracial” variable which allowed for any significant effects of attending a uniracial congregation to be found. The weight variable was utilized in all of these logistic regressions.

² These analyses were also run using Ordinal Logistic Regression and Multinomial Logistic Regressions. The results did not affect the study in any interpretive case, so the simple Logistic Regressions were accepted.

CHAPTER THREE

Findings

According to the BRS, the “Uniracial” category encapsulates 22.22 percent of religious attendees and 15.57 percent of Americans. Comparable percentages attend multiracial congregations (20.90 percent of religious service attendees and 14.58 percent of Americans). “Near Multiracial” congregations are found to be attended by 52.40 percent of worship service attendees and 36.72 percent of all Americans. Now that a glimpse of the whole is established, the focus will shift toward better understanding who attends Uniracial congregations.

Who Attends Uniracial Congregations?

As stated earlier, due to previous literature it would be expected to find differences in the areas of region, socio-economic status, religious tradition, and age. The findings presented in Table 1 are supportive. A regional effect seems to still be present. Almost half of attendees of “Uniracial” congregations are found in the South, while almost 40 percent of “Multiracial” attendees are in the West, despite the fact that it had the least amount of cases of the four regions. Logistic regression analyses (not shown), showed that there are significant differences between these categories when their size is controlled for.

Findings from the BRS also strongly support socioeconomic characteristics as having significant relationships with the type of congregation one attends. Table 1 shows

“Uniracial” attendees to have much lower incomes than “Near Multiracial” or “Multiracial” attendees. For instance, 44 percent of “Uniracial” attendees reported

Table 1
*Characteristics of
Uniracial, Near Multiracial, and Multiracial Attendees*

Variables	Uniracial	Near Multiracial	Multiracial
Region++			
East	19.02%	24.71%	15.65%
Midwest	26.59%	29.70%	19.79%
South	46.17%	29.62%	25.56%
West	8.23%	15.97%	39.01%
Income**	3.88	4.38	4.24
Education**	4.20	4.79	4.57
Religious Tradition++			
Catholic	14.84%	24.82%	39.68%
Black Prot.	9.17%	5.75%	2.52%
Evangelical Prot.	45.22%	36.50%	31.27%
Mainline Prot.	21.97%	28.26%	17.47%
Other Religion	8.57%	4.49%	8.54%
Age**	54.54	49.36	48.14
White	85.41%	90.36%	88.03%
Female	57.68%	55.73%	51.38%
Married	60.29%	67.41%	61.01%
Rel. Service Attendance*	5.33	5.12	4.81
Number of Children**	2.29	1.90	1.96
Number of Hours Worked**	23.71	29.12	29.68
Religious at 12++	70.79%	80.57%	81.77%
Length of Attendance*	3.37	3.22	3.02
Religious Service Size++			
< 100	45.02%	24.87%	18.68%
100-299	33.47%	33.50%	34.36%
300-799	13.29%	22.68%	27.99%
>799	8.21%	19.95%	18.98%

(Weighted Data)

+ Significant difference at $p < .05$ between Uniracial/Multiracial (Chi-square test)

++ Significant difference at $p < .05$ between Uniracial/Near Multiracial
Uniracial/Multiracial (Chi-square test)

* Significant difference at $p < .05$ between Uniracial/Multiracial (Scheffe's ANOVA)

** Significant difference at $p < .05$ between Uniracial/Near Multiracial
Uniracial/Multiracial (Scheffe's ANOVA)

earning less than \$35,000 a year, where as 25 percent of “Near Multiracial” attendees earned this amount and 27 percent of “Multiracial” attendees earned this amount. Education characteristics of the three categories signify similar traits. Very similar percentages of respondents reported having at most a high school diploma, 40% for “Uniracial,” 21% for “Near Multiracial,” and 26% for “Multiracial.” It seems that education and income both continue to play a role in explaining where an individual chooses to attend religious services.

The next set of variables to be analyzed was religious tradition. Previous literature is supported by the fact that 45 percent of “Uniracial” attendees are Evangelical, constituting the largest group. Further, almost 40 percent of “Multiracial” attendees are Catholic, which also supports previous findings. Yet in 2005, Evangelicals composed the second largest grouping of “Multiracial” attendees, not Mainline Protestants. In addition, it is not due to the greater number of Evangelicals in the sample. For, when just Mainline totals are analyzed (not on the graph), only 15 percent are “Multiracial,” which is just slightly less than Evangelicals at 17 percent.

Due to the history of race relations in the United States, older individuals are more likely to live and worship in segregation according to race (Brewer 1965; Marsden 1987). In agreement, Table 1 shows attendees of “Uniracial” congregations to be significantly older than the other two groups, being more than 5 years older on average. The “Near Multiracial” and “Multiracial” categories have negligible differences.

In order to contribute a more detailed picture of congregational diversity to the field of congregational studies, several variables were tested for significant differences between the varying levels of diversity. Six new variables were found to be significant

and provide the field a better understanding of what social factors effect diversity in voluntary organizations. Table 1 shows two demographic variables to be significantly different in only the “Uniracial” case. We find that “Uniracial” attendees have significantly more children and work a significantly less amount of hours per week. There are no differences between the means of “Near Multiracial” and “Multiracial” attendees for these two variables.

In addition, four variables that focus on congregational activity and religiosity were analyzed to check for significant differences between the categorizations based on current religious service attendance, whether the respondent considered her/himself religious at the age of 12, the length of attendance at their current place of worship, and the size of the congregation that the respondent frequents. Self reported religiosity at 12 year of age shows to be significantly different between the “Uniracial” category and each of the two remaining categories, while there are no differences in means between the “Near Multiracial” and “Multiracial” categories.

The second exploratory variable found to possess significant differences is “Religious Service Attendance.” Attendance is found to be the only variable analyzed that exemplifies a linear relationship between the three categories. When condensed into whether the respondent attends less than once a month, the percentage gradually increases as the level of diversity increases. Sixty-nine percent of “Uniracial” attendees frequent their place of worship at least once a month, where as only 63 percent of “Near Multiracial” attendees and 54 percent of “Multiracial” attendees report attending services that much. Advanced modeling techniques (not shown) confirmed that these differences were significant.

The third exploratory variable found to possess significant relationships is “Length of Attendance” in the respondents’ current place of worship. All three of the categories had their highest frequencies in the “20 or more years” designation, yet the percentage of “Uniracial” attendees reporting this was significantly larger (35%) than the other the categories, (27% for “Near Multiracial” and 25% for “Multiracial”).

The last exploratory variable found to be significant is average congregation size. As might be projected by now from other findings, “Uniracial” attendees are significantly more likely to attend congregations that have less than 100 people attending at a given service. On the converse side of the analysis, only 8 percent of “Uniracial” attendees are joined in service with more than 799 other individuals, where as 20 percent of “Near Multiracial” and 19 percent of “Multiracial” attendees attend a service of more than 800 people. Though the current analysis is on the individual level, it can be briefly posited from an organizational perspective that small congregations possess more of a family dynamic that will be resistant to heterogeneity.

The Effects of Congregational Racial Diversity on Racial Trust

The second goal of the study is to examine the social effects of congregational racial diversity on various attitudes and actions. The first of these is racial trust. Table 2 indicates that respondents who state that they attend congregations that are either 99% or 100% the same race of them are 59% less likely to state that they trust those of a different race, as compared to all other religious service attendees. This exemplifies the power of these congregations socially.

The lack of significance of the “Multiracial” variable sheds some interpretable value. It would be inappropriate to state that because this variable is not positively

Table 2
Effects on Racial Trust: Attending a Uniracial Congregation (Logistic Regression)

Variables	Racial Trust	Racial Trust
Uniracial	.628*	--
Multiracial	--	.940
Age	.986*	.984**
White	1.790	1.759
Female	1.219	1.226
Married	1.418	1.421
Education	1.217	1.230*
Income	1.075	1.078
Attendance	1.188***	1.187***
Congregation Size:		
100-299	1.041	1.134
300-799	1.010	1.111
800+	1.149	1.294
Region:		
East	1.384	1.443
West	1.389	1.568
Midwest	.807	.824
Religious Tradition:		
Mainline	1.260	1.331
Catholic	1.297	1.367
Black Protestant	.920	.905
Other Religion	1.119	1.076
Adj. R-Square	.1110	.1037
Chi-Square	61.6212***	57.4867***
N	995	995

***: p<.001 ** : p<.01 * : p<.05

("Congregation Size <100," "South," and "Evangelical" were left out as comparative variables.)

(Weighted Data)

related to racial trust, that these congregations are not effecting change. In reality, what is being seen is that there simply is little difference between the racial attitudes of Near

Multiracial and Multiracial attendees. Race attitudes are found to be most different between “Uniracial” attendees and those in congregations with any level of diversity.

Two control variables are found to be robustly significant in both models. Age and Congregational Attendance have significant relationships with trusting people of other races. The older the respondent, the less trusting he/she is of people of a different race. With each increasing year in age, the likelihood of the respondent stating that they trust someone of a different race drops by almost 2%. Those that attend services more than once a week are 114% more likely to trust those of a different race than respondents who attend religious services “once or twice a year.” This supports Allport’s (1954) hypothesis that people with an intrinsic orientation to religion are less prejudiced than people for whom religion is more of a social obligation—a condition which he deemed “extrinsic religion.”

The Effects of Congregational Racial Diversity on Adoption Attitudes

Uniracial attendees also are 118% more likely than all other congregational attendees to find it wrong to adopt a child of a different race. The power of attending one of these congregations is further supported, and dismissing its salience as spurious is less likely with a second relationship present with a racial variable. The variable also passes the test of crossing over from simply the attitudinal realm to attitudes toward concrete actions. “Uniracial” congregations not only have significant effects on the attitudes of attendees, but also their attitudes toward actions.

Six of the control variables are found to hold significance in both of the models in Table 2. The most powerful of the variables happened to be a regional indicator. Respondents from the West were found to be 20 times less likely to find adoption of a

Table 3
*Effects on Attitudes Toward Adopting a Child of a Different Race:
 Attending a Uniracial Congregation (Logistic Regression)*

Variables	Adoption Wrong	Adoption Wrong
Uniracial	2.184*	--
Multiracial	--	.653
Age	1.025*	1.025
White	.475	.514
Female	.394*	.374**
Married	.379*	.384**
Number of Children	.959	.994
Education	.499***	.494***
Income	1.329	1.260
Attendance	.865	.864
Congregation Size:		
100-299	1.240	1.104
300-799	1.977	1.675
800+	.174	.162
Region:		
East	.678	.619
West	.047*	.049*
Midwest	.569	.571
Religious Tradition:		
Mainline	.364*	.342*
Catholic	.167**	.158*
Black Protestant	.221	.225
Other Religion	.001	.001
Adj. R-Square	.3055	.2939
Chi-Square	97.7427***	93.8654***
N	979	979

***: $p < .001$ **: $p < .01$ *: $p < .05$

("Congregation Size <100," "South," and "Evangelical" were left out as comparative variables.)

(Weighted Data)

child of a different race to be wrong than respondents from the South. Further, it is

interesting that there were no significant differences between respondents from the South

and those from either the East or Midwest. Catholics were almost 5 times less likely to find cross-racial adoption wrong than Evangelical Protestants. Further, Mainline Protestants were almost 3 times less likely to find it wrong than Evangelicals. There were no differences between the attitudes of Black Protestants and Evangelicals or those of other religions and Evangelicals. Females, married people, and persons with higher levels of education are also more tolerant of cross-race adoptions.

The Affects of Congregational Racial Diversity on Race Group Involvement

The final test of an individual's congregational racial diversity is whether the person has taken the physical step of belonging, contributing, volunteering, or holding a leadership position in a racial or ethnic organization. Again, there is no relationship between the dependent variable and the "Multiracial" delineation, yet Uniracial attendees are 2.5 times less likely to support one of these organizations than attendees of congregations that are less than 99% the same race as them. This finding completes testing for significant relationships across the attitudinal-actional continuum. Variables dealing with racial attitudes, racial attitudes toward actions, and racial actions have all been found to have relationships with congregational racial diversity.

Despite race, region, or religious tradition, attendees of "Uniracial" congregations are unlikely to participate in the activities of a racial/ethnic organization. In reality they are attending one on any given Sunday. These congregations seem to be taking the place socially, of organizations that are more popularly understood to promote race and/or ethnicity. If this is true, the current study has not only taken the step of proving the salience of race and congregational studies as important social effectors on society, but

Table 4
*Effects on Involvement with a Racial Organization:
 Attending a Uniracial Congregation (Logistic Regression)*

Variables	Racial Org. Involvement	Racial Org. Involvement
Uniracial	.399*	--
Multiracial	--	1.142
Age	1.028**	1.027**
White	.121***	.126***
Female	.767	.761
Married	.733	.722
Education	1.246	1.248
Income	.918	.949
Attendance	.983	.984
Congregation Size:		
100-299	.697	.777
300-799	.718	.742
800+	.814	.962
Region:		
East	.988	1.145
West	.565	.658
Midwest	.443	.477
Religious Tradition:		
Mainline	1.322	1.309
Catholic	2.320	2.149
Black Protestant	1.949	1.783
Other Religion	2.257	1.840
Adj. R-Square	.2141	.1996
Chi-Square	83.5090***	77.6382***
N	1013	1013

***: $p < .001$ **: $p < .01$ *: $p < .05$
 (“Congregation Size <100,” “South,” and “Evangelical” were left out as comparative variables.)
 (Weighted Data)

has also shed light to possibly the most powerful social agent in the United States in regards to racial and ethnic promotion.

In both of the models, age and race are found to have significant relationships with being involved with a racial/ethnic organization. The older the respondent was, the more likely they were to support one of these organizations. With each increase of a year of age, the respondent becomes 3% more likely to support a racial/ethnic organization. Whites are 8.26 times less likely to support racial/ethnic organizations than non-whites.

CHAPTER FOUR

Conclusion

For more than 40 years it has been disputed whether the church is the most segregated social institution in the United States (Dougherty 2003; Emerson and Smith 2000; Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller 1984; Winter 1962), and changes in the rate of integrated worship have seemed slight. Yet, this does not mean that work in this area lacks worth. An exciting element of race and congregational research is the fact that it is progressing to the point where comparative study is possible and beneficial. Yet, multiracial studies have dominated the attention of sociologists, and left a gaping hole in the understanding of the more prevalent Uniracial contexts.

In the search for a better depiction of attendees of “Uniracial” congregations one finds that the differences are few when the old divisor of 80/20 is utilized. This delineation may be effective for defining who attends “Multiracial” congregations, but is ineffective in providing an understanding of who attends “Uniracial” congregations. Further, the typical attendee of a “Near Multiracial” congregation looks quite similar to the average person worshiping in a “Multiracial” setting. It is not even necessary to compare “Uniracial” attendees to only “Multiracial” attendees, for significant differences appear as soon as a respondent claims they are attending a congregation that is composed of less than 99 percent the same race a she/he is.

It is impossible to know whether Northwood saw congregations that were 99 percent or more one race to be theoretically, or simply perceptually, different, but it seems to have strong statistical support in today’s cultural context. In the case of

studying the attitudes and actions of “Uniracial” congregation attendees, the delineations and definitions utilized in this study seem to allow for more effective discourse.

Twenty-two percent of church attendees and 15.57 percent of Americans attend a “Uniracial” congregation. These attendees are older, are more likely to live in the South, have lower incomes and educational levels, were less religious at the age of 12, are currently attending a congregation at higher rates, have attended their current congregation for a longer period of time, attend smaller congregations, are more likely to be Evangelical and less likely to be Catholic, have more children, and work less than attendees of more racially diverse congregations. These findings illumine a unique, under-studied subculture which is comprised of a relatively large amount of Americans. It is an enclave that is large enough and distinct enough to warrant further study for racializing effects.

Though overt racism may not be preached from the pulpits, the uniform coloration of the frequenters casts an indelible shadow on the racial perceptions of those sitting in the pew. It seems that socialization is occurring in ways that many congregations may not intend. Being that congregations are the source of belief structure for their attendees, they wield a very powerful hand in effecting the thoughts and actions of society. Throughout history these effects have been both positive and negative, leading to social harmony and to social discord. Uniracial contexts affect not only generic attitudes (racial trust), but more concrete attitudes (thoughts on cross-racial adoption), as well as actions (involvement in racial/ethnic organizations). This means that the socializing effects of attending a Uniracial religious organization stretch across the continuum of human thought and deed.

It may be appropriately argued that these findings are based on the individual perceptions of congregational attendees, which may be a little more “rose-colored” than we would like. A second limitation that must be admitted is the fact that the respondents’ neighborhood composition was not available. This is probably the greater of the two omissions and further study including this is needed. Future research would benefit from testing for other effects of racial attitudes and actions utilizing Northwood’s 98/99 delineation while controlling for the racial diversity of attendee’s social networks.

No social institution can boast to shape the beliefs and actions of society quite like religion. Thus, it would make sense that religion might be the most powerful tool in creating, and destroying, racial prejudice. Governmental, private, and public institutions have entertained endless approaches to lessen racial prejudice for years. Now, we have evidence that the most effective avenue to positive change may also be the engine that has been the driving force of racism all along: the religious congregation.

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