BLACK AND WHITE MEMBERS AND MINISTERS
IN THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
University of North Texas in Partial
Fulfilment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

Denton, Texas
August, 1991
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Two primary sources of data were utilized: official church records, and a questionnaire survey administered to a random sample of Anglo and African-American United Methodists in the North Texas area. Questions covered socio-demographic and theological matters as well as perceptions of racism in the church. Ministers and lay members were surveyed separately.

The review of literature detailed the history of Black participation in the American church, the current socioeconomic status of Black Americans, general sociology of religion theory, and reference group theory.

Given the merger of Black and White denominational structures, plus the standardization of educational requirements and salary structures for clergy, it was hypothesized that Methodists would exhibit great similarities among the races in: socioeconomic status, theology, and perceptions of racism in the church, despite the divergence between the races in the general population.

Twelve specific hypotheses were tested, using a variety of statistical procedures: Regression Analysis, T-test, Mann
Whitney and Chi-square.

As predicted, Black members of United Methodist Churches showed higher levels of education and higher incomes than Blacks in the general population in the Dallas area. Black and White members of United Methodist Churches were found not to differ on: (1) education level, (2) income level, (3) occupational categories, (4) religious orthodoxy, or (5) religious certainty. On certain life-situation theology questions a racial difference was detected. Additionally, younger Black members are more likely than their elders to have incomes which equal or exceed their White counterparts.

The length of membership in the church did not seem to affect the level of income.

As predicted, Black and White clergy did not differ on: (1) total income relative to the income levels of the membership of their specific congregations, (2) the rate of salary paid per member of the congregation, (3) religious orthodoxy, (4) religious certainty, or (5) perception of racial discrimination within the church. However, the total salary packages for comparably sized churches are still higher for White clergy.

Implications for the denomination are detailed.
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

One of the bedrock findings of sociology is that human beings are never simply individuals, achieving lofty goals over and apart from their fellow human beings. We are, instead, inextricably linked one to the other. This applies to the scholarly enterprise as well as to real life. Whatever the achievements of this study, they are not mine alone, but are dependent upon the contributions of a host of friends and family, some of whom I wish to single out here.

First and foremost, I am grateful to my wife and children who encouraged my labors, even though to pursue my studies often meant a preoccupied or absent husband and father.

I am also indebted to Asbury United Methodist Church of Denton, Texas. Throughout the bulk of my academic career, they provided the necessary time off and paid the bills. They gave gladly, declaring that any knowledge I might gain would surely benefit the work of the church. Among those special friends at Asbury are the McHargues who gave me free use of their computer equipment and the upstairs activity room which proved to be a haven for every Tuesday’s assault on ignorance. I am also grateful to Bill Brookshire, faithful church member and helpful academician.
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Historically, most Christian denominations in the United States have had both Black and White members within their structures. Until recent years, a gulf has separated the racial groups, that gulf being socio-economic, theological and structural. With the national phenomenon of an emerging Black middle class, and with structural changes within the major Protestant denominations uniting Black and White pastors and churches, might one now expect that gulf to have decreased? Is greater equality to be found between these two racial constituencies within the same Christian denomination?

This study is a descriptive analysis of the most widely dispersed Protestant denomination in the United States, the United Methodist Church. It is a comparison of Blacks to Whites, both lay and clergy. It is expected that a decline in lower class Black membership and an increase in the number of middle class Black United Methodists will be found. It is also expected that White and Black members will be socio-economically similar, and that their
theological understandings will begin to merge, reflecting their now more common life experiences.

Historical Background

A Growing Black Middle Class

Two major historical movements serve as backdrop for this study. The first of these is the emergence of a significant middle class among African-Americans in the United States. The existence of such a middle class has been documented, for example, by Steinberg (1981, p. 208), who cites as evidence the rise in occupational categories by Black workers. First, he notes Wattenberg and Scammon's calculation that a majority of Blacks are now middle class. However, their assessment is based on the (probably faulty) logic of including such low wage personnel as secretaries, retail workers and security positions in their definition of middle class. Second, Steinberg cites Hill's assessment of the situation in 1977. Hill notes that the number of African-American men working in "high paying occupations," namely professionals, businessmen, and craft workers, comprises only about 32 percent of Black male workers. This figure Hill contrasts with the 52 percent of White males who work in similar categories, and thus he concludes that there is only an illusion of progress. Steinberg, however, points out that the picture then (1977) was vastly improved from 1940, when only seven percent of Blacks worked in these high
paying occupations. Thus, the Black middle class had grown during these decades more than four-fold. Finally, Steinberg argues that the new Black middle and upper classes are not based in a ghetto economy; these are mainstream workers, earning their living in the larger society. Puckrein (1984) points out that in the twenty years between 1960 and 1980 the number of Black physicians tripled, whereas the number of Black attorneys increased six-fold, although African-Americans are still proportionally underrepresented in these categories.

A sizeable Black middle class appears to have developed in America, although it is also true that the movement toward equality has apparently slowed in recent years. (See Farley and Allen, 1987, for evidence of Black economic stagnation in the 1980s.) Nevertheless, there has been an increase in the number of middle class African-Americans over the last several decades.

Structural Changes Within the Denominations

A second historical factor which serves as background to this study concerns major structural changes which have taken place within the United Methodist Church. Prior to its merger with the Evangelical United Brethren Church in 1968, the (former) Methodist Church had a racially divided denominational structure. Almost all of its Black clergy and Black lay members were found in congregations which were administered through a judicatory known as the Central
Jurisdiction, whereas the White members were divided into five regional judicatories. The local administrative units, under the Central Jurisdiction (known as annual conferences) specified credentialing requirements for the ordination of their own clergymen and set minimum salary packages for their clergy members, separate and distinct from the White annual conferences. One result of this separate system was that Black pastors were, in the church as in the society at large, historically both lesser educated and lesser paid than their White counterparts.

Following the merger of the two predecessor denominations into the now United Methodist body, the Central Jurisdiction was slowly dissolved and its congregations, clergy and annual conferences were merged into the five existing, formerly White-only, jurisdictions. Four effects of this merger seem noteworthy.

The first effect of merger is that the requirements for all new ministerial candidates were elevated for African-Americans. The higher, White standards became the denominational standards. Thus, to become a fully ordained United Methodist minister, one now needed a four year college degree and a three year Master of Divinity degree (or its equivalent) as well. Many Black pastors who were formerly ordained without these newly required, minimum credentials continued their ministries under "grandfather clauses," but all new candidates for ministry had to meet the stricter
standards. The disparity between the races can be seen in a study by Shockley, Brewer and Townsend (1976) in which they noted that 81.4 percent of the White ministers in their sample had a full seminary degree compared to only 40.2 percent of Black ministers. Indeed, over 38 percent of Black pastors in 1976 had never graduated from college compared to less than five percent of the White pastors. The days of the poorly trained (compared to White pastors) African-American minister in the United Methodist Church were numbered.

The second effect of the merger was that the same minimum salary package applied to Black and White clergy equally. United Methodism has a unique salary system for its pastors in that every ordained minister is guaranteed both an appointment (that is, a job) and a minimum salary (adjustable on the basis of years of service). Prior to merger, the Black annual conferences (within the Central Jurisdiction) set their own minimum salaries, independent of White annual conferences. However, following merger the same minimum salary standard applied equally to both races, and the one adopted was the higher, White minimum. For many Black pastors this represented a substantial raise in pay. It also placed a burden on the Black congregations, which historically are smaller in size on average than White churches, to come up with additional salary support for their pastors. Congregations which are too small or too
poor to become self-sufficient were typically merged with other nearby congregations or phased out after some years of receiving supplemental salary support from the annual conference.

The third effect of the merger of White and Black structures is that now Black ministers were given a much larger field of eligible churches to serve (at least theoretically), and many of these were substantially larger than anything heretofore available.--This is true for three reasons: first, there are more White churches than Black churches; second, White churches tend to be larger than Black churches, and finally, the promise of "open itinerancy" (meaning that all pastors are eligible to serve all pastoral charges, without regard to race) was held out to Black pastors after merger. Thus, the prospects of career advancement were greatly increased for African-American clergy within the denomination.

The final effect of merger to be noted here is that Blacks, being absorbed within a much larger White-dominated structure, were forced to learn to operate within an alien environment.--Old ways of doing things, old in-groups, old power structures were now inadequate. African-Americans suddenly became eligible to be full participants in middle class dominated bureaucratic and administrative structures. The opportunity emerged for new leaders to arise, whose
leadership might be based on the same kinds of standards obtaining for White leaders. Certainly a pressure was felt by Black clergy and lay leaders to be more like their White counterparts.

Theoretical Framework

Social Stratification and Religion

Durkheim, Marx and Weber have each recognized that religion, like all human institutions, arises from, and reflects the life experiences of, its participants. One extremely important aspect of life in Western society is the social stratification system, with its unequal distribution of economic rewards, status, and power. Until fairly recently, Black members of American society were almost all part of a semi-caste system, caste in the sense that there was virtually no possibility of upward social mobility within the larger society. However, with gains made by Black persons through social and historical processes, a significant Black middle class has emerged in recent years. Members of the Black middle class have life experiences and life chances significantly different from the bulk of African-Americans. Their interests are more similar to White middle class persons than to the majority of Black citizens, who still compose the Black under-class in America. (See Glasgow, 1980, for a description of the black underclass.) Since religious orientation tends to reflect
the life experiences of the individual believer, Black persons who gravitate to a religious denomination which holds middle class values, requires middle class education as preparation for its clergy, and pays its pastors a middle class wage, are likely to be middle class themselves.

Reference Group Theory

Merton and Kitt (1950) suggest that people interpret their situations relative to others, the others thereby comprising a "reference group". Such reference groups provide a focus for comparison on some salient aspect of life. Reference groups can be of two major types -- in-group and out-group. In the former, people compare themselves with others whom they judge to be similar to themselves, as soldiers stationed within the same country overseas. In the latter, the out-group comparison, the reference group is one that stands over against the person, as a soldier stationed abroad comparing himself with other soldiers who remain at home or with civilians who were not inducted into the service at all. In the church, reference group theory applies both to clergy and to the laity.

First, clergy persons are affected by their reference groups. As long as African-American United Methodist pastors were segregated from White pastors in separate judicatories, their in-group reference was limited to other Black pastors. With the merger of jurisdictions in 1970, a new in-group for Black pastors includes Whites clergy, who
themselves comprise the vast majority. Thus, the basis for comparison on how well a Black United Methodist pastor in Dallas, Texas is doing in his career is no longer limited to the reference point of the size and salary of the largest Black church, St. Luke's Community United Methodist Church with 1,400 members and a pastoral remuneration package of $36,000, nor to the median size and salary of Black congregations in Dallas, 401 members and $27,600. With merger, the upper limit is increased dramatically. Highland Park Church has over 12,000 members. Lovers Lane Church offers a salary package in excess of $100,000. The median size of White United Methodist congregations in the city of Dallas is 507 members, with a median salary package of $33,253. In addition to the Dallas churches, there are a number of other sizeable congregations (and salaries) in the (mostly White) suburbs. In theory at least, any capable pastor -- Black or White -- is eligible for appointment as pastor-in-charge for any of the 257 pastoral charges in the North Texas Annual Conference.

As Merton and Kitt point out, people do not have a single, but multiple reference groups. Accordingly, Black pastors will continue to reference themselves in relation to other Black pastors. Nevertheless, ordained ministers in the North Texas Conference as a whole comprise at least one reference group by which all pastors, regardless of race, now compare themselves. The set of expectations developed
on the basis of this reference group will greatly differ from those derived by utilizing only other Black pastors as one's reference group since larger salaries and bigger congregations are found in this larger body.

Second, the church serves as a reference group for laypersons as well as for clergy. It is expected, therefore, that laypersons who join congregations in which their ministers are middle class would not find congruence between their life experience and the theology, values and expectations of such a denomination or its representatives, the clergy, if they were not themselves middle class persons. Social mobility is, therefore, likely to be reflected in church membership as it is in other experiences in life. The newly emerged Black middle class should be expected to join predominantly middle class denominations, as do their White counterparts.

Statement of Purpose

The central question of this dissertation is whether significant socio-economic and theological differences exist between Black and White United Methodist Church members and ministers. With the historical background detailed above, can one expect that Black and White United Methodists will continue to display significant socio-economic differences? And, since theology tends to follow life experiences, will the historic theological differences between Blacks and Whites in America noted elsewhere (see Greeley, 1979 for
example) be found within the merged United Methodist Church? If in fact Black United Methodists are now predominantly middle class persons, will their theological understandings more nearly reflect their new social location? Or is the identification of race stronger than that of class so that middle class Black United Methodists continue to hold distinctly different theological understandings from middle class White persons? And finally, will the perceptions of Black and White United Methodists coincide regarding the treatment of Black persons within the church? To summarize, the question of racial differences will be addressed in three areas: (1) socio-economic status, (2) theological understandings, and (3) perception of treatment of African-Americans within the church.

**Hypotheses**

**Hypothesis 1:** Black members of United Methodist Churches in Dallas, Texas have higher income levels than Black citizens of Dallas.

**Hypothesis 2:** Black members of United Methodist Churches in Dallas, Texas have higher education levels than Black citizens of Dallas.

**Hypothesis 3:** Black members of United Methodist Churches have educational attainment levels equal to or greater than White members of United Methodist Churches.
Hypothesis 4: Black members of United Methodist Churches have equally high status occupations as White members of United Methodist Churches.

Hypothesis 5: Salaries of Black United Methodist pastors relative to the membership size of their congregations are equal to or greater than the salaries of White pastors of same-sized congregations.

Hypothesis 6: Salaries of Black United Methodist pastors relative to the median income of their congregations are equal to or greater than salaries of White pastors relative to the median income of their members.

Hypothesis 7: Salaries of Black United Methodist pastors today are paid at a rate per member equal to or greater than their White counterparts, whereas prior to full integration in 1970, Black pastors earned less per member than White pastors.

Hypothesis 8: Younger Black members of United Methodist Churches have incomes closer to their White peers in the church than do older members.

Hypothesis 9: Newer Black members of United Methodist Churches have incomes closer to their White counterparts than do longer tenured members.

Hypothesis 10: There is no difference in the theological orientation of Black and White United Methodist pastors.
Hypothesis 11: There is no difference in the theological orientation of Black and White United Methodist members.

Hypothesis 12: There is no difference in the perception of racial discrimination within the United Methodist Church between Black and White United Methodist pastors.

Definition of Terms

Income level will be measured by the answers given to the single question, "What was your total family income last year? (Add together the total gross salaries of all employed family members.)" The figures given are assumed to be 1988 income due to the timing of the questionnaire. The five answer categories correspond to the national statistics on family income for 1988 compiled by the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1989), each category containing approximately twenty percent of all U. S. households.

Education levels are measured by answers given to the two questions, "How many years of formal education have you completed?" and "How many years of formal education has your spouse completed?"

Occupations are measured by answers given to the questions, "What is your occupation? If retired, what was your occupation when you were employed?" and "What is your spouse's occupation? If retired or unemployed, what was your spouse's occupation when employed?" Additionally,
these occupations are grouped into major categories generally following current Bureau of Labor Statistics procedures. The categories utilized are: (1) Managerial, (2) Professional specialty, (3) Technicians and related support, (4) Sales, (5) Administrative support, including clerical, (6) Protective services, (7) Service occupations, (8) Precision product, craft, and repair, (9) Operators and fabricators, (10) Laborers, and (11) Farming, forestry and fishing. Additionally, students and the unspecified are treated as missing data.

Salaries for United Methodist clergy are determined by the reported salaries as listed in the 1989 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference.

Theological orientation is measured by responses given to the eleven questions in Section III of the questionnaire, "Theological Beliefs." These questions were first devised by Greeley (1979) for a national sample taken by the National Opinion Research Center.

Perception of racial discrimination within the church is measured by the answers given to the ten questions in Section II of the questionnaire, "Experience Within the Church." These questions were first utilized by Shockley, Brewer and Townsend (1976) for a national sample of United Methodist clergy.
Limitations

This study is limited in application due to the fact that only one annual conference of the United Methodist Church has been sampled. The findings may reflect the national body, but they may also be peculiar to the limited regional area from which the sample is drawn.

A second limitation is one familiar to all social scientists utilizing mailed questionnaires. The response rates do not begin to approach 100 percent; perhaps another mechanism besides the one under investigation will skew the findings.

Chapter Summary

This study represents a descriptive analysis of the North Texas Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church. It compares Black and White racial groups within the denomination, clergy to clergy and laity to laity. It tests the hypothesis that some of the historic socio-economic and theological differences between the races have been eliminated.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of literature is divided into five sections. The first of these is an overview of the historical and sociological literature on the Black church since its inception in America. Special emphasis will be paid to the education and role of Black clergy. The second section covers the history of the United Methodist denomination, with particular attention to its Black constituency and to the structural changes which have differentially impacted White and Black congregations. The third section will detail the present socio-economic state of Black Americans, including trends over the last century in income, employment, and education relative to White America. The fourth section is an overview of basic sociological theory on the role of religion. The final section will review the sociological literature on reference group theory.

The Black Church

The Black church in America has not often been the subject of study. This can be readily seen by the fact that in a recent (spring, 1989) seminary course studying the history of Black Christianity at a major Protestant theo-
logical school (Perkins School of Theology at Southern Methodist University), the only available text deemed suitable was one of 1964 vintage, *The Negro Church in America* (Frazier, 1964). In the sociology of religion, as in historical studies, the Black church has served more as an illustration about which much is presumed, rather than as a subject of serious study in and of itself. A few works have, however, touched on the sociological phenomenon of the Black church.

**Religion as a Tool of Slavery**

Historically, the church was the first institution to develop in the Black community, emerging from the days of slavery. The generally accepted thesis in historical and sociological literature alike is that religion was ultimately used by White masters to subdue their slaves, a cynical device to make repression palatable (Johnstone, 1975; Jones, 1978; Martin and Martin, 1985; Raboteau, 1978; Roberts, 1984; Stampp, 1971; Weatherford, 1957; Yinger, 1957; Young, 1977). "The conversion of the heathen black for his own good," actually became an ex post facto rationalization for the institution of slavery (Jones, 1978; Lincoln, 1984; Raboteau, 1978). Perhaps the most unabashed declaration of the social usefulness of converting slaves (usefulness to the White population, of course), is found in the 1842 work by Charles C. Jones (cited in Simpson, 1978, pp. 220-221).
Benefits to be derived from instructing one's slaves in religion include:

(1) Better understanding of the relations of master and servant; (2) the pecuniary interests of masters will be advanced; (3) increased safety; (4) the promotion of morality; (5) much unpleasant discipline will be saved the churches; (6) the souls of our servants will be saved.

This ideology was not universally adopted from the beginning, however. Initially, slaves were not exposed to Christian teaching at all because it was feared that the biblical emphasis on freedom might in fact undermine the slave system, inducing slaves to consider themselves equal to their masters (Raboteau, 1978; Weatherford, 1957). However, this reticence was overcome by interpreting the message as a spiritual one: "You are free in Christ, but only if you observe the role God has assigned. Look, slavery is found throughout the scriptures, so who are we to tamper with God's arrangement of the social order?" (Lincoln, 1984; Martin and Martin, 1985). The carefully edited version of Christianity presented to the plantation slaves served as a major method of social control, holding both the bodies and the souls of Black persons captive. An Alabama judge declared that religious instruction of slaves by "a suitable person," is valuable because it "not only benefits the slave in his moral relations, but enhances his value as an honest, faithful servant and laborer" (quoted in Stampp, 1971, p. 54).
The first recorded baptism of an African-American was in Jamestown in 1624, barely five years after the arrival of those first slaves (Simpson, 1978), yet the first concerted efforts to convert the slaves were not undertaken until 1701 with the founding of the Anglican Church's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (Jones, 1978; Weatherford, 1957). The campaign to reach the colonies' Blacks was done so under the reassurance of legislation passed in Maryland in 1664 and in Virginia in 1667 which guaranteed that slave status would be unaffected by baptism. By 1706, four other colonies followed suit. To further buttress the masters' hold on their property, an edict issued by the Bishop of London in 1727 stated that a slave's conversion "does not make the least alteration in Civil property . . . but continues Persons in the same state as it found them . . ." (Lincoln, 1984, p. 45). Despite the assurances, real success in reaching the African-American masses awaited the coming of the Baptists and Methodists with their own fiery brand of evangelism.

Christianity and the Slave: New African Cultural Expression Or Destroyer of African Culture?

The Standard View

The new religion of Christianity, it is postulated by many historians, served to obliterate the cultural distinctives of the slaves, severing most, if not all, of their African roots (Alho, 1976; Frazier, 1963). The new,
forced arrivals were stripped of language, family, community, and even the traditional African cultural definition of work as a communal endeavor.

African Culture Preserved

A counter argument is made, first by Du Bois (cited in Frazier, 1963), and by others (Herskovits, 1971; Martin & Martin, 1985; Mitchell, 1975; Raboteau, 1978; Simpson, 1978; Washington, 1973), that the Black church actually preserved many of the remnants of African tribal life and belief, and that these are in some ways maintained even to the present time. Examples include the emphasis on baptism by immersion as a carry-over from west African water cults, Methodist "shouting" as a carry-over from African dancing rituals, and the belief in spirit possession as also a reflection of African theology. The normal Black view of the devil had more to do with west African trickster-gods than the White version of Satan (Raboteau, 1978; Simpson, 1978; Washington, 1973). A twist on the theme of the African rootedness of Black American Christianity is found in Park, who instead postulated a distinctive Black "temperament". Thus, slaves naturally and eagerly accepted the White man's view of heaven and their apocalyptic vision not only because it coincided with their real life conditions, but also because the Christianity presented to the slaves was congruent with that temperament (Lyman, 1972).
Herskovits (1934) suggests that evidences of African influences on Black religious ritual in North and South America include: (1) spirit possession, (2) dancing with African steps and identical motor behavior, (3) singing that derives in manner, if not in actual form, directly from Africa, (4) references to crossing the River Jordan, which reflects African river-crossing, (5) wakes, (6) shallow burials, (7) passing of small children over coffins, (8) inclusion of food and money in coffins, (9) fear of cursing, and (10) improvisation of songs of ridicule.

Class Orientation Vs. African Culture

Yet even if the Herskovits thesis is accepted, it can be seen that many of the major themes of the newly adopted religion of Christianity were shaped by, and held fast because of, the harsh life experiences of slave life (Alho, 1976). Whatever cultural elements may have survived are to be understood only by reference to the contemporary situations faced by African-Americans (Yinger, 1957). Secondly, as Simpson points out, Blacks in America were kept in low concentrations; that is, the average number of slaves per plantation in Virginia and Maryland was only thirteen. It was therefore difficult to sustain any deviant cultural norms, swallowed up as they were by the surrounding dominant culture. And, by the end of the eighteenth century, the vast majority of North American slaves were native-born, some 99 percent being so by 1860. "These persons had not
had any personal contact with Africa, and most of them had no acquaintance with those who did have such contact" (Simpson, 1978, p. 19). Finally, Myrdal (1971) suggests that the Black church, rather than being influenced in its worship by its own African heritage, actually derived its emotional style from lower class White converts in the Great Awakening. He notes that initially African-Americans merely observed from a distance as White converts expressed themselves through "shouting, crying, laughing, 'speaking with tongues,' barking, dancing, rolling around, and manifesting all the traits associated with extreme 'possession'" (Myrdal, 1971, p. 84). This style of worship has held on into the twentieth century largely among Black Christians because they have remained confined to the lower socioeconomic sector. The same style of expressive religion is still to be found in White religious bodies which are similarly socially located, especially in the South.

Correlation with social class in Chicago study.-- Evidence for the thesis that much of the traditional Black worship style is the result of class orientation rather than race is found in a study by Daniel (1971) toward the end of the Depression. Although the stereotype has been that Black worship is fully lower class in its orientations and escapist in its content, Daniel found a broad range of worship styles in the various Black congregations he studied in Chicago, from the highly emotional to the rigidly
liturgical. Daniel also found a correlation between the type of ritual preferred and both the social class and the degree of social adjustment of church members.

Social cohesion in an alien environment.—Shorn of all sense of family, tribe, geographic and cultural roots, the Christian religion provided a new basis of social cohesion for the early slaves and their descendants (Frazier, 1963; Lincoln, 1984; Martin and Martin, 1985). Especially with the strong, successful proselyting activities of the Methodists and Baptists, and to a lesser extent, the Presbyterians, in their emotional appeals to the poorly educated, a new avenue for social identity and cohesion was found. The old African religious systems had not worked; that is, the new reality for African-Americans was slavery (Frazier, 1963). A new orientation to the world was called for, and found, in Christianity, at least in the particular brand promoted by the revivalists.

Theology of acceptance.—Lincoln (1984) notes that the hypothesis that African-Americans were more readily converted because they were intrinsically emotional misses the point. Rather, they responded to the strong preaching of the Great Awakening because, for the first time on the American continent, they were accepted and involved "as human beings." A common humanity with all seekers, White and Black, was felt, at least for the few hours or days that
the camp meeting lasted. "Under the brush arbors, the Black slave was a servant among servants and a seeker among seekers, all terrified, sanctified, and exultant together. It was the only moment in his life that his color and his station were not the absolute conditioners of his humanity" (Lincoln, 1984, p. 48). This is certainly part of the reason that Methodism grew so rapidly among Blacks. Ferguson (1983, pp.202-203) describes early Methodist understandings thusly:

Souls were neither black nor white. The preachers, obeying the color bar wherever it appeared in a slave society, preached the same doctrine to the Africans that they preached to the Americans. The central idea of Wesleyan preaching was that the lowly were infinite. . . The sternly enforced prejudice of the whites might cause Africans to sit apart, but their worth as creatures of God was asserted in class meetings and preaching services while it was denied by merchants of flesh. . .

This kind of theology of acceptance was exceedingly appealing to Black persons, so much so that by 1796, African-Americans accounted for one-fifth of the entire membership of the Methodist Church (Ferguson, 1983, p. 214). Baptists likewise experienced a huge influx of Black members into the fold. They were, in fact, able to attract even greater numbers of free Blacks than were the Methodists, although the "Methodist church was best able to carve out a network of black congregations that . . . could exert some sustained influence on their members' behalf" (Nelsen & Nelsen, 1975, p.21). Because of the independence of each local congregation under Baptist polity, there was little
coordination in administration or strategizing. As a result, Black Baptist congregations, although numerous, tended to be small (Wheeler, 1986, pp. 10-11).

As pointed out by Frazier and others (Frazier, 1963; Alho, 1976; Bergesen, 1979; Harding, 1984; Higginson, 1985; Roberts, 1984), one can easily understand the life experience of the American slave simply by reading between the lines of the texts of Negro spirituals. These are replete with references to the threat of sudden death, yet filled with the promise of justification and hope to be found "on the other side." Solace is available, because in heaven everything will be turned topsy-turvy, that is, if the Christian slave remains pure and gentle. In addition, some later hymns were but thinly veiled codes, bespeaking such hopeful prospects as running away from the master and travelling over to the "other side," a reference to the underground railway to freedom in the north.

Obviously, life was hard for slaves. Religion provided some measure of solace, especially through emotional conversion and worship experiences (Hamilton, 1972; Wimberly & Wimberly, 1986). Whether the emotionalism was a product of the life experience of slavery or from the cultural heritage of the African religion that predated it, is open to question. Nevertheless, the church became a source of comfort.
Non-religious Functions of the Black Church

In addition to its explicitly religious effects and the comfort its heaven-ward orientation brought to a people under oppression, the Black church also became a center of identity and unity to its members. The church served not only as a religious body, but also as school, music conservatory, art gallery, and as political, economic and social welfare institution (Jones, 1985; Washington, 1973). The first known example of a Black religious cooperative dates back to 1693 Massachusetts, one that doubled as both religious and mutual benefit society (Mukenge, 1983). In traditional slave holding states, it was not until the 1770s that the first Black religious institution primarily controlled and administered by Blacks was founded (Jones, 1978, p. 105). From these religious-mutual aid societies ultimately grew not only the Black churches, but they also eventually developed into the first Black economic institutions, for example, secular insurance companies (Frazier, 1963, pp. 36-38).

Initial reluctance by slave-owners.--The church became the first place where Black persons might have a real measure of autonomy from the rigid controls of White people. Such independence did not come easily, however. Because the master was afraid of what his slaves might do, they were brought to the White church along with the rest of the household, initially. Segregation in the church meant only
that Blacks sat in the balcony or on the back pews. Laws were in fact enacted as early as 1715 in North Carolina and other locations prohibiting the utilization of land for the purpose of erecting any sort of meetinghouse for separate African-American worship. Heavy fines were called for if an owner even knew about such a use of any structure on his land. Also in North Carolina neither slave nor freedman could legally preach or exhort in any prayer meeting where slaves of a different family were present. Other, even harsher, laws were established in response to the Haitian and Virginian slave revolts. A concerted effort was afoot "to limit and to direct the black religious experience" (Lincoln, 1984, p. 45). One obvious effect of such legislation is that it assured the admittance of Black members into White congregations (Lincoln, 1984; Simpson, 1978). Thus, to develop autonomous congregational settings was a most difficult and, indeed, dangerous task in slave-holding states.

Most Blacks, prior to emancipation, were therefore not free simply to join the church of their choice. Rather, carefully censored versions of the faith were presented, often by White ministers or their wives. As late as 1847, for example, missionaries to the slaves were advised in Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States, issued by the Presbyterian Board of Publications, not to listen to slave complaints against
their masters. They were to condemn "every vice and evil custom," to support the "peace and order of society," and to teach slaves to give "respect and obedience [to] all those whom God in his providence has placed in authority over them" (cited in Simpson, 1978, p. 221). Despite the attempt to completely control the religious life of slaves, however, many Black congregations and prayer groups did emerge in the south. Some of these were suppressed by force of law and others by lynching. On the other hand, some were tolerated; whereas still others were actually encouraged. However, at no time were services sanctioned by slave owners which were calculated to lead to emancipation (Hamilton, 1972). The situation for Black religionists varied from time to time and from place to place. For example, in Memphis, Tennessee Wesley Chapel Methodist Church was erected in 1832, with eighteen White and thirty-two Black members. Ten years later there were 234 Black members, and by the 1850s the Black Methodists, now 500 strong, were permitted to hold separate services in the basement, conducted by their own Black pastor. In 1859 this body reorganized as a separate congregation with its own building (Tucker, 1975, p.3).

Black preachers in the antebellum south.—Black preachers in the antebellum south, as the heads of the congregations which they served, have been evaluated in at least five different ways (Hicks, 1977, pp. 30-39). First, the slave preacher is seen as a tool for social control.
The documentation is extensive of Black preachers focusing their sermonic arts on such texts as, "Servants, obey your master," and warning of beatings by the master in the present and the fires of hell for eternity to all those who rebel. Second, the slave preacher is sometimes seen as simply ignorant, a buffoon who served as entertainment to White and Black alike, although what was entertaining was distinctly different for each group. Third, the slave preacher is often depicted as a unifying influence. As with the African elder before him, the Black preacher was seen as the leader of his people, one who knew more about spiritual and practical realities than anyone else in the community. Fourth, the Black preacher is often depicted as the dispenser of "opium" in the Marxian sense. The message of such a minister begins with the theological assertion that the extreme privations of this life are offset by the promises of a better world to come; "therefore, let us remain docile." Fifth, the Black preacher is sometimes seen as an agent of protest, not as an "Uncle Tom," but more like an early day Martin Luther King, Jr. Abundant written evidence indicates that this was the case with many Black pastors (Hicks, 1977; Young, 1977). In addition, the simple fact of history that Black churches and clergymen were often so harshly suppressed, points to the prophetic role of some slave preachers, which in turn brought the ire of slaveholders. For each of these prototypes of the Black preacher
under slavery, there are examples to be found in history; no single pattern seems to have been dominant.

**Black preachers in the antebellum north.**--In the antebellum north, Blacks most frequently worshipped in segregated sections of predominantly White church buildings. The Methodist Episcopal Church presents a good case in point. Methodism had a long history of affinity for the abolitionist cause. The father of Methodism, John Wesley, denounced the slave trade as "the sum of all villainies" (quoted in Swaney, 1969). The two earliest leaders of the church in America, Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury, were also ardent opponents of slavery, and in 1780, the General Conference required all travelling preachers who owned slaves to free them. By 1784 the General Conference passed resolutions requesting that southern legislatures adopt the policy of gradual emancipation. Occasionally, Black preachers were ordained; for example, "Black Harry" Hosier was the personal assistant to Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury and was noted as a particularly effective preacher (Rudolph, 1966). Richard Allen was also a noted Black Methodist preacher. These, however, were exceptional men, yet even with all their eloquence and effectiveness as orators, none of the Black preachers were granted the position of "voting itinerant" in the Conference (Ferguson, 1983, p.106). It was only after leaving the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1787 and founding his own that Richard
Allen was actually fully ordained by Bishop Francis Asbury in 1799 (Ferguson, 1983, p. 216). The rule in the church, north or south, was more like "integrated but unequal."

The fight within the church over abolition.—At the same time that there was strong sentiment for abolition, there was also a countervailing move afoot. In fact, some of the reactionary laws against the manumission of slaves were directly tied to anti-slavery agitation by Asbury and the General Conferences. For example, in 1800, Asbury learned that his address to the General Conference in that year had resulted in "a law which prohibited a minister's attempting to instruct any number of blacks with the door shut; and authorized a peace-officer to break open the doors in such cases, and disperse or whip the offenders" (quoted in Swaney, 1969, p. 13).

The opponents of emancipation were not only outside the Methodist Church, but inside as well. Eventually a compromise on the slavery question was necessitated. The driving forces behind compromise were two-fold: first, slaveholders were in the church already. Should they be disfellowshipped? Second, and most importantly, the fields of future ministry were being closed rapidly against Methodists because of their opposition to slavery. Is it not more important to save souls for eternity than to bank everything on liberating them in the present? Thus, a compromise was adopted by 1808. Slavery was still labelled
evil and ministers were not to be required to urge slaves to
be obedient to their masters, but masters were likewise no
longer required to free their slaves. In addition, local
bodies called Annual Conferences were now authorized "to
form their own regulations relative to buying and selling
slaves" (Journals of the General Conference, 1808). Such a
compromise set the course for continued acrimonious rancor
and an eventual split in the denomination, which finally oc-
curred in 1844. That breach was not repaired until 1939.

The Establishment of the African Methodist Episcopal Church

Despite the apparent openness to persons of color in
the northern branch of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
barriers still existed. Blacks were, at best, second-
classed members of the denomination. It is because of this
fact that the first autonomous Black denominational struc-
ture in America began amongst free Blacks in a northern
Methodist Church. In Philadelphia in 1787 the Black preach-
ers and exslaves, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, and their
followers were literally dragged from their knees while
praying in a segregated gallery in St. George's Methodist
Episcopal Church (Jones, 1978; Jordan, 1971; Lincoln, 1984;
Young, 1977). Already, Allen had been agitating to estab-
lish a separate church for Black Methodists in the city. It
was only natural, therefore, that they should proceed from
that episode to the establishment of their own church.
After some years in league with the Society of Friends,
Allen went on to establish the African Methodist Episcopal Church, to which he was elected its first bishop in 1816, whereas Jones founded the first Black Episcopal church in America. In New York in 1796 the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church was organized out of the John Street Methodist Church. In both cases, reasons for the break seem to be two-fold: first, White racism and practice, and second, the failure of the church to adequately minister to the needs of the rapidly increasing number of Black converts (Jones, 1978). Within these new religious bodies, however, other functions were soon served.

The issue of the enslavement of their brethren in the southern states was always an important agenda item at each session of the annual conference. In addition, education for all Black persons was a constant dream, being "viewed with awe as the touchstone to acceptance into the American mainstream and as indispensable to personal and racial advancement" (Jones, 1978, p. 111). The church also served to give stability, direction, hope and relief (economic and spiritual) to its adherents. The Black church became a home to its members, a community of concern wider than the strictly religious elements of life (Young, 1977). Of course, religious elements were also attended to, indeed, with tremendous fervor. As African Methodist Episcopal Bishop John Hurst Adams observed, the Black church agenda has, since its inception, been dominated by concerns for:
"(1) the proclamation of the gospel, (2) benevolences, (3) education and, by the mid-19th century, (4) foreign missions" as well as the abolition of slavery in the antebellum period (Jones, 1985).

**Emancipation and Continuing Oppression**

The Black church still needed for multiple roles.--Mays and Nicholson (1933) argue that the proscriptions hampering Black persons were not removed by emancipation; thus, the church continued to serve as a major focal point of Black social, economic and civic life. Further, they suggest that "it is not too much to say that if the Negro had experienced a wider range of freedom in social and economic spheres, there would have been fewer Negroes 'called' to preach and fewer Negro churches" (Mays & Nicholson, 1933, p. 11). The constraints placed upon Black citizens relegated their effective participation in the society to a nominal role, except in the one organization where they were fully in charge, the Black church. As late as 1944, Fauset (1971) suggested that the same state of affairs prevailed; because access to other institutional forms of American society were so limited, African-Americans have placed a relative over-emphasis on their church involvement, and the Black church has itself had to carry a much heavier cultural load for its members than has the White church. The Black preacher, as
the leader of the one great African-American institution, thus became an extremely important personage.

The Black preacher.---The role of the Black preacher, from the days of slavery and afterward, is a complex one. As Du Bois described the Black clergyman in 1903 (cited in Myrdal, 1971), he is more than simply a spiritual leader; he is also a community "leader, a politician, an orator, a 'boss,' an intriguer, an idealist." (See also United Methodist Church, Board of Discipleship, 1976.) Clark argues as late as 1965 that, especially in poorer areas, Black pastors often serve as "symbols of social and civic success of the church and give the members of their congregation the vicarious satisfaction of relationship to an important church and identification with an influential minister" (Clark, 1971, p. 144). Accordingly, such ministers frequently have lavished upon them financial rewards beyond the modest means of most congregants. Historically, this can be seen by the example of turn-of-the-century Black Methodist Churches in Philadelphia. For them, less than ten percent of the annual budget went to charitable causes, whereas a full 65 percent was allocated to pastor's salary (Mukengue, 1983, p. 59). Also, Clark suggests, many present day lower-class Black churches tolerate "almost any degree of personal, theological, or educational inadequacy upon the part of their minister, so long as he holds the church together as a successful social and financial institution."
The sense of personal affirmation and self-esteem of many Black members is so tied to their church that the minister is given such specialized treatment.

Black ministerial training.—The training for this role was, until recent years, not formalized to any large extent; that is, most Black pastors did not attend theological seminary, nor even college for the most part. In 1925, 92 percent of Black ministers had no theological education (Hamilton, 1972, p. 88). In a 1933 study by Mays and Nicholson (1933, pp. 38-57), over 72 percent of Black clergy were found to have had neither seminary nor even college degrees. And as recently as 1979, it was estimated that 70 percent of Black clergy lack any formal theological education (Jones, 1985, p. 492).

The reasons for this lack of training are at least three-fold: First, a tension has long existed within the church itself in regard to an educated ministry. The tradition of being "called to preach by God" is often seen to be in conflict with the notion of educating someone into the office of minister (Hamilton, 1972, p. 89-93). Second, the standards for licensure have traditionally been lower for ministry than for any of the other professions. Hamilton (1972) reports that theological departments of some Black colleges and universities were actually closed down by those schools because their academic requirements were so low, and the quality of the students they attracted was so poor, that
they endangered the reputation of the institution as a whole. Third, the general educational opportunities and levels for Black persons have long lagged behind those of their White counterparts.

The juxtaposition of education and the "divine call" has served as a tension point within the church for centuries. The Methodist Church in America provides a good case in point. Methodism was first governed by Bishop Francis Asbury, a man who dropped out of school himself at the age of twelve (Rudolph, 1966, p. 15). In his own words, Asbury well states one side of the equation: "Every candid inquirer after truth will acknowledge, upon reading Church history, that it is a great and serious evil introduced, when philosophy and human learning are taught as a preparation for a Gospel ministry" (cited in Rudolph, 1966, pp. 122-123). Nevertheless, Asbury, the bishop, believed intensely that his preachers must be educated, and actually founded a college for the training of clergy, for which he decreed the following (quoted in Rudolph, 1966, p. 125):

The Students will be instructed in English, Latin, Greek, Logic, Rhetoric, History, and as soon as the proper instruments or Apparatus can be procured, in Geography, natural Philosophy and Astronomy. To these Languages and Sciences shall be added, when the Finances of our College will admit it, the Hebrew, French, and German Languages. [Capitalizations in original]

Nevertheless, the divine call seems to be the most important of the two requirements for ministry, education taking a back seat. This was not only true for early Methodism, but
likewise for the Black church for generations to come (Hamilton, 1972, pp. 91-93). From the earliest days of clerical education in the United States, it was clear that the goal of the denominations which were most successful in reaching the masses -- the Baptists, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, and Cumberland Presbyterians -- was not education which was "artificial" or "likely to unfit a candidate for ministry." Instead, the real "test of the education was the ability to lead the revival, to adapt to frontier conditions . . . ." (Fraser, 1988, p. 94).

Denominational requirements and emphases differed over time, and from each other. The early leader in education, as in other fields of endeavor, among Black denominations was the African Methodist Episcopal Church which, in 1866, opened the first African-American institution of higher education in America, Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio. Among the chief academic programs offered was theology. By 1924, the number of such Black institutions operated by the African Methodist Episcopal Church alone, each of which offered theological education, had grown to fifty-two (Payne, 1985). Due to their strong, centralized administration, both the African Methodist Episcopal, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Churches, at least in the early going, were far more successful at establishing such schools than were the Baptists, although the numbers of Black Baptists exceeded these
other denominations. Baptists, because of their autonomous local congregation structure, founded similar institutions only much later, and these were usually quite small (Hamilton, 1972, p. 98).

**Black colleges established.**—The major impetus for establishing Black colleges and universities was to secure an educated clergy (Frazier, 1963, p. 41). Nevertheless, because of the strong tradition within the church of the importance of being "called by God" into the ministry, many Black church members were skeptical of the benefits to be derived. Actual schism was feared in the African Methodist Episcopal Church for a while, which schism might emanate from the conflict between "ignorant and intelligent elements in the church" (Frazier, 1963, p. 41). On the other hand, in the same denomination it was repeatedly argued by its bishops that "the authority of the preachers would be undermined, and there would be a general falling off of church membership" if the clergy failed to keep up with the educational levels being attained by the laity (Hamilton, 1972, pp. 94). This tension apparently still exists today.

Muelder (1971) notes that the enrollment of Black seminarians declined between 1910 and 1964, citing works by Myrdal, Mays and Nicholson, and Richardson. In 1930, Black clergymen comprised the second largest group among African-American professionals. It was the only profession in which Black persons had more representation than in the general
population. Nevertheless, the numbers of Black clergy have been declining, and the educational levels of Black clergy nationally have not kept pace with that of the general population.

The Role of the Black Clergyman

The question of emphasis.—Black clergy have been caught in the middle between the churches they serve and the larger society which suppresses African-Americans. As noted above, early in the history of Black Christianity, White masters used religion as both justification for their domination and as an ideological instrument of pacification to keep slaves in line. The Black preacher has always lived with the question of just what portion of the gospel to emphasize: the other-worldly aspect that bids believers to turn the other cheek and look for their ultimate rewards in heaven which are based on present-tense humility and love, or the this-worldly part that demands justice and equality right now for all persons, regardless of race.

Over the centuries, varying opportunities for practicing a theology of human liberation have been available within American society. Little opportunity, for example, could be found for Black Christians in the slave states of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries even to meet independent of slave masters, much less to preach and work for a society that would put into practice the concept of human
equality. Despite the limitations, some Black churchmen in virtually every generation have emphasized the this-worldly component of Christian theology as it relates to equality for African-Americans. (See Hamilton, 1972; Hicks, 1977; Tucker, 1975; Young, 1977.)

Religious involvement vs. civil rights militancy.—In the mid-1960s Gary Marx (1971) conducted a study to determine the connection, or lack thereof, between religious involvement and civil rights militancy among Black Christians. From his extensive survey, Marx found that religious persons who held an other-worldly theological perspective were much less inclined to support militant protest than others. The more frequent one's attendance at worship services, the less likely one is to be militant. As religiosity increases, militancy decreases. The more orthodox one's beliefs are, the less likely one is to be militant. Members of religious, fundamentalist sects are far less likely to support militancy than members of the more mainline denominations. Religion is thus seen as maintaining the status quo. However, Marx also found a "social gospel" strand present within the Black church. Whereas one strand of Christianity emphasizes acceptance of one's lot in life as ordained by God, another important strand takes the opposite tact. As Marx (1971, p. 158) states it:

When one's religious involvement includes temporal concerns and acceptance of the belief that men as well as God have a role in the structuring of human affairs,
then, rather than serving to inhibit protest, religion can serve to inspire and sustain it. This religious inspiration is clearly present in the writings of [Martin Luther] King [Jr.] and others.

The more this-worldly theological perspective is found most frequently among African-American church members in all-Black denominations and in the traditional, mainline denominations (Episcopalian, Presbyterian, and others).

In the late 1960s Johnstone (1971) conducted a study of Black clergymen in Detroit. He discovered three distinct types: traditionalists (approximately 53 percent), moderates (27 percent), and militants (20 percent). The hallmark characteristic of the ministry of the traditionalist is the urgency of spiritual (rather than this-worldly) concerns, such as preaching. The traditionalist's emphasis puts him far away from all political matters. His endeavors are in the interest of the soul, and there is rarely even a perceived need to change the social and political system. The militant, on the other hand, is the self-identified leader of his people, whose role includes alleviating the suffering Black people continue to endure by changing the system. Indignation couples with daring in the militant clergyman. The moderate comes between the traditionalist and the militant. Although conversant with the issues, and sympathetic to the need for change, the moderate is the peacemaker and gradualist, willing to take a longer, slower road to change.

Like Marx (1971) cited above, Johnstone found that militants are more likely to be young and to belong to
mainline churches than to sects. In addition, correlations were found on educational levels (militants have higher levels of education), social status background (militants are more likely to come from higher status families), and theological orientation (militants are more likely to hold liberal views).

Expectations of the laity.--In a more recent study, Harris (1987) surveyed African-American church members in an urban setting in Virginia, asking about their expectations of their ministers. His sample proved to be more middle class, more female, and more educated than the overall Black American population. These variables did not prove to be statistically significant for any of the findings, however. In Johnstone's (1971) study of urban Black ministers, the traditionalist was the most numerous type, comprising over half of all Black clergy. Their orientation was other-worldly and they were not interested in affecting political change. The laity in Harris' study, on the other hand, placed a high priority on their pastors' involvement in both "Aggressive Political Leadership" and "Active Concern for the Oppressed." Both of these categories, in fact, received higher priority status from laity than did evangelistic goals. The Black church in urban Virginia does expect its pastors to be evangelistically minded, but even more so it expects them to be social and political leaders within their community.
Class and the Selection of a Congregation

Both Frazier (1963) and Hamilton (1972) suggest that Black Christians, like their White counterparts, change churches as their social standing changes. A typical example would be an African-American church member rising from his working class family of origin into his own middle class occupation and lifestyle. Such an individual is likely to leave the Pentecostal, Baptist or Methodist congregation of his parents and join an Episcopalian, Congregational or Presbyterian Church. This is the recognized pattern among White Christians, which pattern these researchers suggest occurs within the Black church as well. No specific evidence is cited by Frazier or Hamilton, however. The work of Daniel (1971) may be instructive in this regard. Although he does not specifically suggest that movement from one denomination to another, he does show that a definite class orientation existed in the latter portion of the Depression era in Chicago's Black churches. The congregations he studied also exhibited a class-oriented style of worship, from the "rigidly liturgical" style of the higher socio-economic strata to the "highly emotional" style of the lowest portion of the spectrum. (See Smith, 1978 for a description of a white collar African-American congregation.) Likewise, Myrdal (1971) asserts that the small upper class of African-Americans tends to hold membership in Episcopalian, Congregational and Presbyterian
Churches, whereas the majority of lower class Blacks were Baptists and Methodists. Lower class Blacks more than the middle or upper classes were members of these two denominations. In a study of middle class Blacks, Kronus (1971) likewise found a correlation between class, denominational affiliation and worship style. Further, Clark (1971) suggests that joining a predominantly White local congregation is one further way that an African-American can evidence upward mobility and arrival at upper middle class status.

Mays and Nicholson (1933), dissent. They studied 609 urban and 185 rural Black congregations from across the country. Their results suggest that the Black church is the one place where African-Americans of all social strata freely mingle, the one place where the gap between lower, middle and upper classes is bridged in a great "democratic fellowship". Furthermore, they predict that a mostly unstratified congregational structure will remain for many years to come because most Blacks who occupy middle and upper middle class status positions have their roots in families which are lower class. And, since access to most of society's institutions is still denied to Black citizens, the church will continue to serve an important integrative function within the Black community, offering, among other things, a sense of solidarity and community to all Black participants.
Black Participation in the United Methodist Church

Early Methodism

Methodism began in eighteenth century England, primarily under the leadership of John Wesley and his band of Oxford intellectuals. Although Wesley and company were themselves thoroughly middle classed, their interests and their ministries were directed largely toward the poor, who responded in great numbers to this religion of the "strangely warmed heart." Wesley sent missionaries to the new world, who found great success in reaching the frontiersmen. Although the audience was composed largely of poor and ignorant Whites on the frontier, Methodism emphasized a sober, individualistic ethic of the middle class. The success of this amalgam was due to Methodism's unique blend of pietism, emotionalism, and a concern for the poor. (See Washington, 1973, pp. 36-57 and McClain, 1984.)

The first Black persons initiated into Methodism were converted by John Wesley himself in 1758. The new converts were actually slaves accompanying their master on a trip to England from the West Indies. Following their baptism, these slaves took their new found faith to their master, Nathaniel Gilbert, who soon succumbed to their persuasive witness and joined the Methodists. Later he became licensed by Wesley as a local preacher. These three returned to the West Indies and began a gospel ministry that appealed almost exclusively to Blacks. Together, they established the first
Methodist chapel in the new world. Originally meeting in Gilbert's home, the work soon outgrew its host facilities, achieving a membership of 1,569 by 1786, only two of whom were White. Within ten years, the Methodist membership in the West Indies had mushroomed to include more than 10,000 Blacks.

John Wesley himself was a fiery, tireless and outspoken opponent of slavery. Wesley's personal influence was felt in the life of William Wilberforce, that great statesman, Member of Parliament, and later Prime Minister of England, who took on, almost single-handedly, the challenge of outlawing slavery throughout the British Empire. Wesley's (1984, p. 153) last letter, written just four days prior to his death, was addressed to Wilberforce and read in part:

Dear Sir: London, February 26, 1791

Unless the divine power has raised you up to be as Athanasius contra mundum, I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villainy, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But, "if God be for you, who can be against you?" Are all of them together stronger than God? O "be not weary of well doing!" Go on, in the name of God and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.

In America, Black persons were actually charter members of the very earliest Methodist congregations. Later designated by the various branches of Methodism as the first Methodist "society" in America, Strawbridge's Log Meeting House on Old Sam's Creek in Frederick County, Maryland had
on its first "class" membership rolls a slave named Anne, who was owned by the Sweitzer family (McClain, 1984, pp. 15-16). When the influential John Street Society of New York City was organized, one the five charter members was Black. In addition, when their first building was to be constructed, Black members are recorded as among the original contributors.

Black persons in large numbers, slave and free, joined with the Methodists in the early days of both the denomination and the nation. By 1785-86, barely four years after its founding, the membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church had grown to somewhere between 15,000 and 18,000 (Sherwood, 1964, p. 362), of which 1,890, or 10.5-12.6 percent, were African-American (McClain, 1984, p. 18). At roughly the same time, the number of Black persons in the nation was 757,000 out of the 3.9 million total population, just under twenty percent, according to the census of 1790 (Farley and Allen, 1987). The Methodist Episcopal Church was the single most successful denomination at reaching African-Americans (Washington, 1973, p. 39). The reasons for such success are thought by the denomination, as recorded in the official Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church (Bucke, Holt and Procter, 1976, pp. 14-16), to be three-fold: "(1) its evangelistic appeal; and (2) the Church's attitude toward slavery. Later its social concern impressed Black people."
Reasons For Early Success With Blacks

McClain (1984, pp. 21-37) cites several other reasons for the widespread appeal of Methodism to Black persons.

First, Methodism presented a "sincere and simple message: a call to righteousness". -- Religion was not so much a rational belief system as an experience of the warm heart. Salvation was available to all who would turn in repentance to the Lord, whether rich or poor, slave or free. God's promise was then to flood the heart of the convert with peace, joy and love.

Second, McClain believes Methodism prospered among African-Americans because of its "appeal to emotion: the preacher, his style, and his message". -- The Methodist preacher, as opposed to the more pedantic, didactically-oriented Anglican cleric, was primarily occupied with the conversion experience of his hearers. Doctrine was only of tangential interest, and this could better be transmitted in the smaller class meetings later. The object of immediate interest in Methodist worship was to encounter God in a personal way. In addition, Methodist hymnody was lively and appealed to uneducated slaves, teaching them the way of the faithful. Methodist worship also was frequently led by slaves themselves, who were allowed to preach as licensed local preachers, and later as travelling preachers. "As opposed to the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Disciples,
Lutherans, Episcopalians, Moravians and other mainline Protestant denominations, Baptist and Methodist churches had black preachers" (McClain, 1984, p. 31). Even when laws were enacted against slaves serving as preachers, Methodists circumvented the law by creating a new category of religious worker, the "exhorter," who was a travelling assistant to the White circuit rider. In actuality, exhorters served as Black preachers (Raboteau, 1978, p. 136).

Third, McClain suggests Methodism succeeded among African-Americans because it offered a "refashioned Christianity" to Black Americans.—Methodist preachers, and especially the Black exhorters, adapted Christianity to meet the needs of victimized Black persons. What emerged was not simply a replication of White Christian teaching. Their new version of Christianity provided, instead, a new faith "that met their own needs as Blacks experiencing a particular kind of oppression in America." This gave to African-Americans a sense of social cohesion, an easing of the burdens of captivity, and a hope borne of a prophetic image seized from the pages of the Old Testament. Much of the rest of the Scriptures, and especially of the White man's spiritualized interpretations of them, was ignored.

Black Schism

Early in the history of American Methodism, the parent denomination spun off two important daughter denominations,
the African Methodist Episcopal Church (1787) and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (1796). (See Maser and Singleton, 1964, for a brief history.) These churches grew to become two of the largest Black denominations in America, their Black memberships eclipsing the parent denomination by 4.5 to 1, and 2.5 to one, respectively (Shockley, Brewer, and Townsend, 1976, pp. 62-63). The primary cause underlying the division was the indignity being suffered by the Black membership who enjoyed, at best, a second-class membership status. (See page 34 above for discussion of this issue.)

Such discriminatory practices in the northern church are not surprising when one considers the general attitude held by the dominant society toward its Black members. Rather severe racial discrimination existed in political and civil rights in the north; for example, it was 1855 before even one state, Massachusetts, admitted Blacks as jurors. Five western states actually prohibited the testimony of Black persons in trial that involved Whites. Prior to the Civil War, both political parties were on record as firmly endorsing White supremacy. In 1858, candidate Abraham Lincoln flatly rejected racial equality:

I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races [applause] -- that I am not nor even have been in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people, and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I
believe will for ever forbid the two races living toge-
ther there must be the position of superior and infer-
ior, and I as much as any man am in favor of having the
superior position assigned to the white race.
(Woodward, 1966, p. 21)

With the ban against African-American jurors, witnesses and
judges, with the entire White social and political culture
aligned against African-American equality and favoring White
superiority, plus the fact that Blacks were in the lowest
economic strata, it is not surprising that they were exclud-
ed, or at least turned into second class members by White-
dominated churches.

Slavery Divides the Church

In 1844 the denomination itself split, north and south,
primarily over the issue of slavery. The northern branch
retained the name Methodist Episcopal Church, whereas the
southern branch took the name Methodist Episcopal Church,
South. At the time of the split the total Black membership
of the Methodist denomination had reached 150,120 (Cannon,
1964, p. 592) out of a total membership of 1,052,000
(Garrison, 1964, p. 238), or 14.3 percent. Most of the
church's Black members, as the majority of Black persons in
the nation, were located in the south. Just after the
split, the Southern Church reported a Black membership of
127,241 in 1848. This can be compared to the 1850 African-
American membership in the Northern Church of only 26,309
(King, 1964, pp. 486-487). The Southern Church conducted a
vigorous evangelistic campaign from the time of the split to
the outbreak of the Civil War. By 1860, there were 171,857 Black members in the church. The same sort of situation did not prevail in the north. Even though the official policy was advocacy of freedom for all, local attitudes against actually incorporating Black persons into White churches changed slowly. Many African-Americans were actually encouraged either to start their own congregations or to join one of the independent Black denominations.

The Black membership of the Southern Church rose to its all-time high of 207,703 during the Civil War, but dropped dramatically to only 48,702 by the end of the conflict (Ferguson, 1983, p. 298). Many of the former members joined one of the two African Methodist bodies, whereas others united with the Northern Church which maintained an active ministry in the southern states. In 1869, with Black membership plummeting to only 19,986, the Southern Church jettisoned its Black membership altogether, setting up a fraternal, yet independent denominational structure for Blacks, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (later renamed the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church). This denomination, like its sister Black churches which are also off-shoots of Methodism (the African Methodist Episcopal and African Methodist Episcopal Zion Churches), has outgrown the parent body in numbers of Black constituents, outnumbering the United Methodist Church by approximately 1.25 to 1 (Shockley, Brewer, and Townsend, 1976, pp. 62-63).
The Northern Church, following emancipation, launched an extensive campaign to help prepare the freedmen for citizenship in the nation and the church. This campaign was both educational and evangelistic, and netted some of Methodism's most impressive gains. By 1916, Blacks numbered approximately 300,000 strong on the Northern Church's rolls. Many of these new Black members lived in the south and were former slaves, uneducated and poor. This is graphically illustrated by the fact that several new conferences were established to administer the work among new Black converts, yet the secretaries elected for them were White clergymen. Examples of this include the Mississippi Mission Conference, organized in 1865, the Texas Mission in 1867, the Louisiana Conference in 1869, and the West Texas Conference in 1874. The reason for this was that none of the Black preachers could even write his name (Graham, 1977). By 1920, however, some African-Americans had progressed enough that the General Conference of that year elected Methodism's first two Black bishops with authority within the United States (Loud, 1961). These new, predominantly Black annual conferences were integrated in the beginning, yet in 1876 the General Conference passed legislation permitting bishops to divide their conferences along racial lines, and thus by 1895 all such conferences in the south were so divided (Graham, 1977, p. 103). All of the Black conferences were, until the election of the first Black bishops in 1920,
presided over by White bishops. With the election and assignment of Bishops Jones and Clair, seven of the Black annual conferences fell under their jurisdiction, whereas the other thirteen Black conferences remained under White authority structures (Graham, 1979). This remained the status quo until the merger of 1939.

The Merger of 1939

The Main Issue: Race.—With the cessation of hostilities following the Civil War, the call for reunification of the church arose. Various study commissions and assemblies were held from 1874 through 1939 until the fact of organic union actually occurred (Maser, 1964). The major point of contention which staved off the reunification for so many years was what to do with the Black membership (McClain, 1985). The great fear was, on the one hand, that if Blacks were admitted to full membership, large numbers of southern members would flee the church. On the other hand, many members and ministers in the Northern Church were adamantly opposed to anything less than full equality for all racial groups. Also in the equation were the many Black Methodists who held legal membership in the Northern Church already. They could not simply be disfellowshipped apart from their own definite decision (King, 1964, p. 488-489).
The Central Jurisdiction.—The ultimate solution to the dilemma was to divide the church into six Jurisdictional Conferences, five of which were regional in nature, and the sixth being a separate Black-only jurisdiction covering the whole nation. African-American delegates to the Uniting Conference of 1939 voted thirty-six against, none for, with eleven abstaining (McClain, 1984, p. 81). This Central Jurisdiction, as it was named, would be related to the national church only through the General Conference, in which it would have very little real influence. Thus, White Methodists were effectively insulated from any meaningful contact with their Black counterparts. Two Methodist Churches in the same community, one Black and the other White, might have no interaction at all.

The history of the Central Jurisdiction as compared with the other jurisdictions shows that the appeal of Methodism was not as wide-spread among Blacks as among Whites. This is seen in terms of growth rates in both church membership and church school membership. For example, between 1940 and 1957, the Central Jurisdiction's membership totals grew from 308,577 to 361,388, or 17.1 percent. This compares with an overall 30.4 percent increase for the denomination as a whole during the same period. The church school totals show a net gain of 9.4 percent in the Central Jurisdiction versus 30.2 percent for the church as a whole (King, 1964, p. 490). King goes on to suggest two mitigating fac-
tors as partial explanation: first, many African-Americans were uprooted from their traditional homes in the south to northern or western destinations, and were thereby lost to the Central Jurisdiction because of the absence of local congregations to join. Second, some of the larger Black congregations, which were originally in the Central Jurisdiction, transferred to annual conferences in whose geographic bounds they lay. This was made possible by legislation adopted at the 1952 and 1956 General Conferences. Nevertheless, the trend toward decline of Black membership is real and long-standing. For Methodism as a whole, the proportion of Black to White church members has greatly declined over the decades. In 1799, for example, African-Americans comprised a full 20 percent of the denominational membership. By 1843, that number had dropped to 12 percent (Graham, 1979, p. 145). By 1950 the figure had further fallen to 3.88 percent (Culver, 1953, p. 180) and in 1974 the percentage of Blacks in Methodism was only 3.8 (Roof & McKinney, 1987, p. 142). The downward trend appears to have bottomed out in the late 1970s, Blacks comprising only 3.52 percent of the total church membership (Graham, 1979, p. 145). The most recent accounting shows Black membership to stand at 3.58 percent of the total in 1985 (Ethnic Minority Local Church Office, 1987).
The Merger of 1968

Numerous events led up to the ultimate dissolution of the segregated system in the Methodist Church. (See McClain, 1984, pp. 90-92 for some suggestions.) The Plan of Union with the Evangelical United Brethren in 1968 did not include any provision for a racially separated church, and thus, over a four year period, all annual conferences, formerly part of the Central Jurisdiction, were merged into the existing White annual conferences. Blacks did not enter into the new arrangement on an equal footing with Whites, however.

The Situation Prior to Merger.--Prior to merger almost all African-American clergy and members in the Methodist Church were found in congregations in the Central Jurisdiction. Local annual conferences within the Central Jurisdiction conducted church business much as White conferences did. Among the various activities of any annual conference in Methodism is the specification of credentialing requirements for the ordination of clergymen and setting of minimum salary packages for its clergy members. These items were handled by Black annual conferences for their own membership, separate and distinct from the White annual conferences. But under this separate system, Black pastors were left both lesser educated and lesser paid than their White counterparts for three reasons. First, Whites historically have received more education than Blacks in
this country, and this national trend held true within the racially divided church, as well as the nation. Second, Whites nationally earn higher incomes, and thus make greater per capita contributions to their churches. Third, Black congregations have traditionally been smaller than White congregations. Thus, with fewer members, who make smaller incomes, Black pastors have lagged behind their White counterparts.

The Effects of Merger

Following the merger of the two predecessor denominations into the now United Methodist body, the Central Jurisdiction was slowly dissolved and its congregations, clergy and annual conferences were merged into the five existing, formerly White-only, jurisdictions. Four effects of this merger seem noteworthy.

First, the requirements for new ministerial candidates were elevated for African-Americans. — The higher, White standards became the denominational standards. Thus to become a fully ordained United Methodist minister, one now needed a four year college degree and a three year Master of Divinity degree (or its equivalent) as well. Many Black pastors who were formerly ordained without these newly required, minimum credentials continued their ministries under "grandfather clauses," but all new candidates for ministry had to meet the stricter standards. The disparity
between the races can be seen by comparing studies made by the church's Department of Ministerial Education (Methodist Church, 1964) and one made by Shockley, Brewer and Townsend (1976).

The Methodist Church offers three methods whereby persons may be admitted into "full connection," that is, be fully ordained: by receiving a degree from an approved seminary, by completing a conference course of study, or by transfer from another denomination. In the study made by the Department of Ministerial Education (Methodist Church, 1964, pp. 82-107) it is learned that, in 1963, 70.2 percent of all Methodist ministers who had become fully ordained had qualified themselves for ordination by receiving a seminary education following graduation from college. But the percentage for the Central Jurisdiction was only 40.2 in 1963. Conversely, the Central Jurisdiction received most of its ministers in full connection on the basis of the conference course of study, some 52.4 percent compared with the general church rate of 27.1 percent. Many of these clergymen had actually attained only a minimal education. This is borne out by the fact that some 14 percent of Central Jurisdiction members in full connection had not graduated from high school, while 43.6 percent had not graduated from college. This compares with denomination-wide totals of 4.6 and 19 percent, respectively.
In an updated study of ministerial education, Shockley, Brewer and Townsend (1976) note that 81.4 percent of the White ministers in their sample, taken some eight years following merger, had a full seminary degree compared to only 40.2 percent of Black ministers. Indeed, over 38 percent of Black pastors in 1976 had never graduated from college compared to less than five percent of the White pastors. Obviously, these figures represent a slight increase in educational attainment by both racial groups and signals the trend of the future, mandated by the new, more stringent standards. The days of the poorly trained (compared to White pastors) African-American minister in the United Methodist Church were numbered.

Second, with merger, the same minimum salary package now applied to Black and White clergy equally. United Methodism has a unique salary system for its pastors in that every ordained minister is guaranteed both an appointment (that is, a job) and a minimum salary (adjustable on the basis of years of service). Prior to merger, the Black annual conferences set their own minimum salaries, independent of White annual conferences. However, following merger the same minimum salary standard applied equally to both races, and the one adopted was the higher, White minimum. For many Black pastors this represented a substantial raise in pay. Pay differentials are notable. Half (51.6 percent) of all clergy in the Central Jurisdiction earned less than
$3,000 per year in 1963. This compares to 12 percent of ministers in the denomination as a whole. On the other end of the spectrum, the denomination reported pastoral salaries in excess of $6,000 per year for 34.8 percent of its clergy, but only 8.3 percent of Black pastors fell into this category. (Methodist Church, 1964, Department of Ministerial Education study.) The upgrading of Black pastoral salaries, mandated by the new minimum salary standards placed a burden on the Black congregations, which historically are both smaller in size and poorer than White churches. They were now obliged to come up with additional salary support for their pastors.

Third, the merger of White and Black structures in Methodism also meant that Black ministers were now given a much larger field of eligible churches to serve (at least theoretically), and many of these were substantially larger in membership and salary than anything heretofore available to Black pastors. Because Black churches tend to be smaller than White churches, and because the promise of "open itinerancy" (meaning that all pastors are eligible to serve all pastoral charges, without regard to race) was held out to Black pastors after merger, the prospects of career advancement have been heightened. This promise has not been fulfilled to any great extent (McClain, 1984, pp. 93-99). Nevertheless, the opportunity for Black advancement exists as never before in the denomination.
Fourth, the final effect of merger to be noted here is that Blacks, being absorbed within a much larger White-dominated structure, were forced to learn to operate within an alien environment. —Old ways of doing things, old in-groups, old power structures were now inadequate. African-Americans suddenly became eligible to be full participants in White, middle-class dominated bureaucratic and administrative structures. The opportunity emerged for new leaders to arise, whose leadership would likely be based both on the same kinds of standards obtaining for White leaders and on their ability to win the support of White leaders. Certainly a pressure was felt by Black clergy and lay leaders to be more like their White counterparts and, in some sense, to do whatever was necessary to become acceptable to them. In many ways, African-American United Methodists moved into an alien environment at the time of the merger.

The structure of Methodism has historically centered in three foci: (1) the episcopacy, (2) the annual and General Conferences, and (3) the general church agencies which emerged in the somewhat later than the first two. (See Burkart, 1980, for a fuller discussion of the sociological import of this system.) African-Americans were not allowed to participate in the episcopal system until 1920; they had been included in General Conference only in very small numbers since the Civil War and were locked into separate annual conferences from 1895 until 1968; and there were few
Black staff members of any general boards of the church prior to 1964 other than field agents representing their boards to the Black annual conferences or in honorific (as opposed to decision-making) positions (Graham, 1977, p. 129). Black United Methodists were effectively segregated out of the system before the merger.

**Black Participation In The 1980s**

The United Methodist denomination as a whole has been declining in membership over two decades, losing more than two million members since the 1968 merger. The December, 1988 count shows the church to have some 8.94 million members, which represents approximately 3.6 percent of the estimated 246.9 million U.S. population, down from an all-time record membership of 10.99 million at the 1968 ("Drop Seen," 1989). As cited above, the most recent racial breakdown of the membership (Ethnic Minority Local Church Office, 1987) reveals that, of this total, some 3.58 percent of United Methodist membership is African-American, a somewhat stable percentage compared with the previous two decades. The 1950 percentage was 3.88.

Thompson (1986) has conducted a massive study of Black college graduates recently. In answer to the question, "What, if any, is your religious affiliation?" fully ten percent claimed to be United Methodist, while another 14 percent described themselves as "Other Methodist". Thus, twenty-four percent of the "Black elite," as Thompson labels
them, consider themselves to hold membership in one of the Methodist bodies. Ten percent of these elite consider themselves to be United Methodists, yet denominational records indicate that the actual total of African-American membership is only around 320,000. This represents barely one percent of the 29,736,000 Black Americans in 1987 (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1988). Could this disparity signal a difference in socio-economic class between Black United Methodists and Black citizens in general? Are middle-class Black persons more likely to hold membership in the United Methodist Church than Black Americans as a whole?

**Denominational selection and class.**—Frazier (1963) asserted that some sort of "social ladder-climbing" by Black persons was rather the norm, suggesting that middle-class African-Americans tended to "sever their affiliation with the Baptist and Methodist churches and join the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Episcopal churches... in order to satisfy the desire for status." For this assertion he provides no documentation. Thompson (1986, p. 107), on the other hand, finds no support for such a thesis in his study. Instead, he suggests that African-American church members tend to remain in those denominations which have a "long history of mass black membership."

It appears, then, from the primary data at hand, that for the most part black college graduates characteristically remain within their childhood denominations and attempt to improve or advance the social status of their individual churches rather than use different
denominations as stepping-stones to advance their own social status.

Denominational head-counts.—There has always been a discrepancy between the number of members reported by denominations and the number of persons identifying themselves as holding membership within the same churches. This is true regardless of the race of the respondents. Generally speaking, more persons consider themselves members of particular churches than are considered such by the denominations. This phenomenon can be observed in the United Methodist denomination also. There are at least two reasons for this: first, persons are not counted on official United Methodist membership rolls until they have been publicly confirmed or made a public "profession of faith" as a youth or adult. Many persons raised in the church consider themselves to be members, despite the fact that they have not undergone this necessary procedure. Second, in the United Methodist denomination, there is a financial incentive to purge the rolls of inactive members; denominational benevolences are assessed to each local church partially based on membership. Thus, after a somewhat lengthy process, persons with whom the local church has lost touch are removed from membership, frequently without their knowledge or consent. It is also true that different social surveys derive varying results on denominational membership. This is due to a variety of factors, including
such things as particular sampling frames utilized, specific questions employed, and sampling error.

United Methodist membership statistics.—For the United Methodist Church more specifically, the decline in reported membership is roughly paralleled by the various social surveys of adult Americans, although there is not an exact match. Greeley (1989) cites results obtained by the American Institute of Public Opinion, on the one hand, and the General Social Survey on the other. According to the former, Methodism has experienced a sharp decline in recent years. In this survey, some 14 percent of the total U.S. population in 1974 claimed Methodist affiliation, but by 1984 that figure had dropped to only nine percent. The latter report paints a less bleak picture, suggesting instead that in 1975 some 13 percent of the nation claimed Methodist membership, a figure that dropped by just two percentage points over the decade to 11 percent in 1985. These self-reports of U.S. citizens compare to the denominational tallies of 10.03 million members in 1974, or 4.69 percent the American population, and 9.19 million members in 1985, which represents some 3.84 percent of the population. These discrepancies between American religious preference and denominational head-counts, however, are much narrower than the discrepancy between the percentage of Black college graduates who express a United Methodist preference and the number of Black members counted by the church, as cited by
Ten percent of the "Black elite" claim to be United Methodist, when in fact African-American membership in the denomination comprises but one percent of the total Black population of this nation. Such a differential perhaps suggests that those African-Americans who do hold membership in the United Methodist Church are more likely to be from this "elite" group of college educated persons than from the Black citizenry in general.

Socio-Economic Status of Black Americans

Starting from slavery, the African-American has always been at a disadvantage. The history of economic and social struggle by Black persons is a long and complicated one. The discussion of this history for purposes of this study will, of necessity, be brief and incomplete, yet touching upon salient features. The focus will be upon the current situation of Black persons in America. Four socio-economic variables commonly utilized as markers of social class will be considered: (1) levels of employment and unemployment, (2) occupational achievement, (3) educational achievement, and (4) income levels.

Employment/Unemployment

According to Killingsworth (1968), the employment situation for African-Americans has changed rather markedly throughout the twentieth century. Sometime during the 1930s the ratio of Black to White employed persons reversed; that
is, up through the 1930 census, Black labor force participation exceeded that of Whites, the ratio being 92. By 1940 the reversal had come, and the new ratio was 118; in the 1947-49 period, the ratio went to 160, and by 1954, it became two to one, where it has stayed somewhat consistently ever since. The reasons proposed for the differential are diverse and interesting, but beyond the purview of this study. See Banton (1983), Bonacich (1976), and Cashmore and Troyna (1983) for citations and a brief explication of the various theses.

The fact remains that, since the 1930s, African-Americans are much more likely to be unemployed than their White counterparts. According to 1980 census data (Farley and Allen, 1987), Black men at all age levels were twice as likely as White men to be unemployed. The situation is somewhat different for Black women. Unemployment rates for Black women exceed those for White women, but the proportion of Black and White women holding jobs is virtually even, this attaining from the fact that Black women have a higher labor force participation rate.

For both men and women, the higher the educational attainment, the more nearly Black and White employment levels approximate each other. Black men, age 25-54, for example, with one to three years of high school had only a 69 percent work rate compared to 84 percent for similarly educated White males. This compares with 89 percent to 94
percent employment rates for Black and White males, respectively, with five or more years of college. Recent figures from the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1989) indicate that 11.3 percent of the Black civilian labor force was unemployed in 1988 compared with only 4.4 percent of Whites. Just over 57 percent of Black families had one or more employed members compared with 71 percent of White families. These figures only highlight the basic fact that Black persons are less likely to be employed than are their White peers, although with increased educational attainment this is less likely to be so.

**Occupational Achievement**

The kind of employment available to Black persons has changed markedly in the last several decades. In 1940, the largest occupational category occupied by Black persons was farm worker, comprising some 30 percent of the total. In comparison, by 1980, that number had declined to only two percent (Puckrein, 1984). Farley and Allen (1987, pp. 259-261) attribute the upgrading of Black occupational distribution to four factors: first, the emergence of industrial unions, and the unions' determination not to allow Black workers to be serve as strike breakers. Thus Blacks were brought into the modern labor movement during a time of industrial expansion from which they also benefitted as now unionized workers. Second, expanded Black educational opportunities have increased the number of Blacks qualified
for better jobs. Third, White attitudes toward Black workers have improved the climate for Black occupational mobility. Fourth, new civil rights legislation has insured a greater opportunity for Black workers. Freeman (1976) suggests that the movement toward convergence of Black and White occupational patterns is really only a response to the changing market conditions. New opportunities in the marketplace have been presented themselves to African-American workers, who have only responded in rational ways.

Although it is difficult to assess occupational progress (How does one decide which job is the better one?), the various indices of occupational dissimilarity tell us if Black and White workers hold the same jobs.

Table 1

**Index of Occupational Dissimilarity by Race, 1940-80**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>37</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figures in Table 1 above are calculated from data for 11 broad occupational categories. If all jobs were exclusively Black or White, the index score would be 100. If both races were distributed in equal fashion across the various categories, the index would read zero. The scores attained suggest that indeed the long-term trend is toward convergence of Black and White occupations, although such convergence has certainly not yet eventuated.

Steinberg (1981, p. 208), cites evidence for the rise in occupational categories by Black workers. First, he notes a Wattenberg and Scammon article in which they calculate that a majority of Blacks are now middle class. However, this assessment is based on the (faulty) logic of including such low wage personnel as secretaries, retail workers and security positions in the equation. Second, Steinberg goes on to cite Hill's reassessment of the situation in 1977.

Hill notes that the number of African-American men working in "high paying occupations," namely professionals, businessmen, and craft workers, comprises only about 32 percent. This figure he compares with the 52 percent of White males who are in similar categories, and thus concludes that there is only an illusion of progress. Steinberg, however, points out that the picture then (1977) was vastly improved from 1940, when only 7 percent of Blacks worked in high paying occupations. Further, Steinberg argues that the new
Black middle and upper classes are not based in a ghetto economy; they are mainstream workers, earning their living in the larger society. Puckrein (1984) points out that in the twenty years between 1960 and 1980 the number of Black physicians has tripled, whereas the number of Black attorneys has increased six-fold, although African-Americans are still proportionally underrepresented in these categories.

In recent years the movement toward equality has apparently slowed. Table 2 below is an index of occupational disharmony based on thirteen broad occupational categories. Data from Current Population Surveys, compared against the benchmark of the 1980 census, confirms little change since 1980.

Table 2
Index of Occupational Dissimilarity by Race, 1980-86

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Date</th>
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<th>Women</th>
</tr>
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<td>Census</td>
<td>April 1980</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.S.</td>
<td>April 1983</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.S.</td>
<td>April 1984</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.S.</td>
<td>April 1985</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.P.S.</td>
<td>April 1986</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Educational Achievement

Educationally, African-Americans have experienced large gains over the last century. This, as noted above, accounts for much of the improvement in occupational standing and diversification. That the majority of Black citizens are still in a relatively poorer condition, however, militates against dramatic improvements in education. Yet without educational advancement, further occupational improvement is problematic. A vicious circle seems to hold sway: without educational advance, there can be no occupational gains. Yet, it is usually only those who are in occupationally higher categories who pass on an educational inheritance to their children. In a study by Willie (1983), a strong correlation was found between unstable family life, caused by impoverished economic circumstances, and juvenile delinquency. It is difficult to get through school if one is poor. Drop-out rates for Black high school students, however, have decreased over the last fifty years, and especially so relative to the White population (Wilson, 1984). Warton (cited in Wilson, 1980, p. 168) noted in 1978 that, "Blacks who make up 11 percent of America's population, now make up 10 percent of the 10.6 million college students," a big improvement to be sure. The improvement in educational attainment can be seen readily in Table 3 and 4. The quantity of Black education now approaches that of Whites. African-American school attendance figures are virtually
equal to Whites, and Blacks stay in school for roughly the same number of years as their White counterparts, as documented below. Despite this, test scores on standardized tests (e.g. the Scholastic Aptitude Test) consistently reveal differential results between the two groups. The quality of the Black educational experience has been called into question.

Table 3

Educational Attainment by Race and Age, 1980, Black Persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>16-25 Years</th>
<th>26-35 Years</th>
<th>36-45 Years</th>
<th>46-55 Years</th>
<th>56+ Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary School (0-8 Years)</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>30.0%</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School (9-11 Years)</td>
<td>40.0%</td>
<td>19.2%</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
<td>27.7%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate (12 Years)</td>
<td>33.4%</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>13.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College (13-15 Years)</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
<td>21.8%</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate (16 Years)</td>
<td>2.5%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post B.A. (17+ Years)</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4  
Eduactional Attainment by Race and Age, 1980, White Persons

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Attainment</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16-25 Years</td>
<td>26-35 Years</td>
<td>36-45 Years</td>
<td>46-55 Years</td>
<td>56+ Years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School (0-8 Years)</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some High School (9-11 Years)</td>
<td>30.8%</td>
<td>8.5%</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>18.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate (12 Years)</td>
<td>37.2%</td>
<td>38.8%</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
<td>39.8%</td>
<td>28.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College (13-15 Years)</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Graduate (16 Years)</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>14.1%</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post B.A. (17+ Years)</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>11.2%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The reasons for the lag in test scores between the races are manifold (based largely upon Farley and Allen, 1987, pp. 203-208), and include at least the following:

First, Blacks are the most likely to attend public school rather than private school, 85.7 percent compared to 79.1 percent for Anglo students. --Private education tends to offer more individualized instruction and is most likely to
respond to parental desires, and therefore turn out a better prepared graduate.

Second, standardized tests scores show a strong difference by socio-economic status, poorer students faring less well. As family income and parental education rise, so do test scores.

Third, racial segregation of the schools is frequently considered to affect test scores. As Whites abandon the inner-city, taking with them much of the tax base, a downward spiral eventuates. With less money to hire qualified teachers, to fund quality programs, or to maintain facilities, all those who can afford to get out of the inner-city school system (students and faculty alike) do so. What is left tends to be the least qualified teachers and the poorest, least motivated students. Many of these students, because of the relative disadvantage of Black persons in general, are Black.

Fourth, the expectations of Black students and their families are less than those of Whites. Discrimination, suggests Ogbu (cited in Farley and Allen, 1987), has come to be accepted world-wide by Blacks and Whites alike, not only in education, but in expectations of future employment. Consequently, it only seems natural that there is a difference in the kinds of courses African-American and Anglo
students take. Black students are, for example, less likely than Whites to take science or mathematics (Wilson, 1984).

Whatever the reasons, Black and White education patterns are still markedly different in quality, although quantitatively we are approaching parity. With retrenchment in school desegregation, it is possible that many of the gains of the last several years will either stall or perhaps even be lost due to unfounded fears about the quality of education in an integrated environment (Hawley and Smylie, 1988).

**Income Level**

As noted above, Black and White occupations seem to be coming closer together. But broad occupational categories can be deceiving. As Harris (1982, p. 180) notes, "Both newspaper boys and stock and bond salespersons are considered sales personnel, for example, but the distinctions between the skills and earnings of the two groups are too clear to warrant discussion." It is for this reason that a close look at Black versus White income levels of is needed.

Although Black men have historically earned less than White men, the proportion of difference has lessened. In 1960, for example, the median income posted for Black men was only 49 percent of White totals. By 1980, that figure had climbed to 62 percent (census data cited in Farley and Allen, 1987). By 1986, the ratio had gone to something over 70 percent (U. S. Census, 1986b). Black females have
experienced even more dramatic improvement than males. In
1960, Black women earned only 52 percent as much as White
women. By 1980, Black females actually out-earned their
White counterparts by 4 percent.

It has been suggested (Farley and Allen, 1987) that a
more helpful way to look at the relative position of Black
and White workers is to create a formula which factors out
the negative effects of differential backgrounds between the
races on three key variables: education, number of hours
worked, and regional distribution. When this is done, what
emerges is a portrait of a people who lose much income po-
tential to these three factors. Because of where they live,
how little schooling they have attained, and how few hours
they work, Black men could expect to earn only 81 percent of
what their White peers earned in 1960, if there were no ef-
fects of racism to contend with. By 1980, that expected
figure had risen to 86 percent. That leaves a 19 percent
difference in actual earnings between White and Black males
in 1960 and 14 percent in 1980 which is attributable to race
alone.

For Black women, the expected earnings, when the ef-
fects of the three factors are eliminated, in 1960 were 84
percent of that for White women, leaving a racial gap of 16
percent. By 1980 the reversal had come, and Black women
should have been able to expect to earn 107 percent as much
as White women, and almost did, posting a 105 percent annual
earning differential. The differences between expected and actual earnings of Blacks and Whites, male and female, are charted out in Table 5 below (based upon data cited in Farley and Allen, 1987).

Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Black Actual</th>
<th>Black Expected</th>
<th>3-Factors Difference</th>
<th>Racial Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>84%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>105%</td>
<td>107%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The last column in each gender set shows the amount of difference in earnings which is not attributable to the three factors of lower education levels, lesser number of hours worked, and living in the southern region of the United States.
Perhaps the fullest picture of all emerges when median family income is considered. Once again, there has been an historical movement toward convergence between the races, although, once again, that convergence is far from complete. What in fact seems to be happening is that the Black community is being divided into two very different kinds of families. On the one hand, there is a growing number of poor, female-headed families, which form an "urban underclass," as Wilson (1984) calls them. When their members are subtracted from the comparison of Black and White family income, there is far less divergence, as noted in Table 6 below.

Table 6

Median Family Household Income, Weekly Earnings by Race 1988

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Type</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Families</td>
<td>630</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female-headed (1 Earner)</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Percentage of Total Families)</td>
<td>(9%)</td>
<td>(28%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married-couple Families</td>
<td>695</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Percentage of Total Families)</td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>(54%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married-couple (2 Earners)</td>
<td>828</td>
<td>719</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Percentage of Total Families)</td>
<td>(53%)</td>
<td>(36%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One can readily see that the sheer number of female-headed, single-earner families will, by itself, drop the ratio of Black to White income. Some 28 percent of all Black families now fit into this category, compared to only nine percent for White families. When all families are compared, Blacks find themselves earning only 70 percent of what White families make. Yet, when Blacks are found in two-earner families, they make 87 percent as much as their White peers. It is therefore obvious that a sizeable middle-class has formed in the Black community at the same time that an almost equally large underclass has also formed -- 36 percent dual-income families to 28 percent single income, female-headed households.

The Role of Religion

Religion in Classical Sociology

Durkheim.—Both Emile Durkheim (1965) and Karl Marx (Marx & Engels, 1957), two of the early giants of sociology, took religion as a central focus of society. Both agreed that religion unites the members of any society around common beliefs and values. Durkheim took this to be normal, desirable and necessary. Religion, asserted Durkheim, came into being in response to the need of all social structures to reinforce themselves. Rather than a "Thus saith the people" or "Thus saith the king", society, through its religion, can proclaim, "Thus saith God," and thereby demand
the highest loyalty of all its citizens. Religion is actually the worship of society itself.

**Marx.**—Marx, on the other hand, suggested that the unity of the members in all known societies is based upon false consciousness. The interests of the masses are in reality denied, but the denial is legitimated through the false beliefs and values of religion. Religion acts as an opiate for the masses by interpreting their sufferings as somehow being meaningful. The promise of "pie in the sky in the sweet by and by" is only ideology, designed to disguise the gross injustices perpetrated upon the people by the elite of the society. Marx further suggested that religion is forever the handmaiden of the economic arrangements of a society; that is, religion changes only in response to society's changes in its mode and means of production. Religion is thus merely an ideological weapon in the hands of the oppressor class.

**Weber.**—Max Weber (1963), O'Dea (1966) and other sociologists, while agreeing that religion provides values and beliefs to a society, challenge the Marxian assumption that religion of necessity follows economics. Instead, they seek to demonstrate that, at least sometimes, the reverse is true. In his massive study of the rise of capitalism, Weber (1958) argued that a change in religion (from Catholicism to Protestantism) was actually the predominant factor in the
transformation of the economic system of Europe. Religion can sometimes lead economics.

The Social Sources of Denominational Diversity

H. Richard Niebuhr (1957) in the 1920s analyzed denominationalism as a distinctively American religious form. He found that the normal course of evolution is from sect to church-like structure. This he traces through the course of American history. Welch (1979), however, argues that this methodology of historical case study limits the theoretical value of the church-sect differential. The process of movement from church to sect has never actually been tested by empirical observation, only by case studies. Until the kinds of proposals that he fosters are utilized, Welch contends, church-sect research remains in the realm of typology rather than hypothesis-testing.

Niebuhr has also argued that the sources of America's religious pluralism are social rather than religious. Specifically, religious subcultures in America are seen to be rooted in the major structural divisions of the society: social class, national origin, regionalism and race.

Social class.—It is a widely observed phenomenon in America that a correlation exists between denominational affiliation and social class. This aspect is not unique to American society. Weber's (1956) studies, covering a wide range of religious options -- Judaism, Zoroastrianism,
Christianity, Greco-Roman Mystery Religions, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism -- reveal a consistent correlation between social location and the propensity to accept any particular world-view. Regardless of the historical epoch or the religion under discussion, Weber finds that some elements appeal to particular social strata that do not appeal to others. The religion of the privileged classes is not the same as the religion of the under-privileged classes. Lower middle class urban living, for example, is most likely to foster a rational, ethical religion in its incumbents because such persons live lives of a more rational character; they live in a world of calculability and purposive manipulation, where "honesty is the best policy", and where one must fulfil one's duties in order to get ahead. This stands in contrast to the peasant who depends upon magic for influencing the forces of nature (Weber, 1956, p. 97).

In America, specifically, the relation between denominations and social class has always been fluid. Due to the openness of the society and its substantial social mobility, opportunity for upward social movement by denominations, as well as by individuals, has always existed. This mobility seems to be tied to the sect-likeness versus church-likeness of a religious body. Sects are inherently unstable arrangements, according to Niebuhr's analysis, and, because of both internal and external dynamics, sects are propelled in the
direction of becoming denominations. According to Niebuhr, no sect can remain pristine, in fact, after the first generation of converts.

Roof and McKinney (1989, pp. 108-117) suggest several reasons for the upward mobility of religious bodies. First, in an achievement-oriented society, upwardly mobile individuals are free to change denominations if their achievements outstrip those of the average person in their former group. Second, in a dynamic social setting, whole groups may experience collective upward mobility, both by their own greater achievements and by the entrance of newer immigrant groups on the scene. For example, when large numbers of immigrant Catholics came to America, the relative standing of older Protestant groups was elevated. In turn, the status of both of these groups rose with an even later influx of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, Hispanics and Asians.

It is a commonplace in the study of American religion that sects typically emerge in a lower socio-economic strata and over time rise in social class as they also crystallize into a church-like body. The movement from lower class sect to middle class respectability was first identified (with horror) by John Wesley (1943, p. 208), the founder of Methodism. In referring to newly created, lower class sects, Hargrove (1979, p. 144) cites the typical etiology of their rise to middle class respectability and church-like character:
These groups criticize wealthier churches for their ostentation and celebrate their own simplicity and purity. They encourage hard work and law-abiding behavior, often condemning social activities such as playing cards, dancing, and the use of alcohol. The net result of such moral strictures tends to be the development of middle-class values and behavior on the part of their lower-class adherents, even though the rhetoric may be strongly favorable to poor-but-honest people as opposed to the more affluent. Over time, a number of such sects have gradually moved toward becoming middle-classed denominations as their members have become more affluent, and new generations are better educated as well.

Relatively stable patterns of social standing among the denominations seem to have developed over time (although this is not uniformly the case, as for example, the Mormons) as demonstrated in Table 7 below, taken from Roof & McKinney (1989, p. 110).

The larger question of what difference it makes that the different social strata are bunched within different denominations remains open. Certainly most, if not all, sociologists would agree that social structure can and does influence religious convictions and behaviors. Niebuhr (1957, pp. 80-89), for example, suggests that the doctrine, ethics and organization of the churches of the middle class are largely determined by the dominant middle class characteristics of activism and individualism, which are in turn the necessary hallmarks of bourgeois economic life. Greeley (1982, pp. 136-137), on the other hand, points out that we simply do not know how this operates "beyond simplistic assertions that the affluent are more likely to
Table 7

Status Hierarchy of Denominations and Major Shifts

1945-1946 to 1982

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1945-1945</th>
<th>1982</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top Rank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Scientists</td>
<td>Unitarian-Universalists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Episcopalians</td>
<td>Jews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregationists</td>
<td>Episcopalians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterians</td>
<td>Presbyterians</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>United Church of Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Rank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reformed</td>
<td>Mormons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodists</td>
<td>No Religious Preference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutherans</td>
<td>Christian Scientists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples</td>
<td>Methodists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>Lutherans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Evangelicals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disciples</td>
<td>White Northern Baptists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Northern Baptists</td>
<td>Churches of Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bottom Rank</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant Sectarians</td>
<td>White Southern Baptists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>Adventists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptists</td>
<td>Nazarenes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mormons</td>
<td>Assemblies of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Religious Preference</td>
<td>Jehovah's Witnesses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Northern Baptists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Methodists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Misc. Pentecostals/Holiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Churches of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Black Southern Baptists</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

be religious because religion underpins the social order, or that the poor are more likely to be religious because religion is a way of coping with social deprivation." From his extensive studies with NORC data, Greeley concludes that "there is relatively little correlation between religious behavior and social class," and with the recent development of an upper-middle class charismatic movement, "there is also little relationship between social class and religious Enthusiasm." That varying social classes cluster themselves within differing denominational structures is certain. What difference this makes is not so certain.

National origin.—With the various waves of immigrants that landed on American shores over the generations came varying religious ideologies, commitments and groups, laying the foundation for the religious pluralism we encounter today. Faced with the necessity for some accommodation to a new environment, yet with a need to retain a sense of identity, the different groups took on their own distinctive elements in the American denominational structure. American Catholics have tended to be more retentive of their ethnic heritage, primarily because they are of more recent arrival than the typical Protestant. (See also Greeley, 1979; Roof and McKinney, 1987.) Various researchers (Greeley, 1974; McCready, 1975; and Greeley, 1979) believe that "American ethnic subcultures are a blend of: Old World cultures, American culture at the time of arrival of the ethnic group,
and subsequent collective experiences within American society" (Greeley, 1979, p. 114). The older ethnic identities are breaking down, however. Upward mobility and the burgeoning middle class since World War II have contributed to this loss of ethnicity. This reality can be seen in the fact that when survey respondents were asked, "From what countries or part of the world did your ancestors come?" large numbers of adherents of "all the religious groups can neither choose a single country of origin nor identify their ancestry" (Roof & McKinney, 1987). At the institutional level, former ethnic barriers are breaking down, as suggested by such things as the decline of non-English language usage in worship services and the merger of varying denominations; for example the cross-ethnic merger of the Evangelical and Reformed Church with the Congregational Christian Churches in 1957, forming the United Church of Christ.

Regionalism.--Denominations are not spread evenly across the nation and never have been. Instead, they tend to be concentrated in regional pockets which, though the patterns have varied somewhat over time, are somewhat stable. Some of these bodies are definitely on the move outside of their own native regions, for example the Episcopal Church; whereas others, like the Southern Baptists, remain concentrated mostly within historic regions. The significance of the regional concentration is that dominant
bodies can set the tone for religious life within communities. In the South, for instance, the historically pietistic Methodists and Baptists form as much as 80 percent of some Southern states where they forge a "close, comfortable alliance . . . between the popular churches and Southern culture . . . The result is a highly subjective theology, rural and small-town values and outlook, and traditional morality" (Roof & McKinney, 1987, p. 129). Mormonism in Utah and Idaho holds the same sort of hegemony over the populace as well. Although in the United States there are many forces which promote homogeneity, such as the mass media and the American franchise system, regionalism is still a powerful source of diversity. Stump's work (1984) suggests that new immigrants to a region tend to take on the religious styles of the region rather than adding to that region's diversity.

In Table 8 below a fifty-four year history of regional concentrations of various denominational entities can be seen. Signs of change, as well as continuity, can be observed. For example, although conservative Protestants such as the Southern Baptists are still primarily concentrated in the South, many of these groups are currently growing more rapidly outside of their regions of origin than inside. Another example is Mormonism, which is growing more rapidly outside of Utah and Idaho, its historic regional home, than inside. The Roman Catholic Church is still strongly
concentrated in the East and Midwest, but is migration to the sunbelt along with the rest of the U.S. population.

Table 8

Regional Distribution of Selected Religious Bodies

Percentages for the Years 1926-1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Episcopal</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. C. C.</td>
<td>46.8</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>39.4</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amer. Bapt.</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>39.6</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. Presb.</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lutherans</td>
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<td>64.1</td>
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<td>3.4</td>
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<td>14.9</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>43.3</td>
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<td>91.7</td>
<td>86.0</td>
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<td>1.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
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<td>78.4</td>
<td>72.9</td>
<td>2.7</td>
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<td>25.1</td>
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<td>15.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>20.3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>92.2</td>
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<td>15.7</td>
<td>7.7</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most denominational bodies which originated outside of the West have increased their percentages in this region, partially because of the general population shift to the area. Yet those groups which were strong in the West in 1926 such as the American Baptists, Christian and Missionary Alliance, Church of the Nazarene, Assemblies of God, and the Seventh Day Adventists have not increased as rapidly in this region as have other bodies which came on the scene later in the West. Both the Salvation Army and the Mormons, who have traditionally had strong regional bases in the West, have lost ground in the region (in terms of the percentage of their denomination's membership living in the area) although they have both grown in total membership. Thus, both continuity and change are found in the current regional distribution of America's denominations.

... the geographic base is shifting: liberal Protestant strongholds of the Northeast have declined; evangelical and fundamentalist Protestants are expanding throughout the nation; both Catholics and secular non-affiliates have made spectacular moves into neighborhoods and places where only a few decades ago they were regarded as strangers... The changes are gradual and often invisible, but nonetheless real. Region's diminishing hold on the churches is apparent...

(Roof & McKinney, 1987, p. 138)

Race.--Of Niebuhr's social sources of denominations, race is the most obvious and enduring of all. Some of the history of Black Christianity is detailed above, but a statistical summary at this point might be helpful to clarify just how segregated the church is today.
At the time Niebuhr wrote, 1929, he estimated that 88 percent of Black church members belonged to Black denominations (p. 259). These figures he derived from the Census of Religious Bodies of 1926. Roof and McKinney (1987), using the most recent data available, have found that there has been very little change in this pattern. Adding together the Black membership reported by the major White denominations, they find a total of some 1,861,159. This figure they compare to the total Black membership of the six major Black denominations in the country, some 12.5 million strong. The percentage of Black Protestants who hold their membership in predominantly White denominations stands, thus, at 85 today. Their conclusion is that little change has taken place over the half century since Niebuhr. Even in those predominantly White denominations which have sizeable Black contingencies such as the American Baptist Church (with 27.1 percent Black membership) and the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (with 27.0 percent Black membership), the situation is not really much different. That is, even when the denomination is more inclusive as a whole, individual local churches still tend to be segregated. Among Roman Catholics, less than two percent are Black.

On larger levels, most of the major denominations have moved in the direction of greater inclusiveness. Racially divided structures have been largely abolished, as, for example, the dissolution of the Central Jurisdiction in the
United Methodist Church cited above. African-Americans now serve in large numbers (frequently larger than their proportion of denominational membership) on various denominational boards and agencies. Only a decade or so ago, such positions were the province of Whites only. Blacks are also regularly elected to the office of bishop (or its counterpart in other communions which do not utilize such a polity), and they rule over both Blacks and Whites alike.

Many individual local congregations have moved toward racial inclusiveness. Roof and McKinney (1987) cite data to suggest that the percentage of church members who worship in racially mixed congregations has increased rather markedly in the twenty-five year span following the outbreak of the civil rights movement of the early 1960s. Liston Pope calculated that less than two percent of White congregations had Black members twenty-five years ago. This figure cannot be statistically compared to any more recent data, but it may serve as some sort of benchmark against which to measure the General Social Surveys of 1978 and 1980, in which 38 percent of White respondents said they attend worship services with Blacks. Roof & McKinney (1987, pp. 143-144) conclude:

Living in urban areas, in the Northeast and West, and having moved away from the state in which one was reared were associated with interracial worship. Such experiences were cited more by Catholics than by Protestants, and more by liberal Protestants than by conservative Protestants. Probably this finding represents the presence of a small number of upwardly mobile blacks attending predominantly white churches rather
than anything approaching genuine racial integration, but even so, it is an index of racial change for many congregations.

Hargrove (1979) suggests that because the Black church began as a protest movement against the racism and discrimination of the White church, it has consistently identified itself with the Black community over against the White community. Thus, the Black church carved out for itself a role of "civil religion" for this segment of the population. "This left the white church in the position of a counter-institution, identified with white America . . . ."

This is not to suggest that the Black church operates as a monolithic entity. In fact, the opposite is the case; sectarianism is rampant in Black Christianity. The differences between the various Black denominations seem to be sociologically rooted, rather than doctrinal, organizational or ritualistic, with the exception of the more "exotic" cults, to use C. Eric Lincoln's phrase (Hargrove, 1979). Social class difference emanating from varying education and income levels, and even lightness or darkness of skin tone have served as lines of demarcation between Black churches. "In many cases the black church has become the bulwark of black respectability and status striving . . . not unlike other churches of the lower classes which have contributed to the social mobility of their members" (Hargrove 1979, pp. 149-150). Nevertheless, the Black church, although somewhat splintered, has served the fundamental function of providing
what Frazier (1963, p. 44) terms "a refuge in a hostile white world." Johnstone (1975, p. 277) sums up the crucial role of the Black church throughout history thusly:

The black church has provided a structural context for interaction in which blacks could not only express their deepest feelings and longings but also attain some measure of status (in God's eyes, if in no one else's).

Winter (1977) suggests that the Black church serves as a "center of solidarity" among members of the Black community. Thus, although most White congregations are nominally open to Black membership, Black congregations have an interest in retaining as much of the Black population within their structures as possible.

Reference Group Theory

"A reference group is a social group that serves as a point of reference for individuals in evaluating some characteristic of themselves" (Macionis, 1987, p. 138). Reference group theory has its roots in the symbolic interactionism of Mead (1962) and Cooley (1964). The term itself derives from H. H. Hyman (1942) who showed, for example, that individuals often utilize high status persons as their reference groups in order to enhance their own subjective status. Reference groups may be taken from either an identificatory or a judgmental orientation. If the former, then an actor uses the reference group for role-taking; whereas with the latter, the actor evaluates the self in comparison with others.
Reference groups can be of two major types, in-group and out-group. In the former, people compare themselves with others whom they judge to be similar to themselves, as soldiers stationed within the same country overseas. In the latter, the out-group comparison, the reference group is one that stands over against the person, as a soldier stationed abroad comparing himself with other soldiers who remain at home or with civilians who were not inducted into the service at all (Merton & Kitt, 1950). Frequently, the out-group is viewed with hostility, especially when competition over resources is involved (Sherif & Sherif, 1956.)

Reference group theory was utilized by Newcomb (1958) in a study of students at Bennington College, a liberal arts college in Vermont. These students came mostly from conservative homes, whose values they largely reflected upon entering college as freshmen. Their conservative values on political and economic issues were in conflict with those held by faculty members. In his four-year study Newcomb found that, in general, the longer students stayed at Bennington, the more liberal they were likely to become, although a minority held to their original conservative beliefs. Students who became more liberal appeared to use faculty members and other students as a reference group from which they derived their new ideals, whereas those who retained their former conservatism used their families as their reference group, continuing to refer to their
families' values and standards. Conservative students tended to be more dependent upon their parents than liberal students, were more isolated at college, and tended to be more rebellious toward prevailing community values. In a follow-up study Newcomb (cited in Doob, 1985) found that women who left college as liberals more than twenty years later were still liberals, and women who were conservatives upon leaving college were also still conservatives more than twenty years after the fact. The impact of a reference group can be formidable and long-lasting.

A distinction is made between a reference group and a mere membership group. An actor may or may not hold membership in a particular reference group; nevertheless, that reference group's values, beliefs and behaviors shape the actor's own. A membership group, on the other hand, does not necessarily function as a reference group, as recent research by Granberg, Jefferson, Brent & King (1981) seems to confirm. In their analysis of Stouffer's classic study, *The American Soldier*, Merton & Kitt (1950) detailed some of the mechanisms whereby non-membership reference groups apparently influence individuals; for example, through "anticipatory socialization," in which an actor, who hopes to gain admittance to a group, takes on the group's values, beliefs and behaviors.

Human beings have multiple reference groups, some of which conflict with one another (Merton & Kitt, 1950).
Black middle class Americans comprise a case in point. Coner-Edwards and Edwards (1985) define five core characteristics which Black middle class families share in common with their White counterparts and a sixth which they share only with each other. The first five are: (1) "the implicit or explicit embracing of the dominant culture," which is another way of indicating that the dominant Anglo culture comprises a reference group for these middle class African-Americans, (2) "a belief in the work ethic," (3) "the delay of gratification," (4) "a strong sense of self," and (5) "the quality of life pursuits." Identifying with the White middle class, similarly situated Blacks take on many White characteristics. Nevertheless, as these authors go on to observe, Black middle class families exhibit "a sense of the importance in the fact of their Blackness." Here then is a second reference group, other similarly situated Black middle class families.

The conflict felt by Black middle class persons in the (sometimes) incongruence of the two reference groups with which they identify leads to four psychological consequences: (1) "identity confusion," in which middle class Blacks do not feel at home with either group, (2) "guilt" over leaving behind family members who have not achieved as much of the American dream, (3) a "fail[ure] to achieve balanced lives" due to a work ethic out of control, (4) "anxiety and insecurity about their status", and (5) "a lack of
nurture, a lack of connectedness and affection, cut off as they are from an earlier sense of family and community. These consequences are strongest among the nouveau Black middle class, whose attachment to the Anglo middle class reference group is less secure.

The process of normative reference, status reference, and social comparison is more complex than I have described it here. For a fuller account of the history of reference group theory and bibliographic suggestions, see Clark (1972), Schmitt (1972), and Urry (1973).

Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed the pertinent literature in five areas: (1) The historical and sociological study of the Black church since its inception in America. The use of religion as a tool of oppression was detailed. The question of African origins of Black religion in America was examined. Also highlighted was the birth of the Black church as an institution and its extra-religious functions in the Black community. Special emphasis was placed on the education and role of Black clergy and the expectations of laity.

(2) The second section covered the history of the United Methodist denomination, with particular attention to its Black constituency and to the structural changes over the years which have differentially impacted White and Black congregations. Included were reasons for Methodist success
at reaching African-Americans and the attitudes of the
denomination toward slavery. The development of the first
independent Black denomination, a break-away group from
Methodism, was examined. An account of Black participation
and exclusion within the Methodist Church was given, includ-
ing a statistical profile of lay and clergy membership and
the relative educational levels of such members.

(3) The third section detailed the present socio-
economic state of Black Americans, including trends over the
last century in income, employment, and education relative
to White America. It was shown that, although discrepancies
persist between the races, African-Americans have made
significant economic gains over the last several decades. A
substantial Black middle class has developed.

(4) The fourth section gave an overview of basic
sociological theory on the role of religion. The theore-
tical perspectives of the classical sociological theorists,
Durkheim, Marx and Weber were explicated. Richard Niebuhr's
work on the social sources of denominations was cited. He
indicates that religious subcultures in America are
apparently rooted in the major structural divisions of the
society: social class, national origin, regionalism and
race. Recent studies attempting to document the correlation
between social class and denominational preference were
cited. The percentage of Black participation in various
denominations was investigated.
(5) The final section reviewed the sociological literature on reference group theory. The application of this theoretical orientation to the Black middle class by Coner-Edwards and Edwards (1985) was cited.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to investigate the similarities between White and Black members and ministers in the United Methodist Church. To accomplish this purpose questionnaires were designed to be administered to a sample drawn from churches in the North Texas Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church. This chapter details the populations sampled, the sampling frames used, the techniques of data collection employed, and the procedures utilized for data analysis.

Populations Studied
Six populations were studied:

1) Black adult members of United Methodist Churches presided over by ordained elders in the North Texas Annual Conference.

2) White adult members of United Methodist Churches presided over by ordained elders in the North Texas Annual Conference.

3) Ordained Black clergy members of the North Texas Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church.
4) Ordained White clergy members of the North Texas Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church.

5) Ordained Black clergy members of the former West Texas Annual Conference (now merged with the North Texas Conference) in the year 1968. This population was studied through the official records contained in the 1969 Journal of the West Texas Annual Conference.

6) Ordained White clergy members of the North Texas Annual Conference in the year 1968. This population was studied through the official records contained in the 1969 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference.

Sampling Frame

Sampling frames for each population studied (numbers correspond to populations enumerated above) includes the following:

1) The membership lists supplied by pastors of local United Methodist Churches in the North Texas Annual Conference which have mostly Black members. Additionally, the names of some lay delegates to annual conference from Black congregations, as listed in the 1989 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference, were included.

2) The membership lists supplied by pastors of local United Methodist Churches in the North Texas Annual Conference which have mostly White members.

3) The list of ordained pastors as printed in the 1989 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference. Since the
survey questionnaire was sent to every Black ordained elder who is the pastor-in-charge, this is not a sampling frame proper, but rather a list of the total population under study.

4) The list of ordained pastors as printed in the 1989 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference. Since the questionnaire was sent to every White ordained elder who is the pastor-in-charge, this is not a sampling frame proper, but rather a list of the total population under study.

5) The list of ordained pastors as printed in the 1969 Journal of the West Texas Annual Conference. Since the study included every Black ordained elder who is the pastor-in-charge, this is not a sampling frame proper, but rather a list of the total population under study.

6) The list of ordained pastors as printed in the 1969 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference. Since the study included every White ordained elder who is the pastor-in-charge, this is not a sampling frame proper, but rather a list of the total population under study.

Data Collection

Estimated Variables

Data on income and education levels by race is unavailable on a city or county basis for 1988 from the Census Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Department of Education, the City of Dallas, Dallas County,
the North Texas Council of Governments, or the State of Texas. It was therefore determined that an estimation of these variables should be made in order to compare against survey data to be collected from Black United Methodist Church members. For purposes of this study, national data on education levels of Black citizens was utilized, the assumption being that these estimates are similar to the local area.

Income, on the other hand, was estimated by two different methods. First, national data on income for Black households was compared directly to the income of Black respondents to the survey. Second, a comparison was made of Black citizens of Dallas in the 1980 census with Black persons nationally. A formula was devised for how much deviation there was between the two populations in that year. This formula was then applied to current data which is available on the national Black population in order to estimate the income levels of Black citizens of Dallas.

The Survey Questionnaires

Four of the populations studied were surveyed according to the following specifications (the numbers correspond to the populations described above, respectively):

1) Black Lay Members.—A survey was conducted on a random sample drawn from the membership lists of predominantly Black United Methodist churches by means of a mailed,
self-administered questionnaire. (The cover letter is included in Appendix A.) In addition to receiving the questionnaire and cover letter, a post card (See Appendix B) was sent as a reminder approximately one month after the initial mailing.

The questionnaire covered demographic and theological items including: (1) age, (2) sex, (3) race, (4) family income, (5) education level, (6) occupation (7) spouse's occupation, (8) membership in a Dallas church or not, (9) racial composition of local congregation, (10) length of United Methodist membership, (11) former denominational affiliations, (12) perception of respondents concerning their family income relative to their local pastor's income, (13) a scale of respondents' perceptions of racial discrimination in the United Methodist Church, which was originally developed by Shockley and Brewer (1976), and (14) basic theological beliefs. This latter is comprised of two scales devised by the National Opinion Research Center (Greeley, 1979). (See Appendix C: Lay Questionnaire.)

2) White Lay Members.—The same questionnaire administered to population one above was also administered to White lay members of United Methodist Churches.

3) Black Clergy.—The same questionnaire administered to population one above was also administered to the Black clergy with modifications relating to the fact that these
respondents are pastors. For example, the item requesting the respondents' perception of their family income relative to the pastor's family was altered, now asking for the pastors' perception of their family income relative to the average family within their respective congregations. (See Appendix D for the Black Clergy Questionnaire.)

4) White Clergy.—The same questionnaire administered to Black clergy (described above) was administered to White clergy with a few alterations in the section on perception of racial discrimination in the denomination. These alterations allow for in-group and out-group differences. (See Appendix E for the White Clergy Questionnaire.)

Drawing the Samples

The various samples were drawn from the sampling frames according to the following specifications (the numbers correspond to each of the above numbered populations, respectively):

1) The membership totals for each of the predominately Black congregations, as reported in the 1989 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference, were pooled. This became the population N = 5,385. Numbers were then randomly generated by computer such that approximately one member out of every thirty-four would to be selected to receive a questionnaire, yielding a sample size of N = 160. These random numbers were then aligned beside the membership totals reported for
each congregation, such that the appropriate persons randomly selected could be identified by their own pastor. Next, a letter was sent to the pastor of each church from which members were chosen, requesting his cooperation in selecting the appropriate number of names to be surveyed and detailing the method to be employed for this selection from his actual membership list. (See Appendix F for this letter.) This was to be accomplished by counting down from the top of the individual church membership list X-spaces, the X being the number enclosed. The name corresponding to that number on the local church's roster was thus chosen.

Obtaining the names and addresses for those persons selected proved problematic in that only five membership lists were submitted. Seeing that the number of subjects was small, a second random sample was drawn, N = 50, and mailed to the churches, both those which had responded and those which had not. A third measure was likewise employed: Elected lay delegates to annual conference from each of the target churches, as printed in the 1989 Journal of the North Texas Annual Conference, were selected for inclusion. This was done in order to get representation from all eleven congregations. These persons were mailed the questionnaire at the addresses listed therein. Thus, the sample which was actually utilized was not entirely randomly selected. Despite adding these additional persons, there was still a deficiency in the number of subjects to receive the survey.
The number of surveys mailed to Black lay persons totaled $N = 98$.

2) All membership lists of White United Methodist congregations were combined, and from these a simple random sample was drawn totaling $N = 160$ cases, equal to the number of samples drawn for number three above. The methodology described above was similarly employed, except that the second random sample brought enough names that no additional subjects were chosen from the list of lay delegates as had been the case in number one above. The total number of surveys mailed was $N = 152$.

3) Every Black pastor-in-charge who is an ordained elder in the North Texas Conference was sent a survey questionnaire; $N = 11$. Thus, the Black clergy survey was not sent to a sample, but to the whole population.

4) Every White pastor-in-charge who is an ordained elder in the North Texas Conference was sent a survey questionnaire; $N = 163$. Thus, the White clergy survey was not sent to a sample, but to the whole population.

Survey Returns

The survey questionnaires were mailed to the various samples. The rate of returns by race are enumerated for clergy in Table 9 below. The returns for lay respondents are charted in Table 10 below. Included for each is the number of respondents (frequency) by race and the corresponding percentage of the total. All respondents
which are both non-Black and non-White were classified as missing.

Table 9

**Clergy Survey Returns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>91.2</td>
<td>95.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>MISSING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>MISSING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Valid Cases 109
Missing Cases 5

Table 10

**Lay Survey Returns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Valid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>35.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>62.3</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>MISSING</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Valid Cases 110
Missing Cases 4

The return rates pose some problems for the study in that the percentage of Black respondents is considerably
lower than White respondents, both lay and clergy. The lower response rates by Black clergy poses a double problem: First, since there are so many more White clergy than Black clergy, the actual number of Black clergy respondents is quite low. In 1989, the total number of Black clergymen in the conference who were ordained elders serving as pastor-in-charge of a congregation was only 11, whereas the number of Whites in the same category was 163. This is a 45 percent return rate for Black clergy (5 of 11), and a 63 percent return rate for White clergy (104 of 163). Second, the total number of lay persons receiving a survey is greatly diminished due to the nature of the selection process; that is, the clergy were asked to select the laity for inclusion. With limited participation by Black clergy, the sheer number of names and addresses of Black laity was likewise limited.

The number of lay responses received was lower for Blacks than for Whites, 39 to 71, which represents a 39.8 percent return for Black lay persons (39 returns out of 98 surveys mailed) and 46.7 percent for White lay persons (71 returns out of 152 surveys mailed). The discrepancy in Black and White lay totals is partially due to the fact that too few Black clergy submitted lists of their lay persons; thus, the total number of questionnaires sent to Black lay persons was less than the number sent to White lay persons. Even with the lower number of surveys sent, the response rate was lesser for Black lay persons. (Note: Respondents
who answered "Hispanic" or "Asian" were treated as missing data, since the study was designed only to compare Black and White United Methodists.)

Analysis of Data

Each of the twelve hypotheses presented in this study was analyzed according to a statistical technique appropriate to it. In every instance, the 0.05 level of significance was chosen. The following statistical techniques were employed for each of the hypotheses respectively.

Hypothesis One

Hypothesis One tests whether the income of Black church members is higher than the income of Black citizens of Dallas. The level of measurement for both data sets is ordinal; therefore a Mann Whitney Test is appropriate, since it is one of the most powerful nonparametric tests.

Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis Two tests whether there is a difference in the educational attainment of Black church members and Black persons in the general population. Since national data for education is not published in true interval levels, the level of measurement will be ordinal. A Mann Whitney Test, one of the most powerful nonparametric tests, is an appropriate statistical test, given the relatively large total sample size.
Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis Three tests whether the educational attainment levels of Black and White church members are different. The two racial groups are each divided up according to gender because females historically have lower educational levels than males. Thus, Black females are compared with White females, and Black males with White males. Since educational attainment in the sample is measured at an interval level, a T-Test is the appropriate statistical method.

Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis Four tests whether Black and White church members have equally high status occupations. Again, the sample is divided by gender. Since occupational categories are discrete, a chi-square statistic is utilized.

Hypothesis Five

Hypothesis Five tests the relationship between ministers' salaries and the size of their congregations to see if there is any racial difference. Multiple regression analysis is utilized to test this relationship, with total salary package as the dependent variable. Regression is predicated on interval level data, which property fits two of the three variables, "size of congregation" and "total salary package of pastor". The third, "race," is set up as a "dummy
variable," a practice which has now become standard statistical technique (if sometimes still controversial).

**Hypothesis Six**

Hypothesis Six tests the relationship between a pastor's salary relative to that of his congregation to see if the ratio is different for Black and White ministers. Multiple regression analysis is used. Although level of income certainly could be measured at an interval level, this particular questionnaire did not ask for a specific dollar figure from each respondent. For purposes of this analysis, however, the dependent variable, "salary of pastor" is treated as if it were interval level. Wongla (1988) indicates that such a methodology in cases such as this may be justified.

**Hypothesis Seven**

Hypothesis Seven tests whether Black and White United Methodist ministers in 1968 and 1988 differ in their rate of pay per member. The membership totals for churches and the salary packages of pastors are both interval level measurements since they are actual totals reported in the various Conference Journals. Thus, regression analysis is the appropriate statistical technique for comparing the amount of pay per member. Within the regression analysis the effects of congregational size are subtracted from the equation,
since Black churches tend to be smaller than White churches.

**Hypothesis Eight**

Hypothesis Eight tests the effects of age on the goodness of fit of income differentials between Black and White church members. Again, regression analysis is utilized. See hypotheses five and six above for justifications.

**Hypothesis Nine**

Hypothesis Nine tests the effects of length of membership on the goodness of fit of income differentials between Black and White church members. Again, regression analysis is utilized. The effects of age on the regression equation will be subtracted out of the analysis. See hypotheses five and six above for justifications.

**Hypothesis Ten**

Hypothesis Ten tests for differences in theological orientation between Black and White ministers. This orientation is measured through two different types of questions: (1) The first of the types calls for "Yes" or "No" answer categories for questions measuring religious orthodoxy. Each of these questions is followed by another query asking for degrees of certainty when positive responses are given to religious orthodoxy questions. Responses to the Yes-No questions can be added together to
form a scale of religious orthodoxy. Likewise, the answers to the certainty questions can be added together to form a scale of religious certainty. In both cases a T-test is appropriate to ascertain the similarities or differences between the two racial groups.

(2) The second type of questions, which address theological beliefs in specific, concrete life-situations, are answered by discrete answer categories; thus, an independent chi-square statistic is calculated for each of the questions comprising the theological orientation section.

**Hypothesis Eleven**

Hypothesis Eleven tests for differences in theological orientation between Black and White church members utilizing the same questions and methodologies as hypothesis ten above.

**Hypothesis Twelve**

Hypothesis Twelve tests for differences between Black and White ministers in their perceptions of racial discrimination against African-Americans in the United Methodist Church. The survey instrument which was utilized for measuring perceptions contains ten questions which, taken together, comprise a scale. Each of the answer categories were thus added together, and the total score treated as interval level data. A T-Test was then performed
comparing the two racial groups to see if any statistical difference in their perception could be measured.

Chapter Summary

This chapter restated the general overall problem to be addressed. It then described the populations sampled, the sampling frames used, the techniques of data collection employed, and the statistical procedures utilized for data analysis for each of the twelve hypotheses.
CHAPTER 4

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

Hypothesis One

The Procedure

Hypothesis One sought to test whether there is any difference in income levels between Black members of United Methodist Churches and Black persons in the Dallas area. The research hypothesis is that Black members of United Methodist Churches have higher income levels than Black persons in the area; thus, the null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the two groups. In the first equation, the income levels of the thirty-seven Black respondents in the Methodist sample who answered the query on income were compared to the available regional data for Black persons in the southern United States, as reported by the U. S. Census Bureau (1990, p. 49).

In the second equation, the income levels of the thirty-seven Black respondents were compared to an estimated Dallas area population. This estimate was derived from a comparison of percentages of Black respondents to the 1980 Census for Dallas (U. S. Census, 1983) to percentages of Black persons in the nation as a whole (U. S. Census, 1986).
Incomes were compressed into five categories, and the same proportion of the Dallas residents (compared to national data for the same census) reporting incomes in these five brackets was then projected onto the 1988 national percentages for Blacks in the same categories. For both equations a Mann Whitney Test was calculated, and the significance level was set at 0.05.

**The Results**

Table 11 shows the results of a Mann Whitney Test performed on the data for Black United Methodists and Black persons in the United States.

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Mean Rank</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>97.95</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Citizen</td>
<td>55.07</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corrected for Ties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>631.0</td>
<td>3624.0</td>
<td>-5.9287</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The United Methodist sample had 37 respondents, whereas the regional sample percentages (after rounding) added up to 96. The mean rank of Black Methodists is 97.95, whereas the mean rank of Southern Blacks is 55.07. The sum of ranks of Black Methodists (being the group with the smallest number of observations) is 631.0, the U score. The U score is transformed into a standard Z-score of -7.1089 with its associated probability of less than .0000, well below the .05 level of significance set.

Table 12 shows the results of a Mann Whitney Test comparing the United Methodist sample and an estimated Dallas population.

Table 12
Mann Whitney Test for Income Level, Dallas Estimate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Mean Rank</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>101.61</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Citizen</td>
<td>57.74</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corrected for Ties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>680.5</td>
<td>3759.5</td>
<td>-5.8871</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The United Methodist sample has 37 respondents, whereas the Dallas estimate contains 101 (after rounding). The mean rank of Black Methodists is 101.61, whereas the mean rank of Dallas area Blacks is 57.74. The sum of ranks of Black Methodists (being the group with the smallest number of observations) is 680.5, the U score. The U score is transformed into a standard Z-score of -5.8871 with its associated probability of less than .0000, well below the .05 significance level set.

The Decision

The null hypothesis is rejected and the research hypothesis is supported. Black members of United Methodist Churches have higher income levels than Black persons in the general population.

Hypothesis Two

The Procedure

Hypothesis Two sought to test whether there is any difference in education levels between Black members of United Methodist Churches and Black persons in the Dallas area. The research hypothesis is that Black members of United Methodist Churches have higher education levels than Black persons in the city; thus, the null hypothesis is that there is no difference between the two groups. Education levels of the thirty-nine Black respondents in the Methodist sample were coupled with the spouse's education level for
the thirty respondents who reported a spouse. In both cases, the answer categories were recoded in order to comply with the available data for Black persons in the southern region of the United States, as reported by the U. S. Census Bureau (1989, p. 25). This divided the sample into seven categories: (1) zero to four years of schooling, (2) five to seven years, (3) eight years, (4) nine to eleven years, (5) twelve years, (6) thirteen to fifteen years, and (7) sixteen or more years. Under each of these categories, the Census Bureau percentages for the southern region of the U. S. were utilized in order to calculate a Mann Whitney Test. The significance level was set at 0.05.

**The Results**

Table 13 shows the results of a Mann Whitney Test performed on the data for Black United Methodists and Black persons in the southern region of the United States. The United Methodist sample had 69 respondents, whereas the regional sample percentages added up to 99 (after rounding). The mean rank of Black Methodists is 115.49, whereas the mean rank of Southern Blacks is 62.90. The sum of ranks of Black Methodists (being the group with the smallest number of observations) is 7,968.5, the U score. The U score is transformed into a standard Z-score of -7.1089 with its associated probability of less than .0000.
Table 13

Mann Whitney Test for Educational Attainment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Mean Rank</th>
<th>Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Methodist</td>
<td>115.49</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern Black</td>
<td>62.90</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Corrected for Ties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>U</th>
<th>W</th>
<th>Z</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1277.5</td>
<td>7968.5</td>
<td>-7.1089</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Decision

The null hypothesis is rejected and the research hypothesis is supported. Black members of United Methodist Churches have greater education levels than Black persons in the general population.

Hypothesis Three

The Procedure

Hypothesis Three sought to test whether there is any difference in education levels between Black and White members of United Methodist Churches. The research hypothesis is that no differences exist between the two racial groups. Because education levels vary by sex, the
The sample was divided into two groups: (1) male respondents and the spouses of female respondents, and (2) female respondents and the spouses of male respondents. A T-Test was chosen as the most appropriate statistical test. The significance level was set at 0.05.

The Results

Table 14 shows the results of a T-Test performed on data from Black and White male respondents, coupled with that from the spouses of female respondents.

Table 14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T-Test for Male Education Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>-1.47</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>.145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate Variance</td>
<td>-1.37</td>
<td>49.8</td>
<td>.178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Male Education Level

The sample had 31 Black males and 60 White. Blacks showed a mean education score of 14.6452 with a standard deviation of 3.210, compared to a mean of 15.5500 and a
standard deviation of 2.534 for Whites. The F-test yielded a value of 1.60 and a 2-tail probability of .121 that the means of the standard deviations of the two groups are equal. This figure does not fall within the .05 level of significance as set forth for purposes of hypothesis testing. Neither the separate, nor the pooled, variance estimates were significant, yielding t-values of -1.47 and -1.37, respectively, with 2-tail probabilities of .145 and .178, respectively.

**Female Education Level**

Table 15 shows the results of a similar test performed on data from Black and White female respondents combined with that from the spouses of male respondents.

Table 15

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T-Test for Female Education Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>15.5789</td>
<td>2.445</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>.719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>14.9130</td>
<td>2.331</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>1.39</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate Variance</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>73.31</td>
<td>.175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The sample had 38 Black females and 69 White. Black females showed a mean education score of 15.5789 with a standard deviation of 2.445, compared to a mean of 14.9130 and standard deviation of 2.331 for Whites. That is, Black females outscored White females -- just the reverse of the male situation. But, as with the males, the results are not statistically significant. The F-test yielded a value of 1.10 and a 2-tail probability that the means of the standard deviations of the two groups are equal of .719, certainly not within the .05 level of significance sought. Neither the separate, nor the pooled, variance estimates were significant, yielding t-values of 1.39 and 1.37, respectively, with 2-tail probabilities of .168 and .175, respectively.

The Decision

The research hypothesis is supported. There is no significant difference in education levels between Black and White church members.

Hypothesis Four

The Procedure

Hypothesis Four sought to test whether the occupational categories of Black and White members of United Methodist Churches differ. The research hypothesis is that such differences do not exist. Because males and females nationally vary in occupational categories, Black men in the sample were compared to White men, whereas Black women were
compared to White women. To increase the number of subjects in the sample, spouses of respondents were incorporated into the equation. Males thus included those respondents who are themselves male, plus the spouses of female respondents. Females included those respondents who are themselves female, plus the spouses of male respondents. A cross-tabulation was calculated with a chi-square statistic used to test for significance at .05 level.

The Results

The original results for males are recorded in Table 16 below. In this calculation, it was discovered that too few cases were represented in several of the categories, especially Technical, Clerical, Service, Craft and Operator. Since chi-square is invalidated when more than twenty-five percent of the cells contain less than five tallies (Siegel, 1956, p. 110), a revision of the data was required.

Table 16

Equal Occupation Levels—Males; All Occupational Categories: Chi-Square Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 16—Continued

Equal Occupation Levels—Males; All Occupational Categories: Chi-Square Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square D.F. Significance Min E.F. Cells with E.F.< 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Min E.F.</th>
<th>Cells with E.F.&lt; 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8.39767</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.2988</td>
<td>.988</td>
<td>10 OF 16 (62.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original results for females are recorded in Table 17 below. As with males, too few respondents were found in certain occupational categories, especially Technical, Sales, Service and Operator. The Craft category was an empty cell for females, and thus not included, even in the original equation. (The same situation was true for the categories "Laborer" and "Farm worker" for both males and females, and thus neither category figured into these original equations.)
Table 17

Equal Occupational Levels--Females: All Occupational Categories: Chi-Square Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operator</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square D.F. Significance Min E.F. Cells with E.F.< 5

| 8.12354 | 6  | .2292 | .388 | 8 OF 14 (57.1%) |

Revised Categories

Male Occupational Categories

In order to meet the requirements for a valid chi-square test, I combined some of the occupational categories and omitted others which contained two or less respondents.

For males, this meant combining the following categories:
(1) Executive with Professional, (2) Technical with Sales, and (3) Clerical with Service. Additionally, two other occupational categories, Craftsmen and Operators, were dropped from the equation altogether, their numbers being small, and the Black and White percentages not differing vastly from each other. The procedure eliminated six respondents. The results of the revised answer categories are found in Table 18 below.

Table 18

Equal Occupation Levels—Males; Revised Occupational Categories: Chi-Square Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive &amp; Professional</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>64.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical &amp; Sales</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical &amp; Service</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>68.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chi-Square D.F. Significance Min E.F. Cells with E.F.< 5

| 5.75776   | 2    | .0562 | 3.797 | 1 OF 6 (16.7%) |
One can see from the Table that males in this sample, both Black and White, are heavily represented in white collar occupational categories. A somewhat heavier preponderance of White males is found in the first category, Executive and Professional, than for Black males. Black males are proportionately more heavily represented in the Technical and Sales category, and especially in the Clerical and Service category. Nevertheless, the chi-square was .0562, which falls just outside of the .05 significance level. Female Occupational Categories

For females, I combined Technical and Sales categories. Also, I deleted from the equation Service occupations and Operators since these categories were under-represented. This eliminated a total of four respondents. The results of the revised female occupational categories are found in Table 19 below.

As with the male occupational categories, females are found predominantly in white collar occupations. As is true with females nationally, the church sample had many clerical workers (although less than the national average). Black females are found in higher proportions than Whites in the Executive category, whereas Whites are found in greater proportions in both the Professional and the Clerical categories. The chi-square statistic showed .2036, which is well beyond the .05 significance level set in advance.
Table 19

Equal Occupation Levels—Females: Revised Occupational Categories: Chi Square Test

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Executive</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical &amp; Sales</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Column Totals      | 100.0 |
Total Percent      | 100.0 |

Chi-Square D.F. Significance Min E.F. Cells with E.F.< 5

4.59940 3 .2036 3.951 1 OF 8 (12.5%)

The Decision

The research hypothesis is supported. There is no significant difference in the occupations of Black and White church members.

Hypothesis Five

The Procedure

Hypothesis Five sought to test whether Black and White United Methodist ministers in similarly sized congregations differ in the salary packages received by each. The
research hypothesis is that such differences do not exist. Since the data under consideration are from the entire population rather than a sample, no significance level has been set.

In order to test similar congregations, those whose membership was above 1,700 were omitted from the analysis. This was done because no Black congregations are larger than 1,700, and very large churches tend to hire more than one pastor. Utilizing the salary packages of the senior pastors only, the regression line begins to curve greatly. It could be possible to add into the equation the salary packages of associate pastors, but some of these are ordained and some not; some are included in the official records and some are not. Accordingly, the decision was made to drop from analysis all congregations with more than 1,700 members.

A second feature that altered the data slightly is the concept of minimum equitable salary. Those fully ordained pastors who earned less than the minimum salary of $19,472 in 1988 received a subsidy from the annual conference to bring them up to that figure. Accordingly, each subject with a total package of less than the minimum was recoded to $19,472 for purposes of this analysis. And finally, for those pastors who serve more than a single church, the remuneration from each church served is added together. Likewise, in these multi-church charges, the memberships of
each church are combined into a total number of members served by a single pastor.

A regression equation was calculated, utilizing total salary package (MONEY88) as the dependent variable. Two independent variables were entered into the equation: (1) MEMBER88, being the total membership of the congregation, and (2) RACE, the race of the pastor.

The Results

The results of the regression analysis are recorded in Tables 20 and 21 below.

Table 20

Regression Analysis—Equation One: Salary by Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-3933.73042</td>
<td>-.10819</td>
<td>-2.548</td>
<td>.0120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMBER88</td>
<td>22.04159</td>
<td>.86451</td>
<td>20.360</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>24799.59293</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.655</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square .76208
F 211.40964
Signif F .0000
As can be seen from the initial regression equation in Table 20, a high correlation between the three variables was found, yielding an R Square of .76208 with a Significance F of .0000. The independent variables showed Significant T scores of .0120 (RACE) and .0000 (MEMBERS8).

When the size of the membership (MEMBER88) was taken out of the equation (Table 21), leaving only the effects of race to be accounted for, the R Square dropped to .01491 with a Significance F value of .1584. This indicates that only 1.5 percent of the variance in income is accounted for by the race of the respondent. The B score, which measures the actual salary differential between the races is, -4439.10, which indicates that RACE 1 (White) earned more than RACE 2 (Black) by $4,439.10.

Table 21
Regression Analysis—Equation Two: Salary by Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-4439.10000</td>
<td>-.12209</td>
<td>-1.419</td>
<td>.1584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>37452.70000</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.826</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.01491</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>2.01246</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.1584</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Decision

The research hypothesis is not supported. Black and White clergy in similarly sized congregations do not earn the same salary packages.

Hypothesis Six

The Procedure

Hypothesis Six sought to test whether the salary packages received by Black and White United Methodist ministers relative to the income of their members differ. The research hypothesis is that such differences do not exist. The level of significance has been set at 0.05. A regression equation was calculated with INCOME as the dependent variable, and RACE and STATUS (whether clergy or laity) as the independent variables.

The Results

The results of the regression analysis are recorded in Tables 22 and 23 below. The initial equation, which calculated the effects of the STATUS (lay or clergy) and RACE on family INCOME, showed an R Square of only 0.01241 and a corresponding Significance F of .2679. Neither of the independent variables, STATUS and RACE, was significantly correlated to INCOME, showing Significant-T scores of .1305 and .9729, respectively.

On the second equation, after subtracting the effects of STATUS, the R Square further reduced to .00162,
indicating that less than one-tenth of one percent of the variance in clergy income relative to the income of church members is due to the race of the pastor. The Significance F was .5577, well over the .05 level set for hypothesis testing.

Table 22
Regression Analysis—Equation One: Relative Ministerial Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATUS</td>
<td>.23541</td>
<td>.11233</td>
<td>1.518</td>
<td>.1305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-6.63611E-03</td>
<td>-2.515E-03</td>
<td>-.034</td>
<td>.9729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.67177</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.557</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.01241</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>1.32557</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.2679</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Decision

The research hypothesis is supported. The salary packages received by Black and White United Methodist ministers relative to the income of their members does not differ.
Table 23

Regression Analysis—Equation Two: Relative Ministerial Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>.10631</td>
<td>.04030</td>
<td>.587</td>
<td>.5577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.82226</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.431</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.00162</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>.34481</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.5577</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE B</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>.10631</td>
<td>.18105</td>
<td>.04030</td>
<td>.587</td>
<td>.5577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Constant)</td>
<td>3.82226</td>
<td>.33439</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.431</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hypothesis Seven

The Procedure for 1968 Data

Hypothesis Seven sought to test whether Black and White United Methodist ministers in 1968 and 1988 differ in their rate of pay per member. The research hypothesis is that such differences due to race did exist in 1968, but not in 1988. It was further hypothesized that Black pastors would have earned less per member in 1968, but that those differences would have disappeared by 1988. Since we are dealing with the entire population of ordained elders serving as
pastors-in-charge (as reported in the conference Journals) rather than a probability sample, no level of significance has been set. However, in order to obviate the effects of the larger mean size of White churches compared to Black churches, membership size is included in the regression equation.

The membership size of Black and White congregations in 1968 differed greatly. When all 137 White congregations with an ordained elder serving as pastor-in-charge in 1968 are considered, the mean membership was 908.74, whereas the mean membership was just 420.50 for the 8 similarly configured Black congregations in the same year. The size differential actually accounted for most of the variation in salary packages between Black and White clergy as can be seen in Table 24 below.

The high R Square (.71151) attained in a regression equation measuring the effects of membership size (MEMBER68) and race (RACE) on the total salary package (MONEY68) is almost entirely due to membership size. This can be seen in Table 25 where the effects of membership size (MEMBER68) is subtracted from the equation. The result is that RACE as a lone independent variable yields an R Square of just .00845 with a Significance F of .2716. Race was, therefore, not a major factor in the differences between total salary packages of Black and White pastors in 1968.
Table 24

Regression Analysis—Equation One: 1968 Ministerial Income
By Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>32.04295</td>
<td>5.9483E-03</td>
<td>.131</td>
<td>.8959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMBER68</td>
<td>1.07962</td>
<td>.84418</td>
<td>18.603</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>4961.68406</td>
<td>18.083</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square .71151

F 175.10615

Signif F .0000

Table 25

Regression Analysis—Equation Two: 1968 Ministerial Income
By Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-495.06752</td>
<td>-.09190</td>
<td>-1.104</td>
<td>.2716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>6469.88504</td>
<td>13.360</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square .00845

F 1.21806

Signif F .2716
The matter at hand is not simply the total salary packages paid, but the salary paid per member. In order to compare similar congregations, only those which had less than 1,700 members were utilized in this analysis. This is because most larger congregations have not just one, but two or more pastors, and the concept of pay per member breaks down under such a circumstance.

One additional alteration was made to the data: many White pastors had total salary packages below the minimum salary for 1968. All such pastors were actually paid at a subsidized rate of at least $5,400. Accordingly, for all White subjects with a total package below the minimum, $5,400 was substituted as the total package. All Black ordained elders serving as pastors-in-charge in the 1968 group were above the Black minimum salary scale; therefore, no adjustment was made.

A new variable was computed: MONEYPER, meaning the total compensation paid to the pastor (salary, travel allowance and utility allowance) divided by the number of members of the congregation, or congregations served. That is, some pastors serve more than one congregation. In such cases, the membership of each church served by a pastor is added together and counted as a single congregation. In like manner, the total compensation includes pay from all churches served by any single pastor and the memberships of all churches thus served are added together.
A regression equation was calculated, utilizing MONEYPER as the dependent variable. Two independent variables were entered into the equation: MEMBER68, being the total membership of the congregation in 1968, and RACE, the race of the pastor. The first regression equation calculated the effects of both independent variables on MONEYPER. The second equation shows the effects of race on the salary paid per member after the effects of membership size were removed from the equation.

The Results for 1968 Salary Per Member

The results of the regression analysis are recorded in Tables 26 and 27 below.

Table 26
Regression Analysis—Equation One: 1968 Ministerial Income Per Member by Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>8.67698</td>
<td>.16034</td>
<td>2.260</td>
<td>.0255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMBER68</td>
<td>-.01934</td>
<td>-.58069</td>
<td>-3.504</td>
<td>.0006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>16.45445</td>
<td></td>
<td>.00833</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.40833</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>43.13370</td>
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<td></td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen from the initial regression equation in Table 26, the correlation between the three variables yielded an R Square of .40833 with a Significant-F of .0000. However, when the size of the membership (MEMBER68) was taken out of the equation (Table 27) leaving only the effects of RACE to be accounted for, the R Square dropped to .09118. The effects of Race upon MONEYPER were positive, meaning that RACE 2 (Black) earned a higher income per member than did RACE 1 (White). The actual difference between the races, the B score, is 16.34120.

Table 27
Regression Analysis—Equation Two: 1968 Ministerial Income Per Member by Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>16.34120</td>
<td>.30197</td>
<td>3.556</td>
<td>.0005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>-3.45293</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.696</td>
<td>.4875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.09118</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>12.64203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Decision for 1968 Salary Per Member

The research hypothesis is not supported. Black clergy actually earned slightly higher salaries per member than
White clergy in similarly sized congregations in 1968, not
less as had been hypothesized. Race was a substantial
determinate of salary per member, but not in the direction
suspected.

The Procedure for 1988 Data

The same basic procedure detailed above for 1968 data
was utilized for the 1988 data as well, the variables being
MONEYPER, MEMBER88 and RACE. The same maximum membership
level of 1,700 was used in the regression equation. It is
to be noted, however, that the mean membership for Black
congregations in 1988 was still much lower than for White.
When all-sized congregations were considered, the mean
congregational size for Whites was 843.86 based on the 141
congregations with ordained elders serving as pastors,
whereas the 10 Black congregations whose pastors were
ordained elders had a mean of only 528.20 members. (Note
that the average White congregation had lost membership
since 1968 from 908.74 down to 843.86, whereas the average
Black congregation had increased from the 1968 mean of
420.50 to 528.20 in 1988.) When the difference in the
membership size of congregations was factored out of the
regression equation testing total salary packages (not pay
per member as is currently under consideration), race did
not have a significant effect on White and Black mean
pastoral salaries (36219.48 and 28574.50, respectively).
(See Hypothesis Five above for specific results of regression equations testing total salary packages.)

In 1988 the two racial groups operated under the same minimum salary scale; thus, those congregations which fell below the minimum were dropped from the analysis. Once again, regression equations were calculated, the first of which removed the effects of membership size so that the second equation might test what salary per member differences are the result of race.

The Results for 1988 Salary Per Member

The results of the regression analysis are recorded in Tables 28 and 29 below.

Table 28
Regression Analysis—Equation One: 1988 Ministerial Income Per Member by Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-.01020</td>
<td>-6.072E-03</td>
<td>-.149</td>
<td>.8821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMBER88</td>
<td>-1.04083E-03</td>
<td>-.88312</td>
<td>-21.618</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>4.84593</td>
<td></td>
<td>59.934</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square  .77977
F         233.68033
Signif F  .0000
In the first regression equation (Table 28) an R Square of .77977 was attained with a Significant F of .0000. This indicates that the two independent variables, MEMBER88 and RACE accounted for some 78 percent of the variation in the salary paid per member. When the effects of membership size were omitted in the second equation (Table 29), the R Square dropped to just .00007 with a Significance F of .9255, indicating that there is virtually no difference between the races in pay per member. The B score of .03166, again a positive (although extremely small) correlation, indicates that Black pastors actually earned just over three cents per member more than White pastors.

Table 29
Regression Analysis--Equation Two: 1988 Ministerial Income Per Member by Race and Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>( b )</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>( t )</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>.01366</td>
<td>8.1268E-03</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.9255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>4.24843</td>
<td></td>
<td>26.369</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.00007</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>.00878</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.9255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Decision for 1988 Salary Per Member

The research hypothesis is supported. There is no substantive difference in the per member salary paid to Black and White clergy in 1988.

The Decision for Hypothesis Seven

The research hypothesis was not supported, in that the hypothesis was that Black ministers would earn less salary per member than White ministers in 1968 was incorrect. The reverse was true; Black pastors earned more. It was further hypothesized that by 1988 there would be no differences in salaries per member, an eventuality which is virtually true; Black pastors still earn three cents per member more than White pastors.

Hypothesis Eight

The Procedure

Hypothesis Eight sought to test whether younger Black members of United Methodist Churches have incomes closer to or greater than their White counterparts than do older Black members. The research hypothesis is that such differences do exist between the two racial groups, therefore the null hypothesis is that there are no differences. The significance level was set at 0.05, and a regression equation was calculated to test the hypothesis. The independent variables were RACE (race of the respondent), AGE (age of the respondent), and AGEBYR (age multiplied by race), and the
dependent variable is INCOME (total family income). RACE is coded "Black = 1" and "White = 2".

The Results

The results of regression analysis are recorded in Table 30 below. On the first regression equation, an R Square of .13221 was achieved, indicating that some 13 percent of the variation in INCOME is explained by the three independent variables: age, race and age-by-race. A Significant F score of .0023 falls well within the .05 level set.

Table 30
Regression Analysis—Equation One: Income by Age, Race and Age-by-Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-1.87443</td>
<td>-.76168</td>
<td>-2.331</td>
<td>.0217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>-.08277</td>
<td>-1.08539</td>
<td>-3.029</td>
<td>.0031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEBYR</td>
<td>.03531</td>
<td>1.05921</td>
<td>2.282</td>
<td>.0245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>8.21015</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.758</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square .13221

F 5.17977

Signif F .0023
When the effects of age alone are removed from the equation (Table 31), the R Square dropped to .05414, indicating that the two remaining variables in the equation, RACE and AGEBYR (age multiplied by race), account for just over five percent of the variation in income. The F Score of 2.94776 is significant at a .0569 level, just over the pre-set significance level of .05. The effect of race upon income, however, is small, yielding a t-score of 1.283, significant at the .2025 level. Age-by-race showed a t-score of -2.406, significant at the .0179 level.

Table 31
Regression Analysis—Equation Two: Income by Age, Race and Age-by-Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>.39227</td>
<td>.15940</td>
<td>1.283</td>
<td>.2025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGEBYR</td>
<td>-9.9689E-03</td>
<td>-.29907</td>
<td>-2.406</td>
<td>.0179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>4.05563</td>
<td>10.002</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.05414</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>2.94776</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.0569</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final equation is found in Table 32 below. When the individual effects of age and race on income have been
removed from the equation, AGEBYR (age multiplied by race) does have a statistically significant effect on income, showing a .0424 Significance F Score, just under the .05 level set. The effect is, however, quite small, with an R Square = .3903. Thus, AGEBYR accounts for just under four percent of the variance in income. The Beta score of -.19757 for AGEBYR indicates that AGEBYR and INCOME are inversely related: the younger the subject, the larger the income.

Race alone is not significantly related to income, but age is. However, the two racial groups differ in their correlation of age and income.

Table 32
Regression Analysis—Equation Three: Income by Age, Race and Age-by-Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGEBYR</td>
<td>-6.58557E-03</td>
<td>-.19757</td>
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<td>.0424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>4.42935</td>
<td></td>
<td>15.661</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.03903</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>4.22436</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.0424</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures 1 and 2 below graphically illustrate the difference between the two races.

**Figure 1.** Black family income as a function of age.

As can be seen in Figure 1, INCOME is inversely correlated with AGE for Black subjects, with a negative
slope. The R Square is .34157, indicating a fairly high correlation, with a .0001 significance level.

Figure 2. White family income as a function of age.

Regression statistics of INCOME on AGE:
- Correlation: -.16340
- R Squared: .02670
- S.E. of Est: 1.19210
- Sig.: .1798
- Intercept: 4.46130
- (S.E.): .45947
- Slope: -.01216
- (S.E.): .00897

In Chart 2, INCOME is likewise negatively correlated with AGE for White subjects; however, the .02670 R Square is
not significant at .1798. The intercept for White subjects is 4.46130 and for Black it is 6.33573. Regression lines would, therefore cross at approximately 54 years.

**The Decision**

The research hypothesis is supported. Younger Black members of United Methodist Church have incomes closer to, or greater than, their White counterparts than do older Black members.

**Hypothesis Nine**

**The Procedure**

Hypothesis Nine sought to test whether more recently joining Black members of United Methodist Church have incomes closer to, or higher than, those of their White counterparts than do older Black members. The research hypothesis is that such differences do exist between the two racial groups, therefore the null hypothesis is that there are no differences between the groups. The level of significance has been set at 0.05. Two regression analyses were run to test the hypothesis.

The independent variables utilized in the various equations are: RACE (race of respondent), AGE (age of respondent), YRSIN (the number of years respondent has been a church member), and YRSBYR (number of years as a church member by race of respondent). The dependent variable is INCOME (income of the respondent).
The Results

In the first stepwise regression equation, YRSIN (the number of years of membership in the church) and RACE were utilized as independent variables. The dependent variable was INCOME. The results are recorded in Table 33.

Table 33
Regression Analysis—Equation One: Income by Years Within the Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the Equation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YRSIN</td>
<td>-.01399</td>
<td>-.22404</td>
<td>-2.333</td>
<td>.0216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>4.31106</td>
<td></td>
<td>20.419</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in the Equation</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.01043</td>
<td>-.108</td>
<td>.9146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square .05020
F 5.44333
Signif F .0216

The variable RACE was not correlated with INCOME, but YRSIN was. The R Square of .05020 indicates that YRSIN accounts for approximately 5 percent of the variation in INCOME at the .02116 level of significance. The relationship was inverse with a -.22404 beta, indicating
that those respondents with shorter church memberships are more likely to have higher incomes than those who have been members for longer periods of time.

The second stepwise regression equation tested the effects of AGE on this relationship between YRSIN and INCOME. The results of this analysis are found in Table 34.

Table 34
Regression Analysis—Equation One: Income by Age and Years Within the Church

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the Equation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>-.02241</td>
<td>-.29305</td>
<td>-3.111</td>
<td>.0024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>5.00209</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.420</td>
<td>.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in the Equation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YRSIN</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-.05974</td>
<td>-.482</td>
<td>.6305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-.04545</td>
<td>-.480</td>
<td>.6322</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R Square  .08588
F  9.67669
Signif F  .0024

The introduction of the new variable, AGE, yielded an R Square of .08588, significant at the .0024 level of significance. AGE has a beta of -.29305, indicating an inverse relationship between AGE and INCOME. However, once
AGE was added into the equation, YRSIN no longer correlated significantly with INCOME, yielding a Significant T of only .6305. Thus, the effects of YRSIN on INCOME were actually the result of the expected phenomenon of older persons being church members for longer periods of time than younger persons. Younger members are more likely to have higher incomes than older members, as was seen in Hypothesis Eight above.

The third regression equation utilized three independent variables: AGE, YRSBYR, and RACE. The results are found in Table 35 below.

Table 35
Regression Analysis—Equation One: Income by Age, Race and Years by Race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>Beta</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>Sig T</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the Equation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGE</td>
<td>-.02241</td>
<td>-.29305</td>
<td>-3.111</td>
<td>.0024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>5.00209</td>
<td>13.420</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not in the Equation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YRSBYR</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>-1.174E-03</td>
<td>-.011</td>
<td>.9914</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RACE</td>
<td>-.04545</td>
<td>-.480</td>
<td>.6322</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R Square</td>
<td>.08588</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>9.67669</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signif F</td>
<td>.0024</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Again, the only independent variable significantly correlated with INCOME is AGE, which showed a significant T of .0024 and an R Square of .08588. YRSBYR, the variable measuring the number of years of church membership by race, was not significantly correlated with INCOME, yielding a significant T of .9914.

The Decision

The research hypothesis is not supported. More recently joining Black members of United Methodist Churches do not have incomes closer to, or higher than, those of their White counterparts than do older Black members.

Hypothesis Ten

The Procedure

Hypothesis Ten tested whether there is any difference in the theological orientation of Black and White United Methodist ministers. The research hypothesis is that no differences exist between the two racial groups. The significance level set was .05.

The first set of data, a scale measuring Religious Orthodoxy, is tested by a T-Test. The second set of data, a scale measuring religious certainty, also is tested by a T-Test.

The third data set, measuring theological beliefs in concrete life-situations, was to be tested with an independent chi-square to be conducted on each of the six
situations. However, due to the small number of Black clergy responses (five), it was impossible to do hypothesis testing for Hypothesis Ten. This is because chi-square requires that the number of cells with less than five responses be no more than twenty-five percent. (See Siegel, 1956, page 110.) That assumption cannot be met; thus, Hypothesis Ten cannot be tested in an appropriate manner.

Results for Religious Orthodoxy Scale T-Test

Results of a T-Test, comparing the mean scores of Black and White respondents on a Religious Orthodoxy Scale, are found in Table 36 below.

Table 36
T-Test for Religiosity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.6000</td>
<td>.548</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.09 1.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>4.4356</td>
<td>.573</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, there is little variation, the standard deviation being only .548 for Black clergy and .573 for White. The F Value was only 1.09, yielding a 2-Tail
probability of 1.000. The pooled estimate probability was .532 and the separate estimate probability was .546.

The Decision on Religious Orthodoxy

The research hypothesis is supported; there is no difference between the religious orthodoxy of Black and White ministers in United Methodist Churches.

The Results for Religious Certainty Scale T-Test

Results of a T-Test, comparing the mean scores of Black and White respondents on a Religious Certainty Scale, are found in Table 37 below.

Table 37

T-Test for Religious Certainty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.2000</td>
<td>1.643</td>
<td>1.79</td>
<td>.615</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>13.5000</td>
<td>2.197</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>- .30</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>.764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate Variance</td>
<td>- .39</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>.712</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mean scores are 13.2000 and 13.5000 for Blacks and Whites, respectively, while the standard deviations are 1.643 and 2.197, respectively. The F Value is only 1.79,
yielding a 2-Tail probability of .615, well short of the needed .05 level. The pooled estimate probability was .764 and the separate estimate probability was .712, again well short of the anticipated .05 level.

The Decision on Religious Certainty

The research hypothesis is supported; there is no difference in religious certainty between Black and White ministers of United Methodist Churches.

Hypothesis Eleven

The Procedure

Hypothesis Eleven tested whether there is any difference in the theological orientation of Black and White United Methodist members. The research hypothesis is that no differences exist between the two racial groups. The significance level set was .05.

The first set of data, a scale measuring Religious Orthodoxy, is tested by a T-Test. The second set of data, a scale measuring religious certainty, also is tested by a T-Test.

The third data set, measuring theological beliefs in concrete life-situations, is tested with an independent chi-square for each of the six situations. In some instances, there were insufficient numbers of respondents in individual categories for the test to be valid. That is, if more than twenty-five percent of cells have fewer than five tallies,
chi-square is invalidated. This was the case with four of the six items. For three of these, it made sense to delete some categories. This was done whenever the number of tallies was exceptionally low, but one life situation, "Promoted," could not be tested at all.

**Results for Religious Orthodoxy Scale T-Test**

Results of a T-Test, comparing the mean scores of Black and White respondents on a Religious Orthodoxy Scale, are found in Table 38 below. As can be seen, there is little variation, the standard deviation being only .688 for Blacks and .707 for Whites. The F Value was only 1.06, yielding a 2-Tail probability of .898. The pooled estimate probability was .356 and the separate estimate probability was .353.

**Table 38**

**T-Test for Religiosity - Laity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>4.5172</td>
<td>.688</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>.898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4.3710</td>
<td>.707</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>.93</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>.356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate Variance</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>56.20</td>
<td>.353</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Decision on Religious Orthodoxy

The research hypothesis is supported; there is no difference in the religious orthodoxy of Black and White lay members of United Methodist Churches.

The Results for Religious Certainty Scale T-Test

Results of a T-Test, comparing the mean scores of Black and White respondents on a Religious Certainty Scale, are found in Table 39 below. The mean scores are 13.4800 and 13.7174 for Blacks and Whites, respectively, while the standard deviations are 1.782 and 1.797, respectively. The F Value is only 1.02, yielding a 2-Tail probability of .993, well short of the needed .05 level. The pooled estimate probability was .596 and the separate estimate probability was .595, again well short of the anticipated .05 level.

Table 39

T-Test for Religious Certainty - Laity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13.4800</td>
<td>1.782</td>
<td>.53</td>
<td>.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>13.7174</td>
<td>1.797</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.595</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>-.53</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>.596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate Variance</td>
<td>- .53</td>
<td>49.75</td>
<td>.595</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Decision on Religious Certainty

The research hypothesis is supported; there is no difference in religious certainty between Black and White lay members of United Methodist Churches.

Results for Life-Situation Beliefs Chi-Square Tests

The next six items, the Life-Situation-Theology are all tested with independent Chi-square. The results for each test are recorded individually; these are charted in the next several tables.

Incurable Disease

The first theological question yielded the results found in Table 40 below. The chi-square of 27.55772 is significant at $p < .0001$, well below the .05 level set. Black respondents answered in large numbers in the category designated "Religious Resignation," whereas Whites answered in large numbers in the "Resignation" and "Anger" categories.

Table 40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secular Optimism</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Resignation</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Son Drafted

The second theological question, regarding the drafting of one's son, required the deletion of one category in order to get a suitable percentage of cells with less than five tallies each. Answer category 4, "Anger", containing 1 Black tally and 5 White tallies, was omitted. Following this procedure, a chi-square statistic was computed, yielding the results found in Table 41 below. The chi-square of 12.45981 is significant at .0060 level, well below the .05 level set.
Table 41

Chi-Square -- Son Drafted

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secular Optimism</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Resignation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopefulness</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>51.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Column Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>28</strong></td>
<td><strong>49</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Percent</strong></td>
<td><strong>36.4</strong></td>
<td><strong>63.6</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Min E.F.</th>
<th>Cells with E.F.&lt; 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12.45981</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>.0060</td>
<td>1.818</td>
<td>2 OF 8 (25.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Promoted**

Even with the deletion of several categories, it was impossible to achieve the required twenty-five percent or less categories with fewer than five tallies each; thus, any statistics for Promoted are meaningless. In Table 42 below only the categories "Religious Resignation" and "Hopefulness" contain five or more tallies each for Black and White respondents. This variable was, therefore, not included in the summary below.
Table 42

**Chi-Square — Sudden Job Promotion**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secular Optimism</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Resignation</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratitude</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopefulness</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>63.6</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Min E.F.</th>
<th>Cells with E.F. &lt; 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.20989</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>.0474</td>
<td>.727</td>
<td>6 OF 12 (50.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Parents Dying**

The fourth theological question regarding the slow and painful death of one's parents did not require the omission of any categories in order to calculate a true statistic. Table 43 reveals a chi-square of 25.41053, which is significant at .0000, well under the .05 level set.
### Table 43

**Chi-Square -- Parents Dying**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secular Optimism</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Resignation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anger</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gratitude</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopefulness</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Column Totals</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Percent</strong></td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Min E.F.</th>
<th>Cells with E.F. &lt; 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25.41053</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>.0000</td>
<td>2.694</td>
<td>2 OF 10 (20.0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Retarded Child**

The fifth theological question required the deletion of two categories in order to get a suitable percentage of cells with less than five tallies each. Answer category 4, Anger, containing 1 Black tally and 5 White tallies, was omitted. Likewise, answer category 5, Gratitude, containing zero Black responses and 1 White response, was omitted. Following this procedure a chi-square was computed, yielding the results found in Table 44 below. The chi-square of
6.39928 has a significance level of .0937, above the .05 level set.

Table 44

Chi-Square -- Mentally Retarded Child

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secular Optimism</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious Resignation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopefulness</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>47.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Column Totals</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Percent</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>61.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square D.F. Significance Min E.F. Cells with E.F. &lt; 5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.39928 3 .0937 4.571 1 OF 8 (12.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Natural Disaster

The final theological question regarding one's response to natural disasters required the deletion of two categories in order to get a suitable percentage of cells with less than five tallies each. Answer category 1, Secular Optimism, containing 4 Black tally and 3 White tallies, was omitted. Likewise, answer category 5, Gratitude, containing 0 Black responses and 2 White response, was omitted. Following this procedure a chi-square was computed, yielding
the results found in Table 45 below. The chi-square of 15.10395 was calculated with a significance level of .0005, well above the .05 level set.

Table 45

**Chi-Square -- Natural Disasters**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orientation</th>
<th>Black</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Row</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious Resignation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resignation</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hopefulness</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>73.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Column Totals</strong></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Percent</strong></td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
<th>D.F.</th>
<th>Significance</th>
<th>Min E.F.</th>
<th>Cells with E.F.&lt; 5</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15.10395</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.0005</td>
<td>3.469</td>
<td>1 OF 6 (16.7%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Decision on Life-Situation Theology

Five of the six life-situation questions were tested. Of these five, four showed statistically significant differences between Blacks and Whites. Thus, the research hypothesis is not supported on these five life-situation theology variables. Black and White church members do hold different theological understandings on certain life-situation questions.
Summary of Hypothesis Eleven Results

Black and White church members show similarities on basic theological orthodoxy and on the certainty they exhibit on those beliefs. However, when theology is implemented in hypothetical life situations, there is a divergence between Blacks and Whites. Hypothesis Eleven is thus both supported and rejected, depending upon which variables are being measured.

Hypothesis Twelve

The Procedure

Hypothesis Twelve sought to test whether there is any difference in the perception of racial discrimination within the United Methodist Church between Black and White United Methodist pastors. The research hypothesis is that no differences exist between the two racial groups, therefore the null hypothesis is that a difference will be found at the 0.05 level of significance between the two groups.

The Results

Table 46 shows the results of a T-Test performed on the scale scores of Black and White respondents. The sample had only five Black clergy and 103 White. Black clergy showed a mean scale score of 43.2000 with a standard deviation of 3.493, compared to a mean of 42.1262 and standard deviation of 5.583 for White. The F-test yielded a value of 2.55 and a 2-tail probability that the means of the standard
deviations of the two groups are equal of .371, obviously not within the .05 level of significance as set forth for purposes of hypothesis testing. Neither the separate, nor the pooled, variance estimates were significant, yielding a t-value of .42 and .65 respectively, with 2-tail probabilities of .672 and .545.

Table 46
T-Test for Perception of Racial Discrimination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>43.2000</td>
<td>3.493</td>
<td>2.55</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>.371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>42.1262</td>
<td>5.583</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>t</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>2-Tail Prob.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>.42</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>.672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate Variance</td>
<td>.65</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>.545</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Decision

The research hypothesis is supported. There is no significant difference in the perceptions of racial discrimination within the church between Black and White clergy.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, three items were detailed for each of the twelve hypotheses: (1) The procedures utilized, (2) the
results of data analysis attained, along with a discussion of each, and (3) the decision whether to reject the null hypothesis.

Hypotheses Supported

Hypotheses which were supported by the research include the following (numbers correspond to hypothesis numbers utilized throughout the study):

One.—Black members of United Methodist Churches have higher income levels than Black persons in the general population.

Two.—Black members of United Methodist Churches have greater education levels than Black persons in the general population.

Three.—There is no significant difference in education levels between Black and White church members.

Four.—There is no significant difference in the occupations of Black and White church members.

Six.—The salary packages received by Black and White United Methodist ministers relative to the income of their members does not differ.

Eight.—Younger Black members of the United Methodist Church have incomes which are closer to, or greater than, their White counterparts than do older Black members.
Twelve.—There is no significant difference in the perceptions of racial discrimination within the United Methodist Church between Black and White clergy.

**Hypotheses Not Supported**

The following hypotheses were not supported (numbers correspond to hypothesis numbers utilized throughout the study):

**Five.**—Black and White clergy in similarly sized congregations do not earn differential salary packages.

**Nine.**—More recently joining Black members of United Methodist Churches have incomes closer to, or higher than, those of their White counterparts than do older Black members.

**Hypotheses Partially Supported**

The following hypotheses were partially supported (numbers correspond to hypothesis numbers utilized throughout the study):

**Seven.**—Black and White ministers in 1968 did earn differential salaries per member, as predicted; however, the direction of this difference was incorrectly predicted. In 1988 United Methodist clergy in North Texas did not earn different salaries per member, an eventuality which was also hypothesized. A tenable explanation of the higher Black salary scale (relative to White clergy in similar-sized
churches) in 1968 is suggested in the literature review above. There, Clark (1971, p. 144) was cited with his assertion that, as late as 1965, especially in poorer areas, Black pastors often served as "symbols of social and civic success of the church and give the members of their congregation the vicarious satisfaction of relationship to an important church and identification with an influential minister." Further, he contends that these ministers frequently have lavished upon them financial rewards beyond the modest means of most congregants.

Historically, this can be seen by the example of turn-of-the-century Black Methodist Churches in Philadelphia. For them, less than ten percent of the annual budget went to charitable causes, whereas a full 65 percent was allocated to pastor's salary (Mukenge, 1983, p. 59). Also, Clark suggests, many present day (in 1971, that is) lower-class Black churches tolerate "almost any degree of personal, theological, or educational inadequacy upon the part of their minister, so long as he holds the church together as a successful social and financial institution." The sense of personal affirmation and self-esteem of many Black members is so tied to their church that the minister is given such specialized treatment.

Thus, the disparity between the salary packages of Black and White United Methodist clergymen in 1968 can be understood as the last vestige of an older system which is
being replaced by a more common pay schedule, underpinned by a new, common system. Accordingly, in 1988 the rate of pay per member should have been (and was correctly predicted to be) the same for the two racial groups.

**Ten.**—There are three different parts to this hypothesis: (1) A Religious Orthodoxy Scale, (2) A Religious Certainty Scale, and (3) Six Life-Situation-Theology questions. The research hypotheses for the first two of these were supported: (1) There is no difference in religious orthodoxy between Black and White ministers in United Methodist Churches. And (2) there is no difference in religious certainty between Black and White ministers in United Methodist Churches. For the third portion of Hypothesis Ten, the life-situation-theology, the questions proved to be untestable due to a too small sample size for the appropriate statistical technique.

**Eleven.**—Like Hypothesis Ten, Hypothesis Eleven contained three different parts: (1) A Religious Orthodoxy Scale, (2) A Religious Certainty Scale, and (3) Six Life-Situation-Theology questions. The research hypotheses for the first two of these were supported: (1) There is no difference in religious orthodoxy between Black and White ministers in United Methodist Churches. And (2) there is no difference in religious certainty between Black and White ministers in United Methodist Churches. (3) The third
portion of Hypothesis Eleven, the Life-Situation-Theology section, showed a statistically significant difference between Black and White church members on four of the five testable questions.
CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Summary of Conclusions

This study is a descriptive analysis of United Methodists, a comparison of Blacks to Whites, both lay and clergy, in the North Texas Conference. It was expected that few lower class Black members would be found in the church, but that a larger number of middle class Black United Methodists would be found. It was also expected that White and Black members would exhibit similar socio-economic status in level of income, education level and occupational categories. It was further expected that the theological understandings of the two racial groups would not vary, reflecting a more common life experience. Finally, it was anticipated that a common perception about racial discrimination within the church would be found.

As has been detailed above, the similarities between the two racial groups within the denomination are far greater than the differences, this despite the fact that in the general population there are wide disparities. To summarize the findings detailed above, Black and White members of United Methodist Churches do not differ from each
other on: (1) level of education, (2) level of income, (3) occupations, (4) religious orthodoxy, or (5) religious certainty. Only on certain life-situation theology questions was a difference detected between Black and White members of the denomination. In contrast to Black persons as a whole, Black members of United Methodist Churches have higher levels of education and higher incomes than Blacks in the general population in the Dallas area. Additionally, younger Black members are more likely than older Black members to have incomes which equal or exceed their White counterparts. The length of membership in the church did not seem to affect the level of income.

As with the laity, Black and White clergy of the United Methodist Church are similar to each other as well. Black and White clergy do not differ on: (1) total income relative to the income levels of the membership of their specific congregations, (2) the rate of salary paid per member of the congregation, despite the fact that twenty years ago such a dollars per member rate was different, (3) religious orthodoxy, (4) religious certainty, or (5) perception of racial discrimination within the church. However, the total salary packages for comparably sized churches is still somewhat skewed in favor of White clergy.

Implications for the Denomination

As a sociological practitioner, I am interested to discover the real-world implications of sociological
findings. Thus, the investigation of racial groups within the United Methodist denomination should have important ramifications for the denomination for numerous reasons. I find at least two implications worth noting here.

First, there is now and has been since the 1960s, a strong emphasis within the United Methodist Church specifically, and within mainline denominations generally, on combating racism in the church and in the broader society. Often, charges of racism within the church are hurled by leaders and by outsiders. There may indeed be racism within the church; however, the results attained here suggest that a larger mechanism is at work within the church, namely classism. The North Texas Conference of the United Methodist Church is a middle to upper middle class church. Nationally, African-Americans are under-represented in these categories and over-represented in the working class and among the poor. No doubt this is partially, or perhaps mainly, due to racism. Nevertheless, the small percentage of Black persons within the Methodist denomination actually reflects the limited numbers of Black persons in the middle and upper middle class strata from which United Methodist membership is derived. If the United Methodist Church (or other mainline denominations) wishes to engage a larger proportion of the population of the United States, it will need to strategize on how to reach working class and poor persons. As long as denominational leaders
see the denominational failure to reach many Blacks in terms of simple racism, their ability to alter the situation will likely be limited.

Second, the very system of ministerial education and minimum salary levels for pastors employed by the United Methodist Church militates against any possible entree into the working and underprivileged classes. Highly educated, well paid clergy may not be able to adapt to working class or poor neighborhoods. Thus, if the denomination cannot or will not make provision for clergy who are not in the middle or upper middle strata of the socio-economic spectrum, United Methodism is unlikely to reach these potential constituencies. In fact, the membership losses experienced by most mainline denominations may be primarily due to the large number of denominations all competing for such a limited portion of the American public, the upper middle class.

Issues for Further Study

As Niebuhr (1929) observed several decades ago, religious subcultures in America are apparently rooted in the major structural divisions of the society: social class, national origin, regionalism and race. The interesting question which is impacted by this study concerns the effects of changes in the society on religion. Two phenomena are occurring simultaneously: First, a sizeable Black middle class is emerging in America. Such persons do
not share in the life experiences of the majority of African-Americans who are poorer; rather, their lives are more similar to their White counterparts in the middle class. Second, there have been numerous structural changes in organized religion. In the United Methodist Church, for example, separate Black and White jurisdictions have dissolved. Formerly different patterns of ministerial preparation and salary scales are no longer in effect.

The question of religion is impacted from both of these historic processes. Traditionally, Black and White religious orientations have differed substantially, even within the same denominational body. But given the new social realities, will Black middle class persons continue to practice a brand of religion which is at one and the same time different from the White middle class but similar to that of their Black brothers and sisters in the working and poorer classes? Or will the new social location impel Black middle class persons to experience religion in ways similar to their White counterparts?

A subsidiary question has to do with which social sources of religion are the most important? Is race stronger than social class, or vice versa? These questions need to be reviewed, not just from the perspective of a single denomination in a limited, regional setting as in this study, but for larger religious bodies. It is unfortunate that an institution as important to any people
as is religion is left virtually unstudied by the federal government. If such issues were addressed by the Census Bureau, sociological analysis would be so much the better. Short of governmental study, denominations themselves, alone or in tandem, would do well to research their own membership and then to compare and contrast their findings with the population in general. How are religious people like the general population; how are they different? Are peoples who are different within the general population more similar to each other when they are in the same religious body? And if so, why?

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a review of the basic premises of this study and the conclusions derived from the analysis. Suggested by the analysis is that Black and White United Methodists do not differ significantly in socio-economic categories, nor in theological orientation, as was hypothesized. Second, two possible implications for the denomination under study were explicated, suggesting that classism rather than racism is responsible for the small percentage of Black membership in the denomination and further suggesting that the structures of the church militate against a change in these percentages. Finally, implications for further study were suggested. Both sociology and religious institutions would be well served
by systematic analysis of the constituents of denominations and their variances from the population at large.
APPENDIX A

COVER LETTER
Dear Fellow United Methodist:

I need your help. Please take a moment to read this letter.

I am writing to you in two different capacities today. In addition to my role as pastor of Asbury United Methodist Church in Denton, I am a doctoral student at the University of North Texas. In both positions, I have an interest in the United Methodist Church, and thus I am conducting a study on the church. My research objective is to document the social, economic, and theological diversity within our denomination. Enclosed with this letter is a brief questionnaire that asks a variety of questions about you as a member of the church. I am asking that you look over the questionnaire and, if you are willing to assist me in this research, complete it and mail it back to me in the enclosed, self-addressed envelop. Do not write your name on the questionnaire; I do not need to know who you are. Neither your choice to participate, nor your individual responses will be identifiable. My plan is simply to compare categories of responses; for example, long-time members versus newer members, etc.

I hope that you will take the few minutes necessary to complete this questionnaire and return it to me. Without the help of people like yourself, research on the church would be impossible. Regardless of whether you choose to participate or not, however, I will make a summary of my findings available to you. To preserve your anonymity, you can send the Summary Request Form back by separate mail. In this way, I will not know who has or has not submitted a questionnaire.

Understanding more about who we are as United Methodists is very important to the future of our church. Through your participation we will learn something concrete about the make-up of our denomination. Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Rev. Richard L. Dunagin

P.S. I will send out a reminder card in a few days, but since I have no way of knowing who has or has not completed the survey, I will not know if you have already sent yours. I beg your pardon for any inconvenience in advance. Again, thanks.

[This project has been reviewed by the University of North Texas Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects (817) 565-3940.]
APPENDIX B

POST CARD REMINDER
JUST A REMINDER

Recently you received a United Methodist questionnaire. If you have already returned it, Thank You. If not, please do so at your earliest convenience. The target date is December 1.

Remember: The project will be incomplete without your participation.

Thank you,
Rev. Richard L. Dunagin
APPENDIX C

LAY QUESTIONNAIRE
UNITED METHODIST SURVEY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Church Relationship: (Circle one)
   1) Lay Member
   2) Clergy
   3) No longer a member (When did you terminate United Methodist membership? __________ What church are you now a member of? ____________________________)

2. The local United Methodist Church in which you hold membership is located: (Circle one)
   1) In the city limits of Dallas
   2) Outside of the city limits of Dallas

3. How long have you been a United Methodist?
   __________ Number of years

4. What other denominations have you been a member of in past years? (Circle appropriate numbers)
   1) A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal)
   2) A.M.E. Zion (African Methodist Episcopal Zion)
   3) Assemblies of God
   4) Baptist
   5) C.M.E. (Christian Methodist Episcopal)
   6) Congregational
   7) Church of Christ
   8) Episcopalian
   9) Lutheran
   10) Pentecostal
   11) Presbyterian
   12) Roman Catholic
   13) Others: ____________________________
   14) None
5. **The membership of the local church where you are presently a member is:** (Circle one)
   1) Predominantly black
   2) Predominantly white

6. **The pastor of the local church where you are presently a member is:** (Circle one)
   1) Black
   2) White
   3) Other

7. **What is your sex?** (Circle one)
   1) Male
   2) Female

8. **What is your age?** (Fill in blank)
   ________ years

9. **What is your marital status?** (Circle one)
   1) Married
   2) Divorced
   3) Separated
   4) Single

10. **What is your occupation?** If retired, what was your occupation when you were employed? (Fill in blank)

11. **What is your spouse's occupation?** (Circle one and fill in blank, if applicable)
   1) Not married
   2) Spouse is a homemaker
   3) Spouse unemployed
   4) Spouse's occupation:_____________________
   (If retired or unemployed, what was your spouse's occupation when employed? __________________________)
12. What is your race? (Circle one)
   1) Black (African-American)
   2) Hispanic
   3) Asian-American
   4) Native American
   5) White
   6) Other: ________________________

13. How many years of formal education have you completed?
(Fill in blank) [Note: High school diploma = 12 years]
   ________ number of years

14. How many years of formal education has your spouse completed? (Circle one & fill in blank)
   1) Number of years ______
   2) No spouse

15. What is the highest academic degree you have received? (Circle one)
   1) Elementary school
   2) High school diploma
   3) College Associate's Degree (two years)
   4) College bachelor's degree
   5) Master's degree
   6) Ph.D. degree
   7) Post-doctoral work

16. How many wage earners were in your family household last year? (Circle one)
   1) One
   2) Two or more
   3) None
17. What was your total family income last year? (Add together the total gross salaries of all employed family members)
   1) Below $15,000
   2) $15,000 - 25,000
   3) $25,001 - 35,000
   4) $35,001 - 50,000
   5) Above $50,000

18. Comparing your family income to your pastor's family income, do you think that you: (Circle one)
   1) Earn more
   2) Earn about the same
   3) Earn less

II. EXPERIENCE WITHIN THE CHURCH

In 1970, the West Texas Annual Conference merged with the predominantly Anglo conferences of Texas, including the North Texas Annual Conference. The following questions, which were originally asked in 1975, relate to your perception of how that merger has impacted the Church. A range of options are available for each item. Please circle the number corresponding to your opinion for each question according to the following schema:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
<th>Mostly Disagree</th>
<th>Mildly Disagree</th>
<th>Mildly Agree</th>
<th>Mostly Agree</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19. My bishop is sensitive to the needs of black persons.
   1  2  3  4  5  6

20. My district superintendent is sensitive to the needs of black persons.
   1  2  3  4  5  6
21. I think that black pastors have promising futures in the North Texas Conference.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

22. I feel fully appreciated in the North Texas Conference.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

23. The cabinet as a whole is sensitive to the needs of black persons.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

24. I would feel comfortable as a member of a congregation where my race was in the minority.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

25. Nonblack pastors in the North Texas Conference are sensitive to the needs of black persons.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

26. Black persons do not have equal access to leadership openings in the church because they are black.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

27. Black persons are excluded from decision making procedures in the North Texas Conference due to race.
   1 2 3 4 5 6

28. I would not advise a young black person to become a pastor in the North Texas Conference.
   1 2 3 4 5 6
III. THEOLOGICAL BELIEFS

29. Do you believe in life after death? (Circle one)
   1) Yes  2) No
   If yes, how certain are you? (Circle one)
   1) Very certain
   2) Pretty certain
   3) Not too certain

30. Do you believe that you can find meaning in life? (Circle one)
   1) Yes  2) No
   If yes, how certain are you? (Circle one)
   1) Very certain
   2) Pretty certain
   3) Not too certain

31. Do you believe that prayers are heard? (Circle one)
   1) Yes  2) No
   If yes, how certain are you? (Circle one)
   1) Very certain
   2) Pretty certain
   3) Not too certain

32. Do you believe that the world is not governed by chance? (Circle one)
   1) Yes  2) No
   If yes, how certain are you? (Circle one)
   1) Very certain
   2) Pretty certain
   3) Not too certain
33. Do you believe that God's love is behind everything that happens? (Circle one)
   1) Yes  2) No

   If yes, how certain are you? (Circle one)
      1) Very certain
      2) Pretty certain
      3) Not too certain

(For the following six questions, various situations will be described. These are things that happen to people sometimes, and you are asked to imagine that they are happening to you. Please indicate which response comes closest to your own feelings.)

34. You have just visited your doctor and he has told you that you have less than a year to live. He has also told you that your disease is incurable. Which of the following statements comes closest to expressing your reaction? (Check one)
   1) It will all work out for the best somehow.
   2) No one should question the goodness of God's decision about death.
   3) There is nothing I can do about it so I will continue as before.
   4) I am angry and bitter at this twist of fate.
   5) I have had a full life and I am thankful for that.
   6) Death is painful, but it is not the end of me.
   7) I cannot answer this question.
   8) None of the above.
35. Your son is very likely to be drafted and will be going into a dangerous combat area soon. Which of the following statements reflects your reaction? (Circle one)

1) Somehow it will all work out.
2) If God wants it to happen it must be all right.
3) This happens to lots of people, you learn to accept it.
4) The lottery system is unjust since it does not take individual situations into account.
5) He has been a good son and we are thankful for that.
6) It is terrible, but God may provide some opportunity for him to grow and expand his life.
7) I cannot answer this question.
8) None of the above.

36. You and your husband or wife have been expecting word of a promotion for several weeks. One day it comes through. Which of the following best reflects your reaction to this good news? (Circle one)

1) Good news usually happens to those who wait their turn.
2) God had been good to me and my family.
3) These things can go either way; this time it was good.
4) This is a surprise and I am going to enjoy it.
5) I am grateful to my boss for the promotion.
6) This is a good thing, but my religion tells me life would have been OK without the promotion.
7) I cannot answer this question.
8) None of the above.
37. Imagine that one of your parents is dying a slow and painful death, and try to figure out for yourself if there is anything that will enable you to understand the meaning of such a tragedy. Which, if any, of the following statements best expresses your state of mind in this situation? (Circle one)

1) They are in pain now, but they will be peaceful soon.
2) Everything that happens is God's will and cannot be bad.
3) There is nothing to do but wait for the end.
4) This waiting is inhuman for them; I hope it ends soon.
5) We can at least be thankful for the good life we have had together.
6) This is tragic, but death is not the ultimate end for us.
7) I cannot answer this question.
8) None of the above.

38. Imagine that you have just had a child and that the doctor has informed you that it will be mentally retarded. Which of the following responses comes closest to your own feelings about the situation? Circle one)

1) We will try to take care of this child, but it may have to be put in an institution; either way it will all work out.
2) God had his own reasons for sending this child to us.
3) We must learn to accept this situation.
4) I love the baby, but why me?
5) I'm just plain glad to have the child here.
6) God has sent us a heavy cross to bear and a special child to love.
7) I cannot answer this question.
8) None of the above.
39. Almost every year hurricanes level homes, flood towns, destroy property, and take human lives. How can we make any sense out of such disasters which happen, apparently, by chance? Which of the following statements best describes your answer? (Circle one)

1) We can never really understand these things, but they usually have some unexpected good effect.
2) We cannot know the reasons, but God knows them.
3) We cannot know why these occur, and we have to learn to live with that fact.
4) The government is responsible for seeing that these disasters do as little harm as possible.
5) I am grateful that I don't live in a hurricane area.
6) I am not able to explain why these things happen, but I still believe in God's love.
7) I cannot answer this question.
8) None of the above.
APPENDIX D

BLACK CLERGY QUESTIONNAIRE
UNITED METHODIST CLERGY SURVEY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Conference Relationship: (Circle one)
   1) Lay Pastor
   2) Deacon - Active
   3) Deacon - Retired
   4) Elder - Active
   5) Elder - Retired

2. The local United Methodist Church in which you serve is located? (Circle one)
   1) In the city limits of Dallas
   2) Outside of the city limits of Dallas

3. How long have you been a United Methodist?
   Number of years

4. What other denominations have you been a member of in past years? (Circle appropriate numbers)
   1) A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal)
   2) A.M.E. Zion (African Methodist Episcopal Zion)
   3) Assemblies of God
   4) Baptist
   5) C.M.E. (Christian Methodist Episcopal)
   6) Congregational
   7) Church of Christ
   8) Episcopalian
   9) Lutheran
   10) Pentecostal
   11) Presbyterian
   12) Roman Catholic
   13) Others: __________________________
   14) None

5. The membership of the local church where you are presently a member is: (Circle one)
   1) Predominantly black
   2) Predominantly white
6. What is your sex? (Circle one)
   1) Male
   2) Female

7. What is your age? (Fill in blank)
   _______ years

8. What is your marital status? (Circle one)
   1) Married
   2) Divorced
   3) Separated
   4) Single

9. What is your spouse's occupation? (Circle one and fill in blank, if applicable)
   1) Not married
   2) Spouse is a homemaker
   3) Spouse unemployed
   4) Spouse's occupation:___________________________
   (If retired or unemployed, what was your spouse's occupation when employed?
   ____________________________)

10. What is your race? (Circle one)
    1) Black (African-American)
    2) Hispanic
    3) Asian-American
    4) Native American
    5) White
    6) Other: ____________________________

11. How many years of formal education have you completed? (Fill in blank)
    _______ number of years

12. How many years of formal education has your spouse completed? (Circle one & fill in blank, if applicable)
    1) Number of years:_______
    2) No spouse
13. What is the highest academic degree you have received? (Circle one)
   1) Elementary school
   2) High school diploma
   3) College Associate's Degree (two years)
   4) College bachelor's degree
   5) Master's degree
   6) Ph.D. degree
   7) Post-doctoral work

14. How many wage earners were in your family household last year? (Circle one)
   1) One
   2) Two or more
   3) None

15. What was your total family income last year? (Add together the total gross salaries of all employed family members)
   1) Below $15,000
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5) I am grateful to my boss for the promotion.
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35. Imagine that one of your parents is dying a slow and painful death, and try to figure out for yourself if there is anything that will enable you to understand the meaning of such a tragedy. Which, if any, of the following statements best expresses your state of mind in this situation? (Circle one)

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36. Imagine that you have just had a child and that the doctor has informed you that it will be mentally retarded. Which of the following responses comes closest to your own feelings about the situation? (Circle one)

1) We will try to take care of this child, but it may have to be put in an institution; either way it will all work out.
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Almost every year hurricanes level homes, flood towns, destroy property, and take human lives. How can we make any sense out of such disasters which happen, apparently, by chance? Which of the following statements best describes your answer? (Circle one)

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4) The government is responsible for seeing that these disasters do as little harm as possible.

5) I am grateful that I don't live in a hurricane area.

6) I am not able to explain why these things happen, but I still believe in God’s love.

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APPENDIX E

WHITE CLERGY QUESTIONNAIRE
UNITED METHODIST CLERGY SURVEY

I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

1. Conference Relationship: (Circle one)
   1) Lay Pastor
   2) Deacon - Active
   3) Deacon - Retired
   4) Elder - Active
   5) Elder - Retired

2. The local United Methodist Church in which you serve is located? (Circle one)
   1) In the city limits of Dallas
   2) Outside of the city limits of Dallas

3. How long have you been a United Methodist? 
   Number of years

4. What other denominations have you been a member of in past years? (Circle appropriate numbers)
   1) A.M.E. (African Methodist Episcopal)
   2) A.M.E. Zion (African Methodist Episcopal Zion)
   3) Assemblies of God
   4) Baptist
   5) C.M.E. (Christian Methodist Episcopal)
   6) Congregational
   7) Church of Christ
   8) Episcopalian
   9) Lutheran
   10) Pentecostal
   11) Presbyterian
   12) Roman Catholic
   13) Others: ____________________________
   14) None

5. The membership of the local church where you are presently a member is: (Circle one)
   1) Predominantly black
   2) Predominantly white
6. What is your sex? (Circle one)
   1) Male
   2) Female

7. What is your age? (Fill in blank)
   ________ years

8. What is your marital status? (Circle one)
   1) Married
   2) Divorced
   3) Separated
   4) Single

9. What is your spouse’s occupation? (Circle one and fill in blank, if applicable)
   1) Not married
   2) Spouse is a homemaker
   3) Spouse unemployed
   4) Spouse’s occupation: ____________________________
      (If retired or unemployed, what was your spouse’s occupation when employed?
       ____________________________ )

10. What is your race? (Circle one)
    1) Black (African-American)
    2) Hispanic
    3) Asian-American
    4) Native American
    5) White
    6) Other: __________________

11. How many years of formal education have you completed? (Fill in blank)
    ______ number of years

12. How many years of formal education has your spouse completed? (Circle one & fill in blank, if applicable)
    1) Number of years ______
    2) No spouse
13. What is the highest academic degree you have received? (Circle one)
   1) Elementary school
   2) High school diploma
   3) College Associate's Degree (two years)
   4) College bachelor's degree
   5) Master's degree
   6) Ph.D. degree
   7) Post-doctoral work

14. How many wage earners were in your family household last year? (Circle one)
   1) One
   2) Two or more
   3) None

15. What was your total family income last year? (Add together the total gross salaries of all employed family members)
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APPENDIX F

LETTER TO PASTORS ON SAMPLE SELECTION PROCEDURE
August 29, 1989

Dear Fellow Pastor,

As you have gleaned from the enclosed information, I am doing a doctoral dissertation on the United Methodist Church -- more specifically, the North Texas Annual Conference. In order to insure that this study is scientifically valid, I am utilizing appropriate, modern sample selection procedures. I also need your help!

Lay members of your congregation, along with some 450 other persons, have been randomly selected to receive a survey questionnaire. The list was derived from the statistical portion of the 1989 Conference Journal. From the total number listed there, I generated by computer a series of random numbers which were then assigned to the local churches. Your congregation was thus chosen and the names of certain of your members are now being requested from you.

HOW TO IDENTIFY THE SAMPLE

Each of our churches keeps its membership files in particular ways. I am asking you to utilize your files -- however they are constructed -- to locate the persons chosen for the survey.

1) If your membership list is computerized, then simply select the appropriate numbers from your list of full members.

2) If your members are simply listed in alphabetical order on a mailing list, then count down to the appropriate number. (Caution: Many households on a mailing list will contain multiple members, so compensate in your counting for that fact.)

However your list is kept, I will greatly appreciate your efforts to target the selected members. If you have questions, call me collect.

WHAT TO DO WITH THE SAMPLE

Please send me the names and addresses of those persons chosen in the enclosed small envelop, along with your postcard if you want to receive a summary of my findings. The larger self-addressed, stamped envelop from which you have taken these materials is for the return of your own clergy questionnaire. The reason for enclosing two envelopes is so that I will be unable to identify any individual questionnaire, assuring your anonymity.

Please know that like you, I am jealous over my membership, and thus the only purpose for which your members' names will be utilized is the one described here. Additionally, the only mail they will receive is the enclosed letter, a follow-up postcard reminder, plus the results if they so request.

Thank you for your assistance. I am in your debt.

Sincerely yours,

Richard L. Dunagin

P. O. Box 738 • Denton, Texas • (817) 387-6487
ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE SELECTION PROCESS

1) Remember, the numbers correspond to your alphabetical listing of your members, not the chronological roll number.

2) Do not select children or youth. If their names do come up, then:

   (a) Select one of their parents, if the parents are also church members.

   (b) Select the next name on the membership list if the parents are not members of your congregation.

3) If your membership list is by families and the number chosen is for a family, then select the husband if the number is odd, or the wife if the number is even.
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