



Welcome To Sociology 129

Professor: Dr. Richard Pitt
Teaching Assistant: Kea Saper

**Sociology Of
The Family**



Sociology of Families & Households



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Class Announcements

This webpage is intended to give you information about the weekly happenings in the Sociology course "The Family". You should check this page at the beginning of each week to see if there are any announcements that Dr. Pitt and the course TA would like for you to have.

Looking Forward To Learning With You,
Dr. Richard N. Pitt

THIS WEEK IN SOCIOLOGY OF FAMILY

This Week's Topic?

Introduction and Family Research

This week's lectures will cover the basics of researching family form and function. We'll discuss various methods of engaging in sociological research, how researchers think about theory (generally and specific to understanding families), and how researchers struggle to define family in a consistent way.

Interesting Family Fact

Marital status frequently has different implication for women and men job-seekers. Schwartz (1992) found that married women graduates of the prestigious Wharton School of Business took off their wedding rings before job interviews while unmarried men who were graduates borrowed wedding rings prior to their interviews. For women, a wedding ring raises the prospect of an employee whose commitment to career will likely be compromised by motherhood, while a wedding ring represents maturity and responsibility for men.

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COURSE SCHEDULE

- WEEK ONE: Introduction To Class
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]
- WEEK TWO: Structural Functionalism Theory
[No Class | Lecture 1 | Lecture 2]
- WEEK THREE: Symbolic Interaction Theory
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]
- WEEK FOUR: Social Exchange Theory
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]
- WEEK FIVE: Life Course Theory
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]
- WEEK SIX: Family Systems Theory
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]
- WEEK SEVEN: Conflict Theory
[No Class | Lecture 1 | Lecture 2]
- WEEK EIGHT: Dating and Assortative Mating
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]
- WEEK NINE: Cohabitation and Infidelity
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]
- WEEK TEN: Review of Articles
[Lecture 1 | Lecture 2 | Lecture 3]

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Reading Memos

Use the attached .pdfs of reading memos as a method of REVIEWING, not READING, the material covered in each week's readings. While exams will require you to be especially (only!) familiar with the concepts and ideas covered in these memos, these are not available for the quizzes.

Date	Assigned Reading	Downloads
Week 01	Cherlin 2010	Reading Memo
Week 01	Sheff 2011	Reading Memo
Week 02	Pitt and Borland 2008	Reading Memo
Week 02	Seltzer 2006	Reading Memo
Week 03	Collett et al 2015	Reading Memo
Week 03	Wall and Arnold 2007	Reading Memo
Week 04	Donnelly and Burgess 2008	Reading Memo
Week 04	Krueger et al 2013	Reading Memo
Week 04	Mannino and Deutsch 2007	Reading Memo
Week 05	Corsnoe and Elder 2002	Reading Memo
Week 05	Hagedoel and Call 2007	Reading Memo
Week 06	Bacallao and Smokowski 2002	Reading Memo
Week 06	Chriske-Mitzi et al 2008	Reading Memo
Week 06	Raley and Bianchi 2006	Reading Memo
Week 07	Wang and Amato 2000	Reading Memo
Week 07	Hoffman et al 2005	Reading Memo
Week 08	Rosenfield and Thomas 2012	Reading Memo
Week 09	Kaufman 2000	Reading Memo
Week 09	Sassler and Miller 2011	Reading Memo
Week 09	Jackman 2015	Reading Memo

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JOURNAL QUESTIONS

According to research, "If students are not being asked by their professors to read and write on a regular basis in their coursework, it is hard to imagine how they will improve their capacity to master performance tasks . . . that involve critical thinking, complex reasoning, and writing." (Arum and Roksa 2010:71) With that in mind, each week, you are to answer an assigned journal question in a minimum one-page (single-space, ~600 word) essay. The questions will be posted here as we cover the material in class.

Introductions Week One (Due January 16): TBD

Structural Functionalism Theory Week Two (Due January 23): TBD

Symbolic Interaction Theory Week Three (Due January 30): TBD

Social Exchange Theory Week Four (Due February 06): TBD

Life Course Theory Week Five (Due February 13): TBD

Systems Theory Week Six (Due February 20): TBD

Conflict Theory Week Seven (Due February 27): TBD

Dating and Assortative Mating Week Eight (Due March 06): TBD

Cohabitation and Infidelity Week Nine (Due March 13): TBD

Final Week Ten (Due March 17): TBD

CANVAS

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SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

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To Do

Journal 1

SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

20 points | Jan 16, 2023 at 11:59pm

Memo 01 - Cherlin

SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

5 points | Jan 16, 2023 at 11:59pm

Memo 02 - Sheff

SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

5 points | Jan 16, 2023 at 11:59pm

Memo 03 - Pitt

SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

5 points | Jan 20, 2023 at 11:59pm

Memo 04 - Seltzer

SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

5 points | Jan 20, 2023 at 11:59pm

Journal 2

SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

20 points | Jan 23, 2023 at 11:59pm

FA129 Q1

SOCI 129 - The Family - Pitt [WI23]

25 points | Jan 25, 2023 at 3pm

December 2022

27 28 29 30 1 2 3

4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11 12 13 14 15 16 17

18 19 20 21 22 23 24

25 26 27 28 29 30 31

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Course assignments are not weighted.

Welcome To "Sociology Of The Family"!

The overall goal of this course is to provide students with a working knowledge of conceptual frameworks and theories relevant to the sociological study of families. The course, which consists of lectures, readings, class and in-group discussions, weekly writing assignments, and final presentations is designed to focus on the question of how families function and how variation within and between families affects individuals and society. As you can see from the course schedule, this course is VERY theoretical. The course does not have sociology prerequisites, but having some experience with sociological concepts, theory, and research will prove helpful to students taking the class. Each week, we will couple lectures on one of seven major theories of family function with an in-class analysis of an episode of NBC's "Modern Family" sitcom using that week's theory. These analyses will help train students in the use of the theories as analytical tools.

Other than Canvas, your primary resources for this course will be the course syllabus ([LINK HERE](#)) and the course website (<http://majorsmatter.net/family>). As with any course, you should check these resources before contacting me if you are uncertain about something.

We look forward to learning with you.

Dr. Richard Pitt

Course Summary:

Date	Details	Due
	Journal 1	due by 11:59pm
Mon Jan 16, 2023	Memo 01 - Cherlin	due by 11:59pm
	Memo 02 - Sheff	due by 11:59pm
Fri Jan 20, 2023	Memo 03 - Pitt	due by 11:59pm
	Memo 04 - Seltzer	due by 11:59pm
Mon Jan 23, 2023	Journal 2	due by 11:59pm
Wed Jan 25, 2023	FA129 Q1	due by 3pm
Fri Jan 27, 2023	Memo 05 - Collett	due by 11:59pm
	Memo 06 - Wall	due by 11:59pm
Mon Jan 30, 2023	Journal 3	due by 11:59pm
	Memo 07 - Donnelly	due by 11:59pm
Fri Feb 3, 2023	Memo 08 - Kreager	due by 11:59pm

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December 2022

27 28 29 30 1 2 3

4 5 6 7 8 9 10

11 12 13 14 15 16 17

18 19 20 21 22 23 24

25 26 27 28 29 30 31

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Course assignments are not weighted.

Course Reserves

Reserve Items

ID	Title	Author	Inactive	Status	Tags
62269	American Journal of Public Health	Gee, Gilbert; Spencer, Michael; Chen, Juan; Takeuchi, David	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
62270	American Sociological Review	Kreager, Derek	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
61943	Annual Review of Sociology	Stolte, John; Fine, Gary; Cook, Karen	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
62062	Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion	Pitt, Richard	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
61978	Journal of College Student Development	Chan, Jason	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
62169	Journal of Family Violence	Lacey, Kim	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
62168	Journal of Marriage and the Family	Donnelly, Denise; Burgess, Elisabeth	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
62063	Journal of Personality and Social Psychology	Anderson, Craig; Carnegie, Nicholas; Eubanks, Jane	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	
62167	Nursing & Health Sciences	Kao, Houeh-Fen; Travis, Shirley	6/18/2021	Item Activation Pending	

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Article Memos

Journal Entries

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Due Apr 3 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 2

Due Apr 12 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 3

Due Apr 19 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 4

Due Apr 26 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 5

Due May 3 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 6

Due May 10 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 7

Due May 17 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 8

Due May 24 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 9

Due May 31 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

Journal 10

Due Jun 4 at 11:59pm | -/20 pts

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THEORIES

Structural Functionalism Theory

Symbolic Interaction Theory

Social Exchange Theory

Life Course Theory

Systems/Ecological Theory

Conflict Theory

TOPICAL AREAS

Dating and Courtship

Cohabitation

Infidelity



Lens



Language



License

Encounter Material: Attendance (8%)

Explain Material: 20 Article Memos (17%)

Paragraph Summary

Two Words Defined

Primary Findings

Summary Quote

Discussion Question

Engage Material: 10 Journal Entries (25%)

Exhibit Erudition I: 4 Quizzes (17%)

Exhibit Erudition II: Final Exam (33%)

What We'll Cover

Reading Articles

Introduction and Background

Establishes Landscape: Describes The Social Problem We're Concerned About
Establishes Territory: How Other Scientists Have Responded To The Problem
Establishes Niche: The Gap In The Response This Research Fills
Occupies Niche: Explains How This Research Will Fill This Gap

This is the main place to find the “primary argument” and “important defined concepts”

Review of Religious Research
https://doi.org/10.1007/s13644-019-00390-1

RESEARCH NOTE

Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder-Led Churches: A Research Note

Richard N. Pitt¹ · Patrick Washington²

Received: 7 December 2018 / Accepted: 20 October 2019
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Abstract

While sociologists have had a longstanding interest in religious leadership and congregational authority structures, most of the research in this area ignores the fact that many congregational leaders started the congregations they lead. Being in this unique position, founding pastor, likely gives them unusual authority to shape church policy and practice in, as yet, unexamined ways. Using three waves of the National Congregational Study, we examine differences between congregations led by their first (i.e., founding) pastor and congregations led by subsequent pastors hired by or assigned to those congregations. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these differences.

Keywords Congregations · Clergy · Church planting · Culture · Social services · Worship styles · Women leaders

Religious leadership and authority have been longstanding concerns for scholars studying a range of congregational dynamics, including conflict (Becker 1999; Chou 2008), civic engagement (Schwadel 2005; Brown and Brown 2003), and congregational culture (Kim 2010; Nauta 2007; Ammerman 1997). New models of congregational structure and culture created by innovative congregational leaders have attracted the attention of religion scholars as well. Clerical innovation has been at the heart of important research on megachurches (Ellington 2009; Thumma and Travis 2007), multiracial and multiethnic churches (Martí 2009; Edwards 2008; Emerson 2006), neoliberal and emerging church models (Packard 2012; Martí and Ganiel 2014; Sargeant 2000), and televangelism (Lee and Sinitiere 2006; Walton 2009).

With few exceptions, most of this research either assumes or takes for granted that these clergy have been hired and placed in those positions by congregational or denominational leaders. For example, Burns and Cervero (2004) highlight the degree to which the politics of pastoral practice are shaped by a pastor's ability to negotiate relationships with influential members of the congregation. Whether pastors can successfully (re)negotiate how extensive their authority as a church leader is, with all the ways that authority might be invested in (or divested from) them, is important for understanding how effective pastors are at managing congregational programming and resources. Certainly, it would be important to know if clerical authority is less constrained if the pastor feels she does not have to answer to congregational or denominational leadership because she planted the church. Nevertheless, like most research on power in congregations, this research included only testimonies of pastors who were hired by the congregations or placed in the congregation by some other body (e.g., presbytery) after the congregation's founding.

This short article is intended to draw attention to the need to move beyond such samples in order to better understand the who and what of religious leadership. Simply stated, not all pastors are hired by congregations or placed in them by denominational leaders. There are thousands of entrepreneurial men and women who accepted a call to plant/start a church (i.e., founder-led) rather than accept an established congregation's call to lead one (i.e., non-founder led).¹ We know virtually nothing about these religious leaders or the possible distinctions between churches they lead and those overseen by clergy hired to do so. While many of the most influential clerical innovators of the last half century have been founding pastors, much of the research on either them or their innovations ignores this fact. Even the growing literature on non-denominational congregations, where it is clear that a denominational infrastructure played no role in the church's beginnings, ignores the possibility that founding pastors may differently shape the policies and practices these congregations adopt.

In the pages that follow, we will examine differences between congregations led by their founding pastors and congregations led by subsequent pastors hired by or assigned to those congregations. First, we use bivariate analyses of these two kinds of congregations to show the range of differences that exist between them. Then we turn to multivariate analyses to specify the relationship between leadership by founding clergy and some major cultural characteristics of congregations. Specifically, we will examine differences among congregations in three key areas that have

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been explored in other research using the National Congregations Survey: informal worship practices (Chaves and Anderson 2008; Edwards 2009; Baker 2010), provision of social services (Tsitos 2003; Brown 2006a, b; Stewart-Thomas 2010), and attitudes towards female leadership (Adams 2007; Audette et al. 2018; Hoegeman 2017). We conclude with a discussion of the need to consider foundings and founder-led leadership in future research on congregational demographics, cultures, and economics.

Methods

In order to determine differences between founder-led and non-founder-led Protestant congregations, we used all three waves (1998, 2006–07, 2012) of the National Congregations Study (NCS 2012), a survey of a nationally representative sample of 3809 congregations in the United States. A key informant in each congregation was interviewed in order to gather a broad range of data about the congregation, including aspects of its demographic composition, culture and structure, and finances and programming. Further details about the NCS can be found in Chaves and Anderson (2008, 2014) summaries of the survey findings. All regressions used appropriate weighting to account for the probability that larger congregations were selected for the NCS sample (Chaves and Anderson 2008).

For our research note, we operationalize founder-led congregations as those congregations founded in the same year the lead religious leader took that position. Non-founder led congregations have head religious leaders who began in different years than when the congregation was officially established. While the oldest congregation in the NCS sample was founded in 1687, the oldest Protestant church led by its founding pastor (i.e., the clergy person who began leading the congregation in the year of the church's founding) was founded in 1938. Our analytical framing endeavors to compare churches that *could* be led by a founding pastor to churches that *are* led by founding pastors. As the oldest leader of any congregation in the NCS is 89 (a founding pastor, incidentally, who started his church in 1951 when he was 33 years old) and the youngest is 21, it is unlikely that churches founded prior to 1940 are led by their founders and impossible for churches founded prior to 1930 to be. Therefore, in order to compare only those congregations which are capable of being led by a founder, we selected only those Protestant congregations founded composed mostly of one race.² Most predominantly White congregations are not led by their founding pastors; only 22% are. Forty-five percent of predominantly Black congregations are led by their founding pastors. Another way of looking at this—recognizing that pastors often reflect the racial composition of their congregations—is to look at the percentages of White and non-White pastors in each category. Only 25% of White pastors head founder-led churches while 44% of non-White pastors founded the congregations they lead. More than a third (36%) of founder-led congregations have Black pastors while only 19% of non-founder led congregations do. Non-White clergy are planting congregations at a rate disproportionate to their numbers in the clergy population.

There are socioeconomic differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. A greater percentage (38%) of the households in founder-led congregations has incomes less than \$25,000–\$35,000 a year; 33% of those in non-founder led congregations do. Very few people who attend congregations live in upper-middle-class or higher households (i.e., making more than \$100,000 a year), but non-founder led congregations have more of these people (6%) than do founder-led congregations (5%). Non-founder led congregations also have more educated members. Twenty-seven percent of their members have bachelors' degrees. Twenty-two percent of founder-led congregations do.

There are also age differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. Founder led-churches have significantly more young people (39% are 35 and younger) and far fewer old people (14% are 60 and older) than non-founder led congregations whose congregations are, on average, 27% people under the age of 35 and 32% people over the age of 60.

Fifty-eight percent of founder-led congregations exist in urban areas and another 23% are located in the suburbs around them; the remaining 19% are in rural communities. Non-founder-led congregations are less likely than founder-led congregations to be urban (51%) and much more likely to be located in rural communities (31%).

Congregational culture is another important variable when analyzing churches. One way to think about congregational culture is to think about it in terms of its denominational membership and its religious tradition. The two most significant differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations in these characteristics are whether congregations are affiliated with denominations and whether they are Pentecostal. These differences are revealed in Table 1 as well.

Not all Protestant congregations are formally aligned with established denominations (e.g., the Assemblies of God) even if their religious orientation (e.g., Pentecostalism) is reminiscent of or even historically drawn from denominational traditions. They are formally unaffiliated and nondenominational. Twenty-one percent of the country's congregations are nondenominational; 18% of Americans attend such

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to shape congregational differences. The first group includes ten continuous variables for each congregation: percentages of members by race (White, Black, Latinx, Asian), percentage of BA degrees, members over 65, members under 35, members in households under \$35 k, members in households over \$100 k, and members who are female.³ It also includes six dummy variables: the congregation is in the South, is rural, has more than 250 members, has an annual income above \$250 k, is 5 years old or younger, and has a female pastor. We then control for three cultural variables: if the congregation is nondenominational, if its religious tradition is Pentecostal, and if the congregation considers the Bible to be the literal and inerrant word of God. The models include a dummy variable (“1” for yes) for each characteristic. Our final control is a variable representing the year (1998, 2007, 2012) the survey was completed.

We also include versions of these variables and others in Table 1, which presents bivariate analyses of the differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. In that analysis, we provide mean or median figures, weighted by the congregational (rather than attendee) weighting variables. In those cases where there are statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences between the kinds of congregations, the larger of the two means is indicated with an asterisk.

Results

Bivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Very few (10%) Protestant pastors are female. This number is the same for both founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. The average age when pastors founded their church is 40 years old, while the average age when non-founding pastors assumed the pastorate of their current church is 44. The oldest founding pastor in the NCS is 89 years old while the youngest is 27 years old; he started his church at age 24. Contrary to the popular belief that clergy—like physicians, lawyers, and other professionals—are well educated with both bachelors and advanced degrees, many clergy have not completed college. In fact, 18% of them have not completed even a year of college and only have a high school diploma or less. Only 59% of pastors have a bachelors' degree. Partially because some denominations (e.g., United Church of Christ, African Methodist Episcopal Church) require a college degree for ordination, non-founding pastors are more likely (66%) to have bachelors' degrees than founding pastors (47%).⁴

The average church has about 100 members attending main worship services. Founder-led and non-founder-led congregations do not seem to differ in this regard.

Only 65% of founder-led congregations do. These differences, and the likelihood that this may not be enough to fully support them, may explain the additional finding that more than half of founding pastors (53%) have second jobs while only 35% of non-founding pastors do. Where congregations gather for worship may have some impact on the resources they expend. Ninety-one percent of non-founder-led congregations worship in conventional sanctuaries and 90% own the building they worship in. Far fewer (68%) founders worship in conventional religious buildings and only 56% own the building.

In summary, in virtually every category one might use to compare them—from geography to culture to finances—we find significant differences between congregations led by their founders and congregations that are not led by their founders. In the next analysis, we look at the relationship between foundings and three variables—informal worship, provision of social services, and session related to congregational leadership—that have either been highlighted by Chaves et al. (1999), Chaves and Anderson (2008, 2014) in their introductions to each wave of the NCS or by other scholars studying congregations using the NCS (Edwards 2009; Baker 2010; Tsitos 2003; Brown 2006a, b; Stewart-Thomas 2010; Adams 2007; Audette and Weaver 2016; and Hoegeman 2017).

Multivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Our first multivariate analysis of congregational culture looks at worship. In their analysis of congregational change over the three waves of the NCS, Chaves and Anderson (2014) show that worship practices have become more informal over time. More people than ever attend congregations where exuberant worship (e.g., jumping, shouting, dancing, raised hands in praise, speaking in tongues) is common and the usual structural components (i.e., choirs, written program) are less common.⁵ On nearly every measure of informal worship Chaves and Anderson use, we find that more founder-led congregations than non-founder-led congregations have these activities as part of their worship services. While the differences are minimal for some behaviors (e.g., having a greeting time, using visual project equipment), the differences for other behaviors are quite large. In virtually all founder-led churches, services include someone calling out “amen” (93%), people applauding (98%), and congregants raising their hands in praise (90%). Less than three-quarters of non-

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be women: Pentecostal (+), percent wealthy (+), congregational wealth (–), congregational age (+), female congregants (+), and the presence of female clergy (+). “Year of survey” is insignificant, suggesting congregations have not become more egalitarian as a group since the late 90s. Net of these effects, Model C.III shows that being a founder-led congregation significantly predicts whether congregations are liberal in their attitudes towards female leadership; founder-led congregations are more likely to allow it ($\beta = .108, p > .01$). Fundamentalism still matters. Its standardized coefficient ($\beta = .278, p > .001$) is both statistically significant and larger than that of founder-led leadership. Surprisingly, Pentecostalism—which is associated with positive attitudes towards female leadership, matters more ($\beta = .303, p > .001$) than whether a founding pastor leads the congregation and fundamentalism.

Discussion

Using pooled data from all three waves of the NCS (1998, 2006–07, 2012) our findings suggest something that seems obvious, but is underdeveloped conceptually in the research on congregations: differences between congregations may, in part, be a function of the pastor's role in planting or founding the congregation. Our purpose in this research note was to lay out and suggest the necessity for a theoretical and empirical focus on church planters and their congregations. Overall, our study shows significant differences concerning pastoral characteristics, congregational demographics, congregational culture, and resources.

The differences described in this analysis suggest some value in looking more closely at the men and women who create, rather than just those hired to lead, Protestant congregations. Founding pastors are younger (nearly 20% were 40 or younger when they planted the church) and lead demographically different (i.e., younger, more diverse, less college-educated, culturally different (e.g., worship style, political/theological conservatism), and more autonomous (i.e., non-denominational) congregations relative to their hired colleagues. They are as successful as their peers at recruiting members and attracting financial resources. These patterns persist when we constrain the sample to young churches (15 years and younger) and when we constrain the sample to older churches (30–45 years old).¹⁰

Our study also finds that almost half (48%) of all founder-led congregations are non-denominational, compared to only fourteen percent of non-founder led churches. This finding presents an exciting new avenue for future research. While the relatively recent rise of non-denominational churches has been identified in previous research, the focus has often been on megachurches (Ellington 2009; Tucker-Worgs 2011). This focus does not account for the many non-denominational founder-led churches which have fewer than 100 people attending their main service. It should be noted, that while non-denominationalism was accounted for in all three multivariate models, it wasn't consistently found to be a significant factor, and in the case of informal worship, when founding status was accounted for, it was no longer significant.

Also, founder-led churches are more fundamentalist and slightly less politically conservative than the churches led by their appointed peers. This finding—coupled with the fact that so many founder-led congregations are Pentecostal—highlights the complex relationship between religious tradition, political identity, and theological orientation. By obscuring or glossing over distinctions between founder and non-founder led congregations, researchers miss the ways theological and political identities are constructed and negotiated by congregational leaders. We likely miss the ways in which these cultural norms are reified and by whom.

In our multivariate analyses, we assessed the impact of church foundings on three aspects of church culture: informal worship, social service engagement, and attitudes towards female leadership. In these analyses, controlling for religious tradition, theological orientation, and various geographic and membership demographics, being a founder-led congregations predicted increases in informal worship, social service engagement, and positive attitudes towards women in leadership. However, its impact varied across all three aspects. As expected, Pentecostalism played a strong role in a congregation's worship, but whether or not a church was founder-led had the second largest impact on the degree of informality. Our analysis confirms Chaves and Anderson's (2008, 2014) evidence that congregations, writ large, became more informal between the first wave of the NCS and the last wave. At the same time, the percentage of founder-led congregations in the NCS grew from 27% to 39%. Similarly, the percentage of nondenominational congregations, nearly half of which are founder-led, grew from 27% to 36%. Some of the increases in congregational informality described by Chaves and Anderson (2012, 2014) and reflected in this analysis may be more a result of founding pastors creating informal (often non-denominational) congregations rather than non-founding pastors overseeing a shift towards informality in the churches where they are employed. Likewise, though founder-led congregations are more likely than their peers to be fundamentalist in terms of biblical inerrancy, this fundamentalism doesn't appear to lead them to sexist positions regarding women's roles in congregational leadership. That women in founder-led congregations, net of congregational fundamentalism or non-denominationalism,

Reading Articles

Data and Methods

Describes The Collection Of Data And Methods Of Creating “Variables”

Quant Papers: Process starts with categorized observations that are organized so a computer can analyze relationships between them

Qual Papers: Process ends up with categorized observations divined by researcher

Review of Religious Research
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s13644-019-00390-1>

RESEARCH NOTE

Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder-Led Congregations: A Research Note

Richard N. Pitt¹ · Patrick Washington²

Received: 7 December 2018 / Accepted: 20 October 2019
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Abstract

While sociologists have had a longstanding interest in religious leadership and congregational authority structures, most of the research in this area ignores the fact that many congregational leaders started the congregations they lead. Being in this unique position, founding pastor, likely gives them unusual authority to shape church policy and practice in, as yet, unexamined ways. Using three waves of the National Congregational Study, we examine differences between congregations led by their first (i.e., founding) pastor and congregations led by subsequent pastors hired by or assigned to those congregations. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these differences.

Keywords Congregations · Clergy · Church planting · Culture · Social services · Worship styles · Women leaders

Religious leadership and authority have been longstanding concerns for scholars studying a range of congregational dynamics, including conflict (Becker 1999; Chou 2008), civic engagement (Schwadel 2005; Brown and Brown 2003), and congregational culture (Kim 2010; Nauta 2007; Ammerman 1997). New models of congregational structure and culture created by innovative congregational leaders have attracted the attention of religion scholars as well. Clerical innovation has been at the heart of important research on megachurches (Ellington 2009; Thumma and Travis 2007), multiracial and multiethnic churches (Martí 2009; Edwards 2008; Emerson 2007), neoliberal and Emerging church models (Packard 2012; Martí and Ganiel 2014; Sargeant 2000), and televangelism (Lee and Sinitiere 2009; Walton 2009).

With few exceptions, most of this research either assumes or takes for granted that these clergy have been hired and placed in those positions by congregational or denominational leaders. For example, Burns and Cervo (2004) highlight the degree to which the politics of pastoral practice are shaped by a pastor's ability to negotiate relationships with influential members of the congregation. Whether pastors can successfully (re)negotiate how extensive their authority as a church leader is, with all the ways that authority might be invested in (or divested from) them, is important for understanding how effective pastors are at managing congregational programming and resources. Certainly, it would be important to know if clerical authority is less constrained if the pastor feels she does not have to answer to congregational or denominational leadership because she planted the church. Nevertheless, like most research on power in congregations, this research included only testimonies of pastors who were hired by the congregations or placed in the congregation by some other body (e.g., presbytery) after the congregation's founding.

This short article is intended to draw attention to the need to move beyond such samples in order to better understand the who and what of religious leadership. Simply stated, not all pastors are hired by congregations or placed in them by denominational leaders. There are thousands of entrepreneurial men and women who accepted a call to plant/start a church (i.e., founder-led) rather than accept an established congregation's call to lead one (i.e., non-founder led).¹ We know virtually nothing about these religious leaders or the possible distinctions between churches they lead and those overseen by clergy hired to do so. While many of the most influential clerical innovators of the last half century have been founding pastors, much of the research on either them or their innovations ignores this fact. Even the growing literature on non-denominational congregations, where it is clear that a denominational infrastructure played no role in the church's beginnings, ignores the possibility that founding pastors may differently shape the policies and practices these congregations adopt.

In the pages that follow, we will examine differences between congregations led by their founding pastors and congregations led by subsequent pastors hired by or assigned to those congregations. First, we use bivariate analyses of these two kinds of congregations to show the range of differences that exist between them. Then we turn to multivariate analyses to specify the relationship between leadership by founding clergy and some major cultural characteristics of congregations. Specifically, we will examine differences among congregations in three key areas that have

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been explored in other research using the National Congregations Survey: informal worship practices (Chaves and Anderson 2008; Edwards 2009; Baker 2010), provision of social services (Tsitsos 2003; Brown 2006a, b; Stewart-Thomas 2010), and attitudes towards female leadership (Adams 2007; Audette et al. 2018; Hoegeman 2017).² We conclude with a discussion of the need to consider foundings and founder-led leadership in future research on congregational demographics, cultures, and economics.

Methods

In order to determine differences between founder-led and non-founder-led Protestant congregations, we used all three waves (1998, 2006–07, 2012) of the National Congregations Study (NCS 2012), a survey of a nationally representative sample of 3809 congregations in the United States. A key informant in each congregation was interviewed in order to gather a broad range of data about the congregation, including aspects of its demographic composition, culture and structure, and finances and programming. Further details about the NCS can be found in Chaves and Anderson (2008, 2014) summaries of the survey findings. All regressions used appropriate weighting to account for the probability that larger congregations were selected for the NCS sample (Chaves and Anderson 2008).

For our research note, we operationalize founder-led congregations as those congregations founded in the same year the lead religious leader took that position. Non-founder led congregations have head religious leaders who began in different years than when the congregation was officially established. While the oldest congregation in the NCS sample was founded in 1687, the oldest Protestant church led by its founding pastor (i.e., the clergy person who began leading the congregation in the year of the church's founding) was founded in 1938. Our analytical framing endeavors to compare churches that *could* be led by a founding pastor to churches that *are* led by founding pastors. As the oldest leader of any congregation in the NCS is 89 (a founding pastor, incidentally, who started his church in 1951 when he was 33 years old) and the youngest is 21, it is unlikely that churches founded prior to 1940 are led by their founders and impossible for churches founded prior to 1930 to be. Therefore, in order to compare only those congregations which are capable of being led by a founder, we selected only those Protestant congregations founded composed mostly of one race.³ Most predominantly White congregations are not led by their founding pastors; only 22% are. Forty-five percent of predominantly Black congregations are led by their founding pastors. Another way of looking at this—recognizing that pastors often reflect the racial composition of their congregations—is to look at the percentages of White and non-White pastors in each category. Only 25% of White pastors head founder-led churches while 44% of non-White pastors founded the congregations they lead. More than a third (36%) of founder-led congregations have Black pastors while only 19% of non-founder led congregations do. Non-White clergy are planting congregations at a rate disproportionate to their numbers in the clergy population.

There are socioeconomic differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. A greater percentage (38%) of the households in founder-led congregations has incomes less than \$25,000–\$35,000 a year; 33% of those in non-founder led congregations do. Very few people who attend congregations live in upper-middle-class or higher households (i.e., making more than \$100,000 a year), but non-founder led congregations have more of these people (6%) than do founder-led congregations (5%). Non-founder led congregations also have more educated members. Twenty-seven percent of their members have bachelors' degrees. Twenty-two percent of founder-led congregations do.

There are also age differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. Founder led-churches have significantly more young people (39% are 35 and younger) and far fewer old people (14% are 60 and older) than non-founder led congregations whose congregations are, on average, 27% people under the age of 35 and 32% people over the age of 60.

Fifty-eight percent of founder-led congregations exist in urban areas and another 23% are located in the suburbs around them; the remaining 19% are in rural communities. Non-founder-led congregations are less likely than founder-led congregations to be urban (51%) and much more likely to be located in rural communities (31%).

Congregational culture is another important variable when analyzing churches. One way to think about congregational culture is to think about it in terms of its denominational membership and its religious tradition. The two most significant differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations in these characteristics are whether congregations are affiliated with denominations and whether they are Pentecostal. These differences are revealed in Table 1 as well.

Not all Protestant congregations are formally aligned with established denominations (e.g., the Assemblies of God) even if their religious orientation (e.g., Pentecostalism) is reminiscent of or even historically drawn from denominational traditions. They are formally unaffiliated and nondenominational. Twenty-one percent of the country's congregations are nondenominational; 18% of Americans attend such

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to shape congregational differences. The first group includes ten continuous variables for each congregation: percentages of members by race (White, Black, Latinx, Asian), percentage of BA degrees, members over 65, members under 35, members in households under \$35 k, members in households over \$100 k, and members who are female.⁴ It also includes six dummy variables: the congregation is in the South, is rural, has more than 250 members, has an annual income above \$250 k, is 5 years old or younger, and has a female pastor. We then control for three cultural variables: if the congregation is nondenominational, if its religious tradition is Pentecostal, and if the congregation considers the Bible to be the literal and inerrant word of God. The models include a dummy variable (“1” for yes) for each characteristic. Our final control is a variable representing the year (1998, 2007, 2012) the survey was completed.

We also include versions of these variables and others in Table 1, which presents bivariate analyses of the differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. In that analysis, we provide mean or median figures, weighted by the congregational (rather than attendee) weighting variables. In those cases where there are statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences between the kinds of congregations, the larger of the two means is indicated with an asterisk.

Results

Bivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Very few (10%) Protestant pastors are female. This number is the same for both founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. The average age when pastors founded their church is 40 years old, while the average age when non-founding pastors assumed the pastorate of their current church is 44. The oldest founding pastor in the NCS is 89 years old while the youngest is 27 years old; he started his church at age 24. Contrary to the popular belief that clergy—like physicians, lawyers, and other professionals—are well educated with both bachelors and advanced degrees, many clergy have not completed college. In fact, 18% of them have not completed even a year of college and only have a high school diploma or less. Only 59% of pastors have a bachelors' degree. Partially because some denominations (e.g., United Church of Christ, African Methodist Episcopal Church) require a college degree for ordination, non-founding pastors are more likely (66%) to have bachelors' degrees than founding pastors (47%).⁵

The average church has about 100 members attending main worship services. Founder-led and non-founder-led congregations do not seem to differ in this regard.

Only 65% of founder-led congregations do. These differences, and the likelihood that this may not be enough to fully support them, may explain the additional finding that more than half of founding pastors (53%) have second jobs while only 35% of non-founding pastors do. Where congregations gather for worship may have some impact on the resources they expend. Ninety-one percent of non-founder-led congregations worship in conventional sanctuaries and 90% own the building they worship in. Far fewer (68%) founders worship in conventional religious buildings and only 56% own the building.

In summary, in virtually every category one might use to compare them—from geography to culture to finances—we find significant differences between congregations led by their founders and congregations that are not led by their founders. In the next analysis, we look at the relationship between founders and three variables—informal worship, provision of social services, and activism related to congregational leadership—that have either been highlighted by Chaves et al. (1999), Chaves and Anderson (2008, 2014) in their introductions to each wave of the NCS or by other scholars studying congregations using the NCS (Edwards 2009; Baker 2010; Tsitsos 2003; Brown 2006a, b; Stewart-Thomas 2010; Adams 2007; Audette and Weaver 2016; and Hoegeman 2017).

Multivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Our first multivariate analysis of congregational culture looks at worship. In their analysis of congregational change over the three waves of the NCS, Chaves and Anderson (2014) show that worship practices have become more informal over time. More people than ever attend congregations where exuberant worship (e.g., jumping, shouting, dancing, raised hands in praise, speaking in tongues) is common and the usual structural components (e.g., choirs, written program) are less common.⁶ On nearly every measure of informal worship Chaves and Anderson use, we find that more founder-led congregations than non-founder-led congregations have these activities as part of their worship services. While the differences are minimal for some behaviors (e.g., having a greeting time, using visual project equipment), the differences for other behaviors are quite large. In virtually all founder-led churches, services include someone calling out “amen” (93%), people applauding (98%), and congregants raising their hands in praise (90%). Less than three-quarters of non-

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founder-led churches are more fundamentalist and slightly less politically conservative than the churches led by their appointed peers. This finding—coupled with the fact that so many founder-led congregations are Pentecostal—highlights the complex relationship between religious tradition, political identity, and theological orientation. By obscuring or glossing over distinctions between founder and non-founder led congregations, researchers miss the ways theological and political identities are constructed and negotiated by congregational leaders. We likely miss the ways in which these cultural norms are reified and by whom.

In our multivariate analyses, we assessed the impact of church foundings on three aspects of church culture: informal worship, social service engagement, and attitudes towards female leadership. In these analyses, controlling for religious tradition, theological orientation, and various geographic and membership demographics, being a founder-led congregations predicted increases in informal worship, social service engagement, and positive attitudes towards women in leadership. However, its impact varied across all three aspects. As expected, Pentecostalism played a strong role in a congregation's worship, but whether or not a church was founder-led had the second largest impact on the degree of informality. Our analysis confirms Chaves and Anderson's (2008, 2014) evidence that congregations, writ large, became more informal between the first wave of the NCS and the last wave. At the same time, the percentage of founder-led congregations in the NCS grew from 27% to 39%. Similarly, the percentage of nondenominational congregations, nearly half of which are founder-led, grew from 27% to 36%. Some of the increases in congregational informality described by Chaves and Anderson (2012, 2014) and reflected in this analysis may be more a result of founding pastors creating informal (often non-denominational) congregations rather than non-founding pastors overseeing a shift towards informality in the churches where they are employed. Likewise, though founder-led congregations are more likely than their peers to be fundamentalist in terms of biblical inerrancy, this fundamentalism doesn't appear to lead them to sexist positions regarding women's roles in congregational leadership. That women in founder-led congregations, net of congregational fundamentalism or non-denominationalism,

Discussion

Using pooled data from all three waves of the NCS (1998, 2006–07, 2012) our findings suggest something that seems obvious, but is underdeveloped conceptually in the research on congregations: differences between congregations may, in part, be a function of the pastor's role in planting or founding the congregation. Our purpose in this research note was to lay out and suggest the necessity for a theoretical and empirical focus on church planters and their congregations. Overall, our study shows significant differences concerning pastoral characteristics, congregational demographics, congregational culture, and resources.

The differences described in this analysis suggest some value in looking more closely at the men and women who create, rather than just those hired to lead, Protestant congregations. Founding pastors are younger (nearly 20% were 40 or younger when they planted the church) and lead demographically different (i.e., younger, more diverse, less college-educated), culturally different (e.g., worship style, political/theological conservatism), and more autonomous (i.e., non-denominational) congregations relative to their hired colleagues. They are as successful as their peers at recruiting members and attracting financial resources. These patterns persist when we constrain the sample to young churches (15 years and younger) and when we constrain the sample to older churches (30–45 years old).¹⁰

Our study also finds that almost half (48%) of all founder-led congregations are non-denominational, compared to only fourteen percent of non-founder led churches. This finding presents an exciting new avenue for future research. While the relatively recent rise of non-denominational churches has been identified in previous research, the focus has often been on megachurches (Ellington 2009; Tucker-Worgs 2011). This focus does not account for the many non-denominational founder-led churches which have fewer than 100 people attending their main service. It should be noted, that while non-denominationalism was accounted for in all three multivariate models, it wasn't consistently found to be a significant factor, and in the case of informal worship, when founding status was accounted for, it was no longer significant.

Also, founder-led churches are more fundamentalist and slightly less politically conservative than the churches led by their appointed peers. This finding—coupled with the fact that so many founder-led congregations are Pentecostal—highlights the complex relationship between religious tradition, political identity, and theological orientation. By obscuring or glossing over distinctions between founder and non-founder led congregations, researchers miss the ways theological and political identities are constructed and negotiated by congregational leaders. We likely miss the ways in which these cultural norms are reified and by whom.

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Results

Presents The Outcome Of Either The Statistical Or Iterative Coding Analyses
Quant Papers: Provides statistical analyses of the relationship between variables.
Qual Papers: Describes frames and themes (“things in common”) found upon careful review of the observations, interview data, or written text.

Review of Religious Research
https://doi.org/10.1007/s13644-019-00390-1

RESEARCH NOTE

Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder-Led Churches: A Research Note

Richard N. Pitt¹ · Patrick Washington²

Received: 7 December 2018 / Accepted: 20 October 2019
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Abstract

While sociologists have had a longstanding interest in religious leadership and congregational authority structures, most of the research in this area ignores the fact that many congregational leaders started the congregations they lead. Being in this unique position, founding pastor, likely gives them unusual authority to shape church policy and practice in, as yet, unexamined ways. Using three waves of the National Congregational Study, we examine differences between congregations led by their first (i.e., founding) pastor and congregations led by subsequent pastors hired by or assigned to those congregations. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these differences.

Keywords Congregations · Clergy · Church planting · Culture · Social services · Worship styles · Women leaders

Religious leadership and authority have been longstanding concerns for scholars studying a range of congregational dynamics, including conflict (Becker 1999; Chou 2008), civic engagement (Schwadel 2005; Brown and Brown 2003), and congregational culture (Kim 2010; Nauta 2007; Ammerman 1997). New models of congregational structure and culture created by innovative congregational leaders have attracted the attention of religion scholars as well. Clerical innovation has been at the heart of important research on megachurches (Ellingson 2009; Thumma and Travis 2007); multiracial and multiethnic churches (Martí 2009; Edwards 2008; Emerson 2006); neoliberal and Emerging church models (Packard 2012; Martí and Ganiel 2014; Sargeant 2000); and televangelism (Lee and Snifflere 2009; Walton 2009).

With few exceptions, most of this research either assumes or takes for granted that these clergy have been hired and placed in those positions by congregational or denominational leaders. For example, Burns and Cervero (2004) highlight the degree to which the politics of pastoral practice are shaped by a pastor's ability to negotiate relationships with influential members of the congregation. Whether pastors can successfully (re)negotiate how extensive their authority as a church leader is, with all the ways that authority might be invested in (or divested from) them, is important for understanding how effective pastors are at managing congregational programming and resources. Certainly, it would be important to know if clerical authority is less constrained if the pastor feels she does not have to answer to congregational or denominational leadership because she planted the church. Nevertheless, like most research on power in congregations, this research included only testimonies of pastors who were hired by the congregations or placed in the congregation by some other body (e.g., presbytery) after the congregation's founding.

This short article is intended to draw attention to the need to move beyond such samples in order to better understand the who and what of religious leadership. Simply stated, not all pastors are hired by congregations or placed in them by denominational leaders. There are thousands of entrepreneurial men and women who accepted a call to plant/start a church (i.e., founder-led) rather than accept an established congregation's call to lead one (i.e., non-founder led).¹ We know virtually nothing about these religious leaders or the possible distinctions between churches they lead and those overseen by clergy hired to do so. While many of the most influential clerical innovators of the last half century have been founding pastors, much of the research on either them or their innovations ignores this fact. Even the growing literature on non-denominational congregations, where it is clear that a denominational infrastructure played no role in the church's beginnings, ignores the possibility that founding pastors may differently shape the policies and practices these congregations adopt.

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Methods

In order to determine differences between founder-led and non-founder-led Protestant congregations, we used all three waves (1998, 2006–07, 2012) of the National Congregations Study (NCS 2012), a survey of a nationally representative sample of 3809 congregations in the United States. A key informant in each congregation was interviewed in order to gather a broad range of data about the congregation, including aspects of its demographic composition, culture and structure, and finances and programming. Further details about the NCS can be found in Chaves and Anderson (2008, 2014) summaries of the survey findings. All regressions used appropriate weighting to account for the probability that larger congregations were selected for the NCS sample (Chaves and Anderson 2008).

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Bivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Very few (10%) Protestant pastors are female. This number is the same for both founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. The average age when pastors founded their church is 40 years old, while the average age when non-founding pastors assumed the pastorate of their current church is 44. The oldest founding pastor in the NCS is 89 years old while the youngest is 27 years old; he started his church at age 24. Contrary to the popular belief that clergy—like physicians, lawyers, and other professionals—are well educated with both bachelors and advanced degrees, many clergy have not completed college. In fact, 18% of them have not completed even a year of college and only have a high school diploma or less. Only 59% of pastors have a bachelors' degree. Partially because some denominations (e.g., United Church of Christ, African Methodist Episcopal Church) require a college degree for ordination, non-founding pastors are more likely (66%) to have bachelors' degrees than founding pastors (47%).⁵

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Multivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Our first multivariate analysis of congregational culture looks at worship. In their analysis of congregational change over the three waves of the NCS, Chaves and Anderson (2014) show that worship practices have become more informal over time. More people than ever attend congregations where exuberant worship (e.g., jumping, shouting, dancing, raised hands in praise, speaking in tongues) is common and the usual structural components (e.g., choirs, written program) are less common.⁶ On nearly every measure of informal worship Chaves and Anderson use, we find that more founder-led congregations than non-founder led congregations have these activities as part of their worship services. While the differences are minimal for some behaviors (e.g., having a greeting time, using visual project equipment), the differences for other behaviors are quite large. In virtually all founder-led churches, services include someone calling out “amen” (93%), people applauding (98%), and congregants raising their hands in praise (90%). Less than three-quarters of non-

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be women: Pentecostal (+), percent wealthy (+), congregational wealth (–), congregational age (+), female congregants (+), and the presence of female clergy (+). “Year of survey” is insignificant, suggesting congregations have not become more egalitarian as a group since the late 90s. Net of these effects, Model C.III shows that being a founder-led congregation significantly predicts whether congregations are liberal in their attitudes towards female leadership; founder-led congregations are more likely to allow it ($\beta = .108, p < .01$). Fundamentalism still matters. Its standardized coefficient ($\beta = .278, p < .001$) is both statistically significant and larger than that of founder-led leadership. Surprisingly, Pentecostalism—which is associated with positive attitudes towards female leadership, matters more ($\beta = .303, p < .001$) than whether a founding pastor leads the congregation and fundamentalism.

Discussion

Using pooled data from all three waves of the NCS (1998, 2006–07, 2012) our findings suggest something that seems obvious, but is underdeveloped conceptually in the research on congregations: differences between congregations may, in part, be a function of the pastor's role in planting or founding the congregation. Our purpose in this research note was to lay out and suggest the necessity for a theoretical and empirical focus on church planters and their congregations. Overall, our study shows significant differences concerning pastoral characteristics, congregational demographics, congregational culture, and resources.

The differences described in this analysis suggest some value in looking more closely at the men and women who create, rather than just those hired to lead, Protestant congregations. Founding pastors are younger (nearly 20% were 40 or younger when they planted the church) and lead demographically different (i.e., younger, more diverse, less college-educated, culturally different (e.g., worship style, political/theological conservatism), and more autonomous (i.e., non-denominational) congregations relative to their hired colleagues. They are as successful as their peers at recruiting members and attracting financial resources. These patterns persist when we constrain the sample to young churches (15 years and younger) and when we constrain the sample to older churches (30–45 years old).¹⁰

Our study also finds that almost half (48%) of all founder-led congregations are non-denominational, compared to only fourteen percent of non-founder led churches. This finding presents an exciting new avenue for future research. While the relatively recent rise of non-denominational churches has been identified in previous research, the focus has often been on megachurches (Ellingson 2009; Tucker-Worgs 2011). This focus does not account for the many non-denominational founder-led churches which have fewer than 100 people attending their main service. It should be noted, that while non-denominationalism was accounted for in all three multivariate models, it wasn't consistently found to be a significant factor, and in the case of informal worship, when founding status was accounted for, it was no longer significant.

Also, founder-led churches are more fundamentalist and slightly less politically conservative than the churches led by their appointed peers. This finding—coupled with the fact that so many founder-led congregations are Pentecostal—highlights the complex relationship between religious tradition, political identity, and theological orientation. By obscuring or glossing over distinctions between founder and non-founder led congregations, researchers miss the ways theological and political identities are constructed and negotiated by congregational leaders. We likely miss the ways in which these cultural norms are reified and by whom.

In our multivariate analyses, we assessed the impact of church foundations on three aspects of church culture: informal worship, social service engagement, and attitudes towards female leadership. In these analyses, controlling for religious tradition, theological orientation, and various geographic and membership demographics, being a founder-led congregations predicted increases in informal worship, social service engagement, and positive attitudes towards women in leadership. However, its impact varied across all three aspects. As expected, Pentecostalism played a strong role in a congregation's worship, but whether or not a church was founder-led had the second largest impact on the degree of informality. Our analysis confirms Chaves and Anderson's (2008, 2014) evidence that congregations, writ large, became more informal between the first wave of the NCS and the last wave. At the same time, the percentage of founder-led congregations in the NCS grew from 27% to 39%. Similarly, the percentage of nondenominational congregations, nearly half of which are founder-led, grew from 27% to 36%. Some of the increases in congregational informality described by Chaves and Anderson (2012, 2014) and reflected in this analysis may be more a result of founding pastors creating informal (often non-denominational) congregations rather than non-founding pastors overseeing a shift towards informality in the churches where they are employed. Likewise, though founder-led congregations are more likely than their peers to be fundamentalist in terms of biblical inerrancy, this fundamentalism doesn't appear to lead them to sexist positions regarding women's roles in congregational leadership. That women in founder-led congregations, net of congregational fundamentalism or non-denominationalism,

Reading Articles

This is another place to find the “**primary findings**” and inform your “**question**”

Conclusion and Discussion

Reviews Research Claims & Findings: We Claimed This and We Showed This
Reviews Research Surprises: Explanations For Contrary Findings & Paradoxes
Describes Theoretical, Empirical, Methodological, and Practical Contributions
Offers Limitations and Future Directions Of The Research

Review of Religious Research
<https://doi.org/10.1100/13644.019-00390.1>

RESEARCH NOTE

Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder-Led Congregations: A Research Note

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Received: 7 December 2018 / Accepted: 20 October 2019
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Abstract

While sociologists have had a longstanding interest in religious leadership and congregational authority structures, most of the research in this area ignores the fact that many congregational leaders started the congregations they lead. Being in this unique position, founding pastor, likely gives them unusual authority to shape church policy and practice in, as yet, unexamined ways. Using three waves of the National Congregational Study, we examine differences between congregations led by their first (i.e., founding) pastor and congregations led by subsequent pastors hired by or assigned to those congregations. The paper concludes with a discussion of the implications of these differences.

Keywords Congregations · Clergy · Church planting · Culture · Social services · Worship styles · Women leaders

Religious leadership and authority have been longstanding concerns for scholars studying a range of congregational dynamics, including conflict (Becker 1999; Chou 2008), civic engagement (Schwadel 2005; Brown and Brown 2003), and congregational culture (Kim 2010; Nauta 2007; Ammerman 1997). New models of congregational structure and culture created by innovative congregational leaders have attracted the attention of religion scholars as well. Clerical innovation has been at the heart of important research on megachurches (Ellington 2009; Thumma and Travis 2007); multiracial and multiethnic churches (Martí 2009; Edwards 2008; Emerson 2006); neoliberal and Emerging church models (Packard 2012; Martí and Ganiel 2014; Sargeant 2000); and televangelism (Lee and Sinitiere 2009; Walton 2009).

With few exceptions, most of this research either assumes or takes for granted that these clergy have been hired and placed in those positions by congregational or denominational leaders. For example, Burns and Cervero (2004) highlight the degree to which the politics of pastoral practice are shaped by a pastor's ability to negotiate relationships with influential members of the congregation. Whether pastors can successfully (re)negotiate how extensive their authority as a church leader is, with all the ways that authority might be invested in (or divested from) them, is important for understanding how effective pastors are at managing congregational programming and resources. Certainly, it would be important to know if clerical authority is less constrained if the pastor feels she does not have to answer to congregational or denominational leadership because she planted the church. Nevertheless, like most research on power in congregations, this research included only testimonies of pastors who were hired by the congregations or placed in the congregation by some other body (e.g., presbytery) after the congregation's founding.

This short article is intended to draw attention to the need to move beyond such samples in order to better understand the who and what of religious leadership. Simply stated, not all pastors are hired by congregations or placed in them by denominational leaders. There are thousands of entrepreneurial men and women who accepted a call to plant/start a church (i.e., founder-led) rather than accept an established congregation's call to lead one (i.e., non-founder led).¹ We know virtually nothing about these religious leaders or the possible distinctions between churches they lead and those overseen by clergy hired to do so. While many of the most influential clerical innovators of the last half century have been founding pastors, much of the research on either them or their innovations ignores this fact. Even the growing literature on non-denominational congregations, where it is clear that a denominational infrastructure played no role in the church's beginnings, ignores the possibility that founding pastors may differently shape the policies and practices these congregations adopt.

In the pages that follow, we will examine differences between congregations led by their founding pastors and congregations led by subsequent pastors hired by or assigned to those congregations. First, we use bivariate analyses of these two kinds of congregations to show the range of differences that exist between them. Then we turn to multivariate analyses to specify the relationship between leadership by founding clergy and some major cultural characteristics of congregations. Specifically, we will examine differences among congregations in three key areas that have

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been explored in other research using the National Congregations Survey: informal worship practices (Chaves and Anderson 2008; Edwards 2009; Baker 2010), provision of social services (Tsitos 2003; Brown 2006a, b; Stewart-Thomas 2010), and attitudes towards female leadership (Adams 2007; Audette et al. 2018; Hoegeman 2017).² We conclude with a discussion of the need to consider foundings and founder-led leadership in future research on congregational demographics, cultures, and economics.

Methods

In order to determine differences between founder-led and non-founder-led Protestant congregations, we used all three waves (1998, 2006–07, 2012) of the National Congregations Study (NCS 2012), a survey of a nationally representative sample of 3809 congregations in the United States. A key informant in each congregation was interviewed in order to gather a broad range of data about the congregation, including aspects of its demographic composition, culture and structure, and finances and programming. Further details about the NCS can be found in Chaves and Anderson (2008, 2014) summaries of the survey findings. All regressions used appropriate weighting to account for the probability that larger congregations were selected for the NCS sample (Chaves and Anderson 2008).

For our research note, we operationalize founder-led congregations as those congregations founded in the same year the head religious leader took that position. Non-founder led congregations have head religious leaders who began in different years than when the congregation was officially established. While the oldest congregation in the NCS sample was founded in 1687, the oldest Protestant church led by its founding pastor (i.e., the clergy person who began leading the congregation in the year of the church's founding) was founded in 1938. Our analytical framing endeavors to compare churches that *could* be led by a founding pastor to churches that *are* led by founding pastors. As the oldest leader of any congregation in the NCS is 89 (a founding pastor, incidentally, who started his church in 1951 when he was 33 years old) and the youngest is 21, it is unlikely that churches founded prior to 1940 are led by their founders and impossible for churches founded prior to 1930 to be. Therefore, in order to compare only those congregations which are capable of being led by a founder, we selected only those Protestant congregations founded composed mostly of one race.³ Most predominantly White congregations are not led by their founding pastors; only 22% are. Forty-five percent of predominantly Black congregations are led by their founding pastors. Another way of looking at this—recognizing that pastors often reflect the racial composition of their congregations—is to look at the percentages of White and non-White pastors in each category. Only 25% of White pastors head founder-led churches while 44% of non-White pastors founded the congregations they lead. More than a third (36%) of founder-led congregations have Black pastors while only 19% of non-founder led congregations do. Non-White clergy are planting congregations at a rate disproportionate to their numbers in the clergy population.

There are socioeconomic differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. A greater percentage (38%) of the households in founder-led congregations has incomes less than \$25,000–\$35,000 a year; 33% of those in non-founder led congregations do. Very few people who attend congregations live in upper-middle-class or higher households (i.e., making more than \$100,000 a year), but non-founder led congregations have more of these people (6%) than do founder-led congregations (5%). Non-founder led congregations also have more educated members. Twenty-seven percent of their members have bachelors' degrees. Twenty-two percent of founder-led congregations do.

There are also age differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. Founder led-churches have significantly more young people (39% are 35 and younger) and far fewer old people (14% are 60 and older) than non-founder led congregations whose congregations are, on average, 27% people under the age of 35 and 32% people over the age of 60.

Fifty-eight percent of founder-led congregations exist in urban areas and another 23% are located in the suburbs around them; the remaining 19% are in rural communities. Non-founder-led congregations are less likely than founder-led congregations to be urban (51%) and much more likely to be located in rural communities (31%).

Congregational culture is another important variable when analyzing churches. One way to think about congregational culture is to think about it in terms of its denominational membership and its religious tradition. The two most significant differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations in these characteristics are whether congregations are affiliated with denominations and whether they are Pentecostal. These differences are revealed in Table 1 as well.

Not all Protestant congregations are formally aligned with established denominations (e.g., the Assemblies of God) even if their religious orientation (e.g., Pentecostalism) is reminiscent of or even historically drawn from denominational traditions. They are formally unaffiliated and nondenominational. Twenty-one percent of the country's congregations are nondenominational; 18% of Americans attend such

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to shape congregational differences. The first group includes ten continuous variables for each congregation: percentages of members by race (White, Black, Latinx, Asian), percentage of BA degrees, members over 65, members under 35, members in households under \$35 k, members in households over \$100 k, and members who are female.⁴ It also includes six dummy variables: the congregation is in the South, is rural, has more than 250 members, has an annual income above \$250 k, is 5 years old or younger, and has a female pastor. We then control for three cultural variables: if the congregation is nondenominational, if its religious tradition is Pentecostal, and if the congregation considers the Bible to be the literal and inerrant word of God. The models include a dummy variable (“1” for yes) for each characteristic. Our final control is a variable representing the year (1998, 2007, 2012) the survey was completed.

We also include versions of these variables and others in Table 1, which presents bivariate analyses of the differences between founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. In that analysis, we provide mean or median figures, weighted by the congregational (rather than attendee) weighting variables. In those cases where there are statistically significant ($p < .05$) differences between the kinds of congregations, the larger of the two means is indicated with an asterisk.

Results

Bivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Very few (10%) Protestant pastors are female. This number is the same for both founder-led and non-founder-led congregations. The average age when pastors founded their church is 40 years old, while the average age when non-founding pastors assumed the pastorate of their current church is 44. The oldest founding pastor in the NCS is 89 years old while the youngest is 27 years old; he started his church at age 24. Contrary to the popular belief that clergy—like physicians, lawyers, and other professionals—are well educated with both bachelors and advanced degrees, many clergy have not completed college. In fact, 18% of them have not completed even a year of college and only have a high school diploma or less. Only 59% of pastors have a bachelors' degree. Partially because some denominations (e.g., United Church of Christ, African Methodist Episcopal Church) require a college degree for ordination, non-founding pastors are more likely (66%) to have bachelors' degrees than founding pastors (47%).⁵

The average church has about 100 members attending main worship services. Founder-led and non-founder-led congregations do not seem to differ in this regard.

Only 65% of founder-led congregations do. These differences, and the likelihood that this pay may not be enough to fully support them, may explain the additional finding that more than half of founding pastors (53%) have second jobs while only 35% of non-founding pastors do. Where congregations gather for worship may have some impact on the resources they expend. Ninety-one percent of non-founder led congregations worship in conventional sanctuaries and 90% own the building they worship in. Far fewer (68%) founders worship in conventional religious buildings and only 56% own the building.

In summary, in virtually every category one might use to compare them—from demography to culture to finances—we find significant differences between congregations led by their founders and congregations that are not led by their founders. In the next analysis, we look at the relationship between foundings and three variables—informal worship, provision of social services, and activism related to congregational leadership—that have either been highlighted by Chaves et al. (1999), Chaves and Anderson (2008, 2014) in their introductions to each wave of the NCS or by other scholars studying congregations using the NCS (Edwards 2009; Audette et al. 2018; Tsitos 2003; Brown 2006a, b; Stewart-Thomas 2010; Adams 2007; Audette and Weaver 2016; and Hoegeman 2017).

Multivariate Differences Between Founder-Led and Non-Founder Led Churches

Our first multivariate analysis of congregational culture looks at worship. In their analysis of congregational change over the three waves of the NCS, Chaves and Anderson (2014) show that worship practices have become more informal over time. More people than ever attend congregations where exuberant worship (e.g., jumping, shouting, dancing, raised hands in praise, speaking in tongues) is common and the usual structural components (e.g., choirs, written program) are less common.⁶ On nearly every measure of informal worship Chaves and Anderson use, we find that more founder-led congregations than non-founder led congregations have these activities as part of their worship services. While the differences are minimal for some behaviors (e.g., having a greeting time, using visual project equipment), the differences for other behaviors are quite large. In virtually all founder-led churches, services include someone calling out “amen” (93%), people applauding (98%), and congregants raising their hands in praise (90%). Less than three-quarters of non-

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be women: Pentecostal (+), percent wealthy (+), congregational wealth (–), congregational age (+), female congregants (+), and the presence of female clergy (+). “Year of survey” is insignificant, suggesting congregations have not become more egalitarian as a group since the late 90s. Net of these effects, Model C.III shows that being a founder-led congregation significantly predicts whether congregations are liberal in their attitudes towards female leadership; founder-led congregations are more likely to allow it ($\beta = .108, p < .01$). Fundamentalism still matters. Its standardized coefficient ($\beta = .278, p < .001$) is both statistically significant and larger than that of founder-led leadership. Surprisingly, Pentecostalism—which is associated with positive attitudes towards female leadership, matters more ($\beta = .303, p > .001$) than whether a founding pastor leads the congregation and fundamentalism.

Discussion

Using pooled data from all three waves of the NCS (1998, 2006–07, 2012) our findings suggest something that seems obvious, but is underdeveloped conceptually in the research on congregations: differences between congregations may, in part, be a function of the pastor's role in planning or founding the congregation. Our purpose in this research note was to lay out and suggest the necessity for a theoretical and empirical focus on church planters and their congregations. Overall, our study shows significant differences concerning pastoral characteristics, congregational demographics, congregational culture, and resources.

The differences described in this analysis suggest some value in looking more closely at the men and women who create, rather than just those hired to lead, Protestant congregations. Founding pastors are younger (nearly 20% were 40 or younger when they planted the church) and lead demographically different (i.e., younger, more diverse, less college-educated, culturally different (e.g., worship style, political/theological conservatism), and more autonomous (i.e., non-denominational) congregations relative to their hired colleagues. They are as successful as their peers at recruiting members and attracting financial resources. These patterns persist when we constrain the sample to young churches (15 years and younger) and when we constrain the sample to older churches (30–45 years old).¹⁰

Our study also finds that almost half (48%) of all founder-led congregations are non-denominational, compared to only fourteen percent of non-founder led churches. This finding presents an exciting new avenue for future research. While the relatively recent rise of non-denominational churches has been identified in previous research, the focus has often been on megachurches (Ellington 2009; Tucker-Worgs 2011). This focus does not account for the many non-denominational founder-led churches which have fewer than 100 people attending their main service. It should be noted, that while non-denominationalism was accounted for in all three multivariate models, it wasn't consistently found to be a significant factor, and in the case of informal worship, when founding status was accounted for, it was no longer significant.

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SOCIOLOGY OF FAMILY TERMS

Acculturation	Exchange Costs	KP: Talcott Parsons	Reverse Transitions
Acculturation Gaps	Exchange Rewards	KP: Torstein Eckhoff	Role Conflict
Affinal Ties	Exosystem	KP: U. Bronfenbrenner	Role Exits
Amorphous Boundaries	Experiments (Lab/Field)	KP: Vern Bengston	Role Hiatus
Audience	Facework	Launching Center	Role Identity
Bachelorhood	Falsifiability	Life Course	Role Making
Back Stage	Familism	Life Events	Role Strain
Behavior Prescriptions	Familism	Macrosystem	Role Taking
Behavioral Proscriptions	Family	Manifest Power	Roles
Benchmark/Nuclear	Family Conflict	Marital Satisfaction	Equal Opportunity
Family	Family Dissolution	Marital Victimization	Equality
Breaks	Family Formation	Marriage Squeeze	Equity
Central Tendency	Family Positions	Material Resources	Need
Cheating Triggers	Family Roles	Mesosystem	Status
Chosen Kinship	Family Stages	Metasystem	Social Learning Theory
Chronosystem	Family System	Microsystem	Salience Hierarchy
Coalition Formation	Feminist Theory	Moral Consensus	Sandwich Family
Cohabitation	Fertility Intentions	Morphastic	Saturation Point
Cohabitation	Field Research	Morphogenetic	Secondary Socialization
Cohabitation	Front	Multifinality	Self-Awareness
Cohabitation	Front Stage	Mystification	Self-Concept
Impermanence	Gender Differentiation	Negative Feedback	Self-Efficacy
Cohabitation Inertia	Gender Roles	Negotiated Exchange	Self-Esteem
("Sliding") Effect	Gendered Cheating	Negotiation	Self-Verification
Cohabitation	Gap(s)	New Fatherhood	Sequence Of Events
Normalization	Generalized Exchange	Normative Consensus	Situation
Cohabitation Selection	Generalized Others	Normative Knowledge	Social Comparisons
Effect	Generational Stake	Objective/Subjective	Social Control
Commitment	Generational Time	Beauty	Social Facts
Comparators	Grandfamilies	Off-Time Transitions	Social Identity
Comparison Levels (CL)	Halo Effect	On-Time Transitions	Social Institutions
Comparison Levels For	Hegemonic Masculinity	Ontogenetic Time	Social Process Time
Alternatives (CLalt)	Heterogamy v.	Open/Closed Systems	Specific Others
Conditioning	Homogamy	Opportunity Structures	Stage-Critical
Conjugal Ties	Historical Time	Path Interdependence	Developmental Tasks
Consanguineal Ties	Homeostasis	Patriarchy	Stress and Coping
Consensual Unions	Homeostasis	Personal Identity	Theory's Three Factors
Constancy Loops	Hypergamy v.	Physical Fidelity	Stress Process Model
Content Analysis	Hypogamy	Planned Behavior	Stressor
Counter Transitions	Identity Standard	Theory	Subsystems
Counterfinality	Impact Of Names	Polyamory	Suprasystems
Covert/Hidden Power	Impermeable Boundaries	Positive Feedback	Surveys
Deductive Reasoning	Inductive Reasoning	Positivistic Knowledge	Symbolic Resources
Depressive Symptoms	Inputs/Responses/Errors	Power	Symbols
Deviations	Interdependence	Power	Symmetry
Direct Exchange	Interdependence	Power Imbalance	Team
Disruptions	Interdependence	Primary Socialization	The "I" Part of Self
Distribution Rule	Involuntary Celibacy	Principle Of Least Costs	The "Me" Part of Self
Preferences	Kin Networks	Procedural Justice	Theory
Distributive Justice	KP: George H Mead	Productive Exchange	Thin Markets
Egalitarianism	KP: George Homans	Propinquity	Thomas Theorem
Emotional Fidelity	KP: George Murdock	Random Noise	Thomas Theorem
Emotional Support	KP: Glen Elder	Reciprocal Exchange	Trajectories
Fidelity	KP: Herbert Blumer	Reflected Appraisals	Transition Deadlines
Endogamy v. Exogamy	KP: Jetsey Sprey	Relationship Brokers	Validity
Equifinality	KP: L. von Bertalanffy	Reliability	Variety Loops
Equilibrium	KP: Richard Emerson	Resource Scarcity	Why Trust Matters

REMEMBER

(RECALL FACTS AND BASIC CONCEPTS)

Which of the following is NOT one of the three major types of stigma discussed in class?

- Associative stigma
- Character stigma
- Group identity stigma
- Physical stigma

UNDERSTAND

(EXPLAIN OR CLASSIFY IDEAS OR CONCEPTS)

In sociology's affect-behavior-cognition model, prejudices are _____, stereotypes are _____, and discrimination is _____.

- affect, cognition, behavior
- affect, behavior, cognition
- behavior, affect, cognition
- cognition, affect, behavior

APPLY

(USE INFORMATION TO UNDERSTAND NEW SITUATIONS)

Dr. Museus, a professor here at UCSD, argues that Filipino American college students commit cultural suicide when they come to schools like Vanderbilt University and UMass Boston. This phenomenon sounds a lot like which of the following forms of suicide we've discussed here?

- atomistic suicide
- egoistic suicide
- anomic suicide
- altruistic suicide

READ THE FOLLOWING PASSAGE AND ANSWER QUESTIONS 01 AND 02 BASED ON YOUR READING:

Professor Jones believes that Black football players are not serious students and he expects them to do poorly in his classes. Jamaal is a football player in Prof. Jones' class. Prof. Jones tends not to call on Jamaal when he raises his hand. Prof. Jones also tends not to give much feedback on Jamaal's written work. As a result, Jamaal disengages from the class and puts less effort into his studies.

01. Jamaal's disengagement from the class is a result of _____.

- Stereotype threat
- Status structures
- A self-fulfilling prophecy
- Ingroup bias

02. Professor Jones' behavior towards Jamaal fits which of the following types?

- Fair-weather liberal
- All-weather liberal
- Timid bigot
- Active bigot

DUE ON WEDNESDAYS

Quizzes and Exams



Family Research

Experiments

Lab experiments
Field experiments

Surveys

Standardized surveys
Open-ended surveys
Time-use diaries

Field Research

Complete observation
Participant observation
Unstructured interviews
Focus group interviews

Content Analysis

Reliability

Research should produce similar results under similar conditions

Validity

Questions should measure what we are hoping to measure

Family Theories

Theory Defined

A general way of thinking that has been shared in common by a community of scholars.

General Considerations

- **Falsifiability**
- **Knowledge Production**
 - Normative: Subjective, Value-Based*
 - Positivistic: Objective, Value-Free*
- **Scientific Reasoning**
 - Deductive: From Theory To Facts*
 - Inductive: From Facts To Theory*

Family Methods & Theory



Family Research

Experiments

Lab experiments
Field experiments

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Standardized surveys
Open-ended surveys
Time-use diaries

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Complete observation
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Focus group interviews

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Family Theories

Family-Specific Considerations

The Gap Between Ideals and Reality

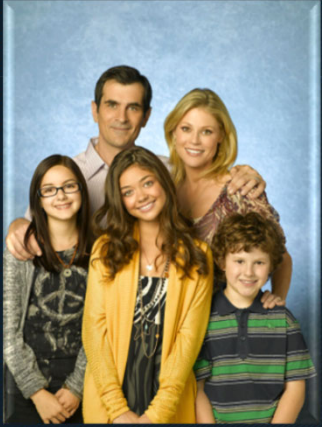
Familiarity and Mystification
Frontstage and Backstage
Talk and Action

Families As Social Constructions

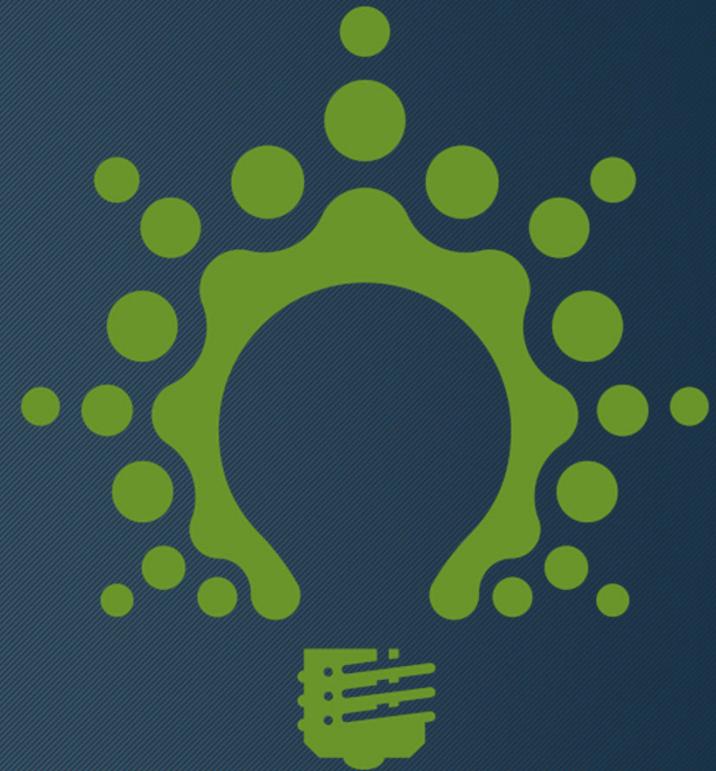
Defining Families

Family Methods & Theory

How Do We Define Family?



- *Blood (Consanguineal) or Legal Relationships*
- *Marriage (Conjugal/Affinal) Relationships*
- *Common Nomenclature*
- *Commitment/Reciprocity*
- *(Clear) Gender Roles*
- *Division of Labor*
- *Shared Living Space*
- *Shared Property*
- *Shared Values*
- *Organizational Unit*
- *Intimacy (love/care)*
- *Stratified (by age, gender)*
- *Self-Identifies As Family*
- *Society Identifies It As Family*
- *High Degree of Integration*



Which
Characteristics
Do You Agree
With?

JOURNAL QUESTION

Basically, we'd like you to introduce yourself. Tell us about yourself, your family, and your family values. Use some of the questions from the welcome questionnaire (link on the Canvas syllabus page) to do so, but go further than it does by telling us about your extended family, plans you have for your future family, etc.

