

Welcome To Sociology 133E

Sociology of Race and Ethnicity

Professor: Dr. Richard Pitt
(r.pitt@ucsd.edu)

Office Hours: Thursdays 12:30-0200
or by appointment



University of California San Diego Sociology

RACE

Sociology of Race and Ethnicity
Sociology 133E - Dr. Richard N Pitt

COURSE SCHEDULE

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

COURSE READINGS

COURSE JOURNALS

Class Announcements

Here's a [link for a printable syllabus](#).

Welcome To Winter 2024.

Please make sure you fill out the welcome survey from the Canvas Syllabus page.



Contact Dr. Pitt

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Course Schedule

Introduction To The Course

January 04: Introduction to The Class
January 06: Getting On The Same Page
January 11: Socio-Historical Constructions Of Race
January 13: Socio-Historical Constructions Of Race

Social Psychology Of Race

January 18: Racial Identity
January 20: Racial Identification and "Performance"
January 25: Racial Stereotypes and Prejudices
January 27: Racial Discrimination

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Course Readings

Use the attached pdf's 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 terms/ideas covered in these memos, these aren't available for the quizzes.

DATE	ASSIGNED READING	MEMOS
January 04	Benjalla-Silva 2002	
January 04	Callagher 2003	
January 04	Melitzer and Brigham 2001	
January 11	Harvey and Shim 2002	
January 11	Khanna 2001	
January 11	Nakano-Gleason 2008	
January 17	Lewis 2003	
January 17	Phelan et al 2013	
January 17	Xu and Lee 2013	
January 23	Benjalla-Silva et al 2004	
January 23	Comeaux 2010	
January 23	Heater 2007	
February 01	Leyva et al 2021	
February 01	Perry 2014	
February 01	Tanaka-Savage et al 2003	

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Sociology 133E - Dr. Richard N Pitt

Course Journal Topics

Introduction To The Course

Introduction to The Class (Due January 15) • What are you? If you were to pick a race category, what is it and what informs your belief that that's what you are? Likewise, if you were to pick an ethnicity, what would that be and what informs your belief that that's what you are? For both answers, consider using the characteristics we discussed.

Socio-Historical Constructions Of Race (Due January 22) • In 2010, 9 million people said they were more than one race. In 2020, that number has jumped up to 34 million people. That is ten percent of us. Assuming this is due to actual demographic changes and not just a result of changes in the survey, what might that say about race relations in the United States?


Social Psychology Of Race






Racial Identity and Identification (Due January 29) • Take the minority/majority development assessment that is most appropriate for your

CANVAS

Winter 2022

Course Syllabus

Jump to Today 

- Home
- Announcements 
- Syllabus
- Modules 
- Assignments
- Quizzes 
- People
- Grades
- Course Reserves
- Gradescope
- iClicker Registration
- LockDown Browser
- Media Gallery
- Zoom LTI PRO
- Academic Support
- Academic Integrity
- Library Resources
- Rubrics 
- Discussions 
- Pages 
- Files 
- Outcomes 
- Collaborations 
- Piazza
- Settings

Welcome To "Sociology of Race and Ethnicity"!









This course is an introduction to the sociological study of race in the United States of America. The main purpose of this course is to broaden our understanding of racial and ethnic relations in the United States. Any sociological approach to this topic begins with the assumption that race and ethnicity are socially and politically constructed phenomena. This course will take that approach. In the first section of the course, we'll examine identity and interactionist explanations for race relations that look at the role of micro-level processes. Then we'll turn to macro and middle-range structuralist approaches that emphasize ethnic competition, racialization, and status structures. In the final third of the course, we will analyze ethnic relations within the context of three major social institutions: education, politics and law, and the media.

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

I look forward to learning with you.

Dr. Richard Pitt

Course Summary:

Date	Details	Due
Thu Jan 6, 2022	 Memo 01	due by 12pm
Thu Jan 6, 2022	 Memo 02	due by 12pm
Tue Jan 11, 2022	 Journal 01	due by 12pm
Thu Jan 13, 2022	 Memo 03	due by 12pm
Thu Jan 13, 2022	 Memo 04	due by 12pm
Tue Jan 18, 2022	 Journal 02	due by 12pm
Thu Jan 20, 2022	 Memo 05	due by 12pm
Thu Jan 20, 2022	 Memo 06	due by 12pm

January 2022						
26	27	28	29	30	31	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

Course assignments are not weighted.

ID	Title	Author	Inactive	Status	Tags
69719	American Behavioral Scientist: Everyday Race-Making: Navigating Racial Boundaries in Schools	Lewis, Amanda	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69721	American Journal of Public Health: Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Emergency Department Analgesic Prescription	Temayo-Sarver, Joshua, Susan Hines, Rita Cydulka and David Baker	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69722	American Journal of Public Health: The Genomic Revolution and Beliefs About Essential Racial Differences: A Backdoor to Eugenics?	Phelan, Jo, Bruce Link and Naomi Feldman	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69724	Demography: A 'Mulatto Escape Hatch' in the United States?	Saperstein, Aliya and Aaron Gullickson	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69723	Demography: America's Churning Races: Race and Ethnicity Response Changes between Census 2000 and the 2010 Census	Liebler, Carolyn, Sonya Porter, Leticia Fernandez, James Noon and Sharon Ennis	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69725	Ethnic and Racial Studies: The Disease Affair: Race, Gender, and the Micropolitics of Identity	Brubaker, Roger	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69726	Ethnic and Racial Studies: The Multiple Dimensions of Race	Roth, Wendy	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69727	Evolution and Human Behavior: It's Funny Because We Think It's True: Laughter is Augmented by Implicit Preferences	Lynch, Robert	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69728	Gender and Society: Learning for Lightness: Transnational Circuits in the Marketing and Consumption of Skin Lighteners	Nakano-Glenn, Evelyn	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69731	Perspectives on Politics: Jim Crow 2.0? Why States Consider and Adopt Restrictive Voter Access Policies	Sentelle, Keith and Erin O'Brien	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69732	Psychological Science: The Development of Implicit Attitudes: Evidence of Race Evaluations from Ages 6 and 10 and Adulthood	Baron, Andrew and Mahzarin Banaji	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69733	Psychology, Public Policy, and Law: Thirty Years of Investigating the Own-Race Bias in Memory for Faces	Weisener, Christian and John Brigham	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69734	Race & Society: We Are All Americans!: The Latin Americanization of Racial Stratification in the USA	Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	
69735	Race, Gender & Class: Color-Blind Privilege: The Social and Political Functions of Erasing the Color Line in Post-Race America	Gallagher, Charles	3/25/2022	Item Activation Pending	

Course Reserves Assignments

Assignment	Due	Points
Memo 01	Due Jan 6, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 02	Due Jan 6, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 03	Due Jan 13, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 04	Due Jan 13, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 05	Due Jan 20, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 06	Due Jan 20, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 07	Due Jan 27, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 08	Due Jan 27, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 09	Due Feb 3, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts
Memo 10	Due Feb 3, 2022 at 12pm	5 pts

Home/Syllabus Page

TOPICS

Getting Our Words Right

Socio-Historical Constructions

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF RACE

Racial Identity

Racial Identification/Performance

Racial Stereotypes/Prejudices

Racial Discrimination

SOCIAL STRUCTURES OF RACE

Ideological Racism

Status Structures & Groups

RACE AND INSTITUTIONS

Race and Education

Race and Politics/Housing

Race and The Media



Lens



Language



License

Encounter Material: Attendance (8%)

Explain Material: 20 Article Memos (17%)

Paragraph Summary

Two Words Defined

Three Primary Findings

Summary Quote

Discussion Question

Engage Material: 10 Journal Entries (25%)

Exhibit Erudition I: 4 Pop 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/10.1100/13644-019-00390-1>

RESEARCH NOTE

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

Richard N. Pitt¹  Patrick Washington²

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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 Sifnifer 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 is 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

Review of Religious Research

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 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 non-denominational. Twenty-one percent of the country's congregations are non-denominational; 18% of Americans attend such

Review of Religious Research

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 non-denominational, 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 39% 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 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 (e.g., choirs, written programs) 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-

Review of Religious Research

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-

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 49% 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 non-denominational 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
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RESEARCH NOTE

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

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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 Sifnirer 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 is 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 congregation 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

Review of Religious Research

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 large 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 had 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 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

Review of Religious Research

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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 39% 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 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).

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founder-led congregations are 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 ($\beta = .108, p > .01$). Fundamentalists 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,

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Results

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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.

This is the first place to look for the “primary findings”

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RESEARCH NOTE

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

Richard N. Pitt¹ · Patrick Washington²

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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 Sifniere 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 is 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

Review of Religious Research

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 (Tsitoss 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.

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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.

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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%).

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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

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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 Sifnieren 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 effectively they 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

Review of Religious Research

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 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

Review of Religious Research

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 39% 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 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 (e.g., choirs, written programs) 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-

Review of Religious Research

founder-led congregations have these activities as part of their worship services. 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

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,

STUDY GUIDE

Here is a list of 200 terms and concepts you should be familiar with at this point

[D]estinations	Functions Of Mass Media	Over vs. Covert
[O]rigins	Gatekeeping	Own-Race Facial Bias
Abercrombie and Fitch	Genocide	Pan-Ethnicity
Accumulated Disadvantage	Gente-fication	Patrilineality
Achieved Characteristics	Gentrification	Performance Expectations
Achievement	Group Boundary Blurring and Shifts	Person Schema
Active Bigot	Group Schema	Phenotype
Administrative Race	Habitus	Popular/Folk Race
Affect	Hate Crimes Reporting	Poverty Line For Family Of Four
All-Weather Liberal	HBCU vs. HSI vs. TCU	Power Threat Theory
Ancestral Language Classes	Helms' Stages of Identity Development	Preferences
Ascribed Characteristics	Heritage Festivals	Prejudice
Ascription	Historical Racism	Property Taxes
Aspirations (Educational/Occupational)	Homeland Tourism	Psychological Discrimination
Bamboo Ceiling	Homogamy	Race
Behaviors	Homophily	Race Transformations
Black People's Neighborhood Prof. Jones	Honorary Whites	Racial Anachronism
Black Students and NAEP Scores	Hopwood v. University of Texas	Racial Isolation level
Blood Quantum	Human Capital	Racist Nostalgia
Blumenbach's Race Categories	Hypodescent	Rebound Racism
Boundary Marking	Identity Behaviors	Reflected Appraisals
Boundary Shifting	Identity Centrality	Robert Merton's Typology
Burden Of Proof	Identity Cognition	Salience/Salient
Christian Nationalism	Identity Commitment	Schema
Cognition	Identity Extensivity	Scripts
Collective Black	Identity Intensity	Segregation
Colorblind Racism	Identity Prominence	Selective Exclusion
Colorism	Identity Salience	Self-Fulfilling Prophecy
Costs vs Benefits In Exchange	Ideological Racism	Self-Schema
Cross's Stages of Identity Development	Impact Of Diversity on Learning	Small Scale Ethnic Boundaries
Cultural Boundary Crossings	Impostor Syndrome	Social Capital
Cultural Capital	Imputed v Self-Defined Race	Social Darwinism
De jure vs De facto	Institutional Racism	Social Exchange Theory
Degree Of Segregation (0% and 100%)	Institutionalized Cultural Capital	Socialization
Diffuse Characteristics	Intensified Racism	Sources Of Stereotypes
Discrimination	Interactional Encounters	Species of Capital
Discursive Racism	Intercultural Competence	Statistical Effects
Dred Scott Case	Interracial Dating Attitudes	Steering In Real Estate
Ecological Racism	Laissez-Faire Racism	Stereotypes
Economic Capital	Large Scale Ethnic Boundaries	Straight-Line Assimilation
Economic Racism	Magical Negro Trope	Structural Boundary Crossing
Embodied Cultural Capital	Manifest Destiny	Structural Racism
Ethnic Humor	Manumission	Structural Social Capital Deficiency
Ethnic Identity Factors (4)	Matrilineality	Subtyping In Stereotypes
Ethnic Options	Mechanistic Divisions of Labor	Symbolic Ethnicity
Ethnicity	Metic	The 3/5ths Compromise
Ethnocentrism	Minority	The Civil War (1861-1865)
Ethnophaulism	Miscegenation	Timid Bigot
Ethnoviolence	Model Minority	Tokenism
Eugenics	Mulatto	Tri-Racial System
Event Schema	Multiracial	Twilight of White Ethnicity Theory
Exchange Relationship	Narcotizing Dysfunction	Vestigial Value Of Something
Exchange Resources	Neighborhood Diagrams	White Aesthetic
Exclusion	Non-White Border Patrolling	White Border Patrolling
Expulsion (voluntary/involuntary)	Norman Rockwell	White Flight
External v Internal Race	Numerus Clausus]	White Flight
Fair-Weather Liberal	Objectified Cultural Capital	White Man's Burden
Farley Research On White Neighbors	Objective v Subjective Race	White Privilege
Field	One Drop Rule	Wisconsin Social Mobility model
Functional Social Capital Deficiency	Organic Divisions of Labor	Xenophobia

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