CAN RELIGION TRUMP RACE? INTERRACIAL FRIENDSHIP IN PROTESTANT CHURCHES

by

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To Dan and Anderson,
whose love, patience, support and humor inspire me daily

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Why Should We Care About Interracial Friendship?

Friendship is an important aspect of people's lives as a source of companionship and social and emotional support. However, friendship has significance beyond meeting individual needs. The ever-burgeoning social-capital literature shows that to whom and how one is tied has important personal and social outcomes, such as the development of human capital (Coleman 1988), happiness (Csikszentmihalyi 1990), job mobility and status attainment (Granovetter 1974; Lin 1999), and health (House, Landis, and Umberson 1988), as well as civic participation, collective action, and democracy (Putnam 2000). Social capital describes the resources available in and through social networks. Baker (1990) defines it as "a resource that actors derive from specific social structures and then use to pursue their interests" (p. 619). As such, many network studies have assessed the potential benefits of different structural dimensions of one's networks, including density, size, tie strength, structural location, and diversity.

These studies generally conclude that diverse networks increase one's social capital because ties to dissimilar others provide access to nonredundant information, resources, and opportunities. Diverse ties also extend network reach, thereby increasing social capital. Therefore, diversity in networks can positively affect job attainment and mobility (Lin 2000), enable collective action (Blau and Schwartz 1984), increase problem solving and predictive abilities, and stimulate creativity and innovation (Page 2007).

Diversity in one's network also engenders greater cultural capital, correlated with social status (Erickson 1996). Although the benefits of diversity in network ties does depend on the social context (Portes 1998), on the whole, diversity "trumps" homogeneity in networks (Page 2007; Williams and O'Reilly 1998). Racial diversity in one's networks, of course, is a significant dimension of diversity because people of different racial backgrounds have differing life experiences that bring about differences in perspectives.[1]

Racially diverse networks are also important because they have significant implications for racial integration in society. Indeed, the ideal of a racially integrated, egalitarian society depends on friendship occurring between members of different racial groups. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1963) eloquently phrased this integrated ideal as "sitting at the table of brotherhood." Though not a panacea for all discrimination and racial inequality (Jackman and Crane 1986), interracial friendship should increase positive racial attitudes and reduce prejudice and racial bias (Allport 1954; Pettigrew 1997). *Bridging* ties help generate broader identities (Blau and Schwartz 1984). Without such racially bridging ties, Putnam and Goss (2002) say that "tightly knit and homogenous groups can rather easily combine for sinister ends. In other words, bonding without bridging equals Bosnia" (p. 11–12). Further, homophily can perpetuate social inequality due to the lack of "resource heterogeneity" (Lin 2000, p. 787). Evidence suggests that interracial friendship may be particularly beneficial for the advancement of racial minorities and the disadvantaged (Campbell and Rosefeld 1985; Ibarra 1993; Lin 2000). In addition, diverse ties that are strong may be most beneficial because they offer both resource richness through the diversity of social resources along with the commitment,

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[1] Wuthnow (2002) refers to this kind of network diversity as *identity bridging* social capital.

trust, and obligation characteristic of close relationships (Lin 1999, 2000). These close interracial friendships have the greatest potential to improve intergroup relations (Allport 1954; Dixon 2006; Emerson et al. 2002; Pettigrew 1998). Further, the likelihood of racially diverse ties is greater among those who develop close interracial friendships (Jackman and Crane 1986), which also provides greater opportunities for intercultural education (Antonio 2001).

Race relations are not nearly as bleak as they were during King's life, but most Americans still do not "break bread together" with other race "brethren." Despite the increasing racial diversity in the United States and the personal and social benefits of diverse ties, friendship networks are still remarkably racially homogenous. As of 2004, only about 15% of American adults mention a person of another race as a close friend, defined as someone with whom they "discuss important matters" (Marsden 1987, 1988; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Brashears 2006). Given the tendency to choose same-race others as friends, what are the conditions under which interracial friendship *does* occur?

Homogeneity in social networks results from both individual preferences for same-race others (which may involve prejudicial attitudes toward out-group members and/or an affinity for in-group members) and opportunity structures that inhibit chances to form relationships with other-race individuals. Residential segregation, for example, is a major barrier to opportunities to interact with other-race individuals (Massey and Denton 1993). Organizational involvement in particular has been the focus of much recent research as a site that provides or constrains opportunities for the formation of interracial ties. Organizations are the primary sites or loci of friendship formation, for they provide sustained contact opportunity as well as a baseline of similarity as organizational members. This research thus focuses on interracial friendship formation

within an organizational context. Specifically, I chose the church organization as a pervasive, phenomenologically interesting, and theoretically useful context for advancing our understanding of interracial friendship.

Why Should We Care About Churches?

Among organizations, voluntary organizations are the third most prevalent foci for the formation of friendships, following school and work (Marsden 1990), and the most common kind of voluntary association in the United States are religious organizations. They are socially integrative organizations, mediating between the private and public spheres. More Americans are involved in religious organizations than other voluntary organizations, including labor unions and ethnic organizations (Wald 1987). In a typical week, about 45% of the population attends a religious service that is not a wedding or funeral, a rate which has remained stable over the past decade (Barna 2005). Among religious organizations, Protestant churches are the most predominant. According to the National Congregations Survey, 84% of all congregations are Protestant (Chaves 2004). A little more than half the population (55%) is connected to the approximately 300,000[2] Protestant church congregations in the United States (Barna 2005). Protestant churches- and religious organizations generally- are clearly important organizations for many Americans. This study thus focuses on Protestant churches, and future discussion of churches or congregations will refer to Protestant churches.

Although the actual time spent in church may only consist of a couple of hours a week, churches endeavor to affect the whole life of their congregants. As one interviewee in this study expressed, "I still think that most people don't really understand that church

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[2] This is more than the worldwide number of the top three fast-food restaurants combined.

is not an add-on to their already busy lives. The idea is that the gospel and the kingdom touch every area of everything that we do." Moreover, the church often presents itself as a holistic institution, prescribing and justifying appropriate behaviors, attitudes, and values for life both inside and outside its walls. Religious norms also encourage people to reach out to dissimilar others (Wuthnow 2004). Unlike other kinds of organizations, these prescriptions are buttressed by divine authority.

Although the connection between church teaching and members' practice may vary among adherents, evidence shows that church attendance has consequences for many aspects of congregants' lives, even for those who do not attend with frequency. For example, church attendance affects political and civic participation (Cnaan 2002; Ecklund 2005). Research also suggests that church involvement has generally salutary effects on such physical- and mental-health outcomes such as hypertension, mortality, depression, drug and alcohol use and abuse, promiscuity, suicide, and well-being, the scope of which has included concepts like hope, purpose, meaning in life, self-esteem, and educational attainment (for a review, see Ellison and Levin 1998). The attendance-mortality connection has been convincingly established; controlling for social and instrumental support, church attendance independently affects mortality even for infrequent attendees (Musick, House, and Williams 2004; Strawbridge et al. 1997), indicating that there is something about what happens in church that contributes to positive life outcomes.

This dissertation highlights two key functions of churches that affect members' lives—their function as sites for the formation of social networks and their function as sites for identity formation. First, as the most common voluntary organization, churches are an important source of network ties (Wuthnow 2002). Members are often attracted by

opportunities for social integration (Harris 1998). Putnam (2000) claimed that "Faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America" (p. 66). In fact, congregations,[3] the local church communities to which individuals choose to belong, are the primary form of religious organization in the United States[4] (Warner 1994, 2005). Statistics generated from the nationally representative dataset used in this dissertation reveal that 56% of church-affiliated Protestants name at least one close church friend out of their four closest friends. In addition, for 30% of Protestant church-affiliated individuals, at least two of those four closest friends are from their church. When asked to name an additional two close friends within their congregations, 94.3% of the respondents name at least one close friend in their church, and approximately 88% name two. Including these two additional friends with up to four close friends named, nearly half of Protestant churchgoers (54%) have a network where at least half of their close friend network are composed of people from their congregations. In another national survey, 93% of people who were members of congregations said they had at least once close personal friend within their congregations (Wuthnow 2004). Given that mean core discussion networks, close confidants, have moved from three people to two people as of 2004 (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Brashears 2006) and include kin, the congregation as a source of one or more nonkin close friends is significant. Networks of core confidants have gotten smaller, more

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[3] Congregations are by definition local assemblies. Denominations are regional, national, or international organizations with which many congregations are affiliated. The term "church" can refer to both levels, and even to an entire religion (e.g., "Christian Church"). In this chapter, I use *church* synonymously with *congregation*.

[4] Warner (1994) described a de facto congregationalism as denominations are decentralizing and decreasing in significance. Congregations, constituted by their members as opposed to by geography, can act relatively independently despite their denominational ties, reflecting a "particularistic social grouping." Religion is also increasingly an achieved, rather than ascribed, characteristic.

dense, and more centered on spouse or partner, and such small networks may not provide adequate support (Fischer 1982). Thus, in a time where connections to nonkin, neighborhoods, and voluntary associations are waning (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Brashears 2006; Putnam 2000), the church may be a critical source of nonfamily *strong* community ties.

Further, churches are key sites for identity formation (Becker 1998; Olson 1993; Stanczak 2006). As religious organizations, they provide ideological frameworks that provide meaning and purpose to their attendees' existence. They actively shape a sense of identity in relation to oneself, to others, and (in most cases) to a divine entity. As voluntary organizations, they must engage in this identity work in order to recruit, retain, and mobilize their members. In addition to developing religious identity, churches have also played a critical role in the development of racial and ethnic identity. They are important socializing locations for different ethnic and racial groups, facilitating adaptation for immigrants into American life, as well as providing community, support, and instrumental help for ethnic groups (Ebaugh and Chavez 2000). African American churches in particular have historically served as a haven for blacks, as well as a social, emotional, and political outlet. The black church was a pivotal mobilizing institution in the Civil Rights movement (Morris 1984) and continues to play an important role in shaping African American culture (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990; Patillo-McCoy 1998).

Interracial Friendship in Protestant Churches

Despite the fact that church congregations are important sources of social relationships and important influences on identity construction, little is known about the formation of interracial friendship and the role of racial and religious identities in

interracial friendship in these contexts. The lack of attention to interracial friendship in

religious organizations is not surprising. As one would expect, racial homogeneity in

organizations amplifies the tendency to befriend same-race others (Feld 1981), and racial

heterogeneity in organizations provides especial opportunities to befriend cross-race

others. Churches, the most prevalent religious organization in the United States, have also

been one of the most racially homogenous of institutions in this country. The adage that

Sunday morning is the most racially segregated hour is not without ample evidence.

About 90% of congregations are composed of at least 90% one race (Emerson and Smith

2000). Protestant congregations in particular tend to be more homogenous than Catholic

parishes and other Christian and non-Christian congregations (Dougherty 2003;

Dougherty and Huyser 2008). Further, Protestant churches are less likely to reflect the

racial composition of their geographical areas (Emerson 2006) because there is greater

freedom among Protestants to "church shop"[5] (Cimino and Lattin 1998). Catholics, by

comparison, are expected to attend their local parish church.

     The racial heterogeneity in Protestant churches is increasing, however, which now

provides an opportunity to understand the formation of interracial friendship in these

religious contexts. As of 2000, about 5.5% of Protestant churches can currently be

categorized as "multiracial," defined as a congregation where at least 20% of the

congregation is composed of a different race (Emerson 2006).[6] Indeed, as the

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[5] Market forces characterize church choice on both the individual level and organizational level. On the demand side, Emerson and Smith (2000) found that when individuals make choices based on their individual rights and needs, they largely end up in homogenous congregations. On the supply side, the competition due to the proliferation of Protestant congregations and denominations has led to greater differentiation and niche marketing. As a result, Protestant congregations tend toward greater internal similarity in comparison to other groups.

[6] Churches are considered multiracial when at least 20% of the congregation is different from the largest racial group, making contact with a cross-race individual likely (Chaves et al. 1999; Emerson and Smith 2000). When 20% of the congregation is different from the largest racial group, it represents a critical mass

predominant voluntary organization, the church is a key contributor to racial dynamics in the United States, and the growing racial diversity in church congregations means they may have greater potential to positively impact racial integration in the United States because of their role in shaping values and ideologies (DeYoung et al. 2003; Yancey 1999).

There has been increased scholarly and popular attention to racial diversity in churches, particularly for those whose composition qualifies as "multiracial" (Emerson 2008). Much of the attention has been directed to explaining how a racially diverse congregation is created and sustained (e.g., Ammerman 1997; Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson 2005; Emerson and Smith 2000). However, explaining how racial diversity is achieved does not sufficiently explain racial *integration*, which is the true interest of these studies. A diverse racial composition merely describes the opportunity set, the *possibility* of cross-race relational ties. Cross-race relationships, on the other hand, reveal an intimate integration (Jenkins 2003; Yancey and Emerson 2003), more difficult to achieve than an organization superficially "integrated" through the mere coexistence of racial groups. Thus, I use the term "racial integration" to describe whether relational ties actually exist among racially different others.[7]

It is important to examine interracial ties in such contexts because they effectively counteract departure by binding individuals to the organization (McPherson, Popielarz,

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in research in race and gender relations (Kanter 1977; Pettigrew 1975; Pettigrew and Martin 1987). When a group is fewer than 20%, members can be clustered into small groups within the organization, whereas 20% is large enough for them to be distributed throughout the organization. Statistically, 20% represents the "tipping pint" at which the probability of contact with someone of another race is 0.99, assuming a binomial distribution and completely random circumstances (Sigelman et al. 1996).

[7] This is similar to the distinction Molotch (1972) makes between *demographic integration*, which describes geographic proximity between racial and ethnic groups, and *social integration*, which describes the extent and quality of contact between those groups.

and Drobnic 1992; Popielarz 1999; Popielarz and McPherson 1995). Racial heterogeneity in voluntary organizations such as churches is often difficult to maintain because minority members tend to have a higher rate of attrition.[8] Although it has been acknowledged that the sustainability of racially heterogeneous churches depends on the degree to which cross-race ties are made between organization members, neither the extent of cross-race ties nor the factors influencing their occurrences have been measured.

So how do churches enable or hinder interracial friendship? Among churchgoers, what is the relationship between religious and racial identity and the propensity to choose cross-race friends? And among church congregations, how does racial heterogeneity[9] impact interracial friendship—do the patterns differ from other kinds organizations and if so, how? How can churches foster an environment conducive to an intimately integrated community?

Racially diverse churches provide a theoretically useful context for assessing the role of both structural opportunities and identity on interracial friendship. First, these churches provide an opportunity to look at an organizational context where racial and religious identities between different racial groups intersect. Religion and race are both strong statuses in the United States, which continue to be relevant as evidenced in the recent presidential campaign. Yet, we lack understanding of how religious and racial

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[8] Those who are token members of their demographic group in an organization are more likely to be dissatisfied and leave (Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson 2005; Christerson and Emerson 2003; Kanter 1977; Popielarz and McPherson 1995). Members who are in demand by other organizations, termed *niche overlap*, are also more likely to leave (Popielarz and McPherson 1995). In addition, minority members tend to have more extra-organizational ties, which also increase the likelihood that the member will leave the organization (McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnic 1992).

[9] Rather than focusing on the categories of multiracial and nonmultiracial churches, I choose to examine racial diversity as a continuum (c.f. Dougherty and Huyser 2008).

identities factor into the formation of relationships and how the religious quality of church organizations impacts structural opportunities to develop cross-race ties. Thus, this study sheds light on how such identities might be influenced in such a way that would facilitate or constrain the formation of cross-race friendships. To the degree that church can affect life outside its walls, understanding how the church influences identity can have important consequences not only for the lives of its members, but for their communities as well.

The fact that churches are voluntary organizations provides an opportunity to examine interracial friendship under conditions in which people choose their congregational affiliations, level of involvement, and friends within the church. Therefore, the factors that facilitate racial integration may be more evident in churches than they are in other organizational contexts, such as schools, work organizations, or the military. We can then better understand racially diverse churches' potential for being a racially integrative institution for larger society.

However, the voluntary nature of churches also introduces a selection bias because the factors that select individuals into these organizations may influence the likelihood of interracial friendship. Yet, I am not aware of a single study of racial diversity in churches that has accounted for sample selection to help explain racial integration. If these factors are not accounted for, the analysis produces inaccurate estimates when the independent variables are regressed on friendship. Therefore, the voluntary nature of churches allows me to account for factors influencing one's decision to choose a racially heterogeneous church environment. I can then estimate the degree to which intrachurch interracial friendship is influenced by the characteristics of individuals that tend to choose such congregations and the degree to which such friendship is

influenced by intraorganizational factors. By understanding the effect of self-selection on intraorganizational friendship formation, this work has application not only to Protestant churches, but also to voluntary organizations in general.

To be clear, this dissertation research is not a how-to guide to becoming a multiracial church. There are other sociological studies that discuss the factors that influence the creation and maintenance of a multiracial congregation (e.g., Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998; Garces-Foley 2007; Marti 2005) in addition to insightful instruction for religious practitioners that outline the necessary ingredients to attracting and sustaining a diverse congregational composition (Anderson 2004; DeYmaz 2007; Yancey 2003). Rather, I use racially heterogeneous churches as a context to explicate interracial formation and to bring attention to aspects of the organization that affect the incidence and quality of cross-race relationships.

Methodology

I employ a multimethod approach to this analysis. I rely on a nationally representative dataset of individuals and their respective congregations to test the proposed hypotheses. Additionally, I selected two churches, each with two congregational sites, to study in-depth as case studies, chosen because they vary in racial composition and level of integration. I administered a web survey to congregants in each of the sites to supplement the statistical analysis of the national dataset. I also collected a variety of qualitative data sources, including interviews with leadership, online and printed materials, sermons, and participant observation at services and other church-sponsored activities. Together with survey data collected on these congregations, the

qualitative data present a clearer picture of the influence of congregational-level factors that may affect cross-race friendship formation.

Chapter Outline

The next chapter, Chapter Two, reviews the relevant literature, paying particular attention to research on the role of identity in friendship formation and organizational opportunities for friendship formation, and presents hypotheses of the proposed impact of identity and demographic composition on interracial friendship. In Chapter Three, I describe the two sources of survey data used: a nationally representative dataset and the web survey I administered to the congregations in the case studies. I also present the tests of the hypotheses proposed in Chapter Two as well as discussing the limitations of their results. Chapter Four outlines the specific methodology used to collect the qualitative data on the four congregations and presents profiles of each. The next three chapters address many of the limitations discussed in Chapter Three, presenting an in-depth analysis of the ways in which the organizational context can influence racial and religious identity in such a way that impacts the rates of interracial friendship observed in each church. In Chapter Five, I first describe the self-selected composition of church members as well as how the recruitment methods used impact social cohesion within these churches because churches attract as well as respond to specific types of congregants. In Chapter Six, I discuss the literature on how identities and the meaning of friendship are influenced by organizational context. Then, by comparing two churches in my case study, I show how churches frame diversity and community in the context of their religious mission with varying implications for the development of intrachurch cross-race ties. Chapter Seven highlights the role of pastoral leadership in facilitating an environment

conducive to racial integration. Finally, I conclude with Chapter Eight, in which I discuss

the larger sociological implications for my findings and discuss their limitations.

Chapter 2

Identity, Opportunity, and Friendship

Since the late 1980s, there has been increasing attention to the social context of friendship. Research that has assessed the organizational and network contexts of friendship formation has done so in two primary ways: examining the outcomes of social ties, including opportunities and constraints in networks, and explaining the development of social ties through varying patterns of social participation. It is to this second body of research that this dissertation contributes. In this chapter, I discuss how identity and structural opportunities affect the propensity for interracial friendship.

Identity and Friendship

Although individual choices of friends are in many ways idiosyncratic and personal, individual preferences of friends are on the other hand more predictable than they may appear. The more similar individuals are, the more likely a relational connection is to take place (Blau 1964; Thibaut and Kelley 1959), and there is ample evidence that individuals prefer similar others.

Friendship research begins with Lazarsfeld and Merton's (1954) homophily principle—similar people, who are more likely to be in contact, are more likely to be friends. Individuals tend to live and work in environments composed of similar others, but the tendency toward homophily is above and beyond what would be predicted by the composition of our environments. Marsden (1987, 1988) shows through nationally

representative data from the General Social Survey that demographic similarity in both ascribed and achieved characteristics is highly correlated with friendship choices, even more so than would be predicted by the opportunity pool. McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook's (2001) comprehensive review of homophily research shows homophily to exist on various status dimensions, such as race and ethnicity, gender, age, religion, socioeconomic status (education, occupation, and social class), and network position.[10]

Though often not made explicit, the mechanism underlying homophily effects is one of the most well-established findings in social psychology: the similarity attraction effect. That is, individuals are attracted to those who are similar to themselves (Byrne 1971). This attraction is a result of reinforcement, for when one perceives others as similar to oneself, one feels reinforced, which leads to more positive self-conceptualizations. People are initially less attracted to dissimilar others because dissimilarity is experienced as negative reinforcement (Rosenbaum 1986). Similarly, balance theory (Newcomb 1961) proposes that the attraction results from a *cognitive equilibrium* achieved between similar individuals, who enjoy and are rewarded for their similarity. Additionally, social exchange theory states that approval between individuals leads to attraction and social support, and that approval is more likely between similar people (Homans 1974; Thibaut and Kelley 1959). Group members are positively biased toward in-group members and negatively biased toward out-group members (e.g., Brewer

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[10] Structural equivalence occurs between two actors in a network when they are tied to the same people but not to each other. It is theorized that structurally equivalent actors are more likely to exhibit the same behavior (Lorraine and White 1971). According to Burt (1987), this similarity in behavior results from competition between actors as a result of being in structurally similar positions. The nature of the relationship between structural equivalence and demographic similarity is unclear, particularly if one tries to predict future tie behavior. For future research, it would be interesting to examine the conditions under which demographic and network similarity would breed attraction or competition.

and Brown 1998; Konrad and Gutek 1987; Pelled, Eisenhardt, and Xin 1999; Tajfel 1981; Tsui, Egan, and O'Reilly 1992; Turner 1987).

Although it is well established that similar people are attracted to each other, the basis of similarity may not be as obvious as it may appear. Despite evidence of homophily based on demographic characteristics, measuring similarity on these characteristics alone may be overly static. One judges another person as similar based on one's *perception* of similarity, which, in turn, is based on one's own social identification: Similarity is subjective. Measuring the salience of identity helps define which of an individual's various roles and status characteristics may be the basis of similarity.

Social identity theories support the assertion that the salience of statuses can influence which status will become the basis of similarity. According to self-categorization theory, individuals use social categories such as race to define their self-concept in terms of psychological group membership (Tajfel 1981; Turner 1987). When a social category is salient, people respond to others in terms of their group membership rather than in terms of their individual or personal characteristics (Brewer and Brown 1998; Brown and Turner 1981). Also, if one's group membership is salient, one's perceived similarity to others in that group is increased (Brewer 1979). Identity salience, the notion that an individual assigns a hierarchy to identities (Stryker 1981), acknowledges that individuals live with multiple identities that can shift in importance. Our environment influences which trait (or traits) is most salient as a basis of identification.

Therefore, it is possible that the strength and salience of one's identification with a particular demographic category may be a better predictor of friendship than that

category in and of itself because they may capture the values, attitudes, and experiences[11] often associated with demographic characteristics (Ibarra 1993). The role of identity salience as a subjective indicator of similarity has not been adequately measured in the interracial-friendship literature.

I focus on two identities in the church context—race and religion. What are the relationships of racial and religious identity to the formation of interracial friendships in churches? Which has a stronger relationship to interracial friendship? Can a salient religious identification trump race as a basis for friendship?

Racial Identity and Interracial Friendship

Notably, race has been consistently shown to be the strongest predictor of homophily, followed by age, religion, education, occupation, and gender, in that order (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). The preceding discussion implies that if one's perception of status similarity is relative, so that individuals may not always react to racial distinctions, then racial differences need not be the most significant deterrent to friendship in organizations. For example, when organizational membership (or church membership, as is the context here) is a basis for categorization, it may de-emphasize racial categories (Wagner 1995), making race less important as a basis for friendship. If race is less important to one's self-concept, then other identities may become the basis for similarity, and hence, for friendship.

The degree of racial identification describes a subjective and variable assessment of the role of race in one's life. Underscoring the variability of the importance of racial

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[11] Lazarsfeld and Merton (1954) distinguished between two types of homophily: status homophily and value homophily. Status homophily includes homophily on demographic characteristics, and value homophily includes internal orientations, such as beliefs, attitudes, and aspirations.

identity, recent research on race and ethnicity emphasizes the social construction of race.

Biological and genetic studies reject any physiological basis for commonality among

races or ethnicities (Ehrlich 2000; Smelser, Wilson, and Mitchell 2001); rather, race and

ethnicity are constructed from historical, social, economic, and political factors and

reproduced by social actors through social interaction (Alba 1990; Cornell 1996; Espiritu

1992; Nagel 1994; Waters 1990). Therefore, not only is race as a category socially

constructed, but there will be variability within racial categories according to racially

charged experiences or the lack thereof. Two members of the same racial group may feel

very differently about how race affects their lives and sense of self (and how they

perceive race as a valid social identity). Thus, accounting for variability in the salience of

one's racial identity acknowledges the variability in one's "lived" race. Therefore,

identity salience can capture the potential impact of race on behavior.

The strength and importance of racial identity may then influence the importance

of racial similarity in friendship choices. When a racial identity is salient, an individual

activates and "performs" that identity (Fenton 1999; Okamura 1981). Enacting one's

racial identity includes seeking same-race friendships, supporting and reinforcing that

racial identity. For those whose race is perceived to be of little importance, friends may

be sought and chosen based on other identities. Therefore, cross-race friendship would be

more likely among those for whom race is not a salient identity:

Hypothesis 1. The salience of one's racial identification is negatively related
                     to intrachurch interracial friendship.

Fluidity in racial identification is not equal across racial groups, however (Waters

1990). Although race is a socially constructed concept, the effects of race are real, and for

nonwhites in particular a salient racial identity may not be as much a personal choice as it

is an ascribed reality. Therefore, I also expect that the relationship between racial identification and interracial friendship will vary by racial group because of varying degrees of racial consciousness, particularly between whites and blacks.

Noted as a mark of privilege, whites often see themselves as "raceless" or a "nonrace" and thus tend to be unaware of the role of whiteness in their lives (Feagin, Vera, and Batur 2001; Frankenberg 1993; Lewis 2001; Perry 2002; Waters 1990). The privileges of being in the white, dominant majority often go undetected by its recipients. Therefore, survey questions that inquire about racial identity cannot assess a respondent's evaluation of the perceived impact of whiteness on one's choices because many whites are not accustomed to thinking of their race in those terms. Therefore, the above hypothesis may not be relevant for whites not because racial identity does not affect friendship choices, but because whites are often not aware that their race may affect friendship choices.

For African Americans, race is often a master status. Historically, African Americans have been ascribed as "black" according to the "one-drop rule," regardless of how mixed their racial lineage may be, and many continue to take on that racial identity (Davis 1991; Waters 1999).[12] Blacks' racial identity may be particularly salient in religious contexts, even for those in more racially heterogeneous congregations, because African American culture is strongly tied to black Christianity (Patillo-McCoy 1998). Black church culture is integral to the African American community, constituting a cultural and organizational toolkit for not only religious life, but also social interaction, civic engagement, and collective action (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990; Morris 1984; Patillo-

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[12] Some modern-day examples include Barack Obama and Halle Berry, who are referred to and self-identify as African American despite their multiracial backgrounds.

McCoy 1998). Further, these tools are culturally familiar to African Americans, regardless of whether they attend church (Patillo-McCoy 1998).

Because blacks experience discrimination and are alienated in a way not experienced by other ethnic groups (Yancey and Emerson 2003), they tend to be more conscious of the effect of race in their lives. In addition to seeking affinity with others who may support their racial identity, a salient racial identity may mean that individuals also avoid investing in cross-race relationships or experience rejection from out-group members. A highly salient racial identity may impede interracial relationships due to anticipatory prejudice (Shelton, Richeson, and Salvatore 2005) or even by unintentionally invoking negative stereotypes about one's group. Steele and Aronson (2004) found that the strength of racial identification was related to vulnerability to stereotype threat, the risk of confirming, in a self-fulfilling prophecy, negative stereotypes about one's group. For African Americans, then, racial identity may be more salient compared to other racial groups and have a stronger negative relationship to interracial friendship:

Hypothesis 2. The negative relationship between the salience of one's racial identity and intrachurch interracial friendship will be stronger for blacks.

Religious Identity and Interracial Friendship

The salience-of-identity concept implies the variability of the importance of identities. It also implies that racial identity need not be the primary basis of similarity upon which friendship choices are made. The question therefore remains whether it is possible for race to decrease as a basis for similarity, and for a superordinate identity, such as religion, to provide an alternate basis for similarity and attraction. In other words, can religion trump race as a basis for friendship, thereby facilitating cross-race

friendship? This theory of *recategorization* refers to the redefinition of in-group and out-group membership by establishing a superordinate identity that includes previous out-group members, thereby reducing intergroup bias and decreasing social distance among members (Gaertner et al. 1999; Gaertner et al. 1989). The notion of a common ingroup identity has been used to explain the sustenance of diverse racial compositions in religious organizations.

Recent studies on multiracial churches suggest that their diverse compositions are maintained due to the salience of religious identity. In Mosaic, a multiethnic[13] church, Marti's (2005) ethnographic study found that a salient religious identity can transcend and thereby diminish the significance of racial and ethnic differences. Members shared a strong identity as "followers of Jesus Christ," which seemed to provide a unifying corporate identity despite the church's racially heterogeneous composition.

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[13] There are several terms used to describe racial diversity in congregations. Those most often used are *multicultural*, *multiracial* or *multiethnic*, and *interracial*. These terms are linked to theoretical perspectives and conceptualizations as well as theological positions. Marti (2005) uses the term multiethnic to emphasize the diversity of ethnic groups in Mosaic, as well as to underscore the fluid and negotiated aspect of ethnic identity. Others emphasize the prevailing dominance of race with the use of multiracial, and similarly, interracial tends to refer to black and white congregations (Edwards 2008a). Emerson (2006) distinguishes between multiracial as those racially mixed congregations in which no one racial group constitutes more than 80% of the congregation and interracial as those congregations in which "from the viewpoint of the individual, the congregation is not 80% or more of their race" (p. 85). Those who advocate the term multicultural believe culture, not race or ethnicity, to be at the core of difference. These terms also reflect theological positions. Multiethnic and multiracial are most often used by evangelicals; among Roman Catholic and mainline Protestant groups, multicultural is more common. This difference is due to the theologically different approaches of those groups to integration (Garces-Foley 2008).

I find "multicultural" too broad a term, however, because culture can be used for various levels and kinds of groups, not just racial or ethnic groups. Further, because congregations are composed of multiple racial groups or ethnic groups does not necessarily mean that there are multiple cultures present. I choose to use "multiracial" to describe racially heterogeneous churches, not only because of the persistence of race as a social organizing principle of social networks, but also because I believe it to be a better descriptor of the diversity of these organizations and therefore more indicative of the greater challenge in forming friendships across racial lines. For example, a church composed of Chinese and Korean congregants is multiethnic but not multiracial. It may face fewer integrative challenges than a church composed of Chinese and African American congregants, for example, because of a perceived similarity in background and a common ascripted racial identity.

In regard to interracial friendship, a salient religious identification may mean that friendships are sought based more on religious similarity than on racial similarity, increasing the likelihood of interracial friendship in a racially heterogeneous environment:[14]

Hypothesis 3. The salience of one's religious identification is positively related to intrachurch interracial friendship for that individual.

The problem with using recategorization as an explanation is that it de-emphasizes subgroup identities such as race that may still be important. It neglects the dominance of race and the black–nonblack divide in particular as an organizing principle in U.S. society (Omi and Winant 1994), underestimating racial status. Therefore, the impact of race is minimized by "submerging the real, everyday consequences of living life" as a racial minority (Edwards 2008a) because the ability to transcend race may not be realistic for African Americans whose race holds a more stigmatized status than other groups (Edwards 2008b; Yancey 1999). Further, research suggests that blacks in interracial church settings are more likely to support the maintenance of racial identities than those who attend black congregations (Emerson 2006; Emerson and Yancey 2008). Although Mosaic church seems to have overcome racial barriers through a superordinate religious identity, its case may have limited applicability to churches with a more substantial African American membership. Mosaic had difficulty retaining black members, which comprised only 1.7% of the congregation despite the surrounding county's composition of nearly 10%. It is conceivable that blacks were not attracted by an environment in which their racial identities were not affirmed. The three largest

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[14] Or, put into Lazarsfeld and Merton's (1954) terms, value homophily (religious identity) may be stronger than racial-status homophily.

groups in the church were Caucasian (32.8%), Hispanic (30.3%), and Asian (27.8%), most of which were second- or third-generation immigrants (Marti 2005).

Recategorization has also been criticized for assuming identities to be singularly prominent. Identities often overlap, and multiple identities may be relevant to a context (Gaertner et al. 1996). Racial and religious identities may therefore be *simultaneously* salient because they converge. Religious identities have often been developed in racially homogenous contexts, blurring the distinction between racial and religious identity (Edwards 2008b). Edwards (2008a; 2009i) emphasizes that whites and blacks have different religious identities. As discussed previously, black churches have developed a distinct culture and history that is simultaneously religious and African American (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990). White churches also have distinct religious practices (Edwards 2008a), although their racial aspect[15] is not often acknowledged or even recognized because of the normalization of white culture (Waters 1990). The influence of racialized religious culture may help explain the finding that whites and blacks are least likely to attend mixed congregations (11% of whites and 18% of blacks, followed by 28% of Hispanics and 44% of Asians). It may also help account for attitudinal differences between white and black evangelicals (Emerson and Smith 2000). Racial–religious identity is not limited to African Americans and whites, however. In a recent book, Kim (2006) shows how second-generation evangelical Korean Americans actively seek out racially similar and like-minded believers as the group that converges on both racial and religious dimensions, their most salient identities.

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[15] However, there is some initial evidence of the convergence of racial and religious identities for whites as well. Tranby and Hartmann (2008) found that white conservative Protestants are more likely than other whites to believe that their race is very important to their identity.

The racialization of religious identity suggests that a person's salient religious identification, however transcendent, may not be enough to overcome racial barriers to friendship, particularly between blacks and whites. Hence, a negative finding in the application of "identity recategorization" to interracial friendship provides valuable insight into the relationship between racial and religious identity. By including both racial and religious identity in modeling friendship, I can assess the relative impact of each. In addition, I test the interaction of racial and religious identity on friendship. For individuals with higher levels of religious identification, racial identity may exert a stronger negative effect on interracial friendship.

Marti (2005) explained the success of Mosaic as an integrated community by emphasizing the development of a superseding religious identity, but it is also possible that another kind of homogeneity plays a significant role in facilitating a sense of unity. The church has an identity as a community where artists of all kinds can find nontraditional ways to express their spirituality. The church served as a "haven" for this distinct group of people, to the point that nonartists felt marginalized (Marti 2005). In addition, the average age is 26 years (Marti 2005). This membership thus reflects a specific socioeconomic demographic of early-career artists, and it also reflects a specific demographic of those with a strong interest in creative arts, even if this is not their paid occupation. Moreover, the attendees may not be at the same socioeconomic status based on education or income, but they share a mindset that values artistic activity; it could be argued that they comprise what Florida (2002) referred to as the new "creative class." Although he recognized this unique composition, Marti (2005) did not consider the possibility that this dimension of similarity might be an alternative or equally plausible explanation for the maintenance of a multiracial congregational composition. It is also

possible that the racial integration observed in Mosaic can be explained by its unique

racial composition. The fairly equal proportions of three ethnic groups (white, Hispanic,

and Asian) may reduce dominance by any one ethnicity, which can strain relations

between groups.

These issues, which suggest the potential impact of the composition of the

congregation, are explored further in the next section. Whereas examining the

relationship of racial and religious identity in this section focused on individual-level

propensities for interracial friendship, the following section addresses the effect of

structural opportunity, or organizational-level factors.

Structural Opportunities

Rooted in Blau's (1977) macrostructural theory of intergroup relations, there has

been special focus on the role of group composition in friendship. Blau (1977) proposed

that network ties develop from opportunities generated by the group structure, and his

derivative theorem stated, "Increasing heterogeneity increases the probability of inter-

group relations" (p. 80). Homogeneity within organizations constrains the possibilities for

heterophilous relationships due to simple random opportunity; greater diversity in

organizations then allows for greater status diversity in friendship networks.

Interracial friendship research has emphasized the effect of an organization's

racial composition in particular as a measure of structural opportunity for interracial

friendship. In this section, I assess the application of this work to interracial friendship in

churches. I propose tests of both racial heterogeneity and racial-group proportions in

measuring racial composition and testing for possible variance by race. The results allow

me to identify the relative power of race in the relation between opportunity and preference for friendship, with implications for voluntary organizations in general.

The Effects of Racial Composition

Racial diversity in organizations has been studied in the context of work, voluntary organizations, and schools. In studies of work organizations, organizational demographers have used interracial relationships mainly as an explanatory variable to assess the effect of racial diversity and cross-race relationships on work outcomes. More applicable here is the research on diversity in voluntary organizations that has underscored the influence of an organization's composition; however, this work has not included racial composition as a variable. Therefore, I draw mostly on research on schools, though these are not voluntary organizations, which has focused on how racial diversity affects the probability of interracial friendship. Below I review the studies that most apply to a religious context, but first I present one set of studies of voluntary organizations that is marginally applicable to the present research.

The group of studies conducted by McPherson and colleagues in voluntary organizations does not include race, but it is worth describing because the studies focus on voluntary organizations and assess the effect and significance of group composition on friendship homophily. These studies found a positive relationship between heterogeneity and friendship among dissimilar people (*heterophily*) and found that diversity in the demographic composition of organizations induced a stronger effect on homophilous friendship ties than did individual preferences, or *choice homophily*, measured by the degree to which correlated status dimensions influenced friendship choices (McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnic 1992; McPherson and Smith-Lovin 1986, 1987). Their analysis,

however, is limited in several ways. The survey population is members of voluntary organizations in Nebraska, but selection factors into specific types of organizations, such as churches, are not considered. Also, the measurement of friendship was restricted to the choice of one person, excluding relatives, within the organization. The most significant limitation in applying this work to the study proposed here is the exclusion of race as a status dimension (heterogeneity was measured as the average distance between all possible pairs within the organization for education, occupation, age, and sex), which may explain why the relationship between heterogeneity and heterophily is in the opposite direction of that shown in school research. In general, the prevailing strength of race as a status dimension that influences friendship formation has not been sufficiently theorized by homophily research, despite evidence that race is the strongest status influence on friendship in the United States (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). Studies on friendship patterns in schools have more comprehensively explored the significance of race on friendship patterns.

The emphasis on race in school research stems from an interest in understanding the extent to which desegregation[16] has influenced race relations. Thus, race-relations theories, most commonly contact theory and group-threat theory, are applied to explain the effect of racial-group composition on interracial friendship. However, contact theory and group-threat theory posit different operationalizations of how racial composition may affect friendship. Akin to the propinquity effects shown in homophily research, the contact hypothesis is widely used to explain interracial friendship through greater contact

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[16] The attention to schools is not only due to interest in desegregation and changing racial demographics; it can also can be explained by the availability of the Add Health dataset, a multilevel, nested, nationally representative sample of schools and their members, which has made possible extensive and comprehensive friendship research on both the individual and organizational levels.

and thus defines racial composition in terms of overall heterogeneity. Group threat theory focuses on the proportionate size of one's group.

According to the contact hypothesis (Allport 1954), increased contact between people of different groups, particularly if this contact is close and sustained, helps to dispel stereotypes and thus promote positive attitudes toward members of other groups. Presumably, then, these positive attitudes increase the possibility for interracial friendship. Increased contact affects one's preference for interracial friendship by providing more accurate information about out-group members. However, contact theory posits that heterogeneity does not necessarily increase racial heterophily (Moody 2001) unless certain structural conditions, such as equal status and engagement in cooperative tasks, are met (Bossert 1988; Hewstone and Brown 1986; Johnson and Johnson 1992; Schofield 1995).

In contrast, group-threat theory considers racial composition with a greater focus on relative racial-group proportions. According to group-threat theory, power dynamics between groups are affected by relative group size, so if one group increases in size, then the other group may feel threatened and become more hostile (Blalock 1967). Although group-threat theory is often discussed in contrast to contact theory, they hold in common the general idea that racial composition and type of contact can affect cross-race relationships. Speaking in the language of contact theory, the relative proportions of the group may change the patterns of interaction, or actual contact. Regardless of whether interracial friendship is depressed because of feelings of competition or threat, group-threat theory suggests that the relative proportion of racial groups and a critical mass of a minority group are important aspects of group composition. As the size of a minority

group increases, members of that group may be more likely to form friendships with like others because of the availability of alters, thereby reducing the level of integration.

The findings from tests of contact theory and group-threat theory conclude that greater racial heterogeneity does not correspond to increased interracial friendship, suggesting the persistence of race as a primary and qualitatively different dimension of difference. Zeng (2005) found that increasing racial diversity decreased students' tendency to form cross-race friendships, and as a racial group increased in size relative to other groups, other racial group members were less likely to form friendships with someone from that racial group. This supports Moody's (2001) finding that same-race friendship increased with greater heterogeneity levels, decreasing only at the highest levels of heterogeneity. Racial homophily was lowest at lower heterogeneity levels. These studies suggest that race has a significant influence on friendship, providing further evidence that race persists as a dominant social organizing principle in society (Bonilla-Silva 2001; Omi and Winant 1994).

It is reasonable to question the applicability of these studies to churches or other voluntary organizations. These studies were conducted on school-aged children, who are mandated to attend school. Although parents may choose neighborhoods because of the schools, the children themselves are often not the primary decision makers concerning which school they attend. However, individuals choose their church as well as their level of participation as a member. In addition, they do so knowing the racial composition of the organization by attending religious services, the main assembly for church attendees. Churches are composed of self-selected members.

Because churches are voluntary communities, therefore, selection factors cannot be ignored. In order to accurately assess the effect of racial composition on interracial

friendship in churches, it is necessary to control for selection factors because of the possibility that factors influencing the choice to attend a racially heterogeneous organization may also influence friendship choices within that organization. Recent research has shown that those who attend churches with racial groups other than their own are indeed different from those who attend racially homogenous churches, as well as those who do not attend church at all. For example, nonwhites who choose an interracial church tend to have higher socioeconomic status (income and education), and whites who choose an interracial church are more likely to have lived in diverse residential communities. All are more likely to have interracial friendships both outside the church and prior to attending diverse churches (Emerson 2006; Emerson et al. 2002).

Whereas in previous research, preferences are assumed or measured endogenously through interracial friendship itself, accounting for selection is also a way to measure preference exogenously, through the choice of a racially heterogeneous church. Thus, I compare the relative significance of this initial preference with the effect of group composition on interracial friendship.

Statistically, it is important to account for selection because of the possibility of bias in estimating the effect of composition on interracial friendship because there will be missing data on nonchurch members and racially homogenous church members (where intrachurch interracial friendship is not possible). Selection bias issues are discussed further in Chapter Three.

Self-selection still may not change the effect of racial diversity on interracial friendship, however. Even though individuals choose their congregations, they may find it difficult to form cross-race relationships (provided the availability of other-race individuals) despite desiring interracial friendship (Shelton, Richeson, and Bergsieker

2009; Vorauer and Sakamot 2006). In addition, people choose their respective

congregations for myriad reasons; the racial diversity of a church may be incidental to

other considerations for joining. Despite self-selection, therefore, the strength and

consistency of findings from school-based research of the mainly negative relationship

between racial diversity and interracial friendship (Moody 2001; Quillian and Campbell

2003; Zeng 2005) suggest that the direction of the relationship between racial diversity

and interracial friendship in churches is likely to be similar. Some have suggested that

schools are not an appropriate organizational comparison to churches (Yancey 1999) due

to the competitive nature of the educational system (Gaertner and Dovidio 1986) and

racial stereotypes related to academic performance (Cohen 1984). However, church

environments are not immune to competition and racial stereotyping which may hinder

interracial friendship in similar ways. Therefore, consistent with evidence from schools

research, I predict that (controlling for selection),

> Hypothesis 4. The racial heterogeneity of one's church is negatively related
>   to intrachurch interracial friendship.[17]

I also test racial composition in terms of racial proportions. If an individual joins a

church where his or her racial group comprises a small proportion, he or she at least joins

with the knowledge that the availability of same-race alters is limited. That individual

may feel comfortable with the majority group or may possibly choose that environment

for the purpose of meeting cross-race others. Those in the majority group have a greater

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[17] Although the relationship between heterogeneity and interracial friendship is generally negative, Moody (2001) found that at the highest levels of heterogeneity, the relationship changed. Only at the highest levels of heterogeneity, which is characterized by a greater number of racial groups represented as well as the greatest similarity in relative size of the groups, did the relationship between heterogeneity and interracial friendship become positive. However, in the data used here, there are not sufficient cases of individuals who attend highly heterogeneous churches to determine whether racial heterogeneity is positively related to interracial friendship at those levels.

number of in-group members to choose as friends and may even perceive the church as

an ethnic or same-race church, so they may be less likely to choose cross-race friends.

This is consistent with the findings of Zeng (2005) that as a group increased in size

relative to other groups, the other groups' members would be less likely to form

friendships with members of that group.[18] I predict that interracial friendship is less likely

as the relative size of one's racial group increases. Conversely, interracial friendship is

more likely as the relative size of one's racial group decreases.

> Hypothesis 5. The bigger the racial group (as a proportion of the population)
> of which one is a member, the less likely one is to have
> interracial friendships.

This proposed relationship between proportionate group size and interracial

friendship explains Moody's (2001) finding that only at the highest levels of

heterogeneity, at which there existed the most even distribution of the greatest number of

racial groups, was the relationship to interracial friendship positive. His finding shows

that heterogeneity is related to relative group size; that is, if one group is proportionately

large, heterogeneity by definition would have a small value. Although correlated,

heterogeneity and proportionate group size measure different aspects of composition. For

example, imagine two fictional congregations of 1,000 congregants, 900 of whom are

white. In one congregation, the remaining 100 are all Asian, and in the other, the

remaining 100 consist of even proportions of Asians, Hispanics, and blacks. The latter

congregation would have a higher value for heterogeneity than the former. If both one's

group proportion and one's heterogeneity were found to be significant, this would

indicate that however large or small one's own group is, having a diverse pool of

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[18] Zeng (2005) attributes this to "group threat," which I do not feel is fully applicable to the church context because members have the freedom to leave if they are experiencing threat from a larger racial group.

available others versus a different-race pool composed of only one race makes a difference in interracial friendship formation. In other words, in this hypothetical scenario, a person who is white may be less likely to form a friendship with someone nonwhite in the congregation in which the only nonwhites are Asian, but a white person may be more likely to form a friendship with someone nonwhite in the congregation with three different types of nonwhite individuals. In the latter congregation, an individual would have a choice of not only other-race individuals, but different kinds of other-race individuals.

Further, individuals who choose a church specifically for its racial diversity, however, may attempt to use the opportunity structure and the availability of other-race individuals to seek cross-race friendship or be more open to cross-race friendship. Therefore, I hypothesize that

Hypothesis 6. Those who cite racial diversity as a reason for choosing a church will be more likely to have interracial friends.[19]

Variation by Race

Research on friendship in schools shows that the relationship between racial diversity and cross-race friendship varies by racial group, particularly for blacks and whites, who are least likely to be friends and for whom there exists the greatest social distance. Race is the strongest predictor of friendship among black and white students (Quillian and Campbell 2003), and blacks and whites show the greatest difference in how racial diversity affects the propensity for interracial friendship. Although all racial groups show in-group preferences (Quillian and Campbell 2003), blacks show more in-group

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[19] I cannot test this hypothesis with the national dataset because there are no data on why respondents chose their respective congregation.

preferences than do whites among both children and adults (Marsden 1988; Shrum, Cheek, and Hunter 1988). Zeng (2005) also found that the negative relationship between racial heterogeneity and cross-race friendship was strongest for black students, and the negative effect of group size was also strongest for black students.

This pattern seems to be true even in studies that include other racial groups. Recent school studies that have incorporated Asian and Hispanic student populations indicate that there seems to be a black/nonblack divide in friendship pairings. Whites, Asians, and Hispanic whites are more likely to form friendships with each other, and blacks and Hispanic blacks are more likely to be friends (Quillian and Campbell 2003). Racial diversity was also found to decrease Hispanic and Asian students' interracial friendship choices. Among cross-race friendships, controlling for organizational opportunity, whites were most likely to choose Hispanics and Asians as friends, blacks were least likely to choose whites, and Asians were least likely to choose blacks (Zeng 2005).

The greater in-group preference found for friendship among blacks thus also seems to reflect other groups' lack of preference for blacks as friends. As noted earlier, African Americans may not only experience actual rejection from out-group members, they also may anticipate possible rejection that inhibits friendship formation with other groups. Further, out-group members may not make an effort to develop friendships with blacks because of prejudice or perceived differences. I expect the same to be true in churches, particularly if the religiosity of African Americans is tied to their racial identity (Edwards 2008a); even within the same congregation, this racial barrier may be amplified by differences in religiosity or religious identity that increase the perception of social

distance. Based on the preceding discussion, I hypothesize that, controlling for racial composition,

Hypothesis 7. Blacks are less likely to have interracial friendships than other racial groups.

In her ethnographic study of a mixed-race church, Edwards (Edwards 2008b) found that whites were disproportionately more likely to leave the church even though they were the majority group in the congregation; typically, members of the minority group have higher attrition rates. The attrition among whites, the majority group in the congregation, suggests that it is not only the relative size of the racial group that matters, but also the racial status itself. Therefore, I also test whether race in interaction with relative group size affects interracial friendship.

Effects of Class

In addition, the potential impact of class on interracial friendship cannot be ignored. Interracial friendship may also be facilitated by socioeconomic homogeneity in the congregation, a similarity that may further reduce social distance between members.

Social networks tend to be socioeconomically homophilous, and strong educational, occupational, and class homophily characterize close ties in particular (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook 2001). For example, people are more likely to "discuss important matters" with those of the same educational level (Marsden 1988). This is not surprising, considering that education determines occupational opportunities and income, which then determine residence, all of which limit association with people of different classes. Churches, then, as organizations whose membership is highly influenced by geographic location, also tend to be socioeconomically homogenous

(Chaves 2004). There are very few data that speak to socioeconomic diversity within

congregations, but one recent study claims that multiracial congregations are more

heterogeneous in terms of class (Yancey and Kim 2008). However, as respondents were

asked to rate the socioeconomic diversity of their congregations, from 1 (*total

homogeneity*) to 7 the study actually measured *perceived* socioeconomic diversity.[20]

Similarity in social class may also provide an alternate explanation for racial

integration because similarity in socioeconomic status may make cross-race friendship

more probable.[21] Among equal-status groups, racial conflict is reduced and positive

attitudes are more likely (Allport 1954). In congregations in which members are similar

in both religion and class, race may be less of a barrier since social ties are more likely

among those with less social distance or more similarity (Blau 1964). Blau and Schwartz

(1984) write that "Ingroup prejudice and discrimination may prevent individuals from

having intergroup relations in certain respects, but they cannot prevent intergroup

relations … when many intersecting dimensions of social differentiation create structural

conditions that make most forms of intergroup relations (though not all forms) inevitable"

(p. 86). Given that religious expression also varies by class (Ammerman 2005; Chaves

2004; Kosmin and Lachman 1993; Reimer 2007) in addition to race (e.g., Edwards

2008a; Lincoln and Mamiya 1990; Patillo-McCoy 1998), socioeconomic similarity may

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[20] The average level of diversity among nonmultiracial congregations was 3.6; multiracial congregations, however, were slightly more heterogeneous in terms of class (4.8).

[21] If socioeconomic stratification reflects stratification by race, then I can expect greater racial homophily in friendship. Unfortunately, I cannot measure the degree to which racial groups are stratified by class within congregations in the national dataset. The data include congregational information, such as the percentage of racial groups and percentage of congregation members in various educational and income categories, but the data are composed of individual respondents in different congregations, rather than those in the same congregation. Therefore, there is no way to know how the racial composition relates to the socioeconomic composition of the congregation.

support religious similarity, comprising another *cross-cutting circle* (Blau and Schwartz 1984)[22] that increase the possibility for relations between different race individuals:

> Hypothesis 8. The socioeconomic homogeneity of one's congregation is positively related to intrachurch interracial friendship.

In addition, high socioeconomic status may facilitate interracial friendship (de Souza Briggs 2007). Those with high levels of education tend to view racial diversity as a desirable characteristic (c.f. Florida 2002). Education generally seems to open an individual's networks in terms of size and diversity. People with Bachelor's degrees are more likely to say that they have cross-race friends than people with lower levels of attainment (Wuthnow 2003). More highly educated people tend to have a greater diversity of network ties, partly as a function of having a larger network of confidants, with a greater number of both family and nonfamily members (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Brashears 2006), which may increase the possibility of having more cross-race ties. These studies suggest that high socioeconomic status, particularly regarding education, may help mitigate racial barriers or negative attitudes toward other racial groups:

> Hypothesis 9. One's socioeconomic status is positively related to intrachurch interracial friendship.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I proposed hypotheses for how individuals' racial and religious identity—as well as the structural opportunities, namely in the form of racial and socioeconomic composition—may affect an individual's propensity for interracial friendships. The next chapter describes the dataset and statistical analyses used to test these hypotheses and their results.

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[22] Blau and Schwartz (1984) attribute the concept of *crosscutting social circles* to Simmel (1955 [1923]).

Chapter 3

Data, Variables, and Methods

In this dissertation, I use three different sets of data. The first is a nationally representative dataset, the Panel Study of American Religion and Ethnicity (PS-ARE) (Emerson and Sikkink 2006). In order to better understand congregational contexts of interracial friendship, I also chose four multiracial congregations to study in-depth. The second dataset, which I name the East Coast City Survey (ECCS), was self-collected from members of these four multiracial congregations. To statistically test hypotheses in this chapter, I rely mainly on the PS-ARE and use the ECCS to supplement the findings from the PS-ARE whenever possible.

Observational notes, interviews with church leadership and staff, and sermon content from the four congregations comprise the third set of data, which I rely on most heavily in Chapters Four through Seven. These inform and are informed by the analysis of the ECCS. I discuss them in full in the next chapter.

Data

Panel Study on American Religion and Ethnicity (PS-ARE)

The PS-ARE (Emerson and Sikkink 2006) is a nationally representative dataset of individuals and their congregations that was designed to focus on religion and race. Subjects were randomly selected with an oversample of nonwhites (blacks, Hispanics, and Asians) for a total sample of 2,610 people. Face-to-face interviews were conducted

for the first round of surveys, and follow-up telephone surveys will be conducted every 3 years. The dataset I am using is from the first round of surveys, collected from April to October 2006.

If a respondent was affiliated with a congregation and provided contact information for that congregation, a key informant within the congregation was contacted to complete the organizational portion of the survey. Although this dataset is not nested—that is, it does not allow for hierarchical linear modeling through which I can analyze variance within congregations as well as between congregations—it does allow me to account for congregational characteristics, such as demographic composition. There may be concern about including organizational-level variables in an individual-level analysis. However, because church attendance is voluntary, these are congregational characteristics that the individual has chosen and may be considered his or her congregational preferences.

Currently, a nested, nationally representative, multilevel church dataset does not exist that includes the race variables of interest in this study. Therefore, I supplement the PS-ARE with East Coast City Survey data (described later in this section) that I collected on two multiracial churches, each with two congregations, for a total of four congregations. With these survey data, I assess intrachurch variation and the effect of a particular church context for those four congregations.

Response Rate for the PS-ARE

The response rate for the PS-ARE was 70% among those on the original list of addresses who completed the screening. Of those, 70% completed the interviews. The remaining 30% either declined to continue or completed a partial interview (only six

respondents are identified as partial interviews). Therefore, 49% of the original list

completed the interviews, or 2,610 respondents. Of those respondents, 1,155 are currently

affiliated with a congregation (weighted n = 1191.36). Among the 1,155 who were

affiliated with a congregation and gave their congregations' contact information, 631

have congregational data. Of those, 387 attend Protestant churches and 332 (weighted

n = 394.874) have nonmissing data on the critical variables for this study. Only 31

individuals have a cross-race friend in their congregation.

The East Coast City Survey (ECCS)

I selected two churches in a large, East Coast metropolitan area for in-depth

study. In order to ensure confidentiality, I renamed them Jackson Church and

Mannington Church. Each church has two congregations, for a total of four sites: Jackson

Church–Gatewood, Jackson Church–Stanton, Mannington Church–City, and Mannington

Church–Varsity. In addition to their common characteristic as multiracial, evangelical

churches, I selected them for this study because of their multisite form, which provides

both demographic and geographic variation within the church organization. The sites

vary in their racial composition but all can be classified as multiracial (i.e., no more than

80% of the congregation is of one racial group). They also vary in style, size, and

location. These details are explained in greater detail in the next chapters.

I conducted a survey of church members in each of the congregations, referred to

here as the ECCS. I chose to administer a Web survey because it was the most cost-

effective option given the number of questions I wished to ask. The sampling frame

included all congregants listed in the church directory, given to me by the churches, in

order to get the most survey respondents possible. Church directories are notoriously

incomplete, but it was the best alternative. Some researchers have administered paper-and-pencil questionnaires during church services, but I was not given permission to take time to do so, and such a questionnaire would have drastically limited the length of the survey instrument. This also would introduce sampling bias toward those who happened to attend that particular service. Although I was concerned about sampling bias toward those attendees who had access to the Internet and a computer, which is a notorious problem with Web surveys (Dillman 2000), I was assured by the leadership of both churches that their congregants were unusually computer literate and had this access. Further, members who did not have e-mail addresses on file were sent a paper-and-pencil version of the questionnaire. Their responses were entered in manually.

I worked with the church pastors to create a survey that included questions they themselves were interested in asking their members. Also, I drew questions from the NORC General Social Survey and other religious surveys. The survey covered the relevant race-related questions but also asked about various other aspects of the church. I was careful to order the questions, particularly the ones asking about respondents' social network, so as not to prime respondents into indicating a more racially diverse network than they actually had. I pretested the survey instrument with attendees from sister churches, other church attendees, and the church staff. (As such, church-staff members were eliminated from the above sampling frame.) I administered the two surveys as close to the same time period as logistically possible. The survey for Mannington Church was available for a 30-day period in the month of March, and the survey for Jackson Church was available for a 30-day period in the month of April. As an incentive, each completed survey was entered in a drawing for a $100 Amazon.com gift certificate for each church. The initial invitation was sent to recipients via e-mail with a link to the survey created

using Zoomerang, a Web-survey program. This invitation was sent just prior to Sunday morning church services, at which the pastors at each congregation introduced me as the survey researcher and urged attendees to respond to the survey. It is well established that follow-ups increase the response rates for surveys (Dillman 2000), so several reminders were provided. For the next two Sundays, reminders to fill out the survey were included in the bulletin or service program. In addition, an e-mail reminder was sent 3 days after the initial invitation, and a second e-mail reminder was sent 4 days after the first reminder. A third reminder was sent a week and a half after the second reminder. (Appendix A has examples of these survey administration materials, and Appendix B lists the survey items.) After the survey was conducted, a descriptive report of survey results was given to each church.

It is not my purpose to use the data from these churches to generalize to the general population; rather, these congregations are case studies in which to assess factors contributing to interracial friendship within these particular organizational contexts. However, I compare the results of these analyses to that of the PS-ARE, which may point to some key racial, religious, and/or relational characteristics or processes within congregations that may be important to understanding interracial friendship.

Response Rates for the ECCS

The response rates for the churches are shown in Tables 1 and 2. They were calculated as total surveys returned (minus those found to be ineligible, which included a few respondents younger than age 18) divided by the total number of subjects in the sampling frame (minus those ineligible). These response rates must be qualified, however, because of errors in the survey's sampling frames, which were church

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directories. These directories are notoriously inaccurate or incomplete, but for

Mannington and Jackson Churches they are the only list of congregants available. The

church directory for Mannington Church, which consists of 740 individuals, excludes

some attendees. The sampling frame from Jackson Church, on the other hand, includes

many more "visitors" and "ex-attendees." As illustrated by the number of visitors[23] and

ex-attendees, Jackson Church had a particularly high visitor rate and attrition rate. It was

found after administering this survey that the majority of the sampling frame (1,548

people) included those who had visited just once, and that individuals were continually

added to this directory, with no deletions. Thus, I also calculate response rates for

attendees based on the highest attendance during the fieldwork period. At Jackson

Church, the highest attendance was 823 people, and at Mannington Church, the highest

attendance was 618 people. In addition to individual response rates, I calculate the

household response rate because there were several households for whom more than one

person responded. Tables 1 and 2 display the various response rates for each church as

well as for each congregation.

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[23] "Visitor" as a category was self-described by respondents. This indicates that the respondents do not
consider the congregation their regular congregation or have not yet chosen it as their own.

Table 1: Total Respondents and Response Rates for Mannington Church (MC) and Jackson Church (JC)

Respondents	MC	JC	Total
Attendees	257	223	480
Visitors	16	63	79
Ex-attendees	33	66	99
Total	306	352	658
Response rates			
Individual response rate	41.4%	22.7%	28.8%
Individual response rate[a]	44.2%	34.8%	38.8%

[a]Calculated using attendance (excludes ex-attendees).

Either calculation yields response rates that are higher than are expected for Web surveys. Recent reviews of Web-survey design estimate average response rates at 20% or lower (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, and Levine 2004; Sheehan 2001).

Table 2: Attendee Response Rates for Mannington Church (MC) and Jackson Church (JC), Broken Down by Site

	MC		JC		
	City	Varsity	Stanton	Gatewood	Total
Respondents					
Attendees	59	199	58	164	480
Response Rates					
Individual response rate[a]	36.0%	37.8%	24.5%	27.4%	
Household response rate	47.6%	50.3%	39.5%	24.7%	

[a]Calculated using attendance. These response rates are underestimated (and lower than the rates in Table 1) because the "attendance" counts include visitors.

Since the sampling frames are inaccurate and incomplete lists of the congregational population, comparing respondents to nonrespondents would not provide accurate information on the representativeness of the survey respondents to the total membership in each church. Further, the variables for comparison would be limited to gender and zip codes. However, checking with congregational leaders assures me that the gender, racial, and socioeconomic breakdown is representative of the congregations as a

whole. These numbers also were confirmed by my own observation of congregational attendance.

Measures

Dependent Variable: Intrachurch Interracial Friendship

In the PS-ARE, after being asked how many individuals they felt close to, subjects were asked to name up to four of their closest friends,[24] not including household members. If subjects were affiliated with a congregation, they were asked to name two additional friends (excluding parents, siblings, and children) within their congregation. This limits the count of cross-race intrachurch friends to those included among the respondent's closest six friends. Respondents were then asked a series of questions about each friend, including the friend's race and whether that friend attends the subject's church. Those who were affiliated with more than one congregation were coded as missing, because there is no way to know from which congregation friends were named.

In my ECCS data, subjects were asked to name up to five close friends, with a series of questions about each friend, including the friend's race and other demographics. However, the question in the ECCS did not specifically ask about "close" friends as is worded in the PS-ARE, but rather about those people with whom important matters were discussed in the last 6 months, using the exact same question wording as that used in the

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[24] The questions were worded as follows: "Now think about the persons outside your home that you feel closest to. These may be friends, coworkers, neighbors, relatives, or anyone else who does not live here. 1) Not including people living in your home, about how many people, if any, would you say you feel close to? 2) I want to ask a series of questions about the people you feel closest to—up to four people. So I can ask about the right person, please give me the first name or initials of the person outside of your home you feel closest to."

General Social Survey (GSS) 2004.[25] The list of confidants was not limited to non–

household members or non–family members, but follow-up questions asked whether they

were family members.

It is possible that the "important matters" question from the ECCS/GSS may yield

different kinds of individuals than those that are named "close friends" in the PS-ARE.

Other studies have confirmed that the GSS "important matters" question yields those

individuals in one's close, strong-tie network (Marin 2004). (See McPherson, Smith-

Lovin, and Brashears 2006 for a good discussion of this survey item's validity.)

Limiting analysis to close friends is not merely a function of the available data.

Close friendships require a level of intimacy and commitment that may be harder to

achieve between cross-race individuals; these friendships tend to be more homogenous in

comparison to weaker friendships (Marsden 1987, 1988; McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and

Brashears 2006) Close interracial friendships also have greater potential for personal

impact. Within the context of congregational life, this may indicate a stronger level of

racial integration, given that close friendship ties are more difficult to break. Further,

limiting the number of close friends named increases the chance that the friends

nominated are indeed genuinely close friends. Respondents must choose from among all

their friends and narrow the definition of "close friends" to those in their innermost

circle.

The name-generator method of eliciting a count of different race friends used in

the PS-ARE and ECCS is the most conservative compared to two other popular methods,

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[25] The precise wording is as follows: "From time to time, most people discuss important matters with other people. Think about all the people in your life. Looking back over the last 6 months, who are the people with whom you discussed matters important to you?" I would have used the same wording as the PS-ARE to ensure reliability between measures, but I did not learn of the PS-ARE dataset until after ECCS data collection had been completed.

using a direct question or a three-step procedure. Surveys that use the direct question would ask a white respondent, for instance, "Do you have any black friends?" The three-step procedure involves a series of questions, beginning with, "Do you have any close friends?", then "How many close friends do you have?", and finally, "How many are white/black/etc.?" These two methods tend to elicit over-reporting of interracial friends than the name-generator method (Smith 2002), presumably due to the desire for favorable self-presentation.

There are several possibilities for coding interracial friendship. The most recent interracial-friendship research, which uses a nested, multilevel dataset of schools, has operationalized interracial friendship as the probability that a selected dyadic pair among all possible dyadic pairs in the organization will be a cross-race friendship (Moody 2001; Quillian and Campbell 2003; Zeng 2005). My data do not have information that would allow for such a calculation. Some additional possibilities were to code intrachurch interracial friendship as a proportion of different-race church friends among total church friends, or as a count of intrachurch interracial friendship (from 0 to 6). However, I chose to use a dummy-variable operationalization in which 1 = interracial friendship and 0 = no interracial friendship (c.f., Joyner and Kao 2000, 2005). Rather than explaining any increase in the number of cross-race friends, I am mainly interested in the difference between people who have interracial friends in their churches and those who do not, given the sparse number of those with interracial church friends.

In the PS-ARE, if the respondent indicated that a nominated friend is in the congregation and is a different race, then the respondent was coded as 1 = has interracial church friend; the respondent was coded as 0 if nominated friends were not of a different race. Among those who were not in completely racially homogenous churches ($n = 280$,

weighted *n* = 325.128), only 31 (weighted frequency is 25.886) had at least one

interracial friend in their church.

Any measure of interracial friendship is complicated by congregants who identify

as multiracial. In both datasets, there is an option for multiracial identification.

Respondents could check as many boxes (Hispanic, white, black, Asian, other) that

applied to themselves or their named friends and could also write in another identification

if desired. The complication arises, for instance, if a person identifies as black and white

and names a white friend. Should that relationship be classified as interracial or same

race? Depending on the operationalization, interracial friendship could be underestimated

or overestimated. For example, if it is characterized as a same-race friendship,

multiraciality as a quality that potentially functions as a bridge facilitating interracial

friendship is hidden, and interracial friendship thus would be underestimated. This

problem is mitigated in the PS-ARE because multiracial respondents were asked to

choose the racial group with which they most identify and were recoded accordingly.

Also, respondents were asked if their named friend was a different race or not, thus

placing the burden of decision on the respondent's perception of what qualifies as

"different race."

In the ECCS dataset, the few multiracial respondents were assessed individually

in order to determine whether to classify them in one racial category or as a multiracial

respondent. Among those who marked "African American" as one of their races, I

recoded them as black if the respondent had friends solely from that racial group and had

a spouse who was black. This same categorization applied to other racial groups as well.

For example, if a respondent identifies as Asian and white, but only has white friends, I

may categorize that person as white and those friendships as racially homophilous,

conservatively assuming that one is likely to choose same-race friends. If a multiracial respondent has highly heterogeneous friendship networks or has friends who are multiracial, I categorize the respondent as multiracial and those friendships as interracial.

Independent Variables

Race

In both datasets, race is collapsed into three dummy categories, "white," "black," and "other race," because of the small number of nonblack and nonwhite respondents. The nonblack and nonwhite respondents also tended to be more similar on various racial and religious variables as well as on interracial friendship. Whites are used as the referent category.

In the ECCS, respondents were able to choose as many racial categories as applicable. If more than one category was checked, multiracial respondents were individually assessed to determine whether to categorize them as one race or multiracial, as described above. If they were determined to be multiracial, they were labeled as "other race." Also, if a respondent wrote in their race as "multiracial" or "biracial", I counted them as "other race."

Salience of Racial Identity

The survey question I use to measure the salience of one's racial identity is "When you think about yourself, how important to you is being [respondent's selected race] to your sense of who you are?" The responses are coded from 0, *not at all*, to 3, *very*. Although no one survey item can comprehensively measure racial identity because of the fluid, contingent, situational, and temporal character of identity, this question attempts to captures an adequate summary measure of the importance one's race may

have to one's life and the meaning that race has to one's personhood at the time of the survey. This brings up the theoretical question of whether it is possible for an adult, along with situations or circumstances that may invoke race to be salient at certain times and places, to have an underlying sense of racial identity that remains relatively stable as to be quantitatively meaningful. Research suggests that instability in racial identity is less characteristic of adults, the population used in this study, than adolescents (Demo 1992).

Among adults, there may be variation across racial groups in the stability of racial identity. For nonwhites, racial identity has different consequences than for whites. For many whites and even for some mixed race persons, an ethnic identity is a matter of personal choice (Gans 1979; Waters 1990), but this identity does not have the negative consequences of constraining housing choices, marriage partners, job attainment, or leave one subject to discrimination or prejudice. For some, invoking an ethnic or even racial identity involves voluntarily choosing "symbolic" demonstrations of culture with positive connotations, such as celebrating ethnic holidays, wearing traditional dress, or eating ethnic food. Racial or ethnic identity is something they can express, but are not ascripted. For other ethnic minorities, and particularly for African Americans, race or ethnicity affect their lives regardless of whether they desire to choose to identify themselves racially or ethnically. This raises the more general critique that asking about the importance of one's racial identity does not provide information about the *content* of that identity. It does not measure why and how the identity is important, that is, whether the racial identity is important because of its negative or positive impact, whether it is politically, socially, or culturally important, important symbolically or because it affects life choices, and whether it is connected to class structure. This measure does not indicate whether the racial identity is important because of the degree to which it is ascripted,

intrinsically meaningful, or enacted to others. Further, the importance of identity is subject to differences between racial groups because of the meaning of racial categories in the United States. Being black is a qualitatively different experience from being Asian. The meaning of "Asian" as a racial category is still in construction (c.f., Espiritu 1992). Thus it is probably a better comparative measure of the importance of racial identity within racial groups; it cannot be considered a standardized, comparative measure across racial groups. Yet it does provide important information. Controlling for race, it provides a subjective indicator of how important race is to the respondent based on his or her own parameters of what "importance" means as well as what "race" connotes, which may still be significant predictor of interracial friendship.

Because the content of the identity is not known, however, identity salience may not show hypothesized effects. However, such a null finding would provide invaluable information regarding the complexity of identity salience and its relationship to interracial friendship. For example, a highly salient white racial identity may predict opposite behaviors, both facilitating and inhibiting interracial friendship. A highly salient racial identity may predict same-race friendship due to a sense of racial superiority. Or, it may predict greater interracial friendship if it is indicative of sensitivity to white privilege relative to other groups, and more liberal attitudes in regards to race, and thus greater interest in interracial friendship.

Several additional questions in the PS-ARE do assess other dimensions of racial identity. The survey question "Do you think other Americans would say you are [respondent's selected race] or something else?" assesses the degree to which one's racial identity is ascripted. Racial identity not only comes from within a person; it is also imposed from others' perceptions of one's race. Another question assesses the degree of

discrimination experienced by the respondent: "Can you think of an occasion in the past 3 years when you felt you were treated unfairly because of your race?" This question assesses not only hurtful consequences as a result of one's race but also one's sensitivity to understanding how one's race may have impacted a particular interaction or situation. Although some may consider this a predictor of racial identity, a strong racial identity also may mean greater awareness of discriminatory situations. Another question—"How closely connected do you feel to your racial group?"—asks about one's connection to other members of one's racial group, which could be psychological and/or expressed in real ties to members of that group. Finally, another survey item asks, "How often, if at all, do you think about or are you aware of what race you are?" Although this asks about conscious awareness of one's race, this question can assess ascripted identity as well. When others invoke your racial identity, it can cause you to think about or be aware of what race you are.

I tested all five racial identity survey items in initial tests of racial identity. All correlation coefficients between racial identity items were less than 0.35. I did not test "How closely connected do you feel to your racial group?" because it mapped too closely to the racial composition of one's social network. In this case, feeling connected to one's own racial group was highly dependent on having many friends of one's own racial group. Of the remaining four survey items, only awareness of one's race and importance of race were significant predictors of interracial friendship, at $p < .05$, but importance of race was a much stronger predictor. I also compared the two variables in separate regression analyses. Including only "importance of race" yielded a higher F-statistic than including only "awareness of race." In the interest of the most parsimonious model possible given the small number of interracial friendships (31), I ultimately choose to use

"importance of race" because its wording best encapsulates the meaningfulness of race to the respondent most generally. Ultimately, these other survey items would contribute to whether a person would feel his or her racial identity is important. Therefore, I use only the summary measure of the importance of racial identity.

In the ECCS, the importance of one's race is measured through a survey item asking respondents to rank three identities from a given list in order of importance (this survey item was taken from the GSS). It asks, "Which of the following is the most important in describing who you are?" and "Which of the following is the second most important in describing who you are?" etc., followed by a list of 10 identities: occupation, race/ethnicity, gender, age, religion, political party, nationality, family, social class, and region. Unlike the questions in the PS-ARE, this item measures the importance of racial identity *in relation to* other identities. For example, someone may feel his or her racial and religious identities are both very important, which would yield high scores on identity questions such as those posed in the PS-ARE, but among their very important identities, the respondent is asked to choose which ranks higher in importance. This variable was coded as a dummy variable, in which 1 = noted race as the most important identity and 0 = did not note race as the most important identity. However, since there were so few that marked "race/ethnicity" as the first, most important identity (1 out of 457), I coded a respondent as having a salient racial identity if he or she chose race for the first, second, or third most important identity, which increased the *yes* count to 63.

There were two additional measures of racial identity in the ECCS. The first asked, "How close do you feel to your race/ethnic group," with response options "not close," "not very close," "close," and "very close." Like the similarly worded question in the PS-ARE, this question reflected the racial composition of one's social network, so

this item was not used. The second survey item asked, "How much does race/ethnicity affect your life?" with a scale from 1 to 5, in which 1 was "It does not affect my life at all" and 5 was "Affects everything in my life." I did also test this variable in lieu of and in addition to salient racial identity, but it was not significant in its effect on interracial friendship. Because I am interested in the importance of race relative to other identities, I use the salient racial identity dummy variable as described above.

Salience of Religious Identity

Part of the difficulty in research on religion is adequately operationalizing religious identity. This identity tends to be measured in several ways, none of which stands alone as a comprehensive measure of religious identification. The first and most common measurement of "religious identity" among Protestants is denominational affiliation, which may also be qualified through variables that include measures of religious belief and behavior. For the purposes of this study, however, I am interested in a subjective measure of the importance of one's religion—the salience of religion, which reflects the magnitude of meaning it may have for the individual—rather than religious affiliation. Salience of religious identity may more accurately capture what McGuire (2008) calls *lived religion*, the degree to which individuals integrate religious belief and practice in their everyday life. "Religious" belief and behavior is an individualized construct for many people—that is, how religion is expressed is different from what people say about their religiousness (Pargament et al. 1995). Indeed, religious identification is increasingly becoming an achieved rather than an ascribed status (Roof and McKinney 1987), particularly for conservative Protestants, who emphasize a faith based on a personal relationship with God (Woodberry and Smith 1998). Conservative

Protestants comprise the majority of respondents in the PS-ARE, and the churches surveyed in the ECCS are also conservative Protestant. Further, denominational affiliation is losing its explanatory power in social research because so many adherents switch affiliations, reflecting a de facto congregationalism that currently characterizes the religious landscape; there is more intra-denominational diversity than inter-denominational diversity (Roof and McKinney 1987). (I discuss later in this chapter controlling for *religious tradition*, which is becoming more popular as a measure that captures historical and theological religious traditions.)

The PS-ARE includes a single measure of the importance of one's religion. The salience of one's religious identity is measured using the following survey question from the PS-ARE: "How important is religion/God/spirituality to you?"[26] from 0 *not at all* to 4 *most important.* In the ECCS, *salient religious identity* is measured as the relative importance of religion compared to other social identities[27] using the same survey items as *salient racial identity*. In this case, those who marked "religion" as the "first most important in describing who you are" were coded 1, and those who did not were coded 0 in the same dummy-variable format. There were 193 out of 457 who noted religion as most important in describing who they are. Unlike *salient racial identity*, I did not include those who marked religion as their second or third most important identity as 1,

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[26] The PS-ARE also includes questions that assess religion's degree of influence on major life decisions, such as choice of career, marriage partner, etc. The general question seemed adequate as a summary measure, since the more specific life-topic-oriented questions were highly correlated with the more general question.

[27] The ECCS also includes other subjective assessments of one's religiosity: "Would you call yourself a strong Christian or not very strong Christian?" and "How important is to you that people know you are Christian?" The salient religious identity question is a closer match to the construct I am interested in, as well as being the religious counterpart to the salient racial identity question. However, I regressed both of these measures on interracial friendship, and neither was statistically significant in its effect.

"has salient religious identity," because that tabulation would have included the majority of respondents (333 respondents).

The religiosity measures I use here are those behaviors that one can engage in by oneself, as opposed to those behaviors, such as attendance at worship services, that can be done only with others. Religiosity is typically measured through both public behavior, such as church attendance, and private behavior, such as personal prayer conducted on one's own. These behaviors also can indicate religious commitment because they are not necessarily seen by others and are performed outside a communal context. In this study, I consider public religious behavior as a measure of exposure to congregational members or participation in the congregation, explained as control variables below. On the other hand, reading the Bible and praying can occur outside the congregational context. *Frequency of Bible reading* is measured on a scale from 0 to 9, with 0 being *never* and 9 being *more than once a day*. *Frequency of prayer* includes only nonmeal prayer and is also measured on a scale from 0 to 8, from *never* to *more than three times a day*.

As a measure of religious behavior, the ECCS asks, "How much time do you spend in private devotion such as prayer, meditation, or reading the Bible alone?" as a cumulative measure of private religious activity.[28] The six response options ranged from "never" to "more than 4 hours per week," but respondents also could fill in their own response.

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[28] I used one cumulative measure based on conversations with congregants and observation of various congregation-sponsored activities. Many people found it difficult to separate Bible reading and prayer, which for many were reflexive and complementary behaviors within a private devotional time period.

Racial Heterogeneity of Congregation[29]

    There are two widely used measures of diversity for categorical variables such as race. As outlined by Teachman (1980), these measures have the "desirable properties" of a measure of qualitative variation: 1) they equal 0 when there is no variation, 2) they reach their theoretical maximum when the population is equally distributed among categories, and 3) when members are evenly distributed across categories, the population with a greater number of categories should have a higher diversity score.

    The first of these measures, often attributed to Simpson (1949) but first developed by Gini (1912), is the generalized heterogeneity measure, also known as the diversity index or interaction index (White 1986), Herfindahl–Hirschman index, or Blau index (Tsui and Gutek 1999):

$$1 - \sum_n (p^i)^2$$

where p^i is the proportion of observations that fall in a given category, or $\frac{n_k}{N}$, N being the total population size, and n_k being the number of people in group k. When measuring racial heterogeneity, k represents the number of racial groups. This index measures the probability that two randomly selected members will be from different categories, in this case, racial groups.[30] A zero value means that all members are from one racial group, that

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[29] Because there are so few congregations in the ECCS, this measure is included only in analyses using the PS-ARE.

[30] The index of dissimilarity (Duncan and Duncan 1955) is another measure of the distribution of racial groups. It measures what percentage of one of two groups would have to move in order to produce an even distribution of the two groups of interest across an area. The index of dissimilarity can show the concentration of groups in certain areas, a quality that is not captured by the singular statistic produced by the generalized heterogeneity measure. Because it is a measure more appropriate for assessing geographic or population distribution (for example, census tracts in a metropolitan area or a population of churches), I do not use it here. Rather, a church congregation is considered a singular community of interest.

is, total homogeneity. Values approaching 1 indicate increasing heterogeneity. Thus this measure of heterogeneity is able to reflect the number of racial categories, because the most diverse population is defined as one that is evenly distributed over k categories. For example, if there are five categories (k), then 0.8 is the maximum level of heterogeneity where there is an equal number of members in each category (each category holds 20% of the population). If there are six categories (k), then the maximum level of heterogeneity is 0.83.

As opposed to the generalized heterogeneity measure, which depends on the number of racial categories, the Index of Qualitative Variation (Agresti and Agresti 1978; Mueller, Schuessler, and Costner 1970), or IQV, has the benefit of controlling for the number of categories (k). It normalizes the general heterogeneity measure by dividing it by $(k - 1)/k$, its theoretical maximum:

$$\frac{k}{k-1} \left[1 - \sum_{n} (p^i)^2\right]$$

The IQV is thus a standardized measure of heterogeneity. A value of 1 indicates maximum heterogeneity, and a value of 0 indicates maximum homogeneity.

Another measure used to assess diversity for categorical variables is the entropy index. Derived from information theory, it was first developed by Shannon (1948). As such, it is also known as the Shannon index or information index. The entropy index measures the evenness of representation for groups in a population. Like the IQV, it is normed by dividing by the theoretical maximum, log k. Values range from 0, indicating maximum homogeneity, to 1.0, indicating equal proportions of two or more groups represented. It is calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\sum_{k=1}^{k} p_k \, logp_k}{\log k}$$

The two measures yield very similar results; values are similar between the
normed versions of both. Also, each measure is more sensitive to changes from complete
unevenness than from complete evenness (i.e., they are more sensitive to changes at the
lower end of heterogeneity). The difference in use seems to be most related to differences
in academic field: organizational demographers tend to prefer the IQV (Tsui 1999, p. 32).
However, there are several computational differences between the IQV and the entropy
(normed) measure. I found through my own examination of the data that the entropy
measure has a smaller range than the IQV and is more sensitive to the number of
categories represented, whereas the IQV tends to be slightly more sensitive to the number
of people represented in different categories. Table 3 demonstrates a fictional example of
this difference. In the example, according to the IQV measurement, Church B's diversity
score is nearly the same as Church A's, whereas according to the entropy index, Church
B is less diverse than Church A.

Table 3: Comparison of IQV and Entropy Measures

	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other	IQV	Entropy
Church A	0.87	0.01	0.09	0.03	0	0.2903	0.3039
Church B	0.87	0	0	0.13	0	0.3039	0.2401

I use the IQV for several reasons. First of all, the IQV has an easy,
straightforward interpretation: it is the probability that two randomly selected members
will be different in the relevant category. Given that the dependent variable reflects a
dyadic friendship, this interpretation makes sense because this measure of diversity

reflects possible cross-race pairings. Further, because it is standardized from 0 to 1, it controls for the number of racial categories and provides a sense of relative diversity given k number of categories. Its minimum and maximum are theoretically easy to interpret: 0 indicates total homogeneity, and 1 indicates maximum diversity (that is, each of five categories holds 20% of the congregation). Finally, in initial tests of these two variables, the IQV yields smaller standard errors than the entropy measure.

Computing the proportions of each racial group was straightforward, since the number of categories (k) was determined by the data available; congregational data include information on the percentage of congregants who are white, black, Hispanic, and Asian. I added a fifth category, "other," because there were several respondents who did not racially match any of the four categories. When this occurred, I added the respondent to an "other" category and proportionally corrected the remaining categories. There were several cases in which the percentages given did not add up to 100%. In these cases, I proportionately reduced or multiplied each category so that it added up to 100%.

In addition to the potential measurement error described above, a weakness with the congregational racial composition data in the PS-ARE is that the data are collected from a leader of the congregation, which can lead to measurement error through the possible overreporting of racial diversity. However, reporting by congregational leaders has been found to be fairly accurate and is often used in other congregational surveys (Chaves et al. 1999). Further, because the data are cross-sectional, one cannot know whether the racial composition reported is stable or reflects congregations in a moment of transition. However, I can still assess whether the relationship between racial composition and interracial friendship exists, and in the future I will be able to look at changes over time with subsequent panels of the PS-ARE.

Racial Group Size

To measure racial group size, I use the percentage of the respondent's racial group within his or her congregation.

Reason for Church Choice

This variable is available only in the ECCS and is coded as a dummy variable. If a survey respondent explicitly mentions racial diversity as a reason for joining the church or the lack of racial diversity as a reason for leaving his or her previous church, then the response is coded as 1. If there is no explicit mention of racial diversity, the response is coded as 0.

Socioeconomic Homogeneity

I use two separate measures of homogeneity in order to measure diversity in both education and income. I use the IQV discussed earlier since both education and income are categorical variables. The two categories provided in the PS-ARE for the education composition of the congregation are percentage of congregants with 4-year college degrees or more and percentage who are college students. Those two percentages were subtracted from 100 in order to yield a third category, high school degree or less (those who are not in college). Those three categories were used to calculate the IQV for education. The two categories provided in the PS-ARE for the income composition of the congregation are the percentage who live in households with an annual income of $30,000 or less and the percentage who live in households with an annual income of $100,000 or more. Those two percentages were subtracted from 100 to form the third, middle category, those who live in households with incomes between $30,000 and $100,000. The IQV for income was then calculated using those three categories. There

are several weaknesses with these socioeconomic measures. A major weakness, particularly in the case of income, is the small number of categories used to group individuals. The $30,000 to $100,000 income range is quite large and contributes to the lack of variation in income IQV. In addition, there are greater potential errors in reporting, as income and education are arguably more difficult to observe. This potential for error is reflected in the higher degree of missing data for these survey items.

The categories used to calculate education and income heterogeneity in the ECCS are the same as those described below. Unlike the PS-ARE, I can more accurately calculate the socioeconomic heterogeneity of each congregation using the information that congregants themselves provided for their household income and educational level.

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status is measured through two separate variables: *education* and *household income. Education* was recoded as a series of dummy variables that represent the highest educational degree attained, "high school or GED," "two-year associate, religious, or vocational/technical degree," "bachelor's degree," and "graduate or professional degree." "Less than high school" is the referent category.

In the PS-ARE, *household income* is coded into 19 categories, ranging from "less than $5,000" to "$200,000 and more." Up to an income of $40,000, each category contains an income range of $5,000. For household incomes of $40,000 to $100,000, each category contains an income range of $10,000 (categories 9–14). From $100,000 to $200,000+, each category contains an income range of $25,000 (categories 15–19). The resulting *household income* variable ranges from 1 to 17, or from "less than $5,000" to "$150,000 and higher." Analyses that were run with household income as an ordinal

variable did not show any significant effect. Upon further examination of the income

categories, I grouped income categories into three groups based on their distribution and

similarity in friendship patterns and other related variables. The three groups were coded

as dummy variables for household income: less than $40,000, $40,000 to $69,999, and

$70,000 and above, with "less than $40,000" used as the referent category.

In the ECCS, *education* was recoded as an ordinal variable with the following

categories: completed high school or less, trade certificate or associate's degree,

bachelor's degree, and graduate degree. *Household income* was recoded as an ordinal

variable with the following categories: less than $25,000, $25,000 to $49,999, $50,000 to

$74,999, $75,000 to $99,999, and $100,000 and above. These categories were chosen

based on the distribution of respondents as well as examination of the relationship

between each category and interracial friendship.

Control Variables

There are a number of other individual, organizational, and environmental factors

that one would expect to influence interracial friendship in churches. The organizational

and environmental controls were not used in the analysis of the ECCS because of the lack

of variation and small number of congregations. Organizational characteristics that

distinguish the churches would be controlled for by dummy variables for church and

congregation in the ECCS.

Individual Controls

Gender and age are both standard demographic controls that may affect interracial

friendship because of varying relational patterns and opportunities. Women tend to attend

church at a higher rate than men, and young people, who are more likely to attend racially

heterogeneous congregations, are also more likely to have cross-race friends outside the congregational context: extrachurch or nonchurch interracial friendships (Emerson 2006). *Gender*[31] is coded as a dummy variable (1 = male, 0 = female). *Age* is measured as a continuous measure, from 18 years old to 80 or more years old. Those older than 80 years were coded as being 80+. Rather than using current marital status as a variable, I constructed dummy variables that reflect *marital experience* because of research that has shown that people who have been divorced are more likely to have cross-race friends and more likely to be in interracial congregations (Emerson 2006). If accounting only for current marital status, I would miss those who have been divorced (or had an annulment or separation) but currently are married, are a divorcee, or live with a romantic partner. *Marital experience* is coded using two dummy variables: *never married*, 1 = those who have never been married, and *divorce/separation*, 1 = those who have had a divorce, annulment, or separation. The referent category includes those who are married but have never experienced divorce, annulment, or separation. The same categorization was not used in the ECCS analysis because there were so few people who were divorced or separated. In the ECCS, marital status is coded as a dummy variable, where 1 = married and 0 = unmarried.

Extrachurch interracial friendship* is treated as a binary variable, as is *intrachurch interracial friendship*, where 1 = having one or more interracial friends outside one's congregation and 0 = no interracial friends outside one's congregation. Those who are affiliated with more than one congregation were counted as missing.

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[31] In the ECCS, the response rates for women are high because of two possible factors. One, women tend to be more religious than men and thus are more likely to attend church. In my observations, women did seem to predominate as members. The second factor may be response-rate differences between women and men. However, the response rates for women in the PS-ARE are similar to those observed in the ECCS.

The *total number of close friends* provides an indicator of a respondent's ease in forming close relationships and/or the expansiveness of his or her definition of "close." In the PS-ARE, before being asked to name up to six close friends for whom they answered a series of demographic and relational questions, respondents were first asked the total number of people to whom they feel close, without numerical restriction. Ordinal responses ranged from 0 to 9 friends, then in categories 10–14, 15–19, and 20 or more. In the ECCS, the total number of close friends was limited to five individuals and is a count of the number of confidants named.

In the PS-ARE, in order to measure *exposure*, the degree of contact with congregation members that would make friendship possible, I use a measure of participation in church activities, groups, and organizations in the last 3 years, which does not include frequency of attendance at worship services. Although there is also an indicator available in the PS-ARE that asks whether the respondent is involved in a small group,[32] I use the participation measure because it is more encompassing, including the smaller group activities of those respondents who may not have small groups or Bible studies in their congregations. This is measured in categories through an ordinal variable, ranging from 0, *never*, to 5, *once a week or more.* In the ECCS, "hours of participation" was an open-ended question for which respondents could fill in the number of hours spent participating in church activities, groups, and organizations (excluding church services). Responses were coded into an integer variable that ranged from zero to 11

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[32] Small groups (e.g., Bible studies, small-group fellowships, or support groups) provide spaces to foster intimacy and belonging (Wuthnow 1994a, 1994b). Although small groups have the potential to be havens for same-race groups, studies have found that they tend to facilitate cross-race interaction because of the opportunity to get to know others intimately (Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998; Dougherty 2003; Jenkins 2003).

hours per week. In addition, *small group* participation is a dummy variable, where

1 = involved in a small group and 0 = not involved in a small group.

Another measure of exposure is the number of years a person has been attending

his or her church and the frequency of attendance at worship services, both of which

would increase potential contact with other church members. In the PS-ARE, *years of*

attendance was measured using an ordinal variable of the year(s) the respondent was first

involved in the congregation. Categories began with "before 1950," "1950–1954,"

"1955–1959," and "1960–1964," then increased by 1-year increments from 1965 to 2006.

Frequency of attendance is an ordinal variable with eight possible responses increasing in

degree of frequency from "never" to "three or more times a week." In the ECCS, *years of*

attendance were also measured using an ordinal variable with the following categories:

less than 6 months, less than 1 year, 1–2 years, 3–5 years, 6–10 years, and 11–20 years.

Frequency of attendance is also a categorical ordinal variable, from "several times a year

or less" to "more than once a week."

Organizational Controls

On the organizational level, the size, age, and religious tradition of the

congregation can influence the degree of racial diversity as well as possibilities for

contact. The size of a congregation can influence interracial friendship because of the

availability of potential friends as well as opportunities for intimate association. Larger

churches also are more likely to be racially diverse. *Size of the congregation* is a

continuous measure using the number of adults who attended worship services in the last

7 days.[33] Religious tradition is another characteristic that has been shown to affect the racial composition of congregations because it is an indicator of denominational heritage, theology, and religious culture (Dougherty 2003; Emerson 2006), and denominations that have emphasized race relations in the past are more likely to be diverse (Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller 1984). *Religious tradition* groups denominations into several broad categories, using the coding strategy of Steensland et al. (2000).[34] Among Protestants, Steensland et al. (2000) classifies groups as evangelical or conservative Protestant, mainline Protestant, and black Protestant, which I coded as dummy variables. Mainline Protestant is the referent category. However, these *religious tradition* variables were ultimately excluded from the analysis because of the very small number of mainline Protestants and black Protestants in my sample and because of concerns of collinearity between the racial groups "black" and "black Protestant."[35] Further, when I conducted the full analysis including the religious tradition categories, they were not statistically significant. Thus, although religious tradition may influence the likelihood of a church being diverse, it does not appear to have an effect on the likelihood of interracial friendship within churches.

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[33] This was the measure recommended for use in a conversation with David Sikkink, one of the principal investigators of the survey.

[34] The strength of the classification scheme proposed by Steensland et al. (2000) lies in the substantive meaning of each of the categories that more accurately reflects similar historical, theological, and religious practice as well as reflecting the terminology used by practitioners. Further, it avoids the potential of conflating religious tradition with political or social views, unlike the religious conservative-liberal continuum, and it properly distinguishes between nondenominational and no-denominational congregational attendees who tend to exhibit different levels of religious commitment. Steensland and colleagues found that this classification scheme improved model fit for a number of different indicators and thus provided more accurate estimates of demographic coefficients (Steensland et al. 2000).

[35] The authors did not find potential collinearity of "black" and "black Protestant." They found that the effect of being black was distinct from membership in a "black Protestant" church and that both were often jointly significant and in the opposite direction (Steensland et al. 2000). In my analysis, however, I found that "black Protestant" erased the effect of being Black.

Steensland et al. (2000) also recommends the use of a theological conservatism-liberalism scale, which provides more fine-grained distinctions between churches. *Theological conservatism-liberalism* is measured using an ordinal scale with the following seven categories (0–6): very conservative, somewhat conservative, lean conservative, right in the middle, lean liberal, somewhat liberal, and very liberal. Because of the small number of "liberals," I collapsed the three liberal categories into one.

Environmental Controls

The external environment of the congregation and the community in which one resides may influence interracial friendship. Geographic and neighborhood characteristics not only are associated with the existence of a multiracial congregation, but also are important in providing opportunities for general association with racially different persons. Racially heterogeneous congregations tend to be found in urban, densely populated areas (Brewer 1965; Dougherty 2003; Dudley and Roozen 2001; Emerson 2006; Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller 1984), which also tend to be more diverse. *Urbanicity* is measured as an ordinal variable ranging from 1, counties of metro population with one million or more, to 9, completely rural or urban population of less than 2,500 not adjacent to a metro area.

Regional differences also may affect interracial friendship in churches. Residential segregation tends to be lowest in the West; thus, more multiracial churches are found there (Dougherty 2003; Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller 1984). *Region* is coded as a dummy variable for the following areas: Northeast, Midwest, South, and West, with Northeast as the referent category.

One would expect neighborhood racial composition to be an important influence as well. A diverse neighborhood does act as an incentive for cross-race relationships (Oliver and Wong 2003) and has been found to be a partial influence on interracial friendship in schools (Mouw and Entwisle 2006). *Neighborhood racial composition* was calculated using the IQV of the respondents' census tract using 2000 U.S. Census data.

Results: PS-ARE

Descriptives for the PS-ARE

Since it is only in churches with some degree of racial heterogeneity that interracial friendship would even be a possibility, the analysis is limited to such churches. This further restricts my sample from 332 to 280 respondents, or 325.128 weighted[36] respondents. Table 4 displays the means, standard deviations, and correlations among the variables in the analysis for Protestants who attend nonhomogenous churches.

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[36] "In order to compensate for known biases, such as nonresponse, which can vary for different subgroups of the population, the sample data are weighted. The demographic weighting parameters are derived from a special analysis of the most recently available Census Bureau's American Community Survey, 2006. This analysis produced population parameters for the demographic characteristics of adults age 18 or older, which were then compared with the sample characteristics to construct sample weights" (Emerson and Sikkink 2006).

Table 4: Weighted Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Variables (Protestant Heterogeneous Churchgoers only)

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5
1 Intrachurch interracial friendship	0.102	0.304					
2 Size of respondent's racial group (%)	82.587	25.024	–0.616				
3 Racial heterogeneity of church (IQV)	0.235	0.225	0.186	–0.610			
4 Racial heterogeneity of church (entropy)	0.233	0.193	0.193	–0.603	0.990		
5 Educational heterogeneity of church (IQV)	0.634	0.206	0.004	0.036	0.036	0.035	
6 Income heterogeneity of church (IQV)	0.663	0.228	0.145	–0.107	0.200	0.213	0.100
7 Importance of racial identity	1.565	1.152	–0.103	–0.081	0.005	0.013	0.081
8 Importance of religion	2.650	1.125	0.223	–0.130	0.120	0.124	0.125
9 Black/African American	0.070	0.256	0.128	–0.110	–0.025	–0.033	0.033
10 Other nonwhites	0.070	0.255	0.413	–0.589	0.213	0.219	–0.019
11 Whites	0.861	0.347	–0.397	0.511	–0.138	–0.136	–0.011
12 Household income: less than $40,000 per year	0.330	0.471	–0.069	0.039	–0.063	–0.076	0.025
13 Household income: $40,000–$69,999 per year	0.334	0.472	0.180	–0.110	–0.018	–0.026	0.188
14 Household income: $70,000 or more per year	0.336	0.473	–0.114	–0.028	0.080	0.100	–0.208
15 Participation in church groups and activities	1.843	1.509	0.145	–0.136	0.144	0.154	0.032
16 Number of close friends	8.135	3.550	–0.019	–0.013	0.004	0.010	0.189
17 Frequency of Bible reading	3.655	2.422	0.190	–0.158	0.172	0.179	0.152
18 Theological conservatism–liberalism of church	1.417	1.355	0.144	0.006	–0.046	–0.028	–0.184

	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
7	–0.037											
8	0.076	–0.037										
9	0.010	0.196	0.072									
10	0.018	0.234	0.016	–0.075								
11	–0.021	–0.316	–0.065	–0.681	–0.679							
12	–0.172	0.064	–0.043	0.068	0.017	–0.063						
13	0.111	–0.043	0.083	–0.023	0.012	0.008	–0.497					
14	0.061	–0.022	–0.040	–0.045	–0.029	0.055	–0.500	–0.504				
15	–0.003	–0.018	0.124	0.091	–0.010	–0.060	–0.151	0.081	0.069			
16	0.012	0.010	0.179	–0.059	0.012	0.034	–0.282	0.039	0.245	0.097		
17	0.053	0.000	0.609	0.148	0.026	–0.127	–0.055	0.147	–0.092	0.403	0.136	
18	–0.146	–0.065	–0.123	0.061	–0.068	0.009	–0.145	0.037	0.107	0.019	–0.022	–0.094

Note: $N = 280$, Weighted $N = 325.128$

Table 5 shows the means of racial identity, religious identity, and racial composition of one's congregation by race. An ANOVA shows that the means between racial groups are significantly different for the importance of race, racial IQV of the church, and the percentage of one's own racial group in one's church.

Table 5: Weighted Means, Standard Deviations, and ANOVA Test Statistics for Key Variables by Racial Group among Protestant Churchgoers in Racially Nonhomogenous Congregations

	Whites	Blacks	Other Race	ANOVA
Identity measures				
Importance of race (scale 0 to 4)				
Mean	1.42	2.59	2.54	$F = 47.48$
S.D.	1.121	0.839	0.770	$p < .000$
Importance of religion (scale 0 to 4)				
Mean	2.62	2.94	2.72	$F = 0.69$
S.D.	1.120	1.157	1.142	$p < .504$
n	192	50	38	
Weighted *n*	279.79	22.75	22.59	
Racial Composition				
Racial IQV of church				
Mean	0.223	0.214	0.416	$F = 15.81$
S.D.	0.215	0.218	0.279	$p < .000$
Percentage of one's own racial group in church				
Mean	87.49	72.19	26.21	$F = 60.77$
S.D.	16.732	35.733	33.461	$p < .000$
n	186	47	35	
Weighted *n*	271.29	20.21	20.34	

Source: Panel Study of American Race and Ethnicity, Emerson and Sikkink (2006).

Modeling Sample Selection for the PS-ARE

Because churches are voluntary organizations, the placement of individuals into congregational communities is not a random process. Individuals who choose racially heterogeneous churches (or conversely, racially homogenous churches) may be a biased sample of Protestant churchgoers. Interracial friendship can be observed only for those in heterogeneous environments; it cannot be observed among individuals in churches that are completely racially homogenous because there would be no opportunities to meet other-race individuals there. Interracial friendship also cannot be observed among those who have no friends in their congregations at all. This is referred to as a censored sample.

The type of censoring that occurs in analyzing the PS-ARE is referred to as sample selection (Heckman 1979), one of three types of censored-sample problems (Breen 1996). In this type of censoring, the dependent variable *Y* is truncated as a function of another variable. The dependent variable, intrachurch interracial friendship, is

observed only when $z = 1$, if z defines those who attend churches that are not racially homogenous. Those who attend racially homogenous churches do not have a value for Y.

The most problematic issue with this type of censoring is that the characteristics that select individuals into racially heterogeneous churches may be related to the dependent variable, interracial friendship, which would produce a specification error in the model when using ordinary least squares (Berk 1983). Least-squares estimation on a truncated sample will under- or overestimate the impact of X on Y; that is, it will bias the estimates of the coefficients.

Generalized versions of the Tobit model, known as sample-selection models, are often used to deal with problems[37] such as those encountered in this study (Maddala 1983). A particular version of the probit model developed by Tobin (1958), the Tobit model was designed explicitly for analysis with limited dependent variables. The Tobit model is appropriate for censored samples, where Y is observed based on some criterion defined in terms of Y itself.[38] But in sample-selection models, Y is observed only if some criterion defined by another variable is met, as it is in this study. Thus, using sample-selection models relaxes the constraint in Tobit models that the same set of variables determines both the probability of selection and the expected value of Y.

Sample-selection models with continuous dependent variables involve a two-step procedure, as in the Tobit model, but the estimation of the coefficients in the second stage is most commonly done using the Heckman estimator (Heckman 1979). The first stage

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[37] The models used to deal with sample selection are sometimes grouped under "Tobit models" developed by Tobin (1958) (Amemiya 1984; Berk 1983), but the two-stage modeling process used is actually a generalized version of the Tobit model (Maddala 1983).

[38] A commonly used example is that of income. If income is Y, for lowest wage earners, one may only know that their income is $10,000 per year or less. Y is truncated from below.

models the probability of selection. A probit analysis estimates the hazard rate[39] λ, also referred to as the inverse Mills' ratio. The hazard rate is the probability that an individual would be excluded from the sample, that is, the probability that one would not attend a racially heterogeneous church. Those excluded from the sample would include both those who attend racially homogenous churches as well as those who do not attend church at all. The hazard rate also captures the expected error terms following nonrandom selection. The second stage models the expected value of Y conditional on being included in the selected sample. It is a linear regression model that includes the estimate of λ generated in the first step. The estimator of β is referred to as the Heckman estimator (Heckman 1979), and this two-stage model is sometimes referred to as the Heckman model or Heckman two-step method. However, the standard errors of the coefficients and the estimate of σ will still be incorrect. Another option is to estimate the model using maximum likelihood, often preferred because it is considered to be more efficient than the two-stage model, that is, it has smaller standard errors (Breen 1996).

Because my study requires the use of binary dependent variables, I use an adaptation of the Heckman two-step method, a probit model with sample selection[40] (Van de Ven and Van Praag 1981). Using the Heckman two-step here would be akin to running an OLS regression on dichotomous variables. Rather than generating a value for λ,

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[39] The hazard rate is a ratio that "represents for each observation the instantaneous probability of being excluded from the sample conditional to being in the pool at risk" (Berk 1983).

[40] The probit model with sample selection is closely related to the bivariate probit model with partial observability. (A bivariate probit model is akin to running two probits linked by correlated errors, and under conditions of partial observability, a positive outcome is observed for only one of the dependent variables when the other is also positive.) However, the probit model with sample selection (or bivariate probit model with sample selection) explicitly considers that selection is nonrandom and that the independent variables for the selection and substantive equation differ (Baum 2006).

however, it generates a value for ρ, which is the correlation between error terms for the outcome and selection equation.

There is a situation in which the use of a sample-selection model can be determined to be unnecessary because estimates of β will be unbiased.[41] If the correlation between error terms is 0 ($\rho = 0$), then selection and outcome equations are independent. If $\rho = 0$, then the outcome equation can be estimated with a probit or logistic regression model, without sample selection.

Heckman's estimator in particular is often criticized for being sensitive to model specification (Winship and Mare 1992) and must be used with caution (Breen 1996). For example, one widely cited study found that Heckman's model was no better than OLS in the bias and accuracy of parameter estimates (Stolzenberg and Relles 1990). This study, however, involved a case of severe censoring, in which the outcome equation in their simulations was estimated using only 50 cases out of their sample of 500 because of 90% nonselection. With a larger sample or less severe censoring, there would be greater difference between the estimates of OLS and the Heckman estimation (Breen 1996).

Sample-selection models also are sensitive to distributional assumptions because the estimators are neither consistent nor efficient under heteroscedasticity and nonnormality (Amemiya 1984). This can be solved by using the Huber-White[42] standard errors option in Stata (the robust option in Stata computes the Huber-White robust estimates of the standard errors). Following the recommendations of the Stata survey data manual, I account for complex sample design, which uses robust standard errors and

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[41] When using the Heckman two-step model, if the correlation between λ and any independent variable is 0, then the estimate for that coefficient will be unbiased. Also, when R squared is around 0, the outcome equation can be estimated using OLS (Breen 1996).

[42] It is also referred to as the "sandwich" estimate.

controls for clustered sampling within primary sampling units in the sample design (*Stata Survey Data Reference Manual* 2007).

There is the possibility that modeling interracial friendship involves endogenous selection, in which intrachurch interracial friendship itself induces selection. That is, having a preexisting cross-race friend within the church causes an individual to then join that church. There are sample-selection models that can account for endogenous selection and outcome (Breen 1996; Maddala 1983). According to Yancey and Emerson (2003), multiracial membership grows from the interracial social network of congregation members only in a small percentage of congregations; it is more typical that congregations are the context for developing such networks.

In the PS-ARE dataset, in addition to information on whether each named friend attends the respondent's church, there is information on whether the friend is also a family member and/or a coworker. Although this list of other categories of relational ties does not exhaust all possible friendship loci, it does provide information on the degree of "niche" overlap between church friends and other types of friends, and therefore indicates the possibility that interracial church friends may be preexisting relationships from other contexts. Among the 280 Protestant churchgoers in the sample (excluding those who attend racially homogenous churches), only four respondents have interracial church friends who are also coworkers, but three of those four respondents also have interracial friends that are exclusively church friends. Only two respondents named interracial church friends who are also family members, but both of those respondents also had interracial church friends that were not family or coworkers. Moreover, out of 31 respondents who have interracial church friends, only one has interracial church friends that are also known through family or work contexts. In my own dataset (ECCS), of 260

76

who have friends in church, 82 have church friends who are also known from other

contexts. Only 26 of the 136 (19.1%) respondents with interracial church friends have

interracial church friends who are also known in other contexts. So among those who

have interracial friends in church, 72.06% are known exclusively through church; and

among those who have only same race friends in church, 64.75% are known exclusively

through church. When church friends are also known through other contexts, which may

be relationships existing prior to joining the church, it is more likely for those friends to

be same race than different race. Given the low percentage of interracial church friends

known in other contexts in both datasets, it is reasonable to assume that endogenous

selection is not a significant issue.

Selection Model[43]

Because individuals in racially homogenous churches would not have any

opportunities for cross-race friends within those churches, they are excluded (or

censored) from the analysis. It is important to model this selection factor because, as

noted earlier, the factors that contribute to being in a racially heterogeneous church also

may influence the likelihood of having different-race friends within one's church. If ρ,

the correlation between the error terms of the selection and outcome equation, is not

significant (that is, the null hypothesis that $\rho = 0$ cannot be rejected), then the two

equations are independent. When I account for selection into racially heterogeneous

churches, ρ was not consistently significant (see Appendix C). Although one would

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[43] Because the population to which I am referring is Protestant churchgoers rather than the general population that identifies as Protestant, selection into being a churchgoer was not a significant concern. However, I did test whether selection into being a Protestant who is a churchgoer would affect my outcome variable by regressing λ (the inverse hazard ratio, or inverse Mills' ratio) generated from my selection equation into a logistic regression model, in addition to running a probit sample-selection analysis, and found that neither λ nor ρ was statistically significant.

assume based on previous research that selection into a racially heterogeneous church would be a significant factor, one must keep in mind that even a church with one racially different member provides an opportunity for interracial friendship. Therefore, it is not surprising that the equations are not correlated, because modeling selection that distinguishes between churchgoers with congregations that are 100% racially homogeneous versus 99% racially homogenous is not very meaningful.[44]

The selection model as shown in Appendix C does provide information on what predicts choosing a racially nonhomogenous church. The diversity of one's neighborhood has the most significant effect on whether someone chooses a church that is racially homogenous. Also, being black has a negative effect on choosing a racially nonhomogenous church. In other words, among Protestant churchgoers, blacks are more likely to choose all black churches, controlling for the racial diversity of their neighborhood. In addition, to ascertain whether religiosity affects the choice of church, I added religiosity variables *reading the Bible* and *praying at nonmeal times* as well as the importance of one's religion. None of these variables had an effect on whether one chooses a racially homogenous church.

Although selection into a racially nonhomogenous church did not statistically bias the coefficients for the variables that predict having interracial friends in one's church, another selection criterion must be tested. Having any church friends at all is necessary if one or more of them are to be different-race friends. Upon examining the data, I found that only individuals who named two or more close friends in church had a different-race

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[44] I did not use the multiracial church cutoff point (80% or less of one racial group) because it would exclude cases of interracial friendship in congregations with greater homogeneity.

friend. Therefore, I model the factors that contribute to the likelihood of having two or more friends within one's church in the selection equation.[45]

Because opportunities to meet and get to know others within a congregation are critical to developing close relational ties, I include the frequency of *participation* in church activities, groups, and organizations. Other measures of exposure to congregational members that I initially included were *years of attendance, frequency of attendance,* and *size of church.* These three variables were ultimately excluded from the model because their coefficients were not statistically significant and because their presence did not affect the other coefficients in the model. (In addition, there was no apparent relationship between years or frequency of attendance and intrachurch interracial friendship.) I also control for the relative size of one's friendship network, or the ease one may have in friend-making, by including the respondents' total *number of close friends*. Religiosity also may influence making close friends in church. The more religious you are, the more motivated you may be to make friends with people who share your belief systems and values. Further, religious behavior may facilitate close friendships within the church because of the added similarity between individuals. Although I initially included frequency of prayer, frequency of Bible reading, and the importance of religion in the model, frequency of reading the Bible was the only variable that was significant in its effect on having two or more church friends. The other religiosity variables were thus excluded from the model. I included the respondent's racial group size and racial heterogeneity of the church in the selection model in case the

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[45] I also tested a sample-selection model that modeled having two or more church friends (outcome equation) conditional upon selection into racially nonhomogenous churches. Rho (ρ) was not significant; therefore, the two equations are independent. See Appendix D.

size of one's racial group would inhibit or facilitate having more church friends, but these variables also had no effect.

I also control for the theological conservatism or liberalism of the church environment. It may influence close friendships because of the relative importance a congregation may put on developing relationships within the church body, on religious practice, and even on the value of church involvement itself. Theological conservatism also indicates a more literal interpretation of the Bible, which explicitly commands fellowship, unity, and accountability within the church body (e.g., Hebrews 10:24–25). In addition, I control for race (*black, other nonwhite*) and the size of one's close-friends network (*total number of close friends*), since nonwhites tend to have smaller networks than whites (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Brashears 2006).

Tables 6–8 show the models for the tests of all relevant hypotheses using the PS-ARE data. In addition to accounting for complex survey sampling, standard errors are estimated using a subpopulation defined by individuals who attend Protestant churches that are not racially homogenous. When using the subpopulation option for survey data in Stata, only the cases defined by the subpopulation are used in calculating estimates, but all cases in the survey population are used to calculate standard errors ("Stata FAQ" N.d.).

Table 6: Identity Models' Unstandardized Coefficients Showing the Effects of Church Racial Composition and Identity on Interracial Friendship among Protestant Churchgoers of Racially Nonhomogenous Churches

	Probit models with Sample Selection					
	Identity Model 1a		Identity Model 1b		Identity Model 1c	
Independent Variables						
Constant	-1.205^{***}	(0.333)	-2.214^{***}	(0.511)	-2.203^{***}	(0.505)
Racial Composition						
Size of R's racial group (percent)						
Racial heterogeneity of church (IQV)						
SES Composition						
Heterogeneity-Education (IQV)						
Heterogeneity-Income (IQV)						
25% or more of cong have incomes 100k+						
Identity salience						
Importance of race	-0.630^{***}	(0.150)	-0.664^{***}	(0.152)	-0.753^{***}	(0.173)
Black/Afr. Am.* Importance of race					0.350^{--}	(0.341)
Importance of religion			0.263^{*}	(0.146)	0.288^{**}	(0.132)
Race+						
Black/African American	2.066^{***}	(0.454)	2.160^{***}	(0.523)	1.591^{**}	(0.765)
Other Nonwhites	3.388^{***}	(0.486)	3.544^{***}	(0.502)	3.732^{***}	(0.563)
Income++						
$40,000 to $69,999	0.796^{**}	(0.304)	0.971^{***}	(0.295)	0.918^{***}	(0.278)
$70,000+	0.266^{--}	(0.350)	0.386^{--}	(0.381)	0.302^{--}	(0.362)
Selection Variables (weighted censored obs.= 32.019)						
Constant	-0.696^{--}	(0.450)	-0.650^{--}	(0.454)	-0.692^{--}	(0.455)
Participation	0.358^{**}	(0.153)	0.357^{**}	(0.156)	0.361^{**}	(0.158)
Number of close friends	0.078^{**}	(0.037)	0.074^{*}	(0.039)	0.075^{*}	(0.039)
Read Bible	0.156^{***}	(0.051)	0.157^{***}	(0.051)	0.156^{***}	(0.051)
Theologically conservative church	0.183^{*}	(0.096)	0.178^{*}	(0.103)	0.177^{*}	(0.103)
Race+						
Black/African American	-0.512^{--}	(0.415)	-0.566^{--}	(0.429)	-0.592^{--}	(0.406)
Other Nonwhites	-0.612^{--}	(0.375)	-0.629^{*}	(0.371)	-0.633^{*}	(0.371)
Rho (ρ)	-0.813^{**}	(0.151)	-0.590^{**}	(0.209)	-0.599^{**}	(0.188)
F-statistic	9.84^{***}		9.16^{***}		7.90^{***}	
d.f. (60 primary sampling units)	(5,55)		(6,54)		(7,53)	
Weighted subpopulation size	232.596		232.596		232.596	

Source: Panel Study of American Race and Ethnicity, Emerson and Sikkink (2006). Selection models predict having at least 2 church friends: (0=1 or less church friends, 1= 2 or more church friends). Note: All estimates account for complex survey data as recommended by Stata. All standard errors are estimated using the entire weighted survey population, using a subpopulation defined by individuals who attend Protestant churches that are not racially homogenous (heterogeneity>0). Standard errors are presented in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, *$p < .10$. +Referent category is whites, ++Referent category is incomes lower than $40,000.

Table 7: Racial and SES Comparison Models' Unstandardized Coefficients Showing the Effects of Church Racial Composition and Identity on Interracial Friendship among Protestant Churchgoers of Racially Nonhomogenous Churches

	Probit models with Sample Selection					
	Racial Comp Model 2		Racial and SES Comp Model 3a		Racial and SES Comp Model 3b	
Independent Variables						
Constant	1.164¨	(0.721)	0.827¨	(1.377)	1.415**	(0.669)
Racial Composition						
Size of R's racial group (percent)	–0.028***	(0.008)	–0.037***	(0.011)	–0.039***	(0.008)
Racial heterogeneity of church (IQV)	–0.960¨	(1.164)	–1.630**	(0.666)	–1.511¨	(0.984)
SES Composition						
Heterogeneity-Education (IQV)			–1.623*	(0.855)		
Heterogeneity-Income (IQV)			2.207¨	(2.022)		
25% or more of cong have incomes 100k+					–1.003**	(0.492)
Identity salience						
Importance of race						
Black/Afr. Am.* Importance of race						
Importance of religion						
Race+						
Black/African American	0.530**	(0.318)	0.750*	(0.410)	0.994**	(0.430)
Other Nonwhites	1.333***	(0.445)	1.595***	(0.575)	1.831***	(0.446)
Income++						
$40,000 to $69,999	0.551***	(0.243)	1.483**	(0.689)	1.497***	(0.447)
$70,000+	–0.067¨	(0.304)	0.291¨	(0.490)	0.476¨	(0.498)
Selection Variables (weighted censored obs.= 32.019)						
Constant	–0.615¨	(0.432)	–0.813*	(0.475)	–0.747*	(0.433)
Participation	0.390**	(0.127)	0.332*	(0.168)	0.311**	(0.151)
Number of close friends	0.060*	(0.033)	0.062¨	(0.040)	0.060*	(0.036)
Read Bible	0.153***	(0.046)	0.180***	(0.052)	0.192***	(0.432)
Theologically conservative church	0.208*	(0.075)	0.215**	(0.085)	0.213***	(0.080)
Race+						
Black/African American	–0.797*	(0.368)	–0.722*	(0.394)	–0.780*	(0.391)
Other Nonwhites	–0.514*	(0.351)	–0.463¨	(0.530)	–0.048¨	(0.452)
Rho (ρ)	–1.00***	(0.000)	–0.983¨	(0.094)	–0.989**	(0.028)
F-statistic	14.58***		5.91***		7.52***	
d.f. (60 primary sampling units)	(6,54)		(8,52)		(7,53)	
Weighted subpopulation size	229.658		187.353		202.682	

Source: Panel Study of American Race and Ethnicity, Emerson and Sikkink (2006). Selection models predict having at least 2 church friends: (0=1 or less church friends, 1= 2 or more church friends). Note: All estimates account for complex survey data as recommended by Stata. All standard errors are estimated using the entire weighted survey population, using a subpopulation defined by individuals who attend Protestant churches that are not racially homogenous (heterogeneity>0). Standard errors are presented in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, *$p < .10$. +Referent category is whites, ++Referent category is incomes lower than $40,000.

Table 8: Racial and Identity Comparison Models' Unstandardized Coefficients Showing the Effects of Church Racial Composition and Identity on Interracial Friendship among Protestant Churchgoers of Racially Nonhomogenous Churches

	Probit models with Sample Selection					
	Racial Comp and Identity Model 4a		Racial Comp and Identity Model 4b		Racial Comp and Identity Model 4c	
Independent Variables						
Constant	1.960**	(0.652)	1.384¨	(0.886)	0.344¨	(0.708)
Racial Composition						
Size of R's racial group (percent)	–0.033***	(0.009)	–0.037***	(0.010)	–0.034***	(0.008)
Racial heterogeneity of church (IQV)	–1.736**	(0.843)	–2.102**	(0.935)	–1.269¨	(0.782)
SES Composition						
Heterogeneity-Education (IQV)						
Heterogeneity-Income (IQV)						
25% or more of cong have incomes 100k+						
Identity salience						
Importance of race	–0.616***	(0.137)	–0.626***	(0.150)		
Black/Afr. Am.* Importance of race						
Importance of religion			0.288***	(0.097)	0.363***	(0.132)
Race+						
Black/African American	1.265**	(0.476)	1.292**	(0.539)	0.602*	(0.361)
Other Nonwhites	2.192***	(0.420)	2.174***	(0.442)	1.174***	(0.404)
Income++						
$40,000 to $69,999	0.810**	(0.307)	0.982***	(0.314)	0.746***	(0.211)
$70,000+	0.122¨	(0.452)	0.255¨	(0.474)	–0.009¨	(0.402)
Selection Variables (weighted censored obs.= 32.019)						
Constant	–0.746¨	(0.461)	–0.702¨	(0.462)	–0.647¨	(0.457)
Participation	0.397**	(0.185)	0.387**	(0.177)	0.388**	(0.178)
Number of close friends	0.071*	(0.038)	0.070*	(0.038)	0.063*	(0.037)
Read Bible	0.170***	(0.043)	0.166***	(0.047)	0.157***	(0.045)
Theologically conservative church	0.190*	(0.097)	0.190*	(0.101)	0.205**	(0.093)
Race+						
Black/African American	–0.703*	(0.384)	–0.677*	(0.379)	–0.719*	(0.378)
Other Nonwhites	–0.668*	(0.370)	–0.651*	(0.372)	–0.597¨	(0.389)
Rho (ρ)	–0.861***	(0.116)	–0.748***	(0.156)	–0.857**	(0.152)
F-statistic	8.02***		11.25***		12.62***	
d.f. (60 primary sampling units)	(7,53)		(8,52)		(7,53)	
Weighted subpopulation size	229.658		229.658		229.658	

Source: Panel Study of American Race and Ethnicity, Emerson and Sikkink (2006). Selection models predict having at least 2 church friends: (0=1 or less church friends, 1= 2 or more church friends). Note: All estimates account for complex survey data as recommended by Stata. All standard errors are estimated using the entire weighted survey population, using a subpopulation defined by individuals who attend Protestant churches that are not racially homogenous (heterogeneity>0). Standard errors are presented in parentheses. *** $p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, *$p < .10$. +Referent category is whites, ++Referent category is incomes lower than $40,000.

When accounting for the likelihood of having two or more church friends, ρ is significant at *p* < .05, indicating that the factors that contribute to having church friends also affect the likelihood of having a different-race friend. The total number of close friends, being nonwhite, and theological conservatism or liberalism of one's church have a significant effect on having church friends, but only at the *p* < .10 level. Only in the combined racial- and socioeconomic-composition model (Model 3) are some of the coefficients no longer significant. However, frequency of participation in church groups and activities and reading the Bible are consistently and statistically significant at *p* < .05.

By modeling having two or more church friends as the selection criteria, however, it was possible that information that may distinguish those with no close church friends from those with close church friends would ultimately affect my outcome equation. In order to ascertain whether race makes a difference in having a friend in church at all, I also tried a selection model that predicts having one or more close church friends versus zero friends. However, using this selection criterion did not substantively change the outcome model, although the factors that affect having at least one friend were slightly different from those affecting having at least two friends. Namely, race was not significant in predicting having at least one close church friend versus having no church friends (see Appendix E).

Substantive Model

Because of the need for parsimony, given that only 31 respondents in my sample had intrachurch interracial friendships, I excluded any control variables that lacked statistical significance in their effect on interracial friendship if their inclusion had no substantive effect on the other coefficients in the models. After testing each of these

control variables individually in the models as well as in conjunction with other variables, I excluded the following: *gender, age, marital experience*, and *extrachurch interracial friendship*; *size, age*, and *religious tradition* of the respondent's congregation; and *urbanicity, region,* and *neighborhood racial composition*. Surprisingly, having different-race friends outside of the church context had no relationship to having interracial friends within the church context.

Model 1b of Table 6 shows the coefficients for tests of Hypotheses 1 and 3. Both the importance of race and the importance of religion are significant and in the hypothesized direction. Interracial friendship within one's church is less likely the more important an individual feels his or her race is, and the more important one's religious identity, the more likely he or she is to have a cross-race friend in church. Further, previous studies suggested that there is a relationship between one's religious identity and one's racial identity; that is, having one's religious identity as salient may make one's racial identity less important. The data do not show this to be true. The importance of religion and the importance of race have a correlation of virtually zero (-0.0367, $p = .5405$). Further, the addition of religious identity in Model 1b has virtually no effect on the size or strength of the coefficient for racial identity. When I correlate the importance of race and religion for whites, blacks, and other nonwhites, the correlation coefficient is significant ($p < .01$) and negative (-0.4381) only for blacks.

Identities not only affect interaction with others, but they are affected by this interaction as well. Ideally we would test the effect of networks on identity and vice versa using longitudinal data in order to better isolate the effect of identity on networks. Given the cross-sectional nature of my dataset, I examined whether racial identity was related to the length of time or frequency with which one participates in one's congregation, which

might also increase the likelihood of friendship formation. However, there was no correlation between racial identity and the years or frequency of attendance, hours of participation, participation in small groups, or participation in other religious education in one's congregation. It may be that racial identity is not greatly affected by one's congregational involvement because individuals are likely to choose congregations that do not pose a serious challenge to their existing identity.

I expected that the negative relationship between the salience of one's racial identity and intrachurch interracial friendship would be stronger for blacks (Hypothesis 2), but this hypothesis is not supported. The interaction term "black x importance of race" was not significant (Model 1c).

Results assessing the effect of the church's racial composition are shown in Model 2 of Table 7. Only the coefficient for the proportionate size of one's racial group is significant at $p < .001$, in a negative direction. Heterogeneity of the church is not related to interracial friendship, however. Although the coefficient is in the hypothesized negative direction, it is not statistically significant. Hypothesis 4 is thus not supported. The absence of an effect for racial heterogeneity may be attributable to the correlation between heterogeneity and the size of one's racial group (–0.610). If one belongs to a congregation with a large proportion of one's racial group, heterogeneity would be low by definition. Alternately, when one is a small numerical minority in the congregation, the pool of different-race others available for friendship would be high regardless of whether the rest of the congregation was composed of several different races or just one other race.

When the racial identity variable is added, however, as shown in Models 4a and 4b (Table 8), the coefficient for the racial heterogeneity of the church becomes significant

at $p < .05$ (and the size of the coefficient doubles) and remains negative. When accounting for how important one feels his or her race is, the racial diversity of the church is predictive of interracial friendship, and belonging to a more racially diverse church is less predictive of interracial friendship than belonging to a more racially homogenous church, controlling for the size of one's own racial group. This indicates that those most likely to make cross-race friends in their church are first those in a numerical racial minority group in a congregation that is mostly homogenous (e.g., whites in a mostly Asian church), followed by those in the numerical racial majority (e.g., Asians in a mostly Asian church), followed by numerical racial minorities in more racially mixed congregations (e.g., whites in a church that is 20% white, 50% Asian, and 30% Hispanic), followed by numerical racial majority group members in more racially mixed congregations (e.g., Asians in a church that is 50% Asian, 20% white, and 30% Hispanic).

However, Model 2's F-statistic is 14.58, whereas Model 4a's and Model 4b's F-statistics are 8.02 and 11.25, respectively, indicating that the racial composition model, without the identity variables, is a better fit to the data. Moreover, among the models with the same weighted subpopulation size, Model 2 has the highest F-statistic and is the fit for the data overall.

Because racial heterogeneity does not capture the particular racial composition of an organization and because of the somewhat inconsistent results from tests of racial heterogeneity, I also tried using categorical measures of racial composition. The categories used were "mainly white" or congregations with more than 80% white majority; "mainly nonwhite" or congregations with more than 80% nonwhite majority; "multiracial," or congregations in which one racial group was no more than 60% to 80%

of the congregants; and "mixed race," or congregations in which one racial group was less than 60% of the congregants. Although examination of the data showed that interracial friendship was increasingly likely in the order of the categories as listed above, the coefficients were not significant.

Hypothesis 5 is supported. The larger the proportion of one's racial group size within the church, the less likely one is to have interracial friendship. Or, stated conversely, the smaller the proportion of one's racial group within the church, the more likely one is to have interracial friendship. Since the size of one's racial group determines the number of different-race alters (or same-race alters) available for friendship, this is not surprising. Further, individuals who choose to be numerical racial minorities within their congregation may feel very comfortable with different-race others and thus would be much more likely than those who choose a congregation in which their racial group is the majority to befriend different-race others, which may then increase the likelihood of interracial friendship for all congregants.

I hypothesize that blacks are less likely to have interracial friendship than other racial groups (Hypothesis 7). However, it is clear in every model that, of those blacks who have at least two friends in church, they are *more* likely when compared to whites to have cross-race friends. In Models 2 and 4, blacks are somewhat less likely than whites to have at least two church friends, but this effect is only marginally significant ($p < .10$). In fact, compared to whites, all nonwhites (blacks included) are more likely to have interracial friendships (even when adding the effect of racial composition and identity), when controlling for income, racial identity, and the size of their racial group in their congregations. Therefore, Hypothesis 7, that blacks are less likely to have interracial friendships than other groups, is not supported. The opposite is true; blacks and other

nonwhites are more likely than whites to have interracial friendships, given that they have at least two church friends. However, those who fall in the "other nonwhite" category are more likely to have cross-race friends than either blacks or whites.

I also tested race in interaction with relative group size in order to ascertain whether the effect of relative group size on interracial friendship depends on race. I added interaction terms for percent group size x black and percent group size x other race. Neither of the interaction terms was significant.

As shown in Model 3a, when adding both income heterogeneity and education heterogeneity to the racial composition model, only education heterogeneity is significant, and only marginally so ($p < .10$). When an individual's congregation is homogenous educationally, he or she is more likely to have interracial friendship. However, this effect disappears when including the racial identity and religious identity salience variables in the model. The lack of a finding may be attributable to the weakness of the socioeconomic heterogeneity variables themselves.[46] There were only three broad categories from which to calculate heterogeneity for both education and income.[47] Thus,

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[46] In the PS-ARE dataset, it is not possible to know whether the congregations were stratified socioeconomically by race because data were not collected on a sample of congregants within each congregation. Per individual respondent, the data include information on the percentage of different socioeconomic categories and the percentage of different racial groups in his or her church.

[47] Further, a measure of socioeconomic heterogeneity shows the degree of homogeneity in congregation, but not the kind of homogeneity that exists. A congregation that is mainly lower income is qualitatively different from a congregation that is mainly higher income. I try a model using "percentage of congregants with Bachelor's degrees or higher" as well as a model using "percentage of congregants with household incomes of $100,000 and over," both of which yielded strange outputs in Stata. Because previous research has shown that higher income congregations tend to be more diverse, I then used categorical dummy variables for the education and income composition of the congregation: "Highly educated congregation" is a congregations in which over 50% of the attendees hold Bachelor's degrees or higher (34.16% of the congregations fall into this category) and "High income congregation" is a congregation in which 25% or more of the attendees earn household incomes of $100,000 or higher (29% of congregations fall into this category). Only "high income congregation" was significant in the model, as shown in Model 3b. However, when identity variables are added to this model, the model becomes "stuck" in Stata.

the hypothesis that socioeconomic homogeneity in a congregation is positively related to the likelihood of interracial friendship (Hypothesis 8) is not supported.

I also hypothesized that higher-socioeconomic-status individuals would be more likely to have interracial friendships (Hypothesis 9). When testing both education and income, education was not significant when added to the model, so it was excluded from all models. Among income categories, being in the highest income category was not significantly different from being in the lowest income category on the likelihood of interracial friendship within one's church. Rather, it is the middle-income individuals who are more likely when compared to the lowest income category to have interracial friendships within their congregations. One possible explanation is that those who are in the lowest or highest income categories may not participate in church as frequently because of longer work hours, which would prevent opportunities for developing friendships. However, when income or weekly work hours were included in the selection model, there was no effect of income on friendship formation. It is also possible that those in the middle-income categories have greater interracial contact. However, when I incorporated frequency of interracial contact as a variable, it was not significant, which may be due to collinearity with being nonwhite as well as collinearity with the size of one's racial group in the congregation. Further, the quality of interracial contact would not be known through a *frequency of interracial contact* variable. Knowing the frequency of contact does not reveal whether the contact, however frequent, is a negative or positive interaction. Those in lower- and upper-income categories may experience negative interracial contact from higher-status or lower-status individuals, respectively. Likewise, middle-income individuals may be more likely to interact with different-race individuals who are similar in status.

Discussion: PS-ARE

So does religion trump race? The answer is complicated. Race still matters, but in different ways than expected. The analysis reveals that race indeed persists as a factor in cross-race friendship formation among Protestant churchgoers, but the effect of race varies at different stages.

First, race matters in the initial choice of one's church. African Americans are more likely to be in racially homogenous churches, controlling for the diversity of one's neighborhood. Therefore, it matters in that blacks, more so than other racial groups, are more likely to seek out churches that are wholly one race.[48] This is consistent with previous research that has shown that more than 80% of African Americans who attend religious services attend primarily black congregations (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990). As the cornerstone of the black community, African American churches have historically provided not only religious or ethnic community, but also essential political, economic, and social resources to a disadvantaged population (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990; Morris 1984; Patillo-McCoy 1998). For example, black churches provide opportunities for leadership and status, political mobilization, and financial assistance and even have been described as serving therapeutic functions by providing a space for articulating suffering and validating the black experience (Gilkes 1980).

Race also matters in the number of close friendships one develops in church. Among Protestant churchgoers who attend congregations that are not composed solely of one's own race, having at least two close friends in church is a necessary condition for having a cross-race friend. In these data, everyone who names close church friends

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[48] This choice may not always be voluntary. Depending on the degree of residential segregation, some blacks may not have a choice between all-black congregations or more diverse congregations.

named at least one same-race church friend. In addition, although the effect of race is inconsistent in this regard, nonwhites may be less likely than whites to have at least two close church friends. It is important to note, however, that the difference in number of friends may reflect a difference in how different racial groups define "closeness." If previous research has indicated that nonwhites tend to have smaller nonkin networks, it may be because "closeness" of a friend may be measured against the closeness one has with family. Further, considering that many of the nonwhite respondents in racially heterogeneous churches were racial minorities in their congregations, this could be illustrative of studies that show more extraorganizational ties among racial minorities in organizations (McPherson, Popielarz, and Drobnic 1992), and thereby fewer intra-organizational ties. It is also possible that church may not be as important a site for friendship formation for nonwhites as it is for whites.

However, although being nonwhite is somewhat inhibitive of having at least two church friends, being nonwhite actually facilitates interracial friendship, and although whites are more likely to have at least two close friends in church, they are less likely to have any cross-race friends. Nonwhites are more likely than whites to have cross-race friendships, controlling for how many same-race alters are available as well as the overall racial diversity of the congregation. Further, regardless of how important race or religion may be to nonwhites, they are still more likely to have interracial friends than whites. Therefore, race is still a factor, but being nonwhite has a negative influence on friendship only up to a point—being in a racially heterogeneous church and on the likelihood of making two or more friends within one's church. Given that those two conditions are met, being nonwhite has a positive influence on making interracial friends. It is whites in these environments that have greater in-group preferences. The fact that churches are

voluntary organizations means that individuals choose a congregation in which the potential racial pool of friends is plainly observable, as opposed to school environments, which are dictated mainly by one's residence. It may be that that very choice facilitates interracial friendship among nonwhites and inhibits interracial friendship among whites.

This finding runs counter to studies from schools showing that there is greater in-group preference among blacks compared to other racial groups. Those black congregants that have chosen places of worship that are not wholly composed of their own race are more likely to form cross-race friends. Other research on blacks in interracial churches (defined as those who attend churches that are less than 80% their own race) show that compared to other blacks, they are more likely to have racially diverse networks prior to attending their congregation and their networks continue to increase in its diversity by attendance. These findings provide insight into the growing numbers of African Americans who do not attend churches in historically black denominations (Ellison and Sherkat 1990; Sherkat 2002; Sherkat and Ellison 1991).

Further, the importance of one's racial identity and the value he or she places on religion are both important and independent predictors of interracial friendship. Although the importance of religion does not "trump" the effect of either race or racial identity on interracial friendship within congregations, it does influence the formation of cross-race ties along with race. Individuals who feel that religion is very important to them *and* feel that their race is unimportant to them have the greatest likelihood of having interracial friendships, but each exerts an independent effect on interracial friendship formation.[49] Further, the salience of religious identity has an effect independent of religious behavior,

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[49] I interacted the salience of religious identity with the salience of racial identity, but the interaction term was not significant.

just as the salience of racial identity has an effect on interracial friendship independent of race. Friendship ties often occur based on perceived similarity between individuals, and identity salience may be considered a measure of which characteristic one might base that similarity on. Therefore, these results suggest that identity salience is an important subjective measure of the relative significance of an individual's characteristics on friendship formation.

Religiosity, specifically, the frequency of Bible reading, is also important to the propensity to make ties within church, which is a prerequisite to having cross-race ties. It is possible that reading the Bible, as opposed to engaging in an activity such as prayer, may be more indicative of commitment to and level of adherence to Christian beliefs and worldviews, which then may make it more likely and desirable to forge friendships with others who share the same beliefs.

Controlling for racial and religious identity, the racial composition of the congregation to which one belongs was a significant predictor of interracial friendship among congregants. Those with a greater proportion of same-race friends in their congregation are those who have a greater likelihood of finding same-race alters. Further, when controlling for identity, the racial heterogeneity of one's congregation had a negative relationship to having an interracial friend which remains consistent with past research. In more diverse congregations, it could be that there is enough of a critical mass of each racial group that people are not likely to attempt to befriend people of different races. Or paradoxically, congregants in racially diverse churches may make less effort to form close friendship ties with people of different races because they assume cross-race ties are occurring. It may be the diverse environment that they seek, not necessarily close relationships with other-race individuals. Individuals in these contexts may be

accustomed to being in diverse environments—and may even consider a diverse congregational environment is an opportunity to find friends of one's own race, which would ultimately inhibit cross-race tie formation. For example, a person who may feel marginal in his or her own racial ingroup may find other same-race individuals who also feel similarly marginal in a more racially diverse environment because such individuals may be more attracted to nonhomogenous settings.

On the other hand, there may be several reasons that those who choose more homogenous congregations may have a greater likelihood of interracial friendship: those who are different may in fact be more noticed. Although in some cases this may mean a certain degree of ostracism, it also may mean that congregants of the majority race go out of their way to meet or befriend members of the minority race. For minority-race members, having different-race friends would be highly likely, given the low number of same-race alters available.

It is worth noting that those who choose to be racial minorities within their congregations are somewhat exceptional. Only 13 out of 186 individuals who attend "mainly white" (whites compose more than 80% of the congregation) or "mainly nonwhite" (nonwhites compose more than 80% of the congregation) congregations were not members of the majority race. Only three out of those 13 are minorities (whites) in "mainly nonwhite" congregations. Choosing a congregation in which one is part of a very small minority may indicate a certain degree of comfort with the majority racial group. Those who choose to be in the racial minority are more willing to adapt to the majority, are more assimilated (to white religious culture), or are perhaps more willing to "strategically assimilate" (Lacy 2007) to the majority group in their congregation.

Therefore, based on the results from the analysis of the PS-ARE dataset, I conclude that religion does not trump race. The population of Protestant churches is still highly segregated according to race, and it has been well argued that the particular religious culture of conservative churches perpetuates this racial division (Emerson and Smith 2000) such that a strong religious identity actually is divisive along racial lines. The results from this study show that being religious or having a strong religious identity does not mean that one is more likely to choose a racially heterogeneous church. Further, the seemingly divergent religious cultures and separate religious organizations that have developed between blacks and whites ultimately stem from our racial history in the United States. However, conditional upon having at least two close friends—a condition that is also affected by race—race acts in the opposite direction in the formation of interracial friendship. Among those in racially heterogeneous congregations, it seems that it is nonwhites who are crossing racial barriers, whereas whites tend to stay within racially homogenous friendship networks. This is not to say that religious identity is unimportant, however. Although it does not negate or "trump" the effect of racial identity or race on the propensity to make cross-race friends, the salience of religion can be a vital bridge between different-race Protestant churchgoers; the more important one's religious identity, the more likely one is to have cross-race friends.

There are several aspects of interracial friendship formation that these results do not explain. How and why individuals choose the churches they do could be critically important to understanding the propensity to form cross-race friendships within congregations. If one chooses a church because it is diverse, is he or she more likely to seek out cross-race friends? In addition, although these data measured aspects of racial and religious identity, what is not known is the relative importance of each of these

identities. For example, both race and religion may be very important in one's life, but one's faith may supersede other important identities, as Marti found in his study of multiracial congregations (Marti 2005). Both measures of the importance of religion and race are on scales, so one could compare the value of the importance of religion to the importance of race. However, when a respondent chooses a value for the importance of race, for example, he or she may be choosing a value based on comparisons to others' perceived racial salience, rather than on a comparison of relative salience between identities. Thus, a higher rating on one identity scale may not translate to a higher ranking of that identity. Conversely, the same rating on racial and religious identity may not translate to an equivalent importance of those identities.

Also, friendship formation is a two-sided process. Even if a person desired friendship with another individual, that individual must accept the offer of friendship. Understanding the available pool of potential friends not merely in terms of racial composition, but also in terms of others' identities, is important information that is missing from this analysis. It was suggested earlier that individuals may choose congregations that are, in effect, a "match" to their racial and religious identities. Therefore, knowing how racial and religious identities vary among congregational contexts could be an important factor in understanding interracial friendship formation processes within an organizational context. Religious identity in particular could be a congregational characteristic or product as much as it is an individual identity. And in more racially mixed congregations, racial identity may be more likely to change as congregational involvement increases. Moreover, the role of the church organization has not yet been fully assessed.

Modeling this sort of matching process is not possible with the data available. Ideally, a nested, multilevel dataset and analysis could account for the variation among individuals within a congregation as well as among congregations. However, because of these aforementioned weaknesses with the above analysis, I also analyze data collected from four multiracial congregations. In the following section, I describe results from analysis of the ECCS data and compare them to the PS-ARE analysis. In addition, the next chapter uses qualitative data collected from these congregations to better understand the congregational context in which interracial friendship may or may not occur.

Results: ECCS

Descriptives for the ECCS

Because each of the four congregations has a distinctive congregational membership, in Table 9, I display the demographic information for each congregation rather than for each of the two churches. In addition, for comparison purposes, Table 9 shows the demographic profiles for the national averages among conservative Protestant churchgoers who attend racially nonhomogenous churches from the PS-ARE dataset. Table 10 displays the means, standard deviations, and correlations among the variables in the analysis for the combined dataset.

Table 9: Cross-Tabulations of Race, Gender, Education, Household Income, and Cross-Race Friendship by Church Site, Including National Data from the PS-ARE

	MC				JC						
	City (within site)		Varsity (within site)		Stanton (within site)		Gatewood (within site)		Total		
	%	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	Nat'l
Close church friends											
0 church friends	17.0	9	25.6	43	61.5	32	50.7	71	37.5	155	
Only same-race friends	49.1	26	27.4	46	21.2	11	27.9	39	29.5	122	
At least 1 interracial friend	34.0	18	47.0	79	17.3	9	21.4	30	32.9	136	
	100	53	100	168	100	52	100	140	100	413	
Race											
Whites	18.2	10	49.2	87	51.9	28	76.7	112	54.9	237	
Blacks	76.4	42	40.8	72	37.0	20	10.3	15	34.5	149	
Other race	5.5	3	10.2	18	11.1	6	13.0	19	10.7	46	
	100	55	100	177	100	54	100	146	100	432	
Gender											
Female	60.3	35	61.1	121	62.7	37	68.3	112	63.7	305	
Male	39.7	23	38.9	77	37.3	22	31.7	52	36.3	174	
	100	58	100	198	100	59	100	164	100	479	
Education											
High school or less	23.6	13	20.2	36	5.5	3	21.2	31	19.1	83	55.92%[b]
Trade certificate/associates'	5.5	3	15.2	27	14.6	8	17.8	26	14.8	64	22.91%[b]
Bachelors degree	41.8	23	40.5	72	47.3	26	31.5	46	38.5	167	14.03%[b]
Graduate degree	29.1	16	24.2	43	32.7	18	29.5	43	27.7	120	7.14%[b]
	100	55	100	178	100	55	100	146	100	434	
Household income											
< $25,000	21.6	11	2.4	4	7.8	4	8.8	12	7.6	31	21.89%[c]
$25,000–$49,999	23.5	12	10.6	18	21.6	11	19.7	27	16.4	68	30.89%[c]
$50,000–$74,999	17.7	9	17.1	29	19.6	10	20.4	28	18.6	76	23.20%[c]
$75,000–$99,999	19.6	10	22.4	38	21.6	11	17.5	24	20.3	83	11.37%[c]
> $100,000k	17.7	9	47.7	81	29.4	15	33.6	46	36.9	151	12.83%[c]
	100	51	100	170	100	51	100	137	100	409	
Marital status											
Married	30.9	17	72.9	129	45.5	25	57.9	84	59.0	255	57.37%[d]
Unmarried	69.1	38	27.1	48	54.6	30	42.1	61	41.0	177	42.63%[d]
	100	55	100	177	100	55	100	145	100	432	
Median age in years	28	57	41	191	34.5	56	39	162	38	466	46[d]
Mean # church friends[a] (s.d.)	2.55 (0.46)		2.15 (1.79)		0.90(1.43)		1.13(1.46)		1.64 (1.69)		1.12[e,f]
N		53		169		52		141		415	182.50

[a]Of 5 possible; [b]*N* = 232.50; [c]*N* = 205.62; [d]*N* = 236.49; [e]Of 4 possible; [f]Standard deviation = 1.29; [g]*N* = 182.50.

Table 10: Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations among Variables for the ECCS

Variable	Mean	S.D.	1	2	3	4	5	6
1 Has a close friend in church	0.627	0.484						
2 Intrachurch interracial friendship	0.527	0.500	.					
3 Salient racial identity	0.138	0.345	–0.047	–0.067				
4 Salient religious identity	0.626	0.484	0.175	–0.050	–0.255			
5 MC-City	0.121	0.326	0.161	–0.107	0.203	0.091		
6 MC-Varsity	0.415	0.493	0.204	0.204	–0.069	0.160	–0.312	
7 JC-Stanton	0.123	0.329	–0.189	–0.045	0.086	–0.159	–0.139	–0.315
8 JC-Gatewood	0.342	0.475	–0.193	–0.112	–0.127	–0.120	–0.267	–0.606
9 Black/African American	0.345	0.476	0.064	–0.184	0.401	0.016	0.337	0.108
10 Other nonwhites	0.106	0.309	–0.004	0.232	0.040	–0.058	–0.064	–0.013
11 Whites	0.549	0.498	–0.058	0.032	–0.407	0.022	–0.282	–0.096
12 Married	0.590	0.492	0.018	0.224	–0.133	0.067	–0.218	0.235
13 Household income	4.623	1.328	–0.041	0.118	–0.089	0.037	–0.211	0.254
14 Education	5.217	1.822	–0.054	–0.038	–0.026	–0.015	0.004	–0.040
15 Chose church for its diversity	0.175	0.381	0.059	0.082	0.050	0.140	0.091	0.267
16 Years attend church	3.310	1.260	0.337	0.131	–0.058	0.164	0.138	0.372
17 Frequency of attendance	3.813	0.736	0.283	0.117	–0.000	0.191	0.087	0.202
18 Involved in a small group	0.470	0.500	0.350	0.103	–0.061	0.123	0.016	0.143
19 Number of close friends	0.475	0.972	0.198	0.108	–0.022	0.096	0.073	0.191

	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
8	–0.270											
9	0.020	–0.364										
10	0.006	0.055	–0.251									
11	–0.023	0.314	–0.800	–0.381								
12	–0.105	–0.016	–0.205	0.053	0.163							
13	–0.055	–0.080	–0.104	–0.028	0.117	0.504						
14	0.126	–0.050	–0.014	–0.032	0.033	0.090	0.146					
15	–0.100	–0.243	0.197	–0.001	–0.185	0.030	0.095	0.008				
16	–0.330	–0.251	0.105	–0.084	–0.048	0.231	0.246	–0.024	0.089			
17	–0.173	–0.151	0.008	–0.026	0.009	0.122	–0.008	–0.037	0.092	0.236		
18	–0.110	–0.084	0.003	–0.015	0.007	0.103	0.063	0.006	0.037	0.267	0.364	
19	0.055	–0.110	0.063	–0.034	–0.039	–0.127	–0.128	–0.067	0.040	–0.040	0.062	0.028

Clearly, these four multiracial congregations are unusual, especially when

compared to national data; I do not assume that these data are representative of all

Protestant churchgoers.[50] Rather, I use these data to begin to assess the role of the

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[50] Although it is not my purpose here, it may be possible to use a truncated regression model in order to generalize these data to the entire population of Protestant churchgoers. The ECCS data are truncated in addition to being censored. That is, unlike the PS-ARE data, I lack information on the explanatory variables for those who do not attend these churches, in addition to the lack of values for Y among those individuals. Using Tobit regression along with ML estimation, only the second stage can be modeled because there is no information to model the first stage. In this truncated regression model, the interpretation of β would hold for the entire population and not just for the particular sample (Breen 1996). This truncated regression model accommodates situations in which λ cannot be estimated in the first stage of the two-stage model. However, this model would need to be adapted for binary dependent variables. I choose not to use this

organization in influencing friendship for these particular congregations. First, I replicate

the above analysis for the four congregations in the ECCS dataset in order to better

understand the role of the congregation in influencing interracial friendship among its

attendees. Because there are only four organizations in my sample of congregations

(which is not sufficient for multilevel modeling), I use dummy variables for each of the

four congregations. Although it is a somewhat crude approach because the congregations

differ from each other in their racial and socioeconomic composition, age, size, location,

and religious culture, it does provide an indication of the potential influence of the

congregation independent of attendees' individual characteristics if the congregation

dummy variables are statistically significant. In the next chapter, I describe in greater

depth the particular characteristics of these congregations and how the organizational

context may affect interracial friendship.

Selection Model: ECCS Data

Consistent with the analysis of the PS-ARE data, I use a selection model to

account for those who do not have any church friends because there are no data on cross-

race church ties for those with zero church friends. In this population, more than 30% of

individuals had an interracial friend as their only named church friend. The selection

criterion, therefore, is having church friends, rather than having at least two church

friends. Of the 405 individuals with relevant friendship data, 253 (62.5%) have at least

one church friend and 152 do not. It is possible that the high rate of church friendships in

these data as opposed to respondents in the PS-ARE may be due to contextual priming of

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truncated regression model because I am not attempting to generalize the congregations in the ECCS to a
wider population. I am interested in the differences between these congregations in and of themselves as
well as the degree of variation within the congregations.

survey questions. That is, subjects knew the survey was about their experience in church (but were not told that the study was specifically about interracial friendship), and therefore, they may have been primed to think of church friends more so than other friends. However, it is more likely that there is unusually more intrachurch friendship in these churches, as will be explicated in Chapter Five. Further, one would expect the bias toward naming church friends to be higher in the PS-ARE. In addition to asking respondents to name up to four close friends, the PS-ARE specifically asked for two additional church friends, so one would expect higher rates of church friendship among PS-ARE respondents.

In addition to using three dummy variables for each of the congregations, with Jackson Church–Gatewood as the reference category, I use indicators for exposure, religiosity, race, and total number of close friends, as in the previous analysis. In order to measure exposure to other congregants or opportunities to befriend other churchgoers, I included *years of attendance*, *frequency of attendance*, *hours of participation* in church activities outside of weekly services, and involvement in a *small group*. Of these, *hours of participation* was not significant and was therefore excluded from the model, which had a negligible effect on the other coefficients. As in the previous analysis, I also included a measure of *private religious behavior* and *salience of religious identity*. Neither was significant, and they were both ultimately excluded from the final model. In the analysis using the PS-ARE dataset, race was a significant contributor to having church friends, even when controlling for the *total number of close friends.* Surprisingly, race had no effect on having church friends in the ECCS congregations.

As shown in Tables 11 and 12, ρ is significant at $p < .05$, and the Wald test of independent equations chi-square statistic is also significant at $p < .05$. Therefore, the null

hypothesis that $\rho = 0$ (that the selection and substantive equations are independent) is rejected. As expected, the more close friends one names, the greater the likelihood of having close church friends. Further, the number of years one attends the church, the frequency one attends, and involvement in a small group are all predictive of having at least one close church friend. In other words, the more opportunities there are for intrachurch contact, the higher the probability of forming a close relationship with at least one fellow churchgoer.

Of particular interest are the coefficients for congregation dummy variables. Those who attend either Mannington Church congregation are more likely to have at least one close church friend than those who attend either Jackson Church congregation. This may be indicative of an environment in Mannington Church that facilitates friendship formation, or Jackson Church may have characteristics that inhibit friendship formation. I investigate the differences between these environments in greater depth in Chapters Four and Five.

Table 11: Control and Identity Models' Unstandardized Coefficients Showing the Effects of Identity on Interracial Friendship in Four Multiracial Congregations

	Probit Models with Sample Selection					
	Control Model		Identity Model 1a		Identity Model 1b	
Independent Variables						
Constant	–0.049[..]	(0.275)	0.092[..]	(0.286)	–0.074[..]	(0.278)
Identity						
Salient racial identity			–0.064[..]	(0.150)	0.391[..]	(0.531)
Black/Afr. American x racial identity					–0.446[..]	(0.606)
Salient religious identity			–0.244[..]	(0.177)		
Congregation Dummies+						
MC-City	0.004[..]	(0.292)	0.073[..]	(0.299)	0.046[..]	(0.299)
MC-Varsity	0.376[..]	(0.244)	0.401[*]	(0.244)	0.377[..]	(0.242)
JC-Stanton	0.272[..]	(0.341)	0.251[..]	(0.355)	0.242[..]	(0.354)
Race++						
Black/African American	–0.334[*]	(0.193)	–0.329[*]	(0.200)	–0.321[..]	(0.205)
Other Nonwhites	0.998[***]	(0.195)	1.003[***]	(0.301)	0.961[***]	(0.314)
Married	0.331[*]	(0.195)	0.341[*]	(0.286)	0.338[*]	(0.200)
Socioeconomic Status						
Household income						
Education						
Chose church for its racial diversity						
Selection Variables						
Constant	–3.496[***]	(0.556)	–3.434[***]	(0.555)	–3.405[***]	(0.556)
Congregation Dummies+						
MC-City	0.644[**]	(0.308)	0.644[**]	(0.311)	0.650[**]	(0.311)
MC-Varsity	0.298[*]	(0.172)	0.306[*]	(0.172)	0.308[*]	(0.172)
JC-Stanton	–0.135[..]	(0.210)	–0.166[..]	(0.212)	–0.167[..]	(0.212)
Years attend church	0.240[***]	(0.066)	0.235[***]	(0.066)	0.235[***]	(0.066)
Frequency of attendance	0.260[**]	(0.107)	0.247[**]	(0.106)	0.241[**]	(0.107)
Small group	0.674[***]	(0.162)	0.689[***]	(0.162)	0.691[***]	(0.162)
Total number of close friends	0.351[***]	(0.067)	0.350[***]	(0.067)	0.349[***]	(0.067)
Rho (ρ)	–0.591[**]	(0.185)	–0.592[**]	(0.178)	–0.570[**]	(0.184)
Wald test of independent equations, chi-square	5.41[**]		5.56[**]		5.01[**]	
Wald chi-square	31.69[***]		32.35[***]		33.06[***]	
d.f.	6		8		8	
N	407		404		405	
Censored/uncensored observations	154/253		154/250		154/251	

Source: East Coast City Survey (2006). Selection models predict having at least 1 church friends: (0=no close church friends, 1= 1 or more close church friends). Note: All standard errors are robust standard errors, adjusted for 355 household clusters. Standard errors are presented in parentheses. ***$p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$. +Referent category is JC-Gatewood, ++Referent category is whites.

Table 12: SES and Diversity Models' Unstandardized Coefficients Showing the Effects of Identity on Interracial Friendship in Four Multiracial Congregations

	Probit Models with Sample Selection			
	SES Model 2		Chose for Diversity Model 3	
Independent Variables				
Constant	0.249¨	(0.421)	0.001¨	(0.326)
Identity				
Salient racial identity				
Black/Afr. American x racial identity				
Salient religious identity				
Congregation Dummies+				
MC-City	0.131¨	(0.310)	−0.203¨	(0.311)
MC-Varsity	0.507**	(0.257)	0.311¨	(0.279)
JC-Stanton	0.306¨	(0.366)	0.208¨	(0.330)
Race++				
Black/African American	−0.374*	(0.207)	−0.321¨	(0.235)
Other Nonwhites	1.004***	(0.304)	0.979***	(0.305)
Married	0.339¨	(0.209)	0.315¨	(0.197)
Socioeconomic Status				
Household income	−0.012¨	(0.076)		
Education	−0.064¨	(0.040)		
Chose church for its racial diversity			0.238¨	(0.230)
Selection Variables				
Constant				
Congregation Dummies+				
MC-City	−3.509***	(0.573)	−3.322***	(0.573)
MC-Varsity	0.626**	(0.307)	0.583*	(0.308)
JC-Stanton	0.291*	(0.174)	0.196¨	(0.177)
Years attend church	−0.142¨	(0.215)	−0.205¨	(0.207)
Frequency of attendance				
Small group	0.235***	(0.066)	0.123¨	(0.077)
Total number of close friends	0.261**	(0.109)	0.300***	(0.116)
Rho (ρ)	0.664***	(0.164)	0.643***	(0.178)
Independent Variables	0.355***	(0.070)	0.358***	(0.070)
Constant	−0.520**	(0.194)	−0.628*	(0.260)
Wald test of independent equations, chi-square	3.95**		4.08**	
Wald chi-square	31.17***		26.56***	
d.f.	8		7	
N	395		353	
Censored/uncensored observations	154/241		154/199	

Source: East Coast Survey (2006). Selection models predict having at least 1 church friends: (0=no close church friends, 1= 1 or more close church friends). Note: All standard errors are robust standard errors, adjusted for 355 household clusters. Standard errors are presented in parentheses. ***$p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$. +Referent category is JC-Gatewood, ++Referent category is whites.

Some of the respondents may be correlated because they live in the same household. In order to account for this, I use the robust standard errors option with clustering by household ID in Stata.

Substantive Model: ECCS Data

In each of the models, *gender, age*, and *extrachurch interracial friendship* were dropped from the analysis because they were not statistically significant in their effect on interracial friendship, and they did not contribute to a better fit of the models or a change in the other coefficients in the models.

Model 1a of Table 11 displays the coefficients for tests of Hypothesis 1, that a salient racial identity will negatively impact interracial friendship, and Hypothesis 3, that a salient religious identity will positively impact interracial friendship. Neither a salient racial identity nor a salient religious identity influences interracial friendship, contrary to the findings in the national dataset.[51] There may not be sufficient variation among congregants for an effect to be shown.

Given that these churches are especially diverse, it is possible that belonging to such congregations can change the significance of one's racial identity, thereby reversing the causal direction of racial identity on interracial friendship. I examined the data to determine whether the years of attendance, frequency of attendance, hours of participation, involvement in a small group, and involvement in ministry groups were related to the salience of one's racial identity in addition to the other ethnic identity

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[51] Because it can be argued that the discrepancy stems from a difference in the variables used, I replaced the *salient racial identity* variable with the other available racial identity variables in the dataset, *how close do you feel to your racial/ethnic group* and *how much does your race/ethnicity affect your life*, which are a closer match to variables in the PS-ARE. However, none of these variables significantly affected interracial friendship either. I also replaced the *salient religious identity* variable with other measures of religiosity available in the ECCS, *hours of private devotion* and *do you feel you are a strong Christian*, and neither of those variables predicted interracial friendship as well.

variables, *how close do you feel to your racial/ethnic group* and *how much does your race/ethnicity affect your life*. However, there were no differences in racial identity according to the length of time of attendance, the frequency of attendance, or the hours of participation.

Likewise, I also examined the data to determine whether the years of attendance, frequency of attendance, hours of participation, involvement in a small group, and involvement in ministry groups were related to having a salient religious identity. Years of attendance, frequency of attendance, and involvement in a small group were correlated with religious identity, but only for Jackson Church (r^2 = 0.172, 0.203, and 0.150, respectively). None of the exposure variables was correlated with religious identity for the Mannington Church congregations. I added these three exposure variables, individually and in conjunction, to the control model along with *salient religious identity*, but there was no change in the statistical nonsignificance of religious identity in its effect on interracial friendship.

Salient racial identity may not be exhibiting an effect because race and congregation dummy variables are accounting for the variation in racial identity. Race was indicated as an important aspect of one's identity almost exclusively among nonwhites. Only 2 of 232 white attendees marked race as one of the three most important self-identities. However, 32.4% of blacks (n = 145) and 17.4% of nonwhites (n = 46) noted race as one of the top three self-identifiers. The difference in choosing race as an important identity indeed varies by race (Pearson χ^2 = 76.867, p < .001). Further, the difference between blacks who cited race as a salient racial identity varies by congregation. Table 13 shows the cross-tabulations of salient racial identity by

congregation among black congregants. In both of Mannington Church's congregations, black congregants have lower rates of choosing race as an important identity compared to Jackson Church. Mannington Church–Varsity's African American population, which comprises 40.7% of the congregation, has the lowest percentage of those who noted race as important to their self-identity. In addition, the percentages of those in Jackson's two congregations who indicated race as a salient self-identity are nearly identical.

Table 13: Cross-Tabulations of *Salient Racial Identity* by Congregation Site among Blacks Only

| | MC | | | | JC | | | |
| | City | | Varsity | | Stanton | | Gatewood | |
	%	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*n*
Race is a salient self-identity	40.0	16	20.0	14	50.0	10	46.7	7
Race is not a salient self-identity	60.0	24	80.0	56	50.0	10	53.3	8
N		40		70		20		15

Pearson χ^2 (3) = 10.189; *p* = .017.

Salient religious identity also varies by congregation site. Table 14 shows the cross-tabulations for salient religious identity by congregation site. The chi-square statistic (χ^2 = 24.676), which is significant at *p* < .001, indicates that whether one chooses religion as the most salient self-identity varies by congregation. Also, percentages among Mannington Church are similar (within three percentage points), and percentages among Jackson Church are similar (within three percentage points). This is to be expected. Although the congregations and sometimes the pastors differ, the religious mission, style, and teaching are the same between each congregation in a church. Further, the congregational dummy variables for each congregation account for congregation-level variance. I discuss the different religious "approaches" in greater depth in the next section.

Table 14: Cross-Tabulations of *Salient Religious Identity* by Congregation Site

	MC				JC			
	City		Varsity		Stanton		Gatewood	
	%	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*	*%*	*n*
Religion is the most salient self-identity	74.6	41	71.7	137	41.8	23	54.5	85
Religion is not the most salient self-identity	25.5	14	28.3	54	58.2	32	45.4	71
N		55		191		55		156

Pearson χ^2 (3) = 24.676; *p* = .000.

These results suggest that racial and religious identities are influenced by the church context. Each congregation attracts individuals with particular racial and religious identities, and individuals may choose congregations that are a perceived match to their sense of self-identity based on the church's racial culture and/or religious culture. One is not likely to choose or remain in a community in which there is no sense of affinity or similarity. Also, churches actively shape identities, which may further facilitate similar salience of identities among its members. I explore how each congregation may have a different approach to developing a racially integrated community, particularly by how it frames racial and religious identity in Chapter Six.

As shown in Model 1b of Table 11, Hypothesis 2, that the negative relationship between racial identity and intrachurch interracial friendship is stronger for blacks, is unsupported.[52] However, Table 11 shows that Hypothesis 7, that blacks are less likely to have cross-race ties than other racial groups, is supported. The negative coefficient, however, is only marginally significant at *p* < .10. This is contrary to the findings from the PS-ARE, which showed that blacks were more likely to have cross-race ties conditional upon having at least two church friends. And, as noted earlier, unlike the

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[52] I chose not to add *salient religious identity* to Model 1b in order to keep the model as parsimonious as possible.

previous PS-ARE analysis, race did not account for any differences in the number of church friends. Other nonwhites, however, are more likely to have cross-race ties ($p < .001$), similar to the previous analysis.

With these data, I am unable to statistically test for the effect of the racial or socioeconomic composition (Hypotheses 4, 5, and 8) of each congregation because there are only four congregations ($n = 4$). However, it is helpful to look at the data to determine whether any relationship between demographic composition and interracial friendship exists at all. Tables 15–17 show the raw data for the racial and socioeconomic composition of each congregation and the corresponding rate of interracial friendship. Table 15 shows the IQV for racial diversity of each congregation and the rates of interracial friendship. To calculate racial heterogeneity, I use the following race categories: white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and other (which includes multiracial respondents). Table 16 shows the rate of interracial friendship and expected interracial friendship among those who have church friends, based on the racial composition of the congregation and the size of each racial group within each congregation. The expected rate of interracial friendship[53] is the percent of interracial friends you would expect for each racial group based solely on the racial composition of the congregation, that is, if each person made one friend by random chance. The table displays the congregational context for the finding that blacks are less likely to have interracial friendships than other racial groups.

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[53] The expected rate of interracial friendship was calculated by first subtracting 1 from the total number of persons in that racial group and then dividing by the total number of people in the congregation and multiplying by 100. This percentage was then subtracted from 100.

Table 15: Racial IQV and Rates of Interracial Friendship for Mannington and Jackson Church Congregations

	MC		JC	
	City	Varsity	Stanton	Gatewood
IQV–Race	0.511	0.781	0.811	0.507
% interracial friends	40.91%	63.20%	45.00%	43.48%
N	55	177	54	146

Table 16: Rates of Interracial Friendship and Expected Interracial Friendship for Mannington and Jackson Church Congregations for Each Racial Group

	MC						JC					
	City			Varsity			Stanton			Gatewood		
	% IF	% expected IF	n	% IF	% expected IF	n	% IF	% expected IF	n	% IF	% expected IF	n
White	75.0	83.6	10	72.7	51.4	87	30.8	50.0	28	32.0	24.0	112
Black	50.0	25.5	42	41.3	59.9	72	80.0	64.8	20	62.5	90.4	15
Other	16.6	96.4	3	91.7	89.8	18	50.0	90.7	6	81.8	87.7	19

Mannington Church–Varsity has the highest overall rate of interracial friendship, as well as the second highest level of heterogeneity, which is remarkable considering that it has the largest population. One may expect that a large numerical size might hinder cross-race tie formation among churches with similar levels of heterogeneity, simply because there are more individuals within the same racial group from which to choose. The other three congregations have similar rates of interracial friendship although their levels of heterogeneity vary. (Chapters Four through Seven explore some of the reasons for the high rate of interracial friendship in Mannington Church–Varsity in particular, as well as the conditions that may inhibit interracial friendship in the other congregations.)

Whites have a higher-than-expected rate of interracial friendship in Mannington Church–Varsity and Jackson Church–Gatewood, along with a lower-than-expected rate of interracial friendship among blacks in those respective congregations. Blacks have a

higher-than-expected rate of interracial friendship, and other racial groups have much lower than expected rates of interracial friendship in Mannington Church–City and Jackson Church–Stanton. There is only a loose linear relationship between the expected rate of interracial friendship (based on the size of each racial group) and the expected rate of interracial friendship within each congregation (see Figure A).

Figure A.
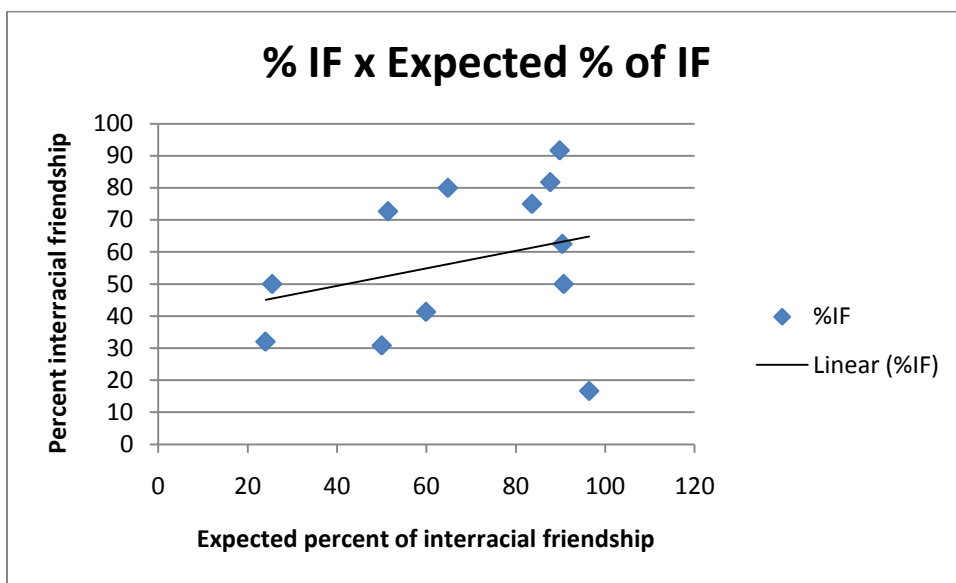
I hypothesized that the socioeconomic homogeneity in a congregation is positively related to the likelihood of interracial friendship (Hypothesis 8). This means that the more heterogeneous congregations should show lower rates of interracial friendship. Table 17 and Figures B1 and B2 show the relationship among income heterogeneity, education heterogeneity, and interracial friendship in each of the four congregations.

Table 17: Socioeconomic IQVs and Rates of Interracial Friendship for Mannington and Jackson Church Congregations

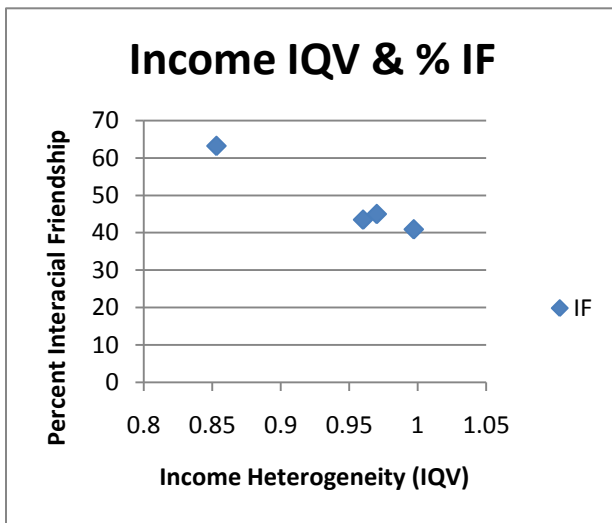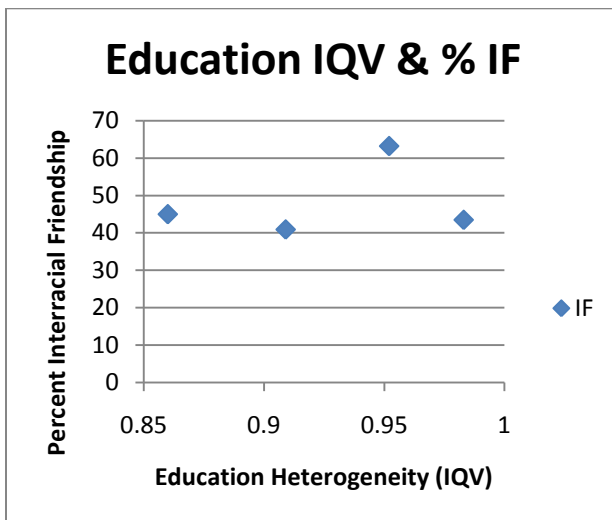|	MC		JC	
	City	Varsity	Stanton	Gatewood
IQV-income	0.997	0.853	0.970	0.960
IQV-education	0.909	0.952	0.860	0.983
% interracial friends	40.91%	63.20%	45.00%	43.48%
N	55	177	54	146

Figure B1.

Figure B2.

Although there are only four data points in Figure B1, the rate of interracial

friendship seems to decrease as the heterogeneity in income increases. However, the rate

of interracial friendship does not seem to be related to the heterogeneity in education. Mannington Church–Varsity, which has the highest rate of interracial friendship, also is the most homogenous in household income when compared to the other three congregations. Mannington Church–Varsity also has the highest mean household income. Therefore, the degree of high-income homogeneity may contribute to cross-race friendship in this congregation, which is consistent with previous research that has shown high socioeconomic status to facilitate racial diversity. For example, congregations with highly educated members tend to be more inclusive, and individuals with high incomes are more likely to join racially diverse churches (Ammerman 1997; Dougherty and Huyser 2008; Emerson 2006; Hadaway, Hackett, and Miller 1984). This pattern of inclusivity among high socioeconomic status members was also found in a study of neighborhoods. Whites were less likely to leave racially diverse neighborhoods when the residents have high levels of education (Swaroop 2006). High socioeconomic status may provide a basis for similarity among different race groups. Greater integration in higher socioeconomic congregations may also be due to greater cultural competencies among higher-class racial minorities to navigate the dominant white culture. Such cultural capital involves familiarity with dominant cultural norms and "habitus" (Bourdieu 1984), which are white cultural norms and a signal of middle-class status. In the United States, dominant cultural norms are defined by white cultural norms. For example, Lacy (2007) describes strategies that middle-class blacks use to navigate between black and white worlds. Middle-class blacks perform a public identity by "script-switching" (p. 88), downplaying their racial identities and signaling their similarity with middle-class whites and dissimilarity with lower-class blacks. If racially heterogeneous churches reflect the dominant white culture, even when whites are not the majority, as Edwards (2008)

claims, then such congregations may be composed of racial minority members who connect culturally with middle-class whites.

However, Hypothesis 9, which states that higher-socioeconomic-status individuals are more likely to have cross-race friends, is not supported (Model 2). Neither income nor education was significant in previous models, so both variables were excluded in Models 1a and 1b. However, married individuals are more likely to have cross-race ties, and being married is highly correlated with income ($r^2 = 0.504$). It is possible that congregations with a socioeconomic homogeneity that consists of high-status individuals may facilitate cross-race friendship ties and that a high socioeconomic congregation may have greater influence on interracial friendship formation than the high status of individuals.

Model 3 (a and b) of Table 18 displays the results of the test of Hypothesis 6, that those who cite racial diversity as a reason for choosing a church will be more likely to have interracial friends. Hypothesis 6 is not supported.[54] Examining the data reveals that in both Mannington and Jackson Churches, blacks are more likely to cite racial diversity as a reason for choosing these congregations (see Table 18). In Mannington Church–Varsity, nearly 36% of black congregants and 27.0% of white congregants specifically mentioned that they chose this congregation because of the racial diversity it offered. It was the single most prevalent reason among 11 coded categories for why people chose Mannington Church among people who responded to the question (176 responded to the question, and 54 responded that racial diversity was a reason for choosing the church). In Jackson Church, racial diversity ranked 8th among 12 coded categories. In Mannington

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[54] Further, a cross-tabulation between choosing a church for its racial diversity and having an interracial church friends yields a Pearson χ^2 of 1.362, p = .243.

Church, as evident from the racial breakdown of its congregants, diversity is a more obvious compositional characteristic. As is discussed further in Chapter Seven, it is also a more obvious characteristic among its leadership.

Table 18: Percentage Who Cited Racial Diversity as a Reason for Choosing Each Church, by Racial Group

	Mannington Church		Jackson Church	
	%	*n*	*%*	*n*
White	27.0	17	5.0	7
Black	35.8	29	14.3	5
Other race	31.6	6	8.0	2
N		163		199

Discussion: ECCS

Friendship formation seems to be affected by the church context in these cases. Mannington Church attendees are more likely to have at least one close church friend than Jackson Church attendees. Because the main difference appears to be between the churches and not the congregations, it may be that the religious and/or relational culture of each church as opposed to their demographic compositions accounts for the difference. Further, contrary to the results from the PS-ARE dataset, race had no effect on the likelihood of forming a close friend in these congregations.

Also contrary to the findings from the analysis of the PS-ARE dataset is that racial and religious identity do not affect interracial friendship formation in these particular congregations. As one might expect, racial identity varies by racial group, but it also varies by congregation. This may mean that congregations attract individuals with certain racial identities and/or are able to develop similar racial identities among congregants. However, because having a salient racial identity is not related to

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congregational participation or attendance, it is more likely that congregations attract individuals who are similar in the importance they place on racial identity. This makes sense if individuals take into account, explicitly or implicitly, the demographic composition of the congregation in choosing a church; they would likely choose a religious community that is somewhat racially comfortable or familiar. This also means that the range on key variables are restricted, making it less likely to find effects in these groups.

Similarly, religious identity varies by church, which is expected because there is a much greater difference between each church rather than between its congregations in its approach to religious life. And, as one would expect, having a salient religious identity increases with greater attendance (years and frequency) and participation. This suggests that these congregations, despite being multiracial communities, are more successful at shaping religious identity than racial identity. Indeed, influencing religiosity and faith is the primary purpose of these churches, which are also most often an individual's sole religious community. Further, by choosing to participate, congregants are choosing these particular communities to influence their religious life. Racial identity, on the other hand, can be affected by many other contexts and relationships.

Most significantly, rates of interracial friendship vary by congregation. In the discussion of the PS-ARE results, I noted that the pool of potential friends within a congregation and the identities of that pool may be important factors in affecting interracial friendship for congregants. This certainly seems to be the case for these four congregations. The racial heterogeneity and size of particular racial groups within each congregation only loosely correspond to the rate of interracial friendship observed. However, racial composition taken in conjunction with congregational variation in racial

and religious identity all help explain differences in interracial friendship between congregations. In addition, income heterogeneity also differs between congregations and corresponds to differing rates of interracial friendship.

Further, among these four congregations, race has a different effect on interracial friendship. For example, whether whites have higher rates of interracial friendship than would be expected by their group size varies by congregation. Whites have higher rates of friendship than expected by group size at Mannington Church–Varsity and Jackson Church–Gaithersburg, despite composing different percentages of the congregation. At Mannington Church–City and Jackson Church–Stanton, however, blacks have a much higher rate of interracial friendship, despite composing different percentages of the congregation. Therefore, how race may affect interracial friendship may vary by congregational context.

Although citing racial diversity as a reason for choosing a church was not significant in its effect on interracial friendship, Mannington Church attendees were much more likely to cite diversity as a reason for choosing the church. This may indicate that racial diversity may be more obvious and even more valued at Mannington Church.

These results, which run counter to the findings from the individual-level analysis of the PS-ARE, may be due to differences in question wording and measurement between the two surveys. For example, in the PS-ARE, subjects are asked to name close friends, whereas in the ECCS, subjects are asked to name confidants, which may yield a different group of individuals. However, because the PS-ARE limits named friends to non–household or non–family members, whereas the ECCS does not, the list generated by the ECCS should be more racially homophilous because family members tend to be same-race, which would provide a more conservative estimate of racial diversity in one's

network. In addition, the identity measures differed from that of the PS-ARE. However, even when similar other measures were used, the results did not change. Therefore, it is doubtful that the difference in results can be attributed to measurement error alone. The differences in results between the two datasets also may be attributable to the high degree of racial diversity in each of the congregations, the particular regional or metropolitan context of these four congregational "cases," and the unique qualities of the churches.

The results from this ECCS analysis point to the possible effects of the churches' organizational context, both on the demographic composition and identities of the congregants as well as on the actions or cultures of the congregations themselves. Moreover, interracial friendship does not seem, in these cases, to be merely an individual outcome. Rather, the propensity to form cross-race friends in one's church is also a product of the congregation.

Conclusion

The results from the analyses of the PS-ARE and ECCS reveal several issues that can be explored more fully through an in-depth look at the case study churches. First, selection into racially heterogeneous congregations was not a contributor to friendship formation. However, selection into specific kinds of racially heterogeneous congregations may be significant, as suggested by the ECCS analysis. The ECCS data showed racial and religious identity to vary by church, which suggests that individuals may be choosing church environments that are a perceived match to their existing identities. It is important then, to assess how congregations attract those with a certain identity set as well as how they may be reinforcing or developing certain identity constructions. A weakness of the way in which racial and religious identity was measured is that it is limited to one

dimension of identity: identity salience, assessed through a scale of importance to one's sense of self or as a ranked order. Such measures assume that racial and religious identities are distinct from one another, which may not necessarily be the case. Also, neither measurement describes what is contained in that identity, and how and why racial and religious identity may be important. As an example, a highly salient religious identity may also impede interracial friendship to the extent that it captures a cultural or institutional attachment rather than an internalized faith (Allport 1954). A person with a highly salient religious identity may have standards of appropriate religious or social behavior that may be highly influenced by racial culture. Although the statistical analyses showed that a salient religious identity had a positive relationship to interracial friendship, what is not known are the conditions under which it may have a positive versus a negative effect. Further, the causal relationship between identity and friendship is not clear from the quantitative analysis because both sets of data are cross-sectional. The qualitative data presented in the next chapters can help flesh out how identity may affect interracial friendship.

Assessment of the effect of the congregational context is limited in the above analyses as well. Both the PS-ARE and the ECCS data are individual datasets. Yet, friendship formation and the quality of relations are not determined solely by individual choices. It is clear that the racial composition of the organization is important, and the ECCS survey data suggests an organizational effect on interracial friendship but cannot specify what the effect may be. In addition to providing opportunities for friendship, the organizational context may influence friendship behavior by establishing norms and values for certain kinds of relationships. A fuller understanding of the church context can help to explain why Mannington Church has an especially high rate of interracial

friendship. Another key characteristic of churches that has not been addressed by quantitative analysis thus far is the role of pastoral leadership, which is highly influential in congregational life. In the next chapter, using interview, observational, and sermon data, I explore how the religious and relational cultures differ between the churches and discuss possible implications for cross-race friendship formation.

Chapter 4

Introduction to Four Congregations

The next four chapters rely on the qualitative data I collected in order to better understand the influence of organizational context on friendship formation, which could not be fully explored through the individual-level analyses in the previous chapter. In-depth assessment of two multiracial churches, each with two congregational sites, helps explain what aspects of church organizational life affect differences in interracial friendship. Specifically, how does the self-selected population in each church affect the propensity for intrachurch social cohesion and racial integration? Additionally, how do the churches' missions and approaches to their religious missions influence the content and form of interracial friendship? How do these churches frame racial and religious identity in such a way that would have implications for interracial friendship? Finally, what is the role of church leaders in facilitating an environment conducive to cross-race relationships? How do church leaders understand their own racial and religious identities, and what strategies do they use in regards to racial diversity? By answering these questions, I show how the church attracts, responds to, and directs their particular constituency. Further, I argue that understanding the religious purpose and approach of each of these churches is critical to understanding the social and racial integration observed. Analysis of these church contexts furthers understanding of how organizations can influence interracial friendship formation, particularly through its influence on social identity. Thus, whereas the previous chapter conceptualized and measured identity as a

property of the individual, this half of the dissertation emphasizes identity as a collective self-conception, an organizational property.

In the rest of this chapter, I describe the methodology and the kinds of data collected. I also describe a typical religious service at each of the four congregations, including information on the neighborhoods in which each congregation is located. These profiles help to show that the most significant differences are between the churches. The congregations within each church tend to vary in their specific demographic compositions, such as age and race, but the core organizational aspects of each church are consistent across congregational sites.

Methodology

Within this mixed-methods study, I employ a case-study approach. Even though the case-study method is one type of qualitative research, it is not solely relegated to the qualitative realm (Yin 2009). Accordingly, I use a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence in this portion of the analysis. Initially, I intended to compare each congregational case within a comparison of two church cases, but both the quantitative and qualitative analyses point to church-level characteristics as the salient dimension of difference. Although studying multiple congregations rather than one meant that a degree of depth was sacrificed for greater breadth, the comparison of two organizational environments, Mannington and Jackson Church, rather than the exclusive study of one case, better illuminates the contrasting processes in regards to interracial friendship. Without the benefit of such contrast, some of the characteristics observed as significant in these churches would not have emerged. Further, the exceptionality of the high rates of interracial friendship among Mannington attendees would not have been apparent without

another church for comparison. This juxtaposition shows differences at various points of individual exposure to the organizational context, beginning with recruitment, through the individual's decision to join the church, and on to the attendee's experience. By examining organizational context and process, this portion of the analysis fills significant information holes revealed in the statistical analysis in Chapter Three, creating a richer, deeper, and more contextual analysis of the conditions under which interracial friendship may occur.

Discovering Research Subjects

The churches used in this research were discovered and recruited out of the serendipitous intersection of the churches' needs, my own interest in attending a multiracial church congregation, my developing scholarly interest in racial diversity in organizations, and chance encounters and conversations.

This research began with a completely different topic. After over a year in the field, one of the churches I had recruited to be an essential part of my original study decided to hire a consultant to help them deal with a major crisis. This consultant would have conducted research that would have made my survey and inquiries a redundant imposition. Unfortunately, I was not informed of this decision until after I developed a research proposal around this very organization. In addition, the pastor, who was extremely supportive of this research and who was a key liaison for me to gain access to another organization for my study, resigned and became unavailable. This church was not only a research subject; it was also the religious community with which I had chosen to be involved.

Deflated and discouraged by both the growing controversy in that church and the loss of a year's work, I decided to visit other churches. The first of those churches was Jackson Church, whose flyer we had received in the mail. Always curious about different styles of church, I decided to visit. At an evening "newcomers reception," I had the opportunity to speak to Mike, the head pastor. During the course of our conversation, the subject of my research came up. To my surprise, he enthusiastically expressed a desire to have Jackson Church be a part of my study because he was interested in gathering information about the church. The following week, I interviewed him in greater depth to learn more about the church.

As I thought and developed ideas for a new dissertation topic, one intriguing feature of many of the churches I had visited in the area was their mixed racial composition and the varying degrees of cross-race interaction I observed. I decided to pursue this topic for my dissertation.

Soon thereafter, my sister mentioned a church in the area that I might be interested in attending. She knew that my husband and I had been actively seeking a multiracial church to attend. It was part of the same family of churches as the one she attended, and she had a friend who was attending. Thus, I made a visit out to Mannington Church, which was approximately 45 minutes from where we lived. The racial mix was a pleasant surprise to me because I had never visited a church with an even mix of blacks and whites. My sister's pastor, whom she knew well, had a close relationship with the pastors at Mannington Church. She was able to explain my research interests to her pastor, who then gave me Pastor James' personal cell phone number. I later realized that this had given me unusually direct access to the pastors. After the initial conversation

with Pastor James, later phone calls and interviews were all scheduled through administrative assistants.

Pastor James expressed a strong desire to be part of my research, particularly after I noted that it would involve the administration of a survey instrument. They were at a critical moment in their church life, beginning to strategize next growth steps, and would benefit highly from gathering survey data from their congregants. Pastor James assigned Dani as a liaison, and I spoke with her almost exclusively in the development of the survey instrument. She was not only a critical source of information about the church, but she also became a close friend.

The Data

I used several sources of data. The use of multiple methods, often referred to as *triangulation*, helps to corroborate information as well as provide an in-depth understanding of phenomena (Denzin and Lincoln 2000). Multiple sources of information help to provide multiple measures of a construct (Yin, 2009). Although the word triangulation implies only three sources of information, I use a combination of survey data, interviews, sermons, printed and online materials generated by the churches, and participant observation. (Appendices F, G, and H list the interviewees, interview schedule, and sermons used.)

As described in the previous chapter, I administered an online survey to congregants of all four sites. The survey was developed in conjunction with the churches in order to incorporate questions that were most pertinent to their needs. The survey included several open-ended questions that provided a wealth of additional qualitative data in addition to the quantitative data gathered. The comments section in particular at

the end of the survey provided additional insights into each church, since it gave respondents an opportunity to air any and all kinds of opinions about the churches. Thus, I not only use the quantitative data from the survey, but I also rely heavily on the answers to the open-ended questions.

I and two undergraduate research assistants separately coded the open-ended responses. We then eventually converged on a list of appropriate codes for each open-ended survey item, organizing them into topical categories. The answers to the comments section were too varied to develop consistent codes within the survey instrument. These comments were eventually organized according to the various categories that emerged through examination of all the qualitative data.

I conducted semistructured interviews with the pastoral staff, ministry leaders, and full-time administrative assistants, and some lay leaders at each church, interviewing nine people at Jackson Church and eighteen people at Mannington Church. More Mannington Church leaders were interviewed because each of its two congregation had its own pastoral leadership staff, whereas in Jackson Church, the pastors were the same for both of its sites. The interviews ranged from one to four hours in length. Each individual was provided a statement of confidentiality to ensure their anonymity. As such, all their names were changed as well as some of their church positions in order to best conceal their identities. In addition, the church names and location have also been changed to protect the confidentiality of the churches themselves. Each interviewee also signed a statement approving the tape recording of their interview. There were no objections to taping. In addition, I also asked if I could take notes in case the recording failed. These notes proved invaluable, since a few of the tapes (though initially tested at

the beginning of the interview) either failed to record or picked up too much background noise to adequately transcribe the entirety of the interview.

Although I had an interview schedule with set questions I intended to ask, I often did not follow the order of questions as listed on the interview schedule. Instead, I asked questions as they surfaced given the direction of each conversation, in order to avoid redundancy and retain conversation flow. Although all relevant questions were asked, this also gave me the freedom to ask additional questions that I had not initially considered.

I rely heavily on sermons given by the pastors at the churches. Preaching is a central mode of communication in a religious service (Franklin 1994). It is the primary way church leaders communicate ideology, encourage, admonish, teach, and relate to their congregations (Carroll 2006). The task of preaching in particular involves the greatest investment of a pastor's time (Carroll 2006), and is one of the top two roles of the pastor as perceived by Protestant laity—among conservative Protestants, *teaching about faith* is seen as the top priority (Carroll 2006). Many of the congregants indicated the sermons as one of the reasons their respective churches were chosen. Therefore, I felt it critical to use these sermons as a source of data. These sermons not only provided a richness of information on the church's ideologies with respect to Christianity and race, organizational conceptualizations, religious style, and congregational expectations, but they also provided a wealth of personal information on the pastors themselves. By assessing both the content and style in which each sermon was delivered, clear themes emerged from each of the churches that were used to structure the analysis. I found the sermons remarkably consistent with other sources of data and remarkably consistent even between different speakers. Each of these sermons was recorded as an mp3 file online or

as a CD. As such, I was able to collect additional sermons that were given before or after my time physically present in the field. I collected 30 sermons from Jackson Church given from January through September 2006, which do not include the few whose mp3 files were corrupted. I also excluded one sermon given by a guest speaker, whose message was dramatically different from the rest. Although each sermon was given twice, one at each congregational location, only one version of each sermon was recorded and used for this analysis. I found in my observations that the sermon deliveries at each congregation were negligibly different. Speakers followed the same printed outline in the program. At Mannington Church, 27 sermons were collected from the Varsity congregation, most of which were given by Pastor Bryce in January through July 2006. These 27 included 2 from the previous year that Dani indicated were key sermons. In addition, I collected 16 sermons from the City location given mainly by Pastor David from January through July 2006. Those Sunday sermons that are missing are due to errors in recording. In total, 73 sermons were analyzed for content, each sermon ranging from 35 to 75 minutes long.

Each of these interviews and sermons was transcribed. I personally transcribed approximately half of the interviews and a quarter of the sermons. Due to the time-consuming nature of this task, however, the rest were transcribed by a hired student transcriptionist. I checked each of those transcriptions against the original recordings.

In addition, I also collected any and all printed and online sources generated by the churches. These included the website, postal mail and email sent by the churches, monthly update letters, informational booklets, Sunday programs or bulletins, small-group lists, fundraising materials, and church event ads. I also collected materials from

the association of churches to which Mannington Church belongs, including a vision and values primer and Bible-study materials.

Finally, I engaged in participant observation. I spent from January through July 2006 attending and observing Sunday worship services, church-sponsored events, and various Bible-study groups or small groups in each of these congregations. Church-sponsored events included a marriage conference, baptisms, and social gatherings. Attending and participating in church activities also gave me opportunities for informative conversations with church members and opportunities to observe cross-race interaction and friendship. I took notes using pen and paper during these events if my note-taking activity was neither noticeable nor unusual. If the note taking seemed intrusive or inappropriate, I jotted notes in my car after events or conversations. All notes were then entered into my computer files.

This period of observation was interrupted for approximately a month, during which I gave birth and cared for a newborn. However, during this interruption I was visited by congregants from both churches, whose company was much appreciated. Jackson Church members in particular extended incredible kindness to me by throwing me a baby shower, providing advice on infant care, and bringing our family much-needed meals as we coped with a severe lack of sleep. I am deeply indebted.

An Asian American, Christian Researcher

I found myself walking a line as both insider and outsider in these churches, and I struggled with how much insider status I wanted to claim as a participant in these churches. However, because I was studying four separate congregations, I found myself

more of an outsider looking in because time and social capacity simply did not allow for deep immersion into the communities of all four congregations.

However, despite the lack of full participation as a member of these congregations, in many ways I did hold insider status. I have attended conservative, Protestant churches most of my life and made an explicit commitment to the Christian faith during college. Therefore, I had intimate understanding of the terminology used, as well as exposure to different ways of "doing church" and different philosophies of ministry. I have extensive experience with different kinds of churches, particularly the various forms that would fall under the evangelical category. I have been a part of or at the least visited Korean American multigenerational and unigenerational churches, Chinese-American churches, Asian American churches, white churches, black churches, Latino churches, churches that were trying to be multiracial, and churches that were already multiracial. The multiracial churches varied greatly in composition, and particularly in what racial group was dominant. I have been involved in or taken part in Presbyterian, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, Assembly of God, Catholic, nondenominational, and interdenominational religious services. The Charismatic and Pentecostal environments I have experience with range from those where expression was limited to the raising of hands to those where congregants speak in tongues, jump up and down, dance in the aisles, and fall to the floor. I have been to church prayer meetings that range from total silence and meditation to those that are characterized by screaming, shouting, and crying. I am familiar with several Christian parachurch ministries, and I have been involved in house churches as small as 10 people and megachurches as large as 15,000 and churches of various sizes in between. I have attended services at seeker churches, seeker-sensitive churches, theologically heavy churches, right-wing

fundamentalist churches, and progressive churches. I have also attended religious

services at Jewish synagogues and participated in Buddhist meditations.

Having been involved or having had exposure to multiple kinds of church

environments, I found myself being able to make comparisons and contrasts that may

have not been as apparent to those with no connection to Christian church life. There

were aspects of both churches that were both familiar to me based on my experience with

like churches as well as unfamiliar in their uniqueness from other church organizations.

Further, I feel my experiences with such a diversity of church environments gave me an

appreciation of what each kind of church can add to one's faith experience.

I found my "insider" status as a Christian sometimes aiding and sometimes

hindering the interview process in particular. At the beginning of an interview, I never

revealed that I myself was a Christian. Therefore, many of the interviews started off with

interviewees attempting to speak to a non-Christian audience by translating jargon. When

they mentioned that they were attempting not to spiritualize their speech, or if I found

that their explanations seemed stifled by not using religious terms, I specifically asked

them to use the terms they found most comfortable. When I was directly asked if I was a

Christian, I responded affirmatively but did not expound on my personal faith life.

However, sometimes interviewees did not then fully explain what they meant when using

specific religious terminology, assuming I knew what they were talking about. In those

cases, I would ask for clarification; one person's use of a religious term may not be the

same as another's. I also found that upon revealing my status as a fellow Christian,

interviewees often opened up, elaborated, and were more candid about their faith

experiences than they might have been otherwise.

As an Asian American with an interest in racial dynamics, my insider/outsider status was also ambiguous at times. I was sensitive to how I may be perceived, and I was conscious of the fact that my racial status may affect the interview dynamic specifically, particularly because I would be asking questions about racial experiences. At Jackson Church, I suspected that I may have had an easier time getting incorporated into the life of the congregation because I was Asian American. Although Asian Americans were still clearly a minority, there were both a greater proportion and a greater visible presence of Asian Americans at Jackson Church than at Mannington Church. Also, the Korean American lay pastor immediately recognized my ethnicity as a Korean American, and my husband and I shared an affinity with him because he was also part of an identically ethnically mixed Asian couple. We were able to establish a personal connection with them because we were able to share experiences of the unique challenges of being an ethnically mixed, Asian couple. Further, there was another Asian American woman in the church who I had known from a brief stay in the city 10 years earlier.

At Mannington Church, even before I had officially begun my research or met many of the pastoral staff, I felt that I received extra attention from leadership because of my visibility as an Asian American in a predominantly black and white environment. My status as a married, pregnant Asian American was particularly noticeable. Initially, I attributed the welcome and attention as a product of the overall culture of the church as well as our own visibility, but when I discovered the intentional desire to increase the Asian American and Latino populations at their church, I realized that the attention may also have been an effort to actively recruit not only Asian Americans, but Asian American families (particularly at the Varsity location). Also, though there were other Asian congregants, I was a minority among a minority as a U.S.-born ethnically Korean

Asian American. Others seemed to agree with my observation that many of the Asians at the Varsity location had attended a sister church in an East Asian country. At the City location, we were virtually ignored by the mostly college-aged congregants, as we clearly were not college students. However, we were approached by the pastors, including the new Asian American pastor.

During the Mannington Church interviews, I felt at times that interviewees had some difficulty relating to my racial status. Because I was neither white nor black, I sensed that some felt the freedom to be more candid and honest whereas others were unsure. One phenomenon I noticed in some of the African American leaders' interviews was that at the beginning of the interview, they would invoke a much more formal language; as they became comfortable with me, their language turned increasingly colloquial. I felt as though the commonality as *people of color* did not matter as much as the fact that I was not African American in establishing more immediate relational rapport. As I was fully aware that Asian Americans have historically been seen as having more in common with whites and have been pitted against African American populations as the model minority, this was not a surprise to me. In these instances, revealing my status as a Christian helped establish a more comfortable conversational environment. In most cases, however, I felt that individuals also appreciated my status as a "neutral" party because I was neither white nor black. Thus, they could speak of whites or blacks in the congregation without personally offending me as a member of either group. I also noticed that there were intentional efforts to be inclusive to me as an Asian American in interviews. When speaking of diversity, there was care to mention "Asian Americans" in the list of people groups, at which point they would often nod or gesture toward me specifically, which was also the case during Jackson Church interviews.

Although I should probably be accustomed to assumptions of my "foreignness," I was still surprised that the most obviously stated assumption came from Mannington's senior pastor himself. During the interview, he spoke of his house being *egged*. He stopped, and asked if I knew what that meant. I hesitated, wondering if I had heard him right or if there was another meaning for egged that I was not familiar with—I quickly decided that I had in fact understood him and acknowledged it as so. Pastor Bryce explained that sometimes he uses certain terms that confuse the Asian American pastor, and he wanted to be sensitive to cultural differences in language. His immediate association of me with an Asian American who had spent most of his life living in an Asian country helped me realize that he probably had limited experience with American-born Asian Americans. The assumption of foreignness always surprises me, especially since I personally feel as though I have less in common with this Asian American pastor than I do with Pastor Bryce. In fact, Pastor Bryce has spent more time in Asian countries than I have.

In addition, conversations with some of the pastoral leadership as well as the Asian American pastor about their desire to recruit Asian Americans to their church betrayed a lack of understanding of the diversity of religious experience between and within Asian ethnic groups. Some expressed surprise when I mentioned the existence of a large pan-Asian American church in the area as well as the fact that the majority of Korean Americans, for example, are "churched," currently attending or having attended Christian churches.

My pregnancy also had the surprising effect of facilitating relationships. Questions about my pregnancy lubricated conversation by providing a topic for discussion. In particular, both men and women with children had great stories and advice

to share about pregnancy, mothering, and child rearing. They were also both sympathetic and understanding when I had to constantly shift positions during interviews due to the intense pelvic pain of being seated for long periods. In one interview, I was awkwardly reclined on a couch due to the pain. The fact that I carried a donut pillow with me to many of the Sunday services also drew some attention, which was welcomed because it opened doors for conversation.

Finally, as a researcher with immediate access to the pastoral leadership of both churches, I realized that I also held a position of privilege. Not only did I possess more intimate knowledge of both the leadership and the church, but I was relationally connected to the leadership in a way that most congregation members were not.

In general I found that the insider/outside dichotomy did not speak to my experience in the field. The degree of insider or outsider status existed on a spectrum with multiple dimensions that shifted and changed not only according to which aspects of my identity became salient, but also with the amount of time I spent in the field and who I spent it with. At no moment did I feel completely an insider or completely an outsider.

Congregational Profiles

These churches are similar to each other in ways that are unique to most churches. First, each can be categorized as a multiracial congregation. That is, no one racial group makes up more than 80% of the congregation. When at least 20% of the congregation is different from the majority race, the probability of contact with a different race individual is high (Sigelman et al. 1996). Although recent survey estimates place 5.5% of Protestant churches in the multiracial category, it is speculated that the percentage is much less

because many of these "multiracial" churches are in transition to a mono-racial congregation (Emerson 2006).

These churches also consist of mainly white and black congregants, providing an opportunity to understand how pastors manage diversity in the most unstable congregations. Only a third of multiracial congregations are comprised of mainly blacks and whites; most racially diverse congregations are composed of whites with Hispanics or Asians. Blacks are less likely to attend multiracial congregations because they are more residentially segregated, less likely to intermarry, and have a more difficult time gaining acceptance than other racial minorities (Yancey 2003). Congregations where blacks and whites are significantly represented have historically been the most difficult to sustain (Emerson 2006).

Both are multisite churches. Multisite churches describe a new structural development of franchise-like church organization in the last decade. This form has become increasingly popular due to need for economization of resources as well as the potential for greater evangelistic reach. In this model, churches may establish several geographically separated sites or congregations. In the case of these two churches, all of their sites are located in the same large East Coast metropolitan area. The governance and resource-sharing properties may differ between multisite organizational models, but church sites share the same branding and mission or vision.

The multisite church form also provides analytic advantages for the purposes of this study. First, comparing similarities across congregational sites within churches allows me to identify the key church-level features that distinguish Jackson Church from Mannington Church. Although there are too few congregational sites within each church to assess the effect of differing demographic compositions, the variation that is observed

helps identify those characteristics that may be specific to the congregational site rather than the church.

Despite key similarities as multisite, multiracial churches, Jackson Church and Mannington Church are dramatically different in their approaches to "doing church." These differing approaches are clearly evident in an attendee's experience in their religious services. Below, I profile each congregation and paint a picture of a typical worship service. These profiles show the remarkable similarity of religious style across congregations within churches.

Both churches' worship and organizational styles, though contrasting, typify the "new paradigm" cultural change in Christianity (Finke and Stark 2005; Warner 1993), marked by the appropriation of contemporary cultural forms and music styles, the restructuring of organizational forms,[55] particularly in contrast to the denominational, bureaucratic hierarchies of more institutionalized mainline churches, and an emphasis on lay leadership, that is, the *priesthood of all believers* (Miller 1997).

Jackson Church

An independent, nondenominational Christian church, Jackson Church has two locations, one in Gatewood and one in Stanton. Both locations meet in the major movie theater in their respective towns, which are 20 minutes apart. Gatewood was the original church location, and Stanton Church was established in October 2005, just a few months before I began to observe the churches. In their own words, Jackson Church "is part of a growing movement of churches that are multisite—one church that meets in multiple

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[55] These new paradigm churches contribute to what some consider to be a new era of Christianity, coined *postdenominationalism* by C. Peter Wagner. Even those churches that are still members of existing denominations sometimes conceal their denominational identity (Miller 1997).

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locations. These venues all share the same DNA, mission, strategy, resources and staff but it allows us to involve more people and reach out more broadly" (monthly newsletter, Nov. 2006). They have plans to have 20 sites or "campuses" by 2020. The intention is to establish and grow through locally based communities in deliberate contrast to monolithic megachurch structures. There are four megachurches within a 10-mile radius of Jackson's congregations.

Jackson's church congregations, like many multisite churches, share resources. The two sites have the same pastoral staff, excepting the campus lay pastors who are the point people for each congregation. They share overhead costs and production materials and even had the same worship band at one point. The church usually develops a 6-week sermon series based on a theme, for which all materials are designed and through which the sites rotate. That is, if Gatewood is on the first week of the sermon series, Stanton is on the last week of the previous series. Thus, when Gatewood is on the second week of the sermon series, Stanton is beginning the first week. Because different pastors are assigned different weeks of a sermon series, the pastors simply travel to their respective service site, and the same production and multimedia materials for the corresponding week are used in both sites. It is "One Church, Two Locations, Same Great Stuff!" (mailer, 5/10/2006).

My first introduction to Jackson Church was a colorful, glossy postcard in the mail advertising the church. The postcard featured photos of several happy people with whimsically exaggerated heads, with "FUN! … where you never thought you'd find it!" printed on the face. I noticed that each major racial group was represented. Following the website listed on the postcard, a new attendee or a visitor could view a video message from the pastor, video overview of the church, and a detailed description of what to

expect upon a Sunday visit to the church including exactly what you might see in the lobby, the order service, where the bathrooms are, and how to check children into the youth ministry. During my time in the church, I also received several postcard mailers advertising different sermon series. The website also included information about the current sermon series, the church's vision and mission, podcasts, and other church activities. Both mediums give the impression of a casual, fun, and nonintimidating church environment.

Jackson Church–Gatewood

The Gatewood location has two morning services at 9:30 and 11:30. Directly outside the doors to the theater, tucked away next to one of the mall's public parking structure, a sandwich board sign announces the church service. The residences directly surrounding the movie theater consist of small houses and midrise apartment complexes.

There are science-fair type signs and tables in the lobby in front of the ticket window, with full-sized cardboard cutouts of the same big-headed people shown on the postcard dispersed throughout. Each of the signs points to various activities and groups, such as the youth program and service opportunities. Before the start of the service, I visited the table for new visitors to the church, where I was offered a free travel mug and given information about various activities in church, including an invitation to a "guest reception" at a restaurant connected to the lobby of the movie theater and a newcomers' evening information session with the pastor. In case someone misses the refreshment table in the hallway, stocked with Starbucks coffee and donuts, there is another in the lobby, and in the entrance of the actual theater. People feel free to bring food and drink into the service—it is a movie theater, after all.

Upon entering the movie theater where the service is held, a greeter hands me what is referred to as a "program" with a pen attached and there is a small shelf of Journey Bibles for those who would like to take one into the service. Journey Bibles are designed to be easy-to-navigate Bibles for spiritual *seekers*. The program is typically a 15 to 30-page full-color booklet containing information about every aspect of the church, and also takes the reader step by step through the worship service. The program includes a page titled, "If this is your first visit, we recommend," info on campus pastor and staff with head shots, events, ministry groups, missionaries being supported, a description of the multisite form, a 5-day devotional study, a description of the church and its mission, a section listing service opportunities and community needs, and extra "growth" pages (e.g., a list of recommended books). In addition, there are inserts such as an information card for visitors to fill out, inserts advertising upcoming events, and an envelope for tithes.

The lights are on but it is still somewhat dim, just as it would be when entering a movie theater before the previews have started. As the website describes, "The big screen will probably be playing some funny video countdown which lets everyone know that the service is about to begin." The lights dim even more when the first worship song is sung. Some weeks there was one person at the electric piano leading the songs, but after active recruitment of worship team members, this soon expanded to eight people. Near the end of my fieldwork period, there was a white male leading worship on guitar, two female singers, one white and the other mixed black and white, another white male guitarist, an Asian drummer, and white female pianist. There was often some variation in who was in the band. The music is what I would label "contemporary Christian," played in a rock-alternative style.

In a typical service, this initial worship song is followed by a video promo of the sermon series, followed by announcements, which are always complemented by a video background featuring the name and title of the announcer on the screen. Similar to what one would expect when watching a movie, there is even a short video to remind everyone to silence pagers and phones. There usually is another video and interactive game, usually for a prize. For example, on one Sunday there was a video shown, after which congregants were to guess what happened next. Such activities during worship services are an example of the "fun" style promoted by the church. As the introductory mailer explained,

> Life is serious stuff, but from beginning to end the Bible is about joy! The ultimate human experience is to enjoy God … and coming in a close second is to enjoy other people. Obviously this is deeper than the antics of a late night comedian or the latest forwarded e-mail. Even though life can be hard, we're finding there is joy in seeking God. Think church should reflect the fun side of God? Try Jackson Church … you might just "enjoy the ride"! … "I laughed. I cried. Milk came out of my nose."

The game is followed by a time for congregants to greet each other. There are some quick hellos, but not much conversation. Another short video introducing the Bible verse upon which the sermon will be based is followed by another couple of songs sung by the congregation. Even when the song introduced is not new to the congregation, the singing volume is not what you would expect given the number of people present. About 50–70% of the congregants clap to the music, but without an abundance of enthusiasm, and about a quarter of the congregation raise their hands. Most of the congregation stands relatively still. Attendees at the late-morning service tend to be more lively than those at the first morning service. The lyrics for the songs are always displayed on the screen against a moving video background.

After another short video comes a sermon of approximately 30 minutes. This is usually the only time the lights come up. The church program always includes a fill-in-the-blank outline of the sermon. Another video, usually only lasting a few seconds, concludes the sermon, which is then followed by a soloist singing a contemporary Christian song or a contemporary secular song. During these solos, the words are displayed on the screen, but it is often unclear to me whether we are supposed to sing along. Communion also takes place every week during the service and people take their "juice" and "bread" in their seats. Finally, as is described on the website "What can I expect when I come on a Sunday morning?" the service "concludes with cool video announcements related to upcoming events or opportunities" while the offering basket is passed.

If a parent of a child in the youth program is needed, the child's number flashes up on the corner of the screen. At various points during the church service and most frequently during congregational singing, there is a light "show" of colored swirls and spinning triangles on the walls on either side of the theater. The whole church service lasts approximately an hour and 15 minutes.

People trickle in throughout the service, with approximately 120 people spread out over 10 or 11 rows at a typical 11:30 service. During the first 6 months of 2006, the combined adult attendance for both services ranged from 300 to 598, with an average attendance of 476. Most sat near the back of the theater, and it was unusual for congregants to have to sit directly next to another family or person they do not know. In general, people are dressed very casually, mostly in jeans, as is the whole church staff. There seem to be many young families who attend here. Some congregants are middle

aged, and there are many 20-somethings. It is rare to see an elderly person or couple, which is not surprising given the contemporary tone of the church.

It is difficult to see just how racially diverse the congregation is due to the dim lighting. According to the results of the survey, it is composed of over 75% white, about 10% black and about 13% other races, consistent with my observations. In general, the congregation is somewhat less diverse than I assumed it would be, given the promotional materials. I learned later that the diverse group of big-headed people featured on the postcard and cutouts are not actual church members. Gatewood's congregation is more white than Gatewood itself. Gatewood, located about 30 minutes outside the central city, was fairly diverse according to the 2000 U.S. Census, composed of 58.2% white, 14.6% black, 13.8% Asian, and 19.8% of Hispanic or Latino origin, with 34.3% foreign born.

The city of Gatewood is also a highly educated city, with 46.5% having earned Bachelor's degrees or higher (of those 25 years old and up), well above the national average. The median annual household income is $59,879 and 7.1% of individuals are below the poverty level. The median value of owner-occupied housing units was $171,100 in 2000. Gatewood's congregants, however, have a higher socioeconomic status than the city as a whole. Among Gatewood's congregants who are 25 years and older, 65% have Bachelor's degrees or higher, and the median household income category is $75,000–$99,999.

After the service, people are friendly if approached. We are often approached by members of the staff (particularly after I had started my interviews), but rarely by other congregation members. In general, there never seem to be more than a few people milling about before service, but many stay after to chat with others. The socializing time is always limited, however, because the next service is starting (if after the first morning

service) or theatergoers are entering to see afternoon movies. The tables and signs are quickly dismantled after the second service.

A middle-aged Korean American man, Sam, the campus lay pastor, warmly and enthusiastically greets people in the lobby before and after service. He invited my husband and me to a Bible study at his home. This Bible study burgeoned to over 20 people in a matter of months—many of whom Sam had personally recruited from church and work—and was comprised of a very diverse group of people, including Persian, Hispanic, Asian, white, South Asian, and black. During my fieldwork it became clear that Sam and his wife were critical linchpins in the congregation, instrumental in connecting people to others and welcoming newcomers.

Jackson Church–Stanton

Stanton's church service begins at 11 am. A sign identical to the one at the Gatewood location is perched outside the movie theater entrance where the service is held. The layout of the theater in which Stanton meets has an escalator immediately taking you to the theater lobby. To avoid any confusion about the location of the church service, there is an usher stationed at the bottom of the escalator to point the way. Although it is a smaller theater lobby than Gatewood, the same cardboard cutouts, signs, and tables are set up in this lobby as well.

The style, dress, and atmosphere are very similar to that of Gatewood. During the *praise* portion of the service, three or four people have their arms raised, but in general there is not much emotion or expressiveness during the congregational singing. Given the small size of the congregation, the congregational singing or lack thereof felt awkward.

As the second site to be established, several Gatewood attendees chose to attend Stanton in order to help get it started. One of those individuals is Jenna, a petite white woman who was the campus lay pastor during the study period. She gives an announcement during the service and greets people afterwards. Although she is not as effervescent a personality as Sam, she is warm, offers to answer any questions I may have, and appears to be familiar with most of the attendees.

The most distinctive difference between the Stanton and Gatewood worship experience is that the Stanton congregation is smaller with a different demographic composition. From January to June 2006, the average adult attendance was 187 attendees, with attendance ranging from 119 to 237, less than half that of Gatewood.

Stanton itself is located right outside the city (its subway stop, located near the movie theater, is the first stop outside the city limits), and is more racially diverse than Gatewood, namely because of the higher percentage of African Americans. According to the U.S. Census (2000), of those who named only one race, 46.6% are white, 28.1% are black, 8.2% Asian, and 22.2% report Hispanic or Latino origin, with 35.1% foreign born. As with Gatewood, it is an educated city—among 25 year olds and older, 48.5% have a Bachelor's degree or higher. The median household income is slightly less than that of Gatewood, at $51, 653, with 9.3% of individuals below the poverty level. The median value of owner-occupied housing units is higher than that of Gatewood, at $187,300 in 2000.

The racial composition of Stanton roughly corresponds to the racial composition of the congregation. As there are a higher percentage of blacks in Stanton, a noticeably higher percentage of African Americans attend the Stanton congregation. The percentage of African American attendees ranges from 20 to 40% depending on the week. There are

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usually a few Asian attendees as well. According to the survey results, a little more than

half of the congregation is white and about 37% are African American. Although the

racial composition is similar to that of the city, Stanton's congregants have a notably

higher socioeconomic status than the city of Stanton; 78.7% of congregants 25 years and

older have at least a Bachelor's degree, and the median household income category is

$75, 000–$99,999.

Mannington Church

Mannington Church is also a nondenominational church, but is affiliated with a

family of churches and ministries that function as a flat, flexible, network-based

structure. One of the pastors categorized it as part of the "new apostolic reformation"

setting. New apostolic churches model their authority structures after the leadership

model described in the New Testament book of Acts (Wagner 2000).[56]

Mannington Church's Varsity location was the first to be established in the area,

and at the time of the study functioned as a central "hub." They also had begun to

establish additional church plants in two other locations that were located outside this

East Coast metropolitan area, but City and Varsity congregations are the most strongly

connected. Unlike Jackson Church, which shares a pastoral staff between locations, each

location has its own pastoral staff. Pastor Bryce oversees all the church plants, and Pastor

David, who is the pastor of the City location, is also the associate pastor of the Varsity

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[56] In addition, leadership roles are based on the designation given to spiritual "gifts" described in the early Christian church: "And in the church God has appointed first of all apostles, second prophets, third teachers, then workers of miracles, also those having gifts of healing, those able to help others, those with gifts of administration, and those speaking in different kinds of tongues" (1 Corinthians 12:28).

location.[57] Administrative personnel are shared, but financial resources remain separate. Each church also has its own activities and schedule, but as their website states, "all share the same spirit and heart to see our city and cities won for Christ." In addition, all-church worship services and all-church conferences for attendees from all Mannington Church plants take place a few times a year.

Mannington Church–Varsity

The Varsity location of Mannington Church is located in one of the fastest growing exurban areas of the country. When driving through the newly established city of Varsity on one of the major roads through the center of town, it is obvious that it is a planned community. I pass several "town centers," subdivisions, and construction sites for new housing and shopping centers. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, from April 2000 to July 2007, its population increased by 64.4%. As an indicator of the newness of the area, the high school in which the congregation meets is only 2 years old.

It is also in one of the wealthiest areas of the country.[58] In 2007, Lowell County, in which it is located, had the highest median household income in the United States at $107,200, and the median value of owner-occupied housing units in 2000 was $200,500, nearly double the value of units statewide. It is the wealthiest residential area of all four congregational locations in this study. The educational attainment of its residents, however, does not differ greatly from that of Stanton and Gatewood, with 47.2% of those 25 years and older receiving Bachelor's degrees or higher (U.S. Census 2000).

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[57] At the end of the fieldwork period, the church was in the process of separating out leadership positions as well as developing a separate website for each of the locations. The goal is to keep each congregation connected to the metropolitan family of churches, but for each to function independently.

[58] The name of the county has been changed.

As I approach the location of the high school, I see a professionally printed sandwich board inviting passersby to attend the service at Mannington Church. The high socioeconomic status of congregants seems more obvious at Mannington Church than it does at Jackson Church. Turning into the neighborhood surrounding the high school, the large gated houses make it evident that this is an upper-class community. A sign similar to that on the street is posted at the entrance of the high school, and another sign directs vehicles to the main parking area. The parking lot contains a fair share of luxury-class cars and SUVs. I follow the trail of well-dressed families into the high school. The level of dress is clearly business attire, two steps up from casual dress. The very few who were casually dressed (jeans) were high schoolers or young adults.

The ECCS shows that the typical attendee at Varsity is more likely to have at least a Bachelor's degree than those in the county at large, 65.22% of those over 25 years old compared to 47.2% in the county. However, the median household income is lower than the county median—in Mannington Church–Varsity, the median household income is in the $75,000–$99,999 range, whereas the county's median household income, as noted previously, is above $100,000.

I am warmly welcomed by male and female greeters, both African American, at the doors of the high school. The auditorium, where the church service is held, is located directly to the left, with greeters posted at its several entrances. Additional greeters, all wearing nametags, are standing around in the lobby. It is immediately apparent from the race of the greeters as well as those of the congregants milling around the lobby that this is a racially mixed church. The predominant racial groups are black and white. To the right of the auditorium, there is a small area labeled the "Connection Center" with some informational materials about the church. Tables with sign-up materials contain

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information about various upcoming events and ministry groups. There are also large signs posted pointing to the location of the bathrooms and the children's ministry. Parents were busy registering their children for the children's ministry about 50 yards from the entrance of the school.

Upon entering the brightly lit auditorium, smartly and uniformly dressed ushers, all male but racially mixed, pass out the church "bulletin," answer questions, and point people to available seating. They are a tightly organized group. Latecomers are seated by the ushers. The ushers seem almost regal in their demeanor, and they make great effort to open doors for everyone who passes in and out of the auditorium. The ushers, who are identified not only by their common dress but by silver-plated nametags, remained posted at every aisle and at the front and back sections of the auditorium until the beginning of the sermon. More obvious to my husband than me was the presence of several professional athletes, including Hall of Famers. The back section of the auditorium was reserved specifically for families with strollers and babies. Aisles marked "no seating" seem designated as such to encourage people to sit near the front and middle of the auditorium. Nearly everyone sits near the front, close together.

The bulletin I received is short and small, with no order of service given. Except for a few announcements of upcoming events, there is no other information. The bulletins I received at the beginning of my fieldwork had nondescript blurry pictures of people, cities, and national flags. The bulletins I received at the end of my fieldwork period had pictures of congregants, including four college-aged women of different ethnic backgrounds, a little girl whose racial ethnicity was not decipherable, a white couple, a white woman kissing a black toddler on the cheek, a black couple, and two children, one black and one white, sitting on steps.

The time before the service starts is social—although there are a few who are seated quietly in their seats, the majority of congregants greet and talk with one another. It was noteworthy to me that there did not seem to be any racial segregation in the pattern of social interaction. As would be expected by the composition of the congregation, half are mixed-race interactions, and about half are same-race interactions.

Those sitting in the same row as me smile and say hello as we sit. The service begins promptly at 11 am, with a call to worship from an African American male standing on the stage who spoke without script. The auditorium was only about half full and did not fill up until 11:20. In the 6 months prior to the administration of the survey, the average adult attendance was 442, but attendance ranged from 344 to 533.[59] The population of the church consisted overwhelmingly of families with children, but there are elderly and young people as well. The congregation seemed about evenly split between whites and blacks, who made up the vast majority of the congregation. The ECC survey reveals the racial breakdown of congregants: 49.2% white, 40.8% black, and 10.2% other race.

The congregational racial composition differs vastly from that of Lowell County as a whole: The proportion of blacks is five times that of the county. In Lowell County, as of 2007 67.4% of the county is non-Hispanic white (76.8% are white), and 8.3% are black. 12.1% are Asian, and 10.2% are Hispanic. This is about half the proportion of Gatewood's black population and a third that of Stanton's. Further, only 11.3% are foreign born (2000), in contrast with about a third in Gatewood and Stanton. Whereas

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[59] Like many fast-growing churches that are established in exurban areas (Eiesland 2000; Karnes et al. 2007; Thumma 1996; Vaughan 2003), Mannington Church–Varsity is also a rapidly expanding church. When I visited the church three years later, the attendance had doubled, according to Pastor Bryce's estimates.

about 41% of the populations in Gatewood and Stanton speak another language other than English at home, only 15% of Lowell County's does. However, though there are fewer black residents and fewer foreign born, 10.2% reported being more than one race, which is double the percentage in Gatewood and Stanton.

The diversity of the congregation is clearly reflected in the worship team. About half an hour of exuberant congregational singing follows the call to worship, led by a white female worship leader with a rich, soulful voice. She sings with a racially mixed group of six singers accompanied by a choir. The choir matches almost exactly the proportion of racial groups in the congregation. Each of the four songs was sung several times over. Although I could not pinpoint the specific style of music, the songs were definitely not "Christian contemporary," nor were they gospel. The atmosphere during the congregational singing could best be described as celebratory and energetic, with most of the congregation standing, clapping, swaying, and raising their hands. There is no perceptible difference between racial groups in their degree of expression in worship.

This worship portion is followed by a short prayer, which is occasionally followed by a "word" from Pastor James, who is known for his prophetic gifts. This is the most overt indication that the church leans charismatic in its theology. On this particular Sunday, Pastor James says that the Spirit brought a picture in his mind of God as a rising tide, and that many are waiting for God but waiting for Him to work in one particular way. Pastor James encourages the congregation not to just look up for God to work, but also to look down because the rising tide may already be lifting you up. "It's already being done; God is already working."

Pastor James welcomes the congregation, and encourages everyone to welcome each other. This welcome is not the typical forced meet and greet that happens in many

congregations—many got out of their seats and crossed aisles, giving hugs and often conversing with more than a simple "Hello, nice to meet you." Those who were visiting for the first time were asked to raise their hands so that the ushers could hand them a small gift and a follow-up card, which also gave other congregants an opportunity to see who was new among them, and newcomers were greeted enthusiastically. I was often approached by another church member I did not know after services.

After announcements, tithes and offerings are collected but it is mentioned that visitors should not feel obligated to give. One of the pastors or deacons typically introduces the tithes and offerings collection, which elicits cheers from the congregation. The collection is also preceded by a Bible verse and short explanation of why tithes are collected. For example, one speaker compared paying taxes and paying tithes. He says that just as citizens are required to pay taxes, we are citizens of another nation and are also required to give a percentage of our income. He exhorts congregants to check out what kind of "retirement program," "social/community program," "defense program," and "debt program" God provides. His short speech is followed by whoops, hollers, and cheers.

The sermon message is most often delivered by Pastor Bryce, who characteristically wears a double-breasted gray suit with his infamous bowtie. In fact, every speaker wears a suit. The verse on which the sermon is based is always read in Spanish as well as in English. Standing in front of a clear stand, he does not speak from any notes. During his sermon, a screen behind him outlines the sermon and provides visual illustration to its key points. Every so often, a congregation member will shout out an "Amen" or some indication of agreement. Nearly every worship service concludes with an opportunity to become a believer. On one Sunday, Pastor Bryce presents the

opportunity to those who want to "give their hearts to the Lord" during the closing prayer. In addition he asks those who "gave their heart but took it back" if they want to repent to raise their hands—after acknowledging a few hands, he prays a repentance prayer with them. The congregation claps as Pastor Bryce leaves the stage. Another pastor dismisses the congregation, first dismissing guests so they can attend the guest reception presumably without getting overrun by the other congregants. The worship service usually lasts an hour and 45 minutes.

The guest reception takes place in a section of the hallway directly outside the auditorium doors, with light refreshments. An African American couple, the Wilmingtons, greets me on the day that I visit the guest reception area and provides information about the church. Chris Wilmington makes a point to introduce us to Pastor Bryce and mentions different opportunities to get involved in the church. He also notes that Pastor Bryce is a chaplain of a professional sports team in the area and mentions how several professional athletes are leaders in the church. After the 20 minutes we spend in the guest reception area, there are still many congregants socializing in the auditorium and in the hallways.

Although they currently meet in a high school, it is clear that this location is temporary and that there is a strong desire for a permanent facility. The church had been raising money for years for a church building, which eventually opened in 2007, a year after the completion of my fieldwork.

Mannington Church–City

True to its name, the City congregation meets in the city proper. Although the City congregation began in 1999, they had only recently started meeting at a movie

theater, with no current plans for a permanent facility. The theater currently seats 300, and there are plans to transition to two services. The theater is conveniently located a block from a subway stop. A sign in the middle of the sidewalk welcomes people to join the service, but on Sunday morning at 9 am there is little foot traffic near the theater. Upon entering the doors of the theater, escalators lead you up to the second level where the religious services are held. Where the ticket agent normally stands to collect tickets, a greeter, dressed in a suit, welcomes attendees.

In the lobby signs and folding tables are set up for their resource ministry, which sells tapes, CDs, and books, and for the guest-services ministry. Upon entering the theater, two well-dressed ushers hand out the church bulletin. The service begins promptly at 9 am, and attendance doubles by about 9:30 am. Like Stanton's congregation, Mannington's church plant has a smaller congregation and was started by a small contingent, or "transplant" of members who were attending Varsity church. In the 6 months prior to the administration of the survey, the average adult attendance was 131, and attendance ranged from 63 to 252. Unlike the Varsity location, people are dressed casually (except for those serving as ushers or greeters), and it is a more youthful population.

The majority of the congregants are African American. According to the results of the ECCS, the congregation is composed of 18.2% white, 76.4% black, and 5.5% other races. The black population at this congregation is about 15% more than the proportion of blacks in the city, and the white population of the congregation is a little over 10% lower than that of the city. The higher percentage of blacks can partly be explained in part to the presence of nearby HBCUs from which many student congregants were recruited. Recruitment efforts have expanded to include other nearby universities. It is clear that

college students or recent college graduates make up a significant proportion of this population. Close to the subway, the location is easily accessible for students.

Like Varsity, City is a highly educated congregation. Of those 25 years old and older, 85.7% have at least a Bachelor's degree, compared to 39.1% of those in the city as a whole. Those who do not yet have Bachelor's degrees are typically college students. The household median income category is lower than that of Varsity, $50,000–$74,999, but this also reflects the younger age of congregants. And, it is well above the median family income of households in the city, $46,283.

The order of service is nearly identical to that of the Varsity congregation. After the call to worship, the worship team begins the congregational singing. Although the worship team is also diverse, it is more reflective of the population at City. During the greeting time, guests receive a welcome packet appropriately enclosed in a cardboard popcorn box. It is a more casual atmosphere in comparison to Varsity, due to the movie theater location, size, and age of congregants. The pastoral staff at City is also younger than that of Varsity. The theater is set up in a way that the speakers are only a couple of rows away from the congregation. Throughout the sermon, people are encouraged to respond to Pastor David, who typically delivers the sermon. For example, in starting off one sermon, he asks everyone to "shake your neighbor's hand and say 'I'm good!' and 'I'm alive!'" People respond to this, with some even shouting out, "You have no idea!" There is always a constant stream of "yes, sirs" and other affirmations from the congregation. As with the service at Varsity, nearly every speaker, whether giving announcements or a sermon, begins with a Bible verse.

After the service, many students socialize in the theater lobby. The guest reception area consists of a folding table with some pastries and water. On this occasion

there were about 10 newcomers to the service. In addition to the line of students waiting to talk to Pastor David, the recently hired Asian pastor draws the attention of the few Asian students who attend.

A "Seeker" Church

As evidenced by a typical worship services, many aspects of Jackson Church are geared for spiritual "seekers," those who may be interested in spirituality but who have not yet made a commitment to Christianity. The services are also intended for those who seek an alternative worship experience from what would be found in more traditional church environments.

For example, they emphasize accessibility. This ease of access is evident in how much information is provided for newcomers on their website as well as in their church programs, as well as their movie theater location. Their website states, "Coming to [Jackson Church] is as easy as going to the movies minus all the congested parking and travel nightmares." Little is required of attendees. One need not bring anything except oneself; a pen, a Bible, and coffee are all provided.

It is marketed as a nonthreatening environment where people at any point of their spiritual journeys would feel welcome, especially those who are not Christian. Their web site states that,

> We consider our Sunday morning time a great opportunity to welcome all people no matter where they are in their relationship to God. We choose to worship in such a way that would make our non-Christian guests feel comfortable and ready to discover new life in Christ in a nonthreatening, fun, meaningful and loving environment.

The reference to its congregants as "guests" indicates that they will be treated with especial accommodation. They attempt to establish an environment where non-

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Christians in particular can be "comfortable" in a "meaningful and loving" church environment. In its accommodation and sensitivity to the perceptions and needs of spiritual "seekers" or non-Christians, Jackson Church is typical of other seeker churches in their evangelistic orientation. Their intention is clear: to create an environment where non-Christians might feel "ready to discover new life in Christ." Some consider seeker churches to be a "re-form" of evangelism (Sargeant 2000).

In an effort to be sensitive to the needs of the non-Christian and to be culturally relevant, the church makes little distinction between the secular and sacred. It is common for the church to use clips from popular movies, such as *Amistad* and *Mrs. Doubtfire*, and secular songs as part of the worship experience, such as Natasha Bedingfield's song, "Unwritten." Further, sermon series are designed to connect secular and sacred topics. For example, one series was named "IPod, becoming a person of distinction." (Pod is changed into an acronym for "person of distinction.") The emphasis on church as entertaining and the varied and prominent use of multimedia is an effort to be culturally appropriate. There is also little formality, including dress and address. Congregants are expected to come casually dressed. Further, pastors are referred to by their first name, without title, thereby de-emphasizing religious authority and hierarchy. All these characteristics are intended to pave the path of conversion for non-Christians by not letting "church" and prejudices towards religiousness get in the way of their spiritual journeys.

In their accessibility, sensitivity to non-Christian perceptions of church, and incorporation of secular elements in its services, seeker churches such as Jackson Church provide an easily digestible Christianity. Further, its evangelistic orientation is not perceived as threatening or aggressive. Sargeant (2000) explains that seeker churches

provide a more plausible model of Christianity in relation to culture by emphasizing

individualism, autonomy, therapeutic sensibilities, and an anti-institutional inclination.

These elements, present in Jackson Church, and their implications for racial integration

will be explored further in the next few chapters.

A Contemporary Church

Although there are some attempts to be sensitive to those who may be non-

Christian, Mannington Church is not a seeker church like Jackson Church. Being

culturally relevant or *contemporary* is defined differently here. In an interview with the

local county magazine, Pastor Bryce explained that being contemporary is about "trying

to figure out what in my society today can I address in a relevant fashion without

compromising the message" (Cowart 2006, p. 38). Mannington Church is more

concerned with distinguishing between what is biblical or anti-biblical in the culture,

rather than using aspects of secular culture to help illuminate the sacred. Although secular

media such as movie clips are used, they are not a prominent feature of the church's

religious service.

The evangelical mission is expressed more aggressively than in Jackson Church.

Conversion of non-Christians is referred to as "winning" individuals to Christ. Nearly

every religious service included a reference to proselytizing, either by a personal

example, sermon message, prophetic message, church bulletin, church activity to which

congregants were encouraged to invite their neighbors, or by a concluding prayer that

asked if anyone was ready to "accept Christ," offering an opportunity for conversion.

This highly directive, strategic approach to evangelism is consistent with an ambitious

version of Christianity observed in this church. Sermons in Mannington Church are more

likely to emphasize that Christian life is uncomfortable and requires sacrifice. There is

also more talk about sin and individuals' capacity for wrongdoing. However, these

aspects of Christian life are then balanced by an emphasis on God's empowerment. In a

sermon, Pastor Bryce stated, "The message of the church is too often not one of victory,

but one of acquiescence" (4/14/2006). In addition, there are numerous sermon messages

as well as statements within messages that refer to a striving for a greater vision for one's

life. For example, there was a sermon series entitled "God of Increase" that focused on

increasing one's influence and leadership and desiring more from God. At the City

location, Pastor David gave two separate sermon series entitled "Capacity" and "Living

Large" that exhorted congregants to enlarge their vision for their life, particularly in

regards to evangelism. "There's enormous capacity for greatness within you," he said

(4/2/2006).

These contrasting styles of church between Jackson and Mannington are evident

in the responses for survey questions that assessed different aspects of congregational

climate. In every aspect of religious service climate asked, excepting "spontaneity" and

"obligation" for which there was no statistically significant difference between the

churches, Mannington Church scored higher in whether these aspects were experienced

always or *usually* by congregants. (The other response choices included *sometimes*,

rarely, and *never*.) The chi-squared statistic for each measure was significant at $p < .01$

(see Table 19).

Table 19: Congregational Climate

How often do you experience ___ in religious services?	Mannington Church	Jackson Church
N	233	202
Percentage of congregation who chose *always* or *usually.*		
… a sense of God's presence	87.88	71.78
… inspiration	89.22	78.71
… awe or mystery	41.04	28.50
… joy	86.76	75.62
… fulfillment	77.70	70.15
… empowerment	73.82	62.00
… purpose	81.12	68.31
Percentage of congregation who chose *rarely* or *never.*		
… boredom	81.04	79.11
… frustration	77.39	68.32

The fact that Mannington congregants rated their church higher in every indicator is reflective of the described variation in climates between the two churches. However, these differences may also be indicative of differences in how church congregants perceive or receive aspects of religious services; each style of church may attract its own type of attendees. Explored further in the next chapter, the variation in styles between churches may ultimately affect interracial friendship by affecting the likelihood of friendship making in general both through the ways in which attendees are recruited and the kinds of people attracted to the respective church communities.

Interracial Friendship Rates

As indicated in the previous chapter, the churches differ in their rates of interracial friendship. As shown in Table 9 in Chapter Three, about half—49.3%—of Gatewood's congregants have a close friend in the congregation, and 21.4% have at least one interracial friend. So among those who have a close friend in church, 43.5% have a

close friend of a different race. As might be expected of attendees in a newly established church such as Stanton, a smaller percentage—38.5%—name a close friend in the congregation, and 17.3% have a close different-race friend. Of those who name close church friends, 45% have a close friend of a different race. There are proportionally fewer individuals in Stanton who have an interracial friend (17.3% v. 21.4%), but once the rate of close friendship itself is accounted for by only counting those who have close church friends, the rate of interracial friendship between the two congregations are similar (43.5% and 45%), differing by less than 2%.

At the City location, 83% name another congregant as a close friend, and 34% name a friend of a different race among their close church friends. Of those who name a close church friend, 40.91% name a different race friend, which is not greatly dissimilar from the percentages found in Jackson Church. At Varsity, 74.4% name another congregant as a close friend, and 47% of the congregation has a close friend of a different race in the congregation. Thus, among those who name a close church friend, the majority have a close friend of a different race—63.2%. Mannington Church–Varsity has a much higher rate of interracial friendship than the other congregations—nearly 20% higher.

When all congregants, including those who do not have church friends, are included in the calculation, Mannington Church congregations have a greater proportion of their congregants who have interracial friends when compared to Jackson Church. Further, Mannington Church congregants are much more likely to have close church friends generally than Jackson Church.[60] The vast majority of Mannington Church

[60] There is the possibility there are racial differences in the propensity to make close friends in one's respective congregation. In the earlier analysis in the last chapter, race did not have a statistically

congregants can name someone from their church as one of their five closest friends, indicating greater social cohesion among congregants.

Assessing the number of church friends who are not known through any other contexts provides even greater insight into both the likelihood of friendship and interracial friendship in these two churches. First, 73.53% of Mannington respondents had church friends that are exclusively known in church, compared to 58.89% in Jackson. Among those who have interracial church friends, 78.35% of Mannington's respondents had church friends that were solely known through the church context, compared to 56.41% of Jackson's respondents. Among those who only had same-race church friends, 66.47% of Mannington's respondents knew them exclusively through church and 62% of Jackson's respondents knew them exclusively through church. Therefore, it is clear that Mannington Church is an organizational context in which one is more likely to develop close cross-race friendships.

This is made even clearer by examining the rate of interracial friendship of those who are not church friends; 36.42% of Mannington Church attendees have nonchurch friends who are of a different race, whereas 41.89% of Jackson church attendees have nonchurch friends who are of a different race. So Jackson Church attendees are more likely to have interracial friends outside the church context, and Mannington attendees are more likely to have interracial friends within the church context.

significant effect on the likelihood of naming a church friend as a confidant. However, I ran cross-tabulations to examine the data. In Stanton, blacks have the lowest rate of friendship when compared to whites and other racial groups. Only 28% of blacks, or 5 of 18 blacks, have a close church friend, whereas 48% of whites have a close church friend. However, the chi-squared statistic is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 0.372$). In the other congregations, there is very little difference between racial groups in friendship formation.

The Varsity location clearly has a higher rate of interracial friendship than the City location. However, the variation in interracial friendship rates can be explained by variation in congregational composition. For a fuller explanation of the compositional differences that may explain the variation in interracial friendship rates between the two locations, see Appendix J.

These statistics reveal two distinct aspects of integration to explain—differences in friendship formation itself and then, differences in interracial friendship formation. In other words, why is it that Mannington Church is both a more relationally close-knit community and more racially integrated community?

In the following three chapters, I rely mainly on the qualitative data I collected to explain in greater depth how the differences alluded to in these church profiles impact interracial friendship and social network integration more generally. First, in Chapter Five, I focus on the congregants themselves. Jackson Church and Mannington Church differ in how and who they attract. I argue that the modes of recruitment used and the specific kinds of persons attracted to each respective style of church affect predispositions to intrachurch friendship formation. The next two chapters focus on organizational-level agency in fostering an environment conducive to interracial friendship. Chapter Six draws attention to how the religious approach utilized by each church defines and purposes spiritual community in a way that affects the potential for intra-church racial integration. Chapter Seven focuses explicitly on leaders' biographies and personal strategies used to support interracial relating in their respective congregations.

Chapter 5

Recruitment and Self-Selection

Although the quantitative analysis accounted for selection into racially heterogeneous congregations, selection also occurs for each church organization. Because churches are voluntary organizations, individuals choose congregations that match their preferences for religious community. Thus, how and why individuals choose their churches are important to understanding the kind of congregant attracted to each church environment, and how those characteristics, reinforced by the church environment itself, affect friendship formation.

In this chapter, I identify key factors that affect overall integration and cohesion of church attendees, which also has strong implications for the potential for interracial friendship. The first is the recruitment mechanism used by each church. Second, each church attracts a different niche of congregants, with differing predispositions to social integration and commitment to the church organization.

Recruitment

First, understanding how people enter an organization is critical to understanding the pathways available by which individuals become socially integrated into its community. The two churches differ in their primary mode of recruitment, as in their approach to ministry. The kind of recruitment strategies utilized affects the potential for friendship making among both new attendees and existing attendees, which affects the

degree of social cohesion within the organization as a whole. Although personal and

impersonal recruitment is used by both churches, Mannington attendees find the church

primarily by personal referrals whereas Jackson tends to rely on mass marketing to find

potential attendees.

When asked how they learned about their respective churches, 87.01% of

Mannington's attendees (n = 185) reported that they came to the church through a

preexisting personal or organizational relationship—they either knew an attendee or

found out about the church from having attended an affiliated church. (An additional six

or 3.24% of attendees found out about the church through word of mouth.) On the other

hand, a minority of Jackson Church's attendees found out about a church through a

preexisting relationship. Only 35.43% of attendees found out about Jackson Church

through another attendee (n = 223). The majority of Jackson's attendees learned about the

church through impersonal means—63.68% discovered the church through direct mail

from the church, the website, sidewalk signs, or the phone book. In contrast, only 5.4% of

Mannington's attendees found the church through these impersonal means (10 people).[61]

Further, when asked in an open-ended question for reasons why they chose their

respective churches, 18.52% of Mannington's attendees (n = 162) specifically cited

knowing someone in the church, compared to only 5.61% of Jackson's attendees

(n = 214). In addition, Mannington attendees are much more likely to invite someone to

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[61] These percentages are nearly identical between congregation sites in Mannington Church. The pattern of reliance on impersonal marketing in Jackson Church is also similar between the two congregations, but Stanton congregants have a higher percentage of those who found the church through impersonal means (71.19% v. 60.98%).

The remaining percentages are those who self-identified as a founding member of the church or marked *other*.

their church: 95.60% had invited someone to the church ($n = 250$), whereas 87.79% of Jackson church attendees had ($n = 213$, $\chi^2 = 9.533$, $p = .002$).

Outcome of Differing Modes of Recruitment

Reliance on impersonal recruitment hinders social integration in Jackson Church. Using mass marketing brings in waves of new, disconnected attendees. For example, in response to their first direct mailing, they had more than 540 visitors (Jackson Church website). Even if less than a fifth of those visitors returned, there were then 100 people to be incorporated into the social life of the church. Therefore, the church then has a proportionally small core established group relative to a large new unconnected group.

This integration challenge is only amplified by the young age of the congregation. Jackson Church began a little over 5 years prior to my fieldwork period, in 2000. (Mannington Church, on the other hand, is over 15 years old, formed in 1990 under the direction of the current senior pastor.) Therefore, a substantial number of congregants are relatively new attendees. Almost half, 48.20%, of the congregants ($n = 222$) have been attending for less than a year. By comparison, a mere 13.73% of Mannington Church's congregants have been attending for less than a year, and 27.75% have been attending for 6 years or more ($n = 255$).

These differences are apparent when examining the "sense of belonging" experienced in Mannington and Jackson (see Table 20). Although the percentages of those in each church who unequivocally feel a sense of belonging are similar—around half of the congregation[62]—the biggest difference between the churches is in those who answered "No, but I am new here": Nearly 23% of Jackson congregants are new enough

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[62] The proportion of those who feel a sense of belonging, "but not as much as in the past," is higher in Mannington. This statistic is partly attributable to increased growth in recent years.

to the church that they do not expect a feeling of a sense of belonging. If they did, the response option "No, and I wish I did by now" was available. In contrast, just about 7% of Mannington's congregants felt they do not feel a sense of belonging because they are new.

Table 20: Sense of Belonging in Mannington and Jackson Churches

	Mannington Church		Jackson Church	
	%	n	%	n
Do you have a sense of belonging in your church?				
Yes.	51.61%	128	47.85%	100
Yes, but perhaps not as much as in the past.	27.42%	68	18.18%	38
No, but I am new here.	6.85%	17	22.97%	48
No, and I wish I did by now.	14.11%	35	11.00%	23
N		248		209

Pearson $\chi^2 = 26.058$, $p = .000$.

This is particularly salient in the potential for interracial friendship. Having a sense of belonging is strongly related to interracial friendship. Of those who responded "Yes" to having a strong sense of belonging, 62.09% had an interracial church friend ($n = 153$). In contrast, of those who indicated "No" to have a strong sense of belonging, 36.58% had an interracial friend ($n = 41$).

Personal Referrals Means a More Connected Congregation

In contrast to Jackson Church, Mannington Church's reliance on personal referrals facilitates new attendees' social integration into the church community. In an interview with one of the associate pastors, Pastor Eric remarked, "Currently, when someone new comes, they've been asked by someone … It's very rare [that] I'll run into someone who says 'I saw the sign.' … For the people who do know somebody, who were brought by somebody, it's kind of a built in contact."

Social network research has established that one's friends provide a connection to friends' friends. According to the transitivity principle, if person A chooses person B as a friend and person B chooses person C, then persons A and C are more likely to be friends (Davis 1979; Holland and Leinhardt 1971). Thus, when one invites a friend to church, that referrer is a social gateway that can facilitate the referral's ties to others in the congregation. Named the *social enrichment* mechanism of network integration (Louch 2000), referrers can ease the newcomer's transition into the organization by providing information and social introductions, actively changing the relationship between the organization and newcomer. Further, personal recruitment into an organization positively affects the referral's satisfaction, attachment, and commitment to the organization (Castilla 2005; Fernandez, Castilla, and Moore 2000; Granovetter 1974), thereby increasing retention as well.

Indeed, the reliance on personal networks was also reflected in the general lack of information and de-centralization of information available on different aspects of Mannington Church. I had to ask existing members to learn about different opportunities available for involvement. This was in direct contrast to Jackson Church, which provides all the information about their church in every Sunday program. In addition to the information in the Sunday program, there was a newcomer's table with more information, a newcomer's lunch every Sunday, and an evening introduction to the church every month where newcomers could receive more information, meet the pastor, and ask questions. The wealth of information provided up front is certainly inviting to the unconnected visitor.

Although the transitivity principle applies primarily to strong ties and the positive effects of personal recruitment tend to apply to weak ties, Mannington's congregants are

encouraged to socially, and thereby spiritually, invest in those who become part of the

church "family." One attendee admired the church for its "vision for building

relationships." Even if referrals were weak ties, there is strong motivation to develop the

relationship into one that is a strong tie, thus reaping the benefits of both the positive

outcomes of personal recruitment and the friendship facilitation of network transitivity.

In addition to those who discovered the church through someone who attends,

14% of attendees came from affiliated churches, which facilitates integration into the

organization as well. Such affiliation may have similar benefits to that of personal

referrals, such as greater insider knowledge of the organization. Also, these individuals

not only already agree with and are committed to the general goals of the church, but are

satisfied enough with their previous church experience to seek out the same kind of

church in a new location. As an example, Brett and Arlene attended an affiliated church

in Louisiana, but after being relocated due to Hurricane Katrina sought out Mannington

Church. They found things are very similar between the two churches, such as the

friendliness ("The people hug each other, they don't just shake hands") and the "Spirit of

God and excitement." In addition, because the religious curriculum offered through

classes in the church is the same as that offered by their previous church, they could

"pick up where we left off."

Personal referrals could have the negative effect of creating racially homophilous

silos within the church because individuals are more likely to have racially homophilous

networks. Although my survey data do not measure the race of the referrer or the race of

those invited to the church, there were numerous examples from my field research to the

contrary. For example, one white woman I spoke with at a marriage conference at the

church learned about the church through a business relationship between her husband

(who is white) and an African American attendee of the church, who encouraged them to come "check it out." Although she drives nearly 45 minutes to church every week, she states, "When you find a place that just fits, it's worth it." She has been attending for 3 years. She also leads a Bible study group with neighbors, who she invited to attend the marriage conference as well. (None of those neighbors currently attend Mannington, but four of them came with her to the conference.) Cross-race referrals are not surprising considering that Mannington is an obviously multiracial environment—attendees would be more likely to invite a different-race friend to a multiracial church than to a church that was solely monoracial, and they would be more likely to invite those who may appreciate a multiracial environment. Emerson et al. (2002) found that multiracial church attendance increased members' interracial ties, even among those who had diverse networks prior to joining. Personal referrals, then, may facilitate intrachurch cross-race relationships if the referrers' intrachurch networks are racially diverse and they provide referrals access to their networks.

The difference in how attendees learn about the churches thus helps explain the disparity in the degree to which close friends are made within each congregation. As noted earlier, less than 50% of the congregants in Jackson Church name a close friend in the congregation, whereas 75% or more of the congregants in Mannington name a close friend in the congregation. In addition, Mannington's congregants are more likely to have church friends that are solely known through the church context.

Self-Selection of Congregants

The churches also differ greatly in the type of person who chooses to attend. Research has already established that those who attend multiracial congregations (those

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with no more the 80% of the congregation composed of one racial group) are demographically different from those who do not, exhibiting such characteristics as higher socioeconomic status and having more racially diverse networks prior to attendance (Emerson 2006). However, there are also significant differences between multiracial congregations as well. Although it is evident that Mannington and Jackson attract different racial demographics, each church also tends to attract individuals with differing religious expectations. Research on multiracial congregations has focused on how multiracial compositions are maintained without adequate consideration to how religious expectations may affect intergroup relations. In other words, the self-selected nature of the congregational population in each church means that congregants' predisposition influences both friendship formation generally as well as the potential for interracial friendship formation. This section shows how congregants between the two churches differ most starkly in their level of religiosity.

First, examining reasons why congregants chose their respective churches and why congregants left their previous churches reveal differing religious expectations for church life between Mannington and Jackson attendees. This difference does not merely reflect the particular characteristics of the church; it also reflects the particular characteristics congregants were seeking. There is a clear difference between the church communities in attitudes toward church, the spiritual intensity sought, and the predominance of religious reasons for choosing each church community.

Although both churches have ways in which they accommodate spiritual seekers, the vast majority of congregants are those who were attending a church immediately prior to attending their current churches. Over 80% of respondents in both churches were attending a church prior to joining their current one, as shown in Table 21.

Table 21: Prior Church Attendance for Mannington and Jackson Church Attendees

	Mannington Church		Jackson Church	
	%	*n*	*%*	*n*
Did you attend a church before this one?				
Yes.	88.14%	223	82.35%	182
No, not for several years.	7.51%	19	11.31%	25
No, have never attended church.	4.35%	11	6.33%	14
N		253		221

Pearson χ^2 = 3.183, *p* = .204.

So then in each church, most congregants had both push and pull factors that led them away from their previous congregations and toward their current congregations. In the ECCS, the open-ended questions "Why did you leave your previous church?" was asked of those respondents who indicated having attended a church prior to Mannington or Jackson Church, and "Why did you choose this church?" was asked of all respondents who identified as attendees. Each respondent could list several reasons for leaving or choosing the church. The open-ended responses were coded separately for each church because the types of responses varied by church.

Table 22: Reasons for Leaving Previous Church, Jackson Church (*N* = 173)

	Frequency	% of respondents
Moved away from area	63	36.42%
Problems in previous church	51	29.48%
Leadership issue (e.g., pastor left, conflict among leaders, criminal acts by pastor)	16	9.25%
Lack connection with others	13	7.51%
Size, location, or demographic fit	26	15.02%
Not meeting expected religious needs*	25	14.45%
Too traditional, boring*	14	8.09%
Personal reasons*	11	6.36%
Found Jackson Church	10	5.78%

*Reason is exclusively cited by Jackson Church attendees.

Table 23: Reasons for Leaving Previous Church, Mannington Church (*N* = 206)

	Frequency	% of respondents
Moved away from area	94	45.63%
Lacked religious/spiritual intensity*	41	19.90%
Problems in previous church	32	15.53%
Leadership issue (e.g., pastor left, conflict among leaders, criminal acts by pastor)	17	8.25%
Found Mannington Church	18	8.74%
Size, location, or demographic fit	17	8.26%

*Reason is exclusively cited by Mannington Church attendees.

Tables 22 and 23 show the frequency of types of responses given to "Why did you leave your previous church?" for Jackson Church and Mannington Church, respectively. Relocation was the most frequent reason cited for leaving previous churches for both Mannington and Jackson attendees. However, Mannington Church respondents had a greater percentage of those who were not necessarily "pushed" from their churches due to some sort of dissatisfaction, but had left due to relocation.[63] Additionally, Jackson Church had nearly double the percentage of respondents who cited a demographic reason for leaving, such as the church was too big, or its location was too far, or it lacked congregants their age.

There is nearly double the percentage of attendees in Jackson Church, compared to Mannington church, who had left their previous churches because of a problem they were perceiving or experiencing in that church. Examining the written open-ended responses shows those incidents tend to be more disappointing on a personal level than those described among Mannington Church attendees. There were two types of major disappointments. The first type was that some congregants felt an inauthentic Christianity in their previous churches; they were not attracted to traditional models of church:

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[63] It is unlikely that the relocation was motivated by push factors from the church. Most cited a job change or transfer as the reason for the move.

I realized the church used methods that were somewhat like brainwashing. I spent more time trying to live up to what the church wanted me to do/be than really examining what I believed that God wanted for me. I was faking my Christianity to a certain extent.

God bless [Jackson Church] for [its] intentional ministry to those who may have 'hang ups' with more established church fellowships.

The first comment in particular shows an experience of feeling misled by the church, to the extent that the respondent refers to *brainwashing*. The second comment shows how Jackson Church was sought as an alternative to traditional church, with which the congregant had "hang ups." These negative experiences may create an initial suspicion with or distrust of church life, perhaps even hindering involvement.

The second kind of disappointment experienced reflects a sense of betrayal by fellow churchgoers from their former churches:

I was in a difficult financial bind after my divorce and approached the church for some relief. I was made to feel as if I had gotten myself into my own financial bind and got very little support. I felt as if the church did not care that I had a hardship.

St. X was not there when I needed them the most during some difficult times even though I had dedicated myself and my children to that church through worship, sacraments they received, religion class, volunteer work, and donations …. Had I not found [Jackson Church], I might not be attending church at all.

These congregants' expectations for help during difficult circumstances were unmet at the time when they felt the greatest need. The second respondent's sense of betrayal went so far as to give her a negative impression of church generally. She states she would not be attending church at all if she had not found Jackson Church.

Another kind of betrayal involved feeling spiritually outcast in their churches. Some examples include, "I backslid and felt that I was at a completely different level

spiritually than the others but Jackson Church accepted me as I am," and "I was a second-time Christian, where I fell off the path and came back. [In] the church I went to before, I felt judged for what I had done even though I had changed." These individuals clearly felt judged for their level of spirituality and did not feel they fit in at the spiritual level of other churchgoers. Their "backsliding" had created a sense of ostracism.

Jackson Church explicitly states its intention to be a safe harbor for churchgoers such as the ones described above. A section of an exposition of their church vision stated,

> It is a dream … Of a church that is known … as a place where personal life change can happen. It will be a place where the hurting can find healing, a place where the sinful can find forgiveness, a place where the broken can find mending, a place where the lonely can find friendship… a place where anyone from any walk of life can find how to become everything God created them to be.

Jackson Church clearly invites those with "hang ups," the hurt, the disappointed, the "broken," and spiritual "backsliders," among others to experience "mending," "healing," and transformation.

In contrast, Mannington congregants rarely cited these personal types of disappointments. When they cited a problem in their previous church, the problems described tended to be church-wide issues. For example, this congregant's criticism describes offenses that are not personally against her, but what she feels was offensive to God.

> Not to say that they did not have the Spirit of God, but what I witnessed (and the fact that more and more teens/young adults were having premarital sex, and thus children outside of marriage) just didn't seem to have the blessings of God on it.

She perceived a lack of the "Spirit of God" in the church due to undesirable behaviors she felt resulted from a lack of divine "blessing" in her previous church.

Not only does Mannington have fewer attendees who experienced push factors due to dissatisfaction with their previous church, they had more who had simply relocated. More of Jackson's congregants, on the other hand, had experiences of distrust or disappointment with their previous churches. To the degree that suspicion or wariness of church life decreases one's willingness to become involved and to form friendship bonds with church folk, these push factors may affect social integration in the church. Those Mannington attendees who expressed dissatisfaction with their previous church were seeking a better church environment, but were not necessarily negative about church as an institution.

Another significant difference between the churches was whether attendees cited a religiously specific reason for leaving their previous church. A much higher percentage of Mannington's attendees, 41%, left for a religiously specific reason, and those that did cite a religious reason cited the lack of spiritual depth or intensity in their previous churches. Some typical responses included, "I felt I had grown beyond their level of teaching"; "It was a small church aimed at evangelism and being relevant to the culture. It was great to get me used to church as a new believer, but I wasn't growing"; "We wanted more"; and "I longed for a deeper, more Spirit-filled church." There is a clear desire for more spiritual growth and a deepening of one's faith in these responses. In Jackson Church, only 14% of those who cited a reason for leaving mentioned something explicitly religious or spiritual, such as a need for greater spiritual growth.

As would be expected, the reasons for choosing a current church correspond to reasons for leaving a previous church. Tables 24 and 25 show the frequency of responses for different reason why individuals chose their respective churches.

Table 24: Reasons for Choosing, Jackson Church (*N* = 220)

	Frequency	% of respondents
Style*	129	58.64%
Friendliness	59	26.82%
Agreed with vision of church, religious fit	50	22.73%
Teaching (sermons)	45	20.45%
Location or size*	22	10.00%
Children's ministry	21	9.55%
Racial diversity	15	6.82%
Opportunities for involvement*	14	6.36%
Referral	14	6.36%
"Felt right"*	13	5.90%
Pastors	12	5.45%

*Reason is exclusively cited by Jackson Church attendees.

Table 25: Reasons for Choosing, Mannington Church (*N* = 162)

	Frequency	% of respondents
Racial diversity	54	33.33%
Teaching (sermons)	49	30.25%
Religious intensity*	46	28.40%
Worship (music)*	41	25.31%
Friendliness	37	22.84%
Referral	30	18.51%
Agreed with vision of church, religious fit	21	12.96%
Pastors	23	14.20%
Called by God to attend*	15	9.26%
Children's ministry	11	6.79%
Other	18	11.11%

*Reason is exclusively cited by Mannington Church attendees.

With many reporting negative experiences with their previous churches (the most widely stated reason aside from relocation), it is not surprising that the main attraction for Jackson Church was its contemporary, nonchurch-like, casual style. Out of the 220 people who answered the open-ended question, the overwhelmingly popular answer was the style of the church, with over half mentioning reasons such as: "Not too over the top

and overly programmed ('Stepford church')"; "I wanted something different from the traditional church"; "We wanted … a more down to earth worship that was fun"; "It's not a stuffed shirt environment"; "I get to wear jeans!!"; "Contemporary"; "The 'Come as you are concept'"; "It interprets religion and the teachings of Christ in a much more modern, relatable way"; and "Cutting-edge presentation." Each of these responses indicates that these attendees were seeking a church environment that was nontraditional, "modern," and casual. The first comment contrasts Jackson to the artificiality of a "Stepford church." Jackson's style is certainly the primary distinctive characteristic of the church, and thus attracts a niche that is receptive to its contemporary, "down to earth" flair and perhaps even repelled by formality and tradition, which may be perceived as inauthentic.

On the other hand, the most frequently cited reasons for choosing Mannington Church are religious in nature. In Jackson Church, 43.18% cited religion-oriented reasons (3. Religious Fit, and 4. Teaching/sermons) for choosing this church. Mannington's attendees cited a greater diversity of religious reasons as well as a having a higher percentage of those who had an explicitly religious reason for choosing this church community. In Mannington Church, an overwhelming 76.54% cited religion-oriented reasons (1. Teaching, 2. Religious Intensity, 6. Religious Fit, and 8. Called by God).

In addition to the frequency of religious reasons, there is a striking difference in the *language* used between Jackson and Mannington respondents who stated a religious reason for joining. Mannington's congregants invoke more "religious speak" than Jackson. Responses tended to frame reasons in explicitly religious frameworks. One example is the attribution of their decision to join as obedience to divine calling. (Among Jackson's attendees, only one person attributed his decision to "It is where God wanted

us to be.") Some of Mannington attendees' responses include: "I had a peace about the church when I started going there, as if that's where God wanted me to be"; "We felt the Lord leading us here after much prayer"; "That's where God confirmed my steps"; "I asked God to put me where He wanted me to be, and at first I was hesitant due to the fact that I grew up Baptist"; "Because the presence of the Lord is there"; and "God's leading—obedience to the leading." Responses given by Mannington attendees indicate that prayer, and sometimes even struggle to obey ("at first I was hesitant") was involved. These responses reveal that upon entering or choosing the church, many more of Mannington's attendees had a strong religious orientation, describing the decision as a matter of faith rather than personal preference. These religious reasons may also translate to a greater commitment to the church organization, particularly if they feel their attendance is a matter of obedience to God or that God purposefully placed them there. This strong religious orientation, in addition to the frequency with which people cite not only religious reasons, but religious reasons that have to do with teaching and spiritual intensity, point to possible differences in the level of religiosity when compared to Jackson Church.

Mannington's attendees were clearly drawn by the religious depth and intensity they experienced at the church. They contrast their experience with what they perceive as more superficial religious teaching: "They teach the Word, they don't just tickle the ear"; "You can tell that the ministry is not giving you a 'sugar coated,' glossed over message"; and "We (my wife and I) wanted to attend a church we felt embodied teaching the Word and not withholding portions of it to retain members or water down the truth." One attendee was more specific with the specific elements of religious life emphasized: "I like the … emphasis on the Word of God and holy living … The emphasis on discipleship

and personal growth is also more in depth than most churches I've been to, and this

accountability is exactly what I needed." This respondent desired not only biblical

teaching, but also desired to be challenged to "grow" in their faith through "discipleship"

and "accountability," both of which refer to relationships with other churchgoers where

they challenge each other to live "Godly" lives and to develop and apply spiritual

knowledge.

One respondent compared the experience of the church to being part of a highly

committed religious group, much like the Navy Seals are an elite military organization

with the reputation of not only being the best, but of receiving the most intense

specialized training:

> [Mannington Church] is not for everybody. It challenges people to live
> kingdom principles every day and a lot of folks don't want to be
> challenged that way. To use a military analogy, there are many branches
> of the military but only a few make it into the Delta force or Navy Seals
> …. [It] seems to me only people who are very committed to their walks
> would stick with [this church]. That's not necessarily a bad thing.

This comment also points to the specific niche of people who choose to attend,

that "only people who are very committed" to their faith "walk" would be members, and

that being part of this church means one will be "challenged" to live out their faith in the

totality of their lives. Not one of Jackson Church's attendees responded that they chose

the church due to its religious depth or intensity. Rather, the responses to describe why

they chose their church used words like "laid back," "easy going," "low pressure," "able

to be anonymous," "risk free," "nonthreatening," and "low key." Further, respondents

indicated that they appreciated not being judged or "talked down to," and that they

wanted to "learn, but not be 'preached at.'" Below are two examples:

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Jackson Church was different than any other church I have attended. They were not hung up on delivering messages of 'do this, you go to hell' or 'do that, you need Jesus.' Their message was a lot more focused on trying to grab people's attention by talking about real-life issues in a way that made sense to the audience without talking down to the audience.

[Jackson Church] welcomes anyone interested. It does not place much emphasis on our guilt and punishment but rather on the love God has for us.

This is not to say that Mannington expresses judgment or emphasizes guilt or punishment; rather, Jackson seems to take a softer, gentler approach to encouraging one's faith. This is understandable given that Jackson intends to be a "safe" place for those who are not familiar with church or with Christianity in general.

It is possible that Jackson attendees are not less religious, per se, but have a different definition of religiosity and what comprises a strong religious faith. One respondent had chosen to attend Jackson Church based on the novel approach to worship and the connection between the sermon theme and his own interest in movies:

The postcard I received was colorful and bright and very inviting. The text said something to the effect of "God's great—we should have fun worshipping Him." I wholeheartedly agreed with that but had never heard (or read) anyone else actually saying it before. Intrigued, I went to my first service that Sunday, where they began a series based on that summer's blockbuster movies. I was hooked, because I adore movies, and was thrilled at the concept.

This person feels that "fun worshipping Him" is an important aspect of Christian life, which was something that he had never heard others speak of. Another felt that Jackson Church was "strongly evangelical without being knee-jerk crazies." This respondent values its strongly evangelical mission, but with the caveat that the evangelicals found in Jackson are not "crazies." Moreover, individuals such as these may

be strongly committed to their faith, but define being "religious" differently, or simply prefer a different style of religious expression.

However, even current Jackson attendees experienced the tension between desiring spiritual "depth" in a church that markets itself as one for spiritual "seekers":

> My biggest concern with [Jackson Church] is that it is such a seeker's church that I don't always feel pushed to grow. In an effort to be welcoming to new people and potential Christians I sometimes feel like the church isn't willing to present absolutes. It's a tough balance for a seeker's church and I understand that. However for your more mature Christian base there are times when conviction on absolute black and whites as written in Scripture call for hard lines to be drawn in the sand. My concern is that the church sometimes seems to present an 'anything goes' here kind of mentality which can be dangerous. I understand why [Jackson Church] leans to the more lax end of the spectrum. It allows new seekers to discover the truth and value of God's commands and allows them to feel welcome as opposed to condemned. But there may be members who 'outgrow' [Jackson Church]. If the church's mission and design is to bring new members to the kingdom with the knowledge that there may be members who choose to leave at some point, then [Jackson Church] is doing an excellent job of meeting their goals. But if the church's vision is to become the church home for both seekers and strong committed Christian men and women, it may be beneficial to push the congregation further than encouraging them to explore or check a box on the [information card].

> I think there are great people who love God at [Jackson Church], but overall there is a feeling of unorganized youthfulness, not deep, deep love for God.

> I feel sometimes that the church goes too far out of the way not to offend the "unchurched." …. Saying things like, "If you don't know what a hymn is, you are in the right place," is kinda a turn off for those of us that miss some of the more traditional dogma.

These attendees make a distinction between the different approaches that may be required for "seekers" or the "unchurched" versus "mature Christians" or those who are "strong committed Christians." However, they express concern that the church does not clearly communicate the prescriptions and proscription of the Bible, that "anything goes"

in a way that is compared to "unorganized youthfulness." They are uneasy about the potential to cater too much to the "unchurched" to the exclusion of other congregants. Jackson's website, in fact, indicates that there is a sacrifice that may be involved on the part of established Christians that choose to attend. Their vision page states that the church "loves lost people so much we would sacrifice our own comfort in making them feel welcome. We will go the extra mile to understand where they are coming from and will work hard at communicating in styles, terms and techniques that relate to where they are." There is a clear accommodation to "lost people," referring to non-Christians, but the vision for those who are "found" is less clear.

Former Jackson attendees who desire a deeper faith or more demanding church ended up leaving for those reasons:

> We are looking for something bigger than ourselves that demands the most of us but changes lives. All I found at [Jackson Church] was "how to live your life better" messages, not much about deepening relationship with God and almost never how to know Christ and accept His gift of grace and salvation. This is why I left.

> We didn't stay because we were looking for a more in-depth Bible-based teaching. [Jackson Church] seemed to be targeting younger people (20s–30s) who were newer Christians.

> We found, as strong Christians, we were not filled quite as we needed, I think [Jackson Church] is an awesome seekers' church.

Former attendees (as well as current attendees) understand that the church is for "newer" Christians, who perhaps are not ready or do not yet require greater depth in their spiritual lives. Further, there seems to be an implicit understanding among both attendees and ex-attendees that Jackson Church is more appropriate for a certain stage of spiritual life. Those who left did not disparage the church, but defined it as an "awesome seeker's

church," and the attendee quoted earlier stated that attendees may "outgrow" the church, indicating that the church is indeed succeeding. In effect, those who choose to attend Jackson would probably never attend a church like Mannington, and Mannington's attendees would be wholly dissatisfied with the experience provided at Jackson Church. If Mannington is like the Delta Force or the Navy Seals, Jackson Church may be likened to a military hospital. Jackson Church in fact referred to itself as a hospital in one sermon: "We regard ourselves more like a hospital for sinners than a hotel for saints, that's who we are. Not everybody digs that but that's who we are" (4/9/2006, D).

The audience each church aims to target mirrors the different kinds of individuals described thus far.[64] As profiled earlier, Jackson intentionally strategizes to attract the "unchurched." In an interview with Betty, the wife of the founding husband and wife team, described who their target audience was from its inception:

> I would say it is a 20 or 30 year old, young, some of them had families, in our initial beginnings, but … unchurched …. There's a certain style—for some people it might be uncomfortable, but for our target audience, it probably would be familiar … and also comfortable coming to even though it's outside the set church idea. They come and go, 'Oh, this is ok. This is comfortable, I like the cup holder, it's a comfortable chair, it's not a scary thing.' I think who would visit Jackson Church are open to nontraditional church because it's focused on meeting people who are unchurched. Sometimes I would say the churched people may even be a little put off by a church that's in a movie theater, because they're looking for more of the same stained-glass experience and a traditional order of service. They'd probably be shocked by a game or interaction that's out of order from what they're used to …. And that doesn't mean that's a bad thing either, and I think that's why Jackson Church meets people because it's somewhat of a different niche … And a refreshing thing would be that there's no huge pedestal—some of what you hear on Sunday is light, and it's pretty candid, and it recognizes that there aren't any perfect people.

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[64] From a religious economies perspective, these different styles of church reflect different kinds of religious products offered in the religious market, thereby attracting different market niches (Finke and Stark 2005).

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One of the campus pastors, Sam, and his wife Mary also described the typical churchgoer at Jackson Church as being new converts or those who are returning back to Christianity:

> S: The people that we observe … we're a little bit different from other churches. We're a young congregation—a lot of people are very new in Christ. One of the ladies … is a new believer, she's been coming to the church for about 3 years … and then one day she [finally] decides she wants to serve. We have people who have been away from God, and gradually [are coming back]. But this is not a good church for pastors because you want to have a lot of people all serving. So this is not really a smart way to do church in some sense because you can't be … a highly productive church.

> M: But that's not [Mike's] goal though … It's to meet people where they are and take them to where God wants them to be …. It means that certain people come in at different levels and different places, so [we are] very understanding, loving, patient, for people to come to where they feel like they can serve.

These comments show that Jackson's target audience is those who are not familiar with church life, those who may be scared by or reject "traditional" churches, those "young in Christ," and "prodigal" Christians. And there is an awareness that targeting the unchurched, nonreligious, or nontraditional also means potentially offending or "putting off" those who are familiar with church life and who have a more defined sense of what church looks like. The church, like other voluntary organizations, relies heavily on its members to conduct its work. However, because of the type of people they target and attract, leaders at Jackson Church do not expect its attendees to jump in and get involved in church work. Therefore it will not necessarily be a "highly productive" organization, but it is a compassionate organization. "There aren't any perfect people," so the church will "meet people where they are," which involves being "understanding, loving and patient."

In almost direct contrast, the elite military analogy of the Navy Seals seems appropriate as a way to describe the niche that Mannington Church seems to target. As shown through their attendees' reasons for choosing this church, Mannington seems to target those who are not only familiar with the church but who are dedicated Christians. They also seem to attract visionary leaders who are totally committed to the cause of Christianity or those who desire to be. One example that associate pastor Eric pointed out was their "mission statement" that was written on every church bulletin:

> Here's our little card. And that's what we supposedly said we were going to do: [reciting] "We're a multiethnic, multicultural church family joined together by Christ to impact people, cities and nations for the kingdom of God. We desire to draw people by the demonstrated power of the Holy Spirit, through the testimony of our lives and our families. We're committed to equip every disciple with scriptural values, and spiritual values that will empower them to impact our city. Finally we are dedicated to raising up the next generation to finish the race and complete the task the Lord Jesus has given me, the task of testifying to the gospel of God's grace in order to reach every nation in our generation." That's great for somebody who's got a religious background! [laughing] But for the person who is, "Tell me, what's your church all about?" [shakes his head] So there's a part of me that says, "We need to boil it down and make it really simple."

He recognizes that to reach those who do not have a religious background, there is a need to state the mission more "simply." Phrases like "demonstrated power of the Holy Spirit" and "equip each disciple" will not be well understood by those without an extensive religious background. Only those with intimate knowledge of the Bible may recognize the phrase "finish the race and complete the task that the Lord Jesus has given me, the task of testifying to the gospel of God's grace" as part of a verse from Acts 20:24. In addition, the statement is highly mission oriented, describing the church as a place where people will be "equipped" and "empowered" to "reach every nation" and to "impact" the world for the "kingdom of God." It is a place for those who want to be part

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of a movement. "Our pastor's an aggressive visionary, he really is. He attracts aggressive

visionaries," says Pastor Eric. Those who the church attracts seem to be completely

dedicated to their faith. When asked what he felt was the strongest aspects of the church,

a member of the leadership staff responded, "I would say the quality of the people, in the

sense of … their desire to be all that God wants them to be …. 'How am I going to

advance God's kingdom through this church if not every sphere that I'm in and ultimately

influence the city?'" This comment suggests that those who attend Mannington are not

only committed to their faith, but "desire to be all that God wants them to be" and

develop their whole persons for their faith, as well as have a mission consciousness of

desiring influence not only in their own lives, but in the city as a whole. It is not

surprising that along with this strong mission mentality, Mannington Church is also a

place for those with leadership skills:

> I think another strength that we have is the capacity to build leaders. That
> might be the strongest culture that we have. And when I say leaders, I'm
> not talking about just leaders who can come do something in the church.
> But I think putting something in people regardless of where they are in
> life, whether they're in business or education or wherever … where they
> can be a more effective, more Godly leader with the right worldviews and
> values where they are. And I think Pastor Bryce engenders people wanting
> to get from him what's in him. (Pastor James)

> If you get involved and you want to serve, we will find a place for you to
> serve … then once you begin to serve … we're always observing the
> people that are serving, to see what types of servants they are. See if they
> have the qualities of leadership …. Are they humble, do they have
> integrity? Are they unquestionable in the way they act? We … look for
> people we can train and give more responsibility to help them grow into
> that … We look for people who want to serve. (Dionne)

Both these statements suggest that Mannington Church is explicitly interested in

developing leadership. As soon as members begin to serve, they are assessed for

leadership potential, and this leadership potential has to be proven over time through demonstrated integrity and humility.

These religious differences between the congregants attracted to their respective churches are also shown through select measures of religiosity. Although it would be impossible to objectively judge a person's level of faith, these indicators provide a comparison that shows differences in how their faith is lived and self-evaluated. First, I examine frequency of religious behaviors, the subjective evaluation of their own spirituality, and reported conversion experiences. All three measures show a qualitative difference in religious life between congregants at each church. Not only does this give an indication of the commitment to religious behaviors between the groups of congregants, but it also points to what may be the normative behaviors expected in these church environments. Each church clearly attracts (and develops) a different kind of religious person to their congregation.

Mannington attendees in fact do engage in more religious behaviors and with greater frequency than Jackson Church. For example, 84.73% ($n = 211$) of Mannington Church attendees attend "usually every week" or more, compared to 68.84% ($n = 148$) of Jackson Church attendees.[65] Mannington Church attendees also spend more time in private devotional activities, such as reading the Bible, praying, or meditating alone: 54.27% ($n = 127$) spend at least three hours a week in private devotional activities, whereas only 23.27% ($n = 47$) of Jackson Church attendees do. In addition, although the household incomes are similar between churches, 71.08% ($n = 249$) of Mannington

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[65] As a comparison, in the PS-ARE dataset (which is nationally representative), 60.12% of conservative Protestants attend church once a week or more.

churchgoers give 10% or more of their net income to the church, whereas only 25.48%

($n = 208$) of Jackson churchgoers do.

Mannington Church attendees are not only more religious in terms of frequency of religious behavior like attendance and private devotional activities and tithing; they also rate themselves highly on subjective measures of religiosity; 66.38% of Mannington's attendees would call themselves a *strong Christian* (other response choices being *not very strong* and *somewhat strong*) whereas only 37.88% of Jackson Church attendees would call themselves a *strong Christian*. In addition, more than half of Mannington's attendees (55.79%) feel it is "very important" that others know they are Christians, compared to a third (31.34%) of Jackson Church attendees. This survey question was on a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 = *very important* and 5 = *not very important*. The mean for Mannington Church is 1.64 (s.d. 0.055) and the mean for Jackson Church is 2.22 (s.d. 0.078).

These differences in religiosity may be partly explained by how new congregants are to the faith. Although Table 21 shows that there are little differences between the two churches in the proportion of attendees who had never attended church prior to these, church attendance is not necessarily synonymous with belief, and there is some evidence that suggests that a higher proportion of Jackson's attendees may be new converts. In a monthly newsletter issued by the church, the pastor reported that over the course of the summer during my fieldwork, "175 shared that they made a personal decision to begin a relationship with Christ" (11/2006). Over-reporting here is a possibility. Among those who answered the survey question "Have you ever experienced a moment of decisive faith commitment or conversion?" Jackson Church did have a smaller percentage of those who answered "Yes, at one specific moment" than did Mannington Church—29.85%

from Jackson Church answered *yes* ($n = 201$), compared to 41.88% ($n = 234$) in Mannington Church, a difference of over 10%. However, Jackson also had a larger percentage of those that answered, "No, I've had faith for as long as I can remember"[66]— 26.37% of Jackson's congregants versus 17.52% of Mannington's.

Finally, the survey data show differences in the perceived spiritual impact of each church. When asked about the degree of growth in one's faith in the last year, 47.18% ($n = 248$) of Mannington church respondents and 33.64% ($n = 214$) of Jackson church respondents cited "much growth, mainly through this congregation." Indeed, many of Mannington's congregants chose the church based on the perceived potential for spiritual growth. For example, one respondent wrote, "I wanted to feel a connection with Jesus at my church services. The music brought tears to my eyes before I even sat down on my first visit … I also hoped to find sermons that made a difference in my life … and I definitely found it at [Mannington Church]." Further, the survey data also show the perceived impact of the church on other aspects of congregants' lives. Mannington Church congregants are more likely to state that their relationships and life satisfaction has improved as a result of attending the church; 63.63% of Mannington's attendees strongly agree or agree ($n = 242$) that "since attending here, my relationships have improved." Eighteen percent fewer of Jackson's attendees strongly or agree with that statement (45.72%, $n = 210$). In the same vein, 70.65% ($n = 235$) of Mannington's attendees strongly agree or agree with the statement "I have a deeper sense of satisfaction with my life since attending here," whereas 55.19% ($n = 212$) of Jackson's attendees strongly agreed or agreed with that statement. These measures point to the importance or

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[66] Past research on seeker churches such as Jackson has suggested that their success can be better attributed to providing individuals that may have an unclear religious identity (though Christian) a connection to institutional religion rather than attributed to the conversions of the "unchurched" (Sargeant 2000).

centrality of church in the lives of attendees. More of Mannington attendees seem to experience greater spiritual growth as well as improvement of other aspects of their lives as a result of their participation in the church. These measures also reflect the differing degrees of commitment to spiritual growth or to the church itself that may be fostered in these church environments.

These religious differences between congregants, including conversion experience, religious "maturity" or desire for spiritual intensity, religious behavior and subjective evaluations of religiosity, and perceived spiritual impact all help explain the salience of religious identity relative to other identities in Mannington Church, as well as the smaller proportion of those who strongly identify with their religious identity in Jackson Church. As stated in the last chapter, 72.36% of Mannington's attendees ($n = 246$) indicated that their religion was the most important characteristic in describing who they are. About half, 51.18% of Jackson's attendees ($n = 211$) chose religion as the most important characteristic.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argue that the mode of recruitment used by each church affects the integration into the social network of each congregation. Those who find their way to the church because they know someone who attends begin with an established social tie, which also has the potential to open opportunities for further intrachurch tie formation. The number of congregants who discovered Mannington Church through a personal referral and the high percentage of congregants who have friends exclusive to the church locus make it highly probable that personal referrals act as a gateway to other potential friends in Mannington Church. On the other hand, Jackson Church attendees mainly find

their way to the church through mass mailings or other impersonal marketing tools and have to actively form new social connections. Coupled with a greater number of congregants who themselves are relatively new to the congregational setting, becoming socially integrated into Jackson is a much harder task.

Social cohesion is also affected by the kinds of congregants attracted to these two churches. Examining push and pull factors reveals stark differences between congregants, which help explain the differences between the churches in both the proportion that have church friends as well as differences between those that have cross-race friends. Mannington attendees, particularly at the Varsity location, have higher rates of both. In addition to being more likely to have close friends in church, those close friends named among Mannington respondents are more likely to be known exclusively through the church organization.

Specifically, attitudes toward committing to a church organization and religious orientations have enormous implications for network integration of its attendees and the likelihood of the development of close relationships with other churchgoers. The difference in the type of push factors from previous churches suggest the type of "baggage" (or lack thereof) that congregants may bring to the current church environment, especially in regards to how it may affect trusting the church and trusting other churchgoers. When there are more negative experiences with previous church environments, congregants may be less likely to be involved and less likely to open themselves up to close relationships with other churchgoers.

Comparatively, greater faith commitment and the desire for more religious intensity in a church such as that found among Mannington attendees may facilitate relationships within the church context among others who are also more religious. The

similarity extends beyond being Christians—it is a similarity in being a certain kind of Christian with a comparable religious fervor. This level of religious commitment, then, may indeed facilitate close relationships based on deeper level of spiritual connection and kinship. Even more practically, it may facilitate close relationships because those more strongly committed to the church organization will be more likely to get involved in church activities or small groups that provide greater opportunities for relational connection[67] and the likelihood of participation is further increased if one has an existing social tie in the church). And if others are similarly committed and involved, a greater pool of potential friends would be available. It is not just a strong religious identity, then, that may facilitate friendship and interracial friendship, but having a strong religious identity among others who also share a highly salient religious identity. Having these deeper connections as well as greater opportunities to meet similar others could facilitate interracial friendship.

The strength or salience of religious identity is not the only important dimension of identification here. The *content* of religious identity, which includes past church experiences, conversion experiences, and attitudes toward congregational community, is another important dimension because it provides an interpretive framework to understand relationships, what kind of church is desired and chosen, and what is the respondent's life purpose generally. The extent to which one's religious faith provides an overarching meaning system is also related to racial identity. Even if one's faith does not provide such a meaning system, one's church experiences are ones that are not devoid of racial

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[67] One respondent used her friend Janet as an example: When she was new to the church, Janet was resistant to meeting other-race friends. She attended a church event, however, in which she was assigned to be with a group of different-race women. This experience helped her to break out of her racially homophilous circle of friends, and Janet is now known for being someone who actively invites and welcomes other-race individuals within the church.

significance, particularly because of the extent of racial segregation among churches in the United States. The content of that religious identity, then, is critical to racial and social integration in the church community, as well as the church's potential to impact relationships. In addition to people entering with a particular identity package, the church itself also acts to influence the content of religious identity. It was shown here how identity informs church choice, preceding much intrachurch friendship formation. One is not likely to choose a church environment in opposition to one's sense of self.

Thus, the characteristics of the particular kinds of congregants each church is likely to draw cannot be ignored when understanding an organization's racial dynamics. Both the self-selected membership and the assembly of such similar religious persons in each church affect the relational patterns in each location.

Of course, the type of person each church attracts has much to do with the particular religious culture available in each setting. The next chapter will examine ways in which the church creates and reinforces its religious culture, thereby both attracting and responding to its specific niche of congregants. I also show the degree to which the churches connect racial identities to religious purpose. Thus, the next chapter describes how both racial and religious identity are reinforced and shaped by the church itself, and how the potential impact of the church on identity varies by church environment. Although congregants can be seen as comprising what is the "church," I distinguish the actions of the "church" organization by focusing on what is communicated from the pulpit and from pastoral leadership more generally.

Chapter 6

The Role of Race in the Religious Mission

A more connected and highly religiously motivated congregation does not in and of itself facilitate interracial friendship. One cannot attribute the high rate of interracial friendship in Mannington–Varsity simply to methods of recruitment and a self-selected population. A church is an organizational system—churches attract but also respond and direct their specific group of congregants. In the previous chapter, I focused on characteristics of the congregants. In this chapter, I focus on the role of the church organization in responding and leading its congregants. I discuss how Mannington Church, using Jackson Church as a comparison, identifies itself and frames its religious purpose in ways that affect the formation of cross-race relationships.

The Organizational Context of Friendship

As suggested by the results of the ECCS data, the development of close interracial friendship may be affected by the particular church contexts in which they arise. Friendship is a social construction as well as a personal one; they exhibit the characteristics of the social contexts in which they are formed. The organizational context affects both the purpose and meaning of friendship. For example, in the military, friendship is considered necessary for the achievement of organizational objectives. Friendship in the military is not just for social companionship; it is critical to survival. Accordingly, friendship among peers is intentionally fostered as part of the training

regimen and personnel policies (Little 1990; Moskos and Butler 1996). These close, life-dependent friendships are often so dependent on the context of the military that they tend to discontinue outside those parameters (Little 1990). As another example, Baker and Hertz (1990) show that the context of the kibbutz redefines the content of relational intimacy. The form and meaning of intimacy in relationship is circumscribed by social structure and culture of community. In the kibbutz, the exclusivity that characterizes "friendship" is rejected and instead is comprised of relationships described as "comradeship," an idealized form of intimate, communal relationship. Both these examples indicate that the value and meaning of particular forms of social capital is dependent on the organizational context in which they occur.

The importance of organizational context for cross-race friendship is implied by contact theory as well. The four conditions for constructive contact are ones that are often facilitated by or provided for in an organizational setting: equal status between groups, common goals, cooperative tasks, and support by authorities. Contact theory does not predict interracial friendship itself; it predicts a change in racial attitudes. Even though Allport (1954) states that intimate contact will have the most impact on intergroup relations, contact theory does not specify how positive racial attitudes then lead to close interracial friendship. Often, the link between positive racial attitudes and interracial friendship is assumed or implied rather than empirically tested. One would expect positive racial attitudes to lead to the formation of interracial friendship, but recent psychological research suggests that this may not always be the case. For example, Shelton and colleagues (2009) found that whites most open to developing interracial friendship—lower prejudice whites—were those for whom cross-race friendship formation was the most difficult. They attribute this difficulty to an attributional bias, to

which blacks are also susceptible (Shelton et al 2005), whereby one's own fears of rejection outweigh those of their potential cross-race friend and hinder interaction quality. The formation of friendship ties with racial out-group members may require more than a non-prejudicial disposition.

Pettigrew (1998) reformulates contact theory to explain how interracial contact might lead to interracial friendship by adding a fifth condition for contact to be constructive: there must be opportunities to develop friendship, which involves interaction that would allow for friendship-making mechanisms, such as self-disclosure, necessary for intimacy. The aforementioned research on the negative effect of attributional bias suggests that interactions in which fears of rejection are reduced would also be beneficial to interracial friendship formation.

Contact theory has also been criticized for neglecting to specify how and why the original four conditions lead to positive racial attitudes (Pettigrew 1998). Although Allport (1954) does mention that these conditions effectively create a perception of common interests and a common humanity (p. 257), Gaertner and colleagues (1994) more fully outline the concept of identity *recategorization* as a cognitive explanation for why these conditions reduce bias. As described previously, recategorization is the process by which individuals change their membership representations from "us" and "them" to "we," establishing a common ingroup identity. Pettigrew's fifth condition then also requires those opportunities for friendship formation to allow for the recategorization process to develop (1998).

How an organization actively produces these five conditions for contact and how recategorization is thus activated such that cross-race relationships are developed, is not well understood. Research on integration in the military may be one exception (Moskos

and Butler 1996). In this chapter, I show how the relative success of Mannington and Jackson Church in establishing equal status between groups, defining congregational goals, communicating the "cooperative task" for achieving those goals, and encouraging intimate interaction influences intrachurch interracial friendship. Chapter Seven discusses how religious leaders "support" positive race relations and facilitate cross-race friendship. Further, I explicate the ways in which these churches differ in their approach to developing religious identities, with implications for interracial friendship. I thereby assess the utility of the recategorization concept as an explanation for the identity framing work of the churches.

First, the degree to which the church presents and identifies itself as multiracial is significant in helping to maintain its racial composition and signal the importance of racial diversity to its mixed congregants. Although both churches are multiracial in composition, Mannington Church more successfully establishes a sense of equal cultural status between its dominant racial groups. Secondly, both have explicit evangelistic goals, but differ in congregational requirements for achieving those goals. Churches, after all, are organizations characterized by religious goals. How a church interprets and frames intrachurch relationships in light of those goals may impact the propensity for interracial friendship. Research on multiracial churches has shown that churches use their religious "toolkits" to frame increasing racial diversity within their organizations to be consistent with organizational goals (Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998). How churches frame interracial friendship itself and how churches draw on religious "toolkits" to influence the formation of cross-race ties specifically have not been fully explored. For Mannington, whose congregational boundaries are firmly established, interracial friendship itself is construed as a key "cooperative task." Further, how "spiritual family"

or congregational unity is emphasized and discussed in relation to race provides an explicitly religious framework to both motivate and justify close interracial friendship.

I thereby pay special attention to the religious mission rather than the racial mission of these churches. Previous research on multiracial congregations has often emphasized the racial project within the congregations without adequate analysis of how racial integration fits into the overall religious purpose of the church, sometimes portraying its racial diversity as the primary project in and of itself. Accounting for the purposive action of the church, then, helps explain how and when interracial friendship within the congregational context has the potential to impact interracial relations beyond church walls for its congregants.

A Multiracial Organizational Identity

Although both churches are multiracial in their composition, this characterization is more defining for Mannington Church. It is both more multiracial in its composition and in its cultural style. It thus identifies itself as multiracial at multiple levels and in various aspects of church such as congregational makeup, mission statement, music, and, finally, leadership, which will be covered in the next chapter.

First, Mannington is not only a mixed congregation of families from different racial groups; it is also racially mixed within families. Interracial couples and interracial adoption is common (compared to the population). This was demonstrated in one service during a baby dedication. Eight families were called up to the front of the auditorium, and of the eight, three were interracial marriages. In addition, I saw at least three white families with black children during Sunday services.

It is not surprising that mixed-race families, particularly black–white couples, would choose Mannington Church given the congregation's relative balance between blacks and whites. Further, it appears that those who have a multiracial background are those who tend to be most "successful" within the church and perhaps even most committed to Mannington. The leadership and staff I interviewed all started as regular attendees of the congregation, and can be considered ideal type congregants. Nearly all had grown up with multicultural experiences, exemplifying the "sixth American"[68] as coined by Emerson (2006, Ch. 6). For example, Dionne is African American and grew up in an all-white community in the northeast. She attended a predominantly black church prior to coming to Mannington Church. She describes her background and how that has influenced both her decision to join Mannington Church and "adjustment" going from an all-black church to a mixed-race church:

> D: In our last church, everybody liked the same music … It was just the same. It's just … comfort zone. You don't grow in the comfort zone … But for me [coming to Mannington Church], there was no adjustment per se. Plus I grew up … in a predominantly white society. I was always the minority, you know? So, for me diversity was great because it was something different, it wasn't just one or the other. And … where I come from, I'm used to the European culture more than the black culture …. I liked country music. What black person you know likes country music? But that's how I grew up, you know?" [laughing]
>
> I: So when did you first encounter other African Americans in a community then?
>
> D: My dad's family is from [the south], but most of them live in Washington DC, so when we would visit, that's when I would encounter different stuff—like, ooh I like this music! But we didn't have a radio station that played black music where I lived …. But then they would laugh at how I talk, they would laugh at how I dress, just because it was a

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[68] The first through fifth American refer to those in the five traditional racial categories: white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and other. The sixth American is described one who lives a multiracial life, regardless if they are actually multirace.

different culture. So some of them would think I was boogie, but I wasn't boogie, this is where I come from …. I'm more open than some of my relatives about different races …. It's different because I grew up different—I'm not so closed in. I just don't listen to this particular music—I'm diverse across the board.

Dionne experienced marginality not only from the white society she grew up in, but also her African American family, who would make fun of her for behaving in a way they considered to be nonblack. This experience of not being fully accepted in either white or black settings, she feels, allows her to be more open to racial diversity in general. She considers herself culturally diverse. Similarly, Pastor David is African American and grew up in a nearly all-black inner city, but had a racially mixed experience in contrast to his African American friends. He describes how this difference affected their response to the mostly white church they attended together:

My mom made sure that although I grew up in an African American environment, that my experience was not solely an African American one. [I went to a series of all black or all white schools]. I had a really mixed experience, whereas some of my friends … walking into [that church] was the first time they had had an encounter with … a mostly white environment.

Although the church was not ideal ("There was a *guitar* and I didn't vibe with that, I didn't like it …. One more country bluegrass song … OH!"), he chose to stay, whereas the other friends he came with eventually left to go to a predominantly black church.

This multicultural experience is not limited to African American congregants. Dani, on staff with the church, describes experiencing race atypically from most whites due in part to her Jewish background:

My parents left South Carolina when I was 4 largely because of anti-Semitism and the racism, and moved us to Canada. [I] grew up in a very

multicultural environment, did all my school in French, travelled …. I'm
diverse—mainly Russian and Romanian Jew, and Irish and Scottish
Catholic.

Not only did she experience anti-Semitism, but the religious diversity in her parents'
marriage had created a multicultural environment growing up, as well as through her
upbringing in French Canada.

As another example, Margie, a white woman who is a member of the
congregation and a small group leader, told me that she felt a call to racial reconciliation
before attending Mannington. She was born in Chicago, and she says that race was never
an issue for her—nearly all of her friends were black. Where she lives now, she rarely
encounters black people, which she finds strange. Thinking about her friends in church, it
dawned on her as we were conversing that she did not have any close church friends who
were white.

It was not uncommon to hear of others who not only sought racial diversity but
also felt a specific "call" to racial reconciliation, particularly among pastors and
leadership staff. Pastor Eric is biracial (his father is white and mother is black), and his
wife is biracial (her father is white and mother is black). He grew up faithfully attending
a black Baptist church with his parents. He describes how his background and his faith
created in him a sense of higher calling in regards to race relations:

> I: How has your race/ethnicity affected your faith, or how has your faith
> affected your sense of race or ethnicity, if at all?
>
> E: I really sensed that, from a young age, that I kind of had a personal
> mission given to me to break down stereotypes, so I think that that
> affected the kind of church I've ended up in today, it's affected the kind of
> churches I've been in, [and] it's affected the friendships I had because I
> was never afraid to cross that barrier. So the two things worked together. I
> mean, God was at work in my heart, but I didn't realize it. And when I

realized how God was at work in my heart, it became … an item of celebration, you know? … It gave me a greater sensitivity to God's heart for all people, for all ethnic groups. And I hadn't really connected the things really well, because all this time, I had really separated that personal mission to break down stereotypes as something that was more a result of my dad and his influence and his racial background, and his experience with race, and him telling me, 'Hey, never make excuses for mediocrity because of race', so I kind of likened it to that … but God was at work all the time, and all the settings that I was in, He was fashioning for me … to be able to be in this kind of environment, and do it … as naturally as I'm breathing. So I don't have any real awareness, if you will, or acceptance to anything other than the heart of God for diversity.[69]

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[69] The following excerpt from his interview expounds on his racial background, his father's influence, and how he acted out his personal mission to break down stereotypes:

E: We … went to 22 different churches, trying to find a church, just trying to find a church …. We said, "We want to find a church with racial diversity" because I had come out of the military, and there was a great deal of racial diversity. …We met people from all over the world who were Christians. And that's what we knew, and that's what our kids were brought up in. And I just, I was so excited because I said "I know that there's going to be tons of racially diverse churches in this area," and little did I know … I mean, it was such a disappointment. The first thing that spoke to us about this church was the racial diversity. It truly was. It was the number one thing. Because I felt like God had really put that in my heart, to do, and I had lived my life that way. My father in the 60s would not even allow me to even contemplate being a part of any type of black power movement or whatever the case may be. He's a man that came from a racially diverse family. His mother … was Caucasian, his dad African American. His grandmother was part Indian. He told me a story recently—he could not go to the desegregated school because of transportation, but most of his friends were in that school, most of his friends were white, and they worked together, they raised cotton together, they raised pigs together down in Virginia …I said, "Dad you really didn't have a big problem with racial segregation?" He said, "Not till I moved to the city" …. He said actually, it was worse when he went to the school because there was some polarization that occurred because of the whole desegregation thing and institutional polarization. But he said, "When we were at home, we played baseball, picked tobacco, and raised hogs and did all this stuff together." So his natural inclination was racial harmony, and he had instilled that in us. And I've really sensed that one of things that God was doing in my life, all the time I was growing up, was making me a person that was really an ambassador for racial reconciliation.

I: In what way?

E: … In junior high school for example, we had teachers who were Caucasian, and teachers who were African American, and I went out of my way to disprove a number of stereotypes in my life …. I was going to take personal ownership to disprove stereotypes, whatever they were, wherever they may be. The way that young kids were dressing, I tried to dress in a much more conservative way. Sometimes I would walk down the street, if I were dressed like my peers, I'd walk down the street, and a Caucasian woman might start clutching her purse, or move over across the street, and that used to bother me just so much, it would bother me. So I would go out of my way, I'd walk past people, and in the most polite tone that I could, the most articulate manner that I could, I would say "Hello, how are you doing? How are you?" I really wanted the stereotypes that were being imposed upon or they were so prevalent with respect to the black community not to be something that I would perpetuate. It was like, you know, a sense of personal mission. When I was [in college], I had a lot of friends who were white. I was in an all-black fraternity, but I didn't get into an all-black Greek fraternity because it was an all-black fraternity. I got into the fraternity because I … was kinda overwhelmed on the big [college] campus. I went out of my way to engage people from all walks of life, and particularly in the military. I would find, in most instances, I would be the one or one of two black officers in meetings. I wanted to make sure I never fell asleep in meetings, wanted to make sure I

He was always conscious of breaking stereotypes and crossing barriers, to the point that it was a personal mission. He sees that God was at work in his life, using his experiences to make him "sensitive to God's heart for all people" and preparing him to be in a multiracial church. This sense of preparation implies that not all would be able to adjust as easily to a multiracial congregation.

As seen through personal lives of lay, staff, and pastoral leadership, there is a great deal of multicultural experience embodied within each person as well as between persons. These experiences, particularly among those who are most visible in the congregation—its leaders—add another dimension to the multiracial composition of the organization.

Further, a primary organizational identity of Mannington Church is that of being a multiracial congregation. When asked about Mannington's role among other Christian churches, Pastor James stated that racial reconciliation was a distinctive niche the church filled in the field of Christian churches in the metropolitan area:

I: What do you mean by "reconciliation"?

J: Seeing different groups of people legitimately come together, worship together, be a community together, whether it be black or white, Hispanic, Asian, whatever. I think that's part of who God has uniquely called us to be …. You've got churches [where] there's lots of birds of a feather nesting together, primarily one demographic or one race. I would hope that person would always be able to walk into a Mannington Church and not be quite sure of what we are. In other words, they don't see a congregation so weighted culturally in one direction that they say, "Oh, okay, I'm gonna be the odd man out there." They're not quite sure. And I think that that's a niche that God has called us to. I think it's a flag I don't think you're ever going to see us wave. In other words, "Look at us!

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was always ready, prepared, could always articulate my positions, things of that nature. …It was a good motivator for me to not allow mediocrity to be a part of my life. I went to a predominantly white high school …. Skin color matters not, absolutely does not matter to me. What matters to me is what's in a person's heart.

We're reconciled people!" There's a number of organizations, including churches and ministries that that's sort of their banner, so to speak. And I'm not sure that's our banner or our call. It's just something that we are. And I like the fact that we don't have to put it on, wear it externally, because it's an inside out motivation. I think that's an important niche, quite frankly.

Pastor James clarified that racial reconciliation is not their purpose, their "banner," but it is an important part of their organizational identity. (Later in this chapter, I will discuss how racial reconciliation integrates into and is demonstrative of their larger, evangelistic mission.) Although they may not necessarily wave a banner of reconciliation per se, the church is not shy about identifying as multiracial. The first adjectives the churches invoke in their self-description are "multiethnic" and "multicultural." In addition, the subject of their mission is multiracial—their aim is to impact different people groups worldwide: "We are a multiethnic, multicultural church family joined together by Christ to impact peoples, cities and nations for the Kingdom of God." This statement was written on every Sunday bulletin.

As a contrast, there is only one explicit mention of racial or ethnic diversity in all of Jackson Church's print or online materials. On a website page that extrapolates on the vision of the church appears, "It is a dream … Of a church that mimics heaven in its diversity. We will welcome and celebrate people from all ethnic backgrounds. This will be evidenced by cultural inclusion and coloring of our crowd." Its primary identity is not that of a multiracial church; rather it is that of a "seeker" church. As evidenced by the extent to which racial diversity is emphasized among the informational materials, its multiracial quality, though desired and welcome, does not appear as critical a component to its self-definition.

Mannington also has a crucial moment in its founding history that was racially symbolic not only for the history and identity of the church, but for individuals within the congregation. Several people pointed out that moment as an interracially impactful moment. Pastor DJ and Pastor Bryce were friends through church networks. In 1996, Pastor DJ submitted his church to Pastor Bryce. At the time Pastor Bryce's congregation was racially mixed, with African Americans comprising the majority, whereas Pastor DJ's congregation was predominantly white. Pastor DJ desired for both churches to succeed and felt that this was the best way to become a church of greater impact.

According to Pastor DJ's son,

> Dad being an older white man, serving a younger black man [was] completely counteropposite in mentality …. I think something clicked in the church as a whole that was a jet propulsion to growth … and growth interracially. When we came in, the church began to drastically increase.

Pastor Eric also remembered this event as a critical moment in the church's history, and it "spoke" to him the most as a new attendee, making a distinct impression on him about the church. One of the white couples from Pastor DJ's church discussed how it changed their perception and relationship with African Americans in general as a result of this merger. They had never before attended a multiracial or nonwhite congregation:

> I: What was that transition like?

> W: When [Pastor DJ] told us we were going to join [Pastor Bryce's] church, the first thing we went to [was] a prayer meeting Thursday night. When … we left the prayer meeting and we sat in the parking lot and said, 'Where have these people been?' We had never been around people like that before. We were so impressed.

> M: So thirsty!

W: … Now when we get out in the general population, when we go and we talk to African American people, they treat us different. The defensivism that we had experienced before is suddenly not there anymore. All of a sudden, you know, you just say, 'Good morning' or you go up to a clerk … and it's a whole different feeling or connection. And we don't really understand it, but there it is.

I: What was it about the people that impressed you so much?

W: I don't know. We'd always been around African Americans, [but it was] the clean spirit and the fervor for God at this prayer meeting, and the stereotypical things were obviously not there, and we were comfortable.

In praying with Pastor Bryce's church, they experienced a religious "fervor" and "spirit" that refreshed their "thirst." Their rhetorical question, "Where have these people been?" implies that the presence of these fellow African American Christians specifically was something that they missed and did not even realize they missed until they had experienced this prayer meeting with them. The fact that these black congregants were not "stereotypical" seemed to have changed their unexamined relationship with African Americans. They found that an unexpected consequence of their experience in this church decreased the social distance with African Americans in general. Therefore, the fact that an older, white pastor would voluntarily place himself under the leadership of a younger black pastor not only was a racially symbolic event in the history of the church, but it also personally impacted the lives of those congregants who were involved.

The church's multiracial identity is also reflected in its worship services. In his earlier quote, Pastor James also alludes to the style of the church being somewhat balanced culturally, to the point that it would be hard to peg the church into one racial–cultural category or another. Others agreed. When speaking about its racial–cultural identity, the style of music almost always came up in conversation. As mentioned earlier,

Pastor Eric is biracial and grew up attending a black Baptist church. He evaluates what may be more culturally "black" versus "white" in the congregation:

> I think the thing that is more culturally black is our senior pastor is black. But maybe, some of the music is, from some perspective, can be more culturally black. But I don't think so. I would have to really hear it from somebody. That form of worship is so mainstream now. Our senior pastor is black, so some of his expressions or the way he articulates is part of his background. But the good thing is that we have pastors on staff that are white, and that brings a great balance. If you've ever heard Pastor James speak, he's a funny guy, and he has a cultural bent as well.

He is undecided about whether the music could be "more culturally black," but feels that there is a balance that is achieved particularly because of the pastors on staff, who articulate their "cultural bent" to the congregation. (The next chapter will explore what strategies and techniques the senior pastor uses to provide a cultural balance.) Dionne, an African American woman, describes the music as culturally located somewhere in the middle:

> D: I come from a church that kind of does the same praise and worship that we do here, which I think is important, because it's not really the R and B, gospel … [and] it's not really on the other side, the hymns. It kinda is a different mix. I think anything you do has to minister whoever you're trying to reach its diversity, what you do has to be diversity. So I think praise and worship wise, sometimes we hit it, sometimes we don't. The last worship leader … I loved his style, but that doesn't minister to everybody.
>
> I: What kind of style was it?
>
> D: It was more gospel. It was a harder gospel than I think what people are used to. And a lot of people embraced it, and other people were like, "Well, that doesn't really minister to me, but you can praise the Lord with the banjo, as long as you're praising God." So, for me, I'd like to see it more diverse. I'd like to see a Spanish song up there, a Mexican song and … represent who's in the congregation you know? 'Cause I went to an all white school when I was growing up. Every prom, every dance, everything … nothing ever was for me. And I always felt like the outcast, because they didn't like the music I listened to, and it was never a

representation of who I was, and I believe that was important, because we have to connect. And so, across the board, I think if we're going to be diverse, we have to make sure everything that we do is diverse.

She emphasizes the importance of doing everything with "diversity," though her primary example was the music. Just a couple of years prior to this study, the music was "more gospel," led by a different worship leader.[70] Although it seems to have swung away from "hard gospel," she does not consider the music now to be "white" music. It is similar to the music played at the predominantly black church she attended previously. She also points out the need for not just a balance between what may be considered "white" or "black" music, but for music from other cultures to be sung.

On the whole, there is a sense that there is a balance, though tenuous. It can swing either way, often depending on a particular person's perspective. Although these respondents point to some disagreement about how black or how white certain elements of the church are, no one states that it is definitively one or the other.

On the other hand, an African American woman aptly and poignantly articulated her sentiments in the "comments" section of the survey that Jackson Church is not diverse; it is "white-centered":

> It is very hard to put into words what I feel is needed in this church. Maybe it is more of a balance in diversity. It is not about the percentage of churchgoers from other races; it is about the feeling that you get when you are participating. <u>No matter how tolerant or understanding people think they are, I still feel like a black woman in a white church.</u> [underline added] … I am very comfortable in my own skin and have been in diverse situations most of my life so I am not put off by anything here at Jackson Church but I wonder how other black people (or any other race for that matter) feel when they visit. Introducing them to another friendly black face is not enough. I am okay with entering a "white" world for church. I know that I am there because God has led me here so I come, and I enjoy

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[70] The former worship leader was sent to help establish and lead worship at another church plant. There were some indications from one congregant's comments that this decision was not without controversy.

the church a lot. When [the Christian rappers] come I watch the people, and I love to see those who totally allow themselves to get involved in something that is probably worlds away from what they normally listen to. (Of course there are some people who do listen to that kind of music here too.) The sad thing is that I also see people who are just standing there (some with arms crossed in defiance) refusing to allow themselves to find any enjoyment in the music. I wonder, do others see this too, and more importantly, will anyone challenge those people to examine their hearts for their true feelings? I would like to see us all challenged. I believe most people just pretend not to see anything or make up excuses for this. The race game is so deep, and I think that most people just like to pretend that the elephant is not in the room. … Everything at Jackson Church is white centered and every other culture has to come to towards that center. Is that a crime? … Of course not. We make a choice to come to Jackson Church … It's just that God made all of the other races too, so isn't there something that we can use from other cultures to demonstrate God?[71]

Though it is clear that she loves this church, her dedication is not sufficient to overcome the feeling that she is, if not personally, then culturally, marginal. She acknowledges that it is her decision to be a part of this church, and therefore seems almost apologetic about her criticism of its racial bias. The "rich cultural" diversity that the pastor, Mike, admires and desires may be reflected in individual congregants, but without its incorporation in Sunday services, there is a lack of connection for her. Research on racially diverse churches has found that groups in the racial minority bear disproportionate costs of being in a diverse environment (Christerson and Emerson 2003). She has to work harder but is willing to, and she also imagines how others may not feel the same way and be "put off" by how things are done at Jackson. Although she states that people "pretend not to see anything," the lack of attention may not be due to intentional avoidance. Since Jackson is predominantly white, many may be unconscious of the ways in which whiteness is enacted in this congregational context, nor how to

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[71] The rappers she refers to were of questionable talent. They performed during my fieldwork period, so I had an opportunity to witness their performance. I was sitting there, probably with my arms crossed, because I was embarrassed for them. One member in his comments in the survey wrote, "Lose the two rappers. Get better ones."

address or change it. For instance, Mike noted in an interview that his congregation is "too white," but he is referring to the composition of the congregation, not the style of presentation.

Thus Mannington Church has built and reinforced several "tools" in its multiracial cultural toolkit. Congregational composition obviously identifies the church as multiracial and also enables explicit declarations of the incorporation of racial diversity as an identity. The multiracial composition is well represented in a leadership with varied racial life experiences. And finally, expressions of the blend of racial groups, such as music and its founding history, are experienced in a way that does not seem to heavily favor one race or another. As described in the congregational profiles, Mannington Church also incorporates elements such as the formal role of ushers (Nelson 1996) and verbal affirmation that are characteristic of black church culture in its services, but are not exclusive to black churches (Edwards 2009).

Although far from idyllic, there is more cultural "space" and racial resources in Mannington Church to accommodate different styles, as opposed to Jackson Church, which seems culturally white. Jackson Church's multiracial "toolkit" is sparse in its resources. Therefore, Jackson Church is not able to provide a sense of cultural balance. On the other hand, there is a greater sense of equal cultural status between the black and white congregants at Mannington Church.

Evangelistic Mission and Community

However, neither a multiracial identity nor a racially diverse composition is the main purpose of these organizations. The multiracial organizational identity demonstrated by these churches is circumscribed within the evangelistic mission of the church and

must be understood within that context. The approach to racial diversity and interracial friendship within the churches cannot be explained without understanding the approach to accomplishing the religious mission. The emphasis on the importance of cross-race relationships is inextricably tied to how the two churches conceptualize church community and its role in evangelism.

Both churches are evangelistic and explicit about their ultimate intention to convert people to Christianity. However, their strategy for doing so is vastly different. The churches' mission and vision statements provide the first indication of this difference. Mannington Church's mission is "to honor God and advance His Kingdom through church planting, campus ministry, and world missions to reach all nations," and their vision is "to win the city for Christ." Their mission and vision are outwardly directed to "win" the city and to "advance" God's kingdom through evangelism, invoking competitive or battle terminology. Jackson's mission and vision is also evangelistic, but stated more passively. Jackson Church's mission is "to meet people where they are and take them to where God wants them to be—becoming fully devoted followers of Christ," and their vision is

> "to be a community which impacts our culture as the early church affected their world: 'They spent their time learning from the apostles, and they were like family to each other. All the Lord's followers often met together, and they shared everything they had. They broke bread together in different homes and shared their food happily and freely, while praising God. Everyone liked them, and each day the Lord added to their group others who were being saved.' (Acts 2:42–47)"

It is not clear in the mission whether the "people" to which it refers are believers or nonbelievers. The other reference to its evangelistic mission is to "impact our culture," but the verse chosen to explain how provides a picture of people being "added to their

group." The addition of those "who were being saved" is not expressed as being "won" on a mission, but simply "added," presumably as a result of being drawn to the happy, communal Christian community. The directives to achieving evangelism are opposite. Mannington's statements imply the need to go out to get, that is, to actively recruit, whereas Jackson's statement shows membership rising as a result of an organic demonstration of community.

These contrasting strategies are also evidenced through sermon descriptions of what God desires regarding nonbelievers and the responsibility of believers in evangelism. Mannington Church's conceptualization of God is one who grants to His people the singular mission of evangelism.

> Very rarely, in the Gospels, does Jesus ask us for something, but here, before He ascends to the Father, this is His last earthly request …. The last thing [Jesus] asks for on the earth is this, "Bring me some of the fish you have caught" … There's something God's after, and it's more than just making you Holy. It's more than your money, your time, or raising good children. You were placed on this planet to bring to God, fish; hurting, wounded people, who He can change. … We find that each and every one of us were born into this planet to bring someone else into the kingdom of God …. Jesus deals with the next issue in the heart of the group which is personal responsibility …. It's not enough that you have the right strategy, you've got to be willing to take responsibility for this harvest … [God says,] "If you really love me, the sign of that is more than your [time], more than your worship. It's more than your attendance. It's more than, oh, all the passion you have as you sing … If you really love Me the greatest thing you can do for Me is take responsibility for the advance of My kingdom." … I hear the Holy Spirit saying, "Where are the fish you have caught? … It's the reason I left you on the planet." "I thought you left me here to make me holy?" "Well, if I wanted you holy, I'd just kill you and speed up the process …. I want fish." (1/15/2006, Larry)

First, described as Jesus last request before leaving earth, evangelism is implied as the most important task given to His believers. Not only is God's primary purpose expressed as catching "fish," nonbelievers, God's primary purpose for His people is the

same. In this sermon, evangelism is expressed as the most salient expression and demonstration of believers' devotion to God. Each person is exhorted to take personal responsibility for his or her part in this mission of God to "advance" His kingdom through "bringing someone else into the kingdom."

In a sermon at Jackson's Church, God's desire for "fish" is portrayed very differently:

> This is God thinking: Maybe there's someone there alone, alone with no prospects, alone with no hope and maybe he or she thinks that they'll never be a part of anything significant, never be a part of a community that loves them and that they'll never contribute anything in this world and maybe that person will be just desperate enough or hopeful enough or brave enough to trust me and jump in my truck and then I'll surprise them with joy, with grace and I'll lean back on my truck and watch 'em with a smile. That's our God … He's always looking for one more and He'll go back and back and back again till He finds 'em. … Even as your outreach pastor I wish I had more of that in my heart, and I pray that more people at [Jackson Church] would be passionate about … God's kingdom. (7/9/2006, D).

The special-forces and hospital analogies are useful as an extended metaphor here. Whereas Mannington's conceptualization of God can be likened to that of an urgent commander, Jackson's conceptualization of God is that of a compassionate and patient gatherer of the hurting and lonely. God is described as waiting by his truck for nonbelievers to "jump in." He "leans back" and "watches." Though the speaker expresses desiring the same "heart" as God for wanting people to be Christians and hopes that Jackson attendees would be "passionate" as well, the obligation of believers in this process is not emphasized. They are not urged to go and get people on the truck in the same way that Mannington's attendees are urged to "catch fish." Further, the lack of this "heart" or desire to evangelism is not described as a sign of Christian devotion.

Indeed, the differing strategies for evangelism are reflective of how each church defines what evangelism comprises. In Mannington, as expressed in the previous sermon quote, it is seeking opportunities to ultimately take individuals all the way to a conversion moment. For example, Pastor Bryce shares numerous examples of how he participates in evangelism as well as bringing other members up to the stage to share how they had brought someone to the point of conversion. One member met someone at a health food store she frequented regularly, then invited her to a small group, where she eventually was "saved." In a sermon, Pastor Bryce describes his encounter with a realtor. He asked if she had any prayer requests and then prays out loud with her. In the course of that prayer, he prays that she "falls in love" with God. He urges, "Touch somebody's life. It opens up all kind a ways, all kind of doors, to then share the gospel and lead them to the Lord" (1/1/2006).

On the other hand, Jackson Church's definition of evangelism, which they call "outreach" is defined more expansively, with a greater focus on service. In his sermon, the outreach pastor explicitly states, "Here's my definition for outreach: it's the activities that we involve ourselves in that show God's love in practical ways to people outside our Church community" (4/9/2006, D). Consistent with the conceptualization of God's approach to evangelism as described earlier, he continues in his sermon to say that outreach involves a) meeting people where they are, b) extending love and mercy, and c) patience (4/9/2006, D). Outreach is not defined as leading to conversion, but patiently "loving" nonbelievers practically. In addition, outreach is also defined in a later sermon as serving others and demonstrating upstanding character as representatives of Jesus.

> Maybe you've asked this question before. How can an average person like me make an eternity of difference? The answer is right here and it's really

simple, it's by seeing every person that you come into contact with during the working hours as an opportunity to serve and to represent Jesus Christ …. We have to be people of integrity, people of moral purity. Our character in these three areas during the working hours will either influence people for Christ or they will turn people away from Christ. And listen, don't downgrade the importance of your unspoken witness in the work environment. I am convinced that there'll be thousands of people in heaven one day who when we ask them, "How did you get here? What was your journey?" They will say something like, "I worked with this woman or with this guy and I saw in him or in her that they were different; they were people of character. I saw something in them that I wanted in myself and I pursued it, I asked them, and I sought Christianity and this is how I got here." (9/17/2006, D)

In this hypothetical example of a conversation in heaven, the nonbelievers were the ones that "pursued," "asked," and "sought" out Christianity. They are the ones that are given agency in the conversion process. Christians are described as actively demonstrating notable character traits, and the speaker urges them not to underestimate the power of "unspoken witness," but they are not described as needing to *lead* individuals to the conversion moment. The verbal aspect of evangelism is not excluded, but is included among a wide range of outreach behaviors.

Christian outreach, the outreach that we're talking about this morning will shake that comfort zone at its very core, it really does … You see there's nothing comfortable about washing a dirty little kid's feet in the poorest country in the western hemisphere, Nicaragua. … There's nothing comfortable about sharing your faith with a coworker or speaking up for Christ at your school or giving out granola bars in Manhattan; there's nothing comfortable about that at all. There's nothing comfortable about inviting people to try a new church or watching a single mom's rowdy kids because she needs a break (4/9/2006, D).

Verbally leading someone to a conversion moment or even "sharing your faith" is not given primacy over other actions such as "washing feet" or "watching a single mom's rowdy kids." Jackson Church thus describes evangelism or outreach as a process that is much more broadly defined than the examples provided by Mannington Church.

Although Mannington does not exclude these other types of "practical loving" behaviors, there is greater discussion from the pulpit around "winning" converts and actively leading nonbelievers to a faith decision than there is at Jackson Church. Just as a special-forces unit has a specific mission to accomplish, Mannington's description of evangelism requires a more directed, goal-oriented agency on the part of believers. Jackson's strategy is passive in comparison and more diffuse in its end goal, similar to that of a hospital, whose objective is to care for those around them, no matter what stage of spiritual "health."

Mannington Church

Just as the strategies for evangelism contrast between these two church communities, the conceptualization of church community and its role in the evangelistic mission also contrast. Although both churches describe themselves as part of the larger body of Christian believers, Mannington Church also emphasizes the purpose and commitment to the local congregation through the idea of "spiritual family." As such, there are clearer organizational boundaries drawn around Mannington Church as a corporate entity. I first explain how community fits into the evangelistic purpose of the church with specific attention to how racially diverse community comprises a critical dimension of that evangelistic purpose. I then describe Jackson Church's strategy as a counterpoint. The way in which congregational community is framed within the larger evangelistic purpose of the churches helps explain the high frequency of intrachurch relationship, particularly between cross-race congregants.

In Mannington Church, the quality and depth of relationships between members is presented as a critical way in which people are drawn to Christian community and

ultimately to Christ. The relationship between Christians is likened to that of family members, with God as father, with expectations that the same intimacy of relationship should be demonstrated.

> Spiritual family is a God idea …. There are brothers and sisters that are just as thick as blood would make our natural genetics with our brothers and sisters. Oh, they do not replace our natural families—no way it can, it's not intended to—it's to be in addition to … And so you can love the spiritual family in the same dimension [as your natural family] without sacrificing anything for the natural …. It's not just an institution or an organization, it's supposed to be relationships, it's supposed to be people that really love one another genuinely and authentically … it's supposed to be the only real environment on earth …. You're supposed to find concrete there, you're supposed to find real power, real relationships that know how to press through barriers and come out on the other side after conflict better than they went before they got in it … Church is supposed to happen outside on Monday through Saturday, the joining of people's lives, the being interested in somebody's dreams, the preferring one another, the forgiving one another, the seeing how one another is doing, the praying for one another, that's where it happens … The sacrifice, one for another, is the way that we show something different than the world expects from a group of people … Family is the place in the church from which all goodness is to flow as an example of how God does what he does. This is where people are to notice our love and then, being then witnessed, they are to come to understand who God is. "They will know that you are Mine by your love, one for the other." (1/2/2006, B).

The authenticity of relationships and the intimate bond between believers, shown through forgiving, sacrificing, preferring, etc., is necessary as a way to distinguish believers from nonbelievers. These relationships are described as being the most "real," "concrete," and imbued with power. This difference in quality of community relationships is an important "witness" of who God is. These kinds of relationships are intended and expected; they're "supposed to" happen.

Further, church relationships are not only supposed to be qualitatively different from secular relationships, the authenticity of those relationships is mandated because of God's call to evangelism. Depth of relationship between believers is the only way

evangelism can be accomplished. As such, evangelism is also conceptualized as a corporate, collective activity for Mannington congregants:

> God ties the lives of His people together for harvest. The first great miracle catch [in Matthew 13] broke the net. It was [because] they were so immature and their relationships were shallow, it would never ever stand the test of harvest …. The knots that hold this church together—it's your relationships with one another. (1/15/2006, Larry)

The speaker compares the fishing net that catches "fish" or nonbelievers, to the network of relationships among congregation members. Fish could not be caught without a strong net. In the same way, it is suggested that conversions will not happen without a tightly bonded congregation. It is not only relationships between Christian believers generally that are important; here, relationships between congregational members are highlighted.

As such, Mannington conceptualizes its congregation as a singular unit, composed of more than just a collection of individuals. It is an entity in and of itself. Speakers and pastors frequently address the church as a corporate body. Further, as a singular entity, it too has a purpose or calling.

> The Lord began to speak to me and show me some things, about his purpose for this church, what He has for you and as I pondered it, the Lord began to open John, the 21st chapter to me. And I'm going to share with you a message I've never ever preached before. I believe it's specifically for this congregation at this time. I'm going to entitle it "Bring Me Some Fish." … God wants to increase your catch. (1/15/2006, Larry)

This prophetic message delivered by a guest speaker is explicitly intended for Mannington Church (this same sermon was also delivered to the City congregation). The speaker refers to the "purpose for this church," also referring to Mannington Church, and not Christian believers generally. In addition, by explaining that he had never preached

this message with other congregations, he emphasizes the distinctiveness of this congregational body. The evangelistic mission is one that not only is intended to be a collective activity, it is portrayed as a congregationally collective activity. In an interview with Pastor David: "We're called together for a purpose … there's a corporate call to do God's mission," echoing the sentiment that individuals are "called" to specific congregations to accomplish "God's mission." Individuals' choice to be part of the congregation is not accidental but divinely purposed. They are gathered in order to contribute to the fulfillment of Mannington Church's calling. Pastor Bryce described the congregation as having a "corporate soul" and that "when everybody does what they're supposed to do, it collectively allows people the privilege of saying, 'Wow, we have it together'" (1/16/2005). Congregation members are expected to view themselves as a "we" that "has it together" only when every member does his or her part. Therefore, congregants not only have an encompassing identity as Christians, but are described as having an organizational identity as Christians who are members of Mannington Church. Having a deeply relationally connected congregation is thus an important dimension and demonstration of this corporate soul.

Furthermore, just as each individual has been given specific gifts and talents to contribute to the church congregation, each congregation has a specific role as part of the larger group of Christian congregations. In the sermon excerpt below, Pastor Bryce first defines the local congregation as the first level of spiritual family, comprising those individuals with whom one actively engages in relationship. He then explains how congregations have "distinctives" that differentiate congregations from one another:

> Now being a part of the spiritual family of God requires that you
> fellowship with brothers and sisters. You can't be aloof and be practically

a part, you can be in name a part, and you can be in theology a part but I like to be with family members who really like to be with me. I like to be with family members with whom I can work. I like to be with family members who want to sit down and have a meal and actually fellowship at a very deep level. That's the practices of knowing what it means to flush out the spiritual family concept in a local congregation.

You are a part of the family of God whether you are a part of this congregation or not but there are things that are specific to local congregations that allow families to be distinct, one from another within the larger family of God. … Every congregation has a specific emphasis and those need to be respected and being a part of that emphasis allows you then to fulfill your will with a group of people doing a specific thing at one time. And God wants to reach certain kinds of people with certain kinds of congregations. Just as He wants to reach certain kinds of people with certain kinds of people and so God fashions congregations to be able to be a certain way and have a distinctive. (1/29/2006)

He emphasizes that familial relationships within the local congregation is a requirement. Forming relationships within the local congregational body is the means by which Christians practice the concept of spiritual family as intended by God. Secondly, Pastor Bryce clearly explains that "every congregation has a specific emphasis" in order to reach specific peoples. Again, it is emphasized that individuals "fulfill their will" with congregational "brothers and sisters" who are all "doing a specific thing at one time." Mannington simultaneously preaches the importance of accomplishing individual "callings" and the importance of participating in the calling of this congregation. One's individual calling helps to accomplish the mission of Mannington Church. Therefore, it is critical that each member does its part in contributing to their congregation. In another sermon, Pastor Bryce speaks of the need for each member to contribute to "their church":

But in order for this church to be what it's supposed to be, we're going to have to have people that consider it theirs—not the church you "go to," pastored by [Pastor Bryce], but your church. Hear me in this, there's nothing wrong with calling your church, "your church." Everybody knows theologically, it's Christ. We know that. We're not talking about taking

possessions away, we're talking about identifying with it as if it is mine, and if it's mine, I've got to take care of it. You're not a renter here, you're an owner. Renters don't paint. They don't replace the carpet. They do the minimal stuff just to get by so that their deposit is not rescinded. But owners take care of their house … and how you serve really reflects on your attitude of ownership. The only way we can build up our church is if every member is working (1/16/2005, B).

Notably, the "church" is conceptualized as its own entity. Pastor Bryce describes commitment to and work within this congregational body as necessary to accomplishing its organizational goals. Each member must identify with it and thus take responsibility for "building up" the congregation.

Mannington thereby mobilizes its congregants by conceptualizing the congregation as a familial network of relationships that comprises the organizational whole. Each congregation thus also has a distinctive role among other congregations, and its members are responsible for ensuring that that role is fulfilled. Mannington thereby delineates its boundaries and establishes an *organizational* identity.

Mannington Church's dedicated niche in the field of congregations is in exhibiting a racially integrated community. The church's calling is hence described as more specific than having deep relationships for the purpose of evangelism. Having such deep-level relationships between different-race individuals for the purpose of evangelism is a distinctive way in which this church fulfills its evangelistic mission. Pastor Bryce exposited on this unique mission in a sermon:

> I pray that God keeps us together as long as possible so that we can fulfill the dream He gave me a long time ago. But when you build this way, see, you begin to realize why Paul said what he said when he said the church is the organization through which the manifold wisdom of God is now going to be made known to the entire world … The word manifold in the Greek is polupoikilos, and in the Greek version of the Old Testament, it is the word that is used to translate Joseph's coat of many colors … And Paul said, "I want you to know that a church of many colors is the church that

can proclaim wisdom to every authority, every principality, every institution on the planet." Why? Because they know what it's like to go through barriers and come out reconciled on the other side ….

I want you to know when I think of family, this is what I think of: I don't think of family as folk that look like me. They're part of my family, but that's not the only family. I am just as committed to other people-- in fact, intentionally so … There are differences, and it takes a courageous people to say I'm not going to stop when I find a difference that I don't like. When I touch somebody's pain because of their experience and somehow somebody didn't like their difference, and it hurt them deeply, I'm not going to stop. When somebody misunderstands what I say, I'm not going to stop ….

That's why Paul said this: "When I think about family, I got to bow my knee, I got to get down here 'cause you can't just pray erect. This is one of those it takes all the spiritual power you got to make it go because God's so interested in family like this, it requires this kind of passion. I bow my knee before the Father from whom my whole family in earth derives its name because I want family. I don't want there to be a split, I don't want there to be division, I don't want there to be hurt, I want us all to find out," Paul said, "what it's like to get on the other side of all that stuff and find God in it." This is family for us. Now I know that other churches don't have the skill sets and that's not to demean them in any way nor the calling to do what we are trying to do …. So other congregations that are down in the inner city that are all black, bless 'em, happy, glad. Other congregations that are all white out in the suburbs, bless 'em, happy, glad. But if you want to a part of this particular clan of the family of God, this is how we roll. This is how we architecturally put stuff together and we're not going to depart from it. But if we can do this, … if He blesses us in such a way that we can take this thing to five and ten thousand with the same kind of diversity we've got without window dressing, with real substantive relationships, no hollowness, but depth—if we can do that, we can change the world. We can change the world. Corporations will come to us and say, "How did you get what you got? We have a hard time with diversity issues in our city, could you help us please because you've got all these volunteers that are doing this. Our people just show up 'cause we pay 'em, and they don't like one another. Your people come because they want to be together. How'd you do that?" … If we can do something in our community whereby we can evidence what reconciliation really looks like, and what family looks like … Remember, everybody is looking for family. Everybody has come from dysfunction … All we're talking about is degree, just degree. … [Everybody's looking for] some way to identify with family, whether it's to establish your own by marriage or to be involved in a group of people that were doing something larger than you with whom you could relate and feel valued … Our task is this: to build it

in such a way that when people come in, they never want to leave. (2/5/2006)

There are several ideas expressed in this section of the sermon. First of all, Pastor Bryce speaks of the congregation being together to "fulfill the dream" of a racially diverse congregation. In doing so, he establishes a vision that is specific not only to the congregation, but to himself as its senior pastor. He also points out the role of the church organization, and specifically this congregation, in making known God's intention of a racially diverse family of "many colors." This expression of God as seen in the church is said to give them the unique role of being able to "proclaim wisdom" to all due to a demonstrated racial reconciliation. Therefore, Pastor Bryce emphasizes the importance of commitment to cross-race relationships, despite differences, dislike, hurt, or misunderstanding. A racially diverse congregation in effect defines what "family" consists of for Mannington Church, and in particular, it is the substantivity of cross-race relationships that defines "this particular clan of the family of God." He makes a clear delineation of this unique characteristic of the church compared to other churches that are racially homogenous. This characteristic inimitably enables the church to fulfill its specific mission of revealing God's "manifold" wisdom and power due its experience of "breaking through" barriers and "coming out the other side." Therefore, being committed to this vision of racial unity in the church is required in order to belong, for "if you want to be a part of this clan … this is how we roll." Racially reconciled relationships are not an optional characteristic of their church.

Pastor Bryce explains that their unique ability to achieve such relationships enables them to "change the world" by being able to accomplish a quality of racial reconciliation that cannot be accomplished among secular organizations such as

corporations. Pastor Bryce expresses that this aspect of a tight-knit, unified family of "many colors" is both reality for their church as well as a goal that can effectively draw others in.

This vision is not unique to the Varsity congregation. Pastor David, in a sermon entitled "colorful community," echoes the same sentiments. He also highlights the importance of depth of relationship between racial groups:

> I know people who don't have [anything] against anybody but the reality is they don't have relationship either. It's one thing to say, "Well, I don't hate anybody." Yeah, but that's not God's standards. God's standard is for you to press into something and to have relationship. … No, if it's still "of them" in your mind, that's what God wants to break through … till the "them" becomes "all of us." [agreement from congregation] And if you haven't moved from "them" to "all of us," then you still need to grow. Why? Because if you're going to heaven, the throng around the throne? … Everybody's there! … A lot of people say, "Well, these issues are gone." They're not. It's different today. Jim Crow is gone, but you can't legislate love …. And that's what God wants to do—immerse you into His family. When you walk around, it's not just black and white, but it's any people group, and you're like, "That's my brother. That's my sister." … The influence that God intends for you to have in this church, in this community, wherever you are, will be limited to the people group that you are so narrowly focused on and the only ones you could see … God says, "If you could see My family, then that means you wouldn't walk by three people to get to that person because they look like you. You could have seen the first person as the person God wanted you to interact with." … If the church doesn't reflect [ethnic unity and diversity], the world will never get it, never. (7/9/2006)

Pastor David, like Pastor Bryce, notes that having close interracial friendships will predict one's degree of personal influence, as well as the degree to which the church will have influence in the world. Thus, close interracial friendship is framed as critical personally as well as critically organizationally to the accomplishment of evangelism. That is, such friendship serves as a demonstration of God's power and wisdom that would affect not only the church's ability to draw converts, but its ability to be distinctive

from other secular groups. Although Pastor Bryce does not mean to "demean" other churches that do not have the proper "skill sets" to have a racially diverse and unified congregation, he portrays Mannington's purpose as uniquely claiming an authority and demonstrating a power that other congregations cannot. He thus imbues his congregation with not only a sense of purpose, but also a specialized and powerful purpose. Close interracial friendship, then, is framed as a divine mandate and mark of obedience to this unique calling.

As alluded to in Pastor David's sermon, the purpose of interracial friendship and racial diversity in the congregation is also set in an international context. Given that Mannington's congregants are primarily white and black, this international framing may assist in dislodging race from being fixed within the black–white dichotomous framework of American race relations. Pastor James describes how racial diversity is necessary for understanding and accomplishing world evangelism:

> Even as we continue to talk about [racial diversity], I'm not comfortable with the emphasis on it, but I'm going to answer your questions, 'cause I don't want that to be the identifier, are you with me? I'm not sure a person can really understand the concept of the kingdom and understand God's love for nations, and our responsibility to nations, plural, until we've overcome, or come into at least some awareness of how we live our life every day and what's around us. Why would I have a desire to go to the Ukraine or go to Japan, if … I can't bridge that gap where I live … 1 Peter 2—the concept of the kingdom is already multicultural by design. I think it's critical for us to have the right kind of worldview …. That was the big revelation of the New Testament—other than Jesus—is that [the kingdom] was not just for one group of people … And I think for us to be environmentally and culturally aware and to be kingdom aware and to understand our responsibilities as believers is to make disciples of all nations. It says all nations. Well, nations are just peoples. And I think it's critical that we work through this. Otherwise, there's a part of us that's being withheld—for lack of a better word—culturally, then we're [also] withholding [what's] inside of us that can bring life to other people.

As noted previously, Pastor James describes his discomfort with my series of questions about the racial diversity of the church because it is not the end goal of the church. It is a way in which this church can understand and thus fulfill its ultimate mission to spread the gospel to all nations. Reconciling differences between people groups in one's own environment enables one to then "bring life" to other people in other parts of the world. Mannington thus views not only its racial diversity but also diversity in relationships in light of its larger and primary religious purpose. Race, ethnicity, and culture are not simply viewed in the box of American race relations, but in light of a global view of the "kingdom" and the theologically understood end goal. Therefore, domestic race issues are not to be addressed myopically, but to help bring down the barriers that prevent worldwide evangelism. Crossing racial boundaries is thus framed as a microcosm of crossing national boundaries in order to "make disciples."

Moreover, interracial friendship within Mannington Church can best be understood within the context of its religious purpose and organizational identity. Mannington Church effectively demonstrates a mission-oriented approach to evangelism, the accomplishment of which is enabled by the depth of relationship and, especially, depth of cross-race relationship. Indeed, the notion of preparation for a mission is a powerful one. The dependence of the success of a "mission" on intergroup relationships is cited as one of the critical organizational aspects of the military that enable it to arguably be the most integrated institution in America (Moskos and Butler 1996). Moskos and Butler (1996) proposes that "the more military the environment, the more complete the integration"; that is, how dependent one's survival is on the cooperative relationships between members, the greater the likelihood of positive interrace relationship (p. 2). Several interviewees in their study acknowledged the necessity of

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"getting along" for the purposes of combat. The notion of positive intergroup relationships conditional upon opportunities for cooperation, particularly on equal status grounds such as military rank, is also a component of contact theory (Allport 1954), though not stated in life and death terms.

Moreover, these relationships are set in the context of a congregationally specific spiritual "family" (although not limited to such) that is given a congregationally specific calling. Mannington Church is thus conceived as being more than just an assembly of individual believers; it is a corporate entity with a specialized role in the greater world evangelistic mission of the Christian church. It is a tightly knotted "net" of strong ties.

Jackson Church

In contrast, Jackson Church does not strictly delineate organizational boundaries. Similar to its strategy for evangelism, its conceptualization of church is more diffuse and broadly construed. Although outreach may be done *in* groups, it is not *the* group that fulfills evangelistic aims. Their approach to evangelism tends to be more individualistic, which does not necessitate the framing of organizational agency in outreach or in the achievement of organizational goals.

Yet, similar to Mannington Church, relationships are considered to be important for evangelism:

> I feel like one of the greatest needs of people in our community … is the need for authentic friendships. … In spite of how busy our schedules are, like Jesus' was, we need to invest in authentic friendships with people outside these walls. [Most people in this county] don't go to church on Sunday morning. They don't have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ and many of them, I think, like [the Samaritan] woman, feel alienated and disconnected. They're probably not going to come to church because we send them a postcard. They might come to Christ because of a friendship and that's on us. (4/9/2006, D)

In this sermon, Darrell urges congregants to "invest in authentic friendships" with

nonbelievers as a way to both meet a need for authentic friendships among those who

may be disconnected and to proselytize. In addition, stating that "that's on us" a

responsibility to establish those relationships. Relationships are described as

probabilistically more effective than a postcard in evangelism.

Further, cross-race relationships are important, but rather than emphasizing cross-

race relationships within the congregational context, this sermon describes the

importance of relationships with dissimilar others at-large.

> And the [Samaritan] woman in the story provides us with several kinds of
> applications of where we need to shine our lives in terms of outreach. For
> example she represents people who represent diversity, people who are
> different from us. … As individuals and as a church, … we are committed
> at [Jackson Church] to reach across all kinds of diversity and all kinds of
> ethnic lines. If you're a Muslim or a Mormon, if you're a Buddhist or a
> Baptist, if you're Catholic or Charismatic, if you're Hispanic, Asian,
> African, white, Indian, a Dallas Cowboy fan, if you live in a trailer or in a
> townhouse, it really doesn't matter. We want to reach out. We want to
> show God's love to all people. You know usually when someone like me
> stands up and says something like I just said, people nod their heads and
> say, "Yeah, we want to be a diverse church. We want to reach out to other
> people." But let me ask a question to see how we're doing in this: How
> much diversity is represented in the circle of your relationships right now?
> And here's another question, when was the last time you really reached
> out with God's love to someone who's way different than you? (4/9/2006,
> D)

Speaking specifically about outreach, Darrell discusses the commitment of the

church to "reach across all kinds of diversity." This points to Jackson Church's

commitment to a generalized diversity, and one that is neither specific to nor limited to

race. He mentions the need to reach out to people who are different religiously, racially,

in sports affiliation, and in socioeconomic status. In addition, being a diverse church is

described as predicated upon diversity in one's relational network, presumably by

bringing different others in. What is not spoken of is the need for depth of relationships across these differences. Further, the need for intrachurch relationships between different individuals is not emphasized. The boundary between intrachurch and extrachurch ties is not clear in this sermon, except that extrachurch relationships can potentially become intrachurch relationships.

In general, Jackson Church avoids drawing organizational boundaries around its congregants. In Mannington Church it was unusual to find a sermon where the congregation was not addressed corporately; in Jackson Church, it was rare to hear the congregation addressed as one body, or as "the church." The last sermon excerpt was one exception. The concept of church community tends to be broadly defined. In one sermon, Mike, the head pastor, presented his definition of church: "God doesn't occupy buildings … the church is a group of people that God's presence now takes up residence within" (2/19/2006, M). There is never any explicit delineation of the role of the congregation specifically. Therefore, when the pronoun "we" is used or "church" is used, it refers to Christians generally, not Christians at Jackson. As such, attendees' commitment or contribution to Jackson Church itself is not strongly advocated, although service to others in general is encouraged. In an interview, Mark, a member of the leadership staff with the church, said, "One thing that we try really hard not to do is to get people to serve the church. We don't want you to come in, and [for us to] say, 'What can you give back to us?' …. It's not for the glory of [Jackson Church]. It's not for the glory of Mike or Darrell … It's really for the glory of God, to get people plugged into something bigger." In contrast, at Mannington Church, getting "plugged into something bigger" involves participating in congregational life, because Mannington itself is described as a vehicle for change.

Only once in all the sermons I listened to was there any mention of a calling specific to Jackson Church. "I have something that I think is a calling for us as a church here at Jackson Church … I think we've come into a season here at Jackson Church where God is calling us to become a people of prayer …. God says—I think for our church, for Jackson Church—that it should be a house of prayer" (7/16/2006, M). Even then, this calling is not strongly declared. The phrase "I think" is used three times to express the possibility of prayer to be a specific calling for this church. In addition, only in one concluding prayer of a sermon was something asked of God on behalf of the Jackson Church community: Mike prayed, "God, would you bless our church, that it would be a haven for healing for marriages that are broken by discord and pain. And would we become a community … that is known for its healing and health relationally in this area." (8/13/2006). Consistent with the analogy of the hospital, it is asked that the church become a "haven for healing" for marriages that are in "discord and pain."

However, as with many evangelical churches, they do clearly distinguish themselves from the outgroup relevant to their church (Smith and Emerson 1998). The only boundary drawn is around stereotypically religious or hypocritical churches. Sermons mention such churches in its implication that Jackson Church does not fall in that category. For example, "You know there's this thing in society that tends to equate early morning rising with productivity and success and sometimes the church keeps additional guilt on you because there's that verse, 'Early in the morning Jesus got up and prayed.' Well, I did a little bit of research this week and let me tell you, this is going to come as good news to those of you that aren't morning people" (9/10/2006, M). Mike later reveals that Jesus prayed frequently in the evening hours as well. The "church" referred to here is described as wrongly emphasizing early rising and thereby levying

guilt on those who do not, and the correction issued thus contrasts Jackson to the guilt-inducing "church." This contrast between other churches and Jackson Church is a conscious aspect of the church's vision. Their website's "vision" page promises that they "will ruthlessly avoid behaviors and attitudes that would suggest we are 'holier than thou' or emphasize 'us and them,'" suggesting that they avoid drawing prejudicial boundaries that distinguish Christians and non-Christians, as other churches may do. By specifically stating their avoidance of behaviors or attitudes, the implication is that this "holier than thou" attitude is seen in other church environments.

Further, relationships with other Christians is spoken of broadly, without specific mention of intrachurch relationships. For example, Jackson Church also describes Christian relationships in the metaphor of "family," but the local congregation is not necessarily described as the place in which those relationships need occur.

> We are part of a family that is far deeper than any other relationship that you can have. The Bible says it's even stronger than a blood relationship. But it's a true blood relationship with the blood of Jesus. And whatever your relationships are built around, whatever you have in common, you have a friend, you like golf, that's a fairly superficial relationship if that's the only thing you have in common. Our relationship in the kingdom is built around Jesus Christ and that's a deep commonality. That's why through the Bible in First Corinthians for instance it says if one part suffers, then every part suffers with it. If one part is honored, then every part shares in its joy. (1/15/2006, M)

As expressed in Mannington, other believers are described as family. Here Mike speaks of those spiritual relationships being even deeper in commonality than blood relationships. Implied in the description of a commonality that is deeper than bloodlines is that race or other demographic differences should not be a barrier to Christian fellowship. However, unlike Mannington Church, it is not explicitly stated as such. Further, how these deep bonds affect evangelism or outreach is also not emphasized.

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Since Jackson Church as a bounded organizational entity is not clearly drawn, the purpose of intrachurch relationships is not as strongly linked to evangelism.

The difference in how relationships and Christian community are construed in relationship to the churches' evangelistic goals can also be attributed to differences in how Mannington and Jackson Church conceptualize the role of the church organization in evangelism. As a seeker church, Jackson Church assumes the responsibility of doing the work of evangelism, particularly in its religious services, which are designed for the unchurched or nonbeliever. One example of this orientation to those who are not Christian is the frequency of entire sermons that present the basics of the "salvation" message. These messages outline the role of Jesus' resurrection in paying for transgressions, and then how to "accept" God's forgiveness in order to be "saved" (1/8/2006, D; 4/16/2006, R; 7/9/2006, D; 7/23/2006, R).

On the other hand, Mannington Church's purpose is clearly defined as training and equipping its members to go out and do the work of evangelism themselves. Pastor Bryce explained through sermons that "not much world evangelism happens in this room. All this is a huge locker room where I can begin to X and O your life" (1/29/2006), and "We want to equip all of our members, to be the finest and most competent Christians they can be. We want to make sure that you all are able to perform every work of service that is demanded upon you. Our goal is to train you, to know what the Word of the Lord is and how you ought to respond in every situation" (1/16/2005). One of the lay leaders, Dean, succinctly stated this purpose, "The church is for people to get together, get instructed, and then to go out again. They're not here to evangelize. *You* evangelize."

At Jackson Church, there is encouragement to be in relationship with other church

members, but it is not presented as necessary for the accomplishment of organizational

goals.

> Fellow Christians play a huge role in that not only do they help us discern
> truth from lies, but they are the ones who are there to help us pick up the
> pieces when we do believe the lies and when we are impacted negatively
> by them. That's why, here at [Jackson Church], we're always sounding a
> horn for you to not only be here on Sunday morning but to be in a small
> group, to be in some kind of a relationship with another brother or sister in
> Christ so that together we can be what Jesus calls us to be when He says,
> "You are the light of the world." (6/25/2006, D)

Relationships with other Christians enable one to discern biblical truth and be a

"light." Being in relationships with "fellow Christians" can also help when one needs

help "picking up the pieces." The outcome of Christian fellowship is described as help in

time of need. In addition, there is the familial reference to a "brother or sister in Christ,"

but congregants are encouraged to simply have "some kind of relationship," which does

not specify any depth of relationship required among church congregants. However, it is

worth noting that this excerpt was one of the few places where there seemed to be explicit

encouragement to be in relationship with another Christian within the congregation

through involvement in small groups.

Jackson Church tends to focus more on how relationships between Christians are

important for spiritual growth generally, not just for help in time of need. For example,

> Weeds take spiritual health to the place where it's all about me … We try
> to [grow] outside of the context of relationships and fellowship and that's
> not biblical at all, folks. We need one another to grow. We need one
> another to encourage and motivate and help … [Spiritual growth] is often
> measured by the way you serve other. The level of serving and giving to
> others is a primary indicator of spiritual health. (3/5/2006, M)

As in the previous sermon excerpt, the outcome of Christian fellowship is not directly related to outreach or to any collective, congregational goal. Further, the Christian relationships mentioned in this sermon are not limited to those that take place among members of this particular church. Instead, this quote reveals a more individualistic orientation to and portrayal of Christian life in comparison to Mannington Church. To be clear, an individualistic orientation is not synonymous with a self-centered orientation. As revealed in this excerpt, relationships with other Christians enable one to get beyond self-centered thinking and service to one another is encouraged. However, the outcome of these relationships is described as one that pertains to the individual—the improvement of one's personal spiritual health—rather than to the group, such as the achievement of a collective mission.

Another example of a more individualistic orientation is in this description of how to be different from non-Christians: "We want to be different and distinct and unique not just so that we draw attention to ourselves, but so that people can come to know God and praise Him for what He's doing in our lives. In the book of Philippians …, Paul says …, 'You shine like stars in the universe'" (1/22/2006, D). In this sermon, Darrell explains further that Christians need to be different in five ways: by being sacrificial, compassionate, faithful to God, demonstrating humility, and demonstrating servanthood. Therefore, Christians need to "stop whining," "quit fighting," "be holy," "love deeply," "work diligently," and "take risks." In this sermon, being different (exhibiting "star quality") is shown through individuals' upstanding character rather than through the Christian community's quality of relationships with each other.

Further, reconciliation is framed in terms of the resolution of interpersonal conflict. In Mannington, though, reconciliation, especially between members of different

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racial groups, represents a bigger issue. Reconciliation can demonstrate divine power because it involves overcoming social structural barriers. As such, cross-race relationships are an effective mechanism of evangelism by which God can be revealed to others. In Jackson Church, reconciliation was described as an outcome of one's salvation rather than as a mandate for the purpose of drawing others into faith. In a sermon, Rick describes changes that occur once someone has been "saved." Salvation can

> change our relationships …. Maybe there's someone in here today that you're just not getting along with … But God is saying … "I've already settled the relationship between you and me, now I want you to go out and I want you to settle the relationship between you and others." (4/16/2006)

Reconciliation, as described here, is about "settling the relationship" with someone "you're just not getting along with." Therefore, the meaning of reconciliation for one's faith has more narrow implications than that described in Mannington Church.

The difference in emphasis on intra-church relationships and on interracial relationships can be seen in the degree of cohesion among church members. Friendships are often formed in what Feld (1981) called "focus of activity," defined as a "social, psychological, legal, or physical entity around which joint activities are organized" (p. 1016), such as congregations, which bring people together in repeated interactions. A friendship is subject to the norms of the particular organizational context from which it arises because it is embedded in a relatively dense network of relationships also derived from that focus. The degree of local embeddedness, or the density of networks within the congregation, would affect how much that context (and others in that context) influence expectations and behaviors of friendship. As stated previously, Mannington Church congregants are more likely to have friends within their church and friends that are known exclusively through church. As an indicator of the level of cohesion in the

congregations' networks, network density measures the number of ties among one's friends, measured as the proportion of the maximum number of ties possible.[72] Thus the measure of density varies between 0, where none of one's friends are friends with each other, and 1, where all of one's friends are connected to each other. The density of Mannington's congregants' intrachurch ego networks is higher than that of Jackson Church. The mean density of Mannington's congregants is 0.845 (s.d. 0.296) and Jackson Church's mean density is 0.829 (s.d. 0.333). As indicated by the standard deviations, there is more variability among Jackson Church's congregants in their intrachurch network density. Moreover, the two churches differ in their degree of local embeddedness of friendship, and also differ in the expectations for friendship behavior. Mannington, whose friendship ties are more likely to not only be exclusively derived from that "focus" but also more densely connected, has stronger normative expectations for the kind and quality of friendship expected. Close interracial friendship is strongly supported and encouraged.

However, as explained in the previous chapter, the churches also draw individuals that differ in their attitudes toward church fellowship. Among the reasons for why congregants chose their church, "friendliness" was a frequent response. Jackson Church attendees wrote of the "realness" of members. Some typical answers given were "It wasn't fake and pretentious"; "allows people to be different within their own growth of grace"; "more intimate feel, more authentic. Not a bunch of plastic Christians that look nice"; and "the church is made up of genuine people."

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[72] Density is measured using an equation where *n* equals the number of alters, or friends in one's network.

Responses from Mannington attendees had more references to feeling like "family." As an example, one attendee noted "the feeling of instant friendship and family-like bonds." This relational intensity was evident in the small groups I visited. Despite how long individuals had been attending the small groups, people often and openly shared personal struggles, such as difficulty forgiving certain people in their lives, challenges with rebellious children, questions about faith, and health and financial problems.

Consistent with the relational intensity sought, preached, and often demonstrated, Mannington attendees also frequently mentioned how the faith of other members impacted their decision to join. These responses also indicate a greater religious intensity or religious commitment among Mannington congregants. Some of those responses include: "everyone … is genuinely kind and has the heart of Christ"; "the people at the church seemed to share a genuine love for Jesus Christ and a passionate pursuit to live like Him and for Him without giving into compromise. The focus of the people seemed to be on Jesus and living out the words of the Bible. Thus I felt that I could join with these people as spiritual family"; and "It is important for me to have a strong biblical foundation tied to genuine faith, not just from the pulpit, but from other members. I think [Mannington Church] not only does this, but aims to spread that love."

Conclusion

Both of the churches in this study actively frame identities for their congregants and their relationship to religious community. In particular, as religious organizations, they influence what it means to be a Christian person, the implications of faith for intrachurch and extrachurch relationships, and the relationship of this religious identity

with other identities, such as race. Mannington Church appears more successful in purposing congregants' racial identity as a critical aspect of their religious identity. Further, it defines clear organizational boundaries that help facilitate the development of cross-race relationships within the congregational context. However, the kinds of congregants who choose to be part of Mannington enable the framing of a strong organizational identity with an emphasis on organizational commitment. This chapter has thus shown how the church organization influences the social identity of its congregants, first taking into account, in the previous chapter, the kinds of identities with which they may enter.

Mannington Church conceptualizes itself as a distinct, bounded organizational entity with a unique purpose in the context of an evangelistic mission. As such, it emphasizes spiritual family as embodied in the local congregation. More specific to its unique purpose, it emphasizes how the depth of relationships among different-race congregants can be demonstrative of God's power and meaningful as preparation for evangelism in other nations. Race is thus construed as intertwined with and indispensible to religious faith, and racially integrated community is an indication of congregational calling.

Jackson Church, on the other hand, does not readily apply the biblical necessity of Christian fellowship to those in the local congregation since it does not apply such localized boundaries around itself. Diversity is valued and encouraged without any particular focus on racial diversity. Rather, where they excel in diversity is in accommodation to different "levels" of religious faith and sensitivity to stereotypes about Christians and church. Although Jackson Church is also explicitly evangelistic, the way in which it accomplishes evangelism is also more broadly defined. Thus, the relationships

among Christian fellowship, racial diversity, and evangelism are not as clearly connected

as it is in Mannington Church.[73] Racial differences are spoken about in the context of the

many and various differences that can hinder relationships. Religious identity, therefore,

is individualized and personalized to a greater extent in Jackson Church than in

Mannington Church.

These approaches to religious community are consistent with differences in their

respective congregants. Mannington and Jackson Church frame their religious purpose in

ways that are as contrasting as a special-forces military unit would be from a hospital,

and those who would be drawn to either organization would be vastly dissimilar. Both are

specialized organizations, but they differ in their identities as battle-ready, mission-

oriented soldiers and as service-oriented, mercy-driven hospital workers and patients. The

content of religious identity as promoted by Mannington Church involves commitment to

the specialized mission of the congregation, which necessitates depth of relationship

between racial groups as a manifestation of their calling to evangelize the world.

As Gaertner and Dovidio (2000) have suggested, organizations can influence the

salience of identities and provide a compelling in-group identity that reduces intergroup

bias. According to social identity theory, a key function of an organization is providing

its members with an organization-based social identity that "allows them to define

themselves in terms of attributes central to the organization and to develop and maintain a

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[73] In general, Mannington Church seems to have a more clearly defined vision and mission. When asked, "Does your church have a clear vision, goal, or direction for its ministry and membership?", 90.78% of Mannington's congregants chose one of the *yes* responses, compared to 86.02% of Jackson's congregants. What is more, revealing, however, is the difference in percentages of those who are strongly committed to the church's mission: 60.96% of Mannington's respondents ($n = 228$) versus 34.72% of Jackson's respondents ($n = 193$) chose "Yes, and I am strongly committed to them." (The other response options were "I am not aware of its vision, goals, or direction"; "There are ideas, but not a clear vision, goal or direction"; "Yes, and I am partly committed to them"; and "Yes, but I am not committed to them.") These differences may result from both the type of congregants recruited and the relative success of churches in achieving buy-in from its members.

favorable sense of self-worth and self-esteem by drawing upon the status of the organization" (Tyler 2001, p. 155). Through the development of a social identity based on organizational membership, organizations can influence behavior, including friendship behavior. The differences in how these churches established an organizational identity show that the congregational localization of the in-group is an important aspect of establishing not only a common identity, but an organizationally specific goal involving actionable, cooperative tasks. Whereas Marti (2005) shows that pastors at the multiethnic church Mosaic emphasized a common identity among congregation members as "followers of Jesus Christ" that seemed to transcend racial distinctions, at Mannington Church, racial differences are enveloped within a common identity not simply as Christians but as Christians who are participating in a congregational mission.

The in-group, congregationally localized identity developed in Mannington Church, however, does not submerge racial identities, which is a criticism of the notion of a superordinate identity in recategorization. The idea of simultaneously salient identities or *subcategorization* (Gaertner et al. 1996) is more attractive here because it acknowledges that multiple relevant identities may be invoked in a context and that identities overlap. In subcategorization, distinctive subgroup identities, such as race, are valued in the context of superordinate identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, and Validzic 1998). In Garces-Foley's (2007) study of Evergreen,[74] a predominantly Asian American but multiracial church, a more "color-conscious" strategy is used that affirms individual

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[74] Her study discusses how a *theology of discomfort* is used to reframe multiethnicity in light of the gospel. There is not only a sense of embattlement from those who do not believe an inclusive, multiethnic community is possible, but acknowledgement that following God's call for such a community will bring discomfort. Her study, however, does not explore the ways in which this theology of discomfort itself may have racial undertones. In addition, although the pastor emphasizes that *redemptive community,* not diversity in and of itself, is the goal, multiethnic inclusivity is the focus of this study as a primary identifier and project of this church. In contrast to my attempts here, Evergreen's religious mission is depicted as supporting this multiethnic project rather than the converse.

ethnic identities rather than subsuming them under a religious identity, an approach she refers to as "color-blind." However, even subcategorization does not fully explain the relationship between racial and religious identities at Mannington. In Mannington Church, different racial groups are indeed valued, but it is the relationships among those racial groups that are defined as a critical aspect of identity. Interracial networks themselves characterize both religious identity and organizational identity, and the development of close interracial friendship is seen as a "cooperative task" that enables the fulfillment of their evangelical goal. At Mannington Church, "color-consciousness" has less to do with the affirmation of individual ethnic identities and more to do with identifying the purposefulness of those identities within a relational context. In a way, this means that one's racial identity may be less important than one's sensitivity to others' perception of one's racial identity. As I show in the next chapter, the senior pastor at Mannington Church exemplifies this purposeful negotiation of personal and ascripted identity. By shaping the content of religious identity in the context of a congregational identity, Mannington defines the value of strong cross-race ties as a social capital resource for the accomplishment of its goals.

In contrast, the content of religious identity expressed in Jackson Church is not congregationally specific. One's faith life is broadly defined by service and grace to all, but without special emphasis on crossing racial barriers. The racial diversity seen in their church is not interpreted as a sign of a divine anointing or purpose. Some Jackson congregants would argue that although the different races comprise their church, it is a "white" church. The next chapter shows how the lack of focus on racial diversity is an intentional aspect of the vision of the head pastor at Jackson Church.

Because this analysis was conducted by primarily using sermons from one distinct period of time, it is possible that the differences observed are attributable to this historical moment in the church. However, these differences were consistent not only through survey data, but also through interview data and printed and online church sources. Further, it is important to note that both churches express aspects of Christian life discussed as being characteristic of the other church, but it is the frequency and degree of emphasis that distinguish these churches' approaches to ministry.

I was also concerned about the effect of the researcher on this study. For example, the sermon in which Darrell (Jackson Church) asks the congregants to examine the diversity in their own relationships may have been influenced by my interview questions about diversity as well as the portion of the survey that asked who was part of his social network. As another example, the sermon given by Pastor David at Mannington Church entitled "colorful community" echoed several of his answers to my interview questions about his life experiences in regard to race. The sermon also included statistics about the number of multiracial churches in the United States that I had provided him during the course of the interview. At the conclusion of the interview, he had expressed to me that he had never consciously considered his own racial biography in relation to his experience at Mannington Church. Rather than changing his perspective of race and the church, it seemed that my interview process gave him an opportunity to articulate his conviction on the importance of interracial relationships. In addition, the sermons by Pastor Bryce, which addressed spiritual family, took place before both the development of the survey instrument and before interview process. The sermons given by both Pastor David and Pastor Bryce were also consistent with the standpoint of the international association of churches to which Mannington belongs, evaluated through printed

materials from this association and guest sermons from the pastors of other association churches. Therefore, despite some evidence of my effect on sermon topics, what was expressed in these sermons were consistent with all other forms of data, including printed and online material published previous to my presence at these churches.

Chapter 7

Leadership

Contact literature has shown that the support of authorities for positive racial relations is one condition under which contact can reduce the potential for conflict and promote positive attitudes that facilitate friendship (Patchen 1982; Schofield 1995). How authorities "support" constructive interracial contact that enables the development of close interracial friendship is less clear.

Leaders are an important aspect of organizational composition, but pastoral leadership is especially important to a church organization. Unlike leadership in other organizations, pastoral leadership is unique in its degree of communication, visibility,[75] authority, and, ultimately, cultural impact on their membership,[76] particularly because pastors communicate directly to their congregation through preaching and leading worship services, many as often as once or more every week. Becker (1998) found that pastors primarily used sermons to address problems and reframe diversity, drawing on their religiocultural "toolkit" (Swidler 1986) for new ways to conceptualize community. Further, pastoral leadership is legitimated by a sense of divine authority or appointment. Ordained ministry is considered a divine calling, and this calling is also a lens through which pastors understand their experience in ministry (Christopherson 1994). In addition

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[75] It is not uncommon for a congregation to be identified or known through the pastor rather than the name of the church, particularly for large churches. Rick Warren and Joel Osteen are two examples of the prominence of the pastor as a key identifier of the church.

[76] Although the role of clergy varies by congregation, certain core tasks are similar across traditions, such as preaching, leading worship, other ritual activities, and such pastoral care as counseling (Carroll 2006).

to personal characteristics such as competence and trust, a call from God was considered by 90% of clergy in a national survey to be the basis of their authority (Carroll 2006).

Pastors, particularly those in racially heterogeneous congregations, demonstrate a catalytic or transformative leadership that is focused on making change and are primarily responsible for the direction of their churches (c.f. Ammerman 1997; Carroll 2006; Marti 2005; McRoberts 2003; Warner 1988). The pastor's role has even been compared to that of a lead actor or actress in a play (Carroll 1998). In addition, according to a national survey, most congregants feel that the pastor is a top-down leader and makes most of the decisions; in fact, only 3.7% of churchgoers felt that their pastors have laity make most of the decisions (Carroll 2006). Pastors, in effect, play the key role in producing their congregation's culture[77] by shaping the beliefs and practices that are characteristic of their own religious community. Mainly through sermons, they invoke "beliefs, symbols, stories, and practices from the Christian tradition to construct narratives and interpretive frameworks that help members locate themselves and find meaning and perspective for dealing with issues in their daily lives" (Carroll 2006).

Leaders are "entrepreneurs of identity," who play a critical role in creating a sense of "we" that has meaning and purpose (Reicher and Hopkins 1996). As an application of social-categorization theory (Turner 1985; Turner 1987), leaders help create a sense of social identity by exemplifying the in-group "prototype" (Haslam and Platlow 2001). Social categorization, that is, the defining of intergroup boundaries, produces a relevant in-group (and out-group) prototype, accentuating similarities within groups as well as differences between groups. Prototypes are, in effect, "ideal types" that represent

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[77] Some have explained cultural production to be a congregation's primary function, "expressing and transmitting religious meanings" (Ammerman 2005; Chaves 2004).

characteristics of group membership within a particular context. Through social categorization, one's perceived similarity to the in-group prototype is enhanced, which shapes behavior through conformation to the prototypical norm, generating the phenomena of social identity. Leaders often model behavior as exemplars of this prototype (Turner 1987). In other words, pastoral leadership can represent the congregation's identity and, through his own example, establish behavioral and attitudinal norms, including those toward interracial friendship.

Pastors, then, have considerable influence in providing a climate conducive to the formation of interracial friendship. This is especially true of the lead pastors at Mannington and Jackson Church. In both churches, the head pastor is the original or one of the original founders of the congregation and has had primary responsibility for setting the vision and course of the church. Therefore, unlike other congregations whose pastors may have been hired by the congregation based on what congregants desired for a leader or church vision, these pastors have had greater authority to define the direction and culture of their churches. Unlike a lead actor or actress in a play, however, the pastors in these churches also hold the primary responsibility of recruiting and hiring church leaders.

This chapter examines how pastoral leaders effectively "produce" a culture that fosters not only diversity, but racially *integrated* community. First, I elucidate aspects of the lead or senior pastor's biographies that are vital to understanding their varying perspectives in regards to racial issues. This chapter also discusses race-specific strategies, or the lack thereof, used by the pastors to accommodate racial differences in the congregation. The previous chapter showed how pastors frame the overall religious mission of the churches, communicating ideas about the spiritual family, diversity, and

congregational commitment in such a way that has implications for interracial friendship. This chapter focuses on microstrategies that may be used by pastors themselves to support positive interracial relations within their congregations. Specifically, I show how the head pastors in Mannington and Jackson Church differ in their intention and ability to be effective *bridges* between different racial groups within the congregation. They also both value racial representation in leadership, but how they go about achieving such representation yield different results. Although leadership in churches is unique in many ways, practices used to facilitate a more integrative climate may be relevant to other organizational contexts as well.

Leaders' Biographies

First, understanding the head pastor's own biography and racial experiences provides insight into both his perspective with regard to race as well as how those experiences have shaped his approach to dealing with racial differences in the church. Both Pastor Bryce and Mike have grown up in multicultural environments. Whereas Pastor Bryce's was set in the United States, Mike's experiences were located mostly in international contexts. They emerged from their experiences with vastly different perspectives on racial diversity in the church as a result of the interaction of the social location of their racial experience and their race itself.

Pastor Bryce

I: Why is diversity valued so highly here?

I think it's our local leadership, specifically Pastor [Bryce]. I think churches do reflect the personality of the leaders, and so the leader's personal history and experience to some extent shapes what the church is about. His family … grew up in an all-white neighborhood … he was

called names. So he grew up in that context and had to overcome those challenges … it changed who he is, and [gave him a] passion to work with a diverse congregation …. Part of his passion was reconciliation—on two levels, man to God, and man to man. (Pastor David)

This statement by Pastor David highlights the influence not only of pastoral leadership in a church, but also the kind of personal influence Pastor Bryce has in creating a church culture that values diversity and racial reconciliation. As alluded to above, Pastor Bryce had starkly bicultural experiences growing up as an African American in Midwestern America. He and his family experienced the full force of racial hostility in intensely personal ways. His parents had intentionally moved their family out to the suburbs in the late 1960s after a tragedy that occurred on their street. A child the same age as Pastor Bryce at the time had accidentally killed his friend after mishandling a gun left on the table by his father. Although he was young when they moved, he recalls the prejudice he experienced, "So we moved to white suburbia in a very confronted time … We couldn't find a realtor to sell to us. I was the first black kid to go to the [elementary school], and I got beat up a lot. I got called every name in the book." In a sermon, he elaborated on his experience of rejection and scorn as the first black student in his school: "It wasn't fun—didn't have any friends that year, none. Everybody looked at me, all the kids. I didn't even know I was black—I was five … September 1966, walking into my class, all white, everybody looked at me. All the kids turn and go, 'Ewwwwwwww'" (2/5/2006).

With the guidance of his parents, he was forced to find ways to deal with racial offenses against him and to do so with love, not bitterness or hate.

[My parents] never said a bad word to anyone who hurt them or us. Our house was egged … Our cars were destroyed. I mean, destroyed—not just keyed—destroyed. Our seats were ripped out, tires were slit, convertible

was destroyed, our tires were beat up, sledgehammer was taken to the trunk, hood, everything. Car was totaled—all because we were black. (Pastor Bryce)

And my momma and daddy … never allowed me to have a bitter moment in my life. [They] told me to love people and care about people and baptized me right in that area even though I wanted desperately to go someplace else, baptized me in white suburbia and said, "Figure it out." (2/5/2006)

The example set by his parents facilitated his adjustment to white suburbia, isolated from African American community. This in turn left him with racial reconciliation as a life purpose.

But because my parents had such a great attitude about life, they helped me adjust well. I was able to make really good friends. And so even though I had a yearning for my own culture, I'd grown up in white culture in a very tumultuous time. And that kind of laid the seeds for my life, in saying I wanted to do something that looks very multiethnic. And whatever barriers I have to cross or others have to cross, I will cross, and help them cross.

His baptism by fire into white suburbia and the eventual positive experience of being able to make good friends in the racially charged atmosphere in the late 1960s laid the foundation for crossing racial barriers in friendship. He also expressed the desire to help others cross those barriers.

This yearning to do "something multiethnic" solidified into a calling after he became a Christian. Although he had always gone to church with his mother, he did not consider himself "saved" until college. He describes his commitment to a multiracial church as an inescapable aspect of his being.

See I went to a [predominantly white college] and got saved, and when I got saved, I thought—'cause a guy who led me to the Lord was black, on campus he was black, he was a brother brother … and I thought okay this is good, he's gonna take me to his church and he did and everybody was white save one fellow … And I walked in and I said, "Aw, no, no, no, no,

no, God, <u>no</u>! This isn't what I had in mind! I've been living in this, give me my own people, please!" [God] said, "Nope, this is home." So I didn't just grit my teeth and bare it, I rejoiced and I realized that this was part of my call, that this was who God had created [me] to be …. Because a church may be homogenous, that does not make them second class. I do not have an elitist mentality about what we're doing here, I'm just constrained 'cause I can't build any other way. I can't do anything else. This is what I wake up to every day, much like Paul would say, "Woe be to me if I don't build like this." I got to. It's wrapped up in my genetics, it's the way I was raised, it's part of who I am when God called me. (2/5/2006)

His racial experiences thus were reframed and repurposed in light of his religious faith. In effect, he considers his discomfort of living in all white environments destined so that God could use him to lead a congregation such as Mannington. He rejoices in his calling because he interprets it as part of a divine plan. Even more significantly, it is in a sermon to congregants that he describes how he had to move beyond his in-group preferences and embrace God's plan for him to be a part of a church that was not an African American church like he expected. In this way, he sets an example for his congregants. He emphasizes that leading a multiracial church is not just something he does; it is something he *is*. His racial identities are given meaning and used as preparation for a greater purpose. It is clear that Mannington's multiracial identity stems from his personal vision.

Further, growing up located both historically and geographically in the middle of black–white tension in the United States has provided Pastor Bryce with the practice of negotiating his place within a racially bifurcated environment. It also has led to a sensitivity in how he is perceived by racial others, and specifically, by whites. In discussing what prevents churches from being more racially diverse, he says that one significant barrier is

the lack of experience. Because I was raised in a white environment, but in a black home, I know how white people think, and I know what they think of me, and I know how they are trying to figure out how to relate to me. When they see a black person walking down the street, the first thing a white person thinks of is, "OK, I'm a little bit less safe than I was a minute ago." Secondly, they start looking me over and say, "He looks like he's not interested in what I'm doing. So I think I'm more safe." Thirdly, they've already pitted me in a place of irrelevance or having so many barriers they don't even want to take the time to cross …. So I've got great experience, so there aren't any barriers when I meet a white person, there aren't any.

The experience of growing up black in a white environment gives him an anticipation of the perception whites may have of him. This understanding of racial attitudes is a tool that enables him to manage those perceptions and thereby cross the relevant barriers.

He extends this sensitivity to racial perceptions to his role as a pastor. In a sermon, he describes how blacks may be suspicious of this church based on the presence of white pastors with southern backgrounds, and how whites may be suspicious based on their perceptions of him:

> Black people come in, they see a bunch of white folk up here with a southern accent, they think, "Wait a minute, he sounds like the folk that my grandparents grew up with. I'm not quite sure if I can trust him." White people see a black pastor up here with a bow tie, "Wait a minute … Farra-who? What does the bow tie mean? Who is he really? Have you checked out his theology? Have you had a conversation with him?" … We're building the hard way on purpose. Oh gosh, it would be a piece of cake if I just found me a Kirk Franklin. I could do that, it'd be a piece of cake, I could find a whole bunch of black folk to build with and have a nice church and have a lot of fun every Sunday, just party 'til three, yes, and be happy. Big choirs swaying, I could do that, I could do that, but I said I'm not doing that because that ministers to one culture, just one, and I'm going to sacrifice what I listen to and like because I care about all the people who are not here yet. It's hard to build this way, it takes time because you gotta deal with a lot of issues and perceptions and change people's mindsets. (2/5/2006)

He again emphasizes that building a multiracial congregation, which inevitably involves the daunting task of managing racial prejudices and stereotypes, is "on purpose." He rejects leading a black church because it can only minister to one cultural group, rather than reaching a wider audience. In this sermon, by describing his sacrifice of some of his cultural preferences, he communicates and models what may be required of congregants.

He is fully aware of the difficulty of building a multiracial church, and he is fully aware of his unique position as a black pastor of multiracial church:

> It's not just difficult for anybody to build an interracial or multiracial church, it is <u>enormously </u>difficult for <u>anybody</u>. There are a lot of congregations with white pastors with black congregations. But there are very few congregations—in fact only two I know of in the entire east coast [that have black pastors with white congregants]—I know there has to be more—I'm praying there are more—I don't want to be the only one …. In fact, black pastors come to me and say, "How do you keep your white people here? How do you keep them?" I say, "Well, we lock the doors, and we have ankle bracelets, and we monitor their …" [laughing] … We don't keep them. They just stay! And there's something about our presentation that makes it unusual. So we don't just have an ethnically mixed congregation, we have an <u>unusual </u>congregation. And in [this state], to have that [racial mix] is huge—it's just massive, massive. And so we feel like we're tearing down all kinds of stereotypical ideas about what church could be and should be, and how to make a difference in the kingdom. (Interview)

To Pastor Bryce, a multiracial congregation sets a vision for what the church "could be and should be." Moreover, he is realistic about the difficulty of achieving a black and white church, particularly one that is led by a black pastor. The church is also highly unusual in that its racial diversity exceeds the diversity found in the surrounding community. He speaks of Mannington's unusual presentation that somehow retains white congregants, but it is clear from the previous examples that the retention of both black

and white congregants is not only a strategic endeavor requiring bicultural fluency, but also an outcome of his calling and racial experiences.

Mike

From birth till five years old, Mike's first church experience was in an inner-city African American church in the Midwest, which provided him his first experiences of racial conflict. Then, except for brief visits to the United States, his second grade through high school years were spent in Japan. He speaks Japanese fluently. He did not live permanently in the United States until college. In addition, his wife, who he met in college, also grew up as a child of missionaries, mostly in Africa, then in New Zealand. Moreover, as a child of missionaries, he was in diverse settings most of his life. He cites this as a reason for his desire for a multiracial community.

> I think I'm most comfortable in a diverse group of people, because most of my life that's the way … I grew up. I was the minority for most of my life, you know? I don't care … I mean, I'm sure I have my biases, we all do, and our preconceptions.

His experiences as a racial minority are unusual for most white Americans. Despite being a minority most of his life, his marginality is both protected and privileged by both his family's position and as an American. He describes two distinct experiences of being a minority—one in an African American community and the second as a white American in Japan.

> I never felt like I was a minority [underline added]. In the African American church, I didn't even think about the differences—we hung out and we played …. This was really during the racial tension in the 60s. There was a time when we came out of Sunday evening services and we were walking through … an inner city project …. The church met in the basement of the tenement buildings, you know? … And we would clean the rats and all that stuff, and we would have, you know, a couple hundred people come, and it was your typical African American gospel kind of a

church. I can remember leaving one Sunday night and people throwing pop bottles … at us as we were walking through, the only white people in this area. And one African American lady who was out sitting on her porch, was screaming to the person who was throwing this stuff at us to leave us alone, that we're welcome here and we're not the same as the other white people. [She said,] "That's Pastor W and his family!" Everybody's like, "OK, stop." I said, "Why are they throwing things at us?" And [my dad] says, "Well, there's this thing called prejudice in culture. And there are a lot of white people who don't like black people so there's this tension." I turned to him and said, "Well, I like black people better than white people." And my dad says, "That's prejudice." I was 5 at the time …

In Japan, it was strange because wherever you would walk in that era of Japan … it was between being very alone sometimes and also almost a celebrity. Because you would walk down the street and it was not uncommon for kids to point their fingers and yell "[Japanese word]" which means "foreigner, foreigner, foreigner," but they're not, like, "you outcast," they want to come up and engage in conversation and learn about America, so it wasn't like you were excluded, [it was] almost like … "All right! He's American! Have dinner with us. Let's take you out for a drink … [My] best friends were all Japanese."

In his experience of racial hostility in the African American inner city community, another African American in the community came to his family's aid because of their service to the church. They were placed in a different category than "other white people." In Japan, his minority status as an American brought him celebrity rather than scorn and aided the development of cross-cultural friendship.

His international experience, particularly as part of a missionary family, provided him with an appreciation of the richness of different cultural expressions of Christianity as well as a heightened sensitivity to the cultural and racial biases of American Christianity.

M: I love the notion that heaven is not an American institution, that it's a universal thing. And when I imagine what heaven is going to be like, it's rich, diversity in style and culture, you know, all those kinds of things. And people groups, and backgrounds, smells and tastes, the whole gamut.

I think it's pretty boring if we just kind of package it in a middle-class white American family kind of a thing that so many churches have. I get frustrated with the American church because they promote what I think of as an American gospel, and don't really see Christianity, the kingdom, as something that's larger and more diverse than that.

I: What do you mean by the American gospel?

M: Well, it's just that, you know, God and USA is the same thing … There's just this overzealous patriotism that equates, you know, you're a white American Republican, you must be closer to God, kind of a mentality. [It] just doesn't seem [right] to me. Most of my life I didn't like America, and coming back to the States, I just hated it because most of the time when we came back to the States, it was in rural middle America. I had spent a lot of time in cities with exposure to lots of cultures, and cuisines, and smells, and languages, and concepts and philosophies and it's just so rich. And just to come back, and here's the American little church that … we went around one to one and everybody looks the same and thinks the same and it's pretty drab and boring and narrow minded, so it just bothered me.

I: Tell me about the church in Japan.

It was a church for Japanese people. My dad was a church planter of sorts. His notion was always, and I saw him live this out too, that he got frustrated when the big American white missionary came over and created an American church and expected the Japanese people to buy into American customs and stuff. My dad kinda thought that was bogus. So his whole goal was to reach and train indigenous Japanese leaders to start congregations that would operate within the context of the Japanese culture. So … instead of taking American songs and putting Japanese words to it, maybe we could write some Japanese songs. Instead of making the Japanese people keep their shoes on when they came to church, we would work with them … comply to their culture rather than expecting them to almost become Americanized before they could become Christian.

Mike's rejection of traditional church styles and appreciation of diversity stems

from an awareness of the cultural connection between national identity and religious

identity and his experience living overseas in churches that do not adhere to an

Americanized version of Christianity. He sees the "sameness" in (white) rural middle

American churches as "drab," "boring," and "narrow minded." This uninspiring

sameness is in contrast to the cultural diversity he experienced on an international level.

Given his broad experience with various cultures not only in the United States but

overseas, he emerged with an expansive definition of the kind of diversity he desires in

the church.

> It's not just diversity from a racial perspective that I'm interested in. I
> really want to become a church that values diversity on a larger scale
> because—and this is just a personal wiring—I really really really value
> creativity. I just have this sense that the church, over the decades and
> centuries, has lost its prominence as a creative influence in our culture. So
> the arts are huge, I'm a musician, so … And I think that creativity is
> birthed out of diversity. If we're all thinking the same, then creativity dies.
> So there's a lot of value in diversity of opinion and style and that gives
> birth to innovation.

Racial diversity is just one dimension of the diversity he desires. Diversity is not

just about bringing different people groups together, but has greater consequences for the

church's influence in today's culture. For him, diversity (broadly defined) is necessary in

order to "birth" creativity and innovation that would give the church greater impact.

When speaking specifically about race, Mike emphasizes the need for acceptance

and celebration of differences.

> There's a big difference between racial acceptance and racial celebration,
> and I want to see us moving to that, celebrating our unique differences, not
> just tolerating it. There's tolerance in some churches, and then really
> authentic acceptance and celebration of the … racial integration. I don't
> want to be just tolerant … I think the best signal we can send of
> reconciliation is really just honest acceptance. You know, when a biracial
> couple can find a church where there are other biracial couples, and they
> know they're not going to be judged by the color of their skin, that's the
> best thing they can do … and where they both feel comfortable.

In contrast to Pastor Bryce, who confronts racial attitudes and perceptions and

speaks of the necessity of sacrifice in order for racial integration to occur, Mike sees the

acceptance and celebration of differences as the pathway to racial integration. Changing one's own attitudes and preferences is not what is emphasized in his statement, but rather "authentic acceptance" of others. How this celebration of differences is to be achieved, however, is not specified.

Mike expresses that the composition of the church should minimally reflect the racial diversity of the community, which is consistent with the desire for the church to be relevant to the culture generally, as described in the previous chapter.

> This [sounds] weird, but I think there's too many white people [here in this church]. [laughing] …. My goal would be that [Jackson Church] reflects the larger community which it is in. And I would like to intentionally try to make it a welcoming …. I would say that I'd love to see more Hispanic. I'm thrilled that we have some representation from Asian and African American backgrounds or black—I don't know what's the politically correct thing to say … Our culture, our communities here are really integrated, so I don't know if what we're trying to do would work in other parts of the country, but I think because we live in an area that is very integrated, it's absolutely critical to me to see that the church is the same. I mean, I've had people tell me that one of the reasons they come to [Jackson Church] is because "In all my other life, [it is racially diverse]—my friends, [where] I work, [where] my kids go to school, but the one place the segregation was taking place was the church. So I stopped going to an African American church or a Korean church and I wanted to be participating in something like this." (Mike)

Although both Mike and Pastor Bryce have a passion for diversity, their experiences with racial issues are vastly different. As founders of these churches, their experiences and perspectives help to attract an integrated community and the racial strategies used are reflective of their own racial experiences and religious convictions regarding diversity. The pastors are not merely responding to an already more integrated environment. As seen through their biographies, the pastors perceive their roles as providing a vision and a course for the fulfillment of that vision. For Pastor Bryce, multiracialism in the church is intensely personal. He expresses it as a divine mandate, a

core aspect of the kind of church he needs to build, as opposed to a positive feature that he would like to have. The experience as the recipient of racial hostility also gave him the experience of racial reconciliation in his own life. Further, his commitment is not limited to having a diverse church, but having a racially unified church. He specifically prays to "produce a church that is so ethnically diverse and so unified that it looks a lot like heaven" (Cowart 2006, p. 37). Having grown up black in an all-white community, his perspective on race relations is firmly rooted in an American black–white racial dichotomy and the particular difficulties of crossing that divide. On the other hand, Mike's most salient experiences with diversity are from growing up overseas, where he was exposed to a variety of cultures and cultural expressions of Christianity. Diversity, which he broadly defines as more than just racial diversity, adds richness to Christian life. Rather than emphasizing the difficulty or discomfort of multiracialism, he emphasizes the joy and creativity that can result. The contemporary style of Jackson itself is a way in which this church diversifies the landscape of traditional American churches.

Racial "Strategies"

As one might expect from their vastly different racial backgrounds, there are differences in each leader's consciousness of how exactly to "do" diversity. These pastors differ in the extent to which they use racial strategies to encourage racial integration in their church communities. As shown in the last chapter, the churches also differ in the importance of interracial friendship to the vision and mission of the church. Pastor Bryce, highly conscious of black–white racial dynamics and convinced he has been called to lead a multiracial congregation, uses two primary strategies to facilitate an environment conducive to cross-race relating. First, he himself takes responsibility for relating to both

blacks and whites, thereby acting as a bridge between these socially and historically polarized groups. Secondly, he intentionally ensures a leadership that is racially representative of the congregation. Comparatively, Jackson Church is marked by a lack of strategizing for racial integration. The lack of a *strategy* for racial integration reflects a broader definition of diversity, as well as a racial composition that is less starkly polarized. Further, Jackson's strength lies in accommodating diversity in congregants' spiritual journeys rather than accommodating racial diversity within their congregation.

Racial Bridging

Pastor Bryce's experience of being a racial minority in the United States and the bicultural negotiated life of being African American in mostly white communities has uniquely enabled him to relate to both groups. He is keenly aware of the need to be both "black enough" and "white enough."

In one sermon, he spoke frankly to his congregation about a childhood confrontation between him and his mother, in which she emphasized the importance of language in broadening his personal impact.

> All the times I wanted to speak street intentionally in order to be more
> relatable to my black brothers, my momma would come home—she was
> an English teacher for God sake … and I'd start using all the slang, and I
> mean, she just short of slapped me. She said, "Boy, that's going to
> marginalize your leadership. You learn to speak well because you're going
> to have to be twice as good as everybody else out there just to make it.
> You speak well." (2/5/2006)

Referring first to the "practice" he had of being black in a mostly white environment, Pastor Bryce describes how he uses language to manage perceptions of racial legitimacy. What is striking is the obvious intentionality and consciousness with which language is used to connect culturally with blacks and whites.

And because of the practice I've had, when I stand up, I intentionally do 2 things. Every service, every time I preach, I've got to go through this in my mind. I have to use enough black colloquialisms to make black people feel like, "This brother knows what he's talking about." I've got to use enough large words that white folks think, "He can pastor me." And that's the way I think every time I preach a sermon, and most folks don't do that. And, my intonation and my accent is not traditional [black]. So I found [that] if you were to pick up a phone and listen to me, you wouldn't know that I was black unless I wanted you to know that I was black. So when white people hear me, even though they may see me, they hear somebody who says—he sounds like a guy that I work with in my cubicle. When black people hear me, they say, "Oh gosh, he's intelligent. Wow, I could follow you. He's [a brother]." Now, that doesn't mean that other people who don't speak with a certain dialect of American English can't reach out to white people. But when white people usually come into those settings, they sit and say, "That's a great sermon, but I don't think I can relate to him."

This statement both reflects the need to relate to whites because he is black, as well as the need to establish his racial legitimacy as a black "brother." He recognizes that his race itself matters in how different congregants assess their potential connection to a pastor and, perhaps ultimately, their decision to be a part of the church—whites are less likely to feel like they can relate to a black pastor. He also has a defined sense of what would impress other blacks. He therefore strategically invokes *script-switching* to relate simultaneously to blacks and whites in his congregation.

When he speaks to his congregation in making an announcement or through a sermon, he switches to an intonation and accent that is more "black" at least once. For example, he described his love for barbecue in the context of a sermon, switching into a black intonation: "Now I love me some ribs. Love some ribs … I've been to every rib place in the area—can't find any good ones. Gate's Barbeque in Kansas City—we mail order. I'm telling you … it is the bomb!" (1/1/2006).

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Language and intonation are not the only tools he uses to connect to his black congregants. Most often through sermons, he will speak of things that are directly related to black culture or black history, and even acknowledge the "insider" relationship between him and other black congregants. For example, he refers to "colored people" time: "Now there are some of you that are about 20 minutes late for life … and contrary to popular belief, it doesn't have a whole lot to do with skin color. All my black brothers are laughing 'cause you know what I'm talking about with C.P. time" (4/9/2006). As another example, he speaks of George Washington Carver and his family connection to him:

> The guy who did all the stuff with the peanut down in Tuskegee. Anybody know who I'm talking 'bout? Do your history? … My grandfather taught at the university where George Washington Carver was. My grandfather knew him. Thought he was a strange little man. My grandfather … was a mathematician. It had to be logical. It had to be rational … He amassed a degree of wealth when he died. He was an unusual guy, one of the men I admire most on the planet or in my history. But he wasn't a spiritual man, so he didn't know God. George Washington Carver knew God, loved God with all his heart …. He did so many things with the peanut—soap, antibiotics, all kinds of stuff with the peanut. And they said, 'How in the world do you get so many creative ideas with the peanut?' In fact, Henry Ford, the guy with the cars, tried to hire him as his Chief R&D guy. And George Washington Carver was so unimpressed with Corporate America, so he says, "Why would I wanna do that? I'm doing all I wanna do right here in Tuskegee." Quite an interesting fella. That's why my grandfather thought he was nuts." (1/1/2006)

However, in referring to his racial background, he often does so in ways that do not alienate whites or blacks. For example, he expresses an understanding of the black church while describing his experience of going to church in white suburbia:

> I was raised in the church. You had to go. Had to go, there was never a question of "whether," never. No, no, no, no, no, it was not an option, it didn't matter whether I was 17 years old, senior in high school, driving, the man in my house 'cause daddy was gone and daddy never went to

church, ever … "But momma, I just got in at 2 AM. I'm tired. I don't feel like going." "Get up." There's something about momma's voice …. A man wants to say something in rebuttal but you know the slapping ain't worth it, it's just not worth it. So you get up out of respect to momma and you go to church and of course you say, "Church is at 10:30, Sunday school is at 9:30, why am I up at 8?" "Cause we're going to Sunday school too." "Why I got to go twice? I get one message out of the preacher, that's enough." "No, you're going to Sunday school too." Now, I didn't grow up in a predominately black church, which would have gotten you there at 9 and home at 4—it was aaaaall day. They had food so you didn't have to leave. And then you had a little break at 4 and then dinner started at 5 and then it went right into the evening service. I must admit, and it's sad to say, "I'm glad I didn't grow up in a black church," that's what I was thinking back then. I was thinking, "Thank you for moving me to white America. Some folk got some sense out here. Suburbia, hallelujah!" That's what was going through my mind. [laughing] Shameful, shameful. (1/29/2006)

As another example, Pastor Bryce takes time to explain to those attending for the first time on Easter why people raise hands and clap at this church. He identifies with those unfamiliar with this style—in the church in which he grew up, it was very somber and very reserved. He describes his salvation experience as such a revolutionary time that he felt compelled to express it in ways that were unfamiliar and thus learned to raise hands. He had to teach himself how to clap even if it was not his tradition. Addressing racial stereotypes, he remarks that he did not come out of the womb with the Bible, raising hands, and his first words were not "Hallelujah." He acknowledges that there are also times for somber moments. Thus, in noting his understanding of the black church as well as the fact that he did not have that quintessentially African American, emotionally expressive experience of church, he straddles the line between an insider and outsider of African American culture, thereby relating to both blacks and nonblacks. He effectively de-stabilizes racial categories, demonstrating the complexity of racial identification through his personal life.

Congregants also recognize his ability to be a racial "bridge" between black and white congregants. The cultural references Pastor Bryce makes give congregants the sense that they are "in the loop." Prior to attending Mannington Church, Dionne was a committed member of a predominantly black church. Partly because she felt a cultural and racial connection to Pastor Bryce, she did not perceive the transition to a multiracial congregation as a difficult one.

> I: So was it a big adjustment being in this church?

> D: Mm mm [shakes head, no]. Because I think for me, culture-wise the pastors are still black people. So I could understand … like sometimes [Pastor Bryce] will have to explain what he says. I'd understood it. One time he said, "scrilla," and everybody looked at him, and he says, "That means money." [laughing]

One member I spoke with, Margie, described an example of a failure to legitimately bridge across racial groups as a counterpoint to Pastor Bryce. At their previous church, the white pastor was concerned with losing their black congregants and so hired a black pastor. Margie described the white pastor as "whiter than white," and the black pastor as "very, very black." Considering the mostly white congregation, "things just didn't fit."

Pastor Bryce models the acceptance of unfamiliar or even undesirable cultural elements as a personal demonstration of how to build bridges and how to relate cross-culturally. More importantly, he talks about it, thereby establishing an environment where it is not uncomfortable to talk about racial differences. These two members of the leadership staff spoke of how the pastors, specifically Pastor Bryce, talk about race:

> Pastorally, our pastors talk about [race] and joke about it, and [Pastor Bryce] is African American and very proud of it. And [Pastor James] is redneck and proud of it. I think there's something to be said about people

being comfortable in their own skin and with each other in their own skin and that's a really neat thing. And that's not common to be free to sort of explore that. (Dani)

The more that [Bryce] talks about it, the more comfortable everybody seems to get. But again I'm not saying that because nobody's uncomfortable, but it just seems to settle people down to even more … he uniquely brings these types of issues up and it really makes people really comfortable. (Kris)

Both express how Pastor Bryce is able to talk about race in a way that makes people feel comfortable, to the extent that people can joke about it.

Pastor Bryce's intentionality in communicating both in and across racial lines does not appear to be contrived. He is not trying to be white, nor is he trying to be black. He simply expresses who he is, having grown up in nearly all-white environments as an African American. He does more than strategically assimilate to a nonblack environment by carrying a different "public" persona (Lacy 2007). As a pastor, his personal life is public, and his public life is personal. His conviction is that his bicultural experiences are critical to his ability to effectively lead a black–white congregation and thus used for a divine purpose, which then provides a framework and location (church) where he does not have to choose to be either white or black. Being black is neither a liability nor an advantage—in this multiracial context, the totality of his racial identity is used for the greater purpose of advancing the "kingdom." Although Pastor Bryce is a black pastor, he is also more than a black pastor. He simultaneously ensures that he cannot be pigeonholed into a stereotype and that he does not stray too far from black culture as to make him racially illegitimate to black congregants. It is a delicate balancing act. Rather than moving back and forth between white and black worlds, he must create an environment where both can exist. Pastor David expressed that "I felt like I could be

someone in the inner city, but then when I went to the white schools, I felt like I had to

have command of the King's English, but then when I came back home, there was this

kind of bifurcation in my soul" (7/16/2006). "Most of my life, I have, not by choice, but

just lived in other worlds. I've lived in an all-black world, I've lived in an all-white

world, and now at this season of my life, it's all one world for me" (7/9/2006). Moreover,

as modeled by Pastor Bryce, Mannington Church has become a location where middle-

class blacks can find community and affinity among other blacks, yet also worship

among whites. It is probably one of few places, if not the only place, in which their

worlds are not bifurcated.

For example, Douglas is on staff at the church, but started as an attendee 5 years

prior to this study. He is biracial (his father is black and his mother is white) and his wife

comes from a bicultural background as well (her father is black and mother is Jamaican).

He describes Mannington as a place where he and his wife do not feel like they are a

majority or minority:

> So my wife and I, coming from our family background, [Mannington
> Church] is just perfect. We grew up in South Carolina; we both went to
> advanced schools …. We were very used to being the minority wherever
> we go. Because of our family backgrounds, we're comfortable anywhere.
> You can throw us in the minority, majority, but it was nice to be
> comfortable, it was nice to be in a place where that wasn't even a
> consideration.

Despite feeling "comfortable anywhere," Douglas feels that being at Mannington

is "perfect" because it means that he and his wife did not have to "consider" either their

minority or their majority status.

Further, although Pastor Bryce has an acute awareness of his racial identity and

how it relates to his leadership, his credibility as a leader seems to extend beyond his

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racial identity. Pastor James, who is Pastor Bryce's primary partner in leadership, expressed,

> There is a spirit of reconciliation, this bridge building emphasis that's <u>on</u> the man …. This is my observation that perhaps is unfair, but [there is] a lack of real credible African American voices of leaders … associated with the church world. You can look at him and say, "I'll follow you anywhere." I don't know that there are a lot of those men around. Because when you begin to talk about African American leadership in the church world, there are certain names that arise to the top that don't have a great reputation unfortunately and are suspect. And the thing about Pastor Bryce is that he brings to the table the kind of integrity that's rare in <u>any</u> man, but I think it's even more rare in any [current] African American [church] leader. And as a white guy, that is one of the most ignorant things a person could possibly say, but I think that because of the integrity in his life, he exudes a kind of leadership that people are not going to follow based just on racial lines. They're going to follow him because he's a credible leader.

Pastor James admires his integrity as a leader, which was a quality of Pastor Bryce that was repeated across the board from both attendees and leadership staff and among every racial group. Similarly, Pastor David, a protégé of Pastor Bryce and the African American pastor of the City location, also expressed how his identity is about more than being a black pastor:

> Even if I'm perceived by others that way, I don't think of myself as a black Christian. Because … being Christian has very little to do with [race], because when you're in the kingdom, your commonality is … God. So personally, I know I'm black, but I don't think of myself as a black Christian. Any more than I think of myself as a black anything. I do think it's important, however, as a leader, that I reflect and represent to the African American community that, "Here's what integrity looks like, here's what courage looks like, here's what it looks like to be faithful to my woman, here's what it looks like to be committed, to raise children …" So I do feel very strongly that I represent [African Americans] … It's important to [others] to see a representation of themselves in leadership.

Although he feels his race is not personally important to him, at least not as much as being a Christian is important to him as a personal identity, Pastor David describes an

awareness of the importance of his race as a representative of the African American community. Like Pastor Bryce, modeling integrity not only as a Christian, but as a black man, is something that he is intentional about.

Pastor Bryce's intentionality and attention to racial bridging is a stark contrast to the lack of racial elements referred to or acknowledged in Jackson Church, despite the presence of an African American pastor there. To be clear, it is not that there is never any mention of black culture or other racial minority culture; rather, it is a difference between the frequency, emphasis, and intentionality as compared to Mannington Church. During the fieldwork period, Rick, the African American pastor, gave eight sermons, and I counted two references to his black heritage. He mentions that in high school he had a "'fro kind of thing going on" (4/30/2006). The second reference was an explanation of the phrase "yo momma":

> There's a lot of hype about this movie. Why is that? Now I'm going to give you … two words: your momma. Okay, now some of you who are offended—don't leave yet, okay? 'Cause I'm going to explain that statement. When I was growing up, those words "yo momma" were fighting words … You can talk about anyone else in the family but don't talk about my mother like that. Well, the Da Vinci Code kind of does a similar thing for us. It attacks the integrity of the faith we have. (5/21/2006)

There are few other examples of cross-cultural references. In his sermons, Mike makes a couple of mentions of the fact that he grew up in Japan. If there were any Japanese in the congregation, this may have served as a way for them to relate to him as a pastor. (The Asian Americans in the church are almost exclusively Korean and Chinese Americans.) When asked in an interview whether he had ever spoken specifically in a sermon or announcement about racial diversity, race, or anything similar, he responded,

I've used it as an illustration, I've talked about my past, kind of as a vision-casting thing within messages or within starting point, but not a message just on that. Although we've talked about … I don't know why we didn't … I just, you know, we talk about, ok—black history month … let's include on one of the Sundays here, let's make sure we talk about leaders and heroes that we're including … that we're including heroes from lots of different ethnic backgrounds.

Whereas for Pastor Bryce black speech and white speech is something that he considers every time he speaks and racial references are frequent, for Mike, talking about race is somewhat incidental. Efforts to include elements from other racial or ethnic backgrounds seem haphazard. It is clear that he cares about and desires racial diversity in the church, but there is a lack of awareness of the potential need or an incapability to respond to different peoples in his church and to foster a racially integrated environment. When one of the campus lay pastors was asked about whether the leadership had any specific strategies for dealing with or responding to racial diversity, she answered "No" without hesitation:

No. [laughing] No, I don't think we do. I don't think we know enough about how to make that happen. I think we just hope that it will. One of the strategies is to have the band look diverse, and I think that's good, but I think it just happened that way. I think if it didn't happen that way, it wouldn't be a strategy, so it's probably not a strategy, just good fortune. And I know [Mike] prays about it, so I don't believe that things are random. I think that God provides. So prayer is probably the main strategy. You know, it's very effective, but we're not doing something intentional to make [racial diversity] happen.

Yet, studies of multiracial churches emphasize that racial diversity does not just "happen," they are an outcome of intentional effort (Yancey 2003).[78] Whereas Pastor Bryce seems almost burdened by the difficulty of leading and maintaining a multiracial

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[78] For example, based on results from the Lilly Study of Multiracial Churches, Yancey (2003) suggests that churches seeking to attract blacks should find black clergy or lay leadership and spent time discussion racial issues. Blacks were less likely than other racial minority groups to attend churches with no black clergy and less likely to attend churches that did not discuss racial issues.

congregation, her comments seem to reflect a certain naïveté of the challenges involved and even a certain puzzlement as to how it came to be. She ultimately attributes it to prayer and divine intervention.

In addition, there were some racial allusions that I found to be racially awkward and even mildly offensive. I make note of this as an example of what I perceived to be a lack of effective bridging. There was a series of short videos featuring the "Adventures of Yung Sam Seed Planter" with the Korean American lay pastor featured as "Master" dressed in a Japanese kimono, and one of the other white pastors, Darrell, as "Yung Sam." With Asian-sounding music in the background, a slow motion fight scene ensues. The video is stopped, and it is announced that the prize for correctly guessing what happens in the next scene is a packet of Ramen noodles, which are kept in a "magic wok." The video clip resumes with Darrell practicing kung fu.

Although it is meant to be funny without harmful intention, there is never any comedic comment or response included that addresses the racial stereotypes of Asians and Asian culture portrayed in the video. The mix of ethnically different elements— Japanese ramen noodles, a Japanese kimono worn by a Korean American, and a Chinese wok and kung-fu fighting—make the video a decidedly racial portrayal of Asians. Despite one of the actors being Asian American, the video series seems to reflect insensitivity to how racial messages were communicated and whether Asian Americans would feel more or less excluded as a result.

However, Jackson's strengths are in its sensitivity to those unfamiliar with traditional church. Just as Pastor Bryce seems to weigh how whites and blacks may respond to him, the leadership team in Jackson intentionally considers what the "unchurched" would think of their experience at the church and designs its religious

service accordingly, which is not something observed at Mannington. The leader in charge of the youth ministry described their team meetings:

> We meet every Tuesday morning, kind of our creative planning team. And we talk about the Sunday that has passed, and this coming Sunday, the next series, the next few weeks … And we sit there and we just think about the people that are there on Sunday mornings. We like to stop and say … "If my neighbor would come into the church, who's not familiar with church at all, what would they think about this?"

This leader describes a conscious, weekly evaluation of how to best connect with the hypothetical neighbor who is not familiar with church life.

At one point, Mannington attempted a more nontraditional religious service. Pastor Eric noted the unintended result:

> E: I know one thing we did once was we had a Saturday night service …. When we were in [our previous location], it had become our third service … In the black culture, church on Sundays is very traditional. And the culture we were creating on Saturdays, we were reaching people who … were looking for a more nontraditional kind of atmosphere, so we had to deliberately put African Americans in that service. We did, we did!
>
> I: Who were you attracting to that service?
>
> E: Caucasian Americans, we were attracting college students … who preferred to come to a more relaxed, nontraditional kind of service, and it was predominantly white! So Pastor Bryce looked at that and said, "Well, that's interesting." And we discontinued having the Saturday service because it didn't really grow, but in the future, as we look to do that again, we would have that experience in the back of our minds.

The evening, "nontraditional" service tended to attract young whites. Pastor Eric attributes the lack of African American attendance (aside from those deliberately placed there by the church) to black church culture's definition of church as a Sunday event. However this experience also raises the question as to whether "nontraditional" types of church services have a stylistically racial bias, thereby attracting whites or nonblacks

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more generally. The lack of appeal to blacks may be due to the familiarity of black church culture, even among blacks who do not attend church. An African American would be less likely to fall into the category of the "unchurched" as they are among the most religious people in the world (Gallup 1996; Gallup and Castelli 1989). Therefore, Jackson Church may never be able to attract significant numbers of African Americans to their church not just because of a lack of culturally black elements, but because of the stylistic orientation meant to appeal to the "unchurched." Although their religious services are generally different from traditional churches, it may be the most culturally different for African Americans. Their target audience, therefore, is unintentionally nonblack.

Racial Representation

In addition to the racial bridging work attempted by the churches, racial representation is a strategy used by both churches. Numerous ethnographic studies of multiracial churches suggest that a racially diverse leadership is important in both creating and sustaining racial heterogeneity in their congregations (Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998; Emerson 2006; Emerson and Smith 2000; Yancey 1999). A diverse leadership staff legitimates a value on racial diversity by its official inclusion of the various groups represented (Ammerman 1997; Becker 1998; Emerson 2006). Leadership can be considered a "symbolic" aspect of organizational diversity, signaling status or value for those groups represented (Ely 1994; Riordan 2000). A diverse leadership is thus considered a key characteristic of multiracial churches (Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson 2005; DeYoung et al. 2003; Yancey 2003).

Mike at Jackson Church is well aware of the lack of racial diversity represented on his leadership team and the value of having the people "up front" represent people in the congregation. Among the three pastors that sermonize on Sundays, two are white and one is black. The remaining six people on leadership team are white, except for the Korean American lay pastor at the Gatewood site. There is attention given to the racial mix of the music team, as well as to the kinds of people portrayed in their marketing and media materials.

> I'm disappointed that our staff team is not as racially diverse as I would like it to be. So that's a factor. But at the same time, just because someone has an ethnic background doesn't mean that they're the right person for the position, so you balance that out. You pray that God would provide people that would be the right people in gift mix as well as ethnical background.

> I've never gone out to recruit any of the staff based upon [race]. In some ways, it goes counter to the whole concept, you know? But I have prayed that God would bring leaders within and without that would reflect the community at large. And I've prayed that a lot … One thing that we talk about a lot, is … when I look at the stage and people that are in leadership or out front, I want to see that we've involved people … If God's brought them into our congregation, then we should see leaders of different color rising and being public too. 'Cause I think, if I'm coming in, and let's say, I'm a person of Hispanic background … I tend to look around and see if there's anyone else like me. And I want to at least create some of that, where people feel welcome regardless of their background.

> When we do media, when we do printed materials, when we do web stuff, we try to be very conscientious of including, you know, faces … When we did those postcards, I spent a lot of time trying to find the right person and the right mix of racial integration, because it sends a strong message … Don't just assume a white family's the best choice.

There is a sense that representation in leadership should happen organically and providentially. In addition to prayer, the strategy to achieve racial representation "up front" seems to be limited to waiting for congregants of color to "rise" to leadership in

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the church. There is not an effort to reach beyond his own preexisting networks to recruit potential leaders (some of his staff were recruited from preexisting networks in his own mainly white Christian college). Although representation in media materials is not to be neglected, its superficial quality could limit its impact, especially because some of the people portrayed in their materials are not actual congregants.

In contrast, Pastor Bryce takes an active role in ensuring racially diverse leadership.

> I intentionally, whether it be in our worship, whether it be in our staff, whether it be in how we do eldership, I've intentionally—not by quotas—not by trying to figure out, how many here and how many here, percentages—but by calling an indiscriminate regard to training every group. I've intentionally said, "We will always have representation of female, male, black, Asian, everything. We will have that representation on my staff, and we will build it in such a way that we can see the nations on a regular basis in our church."

He stated this intention in a way that makes racial representation in leadership a compulsory characteristic of the church. However, unlike Jackson Church, Mannington not only has a more diverse pool of potential leaders within the church, but also, the family of churches to which it belongs is multiracial, providing yet another wide pool of potential leaders. Given the diversity of racial groups available, having leadership comprised of mainly one race would seem irresponsible. Additionally, as described in the previous chapter, many of these leaders also have lived atypically multicultural lives.

Further, as noted in the last chapter, those who attend Mannington are initially more religious than those at Jackson Church. If that is an indicator of potential leadership preparation, then Mannington also has a much larger pool of congregants who may be spiritually ready to "rise" into leadership roles. The last chapter also revealed that Mannington Church attendees may also be more committed to the church organization,

which may translate into a greater willingness to work in the church in a leadership capacity. Most of the leadership and administrative staff were recruited from among congregants, and the few who were not congregation members were members of sister churches.

A diverse leadership is indeed important in symbolically signaling value and status to a diverse congregation. "Colorful" leadership in Mannington Church also provides opportunities for the development of a culture of racial "education" and learning among leaders. One white person on the leadership staff describes how he learned to say *black*, and how Pastor Bryce helps establish an environment where race talk is part of the culture:

> [Bryce] talks about … how important it is for him to embrace boring, white music. And, how it is important for us [whites] to embrace fried food—that's what he says—and watermelon, just all the cultural things that you can't ignore. No one's trying to ignore them in the church. It's refreshing to talk about it. I don't say African American … the women especially say, "I love it when you say black, just say black. Don't try to go around the whole racial thing, got to walk softly. Just, it's okay." (Kris)

As another example, Pastor David of the City location spoke of how the Vietnamese pastor introduced him and another black pastor to pho, a traditional Vietnamese noodle soup. Although at first hesitant to try it due to the unfamiliar ingredients, they "loved it." The "education" thus can involve learning anything from correct terminology to something as seemingly innocuous as an appreciation of different foods associated with certain cultures. Addressing racial issues with the intent of teaching and learning is an important part of the culture at Mannington that spurs growth for the individuals involved:

I've never see anything that would fall into discrimination. Any time you get cultures together you're going to discover prejudices you may not know you have or would have expected in other people. I think that's good, that's what needs to happen, that's the only way you discover those things and get over them … A lot of times … discussions will flow into racial … or cultural issues and a lot of it is just exploratory. You have someone who'll make a comment then you have someone that says, "I know you have a good heart but you have no idea what that comment means to this group of people, and I don't think that's what you mean but that's what's heard" … Education [is] happening in there. (Douglas)

What seems particularly unusual in Douglas' description of how one would correct a prejudicial comment is the way in which the impact of such a comment is explained without making it a personal or interpersonal issue. The comment is neither taken as a personal affront nor assumed to be malicious. As reflected in the above quote, there is an assumption among the leaders that, through interracial contact in the church, prejudices will be "discovered" but that such discovery provides an opportunity for learning and growth. In addition, the fact that "a lot of times" discussion will "flow into racial or cultural issues" is indicative of the frequency of racial talk and its part in ordinary discourse.

It must be qualified that the relative influence of the pastors is affected by the leadership style they choose to practice. Both Pastor Bryce and Mark are the lead pastors in their churches, but they conceptualize their roles differently. Mark actively avoids creating a personality based leadership model. Instead, he is an advocate of team decision making and shared teaching. He considers himself a visionary, but one that is in control of the communication process, not the decision-making process. He recognizes the need for a sense of someone (himself) at the helm, but he feels that he should be leading from behind or within. Thus, he values letting go of control, being risky, and is comfortable with the "messiness" that sometimes ensues. This team-based leadership model was

confirmed by leadership staff. Further, Mark chooses to rotate sermonizing between

himself, Rick, and Darrell; of the 30 sermons collected from Jackson Church, Mark

delivered 12 of them.

In contrast, it is uncommon in Mannington Church for Pastor Bryce not to deliver

the sermon. Of the 25 Sunday sermons collected from Mannington Church, Pastor Bryce

delivered 20 of them. When asked about the strengths of the church, every interviewee

noted Pastor Bryce as a strength of the church. There was also a strong sense of loyalty to

Pastor Bryce expressed whenever he was spoken of. Pastor Bryce tends to utilize a more

strictly top-down, executive decision-making model. Pastor Eric's description of Pastor

Bryce's role exemplifies Pastor Bryce's level of authority and influence in the church:

> I believe that God appoints a leader for a church, and that leader was
> [Pastor Bryce]. So you expect that God is … going to speak through him
> on Sundays, and any other times. And also that He was going to … work
> through [Pastor Bryce], and build up other leaders, build up a leadership
> team that, and in working through that leadership team, continue to equip
> and build up people for the … appointed work of God. And that's the way
> this church is.

Pastor Bryce clearly has a much more prominent presence in the church than

Mike has in his. This prominence is also seen in the responses given for why congregants

chose their churches. Whereas only 5.45% of respondents at Jackson Church specifically

wrote of the pastors themselves (separate from the teaching) as influencing their decision

to join the church, 14.20% of those at Mannington Church wrote that the pastor himself

was a reason for having joined the church. The teaching or sermons as a reason for

choosing the church was also less frequently cited at Jackson than at Mannington

Church—20.45% and 30.25% of respondents at Jackson Church and Mannington

Church, respectively, mentioned the teaching or sermons as being a reason they chose the

church. Therefore, Mike as a leader may then be less impactful on congregational relations than Pastor Bryce due to his understated leadership style.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the influence of pastoral leadership on establishing a culture that is conducive to interracial friendship and modeling what is required to cross racial barriers in friendship. This chapter also shows how the use of specific strategies to encourage interrace relating are an outcome of not only the religious mission of the church, as described in the previous chapter, but also of the pastors' personal racial experiences. The two primary strategies used by Pastor Bryce are acting as a racial bridge between black and white congregants and ensuring racially representative leadership. These strategies signal value to those groups and help provide an equal sense of belonging. Pastor Bryce also avoids essentializing race in a way that would alienate members who do not easily fit in those categories, which may be much of his congregation. Further, blurring racial group boundaries through the complexity of his own racial identification may help prevent the formation of potentially polarizing subgroup identities. Rather than de-emphasizing subgroup categories, he makes those categories problematic, which may be important in facilitating a common in-group identity that includes congregationally-localized interracial relationships as a critical component. These strategies, of course, are only possible because of the racial diversity of the congregation. And, the racial diversity of the congregation is only possible because of who Pastor Bryce is.

The strategies used by Pastor Bryce may be more effective in upper-class congregations such as the one he leads. Although he relates on a racial level, his

experiences and style of communication reflect his middle-class background, which may be providing a source of commonality between racial groups. For example, he mentions that his grandfather was a professor, which may be indicative of the level of education in his family. He also grew up in middle-class white suburbia. In addition, his involvement with various ministries also establishes him as middle class. One ministry trains college students, another is a foundation that has helped author legislation, and his primary "outreach" ministry is as chaplain for a professional sports team and professional coaches.

These chapters have portrayed Mannington Church as the "successful" church. Indeed, the statistics show that Mannington has a higher rate of interracial friendship and thus can be categorized as the more successfully integrated church. However, its success must be qualified. First, racial talk is not without criticism at Mannington Church. Some respondents felt that Pastor Bryce was too afro-centric, or spoke about race too much. And though Mannington navigates the black–white divide well, it has difficulty attracting other racial groups, such as Asians and Hispanics. The Asian American pastor expressed that there is a desire for greater racial diversity, but how to go about that is not "fleshed out yet." Thus the insightfulness of black–white dynamics among leadership is also matched by significant blind spots when it comes to other racial groups.

Further, there are other inequalities present at Mannington Church not found at Jackson Church. The women leaders at Jackson expressed their appreciation of more equal gender roles in leadership. At Mannington Church, many of the women leaders I spoke with described feeling that their voices are not heard in the male-dominated environment, which unintentionally reduced opportunities for women's involvement in decision making. Jackson Church also seemed more sensitive to the socioeconomic

diversity present in the congregation. At Mannington, on the other hand, there were complaints that athletes were privileged in their access to the pastor, and some commented on feeling marginalized due to their lower socioeconomic status. The high value of developing leaders as well as talk about the need for "excellence" also seemed to create a sense of inequality according to spiritual status. Casey, new on staff with the church, felt that the standard of excellence may be too high: "In the journey of trying to achieve high excellence, you leave a lot of people behind. … The challenge is there's only a few people who meet those expectations." In contrast, a clear strength of Jackson Church is its ability to connect to people that may feel marginal in their level of spirituality, as well as its ability to meet people "where they are."

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Although this dissertation focuses on explaining interracial friendship within racially heterogeneous Protestant churches, the study more broadly points to the importance of organizational context on friendship formation. The study also contributes to a greater understanding of the complex relationship between racial and religious identity.

First, I assessed individual level factors through the analysis of the nationally representative PS-ARE. The analysis revealed race itself, the racial composition of one's congregation, and racial and religious identities as significant in the likelihood of interracial friendship. Race exerted different effects depending on the stage of friendship formation, particularly when contrasting blacks and whites. Blacks were more likely to attend racially homogenous churches, which may reflect residential segregation, discomfort in racially heterogeneous or nonblack church environments, and/or an affinity for black church culture and community. It also reflects the historical place of the black church as an organization that provides emotional, financial, and instrumental resources in response to the disadvantage experienced by many African Americans in a race-conscious society. When assessing friendship formation among those who attend congregations that are not wholly one race, I found that whites showed more in-group preferences than other racial groups. Although whites have larger networks of friends they consider to be confidants, which would increase the chance that one of those friends

would be of a different race, whites were also more likely to have racially homogeneous

networks in their congregations. Unlike many studies that have demonstrated stronger in-

group preferences among blacks, among the blacks and other people of color in this study

who named at least two close friends in church, one of those friends was more likely to

be of a different race in comparison to white respondents that named at least two close

friends. This finding helps explain why in Edwards' study (Edwards 2008b) whites were

more likely to leave the congregation despite being the majority group—they may have

been less likely to be relationally tied to nonwhite congregants. The greater racial

homophily found among whites in racially heterogeneous congregations challenges the

notion that minority groups tend to be more racially "exclusive" in their associations, as

reflected by the title of Beverly Tatum's book *"Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting

Together in the Cafeteria?"* (1997). As Tatum suggested, it may simply be more

noticeable when people of color congregate. The tendency for blacks and other racial

minorities to actually be racially integrative members of their congregations is especially

striking when considering the voluntary nature of membership and participation in

churches. Unlike schools or workplaces where different-race individuals may be placed

in classrooms or work groups that provide opportunities for friendship, individuals in

voluntary organizations such as churches have greater freedom to choose with whom they

associate.

　　As expected, the racial composition has a strong effect on interracial friendship

formation. Cross-race friendship was less likely the larger one's racial group. The overall

degree of racial heterogeneity also had a negative effect on the likelihood of developing

cross-race friends, indicating that having a greater choice of different racial group

members does not necessarily increase the propensity to make cross-race friends.

Finally, the analysis of the PS-ARE showed that religious identity does not in fact supersede racial identity in its effect on interracial-friendship formation. Rather, both are important predictors of cross-race friendship. Given the salience of race and racial categories in the United States as a principle of social organization (Omi and Winant 1994), it may be unrealistic for racial identity to be submerged under a religious self-identity, however important it is. However, this analysis is limited in its assessment of the effect of racial and religious identity on interracial friendship formation. First, the importance of one's racial or religious identity is a unilateral dimension of identity. The analysis does not show how and why those identities may be important, which is vital to understanding the mechanism by which identity affects interracial friendship. Friendship formation is also a two-way street; friendship involves the choice of the potential friend as well. Thus, the identities of potential friends are critical to understanding opportunities for cross-race friend making.

Indeed, analysis of the sample from the four congregational case studies suggested that racial and religious identity are also a property of the organizational context, both because the congregations attract certain kinds of racial and religious types and because they also develop those identities in particular ways. The survey analysis also suggested the influence of the congregational and church context in addition to individual level factors. Mannington Church had higher rates of interracial friendship than Jackson Church. The qualitative analysis of this dissertation thus highlights the importance of the organizational context on interracial friendship, especially through its influence on social identity.

Through a comparative analysis between Mannington and Jackson, I show that the organizational context influences interracial friendship in Mannington and Jackson

Churches in three key ways. First, the organizational context attracts a particular religious and racial niche, and through its mode of recruitment, influences initial social integration into the congregational community. Mannington Church attendees are more religious in both behavior and attitudes, particularly in their willingness to commit to a church community. They were also more likely to cite diversity as a reason for choosing the church, and more likely to be referrals. These characteristics may facilitate network integration and propensity to choose different-race others as friends; Mannington Church attendees were also more likely to have not only different-race church friends, but also more likely to have church friends generally.

Second, the congregational influences on social identity have strong implications for interracial friendship. The churches differed in the degree to which they emphasized an organizational identity and thus differed in the degree to which intimate relationships between congregation members were encouraged. Mannington Church identified goals specific to its congregation, and as part of its unique calling, framed intimate cross-race relationships as both a manifestation of its unique role among other churches and a necessity for its fulfillment. As such, Mannington emphasized congregational members' responsibility and contribution to the achievement of its collective goal. Cross-race relationships, as are all relationships within the congregational context, are described in the context of a spiritual family, signaling organizational obligations as well as expectations for depth of relationship. The organizational identity of the church, therefore, is inextricably tied to interracial friendship. Though Jackson Church also emphasizes the importance of Christian fellowship and spiritual family, relational ties are discussed in the context of the wider Christian community. Further, Jackson Church clearly has a strong organizational culture and values diversity, but close interracial

friendship per se is not a critical component of Jackson's identity in the way that it is for Mannington Church.

Finally, pastoral leadership is able to influence an environment conducive to interracial relating by the degree of intentionality expressed as well as by serving as a prototype, or the exemplary example of a member. Mannington's senior pastor functions as a bridge between blacks and whites in his congregation as well as an example of the complexity of racial identification. As such, he both legitimates subgroup racial identities and prevents the development of essentializing and potentially divisive racial categorizations. Ultimately, individual racial identities are less meaningful in light of a congregational identity as a tight network of interracial familial relationships.

The example of Mannington Church portrayed in contrast to that of Jackson Church illustrates organizations' potential to develop a specific form of social capital—in this case, strong interracial ties—by influencing the content of identity and influencing the meaning of interracial friendship as relevant to organizational goals. The organization thus imbues diverse ties with personal and organizational significance, effectively raising the value of this particular form of network resource.

The degree to which congregations can thus facilitate interracial friendship outside church walls depends on their ability to exert influence in other areas of congregants' lives. Those congregations that successfully orient members' lives toward an overarching religious purpose and develop a salient organizational identity may be better equipped for influence in their communities at large. Christina, a member at Mannington Church expressed, "My [spiritual] growth [from Mannington] has purposefully spilled over into the lives of our children. It has made a tremendous impact

on how we live and think." Similarly, Douglas compared the focus on living the "entire Christian life" at Mannington to his previous church experience:

> There is a push from the pulpit and there is a general feeling that there is a desire to live the entire Christian life. That means … be a Christian in every way possible and every area aspect of your life. I grew up in a church environment where church is what you did on Sundays … but the lives you lived outside of that could be anything. This is [about] holiness, living life the right way, having integrity in your job, household, friends, hobbies—you're a Christian everywhere you go.

However, this notion of an overarching life orientation based on religious beliefs seems to contradict earlier findings from the quantitative analysis that racial identity remains important along with religious identity. The case studies reveal that racial identity can be inextricably woven with religious identity in a way that does not exacerbate racial divisions but does alleviate them. That is, racial identity is not conflated with religious identity such that one's religiosity is defined by racial culture. In the case of Mannington Church, particularly as exemplified by Pastor Bryce's personal testimony, racial experiences are an important part of one's individual calling, used by God to ultimately advance His kingdom, that is, for the conversion of others. Racial identity can be considered a *strategic* resource (Stanczak 2006). However, racial identity is also a relational product, produced within organizational contexts. Thus the *content* of racial identity is as critically important as its salience to understanding its influence on interracial friendship and racial integration.

This brings us back to the question posed in the title of the dissertation: Can religion trump race? I propose that for interracial friendship in Protestant churches, the answer is "sometimes, depending on the congregational context." It is not a question of whether religious identity can overcome racial identity and thus facilitate interracial

friendship; rather it is a question of whether religious organizations can shape a compelling organizationally circumscribed, salient religious identity that neither diminishes nor denies the lived reality of racial identification. As such, I caution against overstating the significance of multiracial congregations as racially integrative organizations in society. Both Jackson Church and Mannington Church qualify as "multiracial," but they have very different goals vis-à-vis racial reconciliation and, accordingly, differing potential to affect racial integration both inside and outside its walls.

These findings may be limited in their applicability to conservative Protestant churches. Conservative Protestant churches are generally distinguished by their common belief in a personal relationship with Jesus Christ, the importance of proselytizing, a strong view of biblical authority, and the belief that salvation comes through Jesus Christ alone (Woodberry and Smith 1998). The tremendous diversity among congregations that fall within the "conservative Protestant" label (Green et al. 1996; Woodberry and Smith 1998), however, reveals organizational differences in how congregations enact these beliefs and evangelistic goals. These characteristics, then, highlight identity-framing processes and the promotion of organizational goals in relation to personal goals that may have generalizability beyond those considered to be conservative Protestant churches.

This research may then be limited in its applicability to religious organizations. Harris (1998) proposes that religious organizations should be treated as a special case of voluntary organizations because one needs to take into account the distinctive role of religious leaders and the religious nature of organizational goals. Religious leaders have a distinctive kind of authority legitimated by divine appointment and because they are "boundary spanners" between the individual congregation and the organizational

environment (Harris 1998, p. 612). Also, the religious nature of organizational goals means that attendees have limited control in defining higher-level organizational goals because those are often defined by fixed religious principles. In other kinds of voluntary organizations, members have greater influence in exchange for their contributions of time or financial resources (Knoke and Prensky 1984). However, I would argue that these distinctive qualities of religious organizations provide analytical advantages due to the clearer, direct relationship between the actions of leadership and congregational outcomes. Further, the fact that individuals are obligated to accept higher level goals when they join rather than having power to change them (relative to other voluntary organizations) means that accounting for the self-selected nature of attendees, that is, how and who the congregation attracts, is a critical component of understanding organizational effects.

Congregations also share common properties with voluntary organizations that provide an opportunity to understand friendship formation in a relatively unconstrained context as well as to understand identity construction because, like other voluntary organizations, members seek and value social interaction and all voluntary organizations must find ways to secure both membership and participation. In addition, the religious component provides an opportunity to better understand the relationship between two highly salient identities in the United States—religious and racial identity.

This study is constrained by its cross-sectional analysis, which cannot account for change in identity and networks over time. Future research would benefit from a longitudinal, multilevel, nested analysis of congregations and their members. Such data would also provide a context to understand how unique my case studies are in comparison to other kinds of church environments.

Appendices

Appendix A

Survey Administration Materials

Survey Invitations and Follow-ups

Text from Jackson Church Bulletin (produced by the church)

Please Help Us Become More Remarkable!

In the next couple of weeks many of you will receive an invitation to participate in a special survey. We are honored to have been selected as unique case study in this special University project. We've partnered with Erica Wong to craft specific questions that will help us improve our ability to serve you and our community. Please watch your e-mail for your special invitation.

Jackson Church Email Invitation
This is an invitation to participate in a survey for Jackson Church. You have been selected to receive this survey, and your opinions and perspectives whether you are a current attendee, past attendee or visitor will be an important contribution. The survey is part of a larger study to better understand diversity in the contemporary church. The findings will also be valuable as an assessment tool for the church. If you respond to the survey, you have the chance to win a $100 Amazon.com gift card.

A message from Mike, Lead Pastor—Jackson Church:
If you were in our services this last weekend you know that this summer we are starting to think hard about how we can "kick it up a notch!" Since Jackson Church launched its first campus 4 ½ years ago we have continually been striving to do a better job at "meeting people where they are and taking them where God wants then to be." God has given us a great vision of reaching thousands of people in our area for Christ through our creative services and compassionate outreach. We don't want to be just another ordinary church -- we dream of God helping us to do and become something that is truly remarkable! You can help us by taking the time to fill out the survey. Please let us know how we can serve you and our neighbors in the best way possible! Thanks.

Please follow the link below to access the survey. The survey will take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. If you have any questions, contact Erica Wong at 240-483-2745 or eryu@umich.edu. Thank you very much for your participation in this important project.
Sincerely,
Erica Wong, PhD Candidate

University of Michigan
Department of Sociology

http://www.zoomerang.com/survey.zgi?p=U24THZNPDQD2

First Reminder, Jackson Church
I hope you will accept the invitation to respond to a survey about your experience at Jackson Church. The survey is part of a larger study to better understand diversity in the contemporary church, and your opinions will be critical to its success. The results will also be used to provide feedback to Jackson Church. If you respond to the survey, you have the chance to win a $100 Amazon.com gift card.

Please follow the link below to access the survey. The survey will take approximately 15-20 minutes to complete. If you have any questions, contact Erica Wong at 240-483-2745 or eryu@umich.edu. Thank you very much for your participation in this important project!

Sincerely,
Erica Wong, PhD Candidate
University of Michigan
Department of Sociology

http://www.zoomerang.com/survey.zgi?p=U24THZNPDQD2

Final Reminder, Jackson Church
If you have already responded to the survey, please consider this a sincere "thank you" for your participation. If not, don't miss your opportunity to contribute *your* unique perspective and opinions. If you complete the survey, you have the chance to win a $100 Amazon.com gift card. The survey will officially close June 30.

In addition to providing feedback to Jackson Church, this survey is part of a study to better understand diversity in the contemporary church. Contact Erica Wong at 240-483-2745 or eryu@umich.edu with any questions. Thank you very much for your participation in this important project.

Please click the link below to begin the survey.

Sincerely,
Erica Wong, PhD Candidate
University of Michigan
Department of Sociology

http://www.zoomerang.com/survey.zgi?p=U24THZNPDQD2

Text from Mannington Church Bulletin Insert (produced by the church)

Just follow the link... Mannington Church is participating in a study on diverse and growing churches and we need your input! Please check your e-mail for the link to the online survey, or call the number below to take the survey by telephone. The information collected is completely confidential and your names are not attached to the survey responses. Don't miss this opportunity to provide your valuable input! Please respond by April 9th for a chance to win a $100 gift card!

Contact Erica Wong with any questions.
Email: eryu@umich.edu
Phone: 240.483.2745

Mannington Church Email Invitation
This survey is part of a study to better understand diversity in the contemporary church. You have been selected to receive this survey and your opinions and perspectives whether you are a church attendee, past attendee or visitor will be an important contribution.

A message from Pastor Bryce and Pastor David: Thank you in advance for taking the time to complete the survey. The input we receive from you will provide us with valuable information required to continually grow in our service to you and to our communities, and to fulfill our vision as a church. Your time and consideration is sincerely appreciated! God bless you.

Please click the link below to begin the survey. If you complete the survey, you have the chance to win a $100 Amazon.com gift card! Contact Erica Wong at 240-483-2745 or eryu@umich.edu with any questions. Thank you very much for your participation in this important project.

Sincerely,
Erica Wong, PhD Candidate
University of Michigan
Department of Sociology

http://www.zoomerang.com/survey.zgi?p=U24JED2YBJW6

First Reminder, Mannington Church
Subject: A Reminder

If you have not yet responded to the survey for Mannington Church, I wanted to remind you of your opportunity to participate. If you have already responded, please consider this a sincere thank you for your participation. Your unique opinions and experiences will be valuable in providing a better understanding of diversity in the contemporary church. Remember, if you complete the survey, you have the chance to win a $100 Amazon.com gift card!

A message from Pastor Bryce and Pastor David:

Thank you in advance for taking the time to complete the survey. The input we receive from you will provide us with valuable information required to continually grow in our service to you and to our communities, and to fulfill our vision as a church. Your time and consideration is sincerely appreciated! God bless you.

Please click the link below to begin the survey. Contact Erica Wong at 240-483-2745 or eryu@umich.edu with any questions. Thank you!

Sincerely,
Erica Wong, PhD Candidate
University of Michigan
Department of Sociology

http://www.zoomerang.com/survey.zgi?p=U24JED2YBJW6

Final Reminder, Mannington Church
Subject: A final reminder

If you have already responded to the survey, please consider this a sincere "thank you" for your participation. If not, don't miss your opportunity to contribute *your* unique perspective and opinions. If you complete the survey, you have the chance to win a $100 Amazon.com gift card. The survey will officially close June 30.

In addition to providing feedback to Mannington Church churches, this survey is part of a study to better understand diversity in the contemporary church. Contact Erica Wong at 240-483-2745 or eryu@umich.edu with any questions. Thank you very much for your participation in this important project.

Please click the link below to begin the survey.

Sincerely,
Erica Wong, PhD Candidate
University of Michigan
Department of Sociology

http://www.zoomerang.com/survey.zgi?p=U24JED2YBJW6

Survey Consent Letter

Dear Participant,

The objective of this research study entitled "Racial diversity and the organization: An examination of multi-site multiracial churches" is to explore the dynamics of racial and ethnic diversity in the contemporary church and to understand relevant organizational factors. Your interview will provide valuable insight into the ways in which diverse religious organizations thrive, and may provide helpful information to your church leaders in order to better equip your church organization. In addition, this research will hopefully provide some practical insight into how to enable diversity in other religious and non-religious organizations.

Your participation is *vital* to the success of the research project, and I look forward to any insight your responses will bring. Also, by participating in the survey, you will be entered in a lottery to receive a $100 Amazon.com gift card (you will be eligible for this gift even if you withdraw from the survey before its completion).

It takes about 20-25 minutes to complete the questionnaire. Your participation is voluntary, and you can skip or refuse to answer any question or withdraw at any time without any penalty. By completing this survey, you are verifying that you are at least 18 years of age, and you are agreeing to participate in the survey. This study poses no more than minimal risk since the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipate would not be greater than those encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine psychological examinations or tests.

To insure your confidentiality, your name will not be included on any materials that have your responses nor will your name be included on any reports of the results of this research. The name of your church will not be included on any reports of the results of this research, and all efforts will be made to conceal its identity. Records will be kept confidential to the extent provided by federal, state, and local law. However, the Institutional Review Board, or university and government officials responsible for monitoring this study may inspect these records. All records with any identifying information will be destroyed at the end of the study. Also, if significant new knowledge is obtained during the course of this research which may relate to your willingness to continue participation, you will be informed of this knowledge.

At the end of the questionnaire, there will be a checkbox which you can mark if you would like to decline to participate in any in-person interviews—the interviews will not be based on your responses, and the interviewers will have no knowledge of your responses to the questionnaires.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 240-483-2745, or e-mail me at eryu@umich.edu. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Mark Mizruchi, at 734-764-7444. In addition, should you have questions regarding your rights as a participant in research, please contact the Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, 734-936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

Thank you again for your participation in this very important project!

Sincerely,

Erica Ryu, PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology, University of Michigan

East Coast City Survey

US Congregational Life Survey
Blue= GSS 2004

<u>**Demographic Info**</u>

1. Are you FEMALE/MALE

2. In what year were you born? _____

3. What is the zip code where you live? _____

4. How many people reside in your household? _____

5. What is the highest educational level you have completed?
- 8th grade or less
- Some high school
- Completed high school
- Trade certificate
- Associate degree
- Bachelors degree from a university or college
- Master's, Doctorate, or other graduate degree

6. What is your race or ethnicity? (Mark all that apply)
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Black or African American
- Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- Indian (American) or Alaska Native
- White or Caucasian
- Other (please specify): _____

7. What is your present marital status?
- In first marriage → GO TO QUESTION 7a.
- Remarried after divorce or death of a spouse → GO TO QUESTION 7a.
- Widowed → SKIP TO QUESTION 8.
- Divorced → SKIP TO QUESTION 8.
- Separated → SKIP TO QUESTION 8.
- Never married → SKIP TO QUESTION 8.

IF IN FIRST MARRIAGE OR REMARRIED,

7a. What is the race/ethnicity of your spouse? (Mark all that apply)
- Asian or Pacific Islander
- Black or African American
- Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin
- Indian (American) or Alaska Native
- White or Caucasian
- Other (please specify): _____

Attendance Status

8. Do you currently attend Jackson/Mannington Church?
- No, I used to attend but currently do not → GO TO QUESTION 8a.
- I am just visiting → SKIP TO QUESTION 8d.
- Yes → SKIP TO QUESTION 9.

IF NO,
8a. What church, if any, do you currently attend? Name, City/State

8b. For how long did you attend Jackson/Mannington Church?
- Less than 1 year
- 1-2 years
- 3-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-20 years
- More than 20 years

8c. Which Jackson/Mannington Church church did you attend?
- Gatewood/Varsity
- Stanton/City

END SURVEY: THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS SURVEY. WITH YOUR CONSENT, I WOULD LIKE TO CONTACT YOU FOR A FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW. PLEASE WRITE YOUR NAME AND CONTACT INFORMATION: NAME, TELEPHONE/EMAIL. OR I DO NOT WISH TO BE CONTACTED FOR AN INTERVIEW.

IF "I AM JUST VISITING,"
8d. Are you currently searching for a church to attend? Y/N

IF YES,
8di. What other churches have you also visited? _____
GO TO QUESTION 9c, then 12 and 12a, 13-16, 35-41, 60-61

IF NO, GO TO QUESTION 9c, then 12 and 12a, 13-16, 35-41, 60-61

IF YES, SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION (9)

9. How long have you been attending Jackson/Mannington Church? _____
- Less than 1 year
- 1-2 years

- 3-5 years
- 6-10 years
- 11-20 years
- More than 20 years

9a. Why did you choose Jackson/Mannington Church? ____

9b. Before deciding on Jackson/Mannington Church, what other churches did you visit, if any? ____

9c. How did you find out about Jackson/Mannington Church?
- Friend who has attended Jackson/Mannington Church
- Website
- Road sign
- Flyer/Mailing
- Other _____

10. Is Jackson/Mannington Church the only church you currently attend?
- Yes → SKIP TO QUESTION 11.
- No → GO TO QUESTION 10a.

10a. What other church(es) do you currently attend? _____

11. Did you attend church before coming to Jackson/Mannington Church?
- Yes → GO TO QUESTION 11a.
- No, before coming here I had not been attending any congregation for several years → SKIP TO QUESTION 12.
- No, before coming here I had never regularly attended church → SKIP TO QUESTION 12.

    11a. What church did you attend prior to attending Jackson/Mannington Church? Name, City/State

    11b. For how long did you attend that church? _____

    11c. Why did you leave that church? _____

Children
12. Do you have any children 17 years old or younger living at home? Y/N
- Yes → GO TO 12a.
- No → SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION (13)

    12a. Please provide the ages of those children 17 years old and younger living at home.

	Age
Child 1 at home	
Child 2	
Child 3	
Child 4	
Child 5	
Child 6	
Child 7	

12b. Do any of these children participate in the children's or youth ministry at Jackson/Mannington Church? Y/N
- o   Yes → GO TO 12bi.
- o   No → SKIP TO NEXT QUESTION (13)

12bi. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?: My children have grown spiritually from participating in Jackson/Mannington Church's children's or youth program.
- Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree.

Identity

13. We are all part of different groups. Some are more important to us than others when we think of ourselves. In general, which in the following list is most important to you in describing who you are? Please rank up to 3.
- Occupation
- Race/ethnicity
- Gender
- Age
- Religion
- Political Party
- Nationality
- Family
- Social Class
- Region

14. How close do you feel to your ethnic or racial group?
- Very close, close, not very close, not close

15. How much does your race/ethnicity affect your daily life?
- 5 point scale from Affects everything to Not at all

16. How satisfied are you with the ethnic/racial diversity at Jackson/Mannington Church?
- Very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little dissatisfied, very dissatisfied

Church Participation

17. How often do you attend Sunday services at Jackson/Mannington Church?
- Several times a year or less
- Once a month
- 2-3 times a month
- Usually every week

18. Not including Sunday services, how many hours per week do you spend participating in church-sponsored activities at Jackson/Mannington Church? ____

19. About how much do you give financially to Jackson/Mannington Church?
- I give 10% or more of net income regularly
- I give about 5%-9% of net income regularly
- I give less than 5% of net income regularly
- I give a small amount whenever I am here
- I do not contribute financially here

20. Have you ever invited someone to attend Jackson/Mannington Church?
- Yes

- No

Ministry Satisfaction/Assessment of Needs

21. I am serving or have served in the following ministries at Jackson/Mannington Church.
(Please mark all that apply)
Please indicate the number of hours, per month, that you spend currently serving in the following ministries.
- *List of all ministries available at each church.*

22. Are you involved in a small group at Jackson/Mannington Church?
- Yes → GO TO QUESTION 23a.
- No → SKIP TO QUESTION 24.

    23a. How satisfied are you with your small group?
- Very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little dissatisfied, very dissatisfied

    23b. If you had a problem, how likely is it that you would turn to your small group members or small group leader for help?
- Very likely, somewhat likely, not likely

24. Are you involved in a small group at another church or with another group?
- Yes
- No

Do you agree or disagree?
   25. My spiritual needs are being met at Jackson/Mannington Church.
   26. I would like to spend <u>less</u> time participating in church-sponsored activities at Jackson/Mannington Church.
   27. It was easy for me to get involved at Jackson/Mannington Church.
   28. Since attending Jackson/Mannington Church, my relationships have improved.
   29. It has been difficult to get to know people at Jackson/Mannington Church.
   30. I have a sense of excitement about our congregation's future.
   31. This congregation is always ready to try something new.
   32. Since attending Jackson/Mannington Church, I have a deeper sense of satisfaction with my life.
   33. I have little contact with others from this congregation outside of activities here.
- Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree.

34. Over the last year, how much have you grown in your faith?
- No real growth
- Some growth
- Much growth, mainly through this congregation
- Much growth, mainly through other groups or congregations
- Much growth, mainly through my own private activities

Social Networks
35. From time to time, most people discuss important matters with other people. Looking back over the last six months--who are the people with whom you discussed matters important to you?

Please list up to 5 people by their first names only. What are each person's age, sex, race/ethnicity, and religious preference?

	First name only	35a. Age	35b. Sex	35c. Race/ethnicity	35d. Religious preference (drop down menu)	35e. How do you know this person? (drop down menu)
Person 1						
Person 2						
Person 3						
Person 4						
Person 5						

Drop Down Menus:

Religious preference: Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, no religion.
How do you know each of the following persons?: From Jackson/Mannington Church, and Person 1 currently attends; From Jackson/Mannington Church, but Person 1 does not currently attend; From another church; From work or school; Spouse/family member; Other

36. Which of the following persons are friends with each other? (Please mark all that apply)
- Persons 1 and 2
- Persons 1 and 3
- Persons 1 and 4
- Persons 1 and 5
- Persons 2 and 3
- Persons 2 and 4
- Persons 2 and 5
- Persons 3 and 4
- Persons 3 and 5
- Persons 4 and 5

37. Do you have a strong sense of belonging to this congregation?
- Yes
- Yes, but perhaps not as strong as in the past
- No, but I am new here
- No, and I wish I did by now
- Don't know or not applicable

Religiosity/Personal Spiritual Life
38. In a typical week, how much time do you spend in private devotional activities such as prayer, meditation, or reading the Bible alone?
- Almost never
- Less than an hour
- 1-2 hours
- 3-4 hours
- More than 4 hours

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39. Some people feel they came to faith gradually. For others, it began at a definite moment of commitment. Have you ever experienced such a moment of decisive faith commitment or conversion?
- No, I've had faith for as long as I can remember
- No, I came to faith through a gradual process
- Yes, at one specific moment in the last 5 years
- Yes, at one specific moment more than 5 years ago
- Yes, a number of specific moments of commitment or re-commitment
- No, I'm just investigating Christianity.
- Not sure or not applicable.

40. How important is it to you that people know you are a Christian?
- 5 point scale from Very important to Not important, Not applicable

41. Would you call yourself a strong Christian or a not very strong Christian?
- Strong
- Somewhat strong
- Not very strong
- Not applicable

Church Services

42. How often do you experience the following during worship services at this congregation?
   a. A sense of God's presence—Always, usually, sometimes, rarely, never
   b. Inspiration
   c. Boredom
   d. Awe or mystery
   e. Joy
   f. Frustration
   g. Spontaneity
   h. A sense of fulfillment
   i. My obligation

How satisfied are you with the following:
   43. Praise and worship time at Jackson/Mannington Church's Sunday services
   44. Sermons during Sunday services
   45. Fellowship before and after Sunday services
- Very satisfied, moderately satisfied, a little dissatisfied, very dissatisfied

46. Which of the following ministries have been most helpful to you? (Please mark all that apply)
- *List of ministries available at each church*

Leadership/Pastors
47. To what extent do the pastors at Jackson/Mannington Church take into account the ideas of those who worship here?
- A great extent
- Some extent
- A small extent
- Not at all
- Don't know

48. Does this congregation have a clear vision, goals, or direction for its ministry and mission?
- I am not aware of such a vision, goals, or direction
- There are ideas but no clear vision, goals, or direction
- Yes, and I am strongly committed to them
- Yes, and I am partly committed to them
- Yes, but I am not committed to them

49. Have you ever made an appointment to meet with a Jackson/Mannington Church pastor?
- Yes
- No

50. What do you think are the most important priorities of Jackson/Mannington Church? Please choose 3.
- Being involved in politics
- Evangelism
- Racial reconciliation
- Addressing poverty
- Spiritual growth of members/equipping members
- Worship
- Prayer
- Building community within Jackson/Mannington Church
- Building relationships with other churches
- Church growth (increasing the number of attendees)
- Owning or running Christian businesses
- Leadership development
- Bible teaching
- Being involved in the local community (beyond the congregation)

51. What do you think SHOULD BE the most important priorities of Jackson/Mannington Church? Please choose 3.
- Being involved in politics
- Evangelism
- Racial reconciliation
- Addressing poverty
- Spiritual growth of members/equipping members
- Worship
- Prayer
- Building community within Jackson/Mannington Church
- Building relationships with other churches
- Church growth (increasing the number of attendees)
- Owning or running Christian businesses
- Leadership development
- Bible teaching
- Being involved in the local community (beyond the congregation)

52. Which Jackson/Mannington Church church do you attend?
- Gatewood/Varsity
- Stanton/City

53. Which of the following is the best description of the style of leadership of your pastor?

- Leadership that tends to take charge
- Leadership that inspires people to action
- Leadership that acts on goals that people here have been involved in setting
- Leadership where the people start most things
- Don't know

Do you agree or disagree?

54. It is difficult to get to know my pastor.
55. I feel a connection to my pastor.
56. I feel that my pastor knows me on a personal level.
- Strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree.

57. If you had a problem, how likely is it that you would turn to your pastor or to church staff for help?
- Very likely → SKIP TO QUESTION 57a.
- Somewhat likely → SKIP TO QUESTION 57a.
- Not very likely→ SKIP TO QUESTION 58.

57a. For which of the following problems would you turn to your pastor or church staff member for help? (check all that apply)
- Work problems
- Spiritual problems
- Financial problems
- Emotional problems
- Domestic/family issues
- Other relationship problems
- Questions about spirituality or God

58. How often do you spend time praying for Jackson/Mannington Church, by yourself or with other people (not including Sunday service)?
- Every day or most days
- A few times a week
- Once a week
- Occasionally
- Hardly ever
- Never

Communication

59. How often do you access the internet to read emails or get information from the World Wide Web?
- Several times a day or more
- Several times a week
- A few times a week
- A few times a month
- Never

Other

60. For how many years have you lived in the DC metro area? _____

61. Which of the following describes your total annual household income before taxes?
   - Less than $10,000
   - $10,000 to $24,999
   - $25,000 to $49,999
   - $50,000 to $74,999
   - $75,000 to $99,999
   - $100,000 or more

62. Any other comments/suggestions for the church? _____

Appendix C

Effects of Church Racial Composition and Identity on Interracial Friendship

Unstandardized Coefficients Showing the Effects of Church Racial Composition and Identity on Interracial Friendship among Protestant Churchgoers in Racially Heterogeneous Churches—with a Selection Model Predicting Attendance at a Racially Nonhomogeneous Church

	Probit models with sample selection		
	Identity Model 1	Racial composition Model 2	Full model Model 3
Independent variables			
Constant	-2.801[***](0.933)	0.028[¨] (0.524)	0.793[¨] (0.659)
Racial composition			
Size of R's racial group (percent)		-0.026[***](0.007)	-0.029[***](0.007)
Racial heterogeneity of church (IQV)		-0.554[¨] (0.530)	-1.599[*] (0.868)
Identity salience			
Importance of race	-0.708[***](0.175)		-0.561[***](0.164)
Importance of religion	0.229[*] (0.112)		0.228[*] (0.120)
Race+			
Black/African American	2.135[***](0.604)	0.504[¨] (0.358)	1.164[**] (0.478)
Other nonwhites	3.290[***](0.868)	0.285[¨] (0.486)	1.019[**] (0.488)
Income++			
$40,000 to $69,999	0.749[***](0.260)	0.791[***](0.188)	0.414[¨] (0.360)
$70,000+	0.447[¨] (0.401)	0.095[¨] (0.262)	0.117[¨] (0.308)
Number of close church friends	0.284[**] (0.112)	0.245[***](0.088)	0.213[**] (0.102)
Selection variables (weighted censored obs = 62.011)			
Constant	-0.103[¨] (0.187)	-0.105[¨] (0.193)	-0.142[¨] (0.189)
Diversity of neighborhood (census tract IQV)	3.790[***](0.995)	4.037[***](1.043)	4.218[***](0.756)
Region-West	0.688[**] (0.304)	0.534[¨] (0.369)	0.540[*] (0.319)
Race+			
Black/African American	-0.834[**] (0.377)	-0.982[***](0.359)	-0.990[***](0.325)
Other nonwhites	0.311[¨] (0.533)	0.032[¨] (0.581)	-0.461[¨] (0.592)
Rho (ρ)	-0.667[ ] (0.286)	-0.888[¨] (0.291)	-1.000[¨] (0.000)
F-statistic	3.24[***]	3.84[***]	6.61[***]
d.f. (60 primary sampling units)	(7, 53)	(7, 53)	(9, 51)
Weighted subpopulation size	299.387	298.920	298.920

Source: Panel Study of American Race and Ethnicity, Emerson and Sikkink (2006). Selection models predict being in a racially nonhomogenous church (0 = heterogeneity is 0, 1 = heterogeneity is greater than 0). Note: All estimates account for complex survey data as recommended by Stata. All standard errors are estimated using the entire weighted survey population, using a subpopulation defined by individuals who attend Protestant churches. Standard errors are presented in parentheses. ***p < .01, ** *p* < .05, * *p* < .10. +Referent category is whites, ++Referent category is incomes lower than $40,000.

Appendix D

Predictors of Having at Least Two Close Church Friends

Unstandardized Coefficients Showing Predictors of Having at Least Two Close Church Friends among Protestant Churchgoers with a Selection Model Predicting Attendance at a Racially Nonhomogenous Church

	Probit model with sample selection Model 1	
Independent variables		
Constant	⁻0.494⁻⁻	(0.471)
Participation	0.364**	(0.171)
Number of close friends	0.048⁻⁻	(0.037)
Read Bible	0.160***	(0.052)
Theological conservatism-liberalism	0.154⁻⁻	(0.105)
Race+		
Black/African American	⁻0.580⁻⁻	(0.361)
Other nonwhites	⁻0.341⁻⁻	(0.450)
Selection variables (weighted censored obs = 62.011)		
Constant	0.009⁻⁻	(0.171)
Diversity of neighborhood (census tract IQV)	3.510***	(0.909)
Region-west	0.678**	(0.318)
Race+		
Black/African American	⁻0.975**	(0.369)
Other Nonwhites	0.571⁻⁻	(0.673)
Rho (ρ)	0.327⁻⁻	(0.490)
F-statistic	3.94***	
d.f. (60 primary sampling units)	(6, 54)	
Weighted subpopulation size	316.164	

Source: Panel Study of American Race and Ethnicity, Emerson and Sikkink (2006). Selection models predict being in a racially nonhomogenous church (0 = heterogeneity is 0, 1 = heterogeneity is greater than 0). Note: All estimates account for complex survey data as recommended by Stata. All standard errors are estimated using the entire weighted survey population, using a subpopulation defined by individuals who attend Protestant churches. Standard errors are presented in parentheses. ***$p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$. +Referent category is whites, ++Referent category is incomes lower than $40,000.

Appendix E

Predictors of Interracial Friendship

Unstandardized Coefficients Showing the Predictors of Interracial Friendship among Protestant Churchgoers of Racially Nonhomogenous Churches—with Selection Model Predicting Having at Least 1 Close Church Friend

	Probit models with Sample Selection Identity (race only) Model 1a	
Independent Variables		
Constant	0.301¨	(0.664)
Racial Composition		
Size of R's racial group (percent)	¯0.025***	(0.007)
Racial heterogeneity of church (IQV)	¯1.018¨	(0.743)
Identity salience		
Importance of race	¯0.611***	(0.149)
Importance of religion	0.258**	(0.114)
Race+		
Black/African American	1.369**	(0.565)
Other Nonwhites	1.820***	(0.561)
Income++		
$40,000 to $69,999	0.690**	(0.270)
$70,000+	0.064¨	(0.349)
Selection Variables (weighted censored obs.= 15.497)		
Constant	¯0.560¨	(0.578)
Participation	0.788***	(0.150)
Number of close friends	0.062¨	(0.050)
Read Bible	0.204***	(0.076)
Theologically conservative church	0.115¨	(0.578)
Race+		
Black/African American	0.285¨	(0.458)
Other Nonwhites	¯0.720*	(0.428)
Rho (ρ)	¯0.988*	(0.031)
F-statistic	6.85***	
d.f. (60 primary sampling units)	(8, 52)	
Weighted subpopulation size	226.525	

Source: Panel Study of American Race and Ethnicity, Emerson and Sikkink (2006). Selection models predict having at least 2 church friends: (0=1 or less church friends, 1= 1 or more church friends). Note: All estimates account for complex survey data as recommended by Stata. All standard errors are estimated using the entire weighted survey population, using a subpopulation defined by individuals who attend Protestant churches that are not racially homogenous (heterogeneity>0). Standard errors are presented in parentheses. ***$p < .01$, ** $p < .05$, * $p < .10$. +Referent category is whites, ++Referent category is incomes lower than $40,000.

Appendix F

Interview Materials

Interview Consent Form

Dear Participant,

Thank you for agreeing to interview for the research study entitled, "Racial diversity and the organization: An examination of multi-site multiracial churches". This study seeks to explore the dynamics of racial and ethnic diversity in the contemporary church and to understand the relevant organizational factors. Your interview will provide valuable insight into the ways in which diverse religious organizations thrive, and may provide helpful information to your church leaders in order to better equip your church organization. In addition, this research will hopefully provide some practical insight into how to enable diversity in other religious and non-religious organizations.

The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. Your participation is voluntary. Even after you sign the informed consent document, you can skip or refuse to answer any question or withdraw at any time without any penalty. One copy of this document will be kept together with the research records of this study. Also, you will be given a copy to keep. Also, if significant new knowledge is obtained during the course of this research which may relate to your willingness to continue participation, you will be informed of this knowledge.

To insure your confidentiality, your name will not be included on any materials that have your responses (audio tapes, transcriptions, or notes), nor will your name be included on any reports of the results of this research. The name of your church will not be included on any reports of the results of this research, and all efforts will be made to conceal its identity. Records will be kept confidential to the extent provided by federal, state, and local law. However, the Institutional Review Board, or university and government officials responsible for monitoring this study may inspect these records. All records with any identifying information will be destroyed at the end of the study.

This study poses no more than minimal risk since the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipate would not be greater than those encountered in daily life. There will be no financial reimbursement of expenses for this interview.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 240-483-2745, or e-mail me at eryu@umich.edu. You can also contact my faculty advisor, Dr. Mark Mizruchi, at 734-764-7444. In addition, should you have questions regarding your rights as a participant in research, please contact the Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board, Kate Keever, 540 E. Liberty Street, Suite 202, Ann Arbor, MI 48104-2210, 734-936-0933, email: irbhsbs@umich.edu.

Thank you again for your participation in this very important project!

Sincerely,

Erica Wong, PhD Candidate
Department of Sociology, University of Michigan

Your signature below indicates your consent to be interviewed and verifies that you are at least 18 years of age. Your signature also indicates your consent to be contacted for a follow-up interview.

I have read or been informed of the information given above. Erica Wong has offered to answer any questions I may have concerning the study. I hereby consent to participate in the study.

X_____ Date: _____

Please sign below if you are willing to have this interview recorded on audio tape. You may still participate in this study if you are not willing to have the interview recorded.

X_____ Date: _____

Interview Schedule

Religious Background
Tell me about your spiritual/religious personal history.
> When did you become a Christian? Did you grow up in a Christian home?
> Did you receive religious schooling or other religious training?
> What kinds of church(es) did you attend prior to this one? How were they
> similar/different to this one?

History at [CHURCH NAME]
Now I'd like to ask you some questions about your position here and personal history at [CHURCH NAME].
What is your official title? What are your responsibilities? Who do you report to?
For how long have you been working in this position?
How did you come into this position? (Were you working at another church, were you attending this church?)
Were you seeking a position in ministry?
What sort of training did you have to prepare for this position (prior to, or on the job)?

How did you end up at [CHURCH]?
What were the important criteria for you in choosing a church to attend/work?
> [If a longtime attender], What kind of changes have you observed at the church
> since you've been attending here? What is your version of the church's history-
> what have been the important events/benchmarks?

Did you "sign up" to be part of a multi-site church? How do you feel this form is working? What are the challenges, and what are the advantages?

What impact has this church made in your life?

Church Assessment
How would you describe the mission of this church
What do you feel are the strengths/weaknesses of this church? What is done well? What is not done well?
Specifically, what ministries are thriving? Which ministries are not? Why or why not?
What are some of the criticisms of the church you often hear about? How are those criticisms dealt with?

What do you feel are the reasons for this church's growth? What do you feel are the reasons this church isn't growing?

What aspects of Christian life are most emphasized? What do you feel are underemphasized?

What qualities of God are most emphasized? What do you feel are underemphasized?

Tell me about the leadership here.
How are major decisions made? Do people/you have a lot of input, is it based on consensus, are decisions mainly made executively, etc.?
How are decisions implemented?
How are the pastors/leaders doing? What are their strengths/weaknesses?

How are conflicts within the church handled? Can you give me an example?

The next few questions are about changes that have occurred in your church.
In general, has it been easy or difficult for the church to change? Why?
Can you give me an example of a change in your church that was implemented well?
What about a change that was implemented poorly? How was it resolved?
What about when adopting a new idea?

What do you think is the role of this church in this community/region/nation? What should it be?
Where would you like to see this church go/do in the next 10 years?

Diversity
Now I'd like to ask you some questions about the diversity at this church.
How do you feel about the diversity (age, sex, SES, etc.) at the church? Is it diverse enough?
Is racial diversity important to you? Why or why not? (What is your race/ethnicity? Why not choose an ethnic-specific church?) Outside of this church, what percent of your friends are Black/Asian/White, etc.? What about within this church?
How do you feel about the racial make-up of this congregation? [If applicable], How has it changed over the years?
Do people talk about race? How/in what ways do people talk about race/in racial terms?
Do you feel that the church is well-integrated (racially)? Why or why not? How do different racial groups get along? Do you feel that any groups get preferential treatment?
Have you ever experienced or witnessed discrimination or prejudice here? What are some barriers to racial diversity and/or integration here?
What are some things that are done (strategies) to address/maintain/manage the racial diversity at this church? Is the church doing a good job?
Has attending this church changed your perception of [racial category] groups?

> [If applicable], What does it mean to you to be a Black/Asian/etc. Christian? Which identity is most salient in your life? How does being Black/Asian/etc affect your faith or life as a Christian and vice versa?

What do you feel is the role of the church (in general) in addressing race issues in society?

Social Network (fill out chart below)
Do you have a person or people in your life you would consider to be your mentor(s)?
Who is this person?

Think of your closest friends—how many people are you thinking of?
What are their first names?

Now think of other people that you interact with or talk to often—how many people are you thinking of?
What are their first names?

Now I'm going to ask you some demographic information about each one.
Male/female?
How old is he/she?
Race/ethnicity?
How did you meet him/her? How long have you known this person?
Does he/she live in this area?

	Sex	Age	Race/ethnic	How meet	Time known	In town?	Attend church?	Attend MM?
Mentors								
1								
2								
3								
Close Friends								
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
Other Friends								
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
6								
7								
8								
9								
10								

Appendix G

Interviewees

All names have been changed to ensure confidentiality.

Jackson Church Leadership
1. Mike   Lead Pastor; White

2. Brenda   Married to Mike, Children's Pastor; White

3. Darrell   Outreach Pastor; White

4. Rick   Small Group Pastor; Black

5. Mark   Youth Pastor; White

6. Sasha   Worship Team Leader; White

7. Jenny   Campus Lay Pastor; White

8. Sunny and Ming Campus Lay Pastor and his wife; Asian American

Mannington Church Leadership
1. Pastor Bryce   Senior Pastor; Black

2. Pastor James   Pastor, Varsity; White

3. Pastor David   Associate Pastor, Varsity; Senior Pastor, City; Black

4. Dionne   Church staff, Deacon; Black

5. Pastor Eric   Associate Pastor, Varsity; Black/White

6. Dani   Communications Specialist, White

7. Don   Campus Outreach Pastor, City; Black

8. Emma and Dean Lay leaders, City; White

9. Christina   Administrative Assistant to Pastor James; White

10. George   Leadership staff; White

11. Margie   Lay leader, Varsity; White

12. Douglas   Accountant; Black/White

13. Kris   High School Pastor; White (male)

14. Laura   Chief Operating Officer; White

15. Pastor Victor   Associate Pastor, City; Asian American

16. Whitakers   Children's Ministry Pastors; White

Appendix H

Sermon List

Jackson Church

	Date	Sermon Title (Speaker)	Topic
1.	1/8/2006	Narnia, Part 4 (D)	Salvation
2.	1/15/2006	IPod, Part 1 (M)	Christian Joy
3.	1/22/2006	IPod, Part 2 (D)	Shining as Christians
4.	2/19/2006	IPod, Part 3 (M)	Christian thought life
5.	2/26/2006	IPod, Part 4 (R)	Prayer
6.	3/5/2006	Elements, Part 1 (M)	Spiritual growth
7.	3/12/2006	Elements: Earth, Part 2 (D)	Bible study
8.	3/19/2006	Elements: Wind, Part 3 (M)	Worship
9.	4/2/2006	Elements: Water, Part 4 (M)	Spiritual gifts
10.	4/9/2006	Elements: Light, Part 5 (D)	Outreach
11.	4/16/2006	Metamorphosis (R)	Salvation
12.	4/23/2006	Not your Average Joe, Part 1 (M)	Trusting God in bad
13.	4/20/2006	Not your Average Joe, Part 2 (R)	Trusting God in good
14.	5/7/2006	Not your Average Joe, Part 3 (D)	Forgiveness
15.	5/14/2006	Unlocking the Da Vinci Code, Part 1 (M)	Da Vinci Code- truth
16.	5/21/2006	Unlocking the Da Vinci Code, Part 2 (R)	Da Vinci Code- Bible
17.	5/28/2006	Unlocking the Da Vinci Code, Part 3 (D)	Da Vinci Code- Jesus
18.	6/11/2006	Bobble Heads, Part 1 (M)	Negative thinking
19.	6/18/2006	Bobble Heads, Part 2 (R)	Personal "demons"
20.	6/25/2006	Bobble Heads, Part 3 (D)	Discerning truth
21.	7/9/2006	Flip Flops, Part 1 (D)	Salvation/grace
22.	7/16/2006	Flip Flops, Part 2 (M)	Prayer
23.	7/23/2006	Flip Flops, Part 3 (R)	Salvation/forgiveness
24.	8/13/2006	the Harmony, Part 1 (M)	Romantic relationships
25.	8/20/2006	the Harmony, Part 2 (D)	Singleness
26.	8/27/2006	the Harmony, Part 3 (M)	Sexual boundaries
27.	9/3/2006	the Harmony, Part 4 (R)	Marriage
28.	9/10/2006	24, A Day with God, Part 1 (M)	Connecting with God
29.	9/17/2006	24, A Day with God, Part 2 (D)	Represent Jesus at work
30.	9/24/2006	24, A Day with God, Part 3 (R)	Connecting with God

D = Darrell (10); M = Mike (12); R = Rick (8)

Mannington Church

Varsity

	Date	Sermon Title (Speaker)	Topic
1.	1/16/2005	Equipping Members (B)	Training
2.	2/20/2005	Leadership Development (B)	Leadership
3.	1/1/2006	Disciplines: Temporary and Eternal (B)	Discipline
4.	1/8/2006	The Coming King and His Kingdom (D)	Evangelism
5.	1/14/2006	Mystery of Reaping (guest speaker)	Evangelism
6.	1/15/2006	Bring Me Some Fish (guest speaker)	MC's mission
7.	1/22/2006	Spiritual Family, Part 1 (B)	God as Father
8.	1/29/2006	Spiritual Family, Part 2 (B)	Authentic community
9.	2/5/2006	Spiritual Family, Part 3 (B)	Reconciliation
10.	2/26/2006	The God of Increase (B)	Desiring God
11.	3/5/2006	(guest speaker)	Overcoming obstacles
12.	3/5/2006	(guest speaker)	Reconciliation
13.	3/12/2006	The God of Increase- Jabez (B)	Increasing influence
14.	3/19/2006	The God of Increase- Moses (B)	Increasing influence
15.	3/26/2006	Going the Extra Mile (guest speaker)	Evangelism
16.	4/2/2006	Don't Make Us Cross Over (J)	Don't settle
17.	4/9/2006	Seeking Lost Things (B)	Vision for the city
18.	4/14/2006	Suffering Servant (B)	Jesus' sacrifice
19.	4/16/2006	God of Hope, Part 1 (B)	Salvation
20.	4/23/2006	God of Hope, Part 2 (B)	Hope in God
21.	4/30/2006	God of Hope, Part 3 (B)	Persevering in hope
22.	5/7/2006	God of Hope, Part 4 (B)	Disappointment
23.	5/14/2006	God of Hope, Part 5 (B)	Parenting
24.	6/11/2006	Teen Titans (B)	Valuing young leaders
25.	6/18/2006	Fathers of Faith (B)	Parenting
26.	7/2/2006	Youth Rules (B)	Valuing young leaders
27.	7/9/2006	Winning in Life (B)	Living victoriously

B = Pastor Bryce (20); D = Pastor David (1); J = Pastor James (1); guest speaker (5)

City

Date	Sermon Title (Speaker)	Topic
28. 1/1/2006	Life in the Kingdom (D)	Christian life; family
29. 1/8/2006	Caring for the Poor (D)	Evangelism
30. 2/5/2006	Can a Small Group Change the World? (D)	Lordship, Evangelism
31. 2/22/2006	In but not of it (D)	Godliness
32. 4/2/2006	Capacity, Part 1 (D)	Read Bible
33. 4/9/2006	Capacity, Part 2 (D)	Apply Bible
34. 4/16/2006	CSI, Part 1 (D)	Resurrection
35. 4/23/2006	CSI, Part 2 (D)	Living victoriously
36. 4/30/2006	Living Large, Part 1 (D)	God's purpose for life
37. 5/7/2006	Living Large, Part 2 (D)	Spiritual gifts
38. 6/11/2006*	Community, Part 1 (D)	Spiritual family
39. 6/18/2006	Father the Next Generation (D)	Parenting
40. 7/2/2006	Community, Part 2 (DM)	Spiritual family
41. 7/9/2006	Community, Part 3 (D)	Racial diversity
42. 7/16/2006	Community, Part 4 (D)	Racial diversity
43. 7/23/2006	Community, Part 5 (D)	Community of faith

D = Pastor David (16); DM = Pastor Daniel (1)

Appendix I

Mannington Church–City

Mannington Church–City is very similar to Mannington Church–Varsity in their mode of recruitment, racial bridging strategies, and religious framing. The difference in interracial friendship between the two Mannington congregations may have a great deal to do with their target audience and resulting demographic composition. Mannington Church–City is a church plant of Mannington Church–Varsity, and they recruit mainly from college campuses, where ministers are sent to form fellowship groups and bible studies for students on campus. Therefore, those attending the City congregation tend to come already involved in pre-existing relationships with other attendees. Further, because the main source of campus outreach has been at a local HBCU, there are a higher proportion of black attendees at City. Three other universities to which they have recently sent ministers are predominantly white universities. Fellowship opportunities in small group settings such as Bible studies are concentrated within university settings, which are composed of vastly different racial compositions. The other primary source of attendees tend to be lay people from the Varsity Church who have committed to helping launch the City church plant. These individuals are an older, racially mixed group. Therefore, the City congregation has an uneven, stratified demographic with a high proportion of college students, who are mainly black, with a racially mixed group of middle-aged to elderly members. As a result, those non-black members who are older tend to be more socially isolated within the congregational community than college students. Interracial

friendship, then, may be impeded in City (in comparison to Varsity) because campus groups and age cohorts are stratified by race.

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