

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VARIABLES OF SOCIAL
CLASS, ECOLOGICAL PLACE, AND LEADERSHIP
IN URBAN CHURCH CONGREGATIONS

By

H. PAUL CHAMPANT
//

Bachelor of Arts
College of Wooster
Wooster, Ohio
1951

Bachelor of Divinity
McCormick Seminary
Chicago, Illinois
1954

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate College
of the Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
MASTER OF SCIENCE
May, 1967

OKLAHOMA
STATE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

JAN 9 1968

THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VARIABLES OF SOCIAL
CLASS, ECOLOGICAL PLACE, AND LEADERSHIP
IN URBAN CHURCH CONGREGATIONS

Thesis Approved:

Gerald R. Leslie

Thesis Adviser

Barry A. Kinsey

D. D. Durham

Dean of the Graduate College

658387

PREFACE

The need for and importance of the sociological study of religion and church congregations in American society are well recognized. The problem is to discover ways in which the variables in religion and the life of church congregations can be classified to make such research significant and meaningful. This study is primarily concerned with developing and testing means for such classification.

Indebtedness is acknowledged to Dr. Gerald Leslie for his inspiration, patient guidance, and valuable suggestions which provided the stimulus for conducting the study. Indebtedness is also due to members of the advisory committee, Dr. Solomon Sutker, and Dr. Barry Kinsey for their advice and constructive criticism throughout the study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM	1
The Background of Interest	1
The Practical Importance	4
The Theoretical Importance	5
The Selection of Relevant Variables	5
Definition of the Variables	8
Questions for Research and Study	10
II. METHOD AND SAMPLE	13
The Sample	13
The Method	23
III. AN APPROACH TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL CLASS IN LOCAL CHURCH ORGANIZATION	29
Relation to Other Studies in Literature	29
The Results: Occupational Structure of the Congregations	32
Discussion and Classification	38
IV. AN APPROACH TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF ECOLOGICAL PLACE IN LOCAL CHURCH CONGREGATIONS	45
Relation to Other Studies in the Literature	46
The Results: Application of the Shevsky-Bell Technique	47
V. AN APPROACH TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL CHURCH CONGREGATIONS	71
Relation to Other Studies in the Literature	72
The Method of Classification	73
The Results	82
Discussion and Classification	97
Summary and Conclusions	110

Chapter	Page
VI. CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS . . .	112
Conclusions	112
Recommendations	114
Implications	115
BIBLIOGRAPHY	116
APPENDICES	121
Appendix A	122
Appendix B	127

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. SUMMARY OF OCCUPATIONAL DATA AVAILABLE, BY CONGREGATION	33
II. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP IN EACH CONGREGATION USED IN OCCUPATIONAL PROFILES	33
III. CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS, BY CONGREGATIONS	35
IV. CLASSIFICATION OF THE FIVE CONGREGATIONS INTO DISCRETE RANKINGS WITH PERCENTAGES IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL CLASS SHOWN	44
V. COMPUTATION OF SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 24 AND 33 (FIRST CHURCH)	53
IV. COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 24 AND 33 (FIRST CHURCH)	54
VII. COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 24 AND 33 (FIRST CHURCH)	54
VIII. COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 1 AND 3 (SECOND CHURCH)	56
IX. COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 1 AND 3 (SECOND CHURCH)	56
X. COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 1 AND 3 (SECOND CHURCH)	57
XI. COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 50 AND 69 (THIRD CHURCH)	58
XII. COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 50 AND 69 (THIRD CHURCH)	59
XIII. COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 50 AND 69 (THIRD CHURCH)	59
XIV. COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 72-A AND 72-B (FOURTH CHURCH .	61

Table	Page
XV. COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 72-A AND 72-B (FOURTH CHURCH) .	61
XVI. COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 72-A AND 72-B (FOURTH CHURCH) .	62
XVII. COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 4, 13, AND 61 (FIFTH CHURCH) .	64
XVIII. COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 4, 13 AND 61 (FIFTH CHURCH) .	64
XIX. COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT FOR CENSUS TRACTS 4, 13 AND 61 (FIFTH CHURCH) .	65
XX. INDICES AND RATINGS OF THE CHURCHES ON THE SHEVSKY-BELL SCALE	67
XXI. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF REPUTATIONAL LEADERS RESPONDING	69
XXII. GOALS OF THE CHURCH AS SEEN BY REPUTATIONAL LEADERS	86
XXIII. RANKING OF FORMAL LEADERS INFLUENCE REPORTED ON BASIS OF SIX POINT SCALE	88
XXIV. PERSONS SEEN AS MOST INFLUENTIAL BY REPUTATIONAL LEADERS IN TERMS OF POSITION	90
XXV. PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT REGARDING BUILDING USE	92
XXVI. PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT REGARDING BUILDING PROGRAM	92
XXVII. PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT REGARDING CHURCH SCHOOL	93
XXVIII. PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT REGARDING WORSHIP SERVICE	93
XXIX. RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON FIRST FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY	101
XXX. RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON SECOND FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY	103
XXXI. RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON THIRD FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY	104

Table	Page
XXXII. RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON FOURTH FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY	107
XXXIII. RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON FIFTH FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY	109
XXXIV. RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON ALL FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORIES	109

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF FIRST CHURCH	36
2. OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF SECOND CHURCH	36
3. OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF THIRD CHURCH	36
4. OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF FOURTH CHURCH	37
5. OCCUPATIONAL PROFILE OF FIFTH CHURCH	37

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

This study is concerned with the classification of significant variables in the structure of local church congregations. Its central purpose is to discover and test means for the reliable classification of leadership, social class, and ecological place in urban churches.

Background of Interest

In the summer of 1963, problems associated with patterns of racial segregation and discrimination were demonstrated by many forms of protest. Such protest was in itself relatively new and of great interest. One particularly interesting and significant feature of these demonstrations was the participation in them of religious groups. In particular, the overt participation of white ministers and laymen in this struggle was a comparatively new phenomenon. To this writer, such participation called for study in order to determine what it indicated about the institution of the church and the church's relation to social change. In making studies, however, it would be necessary to know how the various factors in the life of a church congregation affect the response of particular congregations to such social change. Such variables as theological position, comparative wealth,

social class, and so on, would need to be assessed to see how they played a part in a congregation's attitude and action in regard to social change.

When such a study was proposed, however, it was discovered that no practical or reliable way was known in which some of the more significant factors could be readily classified. The literature on the church and social change is quite general in character and rather limited. Glock and Ringer¹ indicate that church policy on social issues is invariably an adaptation of the dominant secular point of view (presumably of the social group most prominent in the congregation). Douglass² confirms this conservative cast to the church's social attitude and its tendency to lag in matters of social change and reform. Middleton and Putney³ have shown that religious and non-religious persons in our culture share the same basic social values and are equally likely to live up to them.

In addition to these studies, there have been a number of studies done which attempt to understand the amount and significance of the racial integration of church membership. Kramer⁴

¹Charles Y. Glock and Benjamin B. Ringer, "Church Policy and the Attitude of Ministers and Parishioners on Social Issues," American Sociological Review, XXI (1956), pp. 148-156.

²Truman B. Douglass, "Ecological Changes and the Church," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCCXXII (1960), pp. 80-88.

³Russell Middleton and Snell Putney, "Religion, Normative Standards, and Behavior," Sociometry, XXV (1962), pp. 141-152.

⁴Alfred Kramer, "Racial Integration in Three Protestant Denominations," Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVIII (1958), pp. 59-68, 96.

has shown that most integration of churches is the "front room" type and that local personalities and policies are most important in bringing even this about. In a study of Des Moines, Northwood⁵ found several factors to be important: similarity of income and occupational class; prejudice is strongest in the upwardly middle-class; church size, location, and stability are external factors; and the minister is generally inclined to support national denominational policy.

These studies aid in understanding some of the elements involved in a congregation's attitude on matters of race and general social change. Tillman⁶ has clearly shown that discrimination is largely a matter of status protection. Thus, the literature leads to the conclusion that social class is an important factor in the attitude of a congregation toward integration and other matters of social change.

The studies also seem to indicate that the attitudes of its leadership are very important.⁷ Other factors, including spatial location of the congregation, are also indicated as influential in determining the congregation's attitude.⁸ As

⁵Lawrence K. Northwood, "Ecological and Attitudinal Factors in Church Desegregation," Social Problems, VI (1958), pp. 150-163.

⁶James A. Tillman, "Morningtown U.S.A.--A Composite Case History of Neighborhood Change," Journal of Intergroup Relations, II (1961), pp. 156-166, and "The Quest for Identity and Status: Facets of Desegregation Process in the Upper Midwest," Phylon, XXII (1961), pp. 329-339.

⁷Northwood, pp. 150-163.

⁸Ibid.

survey of the literature on the church and social change, then, gives an idea of some of the variables which will influence decisions made by given congregations in such matters. However, the key matter for this study, means by which such variables can be classified, is virtually unconsidered.

The Practical Importance

The primary practical significance of this study is to be found in the development of tools and classificatory schemes whereby certain variables can be used effectively in the study of urban, local church congregations. First, the study will attempt to develop means whereby useful categories or typologies of these variables in congregations can be derived so that meaningful operational distinctions can be drawn between aspects of the same variable. Second, this study will attempt to find means by which these various aspects can quickly be determined in field research and efficiently assigned to the proper type or class.

Such classification will make it possible, and meaningful, to conduct the sort of study of the church and social change which was originally proposed, as well as other studies on the behavior of urban church congregations. Research on any of these variables, or any combination of them, can make use of these findings.

The Theoretical Importance

Primarily, this is a practical study. It is concerned mainly with problems of methodology and with the refinement of means for the classification of certain variables. In this sense it may contribute to the development of tools for sociological analysis but not to the theoretical concepts and theories which lie behind such analysis.

Nevertheless, it is possible that some contribution will be made in the field of the theory of organizations. If social structure is to be analyzed in terms of action and interaction, the analysis of the leadership relationships and processes in church organizations will give further insight into this particular phase of organizations. The analysis of factors affecting the type of leadership in the separate congregations may yield data for the development of theoretical approaches to leadership interaction in organizational structures.

The Selection of Relevant Variables

From the survey of the literature concerning the church and the social change, the following list of variables suggest themselves as being most relevant:

- The social class of the congregational members;
- The ecological place of the congregation;
- The ethnic composition of the congregation;
- The financial position of the congregation;
- The age of the congregation's membership;
- The size of the congregation's membership;
- The leadership structure of the congregation;
- The relation of the congregation to its national denominational structure.

Of these eight relevant variables, four are more or less easily determined: ethnic composition, financial position, membership size, and age distribution. The other four--social class, ecological place, leadership, and the relationship to the national denominational structure--are somewhat more problematic. Relationship to the national denominational structure, however, is a matter that can be determined from the official records kept by the higher structures or courts of most denominations.

This leaves for consideration the three variables of social class, ecological place, and leadership as the foci for this study. Two matters indicate the importance of studying these variables in the manner proposed in this study. First, the classification of these three variables is more difficult than the classification of the other five. Second, these three tend to have more influence on the action and behavior of social change than the others.

The importance of leadership is pointed out by Kramer.⁹ He shows the importance of "local personality constellations" in the success or failure of attempts at integration. Northwood¹⁰ has indicated that there is a tendency for the minister to be somewhat more receptive to potential social change than his parishioners, thus pointing to the conclusion that the stronger his leadership the more there will be a tendency to accept and even encourage certain denominationally approved social changes.

⁹Kramer, pp. 59-58, 96.

¹⁰Northwood, pp. 150-163.

In this day the church is becoming increasingly concerned with the role of its professional functionaries. Blizzard¹¹ has published several articles in the church press indicative of this concern, and at least one major denomination has engaged in nationwide study of the role of its clergy.¹² Such concern lends support to the contention that the leadership role is of great significance in the behavior of the congregation in relation to social change.

Social class as a determinant of church behavior has also received ample consideration. Weber's classic studies¹³ of the Protestant ethic and of religion in China both pointed to a definite relation between social stratification and the behavior of religious people, both as groups and as individuals. The relationship is also indicated in the work of Ernst Troeltsch¹⁴ and in many American studies. In addition, several studies, including that of Northwood,¹⁵ have shown that social class has a particular relationship to the attitude toward social change.

¹¹Samuel Blizzard, "The Minister's Dilemma," The Christian Century, LXXIII (1956), pp. 508-510.

¹²The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. conducted such a study during 1961 and 1962.

¹³Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, tr. Talcott Parsons (London, 1930), and The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism, tr. H. H. Gerth (Glencoe, Illinois, 1951).

¹⁴Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, tr. Olive Wyon (New York, 1931), pp. 331-343.

¹⁵Northwood, pp. 150-163.

Urban denominational leaders have long been interested in the effect of ecological place on the behavior, and for that matter the fate, of congregations in the city. Several attempts have been made, such as those of Sullenger¹⁶ and Stanley,¹⁷ to classify congregations according to their geographical place in the city. Generally, these attempts have resulted only in general "place" or "function" classifications which tend to beg the question. Because of the importance of ecological place, and the present difficulties in making an adequate classification, this becomes an important variable for consideration in this study. While ecological place alone will not determine attitude toward change, it appears to be one of the significant factors in the behavior of urban church congregations.

Definition of the Variables

As terms often have several meanings, it is important that there be a clear idea of what is meant by the three terms used to designate the variables in this study. It will be useful, then, to consider these variables and to set forth definitions to be used for the purpose of this study.

Social class. As conceived here, social class involves the

¹⁶Earl T. Sullenger, "The Church in an Urban Society," Sociological and Social Research, XLI (1957), pp. 361-366.

¹⁷Manfred Stanley, "Church Adaptation to Urban Social Change: A Typology of Protestant City Congregations," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, II (1962), pp. 64-73.

concept of status¹⁸ as the evaluation of a person's place in the social order which depends upon the ranking of other members of his society concerning social positions in general.¹⁹ These are seen as rankings made on unconscious, functional bases.²⁰ The discreteness of these categories is less absolute than it is often made to seem. Nevertheless, it is sufficiently real to establish meaningful categories for use in research on the effects of social class in relation to behavior and, conversely, of the effects of behavior on social class position.

Ecological place. It is assumed here that a distinction between biotic and cultural factors in ecology which eliminates one or the other as important is a false distinction. Both the biotic and cultural factors influence or operate in the ecological placement of populations and institutions.²¹ Ecological place will here be defined as a more or less distinctive area of a city which is differentiated from other areas by the sustenance activities²² of that area and the way in which these

¹⁸Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess, "Personal Competition, Social Selection and Status," Sociological Theory, ed. Lewis A. Coser and Bernard Rosenberg (New York, 1957), pp. 408-420.

¹⁹W. Lloyd Warner and Associates, Social Class in America (New York and Evanston, 1960), p. 23.

²⁰Milton M. Gordon, Social Class in American Sociology (Durham, North Carolina, 1958), p. 89.

²¹Jerome K. Myers, "Assimilation to the Ecological and Social Systems of a Community," Studies in Human Ecology, ed. G. A. Theodorson (Evanston, Illinois, 1961), p. 273.

²²Amos H. Hawley, "A Discussion of Hollingshead's Community Research," Studies in Human Ecology, ed. G. A. Theodorson (Evanston, Illinois, 1961), p. 153.

aspects will be seen as of primary importance, but not to the complete neglect of biotic aspects.

Leadership. Leadership will be conceived in terms of the power to influence decisions,²³ have commands carried through, and impress one's will on the group. However, leadership power is seen as socially derived power²⁴ which rests on the perception of the leader by those who are led or are to be led.²⁵

Questions for Research and Study

The purpose of this study is to develop a methodology for the classification of urban church congregations in terms of social class, ecological place, and leadership. Thus, the questions to be raised must relate to this central concern.

Social class has been defined as the evaluation of a person's place in the social order, dependent upon the ranking of other members of his society. How, then, are the various class positions of congregations to be determined? Since there are many class positions represented by the individual members of the congregation, is it possible to determine a class position for the congregation? If so, how is this to be done?

Another set of questions is raised by the problem of placing the individuals in the congregation into their proper

²³Lowry Nelson, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner, Community Structure and Change (New York, 1960), p. 173.

²⁴John R. P. French, Jr., and Bertram Raven, "The Bases of Social Power," Studies in Social Power, ed. Dorwin Cartwright (Ann Arbor, 1959), pp. 155-156.

²⁵Nelson, p. 187.

class position quickly and without lengthy field research. What information can be readily obtained about the members of the congregation which will be of central importance? Can class position be adequately measured by some particular index of position, thus simplifying the task of placing large numbers of relatively unknown individuals into a class position?

Two particular questions will be studied in this research:

- (1) Can the class status for a given congregation be usefully determined by ranking a sample of the membership by their occupation as determined by reference to public and church records?
- (2) Can the class status for the various congregations be classified on the basis of an occupational profile constructed from the above source of information?

Ecological place has been defined as a distinctive area of the city which is differentiated from other areas by the sustenance activities of that area. What sustenance activities are most significant? How do certain combinations of these activities influence the character of the particular area to set it off from others? How are these activities systematically measured? What sort of information is available about areas so that classification can be done with ease?

The general question concerning ecological place to be studied here is: Can the ecological place of a church be determined by an analysis of the material provided by census tract data, and what techniques of analysis will prove most significant?

Leadership is defined in terms of the power to influence decisions, have commands carried through, and impress the will of

the leader on the group. However, this power is assumed to be socially derived power. What factors go into the perception of an individual to lead others to regard him as a leader? On what authority does the power of leadership rest in church organizations? Does this authority vary in different congregations? How is such variance to be determined? How can the kind of leadership in a particular congregation be determined? What broad types of leadership can be distinguished to make leadership an effective variable?

Two questions concerning leadership will guide this study:

- (1) Can the leadership of a congregation be determined by an analysis of verbal and written comments of the congregation's membership obtained by the use of structured interviews and questionnaires?
- (2) Can a meaningful typology be developed for the classification of this leadership?

CHAPTER II

METHOD AND SAMPLE

It is particularly important that the sample being used in this study be well described. First, as a single denomination is involved, the rules and practices peculiar to this denomination will be important for understanding the meaning of the data obtained. Second, there are many features present in each of the particular congregations chosen for study which must also be understood if the data obtained are to be as fully meaningful as possible.

The method by which data are obtained is always important in the report of research for, in some measure, this method determines the kind of results which will be obtained. For this study, it takes on greater importance. In one sense, the method being used here is being used not only to obtain data but to test the adequacy of the method of study for future use. This is true because of the dual nature of this study, which seeks not only an appropriate methodology for the study of urban congregations but also an appropriate means of classification.

The Sample

To study techniques for classification of the variables in this research in a meaningful and useful way, a purposive

sample of five churches of the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., was chosen from the nine such congregations in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. These churches were chosen to represent different sorts of congregations varying in location, membership, and size. It will be necessary to look at each part of this sample in some detail: (1) the structure of the United Presbyterian Church; (2) the characteristics of the particular churches; and (3) a description of Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

The United Presbyterian Church. This denomination represents the continuation of one of the oldest denominations in this country with a communicant membership of over three million. What is of concern here, however, is the policy or government of this denomination. This policy is built on a system of successively higher judicatories or church courts, beginning with the session on the local level and building through presbytery and synod to the highest court, The General Assembly. For this study, it is the authority and power of the session in the local congregation and the relationship of the minister and other officers to the session that is relevant.

The session is the key in the program, planning, and operation of the local congregation. It is an official board made up of laymen, elected by the congregation and ordained to the office, and the installed pastor of the congregation, who acts as moderator. It holds power over all decisions in the congregation except acceptance of the budget, mortgaging of church property, and the calling of a pastor. The only officer of the session, other than the moderator, is the clerk or secretary.

Officially, the clerk has no power, being meant only as a record keeper.

The minister's position is that of moderator. Only two decisions, pertaining to worship, are his to make alone. In all decisions concerning the operation of the congregation, he can make no decisions and must have the consent of the session for what he does. What authority he has comes from the traditional respect accorded to him as the person whose training, knowledge, and personal devotion cause people to look upon him as an authority. In short, his constitutional authority is much like that which Weber describes as "traditional."

In each congregation, there are usually two other constitutional boards of laymen. One is the board of deacons and is made up of laymen elected by the congregation and ordained to the office. Their duties are ill-defined, and they usually bear little power. Many congregations also elect a board of trustees, although more and more this function is being performed by a subcommittee of the session.

In addition to these boards, there are usually separate organizations dealing with special groups or programs in the congregation. A Women's Association is universal and often semi-autonomous. Another group is the Church orrSunday School.

The Five Churches. Pseudonyms have been assigned to the churches. This was done simply by referring to each church by number, according to the order in which they were selected for study. Thus, they are known here as First Church, Second Church, and so on.

FIRST CHURCH. The vital statistics on this congregation show it to have a membership of 170.¹ During the past year, it has received 17 members while losing 24, or a net loss of 7 members in 1963. Its total budget is \$17,000. The staff consists of a minister, a part-time secretary, and a janitor.

This congregation is the second oldest Presbyterian Church in the city and is located in a residential neighborhood which is in decline. The houses in the neighborhood were never top quality, and it has obviously been a lower middle class area.

Because of this decline, the church has just been designated an "inner-city" church. This designation, a rather loose one applied by the denominations to urban churches located in areas where self-support is difficult, qualifies the congregation for mission aid. This will mean that the church, in addition to carrying on its traditional ministry, will attempt to minister directly to its neighborhood through the provision of recreation and social welfare.

The present membership is largely elderly. A significant group have been members since the church was founded or since a time shortly after its founding. Leadership positions, except for the pastor, are occupied by persons over 50 years of age. These persons show a superficial enthusiasm for the new program but also appear to desire a return to the old days when the church and neighborhood were "better."

¹Statistical and financial figures for the five churches are obtained from the official reports of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church for 1963.

The church building is a substantial structure which has recently been remodeled. Its outer style is non-descript and can readily be identified as a building erected in the early 1900's. Inside, a semi-circular sanctuary has been rebuilt to conform to more current conceptions of worship.

The minister had been with the church only a little over a year at the time of the study. He is young, rather intense, and vitally concerned with the "inner-city" program. While this puts him at one with the voiced sentiments of the congregation, it may mean that he is often far ahead of them in his thinking and planning. Nevertheless, he is well accepted and particularly appreciated for his pastoral work.

SECOND CHURCH. This congregation is twenty-five years old and has had the same pastor during all of this time. Its membership in 1963 was 2367, and it has an annual budget of over \$300,000. During 1963 the congregation received 159 new members and lost 69, for a gain of 90. The church is staffed by the pastor, two associates, a business manager, a minister of music, a hostess, a nursery supervisor, and a staff of janitors. The church "plant" includes several buildings which cover a full square block. The style of the architecture is Georgian and the buildings are fairly new.

The church buildings are located on a quiet, residential street of fine homes. It sits in the middle of a section of upper-middle-class residences and draws many of its members from this area. Its program is largely run by the staff, and the organization of the congregation includes an extra-consti-

tutional "steering committee." While this has no legal authority, it does appear to have great influence and seems to be evidence of a highly formal system of church organization.

Although Second Church has a corporate ministry, when a member speaks of the pastor there is no doubt as to whom is meant. The senior pastor is a man in his middle fifties whose manner and bearing speak of dignity and concern.

The respect for this man in the congregation is great. He is seen as a man of great spiritual qualities, but also as a man who can get things done. He apparently makes a good spokesman in the community for this congregation, at least in the eyes of the parishioners. The only disparaging comment came from one respondent who thought him "difficult to get to know."

THIRD CHURCH. This congregation lies on the western outskirts of Oklahoma City. It is less than ten years old and was originally formed by colonization from First Church. In 1963 it had a membership of 317 and a budget of \$22,000. In 1963 it received 31 members and dismissed 46, for a net loss of 15. The church employs a pastor, a full-time secretary, and a part-time janitor.

The building is located in an area which is almost suburban. Many of its members live in areas outside the city limits. It is surrounded by development-type houses of varying qualities. The present building is only part of the "plant" which the congregation hopes to have and is really an educational unit with a temporary worship area. There is great hope of finishing the building program in the near future.

The young pastor, in describing the qualities which he would seek in a minister, said that he liked a little "Madison Avenue" with his preaching. This is reflected in his own person. He believes in the power of structure and works through it. He is well respected and liked by the members of the congregation and is perceived to be doing a good job. At the same time, he is concerned with more than organization. He would like his role to be that of a scholar-teacher. He seems, however, to have given in to many practicalities.

FOURTH CHURCH. Externally, Fourth Church would seem to be a carbon copy of Third Church. It, too, has a building that is incomplete, even though it has recently undergone a building program. It is in an area of development-type houses, and its people are young men and women with growing families. The membership is a little less well-off than the membership of Third Church. In 1963 it had a membership of 236 and a budget of \$16,562. During this year 47 members were received and 12 lost for a net gain of 35.

The program of this church is centered on a concern for the acceptance of people, which is the pastor's major explanation of the "gospel message." As a result, this church is more concerned with social and political matters than its location might lead one to expect. It seems to be making an attempt to be a "real community" in the midst of the city. The staff consists solely of the pastor.

The minister of this church is possessed of an extremely dynamic personality which makes an impact upon those whom he

meets. A large man, and former collegiate football player, he has an independent source of income which frees him from many of the pressures which hamper men in the attempt to have a "prophetic" ministry. He is large in both size and person and communicates a gentle sort of strength.

His parishioners speak well of him. They see him as a powerful person, but like and respect him for it. His influence is seen in all that is said about the church. Perhaps the most telling was the variant description of the way in which it was decided that he go to Mississippi to participate in a voter registration drive. According to his version, he persuaded the session to let him go. The session members interviewed described it as a process wherein he told them what he was going to do and they agreed because they had no choice.

FIFTH CHURCH. Fifth Church is a product of this age of social change in regard to race relations. Four years ago, two churches, one all-white and one all-Negro, merged to form this congregation. Such a merger was not, of course, without some travail. Many members of both churches left as a result, but a strong, interested, and integrated congregation remains.

The membership of this congregation is only 146. During the year 1963, 12 members were received and 7 were lost for a net gain of 5. Its annual budget is \$13,000, an amount supplemented by denominational funds. The building is located on a business street near the northern edge of the Negro ghetto. It is a busy and unattractive street. The building is somewhat ramshackle, but the sanctuary is attractive.

The pastor of this congregation is quieter and younger than the minister of Fourth Church. Nevertheless, he is also seen as a person of influence in the congregation. As a man, he is completely dedicated to the particular task which is the central goal of this congregation and has backed this up by participation in voter registration in Mississippi.

SUBSAMPLES. The church locations themselves served as the samples for the study on ecological place. The two other samples were drawn from the individual congregations.

One of these was the sample used to study social class. The relative differences in church size made the size of the sample from each congregation somewhat problematic. It was decided that samples of different sizes and proportions would be taken from each of the congregations so that no sample would be smaller than 30 and none larger than 100. Samples were drawn by the process of starting at a randomly selected person and taking every n^{th} person in order as church members were listed on mimeographed lists of the congregation's membership.

The sample for the study of leadership was two-fold. First, a sample of formal leaders--consisting of the pastor, the clerk of session, the president of the Women's Association, and the chairman of Christian Education--was used for each congregation. Second, a sample of reputational leaders was made up from the results of the interviews with formal leaders. This sample consisted of those named as "having the most influence in making decisions" by the formal leaders.

Oklahoma City. The city is a large, spreading one of over 300,000 population. It is set in a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area of over 500,000.² As a city, it covers more acreage than any other city in the world. This fact, combined with its relatively small population, indicates that it is built horizontally and spread relatively thinly over a large area. The few tall buildings of the central business district stand out sharply against an otherwise flat landscape. It is a big city--the biggest in the state--but it tends to have more rural characteristics than might normally be expected of a city its size.

The city is relatively new. The site of the city was opened for settlement in April of 1889.³ By the first night, it had a population of 10,000 living in tents. It was chartered in 1890 and became the capital of the state in 1910. It has great influence in the state as a commercial city. Seventy-five per cent of the insurance written in the state is handled by companies with headquarters here, 75 per cent of the wholesale business in the state is centered here, and 95 per cent of automobile wholesaling comes from Oklahoma City. Clerical workers form 19 per cent of the work force while professional, managerial, craftsmen and operatives run between 11 and 14 per cent.⁴

²U.S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-111. (Washington, D.C., 1961).

³"Oklahoma City," Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago, 1960), XVI, pp. 757-758.

⁴U.S. Bureau of the Census, p. 52.

Churches in Oklahoma City are, on the whole, rather conservative theologically. This is true to some degree of the Presbyterian churches in the city. The Presbyterian scene is dominated by one large church which is extremely conservative theologically.

The Method

As three different variables were considered in this study, three approaches were used. To study social class, membership rolls of the congregations were used along with material from the city directory. To study ecological place, material from census tract data and the technique of social area analysis⁵ were used. To study leadership, the techniques of structured interviews and mail questionnaires were used.

Data on Social Class. Occupation was selected as the criterion of social class position. There are many reservations in the use of such a single item. If the concern of this study was with the best absolute determination of class position, such a single index would be inadequate. But, as the concern is for the classification of social class as a variable in the study of urban congregations, this index alone may be adequate. Its chief value is that it can be easily determined. There are, however, other reasons for its use as the single index.

First, this study will be conducted in an urban area where there is a high concentration of population. Persons are viewed

⁵Eshref Shevsky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application, and Computational Procedures (Stanford, 1955).

in segmental terms with occupation being the most visible segment. In large cities where primary group knowledge is slight, external features such as occupation are more likely to be the qualities upon which persons are judged.

Second, relationships in an urban church are usually little concerned with a person's ancestry. The perception of power in a person is more generally based on wealth and occupation than on family status.

Again, too, occupation is relatively easy to determine in large cities, at least for persons in the labor force. Such ease of access makes up for many faults in the use of occupation as a single index. It is one social reality in communities where such realities are often ambiguous.

Two means were utilized in determining the occupations of those in the social class samples. Two of the congregations (those known as Second Church and Fourth Church) listed the occupations of the head of the family in their printed directories. These listings were utilized wherever possible. In the other churches, the names listed in the sample were located in the city directory and the occupation listing there was used.

An important problem in this part of the research was the determination of the occupational index to be used for classification. It was decided that the revision of the Warner occupational scale⁶ was most adequate for the purpose of this study.

⁶Lloyd W. Warner and Associates, pp. 140-141. This scale is shown in Appendix A.

It is usable in that it gives divisions or occupational classes with which research can deal in the classifying of the different occupational statuses of local congregations. In the use of this revised scale, one modification was made. Warner's listings of the size of business by amount of worth are grossly out of date. It is not possible to revise the amount of worth in terms of this date and, therefore, it was the practice to judge businesses as large, medium, or small and assign them to classes I, II, and III. While this does introduce a measure of uncertainty into some classifications in the study, it probably does not result in serious bias.

Data on Ecological Place. In this study, the technique known as social area analysis developed by Shevsky and Bell⁷ was utilized as an adequate and practical index of the significant characteristics of a particular area.

This technique attempts to define types of communities statistically by the use of data in the census tract analysis made by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. Three indices of urban neighborhoods are proposed as adequate means of indicating significant features and significant differences between neighborhoods.

The three ranks which are used in this technique are urbanization, social rank, and segregation. The social rank components are an occupational ratio and an educational ratio. It is to be noted that this rank is measuring the social status of the area

⁷Shevsky and Bell, 1955.

in which the church is located, while the data collected in the study on social class are measuring the status of members of the congregation. Thus while it might seem, on the surface, that in using Warner's scale and this part of the Shevsky-Bell technique⁸ the same thing is being measured twice, such is not the case. It is the membership of the congregation which is being ranked in the former case, while in the latter case it is the population of the census tract that is being used. The two are by no means identical. The urbanization components are a fertility ratio, a women-in-the-labor-force ratio, and a single-family-detached-dwelling-units ratio. All of these ratios are weighted in terms of the relative importance they are deemed to have. The segregation index is simply the percentage of Negroes, other races, and certain nationalities living in the one or more census tracts comprising the area, compared to the percentage of these groups found in the community as a whole.

After the three indices are computed, they are divided into four scores (1-4) for the social rank index, four (A-D) for urbanization, and two (unsegregated or S for segregated) for the segregation index. By this scoring, it is possible for there to be 32 different ranks in which an area might fall.

While there has been much criticism of this scale, it has great advantages for this particular study. It is simple, gives an organizational principle to the classification, is relatively sound theoretically, and is precise in its formulations. It

⁸Shevsky and Bell, 1965.

appears to give an accurate means for typing the variable of ecological place for use in this research.

Are the factors which this scale measures relevant to local congregational behavior? Such appears to be the case. The social rank measures occupation and education, both of which have been shown in other studies to have an effect on the attitudes and lives of congregations. The factor of urbanization measures relevant factors in congregational life also. The number of women in the labor force will affect the congregation's program for women, and the relative number of single-family dwelling units will affect the stability of the membership and the extent to which a congregation will, in all probability, minister to its area. Segregation obviously has an effect on congregational attitudes.

In using this technique, the relevant census tracts, assumed to be those in which and near which the church building is located, were analyzed by putting the data from the census tract information into the proper computational scheme of the Shevsky-Bell analysis and computing the rank.

Data on Leadership. In each of the five churches two approaches were used, according to the two types of samples. The formal leaders--pastor, clerk of session, president of the Women's Association, and chairman of Christian Education--were given an open-ended questionnaire administered in a face-to-face interview. The reputational leaders, selected from information given by formal leaders, were given another questionnaire which was mailed to them for their return. Both questionnaires sought

very similar information and differed chiefly in the method of administration. The questionnaire to reputational leaders was phrased in such a way that it could be answered objectively and briefly, while the questions asked of formal leaders generally sought open-ended answers.⁹

⁹Copies of both questionnaires are found in Appendix B.

CHAPTER III

AN APPROACH TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL CLASS IN LOCAL CHURCH CONGREGATIONS

The importance of social class as a variable in social behavior has been shown in many studies. It is a logical extension of this assertion that it is an important variable in the behavior of a particular social group--the local church congregation. Study after study has indicated that social class does play a great part in the life and behavior of church congregations.

This chapter will be concerned with an investigation of a method by which the social class structure of a particular congregation can be determined and expressed in a way useful to research. Two questions will guide this portion of the study:

Can the class status for a given congregation be usefully determined by ranking a sample of the congregation's membership by occupation as determined by reference to public and church records?

Can the class status for the various congregations be classified on the basis of an occupational profile constructed from the above source of information?

Relation to Other Studies in the Literature

Sociological literature contains a great deal of material on social class and religion. However, this literature does not deal directly with the problem of determining the social

class of a particular congregation apart from more general studies on the class structure of a community or denomination as a whole. The studies dealing with religious denominations concern mainly three broad topics: the social composition of the churches, social class and church involvement, and the effect of religion on class behavior.

In the first category, Herbert Schneider¹ has given material which shows the relative social class standing of the three major faiths as well as the social class standing of the various denominations within Protestantism. While he shows that a great deal of heterogeneity exists in the denominations or faiths, this same heterogeneity cannot be assumed to exist in individual congregations. For various reasons, such as type of community or ecological place in the city, the particular congregation may be more homogeneous in character.

It has also been shown that there is a relationship between social class and participation in church activities. Cantril² has shown that the lower-class individual is less likely to be involved in religious activities than the middle-class person. In addition, when the lower-class person is involved in religious activities, he tends to be more emotionally involved and more believing.

¹H. W. Schneider, Religion in Twentieth Century America (Cambridge, 1952), p. 228.

²Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements (New York, 1941).

The classical study of the effect of religion on class behavior is Weber's The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.³ His thesis in this work was that the ascetic worldliness of the Calvinist ethic was strongly associated with the development, in this culture, of a strong middle class necessary for the development of capitalism as it is presently known. The social class effect on denominations and behavior has also been shown by Lenski.⁴

Almost all major studies of social class have commented on the fact that the various congregations in a community could be seen to have class identification. In Elmtown's Youth⁵ it was shown that the Federated Church had definite association with the two upper classes, while the pentecostal sects were associated with the lowest class. Warner's study of the same community⁶ replicated these findings. The point is that this classification, while as sound as possible, was arrived at only after the community as a whole had been studied. Thus, its findings support the contention that social class has an effect on religious behavior, but do not help this study in readily determining the class status of a congregation.

In conclusion, the literature supports the idea that social class is important in the behavior and membership of particular

³Weber, Protestant Ethic.

⁴Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (New York, 1961).

⁵A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York, 1961).

⁶W. Lloyd Warner and Associates, Democracy in Jonesville (New York, 1964).

church congregations, but does not provide a means for determining the social class of a congregation apart from complex and lengthy studies.

The Results: Occupational Structure of the Congregations

This study used the occupation of the head of a family as the most available source of information on social class. The occupation of the head of the family of those in the sample from each church was sought from two sources. For Second and Fourth Churches, occupational information was available in the congregation's mimeographed list of its membership. For these churches, this source was used. The city directory was consulted for the other congregations and when the information was not in the list of Second and Fourth Churches. When the occupations were determined, these were ranked, for each congregation, according to Warner's classification scheme.

Before proceeding to the results themselves, it is necessary to consider the success which was met in finding occupational listings in the two reference sources, as the possibility of getting an adequate amount of information in such a way is one of the key questions in this study. The number and percentage of those in each congregation's sample for whom classifiable information could be found is shown in Table I on the following page. This table also indicates the number and percentage of widowed and retired persons in each of these samples, a factor which made the use of this index and method problematic.

TABLE I
SUMMARY OF OCCUPATIONAL DATA AVAILABLE,
BY CONGREGATION

Church	Occupation Ascertained		Widowed		Retired		Unlisted		Total	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
First	12	35.4	6	17.6	8	23.5	8	23.5	34	100
Second	95	95.0	2	2.0	0	0.0	3	3.0	100	100
Third	33	80.5	0	0.0	3	7.3	4	12.2	40	100
Fourth	44	95.6	1	2.2	0	0.0	1	2.2	46	100
Fifth	25	75.8	1	3.0	0	0.0	7	21.2	33	100

In assessing these figures, it would appear that an adequate sample was obtained except in the case of First Church where only 35.4 per cent of the persons in the sample could be classified as to occupation. However, when the number that this represents (12) is compared to the total size of the congregation, in Table II, it is seen that this represents 3 per cent of the

TABLE II
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MEMBERSHIP
IN EACH CONGREGATION USED IN
OCCUPATIONAL PROFILES

Church	Number	Percentage
First	12	8.0
Second	95	4.0
Third	33	10.4
Fourth	44	18.6
Fifth	25	17.1

total congregation, whereas the 95 for whom occupations were obtained in Second Church represents only 4 per cent of that

congregation's total membership. Thus, while the number for First Church is exceptionally small, it does represent a sizeable proportion of the congregation.

The Occupational Profiles. Table III, on page 35, shows the distribution of occupation according to the occupational classes set forth in Warner's scale and the percentage of the sample to be found in each of the classes. It is to be remembered that the numbers being used at this point are not large and that the percentages, taken in any absolute sense, are relatively meaningless. They serve mainly as a basis for comparison between the congregations. Figures 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 on pages 36 and 37, show occupational profiles for each of the congregations built on these percentages.

The tables and occupational profiles indicate clear, but not sharply defined, differences in the social class make-up of the five congregations as this is indicated by occupational classes. In First Church, the large bulk of the membership is found in classes II and III where 75 per cent of the congregation is located. The largest group is found in class III. Class I has the greatest number for Second Church, constituting almost a half (49.5 per cent) of the congregation. The remainder is split between classes II and III, with a small per cent to be found in class IV. In Third Church, the preponderance (81.8 per cent) of the membership is found in classes II and III with a small percentage of the membership found in classes I, IV, and VI. Class III has the highest number (50 per cent of the membership) in Fourth Church. There is, however, a good

TABLE III
 CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS,
 BY CONGREGATIONS

Occupational Class	First Church		Second Church		Third Church		Fourth Church		Fifth Church	
	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent	N	Per cent
I	0	0.0	47	49.5	2	6.1	7	15.0	2	8.0
II	4	33.4	22	23.2	15	45.4	11	25.6	9	36.0
III	5	41.6	22	23.2	12	36.4	22	50.0	4	16.0
IV	2	16.6	4	4.1	3	9.1	4	10.0	5	20.0
V	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
VI	0	0.0	0	0.0	1	3.0	0	0.0	1	4.0
VII	1	8.4	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	3	12.0
Total	12	100.0	95	100.0	33	100.0	44	100.0	25	100.0

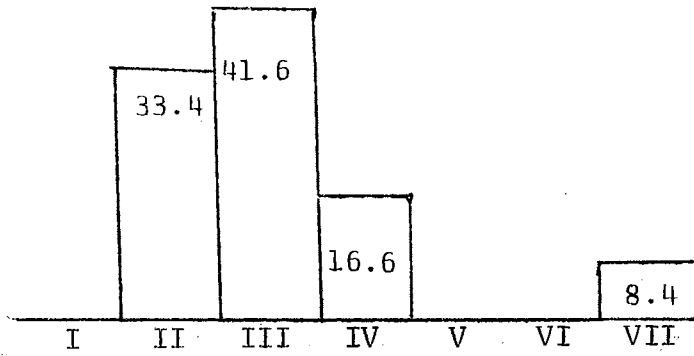


Figure 1. Occupational Profile of First Church

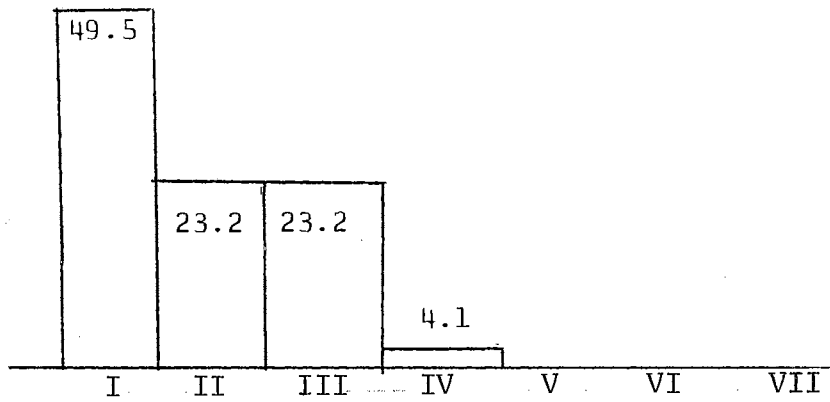


Figure 2. Occupational Profile of Second Church

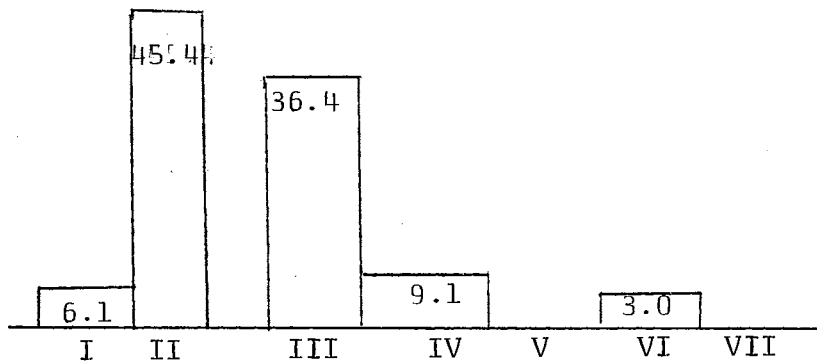


Figure 3. Occupational Profile of Third Church

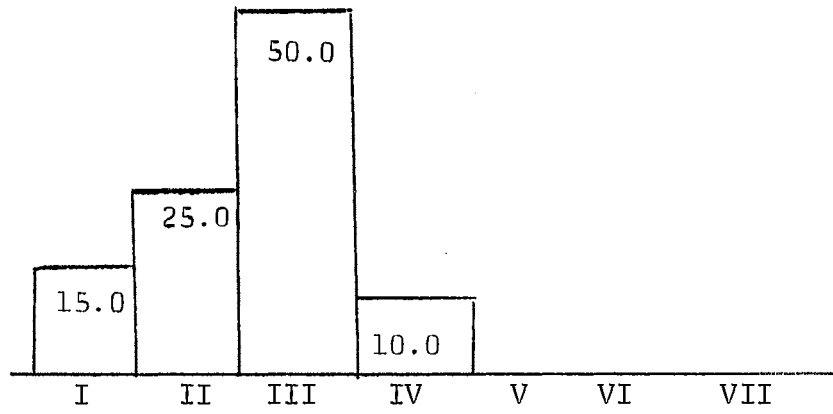


Figure 4. Occupational Profile of Fourth Church

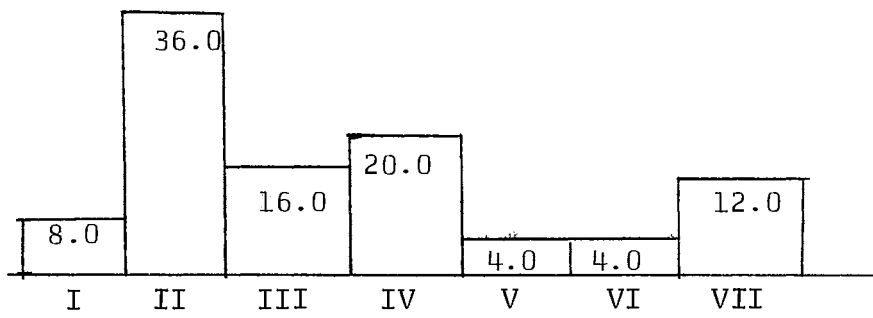


Figure 5. Occupational Profile of Fifth Church

percentage (40.0) found in classes I and II. In Fifth Church the class with the greatest number is II, with 36.0 per cent of the sample. However, class IV shows 20 per cent, and each of the seven occupational classes is represented in the sample.

Discussion and Classification

This section of the study has sought to answer two questions. The first of these can be briefly stated as a question concerning the possibility of obtaining adequate information about the occupations of a sample of congregational membership from the two sources: church membership lists, where these lists contain occupational information; and the city directory. The second question concerns the feasibility of ranking the obtained information on the Warner scale of occupational classes and building a classification of social class types from this which would be adequate for future use of the variable of social class in studies of church congregations.

There are two basic problems involved in obtaining adequate information from the two sources used in this study. First, any great number of widows, retired persons, or persons unlisted as to occupation in either source resulted in a greatly reduced sample size. Secondly, the titles of occupations were often quite vague and made it difficult to determine exactly what was meant and how the particular occupation should be classified.

The problem of a large number of widows, retired persons, or unlisted persons was only significant in First Church. In this congregation, 64.6 per cent of the sample could not be

classified as to occupation, with 17.6 per cent of the sample widowed, 23.5 per cent retired, and 23.5 per cent unlisted. It is quite possible that the social class picture of this congregation presented in this study may be unreal. The absence of any class I persons might well be due to the fact that the older members who were of slightly higher occupational class have retired or are represented by widows, and thus are not represented in the profiles. In the other congregations, however, there was no significant problem in this regard. Second and Fourth Churches have 95 per cent of the sample located, and Third and Fifth Churches had quite adequate numbers located (80.5 per cent and 75.8 per cent). This suggests that the method here used is an adequate means of finding the occupations of church members, except where there are a large number of widowed and retired persons in the congregation. It is possible also that the results would have been more adequate in this congregation if the sample had been limited to the male members of the congregation.

Another suggestion about this method is presented in the number of persons from the sample who were unlisted. In both First and Fifth Churches, over 20 per cent of the sample could not be located in the city directory. In both cases, also, the neighborhoods in which the churches were located and from which they drew their membership, were areas of decline. It may well be that this method is less adequate in such areas where there is a good deal of transiency and lower class occupations are more frequent. In Third Church, an area of stable, middle-class homes, only 12 per cent could not be located in the city

directory. Of course, all but 2 or 3 per cent were located in Second and Fourth Churches, but in these cases occupational information was available in the church directories.

The fact that success in locating the occupation of an individual was much greater through the use of printed church directories suggests an alternate method of obtaining this information, which would go a long way toward answering the various facets of this problem. This method would involve interviewing the pastor of the congregation and asking him to give the occupations of those in the sample of his congregation. As most pastors, except perhaps those in very large congregations, would know this, this method would be fast, efficient, and complete. It would actually take less time than looking up the occupations in the city directory, or even the church directory, and would give much more adequate information. In this way, also, the former occupation of retired individuals could generally be obtained as well as that of husbands of widows, and a more complete picture of the social class of the membership could be had.

The problem of the vagueness of occupational listings is a serious one and involves each congregation in the study. A few illustrations will show the problem. First, a number of individuals were listed with only their place of occupation. For instance, one individual was listed as "A-1 Furniture Company." He might have been president of the company or a salesman. Similarly, a member of Second Church was listed as "promotion, KWTV." This could mean anything from junior executive to secretary. It is assumed that such a listing indicates a position

of some trust in the company, but there is no assurance that this assumption is justified.

Secondly, it seems usual to list presidents and vice-presidents with these titles and to treat managers in a similar fashion. There is, however, no way to make the necessary decisions about the size of the business involved. Apart from a thorough knowledge of the business structure of the community, it would be difficult to determine the size of the business involved.

Such vagueness leads to the suggestion that an alternate method be used. One such alternate would be to use different occupational scales which do not require such decisions. The use of the North-Hatt occupational scale is discussed thoroughly by O. D. Duncan⁷ as a measure of socioeconomic status. Its use of the broad categories of major occupation groups, as these are described in census data, would alleviate the necessity of making the decisions required by the Warner scale. At this same time, such broad categories would lose the advantage which the Warner scale gives in differentiating more finely between various levels of the same occupation.

Another alternate would be to use another method of obtaining the desired information. Once more, it would appear that contacting pastors and seeking their assistance in determining the occupations would be helpful. Where there was vagueness, it could be cleared by seeking details from the pastor.

⁷Otis Dudley Duncan, "A Socioeconomic Index for All Occupations," and "Properties and Characteristics of the Socioeconomic Index," Occupations and Social Status, ed. Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Glencoe, Illinois, 1961).

The second question under discussion deals with the problem of fitting the information, however obtained, into a social class typology. While this study does not purport to deal with social class in the complete sense of that term, as Hollingshead, Warner, and others have done, it is assumed that the occupational classes have sufficient correspondence to social class that, when put into types for further research use, it can be assumed that there is in reality a class difference shown.

The pressing question of this study is whether or not an adequate classification can be made on the basis of the occupational information obtained as it is fitted into Warner's scale. As the information available is analyzed, it appears that each congregation contains at least four classes, and in each congregation two or three of these classes have a significant proportion of the membership. First Church has 33.4 per cent in class II and 41.6 per cent in class III. Second Church has 49.5 per cent in class I and 23.2 per cent in classes II and III. Third Church has 54.4 per cent in class II and 36.4 in class III. Fourth Church has 25 per cent in class II and 50 per cent in class III. Fifth Church has only 36 per cent in class II and 20 per cent in class IV. It is not possible to place any of the churches, with the possible exception of Second Church, in a single occupational class. None of the churches present the same or similar profiles, but it is not possible to attach even a double class label to the individual congregations.

One solution to this problem would be to assign class labels which bridged two of the seven categories. Thus, a type

A would be those congregations in which the largest occupational classes were I and II; type B would bridge classes II and III; type C would bridge classes III and IV. This scheme would work out well for First, Third, and Fourth Churches. However, in Second Church occupational classes II and III have identical percentages (23.2), and in Fifth Church the two largest classes (II and IV) are not contiguous. In addition, the difference in class percentages are not nearly as noticeable or as large in Fifth Church as in the others.

Another solution to this problem might be to use a cumulative index. Several approaches to the development of such an index were attempted with the data obtained in this study. The results, however, were unsatisfactory. No reasonable classification of the congregations could be derived from such an index. While the highest status congregation, Second Church, and the lowest status congregation, Fifth Church, were clearly identified, the position of the remaining three congregations could not be classified with any certainty or consistency.

The reluctant conclusion is that no "rule of thumb" method exists by which these profiles can be classified into discrete units. What seems possible is that, in each study, the various occupational profiles would have to be ranked as seems best for the particular study and then, if the sample is large, placed in workable, discrete categories.

In the present study this method would yield the following rankings, from highest to lowest. Second Church is the congregation with the highest status, Fourth and First Churches might

be grouped in the same status, and Fifth Church, by reason of its 40 per cent showing below class III would rank lowest in status. This classification is shown in Table IV.

TABLE IV

CLASSIFICATION OF THE FIVE CONGREGATIONS INTO DISCRETE RANKINGS WITH PERCENTAGES IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL CLASS SHOWN

Churches as Ranked	Occupational Classes						
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
Rank A							
Second Church	49.5	23.2	23.2	4.1	---	---	---
Rank B							
Third Church	6.1	45.4	36.4	9.1	---	3.0	---
Rank C							
First Church	---	33.4	41.6	16.6	---	---	8.4
Fourth Church	15.0	25.0	50.0	10.0	---	---	---
Rank D							
Fifth Church	8.0	36.0	16.0	20.0	4.0	4.0	12.0

CHAPTER IV

AN APPROACH TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF ECOLOGICAL PLACE FOR LOCAL CHURCH CONGREGATIONS

There can be little doubt that the location of a particular congregation in a city has an effect upon the program, life, and behavior of that congregation. The effect of ecological place would be greater, of course, if churches actually ministered to the communities in which they were located. Such is not the case, but it is still the assumption of this study that it does affect, to a significant extent, the behavior of church congregations and that it is necessary to be able to classify this variable.

This chapter will be concerned with an investigation of a method by which the ecological place of a particular congregation can be determined and expressed in a way useful to research. This question will guide this portion of the study:

Can the ecological place of a church congregation be determined by an analysis of the material provided by census tract data and placed in meaningful terms by use of the Shevsky-Bell social areas analysis technique?

Relation to Other Studies in the Literature

There have been two recent studies that have attempted to develop a typology of churches based upon their location in the city. The first, by Sullenger,¹ sought to type church congregations according to their locations in broad areas of the city as well as by their functions. His division was: (1) the downtown church, (2) the inner-city or semi-residential church, (3) the residential church, (4) the federated church, (5) the community church, and (6) the institutional church.

Manfred Stanley² has also tried to type the various kinds of church congregations using environment and interaction with the environment as variables. He saw three types of church congregations as far as relation to environment is concerned: (1) the 'involuted church' in which there is no interaction with the neighborhood, (2) the church that is in process of transition from an involuted to an involved church, and (3) the involved church. The involved church is further subdivided into those churches involved in the local community as opposed to those involved in the broader community.

Both studies indicate the concern in social research with the location of congregation in the city. Neither study, however, has produced a typology that is really adequate for research purposes. Sullenger's study is both imprecise and confusing. First, there is really no adequate way to determine

¹Sullenger, pp. 361-366.

²Stanley, pp. 64-73.

reliably whether a church is semi-residential, residential, or community. Thus, this typology is not sufficiently precise for research purposes. Secondly, the categories used are mixed. There is no reason, for instance, that an inner-city church can not also be a federated church.

Manfred's study attempts to get an important aspect of the relationship between ecological place and church behavior--the degree to which the congregation is involved with its surrounding community. However, once again this does not produce significantly distinguishable types for the purposes of social research.

This imprecision and confusion of categories makes necessary the attempt of this study to find a method by which the location of a congregation in the city can be classified in such a way as to be useful for social research.

The Results: Application of the Shevsky-Bell Technique

In this attempt to develop a meaningful and significant means for the classification of urban church congregations, the Shevsky-Bell social area analysis technique is being used. This is a scheme of classification designed to categorize the population of census tracts on the basis of three factors--social rank, urbanization, and segregation.³

The authors of the scheme conceive of each of the three basic factors used in the classification as derived from

³Shevsky and Bell, pp. 3-5.

changes in the development of modern society. The social rank index is seen as defined from the changing distribution of skills. Its index is constructed from census variables which are elements of this change. Occupation and education are the measures which compose the index of social rank. Urbanization is seen as reflecting changes in the structure and function of the family as well as the relation of the population to the economy. The measure of fertility, the measure of house type, and the measure of women in the labor force are used for this index. Segregation is defined from the changes in the composition of the population shown in the redistribution of that population in space, alterations in the age and sex composition, and the isolation of groups. The particular index is measured in terms of the relative concentration of specified ethnic groups.⁴

The actual method for the computation of the various indexes, ratios, and scores is complex and should be described in some detail.⁵ For each census tract, the basic data is compiled and the ratios are computed for the social rank, urbanization, and segregation indexes. The standard scores are computed and formed into index scores.

For the social rank components, occupation and education ratios and standard scores are computed. The occupation ratio is a ratio of the number of "craftsmen, operatives, and laborers..." per 1,000 employed persons. The number employed in these

⁴Ibid., pp. 17-19.

⁵Ibid., pp. 54-58.

three major occupational groups, as described in the census data, is totaled. Then the number of persons listed in the census data under "Occupation not reported" is subtracted from the total number of persons employed. The total number of "craftsmen,...operatives,...and laborers..." is divided by the above difference, and the quotient is multiplied by 1,000 to obtain the occupation ratio. This ratio is substituted in the following formula to obtain the occupation standard score:

$$\text{Occupation score} = 100 - \sqrt{x (r-o)}$$

where $x = .1336898$, $o = 0$, and $r =$ the occupation ratio for each census tract.

The education ratio is a ratio of the number of persons who have completed no more than grade school per 1,000 persons 25 years old and over. The number of persons 25 years old and over who have had only eight years of schooling or less is totaled. Then the total number with "School years not reported" is subtracted from the total number of "Persons 25 years old and over." The total number completing only elementary school or less is divided by this difference, and the quotient is multiplied by 1,000 to obtain the education ratio. This ratio is substituted in the following formula to obtain the education standard score: Education score = $100 - \sqrt{x (r-o)}$ where $x = .1298701$, $o = 130$, and $r =$ the education ratio for each census tract. The social rank index is the simple average of the occupation and education scores.

For the urbanization components, fertility, women in the labor force, and single-family-detached-dwelling-units ratios and standard scores are computed. The fertility ratio is a

ratio of number of children under 5 years per 1,000 females age 15 through 44. The total number of persons "Under 5 years" is recorded, and the number of females in age range 15 through 44 is added. The number of children under 5 is divided by the total number of females age 15 through 44, and the quotient is multiplied by 1,000 to obtain the fertility ratio. This ratio is substituted in the following formula to obtain the fertility standard score: Fertility score = $100 - \sqrt{x (r-o)}$ where $x = .1661130$, $o = 9$, and $r =$ the fertility ratio for each census tract.

The women in the labor force ratio is a ratio of the number of females in the labor force per 1,000 females 14 years and over. The number of females "14 years old and over" who are in the "Labor force" is recorded. This number is divided by the total number of females "14 years old and over" and the quotient is multiplied by 1,000 to obtain the women in the labor force ratio. This ratio is substituted in the following formula to obtain the women in the labor force standard score: Women in the labor force score = $x (r-o)$ where $x = .2183406$, $o = 86$, and $r =$ the women in the labor force ratio for each census tract.

The single-family-detached-dwelling-units ratio is a ratio of the number of single-family-detached-dwelling units per 1,000 dwelling units of all types. The number of "One dwelling unit, detached (includes trailers)" is recorded and divided by the total of "All dwelling units" and the quotient is multiplied by 1,000 to obtain the single-family-detached-dwelling-units ratio. This ratio is substituted in the following formula to

obtain the single-family-detached-dwelling-units standard score:
 Single-family-detached-dwelling-units score = $100 - \sqrt{x \cdot (r-o)}$
 where $x = .1006441$, $o = 6$, and $r =$ the single-family-detached-dwelling-units ratio for each census tract. The urbanization index is a simple average of these three standard scores.

For the index of segregation, a total is made of the number of persons designated "Negro", "Other Races", and (according to the listings of the 1950 census) "foreign-born whites" from "Poland", "Czechoslovakia", "Hungary", "Yugoslavia", "U.S.S.R.", "Lithuania", "Finland", "Rumania", "Greece", "Italy", "Other Europe",⁶ "Asia", "French Canada", "Mexico", and "Other America". The 1960 census tract data, which was used in this study, does not include listings for "Yugoslavia", "Lithuania", "Finland", "Rumania", "Greece", "Other Europe", "Asia", "French Canada", and "Other America". Thus, these categories were not used in the computation of the segregation index in this study. This sum is divided by the total population in each tract, and the quotient multiplied by 100 to obtain the index of segregation for each census tract.

The social areas are constructed by divisions in the indexes. For the social rank index, the census tracts are divided into four groups according to their scores. Tracts having social rank scores of 0 to 24, 25 to 49, 50 to 74, and 75 to 100 are grouped and designated as social areas of the order 1, 2, 3, and 4 respectively. For the urbanization index, the census tracts

⁶Only southern Europeans are included in this category for the purpose of this analysis.

are divided into four groups according to their scores. The per cent of the total population represented by the combined racial and nationality groups seen as subordinate is selected as a cutting point. Those tracts having more than the average proportion of the combined subordinate groups are designated "not segregated." Thus, there are thirty-two possible social areas.

In this study, those census tracts deemed to form the "natural area which the congregation should be serving" were put together and analyzed as the ecological place of the particular congregation. This was not a completely arbitrary decision, however, as in several cases what social work agencies tend to call their "intensive area" had been specified by the local council of churches. It would have been convenient if each of the five congregations was located clearly within a single census tract. However, through some perversity of the Bureau of the Census, each congregation's building almost straddled the dividing line between census tracts. In each case, at least two census tracts had to be considered and, in one case, three. This gave an area representative of the "community" which the church should serve and from which it should draw its membership if denominational policy and comity agreements were completely followed.

First Church. This congregation's church building is located in census tract 33, one block south of the dividing line between it and tract 24. By agreement with the city council of churches, both of these tracts are included in its "parish." The boundaries of these tracts are a residential street on the

west and the north, a business street on the east, and a railroad track on the south. It is a neighborhood of older homes with many apartment and rooming houses evident from signs in the windows. The people on the street are of two types, an older "respectable" looking person and a younger lower class person. It is not one of the city's finer neighborhoods nor is it by any means the worst. It will, however, probably continue to decline. In relation to the rest of the city, these census tracts are about nine blocks north of the business district and twenty blocks to the west.

The computation of the various factors involved in the Shevsky-Bell social areas analysis for each of the two census tracts (24 and 33) and for the combination of the two census tracts are shown in tables V, VI, and VII.

TABLE V
COMPUTATION OF SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT
FOR CENSUS TRACTS 24 AND 33
(FIRST CHURCH)

Category	Tract 24	Tract 33	Both Tracts
Total employed less number with occupation not reported	2,218.00	1,318.00	3,536.00
Total number craftsmen, operators and laborers	568.00	626.00	1,194.00
Occupation Ratio	251.00	475.00	363.00
Occupation Standard Score	66.44	36.50	51.47
Persons 25 and over with less than 8 years of schooling	942.00	875.00	1,817.00
Persons 25 and over	3,056.00	2,050.00	5,106.00
Education Ratio	308.00	427.00	367.00
Education Standard Score	76.88	61.43	69.16
SOCIAL RANK INDEX	71.66	48.96	60.31

TABLE VI
 COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 24 AND 33
 (FIRST CHURCH)

Category	Tract 24	Tract 33	Both Tracts
Persons under 5	421.00	442.00	863.00
Females 15 to 44	1,008.00	733.00	1,741.00
Fertility Ratio	418.00	603.00	510.00
Fertility Standard Score	32.06	1.33	16.69
Females 14 and over in labor force	1,112.00	592.00	1,704.00
Women in labor force Ratio	486.00	394.00	435.00
Women in labor force Standard Score	87.34	69.06	78.30
Single dwelling units	2,135.00	1,041.00	2,393.00
All dwelling units	2,135.00	1,491.00	3,626.00
Dwelling units Ratio	635.00	697.00	666.00
Dwelling units Standard Score	36.75	30.45	33.58
URBANIZATION INDEX	52.03	33.56	42.80

TABLE VII
 COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 24 AND 33
 (FIRST CHURCH)

Category	Tract 24	Tract 33	Both Tracts
Negroes	2	--	2
Other races	65	177	242
Polish	4	8	12
Czech	25	9	34
Hungarian	5	--	5
U.S.S.R.	28	--	28
Italian	9	--	9
Mexican	8	3	11
Total	146	197	343
Total population	4,849	3,580	8,429
SEGREGATION INDEX	3	5	4

These figures indicate that the following indices can be assigned to the combined area: Social rank index--60.31, Urbanization index--42.80, and Segregation index--4. According to the scoring technique of Bell and Shevsky's social areas analysis technique, these figures mean that this congregation would be located in an area ranked 3 on the social rank scale, ranked as B on the urbanization scale, and, as the segregation index for the community as a whole is 14, ranked as unsegregated on the segregation scale. Thus, the combined ranking for the two census tracts which comprise the parish area of this congregation is 3B.

Second Church. Second Church is located between census tracts 1 and 3 on the northeast side of the city. It is located in a residential community on a quiet, residential street. It is only a few blocks from the northern by-pass around the city and a comfortable forty blocks north (the favored direction) from the central business district of the city. The boundaries of these census tracts are irregular at points, being bordered on the west by a creek and on the east by a railroad track. A boulevard forms the southern boundary, with the northern boundary being quite irregular. The area appears to be one of upper-middle-class housing. The houses are large, often pretentious, and there is a quiet, suburban atmosphere.

The computation of the various factors involved in the Shevsky-Bell social areas analysis for each of the two census tracts (1 and 3) and for the combination of the two census tracts is shown in tables VIII, IX, and X.

TABLE VIII
 COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 1 AND 3
 (SECOND CHURCH)

Category	Tract 1	Tract 3	Both Tracts
Total employed less number with occupation not reported	2,140.00	1,384.00	3,524.00
Total number craftsmen, operators and laborers	552.00	160.00	712.00
Occupation Ratio	258.00	115.00	186.00
Occupation Standard Score	65.51	84.73	75.17
Persons 25 and over with less than 8 years of schooling	681.00	302.00	983.00
Persons 25 and over	3,166.00	2,556.00	5,722.00
Education Ratio	215.00	118.00	166.00
Education Standard Score	88.96	101.58	95.26
SOCIAL RANK INDEX	77.23	93.14	85.19

TABLE IX
 COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 1 AND 3
 (SECOND CHURCH)

Category	Tract 1	Tract 3	Both Tracts
Persons under 5	403.00	181.00	584.00
Females 15 to 44	876.00	590.00	1,466.00
Fertility Ratio	449.00	307.00	378.00
Fertility Standard Score	26.91	50.50	38.70
Females 14 and over in the labor force	902.00	541.00	1,443.00
Females 14 and over	2,138.00	1,666.00	3,804.00
Women in labor force Ratio	422.00	325.00	373.00
Women in labor force Standard Score	73.36	52.18	62.17
Single dwelling units	1,718.00	1,371.00	3,089.00
All dwelling units	1,878.00	1,451.00	3,329.00
Single dwelling units Ratio	915.00	945.00	930.00
Single dwelling units Standard Score	8.51	5.50	7.00
URBANIZATION INDEX	36.26	36.06	36.16

TABLE X
 COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 1 AND 3
 (SECOND CHURCH)

Category	Tract 1	Tract 3	Both Tracts
Negroes	3	13	16
Other races	35	13	48
Polish	4	12	16
Czech	12	--	12
Hungarian	--	--	--
U.S.S.R.	37	35	72
Italian	4	--	4
Mexican	16	--	16
Total	111	73	184
Total population	4,877	3,671	8,548
SEGREGATION INDEX	2	2	2

These figures indicate that the following indices can be assigned to the combined area: Social rank index--85.19, Urbanization index--36.16, and Segregation index--2. According to the scoring technique of the Shevsky-Bell social areas analysis, these figures indicate that this congregation would be located in an area ranked 4 on the social rank scale, ranked as B on the urbanization scale, and as unsegregated. The combined ranking for the two census tracts then is 4B.

Third Church. This church's building is located on the line between census tracts 69 and 59. This is a busy, mainly business, street in an outlying section of the city. It is surrounded by small, but good, houses and suburban type businesses. There is also much competition for the church, as four other churches are located within the two blocks to the south of it. The census tracts here are large, reflecting the fringe

area in which the church is located. In fact, an irregular part of tract 69 lies outside the corporate limits of the city in a section surrounded by the city, but incorporated as a separate city. The boundaries of the tracts are, again, rather irregular and consist of business streets and railroads on the south with residential streets on the other sides. The area appears to be a good--but by no means opulent--one of small, newer houses which give the appearance of having been built as part of a tract-type development. There are a few better houses and a few apartments in the area, as well as many small businesses scattered along arterial roads.

The computation of the various factors involved in the Shevsky-Bell social areas analysis for each of the two census tracts (59 and 69) and for the combination of the two census tracts is shown in tables XI, XII, and XIII.

TABLE XI
COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT
FOR CENSUS TRACTS 59 AND 69
(THIRD CHURCH)

Category	Tract 59	Tract 69	Both Tracts
Total employed less number with occupation not reported	7,639.00	2,283.00	9,922.00
Total number craftsmen, operators and laborers	1,852.00	887.00	2,739.00
Occupation Ratio	242.00	340.00	291.00
Occupation Standard Score	67.65	54.54	61.09
Persons 25 and over with less than 8 years of schooling	1,830.00	935.00	2,765.00
Persons 25 and over	10,733.00	3,447.00	14,180.00
Education Ratio	170.00	359.00	264.00
Education Standard Score	94.81	70.26	82.53
SOCIAL RANK INDEX	81.23	62.40	71.81

TABLE XII
 COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 59 AND 69
 (THIRD CHURCH)

Category	Tract 59	Tract 69	Both Tracts
Persons under 5	2,096.00	652.00	2,748.00
Females 15 to 44	4,172.00	1,265.00	5,437.00
Fertility Ratio	502.00	515.00	508.00
Fertility Standard Score	18.11	15.95	17.03
Females 14 and over in the labor force	2,778.00	711.00	3,489.00
Females 14 and over	6,797.00	2,185.00	8,982.00
Women in labor force Ratio	409.00	325.00	367.00
Women in labor force Standard Score	70.52	52.18	61.35
Single dwelling units	5,944.00	1,951.00	7,895.00
All dwelling units	6,002.00	2,046.00	8,048.00
Single dwelling units Ratio	990.00	953.00	971.00
Single dwelling units Standard Score	0.97	4.69	2.83
URBANIZATION INDEX	29.86	24.27	27.07

TABLE XIII
 COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 59 AND 69
 (THIRD CHURCH)

Category	Tract 59	Tract 69	Both Tracts
Negroes	2	--	2
Other races	95	12	107
Polish	76	8	84
Czech	109	20	129
Hungarian	--	4	4
U.S.S.R.	67	4	71
Italian	36	4	40
Mexican	12	--	12
Total	397	52	449
Total population	18,583	5,929	24,512
SEGREGATION INDEX	2	1	1.5

These figures indicate that the following indices can be assigned to the combined area: Social rank index--71.81, Urbanization index--27.07, and Segregation index--1.5. The scoring technique used by Shevsky and Bell would indicate that this congregation would be located in an area ranked 3 on the social rank scale, ranked B on the urbanization scale, and as unsegregated. The combined rating then is 3B.

Fourth Church. Fourth Church's building is located in an area that in appearance seems superior to that in which Third Church is located. It lies sixty blocks south and sixteen blocks west of the central business district, just a few blocks north of the southern by-pass around the city. It is located on a business and residential street between tracts 72-A and 72-B. Again, the homes give the appearance of having been built on the tract basis rather than individually planned. It is a pleasant, but not necessarily "fine" section of the city.

The computation of the various factors involved in the Shevsky-Bell social areas analysis for each of the two census tracts (72-A and 72-B) and for the combination of the two census tracts is found in tables XIV, XV, and XVI, on pages 61 and 62. These figures indicate that the following indices can be assigned to the combined area: Social rank index--75.14, Urbanization index--24.44, and Segregation index--1.5. The scoring technique of the Shevsky-Bell analysis indicates that this congregation would be located in an area ranked 4 on the social rank scale, ranked A on the urbanization scale, and as unsegregated. The combined rating of the two census tracts would be 4A.

TABLE XIV
 COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 72-A AND 72-B
 (FOURTH CHURCH)

Category	Tract 72-A	Tract 72-B	Both Tracts
Total employed less number with occupation not reported	4,010.00	4,130.00	8,140.00
Total number craftsmen, operators and laborers	1,272.00	1,468.00	2,740.00
Occupation Ratio	317.00	355.00	336.00
Occupation Standard Score	57.62	52.54	55.08
Persons 25 and over with less than 8 years of schooling	793.00	1,413.00	2,206.00
Persons 25 and over	5,498.00	6,187.00	11,685.00
Education Ratio	108.00	228.00	168.00
Education Standard Score	102.73	87.67	95.20
SOCIAL RANK INDEX	80.17	70.10	75.14

TABLE XV
 COMPUTATION OF THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 72-A AND 72-B
 (FOURTH CHURCH)

Category	Tract 72-A	Tract 72-B	Both Tracts
Persons under 5	1,821.00	1,353.00	3,174.00
Females 15 to 44	2,825.00	2,830.00	5,655.00
Fertility Ratio	645.00	478.00	561.00
Fertility Standard Score	-5.65	22.09	16.04
Females 14 and over in the labor force	1,328.00	1,464.00	2,792.00
Females 14 and over	3,448.00	3,944.00	7,392.00
Women in labor force Ratio	385.00	371.00	378.00
Women in labor force Standard Score	65.28	64.23	64.75
Single dwelling units	3,148.00	3,375.00	6,523.00
All dwelling units	3,148.00	3,400.00	6,548.00
Single dwelling units Ratio	1,000.00	993.00	996.00
Single dwelling units Standard Score	.04	.66	.35
URBANIZATION INDEX	19.89	28.99	24.44

TABLE XVI
 COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 72-A AND 72-B
 (FOURTH CHURCH)

Category	Tract 72-A	Tract 72-B	Both Tracts
Negroes	--	--	--
Other races	69	39	118
Polish	24	28	52
Czech	41	26	67
Hungarian	--	8	8
U.S.S.R.	27	--	27
Italian	24	30	54
Mexican	66	16	82
Total	240	167	408
Total population	11,083	11,527	22,610
SEGREGATION INDEX	2	1	1.5

Fifth Church. This church presented a real problem in locating its parish on the census map. It is located not only on the border between tracts 61 and 13 but also quite near tract 4. In this position, it is also located near the border line between a Negro section and a white section. This is illustrated by the fact that tract 4 has a segregation index of 3, tract 61 has an index of 3, and tract 13 has an index of 88. The church, as noted, is integrated but appears to be growing increasingly Negro in its make-up as the Negro invasion proceeds northward. However, at the northern edge of tract 61 there is a middle-class housing area of beautiful homes facing the city's major park and zoo area. It is, indeed, a mixed area. While seven census tracts could have logically been included in the study of this congregation, the three discussed here seem to form the logical intense area of service for the congregation, and without

the segregation problem probably would be the chief drawing area for the church.

The church building is located north and about thirty blocks from an inter-state highway, which forms an eastern by-pass for the city. The character of the street on which it is located is distinctive. It is mainly composed of lower-class business enterprises which are generally quite unattractive in appearance.

The boundaries of these three census tracts include a variant population. Going from the inter-state highway on the east, they extend north to a street well above the northern by-pass and south to the heart of the Negro ghetto. One of the west boundaries is a semi-residential street.

The computation of the various factors involved in the Shevsky-Bell social area analysis for each of the tracts (4, 13, and 61) and for the combination of all three is shown in tables XVII, XVIII, and XIX, on pages 64 and 65. These figures indicate that the following indices can be assigned to the combined area: Social rank index--67.47, Urbanization index--33.78, and Segregation index--34. The scoring technique of the Shevsky-Bell analysis indicates that this congregation would be located in an area ranked 3 on the social rank scale, ranked as B on the urbanization scale, and as S, for segregated, on the segregation scale. The combined ranking of these tracts would thus be 3B-S.

TABLE XVII
 COMPUTATION OF THE SOCIAL RANK COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 4, 13, AND 61
 (FIFTH CHURCH)

Category	Tract 4	Tract 13	Tract 61	All Tracts
Total employed less number with occupation not reported	1,357.00	1,770.00	1,286.00	4,413.00
Total number craftsmen, operators and laborers	469.00	709.00	209.00	1,468.00
Occupation Ratio	345.00	395.00	225.00	325.00
Occupation Standard Score	53.88	47.19	69.92	57.00
Persons 25 and over with less than 8 years of schooling	602.00	875.00	309.00	1,786.00
Persons 25 and over	1,895.00	2,899.00	1,827.00	6,621.00
Education Ratio	318.00	302.00	164.00	261.00
Education Standard Score	75.58	64.67	95.98	78.61
SOCIAL RANK INDEX	64.73	55.93	82.75	67.47

TABLE XVIII
 COMPUTATION FOR THE URBANIZATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 4, 13, AND 61
 (FIFTH CHURCH)

Category	Tract 4	Tract 13	Tract 61	All Tracts
Persons under 5	447.00	815.00	499.00	1,761.00
Females 15 to 44	697.00	1,247.00	758.00	2,702.00
Fertility Ratio	641.00	654.00	658.00	1,953.00
Fertility Standard Score	-4.98	-6.98	-7.81	-6.59
Females 14 and over in the labor force	539.00	949.00	442.00	1,930.00
Females 14 and over	1,141.00	1,889.00	1,187.00	4,217.00
Women in labor force Ratio	472.00	502.00	372.00	449.00
Women in labor force Standard Score	84.28	90.83	62.34	79.15
Single dwelling units	1,113.00	1,370.00	630.00	3,113.00
All dwelling units	1,140.00	1,609.00	1,135.00	3,884.00
Single dwelling units Ratio	795.00	851.00	555.00	734.00
Single dwelling units Standard Score	20.59	14.96	44.75	26.77
URBANIZATION INDEX	33.30	34.94	33.09	33.78

TABLE XIX
 COMPUTATION OF THE SEGREGATION COMPONENT
 FOR CENSUS TRACTS 4, 13, AND 61
 (FIFTH CHURCH)

Category	Tract 4	Tract 13	Tract 61	All Tracts
Negroes	37	4,818	372	5,227
Other races	38	29	32	99
Polish	8	--	4	12
Czech	12	--	--	12
Hungarian	4	--	--	4
U.S.S.R.	10	12	4	26
Italian	8	--	--	8
Mexican	--	12	--	12
Total	117	4,871	416	5,400
Total population	3,403	5,531	3,388	12,322
SEGREGATION INDEX	3	88	12	34

Discussion

The Shevsky-Bell procedure has been applied to the census tracts in which the five church buildings are located in order to determine the usefulness of this procedure in developing a classificatory scheme for urban church congregations. Will the resulting ratings provide categories of such congregations which will distinguish them on the basis of ecological place and be functional for research designed to determine the effect of this variable on congregational behavior? There are four important considerations in the determination of the value of this scheme:

- (1) Do the results typify and distinguish the neighborhoods?
- (2) Do the results typify the congregations involved?
- (3) Are the differences between the congregations significant?
- (4) Will these tests yield a sufficient variety of types for research purposes?

The Neighborhoods. There was little variation in the urbanization component over the five groups of census tracts used. Only one area, that in which Fourth Church is located, differed from the B rating which marked the next to the lowest rating for urbanization. This area was ranked as A, which designated the lowest urbanization level. This seems fairly accurate, as the city of Oklahoma City as a whole is not highly urbanized if the Shevsky-Bell determinants of urbanization are reliable. The census tracts in which Fourth Church is located are on the southern edge of the city and would be among the least urbanized, although this is a relatively small difference as shown by the fact that the urbanization index for this area, shown in table XX on the next page, was only slightly lower than Third Church's (3.03 points). In fact, when the indices rather than gross ratings are used, the measure of urbanization in these census tracts seem to be quite accurate. Using this measure, the order of urbanization, from most urban to least urban, would be: (1) First Church (42.80); (2) Second Church (36.16); (3) Fifth Church (33.78); (4) Third Church (27.07); and (5) Fourth Church (24.44). The one point that seems strange here is that the Second Church area ranks higher in urbanization than the Fifth Church area. This fact reflects one difficulty in using census tract data, the fact that census tracts often encompass into one tract widely differing variant neighborhoods. This is seen in the material on the Fifth Church area which includes not only some highly urbanized areas but also some of the northern, almost rural, parts of the city.

TABLE XX
 INDICES AND RATINGS OF THE CHURCHES
 ON THE SHEVSKY-BELL SCALE

Church	Social Rank		Urbanization		Segregation		Total Rating
	Index	Rating	Index	Rating	Index	Rating	
First Church	60.31	3	42.80	B	4.0	--	3B
Second Church	85.19	4	36.16	B	2.0	--	4B
Third Church	71.81	3	27.07	B	1.5	--	3B
Fourth Church	75.14	4	24.44	A	1.5	--	4A
Fifth Church	67.74	3	33.78	B	34.0	S	3B-S

Further, the area around Second Church is not totally without businesses or apartment dwellings.

Acknowledging the problem cited above of the different neighborhoods included in the Fifth Church area, the social rank index also reasonably reflects the areas involved. The highest social rank is that of Second Church (85.19) with Fourth Church next (75.14), followed by Third Church (71.81), Fifth Church (67.74), and First Church (60.31).

The segregation index quite accurately reflects the neighborhoods.

The one difficulty is that it does not reflect the wide difference in segregation between Fifth Church area and all other areas. Of course, too, if the study of Fifth Church had been limited to census tract 13, a most vivid picture of segregation would have been seen.

The Churches. Inasmuch as these ratings are accurate for their neighborhoods, or reasonably so, and insofar as the

congregations actually serve the neighborhoods in which they are located, the measures are accurate descriptions of the congregations involved. It would seem that this is true for the churches involved with the exception of Fifth Church. In this case, the problem of the large census tracts encompassing variant types of neighborhoods comes up again. Further, this congregation tends to draw persons from all over the city, particularly some white people concerned about integration. Fifth Church would be, in a way, better described ecologically by census tract 13 alone. But it cannot be said that this tract alone forms its ecological place. With these reservations, however, it can be said that it is adequately described. This is particularly true since the segregation index can be added to the social rank and urbanization indices.

Reality of the Difference. Some valid questions could be raised about the validity of some of the differences involved in these ratings. On the social rank index the area around Third Church and that around Fourth Church vary in index by only 3.34 points, and on the urbanization index the variance is only 3.03 points. At the same time, these congregations are put in different ratings (3B and 4A) when the rating is made on the Shevsky-Bell scale. While the point difference is small, the difference in rating becomes large. Contrariwise, the difference pointwise between Third Church and First Church is quite large and yet they have the same rating (3B). Is there really a difference between the Third Church and the Fourth Church areas? Are First Church and Third Church really the same in

terms of their ecological place?

It must be remembered that the Shevsky-Bell ratings are merely arbitrary, or somewhat arbitrary, cut-offs made to form discrete categories. While, by chance, this study has dealt with areas which show the variance just discussed, it can be assumed that over a wide range of congregations this seemingly gross inaccuracy would be diminished. Thus, it is not the inaccuracy of the scale which causes this seeming discrepancy but the sample size involved in this study. The differences are not large statistically, but they are not meaningless in terms of that which the ratings are designed to measure.

Number of Types. Individually considered, each component in the procedure gives little variation in rating. Only two rates (3 and 4) are represented in the social rank ratings, and all of the congregations except one (Fourth Church) have a rating of B in terms of urbanization. Further, only one congregation area (Fifth Church) is rated as segregated. However, when the measures are combined, four separate ratings are yielded-- 3B, 4B, 4A, and 3B-S. Thus for five areas, four types are represented. This would seem to give an adequate means for differentiation in the use of this typology for further research. Two Two things must be kept in mind, however. First, Oklahoma City as a whole is not highly urbanized as far as the components on this scale are concerned. Certainly, it is a much different "city" than Chicago or Detroit or even Indianapolis. Any further spread on the urbanization index would have, in this case, probably only indicated inaccuracy. Second, Presbyterian Church

ches, except in inner-city national missions settings, tend to be located in similar social areas. Thus it would seem, again, that a realistic and adequate means of distinguishing between the ecological areas of these congregations is to be found in the use of the Shevsky-Bell social area analysis procedure.

CHAPTER V

AN APPROACH TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF LEADERSHIP IN LOCAL CHURCH CONGREGATIONS

Leadership is an important variable in any sort of human endeavor. That it is likewise an important component of studies dealing with the behavior of specific church congregations is not only obvious, but has been shown in the studies already cited concerning the church and racial integration. Whether leadership is provided by professional or lay persons, or a combination of the two, the forms which it takes and the way in which it is perceived and accepted will have great bearing on the way in which order is found in a church congregation's existence. However, it is not only difficult to define the various shapes of leadership, but it is also problematic as to exactly what constitutes leadership in congregations. Further, it is difficult to determine what the leadership structure of a particular congregation may be. It will be the purpose of this section of the study to investigate two particular questions concerning the problem of leadership in church congregations:

Can the leadership of a church congregation be determined by an analysis of verbal and written comments of the congregation's membership obtained by the use of structured interviews and questionnaires?

Can a meaningful typology be developed from this for the classification of this leadership?

Relationship to Other Studies in
the Literature

At this time there is much questioning on the part of many religious groups about the role of the minister. Several denominations have engaged in intensive studies of the meaning of the minister. Also, several studies have been conducted on the role of the minister. Blizzard has made several such studies.¹ A theologian, Joseph Sittler,² has considered the same problem from that point of view. Chapman³ has also written of the minister as the professional man of the church. A social case study of authority and power in a particular denomination, the American Baptist, has also been made.⁴ Hagstrom has studied the Protestant clergyman as a professional,⁵ and Glock and Ringer have made a study of clergy and lay opinion on social issues and

¹Samuel Blizzard, "The Minister's Dilemma," The Christian Century, LXXIII (1956), pp. 508-510.

²Joseph Sittler, "The Maceration of the Minister," The Christian Century, LXXVI (1959), pp. 698-701.

³S. H. Chapman, "The Minister: Professional Man of the Church," Social Forces, XXIII (1944), pp. 202-206.

⁴P. M. Harrison, Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959).

⁵W. Hagstrom, "The Protestant Clergy as a Profession: Status and Prospects," Berkeley Publications on Society and Institutions, III (1957), pp. 54-69.

congregational attitudes.⁶

The number of studies done in the field of complex organizations is large. Such work as that of Etzioni⁷ and Cartwright⁸ is representative. None of these works, or those above, however, have given any guidance in terms of a method for analysing specific church congregations or for classifying such leadership. Perhaps the most cogent suggestions have come from the work of Max Weber⁹ and the whole general field of the study of bureaucracy.¹⁰ Nonetheless, the literature provides no clear parallels to the work here.

The Method of Classification

A central problem for this study was the selection of a satisfactory scheme for the classification of congregations in terms of leadership. A most illuminating and significant approach to the classification of leadership types is provided by Weber's three ideal types: charismatic, traditional, and bureau-

⁶G. Glock and B. Ringer, "Church Policy and the Attitudes of Ministers and Parishioners on Social Issues," American Sociological Review, XXI (1956), pp. 148-156.

⁷Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (Glencoe, Illinois, 1961).

⁸Dorwin Cartwright, ed., Studies in Social Power (Ann Arbor, 1959).

⁹Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (New York, 1947).

¹⁰See Robert K. Merton, et al., Reader in Bureaucracy (Glencoe, Illinois, 1964).

cratic.¹¹ Considering the relationship of religion to charismatic authority in its origin, it seemed logical, at one point, to consider classifying contemporary urban church congregations according to these ideal types. However, such a proposal does not take into account the almost essential changes which take place in the original charismatic authority as a group or organization matures, a change which Weber has described as the "routinization of charisma." He says:

In its pure form charismatic authority has a character specifically foreign to everyday routine structures. The social relationships directly involved are strictly personal, based on the validity and practice of charismatic personal qualities. If this is not to remain a purely transitory phenomenon, but to take on the character of a permanent relationship forming a stable community of disciples or a band of followers or a party organization...it is necessary for the character of charismatic authority to become radically changed.¹²

The significance of this "routinization" for this study is that each church congregation has traveled some distance down the road to bureaucratization, especially in the case of the standard, old-line denominations such as that under consideration in this study. The presence of a constitution specifying officers and giving rules for their authority and actions is sufficient evidence that bureaucratic characteristics are present in these congregations. Thus, the question is not so much whether a congregation is bureaucratic, traditional, or charismatic, but whether it conforms to the ideal type of bureaucratic

¹¹Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, pp. 124-135.

¹²Ibid., p. 363.

to a greater or lesser extent. Therefore, a more realistic and significant classification of these congregations will be achieved if a measure is made of the degree to which the actual attitudes and operations of the congregation under study conform to the ideal type of bureaucratic.

Weber¹³ indicates eight fundamental categories of rational legal authority: (1) continuous organization of official functions bound by rules; (2) specified spheres of competence; (3) the principles of hierarchy guide the organization of offices; (4) rational application of rules or norms; (5) members of the administrative staff separated from ownership; (6) a complete absence of appropriation of his official position by the incumbent; (7) administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing, even in cases where oral discussion is the rule or is even mandatory; and (8) authority can be exercised in a wide variety of different forms.

In the application of these categories as a test of the degree of bureaucratization in the leadership of church congregations, it is necessary to make more explicit the way in which each of these applies to church authority and to the authority of the particular church polity under study. In addition, it is assumed that Weber's three ideal types of authority are not discrete categories but, in reality, represent a continuum with discrete categories delineated for purposes of classification. Thus, while considering solely the degree to which a particular

¹³Ibid., pp. 329-340.

congregation fits the ideal type of bureaucracy, deviation from this ideal type will indicate to a greater or lesser degree the presence of the other ideal types.

The application of Weber's eight fundamental categories to the authority structure of a church congregation can be seen by stating the category in Weber's words and then discussing how the ideal type would be exhibited in the operation of a church congregation. This application begins with the first fundamental category:¹⁴

A continuous organization of official functions bound by rules.

Since most denominations (as opposed to sects) do have an organization bound by rules, the presence of such a system in a congregation is not in itself evidence of a higher degree of bureaucratization. It is rather more of a norm of bureaucratization, especially in the particular denomination being considered in this study. That which is significant for the congregation in this category is whether or not the particular congregation goes beyond the requirements of the whole, and to what degree. This would depend upon the following factors: (1) The degree to which the given congregation adheres to the prescribed structures of the whole group; (2) Whether or not the structure of the particular church goes beyond the prescribed requirements of the whole; (3) The rigidity with which the congregation adheres to these requirements; and (4) The degree to which power

¹⁴Ibid. All of Weber's words quoted in this section are from this source.

in the particular congregations operates within these requirements.

A specified sphere of competence. This involves (a) a sphere of obligations to perform functions which has been marked off as part of a systematic division of labour; (b) the provision of the incumbent with the necessary authority to carry out these functions; (c) that the necessary means of compulsion are clearly defined and their use is subject to definite conditions.

Inasmuch as church congregations are comprised of volunteer functionaries, with the exception of the pastor or pastors, the competence of the individuals filling various positions within the organizational structure is seldom on a professional level. This means that the level of competence in each position will not necessarily be high. What is significant in terms of the approach to the ideal type of bureaucratic authority in this case is: (1) Whether or not those who fill positions of authority are chosen for their competence or for their personal attributes and relationships with others in the congregation; (2) Whether or not those chosen officials, paid or volunteer, are perceived as competent and given the necessary authority to carry out the task given with the position; and (3) Whether or not decisions in their realms are perceived as depending upon their decisions.

The organization of offices follows the principle of hierarchy; that is, each lower office is under the control and supervision of a higher one.

In the structure of most denominations, there is a definite hierarchy of power. In the case of the denomination under study, this hierarchical principle puts the individual congregation

under the authority of a church judicatory known as a presbytery, the highest authority in the congregation being the session. Congregational committees and other boards are under the session, and all of these have authority in the congregation with certain prescribed exceptions. It should be particularly noted that the minister, as such, has almost no authority apart from his position as moderator (chairman) of the session. In the case of a particular congregation, then, the significant matters in terms of this category are: (1) The degree to which decisions are made within the structure of the prescribed hierarchy; (2) The number of positions that are formed in the hierarchy within and beyond the prescribed requirements; and (3) The power that is perceived by the congregation for each part of the hierarchy. Particular attention should be given to the degree to which decisions made in the congregation are made in adherence with the hierarchical structure. This factor will predominate.

The rules which regulate the conduct of an office may be technical rules or norms. In both cases, if their application is to be fully rational, specialized training is necessary.

There are, of course, many prescribed rules for the conduct of the congregation's business and life put forth by the denomination. Each congregation is at liberty, however, to formulate further rules for its own conduct as long as these rules do not contravene the constitution of the denomination. There are ways in which this category can be applied to congregations. However, the existence of such rules and norms is not so important as how these are made and how applied, a factor covered in

other categories. Thus, this particular fundamental category will not be used in this classification.

In the rational type, it is a matter of principle that the members of the administrative staff should be completely separated from ownership of the means of production or administration.

In some ways this category does not seem to have much relationship to a church congregation, as there is no formal concept of "ownership" involved. However, it is true that a distinction can be seen in congregations between those where authority resides primarily in a small group who more or less support the institution and feel that they do "own it" and those where authority is given over, in a more or less impersonal way, to those who seem best able to get the job done. The factors involved here are: (1) Whether or not positions of authority are filled by those who most fully support the church financially and have the longest and most influential relationship to the church; (2) Whether or not tasks are left to those professionals or volunteers perceived as the most competent rather than those having a vested interest; and (3) The degree to which those with a vested interest see it as their business to "run" the congregation.

In the rational type case, there is also a complete absence of appropriation of his official position by the incumbent.

To this should be added another comment of Weber's that in this type the typical person in authority occupies an "office" and it is the "office" which is seen as authoritative rather than the person in the office. This is a most important

factor in the life of the congregation. It involves: (1) The degree to which authority in the making of decisions is seen as coming from an office-holder as opposed to a personality; (2) The degree to which the offices are referred to in terms of the person holding them rather than in terms of the title of the position; and (3) Whether or not the personality of the official is seen as less important than the office in terms of decision making.

Administrative acts, decisions, and rules are formulated and recorded in writing, even in cases where oral discussion is the rule or is even mandatory.

Legal authority can be exercised in a wide variety of different forms.

To some extent, both of these fundamental categories also can be applied to the operation and life of the congregations. There is not, however, anything sufficiently distinctive or significant in them to make them essential to the task presented in this study. Therefore, they will not be considered as part of the classification.

Considering the five applicable, or most applicable, categories, the following outline serves as a useful summary:

**A. CONTINUOUS ORGANIZATION OF OFFICIAL FUNCTIONS
BOUND BY RULES**

1. The degree to which the given congregations adhere to the prescribed structures of the whole
2. Whether or not the structure of the particular congregation goes beyond the requirements of the whole
3. The rigidity with which the particular congregation adheres to these requirements
4. The degree to which power in the particular congregation is perceived in terms of these requirements

- B. SPECIFIED AREA OR SPHERE OF COMPETENCE
1. Whether or not those who fill positions of authority are chosen for their competence or for their personal attributes and relationships with others in the congregation
 2. Whether or not those chosen as officials, paid or volunteer, are perceived as competent and given authority
 3. Whether or not decisions in their realms are perceived as depending upon their decisions
- C. ORGANIZATION OF OFFICES FOLLOWS PRINCIPLE OF HIERARCHY
1. Degree to which decisions are made within structure of the hierarchy
 2. Number of positions that are formed in the hierarchy within and beyond prescribed requirements
 3. Power that is perceived for each step in the hierarchy
- D. MEMBERS OF ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF SEPARATED FROM OWNERSHIP
1. Whether or not positions filled by those who support church financially and have vested interests
 2. Whether or not tasks are left to professionals or volunteers who are most competent or are given to those with vested interests
 3. Degree to which those with vested interests see it as their business to run the congregation
- E. ABSENCE OF APPROPRIATION OF OFFICIAL POSITION BY INCUMBENT
1. The degree to which authority in making decisions is seen as coming from an office holder as opposed to a personality
 2. The degree to which offices are referred to in terms of the person rather than the title of the position
 3. Whether or not the personality of the official is seen as less important than the office in terms of decision making.

Classification of each congregation will be made upon the following basis: (1) Each congregation will be judged on the basis of the responses of its reputational and formal leaders in each of the five categories. If the congregation seems to

go beyond denominational requirements in a particular category, it will be given a score of two for that category. If it appears to match the denominational norm it will be given a score of one. If it is below the norm, it will be given a score of zero.

(2) The scores of two, one, or zero for each category will then be totaled. Thus, if a given congregation is given a score of two for above the norm in each category, it will have a total score of ten. If it meets, in each case, the norm, it will be given a score of five. Of course, the congregations may sometimes fall between or below such "average" scores. (3) The total scores for the congregations will be ranked and separated into three types: (a) most bureaucratic, (b) average bureaucratic (in the sense of conformity to the norm), and (c) least bureaucratic.

The Results

In preparing the interview form, for use with the formal leaders, and the questionnaire for completion by the reputational leaders, there was no a priori scheme to guide the formation of questions. Instead, a part of the function of the survey instruments was to help determine where factors of differential attitudes toward leadership in congregations might be found that would give clues to classification. Thus, the selection of "levels of bureaucracy" as a classificatory scheme was made a posteriori and depended upon careful perusal of the information gleaned from the results of the interviews. Therefore, not all of the material obtained in the survey is directly pertinent to

the classification scheme. Thus, the results of the survey are presented only for those questions which helped in the classification of the congregations. As can be seen by viewing the schedules and questionnaires in the appendix, many questions were asked for which the results are not presented. The answers to these questions were either inconclusive or bore no relation to the method of classification finally adopted.

While there was a great deal of correspondence between the questions asked of both formal and reputational leaders, the open-ended nature of the interviews with formal leaders made it impossible to present the results of both instruments in precisely the same manner. The results of the questionnaires completed by reputational leaders are presented in tabular form. The results of the interviews with formal leaders are presented in narrative form, generally as a means of testing and supplementing the information gained from the tables built from the replies of the reputational leaders.

First, however, it is necessary to look at the measure of response obtained from church leaders. In the case of the formal leaders, only two of the twenty leaders approached in the five congregations were not interviewed. In Second Church, the chairman of Christian education, a medical doctor, refused to grant an interview, stating that he really had no information about this as he was "merely the committee chairman" and decisions were made and taken by the staff person in charge. The President of the Women's Association of Fourth Church could not be reached. Two appointments were made with her, but when the

interviewer arrived at her home there was no one there. In attempting to make yet another appointment, it was learned that she had left the community for the summer.

The percentage of reputational leaders who completed the questionnaire was, of course, much smaller. Table XXI shows the number of reputational leaders in each congregation to whom questionnaires were sent, the number returned for each congregation, and the percentage which this represented.

TABLE XXI
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF REPUTATIONAL
LEADERS RESPONDING

Church	Number of leaders	Number returned	Percentage of return
First	12	10	83.3
Second	18	10	55.5
Third	12	7	58.3
Fourth	9	6	66.7
Fifth	14	10	71.4

It is obvious that there was a wide range in response, from 55.5 per cent to 83.3 per cent. It is also readily seen that the number of reputational leaders to whom such questionnaires were sent varied. This was, of course, a function of the method by which names of congregational leaders were obtained and bore no relation to the size of the congregation. It is possible that the number of reputational leaders named could have some significance, but this significance could not be interpreted from the results of this study. Although it was not apparent

why those who returned questionnaires did so, and why others did not, the returns seem to be a cross-section of the reputational leaders named. The one exception is Second Church, with the poorest rate of return, where a larger number of reputational leaders who were also not formal leaders returned the questionnaire. This was probably the result of the way in which one formal leader named reputational leaders. This person tended to name both husbands and wives as reputational leaders, and in most cases the husband was a formal leader while the wife was not.

It would have been helpful if the number of returned questionnaires from each congregation had been the same, or if the sample had been large enough to be statistically significant. A better comparison between the congregations could have been made. However, for the purpose of classification, such comparison, while helpful, is not essential. Each congregation is classified on the basis of responses gathered from its leadership and not by comparison. In the results, then, more attention is given to the ranking of various factors for each congregation than to absolute numbers.

The questions asked in the survey basically sought information in two areas: (1) The area of the minister and his role as perceived by congregational leaders and himself, and (2) The area of perceptions about the structure of influence and decision-making in the congregation. As assessment was made of the results, it was the latter type of information which proved most helpful and which is reported in this section of the study.

As one means of determining how influence was expressed and decisions made in the congregations, reputational leaders were asked what they felt the goals of the church were. While these answers were open-ended, and thus varied, they can be tabulated as shown in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII
GOALS OF THE CHURCH AS SEEN BY
REPUTATIONAL LEADERS

Goals	Number of Reputational Leaders Endorsing Each Goal				
	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
Serving the community	7	0	2	3	7
Winning souls	1	0	0	0	1
Telling the good news	1	0	2	0	2
Discipleship and doing God's will	0	4	0	0	0
Becoming Disciples	0	4	0	0	0
Commitment to Christ	0	1	0	0	0
"Higher than most"	0	1	0	0	0
Give spiritual depth	0	0	1	0	0
Atmosphere of acceptance	0	0	0	2	0
Get people to join	0	0	0	1	0

The formal leaders in each congregation were asked a similar open-ended question. The pastor of First Church saw the goal of that congregation in terms of a ministry to the community. It should, he said, "die a bit that the community might live more." The clerk of session also saw the goal as a ministry to the neighborhood. The president of the Women's Association felt that the church's goals were the same as that of any congregation. The chairman of Christian education saw the congregation's

goal as the development of an inner-city program which would carry the gospel to the community.

In Second Church the pastor saw the goal as that of holding out the challenge of life lived in accord with God's will. The clerk of session saw it as making "them" realize that there are other than financial values in life. The president of the Women's Association saw it as reaching the entire community through the promotion of the church, maintenance of a good educational program, and presentation of good music.

The pastor of Third Church said that the goals of that congregation were currently financial and statistical. He saw a more ideal goal as that of the deepening of family life. The clerk of session said that the congregation should bring the Word of God to the community, serve the community, and minister to the Christians. The president of the Women's Association saw the goal as bringing about the spiritual growth so that the church could have physical growth. The chairman of Christian education indicated that he felt the church's goals were not high enough, being largely involved with membership growth and building programs.

In Fourth Church the pastor saw the goal of the church as the creation of a community of acceptance. The clerk of session expressed it in terms of the creation of a community of values. The chairman of Christian education said that he "wondered." He felt that it should be to spread the gospel.

Serving God by serving man was seen as the goal by the pastor of Fifth Church. He said that a church should seek to serve

the needs of the community and cited that congregation's concern with integration as an example. The clerk of session said that the congregation had a "peculiar goal" as it was started as a step towards integration. She said that the goals should not be growth but worship and fellowship. The president of the Women's Association said that the goal should be that of being an example to the community. The chairman of Christian education said that the congregation's goal was the same as that of any congregation.

Reputational leaders were also asked how much the various formal leaders had to do in the making of decisions. The reputational leaders were asked to rank the formal leaders according to their influence, with six points given for a first place ranking, five points for a second place ranking, et cetera. The results are shown in Table XXIII.

TABLE XXIII

RANKING OF FORMAL LEADERS' INFLUENCE REPORTED
ON BASIS OF A SIX POINT SCALE*

Formal leaders	First Church N=10	Second Church N=10	Third Church N=7	Fourth Church N=6	Fifth Church N=10
The session	59	56	40	37	50
The minister	33	49	37	35	40
Chairman of Christian education	33	20	19	9	16
Women's Association president	20	14	7	4	10
Chairman of Trustees	29	23	10	0	25
Clerk of session	11	9	18	9	6
Other	5	8	0	2	9

*Reputational leaders ranked formal leaders and formal leadership groups in order of influence. A ranking as most influential was rated 6 points, second most influential was rated 5 points, and so on. These points were totaled and this total is the number recorded here.

Formal leaders were asked who they felt had the most influence in the congregation in making decisions. The pastor of First Church pointed to the chairman of Christian education, while the clerk of session cited this person as well as the pastor. The president of the Women's Association also pointed to the chairman of Christian education as most important, while that person indicated the minister, the president of the Women's Association, and himself.

In Second Church the pastor saw himself and the chairman of the board of trustees as most influential. The clerk also listed the minister as influential and added the president of the Women's Association and the chairman of Christian education. The president of the Women's Association felt that the minister and his associate were most influential.

The pastor of Third Church saw himself, the clerk of session, the president of the Women's Association, and the chairman of Christian education as having most influence. The clerk said that he felt that 90 per cent of the influence rested with the minister. The president of the Women's Association also agreed that the minister was the major factor in decision making, but added that the chairman of Christian education was important because that committee was powerful.

All formal leaders in Fourth Church agreed that the minister was, as he put it, "the chief ingredient." Only one other person was mentioned, by the clerk, and that was the president of the Women's Association. The pastor and all leaders of Fifth Church saw the minister as most influential, along with the

chairman of Christian education.

Reputational leaders were asked to name those who were most influential, as they saw it, in the decisions which were made in the congregation. The answers tended to be in terms of formal leaders, usually by office, and names of non-officers. Table XXIV shows how this question was answered, tabulated in three categories.

TABLE XXIV

PERSONS SEEN AS MOST INFLUENTIAL BY REPUTATIONAL
LEADERS IN TERMS OF POSITION*

Category	First Church N=10	Second Church N=10	Third Church N=7	Fourth Church N=6	Fifth Church N=10
The minister	3	10	4	3	6
Other officers	32	10	10	8	8
Non-officers	10	5	4	13	15

*This indicates the number of times that persons named as most influential fell into one of the three categories listed here. Thus, in First Church the pastor was mentioned three times, other officers were named 32 times, and non-officers were named 10 times.

Formal leaders were asked a somewhat similar question. The question, open-ended in form, sought to discover who these formal leaders would consider most important to have on their side in pushing a certain program or point. The pastor of First Church named five men, all officers of one sort or another, but also added all old-time members of the church. The offices which they held did not seem to be the deciding factor, as some of them held quite insignificant offices, according to formal structure. The clerk of session indicated that he would first take any

matter to the minister. The president of the Women's Association stated that she did not work in this way, but that if she were to do so she would go to the clerk of the session, whom she indicated by name. The chairman of Christian education listed four men. His list was a little different than the pastor's and included one person who was not an officer.

The pastor of Second Church said that he would put the matter before the appropriate committee. The clerk of session and president of the Women's Association said that they would take the matter to the pastor.

Two groups were felt to be important by the pastor of Third Church. One of these represented an older element in the congregation, while the other was a newer group. He named persons from each group, all formal leaders. The clerk of session named five persons, all of whom held some formal office. The president of the Women's Association and the chairman of Christian education cited the pastor, although the chairman added that he would "go through channels."

The pastor of Fourth Church named four persons, all on the session. The clerk of session named the chairman of Christian education, and the chairman named the pastor.

The pastor of Fifth Church named five persons, all of whom held some office in the congregation. The clerk of session named four persons including the minister. The president of the Women's Association stated that the pastor came first. The chairman of Christian education said that she did not work that way.

To get at the structure of influence more specifically, the reputational leaders were asked whom they would consult on various matters within the church. They were asked to name the person whom they would consult. In some cases, more than one answer was given by a respondent, but never more than two. The answers are shown in Tables XXV, XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII.

TABLE XXV

PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT
REGARDING BUILDING USE

Person(s)	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
The minister(s)	0	1	1	1	1
The session	5	2	1	0	3
Officer, by office	2	7	3	2	4
Officer, by name	1	0	1	3	2
Committee of session	0	0	0	0	0
Other	2	1	1	0	2

TABLE XXVI

PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT
REGARDING BUILDING PROGRAM

Person(s)	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
The minister(s)	0	1	2	2	1
The session	4	0	3	1	2
Officer, by office	0	3	0	1	2
Officer, by name	0	1	0	2	2
Committee of session	0	0	0	0	0
Other	1	6	0	0	3

TABLE XXVII

PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT
REGARDING CHURCH SCHOOL

Person(s)	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
The minister(s)	0	7	0	1	0
The session	1	1	0	0	0
Officer, by office	4	2	5	3	6
Officer, by name	3	0	1	2	2
Committee of session	2	2	0	0	2
Other	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE XXVIII

PERSONS REPUTATIONAL LEADERS WOULD CONSULT
REGARDING THE WORSHIP SERVICE

Person(s)	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
The minister(s)	4	7	2	4	4
The session	1	0	0	0	4
Officer, by office	4	3	4	1	0
Officer, by name	3	0	1	2	2
Committee of session	1	3	0	0	1
Other	0	0	0	0	0

Formal leaders were also asked for this more specific type of information concerning certain aspects of the church's program. The pastor of First Church mentioned, by name in each case, the chairman of the appropriate committees within the church, with the exception of a building program where he said that he would go to the man who is chairman of Christian education, as a man rather than as an officer. The clerk of session also mentioned the appropriate committee chairman by name, except that he gave three names of men he considered "liberal" whom he would consult

concerning a building program. The chairman of Christian education said that he would consult the session in each case, while the president of the Women's Association would see the session, except in regard to a new building program in which case she gave the name of a person.

In Second Church the pastor said that he would consult the appropriate committee except concerning the Church School, in which matter he would go to the associate minister. The clerk of session named several men he would see regarding the use of the building and a new building program. He said that he had no concern for how the Church School ran. In regard to the worship service, he said that he would consult the pastor. The president of the Women's Association said that in each case she would consult the pastor or associate pastor of education.

The pastor of Third Church would seek out the chairman of building use for this matter, had no interest in a building program being handled in terms of personalities, would see the chairman of Christian education about the Church School, and would consult the session regarding the worship service. The clerk of session would seek out the appropriate chairman in all cases, except a building program in which case he would seek those most opposed. The president of the Women's Association said she would consult the appropriate committees or chairman, except in the matter of a building program. In this case, she would go to the pastor. The chairman of Christian education would seek out the chairman or the session as a whole.

Persons who were committee chairmen were named in each

instance by the pastor of Fourth Church as they were by the clerk, except that he would consult the pastor regarding the worship service. The chairman of Christian education said that he would see the minister in all matters, except a building program in which case he would go to the appropriate chairman.

The pastor of Fifth Church named persons, mostly officers and committee chairmen in all cases. The clerk of session said that she would see the session regarding church use and the worship service, the trustees regarding a building program, and the Christian education committee concerning the Church School. The president of the Women's Association named individuals in each case, not always those in charge. The chairman of Christian education would see the trustees regarding building use, the most influential members regarding a building program, the committee of Christian education regarding the Church School, and the minister concerning the worship service.

Finally, the formal leaders were asked to cite examples of major decisions which had recently been made in the congregation and to describe the way in which the decisions were made. Two decisions were cited in First Church. The decision to go in debt to fix up the building was mentioned by the president of the Women's Association. Evidently this decision was reached after much informal talk and a little manipulation. The others talked of a decision made to stay in the present location rather than move to the suburbs. The decision was made at a congregational meeting, but a previous minister had been forced to resign because he opposed the decision.

At Second Church decisions concerning a new service and race relations were mentioned. Whatever the decision to be made, it followed a pattern. It is suggested, referred to a committee, reported to session, and then voted on. The clerk of session commented that you never knew where an idea came from, because it was always hidden behind a committee.

A decision to fire the choir director and a decision to set up by-laws, as well as a financial decision, were mentioned at Third Church. In each case, a committee brought the matter to the session who decided, except in the case of the by-laws where the congregation voted.

Two matters were cited at Fourth Church. The pastor and the clerk of session mentioned the decision to allow the pastor to go to Mississippi to engage in voter registration. The pastor gives the impression that the decision was made by the session, but the clerk felt that the session had no choice but to rubber-stamp the pastor's decision to go. The chairman of Christian education mentioned the decision to sell the manse and give the pastor a rental allowance instead. This seems to have been pushed by the pastor and his wife.

Two decisions were also mentioned at Fifth Church. One involved the dismissal of an associate pastor. This matter was brought to the session by an elder. It was voted by the session and then brought to a congregational meeting. The other decision was a change in number of communion services. This was handled through a committee report to the session which acted upon the matter.

Discussion and Classification

In classifying the five congregations on the five chosen fundamental categories of bureaucracy, it readily becomes apparent that the material gathered in the survey cannot be properly interpreted apart from a general knowledge of the congregations involved. For this reason, the material from the formal leaders is helpful. For the formal leaders, in many cases, not only answered the direct questions but gave other clues that were significant. For instance, it is obvious from knowledge of the congregations that referral of decisions to the minister in Second Church is quite different from such referral in Fourth Church. In Second Church, the comments of formal leaders and knowledge of the congregation make it apparent that such referral is to a bureaucratic staff, while in Fourth Church it is referral to a person. This is not apparent in the tables, but can be shown in the responses of the formal leaders.

With this comment, it is possible to turn to a discussion of the results and a classification of the congregations. This will be done by a point-by-point analysis of the congregations by each of the five fundamental categories chosen for classification purposes.

Continuous organization of official functions bound by rules.

In looking at Table XXII on page 86, two congregations appear to have gone beyond the denominational norm. When asked to cite the goals of the congregations, both reputational and formal leaders in Second Church tended to quote what are standard

denominational organizational statements of goals. This would seem to show a more than normal reliance on the "organization's" standard. A point at which there needs to be clarification from knowledge of the congregation comes in the answer "serving the community" given by both First and Fifth Churches. In First Church this appears to be a rigid following of the directions given by state denominational officials who are funding this congregation for "inner-city" work. Thus, this answer for First Church appears somewhat more than normally bureaucratic. When stated by members of Fifth Church, it seems to reflect real attitudes of people caught in a needy neighborhood and probably does not mean subscription to organizational directives. Fourth Church, at this point, seems far from bureaucratic. Its goals are generally those which reflect the personal theology of the minister, a theology which bears little resemblance to the denominational pattern. Third Church displays nothing significant here.

In Table XXIII on page 88, regarding the ranked influence of formal leaders, Second Church comes out strongly bureaucratic while the others appear less than normally so. Second Church looks this way because of the strong position of the staff. Actually, what is really significant in this one case is the strength of the category "other." Conversation with formal leaders elicited the fact that in this congregation there exists a committee known as "the steering committee" which is the primary reference point for all church decisions. This is not only highly organized but extra-legal for the denomination. First

Church is less than bureaucratic because of the very strong ranking of what is essentially a minor officer, chairman of Christian education, who is a life-long, influential member of the congregation who apparently holds it not because of skill but because of personal influence. Once again the influence of the minister in Fourth Church is seen by the response of formal leaders who refer to him as "the chief ingredient." At this point, too, the personality of the minister of Third Church is seen. In Fifth Church, the influence is broadly spread and would indicate diffusion rather than centralization of authority.

Table XXIV, on page 90, is surprisingly revealing to one familiar with denominational law and the congregations involved. First, Fourth, and Fifth Churches come out less than normally bureaucratic, First because of the exceedingly low authority placed in the minister, Fourth and Fifth because of the influence of non-officers. Once again, Second Church shows up highly bureaucratic. Third Church, however, seems to show the more typical situation.

Table XXV, on page 92, shows Second Church to be highly bureaucratic in nature as seen by the strength of officers seen in terms of their office rather than as persons. The other churches cannot be seen to be more or less than normal. Table XXVI, on page 92, gives a familiar picture with Second Church's steering committee showing bureaucratic strength. On Table XXVII, page 93, Second and Third Churches appear highly bureaucratic. In Second it is the strength of the staff, known in this instance to be the associate pastor of education, which gives this impres-

sion. It is significant that the formal leader who is chairman of Christian education claimed that he knew little as everything was handled by "the staff" there. In Third Church, this bureaucratic nature is seen in the naming of officers by office in what is really a small congregation. The other congregations appeared average. On Table XXVIII, page 93, First Church appeared less than bureaucratic because of the broad spread of influence, while Second Church appeared highly so because of the strength of the staff. Others appeared normal.

As far as the report of formal leaders on significant decisions is concerned, the procedure followed in First and Fifth Churches would be average. That of Second Church and Third Church was so rigidly according to committee patterns as to be judged higher than average. The decision in Fourth Church concerning Mississippi, especially as reported by the clerk, is clearly below the norm.

The rankings of each of these congregations on these points and a final rating is shown in Table XXIX at the top of the next page. On the basis of this category, one church, Second, rates above normal; three churches, First, Third, and Fifth, rate at normal; and one church, Fourth, rates below normal.

Specified sphere or area of competence. Tables XXII and XXIII, on pages 86 and 88, were not of great significance in this matter, nor was the report of reputational leaders in Table XXIV on page 90. Reports of formal leaders on matters similar to those reported in Table XXIV, however, were significant. On this basis, it can be said that First Church was

TABLE XXIX
RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON FIRST
FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY

	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
Table XXII	2	2	1	0	1
Table XXIII	0	2	0	0	0
Table XXIV	0	2	1	0	0
Table XXV	1	2	1	1	1
Table XXVI	1	2	1	1	1
Table XXVII	1	2	2	1	1
Table XXVIII	0	2	1	1	1
Formal Decisions	1	2	2	0	1
RANKING ON ALL	1	2	1	0	1

(2) Highly bureaucratic; (1) Normally bureaucratic; (0) Less than normally bureaucratic.

below the norm of bureaucratization. This is shown by the influence of people with "seniority" in the church rather than because of office or competence. The important point is, again, the chairman of Christian education. Not surprisingly, Second Church is again seen to be above the norm as shown by the pastor's comments that he puts anything "...before the appropriate committee." The other congregations appeared to follow a typical pattern.

Table XXV, on page 92, indicates, along with the remarks of the formal leaders on a similar question, that First and Fourth Churches follow the norm. Second Church is more bureaucratic than the norm, as shown in the reliance of people on official's position. This is true to a lesser extent in Third Church. Fifth Church shows below the norm, if only slightly, because of the reliance on names of persons rather than on official positions. Table XXVI, also on page 92, shows all churches but

Second at the norm with the influence of the steering committee at Second making it above the norm. The same pattern is shown for Table XXVII on page 93. In this case, however, it is the strong influence of "staff" which gives the indication that Second is above norm. For Table XXVIII, on page 93, Second Church again shows itself above the norm for the same reason. In this table First Church, because of the tendency to rely on officers by name rather than office, appears slightly below the norm. Other congregations remain the same.

In the decisions reported by formal leaders, First and Fourth Churches appear below average. Decisions made at First Church were not made on the basis of competence but on persons and their manipulation. At Fourth Church decisions are clearly made in terms of the pastor's (as a person) desires rather than from the board "competent" to make the decision according to the constitution of the denomination. Second Church, again because of the committee structure, is ranked above norm whereas the other churches seem close to the norm.

The ranking of the congregations for each point in this category and for the total is shown in Table XXX at the top of page 103. At this point First and Fourth Churches ranked below normal (0), Third and Fifth ranked at normal (1), and Second ranked above normal (2).

Organization of offices follows principle of hierarchy. Table XXII does not apply to this category. Table XXIII clearly indicates that for First Church the principle of hierarchy is not followed, as seen in the high status of the chairman of

TABLE XXX
RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON SECOND
FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY

	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
Table XXIV (Formal Leaders)	0	2	1	1	1
Table XXV	1	2	2	0	1
Table XXVI	1	2	1	1	1
Table XXVII	1	2	1	1	1
Table XXVIII	0	2	1	1	1
Formal Decisions	0	2	1	0	1
RANKING ON ALL	0	2	1	0	1

(2) Highly bureaucratic; (1) Normally bureaucratic; (0) Less than normally bureaucratic.

Christian education. Second Church, on the other hand, appears to show a great reliance upon this principle, as seen in the properly ranked and descending order of importance of officers and boards. Even the indication of the power of the steering committee is shown. The other congregations appear to be at the norm.

Table XXIV would seem to indicate that three congregations fall below the bureaucratic pattern in this respect. First Church gives almost no authority to the minister, who would normally be assumed to have some, and Fourth and Fifth rely heavily on non-officers in the matter of decision making. For reasons mentioned above, Second Church is above the norm while Third Church appears close to it.

Table XXV shows First and Fifth Churches at about the norm. Second and Third appear above the norm for reasons mentioned above, and for similar reasons Fourth Church falls below the norm. Concerning Table XXVI, all of the churches, with the exception of Second, appear near average. Second Church, again,

is above the norm as seen in the way in which persons would be approached as officers rather than as persons. On Table XXVII, First and Fourth Churches appear at the norm. Second Church relies repeatedly on staff, while Third and Fifth Churches approach officers as officers rather than as persons. On Table XXVIII all congregations, except Second, appear at the norm. The influence of staff in this church indicates hierarchical organization.

In terms of the formal decisions made by the congregations, the rankings on this category are fundamentally the same as above. The reasons for this ranking are the same.

The rankings for these congregations on this fundamental category are shown in Table XXXI. First and Fourth Churches appear to rank below the norm (0), Third and Fifth Churches rank at the norm (1), and Second Church ranks above the norm (2).

TABLE XXXI
RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON THIRD
FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY

	First C Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
Table XXIII	0	2	1	1	1
Table XXIV	0	2	1	0	0
Table XXV	1	2	2	0	1
Table XXVI	1	2	1	1	1
Table XXVII	1	2	2	1	2
Table XXVIII	1	2	1	1	1
Formal Decisions	0	2	1	0	1
RANKING FOR ALL	0	2	1	0	1

(2) Highly bureaucratic; (1) Normally bureaucratic; (0) Less than bureaucratic.

Members of administrative staff separated from ownership.

The information in Table XXII is not applicable. On Table XXIII it would appear that First Church ranks below average as, again, the chairman of Christian education assumes an almost proprietary importance in church decisions. In Second Church, the picture is much the same as in the previous estimations. To support this further, the president of the Women's Association asserts that the staff are the most influential. Other congregations appear to be at the norm.

The same picture of the congregations is presented when Table XXIV is considered. The reasons for making this assertion are similar to those made above in other categories. Again, it is most significant in Second Church that decisions are viewed as initiating in committees.

On Table XXV, First and Fifth Churches appear to conform to the norm. Second and Third Churches go beyond the norm. In Second Church no decisions are put to anyone but a "rightful" officer, while in Third all but one are put to such officers. On the other hand, in Fourth Church half of the decisions are made by people referred to by name rather than by office. The comments of the formal leaders further support the idea that these decisions are made in a way which implies proprietorship. Table XXVI shows First, Third, and Fifth Churches sticking near the norm. Second Church again puts its decisions through the committee structure and seems above the norm. Fourth Church, on the contrary, seems to spread such decisions. Again, the influence of the pastor as a person is brought out in the formal

comments. Table XXVII indicates bureaucratization of a higher level in Second, Third, and Fifth Churches. Second Church puts these decisions to the staff, while Third and Fifth Churches put them in committees of officers, all separated from ownership. First Church appears to fall below the norm as so few of its decisions are given to the minister in an area in which he would normally have some responsibility. This again is the responsibility of the chairman of Christian education, who appears to be one of the old proprietors of the church. Fourth Church exhibits a fairly typical pattern, although it is interesting to note that the session per se is not mentioned and thus it is rated below the norm. On Table XXVIII both First and Fourth Churches again show signs of being below the norm. In this highly formal matter it is significant that so many people are consulted by name as persons. Second Church vests all or almost all authority in the staff and the rest in committees or officers. This is beyond the norm. Third and Fifth appear at the norm. In looking at the decisions of the church as described by formal leaders, the same pattern appears as in Table XXXI for the same reasons.

The rankings for these congregations on this fourth fundamental category are shown in Table XXXII. First and Fourth Churches appear to rank below the normal bureaucratic organization (0), Third and Fifth Churches are at about the norm (1), and Second Church ranks above it (2).

TABLE XXXII
RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON FOURTH
FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY

	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
Table XXIII	0	2	1	1	1
Table XXIV	0	2	1	1	1
Table XXV	1	2	2	0	1
Table XXVI	1	2	1	0	1
Table XXVII	0	2	2	0	2
Table XXVIII	0	2	1	0	1
Formal Decisions	0	2	1	0	1
RANKING FOR ALL	0	2	1	0	1

(2) Highly bureaucratic; (1) Normally bureaucratic; (0) Less than bureaucratic.

Absence of appropriation of official position by incumbent.

Table XXII does not apply. Table XXIII indicates that First, Fourth, and Fifth Churches rank below the norm in this matter. The reason for classifying First Church in this manner is again found in the influence of the chairman of Christian education. The comments of the formal leaders in the other two congregations indicate that people have great influence. This is seen particularly in the pastor of Fourth Church and in a number of references to individuals in Fifth Church, such as the chairman of Christian education. The official position is seen in terms of the incumbent rather than the office. Second Church seems to be run by committees and administrative decisions, while Third Church seems to be a mixture on this matter and thus appears to be about average for the denomination.

Table XXIV indicates that First, Fourth, and Fifth Churches again seem less than average. The picture in First Church has

been seen before. In Fourth and Fifth the preponderance of influence ascribed to non-officers makes it seem below normal. Second Church is consistent for consistent reasons, while Third Church seems to follow the norm.

Table XXV shows Second and Third Churches to be somewhat above norm. This is supported by reasons already cited. The other congregations appear at the norm. On Table XXVI First, Second, and Third Churches appear to be above the norm. The reasons for placing Second Church in this category are familiar. First Church, in this case, gives no indication of such appropriation and would place all decisions in formal hands. Third Church also concentrates decisions in official hands. Fourth and Fifth Churches appear to be above the norm. The reasons are familiar, and the other congregations appear to be at the norm. Table XXVIII shows Second Church consistently above the norm with Fourth Church below the norm for familiar reasons. The other churches appear normal. The picture given by the citing of formal decisions gives First and Fourth Churches ratings below the norm, a familiar picture. Second Church also presents the familiar rating, with the other churches at the norm.

The rankings for this category are shown in Table XXXIII. First and Fourth Churches rank below the norm (0), Third and Fifth Churches rank at the norm (1), and Second Church rates above the norm (2).

When the rankings in each of the fundamental categories are totaled, the rankings for the whole are: First Church has a total of 1 point, Second Church has 10, Third Church has 5, Fourth has

none, and Fifth has 5. This ranking is shown in Table XXXIV. On the basis of these totals the classification of the congregations can be made as follows: Highly bureaucratic, Second Church; Normally bureaucratic, Third and Fifth Churches; and Less than bureaucratic, First and Fourth Churches.

TABLE XXXIII
RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON FIFTH
FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORY

	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
Table XXIII	0	2	1	0	0
Table XXIV	0	2	1	0	0
Table XXV	1	2	2	1	1
Table XXVI	2	2	2	1	1
Table XXVII	1	2	2	1	1
Table XXVIII	1	2	1	0	1
Formal Decisions	0	2	1	0	1
RANKING FOR ALL	0	2	1	0	1

(2) Highly bureaucratic; (1) Normally bureaucratic; (0) Less than bureaucratic.

TABLE XXXIV
RANKING OF CONGREGATIONS ON ALL THE
FUNDAMENTAL CATEGORIES

	First Church	Second Church	Third Church	Fourth Church	Fifth Church
Continuous organization of official functions	1	2	1	0	1
Specified spheres or areas of competence	0	2	1	0	1
Organization follows principles of hierarchy	0	2	1	0	1
Administrative staff sep- arate from ownership	0	2	1	0	1
Absence of appropriation of position	0	2	1	0	1
TOTAL RANKING	1	10	5	0	5

Summary and Conclusions

It will readily be admitted that there is much that is subjective in the above classification. While this is regrettable, it is also unavoidable for two reasons. First, the structure of this survey did not at all times bear as specifically as it might have on the issue of bureaucratic organization. Many of the questions asked were not used in the classification, and some were used only one or two times with only six being used consistently. These should have been expanded to seek further information. On the other hand, there is much information, as far as a church is concerned, which can only come from knowing a great deal about the congregation and its life apart from formal questions.

Can the two questions posed at the beginning of this chapter be answered, and how? First, it is clear that much information about the leadership of a congregation can be gained from this kind of survey. It is, of course, clear that a different structure might have elicited better information. Such a structure might include: (1) more open-ended questions about church decisions, (2) fuller exploration of who it was that actually made the decisions, and (3) why these were the people that did make them. Nevertheless, useful information was gained, and it has enabled us to get an overall view of the leadership in the five congregations.

Now, can this lead to a meaningful typology? Certainly a classification is shown in the rankings in Table XXXIV. This

does seem to give a fairly accurate picture of congregations that are essentially different from one another. It is further interesting to note that this typology would never have been made on the basis of "common sense." First and Fourth Churches seem nothing alike until this particularly significant relationship concerning bureaucracy is explored. The same is true for Third and Fifth Churches. Thus, it can be said that this typology gets at something other than a superficial view. Is it meaningful? If accurate, it is very meaningful, and its accuracy can only be determined by further study.

The one thing apparent is that while leadership can be determined to some degree in this manner, a schedule of questions with a different focus would have given a much clearer picture.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

This study has considered means for the classification of three variables in church congregations. Each of these has been considered separately. At this point, it is necessary to take a summary look at the variables and to make some general comments based on the study.

Conclusions

Concerning methodology, separate comments are necessary for each variable as separate methodologies were used, though they were each a part of the same study. The application of Warner's scale for determining social class provided generally vague conclusions. This was not so much because of the inadequacy of the scale as because of the way in which occupations were determined for the congregations. The listings in the city and church directories were much too vague concerning the nature of the occupations. A better method of obtaining this information, and an efficient one, would have been to conduct an interview with the pastor of the congregation and obtain the information from him. Even in large churches it is conceivable that the pastor, or one of the pastors, would know something about the

occupation of most members of the congregation. The census tract data, on the other hand, gave generally good results on the nature of the neighborhoods in which the churches were located. It was both efficient and simple. The material on leadership, however, was not as adequate as might have been wished. It would appear that interviews with both formal and reputational leaders provide a good source of information, but that in this case questions should have centered more specifically on the area of decision making.

The second major question of this survey concerned the matter of typologies which would be adequate for further research. In the matter of social class, no general typology was found. In other words, a typology which could be used in distinguishing the five congregations studied was developed, but there could be no generalization to other congregations. On the other hand, the typologies developed for both ecological place and leadership would seem to give promise of valid generalization.

Certain conclusions can be tentatively advanced concerning the inter-relationship of the variables. Ecology and social class are often seen as highly correlated variables. But, in the case of Protestant church congregations, many persons may attend a place of worship far from their place of residence and in far different ecological surroundings. However, with the exception of Third Church, where the ecological place was moderately low and the social class moderately high, there was a fair amount of agreement of ecological place and social class.

When the relationship between ecological place and leadership is considered, it might be thought that high status and bureaucratic leadership would correlate well. This does not seem to be so, as Second and Fourth Churches have similar ecological places but are at polar extremes on the scale of bureaucratization. Likewise, Third and First Churches rate the same in ecological place, but differ in leadership ranking, while Fifth and Third agree in leadership ranking but not in ecological place, due to the segregation around Fifth Church.

In terms of the relationship of social class and leadership, it can be said that the two churches rating lowest in bureaucratic organization share a similar, but not lowest, ranking in social class. It is true, however, that the one congregation that was most bureaucratic in organization was also highest in social class.

Recommendations

Several recommendations could be made about the need for further research. Primarily, it is recommended that this same type of study be done again with an improvement in methodology which would yield more reliable results and, at the same time, provide more adequate typologies, particularly in the area of social class. Recommendations concerning how this might be done have been made in the chapters dealing with each of the variables.

Another thing shown in this study is the necessity of eliciting more specific information in depth about these variables

in the life of the congregations. They are all known to influence a church, but little is known about not only their measurement but about what they really mean in terms of church congregations. This is particularly true in the case of leadership. Because churches prefer to disregard their bureaucratic nature, or the fact that they are indeed highly organized, little is known about this variable. This is unfortunate for, particularly in social action research, it is possible that this is the most important factor.

It would also appear that there is a great need to look at many of the variables which affect the action of the church. It is generally assumed that we know a great deal about these. This study, however, has shown that "common-sense" conclusions about church congregations are by no means sure. Thus, common sense about other matters than those studied in the church may also be invalid. There is need for further research.

Implications

It is a logical implication of this study that great care needs to be taken in drawing any conclusions about church congregations and the way in which they behave. There is great danger of oversimplification. Churches are by no means alike, and it is not sufficient to make generalized comments concerning them. Furthermore, easy assumptions should not be made about the way in which variables are distributed or how these affect a congregation's behavior. If nothing else, this study has contributed to an understanding of the complexity of the contemporary urban church congregation.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Theodore R. and Janice E. Egeland. "Spatial Aspects of Social Area Analysis." American Sociological Review, XXVI (August, 1961), 392-398.
- Barber, Bernard. Social Stratification. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957.
- Bell, Wendell. "The Social Areas of the San Francisco Bay Region." American Sociological Review, XVIII (February, 1953), 39-47.
- Bell, Wendell and Maryanne T. Force. "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations." American Sociological Review, XXI (February, 1956), 25-34.
- Bendix, R. and M. Lipset, Ed. Class, Status and Power. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953.
- Blizzard, Samuel W. "The Minister's Dilemma." The Christian Century, LXXIII (April 25, 1956), 508-510.
- Cartwright, Dorwin, Ed. Studies in Social Power. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1959.
- Centers, Richard. "Social Class, Occupation, and Imputed Belief." American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (May, 1953), 543-555.
- Chapman, S. H. "The Minister: Professional Man of the Church." Social Forces, XXIII (December, 1944), 202-206.
- Coser, Lewis A. and Bernard Rosenberg, Ed. Sociological Theory. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957.
- Counts, George S. "The Social Status of Occupations." The School Review, XXXIII (January, 1925), 16-27.
- Cuber, John F. and William F. Kenkel. Social Stratification in the United States. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954.

- Douglass, Truman B. "Ecological Changes and the Church." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, CCCXXXII (November, 1960), 80-88.
- Etzioni, Amitai. A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations. Glencoe: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961.
- Farber, Bernard and John C. Osoinach. "An Index of Socioeconomic Rank of Census Tracts in Urban Areas." American Sociological Review, XXI (October, 1959), 630-640.
- French, J. R. P., Jr. "A Formal Theory of Social Power." Psychological Review, LXIII (May, 1956), 181-194.
- Firey, Walter. "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Values." American Sociological Review, X (April, 1945), 140-148.
- Glock, Charles Y. and Benjamin B. Ringer. "Church Policy and the Attitude of Ministers and Parishioners on Social Issues." American Sociological Review, XXI (April, 1956), 148-156.
- Gordon, Milton M. Social Class in American Sociology. Durham: Duke University Press, 1958.
- Gouldner, A. W., Ed. Studies in Leadership. New York: Harper, 1950.
- Gross, Neal. "Social Class Identification in the Urban Community." American Sociological Review, XVIII (August, 1953), 398-404.
- Hare, A. Paul. Handbook of Small Group Research. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1962.
- Harrison, P. M. Authority and Power in the Free Church Tradition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Hatt, Paul K. "Occupation and Social Stratification." American Journal of Sociology, LV (May, 1950), 533-543.
- Hatt, Paul K. "Stratification in the Mass Society." American Sociological Review, XV (April, 1950), 216-222.
- Hatt, Paul K. and Albert Riess, Ed. Cities and Society. Glencoe: Free Press of Glencoe, 1957.
- Hawley, Amos H. Human Ecology. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950.
- Hawley, Amos and Otis Dudley Duncan. "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Approach." Land Economics, XXXIII (November, 1957), 337-345.

- Hollingshead, August B. Elmtown's Youth. New York: Science Editions, 1961.
- _____. "Trends in Social Stratification." American Sociological Review, XVII (December, 1952), 697-706.
- Hoult, Thomas F. "Economic Class Consciousness in American Protestantism." American Sociological Review, XV (February, 1950), 97-100.
- Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.
- Kahl, Joseph A. The American Class Structure. New York: Rinehart and Company, 1957.
- Kramer, Alfred. "Racial Integration in Three Protestant Denominations." Journal of Educational Sociology, XXVIII (October, 1954), 59-64, 96.
- Lenski, Gerhard. "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" American Journal of Sociology, LVIII (September, 1952), 139-144.
- _____. The Religious Factor. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Anchor Books, 1961.
- _____. "Status Crystallization: A Non-vertical Dimension of Social Status." American Sociological Review, XIX (August, 1954), 405-413.
- Mayer, Kurt B. Class and Society. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1955.
- Merton, Robert K., et al, Ed. Reader in Bureaucracy. Glencoe: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964.
- Middleton, Russel and Snell Putney. "Religion, Normative Standards and Behavior." Sociometry, XXV (June, 1962), 141-152.
- Nelson, Lowry, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner. Community Structure and Change. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960.
- Northwood, Lawrence K. "Ecological and Attitudinal Factors in Church Desegregation." Social Problems, VI (Fall, 1958), 150-163.
- Quinn, James A. Human Ecology. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950.

- Raven, Bertram H. and John R. P. French, Jr. "Legitimate Power, Coercive Power, and Observability in Social Influence." Sociometry, XXI (June, 1958), 83-97.
- Reissman, Leonard. Class in American Society. Glencoe: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1959.
- Shevsky, Eshref and Wendell Bell. Social Area Analysis: Theory, Illustrative Application and Computational Procedures. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1955.
- Stanley, Manfred. "Church Adaptation to Urban Social Change: A Typology of Protestant City Congregations." Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, II (Fall, 1962), 64-73.
- Sullenger, Earl T. "The Church in an Urban Society." Sociological and Social Research, XLI (May-June, 1957), 361-366.
- Sussman, Marvin B., Ed. Community Structure and Analysis. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959.
- Theodorson, George A., Ed. Studies in Human Ecology. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1961.
- Tillman, James A. "The Quest for Identity and Status: Facets of the Desegregation Process in the Upper Midwest." Phylon, XXII (Winter, 1961), 329-339.
- _____. "Morningtown, U.S.A.--A Composite Case History of Neighborhood Change." Journal of Intergroup Relations, II (Spring, 1961), 156-166.
- Troeltsch, Ernst. The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, Tr. Olive Wyon. New York: Macmillan Company, 1931.
- Tumin, Melvin. "Readiness and Resistance to Desegregation: A Social Portrait of the Hard Core." Social Forces, XXXVI (March, 1958), 256-263.
- Videbeck, Richard and Alan P. Bates. "An Experimental Study of Conformity to Role Expectations." Sociometry, XXII (March, 1959), 1-11.
- Warner, W. Lloyd and Associates. Democracy in Jonesville. New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1964.
- _____. Social Class in America. New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torchbooks, 1960.
- Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, Tr. Talcott Parsons. London: Allen and Unwin, 1930.

_____. The Religion of China: Confucianism and Taoism,
Tr. H. H. Gerth. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951.

_____. The Theory of Social and Economic Organization,
Tr. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons. New York:
Oxford Press, 1947.

Yinger, J. M. Religion, Society, and the Individual. New York:
Macmillan Company, 1957.

A P P E N D I C E S

A P P E N D I X A

REVISED WARNER SCALE FOR
RATING OCCUPATION¹

Rating I

Professionals

Lawyers, doctors, dentists, engineers, judges, high-school superintendents, veterinarians, ministers (graduated from divinity school), chemists, et cetera with post-graduate training, architects.

Proprietors and Managers

Businesses valued at \$75,000 and over.

Business Men

Regional and divisional managers of large financial and industrial enterprises.

Clerks and Kindred Workers, Et cetera

Certified Public Accountants.

Manual Workers

None.

Protective and Service Workers

None.

Farmers

Gentlemen farmers.

Rating II

Professionals

High-school teachers, trained nurses, chiropodists, chiropracters, undertakers, ministers (some training), newspaper editors, librarians (graduate).

Proprietors and Managers

Businesses valued at \$20,000 to \$75,000.

Business Men

Assistant managers and office department managers of large businesses, assistants to executives, et cetera.

¹Warner and Associates, Social Class in America, pp. 140-141.

Clerks and Kindred Workers, Et cetera
 Accountants, salesmen of real estate and of insurance,
 postmasters.

Manual Workers
 None.

Protective and Service Workers
 None.

Farmers
 Large farm owners, farm owners.

Rating III

Professionals
 Social workers, grade-school teachers, optometrists,
 librarians (not graduate), undertakers' assistants,
 ministers (no training).

Proprietors and Managers
 Businesses valued at \$5,000 to \$20,000.

Business Men
 All minor officials of business.

Clerks and Kindred Workers, Et cetera
 Auto salesmen, bank clerks and cashiers, postal clerks,
 secretaries to executives, supervisors of railroads,
 telephone workers, et cetera, justices of the peace.

Manual Workers
 Contractors.

Protective and Service Workers
 None.

Farmers
 None.

Rating IV

Professionals
 None.

Proprietors and Managers
 Businesses valued at \$2,000 to \$5,000.

Business Men
 None.

Clerks and Kindred Workers, Et cetera
 Stenographers, bookkeepers, rural mail clerks, railroad
 ticket agents, sales people in dry good stores, et cetera.

Manual Workers
 Factory foremen, electricians, plumbers, and carpenters
 (own business), watchmakers.

Protective and Service Workers
 Dry cleaners, butchers, sheriffs, railroad engineers and
 conductors.

Farmers
 None.

Rating V

Professionals
 None.

Proprietors and Managers
 Businesses valued at \$500 to \$2,000.

Business Men
 None.

Clerks and Kindred Workers, Et cetera
 Dime store clerks, hardware salesmen, beauty operators,
 telephone operators.

Manual Workers
 Carpenters, plumbers, electricians (apprentice), time-
 keepers, linemen, telephone or telegraph, radio repair-
 men, medium-skill workers.

Protective and Service Workers
 Barbers, firemen, butchers' apprentices, practical nurses,
 policemen, seamstresses, cooks in restaurants, bartenders.

Farmers
 Tenant farmers.

Rating VI

Professionals
 None

Proprietors and Managers
 Businesses valued at less than \$500.

Business Men
 None.

Clerks and Kindred Workers

None.

Manual Workers

Molders, semi-skilled workers, assistants to carpenters,
et cetera.

Protective and Service Workers

Baggage men, night policemen and watchmen, taxi and truck
drivers, gas station attendants, waitresses in restaurants.

Farmers

Small tenant farmers.

Rating VII

Professionals

None.

Proprietors and Managers

None.

Business Men

None.

Clerks and Kindred Workers, Et cetera

None.

Manual Workers

Heavy labor, migrant work, odd-job men, miners.

Protective and Service Workers

Janitors, scrubwomen, newsboys.

Farmers

Migrant farm laborers.

A P P E N D I X B

Schedule I
FORMAL LEADERS

Name _____

Address _____

Church Position _____ Age _____

Length of Residence _____

Other Church Positions Held _____

Positions Formerly Held _____

Community Positions Held _____

Occupation _____

1. Forgetting for just a moment your own situation, what qualities would you look for in a minister?
2. What jobs do you believe that a minister should do?
3. What sort of role should the minister play in the life of the community?
4. Here are several statements which you sometimes hear people make, and I'd like to know how you feel about each one. After each, you can tell me whether you agree or disagree with it:
 - a. A minister should reflect the opinions of his congregation.
 - b. Ministers are always trying to run everything.
 - c. A small group of people really has control of this church.
 - d. Church people should let their minister, who is trained, guide their thinking.
5. What role should the minister play in regard to the work of the session?
6. What things would make you most willing to follow the leadership of a minister?

7. What do you see as the goals and values of this particular church?
8. What other things do you think should be the concern of this church?
9. Do you believe that the congregation's wishes are major factors in the sorts of decisions made?
10. Do you believe that the congregation is generally willing to follow decisions as made, and why?
11. In your opinion, what are the best qualities of your minister?
12. How much influence do you think each of the following have in making decisions or setting policy in this congregation?
 - a. The minister
 - b. The clerk of session
 - c. The chairman of trustees
 - d. The president of the Women's Association
 - e. The chairman of Christian education.
13. You must generally agree with some people in the church more than others. What are your reasons for choosing to follow certain people while not following other people?
14. Name those people who have the most influence in making decisions and setting policy in the congregation whether they hold office or not.
15. If you had an idea or program which you wanted to institute in the church, who would you choose as an ally in trying to put it across?
16. Suppose that you wanted to get something done in specific areas. Who would you choose in each of these areas:
 - a. building and maintenance
 - b. building program
 - c. church school
 - d. worship service
 - e. changing ministers
 - f. social issues.

17. Who or what has had the greatest influence on your religious beliefs--ministers, friends, teachers, spouse, parents, books?

18. Would you consider yourself, in this congregation, a liberal, a middle-of-the-road, or a conservative?

19. Cite a major decision in this congregation and tell how it was made:

What was the decision?

Who initiated it?

What steps were taken?

What conclusion was reached?

How was the decision accepted?

Schedule II

REPUTATIONAL LEADERS

Name _____ Church _____ Age _____

Offices in the Church _____

Church Activities _____

Community Activities _____

Occupation _____

1. When I look at a minister, I look for these qualities
(check any for which you would look):
Integrity ___ Concern ___ Winning personality ___
Spiritual Depth ___ Commitment ___ Theological soundness ___
Sincerity ___ Humility ___ Administrative ability ___
Intelligence ___ Challenge ___ Personal piety ___

2. Rank in the order of their importance the following roles of
the minister:
Preacher ___ Prophet ___ Administrator ___
Teacher ___ Worship Leader ___ Organizer ___
Counsellor ___ Pastor ___ Promoter ___

3. A minister should play the following role(s) in the community:
None ___ Officer in civic organizations ___
Responsible citizen ___ Be well known ___
Participate in politics ___ Only in church related groups ___
Civic clubs ___

4. Here are several statements about ministers and the church.
Check whether you agree or disagree:
A D A minister should reflect the opinions of his congrega-
tion.
A D Ministers try to run the whole church.
A D A small group has control of this church.
A D Church people should let their minister, who is
trained, guide their thinking in religious matters.
A D The session should do what the congregation wants.
A D To ordain a minister is to designate him to perform
certain functions in the church--nothing more.
A D Ministers ought to live by higher moral standards
than laymen.
A D Most pastors do not read and study enough.

- A D Ministers are relatively free from pressure to conform.
 A D Ministers are too much influenced by a desire for success in terms of growth in church membership, larger budgets, and calls to larger churches.
 A D A layman has just as much a "call" as a minister.
 A D The church is too self-centered, too much concerned with its own people.
 A D The church is largely engaged in insignificant tasks.
5. In working with the session, the minister should be:
 A moderator ___ One who pushes for programs ___
 A resource person ___ One seeking approval for
 Initiator of programs ___ decisions already made ___
6. What things would make you most willing to follow a minister's leadership?
 Good preaching ___ Personality ___
 Administrative ability ___ Agreement with me ___
 Education ___ Spiritual depth ___
 Integrity ___ Theological soundness ___
 Personal piety ___ A personal relationship ___
7. The goals of this church are:
8. What are the best qualities of your minister?
 Preaching ___ Integrity ___ Organization & promotion ___
 Pastoral work ___ Personal piety ___ Intelligence ___
 Administration ___ Worship ___ Theology ___
 Teaching ___ Counseling ___ Personality ___
9. How much does each of the following have to do with the setting of policy in the church? Rank in order of importance.
 Minister ___ Clerk of session ___
 Christian education chairman ___ Chairman of trustees ___
 President, Women's Association ___ Session ___
 Other (name) _____
10. In forming your opinion about church matters, why do you follow certain people more than others?
 Education ___ Reputation ___ Agree with me ___
 Personality ___ Personal relationship ___ Position ___
 Piety ___ Integrity ___ Theology ___
 Intelligence ___ Other _____

11. Name the five people who have the most influence in your church.
12. Who would you consult if you wanted help in making your influence felt in these areas (give name or position):
 Policies concerning use of the building _____
 Plans for a new building program _____
 The church school _____
 The worship service _____
13. Who has had the greatest influence on your religious beliefs?
 Minister(s) _____ Spouse _____
 Parents _____ Other _____
 Teacher(s) _____
14. Here are a set of statements about religious belief. Check whether you agree or disagree.
- A D All miracles in the Bible are true.
- A D God is the great companion who shares with us the travail and tragedy of the world.
- A D Jesus was born of a virgin in a manner different from humans.
- A D The revelation of God's word in the Holy Scriptures is man's ultimate authority.
- A D I believe Hell is a form of existence in a future life.
- A D The four Gospels contain some legendary material.
- A D Man is saved by the free gift of God's grace.
- A D The biblical writers were endowed with divine wisdom which enabled them to foretell specific events in the distant future.
- A D The fall of man in the story of the Garden of Eden is a myth symbolizing the problem of good and evil in the world.
- A D If I believed that any part of the Bible were unreliable, I would no longer have confidence in its moral and spiritual teachings.

VITA

Hugh Paul Chalfant

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Science

**Thesis: THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE VARIABLES OF SOCIAL CLASS,
ECOLOGICAL PLACE, AND LEADERSHIP IN URBAN CHURCH
CONGREGATIONS**

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

**Personal Data: Born in Wabash, Indiana, the son of
Paul and Irene Dare Chalfant.**

**Education: Attended elementary school in Peru, Indiana;
graduated in 1947 from Adams High School in South
Bend, Indiana; received Bachelor of Arts degree
in June, 1951, from the College of Wooster, Wooster
Ohio, with a major in Psychology; received Bachelor
of Divinity degree in May, 1954, from McCormick
Theological Seminary, Chicago, Illinois; completed
requirements for the Master of Science in May, 1967.**

**Professional Experience: Pastor, Hobart Presbyterian
Church, Hobart, Indiana, 1954-1957; Associate
Presbyterian University Pastor, Purdue University,
West Lafayette, Indiana, 1957-1961; Presbyterian
University Pastor, Oklahoma State University,
Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1961-1964; Faculty Associate,
Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, Illinois,
1964-65; Associate Faculty, Gary Regional Campus,
Indiana University, Gary, Indiana, 1964-1965;
Community Consultant, Division on Alcoholism,
Indiana Department of Mental Health, South Bend,
Indiana.**

**Professional Organizations: American Sociological
Association (Associate Member), Phi Kappa Phi.**