

ABSTRACT

CRAIG, DAVID LEONARD. *Multiracial Religious Context, Racial Consciousness, and the Prospect of Ethno-Racial Transcendence: How are Multiracial Congregations Really Maintained?* (Under the direction of Maxine S. Thompson).

A debatable viewpoint has emerged amongst scholars who study ethno-racially diverse religious interactions. This viewpoint is that ethno-racial diverse interactions, particularly within multiracial congregations, greatly impacts persons' attitudes, beliefs, and values, in a way that obfuscates divisive aspects of racial consciousness (Marti 2008; Marti 2009; Marti 2010; Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty 2015). This occurrence, referred to as *ethno-racial transcendence*, is seen by some to be necessary for the maintenance of multiracial congregations (Marti 2015). Some studies suggest that ethno-racially diverse religious settings can weaken the attitudinal and identity outcomes traditionally associated with one's ethno-racial background (Marti 2008; Marti 2009; Marti 2010; Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty 2015). A review of the literature suggests scholars who take this view fail to differentiate between processes which garner consensus regarding the adequacy of attendees' congregations with an actual change in persons' racial consciousness. Drawing from the social identity framework and data from the 2012 Wave of the Portraits of American Life Study (Emerson and Sikkink 2012), this study examines whether racially diverse religious settings weaken the relationship between racial background and racial attitudes. My findings reveal divisive aspects of racial consciousness need not be overcome in order to create attitudes among Blacks and Hispanics that are necessary to maintain multiracial congregations. Furthermore, while the multiracial congregational context does not alter the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness, neither do various forms of religious identification and/or religious behaviors that take place within multiracial congregational contexts alter this relationship. Instead, factors that have been theorized to

nurture religious based *ethno-racial transcendence* (e.g., Marti 2008; 2009; 2010; 2015) result in lower levels of congregational dissatisfaction among Blacks and Hispanics while leaving their racial consciousness intact.

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Multiracial Religious Context, Racial Consciousness, and the Prospect of Ethno-Racial
Transcendence: How are Multiracial Congregations Really Maintained?

by
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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to those of us who have known struggle: those of us who seek something better in our nation, our community, as well as within ourselves. All are faced with the choice between the affirmation of one's own desire and the desire to do something good for others.

Though I am as those who came before me, it is my time now. So, as an encore to what was, and a prelude to what will be, get ready. **HERE I COME.**

To my 3 beautiful children, in all things be good to yourself. Start each day being truthful to yourself, and then, end each day in the same way you started it.

BIOGRAPHY

David Leonard Craig was born and raised in Goldsboro, North Carolina. His faith and perseverance emanates from a combination of the love he received growing up, his religious upbringing, and his military experiences. David entered the United States Army in 1989 where he was awarded the Bronze Star with 2 Oak leaf Clusters for his service in the Persian Gulf. After being honorably discharged, he intermittently attended college while working various jobs in a number of occupational fields. David eventually graduated Magna cum Laude with a B.S. in Sociology from Mount Olive College, after which he achieved his Master's degree in Sociology from East Carolina University. He is the father of 3 adult children which he desires the very best for. This current work is part of the final requirements for his PhD in sociology at North Carolina State University.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I humbly acknowledge that I have not come to this point without the help and direction of others. Navigation of the doctoral process has been one of the most difficult and challenging events of my life: not simply because of the academic rigor, but more so because of my accumulated life experiences, which certainly played a prominent role in shaping my outlook, approach, and behavior. It was these times that the intersection of my life and the academy seemed at best incongruent and often incompatible. Despite such anxiety and stress, it was the kind words of Dr. Maxine Thompson that made my trek just a little lighter. I thank Maxine Thompson for those words and everything she has done to get me here. I also thank the members of my dissertation committee for providing feedback, critiques, and direction. I especially thank Michael Schwalbe, Maxine, and Dr. Nacoste for sitting on my social psychology preliminary examination committee. It was in reviewing and studying that literature that much needed knowledge was gained. Thank You.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Over the last few decades ethno-racial¹ diversity within the ranks of American Christianity has increased substantially (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Pew Research Center 2015; Chaves 2011). Correspondingly, the study of diversity has also increased within the field of religious studies (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013). Some studies appear to indicate that ethno-racially diverse religious settings may reduce aspects of minority group members' subjective identification that are traditionally associated with their racial background (see Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty 2015; Marti 2010). A point of concern is just how to frame the ongoing social processes which take place within ethno-racially diverse religious settings.

Clearly, a desire for a unified Christian faith is seen as one of the primary motivations for persons attending ethno-racially diverse congregations (Christerson and Emerson 2003; Marti 2010). Some scholars suggest the processes involved may bridge existent social distances among ethno-racial groups, as well as be a catalyst for social change as persons from diverse backgrounds are brought together (Wadsworth 2012; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2004; Yancey 2002). Though such potential exists, other scholars point out that the power dynamics within ethno-racially diverse religious settings generally do little to address major issues associated with ethnic and/or racial inequality (Gurrentz 2014; Edwards 2008; Priest and Priest 2007).

Within the midst of these divergent views, one finding appears consistent: that such ongoing interactions are maintained through the nurturing of distinct religious identities

¹In going forward the terms ethnic and racial may be subsumed under the term "ethno-racial." Although the terms ethnic identity and ethnicity are used to denote persons' identification with specific cultural characteristics, the lines between ethnicity and race may overlap and become fuzzy (Murji and Solomos 2005; Grosfoguel 2004). When this occurs, racialized meanings may be attributed to and/or constructed around what appears to be a person's or group's ethnic background. When this occurs there may be no distinction between commonly held assumptions that are attributed to either ethnicity or the physical markers which denote race (Murji and Solomos 2005; Grosfoguel 2004).

(Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007;; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998). It is these distinct religious identities that are said to focus adherents' subjectivity in a way that "subvert[s] or avoid[s] the structural realities of race" (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013:220; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998).

The qualitative findings of Gerardo Marti (2008; 2009; 2010) indicate that ethno-racially diverse congregations employ social practices which obfuscate ethnic and/or racial identity. Specifically, Marti (2008:13; 2009; 2010; 2015) asserts that "otherworldly, value-rational ideals" are used to enforce specific religious identities that become of paramount importance and influence in the lives of those who attend such settings, both within and beyond the bounds of their congregations. Particularly, Marti (2009) says:

When a person's shared religious identity overrides potentially divisive aspects of ethnic affiliation in considerations of social interaction, ethnic transcendence has been achieved. (60)

Statement of the Problem

The problem with studies which support such a viewpoint is their failure to provide a testable model through which aspects of religious based interactions may come to moderate and/or mediate "potentially divisive aspects of ethnic affiliation." This leaves the conversation only vaguely informative as to the social processes involved. This opinion is reflected in the words of Marti, who states:

The relationship between ethnic identity and multiracial congregational

membership² is perceived as ambiguous, contradictory, and difficult to sustain, and the apparent contradiction between ethnic specificity and religious unity makes the basis for [such] integration unclear.” (2009:53)

In short, key elements associated with the maintenance of ethno-racially diverse religious interaction are not readily understood.

Purpose of the Present Study

The purpose of the current study is to examine whether racially diverse religious interactions influence racial consciousness as suggested by some (see Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty 2015; Marti 2010). I agree with Marti that “the relationship between ethnic identity and multiracial congregational membership is perceived as ambiguous” (2009:53). However, I argue Marti (2008; 2009; 2010), particularly, confuses (1) processes which garner positive attitudes regarding the adequacy of multiracial congregations for minority racial group members, with (2) actual reductions in minority group members’ racial consciousness. I argue that these processes are distinct and that clarification of this distinction would help bridge the theoretical void that exists in the literature regarding the maintenance ethno-racially diverse religious interactions and congregations.

Background of the Problem

It is an inaccuracy for scholars to deem minority group members’ being satisfied with their racially diverse congregations as being prima facie evidence of *religious based ethno-racial transcendence*. Emerson and Yancey (2008) found no differences in the social and racial attitudes of Blacks who attended multiracial congregations and Blacks who attended

²In context, Marti (2009) is not speaking of membership as a formal designation per se, but rather as active involvement within religious groups or organizations.

homogeneous Black congregations. What the literature indicates is that social cohesion among persons of diverse racial backgrounds can be maintained by either avoiding or downplaying racially divisive issues (Marti 2010) or by, more broadly, by focusing persons' subjectivity in a way that compels them to remain members of a group (Friedkin 2004; Pirkey 2015). Either way, neither the focusing of persons' subjectivity in a way that compels them to remain members of a racially diverse group, or the intentional downplaying of racially divisive issues equates with what has been described as religious based *ethno-racial transcendence*. However this process of nurturing social cohesion among groups of ethno-racially diverse individuals is very similar to the concept of deracialization from within the field of political science.

According to McCormick and Jones (1993), when persons "campaign in a stylistic fashion that defuses the polarizing effects of race by avoiding explicit reference to race-specific issues, while at the same time emphasizing those issues that are perceived as racially transcendent," they are engaging in deracialization (McCormick and Jones 1993:76). Just as racially divisive issues are controlled for purposes of achieving particular political objectives, so too are racially divisive issues controlled in order to shape attitudes regarding congregations.

Adding to the confusion, there appears to be substantial overlap between the concepts of *racial consciousness* and *racial identity* within Marti's (2008; 2009; 2010; 2015) theorization. I see *racial consciousness* and *racial identification* as being interrelated but separate (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). Whereas *racial consciousness* is "the tendency toward sentiment and ideological identification with a racial group" (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:476; Brown 1931), "race consciousness [itself,] is a form of group consciousness" derived from a sense of group position and linked fate (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:476-478; Chong & Rogers 2005, Lee 2007). Racial consciousness is a way of perceiving

the world according to one's racialized experience that accumulates over time (Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010; McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). Although a person's or group's racial consciousness may change over time (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:478), generally it "is something that actors carry from situation to situation" (Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010: 488).

One way to address whether multiracial congregational context actually nurtures religious based ethno-racial transcendence is to examine if the multiracial congregational context significantly reduces the relationship between the racial background of respondents and measures of racial consciousness. Such findings would constitute evidence in support of *religious based ethno-racial transcendence*. Also, for those who attend multiracial congregations, if religious identification and/or behaviors, are found to mediate differences in racial consciousness between different ethno-racial groups, this would also be evidence of religious based ethno-racial transcendence.

On the contrary, one may also find that for those who attend multiracial congregations, various forms of religious identification and/or behaviors mediate the relationships between respondents' racial backgrounds and congregational dissatisfaction. If this occurs without significant mediation of respondents' racial consciousness, this would suggest that religious identification and/or behaviors within the context of multiracial congregations serve to garner consensus regarding the adequacy of respondents' congregations while also not lending itself to religious based ethno-racial transcendence. This would mean that religious identification and/or behaviors within the context of multiracial congregations promote *social cohesion*³ without necessarily promoting *religious based ethno-racial transcendence*. Such findings would add an

³ Social cohesion is the sum total of forces which act upon individuals within a group to remain members of that group (Friedkin 2004).

important level of understanding as to the influence that religious identification and/or behaviors within the context of multiracial congregational settings does or does not have on persons' racial consciousness, as well as how multiracial congregations are maintained.

Theoretical Framework

The current study examines the emergence of ethno-racially diverse Evangelical interactions, as well as their potential for being a conduit through which ethno-racial transcendence occurs from a social identity framework. The underlying premise of the social identity framework is that persons' perceptions and behaviors are intuitively tied to the groups and conditions with which they interact and live (Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Turner and Reynolds 2001; Lewin 1943). It is the variations in group experiences which form the basis of groups' beliefs concerning the nature of reality (Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Turner and Reynolds 2001; Lewin 1943).

It is from this context that scholars from within this area specifically address the importance of interpersonal networks, along with the overlapping processes of social and self-categorization, social comparison, social identification, and positive self-regard (Turner and Reynolds 2001). I use these core aspects of the social identity perspective to examine whether ethno-racially diverse religious interactions, within the multiracial congregational context, have the potential to nurture ethno-racial transcendence. It is in this line of thought that Omi and Winant's (2014) Racial Formation Theory is completely germane because of the saliency at which racial meanings exist within American society.

Omi and Winant's (2014) Racial Formation Theory posits that racial meanings are so deeply imbued within American society, that persons' individual and collective identities, as well as their actions, are greatly influenced by such meanings. In this way racial meanings not only

permeate the processes of social and self-categorization, social comparison, social identity, and positive self-regard, but they also permeate the workings of ethno-racially diverse religious congregations, such that these congregations may not moderate racial consciousness at all.

Organization of Study

This chapter provided an introduction and brief overview of the current study. Chapter 2 provides a more in-depth review of the relevant literature. Chapter 3 provides a description of the data as well as the methods used. Chapter 4 contains the analyses and results. Finally, Chapter 5 presents a discussion of the conclusions drawn concerning the present study's findings.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Despite the validity of persons referencing the famous Martin Luther King Jr. quote concerning Sunday mornings remaining one of the most segregated times within America, ethno-racial diversity has been on the increase within the ranks of American Christianity as a whole (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Pew Research Center 2015; Chaves 2011). Between 1998 and 2007, the number of “predominantly White congregations” with some minority presence increased 9% (Chaves 2011:29). In other words, these majority White congregations which consisted of 90% or more of persons who were White, saw significant increases in terms of their minority populations between 1998 and 2007. Consequently, during that same time there was a decrease in the percentage of congregations that were totally White (Chaves 2011:29). In 1998 20% of all congregations were totally White, by 2007 only 14% of congregations remained exclusively White (Chaves 2011:29).

Amongst religious scholars, a potent area of concern is just how to frame the social processes which take place within these ethno-racially diverse religious interactions, both in practical and theoretical terms. Some scholars suggest that the process has the potential to bridge the social distance between persons of different ethno-racial backgrounds (DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2004; Yancey 2002; Yancey 1999). Following this line of thought, Wadsworth (2012) and others say that ethno-racially diverse religious interaction has the potential to be a catalyst for social change as persons from diverse backgrounds are brought together and interact. In context, some scholars see ethno-racially diverse religious interactions as instances that allow for both the bridging of the racial divide, as well as for the achieving some form of social justice (Wadsworth 2012; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2004; Yancey 2002; Yancey 1999). This sentiment is captured within Edwards’, Christerson’s, and

Emerson's (2013) review article concerning ethno-racially diverse religious organizations and integration, who say:

Today, [such] congregations and their leaders appear more committed than ever to righting the past and helping to bridge racial division. (216)

Although the potential exists for ethno-racially diverse religious settings to be a medium for social change, other scholars point out that the power dynamics within ethno-racially diverse religious settings more often reflect the interests of Whites, while doing little to address major issues associated with ethnic and racial inequality (Gurrentz 2014; Edwards 2008; Priest and Priest 2007).

Despite these divergent views, there appears to be consensus among most scholars: ethno-racially diverse religious interactions are infused with racial meanings at various levels (Omi and Winant 2014; Jung and Kwon 2013; Alumkal 2004). Omi and Winant (2014) posits that racial meanings are so deeply imbued within American society, that persons' individual and collective identities, as well as their actions, are greatly influenced by such meanings. In this way racial meanings not only permeate the overall social processes associated with the emergence of ethno-racially diverse religious interactions, but also the social processes within congregations and persons themselves: thereby influencing some aspect of all persons' social identities (Omi and Winant 2014; Jung and Kwon 2013; Alumkal 2004).

Although social categorization, self-categorization, social comparison, as well as the emergence of social identity fall within the social identity perspective, the basic premise of the social identity perspective is that persons' perceptions and behaviors are intuitively tied to the groups and conditions with which they interact and live (Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Turner and Reynolds 2001; Lewin 1943). It is the variations in group experiences which form the basis of

groups' beliefs concerning the nature of reality (Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Turner and Reynolds 2001; Lewin 1943).

The US Racial Empire State and the Creation of a Colorblind Evangelical Faith

Jung and Kwon, in drawing from the racial formation perspective, assert that, with regards to race, the US is a "racial empire state" (2013:934). Jung and Kwon's (2013) argument rests upon the protuberant US racial hierarchy-- one that contains substantial levels of racial oppression as well as substantial amounts of racial privilege, such that the overt and subterranean workings of race are not likely to permit person's religious identities and viewpoints to emerge outside the context of race. In fact, Alumkal (2004) in applying Omni and Winant's (2014) racial formation theory, posits that White Evangelicals' outward embrace of racial equality came about after being called to account for their professed beliefs in Christian principles and democracy, while Blacks struggled for civil rights. In essence, when faced with the racial meaning of what constituted racist behavior, White Evangelicals repositioned themselves to affirm their identities as non-racist, democratic, and Christian.

According to Alumkal (2004), the resultant racial frames associated with White Evangelicalism and Racial Reconciliation Theology allowed White Evangelicals to position themselves, their faith, and their Christian identity as acceptable. In plain terminology, one might say that, "Good Ol' White Evangelical Christian Identity" was being constructed and formed in relation and antithetical to the current definitions of racism of the time. Whereas these definitions encompassed all overt behaviors which stood in support of de jure racist practices, the definitions were not inclusive of behaviors which unconsciously reproduced de facto institutionalized racism: thereby absolving White Evangelicals of any culpability regarding racial inequality so long as they held no conscious bigotry based upon race. In essence, White

Evangelicals' redefinition and reconstruction of what constituted "non-racist" identity entailed what some might call a "color-blind" embrace of Christ (Alumkal 2004).

Colorblindness is the name given the system of beliefs and actions that allow persons to couch racial inequality in a manner so as to deny the relevance of a race (Bonilla-Silva 2018; 2001). Within this context "color-blindness" places the onus of responsibility for diminishing racial inequity on individuals' commitment to Christ while the structural inequities associated with race were left well-formed and enduring (Alumkal 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2018). In fact, Bonilla-Silva argues colorblindness has become "the dominant racial ideology in the post-civil rights era[,]” having not only "captured the hearts and minds of most Whites[,]” but having also "confused the hearts and minds of many Blacks.” (2001:95). Overall, studies show within contemporary "post-racial" societies, Whites are not only prompted to position themselves as non-prejudiced and egalitarian, but that their affiliations and interactions with minorities, and minority supportive organizations, provides them with "supporting evidence" as to their non-prejudiced status (Carter and Rivera 2011; Perry 2007; Alumkal 2004). In line with this assessment is Edwards (2008), who found that interracial fellowship greatly enhanced Whites' religious experiences, and was principal in their desire for ethno-racially diverse fellowship.

However, ethno-racially diverse Evangelical fellowship serves other functions than merely affirming White Evangelicals' non-racist status. Indeed, broader expressions of faith are at play. It is these broader expressions of faith that can be seen through examining the responses of Evangelical leaders.

Expressions of Evangelical Faith as Universal

Findings from The "Global Survey of Evangelical Protestant Leaders" indicate Evangelical leaders are virtually unified in their view that: (1) "Christianity is the one, true faith

leading to eternal life”; (2) “the Bible is the word of God”; (3) that “following the teachings of Christ in one’s personal and family life” is important, and (4) the paramount importance of “working to lead others to Christ” (Lugo, Cooperman, O’Connell, and Stencel 2011:12, 20). Note how the creation of and attendance of ethno-racially diverse religious settings affirm various aspects of a “one, true faith” principal.

Studies consistently show that a desire for a unified Christian identity that supersedes ethno-racial boundaries serves as an impetus for some persons of diverse backgrounds to consider multiethnic/multiracial Protestant congregations (Emerson 2010; Marti 2010). Tia, a 57 year old African-American female in Marti’s 2010 study, stated her preference for multiracial and multiethnic religious fellowship:

I indeed refuse to do anything other than that. Because heaven is going to be diverse, all right? Everyone should learn how to get along, to work with, [and] have . . . relationship[s] with one another. (207)

Another African-American Respondent, 52 year old Brandon held a similar view, saying:

This is my heart. Because I imagine heaven being, you know, God just having everybody and that’s where my commitment lies . . . I know when I get to heaven there’s going to be some of everything and everybody and all that. (207)

The Continued Significance of Racial Thought across Religious Traditional Lines

However, persons positioning of their faith as universal does not preclude the emergence of divergent racial consciousness among persons of the same religious traditions: a pattern which also existed for Whites and Blacks who attended the multiracial church of Crosstown in Edwards’ (2008) study, as well as in Emerson and Yancey’s (2008) study. The overall patterns

in Figures 1 through 5 (taken from Taylor and Mereino 2011), also indicate clear patterns existing along racial lines, rather than along the lines of religious tradition.

The bar graph contained in Figure 1.1 represents Taylor and Mereino’s (2011) mean scores for Blacks and Whites for their measure of “individualism.” Their measure of individualism was derived from a survey question that addressed “whether, on average, blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than White people ‘because most blacks just don’t have the motivation or will power to pull themselves up out of poverty.’” (Taylor and Mereino 2011:67). As we see, there is a clear pattern along racial lines rather than along religious traditional lines, with Whites on average displaying higher levels of individualism.

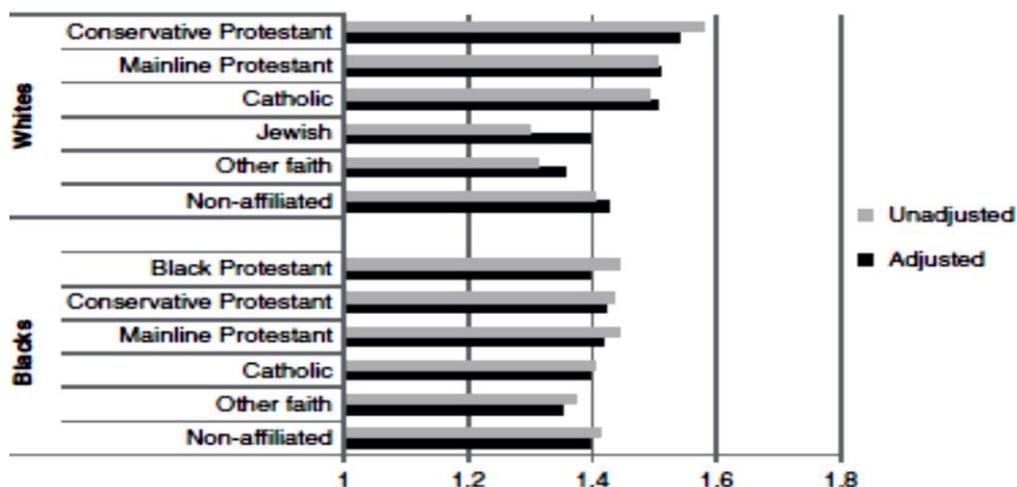


Figure 1.1

Individualism among Blacks and Whites by Religious Subgroup

Again, we see a similar pattern contained within the bar graph in Figure 2.1. Figure 2.1 shows the Black and White mean scores for Taylor and Mereino’s measure of “antistructuralism.” Antistructuralism was a measure of the respondents’ outlooks as to “whether White-black inequality was ‘mainly due to discrimination,’ and whether that inequality

exists “because most blacks don’t have the chance for education that it takes to rise out of poverty”” (Taylor and Mereino 2011:67). Whites on average were more antistructural in their views of White-black inequality than Blacks. A similar pattern repeats in Figures 3.1, 4.1, and

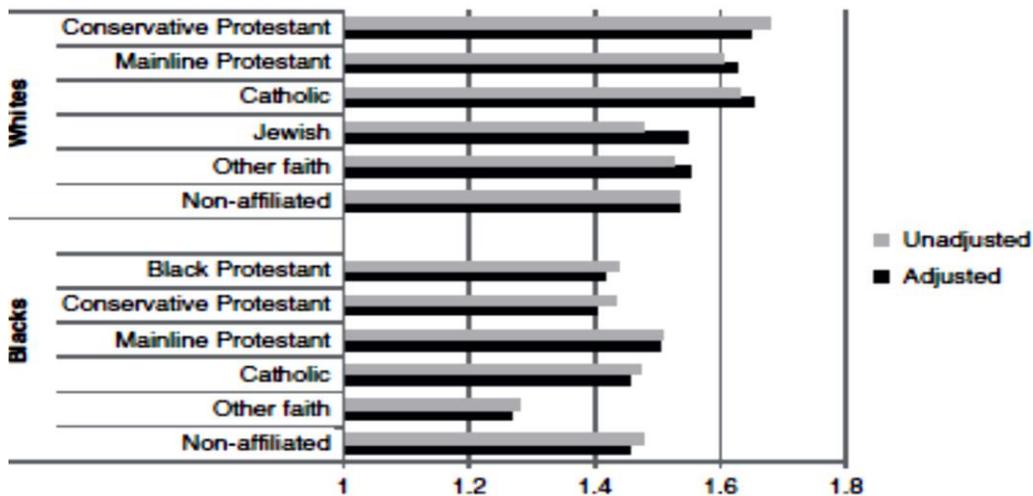


Figure 2.1

Antistructuralism among Blacks and Whites by Religious Subgroup

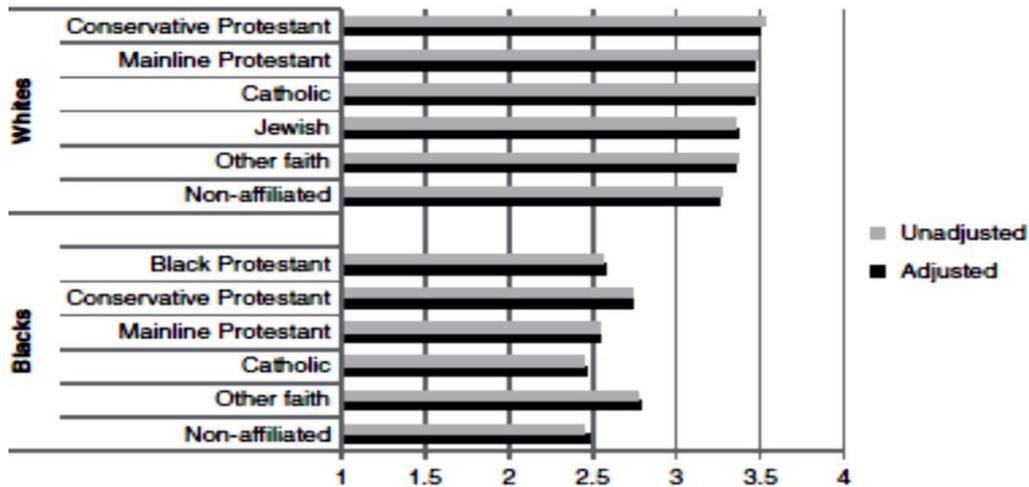


Figure 3.1

Opposition to Affirmative Action among Blacks and Whites by Religious Subgroup

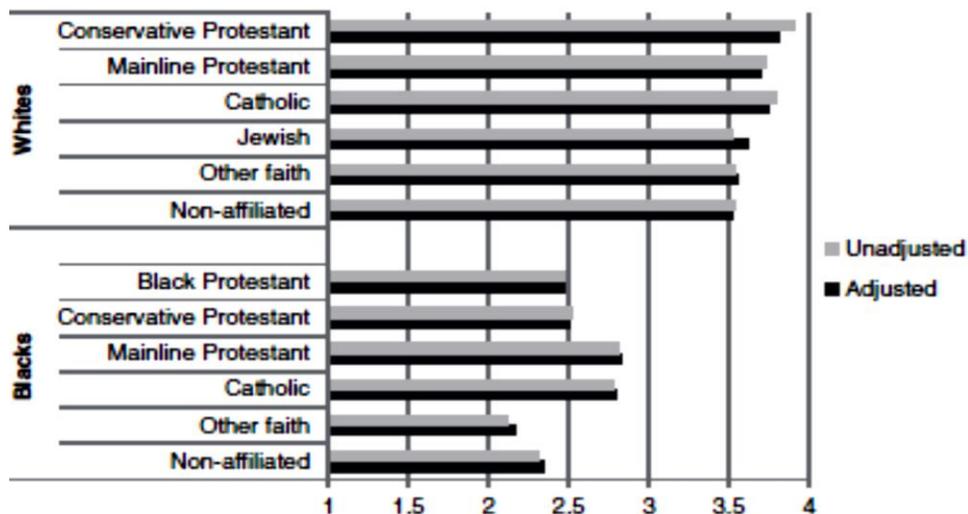


Figure 4.1

Level of Denial that the Government has an Obligation to Help Blacks among Blacks and Whites by Religious Subgroup

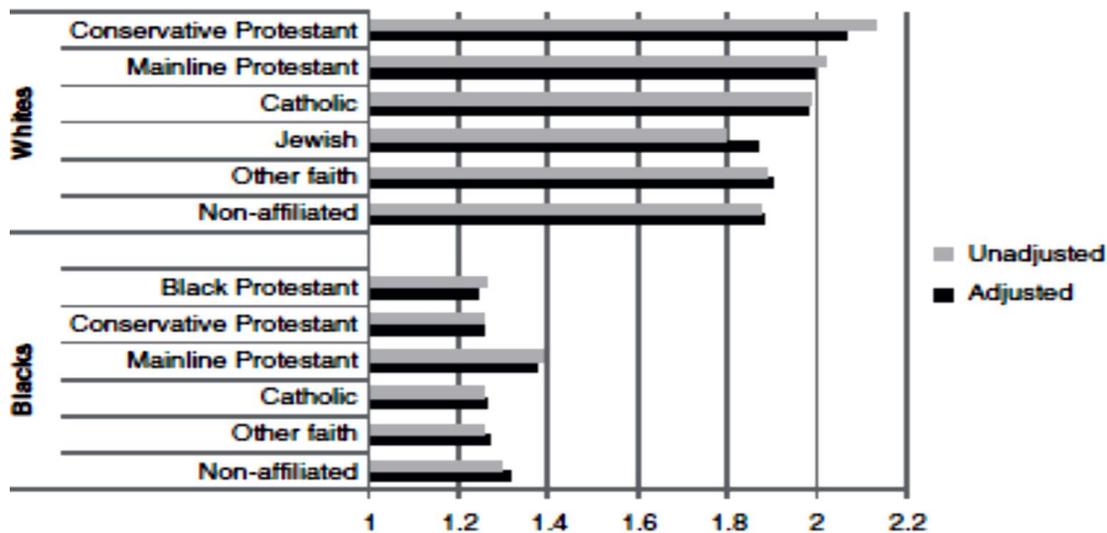


Figure 5.1

Level of Opposition to Spending Taxes for helping Blacks among Blacks and Whites by Religious Subgroup

5.1. Whereas Figure 3.1 represents mean level of opposition to affirmative action policies among the respondents in Taylor and Mereino (2011); Figure 4.1 represents respondents'

attitudes against the idea that the government is obligated to help Blacks; and Figure 5.1 indicates the level of opposition to taxes being spent to help Blacks. Once more, the bar graphs in Figures 1.1 through 5.1 show clear patterning along racial lines, rather than along lines of religious tradition. More so than religious tradition, it is race that best predicts Taylor and Mereino's (2011) respondents' views concerning the causes of racial inequality, as well as the appropriate remedies for racial inequality. However, these patterns are important in another way: they are also indicative of racial consciousness.

Racial consciousness can be said to be a form of group consciousness" which is derived from a sense of group position and linked fate (McClain etl. 2009:476-478; Chong & Rogers 2005, Lee 2007). Thus, Figures 1.1 through 5.1 show racial group similarity exist across religious tradition (Taylor and Mereino 2011). Furthermore, as McClain etl. (2009:476-477) and others point out, since group consciousness is multidimensional, "it is best to measure it with multiple measures" in a way which captures "the tendency toward sentiment and ideological identification with a racial group (Lien 1994; Miller, Gurin, Gurin, and Malanchuk 1981; Sanchez 2006; Brown 1931). This is different from a typical measure of racial identification in that measures of racial consciousness indicate ideological orientation about racially divisive issues, and is not a measure of how close or connected one feels towards one's own racial group.

Some research suggests Evangelicalism's⁴ focus on the importance of freewill particularly works to maintain individualistic attitudes concerning Black/White inequality among Whites, more-so than any other religious tradition (Cobb 2013). However, the above figures from Taylor and Mereino (2011) indicate these differences between religious traditions to be

⁴ Conservative Protestants, Evangelical Protestants, alongside others described as Christian conservative and fundamentalist, and Christian right espouse similar core principles, albeit, in practice, their emphasis on specific aspects of their overall belief system may vary substantially (Steensland, Robinson, Wilcox, Park, Regnerus, and Woodberry 2000; Woodberry and Smith 1998). In this study they are considered the same.

minimal at best. Nevertheless a confluence of research indicates that White Conservatives are more likely to view racial inequality as based on individual choices than structural accounts (Tranby and Hartman 2008; Taylor and Mereino 2007), and that when Evangelicals do point to structural causes for black/White inequality, they tend to place the blame on the deficiencies of Black culture: i.e., on such things as the lack of family values and Black's over-reliance on government (Taylor and Mereino 2011; Emerson and Smith 2000; Emerson, Smith and Sikkink 1999).

Consider the following statements, taken from Evangelical respondents in Emerson, Smith and Sikkink (1999), concerning the inequality that exists between Blacks and Whites. One respondent stated, "It is far better [. . .] to 'give them the basics of God and teach them about Jesus. That is going to bring them a whole lot more out of poverty than it is to give them a welfare check'" (Emerson, Smith and Sikkink 1999:408). Another respondent stated, "I know myself [. . .] when people find God, one of the first things they do is clean up and get a job" (Emerson, Smith and Sikkink 1999:408). The subtext is that the disadvantages experienced by Blacks result from their lack of a relationship with God. In essence, this affirms White Evangelicals' spiritual superiority.

Notably, as Emerson, Smith and Sikkink (1999) point out, White Evangelicals are more likely than other White Americans to perceive Black economic disadvantage as resulting from "black Americans lack [of] hope and vision" as well as their incapability "to see what is truly possible" (Emerson, Smith and Sikkink 1999:407). Bonilla-Silva puts it in the following manner:

Compared to Jim Crow racism, the ideology of 'color blindness' seems like "racism lite." Instead of relying on name calling (niggers, spics, chinks)

colorblind racism otherizes softly ('these people are human, too'); instead of proclaiming that God placed minorities in the world in a servile position, it suggests that they are behind because they do not work hard enough[.] (2018:3)

In analyzing the Evangelical rationale, since it is God who makes humans to see what is possible, these disadvantaged blacks are symbolically blind and "Godless." Taken together, we see expressions of faith, as well as racial and political views, occurring simultaneously and interconnected⁵ through oversimplified moral reasoning (see Young, Willer, and Keltner 2013).

According to Bonilla-Silva (2003), what the above excerpts from Emerson, Smith, and Sikkink's (1999) respondents represent are storylines (2003). Storylines are "socially shared tales," whose potency rests in the way in which they are taken for granted and in need of no substantiation (Bonilla-Silva 2003:72). Whether the story of heaven being ethno-racially diverse and thereby justifying efforts at religious based ethno-racial diversity, or the understanding that "one's faith, obedience, and relationship to God" allows one to transcend earthly circumstances, these storylines obscure the potent role race plays in impacting people's lives.

Young, Willer, and Keltner describe how the moral reasoning associated with both religious and political conservatism "involves solving moral problems through quick and unequivocal application of previously established moral codes" (Young, Willer, and Keltner 2013:110). This diminishes the capacity for deliberative examinations of fact (Young, Willer, and Keltner 2013; Gomez and Wilson 2006).

⁵ Human action is "multivocal or polysemic" (Goffman 1979: 2): that is to say, having many meanings "encoded" within it. So, while persons may draw upon cultural scripts in fashioning their behavior for particular reasons, their behaviors carry with them an accumulation of cultural meaning which at least affirm already existent hierarchies within the social structure (Ridgeway 2011; Ridgeway 2008).

Ironically there is consensus among religious scholars that ethno-racially diverse congregations are maintained through the nurturing of distinct religious identities that focus adherents' subjectivity in a way that "subvert[s] or avoid[s] the structural realities of race" (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013:220; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998). This consistent finding has prompted scholars to claim that ethno-racially diverse religious interactions also have far reaching impacts on persons who attend such services (Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty 2015; Marti 2015; Marti 2010).

The Case for Religious Based Ethno-racial Transcendence

The most ardent proponent for ethno-racial transcendence is Gerardo Marti (2008, 2010), who argues that multiracial congregations employ social practices which obfuscate ethnic and racial identity. Specifically, Marti (2008; 2009; 2010; 2015) asserts that "otherworldly, value-rational ideals" are used to enforce specific religious identities that become prominent within the lives of those who attend ethno-racially diverse congregations. Underscored in Marti's (2008; 2009; 2010; 2015) analyses are three transitional "moments" which frame the overall identity processes involved: (1) affinity, (2) identity reorientation, and (3) transcendence.

According to Marti (2009:57), "affinity exists between individuals when they share interests that draw them together and provide an initial orientation for further interactions." In simple terms, Marti identifies as affinity as attraction. It is generally understood that all individuals either experience attraction or aversion to particular aspects of religious settings. Whereas ethno-racial diversity is one factor that attracts persons to attend ethno-racially diverse religious settings, it need not be the only reason. It follows in any case, that persons' emotional experiences and their interpretation of events mediates their continued attendance or lack thereof. This is because in order for "affinity-based involvement" to continue, persons' experiences must

be emotionally rewarding. This is the only way for “affinity based” identity reorientation (taken to mean a reorientation in racial consciousness) or an increased level of identification with a particular congregation can occur. Marti (2009) says:

Through affinity-based involvement in the congregation, a person’s [social] identity⁶ begins to shift away from bases that lie outside of the congregation to one that is rooted directly in the [shared] history, values, and beliefs of the congregation. (59)

In essence, according to Marti (2009), it is these ethno-racially diverse religious settings which begin to become the basis of participants’ most salient social identities and sense of self. Finally, Marti (2009) says:

When a person’s shared religious identity overrides potentially divisive aspects of ethnic affiliation in considerations of social interaction, ethnic transcendence has been achieved.

Marti (2009) basically asserts when participants’ religious identities are structured around their congregations in a manner which particularly supersedes divisive aspects of preexistent racial consciousness, ethno-racial transcendence has occurred. However, I emphasize that what appears to be increased religious identification does not necessarily translate into ethno-racial transcendence.

⁶ Here it is important to note that persons have multiple identities (Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje 2002; Howard 2000). Depending upon whom one is speaking, the term identity may be emblematic of different aspects of the self. According to Howard, “individuals define their identities along two dimensions: social, defined by membership in various social groups; and personal, the idiosyncratic attributes that distinguish an individual from others” (2000:369). Based upon the phrasing of Marti (2009), the current researcher sees Marti (2009) as more-so referencing attendees’ religious identity and their racial consciousness. Although other academics make clear distinction between group consciousness and group identification (see McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009), Marti’s (2009) model of transcendence conflates the two, especially when asserting that “shared religious identity overrides potentially divisive aspects of ethnic affiliation .”

The failure of Marti (2008; 2009; 2010) to ground his research within a broader historical context improperly positions multiracial and/or ethno-racially diverse congregations as being insular settings within themselves. As noted, persons' religious viewpoints, identities, and sense of self emerge in the context of race based experiences which transcend organizational boundaries (Blum and Harvey 2012; Alumkal 2004; Becker 1998).

Whereas more insular examinations may allow for the identification of key aspects of self-categorization and organizational identification, that, as Marti states, are "inherent to the ongoing reproduction of multiracial congregations" (2015:1050), these processes are in no way a clear approximation of ethno-racial transcendence. The fact that Marti's (2008; 2009; 2010; 2015) definition of transcendence has become more inclusive over time is indication that he does not rule out alternative explanations, but rather incorporates them so as to affirm his preexisting premise. This in and of itself violates one of the key components of establishing causation by not ruling out viable alternative explanations.

This lack of specificity is captured by Marti's assertion, that "while ethnic transcendence provides a broad sense of how congregational diversity is achieved, it is not a monolithic process" (Marti 2015: 1050). This lack of specificity also occurs as Marti states that "the emergence [and maintenance] of multiracial congregations cannot be adequately explained by the attitudes of individuals attending these congregations" (2015:1053). My view is that ethno-racial diversity within congregations can be explained through the attitudes that individuals hold towards their congregations, especially when the attitudes being considered addresses aspects of positive affect regarding their congregations.

Indeed the term "spiritual kinship" as used by Marti emphasizes a type of closeness that may be overly mystified based upon the subject matter itself (i.e., religion). Seemingly Marti

(2015) drawing on Weber's (1978; 1946) examination of charismatic authority and Durkheim's (1995) examination of collective consciousness fails to consider today's multiracial congregations existing within the context of a highly specialized society whose organic solidarity, race relations, and diverse information streams may work to impede the congealing of some forms of religious based group consciousness. And this should be the case, especially when the basis of persons' racialized experiences lies beyond the boundaries of a particular congregation. That being said, Marti (2015) does put forth two paths through which ethno-racial transcendence might occur. Marti (2015) says:

In the first path, which draws on Weber, ethnic affiliations recede and a new, overriding, and mission-driven religious identity comes to the fore as charismatic leaders reorient individual identities toward a common sacred cause. The second path draws on Durkheim and emphasizes the corporate empowering of individuals through ritual worship as people of different racial affiliations perform powerful, new, and morally-binding social bonds in becoming part of a large, common, sacred tribe. (2015: 1054-1055)

In the view of Marti (2015), the above represent "two different paths of achieving ethnic transcendence" (2015: 1050).

However, when Marti (2015) draws from the work of Weber and Durkheim to put forth his conceptual pathways he neglects to more fully examine other aspects of his own argument. Elsewhere Marti says "a focus on congregations as organizational systems is necessary" for understanding how racially diverse organizations are maintained (2015:1053). Yet, Marti nor other religious scholars have specifically identified the mechanisms that work to maintain ethno-racial diversity within religious settings through statistical modeling. In short, the theoretical

pathways mentioned above have not been empirically examined. Although I do not contend to test Marti's conceptual scheme in the present research, I do put forth alternative viewpoints that are testable with regards to the maintenance of multiracial congregations, as well as how ethno-racial transcendence might occur.

The Nurturing of Consensus and Social Cohesion

In order to provide a clearer understanding of the social processes at work, it is necessary to provide some conception of the group level processes associated with the nurturing of consensus and the creation of social cohesion. By consensus, I mean the general collective attitude or sentiment of the vast majority of a group members concerning any real, imagined or symbolic object, or set of objects. It is the collective definition or view that the vast majority of a group holds towards any real, imagined, or symbolic object. In the case of the current research, it is the collective definition or view that religious attendees have towards their congregations. In this manner there need not be a nurturing of distinct religious identities which supersede racial consciousness: rather religious settings only need nurture an acceptable level of satisfaction with the congregations (i.e., a positive affect) that works to maintain attendance.

Although in literature cited earlier, ethno-racial diversity has been seen as one of the main reasons some persons choose to attend ethno-racially diverse religious settings, Edwards (2008) found that there was no one reason why persons of different ethno-racial backgrounds continued to attend. While Edwards (2008) found that interracial fellowship enhanced Whites' religious experiences, and was a clear reason for their attendance, the vast majority of Blacks did not attend for similar reasons. Rather, most Blacks who attended did so out of their preference for organizational practices not generally associated with more traditional Black churches (Edwards 2008:132). Organizational practices such as the use of homiletics, the experience of

heightened emotion, excitement, and long services are often associated with the Black Church tradition. According to Edwards (2008) Blacks who attend multiracial congregations do so out of a preference for religious environments that have minimal use of homiletics, heightened emotion, excitement, and long services (see Pitt 2010; Edwards 2008). The point is that ethnographically diverse congregations can be socially cohesive even when persons from different ethnographic backgrounds attend for different reasons.

If this is the case, Marti's (2008; 2009; 2010) theoretical conceptualization, may not be applicable, with a more accurate depiction of what is actually taking place being similar to the model contained in Figure 6.1: in essence, within the Multiracial Congregational Context, the lack of congregational dissatisfaction is the actual outcome that Marti approximates as a form of

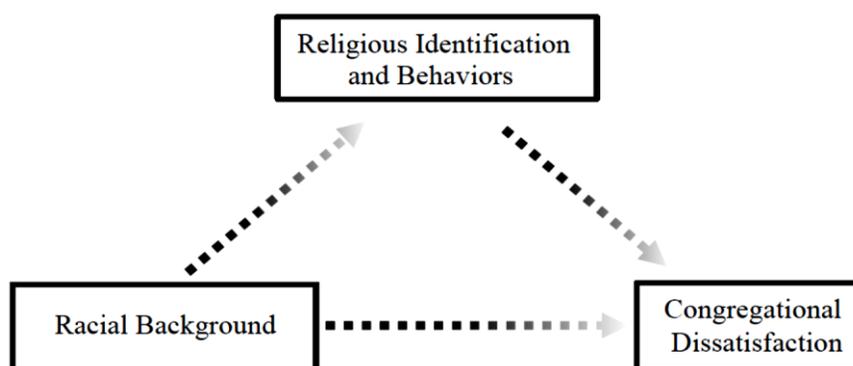


Figure 6.1

The mediation of the relationship between Racial Background and Congregational Dissatisfaction within the Multiracial Congregational Context

ethno-racial transcendence.⁷ In this case, the apparent presentation of a unified religious identity does not translate into ethno-racial transcendence, rather the garnering of a level of consensus regarding the adequacy of a particular religious organization. Thus, an apparent salience in a person's level of religious identification, whether that be in terms of the specific beliefs and

⁷ I do not attempt to specify Marti's (2008; 2009; 2010; and 2015) model. Figure 6 is an alternative that seeks to put forth a plausible alternative. The specification of Marti's (2008; 2009; 2010; and 2015) model(s) remain the responsibility of he and others who support his viewpoint.

practices of a congregation, or a broader set of religious beliefs and practices, cannot be seen to equate with a shift in racial consciousness. Furthermore, to date there has been no evidence that any link exist between racial consciousness and congregational dissatisfaction within any religious setting, but especially within the context of multiracial religious settings.

In fact, the sociological literature on social cohesion stands at odds with Marti's (2008; 2009; 2010) assumption that racial consciousness must be obfuscated. Whereas social cohesion may be termed as the sum total of forces, which act upon individuals within a group to remain members of that group (Friedkin 2004), Friedkin is explicit in saying:

Social cohesion does not require small networks, high density networks, or networks based on strong interpersonal ties, such as friendships. A large, complexly differentiated group, with members connected directly or indirectly (through intermediaries) by paths of positive (weak or strong) interpersonal ties, may be cohesive if the group's social network has particular structural characteristics. (2004:417)

Among these "particular structural characteristics" are recurrent positive interpersonal interactions which "help to produce homogeneous and coordinated membership attitudes and behaviors" (Friedkin 2004:419). As far as integration among persons of ethno-racially diverse backgrounds, positive regard concerning the congregation and continued attendance are the only "homogeneous and coordinated membership attitudes and behaviors" researchers need be concerned with.

The fact that scholars describe the processes associated with ethno-racially diverse religious settings as being supportive of distinct religious identities (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998)

should not be construed as amounting to any form of consensus regarding any particular set of religious beliefs. For example, persons may actively attend the same congregation while not necessarily agreeing as to the following: whether the rapture of the church is something that is to actually take place; whether women have the right to control their own reproductive functions, and/or whether reparations for slavery and post-civil war racism are warranted. Indeed both the emergence and maintenance of ethno-racially diverse religious settings need not be prefaced upon the explicit embrace of distinct religious identities, but rather, whatever idiosyncratic tastes are fulfilled so as to produce social cohesion among persons of diverse ethno-racial backgrounds.

In this manner the lack of consensus towards any real, imagined, or symbolic object may also be a means through which a group's social cohesion is maintained (Pirkey 2015). Although consensus and social cohesion are inextricably linked, the linkage itself does not necessitate a positive correlation between the two. For instance, group members' limited exposure to alternative or contentious viewpoints, information, and/or beliefs, may culminate in a type of unsubstantiated perceived homogeneity (which is a positive emotion) or what Pirkey (2015) calls false consensus. Although false consensus is not a subject directly examined within the study of religion, when studies examine how divisive aspects of race are avoided, they do address the idea of false consensus indirectly. Marti, for example, says, "the process of ethnic transcendence as originally developed depends on havens being racially neutral" (2010:203). In short, more contentious aspects of race are avoided so as to help to produce and sustain "homogeneous and coordinated membership attitudes and behaviors" (see Friedkin 2004:419). Not only does this fit the conceptualization of false consensus as put forth by Pirkey (2015), but this is strikingly similar to the political strategy known as deracialization.

Deracialization: An Old Wolf in New Sheep's Clothing

The idea of deracialization was first publicly put forth by Charles Hamilton (reference), who asserted that Blacks should work to create cross-racial coalitions by positioning themselves so as to appeal to a broader White electorate (referenced in McCormick and Jones 1993; Orey 2006; Orey and Ricks 2007). In short Blacks would frame issues so as not to put off or alienate White voters based on issues of race. Figuratively speaking, one could say this meant a direct effort by Blacks not to be a racial thorn in the side of White America. With regards to the field of politics, McCormick and Jones express deracialization as:

conducting a campaign in a stylistic fashion that defuses the polarizing effects of race by avoiding explicit reference to race-specific issues, while at the same time emphasizing those issues that are perceived as racially transcendent, thus mobilizing a broad segment of the electorate for purposes of capturing or maintaining public office” (1993:76).

Clearly there is much practical overlap between (1) the utilization of what might be termed as race neutral politics in order to create and maintain cross-racial political coalitions and (2) the utilization of what might be seen as somewhat racially neutral religious practices for the express purpose of creating and maintaining ethno-racially diverse religious interactions.

The key point here is that social cohesion can be maintained through acts of deracialization and/or the emphasizing of distinct religious identities and practices within the context of so-called “race neutral havens.” In a practical sense the processes are very similar if not one in the same. However, of an importance is both the research which suggests Black politicians who run “race-neutral/deracialized [campaigns are] less likely to support interests that have traditionally been found to be pertinent to the black community” (Orey and Ricks

2007:330; George 2013), as well as the religious research which suggests that the power dynamics within ethno-racially diverse religious settings more often reflect the interests of Whites while doing little to address major issues associated with ethnic and racial inequality (Gurrentz 2014; Edwards 2008; Priest and Priest 2007).

A Question of Integration or Assimilation

The problem is as Pitt (2010) points out, Blacks have long integrated into many majority White settings without assimilation taking place on an actual deeper level (also see, Pierce 2003; Perry 2007). By a deeper level of assimilation I mean a social parity in which Blacks are allowed full expression of their views without threat and fear of reprisal, oppression, and marginalization (see Lukes 2005; Bartky 1999; Apfelbaum and Lubek 1976; Apfelbaum 1999). To date the literature on multi-racial Protestant congregations does not suggest this to be the case. What the literature does bear out, is that some Blacks have shown a willingness to undergo social and psychological marginalization in order to affirm a more unified Christian identity (Perry 2012; Christerson and Emerson 2003; Bracey and Moore 2017).

Although overall the study of ethno-racially diverse religious interaction has become a topic of increased focus within the contemporary study of religion, most depictions have been only vaguely informative as to the processes at play within such settings (Marti 2009). In my view, the nurturing of distinct religious identities as put forth in the literature (see Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998) equates to a building of organizational consensus regarding the adequacy of respondents' congregations (in essence, a form of social cohesion), while falling short of producing actual ethno-racial transcendence.

The literature unambiguously shows that, dependent on the situation, some identities or aspects of the self may appear dormant until conditions make them salient or either conditions fail to manage them (Steele 2010; Steele, Spencer, and Aronson 2002; see Bennet, Merritt, Edwards, and Sollers 2004; see May 2001). Therefore, Marti's observation of the lack of tension and conflict along ethno-racial lines should not be interpreted as an indication of ethno-racial transcendence at all. The fact that sensitive aspects of race tend to be avoided and/or minimized (see Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013:220; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998) is an indication in and of itself that aspects of race, racial identity and/or racial consciousness are being managed. If it were not so there would be no need to avoid and/or minimize sensitive aspects of race.

In my view, only under certain circumstances does actual ethno-racial transcendence take place in a manner such that divisive aspects of a person's racial consciousness might actually come to be "obfuscated" or diminished within the context of a highly racialized society. For this purposes I now press into service Deaux and Martin's (2003) network and categorical context model of identity.

Identity Processes through Network Affiliation and Social Categorization

Deaux and Martin (2003), in drawing upon the work of Stryker, Tajfel, Turner, and associates (Stryker 1997; Stryker 1980; Stryker and Serpe 1982; Stryker, Serpe, and Hunt 2000; Tajfel 1981; Tajfel and Turner 1986; Turner 1999; Turner, Hoog, Oakes, Reicher, and Wetherall 1987), posits that identity processes take place at "two [interconnected albeit separate] levels of social context" (101, 108). At one level are the interpersonal networks "that exist in real settings and carry real consequences in everyday life" (Deaux and Martin 2003:108). At this level persons' points of view are greatly influenced by those they routinely interact with (Lewin 1943;

Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001; Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Deaux and Martin 2003). This type of interaction is the bases for group consciousness due to the proximity of groups' social positioning and their commonality of experience (Lewin 1943; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001; Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Deaux and Martin 2003). Although this applies to both race and faith centered networks, their respective influence on consciousness may not be comparable. This is due to the saliency at which race exists across all aspects of American life (Omi and Winant 2014; Jung and Kwon 2013; Alumkal 2004). It is race which tends to influence how faith and/or religious views manifest as persons of different faiths and religious orientations are melded into dominant racial categories which more prominently influence life chances (Guess 2006; Roediger 1999; Omi and Winant 2014). With regards to whether perceptions and ways of thinking emerge driven by either race or faith, on average it is from disparate racial experiences alongside disparate primary networks which makes race a more primary informer of American's social and psychological make-up.

Deaux and Martin's (2003) second level of context regarding social identity is that of the "categorical context" (2003:105). The "categorical context" entails the "representational meaning system" with which persons must contend (Deaux and Martin 2003:105). From both a racial formation perspective, the categorical context consists of the symbolic domain with which racial meanings allow for and prompt persons to negotiate their self-concepts with regards to matters of race (Omi and Winant 2014). In terms of religious identification, the categorical context consists of the symbolic domain whereby frames of categorization prompt persons to negotiate their self-concepts and identities with regards to religious matters. However, racial background should remain a more prominent predictor of Evangelicals' attitudes because most

Evangelicals' primary interpersonal networks, regardless of their faith, remain racially homogeneous.

This discussion is consistent with Deaux and Martin's (2003) first proposition and when applying their identity processes model to preexisting data, they found that:

Ascribed group membership (e.g., ethnic/racial background, disability status) will dictate the primary interpersonal networks in which individuals participate. Typically these networks will be homogeneous and will strongly support their members, who in turn will develop a strong subjective identification with the group.

If one takes the above as a point of departure, one clear way for religious based ethno-racial transcendence to occur is for persons' *religious based networks* to inform more prominently on their values, perceptions, and ways of thinking, than their *ethno-racial networks*, identification, and experiences. However, aside from the anecdotal evidence examined above, the literature has never shown this clearly to occur. Unless the subjective accounts which Marti uses to undergird his "findings" of ethno-racial transcendence can be examined in a way which establishes the lack of significant race based subjectivity, ethno-racial transcendence cannot concretely be said to have occurred.

Whereas any idiosyncratic desire may garner initial attendance of an ethno-racially diverse religious setting, it is clear that continued attendance only occurs when such identification with particular religious settings is supported (Becker 1998; Jenkins 2003; Edwards 2008; Stanczak 2006; Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013). In line with these findings are Deaux and Martin's (2003) second supported proposition, which states:

Status considerations and possibilities for group mobility will give rise to

identity negotiation processes, whereby individuals will seek entry into alternative social networks that are consistent with and supportive of an achieved or chosen identity.

Although the literature does show some persons' willingness to undergo social and psychological marginalization in order to affirm a more unified Christian identity (Perry 2012; Christerson and Emerson 2003), the literature has not established this to be the case for either the vast majority of subordinate and dominant group members who attend multiracial congregations.

Indeed, the very way in which Marti describes how aspects of minority culture (i.e., black gospel music, minority ethnic dress, etc.) come to be utilized, or even celebrated, should not simply be viewed as a way of embracing diversity (see Marti 2012; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2004; Yancey 2003), but simultaneously as a way of appealing to some attendees' already existent racial and ethnic identities (Marti 2012; Yancey 2003). In this manner such actions may be a concessionary tool or device whereby other racially divisive issues are kept out of public discourse (Lukes 2005; Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003).

If this is the case the apparent ethno-racial transcendence exhibited by some respondents in Marti's studies may be the result of emotional labor whereby congregations purposely fashion congregational interaction so as to not inflame "potentially divisive aspects" of racial or ethnic affiliation. Again, it follows in this case that racial transcendence has not occurred; rather racial identity and the associated outcomes (such as ideological schisms and negative affect) are being managed.

Deaux and Martin's (2003) third proposition states:

A person's move in and out of social networks will be motivated by the level

of support the network provides. The more support these interpersonal networks offer, the more strongly one's identification will be reinforced, resulting in increased levels of identification. Rejection by network members will result in decreased levels of identification with that group.

Thus, Proposition 3 when applied to the phenomenon of ethno-racially diverse settings suggest that persons' level of identification with newer interpersonal networks will depend upon the level of overall support that such networks present to them. It should however be noted, that there is a distinction between Deaux and Martin's (2003) "strong subjective identification" in proposition one and Deaux and Martin's "increased" and "decreased levels of identification" in proposition three. The first proposition is speaking of a type of group consciousness. The latter proposition is speaking of a level of group identification.

In application, Deaux and Martin (2003) suggests the less support ethno-racially diverse congregations provide to minority group members, the lower minority group members will tend to identify with their ethno-racially diverse congregations. Conversely, the more real and symbolic support such congregations provide minority group members, the greater their level of identification will tend to be towards that particular group or network. In fact, DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim argue ethno-racially diverse congregations may even find it beneficial to implement a "Church within a Church" model (2003:142). Under this model ethno-racially diverse congregations attempt to foster an intense or "close level" of fellowship amongst distinct ethno-racial minority groups by providing congregational support through persons of the same ethno-racial background as attendees. However, the question which presents itself is, what potential is there for persons' ethno-racial identities to be used in a manner which

might work to supplant their racial consciousness? The answer is that it is unlikely, and Deaux and Martin's (2003) words allude to this.

The fact is that most religious organizations more accurately work to achieve the continued and ongoing attendance of members or potential members. In short, these organizations seek to nurture a level of satisfaction – not necessarily any form of ethno-racial transcendence. This is not to say that religious based ethno-racial transcendence cannot occur; only that Marti and others have not found evidence of the mechanisms through which it does.

McKinney (2006) points out, for many Whites, it is close interpersonal friendships with persons of other racial backgrounds, which provide the context in which they become profusely aware of the role that race plays, not only in the life of their friends, but also within their own lives. Whereas McKinney's (2006) qualitative based approach calls such moments "turning points," laboratory based research conducted by Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, and Galinsky (2011) has shown that minority perspective taking by majority group members has lasting effects on both "automatic and deliberate interracial evaluations." In a way this gets at a key issue: that is, until there is a commonality of experience, deep seated racial consciousness is not likely to be curtailed. Thus far the research that stands in support of religious based ethno-racial transcendence has not focused on this area of examination.

Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) found blacks who attended multiracial congregations were "less likely than either Whites in multiracial congregations [. . .] or Blacks in more racially homogenous congregations to endorse structuralist understandings of racial inequality" (193). Put another way, Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) found Blacks who attended multiracial churches were significantly less likely to attribute structural inequities as the cause of

Black/White inequality when compared to Whites who attended multiracial churches, and blacks who attended more racially homogeneous Black churches.

On a surface level it appears that multiracial congregational context may moderate the relationship between the ethno-racial background of Blacks and some forms of racial consciousness. Following this line of thought, Figure 7.1 provides a simple conceptualization

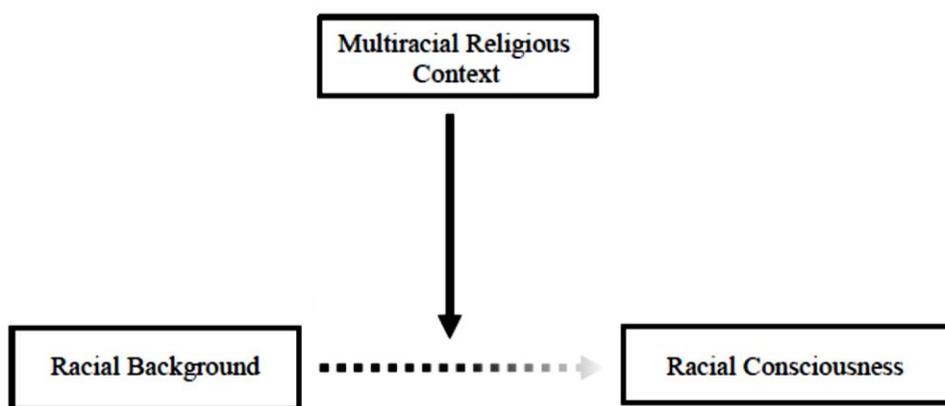


Figure 7.1

Multiracial Religious Context's Moderation of the relationship between Racial Background and Racial Consciousness

of the processes in question. The horizontal segmented arrow between Racial Background and Racial Consciousness represents the assumed relationship between Racial Background and Racial Consciousness. The intersection of the horizontal arrow pointing down from Multiracial Religious Context indicates how multiracial religious contexts are assumed to moderate the relationship between ethno-racial background of Blacks and Racial Consciousness.

A Point of Caution, Differentiation, and Extension

Although the above mentioned studies seem to support the notion that ethno-racially diverse religious settings have a profound impact on respondents' attitudes and social identities, the extent to which divisive aspects of persons' ethno-racial consciousness can be overcome is questionable for many reasons. First, research such as Yancey (1999) follows the contact

hypothesis framework. Findings from within this area generally express the notion that outcomes from cross racial contact depends on (1) the aspect of racial identification and/or racial consciousness that is being measured; and (2) on the nature and intensity of the interaction itself (Henry and Hardin 2006; Ihlanfeldt and Scafidi 2001; Craig and Richeson 2014; Robinson and Preston 1976). There is the apparent assumption that religious interactions that take place within ethno-racially diverse contexts are of the correct nature and intensity to bring about transcendence.

However, as Jackman (1994) and others points out, one may feel rather close to persons of other groups, while at the same time carrying a deeper set of ideological beliefs to which they will generally default when pressed (Bonilla-Silva and Forman 2000; Carter and Rivera 2011; Perry 2012). In this manner, one should not be dismayed that both Edwards (2008) and Yancey (1999) found Whites who attended church with Blacks, tended to be less socially distanced from Blacks, and to stereotype Blacks less than Whites who attended more mono-racial congregations.

The literature indicates that persons' level of identification and/or their sense of self may on a surface level be easily influenced by the groups and/or organizations of which they are a part (Burke 2006; Martin 2002; Sennett and Cobb 1972). However a total shift or change in racial consciousness through organizational processes seems unlikely. This is because identity processes are not insular events which take place within organizations, rather they exist and take place across organizational boundaries (He and Brown 2013; Deaux and Burke 2010; Deux and Martin 2003; Haden 2000).

Edwards (2008) found that particularly White's and Black's views on racial inequality were easily distinguishable despite these persons attending the same multiracial church. This suggests that the phenomenon of racial consciousness is not as "fluid" as some might have us to

believe. The question is just how viscous is racial consciousness within the context of ethno-racially diverse religious interaction. McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts say, “racial consciousness among blacks may decline under certain conditions” (2009:478), and that “it is important for scholars to understand better the contexts that activate and those that might limit or stymie the development of group consciousness. (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:479).

Highlighting both points is the pattern of findings which suggests attitudes representative of explicit bias are more easily diminished through positive cross racial contact than are attitudes which are more representative of implicit bias (Dixon, Durkheim, and Tredoux 2007; Henry and Hardin 2006; Hewstone, Lewis, and Willis 2002; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, and Anastasio 1994). The point is that implicit bias is more ideological and indicates a deeper level of racial consciousness than measures of explicit bias and/or feelings of identification or cross-racial closeness.

A Flawed Rationale?

To specifically draw connections between multiracial congregations and religious based ethno-racial transcendence wrongly positions multiracial congregations as being substantively different than congregations having dissimilar racial compositions when the literature suggests that multiracial congregations appear to be no different than majority White congregations in their functioning (Edwards 2008; Priest and Priest 2007). Indeed, the rationale for use of the multiracial congregation classification appears misguided. Whereas multi-racial congregations, are defined within the literature as religious settings having no more than 80% persons of a single ethno-racial background (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Emerson and Woo 2006; Emerson and Kim 2003).

The original rationale for use of the 80/20 criteria was given by Emerson and Kim (2003), who in referencing Kanter (1977) and Pettigrew and Martin (1986), noted that this 80/20 proportional split, or thereabout, was the “tipping point” at which a minority’s presence affected organizational social dynamics. This is the point at which Kanter (1977) says minority groups have a “large enough number to overcome the problems of tokenism and develop supportive alliances” (1977:987). However supportive alliances may be formed across ethno-racial boundaries well before the minority proportion of a population reaches 20% (see Edwards 2008). In fact, Edwards (2008) noted a tipping point of around 10% White within one majority Black congregation. Also, Kanter’s (1977), and Pettigrew and Martin’s (1986) research is more reflective of an era containing increased levels of overt sexual and racial antipathy. To utilize this standard assumes that same level of antipathy exists today as it did some 30 – 40 years ago, which is not the case.⁸

In terms of diversity itself, the dichotomous nature of Kanter’s (1977) and Pettigrew and Martin’s (1986) studies are not representative of the types of the diversity which exists within Protestant settings today. Whereas observations by Kanter (1977) and Pettigrew and Martin (1986) focused exclusively on the interactions between persons who were Black and White, more recent studies which draw upon the 80/20 criteria show multiracial congregations not to be

⁸ According to Kanter (1977), and Pettigrew and Martin (1987), tokens are minority group members who are considered unworthy of their placement within settings generally occupied by dominant group members. As a result of this unworthiness, they are also considered incompetent and marginalized when stereotypes concerning their groups are drawn upon and applied to them. The current researcher’s point is that the overt embrace of diversity within Evangelical congregations requires some form of subjective sincerity in order to avoid the cognitive dissonance which would occur when persons became aware of a disjuncture between their espoused beliefs and their actions (Gawronski and Strack 2004). It is the researcher’s view these socio-religiously affiliated minorities are considered exemplars when compared to *Other* minority group members who are not affiliated. It is the unaffiliated minority group members who exist outside of dominant group’s socio-religious boundaries who embody and represent the stereotypical expectations associated with race (see Hogg 1992). These are the Other Blacks, the Other Native Americans, the Other Hispanics, etc. Conversely, socio-religiously affiliated minority group members are seen in a similar fashion as themselves: sinners saved by grace. Therefore application of Kanter’s (1977) and Pettigrew and Martin’s (1987) concept of tokenism is improper.

dichotomous along ethno-racial lines, but rather consist of persons from numerous ethno-racial backgrounds (see Marti 2009; and Edwards 2008). Another rationale for using the 80/20 criteria is Sigelman's, Bledsoe's, Welch's, and Combs's (1996) assertion that the 80/20 split provides a 99% probability of cross-racial contact. However, Sigelman's, Bledsoe's, Welch's, and Combs's (1996) assertion rests upon persons randomly interacting within cities and neighborhoods, when persons who interact within religious settings generally interact in an ongoing and structured fashion. This suggests a high probability of cross-racial contact even if ethno-racially diverse congregations do not meet the 80/20 criteria.

Furthermore, the literature indicates that the 80/20 criteria is not easily maintained, and that most congregations which meet these criteria are in a state of transition (Emerson and Woo 2006; Garces-Foley 2007). In fact, Garces-Foley (2007) notes much variation within these congregations, such that even if these congregations are able to maintain this designation, differences as well as similarities would still exist among them (see also Emerson and Woo 2006). Therefore, the use of the 80/20 criteria assumes a distinctiveness, when they like all congregations, as well as persons within them, are responsive to numerous internal and external influences (Tracey, Phillips, and Lounsbury 2014; Dougherty 2003; He and Brown 2013; Deaux and Burke 2010; Deux and Martin 2003; Haden 2000). More specifically, it tends to reason that minority group members who attend congregations not meeting the 80/20 criteria might be equally likely to undergo ethno-racial transcendence as those in multiracial congregations, since multi-racial congregations are seen to be most similar to Majority White Congregations (Edwards 2008; Priest and Priest 2007).

A Question of Methods and Interpretations?

What then accounts for such findings of Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015), who found that blacks who attended multiracial congregations were “less likely than either Whites in multiracial congregations [. . .] or Blacks in more racially homogenous congregations to endorse structuralist understandings of racial inequality” (2015:193)? What then accounts for Marti’s (2010; 2009; 2008) acclamation that ethno-racial transcendence has occurred? When one scrutinizes the methodology of Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) and Marti (2009), three particular issues stand out.

First, when Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) controlled for region, the omitted reference category is the South. Given the historical racial climate of the South, it could be that Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty’s (2015) results are partially indicative of persons living in areas where prejudice and racism are not perceived to be a salient an issue as those that live in the South (see Brown and Barnes-Nacoste 1993). Brown and Barnes-Nacoste (1993) found evidence that severe racial conditions culminated into a distinct racial consciousness for older Blacks reared in the South. This is important because, according to the US Census (2010), 56.5% of Non-Hispanic Blacks live in the South, followed by 17.9% in the Mid-West, 16.8% in the Northeast, and 8.8% in the West. Thus, we might expect the racial consciousness of Blacks not reared in the south to manifest differently.

Secondly, as of 2007 only 2% of Non-Hispanic Blacks were Catholic (Pew 2015). Within Cobb’s, Perry’s, and Daugherty’s (2015) sample, 7% of Blacks were Catholic (185). In short, Black Catholics were overrepresented. This is important because Catholic congregations are known to be more ethno-racially diverse than Protestant congregations (Emerson 2006). Furthermore, although Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) are somewhat passé, they thought the

following important enough to place within their methods. Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015:183-184) say:

Although it is customary to separate Protestants into Evangelical, Mainline, and Black traditions (Steensland et al. 2000), there are not a sufficient number of multiracial congregations in each of these categories to permit us to test our hypotheses. By necessity, we restrict our comparisons to Protestant, Catholic, and other faith. We create dummy variables for these three broad traditions. Protestants serve as the reference group in our statistical models, since Protestant congregations in the United States are recognized as lagging behind Catholic parishes and congregations of other faith groups in regard to racial diversity (Emerson 2006) and racial progressivism (Hunt 2002).

The point is that the Blacks who attended multiracial congregations in Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) were more likely to be Catholic and not from the South. This suggests that the Blacks in multiracial congregations whose attitudes are being measured in Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) are not representative of Blacks in general. After all, as of 2007 only 2% of Non-Hispanic Blacks were Catholic (Pew 2015). This means that for all of their use of 2 combined representative samples, one at the congregational level, and the other at the individual level, their results lack any substantive application to the vast majority of African-Americans.

Thirdly, Marti (2008; 2009; 2010), relies on his own participatory observations, as well as the subjective accounts of attendees. It appears Marti conflates the emergence of consensus regarding the adequacy of a congregation by persons of diverse ethno-racial backgrounds with actual religious based ethno-racial transcendence. This may have also been coupled with what some call the “religious congruence fallacy” (Read and Eagle 2011; Chaves 2010).

In discussing the “religious congruence fallacy” in qualitative work, Chaves (2010) says:

Its telltale sign in qualitative work is when beliefs or attitudes that a researcher hears in the field are treated as stable dispositions presumed to be equally salient across situations, when people’s accounts of how their actions are rooted in their beliefs and values are treated as causal explanations of those actions, or when the coherent stories we all try to tell about ourselves are presumed to reflect real congruence in our everyday lives. (6)

In context, persons may want to believe that increased religious identification, especially in the context of ethno-racially diverse religious interaction, allows persons to transcend divisive aspects of their racial consciousness. However, disparate racial experiences inscribe racial realities that are disparate. To assume that the cumulative effects of racial experience as manifested in any particular form of racial consciousness, has to be overcome in order to maintain ethno-racially diverse religious interaction, assumes a level primacy in persons’ identities that is not borne out in the literature. In order to explore the processes in question I now present a conceptual framework along with associated hypotheses.

Theoretical Framework and Hypotheses

Deaux and Martin identify “two different levels of social context” through which identity negotiation takes place: “a categorical context” whereby identities are symbolically affirmed and that of “interpersonal networks,” which serves as the basis of group consciousness (Lewin 1943; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001; Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Deaux and Martin 2003). The saliency of race across all aspects of American life makes race a primary informer of Americans’ consciousness, as it influences the emergence of disparate primary networks along

lines of race and disparate racial experiences (Omi and Winant 2014; Jung and Kwon 2013; Alumkal 2004). Deaux and Martin's (2003) first proposition asserts:

Ascribed group membership (e.g., ethnic/racial background, disability status) will dictate the primary interpersonal networks in which individuals participate. Typically these networks will be homogeneous and will strongly support their members, who in turn will develop a strong subjective identification with the group.

Processes associated with race dictates the disparate “primary interpersonal networks” whose overall social positioning “develop[s] a strong subjective identification” or what some might call racial consciousness (Lewin 1943; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001; Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Deaux and Martin 2003; Krysan 2000). Typically, it is Whites who see inequality as a result of individual choices and to deny the relevance of race (Taylor and Mereino 2011; Krysan 2000; Bonilla-Silva 2018; Perry 2007; Hunt 2007; McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009; Hinojosa and Park 2004).

However there is less variation between racial groups in their attitudes towards “abstract principles of equality” than towards policies more directed at remedying racial inequality (Krysan 2000). The issue of colorblindness may not be seen as particularly divisive because of its universal appeal. As Bonilla-Silva says, colorblindness has not only “captured the hearts and minds of most Whites[,]” but also “confused the hearts and minds of many Blacks.” (Bonilla-Silva 2001:95).

Hypothesis One: Between Time 1 and Time 2 minority racial background will positively predict increases in respondents' embrace of policies and/or government actions that are specifically intended to help minorities improve their standard of living. In the analyses this will be indicated by a positive relationship between the variables Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Government's Obligation.

Hypothesis Two: Between Time 1 and Time 2 minority racial background will negatively predict respondents' embrace of Colorblindness. In the analyses this will be indicated by a negative relationship between the variables Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Colorblindness.

Deaux and Martin's (2003) second proposition states:

Status considerations and possibilities for group mobility will give rise to identity negotiation processes, whereby individuals will seek entry into alternative social networks that are consistent with and supportive of an achieved or chosen identity.

Multiracial congregations allow persons of diverse ethno-racial backgrounds to symbolically affirm a unified religious identity that transcends racial boundaries. By attending multiracial congregations, persons are able to affirm a racially transcendent self-concept, as well as position their faith as universal.

Although persons' groups' social positioning and their commonality of experience is the basis of group consciousness (Lewin 1943; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001; Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Deaux and Martin 2003; Krysan 2000), the salience at which race exists across all aspects of American life (Omi and Winant 2014; Jung and Kwon 2013; Alumkal 2004) makes it doubtful that ethno-racially diverse faith centered networks in and of themselves substantively impacts the effect one's racial background has on racial consciousness. Instead it is race and its divergent racial consciousness which tends to influence how religious views manifest (Guess 2006; Omi and Winant 2014; Alumkal 2004; Bonilla-Silva 2001; Jung and Kwon 2013).

Furthermore, multi-racial congregations are generally in a state of racial transition (Emerson and Woo 2006; Garces-Foley 2007) and most often reflect majority White

congregations in their functioning (Edwards 2008; Priest and Priest 2007). This calls into question use of the 80/20 criteria to distinguish multiracial congregations from majority White congregations, with the 80/20 criteria not warranting any assumed functional distinction from that of majority White Congregations (also see Tracey, Phillips, and Lounsbury 2014; Dougherty 2003; He and Brown 2013; Deaux and Burke 2010; Deux and Martin 2003; Haden 2000). This makes multiracial congregational contexts no more likely to impact the relationship between ethno-racial background and racial consciousness than do the contexts associated with majority White congregations.

Hypothesis Three: When considering the assumed positive relationship between minority racial background and respondents' embrace of policies and/or government actions specifically intended to help minorities, the multiracial congregational context does not moderate this assumed relationship overtime. In the analyses this will be indicated by the lack of a substantial change in the positive relationship between the variables Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Government's Obligation when controlling for multiracial congregational context between Time 1 and Time 2.

Hypothesis Four: Between Time 1 and Time 2 the multiracial congregational context does not moderate the negative relationship between the minority racial backgrounds of Blacks and Hispanics and their embrace of Colorblindness. In the analyses this will be indicated by the lack of a substantial change in the negative relationship between the variables Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Colorblindness when controlling for multiracial congregational context between Time 1 and Time 2.

Deaux and Martin's (2003) third proposition states:

A person's move in and out of social networks will be motivated by the level of support the network provides. The more support these interpersonal networks offer, the more strongly one's identification will be reinforced, resulting in increased levels of identification. Rejection by network members will result in decreased levels of identification with that group.

Since the social positioning of different groups alongside the commonality of their members' experiences are the basis of group consciousness (Lewin 1943; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001; Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Deaux and Martin 2003), if religious based ethno-racial transcendence was going to occur under Deaux and Martin's (2003) model, the newer multiracial religious networks, indicated in proposition 3, would have to provide more real world and symbolic support than persons' already existent ethno-racial networks (spoken of in Proposition 1). However Deaux and Martin's (2003) wording does not suggest this. Instead Deaux and Martin (2003) differentiates between "strong subjective identification" (i.e., group consciousness) that arises from ascribed group membership under proposition 1, and the possible increased levels of identification which occur as a result of "entry into alternative social networks that are consistent with and supportive of an achieved or chosen identity," spoken of under both proposition 2 and 3.

The social positioning of different groups alongside the commonality of their members' experiences are the basis of group consciousness (Lewin 1943; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992; Bourdieu 2001; Zarubavel and Smith 2010; Deaux and Martin 2003). Though this applies to both race and faith centered networks, the saliency at which race exists across all aspects of American life (Omi and Winant 2014; Jung and Kwon 2013; Alumkal 2004), does not appear comparable religious networks' secondary influence on persons' consciousness. Instead it is race which tends to influence how faith and/or religious views manifest when persons of different faiths and religious orientations become melded into dominant racial categories (Guess 2006; Roediger 1999; Omi and Winant 2014). Even if persons do not construe this to be the case, it is from disparate racial experiences alongside disparate primary networks which makes race a more primary informer of Americans' ideological make-up (Krysan 2000).

Hypothesis 5: When considering the assumed positive relationship between minority racial background and the embrace of policies and/or government actions specifically intended to help minorities improve their standard of living, for those respondents who attend multiracial congregations between Time 1 and Time 2, various forms of religious identification and/or behaviors will not mediate this relationship. In the analyses this will be indicated by the lack of a substantial change in the positive relationship between the variables Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Government's Obligation when controlling for changes in religious identification and/or behaviors between Time 1 and Time 2.

Hypothesis 6: That for those attending Multiracial Congregations between Time 1 and Time 2, changes in various forms of religious identification and behaviors will not mediate the negative relationship between minority racial background and their embrace of Colorblindness. In the analyses this will be indicated by the lack of a substantial change in the negative relationship between the variables Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Colorblindness when controlling for changes in religious identification and/or behaviors that occur between Time 1 and Time 2.

Whereas any idiosyncratic desire may garner initial attendance of an ethno-racially diverse religious setting, it is clear that continued attendance only occurs when such identification with particular religious settings is supported (Becker 1998; Jenkins 2003; Edwards 2008; Stanczak 2006; Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013). The literature suggests there need not be a nurturing of distinct religious identities which supersede any form of racial consciousness in order for minority group membership to be maintained within multiracial congregations. Instead, it is particularly the level of consensus among minority members as to the adequateness of their multiracial congregation that is important for their continued membership.

One of the consistent findings amongst studies that examine the maintenance of multiracial congregations is that they are maintained through the nurturing of distinct religious identities that focus adherents' subjectivity in a way that "subvert[s] or avoid[s] the structural realities of race" (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013:220; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998). The esthetics of deracialization placates racial

divisions “by avoiding explicit reference to race-specific issues [. . .] [while] [. . .] emphasizing those issues that are perceived as racially transcendent” (McCormick and Jones 1993:76) rather than addressing racially divisive issues which might make more pronounced divergent manifestations of racial consciousness between persons of different ethno-racial backgrounds.

If this is the case it is not religious based ethno-racial transcendence that is being nurtured at all. In proper context, the racial neutrality component of multi-racial religious congregations, “as originally developed” by Marti (2010:203), simply suggests racial consciousness manifests is being managed in order to produce “homogeneous and coordinated membership attitudes and behaviors” (see Friedkin 2004:419), which in this particular case would mean a lack of congregational dissatisfaction for minority group members.

Indeed, the very way in which Marti describes how aspects of minority culture (i.e., black gospel music, minority ethnic dress, etc.) come to be utilized, or even celebrated, should not simply be viewed as a way of embracing diversity (see Marti 2012; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2004; Yancey 2003), but simultaneously as a way of appealing to some attendees’ already existent racial and ethnic identities (Marti 2012; Yancey 2003). In this manner such actions may be a concessionary tool that nurtures both lower levels of congregational dissatisfaction among minority group members and an increased social cohesion among all members (see Friedkin 2004). As an outcome Multiracial congregational contexts only need nurture lower levels of congregational dissatisfaction among their minority members in order to maintain this group’s continued involvement.

This is however not true for Whites who attend multiracial congregations (Scheitle and Daugherty 2010). Whites who attend multi-racial congregations tend to have a more extensive

network of family members and friends who attend their congregations as compared to both Blacks and Hispanics (Scheitle and Daugherty 2010). Whites' familial and friendship ties counteract the impact that their dissatisfaction have upon their congregational exit, thereby garnering Whites' continued attendance (Scheitle and Daugherty 2010; see also Friedkin 2004) (i.e., a type of social cohesion despite their increased levels of dissatisfaction) (see Scheitle and Daugherty 2010; and Friedkin 2004).

Hypothesis 7: Between Time 1 and Time 2, Blacks and Hispanics who attend multiracial congregations will display significantly lower level of Congregational Dissatisfaction than Whites who attend multiracial congregations. In the analyses this will be indicated by a significant negative effect between the racial backgrounds of Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Congregational Dissatisfaction.

The racial neutrality component of religious based ethno-racial transcendence, “as originally developed” by Marti (2010:203), suggests that potentially divisive aspects of racial consciousness are being managed so as to produce “homogeneous and coordinated membership attitudes and behaviors” (see Friedkin 2004:419). Therefore disparate manifestations of racial consciousness along racial lines would continue to exist even when persons from different ethno-racial backgrounds remain socially cohesive in their respective multiracial congregations.

Hypothesis 8: For those attending multiracial congregational contexts between Time 1 and Time 2, racial consciousness will not be predict Congregational Dissatisfaction. In the analyses this will be indicated by the lack of a significant effect between the two forms of racial consciousness (Government's Obligation and Colorblindness) and the dependent variable Congregational Dissatisfaction.

Deaux and Martin's (2003) third proposition posits, the more real and symbolic support such congregations provide, the greater minority group members' identification (i.e., the lower their congregational dissatisfaction) will tend to be. Ethno-racially diverse congregations' fostering of close interpersonal ties amongst minority group members is consistent with this type

of support under this model. Indeed, DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim argue ethno-racially diverse congregations might find it beneficial to implement a “‘Church within a Church’ model” (2003). In these cases multiracial congregations attempt to foster a “close level” of fellowship amongst ethno-racial minority group members by providing congregational support through persons of the same ethno-racial background (2003:142).

An overall sense of closeness to other congregational members, as well as a sense of belonging, is especially valuable in maintaining the attendance of racial minorities within ethno-racially diverse religious settings (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2003). Thus the term “spiritual kinship” as used by Marti (2005), as well as the supposed nurturing of distinct religious identities (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2003) is emblematic of a type of perceived spiritual closeness and/or perceived religious identification.

Hypothesis 9: For Blacks and Hispanics who attend multiracial congregations their significantly lower levels of Congregational Dissatisfaction between Time 1 and Time 2, will be mediated by changes in their feelings of Congregational Closeness between Times 1 and Time 2. In the analyses this will be indicated by the significant negative effect between the racial backgrounds of Black and Hispanic and the dependent variable Congregational Dissatisfaction no longer being significant once feelings of Congregational Closeness are entered and controlled for in the models.

Chapter 3: Data and Methods

The data used in the current study comes from the 2006 and 2012 Portraits of American Life Study Combined Data Set (Emerson and Sikkink 2012). The Research Triangle Institute utilized a four stage sampling procedure which yielded a representative sample of the civilian, non-institutionalized household population of the continental U.S. who were age 18 or older, and who spoke English or Spanish. More specifically, there were 2610 respondents in the 2006 Wave of the study. Only 1314 of the original respondents were able to be surveyed for the 2012 Wave. The Combined Data Set contained only the respondents who were surveyed both at Wave 1 and Wave 2. The data was then restrained to White, Black, and Hispanic respondents who self-identified as Christian at both Time 1 and Time 2 of the survey. This left a total of 879 respondents: of which 502 were White, 207 were Black, and 170 were Hispanic.⁹ All respondents attended one of four congregational types: Majority White Congregations, Majority Black Congregations, Majority Hispanic Congregations, and Multiracial Congregations. What follows next is a brief discussion concerning the concepts of racial consciousness, racial identification, racial background, and race for purposes of operationalization. This is then followed by a description of the variables; descriptive statistics; and a plan of analyses.

Distinguishing Racial Consciousness, Racial Identity, Racial Background, and Race

Some confusion has existed concerning the concepts of *racial consciousness*, *racial identity*, and *racial background* (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). These concepts have not only been defined numerous ways within research but these concepts have also been used interchangeably (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). Within the work of Gerardo

⁹ For the racial background and religious orientation variables for persons represented in the final 879 cases, there were no missing.

Marti (2008; 2009; 2010; 2015) there is also substantial overlap between the concepts of *racial consciousness* and *racial identity*.

Following the work of McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts (2009), I see *racial consciousness*, *racial identification*, and *racial background* as three interrelated but separate phenomena (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). Whereas *racial consciousness* is “the tendency toward sentiment and ideological identification with a racial group” (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:476; Brown 1931), “race consciousness [itself,] is a form of group consciousness” derived from a sense of group position and linked fate (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:476-478; Chong & Rogers 2005, Lee 2007). Racial consciousness is a way of perceiving the world according to one’s racialized experience that accumulates over time (Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010; McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). Although a person’s or group’s racial consciousness may change over time (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:478), generally it “is something that actors carry from situation to situation” (Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010: 488).

Racial consciousness is not derived from an explicit sense of closeness to other persons of one’s own racial background, but rather, is derived from one’s racial experiences that have shaped a person’s views as it relates to politicized matters of race (Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010; McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009). To that extent, a person’s awareness of racial inequality, perceptions concerning the causes of racial inequality, as well as what remedies are justified, are seen as indicators of racial consciousness (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009).

On the other hand, *racial identification* is the “awareness of and an identification with a [particular] racial group based on feelings of in-group closeness” (McClain, Carew, Walton, and

Watts 2009:474). When a person refers to how important their race is to their sense of self, they are indicating their level of racial identity. If a person indicates that their race is very important to their sense of self, or who they are, they would be displaying a high degree of racial identity. Conversely, if a person says their race is altogether unimportant to who they are, they would be displaying a low degree of racial identification.

Whereas racial consciousness is not easily changed, the saliency of one's racial identity is more readily influenced by the situation in which persons find themselves (Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin 2010; McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009): such that one may carry a highly entrenched racial consciousness without necessarily displaying a high level of racial identity. The distinction juxtaposes a person's view of the world based upon their experiences which have been overtly and subterraneously fashioned by race over time, versus the extent to which they see their own connectedness to others of their own racial category and/or background as being important with regards to their self-concept.

Notably, a person's racial group membership is not a measure of racial identification or racial consciousness at all. A person's racial group membership / racial background simply denotes their inclusion in a particular racial category (i.e., White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, Arab, etc.) based upon "widely held intersubjective definitions" that are themselves the basis of inclusion or exclusion into various racial groups by others (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009:473; Saperstein, Penner, and Light 2013). Indeed, a person's racial group membership is based upon the racial categorization of others (McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009).

The difference between a person's racial group membership and racial consciousness lies in the distinction between the ascription of persons into a particular racial group, and how that ascription influences ways of understanding the world based upon the social positioning of racial

groups within a hierarchy. The totality of social processes associated with racial group membership constitutes the overall social phenomenon of race. In this line of thought, the use of racial group membership within the present study is only for descriptive and analytical purposes (see McClain, Carew, Walton, and Watts 2009).

Dependent Variables

This study uses three dependent variables. The first two dependent variables are measures of racial consciousness. The first measure of racial consciousness, *Government's Obligation*, addresses the level to which respondents agree with the statement that the government should do more to help minorities increase their standard of living. The subject matter of Governments' Obligation is seen as a particularly racially divisive issue which taps into a deeper level of subjective identification based upon deeply held racial perceptions, experiences, and racial group positioning. The response categories for the question were: 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neither agree nor disagree; 4 = Somewhat agree; and 5 = Strongly agree. For the 879 respondents at Time 1, 10 refused to give answer, 6 stated they did not know, and 1 response was missing. For these 17 cases the respondent's racial group's median score was imputed. At Time 2 there was a total of 18 missing responses. The missing values for these 18 cases were also imputed with respondent's racial group's median score.

The second measure of racial consciousness is *Colorblindness*. Colorblindness addresses respondents' level of agreement with the statement that "the most effective ways to improve race relations in the U.S. is to stop talking about race." The response categories for Colorblindness were: 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neither agree nor disagree; 4 = Somewhat agree; and 5 = Strongly agree. At Time 1 of the survey 10 respondents refused to give an answer, 6 stated they did not know, and 1 respondent's answer was missing. For each of

these missing the median score for respondent's racial group was imputed. The 13 missing responses at Time 2 were also imputed the median score of respondent's racial group.

The final dependent variable *Congregational Dissatisfaction* is an index score created from items that used to address the respondent's attitude regarding their perception of the adequacy of their congregations across several areas of interest. Respondents were asked to indicate the: (1) the degree to which respondents were satisfied with sermons, preaching, or homilies; (2) the degree to which respondents were satisfied with music at worship services; and (3), the degree to which respondents' asserted that their congregations met their spiritual needs. Respondents' level of satisfaction regarding (1) sermons, preaching, or homilies; and (2) music at worship services were measured through the categories of 1 = very satisfied; 2 = somewhat satisfied; 3 = neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4 = somewhat dissatisfied; and 5 = very dissatisfied. The degree to which respondents' asserted their congregations met their spiritual needs were coded: 1 = Strongly agree; 2 = Somewhat agree; 3 = Neither agree nor disagree; 4 = Somewhat disagree; and 5 = Strongly disagree. All 3 of the congregational dissatisfaction measures were added together to create the index.

There were a substantial number of missing responses for all 3 of the above variables at both time points, with the number of missing responses decreasing for each variable between Time 1 and Time 2. Upon further examination, 368 of the respondents did not identify as having involvement in a congregation at Time 1 of the survey, despite with regards to their level of satisfaction with sermons, preaching, and homilies, only having 239 missing, 1 refused, 1 don't know, and 3 not applicable. This means 125 of the respondents who did not self-identify as attending or being involved in a congregation at Time 1 showed responses in categories 1 through 5 (1 = very satisfied; 2 = somewhat satisfied; 3 = neither satisfied nor dissatisfied; 4 =

somewhat dissatisfied; and 5 = very dissatisfied). This suggests the degree of satisfaction some respondents identified was based upon their most prominent recollection, and not necessarily upon their ongoing attendance.

Additionally, of the 511 respondents who identified as being involved or attending a congregation at Time 1, sixty-nine of these respondents affirmed their involvement with at least 2 or more congregations. This presents the possibility that some respondents' reference points may have alternated between two or more congregations. Furthermore, any of the congregations that respondents attended may have had times where sermons, preaching, or homilies, and/or worship music was not engaged in. This may have been cause for some respondent's refusing to answer, indicating their not knowing, and/ or the non-applicability of survey questions themselves.

In considering the issues, measures of central tendency were examined. All 3 original variables had a median and mode of 1 both by racial group as well as overall. This placed respondents being very satisfied with their congregations' sermons, preaching, or homilies, and worship music, while also tending to be strongly in agreement that their congregations met their spiritual needs. Based on the premise that the eventual scale variable's intended is to capture a general trend and not necessarily a precise measure, all missing responses, along with cases where respondents refused to answer, stated that they did not know, and/ or asserted that the survey question was not applicable, were imputed with the median value of 1. This reduced the proportion of responses having higher levels of congregational dissatisfaction for the individual measures of congregational dissatisfaction and the eventual congregational dissatisfaction scale, thereby producing more conservative predictor estimates and smaller standard errors. The congregational dissatisfaction variables at Time 2 were coded in the same way.

Independent and Control Variables

Racial background is a self-identified variable and is coded as dummy variables indicating three ethno-racial groups. *WHITE* was coded 1 = White and 0 = Non-White. *BLACK* was coded 1 = Black and 0 = Non-Black. *HISPANIC* was coded 1 = Hispanic and 0 = Non-Hispanic.

Two items were used to construct the racial make-up of respondents' congregations. The first item addressed what proportion of respondents' congregations was made-up of persons of their own race. The response categories were (1) almost all; (2) about 90 percent; (3) about three-fourths; (4) about half; and (5), about a quarter or less. The second item addressed what other racial group, other than that of the respondent's own racial group, made up the largest number of attendees. The response categories for this item were (1) White; (2) Black; (3) Hispanic; (4) Asian American; or (5), something else. Missing responses for each measure were imputed with the median response by racial background. A series of recodes including if statements were used to construct the four congregational context variables: *Majority White Congregational Context*, *Majority Black Congregational Context*, *Majority Hispanic Congregational Context*, and *Multiracial Congregational Context*.

Each majority racial congregational context represents congregational contexts whose majority racial make-up pushed it beyond the 80% single race threshold described earlier.¹⁰ This method also allowed for the creation of Multiracial Congregational Contexts which consisted of any amalgam of persons whose congregational racial make-up consisted of no more than 80% of persons from a single ethno-racial background (Emerson and Kim 2003)¹¹. All congregational

¹⁰ That is to say that majority racial congregations contained a single ethno-racial group that made up more than 80% of the persons who attended a respondent's congregation (Emerson and Kim 2003).

¹¹ Some respondents indicated that their congregations consisted of about a quarter or less of persons of their own racial background. For those respondents who also indicated that their congregation's largest racial group was

context types were dummy coded 1 and 0. An additional dummy variable for *Catholic Congregational Context* was also created to distinguish Catholic congregational contexts from Protestant congregational contexts. My examination of Cobb, Perry, and Daugherty (2015) indicated their findings concerning Blacks who attended multiracial congregations, to be only indicative of Blacks who attended multiracial Catholic congregations, when the vast majority of Blacks are Protestant (Pew Research Center 2015).

Couple this with the fact that the vast majority of research concerning multiracial congregations is Protestant oriented, (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013), and Marti's research concerning ethno-racial transcendence being based primarily on participant observations of Protestant congregations he describes as Evangelical (Marti 2009; Marti 2010), and you have the justification for controlling for Catholic Congregational Contexts. In this study *Catholic Congregational Context* is coded 1 = Catholic, 0 = Protestant.

Racial Identification is derived from an item that asked respondents to indicate how important their race is to their sense of self. Responses were coded: 5 = Very important; 4 = Somewhat important; 3 = Don't know; 2 = A little important; and 1 = Not at all important. Based upon respondents' views of their own political activities and beliefs, respondents assessed their own level of *Political Conservatism*. The response categories for their self-assessments were: 1 = very liberal; 2 = somewhat liberal; 3 = middle of the road; 4 = somewhat conservative;

something else (i.e., 1 = White; 2 = Black; 3 = Hispanic; 4 = Asian American; 5 = something else), their response was interpreted as meaning that the majority of persons (up to 75%) who attended their congregation consisted of an amalgam of persons of different races. These respondents' congregations were coded as multiracial in that this situation would not allow for any one racial group to comprise more than 80% of these particular congregations. Four of the total 154 respondents whose congregations were coded as multiracial congregations fit this criteria. Fifteen other respondents also stated that their congregations consisted of about a quarter or less of persons of their own racial background. However the majority racial group within their congregation, although not identified as being their own race, was identified as White, Black, or Hispanic. These respondents' congregations were coded as majority racial congregations according to the racial group identified as composing the largest racial group within these respondents' congregation. This minimized the probability that these 15 respondents' congregations were erroneously coded as multiracial.

and 5 = very conservative. According to Young, Willer, and Keltner (2013), politically conservative persons have an increased tendency to make snap judgements based upon their level of belief in core American ideals such as individual choice and free-will. This way of thinking more often precludes person from considering a broader set of facts (Young, Willer, and Keltner 2013). Here Political Conservatism is taken as an indication of respondents' propensity to draw upon politically conservative principles, storylines and/or moral codes when making evaluations.

A single measure of religious identity could not singularly represent the potential influences that respondents' religious life or identity might have in attenuating their racial consciousness. For this reason multiple measures of religious identification and/or behaviors are used. The variable *Religious Identification* was created from respondents' responses regarding how important their religion or religious faith was to them personally. The response categories for both questions were 1 = Not at all important; 2 = Somewhat important; 3 = Very important; 4 = Extremely important; and 5 = By far the most important part of their life.

However, the above measure of religious identification is not an indication of how persons view their own religious orientation. For this reason a measure of respondents' *Religious Conservatism* is included. This item reflects respondents' self-identified level of religious conservatism. The value categories for *Religious Conservatism* are: 7 = Very conservative; 6 = Somewhat conservative; 5 = Moderate/conservative; 4 = Moderate; 3 = Moderate/liberal; 2 = Somewhat liberal; and 1 = Very liberal. Like political conservatives, religious conservatives' judgements are seen to be more guided by preexisting moral codes and storylines, rather than a deliberative examination of the facts. (Young, Willer, and Keltner 2013; Bonilla-Silva 2003). Here the measure of religious conservatism is taken as an indication of

respondents' propensity to draw upon preexistent religious storylines and/or moral codes when evaluating situations.¹²

Respondents' *Rate of Attendance* indicates how often they attended worship services at their congregations over the past 12 months. Responses were coded 5 = more than once a week; 4 = once a week; 3 = 2-3 times a month; 2 = once a month; and 1 = less than once a month.

Congregational Closeness was constructed from two items. The first item indicated the level to which respondents' congregations felt like a family. Response categories were 1 = Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neither agree nor disagree; 4 = Somewhat agree; and 5 = Strongly agree. The second item indicated how much respondents felt like an outsider in their congregation. Response categories for this measure were 5 = Strongly disagree; 4 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Neither agree nor disagree; 2 = Somewhat agree; and 1 = Strongly agree. The two measures were combined to create the measure *Congregational Closeness*.

The *Prominence of Congregational Ties* represents the number of respondents' close friends amongst their six closest friends who are members of their congregations. Involved at Time 2 is a dichotomous variable identifying whether or not respondents were actively involved in their congregation during the data gathering at Time 2. Respondents actively involved in their congregations during the data gathering at Time 2 were coded 1. Respondents who were not actively involved in their congregation during the data gathering at Time 2 was coded 0.

Age of respondents is captured by the variable *Age*. Respondents' age at Time 1 and Time 2 were coded as follows: age 24 thru 25 = 1; ages 26 thru 30 = 2; ages 31 thru 35 = 3; ages 36 thru 40 = 4; ages 41 thru 45 = 5; ages 46 thru 50 = 6; ages 51 thru 55 = 7; ages 56 thru 60 = 8;

¹² Because several of the variables were highly correlated, and this being indicative of possible collinearity, collinearity diagnostics were ran for all variables in SPSS. The results indicated no issues of collinearity. Specifically for the variables *Government's Obligation*, *Colorblindness*, *Political Conservatism*, and *Religious Conservatism*, the collinearity diagnostics output for these variables are contained in Appendix D.

ages 61 thru 65 = 9; and ages 66 thru 80 = 10. *Sex* is a dummy variable with 1 = Female and 0 = Male. The variable *Education* represents the highest level of schooling completed or the highest degree earned at both Time 1 and Time 2. The value categories for respondents' educational level were: 1 = No high school diploma; 2 = GED or High School; 3 = Vocational/technical diploma / Associate's degree / Two-year religious degree / Other; 4 = Bachelor's degree; 5 = Master's but not religious degree / Master of Divinity or other religious post-college degree / Professional degree beyond B.A./B.S; 6 = Doctorate degree.

The variable *Income* came from respondents' family's total income from all sources. Income was coded into the following categories: 1 = \$9,999 or Less; 2 = \$10,000 - \$19,999; 3 = \$20,000 - \$29,999; 4 = \$30,000 - \$39,999; 5 = \$40,000 - \$49,999; 6 = \$50,000 - \$59,999; 7 = \$60,000 - \$69,999; 8 = \$70,000 - \$79,999; 9 = \$80,000 - \$89,999; 10 = \$90,000 - \$99,999; 11 = \$100,000 - \$149,999; and 12 = \$150,000 or more.

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 contains descriptive statistics for the 879 respondents in the study. Of the 879 respondents, 502 were White, 207 were Black and 170 were Hispanic. In examining the first dependent variable Government's Obligation, Whites have a mean of 2.748 which is significantly lower than the mean scores for both Blacks (4.068) and Hispanics (3.882) ($p \leq .001$). However, there was no significant difference in Blacks' and Hispanics' average levels of Government Obligation. Blacks' average measure of Colorblindness (2.626) was significantly lower than that of both Whites (3.345) and Hispanics (3.268) at the .001 level. However, there were no significant difference in Colorblindness for Whites and Hispanics. Respondent's scores on congregation dissatisfaction did not differ by race.

Table 1.1 Descriptive Statistics for all respondents by race.

	White A N=502		Black B N=207		Hispanic C N=170	
	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
Government's Obligation	2.748 B*** C***	(1.031)	4.068 A***	(.896)	3.882 A***	(1.035)
Colorblindness	3.345 B***	(1.059)	2.626 A*** C***	(1.257)	3.268 B***	(1.096)
Congregational Dissatisfaction	4.572	(1.808)	4.056	(1.338)	4.229	(1.419)
Majority White Congregational Context	392 (78.1%)		18 (8.7%)		25 (23.4%)	
Majority Black Congregational Context	7 (1.4%)		165 (79.7%)		3 (1.8%)	
Majority Hispanic Congregational Context	4 (.8%)		1 (.5%)		110 (64.7%)	
Multiracial Congregational Context	99 (19.7%)		23 (11.3%)		32 (18.8%)	
Catholic Congregational Context	143 (28.5%)		13 (6.3%)		127 (74.7%)	
Racial Identity	2.770 B*** C***	(1.298)	4.599 A***	(.790)	4.459 A***	(.903)
Political Conservatism	3.420 B*** C***	(.898)	2.942 A***	(.747)	3.115 A***	(.677)
Religious Identity	3.257 B*** C**	(1.088)	3.749 A*** C***	(.829)	3.285 A** B***	(.898)
Religious Conservatism	4.535 B**	(1.643)	4.452 A**	(1.475)	4.503	(1.628)
Attendance	2.481 B***	(1.434)	2.932 A*** C***	(1.314)	2.500 B**	(1.360)
Congregational Closeness	8.332 B***	(1.481)	9.005 A*** C***	(1.342)	8.485 B***	(1.256)
Prominence of Congregational Ties	.252 B*** C*	(.234)	.348 A*** C***	(.236)	.225 A* B***	(.236)
Involved at Time 2	.528 B** C†	(.500)	.638 A** C***	(.482)	0.447 A† B***	(.499)
Age	6.326 C***	(2.827)	5.527	(2.643)	4.706 A***	(2.635)
SEX	.63 B*	(.483)	.715 A*	(.453)	0.665	(.473)
Education	3.092 B*** C***	(1.154)	2.628 A***	(1.102)	2.503 A***	(1.181)
Income	6.505 B*** C***	(2.999)	4.220 A*** C*	(2.887)	4.700 A*** B*	(2.636)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1$ = †; p value $\leq .05$ = *; p value $\leq .01$ = **; p value $\leq .001$ = ***.

Respondents generally attended congregations mostly made up of persons of their own racial backgrounds. Seventy-eight point one percent of Whites attended Majority White Congregations, while 79.7% of Blacks attended Majority Black Congregations, and 64.7% of Hispanic respondents attended Majority Hispanic Congregations. Of the 154 respondents who attended multiracial congregations, 99 were White (64.3%), 23 were Black (14.9%), and 32 (20.8%) were Hispanic. There was also large variation between racial groups in the proportion of their respondents who attended Catholic settings. Roughly 28% of White respondents attended Catholic settings, as compared to 6% of Blacks, and 75% of Hispanics.

Looking at the next section of Table 1 we see at 4.599 and 4.459, Blacks and Hispanics indicated significantly higher levels of racial identification than Whites at 2.770 ($p \leq .001$). However, Blacks' and Hispanics' levels of racial identification were not significantly different from one another. Politically, Whites identified themselves as being more conservative than both Blacks and Hispanics. Whites' average Political Conservatism score of 3.420 was significantly higher than that of Blacks at 2.942 and Hispanics at 3.115, at the .001 level of significance. Blacks' and Hispanics' political conservatism scores were not significantly different from one another.

The average religious identity scores of all three racial groups were significantly different from one another at the .01 level or more. Blacks had the highest average religious identity score 3.749, followed by Hispanics at 3.285, and Whites at 3.257. The highest average level of religious conservatism was displayed by Whites at 4.535. Although Blacks' average level of religious conservatism (4.452) was significantly lower than Whites' average level of religious conservatism ($p \leq .001$), Hispanic' mean score (4.503) was not significantly different than Blacks or Whites. At 2.932 Blacks rate of attendance was significantly higher than Whites' and

Hispanics' ($p \leq .001$). Whites' mean attendance score of 2.481 was not significantly different than Hispanics at 2.500.

Overall Blacks, at 9.005, displayed significantly higher levels of congregational closeness than Whites at 8.332 and Hispanics at 8.485 ($p \leq .001$). However, Whites' and Hispanics' congregational closeness scores were not significantly different. Thirty-four point eight percent of Black respondents' six closest friends attended their congregations, as compared to 25.2% for Whites and 22.5% for Hispanics. Whereas the prominence of congregational ties is significantly different between Whites and Hispanics at the .05 level of significance, the prominence of Blacks' congregational ties was significantly higher than both Whites and Hispanics at the .001 level of significance.

Of the 502 White respondents, 265 (52.8%) of them were involved in their congregations during the data collection at Time 2. One hundred and thirty-two (63.8%) of the 207 Black respondents were actively involved in their congregations at Time 2 of the data collection, whereas only 76 (44.7%) of the 170 Hispanic respondents were actively involved at Time 2 of data collection.

Whites' average age of 47¹³ was significantly higher than that of Hispanics whose average was 39 years of age ($p \leq .001$). However Blacks' average age of 43 was not significantly different than Whites or Hispanics. Overall, 577 of the total respondents were female while the remaining 302 respondents were male. Blacks had the highest proportion of females at 71.5%. This was followed by Hispanics who were 66.5% female and Whites who were 63% female.

¹³ Age for White respondents can be calculated using the age scale. 6.326 is broken down with 6 = ages 46 thru 50 within the age scale. Whites therefore have an average base age of $46 + .326 * 4$ (with 4 being the incremented numbers between 46 and 50). Whites' average age is $46 + 1.304$. Whites' average age is therefore 47.304.

Whites on average had a significantly higher level of education (3.092) than both Blacks (2.628) and Hispanics (2.503) at the .001 level of significance. However, Blacks' and Hispanics' average level of education were not significantly different than one another. Whites' average income (6.505) was significantly higher than the average Black and Hispanic respondent ($p \leq .001$). Hispanics on average had the second highest income at 4.707, followed by Blacks at 4.220. Blacks' and Hispanics' incomes were significantly different from one another at the .05 level of significance.

Drawing from the correlations matrices contained in Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3, in general one sees for each significant correlation between study variables and the majority congregational context types (i.e., Majority White Congregational Context, Majority Black Congregational Context, and Majority Hispanic Congregational Context), there is a similar significant correlation that exists between the same study variable and the majority ethno-racial group within each majority congregational context type (i.e., White, Black, and Hispanic). This pattern occurs as respondents generally attended congregations made up of persons of their own racial backgrounds. Consequently, it is practical to identify instances within the correlations matrices which give a more detailed description of the data present not already covered in Table 1.

Looking at Table 2.1 one sees several patterns within the data which warrant description. First, just as the Majority White Congregational Context is significantly negatively correlated to the first measure of racial consciousness Government's Obligation ($r = -.351, p \leq .001$), so too is the Multiracial Congregational Context also significantly negatively correlated to Government's Obligation ($r = -.125, p \leq .001$). However, whereas the Majority White Congregational Context is significantly positively correlated to the second measure of racial consciousness Colorblindness ($r = .122, p \leq .001$), the Multiracial Congregational Context is not ($r = .007$).

Table 2.1 Correlations matrix for variables' overall means between Time 1 and Time 2

	Government's Obligation	Colorblindness	Congregational Dissatisfaction	Majority White Congregational Context	Majority Black Congregational Context	Majority Hispanic Congregational Context	Multiracial Congregational	Catholic Congregational Context	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC
Government's Obligation	1										
Colorblindness	-.061†	1									
Congregational Dissatisfaction	-.091**	-.073*	1								
Majority White Congregational Context	-.351***	.122***	.029	1							
Majority Black Congregational Context	.330***	-.226***	-.103**	-.493***	1						
Majority Hispanic Congregational Context	.270***	.079*	-.051	-.384***	-.193***	1					
Multiracial Congregational Context	-.125***	.007	.116**	-.456***	-.230***	-.179***	1				
Catholic Congregational Context	.026	.001	.150***	-.107**	-.278***	.402***	.077*	1			
WHITE	-.521***	.184***	.131***	.660***	-.535***	-.420***	.067*	-.087**	1		
BLACK	.373***	-.257***	-.111**	-.453***	.831***	-.207***	-.094**	-.310***	-.640***	1	
HISPANIC	.252***	.046	-.046	-.341***	-.222***	.750***	.017	.442***	-.565***	-.272***	1

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1$ = †; p value $\leq .05$ = *; p value $\leq .01$ = **; p value $\leq .001$ = ***.

Table 2.2 Correlations matrix for variables' overall means between Time 1 and Time 2

	Government's Obligation	Colorblindness	Congregational Dissatisfaction	Majority White Congregational Context	Majority Black Congregational Context	Majority Hispanic Congregational Context	Multiracial Congregational	Catholic Congregational Context	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC
Racial Identification	.338***	-.160***	-.072*	-.386***	.357***	.268***	-.105**	.082*	-.614***	.418***	.320***
Political Conservatism	-.298***	.208***	-.056 †	.138***	-.181***	-.104**	.101**	-.068*	.233***	-.200***	-.077*
Religious Identification	.151***	.001	-.109**	-.134***	.176***	-.063 †	.048	-.186***	-.138***	.202***	-.045
Religious Conservatism	-.079*	.134***	-.154***	.019	-.017	-.037	.026	-.133***	.019	-.020	-.002
Rate of Attendance	.090**	-.033	-.058 †	-.097**	.107**	-.061 †	.070*	-.080*	-.090**	.135***	-.032
Congregational Closeness	.126***	.061 †	-.677***	-.072*	.188***	-.014	-.091**	-.172***	-.152***	.188***	-.012
Prominence of Congregational Ties	.055	-.031	.013	-.089**	.140***	-.110**	.067*	-.145***	-.084*	.183***	-.092**
Involved at Time 2	.043	-.046	.058 †	-.064 †	.113**	-.148***	.097**	-.075*	-.024	.111**	-.089**
Age	-.083*	.001	-.026	.193***	-.060 †	-.187***	-.025	-.027	.205***	-.059 †	-.194***
Sex	.144***	-.031	-.025	-.017	.067*	.032	-.076*	-.026	-.065 †	.068*	.009
Education	-.175***	-.158***	.204***	.124***	-.127***	-.179***	.129***	.045	.219***	-.114**	-.152***
Income	-.322***	-.112***	.128***	.228***	-.236***	-.175***	.103**	.016	.332***	-.252***	-.146***

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value \leq .1 = †; p value \leq .05 = *; p value \leq .01 = **; p value \leq .001 = ***.

Table 2.3 Correlations matrix for variables' overall means between Time 1 and Time 2

	Racial Identification	Political Conservatism	Religious Identification	Religious Conservatism	Rate of Attendance	Congregational Closeness	Prominence of Congregational Ties	Involved at Time 2	Age	Sex	Education	Income
Racial Identification	1											
Political Conservatism	-.114**	1										
Religious Identification	.079*	.238***	1									
Religious Conservatism	.030	.621***	.319***	1								
Rate of Attendance	.058 †	.215***	.594***	.208***	1							
Congregational Closeness	.105**	.098**	.256***	.177***	.285***	1						
Prominence of Congregational Ties	.046	.127***	.451***	.156***	.604***	.193***	1					
Involved at Time 2	.009	.125***	.412***	.120***	.603***	.119***	.505***	1				
Age	-.072*	.064 †	.063 †	.051	.107**	.093**	.052	.038	1			
Sex	.076*	-.089**	.115**	-.039	.045	.002	.052	.026	-.067*	1		
Education	-.142***	-.027	.026	-.169***	.107**	-.185***	.048	.155***	.021	-.118***	1	
Income	-.246***	.078*	-.089**	-.082*	-.016	-.154***	-.024	.067*	.037	-.197***	.497***	1

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1$ = †; p value $\leq .05$ = *; p value $\leq .01$ = **; p value $\leq .001$ = ***.

Going on to compare the possible correlations between Majority White Congregational Context and Congregational Dissatisfaction with the possible correlations between Multiracial Congregational Context and Congregational Dissatisfaction, we see that the Majority White Congregational Context's correlation with Congregational Dissatisfaction (.029) is not significant. Conversely, the Multiracial Congregational Context is significantly correlated with Congregational Dissatisfaction in a positive direction ($r = .116, p \leq .01$).

Looking now at the bivariate correlations in Table 2.2 between the religious identity and behavior variables and the dependent variable congregational Dissatisfaction, we see that religious identification is significantly correlated with Congregational Dissatisfaction in a negative direction ($r = -.109, p \leq .01$). Religious Conservatism is also significantly correlated to Congregational Dissatisfaction in a negative direction ($r = -.154, p \leq .001$), while respondents' rate of attendance is only marginally correlated to congregational dissatisfaction ($r = -.058, p \leq .1$) but also in a negative direction.

Most notable is the strong negative correlation between congregational closeness and congregational dissatisfaction ($r = -.677, p \leq .001$). The prominence of congregational ties was not significantly correlated to congregational dissatisfaction ($r = .013$), whereas respondents' being involved at time 2 was only marginally correlated to Congregational Dissatisfaction and in a positive direction ($r = .058, p \leq .1$)

When looking at the bivariate correlations between religious identity and behavior variables themselves, Table 2.3 shows all are correlated at the .001 level of significance, and in a positive direction. Furthermore there were several strong correlations between the religious identity and behavior variables. Rate of attendance and religious identification, $r = .594, p \leq .001$; rate of attendance and prominence of congregational ties $r = .604, p \leq .001$; rate of

attendance and respondents being involved at time 2, $r = .603$, $p \leq .001$; and prominence of congregational ties and respondents being involved at time 2, $r = .505$, $p \leq .001$, are all highly correlated.¹⁴

Turning specifically to the prominence of congregational ties, Table 3.1 indicates differences in the prominence of congregational ties exists between racial groups within the various congregational contexts. Notably, it is Blacks who have the highest prominence of

Table 3.1 Prominence of Congregational Ties by Race within each Congregational Context

	White		Black		Hispanic	
	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
Majority White Congregational Context	.241 B** C*	(.235)	.351 A**	(.197)	.287 A*	(.241)
Majority Black Congregational Context	.258 B*	(.268)	.341 A*	(.236)	.292	(.370)
Majority Hispanic Congregational Context	.281	(.173)	.250	-----	.198	(.230)
Multiracial Congregational Context	.295	(.226)	.403	(.267)	.261	(.236)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1 = \dagger$; p value $\leq .05 = *$; p value $\leq .01 = **$; p value $\leq .001 = ***$.

congregational ties within the Multiracial Congregational Context. On average for Blacks who attend multiracial congregations 40.3% of their 6 closest friendship ties are from within their congregations. Indeed, except for the 1 Black respondent who attended a Majority Hispanic Congregation (see Tables 1.1 and 3.1), respondents displayed their lowest prominence of congregational ties within congregations consisting mostly of persons of their own ethno-racial background.

Table 4.1 describes the data specific to the 154 respondents who attend multiracial congregations.¹⁵ Of particular interest are the increases and decreases in the racial consciousness

¹⁴ Because of the high degree of correlation between the specified variables, variance inflation models were ran to examine the possible existence of multicollinearity. No issues of multicollinearity were found.

¹⁵ Tables containing descriptive statistics for the respondents attending Majority White Congregations, Majority Black Congregations, and Majority Hispanic Congregations, can be found in Appendix A.

variables between Time 1 and Time 2, and the increases in congregational dissatisfaction between Time 1 and Time 2.

For the 3 racial groups in our study who attended multiracial congregations, the dependent variable Government's Obligation varied the least between Time 1 and Time 2. The average score for White respondents decreased from 2.657 to 2.465, whereas Blacks' overall average increased slightly from 3.913 to 4.000. The largest variation in Government's Obligation between Time 1 and Time 2 was exhibited by Hispanic respondents. Hispanics' support for the government's obligation to help minorities increased from 3.250 to 3.719. At both times Whites' affirmation that the government had an obligation to help minorities improve their standard of living was significantly lower than Blacks' at the .001 level, and lower than Hispanics' at the .01 level of statistical significance. There was no significant difference between Hispanics and Blacks at either Time 1 or Time 2.

When it came to the dependent variable colorblindness, Whites' average level of Colorblindness increased from 3.131 to 3.525 between Times 1 and 2. However Blacks' average level of Colorblindness decreased from 3.087 to 2.522, while Hispanics' average embrace of Colorblindness increased from 2.813 to 3.156. Whereas there was no significant racial differences in Colorblindness at Time 1, Whites' and Blacks' level of Colorblindness became significantly different between Time 1 and Time 2 at the .01 level.

The average level of Congregational Dissatisfaction increased for persons of all 3 racial backgrounds between Time 1 and Time 2. Whites' average level of congregational dissatisfaction increased from 4.667 to 5.232. The average level of congregational dissatisfaction for Blacks increased from 4.037 to 4.348, and Hispanics' average level of

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics with results of two tailed chi square tests for significant differences by Race. Means for dependent variables at Time 1 and Time 2, and overall combined mean for predictors across Time 1 and Time 2 for Multiracial Congregations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Total = 154	White A N=99 (64.3%)		Black B N=23 (14.9%)		Hispanic C N=32 (20.8%)	
	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
Government Help at T1	2.657 B*** C**	(1.222)	3.913 A***	(1.203)	3.250 A**	(1.545)
Government Help at T2	2.465 B*** C***	(1.264)	4.000 A***	(1.128)	3.719 A***	(1.373)
Colorblindness at T1	3.131	(1.419)	3.087	(1.474)	2.813	(1.424)
Colorblindness at T2	3.525 B**	(1.380)	2.522 A**	(1.563)	3.156	(1.483)
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T1	4.667	(2.045)	4.087	(1.474)	4.313	(2.292)
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T2	5.232 C†	(2.194)	4.348	(1.526)	5.188 A†	(2.729)
Catholic	37 B** C**		2 A** C***		23 A** B***	
Racial Identification	2.581 B*** C***	(1.305)	4.087 A***	(1.387)	4.484 A***	(.920)
Political Conservatism	3.621 B*** C**	(.929)	2.913 A***	(.764)	3.234 A**	(.647)
Religious Identification	3.556 C*	(1.027)	3.522	(1.050)	3.234 A*	(.871)
Religious Conservatism	4.722	(1.626)	4.304 C*	(1.460)	4.438 B*	(1.544)
Rate of Attendance	2.854	(1.382)	2.978	(1.238)	2.531	(1.211)
Congregational Closeness	8.248	(1.529)	8.435	(1.773)	8.063	(1.458)
Prominence of Congregational Ties	.295	(.226)	.403	(.267)	.261	(.236)
Involved at Time 2	70 B† C†		12 A†		17 A†	
Age	6.015	(2.596)	5.087	(2.926)	5.031	(2.225)
SEX	.515 C†	(.502)	.696	(.470)	.688 A†	(.471)
Education	3.455 B* C*	(1.130)	2.674 A*	(.937)	2.781 A*	(1.164)
Income	7.237 B*	(3.081)	3.565 A*	(2.690)	5.406	(2.855)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1$ = †; p value $\leq .05$ = *; p value $\leq .01$ = **; p value $\leq .001$ = ***.

congregational dissatisfaction increased from 4.313 to 5.188. There was only a marginally significant difference between Whites and Hispanics at Time 2.

Looking at the next section of Table 4.1, 37.4% of White respondents who attended multiracial congregations (37 of 99) were Catholic, while 62.7% were Protestant. Only 8.7% of Black respondents who attended multiracial congregations were Catholic (2 of 23); the remaining 21 were Protestant. The racial group with the largest proportion of Catholics were Hispanics. Seventy-one point nine percent of Hispanics who attended multiracial congregations (23 of 32) attended Multiracial Catholic congregations.

Within multiracial congregations it was Whites who displayed the lowest level of racial identification. At 2.581, Whites' mean level of racial identification was significantly lower than that of Blacks at 4.087 and Hispanics at 4.484 at the .001 level of significance. There were no significant difference between the levels of racial identification of Blacks and Hispanics.

At 3.621 Whites on average displayed the highest level of political conservatism. This was followed by Hispanics at 3.234 and Blacks at 2.913. Whereas there was no significant difference in the political conservatism of Blacks and Hispanics, Whites' political conservatism was significantly higher than that of Blacks at the .001 level of significance and significantly higher than that of Hispanics at the .01 level of significance.

The highest level of religious identification was displayed by Whites at 3.556. Blacks' average level of religious identification was 3.522. However at 3.234, Hispanics' average level of religious identification was significantly lower than that of Whites' at the .05 level of statistical significance only. The highest level of religious conservatism was exhibited by Whites at 4.722. This was followed by Hispanics' at 4.438 and Blacks' at 4.304. Whereas the religious conservatism of Blacks and Hispanics were significantly different at the .05 level of significance,

Whites' religious conservatism was not significantly different than Blacks' or Hispanics' religious conservatism.

There were no significant differences in terms of rate of attendance between the three racial groups. There were also no significant differences in congregational closeness along the lines of race.

Of the White respondents who attended multiracial congregations, 70.7% (70 of 99) were involved in their congregations at Time 2 of data collection. This is compared to only 52.2% of Black respondents (12 of 23) who attended multiracial congregations, and 53.1% of Hispanic respondents (17 of 32). Whites' involvement at Time 2 was more pronounced than Blacks and Hispanics at a marginally significant level.

Although there were no significant differences in age between the 3 racial groups, Whites had the highest mean age at 46. This was followed by Blacks and Hispanics who both had an average age of 41. Fifty-one point five percent of White respondents who attended multiracial congregations were female. This is compared to 69.6% of Black respondents and 68.8% of Hispanic respondents.¹⁶

At 3.455 Whites had the highest average level of education among respondents who attended multiracial congregations. This was followed by Hispanics at 2.781 and Blacks at 2.674. Although there was no significant difference between Blacks' and Hispanics' level of education, Whites' average level of education was significantly higher than Blacks' and Hispanics' at the .05 level of significance.

For those attending multiracial congregations, Blacks on average had the lowest level of income among all three racial groups. At 3.565 Blacks' income was significantly lower than

¹⁶ Table 11 in Appendix A contains the actual numbers of males and females by race and congregational context.

Whites (7.237) at the .05 level of significance. However Whites' income, at 7.237, was not significantly different than Hispanics' income at 5.406. Neither was Hispanics' income significantly different than that of Blacks.

Plan of Analysis

The next chapter contains this study's multivariate analyses. The next chapter is divided into three sections: Multivariate Analysis One, Multivariate Analysis Two, and Multivariate Analysis Three. Multivariate Analysis One examines Hypotheses 1, 3, and 5. Multivariate Analysis Two examines Hypothesis 2, 4, and 6, while Multivariate Analysis Three examines Hypotheses 7, 8, and 9. In performing the analyses I use a restructured data set and SPSS General Linear Modeling to examine how changes in predictor and control variables between Time 1 and Time 2 influence changes in the outcome variables between Time 1 and Time 2.

The use of restructured data and SPSS General Linear Modeling is particularly valuable for 2 reasons. First, religious based ethno-racial transcendence as put forth by Marti (2008, 2010) is synonymous with a change in racial consciousness over time. This can be addressed through use of a data set that allows one to consider changes in independent and dependent variables over time. Secondly, since respondents are nested within their respective congregation types, a general assumption associated with OLS regression is violated. Specifically, the assumption of random autonomous observations and their associated independent errors cannot be held when clustering within distinct congregational contexts are considered.

In this situation the use regular OLS regression would tend to result in deflated standard errors and an increase in the number of significant findings than when clustering is taken into account. Therefore, the nesting of respondents within distinct congregation types

(congregational contexts) within the restructured data set and the use of GLM is warranted.

Where necessary sensitivity analysis will be performed using GLM and PROCESS.

PROCESS (Hayes 2012) is a custom add on for SPSS or SAS that uses bootstrapped sampling in order to specify whether any apparent moderation or mediation effects are different than zero in at least 95% of the bootstrap samples. By combining the different modeling options within PROCESS (Hayes 2012) with sensitivity analysis using GLM, a greater specification of the relationships between variables can be achieved. Except where otherwise specified, the omitted reference categories for the multivariate analyses are Majority White Congregations, White, and male. Specifically, in Multivariate Analysis Three, I include the two racial consciousness variables as predictors to verify whether or not racial consciousness within the context of multiracial congregational contexts has any bearing on respondents' levels of congregational dissatisfaction. A brief overview of the models presented will appear at the beginning of each multivariate analysis section.

Chapter 4: Analyses and Results

Multivariate Analysis One

First, in addressing Hypotheses 1 and 3, changes in the dependent variable Government's Obligation between Time 1 and Time 2 was regressed against changes in predictor variables between Time 1 and Time 2 for all 879 respondents. I sequentially entered predictor variables into the models beginning with respondents' racial background in Model 1. This is then followed by congregational contexts in Model 2; racial identification and political conservatism in Model 3; religious identity and behavioral variables in Model 4; and the control variables of Age, Sex, Education, and Income in Model 5.

The racial backgrounds measures for Blacks and Hispanics are significant positive predictors of Government's Obligation across models one through five in Table 5.1. This finding provides support for my first hypothesis, that: Minority racial background will positively predict an embrace of policy and/or government action that is specifically intended to help minorities improve their standard of living.

When the measures for congregational contexts are entered in Model 2, a substantial change in the Hispanic variable occurred, decreasing from 1.134 to .753. Sensitivity and exploratory analyses using GLM and PROCESS indicated that this change was not caused by Multiracial Congregational Context being entered and controlled for, but rather by Majority Hispanic Congregational Context being entered and controlled for in Model 2. Referring back to Table 2.1, we see there is a positive correlation ($r = .270$) between Majority Hispanic Congregational Context and Government's Obligation at the .001 level of significance. In substantive terms, when Majority Hispanic Congregational Context is controlled for in Model 2, its moderating influence on Hispanic's racial background is diminished. Within PROCESS

Multiracial Congregational Context was excluded as moderating the positive relationships between minority racial background and Government's Obligation. This provided support my third hypothesis, that: the multiracial congregational context does not moderate the positive relationship between minority racial background and the embrace of policies and/or government actions specifically intended to help minorities improve their standard of living.

Table 5.1 Change in the dependent variable Government's Obligation between T1 and T2 as predicted by changes in independent and control variables between T1 and T2 using General Linear Modeling. Estimates with standard errors in parentheses. N = 879 with omitted reference categories White, Majority White Congregations, and Male.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Black	1.320*** (.031)	1.195*** (.147)	1.051*** (.096)	.974*** (.094)	.903*** (.046)
Hispanic	1.134*** (.219)	.753*** (.178)	.691*** (.152)	.645*** (.174)	.605*** (.151)
Multiracial Congregational Context		-.142*** (.028)	-.103*** (.022)	-.130*** (.025)	-.104*** (.020)
Majority Black Congregational Context		.144 (.126)	.133 (.107)	.106 (.099)	.075 (.062)
Majority Hispanic Congregational Context		.601*** (.125)	.566*** (.102)	.565*** (.130)	.498*** (.082)
Catholic Congregational Context		-.010 (.092)	-.054 (.089)	-.002 (.080)	.008 (.071)
Racial Identification			.024 † (.014)	.024 (.016)	.019 (.013)
Political Conservatism			-.211*** (.034)	-.265*** (.035)	-.254*** (.031)
Religious Identification				.135*** (.026)	.124*** (.029)
Religious Conservatism				.008 (.013)	-.001 (.014)
Attendance				.024 (.019)	.025 (.017)
Congregational Closeness				.011 (.015)	.004 (.012)
Prominence of Congregational Ties				-.040 (.104)	-.058 (.102)
Involved at Time 2				.015 (.040)	.053 (.042)
Age					.003 (.008)
Sex					.133** (.048)
Education					-.029 (.027)
Income					-.043*** (.006)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1$ = †; p value $\leq .05$ = *; p value $\leq .01$ = **; p value $\leq .001$ = ***

Notably when congregational contexts are entered and controlled for in Models 2 through 5, multiracial congregational context is a significant negative predictor of Government's Obligation. The relationship maintains its significance at the .001 level throughout the remaining models, thereby verifying the direct negative effect that multiracial congregational context has on Government's Obligation. When racial identification and political conservatism are entered and controlled for in Model 3, racial identification is marginally significant while political conservatism is a negative predictor of Government's Obligation at the .001 level of statistical significance (-.211). Political Conservatism continues to be a negative predictor of Government's Obligation at the .001 level of significance, even after controlling for religious identification and behaviors in Model 4 (-.265) and age, sex, education, and income in Model 5 (-.254).

In Model 4 religious identification is the only religious identity / religious behavior variable to be significant when entered. Net of all other variables in Model 4, religious identification is a positive predictor (.135) of Government's Obligation at the .001 level of significance, and continues to be a significant predictor of Government's Obligation, even after controlling for age, sex, education, and income in Model 5 ($p \text{ value} \leq .001$).

In addressing Hypothesis 5 the data were restrained to respondents who only attended multiracial congregational contexts. Hypothesis 5 stated: for those attending Multiracial Congregations, various forms of religious identification and behaviors would not mediate the positive relationship between minority racial background and their embrace of policies and/or government actions specifically intended to help minorities improve their standard of living. Because this aspect of the analysis involved only respondents who attended multiracial

congregational contexts, Catholic congregational context was the only congregational context type controlled for in Model 2.

Looking now at Table 6.1, we see that political conservatism is significant when controlled for in Model 3 (-.261, p value $\leq .001$), and political conservatism remains significant in Models 4 and 5 of Table 6.1. This is consistent with the observed pattern in Models 3 through 5 of Table 5. We also see when religious identity and behavioral variables are entered and controlled for in Model 4, none of the religious identity and/or behavioral variables are significant predictors of Government's Obligation. Neither are there substantial changes in the

Table 6.1 Change in the dependent variable Government's Obligation for Multiracial Congregants as predicted by changes in independent and control variables between T1 and T2 using General Linear Modeling. Estimates with standard errors in parentheses. $N = 154$ with omitted reference categories White and Male.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Black	1.396*** (.227)	1.339*** (.239)	1.013*** (.230)	.997*** (.230)	.862** (.258)
Hispanic	.924*** (.217)	.993*** (.225)	.767** (.249)	.735** (.246)	.681** (.240)
Catholic Context		-.200 (.177)	-.276 † (.165)	-.261 (.163)	-.219 (.164)
Racial Identification			.079 (.050)	.084 † (.048)	.061 (.047)
Political Conservatism			-.261** (.081)	-.305** (.091)	-.301*** (.087)
Religious Identification				.004 (.081)	-.026 (.083)
Religious Conservatism				.021 (.045)	.018 (.043)
Attendance				.103 (.068)	.106 (.068)
Congregational Closeness				-.001 (.041)	.000 (.041)
Prominence of Congregational Ties				-.456 (.326)	-.371 (.340)
Involved at Time 2				-.146 (.180)	-.131 (.179)
Age					.017 (.032)
Sex					.231 (.152)
Education					.061 (.072)
Income					-.053* (.025)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1 = \dagger$; p value $\leq .05 = *$; p value $\leq .01 = **$; p value $\leq .001 = ***$.

minority racial background variables when religious identity and behavioral variables are entered and controlled for. This provides support for my 5th hypothesis. Supplemental analysis using PROCESS also confirmed this.

Multivariate Analysis Two

While Hypothesis 2 states: minority racial background will negatively predict an embrace of Colorblindness, my 4th Hypothesis states: that multiracial congregational contexts do not moderate the negative relationship between the minority racial backgrounds of Blacks and Hispanics and their embrace of Colorblindness. In addressing Hypothesis 2 and 4, changes in the dependent variable Colorblindness between Time 1 and Time 2 was regressed against changes in predictor variables between Time 1 and Time 2 for all 879 respondents. I sequentially entered predictor variables into the models beginning with respondents' racial background in Model 1; followed by congregational contexts in Model 2; racial identification and political conservatism in Model 3; religious identity and behavioral variables in Model 4; and the control variables of Age, Sex, Education, and Income in Model 5.

Looking at Model 1 of Table 7.1, Black is a significant negative predictor of Colorblindness at the .001 level of significance. However, Hispanic is not a significant predictor in Model 1. The dummy variable Black remains a significant negative predictor of Colorblindness throughout the remaining models at the .001 level. After adding other controls beginning in Model 2, the Hispanic dummy variable gains statistical significance (-.216, p value $\leq .01$) while maintaining at least a marginal significance in Models 3 through 5 (-.083, $p \leq .1$; -.125, $p \leq .05$; and, -.200, p value $\leq .1$). This provides support for Hypothesis 2. Also, when congregational contexts are entered and controlled for in Model 2, the Multiracial Congregational Contexts do not significantly predict Colorblindness. There also is no substantial

change in the racial background effect of Black or Hispanic on Colorblindness which occurs as a result of the Multiracial Congregational Context being entered and controlled for in Model 2.

This provides support for Hypothesis 4 in that the multiracial congregational context does not moderate the negative effect that Blacks' and Hispanics' racial background has on their embrace of Colorblindness.

Table 7.1 Change in the dependent variable Colorblindness between T1 and T2 as predicted by changes in independent and control variables between T1 and T2 using General Linear Modeling. Estimates with standard errors in parentheses. N = 879 with omitted reference categories White, Majority White Congregations, and Male.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Black	-.719*** (.050)	-.694*** (.112)	-.471*** (.100)	-.502*** (.102)	-.599*** (.094)
Hispanic	-.077 (.084)	-.216** (.070)	-.083 † (.046)	-.125* (.063)	-.200 † (.109)
Multiracial Congregational Context		.017 (.022)	-.030 (.020)	-.004 (.031)	.016 (.040)
Majority Black Congregational Context		-.102 (.090)	-.091 (.098)	-.101 (.097)	-.154*** (.038)
Majority Hispanic Congregational Context		.401*** (.077)	.441*** (.052)	.429*** (.061)	.331*** (.095)
Catholic Congregational Context		-.254*** (.065)	-.205** (.064)	-.144* (.059)	-.125* (.036)
Racial Identification			-.073*** (.009)	-.075*** (.010)	-.079*** (.007)
Political Conservatism			.192*** (.029)	.136*** (.027)	.138*** (.027)
Religious Identification				.036 (.056)	.038 (.057)
Religious Conservatism				.053*** (.004)	.035*** (.002)
Attendance				-.062 (.040)	-.056 (.038)
Congregational Closeness				.061* (.029)	.046 (.029)
Prominence of Congregational Ties				.122 † (.074)	.101 (.075)
Currently Involved				-.049 (.070)	.013 (.081)
Age					.002 (.010)
Sex					-.093 (.110)
Education					-.091* (.038)
Income					-.052*** (.015)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1$ = †; p value $\leq .05$ = *; p value $\leq .01$ = **; p value $\leq .001$ = ***.

My 6th hypothesis stated: for those attending Multiracial Congregations, various forms of religious identity and/or behaviors would not mediate the negative relationship between minority racial background and their embrace of Colorblindness. Because this aspect of the analysis only involved respondents who attended multiracial congregational contexts, the data was once again restrained to respondents who attended multiracial congregational contexts only. The variables were again sequentially entered and controlled for in the same manner with the only exception being that of congregational contexts in Model 2. Catholic congregational context was the only congregational context type controlled for.

Looking at Models 1 and 2 of Table 8.1, Black is the only minority racial background to negatively predict Colorblindness. When racial identification and political conservatism are entered and controlled for in Model 3, Black is no longer significant. Referring Back to Table 4.1, we see Blacks on average displayed significantly higher levels of racial identification than Whites (4.087 as compared to 2.581 respectively, $p \leq .001$); as well as significantly lower levels of political conservatism than Whites (2.913 as compared to 3.621, $p \leq .001$). In essence, net of all other variables in the model, when racial identification and political conservatism are held constant in Model 3, there is no longer a significant difference between Whites and Blacks in their levels of colorblindness.

In specifically addressing Hypothesis 6, religious identity and/or behavioral variables were entered and controlled for in Model 4 of Table 8.1, with the results indicating that religious identity and/or behavioral variables did not mediate the relationship between the minority racial background of Blacks and the dependent variable Colorblindness. The combination of these results and other supplemental sensitivity analyses using GLM and PROCESS supported my 6th Hypothesis: for those attending Multiracial Congregations, various forms of religious

identification and behaviors did not mediate the negative relationship between minority racial background and their embrace of Colorblindness.

Table 8.1 Change in the dependent variable Colorblindness between T1 and T2 as predicted by changes in independent and control variables within Multiracial Congregations between T1 and T2 using General Linear Modeling. Estimates with standard errors in parentheses. N = 154 with omitted reference categories White, and Male.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Black	-.524*	-.591*	-.433	-.513 †	-.795**
	(.256)	(.264)	(.285)	(.290)	(.264)
Hispanic	-.344	-.263	-.158	-.181	-.257
	(.233)	(.245)	(.279)	(.261)	(.250)
Catholic Congregational Context		-.235	-.197	-.199	-.201
		(.199)	(.199)	(.202)	(.206)
Racial Identification			-.034	-.042	-.079
			(.061)	(.060)	(.061)
Political Conservatism			.135	.098	.077
			(.092)	(.101)	(.095)
Religious Identification				-.227*	-.249**
				(.091)	(.090)
Religious Conservatism				.041	.019
				(.060)	(.054)
Attendance				.135 †	.135 †
				(.078)	(.075)
Congregational Closeness				.047	.020
				(.050)	(.048)
Prominence of Congregational Ties				.041	.239
				(.330)	(.313)
Involved at Time 2				.257	.330 †
				(.181)	(.173)
Age					.034
					(.033)
Sex					-.139
					(.171)
Education					-.075
					(.077)
Income					-.093**
					(.028)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value \leq .1 = †; p value \leq .05 = *; p value \leq .01 = **; p value \leq .001 = ***.

Multivariate Analysis 3

My 7th Hypothesis stated that Blacks and Hispanics who attended multiracial congregations would display significantly lower levels of Congregational Dissatisfaction than Whites who attended multiracial congregations. My 8th Hypothesis stated for those who attended multiracial congregational contexts, racial consciousness would not predict

Congregational Dissatisfaction. Finally, my 9th Hypothesis stated for Blacks and Hispanics who attended multiracial congregations their significantly lower levels of Congregational Dissatisfaction than Whites, would be mediated by their feelings of Congregational Closeness.

The data was again restrained to respondents who attended multiracial congregations. The racial backgrounds of respondents were entered in Model 1, followed by Catholic Context in Model 2. In Model 3 racial identification, political conservatism, and racial consciousness variables are entered. The racial consciousness variables were particularly added in this model in order to address the basic question of whether the two forms of racial consciousness used in this study were actual predictors of Congregational Dissatisfaction. Religious Identity and/or behavioral variables were then entered and controlled for in Model 4, with the basic control variables of Age, Sex, Education, and Income being entered and controlled for in Model 5.

When the racial background variables are entered into Model 1 of Table 9.1, one sees that the minority racial background Black is a significant negative predictor of Congregational Dissatisfaction at the .05 level of significance, while Hispanic racial background is not significant. When Catholic Context is controlled for in Model 2 Black becomes insignificant. Going back to Table 4.1, only 2 of the 23 Blacks who attended Multiracial Congregational Contexts were Catholic, as compared to 37 of 99 White respondents and 23 of 32 Hispanics. In short, the impact of Blacks who attend Catholic Contexts increases substantially when controlling for Catholic Context in Model 2, thereby causing Black racial background to lose its significance as a negative predictor of Congregational Dissatisfaction. Also when Catholic Context is controlled for in Model 2, the Hispanic dummy variable becomes significant at the .05 level of significance (-.662). In modelling Model 2 in PROCESS I was able to verify moderation of the relationship between the racial background of Hispanics and their level of congregational

dissatisfaction according to whether the multiracial context was Protestant or Catholic. This was not the case for Blacks. However, the significance of Black and Hispanic dummy variables at various points in the analysis contained in Table 9.1 provides some support for Hypothesis 7: Blacks and Hispanics who attend multiracial congregations do display significantly lower levels of Congregational Dissatisfaction when controlling for various factors.

Table 9.1 Change in the dependent variable Congregational Dissatisfaction between T1 and T2 as predicted by changes in independent and control variables within Multiracial Congregations between T1 and T2 using General Linear Modeling. Estimates with standard errors in parentheses. N = 154 with omitted reference categories White and Male.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Black	-.732* (.299)	-.348 (.299)	-.693* (.352)	-.345 (.258)	-.214 (.267)
Hispanic	-.199 (.354)	-.662* (.335)	-.868* (.353)	-.548* (.253)	-.397 (.266)
Catholic Context		1.341*** (.306)	1.241*** (.306)	.676** (.199)	.618** (.198)
Racial Identification			.060 (.073)	-.002 (.060)	.007 (.061)
Political Conservatism			-.286 † (.151)	-.013 (.118)	-.005 (.112)
Colorblindness			-.086 (.076)	-.024 (.062)	-.015 (.062)
Government's Obligation			-.015 (.089)	-.024 (.063)	-.019 (.063)
Religious Identification				-.181 † (.096)	-.182 † (.098)
Religious Conservatism				-.035 (.057)	-.036 (.056)
Attendance				.182* (.073)	.172* (.071)
Congregational Closeness				-.798*** (.080)	-.780*** (.080)
Prominence of Congregational Ties				-.293 (.366)	-.352 (.376)
Currently Involved				.223 (.214)	.140 (.223)
Age					.008 (.031)
Sex					-.269 (.168)
Education					.186* (.089)
Income					-.009 (.029)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1$ = †; p value $\leq .05$ = *; p value $\leq .01$ = **; p value $\leq .001$ = ***.

Now looking at Model 3 of Table 9.1, when the variables Racial Identification, Political Conservatism, Colorblindness, and Government's Obligation are entered, the two measures of racial consciousness (Colorblindness or Government's Obligation) are not significant. Furthermore, Colorblindness and Government's Obligation remain insignificant throughout the remaining models. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected: that is to say, that within multiracial congregations there is no statistical support that a relationship between racial consciousness and congregational dissatisfaction exists. This finding supports Hypothesis 8, that: for those attending multiracial congregational contexts, racial consciousness will not predict Congregational Dissatisfaction.

When various forms of religious identity and behaviors are entered and controlled for in Model 4 Black is no longer significant, and Hispanic has undergone notable change between models 3 and 4 (from $-.868$ to $-.548$). To ascertain whether actual mediation of the relationships between minority racial backgrounds and the dependent variable congregational dissatisfaction has taken place, I used PROCESS within SPSS to run a series of models to provide statistical evidence as to what mediation was or was not taking place.

In looking again at the change in Black between models 3 and 4, I first removed Congregational Closeness from Model 4 and reran Model 4 using GLM. This caused Prominence of Congregational Ties became significant at the .05 level of significance, having an unstandardized coefficient of -1.081 and a standard error of $.489$, while Black remained insignificant having an unstandardized coefficient of $-.498$ and a standard error of $.354$. This suggested that Prominence of Congregational Ties mediated the negative relationship between Black and Congregational Dissatisfaction contained in Model 3 of Table 9.1. To confirm this I

ran all the variables in Model 4 of Table 9.1, with the exception of Congregational Closeness, in PROCESS.¹⁷

The bootstrapped confidence interval in L1 of Table 10.1 not including zero confirmed the presence of a significant indirect effect. The prominence of respondents' congregational ties mediated the relationship between the racial background of Blacks and Congregational Dissatisfaction in Model 4 of Table 9.1. Results also confirmed the direct negative effect of Prominence of Congregational Ties on Congregational Dissatisfaction contained in the sensitivity GLM analysis already performed.

Table 10.1 Reference of parallel modeling between study's table and model number, alongside PROCESS model preset number, dependent variable, predictor variable, mediating variable(s), and bootstrapped confidence intervals.

	PROCESS Model Preset		Dependent Variable	Predictor Variable	Mediator Variable(s)	Bootstrapped Confidence Interval	Excluded Variable
L1	GLM Model 4 Table 9.1	4	Congregational Dissatisfaction	Black	Prominence of Congregational Ties	LL -.3544 UL -.0143	Congregational Closeness
L2	GLM Model 4 Table 9.1	6	Congregational Dissatisfaction	Black	Prominence of Congregational Ties	-----	-----
					Congregational Closeness	LL -.2618 UL -.0107	-----
L3	GLM Model 4 Table 9.1	8	Congregational Dissatisfaction	Hispanic	Prominence of Congregational Ties	LL -.1813 UL .2638	Congregational Closeness
L4	GLM Model 4 Table 9.1	8	Congregational Dissatisfaction	Hispanic	Prominence of Congregational Ties	-----	-----
					Congregational Closeness	LL .3281 UL 1.7945	-----

¹⁷ The version of PROCESS used here had 76 available model templates to choose from. PROCESS output for the current study is contained in Appendix B.

I then added Congregational Closeness as an additional mediator into the modeling within PROCESS. The bootstrapped confidence interval in L2 of Table 10.1 further confirmed that for Blacks their level of congregational closeness mediated the relationship between the prominence of their congregational ties and their congregational dissatisfaction.

Returning again to the change in Hispanic between Models 3 and 4 of Table 9, I once again ran all the variables in Model 4 of Table 9.1 in PROCESS, with the exception of Congregational Closeness. The predictor variable in this case however was Hispanic with Black being entered as a covariate. Looking at L3 of Table 10.1 we see that the Prominence of Congregational Ties did not mediate the relationship between the racial background of Hispanics and Congregational Dissatisfaction because the upper and lower levels of the confidence interval contained zero. Again, these results also confirmed the direct negative effect of Prominence of Congregational Ties on Congregational Dissatisfaction contained in the GLM sensitivity analysis I performed.

Whereas before the prominence of congregational ties for Blacks mediated the relationship between their racial background and congregational dissatisfaction, the prominence of their congregational ties did not mediate the relationship between Hispanic and congregational dissatisfaction. I then added Congregational Closeness as an additional mediator into the modeling within PROCESS. The bootstrapped confidence interval in L4 of Table 10.1 confirmed that congregational closeness did partially mediate the relationship between the racial background of Hispanics and their level of congregational dissatisfaction.

An included test of conditional indirect effects also revealed that Catholic Context significantly moderated the degree to which Congregational Closeness mediated the relationship between the racial background of Hispanics and their level of Congregational Dissatisfaction.

This was not the case for Blacks. However, in totality, these findings provided support for my 9th Hypothesis, in that: for Blacks and Hispanics who attended Multiracial Congregations, their significantly lower levels of Congregational Dissatisfaction was mediated by their feelings of Congregational Closeness.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusions

With increases in racial diversity, the emergence of multiracial congregations has also become an area of increased interest within the field of religious study (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013). Even with the understandings gained over the past few decades there has been two specific areas of deficit. The first area of insufficiency is due to the lack of a coherent understanding as to how these congregations consisting of persons of different ethno-racial backgrounds hold together (Marti 2009; 2015). This has led to the second discrepancy which is the assertion that these congregations are maintained through the process of what might be termed as religious based ethno-racial transcendence. Although the phenomenon of religious based ethno-racial transcendence, within the context of multiracial congregations is said to have occurred “when a person’s shared religious identity overrides potentially divisive aspects of ethnic affiliation (Marti 2009: 60),” the concept until now has had no clear operationalization.

The primary evidence which stands in support of religious based ethno-racial transcendence draws from the interpretation of qualitative accounts which conflate the concepts of *racial consciousness* and *racial identity*. The present study operationalized religious based ethno-racial transcendence as occurring in two ways: (1), if the multiracial congregational context significantly weakened the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness; and (2), if religious identification and/or behaviors, within the multiracial congregational context, significantly weakened the relationship between ethno-racial background and racial consciousness.

Specifically, the prominence of respondents’ congregational ties captured the proportion of each respondent’s six closest friends who were also members their respective congregations. Based upon an application of Deaux and Martin’s (2003) network and categorical context model

of identity, it was theorized that the prominence of respondents' congregational ties would significantly lessen the strength of the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness within the multiracial congregational context. In short, the higher the prominence of congregational ties a respondent has, the more their racial consciousness is influenced from within their respective congregation.

The present study found no evidence that the prominence of congregational ties, feelings of congregational closeness, or any of the other measures of religious identification and/or behaviors within the multiracial congregational contexts, weakened the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness. Neither was the multiracial congregational context itself found to weaken the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness.

Instead this study found evidence that lower levels of congregational dissatisfaction displayed by minority group members (i.e., Blacks and Hispanics) occurred as a result of their having increased feelings of closeness to their congregations. For Blacks however, it was the prominence of their congregational ties that was found to be a precursor to their feelings of congregational closeness. In short, for Blacks, the effect that their feelings of congregational closeness had on their levels of congregational dissatisfaction was conditioned by the degree to which their closest personal friends were also persons who attended their congregations.

If ethno-racial transcendence is tantamount to an actual overcoming of divisive aspects of racial consciousness, I find no evidence it occurs. None of the religious identification and/or behaviors within the multiracial congregational context, nor the multiracial congregational context explained away the relationship between minority racial background and the more divisive measure of racial consciousness which addressed the level of help the government should have in helping minorities improve their standard of living. Neither did the religious

identification and/or behaviors within the multiracial congregational context, nor the multiracial congregational context itself, explain away the relationship between the racial background and the less divisive racial consciousness measure that examined the level of agreement with the statement that “the most effective ways to improve race relations in the U.S. is to stop talking about race.”

Overall the findings of this study indicate, for minority group members, both close friendship ties within multiracial congregations themselves and feelings of closeness towards their own multiracial congregation are important factors in maintaining their membership. The evidence in this study goes far in explaining what has been described as the “spiritual kinship” necessary for the maintenance of multiracial congregations (Marti 2008; 2009; 2015), while also giving credibility to the “church within a church” model as put forth by DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2003). Moreover, the findings of this study can be easily subsumed under the general assertion that multiracial congregations nurture distinct religious identities based upon the congregations themselves (Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013; Stanczak 2006; Marti 2008; Garces-Foley 2007; Jenkins 2003; Becker 1998).

Racial Consciousness a Non-Factor

Neither the more divisive aspect of racial consciousness, which addressed the role the government should play helping minorities improve their standard of living, nor the less divisive aspect of racial consciousness that addressed the level of agreement with the statement, that “the most effective ways to improve race relations in the U.S. is to stop talking about race,” was a significant predictor of congregational dissatisfaction. This shows that racial consciousness, and even more divisive aspects of racial consciousness, need not be overcome for persons to experience acceptable levels of satisfaction towards their ethno-racially diverse congregations.

This is also consistent with Emerson and Yancey, who found Blacks who attended multiracial congregations to differ from Blacks who attended homogeneous Black congregations in the “composition of their social networks, but not in their racial and social attitudes” (2008: 312). Taken together, the evidence suggests that divisive aspects of racial consciousness are not something that need be overcome, in order for ethno-racially diverse interactions within multiracial congregations to be maintained. As has been noted, Blacks and others have long been integrated into majority White settings without undergoing a deeper level of assimilation (Pitt 2010; Pierce 2003; Perry 2007).

In sum, the findings reveal (1) that multiracial congregational contexts do not significantly alter the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness; (2) that divisive aspects of racial consciousness need not be overcome in order to have lower levels of congregational dissatisfaction among Blacks and Hispanics who attend multiracial settings; and (3) within the multiracial congregational context various forms of religious identification and/or behaviors do not alter the relationship between racial background and particularly divisive aspects of racial consciousness. Instead, it was the increased proportion of Black respondents’ close personal friends who came from within their multiracial congregations that nurtured increased feelings of congregational closeness among Blacks who attended multiracial congregations. For Blacks it was this ordered process that culminated in their displaying lower levels of congregational dissatisfaction. For Hispanics, their increased feelings of congregational closeness alone brought about lower levels of congregational dissatisfaction.

Benefits and Limitations of the Current Study

The findings of the current study add to the literature by (1) improving upon our understanding of how multiracial congregations are maintained; (2) whether or not these

congregations do or do not weaken the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness; and (3), whether various forms of religious identification and/ or behaviors that occur within this context alter the relationships between racial background and various forms of racial consciousness. Whereas previous studies failed to provide a testable model through which aspects of religious based interactions might come to weaken “potentially divisive aspects of ethnic affiliation,” the research contained in this study does so and elucidates the processes in question. Prior to this, the research conversation regarding religious based ethno-racial transcendence and/or the maintenance of multiracial congregations was vague. The current study brings into view an empirically supported alternative model that furthers the conversation.

Nevertheless, clear weakness exists within this research. First, it fails to address how the focus of multiracial congregations themselves might also impact the relationship between racial background and racial consciousness. Todd and Allen (2010) found that congregational focus and prioritization of certain issues mattered in influencing members’ behaviors, whether they be social justice oriented behaviors or otherwise. A key aspect not addressed here is whether congregational focus within the multiracial congregational context itself might work to weaken or strengthen the relationship between racial background and divisive aspects of racial consciousness over time. The current researcher is unaware of any study that specifically examines this within the context of multiracial congregations. We are left with the assumption based on prior research that multiracial congregations are, for the most part, no different than Majority White Congregations in their functioning (Edwards 2008; Priest and Priest 2007).

The present study uses data from respondents who self-identified as Christians at time 1 and time 2 only. This presents the distinct possibility that some respondents may have transitioned between the various congregational contexts one or more times given that the two

data collection points were six years apart. Although the current researcher does not believe this to be the case, data that allows for controlling of the time spent within multiracial religious settings between time points might allow for a better statistical reflection.

Future Directions

One interesting pattern found within the data was that multiracial congregational contexts themselves significantly negatively predicted respondents' attitudes that the government should do more to help minorities improve their standard of living. However, the very same data indicated multiracial congregational contexts not to be a significant predictor of the operationalized measure of colorblindness used in this study. This means that multiracial congregations tend not to be positioned so as to promote an embrace of colorblindness in a definitional sense, while simultaneously being positioned to promote colorblindness in a practical sense by simply denying the relevance of race. Recall Bonilla-Silva's statement earlier from Chapter 1:

Compared to Jim Crow racism, the ideology of 'color blindness' seems like "racism lite." Instead of relying on name calling (niggers, spics, chinks) colorblind racism otherizes softly ('these people are human, too'); instead of proclaiming that God placed minorities in the world in a servile position, it suggests that they are behind because they do not work hard enough[.]
(2018:3)

In context, it is possible some persons who attend multiracial congregations experience the psychic benefit through what appears to be racial inclusion. Yet, they simultaneously negate the

negative impact that race plays in the life of racial minorities. In essence, they are saying “These people are human too [. . .] [, but] they are behind because they don’t work hard enough.”

There appears to be a juncture between the embrace of ethno-racial diversity within multiracial congregational contexts and such contexts exacerbating a more conservative ideological stance regarding issues of racial inequality in general. Craig and Richeson (2014) found that exposure to ethno-racial diversity prompted Whites to express higher levels of both implicit and explicit racial bias, whereas others have suggested that increased ethno-racial diversity has the potential to bridge existent social distances between ethno-racial groups and be a catalyst for social change (Wadsworth 2012; DeYoung, Emerson, Yancey, and Kim 2004; Yancey 2002). It follows that further investigation is needed to see just if the potential benefits of religious ethno-racial diversity outweigh its harms; and more specifically, what strategies might be employed to overcome the increased racial bias that might occur as a result.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table 11.1 Respondents' Sex by Congregation Type Attended
N=879

	Total Respondents	White	Black	Hispanic
<i>Majority White Congregations</i>	435	392	18	25
Female	282	255	13	14
Male	153	137	5	11
<i>Majority Black Congregations</i>	175	7	165	3
Female	126	6	119	1
Male	49	1	46	2
<i>Majority Hispanic Congregations</i>	115	4	1	110
Female	80	4	0	76
Male	35	0	1	34
<i>Multiracial Congregations</i>	154	99	23	32
Female	89	51	16	22
Male	65	48	7	10

Table 12.1 Respondents' Racial Background by Congregation Type
N=879

	Total	White Respondents	Black Respondents	Hispanic Respondents
Majority White Congregations (MWCONG)	435	392	18	25
Majority White Protestant Congregations	316	287	16	13
Majority White Catholic Congregations	119	105	2	12
Majority Black Congregations (MBCONG)	175	7	165	3
Majority Black Protestant Congregations	164	7	157	0
Majority Black Catholic Congregations	11	0	8	3
Majority Hispanic Congregations (MHCONG)	115	4	1	110
Majority Hispanic Protestant Congregations	22	3	0	21
Majority Hispanic Catholic Congregations	93	1	1	89
Multiracial Congregations (MRCONG)	154	99	23	32
Multiracial Protestant Congregations	92	62	21	9
Multiracial Catholic Congregations	62	37	2	23

Table 13.1 Descriptive statistics with results of two tailed chi square tests for significant differences. Means for dependent variables at Time 1 and Time 2, and overall combined mean for predictors across Time 1 and Time 2 for Majority White Congregations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Total = 435	White A N=392			Black B N=18			Hispanic C N=25		
	Mean		S. D.	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.		
Government's Obligation at T1	2.949	B*** C*	(1.229)	4.111	A*** (1.278)	3.400	A*	(1.472)	
Government's Obligation at T2	2.607	B*** C**	(1.242)	4.167	A*** (1.295)	3.120	A** B*	(1.453)	
Colorblindness at T1	3.138	B**	(1.296)	2.167	A** (1.425)	3.120		(1.536)	
Colorblindness at T2	3.536		(1.320)	3.167	(1.544)	3.320		(1.547)	
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T1	4.475		(2.085)	4.389	(1.945)	3.920	B*	(1.525)	
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T2	4.434		(2.173)	4.000	(.970)	4.600		(2.160)	
Catholic	105 (26.8%)			2 (11.1%)		12 (48%)			
Racial Identity	2.839	B*** C***	(1.291)	4.556	A*** (.889)	3.900	A***	(1.354)	
Political Conservatism	3.385		(.876)	2.917	(1.004)	3.400		(.890)	
Religious Identity	3.179		(1.095)	4.028	(.795)	3.640		(.984)	
Religious Conservatism	4.520		(1.638)	4.278	(1.825)	5.020		(1.538)	
Attendance	2.384	B* C*	(1.443)	2.944	A* (1.174)	3.180	A*	(1.330)	
Congregational Closeness	8.367		(1.455)	8.917	(1.166)	8.820		(1.117)	
Prominence of Congregational Ties	.241	B** C*	(.235)	.351	A** (.197)	.287	A*	(.241)	
Currently Involved at T2	189	C**	(.500)	11	(.502)	20	A**	(.408)	
Age	6.463		(2.885)	5.917	(2.658)	5.280		(2.454)	
SEX	.651		(.477)	.722	(.461)	.560		(.507)	
Education	3.002		(2.926)	3.000	(.985)	3.240		(1.332)	
Income	6.446	B**	(3.356)	4.444	A** (3.043)	6.740		(2.587)	

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value $\leq .1 = \dagger$; p value $\leq .05 = *$; p value $\leq .01 = **$; p value $\leq .001 = ***$.

Table 14.1 Descriptive statistics with results of two tailed chi square tests for significant differences. Means for dependent variables at Time 1 and Time 2, and overall combined mean for predictors across Time 1 and Time 2 for Majority Black Congregations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Total = 175	White A N=7		Black B N=165		Hispanic C N=3	
	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
Government's Obligation at T1	3.571	(1.813)	3.982	C** (1.271)	1.667	B** (1.155)
Government's Obligation at T2	4	(1.291)	4.182	(1.117)	4.667	(.577)
Colorblindness at T1	3.571	(1.902)	2.576	(1.593)	3.333	(1.528)
Colorblindness at T2	4.143	B* C† (1.069)	2.588	A* (1.649)	2.333	A† (2.309)
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T1	3.571	(1.134)	4.006	(1.755)	5.667	B*** (2.309)
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T2	5.286	B** (2.928)	4.036	A** (1.718)	3.000	-----
Catholic	0 (0%)		8 (4.8%)		3 (100%)	
Racial Identity	1.786	B*** C† (.994)	4.673	A*** (.634)	4.167	A† (1.443)
Political Conservatism	2.786	B*** (.951)	2.942	A*** (.714)	3.167	B† (.577)
Religious Identity	3.786	(.906)	3.749	(.796)	3.000	(1.323)
Religious Conservatism	3.714	(1.551)	4.482	(1.442)	4.667	(1.155)
Attendance	2.643	(1.144)	2.924	(1.349)	1.667	(.764)
Congregational Closeness	8.643	B** (1.406)	9.091	A** (1.282)	8.333	(1.041)
Prominence of Congregational Ties	.258	B* (.268)	.341	A* (.236)	.292	(.370)
Currently Involved at T2	4		108		2	
Age	4.429	(1.484)	5.539	(2.616)	5.000	(1.323)
SEX	.857	C† (.378)	0.721	(.450)	0.333	A† (.577)
Education	2.714	(.488)	2.573	(1.131)	2.000	(1.000)
Income	2.500	(1.732)	4.258	(2.887)	2.667	(.289)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value ≤ .1 = †; p value ≤ .05 = *; p value ≤ .01 = **; p value ≤ .001 = ***.

Table 15.1 Descriptive statistics with results of two tailed chi square tests for significant differences. Means for dependent variables at Time 1 and Time 2, and overall combined mean for predictors across Time 1 and Time 2 for Majority Hispanic Congregations. Standard deviations in parentheses.

Total = 115	White A N=4		Black B N=1		Hispanic C N=110	
	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.	Mean	S. D.
Government's Obligation at T1	3.000	(1.414)	1.000	C* -----	4.136	B* (1.208)
Government's Obligation at T2	2.250	C** (1.258)	5.000	-----	4.182	A** (1.094)
Colorblindness at T1	3.750	(1.893)	5.000	-----	3.146	(1.400)
Colorblindness at T2	3.500	(1.291)	5.000	-----	3.600	(1.516)
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T1	5.250	C*** (1.258)	4.000	C† -----	3.809	A*** B† (1.535)
Congregational Dissatisfaction at T2	8.750	C*** (2.217)	3.000	-----	4.327	A*** (1.949)
Catholic	3 (75%)		1 (100%)		89 (80.9%)	
Racial Identity	2.375	C*** (1.493)	5.000	-----	4.586	A*** (.700)
Political Conservatism	3.000	C** (1.414)	4.000	-----	3.014	A** (.615)
Religious Identity	2.625	(.750)	4.000	-----	3.227	(.869)
Religious Conservatism	2.750	(1.708)	6.000	-----	4.400	(1.677)
Attendance	2.5000	(1.080)	3.000	C† -----	2.359	B† (1.380)
Congregational Closeness	6.375	C*** (2.136)	9.5	-----	8.536	A*** (1.211)
Prominence of Congregational Ties	.281	(.173)	.250	-----	.198	(.230)
Currently Involved at T2	2		1		37	
Age	3.875	(1.974)	6.500	-----	4.473	(2.799)
SEX	1.000 B*	(0.000)	.000 A*	-----	.691	(.464)
Education	3.500	C† (.577)	4.000	-----	2.268	A† (1.076)
Income	7.000	C*** (3.536)	9.000	C* -----	4.086	A*** B* (2.320)

Indicated significance levels are as follows: p value ≤ .1 = †; p value ≤ .05 = *; p value ≤ .01 = **; p value ≤ .001 = ***.

APPENDIX B

```

Model 2 Verification
*****
Model = 1
Y = congdis
X = BLACK
M = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:
CONTROL= HISPANIC

Sample size
308
*****
Outcome: congdis

Model Summary
  R      R-sq      MSE      F      df1      df2      p
.3107   .0965   4.2445   8.0941  4.0000  303.0000  .0000

Model      coeff      se      t      p      LLCI      ULCI
constant   4.4247   .1773  24.9550  .0000   4.0758   4.7736
CATHCH     1.4041   .2676   5.2474  .0000   .8776   1.9307
BLACK     -.2342   .3640  -.6435  .5204  -.9505   .4820
int_1     -1.0946  1.1108  -.9854  .3252  -3.2804  1.0912
HISPANIC  -.6839   .3103  -2.2042  .0283  -1.2945  -.0733

Product terms key:

int_1  BLACK  X  CATHCH

```

R-square increase due to interaction(s):

	R2-chng	F	df1	df2	p
int_1	.0029	.9711	1.0000	303.0000	.3252

Conditional effect of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	Effect	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	-.2342	.3640	-.6435	.5204	-.9505	.4820
1.0000	-1.3288	1.0539	-1.2609	.2083	-3.4027	.7450

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:

95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 3 Verification

Model = 2

Y = congdis

X = BLACK

M = policon

W = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= HISPANIC racialid colorbli govobli

Sample size

308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.3468	.1202	4.2025	4.5258	9.0000	298.0000	.0000

Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	5.7275	.6778	8.4496	.0000	4.3935	7.0614
policon	-.3203	.1349	-2.3755	.0182	-.5857	-.0550
BLACK	-1.5325	1.1701	-1.3098	.1913	-3.8352	.7702
int_1	.3066	.3612	.8489	.3966	-.4042	1.0174
CATHCH	1.2936	.2712	4.7702	.0000	.7599	1.8273
int_2	-1.0533	1.1167	-.9432	.3463	-3.2508	1.1443
HISPANIC	-.9275	.3546	-2.6160	.0093	-1.6253	-.2298
racialid	.0700	.0818	.8555	.3930	-.0910	.2309
colorbli	-.0818	.0826	-.9908	.3226	-.2443	.0807
govobli	-.0038	.0949	-.0399	.9682	-.1906	.1831

Product terms key:

int_1	BLACK	X	policon
int_2	BLACK	X	CATHCH

R-square increase due to interaction(s):

	R2-chng	F	df1	df2	p
int_1	.0021	.7206	1.0000	298.0000	.3966
int_2	.0026	.8897	1.0000	298.0000	.3463
Both	.0046	.7874	2.0000	298.0000	.4560

Conditional effect of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	policon	Effect	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	2.4372	-.7853	.4599	-1.7074	.0888	-1.6903	.1198
.0000	3.4351	-.4793	.4298	-1.1151	.2657	-1.3252	.3666
.0000	4.4329	-.1733	.6464	-.2681	.7888	-1.4454	1.0987
1.0000	2.4372	-1.8385	1.1163	-1.6470	.1006	-4.0354	.3583
1.0000	3.4351	-1.5326	1.0959	-1.3984	.1630	-3.6893	.6242
1.0000	4.4329	-1.2266	1.1899	-1.0308	.3035	-3.5683	1.1151

Values for quantitative moderators are the mean and plus/minus one SD from mean.
 Values for dichotomous moderators are the two values of the moderator.

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:
95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 4 Verification A

Model = 4
Y = congdis
X = BLACK
M = congties

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= HISPANIC CATHCH racialid policon colorbli govobli religid religcon
attend Involved

Sample size
308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.4129	.1705	4.0027	5.0534	12.0000	295.0000	.0000

Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	6.6809	.7222	9.2510	.0000	5.2596	8.1021
congties	-1.0811	.4746	-2.2781	.0234	-2.0150	-.1471
BLACK	-.4978	.3907	-1.2740	.2037	-1.2668	.2712
HISPANIC	-.7976	.3448	-2.3129	.0214	-1.4762	-.1189
CATHCH	.9704	.2688	3.6104	.0004	.4414	1.4994
racialid	.0423	.0803	.5269	.5986	-.1157	.2003
policon	-.0856	.1477	-.5797	.5626	-.3764	.2051
colorbli	-.0761	.0821	-.9264	.3550	-.2377	.0855
govobli	-.0185	.0927	-.1995	.8420	-.2010	.1640

religid	-.2530	.1310	-1.9314	.0544	-.5108	.0048
religcon	-.0633	.0785	-.8070	.4203	-.2178	.0911
attend	-.0375	.0991	-.3787	.7052	-.2325	.1575
Involved	.0463	.2686	.1724	.8632	-.4823	.5750

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Direct effect of X on Y

Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
-.4978	.3907	-1.2740	.2037	-1.2668	.2712

Indirect effect of X on Y

	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
congties	-.1232	.0811	-.3544	-.0143

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:
5000

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 4 Verification B

Model = 6

Y = congdis

X = BLACK

M1 = congties

M2 = congclos

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= HISPANIC CATHCH racialid policon colorbli govobli religid religcon

Involved attend

Sample size

308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.7297	.5324	2.2641	25.7494	13.0000	294.0000	.0000

Model

coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI	
constant	11.6848	.6364	18.3598	.0000	10.4323	12.9374
congties	-.2925	.3607	-.8110	.4180	-1.0025	.4174
congclos	-.7975	.0529	-15.0842	.0000	-.9016	-.6935
BLACK	-.3449	.2941	-1.1730	.2417	-.9236	.2338
HISPANIC	-.5477	.2599	-2.1075	.0359	-1.0592	-.0362
CATHCH	.6758	.2031	3.3274	.0010	.2761	1.0755
racialid	-.0021	.0604	-.0342	.9728	-.1210	.1169
policon	-.0126	.1112	-.1134	.9098	-.2315	.2063
colorbli	-.0244	.0619	-.3946	.6934	-.1461	.0973
govobli	-.0238	.0697	-.3413	.7331	-.1611	.1135
religid	-.1806	.0986	-1.8313	.0681	-.3748	.0135
religcon	-.0351	.0591	-.5943	.5528	-.1514	.0812
Involved	.2235	.2024	1.1042	.2704	-.1748	.6217
attend	.1820	.0759	2.3969	.0172	.0326	.3314

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Direct effect of X on Y

Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
-.3449	.2941	-1.1730	.2417	-.9236	.2338

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y				
	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
Total:	-.2761	.2716	-.8463	.2144
Ind1 :	-.0333	.0451	-.1544	.0363
Ind2 :	-.0899	.0609	-.2618	-.0107
Ind3 :	-.1529	.2724	-.7087	.3574

Indirect effect key

Ind1 :	BLACK	->	congties	->	congdis	
Ind2 :	BLACK	->	congties	->	congclos	-> congdis
Ind3 :	BLACK	->	congclos	->	congdis	

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:5000
Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 5 Verification

Model = 6
Y = congdis
X = BLACK
M1 = congties
M2 = congclos
M3 = educa

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= HISPANIC CATHCH racialid policon colorbli govobli religid religcon
Involved attend age SEX income

Sample size
308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.7376	.5440	2.2382	20.3529	17.0000	290.0000	.0000

Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	11.1009	.7933	13.9927	.0000	9.5395	12.6623
congties	-.3523	.3652	-.9647	.3355	-1.0711	.3665
congclos	-.7805	.0535	-14.5912	.0000	-.8858	-.6752
educa	.1862	.0828	2.2480	.0253	.0232	.3492
BLACK	-.2143	.3068	-.6985	.4854	-.8182	.3896
HISPANIC	-.3970	.2661	-1.4916	.1369	-.9208	.1268
CATHCH	.6182	.2042	3.0278	.0027	.2163	1.0200
racialid	.0068	.0611	.1109	.9118	-.1136	.1271

policon	-.0055	.1107	-.0496	.9605	-.2234	.2124
colorbli	-.0151	.0633	-.2383	.8118	-.1397	.1095
govobli	-.0195	.0703	-.2773	.7817	-.1578	.1188
religid	-.1817	.0994	-1.8270	.0687	-.3774	.0140
religcon	-.0362	.0590	-.6138	.5398	-.1525	.0800
Involved	.1404	.2045	.6864	.4930	-.2621	.5429
attend	.1722	.0759	2.2688	.0240	.0228	.3216
age	.0081	.0337	.2403	.8102	-.0582	.0743
SEX	-.2688	.1815	-1.4808	.1397	-.6261	.0885
income	-.0091	.0295	-.3082	.7582	-.0671	.0489

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Direct effect of X on Y

Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
-.2143	.3068	-.6985	.4854	-.8182	.3896

Indirect effect(s) of X on Y

	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
Total:	-.2712	.2873	-.8602	.2665
Ind1 :	-.0450	.0527	-.1783	.0397
Ind2 :	-.1037	.0643	-.2888	-.0187
Ind3 :	.0072	.0079	-.0015	.0348
Ind4 :	-.0025	.0023	-.0123	-.0002
Ind5 :	-.0424	.2738	-.6169	.4646
Ind6 :	-.0010	.0074	-.0187	.0120
Ind7 :	-.0838	.0571	-.2430	-.0067

Indirect effect key

Ind1 : BLACK -> congties -> congdis
 Ind2 : BLACK -> congties -> congclos -> congdis
 Ind3 : BLACK -> congties -> educa -> congdis
 Ind4 : BLACK -> congties -> congclos -> educa -> congdis
 Ind5 : BLACK -> congclos -> congdis
 Ind6 : BLACK -> congclos -> educa -> congdis
 Ind7 : BLACK -> educa -> congdis

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:
 5000

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

For Hispanic

Model 2 Verification

Model = 1

Y = congdis

X = HISPANIC

M = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:
 CONTROL= BLACK

Sample size
 308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.3117	.0971	4.2417	8.1503	4.0000	303.0000	.0000

Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	4.5020	.1824	24.6805	.0000	4.1430	4.8609
CATHCH	1.1975	.2913	4.1111	.0001	.6243	1.7706
HISPANIC	-1.1131	.5186	-2.1464	.0326	-2.1335	-.0926
int_1	.6963	.6424	1.0838	.2793	-.5679	1.9604
BLACK	-.3887	.3473	-1.1192	.2639	-1.0721	.2947

Product terms key:

int_1 HISPANIC X CATHCH

R-square increase due to interaction(s):

int_1	R2-chng	F	df1	df2	p
int_1	.0035	1.1746	1.0000	303.0000	.2793

Conditional effect of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	Effect	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	-1.1131	.5186	-2.1464	.0326	-2.1335	-.0926
1.0000	-.4168	.3833	-1.0875	.2777	-1.1711	.3374

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 3 Verification

Model = 2

Y = congdis

X = HISPANIC

M = policon

W = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= BLACK racialid colorbli govobli

Sample size

308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

	R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
	.3617	.1308	4.1520	4.9832	9.0000	298.0000	.0000
Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI	
constant	6.1407	.6809	9.0190	.0000	4.8008	7.4806	
policon	-.3845	.1338	-2.8736	.0044	-.6478	-.1212	
HISPANIC	-3.7639	1.3406	-2.8075	.0053	-6.4023	-1.1256	
int_1	.7141	.3612	1.9772	.0489	.0033	1.4249	
CATHCH	1.0699	.2936	3.6445	.0003	.4922	1.6476	
int_2	.8850	.6441	1.3740	.1705	-.3825	2.1526	
BLACK	-.7763	.3924	-1.9787	.0488	-1.5485	-.0042	
racialid	.0537	.0810	.6633	.5077	-.1057	.2132	
colorbli	-.0778	.0821	-.9477	.3440	-.2393	.0837	
govobli	-.0307	.0942	-.3260	.7446	-.2161	.1547	

Product terms key:
 int_1 HISPANIC X policon
 int_2 HISPANIC X CATHCH

R-square increase due to interaction(s):

	R2-chng	F	df1	df2	p
int_1	.0114	3.9093	1.0000	298.0000	.0489
int_2	.0055	1.8880	1.0000	298.0000	.1705
Both	.0152	2.6075	2.0000	298.0000	.0754

Conditional effect of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	policon	Effect	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	2.4372	-2.0234	.6407	-3.1582	.0018	-3.2843	-.7626
.0000	3.4351	-1.3108	.5384	-2.4348	.0155	-2.3703	-.2513
.0000	4.4329	-.5982	.6550	-.9133	.3618	-1.8872	.6908
1.0000	2.4372	-1.1384	.4974	-2.2887	.0228	-2.1173	-.1596
1.0000	3.4351	-.4258	.4279	-.9952	.3205	-1.2678	.4162
1.0000	4.4329	.2868	.6153	.4662	.6414	-.9240	1.4976

Values for quantitative moderators are the mean and plus/minus one SD from mean. Values for dichotomous moderators are the two values of the moderator.

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 4 Verification A

Model = 8
 Y = congdis
 X = HISPANIC
 M1 = policon
 M2 = religid
 M3 = attend

M4 = congties
W = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= BLACK racialid colorbli govobli religcon Involved
Sample size
308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

	R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
	.4155	.1727	4.0059	4.7196	13.0000	294.0000	.0000
Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI	
constant	6.7421	.7259	9.2884	.0000	5.3135	8.1706	
policon	-.0947	.1482	-.6394	.5230	-.3864	.1969	
religid	-.2546	.1311	-1.9423	.0531	-.5125	.0034	
attend	-.0306	.0994	-.3074	.7588	-.2263	.1652	
congties	-1.0879	.4748	-2.2912	.0227	-2.0224	-.1534	
HISPANIC	-1.1526	.5331	-2.1620	.0314	-2.2017	-.1034	
CATHCH	.8579	.2982	2.8771	.0043	.2711	1.4447	
int_2	.5527	.6328	.8734	.3832	-.6928	1.7982	
BLACK	-.5255	.3922	-1.3399	.1813	-1.2974	.2463	
racialid	.0447	.0803	.5565	.5783	-.1134	.2028	
colorbli	-.0775	.0822	-.9429	.3465	-.2392	.0842	
govobli	-.0278	.0934	-.2973	.7664	-.2115	.1560	
religcon	-.0590	.0787	-.7498	.4540	-.2139	.0959	
Involved	.0507	.2688	.1887	.8505	-.4782	.5797	

Product terms key:

int_2 HISPANIC X CATHCH

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****
Conditional direct effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	-1.1526	.5331	-2.1620	.0314	-2.2017	-.1034
1.0000	-.5998	.4126	-1.4536	.1471	-1.4119	.2123

Conditional indirect effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

Mediator

	CATHCH	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	.0000	.0351	.0686	-.0625	.2333
policon	1.0000	.0102	.0359	-.0284	.1387

Mediator

	CATHCH	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
religid	.0000	-.0447	.0715	-.2528	.0525
religid	1.0000	-.0263	.0601	-.2201	.0511

Mediator

	CATHCH	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
attend	.0000	-.0120	.0545	-.1808	.0649
attend	1.0000	.0041	.0329	-.0382	.1113

Mediator

	CATHCH	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
congties	.0000	-.0239	.0885	-.2502	.1271
congties	1.0000	-.0098	.0687	-.1651	.1248

Indirect effect of highest order product:

Mediator

	Effect	SE (Boot)	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	-.0249	.0615	-.2478	.0428
religid	.0184	.0843	-.1226	.2358
attend	.0162	.0696	-.0853	.2246
congties	.0141	.1072	-.1813	.2638

***** INDEX OF MODERATED MEDIATION *****

Mediator

	Index	SE(Boot)	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	-.0249	.0615	-.2478	.0428
religid	.0184	.0843	-.1226	.2358
attend	.0162	.0696	-.0853	.2246
congties	.0141	.1072	-.1813	.2638

When the moderator is dichotomous, this is a test of equality of the conditional indirect effects in the two groups.

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:5000

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 4 Verification B

Model = 8

Y = congdis

X = HISPANIC

M1 = policon

M2 = religid

M3 = attend

M4 = congclos

M5 = congties

W = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= BLACK racialid colorbli govobli religcon Involved

Sample size 308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.7302	.5332	2.2677	23.9097	14.0000	293.0000	.0000
Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	11.6766	.6370	18.3293	.0000	10.4228	12.9304
policon	-.0064	.1116	-.0575	.9542	-.2261	.2133
religid	-.1792	.0987	-1.8151	.0705	-.3735	.0151
attend	.1789	.0761	2.3511	.0194	.0291	.3287
congclos	-.8024	.0533	-15.0450	.0000	-.9073	-.6974
congties	-.2834	.3612	-.7846	.4333	-.9944	.4275
HISPANIC	-.3219	.4049	-.7951	.4272	-1.1187	.4749
CATHCH	.7451	.2245	3.3193	.0010	.3033	1.1869
int_2	-.3492	.4799	-.7277	.4674	-1.2937	.5953

BLACK	-.3265	.2954	-1.1054	.2699	-.9078	.2548
racialid	-.0039	.0605	-.0638	.9492	-.1230	.1153
colorbli	-.0232	.0619	-.3748	.7081	-.1451	.0987
govobli	-.0180	.0703	-.2560	.7982	-.1563	.1203
religcon	-.0377	.0592	-.6362	.5251	-.1542	.0789
Involved	.2218	.2025	1.0949	.2745	-.1769	.6204

Product terms key:

int_2 HISPANIC X CATHCH

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Conditional direct effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	-.3219	.4049	-.7951	.4272	-1.1187	.4749
1.0000	-.6711	.3105	-2.1613	.0315	-1.2822	-.0600

Conditional indirect effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

Mediator	CATHCH	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
congclos	.0000	-.9113	.2480	-1.4144	-.4407
congclos	1.0000	.0942	.2879	-.4489	.6874

 Indirect effect of highest order product:

Mediator	Effect	SE(Boot)	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	-.0017	.0412	-.1073	.0763
religid	.0129	.0598	-.0873	.1685
attend	-.0947	.0870	-.3319	.0262
congclos	1.0055	.3752	.3281	1.7945
congties	.0037	.0414	-.0573	.1247

***** INDEX OF MODERATED MEDIATION *****

Mediator	Index	SE(Boot)	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	-.0017	.0412	-.1073	.0763
religid	.0129	.0598	-.0873	.1685
attend	-.0947	.0870	-.3319	.0262
congclos	1.0055	.3752	.3281	1.7945
congties	.0037	.0414	-.0573	.1247

When the moderator is dichotomous, this is a test of equality of the conditional indirect effects in the two groups.

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:
 5000

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Model 5 Verification

Model = 8

Y = congdis

X = HISPANIC

M1 = policon

M2 = religid

M3 = attend

M4 = congclos

M5 = congties

M6 = educa

W = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:

CONTROL= BLACK racialid colorbli govobli religcon Involved age SEX income

Sample size

308

Outcome: congdis

Model Summary

	R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
	.7381	.5448	2.2421	19.2169	18.0000	289.0000	.0000
Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI	
constant	11.1081	.7941	13.9886	.0000	9.5452	12.6711	
policon	.0001	.1111	.0011	.9992	-.2186	.2188	
religid	-.1811	.0995	-1.8197	.0698	-.3770	.0148	
attend	.1690	.0761	2.2201	.0272	.0192	.3188	
congclos	-.7856	.0540	-14.5421	.0000	-.8919	-.6793	
congties	-.3382	.3661	-.9238	.3563	-1.0586	.3823	
educa	.1844	.0829	2.2233	.0270	.0212	.3476	
HISPANIC	-.1768	.4096	-.4317	.6663	-.9830	.6294	
CATHCH	.6845	.2248	3.0444	.0025	.2420	1.1271	
int_2	-.3398	.4802	-.7076	.4798	-1.2849	.6053	

BLACK	-.1996	.3078	-.6483	.5173	-.8054	.4063
racialid	.0045	.0613	.0731	.9418	-.1161	.1251
colorbli	-.0148	.0634	-.2337	.8154	-.1395	.1099
govobli	-.0141	.0708	-.1987	.8426	-.1533	.1252
religcon	-.0391	.0592	-.6605	.5095	-.1557	.0775
Involved	.1404	.2047	.6860	.4932	-.2624	.5433
age	.0103	.0338	.3039	.7614	-.0563	.0769
SEX	-.2715	.1817	-1.4941	.1362	-.6292	.0862
income	-.0102	.0296	-.3449	.7304	-.0684	.0480

Product terms key:

int_2 HISPANIC X CATHCH

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Conditional direct effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	-.1768	.4096	-.4317	.6663	-.9830	.6294
1.0000	-.5166	.3155	-1.6375	.1026	-1.1375	.1043

Conditional indirect effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

Mediator

	CATHCH	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
congclos	.0000	-.9245	.2471	-1.4343	-.4699
congclos	1.0000	.1090	.2827	-.4258	.6872

Mediator

	CATHCH	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
educa	.0000	-.0871	.0695	-.2907	.0040
educa	1.0000	-.0987	.0681	-.2919	-.0058

Indirect effect of highest order product:

Mediator	Effect	SE(Boot)	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	.0000	.0374	-.0809	.0849
religid	.0265	.0619	-.0610	.2050
attend	-.1004	.0890	-.3444	.0212
congclos	1.0335	.3674	.3676	1.7967
congties	-.0008	.0461	-.1112	.0873
educa	-.0116	.0698	-.1871	.1100

***** INDEX OF MODERATED MEDIATION *****

Mediator	Index	SE(Boot)	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	.0000	.0374	-.0809	.0849
religid	.0265	.0619	-.0610	.2050
attend	-.1004	.0890	-.3444	.0212
congclos	1.0335	.3674	.3676	1.7967
congties	-.0008	.0461	-.1112	.0873
educa	-.0116	.0698	-.1871	.1100

When the moderator is dichotomous, this is a test of equality of the conditional indirect effects in the two groups.

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:5000

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

----- END MATRIX -----

Moderation of Black and Colorblindness relationship by MRCONG

Run MATRIX procedure:

***** PROCESS Procedure for SPSS Release 2.16.3 *****

Written by Andrew F. Hayes, Ph.D. www.afhayes.com

Model = 5
 Y = colorbli
 X = BLACK
 M1 = racialid
 M2 = policon
 M3 = educa
 M4 = income
 W = MRCONG

Statistical Controls:
 CONTROL= HISPANIC MBCONG MHCONG CATHCH religid religcon attend congclos
 congtyes Involved age SEX

Sample size 1758

Outcome: colorbli

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.3210	.1030	1.9512	10.5083	19.0000	1738.0000	.0000
Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	3.2350	.2695	12.0029	.0000	2.7064	3.7636
racialid	-.0784	.0243	-3.2217	.0013	-.1262	-.0307
policon	.1383	.0415	3.3351	.0009	.0570	.2196
educa	-.0913	.0326	-2.7991	.0052	-.1553	-.0273
income	-.0522	.0117	-4.4683	.0000	-.0752	-.0293

BLACK	-.6147	.1979	-3.1064	.0019	-1.0029	-.2266
MRCONG	.0114	.1038	.1097	.9127	-.1923	.2151
int_1	.0375	.2958	.1270	.8990	-.5426	.6176
HISPANIC	-.1994	.1426	-1.3985	.1621	-.4790	.0802
MBCONG	-.1395	.1932	-.7223	.4702	-.5185	.2394
MHCONG	.3305	.1619	2.0417	.0413	.0130	.6481
CATHCH	-.1245	.0846	-1.4703	.1417	-.2905	.0416
religid	.0383	.0360	1.0637	.2876	-.0323	.1088
religcon	.0348	.0220	1.5822	.1138	-.0083	.0780
attend	-.0565	.0301	-1.8795	.0603	-.1155	.0025
congclos	.0456	.0206	2.2177	.0267	.0053	.0859
congties	.1002	.1377	.7276	.4669	-.1699	.3702
Involved	.0133	.0834	.1597	.8732	-.1503	.1769
age	.0020	.0121	.1697	.8652	-.0216	.0257
SEX	-.0927	.0725	-1.2787	.2012	-.2348	.0495

Product terms key:

int_1 BLACK X MRCONG

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Conditional direct effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

MRCONG	Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	-.6147	.1979	-3.1064	.0019	-1.0029	-.2266
1.0000	-.5772	.2352	-2.4540	.0142	-1.0385	-.1159

Indirect effect of X on Y

	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
TOTAL	-.0972	.0584	-.2147	.0160
racialid	-.1398	.0449	-.2326	-.0572
policon	-.0587	.0220	-.1100	-.0222
educa	.0174	.0114	.0014	.0468
income	.0838	.0259	.0412	.1437

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****
 Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:
 5000
 Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

Moderation of Hispanic and Colorblindness relationship by MRCONG and MHCONG

 Model = 5
 Y = colorbli
 X = HISPANIC
 M1 = racialid
 M2 = policon
 M3 = educa
 M4 = income
 W = MRCONG
 Statistical Controls:
 CONTROL= MBCONG CATHCH religid religcon attend congclos congties Involved
 Age SEX BLACK MHCONG

Sample size 1758

 Outcome: colorbli

Model Summary

	R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
	.3210	.1030	1.9512	10.5088	19.0000	1738.0000	.0000
Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI	
constant	3.2385	.2684	12.0644	.0000	2.7120	3.7650	
racialid	-.0784	.0244	-3.2166	.0013	-.1261	-.0306	
policon	.1381	.0414	3.3328	.0009	.0568	.2194	
educa	-.0916	.0326	-2.8076	.0050	-.1556	-.0276	
income	-.0524	.0117	-4.4949	.0000	-.0752	-.0295	
HISPANIC	-.1815	.1839	-.9867	.3239	-.5423	.1793	
MRCONG	.0217	.1061	.2046	.8379	-.1864	.2298	
int_1	-.0419	.2673	-.1568	.8754	-.5661	.4823	

MBCONG	-.1522	.1591	-.9570	.3387	-.4642	.1598
CATHCH	-.1246	.0846	-1.4725	.1411	-.2905	.0413
religid	.0379	.0359	1.0539	.2921	-.0326	.1084
religcon	.0347	.0220	1.5760	.1152	-.0085	.0779
attend	-.0564	.0301	-1.8768	.0607	-.1154	.0025
congclos	.0454	.0206	2.2084	.0273	.0051	.0857
congties	.1012	.1376	.7351	.4624	-.1688	.3711
Involved	.0121	.0835	.1445	.8852	-.1517	.1758
age	.0020	.0121	.1680	.8666	-.0216	.0257
SEX	-.0918	.0726	-1.2643	.2063	-.2343	.0506
BLACK	-.6003	.1570	-3.8231	.0001	-.9082	-.2923
MHCONG	.3141	.1957	1.6044	.1088	-.0699	.6980

Product terms key:

int_1 HISPANIC X MRCONG

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Conditional direct effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

MRCONG	Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	-.1815	.1839	-.9867	.3239	-.5423	.1793
1.0000	-.2234	.2076	-1.0758	.2822	-.6307	.1839

Indirect effect of X on Y

	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
TOTAL	-.0633	.0450	-.1508	.0276
racialid	-.1145	.0365	-.1890	-.0470
policon	-.0298	.0141	-.0655	-.0082
educa	.0311	.0157	.0084	.0733
income	.0499	.0195	.0186	.0979

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:
5000. Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output:95.00

Model = 5
 Y = govobli
 X = BLACK
 M = policon
 W = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:
 CONTROL= HISPANIC racialid

Sample size
 308

Outcome: govobli

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.4630	.2144	1.5544	13.6895	6.0000	301.0000	.0000

Model

	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	3.4730	.3202	10.8458	.0000	2.8428	4.1031
policon	-.2668	.0744	-3.5844	.0004	-.4133	-.1203
BLACK	.8670	.2400	3.6122	.0004	.3947	1.3393
CATHCH	-.3604	.1632	-2.2085	.0280	-.6816	-.0393
int_1	1.4556	.6737	2.1606	.0315	.1298	2.7814
HISPANIC	.8058	.2096	3.8444	.0001	.3933	1.2183
racialid	.0731	.0493	1.4818	.1394	-.0240	.1701

Product terms key:

int_1 BLACK X CATHCH

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Conditional direct effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	.8670	.2400	3.6122	.0004	.3947	1.3393
1.0000	2.3226	.6486	3.5808	.0004	1.0462	3.5990

Indirect effect of X on Y

	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	.1887	.0725	.0738	.3644

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:

5000

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output: 95.00

Model = 5

Y = govobli
 X = HISPANIC
 M = policon
 W = CATHCH

Statistical Controls:
 CONTROL= racialid BLACK

Sample size
 308

Outcome: govobli

Model Summary

R	R-sq	MSE	F	df1	df2	p
.4596	.2112	1.5606	13.4338	6.0000	301.0000	.0000

Model	coeff	se	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
constant	3.4557	.3205	10.7832	.0000	2.8251	4.0864
policon	-.2610	.0745	-3.5015	.0005	-.4077	-.1143
HISPANIC	.2955	.3293	.8972	.3704	-.3526	.9436
CATHCH	-.4255	.1780	-2.3905	.0174	-.7757	-.0752
int_1	.7233	.3897	1.8559	.0644	-.0436	1.4903
racialid	.0810	.0493	1.6424	.1016	-.0161	.1781
BLACK	.9670	.2321	4.1659	.0000	.5102	1.4238

Product terms key:

int_1 HISPANIC X CATHCH

***** DIRECT AND INDIRECT EFFECTS *****

Conditional direct effect(s) of X on Y at values of the moderator(s):

CATHCH	Effect	SE	t	p	LLCI	ULCI
.0000	.2955	.3293	.8972	.3704	-.3526	.9436
1.0000	1.0188	.2493	4.0869	.0001	.5282	1.5094

Indirect effect of X on Y

	Effect	Boot SE	BootLLCI	BootULCI
policon	.1007	.0483	.0269	.2231

***** ANALYSIS NOTES AND WARNINGS *****

Number of bootstrap samples for bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals:
5000

Level of confidence for all confidence intervals in output: 95.00

APPENDIX C

PORTRAITS OF AMERICAN LIFE STUDY METHODOLOGY

*Michael O. Emerson, Rice University
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The Portraits of American Life Study (PALS) is a multi-level panel study of adult in the U.S., focused on religion and several other topics in the U.S., with a particular emphasis on capturing ethnic and racial diversity. From April to October 2006, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 2,610 respondents. The following sections describe the sampling methodology, data collection, outcome rates, and data weighting.

In 2012, over 1300 PALS respondents were re-interviewed, as well as approximately 100 new respondents who were living in the household of the original 2006 respondents and 14-18 in 2006 (so they were 20-24 in 2012). To go directly to the methodology of the 2012 survey, go to the bottom of each section.

PALS Sampling—2006 & 2012

In 2006, to obtain a probability sample, yet achieve the goal of racially diverse oversamples, a four stage sampling procedure was used. The sample design and interviews were conducted by RTI International, the second largest independent nonprofit research organization in the United States. The PALS covers the civilian, non-institutionalized household population in the continental U.S. who were 18 years of age or older at the time the survey was conducted, and speak English or Spanish. The sampling frame was based on the use of residential mailing lists supplemented with a frame-linking procedure to add households not included on the lists to the frame. In a recently completed national household survey, RTI estimated that this combined sampling frame accounted for over 98% of the occupied housing units in the U.S.

1. As noted above, RTI selected the sample in four stages. At the first stage, they used Census data to construct a nationally representative sampling frame of Primary Sampling Units (PSUs) defined as **three-digit Zip Code Tabulation Areas**. After the frame was constructed, RTI selected a first-stage sample of 60 PSUs with probabilities proportional to a composite size measure that weights PSUs with concentrations of minorities higher than other PSUs with the same number of addresses. The sample of 60 PSUs yielded a variety of local areas from across the country and provided an adequate number of degrees of freedom for variance estimation. While the use of composite size measures reduced screening costs by focusing the sample on PSUs with concentrations of minorities, it should be noted that the coverage of the sample was not adversely affected because PSUs that were mostly "nonminority" had a chance of being selected, as were non-minority households within mostly "minority" PSUs.
2. At the second stage, RTI selected **two five-digit Zip Codes from each selected PSU** (120 Zips in all) again with composite size measures that weights SSUs with concentrations of minorities higher than other SSUs with the same number of addresses.
3. At the third stage, RTI selected an average about 100 addresses from each selected Zip Code. From these, some were found ineligible because they were not occupied, had no English or Spanish speakers (rarely), or due to physical and mental incompetence. After the addresses were selected, RTI produced digital maps for a sub-sample of selected addresses to facilitate the use of the half-open interval (HOI) frame-linking procedure that identified and included housing units that are not on the mailing lists. Housing units may be missing because of new housing units built in the time between frame development and data collection, or because of errors in frame development stage. Field Interviewers reported to the home office any missing housing units that are not on the field enumeration. When confirmed by the home office that the units were excluded from the field

enumeration, the missed unit was added to the sample to improve coverage (McMichael, et al, 2008).

4. At the fourth stage, RTI selected one per selected housing unit for interview. RTI generated a sample selection table for use by the Field Interviewers at each address to randomly determine which eligible person at the address should be asked to participate in the study.

After data collection was completed, RTI assigned a sampling weight to each respondent that reflected his/her probability of selection at each stage. The weight was calculated as the inverse of the overall selection probability and can be thought of as the number of persons in the population that the sample member represents. Moreover, and importantly, RTI used Census projections to post-stratify the weights of respondents to compensate for differential non-response and noncoverage. Also, due to the design, the data should be analyzed to correct for clustering (by obtaining correct standard errors). Programs such as STATA or SPSS' Complex Samples are designed for calculating corrected standard errors and significance tests.

In 2012, our sampling strategy was much simpler: attempt to locate and interview the 2006 respondents, plus interview anyone living in the households of PALS respondents who in 2006 were ages 15-17 (and thus had become adults by 2012). For our 2012 response rate, click [here](#). [Take them to the last paragraph of Outcome Rates]

Collecting the Data

For the 2006 interviews, to establish a strong baseline and connection with respondents, interviews were done in-home. Advance letters were mailed to all selected households four to five days before interviewers' initial visits to the sample households. Interviewers then visited sample households and completed a screening interview, narrowing our sample to meet the subsample goals as well as and identify English- or Spanish-speaking adults. The screening was conducted using a paper-and-pencil instrument (PAPI). Upon selecting a respondent from the household and if the respondent agreed to participate, a questionnaire was administered using a laptop computer. Respondents were paid an incentive of \$50 to complete the interview, which took an average of 80 minutes.

A portion of the questionnaire covered sensitive topics such as relationship behaviors and quality, deviance, attitudes about race and ethnicity, moral attitudes, and religious beliefs and authority. At this point, the respondent was given a device for audio computer-assisted self-interviewing (ACASI) to complete about 70 questions. During this portion of the survey, the respondent wore earphones to hear the prerecorded questions, and entered their responses directly into the computer, apart from the knowledge or aid of the interviewer.

In addition to the primary questionnaire, other PAPI instruments were left behind or mailed to spouse or partners at a later date to complete and return on their own. A \$15 incentive check was mailed to all spouses or partners who returned a completed questionnaire.

For the 2012 interviews, our aim was to conduct most interviews on-line. We gave respondents the option to do the survey by telephone as well. Thus, so we could later assess the impact of mode of interview, we randomly assigned some respondents to conduct the survey by telephone. Most occurred on-line (80%), another 13% were by telephone, and 7% were in-person. The latter were done because these respondents neither responded to requests for the on-line survey nor a telephone interview. Mode of interview made very little impact, seemingly affecting just 5 variables. For the list of those variables and the analysis, see the [mode analysis PowerPoint](#) (Chris, hyperlink "mode analysis PowerPoint"). Researchers concerned about mode-of-response effects can include in their analysis the variable `phoneonlyflag_w2`.

Respondents were paid \$50 for on-line surveys, \$30 for phone surveys, and \$50 for in-person surveys.

Outcome Rates

We calculated outcome rates -- contact rate, screening completion rate, cooperation rate, and response rate -- for the PALS, Wave 1 using the appropriate formulas based on the definitions provided by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR, 2009).

In 2006, of the homes in which interviewers attempted to reach an eligible respondent, 83% were successfully contacted. Of those contacted persons, 86% were screened. Of the persons screened and selected for an interview, 82% completed an interview. This yielded a response rate of 58% (.83 contact rate x .86 screening completion rate x .82 cooperation rate).

In 2012, the overall follow-up response rate was 51%. If we remove those 2006 respondents no longer living in 2012, the response rate was 53%. [\(To return to the PALS sampling section, click here.\)](#) [\[Take them to the last paragraph of the PALS sampling section.\]](#)

Weighting the Data

By applying the weight variable, the 2006 national-level PALS sample closely mirrors the averaged 2005-2007 American Community Surveys (ACS) estimates. Table 1 compares the unweighted and weighted percentages for certain demographics alongside the ACS figures. Once the weight variable is applied, the distributions by race and ethnicity, household income, educational attainment, median age, and marital status for the two sets of data are not significantly different from each other.

Table 1: Comparison of 2007 PALS and Averaged 2005-2007 American Community Surveys (ACS)

PALS	<u>Unweighted</u>	<u>Weighted</u>	<u>ACS</u>
<u>Race & Ethnicity</u>			
% White, Non-Hispanic	48%	69%	69%
% Black, Non-Hispanic	20%	11%	11%
% Hispanic	20%	12%	13%
% Asian, Non-Hispanic	7%	4%	4%
% Married	46%	57%	53%
Median Age in Years	42	45	45
<u>Household Income</u>			
Less than \$30,000	37%	30%	30%
\$30,000 up to \$59,999	30%	31%	28%
\$60,000 up to \$99,999	21%	24%	23%
\$100,000 and up	12%	16%	19%
<u>Educational Attainment</u>			
Less than High School	14%	12%	16%
H.S. Grad up to a 4-yr degree	60%	60%	59%
Bachelors' Degree	17%	16%	16%
Advanced Degree	10%	11%	9%

Due to rounding, figures may not add to 100%.

The same is true for 2012. Weighting was based on the 2010 U.S. Census. The U.S. Census was used instead of later versions of the ACS because only one additional year of the ACS (2011) was available at the time of the 2012 weight creation, and because of the higher reliability of the census. The weights correct for any bias in who did not respond in 2012, but did in 2006.

Weights were also created for analyzing CHANGE and CONTINUITY between 2006 and 2012. For the full details of all the weights, how they were created, and which weights to use when, see the [PALS Weight Documentation](#) {hyper link to this document}.

Notes

ⁱThe American Association for Public Opinion Research, Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates for Surveys, Revised 2009. See http://www.aapor.org/AM/Template.cfm?Section=Standard_Definitions1&Template=/CM/ContentDisplay.cfm&ContentID=1814

ⁱⁱThe number of persons contacted was adjusted to exclude an estimated number of refusals that would not have met the PALS screening criteria. This estimate was based on the ratio of the actual count of persons not selected for interview (2,109) to the total number of completed screenings (5,689) and applied to the number of refusals at the screening stage.

ⁱⁱⁱ Outcome rates for the PALS Wave 1 were calculated using the appropriate formulas based on the definitions provided by the American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR, 2009). For the contact rate, we used Contact Rate 2 (CON2), which is calculated as $((I+P)+R+O)/((I+P)+R+O+NC+e(U+UO))$ where I=completed screening, P=partial screening, R=refusal and break-offs, NC=non-contacts, O=other contacts, e=estimated proportion of cases of unknown eligibility that are eligible, UH=unknown if household occupied, and UO=other unknown. Using the proportional allocation or CASRO method, the estimated eligible cases were calculated by applying the proportion of all persons screened of the determined eligible cases to the number of unknown eligibility cases. A screening completion rate was calculated to reflect the nonresponse during the screening phase. This rate is the proportion of completed screenings to the adjusted number of persons contacted. For the interview rate or cooperation rate, we used AAPOR's Cooperation Rate 2 (COOP2), as $(I+P)/(I+P)+R+O$ where I=completed interview, P=partial interview, R=refusal and break-offs, and O=other contacts. Because the data collection involved a two-stage process of screening in order to meet race subsample targets and then interviewing those persons, we present a response rate based on taking the product of the contact rate, a screening completion rate (reflecting refusals before the screening), and the cooperation rate, specifically, $83\% \times 86\% \times 82\% = 58\%$. AAPOR recognizes this approach for a multi-stage design, because we are able to demonstrate that the PALS sample is representative of the US population, using the 2005-2007 American Community Survey as the comparison. At the end of the data collection period, a sample of 620 households was opened and work begun on contacting them (preliminary letters sent out, in some cases an initial contact made), but not concluded. These cases were excluded from all of the outcome rate calculations. If we include those households in the potential sample, the contact rate is 82%, the screening completion rate is 84%, the cooperation rate remains 82% and the response rate becomes 56% ($.82 \times .84 \times .82$).

^{iv} US Census Bureau (2009). American Community Survey, 3-year estimates 2005-2007. Internet release date: January 16, 2009. Retrieved July 30, 2009 from http://factfinder.census.gov/servlet/DatasetMainPageServlet?_program=ACS&_submenuId=&_lang=en&_ts=

APPENDIX D

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Political Conservatism	.598	1.672
	Colorblindness	.957	1.045
	Religious Conservatism	.614	1.629

a. Dependent Variable: Government Obligation

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Colorblindness	.980	1.021
	Religious Conservatism	.977	1.023
	Government Obligation	.991	1.009

a. Dependent Variable: Political Conservatism

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Religious Conservatism	.602	1.662
	Government Obligation	.893	1.120
	Political Conservatism	.552	1.813

a. Dependent Variable: Colorblindness

Model		Collinearity Statistics	
		Tolerance	VIF
1	Government Obligation	.911	1.097
	Political Conservatism	.875	1.143
	Colorblindness	.957	1.045

a. Dependent Variable: Religious Conservatism