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ABSTRACT

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS: A STUDY OF THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNITY AND ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES AFFECTING CHURCH RELOCATION IN LANSING, MICHIGAN

by Robert K. Ordway

The study was centered in the phenomenon of churches which relocate from one site to another in the urban areas. Effort was made to clarify aspects of the phenomenon through investigation of the general thesis: structural factors of the community play a larger role than do structural factors of the organization in the processes of church relocation in the urban area.

The sample for the study consisted of 100 churches, or about 60 per cent of the total number in the Lansing Area. The sample was a stratified random sample, chosen to include churches of the three major polity types—congregational, episcopal, and presbyterian, and churches at various levels of experience relative to relocation, including those which had never relocated.

A series of seven measurements were developed or adapted for use in testing the specific hypotheses of the study. These included: (a) a measure of the present spatial distribution of various church types within the urban area; (b) a measure of the distribution of church families, relative to location of their respective churches; (c) social area analysis, developed by Eshrev Shevky and Wendell Bell; (d) an index of the social rank of church groups, based on occupational

and educational characteristics of church members, (e) the type of polity existent in the church group, (f) a measure of the internal organization of the church, expressed in terms of organizational complexity, and (g) the size of church, alternately determined by number of individual members or by the number of member families.

The specific hypotheses, and the results of investigation, were:

1. There will be a tendency for churches in the urban area to be grouped together in clusters in their general distribution. A strong tendency in the expected direction appeared, with nearly one-third of the churches included in four distinct groupings.

2. Churches will tend to be grouped together in their distribution on the indices of social areas. The hypothesis was supported, as over 61 per cent of the churches were grouped above the midpoint on the economic index, and 80 per cent were grouped below the midpoint on the family structure index.

3. The majority of church members will live either in the social areas in which the church building is located, or in social areas with characteristics similar to those of the social area in which the church building is located. Again, 80 per cent of the churches fit the expected pattern. Deviance was explained through a combination of features associated with the age of the church, and the nature of the size of the city.

4. Relocating churches will tend to move from their previous locations to social areas with the same social area ratings, or to social areas with a higher economic status score, or with a lower family structure score. Only one of the relocating churches failed

to fit this expected pattern.

5. It is expected that churches will move outward, from the center of the city toward the periphery. This hypothesis failed to receive general support, though a large minority of relocating churches did move in the predicted direction.

6. Churches of different polity types will have different patterns of relocation: congregational and non-denominational churches will move most often, episcopal churches least often. For congregational and episcopal polity types, the hypothesis was supported as indicating the general tendency. Non-denominational churches failed completely to follow the expectation.

7. In justifying relocation, churches will give mostly "community-oriented" reasons for making a move. This hypothesis was rejected, as only 20 per cent of all reasons for relocation were directly "community-oriented." The majority of reasons given centered in internal spatial considerations of the church as an organization.

In the entire study, polity type assumed such unexpected importance as a controlling variable that the author believes the original thesis should be modified to take its power into account. The modified thesis reads: the more power which the polity structure places in the denomination, the less influential will be the role of community structural factors in the process of church relocation; the more power which the polity structure places in the local congregation, the more influential will be the role of community structural factors.

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ORGANIZATIONAL VARIABLES AFFECTING CHURCH
RELOCATION IN LANSING, MICHIGAN

By

Robert K. Ordway

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INTRODUCTION

This study grew out of a concern on the part of the writer for some understanding of a phenomenon now current in the activities of many congregations. Protestant groups in particular are most apt to be involved in the phenomenon—the physical relocation of the meeting place of the congregation.

There seem to be many speculative opinions related to the problems of relocation, but few solid facts. In the approach to the problem presented here, direction has been sought essentially through posing two questions: (1) what factors in the relationship between a local congregation and its community, if any, are involved when a congregation decides to relocate to another site? and (2) what factors in the make-up of the local congregation as an organization are involved when a congregation decides to relocate?

Stated in this way, these questions provide a dual focus on a single problem: a focus on relevant community factors which may influence a congregation in its decisions regarding relocation, and a focus on attributes of the church as an organization which may influence decisions regarding relocation.

The problem is stated in this way, and approached through the dual focus as a recognition that, as a social entity operating in a social environment, a congregation will be affected in the development of its activities and programs by both external and internal stimuli. In this paper, the stimuli to be considered is structural in nature.

Therefore, in considering the process and problem of relocation, structural features of the community in which the church is located, and structural features of the church as an organization, are both considered to be important. One of the purposes of the study is to discover, if possible, which structural factors, community or church, play the largest part in influencing a local congregation involved in relocation.

CHAPTER I

Background Factors

In the approach to the general problem, and in specifying the salient factors involved, there are several rather broad elements which must be taken into account. These include the varied phenomena of population mobility, against which the mobility of social institutions must be assayed; the social composition of the city, and of sub-areas within the urban complex; and structural and organizational features of the social institution in question—in this case, the church. Cutting across all of these is the need to consider, at least briefly, the traditional relationship between the religious congregation and its neighborhood.

Population Mobility

The movements of relatively large numbers of persons from one place to another is not a new occurrence. Anthropological evidence suggests that population mobility has been a feature of life since the dawn of human history. At times mobility appears as a regular process, governed largely by environmental pressures—climate, hunting success, or natural food supplies. At other times it appears more spasmodic, resulting from social pressures—the appearance of another, hostile, group or population expansion. It should come as little surprise, then, to note that population mobility continues as an accepted social fact, even though the reasons for it may have changed.

For nearly two decades the rate of mobility in the United States

has been such that about one of every five persons changes his residence every year: during the year March, 1960 to March, 1961, thirty-five and a half million Americans moved.¹ In order to keep up with analysis of the phenomenon, the United States Census Bureau has developed a classification scheme of mobility status and type of mobility with eight divisions and subdivisions.²

Although many features of mobility are interesting, only those which revolve around the metropolitan area need concern us here. In 1900, one-third of the United States population resided in metropolitan areas and two-thirds lived in non-metropolitan areas. By 1960 these proportions were just reversed.³ Though part of this growth is to be accounted for by the creation of new metropolitan areas (cities of 50,000 population or more), a more important source of growth is the addition of adjacent counties to already existing metropolitan areas, as the orbit of metropolitan influence spreads.⁴

¹Henry S. Shryock, Jr., Population Mobility Within The United States (Chicago: Community and Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1964), p. 65.

²Ibid., p. 10. The Classes are:
Same house
Different house in same county (intracounty moves)
Migrants (intercounty movers)
Different county in same state (intrastate migrants)
Interstate migrants
Between contiguous states
Between noncontiguous states
Movers from abroad

³Amos H. Hawley, Beverly Duncan, and David Goldberg, "Some Observations of Changes in Metropolitan Population in The United States," Demography, I, No. 1 (1964), 151.

⁴Ibid., p. 150.

Accompanying the increase of the metropolitan area, with its inclusion of a broader population base, is the long-time trend of migration to the city from rural areas, with the increasing growth of industry and technology, and the decreasing numbers of persons necessary to continue essential agricultural production.

Also part of the increasing metropolitan area development is the rise and phenomenal growth of suburban developments. A whole spate of recent literature has dealt with study of the suburb, as an ecological development, and as a way of life.

Alongside the movements of people into and within urban areas, there is also a more or less constant movement of the institutions and facilities which serve the needs of the urban population.¹ An obvious illustration is the rise of shopping centers, often containing branch stores of the big "downtown" firms, located in a position of maximum access to the new or growing suburbs. Among the institutions and organizations affected is the church, in its various forms. We shall return to this after considering other relevant background elements.

Social Composition of The City: Sub-Areas

Cities and metropolitan areas may be variously described, but perhaps one of the most useful and helpful concepts pictures the city as a dynamic interrelationship of various functional systems: political, cultural, economic, social, educational, communicative, transportation, religious, and industrial.

These various segments of urban life are not put together in a

¹One study of this movement, dealing with commercial establishments, was done by Bradford Chase, "An Analysis of Commercial Use Changes in Lansing, Michigan: 1952-59" (unpublished Master's thesis, Michigan State University, 1962).

random fashion, but generally are established in some sort of framework provided by their interdependence. Sections of the city may come to be primarily devoted to one of these functions, with lines of access and communication to others.

Illustrative of this functional development are such areas as the business district, the commercial center, the office complexes, industrial areas and the government center. Residential areas may impinge upon and be interlocked with one or more of these, but for the most part, residential areas comprise rather solid sections in themselves. This is not to say, of course, that only homes are in residential areas, for small shopping areas or service establishments may be sprinkled throughout, but there are distinctive separations of residential areas from other urban sections.

At the same time, there are two social institutions which have traditionally been closely linked to residential areas.¹ Both schools and churches have been located within—not on the fringe, but as an integral part of residential sections. The close relation between church and neighborhood in particular will be examined a little later.

Several students of the city have developed frameworks for description of the city.² One recent attempt to classify, describe,

¹See Donald L. Foley, "The Use of Local Facilities in A Metropolis," Cities and Society, eds. Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (2d ed.; New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1957), pp. 607-616. Foley says that there are four general types of facilities used mostly within or adjacent to the residential district: food stores, churches, schools, and movie theatres, p. 613.

²Three of the best known theories of the descriptions of city growth are: the concentric circle theory of Ernest W. Burgess, "Urban Areas," Chicago: An Experiment in Social Science Research, eds.; T. V. Smith and L. D. White (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); the sector theory, reported by Homer Hoyt, The Structure and

and analyze the social arrangements of the city is that called "social area analysis," developed by Shevky and Williams,¹ and modified by Shevky and Bell.² Basically, this technique of analysis is based upon construction of three indices—economic, family, and ethnic—from data on relevant characteristics which are presented in the United States Census publications. Social area analysis uses census tract areas as the basic unit of study and classification.

The aim of social area analysis is to provide a means of differentiating and systematically analyzing different types of residential areas within the urban complex. Some idea of interest in the method may be derived from the range of problems which have been approached using this analytical scheme.³

In the discussion of "the Church and its community setting," which will follow toward the end of this chapter, detailed attention

Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities (Washington, D. C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1939); and the later multiple nuclei theory developed by Chauncey D. Harris and Edward U. Ullman, "The Nature of Cities," Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXLII (November, 1945), 7-17.

¹Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams, The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).

²Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, Social Area Analysis (University of California Press, 1949).

³See for example, such articles as: Wendell Bell and Marion D. Boat, "Urban Neighborhoods and Informal Social Relations," American Journal of Sociology, LXII (January, 1957), 391-398; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Religious Preference, Familism, and The Class Structure," The Midwest Sociologist, XIX (May, 1957); Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," Social Forces, XXXIV (May, 1956), 345-350; Maurice D. Van Arsdol, Jr., Santo F. Camilleri, and Calvin F. Schmid, "An Application of The Shevky Social Area Indexes to A Model of Urban Society," Social Forces, XXXVII, No. 1 (October, 1958), 26-32; Theodore R. Anderson and Lee L. Bean, "The Reinterpretation," Social

will be given to two studies which have used social area analysis with reference to religious institutions.¹ To facilitate understanding of the results of those studies, and the use of social area analysis in this dissertation, we must look at some of the theoretical and methodological basis of the procedure.

The method of social area analysis was formulated in an attempt to find a new tool for community research and study which moved beyond the non-experimental, descriptive methods of ecology used by Robert Park and most students of the city since.² On the basis of the existing models, Los Angeles, with which Shevky and his associates were concerned, would have been either "unique," or "not a city at all."³ It was also observed that "the sociologists who considered the spatial patterning observed in the city as the 'basic underpinning' for the study of urban life ran the risk of becoming bounded by the particularities of the urban frame taken in isolation." To escape both of these dilemmas, the social area methodology was devised, using two basic assumptions: (a) that the urban phenomena of Los Angeles were regional manifestations of changes in the total society and (b) that, in urban

Forces, XL, No. 2 (December, 1961), 119-124. For others, see the Bibliography. For a negative reaction to the Social Area Index, see Amos H. Hawley and Otis Dudley Duncan, "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal," Land Economics, XXXIII (November, 1955), 337-345.

¹Robert L. Wilson, "The Association of Urban Social Areas in Four Cities and The Institutional Characteristics of Local Churches in Five Denominations" (unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1958); and George C. Myers, "Patterns of Church Distribution and Movement," Social Forces, XL, No. 4 (May, 1962), 354-363.

²Shevky and Williams, op. cit., p. 1; Shevky and Bell, op. cit., p. 1.

³Shevky and Bell, loc. cit.

analysis, facts of economic differentiation and of status and power had a significance transcending in importance the significance of relations occurring within the boundaries of the local community.¹

The whole idea of social area analysis grows from a theoretical foundation based on the idea of increasing societal scale. Scale, in this sense, is conceived of as "the scope of social interaction and dependency."² Shevky and his co-workers, in arriving at the idea of social scale, have followed the generalizations of Colin Clark:

. . . modern economics tend to move toward more complex organization and higher income levels in a series of steps: first, the intensification of primary production, agriculture, forestry and mining; second, the expansion of secondary production, manufacturing, and construction; third, the proportionally greater expansion of tertiary production, trade, transportation, communication, and services."³

This generalization provides a set of structural indicators which may be used to approach the problem of increasing scale, through three broad and interrelated trends associated with three orders of organizational complexity: changes in the distribution of skills, changes in the structure of productive activity, and changes in the composition of population.⁴

Upon these structural indicators, in turn, are established the constructs and indices of social area analysis. Briefly summarized, the constructs are derived as follows by Shevky and Bell:

1. Social Rank—this is derived from the changing distribution of skills as a significant differentiating factor among individuals and subpopulations in modern society at one point in time. The index of

¹Ibid. ²Ibid. ³Ibid., p. 5 ⁴Ibid., p. 9.

social rank is derived, as are the indices for the other constructs, from available census variables which are evident elements of the changing distribution of skills. Measures of occupation, education, and rent¹ are of central importance in making the differentiation, with occupation the key single variable.²

2. Urbanization—this construct is derived from the changing structure of productive activity, the second major trend outlined above. There are two components of the urbanization construct: "a measure of fertility, which reflects changes in the relation of the population to the economy and changes in the function and structure of the family, and measures of the house type and women in the labor force which reflects changes in the function and structure of the family."³

3. Segregation—the third construct reflects in structural terms a major trend which has significantly determined the character of modern society. This trend is composed of changes in the composition of the population which are manifested by redistribution of the population in space, alteration in the age and sex composition, and the isolation of groups."⁴ The relative concentration of specified ethnic groups and non-whites comprises the index of segregation.

All three of the constructs outlined above also have alternative names, used by Bell and by some others who have used social area analysis as a tool for study of urban areas. For instance, Social Rank is alternatively called Economic Status; Urbanization is also called Family

¹One notes, however, that in Bell's description of computational procedures, rent as a variable is omitted. See Wendell Bell, "Social Areas: Typology of Urban Neighborhoods," Community Structure and Analysis, ed. Marvin Sussman (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1959), p. 90

²Shevky and Bell, op. cit., p. 17. ³Ibid. ⁴Ibid., p. 18.

Status; and Segregation is sometimes referred to as Ethnic Status. With the first two of these in particular, the alternative names for the constructs seem to be more fitting for the material which actually is measured.

Social rank, or economic status, is actually a type of stratification measure, associated with the more general term, social class. Measures of social class typically use such elements as occupation, education, and income, or some combination of these three. While the fit is not perfect, the correlation between these three elements is often so close that one of them alone may be used with satisfactory results.¹ Shevky and Bell use occupation and education as a measure of socio-economic status. Social rank, used in connection with the concept of stratification, could very well include other factors besides the three already mentioned. For example, in many areas, high social rank, with the connotation of prestige and respect, may be conferred on the "old fine families" who do not necessarily occupy a high economic position in the community. For purposes of the present study, the term economic status seems preferable, in light of the variables actually used in its delineation, because this term does not carry the same prestige connotations.

With reference to the urbanization construct, it appears that the measures of fertility, women working, and single-family dwelling units, are made to carry more than they can actually bear. Implicit in the notion of urbanization, conceived in this way, is an idea that

¹For instance, Leo F. Schnore uses "the number of school years completed by the population aged 25 years or older" as a single indicator of socio-economic status. See "Urban Structure and Suburban Selectivity," Demography, I, No. 1 (1964), 164-176.

the significant features of urbanization are reflected in family structure. That is, urbanization is seen in families with fewer children, more women working, and an increase in apartment living. This view may be correct, but urbanization has other aspects as well. For instance, Stein comments on Robert Park's theory of urbanization, developed with a conception of "natural areas" within the urban setting, that urbanization involves ". . . forces that are constantly at work to effect an orderly distribution of populations and functions within the urban complex the struggle and efforts of its people to live and work together . . . with local customs, traditions, social ritual, laws, public opinion, and the prevailing moral order."¹ Changes of economic and social status are also features of urbanization, tending to be reflected in changes of location, or the phenomenon of mobility.²

To use the term family status rather than urbanization places a limitation on the concept involved in the construct, but the limitation seems warranted, indeed necessary, in light of the variables actually measured. At the present state of our conceptual development, family status is much more meaningful than the much broader term urbanization. But this term still has its difficulties, because of the ranking implications of the term "status." For instance, to speak of a high family status score, or a low family status score, does not mean one is ranked higher or lower than the other, but in the context of the constructs refers to different degrees of family form or structure--number of children, number of women working, and number of single-family

¹Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960), p. 22.

²Ibid., pp. 24, 26.

detached dwelling units. Even to speak of "family structure" is not wholly satisfactory, but it presents fewer conceptual problems than either "urbanization" or "family status." For these reasons, family structure will be used throughout this study to refer to the second construct of social area analysis.

With regards to the segregation index, the suggested alternative of "ethnic status" might be best regarded as a matter of consistency in terms. However, the change seems to be not so important in this respect. Indeed, to avoid the possibility of confusion later, the term segregation will be retained in these pages, simply to provide a ready reference to the designation of census tracts rating high on this score as indicated by adding "S" to the social area score. (A low segregation score is indicated by the absence of any designation, e.g., "3C"; a high segregation score for a given census tract would be designated by the addition of "S," e.g., "3CS.")

In summary, the terms to be used from this point forward will be: (1) economic status, (2) family structure, and (3) segregation. This will bring terminology closer to the actual measurements made. Specific steps of compiling and computing these measures may be found in Appendix B.

Structure and Organization of Religious Groups

After some time of comparative neglect of the sociology of religion, recent years have seen renewed interest in the study of religion as an important social institution. This renewed interest arises from acceptance of a point of view which holds that "the student of society must be a student of religion To neglect the study of

religion is to miss one of the most fruitful ways of studying the life of man."¹ This present study continues in the assumption that religion, and specifically, the church as a religious institution, is an important part of all levels of social life.

In light of this assumption, there are several available ways to approach the study of the church as a religious institution. As in all research, the choice of method is dictated by the nature of the specific problem at hand.

Probably the best-known approach to the study of organized religious groups is presented in the Church-Sect Typology. Dynes² reminds us that Max Weber first introduced the concepts,³ but that they are more commonly identified with Ernest Troeltsch,⁴ a student of Weber's. The typology is developed on a combination of religious and social elements, including among the latter economic, social class stratification, and social participation factors.⁵ Dynes has summarized the distinction between sect and church in a series of statements,

¹J. Milton Yinger, Religion, Society and The Individual (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1957), p. xi.

²Russell R. Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," American Sociological Review, XX (October, 1955), 555.

³See Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism, trans. Talcott Parsons (London: Allen & Unwin, 1930), and "The Protestant Sects and The Spirit of Capitalism," From Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, trans. Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).

⁴See Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of The Christian Churches, trans. Olive Wyon (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932).

⁵For one of the most complete listings, see Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

For some idea of the widespread use of the typology, often in somewhat modified form, in both historical and empirical studies, see: H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York:

which he notes should be restricted to Protestantism in their application:

1. The Sect renounces or is indifferent to the secular value systems, while the Church accepts and reinforces them.
2. The Sect emphasizes a literal Biblical interpretation of life and rejects worldly success, while the Church incorporates some degree of scientific and humanistic thinking in its interpretation of life and accepts success in this world as a not unworthy goal.
3. The Sect maintains a moral community, excluding unworthy members, and depreciates membership in other religious institutions, while the Church embraces all who are socially compatible with it and accepts other established religions.
4. The Sect emphasizes congregational participation and an unprofessionalized ministry, while the Church delegates religious responsibility to a professionalized group of officials.
5. The Sect stresses a voluntary confessional basis for membership and its primary concern is for adults, while the Church stresses social and ritual requisites for all.
6. The Sect values fervor in religious observance through its use of folk hymns and its emphasis on evangelism, while the Church values passivity through its use of liturgical forms of worship and its emphasis on education.¹

A second approach to the study of religious institutions, especially of use and emphasis in the United States, is that based on the tripartate division of Catholic, Protestant, and Jew. Undoubtedly the best known use of this analytical framework is the classic study

Henry Holt and Co., 1929); Leopold Von Weise and Howard Becker, Systematic Sociology (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1932); J. Milton Yinger, Religion in The Struggle for Power (Durham: Duke University Press, 1946); S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948). Peter L. Berger, "The Sociological Study of Sectarianism," Social Research, XXI (Winter, 1954); Russell R. Dynes, op. cit.; Oliver Read Whitley, "The Sect to Denomination Process in An American Religious Movement: The Disciples of Christ," Southwestern Science Quarterly, XXXVI, No. 3 (December, 1955), 275-282; and Trumpet Call of Reformation (St. Louis, Missouri: The Bethany Press, 1959); Bryan H. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," American Sociological Review, XXIV, No. 1 (February, 1959), 3-15; and Benton Johnson, "On Church and Sect," American Sociological Review, XXVIII, No. 4 (August, 1963), 539-549.

¹Dynes, op. cit., p. 556.

made by Will Herberg.¹ The best current empirical attempt to use this typology is the Detroit Study done by Lenski.²

Still another possible type of analysis might be made on the basis of the type of polity present in the religious organization. It is an interesting feature of religious studies that this type of analytical framework, basically structural in nature, is used very seldom. It is also interesting that in all the references in sociological literature which mention these polity distinctions—Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal—the writer found only one which provides any definition of the distinctions.³ Apparently they are so well known that the terms are taken for granted. Lest this error (as I believe it to be) persist, the following definitions are offered:

Episcopal polity—a system of organization featuring an hierarchy of authority at several levels, with authority vested in stated persons and/or positions. While power of decision-making is generally delegated at each level of organization, the ultimate exercise of power is vested in the top echelon, with power of review over all lower levels.

Congregational polity—a system of organization which features authority vested at the level of the local congregation (congregational autonomy). The power of decision-making resides at the local level, unless the local group voluntarily gives such power to an agency at a

¹Will Herberg, Protestant-Catholic-Jew (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1960).

²Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (rev. ed.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1963).

³Elizabeth K. Nottingham, Religion and Society (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954).

non-local level.

Presbyterian polity—a system which appears as something of a compromise between the other two. Here the seat of decision-making power rests in a series of representative bodies, with the members at each level of organization elected from the level which is immediately below it.

The most apparent reason why polity arrangement has not been more widely used is that it is limited in its generality because of its structural nature.

The Church-Sect typology necessarily involves the use of combination of attributes, arranged together to provide a single classification scheme. The other two analytical designs mentioned here—Protestant—Catholic—Jew, and polity—are much more easily designated on the basis of the one outstanding criterion. For the first of these, the important criterion is historical. That is, for Jews, the distinguishing feature is the non-acceptance of the Christ as the central figure of the faith; for Catholics and Protestants, the distinguishing feature is the acceptance or rejection of the authority of the Pope in matters of religious belief and practice. This is not to say, by any means, that the implications of these distinctions are not important. They are obviously crucial in the entire development of the three major groups. The point is that one criterion—the seat of authority of religious faith and practice—is enough to set one apart from the others. With respect to polity, the distinguishing feature is again that of authority, though along different lines, as has already been indicated in the discussion of the three types. For these reasons, one might speak of either of these three-fold categories as "single-item"

variables.

Without doubt, there are other single-item variables which may also be employed in analysis of religious groups. In this work, the variables which are considered to be most important with respect to church relocation are size of church, polity, age of church, and social rank. Definitions for each of these variables will be specified as they are utilized in later pages.

The Church and Its Community Setting

It has been both implicit and explicit in the minds of church leaders of all varieties that the church is closely tied to some notion of "community" or "neighborhood." Traditionally the church is seen as both drawing its membership from, and giving primary service to, a particular community. In a study which is described as concerned with ". . . the creation of a human environment in the metropolis,"¹ Gibson Winter has written concerning the role of the churches in the metropolis.

The churches could play a significant role in metropolitan planning, and yet, for the most part, they have failed to participate responsibly in the metropolis. The writer has tried above all to clarify the nature of responsible participation, so that men and women in the churches may see the alternatives which confront them. Decisions made by religious bodies in the next decade could significantly alter the human environment of the metropolis. Church planning, as it is now called, implies planning for or against the metropolis as a human community; the building or removal of a church is a vote for or against the local neighborhood.²

Thirty-five years earlier, Douglass noted that the changing

¹Gibson Winter, The Suburban Captivity of The Churches (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962), p. 9.

²Ibid., pp. 9, 10.

urban environment has particular consequences for institutions located in that environment. However, he posited that environmental control of an institution is by no means absolute. For the church, in particular,

Between successful devices for avoiding the natural consequences of adverse environmental change and the complete acceptance of the changed situation as furnishing the clew to what a church ought to be and do institutionally, there intervenes a considerable series of compromises and transitional stages.¹

Some of these typical patterns are listed as:

A. Avoidance methods

- (1) to break away and move to another location
- (2) through selective operation of the church in the original vicinity, that is, by appealing "to a limited number of people of a given sort in many cases, at least for a time, a church can get along fairly well in its original location in spite of extreme environmental change, if it confines itself to its own kind of people and avoids the particular areas of extremist disadvantage where its own kind is not present."
- (3) to stay in the same location, but draw members from areas completely removed from the locality of the church building.

B. Compromise methods

- (1) to work selectively and develop distant constituencies, as in (2) and (3) above, at the same time.
- (2) to add to the old program distinct (but generally limited) programs designed to meet the needs of dominant populations now in the vicinity of the church building.

C. Methods of Re-adaptation

- (1) developing new, loosely attached activities and programs, which come to characterize the church in the public mind, ultimately being adopted as the conscious policy of the church.
- (2) to become adapted to certain broad aspects of urban life as a whole (e.g., the labor movement), particular neighborhood.

¹H. Paul Douglass, The Church in The Changing City (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1927), pp. xvii ff.

These methods, as Douglass calls them, are available as options to the centrally located church. As for the church in a deteriorating residential district, he sees essentially four options:

- A. Moving to a new location.
- B. Dying, or becoming negligible.
- C. Radical adaptation to the immediate environment, which generally involves finding outside financial support, and usually brings a serious warping and unbalance of institutional structure.
- D. Deliberately entering a hard situation, again implying dependence on outside financial support. "This type, if highly developed, often ceases to exhibit the character of a church, and some other name, such as 'institute' fits much better."

After outlining this series of adaptive measures available to churches, Douglass then turns his attention, both in this work and in a companion book, 1000 City Churches,¹ to further analysis and illustration of all the alternatives, save one--the movement of churches.

In much the same manner Sanderson sets out

. . . to discover whether there is any general correspondence between urban church progress and social change
. . . . To investigate this problem requires first that social change in the city be measured, second that the progress of the churches be studied, and third, that the results of the two inquiries be compared.²

However, again, in the analysis and treatment of the two sets of information which Sanderson uses, there is no discussion of the movement of churches, either as a result of social change in the city, or concomitant with such social change.

¹H. Paul Douglass, 1000 City Churches-Phases of Adaptation (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1926).

²Ross W. Sanderson, The Strategy of City Church Planning (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1932), p. 3.

Explicit in both Douglass and Sanderson is the assumption that the church is closely tied to its community. The concept of community involved has both geographical and social components. The community is made up of people who are somewhat homogeneous. It involves an area within the city complex where many, if not all, of the services people want may be found within a convenient distance.¹ In an earlier day, when apart from the rapid transit transportation line, the primary means of getting from one place to another was walking, all sorts of shops and services could be found in each "neighborhood" area. Grocery stores, schools, churches, parks, and a host of related agencies were placed so that people could use them conveniently. With technological improvements which have changed methods of transportation, radical shifts have taken place. Reliance upon the automobile, in particular, has changed not only the traditional neighborhood patterns of shopping, but even the shape and form of the city itself.²

Technological changes have revolutionized not only means and methods of transportation, but also the ways in which men work. Industrial developments many times no longer need to rely on a large labor pool close to the factory. In city planning circles, there is a recognition that traditional neighborhoods had three aspects: (1) physical—

¹This usage of the term community is closely akin to the idea of "natural area" as developed by Robert Park and his students at Chicago. See Robert E. Park, Human Communities (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1952).

²John Dyckman, "The Impact of Technological Change," Forum on Neighborhoods, Today and Tomorrow, No. 1 (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Housing Association, February, 1958). Also Hans Blumenfield, "The Form of The Metropolis," Forum on Neighborhoods, Today and Tomorrow, No. 5 (June, 1958).

a collection of houses set apart by physical boundaries, such as major streets, railroads, and stream valleys; (2) institutional—the service area of elementary schools, of local shopping centers, and the like; (3) social—the area in which neighboring occurs. Through changes in transportation, the second and third aspects are no longer necessarily co-incident with the first.¹

In spite of all these changes, both explicit and implicit in the modern-day technical revolution, the notion persists that the church is integrally related to its local area. In 1955, Murray Leiffer, in a textbook for urban church planning expressed his concern

. . . with the interrelations between the community and the church to the end that . . . churches may not only be well placed but also maintain so vital a relation to the community that they will not need to withdraw from it when population changes.²

Though the development of modern shopping centers evidences a change in thinking regarding economic efficiency in the minds of commercial agencies and services, there are still two social institutions in urban American society which retain a close tie to the localized areas of cities. One is the school system, which still operates primarily on the assumption that educational facilities for elementary children should be available within walking distance of all its constituents. The other is the church, operating on a basis that the church is to serve people in community, however community may be variously defined. Churchmen of high denominational office make impassioned pleas that the church has a special obligation to serve the people who

¹Dyckman, op. cit.

²Murray Leiffer, The Effective City Church (rev. ed.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1955).

live near the church.¹ The value position which serves as a foundation for such a concern demands that churches be aware of changes in their environment.

Somewhat separated from this value position is a practical consideration which affects the life of the church in urban areas. It is often remarked that particular churches become quite selective in their membership and constituency. Or to say it differently, the church, as represented by the total spread of denominations and sects, is stratified in a way that closely reflects the social stratification of the larger society.² Thus, a church which has established itself in an area, serving a clientele drawn from that area, will suffer repercussions as the area changes. Note that change does not necessarily mean change for the worse. A lower class, or "blue-collar" church might be as adversely affected by a change which raised the area in economic level, type of workers residing there, and the like, as would a "white-collar" church if its area were the scene of deterioration and lower class in-migration.

¹See, for instance, G. Paul Musselman, The Church on The Urban Frontier (Greenwich, Connecticut: The Seabury Press, 1960). Here is an Episcopal Bishop pleading for a renewed sense of responsibility on the part of the urban church, especially in areas of high social change.

²For more rural areas, this is noted by James West, Plainville, U. S. A. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), and Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, Small Town in Mass Society (Anchor Book ed.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1958). More generally and for urban areas, see Russell R. Dynes, "Church-Sect Typology and Socio-Economic Status," American Sociological Review, XX, No. 5 (October, 1955), 555-560; Shirley E. Green, Ferment on The Fringe (Philadelphia: The Christian Education Press, 1960); Thomas F. Hault, "Economic Class Consciousness in American Protestantism," American Sociological Review, XV, No. 1 (February, 1950), 97-100 and XVII, No. 3 (June, 1952), 349-350; Victor Obenhaus, W. Widick Schroeder, and Charles D. England, "Church Participation Related to Social Class and

From this it seems obvious that to understand the movement of church groups, as represented by moves in the location of the church building, requires some study and analysis of changing community characteristics in localized areas.

Before moving on to a statement of the problem of this thesis, there are two relevant research projects which have points in common with our overall interest in the church as a community institution.

Robert L. Wilson¹ has used social area analysis as a basic framework for comparative studies of churches in different cities. He has examined certain measureable institutional characteristics of churches of five denominations in four cities with regard to their association with social areas, with these results:

1. Churches of the five denominations are located in a variety of different type social areas. Christian, Lutheran, and Methodist churches are found in all social areas in a proportion similar to the census tracts of the sample cities. Presbyterian churches tend to be found more frequently in areas of high social rank (economic status). Episcopal churches tend to be found more frequently in areas of high urbanization (family structure).

2. A majority of all church members belong to churches in tracts with a high social rank score.

3. Churches with memberships of 1000 or more tend to be in

Type of Center," Rural Sociology, XXIII, No. 3 (1958), 298-309; T. P. Omasi, "Factors Associated with Urban Adjustment of Rural Southern Migrants," Social Forces, XXXV, No. 1 (October, 1956), 47-52; and Liston Pope, "Religion and The Class Structure," Annals of The American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCLVI (March, 1948), 89-91.

¹Robert L. Wilson, op. cit.

areas of high social rank. Churches with memberships of 300 or less tend to be in tracts with low social rank.

4. Churches are increasing in membership in areas with high social rank, decreasing in membership in areas with low social rank and high segregation, and decreasing in areas with medium social rank and high urbanization. In areas of low social rank and low segregation the church membership is remaining relatively stable.

5. Total expenditures appear to be related to the size of the membership rather than to the social area of the tract where the church is located.

6. No definite pattern relating per capita expenditures to the social area typology emerged.

7. The church school enrollment appears to be related to the size of church membership rather than to the social area of the tract where the church is located. In proportion to the membership the church school enrollment is slightly lower in areas of high urbanization and slightly higher in areas of low urbanization.¹

George C. Myers,² following the same basic theoretical perspective as outlined here regarding the ecological relationships between churches and their communities, examines three propositions: (1) there are distinct patterns of spatial distribution for different types of religious organizations. (2) Spatial movement is a common form of adjustment to environmental pressures. (3) The general pattern of movement by churches is centrifugal, tending towards the outer and suburban rings of the metropolitan area.³ Myers studied the patterns of church

¹Ibid. ²George C. Myers, op. cit. ³Ibid., pp. 355-356.

distribution and movement for all 428 churches of Seattle, Washington, with these results:

(1) There is an inverse relationship between both economic and family statuses and the number of churches in those areas. That is, areas of low economic and family status had slightly higher number of churches than could be expected on a random basis.¹

(2) Churches still move, but apparently for different reasons than a generation ago. Churches move, not to survive, but to expand their physical facilities and to meet new social demands. Limited space is a greater inducement to move than the outmigration of church members or residential invasion by groups of different religious, ethnic, or racial characteristics.²

(3) In Seattle, churches which move most often relocate within the same general area where they were originally sited. Of relocations made since 1950, there were as many moves inward as outward, providing no dominant pattern of outward and suburban movement.³ This latter goes somewhat against the sweeping outward flight of churches to a suburban utopia which some writers have noted.⁴

In the work of both Wilson and Myers, as briefly described here, there are important points of comparison and contrast with the research reported in this dissertation. Elaboration of these points will be made as they develop.

¹Ibid., p. 357. ²Ibid., p. 362. ³Ibid., p. 361.

⁴For example, see especially Gibson Winter, op. cit.

CHAPTER II

The Problem

The literature cited in Chapter I points up very clearly that, ideally, there should be close ties between the church and the environment of its location. At the same time, simple observation of such factors as a widely dispersed membership, high mobility, and ease of movement from one place to another for specialized activities makes one wonder just what sorts of ties really exist.

The problem which initiated the research which is described in these pages centers on the relocation of churches within the urban area. It is assumed that certain structural characteristics of local urban areas play a part in decisions of relocation. These characteristics may be the presence or absence of racial groups; occupational divisions, family types, or educational levels which differentiate one area from another. It is assumed that certain structural characteristics of the churches also play a part in decisions of relocation. Specifically, such characteristics are the polity structure of the church, the amount of internal organization (the decision-making machinery), and such variables as the age of the church, the size of the church, or its budget.

Recognizing that each of these structural frameworks plays a part, the thesis of this research is: structural factors of the community play a larger role than do structural factors of the organization in the processes of church relocation in the urban area.

In the pages which follow, the thesis will be approached in several ways, each of them intended to shed light and understanding on the problem at hand. An early concern will be to delineate some features of the social characteristics of local urban areas through the use of social area analysis. An attempt will be made to establish and place some features of the social characteristics of churches in comparison with social areas.

Features of polity and organization are considered important, and will be investigated here, because most local churches are not entities in themselves. Most of them are part of a denomination, and denominational policies and influences play their part in local decisions.¹ In their programs of new church establishment, and also when they are consulted in matters of church relocation, denominational officials consider such items as: presently underchurched or overchurched areas of the city; location of presently existing churches of the same denomination, doctrinal emphasis, or similar patterns of organization. There is often a conscious effort to avoid situations of serious competition or conflict with churches which are very much alike in these matters.² Our concern for polity arises because the

¹A helpful and instructive framework for consideration of these influences may be seen in Roland L. Warren, The Community in America (Chicago: Rand, McNally and Co., 1963). Warren discusses the "vertical" and "horizontal" dimensions of community institutions, and the relevance of each for what he calls "locality-relevant" functions. An expanded discussion of these dimensions may be found in Chapter VI.

²A long discussion of denominational policies is not warranted at this point, but some further elaboration might be useful to the reader. A sampling of denominational thinking and/or policy with special regard for relocation based on personal correspondence with the author, is presented in Appendix D. See also the discussion of these policies as related to relocation in Chapter VI.

ability of denominational officials to exercise their concerns in the distribution patterns of local congregations depends on their power to influence local congregations. As stated earlier, the stronger the hierarchy the more power available to outside personnel.

The thesis dealt with here involves analysis of at least two major considerations: (1) spatial aspects of relocation. This involves the distribution of different types of churches in relation to one another; the distribution of church members relative to the location of their church building; the homogeneity and social rank of social areas in which church members live. (2) Social and structural aspects of churches which affect relocation. Included here are occupational and educational characteristics of the membership, the type of polity arrangement, the size of the church, and the complexity of internal organization.

To test the general thesis, a series of seven hypotheses have been constructed. These are based primarily on theoretical considerations presented in Chapter I. The hypotheses are:

1. There will be a tendency for churches in the urban area to be grouped together in clusters in their general distribution.

2. Churches will tend to be grouped together in their distribution on the indices of social areas.

3. Either the majority of church members will live in the social area in which the church building is located, or they will live in social areas with characteristics similar to that where the church building is located.

4. Churches will tend to move from their previous locations to social areas with the same or higher social area ratings or to social areas with a higher economic status score, or with a lower family

structure score.

5. It is expected that churches will tend to move outward, from the center of the city toward the periphery.

6. Churches of different polity will have different patterns of relocation: congregational and non-denominational churches will move most often, episcopal churches least often.

7. In justifying relocation, churches will give mostly "community-oriented" reasons for making a move.

Our next step is to describe the methods used in establishing a basis for gathering and analyzing the relevant data.

Methodology

To test the hypotheses just listed, a sample of churches in the greater Lansing Area was selected. This area includes the incorporated cities of Lansing, East Lansing, Holt and Okemos, with the intervening territory surrounding them.

At the time the study was begun, there were 203 churches located within this area. In order to provide enough churches of different size, polity, geographical location, racial and other variations for meaningful comparisons, an original sample of 110 churches was selected. Rejecting those churches which refused to cooperate, and those whose responses were not usable, a final sample of 100 churches was established.¹

The sample was not chosen randomly, but was selected with two requirements in mind: (1) there should be enough churches of each

¹It has been suggested that the sample settling at 100, rather than 99 or 101, making percentages easy to compute, was more than random favor.

polity type—Congregational, Presbyterian and Episcopal—to provide a range of size, organizational complexity and social area location for each; and (2) there should be churches which would fit each of these categories: (a) churches which have completed the relocation process since 1950; (b) churches which are currently involved in the relocation process, at some stage short of moving into a building at the new site; and (c) churches which have not entered or been engaged in any stage of the relocation process since 1950. To satisfy the first of these two requirements, all the churches of the Lansing Area were classified by polity type. A representative sample was then chosen from each of these three subgroups, including churches which represented various positions on the sect-church scale. It was assumed that this type of sample would produce churches fitting the categories of the second requirement mentioned above.

The cut-off date of 1950 was chosen with two considerations in mind: (1) the immediate post-war effects of World War II should have quieted enough not to influence the study unduly; and (2) moves made since 1950 should be recent enough to provide recall of major determinants, and of the major events of the relocation process.

Data was gathered through personal interview with the pastors of each of the sample churches.¹ The interview was guided by a set schedule, reproduced in Appendix C. The interview attempted to gather relevant data for each church on the general characteristics of the

¹Interviewing was done jointly with another graduate student, Leo Driedger, who was conducting a study of clergy attitudes and behaviors in the realm of social issues. Mr. Driedger and I carried out the interviews, with the assistance of John Jackson, a graduate student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

membership, building, organization and structure of the church. Additional questions were aimed at discovery of factors involved in relocation, both as "push" and "pull" factors, and the role of non-local persons—especially denominational officials—in the decision-making and relocation process.

Specific measures which apply to the testing of the stated hypotheses, based on material from the interview schedules include:

1. A measure of the present spatial distribution of various church types within the urban area. Also a measure of the distribution of the sample churches, as compared with the total number of churches in the area.
2. A measure of the distribution of church member families, relative to the location of their respective churches. This data was obtained for 35 of the 100 sample churches.
3. A rough index of the social rank of church groups, as computed from occupational, and educational characteristics of the membership.
4. The type of polity arrangement present in the church and its denomination.
5. The internal organization of the church, measured in terms of its complexity, and its functional rigidity.
6. The size of the church membership. Alternative measures were made, one in terms of individual members, a second in terms of member families.

An additional measure used in hypothesis testing is, of course, the social area analysis. This was computed for the census tracts of Lansing and East Lansing, based on material presented in the report of

the 1960 census.¹ Computation was made following the procedure of Shevky and Bell, as described in Appendix B.

¹U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Census of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-73. (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1962).

CHAPTER III

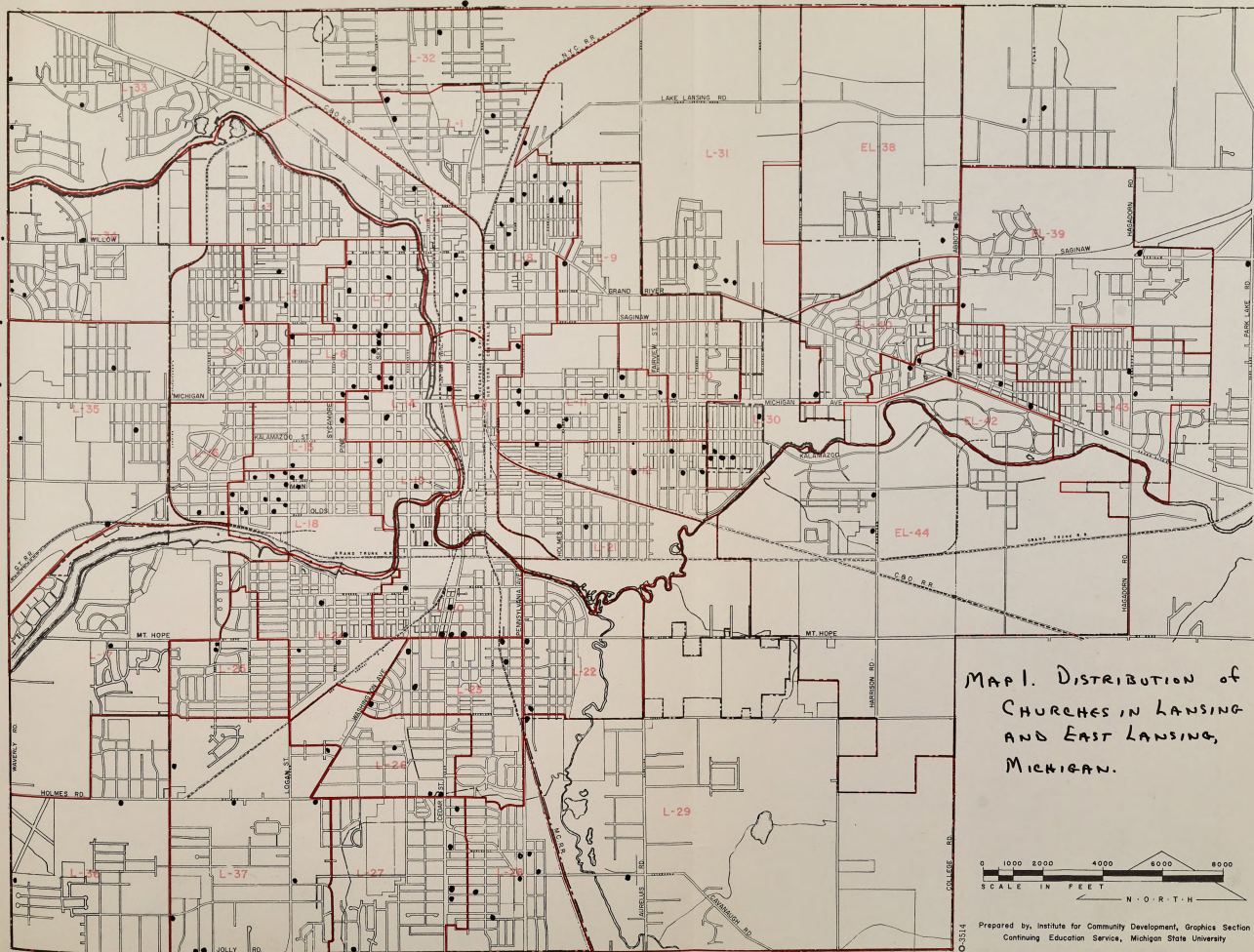
Selected General Characteristics of Sample Churches

A sample of 100 of the 203 churches of the Greater Lansing Area was studied for this project by means of an interview schedule administered to the pastor of each church. The following paragraphs set out some of the general characteristics of those churches which were included in the sample.

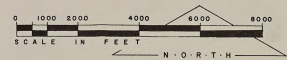
The distribution of the total universe of churches in the Lansing Area is shown in Map 1. Twenty-two of the 203 churches of the Greater Lansing Area lie outside the tracted areas which will be used for later analytical purposes. The distribution of the sample churches are shown in Map 2. In addition the distribution of the four polity types within the sample (see Table 2) is also indicated on Map 2.

The great majority of the churches are "white" in membership. There were ten Negro churches and three "others" in the sample. The "others" were: Mexican—two; Italian—one. Though churches tend to be almost exclusive in terms of race, there is some variation, as shown in Table 1. The percentages of membership which are indicated here are of a race different from the predominant one. From this it can be readily seen that racial endogamy is a highly established fact of religious life. White and Negro churches are not separated in the table, because there was no apparent difference between them with respect to the per cent of "opposite" race included in the membership. A few churches of

LANSING - EAST LANSING CENSUS TRACTS

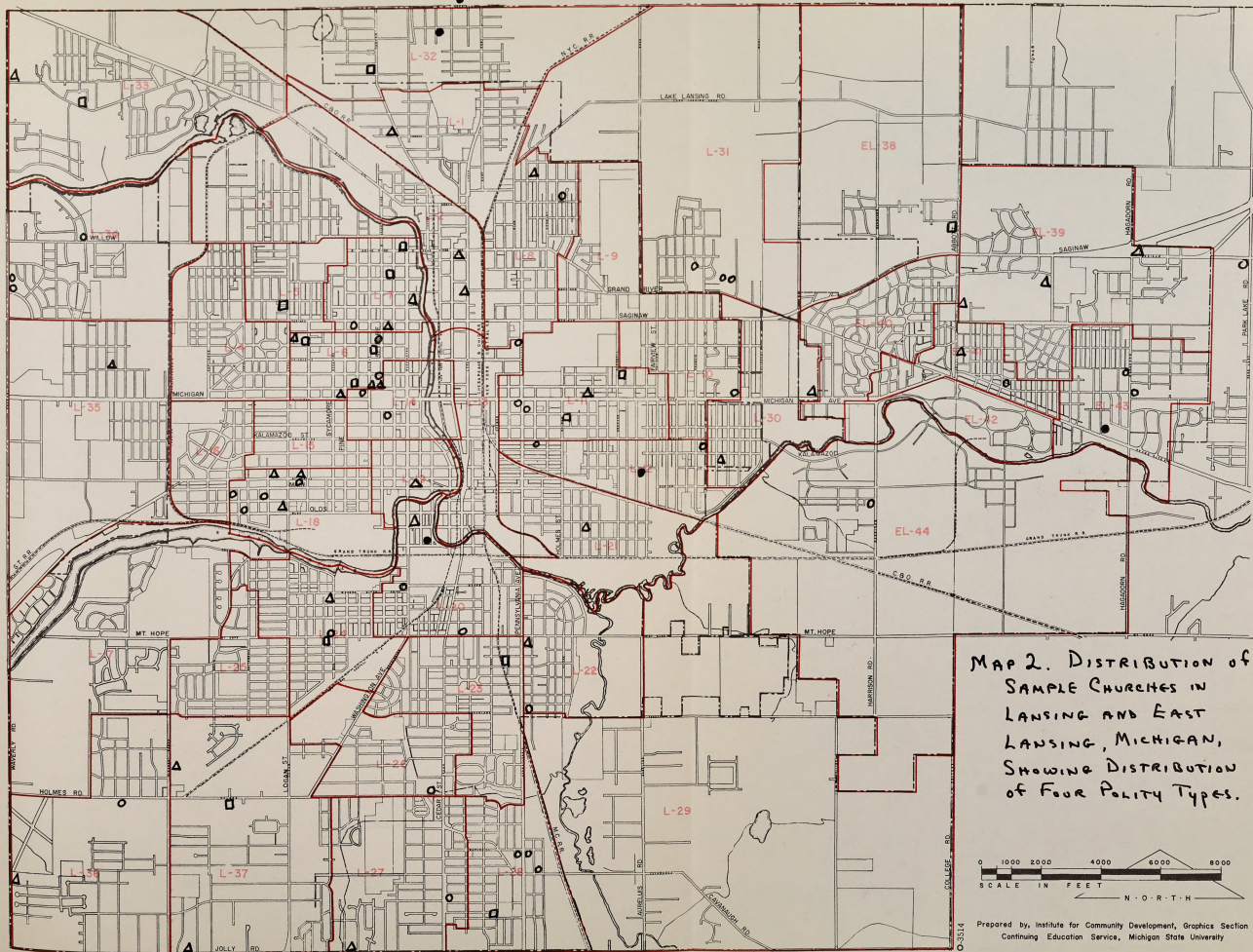


MAP I. DISTRIBUTION OF
CHURCHES IN LANSING
AND EAST LANSING,
MICHIGAN.





LANSGING - EAST LANSING CENSUS TRACTS



MAP 2. DISTRIBUTION of
SAMPLE CHURCHES IN
LANSING AND EAST
LANSING, MICHIGAN,
SHOWING DISTRIBUTION
of Four Polity Types.

A graphic scale bar is located at the bottom of the map. It is marked with distances in feet: 0, 1000, 2000, 4000, 6000, and 8000. Below the bar, the text "SCALE IN FEET" is written. To the right of the scale bar, a north arrow points to the left, labeled "NORTH".

Prepared by, Institute for Community Development, Graphics Section
Continuing Education Service, Michigan State University

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both racial types contained a small per cent of non-alike members.

TABLE 1. Number of Churches with Members of Minority Races
by Per Cent

| Per Cent | Number of Churches |
|--------------|--------------------|
| None | 76 |
| No Response | 1 |
| Less than 5 | 18 |
| 5 to 10 | 2 |
| Over 10 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

Moving on to another characteristic, with regard to denominational structure, or polity, the churches fall into four groups, as shown in Table 2. Distinctions between the three major types—congregational, presbyterian and episcopal—have already been made in Chapter I. The Non-Denominational group is a relatively important one, in relation to the size of the group, as they generally represent some type of "protest movement" with regards to the main stream of religious life. In general, their protest is aimed in one or both

TABLE 2. Distribution of Churches by Denominational Polity Type

| Polity Type | Number of Churches |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Non-Denominational | 8 |
| Congregational | 39 |
| Presbyterian | 19 |
| Episcopal | 34 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

of two directions: the drift toward "liberalism" of current theological thought, and the dominance of local church affairs by "outsiders." The first of these protests is, of course, shared by other fundamentalist and sect-type groups. The second is shared by other congregationally organized groups, but non-denominational groups carry the ideals of congregational autonomy to an extreme. In doing so they have separated themselves from organized religious groups, including those organized on a wholly voluntary basis.

The sample churches cover nearly the entire range of theological traditions in their denominational affiliations. There are representatives of the Jewish, Greek Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant groups. The latter includes churches from the "main-line" traditions—Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, Lutheran—through the middle ranges of denominations, and a sizeable number of sect-type churches, among them the Holiness and Pentecostal groups.

Earlier it was stated that growing populations in the urban area call for adjustment on the part of the churches. One method of adjusting to the greater numbers of people is the establishment of new congregations. Of the 100 churches in the sample, 30 have been newly established since 1950.

A second possible mode of adjustment to new, and changing, populations in the city is the relocation of already established congregations. Table 3 tells the story here. Over 40 per cent of the churches in the sample still occupy their original sites. At the time of interviewing (November and December, 1963) six congregations were in process of relocation—one for the second time since 1950. When we come to the point of analyzing the relocation process itself,

we shall concentrate upon the forty-four churches which have relocated, are relocating, or are seriously considering relocation.

TABLE 3. Number of Churches Which Are or Have Been Involved
in The Relocation Process

| Stage of Relocation Process | Number of Churches |
|--|--------------------|
| Never Relocated | 43 |
| Relocated Prior to 1950 | 13 |
| Relocated Since 1950 | 37 |
| Now in Process of Relocation | 5 |
| Relocation Since 1950, in
Process Again | 1 |
| Considering Seriously | 1 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

When looking at the rate of establishment of churches over a period of years, as reflected in the age of the sample churches from Table 4, there is a suggestion of the relationship between population growth and the expansion of religious facilities. The footnotes to Table 4 indicate that some caution should be exercised in interpreting the population figures presented, particularly with regards to changes in enumeration procedures, and annexed additions to the city. However, two general observations may be made: (a) the figures presented in the table probably under-represent the total population to be served, and (b) the churches have sought to keep up with population growth through establishment of new congregations. How much churches have tried to keep up with, or take advantage of growing populations through the adjustive mode of relocation, particularly on the growing

TABLE 4. Distribution of The Number of Sample Churches Established in The Lansing Area During Selected Intervals of Time, with The Total Number of Churches Established in Lansing and Population Figures for Lansing and East Lansing

| Period of Establishment | Number of Sample Churches Established | Total Number of Churches Established | Cumulative Total of Churches in Lansing | Popl'n of Lansing and East Lansing At Beginning of Decade ^a |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--|
| 1960-63 | 8 | 30 | 181 ^e | 138,005 ^d |
| 1950-59 | 24 | 46 | 151 | 112,454 ^c |
| 1940-49 | 11 | 22 | 105 | 84,592 |
| 1930-39 | 16 | 28 | 83 | 82,786 |
| 1920-29 | 13 | 21 | 55 | 59,216 |
| 1910-19 | 8 | | 34 | 32,031 ^b |
| 1900-09 | 3 | | | 16,485 |
| 1880-99 | 5 | | | 8,319 |
| 1860-79 | 6 | | | 3,074 |
| Before 1860 | 6 | | | |

^aSource: U. S. Bureau of Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1960 Number of Inhabitants, Michigan. Final Report PC(1)-24A. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962.

^bIncludes East Lansing figures for first time, East Lansing incorporated in preceding decade.

^cBetween 10,000 and 15,000 of this figure is an increase caused by a change in enumeration procedures for college students, resulting in many students being counted as residents of East Lansing rather than their home towns. However, in terms of numbers of people to be served by churches in the area, the figures for at least the preceding decades would undoubtedly be low.

^dCaution also is called for interpretation of this figure. Nearly 1200 of this total was added to the city of Lansing by Annexation. This indicates again that the number of persons in the total Lansing Area, which churches usually serve without regard to city limit boundaries, has been under-represented in figures for preceding decades.

^eThis figure is less than 203 mentioned earlier as the total number in the Lansing Area, because it does not include the 22 churches located outside the tracted areas of Lansing and East Lansing.

edges of the city, is a problem to which we will come later when we look at the causes of relocation.

It will be noted that in the years 1920-1959, the sample churches represent approximately half of all churches established during those decades. The thirty-four churches existent by 1919 are over-represented in the sample, and the large number of churches established since 1960 are under-represented. The disparity results because age of church was not controlled in the sample choice. The difference in results between the present sample and a sample more accurately reflecting the age structure of the congregations can only be conjectured, but it is presumed that the final consequences for this study would not be significant.

Turning to some demographic features of church membership, there are other characteristics of the sample churches which are of interest.

Trying to arrive at reliable membership figures for church groups is a notoriously difficult problem.¹ One of the chief problems faced in this study was to get comparable figures for all churches. The difficulty here is that some churches baptize infants, and count all baptized persons of all ages as full members, at least for enumeration purposes. Other groups baptize only "adults," which may actually include children of ages ten to twelve; here infants and children are not counted. The problem is immediately apparent. To get around this problem, the pastors were asked for the number of members, "excluding children under fourteen." For all practical purposes, the result is that membership for all churches includes only persons of high school age or older. Distribution of

¹For a good resume of the difficulties, and reasons for them, see William Peterson, "Religious Statistics in The United States," Journal for The Scientific Study of Religion, I, No. 2 (April, 1962), 165-178. See especially pp. 168-172.

membership on this basis is shown in Table 5. Combining some categories it can be seen that one-third (33) of the churches have fewer than 100 members; one-half (50) have fewer than 250 members; nearly three-fourths (71) have fewer than 500 members; and only a little over one in ten (13) have one thousand members or more.

TABLE 5. Size of Church, as Indicated by Number of Members
Fourteen Years of Age and Over

| Number of Members | Number of Churches |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1-49 | 19 |
| 50-99 | 14 |
| 100-249 | 17 |
| 250-499 | 21 |
| 500-749 | 13 |
| 750-999 | 3 |
| 1000-1499 | 2 |
| 1500-1999 | 6 |
| 2000 and Over | 5 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

If one considers only the membership, a somewhat limited picture of the actual population served by a local congregation is obtained. That is, there are other persons, in addition to the members, for whom a church has a responsibility. This group, usually called "constituents," includes non-member individuals of member families, and other persons who have no "official" connection with the church, other than interest and/or attendance at some of its functions. Table 6 presents the range of church constituency, including the members, and "constituents." Disregarding the two "no response" churches, a different picture is presented from that of Table 5. Now only 13 per cent of the

churches serve fewer than one hundred persons; 37 per cent serve fewer than 250 persons, 56 per cent serve fewer than 500 persons, and 26 per cent serve over 1000 persons.

TABLE 6. Size of Church, as Indicated by Number of Constituents
Regardless of Age or Official Membership

| Number of Constituents | Number of Churches |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| No Response | 2 |
| 1-49 | 6 |
| 50-99 | 7 |
| 100-249 | 24 |
| 250-499 | 19 |
| 500-749 | 7 |
| 750-999 | 9 |
| 1000-1499 | 9 |
| 1500-1999 | 5 |
| 2000 and Over | 12 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

A second alternative, in addition to considering the scope of a church's service as its constituency, is to think of the church as rendering service to family groups. In recent years some denominational officials have been insisting that families are the most important unit to be considered in the plans and programs of the local congregation.

With this in mind, the pastors were asked not only how many members, fourteen and older, their churches had, but also how many member families they served. A member family is any family in which at least one person is an official member of the particular congregation in question. The composite answer to the question is reproduced in

Table 7.

One of the first things which may be noticed is that not all churches are accustomed to thinking in terms other than individual families. Six pastors, even when pressed by the interviewer, could give

TABLE 7. Size Groupings of Churches, as Indicated by Number of Member Families

| Number of Families | Number of Churches |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Don't Know | 6 |
| Fewer than 30 | 25 |
| 30-59 | 13 |
| 60-89 | 4 |
| 90-119 | 9 |
| 120-149 | 7 |
| 150-249 | 12 |
| 250-499 | 14 |
| 500-999 | 6 |
| 1000 or More | 4 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

no answer to the question of "how many member families?" Beyond this, as noted in connection with Table 5, the majority of the churches are small, serving fewer than 120 families (57). And again, only a few can be considered very large, with just 10 claiming 500 families or more.

Still, the number of member families does not quite tell the story of the influence and outreach of the local church through the city, for the church serves persons and families which are not officially related to it. Table 8 shows the distribution of churches by

the size of their constituency, this time in terms of families. As in the case of constituent members (Table 6), there is a shift upward in the breadth of the church's concern, expressed in terms of population, with a drop to 44 churches with fewer than 120 families and an increase to 17 churches with a responsibility list of 500 families or more.

TABLE 8. Size Groupings of Churches, As Indicated by Number of Constituent Families

| Number of Families | Number of Churches |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Don't Know | 5 |
| Fewer than 30 | 11 |
| 30-59 | 16 |
| 60-89 | 6 |
| 90-119 | 6 |
| 120-149 | 4 |
| 150-249 | 15 |
| 250-499 | 20 |
| 500-999 | 11 |
| 1000 or More | 6 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

From this discussion it might appear that, if one is to assess accurately the role which numbers of persons play in the affairs of a local congregation, the best approach would be that of constituency. However, there are good reasons why this is not so. For one, constituents, not having official relationship, have no voice in policy forming or decision-making matters. Only members have a vote. Secondly, it has been repeatedly shown that the great bulk of support, both financially and in program-participation, for any church, comes from those who are its members. Therefore, as long as denominational policies are

not violated, in questions related to raising or expenditures of funds, or in matters related to program development, particularly in leadership of these programs, the membership is the important "reference group" for the church. The only important qualification to this is when a specific program is aimed at reaching "new" people who are prospective members.

Later analysis in this dissertation will at times approach the matter of membership on the basis of individuals, at others on the basis of families. This is not done in an effort to be either confusing or inconsistent, but simply as recognition that for some areas of the church's life, one measure seems both easier to handle and more meaningful than the other. A practical consideration, not to be overlooked, is that for some areas of its life, a church does not plan for, or think in terms of, families, and therefore has no way to use "family" as a criterion of measurement.

It has often been remarked that as a church grows larger the actual portion of its membership which takes an active part in its program goes down. The data from the churches in the present sample generally support this statement. "Active" for purposes of this study was defined to mean "either making a regular contribution to the church, or attending worship services at least once a month, or both." Examination of Table 9, in the light of this criterion, shows that only one group, 750-999 members, has less than 90 per cent active participation on the part of its members. But beyond this, all 18 churches which claim 100 per cent active membership have fewer than 750 members. Except for three categories (250-499; 500-749; 2000 and over) three-fourths of all the churches reported at least 70 per cent active

TABLE 9. Per Cent of Membership Active, by Number of Individual Members

| Number of
Members | Don't
Know | Per Cent of Membership Active | | | | | | | | TOTAL |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-------|
| | | 1-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70-79 | 80-89 | 90-99 | 100 | |
| 1-49 | | | | 1 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 8 | 19 |
| 50-99 | | | | | | 1 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 14 |
| 100-249 | | | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 17 |
| 250-499 | 1 | | | 3 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 4 | 2 | 21 |
| 500-749 | | | 1 | | 6 | | 4 | 1 | 1 | 13 |
| 750-999 | | | | | | 2 | 1 | | | 3 |
| 1000-1499 | | | | | | | 1 | 1 | | 2 |
| 1500-1999 | | | | 1 | | 1 | | 4 | | 6 |
| 2000 and Over | 1 | 1 | | | 1 | | | 2 | | 5 |
| TOTAL | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 15 | 11 | 22 | 24 | 18 | 100 |

participation or higher.

Another general characteristic of the church, one which is definitely related to the number of members, is the size of the total budget. This appears clearly in Table 10. There are two items in the table which call for comment. First, the six churches refusing to give financial information were all sect-like, conservative groups. Their attitude as represented by their pastors through the interview, was a combination of suspicion, "Why do you want to know?" and reserve, "It is nobody's business but our own!" Secondly, of the five small churches (fewer than 250 members), two had total budgets of \$100,000 or over, and one very small church (fewer than 50 members) had a budget of over \$75,000. These churches were in the midst of building programs, and their unusually high budget figures were at a one-year height. In this sense, the figures are not "typical" budget figures, either for churches of this size, or for these three churches in particular.

There are many other features of the life and characteristics of the sample churches which are of interest, but these will be reserved until they can take a place of direct relevance to the testing of the hypotheses which are outlined in this dissertation. The major characteristics presented here are intended to give some understanding of the general range of churches included in the study.

TABLE 10. Amount of Total Budget, By Number
of Individual Members (N=94)^a

| Number of
Members | Amount of Budget | | | TOTAL |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------|
| | Less Than
\$20,000 | \$20,000-
49,999 | \$50,000
or More | |
| Less Than
250 | 31 | 8 | 5 | 44 |
| 250-749 | 2 | 21 | 11 | 34 |
| 750 or More | | 1 | 15 | 16 |
| TOTAL | 33 | 30 | 31 | 94 |

Chi Square=69.062

d.f.=4

Sig.=.001

^aTotal is 94 rather than 100 because 6 churches refused to give financial information.

CHAPTER IV

The Churches and

The Social Areas of Greater Lansing

The setting for the study is Lansing, Michigan. The city was established as the capital in 1847, and incorporated as a city in 1859. After a little more than a century, Lansing has developed an important industrial complex, and a growing educational center in addition to being the political seat of the state. Industrial production in Lansing varies from automobiles, trucks, and plastics, to stationery and lawn-mowers. Importance as an educational center comes from Michigan State University, located in East Lansing, and Lansing Community College, recently established.

In Chapter I, in discussion of the relation of various elements in the urban complex, it was pointed out that the different types of organizations which fulfill the functions of the city are not randomly scattered over the city. In Lansing, the heart of the city is devoted to government and business. The capital area, with its multitude of offices, tends to attract particular kinds of people around it. For example, tract L-14 contains the capitol building, Lansing city hall, and many of the city's leading "downtown stores."¹ In the immediate vicinity, population density is rather light, with many people living in apartments. Some features of the population in this tract are:

¹Specific data from which the following conclusions are drawn are taken from an unpublished paper prepared by Joel Smith, "An Analysis

the highest rate of population turnover in the city (14 per cent above its closest competitor); a very high proportion of women in the labor force; a low proportion of males in manufacturing occupations; the highest concentration of foreign-born population in the city; the highest average age of tract residents; the highest sex ratio in the city; by far the lowest fertility ratio of any tract in the city; the lowest average income of families and individuals. These features suggest something special about tract L-14; not only are there many people living in apartments, but they are inexpensive--this is the "port-of-entry" for the foreign-born coming into the city, the home of single girls working in nearby offices, and the home of aged and retired persons as well.

Without going into so much detail, there are similar types of relationship, though with other combinations of the variables, in other parts of the city. Business and commercial firms line the main thoroughfares--Washington Avenue and Cedar Street, North and South; Michigan Avenue and Saginaw to the East; St. Joseph, Saginaw, and Willow Streets to the West. The University in East Lansing attracts persons of high education, the professors, college-trained people who like the intellectual atmosphere of the campus.

Lansing is growing, like most cities, and the main directions of growth are to the West, South and East. In the growth, white collar workers are concentrated on the Western side of the city, in tracts

of Selected Characteristics of The Populations of Lansing's Census Tracts," The Lansing Research Committee of The Social Research Service, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, Michigan State College (now University), March, 1955. Preliminary Analysis of 1960 Census Data suggest no drastic revision in the conclusions reached. The tendency, in general, is for differences in area noted here to be more exaggerated, not mitigated.

L-4, 6, 16, and 25. (See Maps 3 and 4 for easy identification of tract locations.) We have already noted the tendency for the "elite" to gravitate to the East, actually beyond the corporate limits of Lansing itself. Blue collar workers are concentrated in the North and South of the city; in the North, in the older, established, relatively stable sections; in the South, in much of the new housing which has mushroomed. Without drawing fine distinctions, it seems fair to say that there is a trend for workers to be near, and associated with, their occupational opportunities. Simply note that high levels of blue collar workers are in tracts L-1, 2, 8, 26, 27, and 28, and that these areas are near or adjacent to railroad lines, along which heavy industry also is located.

This general picture ought to hold rather definite implications for churches in the Lansing Area. Opportunity to investigate some of the implications will appear in Chapter VI. Just now, however, it seems appropriate to look again at Lansing, and its social composition, through application of the patterns of social area analysis.

The reader should recall at this point our earlier discussion of social areas and their meaning. What is involved in social area analysis is a classification scheme which differentiates geographic areas of the city into a type of stratification system. This system has three dimensions: economic status, family structure, and segregation.

Economic status is based on an index which in turn depends upon two variables: the number of craftsmen, operatives, and laborers per 1000 employed persons, both male and female; the number of persons who have completed no more than grade school per 1000 persons 25 years old

and over.¹ Standard scores computed for each of these variables are combined and divided for a simple average, which is the index of social rank. A low score on this index indicates a relatively high concentration of craftsmen, laborers, and operatives, and a relatively high number of persons 25 and over who have not gone beyond the eighth grade in their formal education. A high score on this index indicates a relative absence of these two groups, and the presence of a relatively high number of white collar workers and professionals, and persons with education above the eighth grade.

Family structure is based on an index which also has several component parts. These are: the fertility ratio, or the number of children under 5 years per 1000 females age 15 through 44; a ratio of women in the labor force, or the number of females in the labor force per 1000 females 14 years old and over; and a ratio of single-family detached dwelling units.² An average is computed from these three ratios to provide a family status index. Because these ratios are taken by the authors of the technique to represent measures of urbanization, a low score, representing a low level of urbanization, would indicate a relatively high fertility ratio, relatively few women in the labor force, and a high proportion of single-family detached dwelling units. A high score, conversely, indicates a lower fertility ratio, more women in the labor force, and a higher proportion of multiple-family dwelling units.

Segregation is a measure of the concentration of non-white and ethnic minority groups within a given area. A census tract is

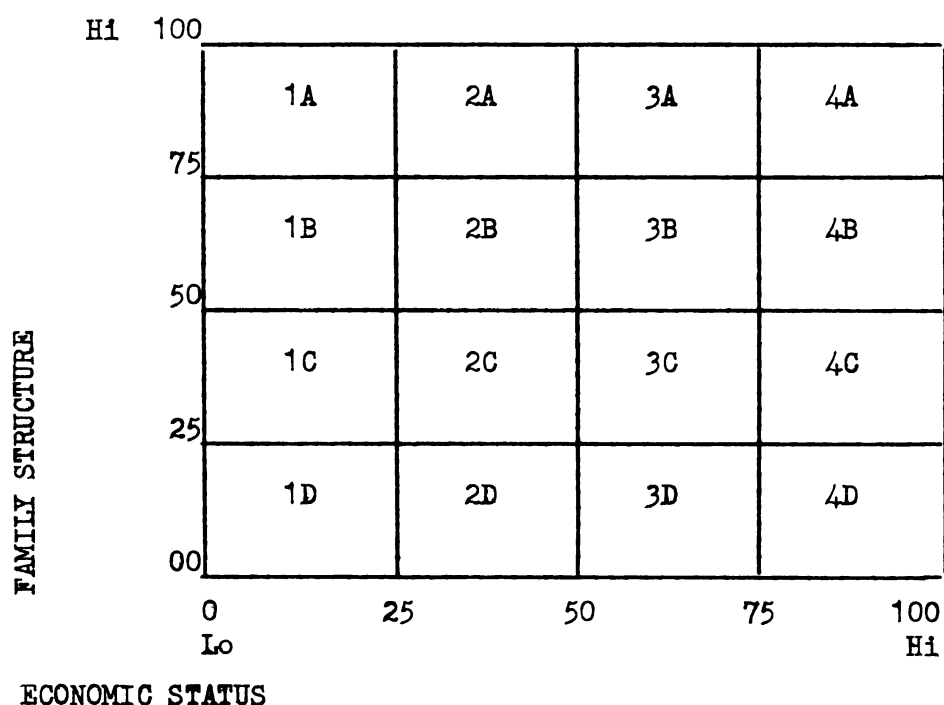
¹Shevky and Bell, op. cit., pp. 54-55. ²Ibid., pp. 55-56.

considered to be segregated if it contains more non-white and minority groups than the average for the city as a whole.

To provide graphic presentation of the social areas, the indexes of economic status and family structure are used as the axes of sixteen cell table. Census tracts are plotted on these two dimensions, and tracts with segregation scores are indicated by a special mark on the position indicated by the other indices.

Figure 1 shows the basic graph, with the cells marked with their social area rating.

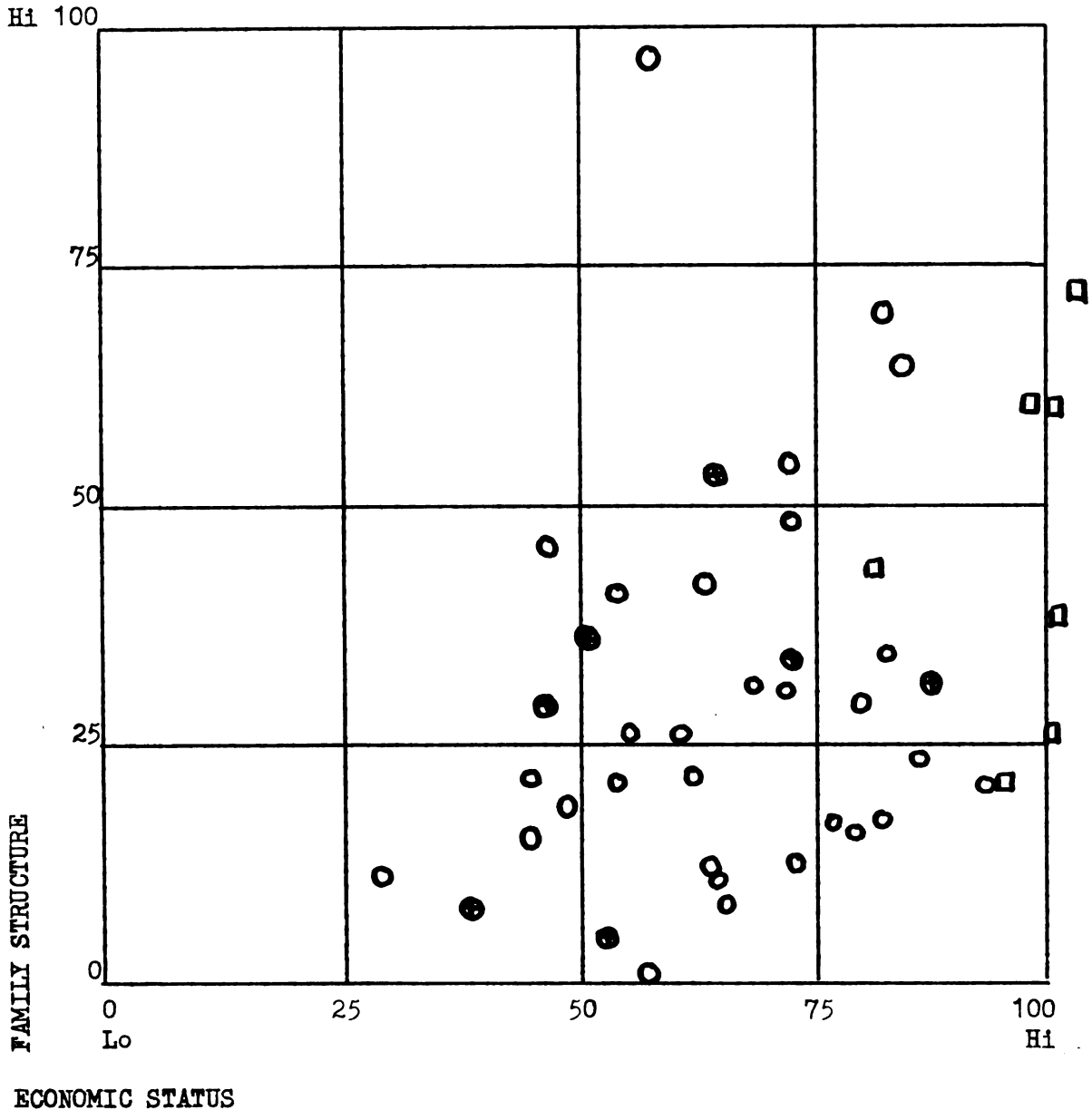
FIGURE 1. The Social Area Graph



In referring to these areas, high segregation areas are indicated by the addition of "S" to the regular designation, as, for example, 3CS. This provides a total of 32 possible social area designations.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of the census tracts of

FIGURE 2. Distribution of The Census Tracts in The Social
Areas of Lansing and East Lansing
Michigan, 1960



Lansing and East Lansing in their appropriate social areas. The shaded circles indicate tracts with high segregation status, the squares indicate tracts in East Lansing. It should be clearly understood that the distribution of Figure 2 is not a representation of geographical location of census tracts, but rather a representation of location on

the social area indices.

The index scores upon which Figure 2 is based are given in Table 11. Table 12 provides a tabular summary of the social areas. Maps 3 and 4 provide a visual summary of the social areas as they are related to one another within the confines of the total area included in the 44 census tracts.

Social Areas and Distribution of Churches

Hypothesis One states that: there will be a tendency for churches in the urban area to be grouped together in clusters in their general distribution.

For a graphic understanding of the distribution of the churches of the Lansing Area, the reader is referred to Map 1. Visual inspection of the map suggests that at least four general clusters of churches do exist. The largest of these, containing 17 churches, is centered in census tract L-18. Two others slightly smaller in number, but larger in area appear in tract L-8, with 12 churches, and in tracts L-30, L-12, with 9 churches closely grouped. A fourth appears in the capitol area, tracts L-14 and L-6, also with 9 churches. There are many other places where two or three churches are quite close to each other, but the four areas named contain the largest groupings. These four clusters contain 57 churches, slightly over one-fourth of the total in the area (203) and just over 31 per cent, or nearly one-third of the churches within the tracted area depicted. From this viewpoint, then, the first hypothesis seems to be supported.

A second point of view is obtained when the distribution of the churches is approached in terms of social areas. Hypothesis Two posits

TABLE 11. Social Areas Index Scores for Census Tracts of
Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan

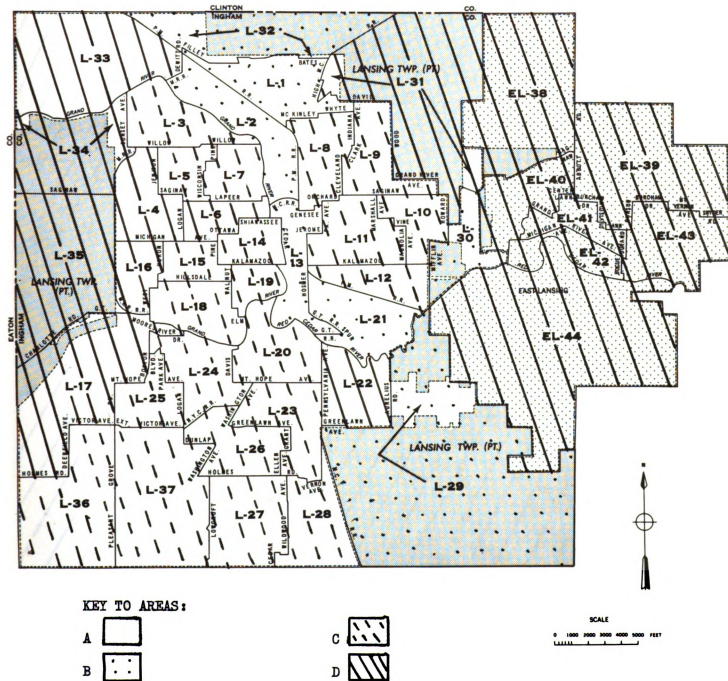
| Census Tract | Economic Status Index | Family Structure Index | Ethnic Status Index | Social Area |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| L-1 | 48.0 | 20.4 | 5 | 2D |
| L-2 | 44.9 | 28.5 | 11 | 2CS |
| L-3 | 61.7 | 22.7 | 2 | 3D |
| L-4 | 80.1 | 32.7 | 5 | 4C |
| L-5 | 71.9 | 32.1 | 16 | 3CS |
| L-6 | 84.1 | 68.4 | 5 | 4B |
| L-7 | 72.4 | 53.7 | 5 | 3B |
| L-8 | 51.3 | 10.1 | 13 | 3DS |
| L-9 | 65.9 | 42.9 | 4 | 3C |
| L-10 | 72.2 | 12.6 | 3 | 3D |
| L-11 | 71.7 | 49.1 | 6 | 3C |
| L-12 | 52.5 | 20.2 | 7 | 3D |
| L-13 | 47.3 | 45.1 | 6 | 2C |
| L-14 | 60.0 | 98.0 | 8 | 3A |
| L-15 | 62.4 | 53.4 | 43 | 3BS |
| L-16 | 82.4 | 31.0 | 37 | 4CS |
| L-17 | 89.1 | 22.8 | 8 | 4D |
| L-18 | 50.1 | 32.5 | 81 | 3CS |
| L-19 | 70.8 | 80.9 | 10 | 4B |
| L-20 | 52.8 | 39.3 | 3 | 3C |
| L-21 | 38.0 | 22.5 | 9 | 2D |
| L-22 | 77.2 | 26.6 | 3 | 4C |
| L-23 | 72.7 | 30.5 | 4 | 3C |
| L-24 | 68.1 | 29.8 | 8 | 3C |
| L-25 | 83.2 | 24.5 | 6 | 4D |
| L-26 | 60.4 | 25.8 | 5 | 3C |
| L-27 | 63.6 | 12.8 | 2 | 3D |
| L-28 | 67.4 | 12.3 | 3 | 3D |
| L-29 | 27.7 | 12.9 | 4 | 2D |
| L-30 | 35.5 | 9.0 | 23 | 2DS |
| L-31 | 77.4 | 17.5 | 9 | 4D |
| L-32 | 42.1 | 17.5 | 4 | 2D |
| L-33 | 76.7 | 16.1 | 2 | 4D |
| L-34 | 82.9 | 19.5 | 5 | 4D |
| L-35 | 53.6 | 25.4 | 2 | 3C |
| L-36 | 56.9 | -1 | 3 | 3D |
| L-37 | 64.5 | 8.9 | 3 | 3D |
| EL-38 | 80.3 | 42.1 | 6 | 4C |
| EL-39 | 100.4 | 25.1 | 4 | 4C |
| EL-40 | 101.1 | 38.3 | 4 | 4C |
| EL-41 | 98.9 | 60.7 | 6 | 4B |
| EL-42 | 157.7 | 71.7 | 8 | 4B |
| EL-43 | 95.1 | 22.9 | 5 | 4D |
| EL-44 | 101.3 | 59.7 | 7 | 4B |

TABLE 12. Summary of Census Tracts in The Social Areas of
Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan

| Social Area | Tract Numbers |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 1A | |
| 2A | |
| 3A | 14 |
| 4A | |
| 1B | |
| 2B | |
| 3B | 7, 15 |
| 4B | 6, 19, 41, 42, 44 |
| 1C | |
| 2C | 2, 13 |
| 3C | 5, 9, 11, 18, 20, 23, 24, 26, 35 |
| 4C | 4, 16, 22, 38, 39, 40 |
| 1D | |
| 2D | 1, 21, 29, 30, 32 |
| 3D | 3, 8, 10, 12, 27, 28, 36, 37 |
| 4D | 17, 25, 31, 33, 34, 43 |

that: churches will tend to be grouped together in their distribution on the indices of social areas. The total distribution by census tracts is given in Table 13, and the distribution by social areas in Figure 3. This has several important features. First, two large groups appear, in areas 3C and 3D. Together they contain 95 churches, or 46.8 per cent of the total. Secondly, there is a striking concentration of churches in the same range on the economic status index: 111 churches, or 54.7 per cent of the total fall within a range of 50-74 on this index. The third feature is the concentration of churches on the lower half of the family structure index: 145 churches,

Map 3. Social Areas (Economic Status Dimensions) as Represented in The
CENSUS TRACTS IN LANSING MICH. AND ADJACENT AREA



SCALE

0 1000 2000 3000 4000 5000 FEET

FIGURE 3. Distribution of Churches in the Social Areas of
Lansing and East Lansing, Michigan
in Number and Per Cent^a

| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | |
|-------|---|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| A | | | 6
3.0 | | 6
3.0 |
| B | | | 10
4.9 | 20
9.9 | 30
14.8 |
| C | | 9
4.4 | 50
24.6 | 10
4.9 | 69
33.9 |
| D | | 14
6.9 | 45
22.2 | 17
8.4 | 76
37.5 |
| TOTAL | | 23
11.3 | 111
54.7 | 47
23.2 | 181
89.2 |

^aThe figures in the social area spaces total 181; the percentages total 89.2. The balance is made up by the 22 churches, 10.8 of the total, which lie outside the tracted areas included in these areas.

71.4 per cent, or well over two-thirds of the total.¹ This provides further support for the hypothesis, as churches are clustered above the mid-point on the economic status index and below the mid-point on the family structure index. The four cells included in this total cluster contain 122 churches, or 60.1 per cent of the total. This concentration within restricted areas on the indices provides support for Hypothesis Two.

In interpretation for the obvious groupings pointed out in the paragraph above, one might suggest such items as: the often noted

¹These percentages are even higher if a base of 181 churches (those within the tracted areas included in the social areas) is used. Then they become 61.1 per cent on the economic status index, and 79.8 per cent on the family structure index.

TABLE 13. Distribution of Churches by Census Tracts, in
Number and Per Cent

| Census
Tract | Number of
Churches | Per Cent of
Churches |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 2 | 5 | 2.5 |
| 3 | | |
| 4 | 1 | .5 |
| 5 | 3 | 1.5 |
| 6 | 8 | 3.9 |
| 7 | 8 | 3.9 |
| 8 | 12 | 5.9 |
| 9 | 1 | .5 |
| 10 | 3 | 1.5 |
| 11 | 9 | 4.4 |
| 12 | 7 | 3.4 |
| 13 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 14 | 6 | 3.0 |
| 15 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 16 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 17 | 1 | .5 |
| 18 | 14 | 6.9 |
| 19 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 20 | 7 | 3.4 |
| 21 | 1 | .5 |
| 22 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 23 | 5 | 2.5 |
| 24 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 25 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 26 | 3 | 1.5 |
| 27 | 5 | 2.5 |
| 28 | 6 | 2.9 |
| 29 | 1 | .5 |
| 30 | 6 | 2.9 |
| 31 | 3 | 1.5 |
| 32 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 33 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 34 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 35 | 4 | 2.0 |
| 36 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 37 | 10 | 4.9 |
| 38 | 2 | 1.0 |
| 39 | 3 | 1.5 |
| 40 | | |
| 41 | 8 | 3.9 |
| 42 | | |
| 43 | 3 | 1.5 |
| 44 | 2 | 1.0 |
| TOTAL | 203 | 100.1^a |

^aTotal is more than 100.0 because of cumulative rounding error.

affiliation of religion with the upper and middle classes particular; the use of religion as one of a set of status symbols, or as a symbol of respectability; and the general "family-oriented" patterns of church life.

Students of the expression of religious life have noted that churches, by and large, do not reach either of two extremes of people—the extremely disadvantaged, or the extremely advantaged—in economic terms. With respect to the former of these two groups, churches have tended to pass them by. As for the latter, they have tended to pass the church by. Part of the explanation of the concentration of upper-lower, middle, and lower-upper class population in churches is that church affiliation is often viewed as either a badge of respectability, a status symbol, or both.¹ Thus it should not appear too remarkable that the bulk of churches are located in social areas falling just above the midpoint on the economic scale, or in the heart of "middle class" territory.

With regards to the family scale, a large part of the explanation can probably be summed up by pointing to the emphasis on the family in church planning and programming. A pastor has counseling and pastoral responsibilities for families, and for non-church-member individuals in families. Church-school curriculum is written for persons of all ages, cradle to grave. There is often a special emphasis on children in the church school, with the assumption, often voiced, that "if you can get the children interested, you have a better chance of reaching adults too." Parents with children in the home

¹Part of the importance of the "respectability" of church membership may be inferred from the prominence given to the fact of

may have a feeling of responsibility, though only vaguely identified as such, to see that their children have the "proper" religious instruction. All this culminates in a situation summarized by saying "families with young children are the best church prospects . . ." ¹

In summary, the social areas which contain the largest numbers of churches coincide with elements of respectability and program which are emphasized by church groups. But this statement involves an underlying assumption which needs to have the light of inquiry thrown upon it.

Earlier we noted the emphasis in the literature upon the relation between the church and the neighborhood or community. The emphasis is that the church should be close to people, easily accessible to concentrations of population in residential areas.

Hypothesis Three of this study is that: either the majority of the members will live in the social area in which the church building is located, or they will live in social areas with characteristics similar to that where the church building is located.

Testing of this hypothesis involves at least two set of information which have not been included thus far: (a) a measure or index of social rank which can be applied to church groups, and (b) a measure of the distribution of church families in relation to the location of the building of the congregation of which they are a part.

membership by candidates for public office. Without questioning personal motives, it has been suggested that when General Eisenhower "joined" a church after assuming the presidency, there was some significance in his choice of church—Presbyterian, rather than Baptist or Nazarene for example—as a matter of status.

¹Harold A. Phelps and David Henderson, Population in Its Human Aspects (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1958), p. 309.

To provide an index of social rank which could be applied to the churches, use was made of data available on three items. Ministers had been asked to estimate the proportion of their membership which were in each of several categories. First they were asked what proportion of adult men are employed as white collar workers, blue collar workers, what proportion are unemployed or retired? From these, the figures for blue collar workers were used.

Next they were asked to estimate the proportion of all members over twenty-five years of age in each of five educational groupings: eight years or less, high school graduates, some college or trade school, college graduates, graduate degree holders. From this set, figures for proportion with eight years of schooling or less were used.

The percentages of persons who were (1) males working in blue collar occupations, and those (2) over twenty-five years of age with eight years of school or less were averaged together and this figure subtracted from 100 to provide a socio-economic status (SES) index.¹ The adjustment by subtraction from 100 provides an index where a low SES score indicates a high proportion of blue collar persons, and a high proportion of persons with low education.

To assist understanding, and avoid confusion, socio-economic-status, or SES, will be the term used when reference is made to this index, which refers to the churches. When reference is made to the social area index, the term is simply economic status.

¹For example, a church whose estimated percentages of blue collar workers was 33 and whose estimated percentage of persons over 25 with eight years of schooling or less was 23, would have an average percentage in these categories of 28. This then was subtracted from 100 to provide a SES (socio-economic-status) score of 72.

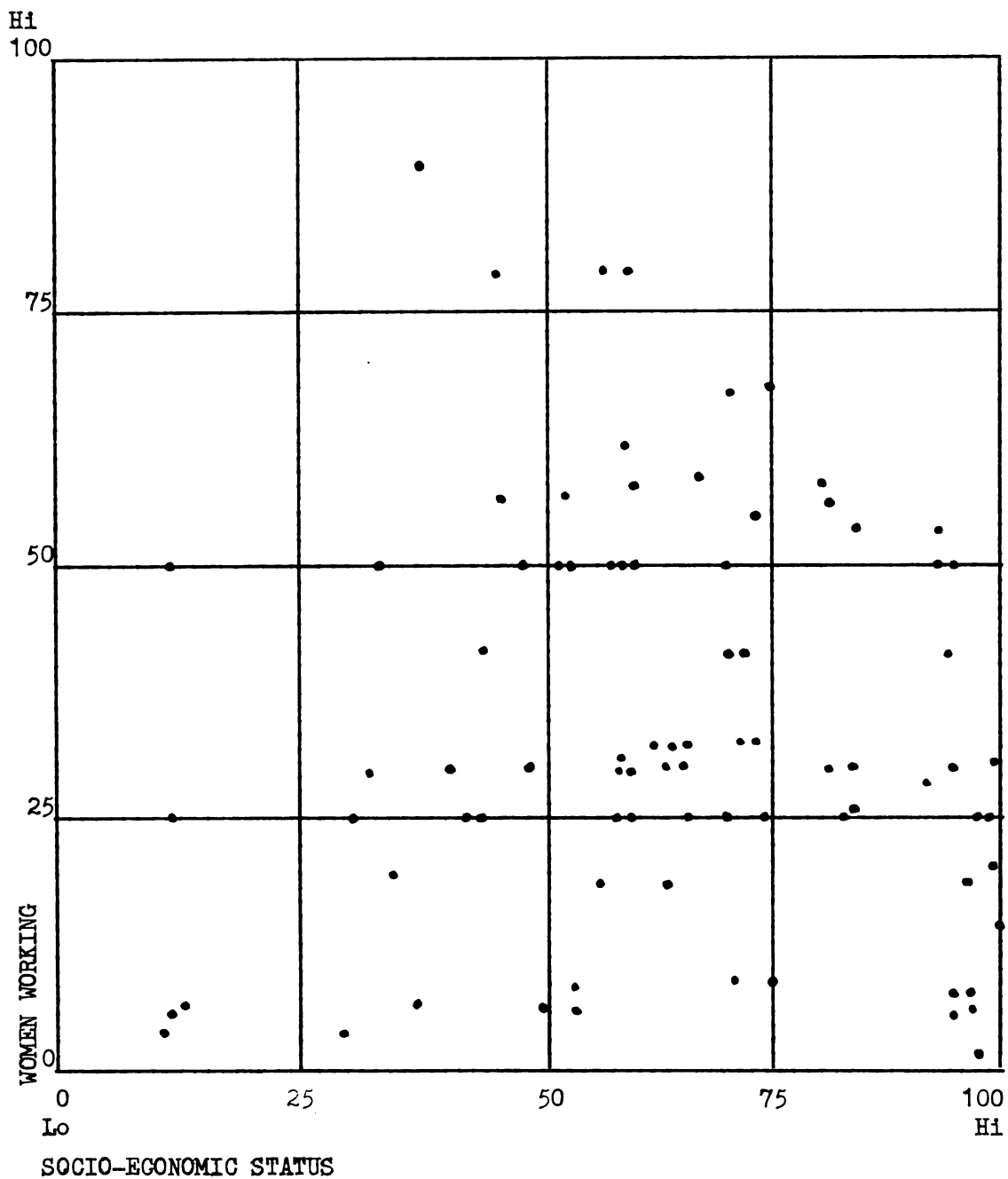
A third set of data provided figures for an index of the proportion of women (college age or over) who work away from home. This is taken directly from the estimate given by the minister.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the sample churches on these two indices.¹ Complete data for both indices was not available for thirteen of the churches. The form of this figure, and Figure 2 which presented the distribution of census tracts on the social area diagram are very similar. To preclude any misunderstanding, the following comments need to be made. Social area designation is made on the basis of precise information provided through the U. S. Census; the social rank indices of Figure 4 are based upon estimate data provided by the ministers of the respective churches. Further, the social area economic status scale is built upon figures for persons in specific labor categories; the church SES index is based upon the estimated number of persons in the general category, blue collar worker. Finally, the vertical dimension of the social area diagram is family structure, a combined index of fertility ratio, women in the labor force, and proportion of single-family dwelling units; the church index uses estimated figures for proportion of women working only.

The foregoing paragraph is not intended to say that there can be no comparison of the features resulting from application of the two

¹To see whether there was any correlation between these indices, the scores for the 87 churches for which information was available were arrayed and subjected to a test of rank correlation. The resulting correlation was 0.46, indicating some tendency to correspondence between the indices. To test correspondence further, each index was dichotomized into high and low, and a four cell chi square test run. The resulting chi square was 2.83, which is not significant at the .05 level, indicating that an assumption of dependence of the two indices remains disproven.

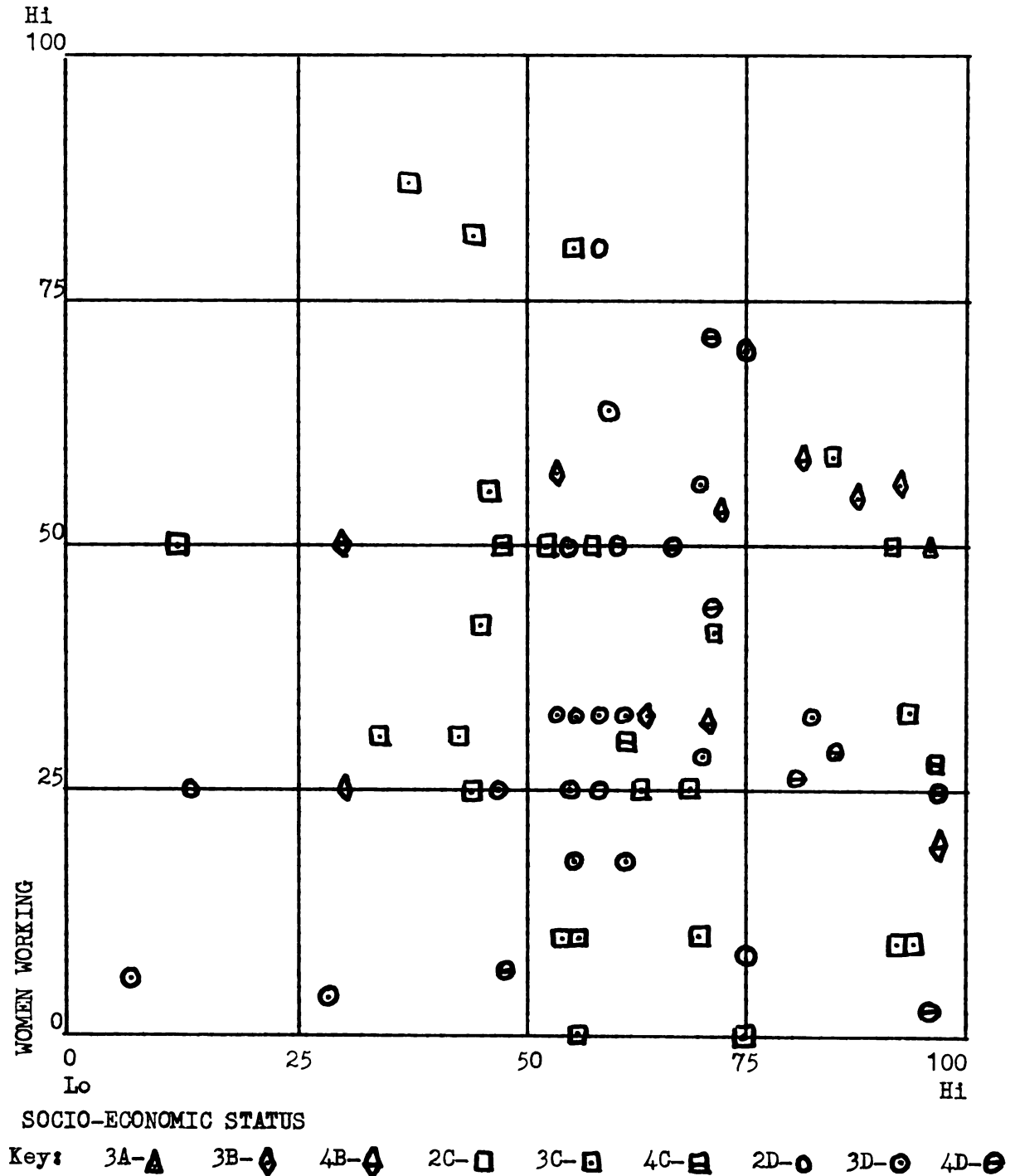
FIGURE 4. Distribution of Churches on Indexes of Socio-Economic Status and Women Working (N=87)



sets of indices. There are some arresting features which appear when such comparisons are made. The caution is intended simply to fix clearly the limitations of the conclusions which may be drawn from the comparisons.

We may begin drawing some comparisons which may shed light on the hypothesis by looking at Figure 5, showing the distribution of the

FIGURE 5. Distribution of Churches, Keyed By Location in Lansing Social Areas on Indexes of Socio-Economic Status And Women Working (N=70)



churches on the two church indices. In this figure the distributions are keyed to show the social area location of the church. If the hypothesis could be fully supported by the data available, we should expect to find that churches located in a given social area should also fall in or near the same quadrant on Figure 5. If they do not fall into that quadrant, then we should expect that most of the churches located in a given social area should fall at about the same level on one or the other of our church indices.

The fulfillment, or lack of fulfillment for these expectations is summarized in Table 14. Though the percentage totals in the bottom row of the table are somewhat confusing because of the overlap in the third, fourth, and fifth columns, we may approach the table from the right-hand side and see that only 20 per cent of the churches do not fit in with the expectations listed above.

When 80 per cent of the churches fit the expected pattern, it seems only natural to look at the deviant cases in some detail to see if there is any regularity to the deviance. To this end several variables were considered. For instance, if one looks at the polity type of the fourteen churches, there are nine congregational, one presbyterian, and four episcopal type. The majority of nine is less than two-thirds, and so is hardly satisfactory, even if there were some reason why polity should effect the deviance—and no good reasons why it should come to mind. Or if the deviant cases are analyzed by size of church, the distribution along this line offers no clue: five are small (0-250 members), including two of less than 50; eight are medium sized (250-749); one is large (750 or more).

However, if the analysis is approached by looking at the age of

TABLE 14. Number of Churches Distributed at Same Levels of SES, Women Working and Social Area Indices (N=70)

| Social Area in Which Church is Located | Number of Churches in Social Area | Same SES and Women Working and Social Area Quadrant | Same Level of Socio-Econ Index for Church and Econ-Status for Social Area | Same Level of Women Working Index and Family Status for Social Area | Number of Churches Not Included In either SES or Women Working Level Equiv To Social Area Location |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| 3A | 1 | | | | 1 |
| 3B | 2 | | 1 | 1 | |
| 4B | 8 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 2 |
| 2C | 1 | | | 1 | |
| 3C | 23 | 4 | 10 | 11 | 6 |
| 4C | 5 | 2 | 2 | 5 | |
| 2D | 5 | | | 4 | 1 |
| 3D | 16 | 3 | 12 | 6 | 1 |
| 4D | 9 | 2 | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 70 ^a | 13 | 33 | 36 | 14 |
| Per Cent | 100.0 ^b | 18.6 | 47.1 | 51.4 | 20.0 |

^aNo combination of the percentage totals of the other columns will add to 100.0 per cent, because the categories are not mutually exclusive.

^bThe total of 70 here does not include 15 churches for which data is not complete, nor 15 churches which lie outside the tracted area of Lansing and East Lansing.

the congregation, that is, the period of time since the congregation was founded, a different picture emerges. Eleven of the fourteen deviant churches were founded before 1950; one was founded during the 1940's; and two were founded since 1960. For the eleven it seems reasonable to assume that originally they may have fit the pattern under discussion, that is, a pattern of homogeneity along either a socio-economic or working women dimension between the church location and the people served by that church. With the passage of time, and changes in transportation which have occurred in recent decades, church members move to different areas of the city, but find no reason why it is a real hardship to return to the "home" church. Lansing is a small enough city, and major streets are so located, that one can get almost anywhere in the city from any other point in twenty minutes. This, with natural changes in the local church community, could very well account for the discrepancy found and recorded in Table 14 or Figure 5. Of the two churches founded since 1960, one offers a ready explanation in these terms: it is a Roman Catholic church created especially to serve the Spanish-speaking population of Lansing. The church building is near new modern apartments, in a social area with high economic status, and high family structure scores (Shevky-Bell). The people it serves are restricted, because of their nationality backgrounds, to areas with considerably lower standing, economically in particular. This leaves only two of the fourteen deviant churches, or two of the total of seventy churches under consideration, as not being readily accounted for in terms of their social rank location.

The reader may very well pause at this point (and probably should), to consider the discussion just finished in the light of the

limitations of the data which were pointed out earlier. What would happen to this scheme, which came out so very well, if all the data were directly comparable? Fortunately, we are in a position to consider this at this point. The data is somewhat more limited, in terms of the number of churches available, but somewhat more detailed in one important respect. For 35 churches (half of the 70 above) it was possible to obtain lists of addresses of member families. These addresses were then plotted on maps, one for each church, to obtain a picture of the distribution of the members with relation to the church building. There are two commanding features of this distribution which we want to discuss.

First, and directly relevant to what has been discussed immediately above, it was possible through this mapping to get a summary of the distribution of the members of each church by social area, as well as the social area location of the church. Table 15 is a presentation of the same information as Table 14, with the difference that in Table 15, the similarities are entirely in terms of one measuring device--social area.

Inspection of the table indicates that the great bulk of churches do fulfill the general expectations: that is, the members either live in social areas similar to the social area in which the church building is located, or in the area in which the church is located. However, there is a discrepancy which is not disclosed in Table 15, but appears in Table 16. In eight cases the majority of members were at the same level on one of the social area dimensions, but at a different level from that of the church location. When these deviant cases were approached by analyzing several possibilities to

TABLE 15. Number of Churches Distributed at The Same Levels of Social Area (N=35)

| Social Area in Which Church is Located | Number of Churches in Social Area | Number with Majority of Members in Same Social Area | Number with Majority Level of Economic Status | Number with Majority of Members at Same Level of Family Structure |
|--|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|
| 3A | | | | |
| 3B | 2 | | 1 | 1 |
| 4B | 6 | | | 5 |
| 2C | 1 | | | 1 |
| 3C | 8 | | | 6 |
| 4C | 2 | | | 1 |
| 2D | 3 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 3D | 9 | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| 4D | 4 | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| TOTAL | 35 ^a | 6 | 10 | 20 |
| Per Cent | 100.0 | 17.1 | 28.6 | 57.1 |

^aFive churches of these 35 are not included in the other columns: four were tied so that no placement could be made in either column 4 or 5; one had no majority of members at any level, either of economic status or family structure.

TABLE 16. Distribution of Churches Having A Majority of Members
at The Same Level of Economic Status or Family Structure
Showing Discrepancies from The Social Area
Level of The Church Location

| Economic
Status
Level | Location
of
Church
Building | Location
of
Majority
of
Members | Deviant
Location
of
Majority
<u>No Actual</u> | Family
Structure
Level | Location
of
Church
Building | Location
of
Majority
of
Members | Deviant
Location
of
Majority
<u>No Actual</u> |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 | 0 | 0 | | A | 0 | 0 | |
| 2 | 3 | 1 | 1 4 | B | 1 | 0 | 1 D |
| 3 | 10 | 14 | 1 4 | C | 0 | 1 | |
| 4 | 7 | 5 | 4 3 | D | 9 | 9 | 1 C |
| TOTAL | 20 | 20 | 6 | TOTAL | 10 | 10 | 2 |

account for the discrepancy, again the age of the congregation provided the most satisfactory conclusion. Five of the six congregations were organized before 1940, and the passage of nearly twenty-five years, in each of these six cases, has produced changes in the area of the church building. Changes in the congregation with respect to the characteristics under discussion are not likely to have changed greatly, resulting in the present discrepancy.

In evaluation of the two analyses above, one based on social area analysis entirely, and one based primarily on the social rank index constructed from the interview data, granting the limitations of the materials used, the conclusion seems still to point to some usefulness of the measure developed here. If this conclusion is correct, support for the hypothesis may be claimed: either the majority of the members will live in the social area in which the church building is located, or they will live in social areas with characteristics similar to that where the church building is located. In a city the size of Lansing, where access to any area of the city is relatively easy, major discrepancies from this hypothesis may be most easily explained by allowing adjustment for the age of the congregation—that is, the length of time transpired since its organization.

In Chapter VI we will return to the material and the conclusions of this chapter, to examine the ways in which they bear upon the phenomenon of relocation. Just now we are ready to turn to investigation of features of the churches as social organizations, to pull together data from that viewpoint which will be relevant to the process of site relocation.

CHAPTER V

Structural Features of The Churches

Having looked in some detail at the social areas of Lansing, and the relation of the sample churches to those social areas, the next task is that of delineating the major features of the churches as social organizations. In doing so, it will be necessary to make use of general characteristics as outlined in Chapters III and IV, with the addition of material which provides some understanding of the inner workings of the churches as particular kinds of organizations. This does not mean that churches are viewed as "peculiar" types of organizations: it must certainly be recognized that, as organizations, they share features which are common to all organizations—a restricted clientele, a particular type of program, relations with portions of their social environment, interaction with other organizations, and others. In fact, it is primarily those structural features which are part of every organization which are our concern here. One of the basic assumptions of this dissertation is that churches can be studied as social entities, and meaningful conclusions reached, without considering the doctrinal, mystical, or "other-worldly" components of religious faith. This assumption does not deny the importance of these last-named components of religious life, but does deny that they are all-important for understanding the church as an organization.

One way to approach the study of organizational structure of the churches is to look at the interplay and association of several

structural features which were presented individually in Chapter III and IV: race, polity, age of church, budget, membership, and socio-economic-status (SES). Significant associations of these features may be helpful later in understanding differences in the ways in which churches carry out their functions. The basic data for these comparisons is presented in Tables 17 through 31. Accompanying the tables are notations of the significant features which each presents.

Table 17 has as its primary point of interest the lack of non-white presbyterian type churches. Otherwise, the distribution is about what would be expected on a random basis.

TABLE 17. Structural Features: Polity and Race

| Race | Polity | | | | TOTAL |
|-------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|-------|
| | Non-Denominational | Congregational | Presbyterian | Episcopal | |
| White | 7 | 35 | 19 | 29 | 90 |
| Negro | 1 | 4 | | 5 | 10 |
| TOTAL | 8 | 39 | 19 | 34 | 100 |

Chi Square=4.791

d.f.=3

Non-Sig.

In Table 18 one may note at least two points: (1) presbyterian churches seem to have had the edge in getting an early start in the Lansing Area, as 25 per cent of this type were founded before 1900, compared with 20 per cent of the episcopal churches and 12.5 per cent of the congregational churches. The difference in the rate of establishment of the various polity types points up one of the advantages of the tighter connectional systems—the ability to place resources of funds and personnel in a growing area with more ease. Congregational type groups do not always have easy access to such resources outside

the local community. (2) Non-denominational churches had a relatively late start, with the first (at least of those included in the sample) being founded in the 1930's. We noted earlier¹ that these groups often arise as a form of protest. They also frequently appear among the socially disadvantaged. It may not be unusual, then, that they appeared in force in the Lansing Area during the decade of the Great Depression.

TABLE 18. Structural Features: Polity and Age of Church

| Age of Church | Non-Denominational | Congregational | Presbyterian | Episcopal | TOTAL |
|---------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|------------|
| 1960-Present | 2 | 1 | | 5 | 8 |
| 1950-59 | 2 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 24 |
| 1940-49 | | 5 | 1 | 5 | 11 |
| 1930-39 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 16 |
| 1920-29 | | 7 | 2 | 4 | 13 |
| 1910-19 | | 2 | 2 | 4 | 8 |
| 1900-09 | | 3 | | | 3 |
| 1880-99 | | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 |
| 1860-79 | | 2 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Before 1860 | | 1 | 1 | 4 | 6 |
| TOTAL | 8 | 39 | 19 | 34 | 100 |

The first significant association of two of our variables (statistically, at least), appears in Table 19. There is a definite trend in the association of episcopal polity and large churches, and in the association of non-denominational, and to a lesser degree, congregational polity types with small churches. The association of polity and size is quite in line with the general direction of other

¹See p. 37.

TABLE 19. Structural Features: Polity and Size of Church

| Size of Church | Polity | | | | TOTAL |
|---|--------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|-------|
| | Non-Denominational | Congregational | Presbyterian | Episcopal | |
| Small (0-249) | 6 | 21 | 8 | 15 | 50 |
| Medium (250-749) | 1 | 13 | 8 | 12 | 34 |
| Large (750 or More) | 1 | 5 | 3 | 7 | 16 |
| TOTAL | 8 | 39 | 19 | 34 | 100 |
| Chi Square=13.415 d.f.=6 Sig.=.05 | | | | | |

variables, i.e., episcopal churches being older, and older churches being larger (see Table 22).

The relation between Polity and Total Budget (Table 20) shows no surprises, and no significant differences. Such differences as do exist are easily accounted for by the combination of polity and size,

TABLE 20. Structural Features: Polity and Total Budget (N=94)^a

| Total Budget | Polity | | | | TOTAL |
|---|--------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|-----------------|
| | Non-Denominational | Congregational | Presbyterian | Episcopal | |
| Less than \$20,000 | 4 | 10 | 8 | 11 | 33 |
| \$20,000-49,999 | | 14 | 6 | 10 | 30 |
| \$50,000-or More | 2 | 12 | 5 | 12 | 31 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 36 | 19 | 34 | 94 ^a |
| Chi Square=5.84 d.f.=6 Non-Sig. | | | | | |

^aTotal is 94 rather than 100 because of 6 churches which did not provide financial information.

as just described, and size and budget (Table 10), which was pointed out in Chapter III.

The socio-economic-scale, as developed in Chapter IV, may be considered on a low, medium, and high division (scores of less than fifty, fifty to seventy-nine, and eighty and higher, respectively). Using these categories, inspection of Table 21, showing the relation of polity to socio-economic-status has at least two points of interest. (1) Four of the six non-denominational churches are in the low segments, with the other two being in the bottom of the medium range. (2) Only two presbyterian type churches are in the low segment of the scale, and those are in the top of that section. The remaining presbyterian churches tend to be higher in status than any of the other groups.

TABLE 21. Structural Features: Polity and Socio-Economic-Status (N=87)^a

| SES | Polity | | | | TOTAL |
|--------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|-------|
| | Non-Denominational | Congregational | Presbyterian | Episcopal | |
| 10-49 | 4 | 6 | 2 | 8 | 20 |
| 50-79 | 2 | 18 | 7 | 16 | 43 |
| 80-100 | | 10 | 8 | 6 | 24 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 34 | 17 | 30 | 87 |

Chi Square=11.894 d.f.=6 Non-Sig.

^aTotal is 87 rather than 100 because data from 13 churches was insufficient for computation of Socio-Economic-Status.

Coming to Table 22 we find the highly significant association of the length of time since a church was founded and the number of individual members of that church. That is, 60 per cent (thirty) of the small churches (249 members or less) were founded during or after 1950, while fewer than 25 per cent (three) of the sixteen large

churches were founded in the same period. Seeing it from the other end of the scale, only two of fifty (or 4 per cent of the small

TABLE 22. Structural Features: Age of Church and Size of Church
(Number of Individual Members)

| Size | Age | | | TOTAL |
|--|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------|
| | 1940-1963 | 1910-1939 | Before 1910 | |
| Small
(0-249) | 28 | 20 | 2 | 50 |
| Medium
(250-749) | 12 | 12 | 10 | 34 |
| Large
(750 or More) | 3 | 5 | 8 | 16 |
| TOTAL | 43 | 37 | 20 | 100 |
| Chi Square=20.017 d.f.=4 Sig.=.001 | | | | |

churches are over fifty years old, while eight of the sixteen large churches (or 50 per cent) are at least fifty years old. There is almost no evidence of this trend among the medium sized churches, those of 250-749 members, with twelve of the thirty-four established since 1940, and eleven before 1910.

In marked contrast to the high association between the age and size of the churches, is the apparent lack of association between the race of the church's membership and the time of its founding, as seen in Table 23. One would suspect that the number of Negro churches

TABLE 23. Structural Features: Age of Church and Race

| Race | Age | | | TOTAL |
|---|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------|
| | 1940-1963 | 1910-1939 | Before 1910 | |
| White | 38 | 33 | 19 | 90 |
| Negro | 5 | 4 | 1 | 10 |
| TOTAL | 43 | 37 | 20 | 100 |
| Chi Square=.706 d.f.=2 Non-Sig. | | | | |

closely parallels the growth of that racial group in the city.

The absence of any churches in the upper right quarter of Table 24 provides an interesting, and statistically significant picture. There is obviously an important association between the age of the church and its budget. But one should be cautioned to be aware of the strong possibility that other factors are involved. Among these other factors are certainly the association of both age and budget with that of size of church.

TABLE 24. Structural Features: Age of Church and Total Budget
(N=94)

| Budget | Age | | | TOTAL |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-------|
| | 1940-1963 | 1910-1939 | Before 1910 | |
| Less than
\$20,000 | 19 | 14 | | 33 |
| \$20,000-
49,999 | 8 | 13 | 9 | 30 |
| \$50,000
or More | 10 | 10 | 11 | 31 |
| TOTAL | 37 | 37 | 20 | 94 |
| Chi Square=21.727 | | d.f.=4 | Sig.=.001 | |

In Table 25, there is a significant relation between age of

TABLE 25. Structural Features: Age of Church and Socio-Economic
Status (N=87)

| SES | Age of Church | | | TOTAL |
|-------------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|-------|
| | 1940-1963 | 1910-1939 | Before 1910 | |
| 10-49 | 11 | 8 | 1 | 20 |
| 50-79 | 14 | 24 | 5 | 43 |
| 80-100 | 13 | 4 | 7 | 24 |
| TOTAL | 38 | 36 | 13 | 87 |
| Chi Square=14.296 | | d.f.=4 | Sig.=.01 | |

church and socio-economic-status, with the tendency to run in the direction of older churches having higher SES. While the newer churches (since 1940) are fairly evenly divided, one is stuck by the obvious disproportion of the 1910-1939 group in the middle SES bracket, and the single case of a low SES church over fifty years old.

The outstanding feature of Table 26, is the presence of white churches only in any of the "large" church categories (750 or more). Nearly all the Negro churches are small, with eight of the ten having fewer than 250 members.

TABLE 26. Structural Features: Size of Church
(Number of Individual Members) and Race

| Race | Size of Church | | | TOTAL |
|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------|
| | Small
(0-249) | Medium
(250-749) | Large
(750 or More) | |
| White | 42 | 32 | 16 | 90 |
| Negro | 8 | 2 | | 10 |
| TOTAL | 50 | 34 | 16 | 100 |
| Chi Square=4.417 d.f.=2 Non-Sig. | | | | |

Turning to the relations between Race and Total Budget (Table 27) we have another interesting pattern. White churches obviously

TABLE 27. Structural Features: Race and Total Budget

| Race | Total Budget | | | TOTAL |
|--|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------|
| | Less Than
\$20,000 | \$20,000-
49,999 | \$50,000
or More | |
| White | 32 | 28 | 30 | 90 |
| Negro | 7 | 2 | 1 | 10 |
| TOTAL | 39 | 30 | 31 | 100 |
| Chi Square=4.687 d.f.=2 Non-Sig. | | | | |

have larger budgets; nearly two-thirds have annual total budgets of \$20,000 or more, while two-thirds of the Negro churches have budgets below \$20,000. The one Negro church in the \$50,000 or more category is accounted for by a building program which makes this one year budget quite atypical. However, relationship between the race of the church members and the size of the annual budget of the church should probably not be considered a peculiarity of the racial factor. Rather, it seems to be as effectively explained by the size of non-white churches--predominantly small--and the very high association of the size of the church and the size of the budget. The reader is referred back to Table 10, page 49 where this high degree of association is documented. The conjunction of race with SES score, and the high correspondence between SES and budget (see Tables 29 and 30) adds further explanation of the association.

Rounding out this part of our discussion are the relations between socio-economic-status and the variables of size of church, race, and budget. In general, it can be said that the higher the SES scale, the wider the distribution of size of church (Table 28), but this is

TABLE 28. Structural Features: Size of Church and Socio-Economic Status (N=87)

| SES | Size of Church | | | TOTAL |
|--|------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-------|
| | Small
(0-249) | Medium
(250-749) | Large
(750 or More) | |
| 10-49 | 15 | 4 | 1 | 20 |
| 50-79 | 22 | 15 | 6 | 43 |
| 80-100 | 8 | 12 | 4 | 24 |
| TOTAL | 45 | 31 | 11 | 87 |
| Chi Square=6.468 d.f.=4 Non-Sig. | | | | |

simply because more churches are located in the medium and upper ranges of the SES scale.

Table 29 is statistical confirmation of what everyone seems to know (or believe) already--there is a highly significant relationship between Race and SES. White churches are middle and high, Negro churches are mostly low in SES. Since this reflects the general picture of social differentiation in the population at large, it would be extremely surprising if the data revealed anything different.

TABLE 29. Structural Features: Race and Socio-Economic Status (N=87)

| Race | SES | | | TOTAL |
|-------------------|-------|--------|-----------|-------|
| | 10-49 | 50-79 | 80-100 | |
| White | 13 | 40 | 24 | 77 |
| Negro | 7 | 3 | | 10 |
| TOTAL | 20 | 43 | 24 | 87 |
| Chi Square=14.829 | | d.f.=2 | Sig.=.001 | |

In the last of this series of cross-classifications, that of budget and SES (Table 30), a significant correspondence appears again.

TABLE 30. Structural Features: Budget and Socio-Economic Status (N=82)^a

| Budget | SES | | | TOTAL |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------|
| | Low
(10-49) | Medium
(50-79) | High
(80-100) | |
| Less than \$20,000 | 11 | 14 | 5 | 30 |
| \$20,000-49,999 | 3 | 13 | 9 | 25 |
| \$50,000 or More | 2 | 15 | 10 | 27 |
| TOTAL | 16 | 42 | 24 | 82 |
| Chi Square=10.078 | | d.f.=4 | Sig.=.01 | |

^aTotal is 82 rather than 100 because of the exclusion of churches which either refused financial information, or had insufficient data.

This is as might be expected. High SES churches have large budgets, if for no other reason than that people of a high economic level can contribute more to the financial program of the church.

To summarize briefly at this point, there are significant relationships among all the variables presented. Both polity and age of church are significantly related to the size of church; race, SES, and budget are each significantly related to the other. To put it another way, it appears that episcopal churches are among the oldest, the older churches are larger, therefore, episcopal churches tend to be among the largest churches. Non-white churches usually rate low SES scores, and non-white and low SES churches have small budgets.

Having looked at the interrelationships of the characteristics presented in Chapter III, the next step is to analyze some characteristics of internal organization and program which should have some bearing on the process and phenomena of relocation.

The first of these characteristics is the type and degree of internal organization which churches have, or, in other words, the kind and amount of "decision-making" machinery which the church operates. Basic differences between the churches are shown in Table 31. The most outstanding point of the table is probably the high modal point of fifty churches with what should probably be called a high-medium level of organizational machinery.

When the data of Table 31 is cross-analyzed by the other variables we have already considered, neither race, SES, nor the age of the church made any difference which could not be accounted for more adequately by another criterion. On the other hand, polity type produces organizational differences within the local congregation,

TABLE 31. Type and Degree of Internal Organization
of Sample Churches

| Organization | Number of Churches |
|---|--------------------|
| No Response | 3 |
| Congregation Only | 11 |
| Congregation, with
3 or Fewer Standing Committees | 7 |
| Congregation, with
4 or More Standing Committees | 2 |
| Congregation, with
Official Board | 7 |
| Congregation, with
Official Board, and
3 or Fewer Standing Committees | 11 |
| Congregation, with
Official Board, and
4 to 7 Standing Committees | 50 |
| Congregation, with
Official Board, and
8 or More Standing Committees | 9 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

significant at the .01 level. That is, non-denominational churches tend to more simple organizations, while presbyterian and episcopal churches tend to more complex organizations. This precisely is what should be expected, as some church groups are able by their authority to impose a required system of committees, boards, and the like upon each local congregation of their denomination. The higher the degree of authority held by the denomination the more effectively this requirement can be enforced.

Much more significant than the influence of polity upon the degree of organization in the local church is the effect of the variable of the size of the church. There is a highly significant relationship

(chi square significant at the .001 level) which indicates that, far beyond any chance factor, the larger the church, the more complex its organization. As significant as the relationship is, however, it would be most remarkable if any other relationship were found. Churches are no different from other organizations in this respect.

In addition to the boards and committees, there is another level of organization which is often important in the life of a church. This is the type of fellowship groups which are formal sub-organizations in the congregation. Pastors were asked what types of fellowship groups were sponsored by their churches, with results as shown in Table 32.

TABLE 32. Type of Fellowship Groups Present
in Sample Churches

| Type of Fellowship Group | Number of Churches |
|--|--------------------|
| No Response | 3 |
| No Fellowship Groups | 16 |
| Women's Fellowship Only | 7 |
| Men's Fellowship Only | 1 |
| Youth Fellowship Only | 9 |
| Women's and Men's Fellowships Groups | 8 |
| Women's and Youth Fellowship Groups | 25 |
| Men's and Youth Fellowship Groups | 2 |
| Women's, Men's and Youth Fellowship Groups | 29 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

It is obvious here that both women and youth are better provided for by organized activity than men: women have groups in a total of sixty-nine churches, youth in a total of sixty-five, and men in a total of forty. Cross-analysis by the other variables provides no discernable tendencies for difference by polity type, or SES, and only a slight

trend for the number of types of groups to vary by age of church (the product moment correlation was only .098). By chi square test the only significant association in differentiation of groups sponsored as part of the church life is with size of church (at the .05 level). The larger the church, the more likely the possibility of sub-organizations within the church for women, youth and men.

The provision of organized groups for particular segments of the population may be interpreted as one way in which the church expresses its interest in a clientele beyond the membership. While these groups operate primarily for the benefit of members, and draw their main support from the membership, they are also often seen as a means of attracting and interesting non-members. This may be particularly true of youth groups, and to a lesser degree, of women's fellowship groups.

Moving a step beyond this indirect concern for at least part of the people in and out of the church through fellowship groups, the interviewers asked the ministers of the churches to characterize the attitude of the church toward the neighborhood on a five point scale ranging from "supportive" to "antagonistic." In elaboration, "supportive" was defined to mean that the church took an active interest in what was happening in the area surrounding its building, seeking to be actively related to people living nearby, and trying through its program to meet needs expressed by persons in the area. "Friendly" was suggested as meaning that the church was on good terms with the neighborhood, welcoming people from nearby, but not making special efforts to reach them. No pastors used the negative poles of the scale. The distribution of responses is shown in Table 33.

TABLE 33. Attitudes of Churches Toward Their Neighborhoods

| Attitude | Number of Churches |
|-------------|--------------------|
| Supportive | 29 |
| Friendly | 57 |
| Indifferent | 14 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

When these responses were cross-checked by polity, age of church, SES, and size of church, the only unusual features which come to light were with presbyterian churches (one "supportive," thirteen "friendly," five "indifferent"), and size (all but one of the "indifferent" churches had fewer than 500 members). Otherwise, the distributions were close to what would be expected to occur randomly.

An interesting coincidence of numbers turned up when the next step was taken—to ask if there were church sponsored activities, apart from the regular worship and educational programs, which were oriented specifically to the neighborhood. To this there was a fairly even split (see Table 34). It should be noted that the fifty-seven who indicated "yes" at this point were not all the same fifty-seven who indicated a "friendly" attitude to the neighborhood as discussed above.

TABLE 34. Offering of Church-Sponsored Activities
for The Neighborhood

| Offered | Number of Churches |
|---------|--------------------|
| No | 43 |
| Yes | 57 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

In this case neither polity, age of church, SES, nor size of church

provided any trend of differentiation.

In order to fill in the picture, and to see in what ways churches conceived of their programs as "neighborhood-oriented," the fifty-seven who answered "yes" above were asked to specify the type of activity offered. The result is described in Table 35. "Religious

TABLE 35. Type of Neighborhood Oriented Activities
Offered by Churches

| Type of Activity | Number of Churches |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| None | 43 |
| Religious Program | 10 |
| Youth Programs | 4 |
| Scouts | 4 |
| Dinners | 5 |
| Bazaars or Rummage Sales | 1 |
| Senior Citizen Program | 4 |
| More Than One of The Above | 29 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

program" was used by the pastors to mean, in most cases, revival or evangelistic meetings. In one case, the reference was to a Christmas pageant presented annually, and well-known throughout the city.

In reviewing the types of neighborhood-oriented activities, chi square tests by the analytic variables failed to show any significant differences. However, product moment correlations showed slight tendencies for episcopal churches to have several of the programs, compared with the other polity types (.16); for older churches to offer programs other than religious and youth oriented (.14); and a little higher tendency for large churches (750 members or more) to offer a

multiple program approach to the neighborhood (.27).

Another approach to the relation of the church to the community may be seen in the willingness of the church to let non-church groups use their building for meetings and activities. As seen in Table 36, a

TABLE 36. Availability of Church Building for Use
by Non-Church Groups

| Availability | Number of Churches |
|--------------|--------------------|
| No | 55 |
| Yes | 45 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

large minority does permit the use of the building by outsiders. As might be expected, because of the space available, larger churches are more likely to allow extra use of their building (chi square significant at .001 level). For the same reason, but the obverse side, low SES churches are more likely not to have use of their buildings by outside groups. Their buildings are smaller, and their smaller budgets may not be able to absorb extra costs involved when non-church groups use the building. Neither the relation of polity or age of church is significant at this point.

Analysis of the types of non-church groups making use of the church building (those in Table 37), shows only one of the eight non-denominational churches and one-fourth of the low SES churches, allowing an outside group; a prevalence of social clubs and service agencies in older churches (before 1910); and in medium to large churches (500 members and more). Scouting is the most popular single type of church-building use, with a total of twenty-five churches hosting scouting

TABLE 37. Types of Non-Church Groups Making Use of Church Buildings for Meetings and Activities

| Type of Group | Number of Churches |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| None | 55 |
| Scouts | 11 |
| WCTU | 3 |
| Service or Social Clubs | 2 |
| Service Agencies | 5 |
| Scouts and Service Clubs | 14 |
| Voting Precinct | 3 |
| Other | 7 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

groups (including the one allowed in a non-denominational church).

In sum, the churches see themselves with a positive attitude toward their neighborhoods, with a majority offering neighborhood-oriented programs, mostly aimed at special age groups (youth or senior citizens). A majority do not encourage the use of their building by outside groups, and of those which do permit such use, over half are host to scout groups, or youth. It would appear that there is a strong tendency for churches to see their contact with young persons as an important part of their outreach. This is, of course, not inconsistent with the emphasis noted earlier on the use of the Church School as a means of reaching the wider range of the total population. In all of the material related to neighborhood-oriented program, size of church and SES position appear as the two best indicators for marking differences between the churches. Age of church is a secondary indicator, but probably derives its differentiating power from its close relation to size.

After noting the neighborhood-orientation of the churches, we would be remiss if we did not ask how the neighborhood responds. On the same five-point scale of "supportive" to "antagonistic," the pastors were asked to give their evaluation of the attitude of the neighborhood to the church. This evaluation is summarized in Table 38.

TABLE 38. Attitude of Neighborhoods to The Churches

| Attitude | Number of Churches |
|--------------|--------------------|
| Supportive | 20 |
| Friendly | 59 |
| Indifferent | 20 |
| Antagonistic | 1 |
| TOTAL | 100 |

There is a slight, but not statistically significant, tendency for churches in the middle range of the socio-economic-status scale to find their neighborhoods more indifferent than supportive, and for churches in the upper range of the scale to find their neighborhood more supportive than indifferent. Beyond this, there were no discernable differences related to age of church, size of church, or polity.

Some discrepancy is seen here. The positive attitude of the churches is not always reciprocated by the neighborhood. The interpretation of this statement has to be made with the understanding that the attitudes of both church and neighborhood are made from the perspective of the minister alone—neighborhood attitudes were not derived from separate interviews. However, under normal circumstances the minister should be one of the best informed persons available.

One conclusion to be drawn from the discrepancy is that evidently the churches, as they have emphasized programs for youth, both on their own initiative and by hosting scout groups, have not reached all the needs of the people around them. From the point of view of the churches, and quite apart from the rationalization that an outreach for youth has the most potential, it is probably not far off to say that youth programs are among the easiest, cheapest, and least time consuming types of programs to be offered. These factors have surely weighed heavy with smaller churches, having fewer resources of leadership and finance upon which they may draw. Whether youth programs are also the most helpful, either for the church or the neighborhood, is another question—a question which has apparently not been asked, or one for which an acceptable answer for churches with limited resources has not yet been found.¹

Another possible conclusion to the differences in attitudes between the two groups may be drawn from the pattern of distribution of church members throughout the city. It is a rare church which does not have its members scattered over a fairly wide territory. When the question was asked specifically in terms of neighborhood, a few respondents had to consciously change from thinking in terms of "constituency." This same person might think of the neighborhood as being

¹In all fairness, it should be noted that a few—notably the large "First" churches in the capitol area, do have a different type of program: aid for the deaf, the mentally retarded, etc. But the author cannot help but note the contrast between the majority of churches with their self-oriented program, and a program of English literacy for European migrants carried out last fall by Hillcrest Christian Church, Toronto, Canada. This program was offered as a service, to assist immigrants in making a better adjustment to their new home, with no thought or intention of gaining members as a result of the program.

indifferent to the church, in part because he was not used to thinking in a neighborhood framework at all, and in part because few of his members are in the immediate area. The only sure way to know whether the pastor's preceptions are correct, when he evaluates the neighborhood attitude, would be to do some survey work among the neighbors themselves—a task beyond the scope of the present study.

CHAPTER VI

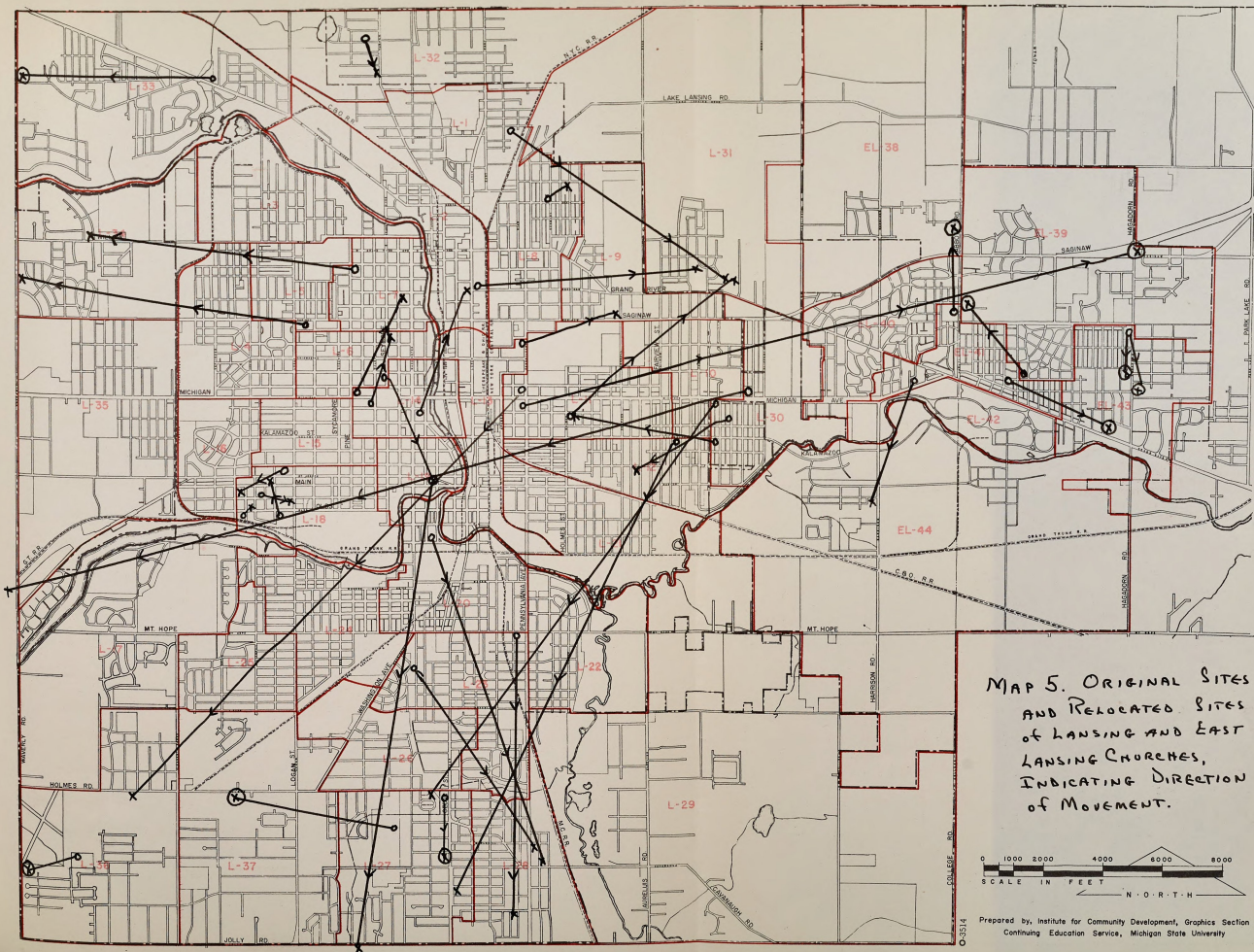
Relocation: Community and Congregational Influences

Chapter IV was concerned with the relations existing between churches at different points on a scale of social rank, and the social areas of the city. Chapter V dealt with the organizational structure of the sample churches, with an eye to the relations between different degree of organizational complexity and implications for neighborhood or community-relatedness. The concern of the present chapter is to analyze the actual act of relocation, using insights gained from the two preceding chapters.

Hypothesis Four of this dissertation has been stated: Churches will tend to move from their previous location to social areas with the same social area rating; or to social areas with a higher economic status score, or with a lower family status score.

Our concern here is naturally with those churches which have actually gone through, or are in the process of completing relocation. Data for testing the hypothesis can best be presented on a map showing the original position and the relocated position of the churches involved. These are plotted on Map 4, with lines connecting the original location (circles) and the present location (marked with an "x"). Arrows indicate the direction of location. There are ten of the "x's" which are encircled, to indicate churches which were organized in a schoolhouse or other temporary location, and moved to their first and only permanent site. The reason for marking these will be apparent in a moment.

LANSING - EAST LANSING CENSUS TRACTS



With one exception the hypothesis is borne out by the data. One church does not fit the pattern since the direction of movement on both scales is downward. Nine of the sixteen whose movement was within the same social area are of the ten mentioned above—moving only a short distance from their temporary organizing location to a

TABLE 39. Relation of Social Area Rating of
Original and Relocated Sites (N=36)

| Relation of Social Areas | Number of Churches |
|--|--------------------|
| Relocated in Same Social Area | 16 |
| Relocated in Social Area with Higher
Economic Status Score | 11 |
| Relocated in Social Area with Lower
Family Structure Score | 8 |
| Relocated in Social Area with Both
Lower Economic and Family Structure Scores | 1 |
| TOTAL | 36 |

permanent site. This still leaves seven churches in this category, moving to a new site in an area with the same social rating. One of the advantages of social area analysis at this point is that it provides freedom from thinking in strictly geographical terms. For example, one of the churches in this category moved from census tract L-12 to tract L-27—from the eastern to the southern part of the city of Lansing, but remained in the type of area from which it moved.

Eleven churches moved to areas with higher economic status ranking, a reflection of upward mobility, as reflected in the area around the church. This is not to suggest that there is a conscious attempt at upward mobility, but rather that such mobility is the practical result of other considerations. These might include the

availability of land in outlying areas, the higher value of land in these developing places, and the general economic capabilities of the individuals and families who also seek the better sites available.

The remaining facet of the hypothesis is illustrated by the nine churches which moved into areas with a lower family structure score (but the same economic status rank). This is precisely what we should expect when we remember that a lower family structure score means a higher fertility ratio, fewer women working, and more single-family detached dwelling units. With the emphasis on youth in the program of the church, and the concern of the church for family life, areas with lower family structure scores would naturally be more attractive when a church is looking for "a place to go." However logical such reasoning may be, it must be assumed that this is a secondary consideration, for no churches gave such a reason when asked why they relocated. More about this will be considered later.

The fifth hypothesis states: it is expected that churches will tend to move outward, from the center of the city toward the periphery. The term "parallel" in Table 40 refers to those churches which did not greatly change their distance from the central business district in

TABLE 40. Direction of Relocation with Reference to The Central Business Districts of Lansing and East Lansing (N=37)

| Direction of Movement | Number of Churches |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| Toward Periphery of City | 27 |
| Parallel | 4 |
| Toward Center of City | 6 |
| TOTAL | 37 |

the process of shifting from one section of the city to another (from tract L-1 to tract L-31). "Periphery" means outward from the center of the city, or the central business district, centered on the capitol building.

At this point, support or rejection of the hypothesis hinges largely on how one defines a "trend." If one means by the term, "over-half," then, by disregarding the nine special cases, a trend is obviously established, as twenty-seven of the churches did move outward. However, even if a trend can be less than half, then something approaching a trend could certainly be justified, as fewer than 60 per cent of the churches remained fairly close to their starting point. In general, it would appear that the results for Lansing would offer some qualification to those recorded by Myers in Seattle, that "churches which move most often relocate within the same general area where they were originally sited,"¹ as only nineteen of the thirty-seven followed this pattern.

At this point it is necessary to break away from the social area framework of analysis, as reinspection of Map 4 shows some important patterns of relocation which can not be adequately described in that framework.

In our brief description of the pattern of growth in the city of Lansing, it was noted that the directions of expansion are West, South, and East. Except for three churches which have moved from "downtown" (tract L-14) to the North, the relocating churches have also gone mainly to the West, South, and East. In this respect they follow rather closely the general growth of the city.

¹Myers, op. cit., p. 361. See p. 26 of this thesis.

There are two groups of four churches each which have remarkably different patterns of movement. The first, centered in tract L-18, have moved only short distances. These are Negro churches, located in the heart of the Negro population of Lansing. Two of the four have moved from homes to a separate church building. But none of the four have been able to escape the restrictions of being hemmed in by their race. This is the most striking point, and almost the only place in the entire study, where race has played a dominant role in the behavior of churches.¹

The second group comprises four churches which were previously situated in tracts L-12 and L-30. In this case, all have moved outside their original territory. One has gone in toward the center of the city, purchasing the building of a church which has moved toward the East; two have gone to the developing areas of the South. There are definite community factors which seem relevant to these moves. Tract L-30 is the center of what was known as the Urbandale section of Lansing. Urbandale was a run-down slum area. Presently a large portion of Urbandale has been cleared out with the placing of a new highway, an expressway access route to the Interstate highway south of Lansing. While all four churches moved sometime before the new expressway was built, three of them at least seem to have had knowledge of impending change, and made a move in advance of the inevitable.

There is one feature which is common to both of these groups

¹An interesting exception to the racial barriers which have hemmed these churches in, is the movement of another Negro church, whose plans have developed since the interviews for this study was made. The church, formerly sited just west of the Capitol building, is being forced to move as a result of the Capital Development program. Rather than moving to a location within the Negro settlement,

of churches. They move to, and within, areas which contain their "types of people." The Negro churches have stayed among Negroes; the others, all working class churches, have gone to areas which are working-class sections of the city. In fact, among all the churches, nowhere has a "blue-collar" church moved to a "white-collar" neighborhood, nor a "white-collar" church transferred to a "blue-collar" neighborhood. It seems perfectly safe to say that churches have moved, following the movement of population settlement, so that they continue to serve the same kinds of people they have always served. Not the least important element of population settlement is the tendency for broad occupational divisions to be grouped together. For instance, even though both West Lansing and East Lansing are predominantly white-collar sections of the urban area, it would be highly unlikely that a church would relocate from one side of the city to the other. The occupational groups which make the section "white-collar" are different in each case.¹

Another significant item growing out of the relocation patterns is seen when we examine relocation by polity type. The basis for this analysis is set out in Table 41.

Most discussion about the direction of relocation is expressed simply in terms of "in" or "out." Of the four polity types, 73 per cent

it has purchased a large site in the Southwest corner of the city, in the general vicinity of Holmes Road and Waverly Road. It will be of interest to note in the future whether this is predictive of the direction of movement of Negroes within the city as they break away from the section of their present concentration.

¹See Gary King, "Differing Residential Adjustments in Three Lansing Suburban Subdivisions," Ph. D. dissertation in process, Michigan State University.

TABLE 41. Direction of Relocation with Reference to The
Central Business Districts of Lansing and East Lansing
By Polity Type, in Number and Per Cent (N=37)

| Direction of Movement | Non-Denomi-
national | Congre-
gational | Presby-
terian | Epis-
copal | TOTAL |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Toward Periphery of City | 3
(100) | 12
(70) | 2
(40) | 10
(83) | 27
(73) |
| Parallel | | 2
(12) | 1
(20) | 1
(8.5) | 4
(11) |
| Toward Center of City | | 3
(18) | 2
(40) | 1
(8.5) | 6
(16) |
| TOTAL | 3
(100) | 17
(100) | 5
(100) | 12
(100) | 37
(100) |

of the total moved outward. Compared with this total, non-denomina-
tional and episcopal churches are above average in outward movement,
presbyterian churches are below, and congregational churches fall near
the mean. On the other hand, along with the complete absence of non-
denominational churches in the other categories, parallel movements
were over-represented by presbyterian churches, with only small devi-
ations for the other two types. In addition, presbyterian churches
are greatly over-represented in the inward movement category, and
episcopal churches are rather markedly under-represented.

These results appear a little strange in the light of what
might be expected, due to the nature of available denominational
restraints, and the attitude of denominational officials (see Appendix
D). The explanation for episcopal churches, which vary most from the
expected pattern, is most evidently seen in the number of outward
moving churches of this type which have moved from temporary to perma-
nent quarters, often not far away, but in an outward direction of

movement.

The Sixth Hypothesis may be simply stated: churches of different polity will have different patterns of relocation: congregational and non-denominational churches will move most often; episcopal churches least often. The reasoning for this hypothesis lies in the nature of external restraints which may be imposed by the denomination from outside the community. Non-denominational churches have none of these restraints, congregational churches may freely ignore them, and episcopal churches will have the outside restraints most effectively enforced. It should be made clear that now it is frequency of movement which is under consideration here, so there will not be confusion with the direction of movement which was considered in the preceding paragraphs.

Before considering the data which bears on the hypothesis, it seems useful to reconsider a matter which was mentioned earlier. Roland Warren sets the framework of community study in terms of "locality relevant functions." For him, the community is "that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance."¹ The five major functions having locality relevance, as he sees them are: (1) production-distribution-consumption, (2) socialization, (3) social control, (4) social participation, and (5) mutual support.² Presently we are treating only one community institution—the church—and it is fairly easy to see that some element of these functions is part of the church-community relationship. For our present consideration, perhaps the

¹Warren, op. cit., p. 9.

²Ibid., pp. 9-10.

strongest of the locality relevant functions fulfilled by the church is that of social participation.

We have already seen that individual churches tend to serve persons from a rather selective portion of the total population. Consciously or unconsciously, decisions are made by the church which govern the selection of the strata of population with which the church is to be identified. Following this, a decision must be made as to the best location for offering the services of the church to its clientele--its membership and constituency.

To continue with Warren's analytical scheme for a moment, the matter of polity becomes important to these decisions just mentioned, because the choice of a "relevant" constituency and the "proper" location from which to serve the constituency may be influenced by ties which bind the church to extra-community systems, as well as by the community itself.¹ One of the distinctions between polity types is the strength of the extra-community relationships which bear upon the decision-making of the local group. For non-denominational church groups, the extra-community relationships are virtually nonexistent; for episcopal churches, extra-community relationships are of vital significance. For presbyterian churches, the strength of the "vertical" extra-community ties are closer to those of episcopal systems; for congregational churches, freedom from vertical influences is more complete, approaching that of non-denominational groups.

Turning now to the data, Table 42 shows the distribution of the forty-four churches which meet the criterion of relocated or relocating among the four polity types.

¹Ibid., p. 10.

TABLE 42. Number of Churches Either in Process of Relocation
or Having Relocated Since 1950, by Number and Per Cent for
Each Polity Type

| Polity | No | Yes | TOTAL |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Non-Denominational | 5
(62.5) | 3
(37.5) | 8
(100.0) |
| Congregational | 18
(46.1) | 21
(53.9) | 39
(100.0) |
| Presbyterian | 12
(63.1) | 7
(36.9) | 19
(100.0) |
| Episcopal | 21
(61.8) | 13
(38.2) | 34
(100.0) |
| TOTAL | 56 | 44 | 100 |
| Chi Square=2.542 | | | d.f.=3 |
| | | | Non-Sig. |

Though the distribution is not significant statistically, observation of the table indicates that there is a strong tendency for congregational type churches to move most often--contrasted with all of the three other types. This indicates at least directional support for the hypothesis. However, there are some discrepancies, to which we shall return in a moment.

Additional support for the reasoning underlying the hypothesis may be adduced from response to a question asking about the importance of the denomination in the relocation process. The importance of the denominational role varied greatly: it was a major consideration for 29 per cent of the congregational churches, 86 per cent of the presbyterian churches, and 85 per cent of the episcopal churches. The nature of the denominational role included review of building plans; making funds available, either by loan or gift; aiding in site selection; encouragement of local people; or some combination of these. For non-episcopal churches, the provision of funds for relocation and/or

building by the denomination is one of the most effective available means of control over the local congregation, but even here there is much more latitude allowed than for more tightly-drawn polity systems. This serves to give added support to the general position relative to the importance of polity which has been implicit in this study.

To understand better the probable direction which denominational influence is likely to take, it will be helpful to see the matter from their point of view. To this end, attention is directed to Appendix D, where a summary of correspondence with several denominational representatives is reported. For the moment, it will be sufficient to extract part of that discussion here.¹

In general, the denominations do not have hard and fast rules governing matters of relocation, but operate instead on a few basic "principles." These principles, in the main, discourage relocation. When consulted, the denominational representatives encourage a period of survey and examination--of the congregation and its present situation, and of the potentialities of any new area under consideration as a site. The respondents indicated unanimous agreement that local congregations should stay as long as possible in their original locations. The effectiveness with which these views may be transmitted to local groups is partly a function of the opportunities to share them which would appear, from the evidence above, to be also a function of the tightness of denominational control.

¹The denominations taking part in the correspondence are not to be regarded as representative of the whole spectrum of church groups. However, they do represent the more highly developed denominations, of all three polity types, and so are regarded by the author as probably being in the vanguard so far as policies which are important to us here are concerned.

This discussion illustrates quite well the relationship which the denomination bears to the local congregation, but leaves unexplained one of the elements of Table 42 which goes against the direction hypothesized. Non-denominational churches did not move any more often than episcopal churches, percentage-wise. In the absence of denominational pressure to remain in their original locations, this seems somewhat out of place. The search for explanation leads back to the consideration of community variables which may be at work.

It will be remembered that non-denominational churches are generally small, and definitely at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. Review of the three churches in this group which have relocated indicates that these characteristics play their part in the original location of the churches, resulting in a condition which serves to reduce the need for relocation. Two of the three relocated churches in this category were transferred from temporary meeting locations to their first permanent sites. Typically, these churches begin as an association of a few families, meeting in a home, or a nearby room which can be rented cheaply. This keeps them near the heart of their membership. When they grow large enough and affluent enough to procure their own building, a site is chosen close-by, in a vicinity where land and building prices are in accord with their means. The result is that there is little need for relocation, because the church is situated from the beginning in a satisfactory relationship to its community. The third church which relocated is one of those in Urbandale, which moved only a few blocks, to a larger site in the same vicinity of its membership.

Earlier we recognized polity as one aspect of the organization

of a church, and the degree of internal organization as another aspect.¹ Approached in the light of this second aspect it is apparent that highly developed churches do not move so often (see Table 43). By chi square test the differences were not quite enough to be significant (chi square=5.444; to be significant at .05, it would need to be 5.991), but the differences are great enough to be called to attention.

TABLE 43. Relocation by Degree of Internal Organization,^a in Number and Per Cent for Each Level of Organization

| Degree of Organization | No | Yes | TOTAL |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Low | 16
(59.0) | 11
(41.0) | 27
(100.0) |
| Medium | 30
(49.0) | 31
(51.0) | 61
(100.0) |
| High | 8
(89.0) | 1
(11.0) | 9
(100.0) |
| TOTAL | 54
(57.7) | 43
(42.3) | 97
(100.0) |

Chi Square=5.444

d.f=2

Non-Sig.

^aIn the designations low, medium, and high, the following distinctions were used: low=only the congregation, the congregation and an Official Board, or the congregation and three or fewer standing committees; medium=the congregation, with an Official Board and three to seven standing committees; high=the congregation with an Official Board and eight or more standing committees.

The reader should recognize, without specific documentation at this point, that this matter of degree of organization and relocation implies that small and medium-sized churches are most likely to relocate, if he will recall the high association between degree of organization and size of church, as pointed out in Chapter V.

¹These correspond rather closely to the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the institution, as discussed by Warren.

In the last of the specific hypotheses of this study, it was posited that: in justifying relocation, churches will give mostly "community-oriented" reasons for making a move.

When asked why the church had relocated, the pastor gave the answers summarized in Table 44. The four major categories of the table are supplied by the author, and the actual responses are summarized in the sub-headings of the table. For purposes of comparison, the same

TABLE 44. Primary Reasons Given for Relocation of Churches, With Frequency of Each Response

| Reason Given for Relocation | Frequency of Response
(in Per Cent) |
|---|--|
| Internal Spatial Considerations | 73.5 |
| No Room, or Not Enough Room for Expansion | 43.3 |
| New Building Ready | 15.1 |
| Moved to Permanent Site from Temporary Location | 15.1 |
| Changing Community--Land Use | 5.7 |
| Zoning Problems, or City Took Over Church Land | 3.8 |
| Crowded by Industrial Expansion | 1.9 |
| Changing Community--Population | 15.1 |
| Moving Nearer University | 5.7 |
| Becoming more Accessible | 3.8 |
| Type of People in Neighborhood Changed | 3.8 |
| Former Area Had Poor Future for Growth | 1.9 |
| Merger with Another Congregation | 5.7 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 |

data is presented, with responses indicated for churches of different polity type in Table 45.

By "community-oriented" here, reference is to some feature of

TABLE 45. Primary Reasons Given for Relocation of Churches, With Frequency of Each Response, by Polity Type, in Number and Per Cent

| Reasons Given for Relocation | Non-Denomi-
national | Congre-
gational | Presby-
terian | Episcopal | TOTAL |
|---|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Internal Spatial Considerations | | | | | |
| No Room, or Not Enough Room, for Expansion | | 9
(36.0) | 5
(46.0) | 9
(65.0) | 23
(43.3) |
| New Building Ready | 1
(33.3) | 5
(20.0) | 1
(9.0) | 1
(7.0) | 8
(15.1) |
| Moved to Permanent Site from Temporary Location | 2
(66.7) | 2
(8.0) | 2
(18.0) | 2
(14.0) | 8
(15.1) |
| Changing Community—Land Use | | | | | |
| Zoning Problems, or City Took Over Church Land | | 2
(8.0) | | 1
(7.0) | 2
(3.8) |
| Crowded by Industrial Expansion | | | | | 1
(1.9) |
| Changing Community—Population | | | | | |
| Moving Nearer University | | 2
(8.0) | 1
(9.0) | | 3
(5.7) |
| Becoming More Accessible | | 1
(4.0) | 1
(9.0) | | 2
(3.8) |
| Type of People in Neighborhood Changed | | 1
(4.0) | 1
(9.0) | | 2
(3.8) |
| Former Area Had Poor Future for Growth | | 1
(4.0) | | | 1
(1.9) |
| Merger with Another Congregation | | 2
(8.0) | | 1
(7.0) | 3
(5.7) |
| TOTAL | 3
(100.0) | 25
(100.0) | 11
(100.0) | 14
(100.0) | 53
(100.0) |

the environment of the church which can be understood as a community variable. This might include such items as the type of surrounding--residential, commercial, industrial; the attitude of the neighbors; the composition of the population as to race, ethnic group, age, or sex. Or, to put it another way, community variables are those which refer to the geographical area, the type of people in that area, their needs, and other institutions which serve the needs of the people.

With this in mind, then, taking the expressions of the respondents at face value, a little over 20 per cent of the justification of relocation is obviously "community-oriented." On the other hand, nearly three-fourths of the justification for relocation hinges on factors which can, at best, only be considered community-oriented by inference.

When these two general groupings are approached from the viewpoint of polity, congregational churches appear to be the most community-oriented. With respect to internal spatial considerations, the ranking from high to low is non-denominational, episcopal, presbyterian, congregational. With respect to community orientation, the ranking in the same order, high to low, is congregational, presbyterian, and episcopal. However, before assuming too much difference in attitude, it should be noted that if the congregational churches which were subject to zoning problems, or city appropriation of land are removed, the percentage lead they hold in community orientation is removed. The justification for this observation is that this category represents the only one which indicates involuntary relocation. Little credit for a "community" attitude should be given if the congregation really had no choice in the matter.

The need for more space, or the ability to move from a temporary to a permanent site may have some community related implications, but explicitly they appear to be much more the results of the variables of size and budget. That a congregation has moved because its new building is ready, says much more about the success of a fund-raising drive than about any type of relation to the community.

Mergers of two formerly distinct congregations are a special category, but involve some of the same elements related to what are here called spatial considerations. In two of the three cases of merger, a church which felt the pressure of limited space joined forces with a new congregation still meeting in temporary quarters. The merger represented relocations for both, but perhaps more importantly, by joining forces each was able to have newer, more spacious accommodations than would have been possible for either acting on its own. The third merger represented the absorption of a declining church into another of its own denomination which was much stronger.

The critical point of this dissertation is evident at this point. A review of the literature summarized in Chapter I would lead to the expectation that there must be a close correspondence between the local church and its neighborhood. Policy statements of denominational officials serve to reinforce this expectation. These men, speaking from their vantage point of concern for the entire picture, insist that there is something inherent in the nature of "the ministry of the church" which relates the church to its locality.

In the face of this expectation, the data presented throughout these pages insists that something else is at work. To be sure, there is evidence that churches of particular class position are almost

always identified with, or located in, areas of similar class ranking. But class stratification comes much more being a societal variable, not strictly one related to the community. Beyond this, there appears to be little identification of the church with its community, as such. Of the several variables which do appear to control the behavior of churches, age of church, and size of church stand out as most important. In addition, polity plays its part, though churches of different size and the same polity, or churches of different polity but the same size, are likely to behave in similar ways. This appears quite clearly when attention centers on such church-community relationships as the type of community-oriented activities offered by the church, or in the present matter of the justifying grounds of relocation.

The confusion, and even contradiction, between the ideal situation expressed in the literature and in the minds of denominational representatives, and the actual empirical situation as uncovered in this study, may be expressed by noting that each level of the church, local and supra-local, operates on assumptions which are inherent in their respective situations.

The permeating tone of denominational expression is in terms of service to the locality. Locality here is not limited to a geographical area of a particular number of blocks extending each direction from the church building. But locality does have some geographic connotations. From this point of view, the church is in a particular location, and is in business to attempt, at least, to meet the needs of persons in proximity to that location. A change in the type of persons living in the area may present new opportunities and a new challenge to the church. In this event, the church is called upon,

first of all, to be aware of changes so that they may be met as a normal event, not as an emergency. In facing change, and its accompanying challenge, the church is not expected to turn itself inside out, with a complete turnover of membership and leadership. Rather, it is the hope of denominational leaders, that an understanding of "the ministry of the church" will bring together the church as it is, and the neighborhood as it is becoming, in a positive, cooperative life.

The tone of congregational expression often operates on the basis of another assumption, which might be stated as the maintenance of the status quo, or as loyalty to those who founded the church. As we have seen, individual churches usually attract persons from a rather restricted portion of the social scale. If there are people who are compatible with the social range of the church nearby, then the church willingly centers its concern on its neighborhood. If the people who fit the church are scattered through the city, then the church seeks to draw its members from the wider area.

The point of these paragraphs is that both local groups and denominational officials describe the service area of the church as "the community." But denominational people think of community in terms with spatial overtones; local congregations think of community in terms of types of people.

When churches have relocated in the city of Lansing, the congregational definition of community has prevailed. The result is that our thesis, as stated in Chapter II, must be modified if it is to more accurately reflect the actual situation. The corrected thesis will be stated following the summary of the hypotheses in the next, concluding chapter.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This dissertation has been the report of a study done among the churches of the Lansing Area. The study grew out of an interest in a common phenomenon, the relocation of churches from one site to another in the urban area. Growing out of the readings, and based on the theories developed by other students of sociology of religion, the general thesis was formulated: structural factors of the community play a larger role than do structural factors of the organization in the processes of church relocation in the urban area.

The study was carried out in the Lansing, Michigan area for several reasons: (a) it is a relatively small city, a type of urban area not often studied by those concerned with the institution of organized religion; (b) it is a large enough urban area to provide a variety of churches to cover a wide range of the total spectrum of possible sizes and types; (c) it was the most feasible area available to the author, because of limitations of time and resources; (d) over a period of months preceding the study, the author had developed a high rapport with churchmen in the area, heightening the possibilities of cooperation for the study in question.

A sample of 100 churches was established, from an original selection of 110 churches. These churches were chosen on a

stratified random sample basis, in such a way as to provide (1) churches of each polity type—congregational, presbyterian, and episcopal, and (2) churches to fit each of three types of experience: (a) those which have completed the relocation process since 1950, (b) those currently involved in the relocation process, and (c) those which have not been involved in relocation in any way since 1950. Perhaps significantly, no churches appeared in a fourth possible category: churches which have considered relocation but have decided to remain in their original location.

Several types of measurement were developed and/or used in the study: (a) a measure of the present spatial distribution of various church types within the urban area; (b) a measure of the distribution of church member families, relative to the location of their respective churches; (c) social area analysis, originally developed by Shevky and Bell; (d) an index of the social rank of church groups, based on occupational and educational characteristics of church members; (e) the type of polity existent in the church; (f) a measure of the internal organization of the church, expressed in terms of organizational complexity; and (g) the size of church, alternatively determined by the number of individual members, and by the number of member families.

The Hypotheses

To provide a test for the general thesis, seven specific hypotheses were formulated on the basis of the theoretical work outlined in Chapter I. These hypotheses, and a summary of results, are presented here.

1. There will be a tendency for churches in the urban area

to be grouped together in clusters in their general distribution.

When the totality of churches in the Lansing Area are plotted on a map of the city, slightly over one fourth (57 of a total of 203) are found in four general clusters. Of the churches within the city limits, nearly one-third are in one or another of these four groupings, supporting the generalized expectation of a tendency toward clustering.

2. Churches will tend to be grouped together in their distribution on the indices of social areas.

Approached from this point of view, distribution in relation to social areas, there is a definite grouping of churches in the area just above the mid-point on the economic index of social area. Over 61 per cent of the churches located within the tracted areas of the cities of Lansing and East Lansing fall at this point. In addition, 145 of 181 churches in the tracted areas fall below the mid-point on the family structure index. The concentration of churches within these limits on the social area indices provides support for the hypothesis.

3. The majority of church members will live either in the social areas in which the church building is located, or in social areas with characteristics similar to those of the social area in which the church building is located.

In testing this hypothesis, an index of social rank for the churches was developed, and used in conjunction with (a) a measure of the distribution of church families in relation to the location of the buildings of the respective congregations, and (b) social area analysis.

Results of the analysis showed 80 per cent of the churches fit the expected pattern. Analysis by polity type and size of church

provided no clues for understanding the 20 per cent deviance. However, a combination of factors related to the history of the church, and factors inherent in the nature of the small city served to illuminate four-fifths of the discrepancy. These churches were established twenty years or more ago, and though members may have moved away, access in the city, because of its size, causes no great problem, and these factors, together with natural changes occurring in the local church community, would well account for the differences from the pattern hypothesized. With the qualification spelled out here, the third hypothesis is also regarded as being supported.

4. Relocating churches will tend to move from their previous locations to social areas with the same social area ratings, or to social areas with a higher economic status score, or with a lower family structure score.

Reference is made here to the economic status and family structure indices of social area analysis. All but one of the relocated churches fit the expected pattern perfectly. Those which moved out of their own social area moved to economically higher areas, which might mean an attempt at social mobility, or more probably, indicates that churches move to the developing, less congested areas of the city, which also tend to be areas with higher land values. Higher land values, in turn, attract persons who have a higher economic advantage or potential. Those moving to areas with lower family structure scores are going to areas with more children, fewer working women, and more single-family housing—a good description of contemporary family life in suburbia. Movement in these directions is completely consistent with the concentration of churches in social areas in the lower right

quadrant of the social area diagram (cf. Figure 3); thus, this hypothesis is supported.

5. It is expected that churches will move outward, from the center of the city to the periphery.

With regard to the direction of movement in geographical terms, it was found that over half of the relocations took place within the same general area of the original site. Twenty-seven of thirty-seven churches moved outward. Four of the remaining churches made moves that put them about the same distance from the center of the city, and six made moves which placed them nearer the central business district. This hypothesis is not supported fully, but there is a strong minority trend which provides partial support.

6. Churches of different polity types will have different patterns of relocation: congregational and non-denominational churches will move most often, episcopal churches least often.

Since over half (54 per cent) of the congregational polity churches have relocated since 1950, and only a little more than a third (38 per cent) of episcopal polity churches have relocated, the hypothesis is accepted as indicating the direction of the relation of polity to relocation. However, there was an important discrepancy in this regard in the case of non-denominational churches, as they did not follow the expected pattern.

7. In justifying relocation, churches will give mostly "community-oriented" reasons for making a move.

Investigation of the catalogue of reasons given for relocation provided none which probably could not somehow be interpreted as "community-related," either explicitly or implicitly. However, since only

20 per cent of the reasons given were directly "community-oriented," the hypothesis is not accepted.

In working through the problem of this dissertation, the importance of the polity structure of the churches has been confronted at several points. The importance of the factor of polity, with and sometimes above the factors of size of church, age of church, and budget, indicate that polity is a variable which may not have received proper attention by sociologists studying the church as a social institution.

Polity has proved to work its effect so powerfully that the author believes the original thesis should be modified to take account of its power. The modified thesis stated as the result of this thesis, and suggested as a beginning point of further study reads: the more power which the polity structure places in the denomination, the less influential will be the role of community structural factors; the more power which the polity structure places in the local congregation, the more influential will be the role of community structural factors.

Conclusions

Guided by the theoretical perspectives which set the framework for this study, and on the basis of the data presented in the preceding pages, our task now is to point to some of the implications of the study.

The jumping-off point for the study was an assumption, explicit in the literature, that churches are, or should be, closely related to their social environment. The assumption was operative in the work of sociologists studying the church in the 1930's--men like Douglass and

Sanderson. It continues to be operative in the work of contemporary writers studying the institutional church—Winter, Wilson, and Myers. There is empirical verification of the validity of the assumption in the study of St. Louis done by Foley. In addition, the few contacts which the author has had with zoning ordinances and city planning boards indicate that the assumption of close church-neighborhood ties plays an important role in the thinking of persons whose work causes them to deal with the church as an institution in society.

As we have traced through the relation of various dimensions of community, with particular reference to the matter of church relocation, one of the items we have noted is the confusion in the conception of "community" which operates at different levels of the religious organization. For the most part, denominational representatives insist on talking of community in terms that have rather definite locality overtones. When local church people speak of community, they are just as apt to be talking about community in terms that carry connotations of specific types of people.

The confusion resulting from these differences in definition of the same concept are likely to appear in force in a small city like Lansing. By the very nature of the city, with its growing edges three to five miles from the center, with thoroughfares to provide quick and easy access to most points within the urban area, concepts which grow in metropolitan contexts lose their applicability. The principles, laid down by the denomination, speak in terms of one or two miles as the center of the church's life and constituency. The local pastor sees anyone within the urban area who is "compatible" to his congregation as prey for his hunting.

To complicate matters still more, the same type of confusion of concepts operates within the local church. At one level, the minister may, with no hesitation, define the entire city as his community, or service area. At another level, and at the same time, the program of the church is heavily oriented to children and youth, who are eagerly sought from the immediate area around the church building. The strength of this conclusion rests on the provision by all churches for Sunday Church School classes for children, but not always for adults, and the emphasis on youth-directed activities which has been pointed up in Chapter V.

If these interpretative statements delineating the lack of any clear-cut conception of community on the part of the church have validity, it does not seem too strange that there is some disparity in the mutual attitudes of churches and their neighborhoods.

There are implications, from the types of neighborhood-oriented activities offered, that even here the church has adopted an attitude of exploitation to the people it seeks to serve. Programs are based on the idea of the returns they will produce. That is, youth programs are mounted because the church needs to "do something" about youth—but also because this is an excellent potential for added membership. Another implication which may be derived from the types of neighborhood-oriented activities offered, is that churches do not have a very clear awareness of the kinds of people who surround them. If they did know the people around them surely a few besides the large "First" churches in the capital area would venture into avenues beyond those trodden by youth.

Turning to another aspect of our study of church-community

relation, the efforts to delineate the association of churches and social areas were only partially successful in our investigation. Again, there appear to be features of the size of Lansing as a city which mitigate against the power of social area analysis as an analytic tool. The social position of church members need not be closely correspondent to that of the church location because of the ease of access within the city and its environs. There are strong indications that historical changes occurring in local areas affect the church only slightly, as membership potential is not restricted to that changing local area.

This study is the first known to the author where social area analysis was used in a small city. Though we suspect that its weakness for our study is related to the size of city, other studies using social area analysis in non-metropolitan areas will be necessary before the suspicion can be confirmed.

A second major area of interpretation which rises from this project may be presented in the specification of what appear to be conditions of relocation. Here we may look at the types of pressures which appear to lead most directly to the possibility of relocation being raised, and often carried through to completion.

The most obvious of these conditions is the need for space. A church may develop the feeling of being cramped or squeezed in its present location through the operation of several factors: (1) the growth of the membership, till present space is overrun; (2) changing standards of space adequacy, which make available space seem small, even though it was satisfactory for a membership of the same size twenty or twenty-five years ago; or (3) changes in modes of transportation,

with large numbers of automobiles demanding space that was necessary in the days when constituents walked, or used public mass transportation facilities. Problems growing from extensive use of the automobile for transportation may be compounded by changing standards of required parking space which are enforced by zoning boards and planning commissions.

A second condition for relocation may arise when a church becomes aware of the changing neighborhood around the church building. The change may be of varied sorts: (1) the growing density of a different religious group; (2) a larger number of minority racial or ethnic peoples; (3) a long-time general deterioration of property in the neighborhood; (4) a nearby urban renewal project; or (5) industrial or commercial development in a former residential area. This list is intended to be suggestive, not exhaustive.

Changes in the neighborhood are especially likely to act as a condition predisposing relocation if it is coupled with an attitude of loyalty to the "founding fathers" of the church—or an attitude of the preservation of the status quo—in keeping the church for the "right kind" of people.

Still another condition operating to enhance the possibilities of relocation is the sighting of "greener pastures" somewhere else in the urban area. These new fields, ripe for harvest (to mix a metaphor) are apt to be seen in the fast-growing developments on the fringes of the city. Two or three hundred new homes, in an area without a church nearby, provides a temptation which may be too good to pass by. One suspects that the temptation would be especially strong for a church that has long been stabilized at a given level of growth, or that has

experienced a recent drop in membership.

One more condition of relocation is the nature of local church-denomination relations. Polity systems which are tightly knit may retard relocation; those which are quite loose may have little or no effect.

The predictive power of any of these conditions of relocation is hard to gauge. To arrive at greater predictive power, an in-depth study, following a group of churches over a period of time, would be highly desirable. For now, we can surely say that the greater the conjunction of the conditions outlined, the greater the likelihood that a church will move its location.

The third area to be explored in this interpretive fashion concerns the alternatives open to a church when the conditions of relocation become operative. We recognize here that, however great the pressures, relocation is not automatic. It is a long, sometimes painful, nearly always expansive process. The difficulties ought to cause some concern for other possible avenues open to the church.

There is very little in the data of the present study to suggest that the alternatives presented by Douglass are greatly changed (cf. Chapter I).

While it would be difficult to predict which alternative a church is likely to select when the conditions of relocation prevail, the experiences of the churches in the Lansing Area, based on the results of the present study, indicates that relocation, or a seeking of people of its own kind, either near or far at hand, will be easiest and most attractive. These alternatives are also likely to cause the least disruption and confusion to the image in which the church has

conceived itself.

If these alternatives actually are chosen, our data on the relation of the church to social areas do suggest the possibility, within limits, of knowing in advance the general area of the city which will appear most attractive, either as a field for relocation, or as a field of search for additional members.

There are some interesting features of the church-community relationship which have not been part of this study, but which, by their very nature, play their part. Primary among these is the peculiar situation of the church and its relation to government.

In contrast to schools, the other so-called "community" institution, the churches enjoy a kind of "second-class citizen" position. The school is closely tied to the city governing bodies, and supported by public funds. These funds, spent in the interest of the public welfare, ensure that school facilities shall be so placed that all persons of proper age have access to them. By its position, the school must of necessity be aware of, and react to, the nature of the community around it. At the same time, the school has opportunity to wield its influence within the bounds of its neighborhood.

Churches, on the other hand, are also thought of as community institutions. Nearly everyone agrees that the church is necessary. However, for all the good influence that a church may bring, it is prohibited by law from receiving public funds for its support and activity. The necessity for private support means then, in a very practical sense, that the church seeks out, and is prone to follow, those who willingly contribute to its support.

Both school and church property are tax-exempt. Both are

community-centered institutions. But at this point the differences become more important than the similarities. Because the school is supported by public tax funds drawn from localized districts, it must necessarily be tuned to its neighborhood. Because the church is not supported by public tax funds, local or otherwise, it is freed from either being required to direct the focus of its activity to its neighborhood, or from being obligated to be influenced by the characteristics of its neighborhood.

These differences are reflected by the attitude of the general population toward the two institutions. Witness, for instance, the general furor raised when a school consolidation, or a change in school district boundaries is proposed. People get up in arms, sides are chosen, hearings are held, and sometimes, bitter, long-lasting feuds develop. But when a church relocates, or two congregations join in a merger, hardly a ripple breaks the smooth countenance of public concern.

Sociologists who work in the field of community study, or those who study various institutions in the community setting, should be aware of the implications of these differences in community-institution relationships. We have seen consistently in these pages that the church is guided in its behavior by broad and general community features—social class, occupational groupings, land values, racial and ethnic concentrations, to mention some examples. But it is equally evident that features of the church, as an organization, particularly those centered in the structures of polity have a profound bearing on the roles which the community features play. In fact the nature of the church as an organization, moves community factors to a modifying

role.

Suggestions for Further Study

From the experiences and results of this study, the author would suggest the following as possible areas of research which will add to the total understanding of the community, and the church as a social institution:

1. The usefulness of social area analysis for study of small cities should be investigated through research which may use it as an analytical tool in the understanding of social change. This may be done by studying the church or other social institutions, such as schools, in other cities of 150,000 population or less. It might be done by using social area analysis in studies of community conflict, a present area of concern to sociologists.

2. In-depth case studies of churches with demonstrated differences in their relation to their communities, to discover the salient features of community conceptions operative at different levels of church leaders, elg., lay leaders, clergy, and denominational representatives. Through such studies a more adequate typology of alternatives to relocation may be developed.

3. Comparative studies of the church-community associations developed here, designed to discover the precise nature of differences in these associations, and the strength of their operation, across the range of population distributions, from rural to metropolitan.

4. Studies of the organizational nature of churches, using polity as the independent variable, to discover the limits of usefulness which this factor plays as a determining factor in the behavior and activity of religious organizations.

APPENDIX A

Denominations Included in Sample, Listed by Polity Type

| Congregational | Episcopal |
|---|--|
| Assembly of God | African Methodist Episcopal |
| Baptist | Church of God in Christ |
| Christian Church (Disciples
of Christ) | Church of The Latter Day Saints
Episcopal |
| Church of Christ | Evangelical United Brethren |
| Church of Christ, Scientist | Greek Orthodox |
| Church of God | Methodist |
| Congregational | Pilgrim Holiness |
| Free Methodist | Roman Catholic |
| Lutheran | Salvation Army |
| Orthodox Jewish | |
| Pentecostal | |
| United Church | |
| United Missionary | |
| Independent | Presbyterian |
| Bible Church | Christian Reformed |
| Church of Christ | Nazarene |
| Gospel Tabernacle | Pentecostal |
| Trinity | Presbyterian |
| Wayside Chapel | Reorganized Church of Latter
Day Saints |

APPENDIX B

Computational Procedures for Social Area Analysis

The social position of a census tract population as determined within this framework is a function of three basic dimensions: social rank, urbanization, and segregation. The position of a tract with respect to social rank and urbanization is shown graphically when plotted on a system of rectangular co-ordinates, with social rank as the horizontal axis and urbanization as the vertical axis. In order to group tracts with similar social positions with respect to social rank and urbanization, the plane in which a given number of tracts is thus plotted is segmented. Each segment is called a social area. Tracts plotted in one social area comprise a single type in the classification. The third dimension, segregation, is introduced to distinguish differences among tracts in a given social area as defined by social rank and urbanization.

The data required for this study were all given in:

U. S. Bureau of the Census. U. S. Censuses of Population and Housing: 1960. Census Tracts. Final Report PHC (1)-73.
U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962.

The standard score provided by the computational procedures below provide a standardization of the present data to their ranges for the Los Angeles Area in 1940. This is a standard procedure in social area analysis as it has been used by all who have used the technique. This has provided a single scale which allows for direct comparison of census tract scores on the respective indices for different cities at

the same time, or for the same city at different times. This standardization does provide the possibility of standard scores falling below 0 or above 100. The practice followed in this case is to group tracts outside the social space diagram with the nearest social area.¹

I. For each census tract compile the basic data and compute the ratios for the indexes of social rank, urbanization, and segregation. Compute the standard scores and combine these into index scores as indicated below:

A. Economic Status

1. Occupation ratio (total number of craftsmen . . . , operatives . . . , and laborers . . . per 1,000 employed persons). (In 1950 add males and females in these occupational categories.)
 - a) Add:
 - (1) "Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers"
 - (2) "Operative and kindred workers"
 - (3) "Laborers" ("Laborers, except mine" in 1950 census)
 - b) Subtract the total number of persons with "Occupation not reported" from the total number of persons "Employed" "Employed (exc. on pub. emerg. works)" in 1940 census .
 - c) Divide the total number of craftsmen . . . , operatives . . . , and laborers by the above difference.
 - d) Multiply the above quotient by 1,000.
2. Occupation standard score
 - a) Substitute in standard score formula:
$$\text{Occupation score} = 100 - x(r-0)$$
where
$$x = .1336898$$
$$0 = 0$$
$$r = \text{Occupation ratio for each census tract}$$
3. Education ratio (number of persons who have completed no more than grade school per 1,000 persons 25 years old and over)
 - a) Add number of persons 25 years old and over who have had only eight years of schooling or less.
 - b) Subtract the total number of persons with "School years not reported" from the total number of "Persons

¹Shevsky and Bell, op. cit., p. 67.

- 25 years and over."
- c) Divide the total number of persons completing only elementary school or less by the above difference.
 - d) Multiply the quotient by 1,000.

4. Education standard score

- a) Substitute in standard score formula:
Education score = $100 - x(r-0)$
where
x = .1298701
0 = 130
r = Education ratio for each census tract

5. Social rank index

- a) Compute a simple average of the occupation and education standard scores. The average is the index of Economic Status.

B. Family Status

1. Fertility ratio (number of children under 5 years per 1,000 females age 15 through 44)

- a) Record total number of persons "Under 5 years."
(For 1950 add the number of males and females "Under 5 years.")
- b) Add the number of females in the age range 15 through 44.
- c) Divide the total number of children under 5 by the total number of females age 15 through 44.
- d) Multiply the quotient by 1,000.

2. Fertility standard score

- a) Substitute in standard score formula:
Fertility score = $100 - x(r-0)$
where
x = .1661130
0 = 9
r = Fertility ratio for each census tract

3. Women in the labor force ratio (the number of females in the labor force per 1,000 females 14 years old and over)

- a) Record number of females "14 years old and over" who are in the "Labor force."
- b) Divide the above by the total number of females "14 years old and over."
- c) Multiply the quotient by 1,000. (In 1940 the per cent of women in the labor force was given

as a summary figure. If 1940 data are used,
multiply by 10 to convert to ratio.)

4. Women in the labor force standard score

a) Substitute in standard score formula:

Women in the labor force score = $x(r-0)$

where

$x = .2183406$

$0 = 86$

r = Women in the labor force ratio for each
census tract

5. Single-family detached dwelling units ratio (the number
of single-family dwelling units per 1,000 dwelling units
of all types)

a) Record number of "1 dwelling unit, detached (includes
trailers)" in 1950 census. (The definition in 1940
was "1-family detached" dwelling units.)

b) Divide by total of "All dwelling units."

c) Multiply the quotient by 1,000.

6. Single-family detached dwelling units standard score

a) Substitute in standard score formula:

S.F.D.U. score = $100 - x(r-0)$

where

$x = .1006441$

$0 = 6$

r = Single-family detached dwelling units ratio

7. Urbanization index

a) Compute a simple average of the fertility, women in
the labor force, and single-family dwelling units
standard scores. The average is the index of Family
Status.

C. The Index of Segregation

1. Add the number of persons designated "Negro"; "Other
Races"; and "foreign-born white" from "Poland,"
"Czechoslovakia," "Hungary," "Yugoslavia," "U.S.S.R.,"
"Lithuania," "Finland," "Rumania," "Greece," "Italy,"
"Other Europe," "Asia," "French Canada," "Mexico," and
"Other America."

2. Divide the above sum by the total population in each
tract.

3. Multiply the above quotient by 100 to obtain the index
of segregation for each census tract.

As useful as social area analysis may be for certain purposes, like all techniques of study used by social scientists, it has its defects and its limitations. The most critical and searching outline of questions raised against social area analysis is that made by Hawley and Duncan.¹ In their article they do not question the limited usefulness of the technique. Rather their criticism is directed at some gaps in the theoretical formulations underlying social area analysis.

The criticisms raised fall under the heading of three questions. We shall here review the questions, and the substance of the argument presented by Hawley and Duncan.

1. What is a "social area"? There is confusion as to whether social area analysis is to be used for classifying only geographical units, or whether "population aggregates delimited otherwise than territorially are also considered suitable for the technique."² If proposed for the latter, then the proponents of the scheme "are guilty of producing confusion and espousing a prematurely closed systems."³ What appears to have happened is that social area analysis classifies geographical units (census tracts), calling these social areas, and then it is maintained that these categories have no necessary geographic or areal reference. In addition, the critics note that by the nature of the system, only such variables as are available through census data are allowed. The fault here is that

to propose that three "dimensions" derived from these data provide an adequate framework for urban sociological

¹Amos H. Hawley and Otis Dudley Duncan, "Social Area Analysis: A Critical Appraisal," Land Economics, XXXIII (November, 1957), pp. 337-345.

²Ibid., p. 337. ³Loc. cit.

studies is dangerous, to say the least, for it is well known that the considerations determining what information is tabulated for census tracts are only partly, if at all, related to a theory of urban social structure¹

2. What is the nature of the "social areas" that have been identified empirically? Hawley and Duncan say that Shevky and Bell make a false claim when they write that ". . . the social area generally contains persons having the same level of living, the same way of life, and the same ethnic background."² If the population of a tract is 75 per cent white and 25 per cent Negro, the designation of the tract as "segregated" does not justify a claim for ethnic homogeneity. Homogeneity within social areas can only be understood in a relative sense, and only to a moderate degree.³

3. What theoretical justification is there for "social area analysis" as a method of studying the differentiation of residential areas in the city? The answer here, as Hawley and Duncan see the matter is that "no such justification has been provided."⁴ To fill this gap, they offer four possible approaches which might be used as a means of explaining the logical basis of the concept.

The four approaches to the pursuit of "social areas" may be described as follows: First, the concept of "social area" may emerge more or less directly from empirical observation and classification with no discernable theoretical basis. Second, the anticipation of "social areas" in the city may derive analogically from the region concept. Third, the "social area" hypothesis may be a deduction from stratification theory. And fourth, the presence of "social areas" might be inferred from a conception of urban organization as a system of functionally interdependent units.⁵

In addition to these criticisms, the present author has listed

¹Ibid., p. 338. ²Shevky and Bell, op. cit., p. 20.

³Hawley and Duncan, op. cit., p. 339. ⁴Loc. cit.

⁵Ibid., p. 340.

others, centering on the names of the constructs, in Chapter I. Social area analysis has been used in this dissertation as a descriptive devise, for providing some order in understanding the social environment in which churches operate, and to which churches, as organizations, are related. The technique has proved of some value in this respect. As with many of the tools drawn from the sociologists bag of tricks, one can use the tool, without becoming deeply involved in the theoretical grounds of its invention.

APPENDIX C

Interview Schedule

1. In what year was this congregation organized? _____
2. How long have you been pastor of this church? _____
3. How many persons are included in the membership of this church, excluding children under 14? _____
4. What is the total number of the constituency of the church?
(Members plus others for whom the church is responsible, such as children in Sunday Church School, non-members who attend, homebound persons, etc.) _____
5. How many family units are included in the membership of the church?
(A family unit includes members of one family living together under one roof.) _____
6. How many family units are included in the total constituency?

7. What are your membership requirements?
8. Do you have a statement of membership requirements? GET ONE IF YOU CAN

_____ No

_____ Yes ATTACHED

9. What per cent of your church membership falls into each of these age groups?

| | |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| _____1. Under 18 (under college age) | _____4. Between 50 and |
| _____2. Between 19 and 34 | 64 |
| _____3. Between 35 and 49 | _____5. 65 and over |

10. How many of the total membership are active? ACTIVE IS DEFINED AS EITHER MAKING A REGULAR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CHURCH, OR ATTENDING WORSHIP SERVICES AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH, OR BOTH.

_____No. _____%

11. What was the number of members in this church five years ago? _____

12. What was the number of members in this church ten years ago? _____

13. In what year did your congregation have its largest membership?

How many members was that? _____

14. What per cent of the men in your church, as accurately as you know, are in each of these employment groups? BE SURE TO NOTE THAT THESE ARE OCCUPATIONAL, NOT INCOME, GROUPS.

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| _____1. White collar (Professionals, managers, proprietors,
clerks, bookkeepers, etc.) | |
| _____2. Blue collar (Factory and manufacturing employees, truck
drivers, service employees, laborers, etc.) | |
| _____3. Unemployed | _____4. Retired |

15. How many women are there in your church membership? _____

16. What per cent of these women work away from home, either part-time or full-time? _____%

17. Does your membership include Negroes? OR WHITES _____ No _____ Yes
What per cent of the total do they represent? _____%
18. Do you have any First or Second Generation immigrants who are part
of your membership? _____ No _____ Yes
What per cent of the total membership do they represent? _____%
From where have they come? _____
19. What per cent of your membership, as accurately as you know, is in
each of these educational groups?
_____ 1. Grade school only _____ 4. College graduate
_____ 2. High school only _____ 5. Graduate degree
_____ 3. Some college or trade school
20. How many worship services does your church regularly have each
Sunday during the school year? _____ Morning _____ Evening
21. What is the total average winter attendance at worship services?
(Including children) _____ Morning _____ Evening
22. What is the seating capacity of your sanctuary? _____
23. How many Sunday Church School classes do you have? _____
24. How many of these are for adults? _____
25. What is the total average Sunday Church School attendance?

26. What is the average for adults? _____

THE FOLLOWING SECTION ON FINANCES WILL NOT BE APPLICABLE TO CATHOLIC
CHURCHES. FOR THESE GROUPS MOVE ON TO QUESTION 35 AND FOLLOWING.

An important part of the life of a church involves the money they get and spend. Now I would like to ask you a few questions about this.

ENTER ONLY \$ FIGURES. WE WILL COMPUTE % LATER.

27. What was your total budget (or total expenditures) last year,
for all purposes? _____

28. How much did you spend for buildings and property?

\$ _____ %

29. How much of this was for mortgage payments, dept retirement?

\$ _____ %

30. How much of this money for buildings and property was spent for
buildings other than the church building itself? (parsonage,
schools, etc.)

\$ _____ %

31. How much did you spend for salaries (including "fringe benefits")?

THIS WILL BE THE TOTAL FROM 32 AND 33. \$ _____ %

32. How much of this was for the pastor? RECORD EXACT FIGURE IF
GIVEN, OTHERWISE CHECK THE RIGHT CATEGORY.

- ____ 1. Under \$3000
____ 2. \$3000-\$5999
____ 3. \$6000-\$9999
____ 4. \$10,000 and above \$ _____ %

Parsonage _____

Car Allowance _____

Other (gifts, insur-
ance, conven-
tion, utilities
etc.) _____

TOTAL \$ _____ %

33. How much was paid for other staff persons?

Assistant pastor (or
DRE) _____

Secretary _____

Musicians _____

Janitor _____

Other _____

TOTAL \$ _____ %

34. How much did your church give to missions and benevolences last year? \$_____ %

Now there are some things I need to know about your church building, that is, the place where your congregation holds its regular services.

35. Do you meet for worship in a regular church building?

_____ No

What type of building is it?

- | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ 1. A home | _____ 4. A lodge hall |
| _____ 2. A (vacant) house | _____ 5. A school |
| _____ 3. A store building | _____ 6. Other _____ |

Does the congregation own the building?

_____ No _____ Yes

_____ Yes

How many of each of these kinds of rooms do you have?

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------|
| _____ 1. Sanctuary (chapel) | _____ 5. Other offices |
| _____ 2. Class rooms | _____ 6. Kitchen |
| _____ 3. Fellowship (dining) | _____ 7. One room only |
| _____ 4. Pastor's study | _____ 8. Other _____ |

36. Would you say that the physical condition of your church is

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------|
| _____ 1. Excellent | _____ 3. Fair |
| _____ 2. Good | _____ 4. Poor |

37. Do you have enough room for all your needs?

_____ Yes

_____ No What type of facilities or rooms are most needed?

38. Do you have off-street parking facilities?

_____ No

_____ Yes For how many cars? _____

39. What is the current value of your church property (including buildings, land, and permanent fixtures)? \$ _____

40. Does your church have a parsonage?

_____ No

_____ Yes What is its value? \$ _____

Many churches fell that it is quite important to know something about their neighborhood and to be on good terms with the people who live around them. However, other churches feel that this is not necessary because of the way their members are distributed through the city. Would you tell me a few things about the neighborhood around your church? For instance:

41. HAND RESPONDENT A MAP WITH HIS CHURCH MARKED ON IT.

Will you draw the approximate boundaries of what you consider to be your neighborhood on this map? IF HE CANNOT, AND MAKES ANY COMMENTS, RECORD HERE.

42. How would you describe the area right around your church? Or to be more specific, would you say that it is predominantly

_____ 1. Residential _____ 3. Industrial
_____ 2. Commercial _____ 4. Mixed WHICH ONES _____
_____ 5. Other _____

43. What kinds of houses are in this area (predominantly)?

_____ 1. Single family _____ 4. Apartments (Pre-WW II)
_____ 2. Duplex _____ 5. Apartments (new)
_____ 3. Apartments _____ 6. Trailer homes
(Converted Homes) _____ 7. Other

44. How would you describe the condition of these homes?

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| _____ 1. New | _____ 4. Good |
| _____ 2. Middle-aged | _____ 5. Moderate |
| _____ 3. Old | _____ 6. Blighted |

45. What types of families are predominant in the neighborhood?

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| _____ 1. Young families | _____ 4. Young single persons |
| _____ 2. Middle-aged families | _____ 5. All ages mixed |
| _____ 3. Aged families (widows,
etc.) | _____ 6. Other _____ |

46. Occupationally speaking, what kind of people predominate?

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ 1. White collar | _____ 3. Evenly mixed |
| _____ 2. Blue collar | _____ 4. Retired |

47. What kinds of business or commercial enterprises are predominant in the area?

- | | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| _____ 1. Stores and shops | _____ 5. Light industry |
| _____ 2. Offices | _____ 6. Heavy industry |
| _____ 3. Filling stations | _____ 7. Other _____ |
| _____ 4. Warehouses | _____ 8. None |

That tells us something about the kind of neighborhood in which your church is located. Now I would like to have some ideas about the kinds of relations your church maintains with its neighborhood.

48. Are any church-sponsored activities especially designed for people living in the neighborhood? (Such as dinners, bazaars, rummage sales, special services)

_____ No

_____ Yes

What are they, and how well are they supported?

- | | Very well | Some | Little | None |
|----------|-----------|-------|--------|-------|
| 1. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 2. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 3. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 4. _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

49. Do any non-church groups use the church building for their meetings and activities? (Such as scouts, WCTU, service clubs, etc.)

_____ No

_____ Yes What are they?

- | | |
|----|----|
| 1. | 4. |
| 2. | 5. |
| 3. | 6. |

50. Does your church solicit the support of merchants in your neighborhood?

_____ No

_____ Yes In what ways?

1.
2.
3.
4.

51. To summarize, would you say that the neighborhood around the church is

| | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ 1. Supportive (attendance, | _____ 4. Unfriendly |
| _____ 2. Friendly | _____ 5. Antagonistic |
| _____ 3. Indifferent | _____ 6. Other _____ |

52. Would you like to give any further examples or illustrations of why you think so?

53. You have told me about the attitude of the neighborhood to the church; now would you say that the attitude of the church toward the neighborhood is

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| _____ 1. Supportive (actively | _____ 4. Unfriendly |
| _____ 2. Friendly | _____ 5. Antagonistic |
| _____ 3. Indifferent | _____ 6. Other _____ |

54. Would you like to give any further examples or illustrations of why you think this is so?

55. How many of your church members live in the neighborhood near the church? THIS MEANS WITHIN THE AREA HE HAS INDICATED ON THE MAP, OR WITHIN AN AREA 4-5 BLOCKS EACH WAY FROM THE CHURCH

_____ No. _____%

56. Would it be possible for me to get a list of the addresses of your church membership, so that I can get an accurate picture of where your people live in the Lansing area? IF THE CHURCH PUBLISHES A YEARBOOK, ASK FOR A COPY OF THAT. IF LIST IS NOT IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE, ARRANGE IF POSSIBLE TO GET IT WITHIN ONE WEEK.

57. Can you say in what ways the neighborhoods where your members live in other parts of the city are like, or different from the neighborhood in which the church is located? LET RESPONDENT ANSWER FIRST. IF VAGUE OR UNCERTAIN THEN PROBE FOR SUCH THINGS AS FAMILY TYPES, HOUSING TYPES, INDUSTRY, RESIDENCE, ETC.

_____ No response given

A. Alike

B. Different

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

Churches of different backgrounds and different history have some unique and interesting ways of doing things. I would like to know more about your church in this respect. Let's start rather broadly and then come back to your own congregation.

58. When was your denomination started? DOES NOT APPLY TO CATHOLICS OR JEWS _____ Where? (Europe or USA) _____

59. Would you describe the organization of your denomination as

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| _____ 1. Congregational | _____ 4. Mixed (which types) |
| _____ 2. Presbyterian | _____ |
| _____ 3. Episcopal | _____ 5. Not applicable |

60. How does the practice of your church compare with the accepted ideal on polity?

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| _____ 1. Very well | _____ 4. Not very much |
| _____ 2. Quite well | _____ 5. Not at all |
| _____ 3. Only moderately | _____ 6. Other _____ |

61. Do you have a chart showing the general structure of your denomination that I may have? IF NOT, WILL YOU DRAW A SKETCH OR DIAGRAM OF YOUR DENOMINATIONAL STRUCTURE HERE.

62. Do you have a chart showing the general organization and structure of your own local congregation that I may have? IF NOT, SHOW CARD. This card has marked on it many of the organizational parts that are found in local churches. Will you check those which your church has, and draw in connecting lines to show what relation they have to one another?

63. Will you briefly describe for me, in terms of the organization of your congregation, where action would be initiated, and where final action would be taken, on each of these items?

| | Initiation | Final Action |
|-----------------------------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Raising and spending money | | |
| 2. Changes in the worship service | | |

| 63. (Continued) | Initiation | Final Action |
|---|------------|--------------|
| 3. Distribution of Mission money | | |
| 4. Holding an Evangelistic meeting | | |
| 5. Special use of the church building or grounds | | |
| 6. Deciding what materials to use in the Sunday Church School | | |

64. What were the three most important decisions your church has made in the last five years? How were these handled? (i.e., where initiated, what steps taken to complete the decision)

| | |
|----|--|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |

65. What kinds of demands or requirements does your denomination impose on your congregation? For instance:

1. In the calling of a minister?

2. Financial levies or apportionments?

3. Program goals (in what areas)?

4. Program materials (including Church school literature)?

5. Others?

6. _____None

66. Are there any kinds of decisions, besides these we have just mentioned, which your congregation might make, which would require denominational review or approval? _____No

_____Yes

What are some examples?

1.

2.

3.

You may know that quite a few of the churches in the Lansing area have changed location in the last few years. I am interested now in finding out where your church might fit into this pattern.

67. Has your church been relocated since 1950?

_____No

_____Yes GO ON TO QUESTION 69

68. Has your church always been at its present location?

_____No

_____Yes GO ON TO QUESTION 72

69. At what other addresses has the church been located? And when?

- | | |
|----|-------|
| 1. | Date: |
| 2. | Date: |
| 3. | Date: |
| 4. | Date: |
| 5. | Date: |

70. What were the main reasons for moving at each of these times of change? IN SAME ORDER AS FOR QUESTION 69.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

71. Did the congregation meet in a regular church building at each of these locations?

 Yes

_____ No What type of building was used? IDENTIFY BY 1,2,
3,4,5, ABOVE.

_____ 1. A home _____ 4. A lodge hall

_____2. A (vacant) house_____5. A school

_____ 3. A (vacant) store _____ 6. Other _____

72. Is your church presently involved in some phase of the process of relocation?

No _____

Yes GO ON TO QUESTION 75

73. Are you thinking seriously about relocation in the near future?

Yes GO ON TO QUESTION 75

No SKIP OVER TO QUESTION 87

74. ASK THIS QUESTION IF CHURCH HAS RELOCATED SINCE 1950, OTHERWISE OMIT. Since you have moved since 1950, you may have a pretty good recollection of all that happened. You have already touched on this briefly, but will you tell me in more detail what reasons prompted you to make the move.

1.

2.

3.

4.

75. IF NOT NOW MOVING, OR CONTEMPLATING MOVING, OMIT.

Since you are moving, or contemplating moving, what are the reasons which make this seem necessary or advisable?

1.

2.

3.

4.

76. In making the decision to move, and the events which (have) followed, where did you go, or who did you ask for help or advice in these matters: SEE TABLE BELOW, AND ENTER ANSWERS THERE.

77. How would you evaluate the usefulness of each of the sources of assistance? ENTER ANSWERS IN CHART BELOW, USING THIS CODE:

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Very helpful | 3. A little helpful |
| 2. Somewhat helpful | 4. Not at all helpful |

78. How fully, have you used the assistance offered to you from each of these sources? ENTER ANSWERS ON CHART BELOW, USING THIS CODE:

- | | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. To the fullest | 3. Only a little |
| 2. Somewhat | 4. Not at all |

| Event or Problem Area | Who Asked
(76) | Usefulness
(77) | Used
(78) |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 1. Making the decision to relocate | | | |
| 2. Site selection | | | |
| 3. Buying or selling property | | | |
| 4. Architecture | | | |
| 5. Finances | | | |
| 6. Other SPECIFY | | | |

79. If you were to single out one person, or organization, who would you say had been most helpful to you, at any stage of the whole process of relocation?

80. In general, how important a part in the whole process of relocation was played (or is being played) by people from your denomination? PROBE FOR WHAT LEVELS OF THE DENOMINATION, WERE THEY ASKED TO TAKE PART BY THE CONGREGATION, WERE THEY INVOLVED AUTOMATICALLY, ETC.

81. Would you have been able to progress as well as you did without this denominational assistance? Why or Why not?

_____No

_____Yes

82. You may already have mentioned this, but if you needed financial assistance, how much did you borrow, and from whom?

\$ _____ From _____

83. What would you say were the greatest problems which were faced at each of these stages of the relocation process

1. Making the decision to relocate?

84. How were these resolved?

1. Resolution

83. Continued

84. Continued

| | |
|----------------------------------|----------------|
| 2. Early planning? | 2. Resolution? |
| 3. Moving from the old building? | 3. Resolution? |
| 4. Moving into the new building? | 4. Resolution? |
| 5. Since relocation? | 5. Resolution? |

85. As you have worked through (or are working through) the process of relocation, what do you now see as the most important advantages of the move?

86. Have you made any particular plans to realize these advantages?

| Advantages | Plans |
|------------|-------|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |
| 4. | |

87. IF CHURCH IS NOT RELOCATED SINCE 1950 OR RELOCATING, ASK
What do you see as the most promising advantages for your church
in this present location? ENTER BELOW

88. Briefly, what kinds of plans or programs are you planning or
carrying on to meet these advantages? ENTER BELOW

| Advantages | Plans/Programs |
|------------|----------------|
| 1. | |
| 2. | |
| 3. | |
| 4. | |

APPENDIX D

Denominational Policies Concerning Relocation

It has been recognized in this study, at least implicitly, that denominational policies should have some effect on the actions of local churches in the matter of site relocation. In order to get some picture from the denominational level as to what the policies are, and how well they operate, the author corresponded with seven denominational representatives, and representatives of the Lansing and Michigan Council of Churches.

The correspondence dealt with a series of questions, seven in number, regarding denominational policies, and denominational involvement with local churches considering relocation. Some excerpts from this correspondence are presented here.

Question 1. Do you, as a denomination, have any stated rules, regulations, principles, etc., which are used as a basis for working with churches considering relocation? If so, what are they?

The replies indicate that guidelines available are not in the form of stated rules or regulations, but rather take the nature of working principles. In general there is discouragement of relocation. The local church is encouraged to examine itself and its community to see if a change in program will not provide a renewal of the ministry of the congregation in its local area. If relocation seems desirable, congregations are encouraged, or required (depending on the authority of the denomination) to make careful surveys of

population, estimates of growth, and churches already in the area. Effort is made to make sure that the new area can support a church, and that undue competition with other churches is avoided.

Question 2. Do churches considering relocation generally come to you for council, advice, help, encouragement, or approval?

As might be expected, episcopal type denominations require that the congregation have denominational approval before any action can be taken. For all denominations, some consultation is normal.

Question 3. If so, at what stage of their considerations do they come to you: in the beginning, early, toward the end, after crucial decisions are already made?

In general, for the denominations surveyed by this letter, local congregations come for counsel early in their deliberations. It is not unusual for a church to move to a near stage of fait accompli, and then ask for a denominational blessing on their actions.

Question 4. With the understanding that each case should be judged on its own merits, do you have a general "posture" you assume as regards relocation; move as soon as possible? Stay as long as possible? What is your "position"?

There is unanimous agreement that local congregations should stay as long as possible in their original locations. The flavor of this feeling is indicated by these quotations:

So long as a church is able to adequately serve its community we encourage them to stay. No move can be made until a community survey is taken which would indicate whether our ministry should continue. It is our position that no community should be unchurched and consideration is given as to other churches in the area.

Congregations are urged to remain in their locations so long as they are needed there and so long as they can do effective work

there.

. . . the position of the church in general, would be to stay as long as possible in a place unless it seemed absolutely foolhardy to do so. In that case we would want to get out just as quick as we could and pick up the pieces.

Question 5. How deeply do you, or another denominational representative, generally become involved in matters of local church relocation? How deeply would you like to be involved?

Replies to this question largely reflect the polity of the church. Episcopal type denominations must approve all major decisions of the local group. Others range from a single consultation to active involvement in surveys and decision-making. In general the denominations want to have an active voice in the proceedings, from start to finish.

Question 6. Do you ever suggest to a church (before they come to you) that relocation might be a good idea?

Denominational representatives, aware that a few congregations are having some deep-seated problems, have suggested relocation to a church on their own initiative. However, the spirit in which this is done is reflected by this comment:

I have on occasion made the initial approach with possible relocation in mind, but I feel it unwise to state this as my purpose. The issue in my thinking is not location; the issue revolves about the form and function of the church and the nature and purpose of its mission. I therefore suggest to a church that rethinking its purpose might be a good idea.

Question 7. What do you, as a representative of your denomination, regard as adequate and/or justifiable grounds (or reasons) for relocation?

General agreement prevails among the men who answered these

queries on adequate grounds for relocation. They are succinctly summarized by one representative who replied:

- (a) government condemnation of the property (urban renewal, expressway right of way, etc.).
- (b) inadequate facilities or space for expansion.
- (c) removal of people (e.g., industrialization of a former residential community).
- (d) originally poor location (isolation from the community, too near other sister congregations, etc.).

One respondent added this strong statement:

. . . we favor relocation even in these instances only if the move can be accomplished in the same general area. . . . If a congregation no longer has a community to work . . . and cannot relocate in the same area without competing with existing churches. It is our view that the congregation should be dissolved and its members directed to affiliate with congregations in their communities.

And another stated explicitly: "We do not believe that changing cultural, social, ethnic or racial residence justify relocation."

If denominational representatives feel this strongly about the proper grounds for relocation, and the desirability of relocation in itself, it seems somewhat strange that relocation is actually happening at such a rapid rate (44 of 100 churches in the Lansing Area over a period of thirteen years). At least part of the reason for the difference as summed up by a congregational type denomination when he said, ". . . the choice to relocate is strictly that of the local church, thus our counsel is not always acceptable and they may relocate at their discretion." Thus, only those denominations which can muster enough authority to impose their position on the local church are likely to have their ideal—the local church serving its local area—very highly realized.

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