

Racial Diversity in U.S. Congregations, 1998-2019

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Abstract

Racially diverse congregations have become an important part of the American religious landscape. We use data from the National Congregations Study (NCS), notably including data from the fourth wave, collected in 2018-19, to examine 20 years of racial diversity in congregations. We find that racial diversity within congregations has increased substantially between 1998 and 2019. There are more congregations in which no one racial or ethnic group comprises more than 80 percent of the people, congregations' average diversity level has increased, and the percentage of all-white congregations has declined. Nearly a quarter of evangelical churches now have no one ethnic group constituting more than 80 percent of the people, a rate comparable to what we observe among Catholic churches. Moreover, congregations that meet this 80-percent threshold are more likely to be led by black clergy in 2019 than they were in 1998. We end with a note of caution about concluding that diverse congregations necessarily promote racial justice.

Keywords: race, diversity, multiracial congregations, religious tradition, National Congregations Study, religious trends

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INTRODUCTION

Race and religion have a complicated history in the United States. For generations, religious Americans participated in congregations that largely mirrored the racial segregation of society (Emerson and Smith 2000). However, prompted by increasing racial and ethnic diversity in U.S. society, especially since the 1960s, scholars have focused on the pace and dynamics of subsequent diversification across various settings and institutions, from neighborhoods to schools to businesses to religious organizations. This work has documented diversification (or not) in various settings and helped to test theories about race, ethnic relations, and subjugation (Butler and Moskos 1997; Christerson, Edwards, and Emerson 2005; Ellen 2001). What is more, given the highly checkered past of religion's involvement with racial segregation, inequality, and racism, scholars and practitioners have examined and debated religion's potential (or lack thereof) to counter racial divisions (Emerson and Smith 2000; Tisby 2019). One line of research that emerged at the turn of the 21st century, and that remains lively and productive today, focuses specifically on racially diverse congregations, investigating among other things whether such congregations promote change or reproduce racial inequality (Cobb et al. 2015; DeYoung et al. 2003; Dougherty and Huyser 2008; Edwards 2008; Edwards et al. 2013; Emerson 2006; Emerson and Kim 2003; Martí 2005; Polson and Dougherty 2019; Yancey 2003; Yancey and Emerson 2003).

The National Congregations Study (NCS) has been an important resource in the study of racially diverse congregations, especially for the key task of investigating the prevalence of such congregations in American society, trends in that prevalence, and factors correlated with being

racially diverse. After the NCS's 1998 debut (Chaves et al. 1999), researchers for the first time could assess racial diversity and its correlates in a national sample of congregations. At that time, only seven percent of U.S. congregations were multiracial, defined as congregations in which no one racial or ethnic group constitutes more than 80 percent of the congregation's participants (Emerson and Kim 2003). Later studies discovered a rising proportion of this sort of congregation as well as increasing racial and ethnic diversity within predominantly white congregations even when white people still constituted more than 80 percent of the congregation's people (Chaves 2017:24-28; Chaves and Anderson 2014; Dougherty and Emerson 2018; Edwards, Christerson, and Emerson 2013). Dougherty and Emerson (2018) also found that congregations with no one group constituting more than 80 percent of the people were increasingly likely to be led by black clergy, and they had increasing percentages of black parishioners and decreasing percentages of Latino parishioners in their pews. Previous research was able to examine these trends only through 2012, the year of the third NCS wave. We use data from the fourth wave of the NCS to examine trends in congregational racial diversity in the United States between 1998 and 2019, asking especially whether the growth in racially diverse congregations has continued or plateaued since 2012.

DATA AND METHODS

Data

We use all four waves of the National Congregations Study (Chaves et al. 2020a). Data collection occurred in 1998, 2006-2007, 2012, and 2018-2019. At each time period, the General Social Survey (GSS) – an in-person survey of a nationally representative sample of non-institutionalized, English- or Spanish-speaking adults conducted by NORC at the University of

Chicago (Smith et al. 2019) – asked respondents who said they attend religious services at least once a year where they attend. The congregations named by GSS participants constitute a nationally representative sample of U.S. congregations. NORC then contacted those congregations and interviewed a key informant, usually a clergy person or other leader, about the congregation’s people, programs, and characteristics. The cooperation rates of the four NCS surveys range from 74% to 87%; response rates range from 69% to 80%. Sample sizes are 1,234 in 1998, 1,506 in 2006-2007, 1,331 in 2012, and 1,262 in 2018-2019.

Both the GSS and the NCS began Spanish interviews in 2006. Neither interviews respondents in languages other than English or Spanish, but we do not think limiting interviews to these languages misses a large number of congregations in which the primary language is neither English nor Spanish. In the 2014-18 American Community Surveys, only 3 percent of the adult population did not speak Spanish and spoke English less than “very well” (U.S. Census Bureau 2018). And many, perhaps the vast majority, of congregations in which the primary language is neither English nor Spanish have someone who can serve as a key informant in one of those languages. In NCS Waves II-IV, only one congregation nominated for the NCS was excluded because no appropriate key informant spoke English or Spanish well enough to be interviewed. (This reason for possible nonparticipation was not recorded in 1998.) Moreover, in 1998, the only year in which the NCS asked about languages other than English or Spanish spoken at worship services, 3 percent of participating congregations conducted worship services solely or mainly in a language other than English or Spanish. These languages included Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Creole, Hebrew, Korean, Punjabi, Tongan, and Ukrainian. So congregations in which the predominant language is something other than English or Spanish are represented in the NCS. Still, such congregations probably are slightly under-represented, and if they are less

ethnically diverse than other congregations, then the prevalence of racially and ethnically diverse congregations may be slightly overestimated.

The probability that a congregation appears in the NCS is proportional to its size: larger congregations are more likely to be in the sample than smaller congregations. Using weights to retain or undo this over-representation of larger congregations corresponds to viewing these data either from the perspective of attendees at the average congregation (when weighting by *wt_all4_attendee*) or from the perspective of the average congregation without respect to its size (when weighting by *wt_all4_cong_dup*). We employ one or the other of these weights in all of our analyses. See Chaves et al. (2020b) and the online NCS codebook for more detailed methodological information about the NCS.

Measuring Racial Diversity

In all four waves, the NCS asked key informants to report the percentage of regular adult participants who are non-Hispanic white, black or African American, Hispanic or Latino, and Asian or Pacific Islander. The way in which other ethnicities were asked about varied across waves. For congregations with incomplete racial/ethnic participant information, we used region, denomination, clergy race, languages used in worship services, worship style, and ethnic group variables to impute these percentages, creating five variables that we recalibrated so that they always sum to 100: percent white, percent black, percent Latino, percent Asian, and percent other races/ethnicities. (See Dougherty and Emerson 2018:28 for more details about these imputation and recalibration procedures.) We then used these percentages to construct four measures of racial diversity in congregations. Three of these measures are categorical. One distinguishes multiracial congregations, defined as those in which the largest racial or ethnic

group comprises 80 percent or fewer of participants, from congregations with one predominant racial or ethnic group, defined as those in which the largest racial or ethnic group comprises more than 80 percent of participants. The other two categorical variables indicate congregations that are 100 percent white and those that are 100 percent black.

We also used the ethnic composition percentages to calculate the Entropy Index as a continuous measure of congregational racial diversity. The Entropy Index ranges from zero (only one racial/ethnic group is present) to 1.0 (multiple groups are present in equal proportions). It measures congregational diversity in a more fine-grained way than whether a congregation hits the 80-percent-or-lower threshold for being considered multiracial, and whether or not it is 100 percent white or 100 percent black.¹

Other Variables and Analysis Plan

We present two kinds of results. First, we use our four measures of congregational diversity to examine trends between 1998 and 2018-19. We examine these trends separately for five broadly defined subsets of Christian churches: mainline Protestant, evangelical Protestant, Pentecostal Protestant, black Protestant, and Roman Catholic.² Sample size limitations make it

¹ The Entropy Index formula is $H = -\frac{\sum_{k=1}^K P_k \log P_k}{\log K}$, where K is the number of racial/ethnic

groups in the congregation and P_k is the proportion of congregation participants in group k .

² These religious categories are a modified version of the TRAD3 variable in the NCS dataset.

There are two main modifications. One is that the evangelical category used here is narrower than the TRAD3 evangelical/conservative category; Jehovah's Witnesses, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and Orthodox denominations are not included. The other

impossible to meaningfully examine trends in ethnic diversity separately among Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, or other faith traditions. Second, we look inside congregations in which no one group constitutes more than 80 percent of the people to examine trends in the race and ethnicity of the primary clergyperson in these congregations and in the racial and ethnic composition of the people who attend these congregations. We use the same set of racial and ethnic composition variables described above, plus the key informant's report of the percentage of regularly participating adults who immigrated to this country within the past five years.

We assess the statistical significance of change over time with bivariate logistic (for the categorical indicators) or OLS (for the Entropy Index and other continuous measures of congregations' ethnic composition) analyses in which the relevant variable is regressed on survey year.

modification is that we distinguish Pentecostal Protestants from black Protestants and evangelical Protestants because of past evidence of more racial inclusivity within Pentecostalism (Dougherty 2003). Using *Melton's Encyclopedia of American Religions* (Melton 2009), we coded congregations as Pentecostal if they reported an affiliation with a Pentecostal denomination, such as Assemblies of God, Church of God (Cleveland, TN), Church of God in Christ, Foursquare Gospel, Full Gospel, Pentecostal Holiness, or another Pentecostal group. In our analysis, "evangelical Protestant" always refers to non-Pentecostal evangelicals and "black Protestant" always refers to non-Pentecostal black Protestants. The exact coding for this modified version of TRAD3 is available from the first author upon request.

RESULTS

More Multiracial Congregations and Higher Levels of Congregational Diversity

Our central result is that racial and ethnic diversity within congregations steadily increased between 1998 and 2019, with no signs of having reached a plateau. Figure 1 shows the trend for congregations in which no one group had more than 80 percent of the people. These congregations were 6 percent of all U.S. congregations in 1998, 8 percent in 2006-2007, 12 percent in 2012, and 16 percent in 2018-2019. The trend is equally apparent when we shift the focus to the percent of religious service attendees who attend these diverse congregations: 13 percent of all U.S. religious service attendees were in such congregations in 1998, 15 percent in 2006-2007, 18 percent in 2012, and 24 percent in 2018-2019. The proportion of congregations that were diverse in this way nearly tripled between 1998 and 2019; the proportion of religious service attendees involved in such congregations nearly doubled. Bivariate logistic regression analyses confirm that both trends are significant at the .001 alpha-level. There were more congregations in 2018-19 that were diverse in this sense, and more people in such congregations, than there were in 1998.³

* * * FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE * * *

³ The attendee percentages are larger than the congregation percentages in the same year because congregations that meet the 80-percent threshold of diversity are larger on average than those that do not. Looking just at congregations with fewer than 5,000 regularly participating adults (to mitigate skewness in the size distribution) in 2018-2019, the mean number of regularly participating adults was 165 in congregations that are diverse in this way and 103 in other congregations.

Figure 2 displays trends within five Christian groups in the prevalence of congregations in which no one group constitutes more than 80 percent of the people. The relatively small sample sizes for these groups generate some noise,⁴ but some developments are clear. Most notably, congregations that reach the 80-percent threshold have become more prevalent among mainline, evangelical, and Pentecostal Protestants. In 1998, only 1 in 100 mainline Protestant churches reached the no-one-group-has-more-than-80-percent threshold of diversity. In 2018-19, one in ten mainline Protestant churches met this threshold, a substantial growth in the occurrence of this type of diverse congregation over twenty years. We see a similar trajectory for evangelical churches. In 1998, only 7 percent of evangelical congregations were multiracial in this sense, but this percentage more than tripled to 22 percent in 2018-2019. The percentage of evangelical churches that are diverse in this way is now statistically indistinguishable from the percentage of Catholic churches that are comparably diverse (23 percent in 2018-2019). In both groups, nearly one quarter of U.S. congregations have no one ethnic or racial group meeting the 80-percent mark. Such congregations also have become more prevalent among Pentecostals, increasing from 3 percent in 1998 to 16 percent in 2018-19. Bivariate logistic regressions confirm that all three trends are significant at least at the .01 alpha-level.

* * * FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE * * *

⁴ The maximum number of congregations in a given NCS survey wave for each tradition are 365 for Catholics, 316 for mainline Protestants, 460 for evangelical Protestants, 163 for black Protestants, and 103 for Pentecostals. Sample sizes are even smaller for Jewish, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhist, and congregations in other faith traditions, making it impossible to meaningfully examine trends in ethnic diversity separately within these groups.

Whether or not ethnic diversity defined in this way has increased among Catholic and black Protestant churches is less clear. On the one hand, churches in which no one group comprises more than 80 percent of the people have been substantially more common among Catholics than among Protestants throughout this period, and such churches appear to have become increasingly prevalent among Catholics, but the survey year coefficient when this diversity indicator is regressed on survey year for Catholics is not statistically different from zero. Black Protestant congregations, on the other hand, are far less likely throughout this period to be diverse in this sense, and there is little sign of increasing prevalence of such congregations among black Protestants.⁵ For both Catholics and black Protestants, it may be that there has been no meaningful increase in the prevalence of this sort of diverse congregation since 1998, or it may be that there has been a slow increase (very slow, for black churches) that is not large enough to discern in the NCS sample. Our other measures of congregational diversity help to resolve this ambiguity.

Figure 3 again presents diversity trends for the full sample and for each of these same religious groups, here using the Entropy Index of ethnic diversity within congregations rather than the dichotomous variable indicating congregations reaching a threshold where no one ethnic group constitutes more than 80 percent of a congregation's people. Mean scores for the Entropy Index were .16 in 1998, .19 in 2006-2007, .21 in 2012, and .27 in 2018-2019, a clear and

⁵ The 2012 blip in multiracial congregations among Black Protestants is a statistical anomaly. In all four NCS waves, there are only two predominantly black (non-Pentecostal) Protestant congregations in which no one group comprises more than 80 percent of the people – one in 2006 and one in 2012.

statistically significant ($p < .001$) upward trend. So, not only are there more congregations in which no one group constitutes more than 80 percent of the people, the average congregation is more ethnically diverse than it was in 1998.

* * * FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE * * *

Figure 3 also shows that, like the presence of churches in which no group has more than 80 percent of the people, internal diversity has increased since 1998 within each of the predominantly white groups. For Pentecostals, evangelicals, and mainline Protestants, an OLS regression in which the Entropy Index is regressed on survey year produces a survey-year coefficient that is significantly different from zero at least at the .05 alpha-level. The coefficient for Catholics is nearly significant at that level ($p = .08$). The biggest relative change was for mainline Protestants. The average level of racial diversity in mainline Protestant churches more than doubled from 0.08 in 1998 to 0.20 in 2018-2019. Although, as we noted earlier, in 2018-19 the percentage of congregations meeting the 80-percent threshold was not statistically higher among Catholics than among evangelical Protestants, Catholic churches on average continue to be noticeably more ethnically diverse than Protestant churches. This increased ethnic diversity within predominantly white congregations mirrors increased ethnic diversity in the society as a whole. The percentage of people in the United States who self-identify as something other than non-Hispanic white increased from 28.9 percent in 1998 to 39.6 percent in 2019.⁶

⁶ The 1998 number is calculated from Table 1a of Aud et al. 2010. Because yearly estimates were not available until after 2000, it reports data for 1995 and 2000. We assumed equal change over the five-year period to calculate the 1998 percentage. The 2019 number is taken from Census Bureau Quick Facts (U.S. Census Bureau 2019).

Black churches remain the least ethnically diverse. Whether or not black Protestant congregations have become slightly more diverse is less clear, but our third and fourth diversity indicators -- the prevalence of 100 percent white and 100 percent black congregations -- shed further light.⁷ As Figure 4 shows, the percentage of 100 percent white congregations has substantially declined since 1998 while the percentage of 100 percent black congregations remained the same. In 1998, 38 percent of congregations, containing 19 percent of religious service attendees, were completely white and non-Hispanic. In 2018-19, only 15 percent of congregations, containing only 6 percent of attendees, were completely white and non-Hispanic. These changes are statistically significant at the .001 alpha-level. There was no change over this period in the percentage of all black congregations. In both 1998 and 2018-19, 9 percent of congregations, containing 4-5 percent of attendees, were 100 percent black. We will say more in the conclusion about this important contrast.

* * * FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE * * *

Changing Leadership and Ethnic Composition within Multiracial Congregations

Table 1 takes us inside congregations in which no one group constitutes more than 80 percent of the people to examine the race and ethnicity of clergy and congregants in these congregations. One trend stands out. Substantially more of these congregations were led by black clergy in 2018-19 than in 1998: 16 percent in 2018-19 compared to just 4 percent in 1998. This statistically significant ($p < .05$) increase in black leadership of these diverse congregations is mirrored by a decrease in white leadership that is not statistically significant but is of similar

⁷ There are too few cases of 100 percent Hispanic or 100 percent Asian congregations in the NCS data to examine change over time in these types of congregations.

magnitude: 87 percent of these congregations were led by white clergy in 1998, declining to 76 percent in 2018-19. There is no substantively meaningful or statistically discernible change in the likelihood that these congregations are led by Latino or Asian clergy. Overall, in 2018-2019, about seven of ten congregations meeting the 80-percent diversity threshold had a white minister, about two in ten had a black minister, and only about one in ten had either a Latino or Asian minister.

* * * TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE * * *

There is a hint in these data that diverse congregations contain somewhat more black worshippers and somewhat fewer Latino worshippers in 2018-19 than they contained in 1998. Given the trend described above toward more black leadership of multiracial congregations, we might expect that black congregants are more likely to become involved and stay involved with a multiracial congregation if the leader is black. The average congregation in which no one group had more than 80 percent of the people was 16 percent black in 1998, increasing to 20 percent black in 2018-2019. Latino representation in these congregations decreased from 22 percent in 1998 to 17 percent in 2018-2019. Perhaps relatedly, the immigrant presence in the average congregation declined slightly from 6 percent in 1998 to 4 percent in 2018-19. But none of these trends is statistically significant, the high percentage of black people in these congregations in 2012 may be an anomaly, and these hints might be statistical noise. Interestingly, there is not even a hint that congregations that are diverse in this way have become less white over time. Approximately half of the participants in these congregations were non-Hispanic whites throughout this period. Thus, the relative size of different minority groups within these diverse congregations may have shifted some over time, but the combined minority group presence has not changed since 1998.

CONCLUSION

The fourth wave of the National Congregations Study has allowed us to track racial and ethnic changes in congregations over two decades. From 1998 to 2019, we see a slow but steady increase in congregational diversity. There are more congregations in which no one racial or ethnic group comprises more than 80 percent of the people, congregations' average diversity level has increased, and the percentage of all-white congregations has declined. The gains in diversity have been largest for mainline Protestants and evangelical Protestants, but the extent of internal racial diversity within congregations has increased as well in other predominantly white religious traditions. Although this steadily increasing racial and ethnic diversity within predominantly white American congregations may seem to represent religion's desegregation, we should be cautious about concluding that diverse congregations necessarily promote racial justice. We will briefly mention three reasons for this caution.

First, the fact that diversity is increasing either not at all or only slightly within predominantly black congregations implies that racial and ethnic diversification mainly is occurring along a one-way street. More ethnic minorities, including African Americans, are attending predominantly white congregations, but whites and others who are not African American are finding their way to predominantly black churches only in miniscule numbers. White people generally appear to be as unwilling as ever to attend predominantly black churches. When people in white congregations explicitly value and intentionally seek to achieve a more diverse congregation, this goal rarely is pursued by leaving white congregations to attend predominantly black ones (or, probably, any other congregations of color). Instead, for whites diversity is pursued by trying to attract people of color who will not challenge white congregants' views and practices (Cobb et al. 2015), sometimes even assuring this selectivity by

interacting with potential black participants in ways that ensure that those unwilling to accommodate white culture will not return (Bracey and Moore 2017). This one-way traffic suggests that even a presumably laudatory development like racial and ethnic diversification within congregations is being accomplished unevenly and in ways that are shaped by racial stereotypes and inequalities (Edwards 2008).

Second, although more black clergy led congregations meeting the 80-percent threshold of diversity in 2019 than 1998, we found more minority presence in the pews than in the pulpits of these congregations, and white clergy remain overrepresented as leaders of such congregations. Half of the people in these congregations are white, but three-fourths of these congregations are led by white clergy. Moreover, clergy of color who lead these congregations face substantial barriers, costs, and stresses that white leaders do not face (Edwards and Kim 2019; Munn 2019; Okuwobi 2019; Oyakawa 2019; Priest and Edwards 2019). Multiracial congregations are not necessarily hospitable places for clergy of color, a fact that should give pause to those who might portray such congregations as bastions of racial harmony.

Third, racial and ethnic diversity in congregations sometimes functions as a superficial, performative end in itself, with conversation about racial differences and inequalities avoided or even discouraged, and with people of color welcomed into visible roles (like greeters or ushers or singers) while simultaneously excluded from positions of authority (Barron 2016; Barron and Williams, 2017; Martí 2012; Oyakawa 2019; Wadsworth 2010). Research has documented a variety of ways in which even congregations with more than one race or ethnicity represented still reproduce racial inequalities rather than transcend them (Christerson and Emerson 2003;

Cobb et al. 2015; Edwards 2008; Edwards and Kim 2019; Emerson 2006; Martí and Emerson 2013; Martinez 2018; Martinez and Tamburello 2018; Munn 2017).⁸

We have established that there has been a steady march toward increasing racial and ethnic diversity within American congregations between 1998 and 2019. At the same time, the larger literature on racially diverse congregations suggests that it would be a mistake to herald this development without recognizing the challenges and limits faced by diverse congregations. Researchers should continue to study the ways in which inequality and injustice are reproduced or undermined in racially diverse congregations.

⁸ These concluding reflections are based in part on work from the Race, Religion, and Justice Project led by Michael Emerson, Glenn Bracey, and Chad Brennan, with the cooperation and support of 290 scholars and expert practitioners.

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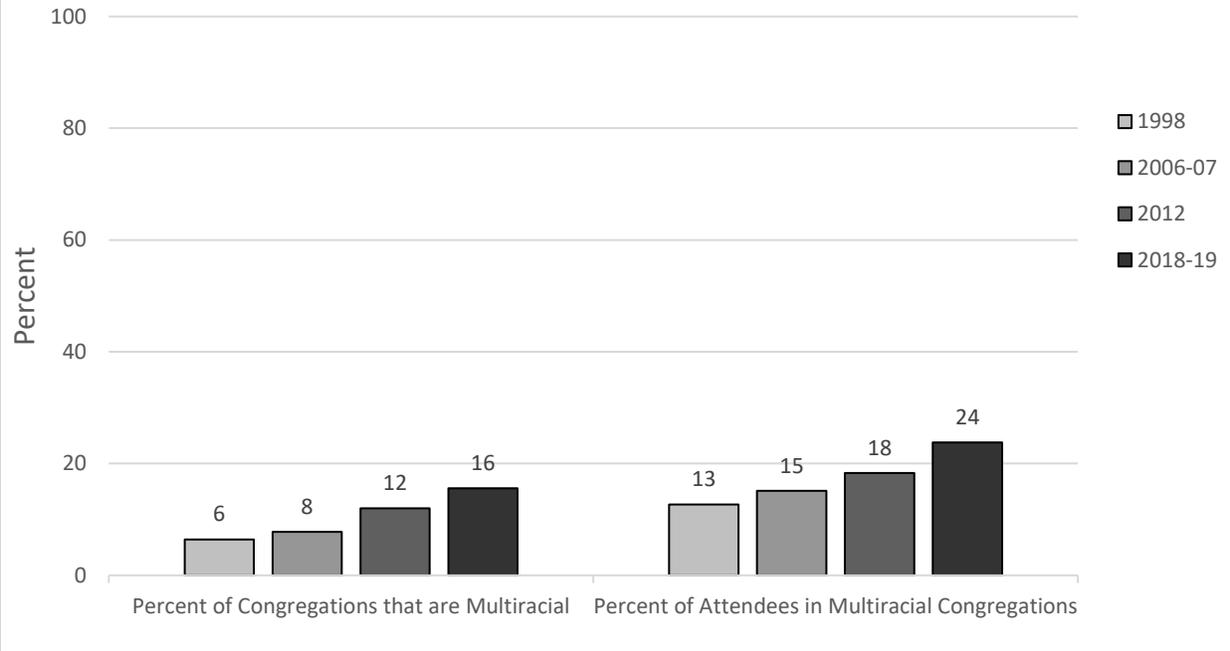
Table 1: Internal Characteristics of U.S. Multiracial Congregations

	1998	2006-2007	2012	2018-2019	<i>p</i> value ^a
<i>Percent with Leader of each Race/Ethnicity</i>					
White	87	79	71	76	.155
Black	4	5	17	16	.010
Latino	3	4	4	6	.464
Asian	3	6	3	2	.289
Other	2	6	5	<1	.139
<i>Racial/Ethnic Composition</i>					
Percent White	50	53	51	50	.602
Percent Black	16	17	27	20	.153
Percent Latino	22	16	13	17	.200
Percent Asian	6	8	5	7	.961
Percent Other	6	6	4	6	.996
Percent Recent Immigrants	6	5	3	4	.153

^a The *p* value is from a logistic (for the race/ethnicity of the congregation's leader) or OLS (for the congregation's ethnic composition) regression of the relevant variable on survey year, with the data weighted from the congregation perspective. It represents the probability that the survey-year coefficient is different from zero.

Source: National Congregations Study, 1998-2019.

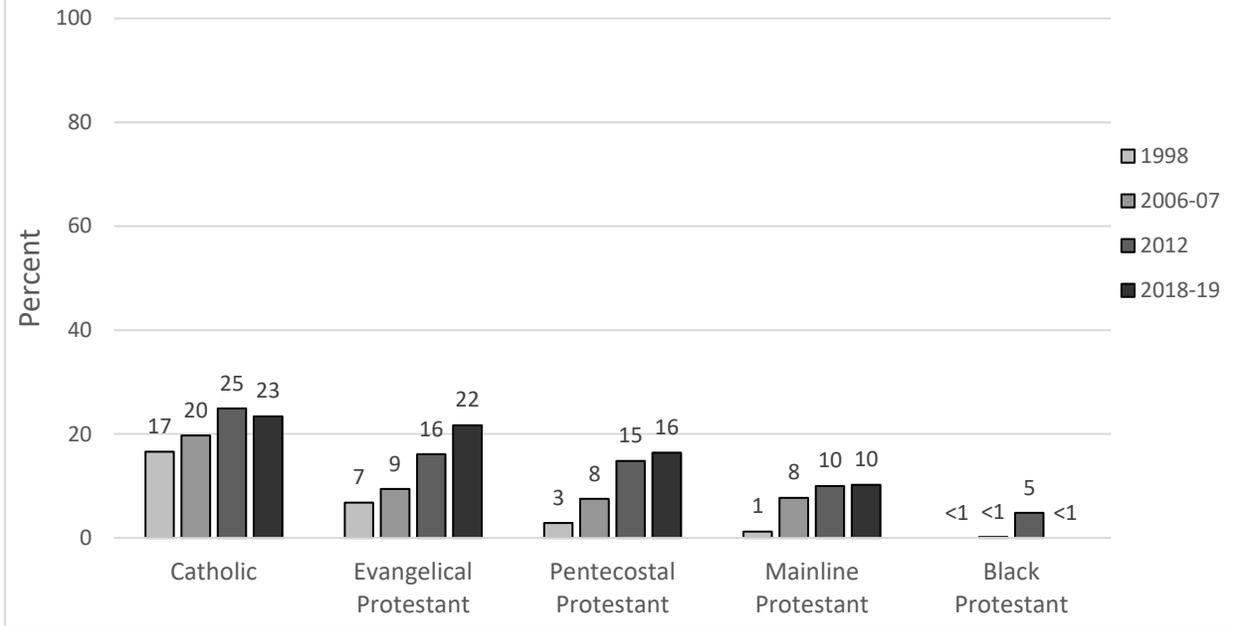
Figure 1:
Multiracial Congregations and Attendees in Multiracial
Congregations, 1998-2019



Source: National Congregations Study, 1998-2019.

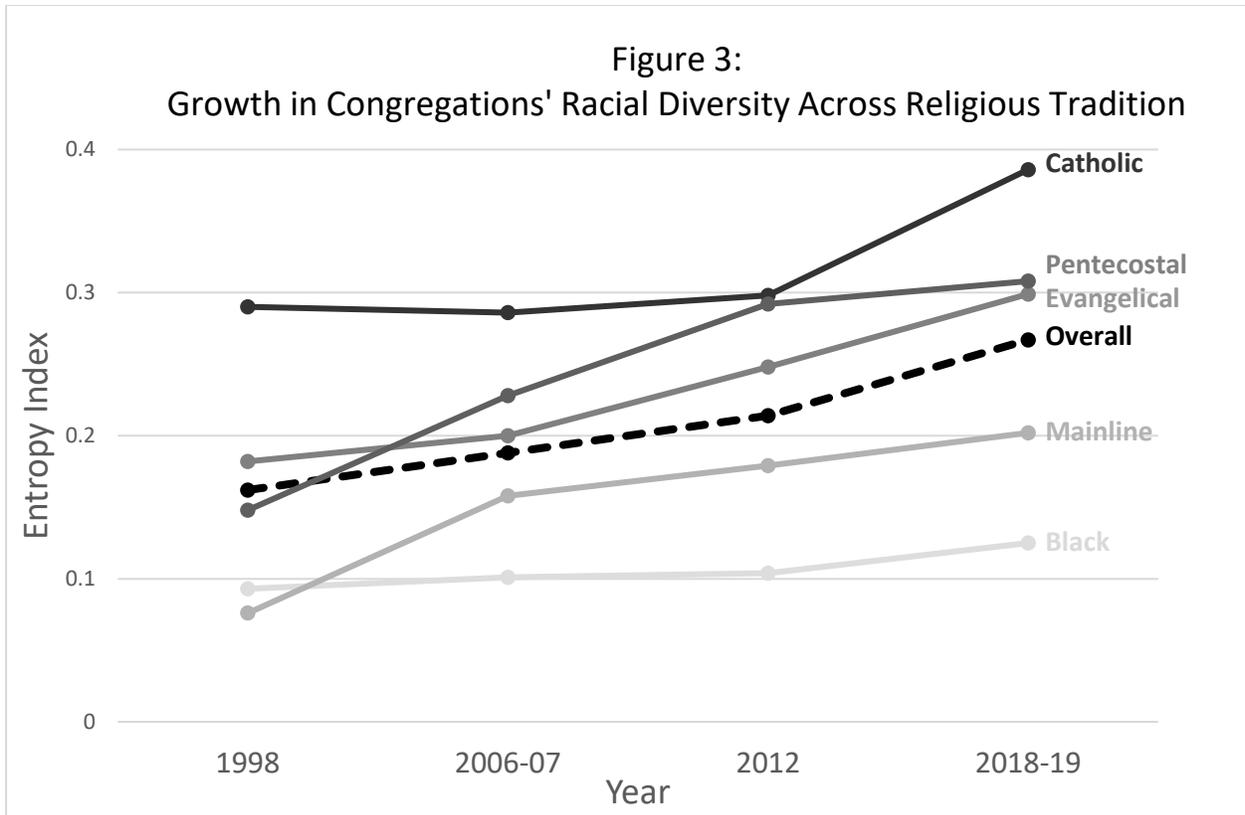
Note: “Multiracial” here means that no one ethnic or racial group constitutes more than 80 percent of a congregation’s people. A logistic regression in which the multiracial congregation indicator is regressed on survey year yields survey-year coefficients that are significantly different from zero ($p < .001$) when data are weighted from the congregation perspective and when data are weighted from the attendee perspective.

Figure 2:
Multiracial Congregation Trends Across Religious Traditions



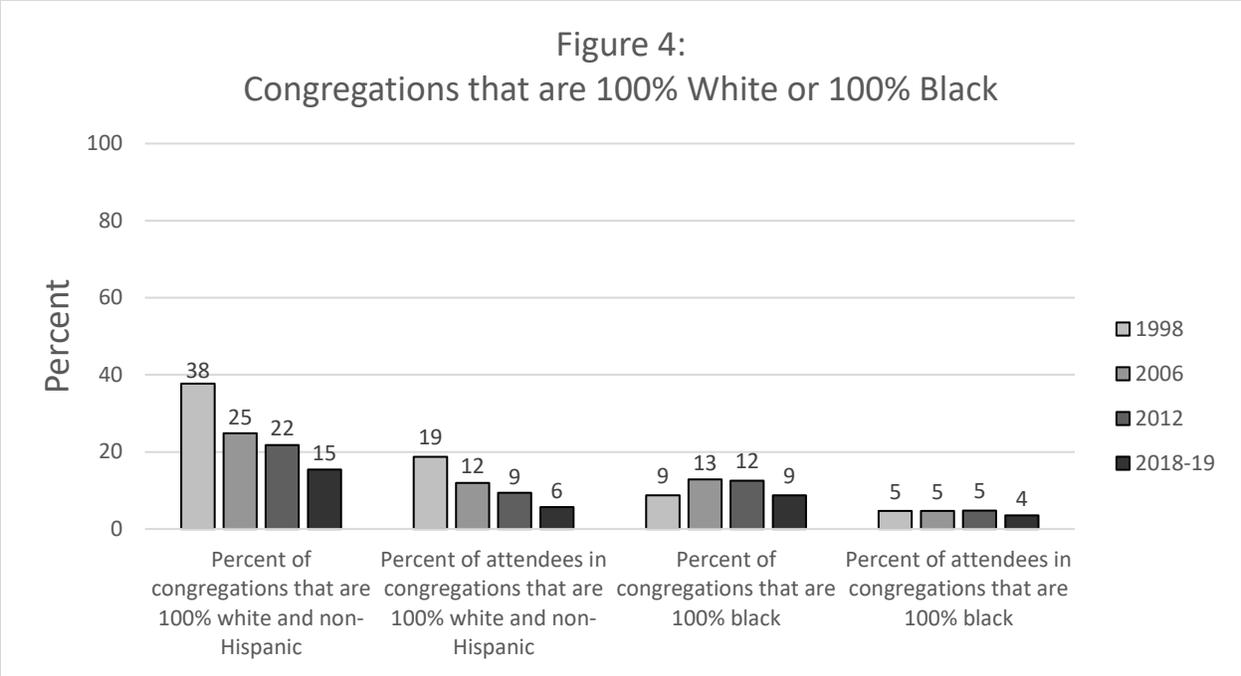
Source: National Congregations Study, 1998-2019.

Note: “Multiracial” here means that no one ethnic or racial group constitutes more than 80 percent of a congregation’s people. Logistic regressions in which the multiracial congregation indicator is regressed on survey year and the data are weighted from the congregation perspective yield survey-year coefficients that are significantly different from zero at least at the $p < .01$ alpha-level for evangelical, Pentecostal, and mainline Protestants. The year coefficient is not statistically different from zero for Catholics or black Protestants.



Source: National Congregations Study, 1998-2019.

Note: OLS regressions in which the Entropy Index is regressed on survey year and the data are weighted from the congregation perspective yield survey year coefficients that are significantly different from zero at the $p < .05$ alpha-level for the overall trend, and for Pentecostals, evangelical Protestants, and mainline Protestants. The year coefficient is close to significant at that level for Catholics ($p = .08$); for black Protestants it is not statistically different from zero.



Source: National Congregations Study, 1998-2019.

Note: A logistic regression in which the “100 percent white” indicator is regressed on survey year yields survey-year coefficients that are significantly different from zero ($p < .001$) when data are weighted from the congregations' perspective and when data are weighted from the attendee perspective. The year coefficients in the “100 percent black” regressions are neither substantively nor statistically different from zero.