

The Delegational Pulpit? Clergy Identifying as Congregational Political Representatives

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Abstract

From the beginning of the republic, American clergy have been understood as political actors in some capacity, though the precise understanding of their representation has been of some debate. Some argue that clergy may be seen as *fidei defensor*, representing a particular set of values and beliefs to the world – a trustee model. Others see the potential for clergy to advocate for the interests of local congregations embedded in particular communities – a delegate model. Neither approach has had concrete questions to address this question, instead relying on patterns of results to infer roles. To remedy this defect, we posed a battery of questions to a sample of Protestant clergy in Spring 2014 in order to gauge the degree to which they are functionally and explicitly considered representatives. From these data, 70 percent have been contacted by congregation members with political concerns and 40 percent consider themselves or believe they are considered by congregants as representatives to government officials. We explore the determinants of identifying as a representative, finding strong evidence that localism through the religious economy and network ties drive identification as does a complex set of social theological concerns.

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Am I the shepherd of this flock or its pet lamb?

—Campbell and Pettigrew (1959: 131)

During the height of the 2004 presidential campaign, Greg Boyd, a mega church pastor in suburban St. Paul, Minnesota was repeatedly confronted by members of his mostly conservative, middle class congregation who wanted their minister to be more politically engaged. Boyd was asked to publicize a rally against gay marriage from the pulpit, allow anti-abortion activists to set up an information table in the lobby, and hang an American flag in the sanctuary. To all of these requests, the pastor demurred. Finally, after a long period of silence, Boyd delivered a six part sermon series which was eventually turned into a book entitled, *The Myth of a Christian Nation*, in which the pastor described his belief in the strong separation of church and state. One of Boyd's sermons included the line, "I am sorry to tell you that America is not the light of the world and the hope of the world. The light of the world and the hope of the world is Jesus Christ." The results were immediate and devastating, with average church attendance declining by nearly 1,000 congregants in the wake of Boyd's remarks. In addition, the church suffered a shortfall in both volunteers and budget leading to the termination of four staff members (Goodstein 2006).

The Greg Boyd story is one that can be explained through a variety of theoretical lens, but the most important may be the disconnect between how Boyd's congregation viewed the pastor's role in political affairs, and how Pastor Boyd wished to position himself in relation to politics. It is likely that this tension is apparent in many religious environments and only becomes visible when a member of the clergy decides to stake out a position on political matters in defiance of a congregation's wishes. The concept that clergy are *political representatives* of their congregation's interests and the conditions under which they adopt such a role are understudied topic in the field of social science.

Mirroring the larger debate between religion and democracy, representation is a tricky proposition for clergy as they debate whether to remain loyal to either their principals or their principles. The previous literature that has examined the role of clergy as political elites has largely focused on just the mechanisms, both internal and external that drive political activity. While the research has provided a number of possible motivation factors for becoming politically engaged, little previous scholarship has shined a light on how often the laity come to clergy with political concerns.

Clergy-Centric Research

A superficial glance at a member of the clergy would likely leave one to conclude that they are uniquely situated to engage in the political process in an effective way. Many clergy have high levels of education (Guth et al. 1997; McDaniel 2008), possess significant organizational resources (Djupe and Gilbert 2006), earn middle class incomes (Perl and Chang 2000) and have a great deal of flexibility in regards to how they spend their time (Brunette-Hill and Finke 1999). Taken together, these attributes would lead to an individual ideally situated to be highly politically engaged and to help mobilize those around them to become involved in the political process as well (Nie and Verba 1987; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). However, some of the earliest work in the field concludes just the opposite – clergy were both hesitant to speak about politically charged issues from the pulpit and were also averse to being seen engaging in any sort of political activity beyond voting in primaries and general elections (Campbell and Pettigrew 1959; Hadden 1969; Quinley 1974)

This initial finding was met with a significant amount of support by subsequent research that began to paint a picture of clergy who had the potential to be political activists but instead were constrained by both the institutions and communities in which they found themselves in (Djupe and Gilbert 2003; McDaniel 2008) as well as their social theology (Guth et al. 1997). The external factors

that exert an influence on the way that clergy behave politically start with a minister's audience – the local congregation. A clergy's primary audience and most important asset are the individuals who occupy the pews during each worship service. The importance of these regular attendees was described by Harold Quinley who writes, "(Clergy) rely on their parishioners not only to pay the churches' bills, but also for the very rationale for their existence" (299; see also Djupe and Gilbert 2003). A myriad of research has concluded that clergy are acutely aware of the political inclinations of their local congregation and take a varied approach based on the distance between their personal ideology and their perception of the congregation. If clergy believe that they are ideologically similar they will engage in a wide variety of political speech and activity (Djupe and Gilbert 2003; Owens 2007; McDaniel 2008), while if they are ideologically distant they may attempt to provide countervailing arguments (Djupe and Neiheisel 2007) or remain largely silent (Stark 1971).

In addition to pressures felt from the local congregation, many clergy have close ties to their denominational hierarchy and they can oftentimes feel the need to conform to the behavior patterns of colleagues (Ammerman 1980). For example, during the school desegregation crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas researchers described a denominational structure that encouraged pastors to speak out for the cause of integration, however many clergy understood that taking a public stand would alienate many church goers and drive down church attendance. Campbell and Pettigrew write, "Defense of racial integration in Little Rock came to mean lost members, lost financial support, and a lost opportunity to build the north wing" (130). Subsequent research has also reinforced this assertion, finding that clergy are not only sensitive to the ideology of their congregation, but also alter their sermon topics to reflect the political sensibilities of the laity (Calfano 2009).

The dominant approach in this literature is to view clergy as *fidei defensor*, acting in defense and in advocacy of their faith. There is good reason to think of clergy in this way, of course, but it is not the only way. In many ways, this approach sets up a false dichotomy between the clergy and

congregation or denomination, thinking only of the ways in which these external factors may limit clergy freedom to advocate for their own interests. This assumption ignores that the faith of some clergy encourages them to seek to represent the interests of their congregations, that faith traditions provide wide latitude in terms of what and how clergy advocate, that clergy develop connections and compassion for their congregants that compels action on their behalf, and that these factors are conditioned on the political and religious environments that incentivize action. That is, there is a lot that is missing from accounts that restrict the roles of clergy and the nature of the relationship between the clergy and institutional actors.

Agents of Principles or Principals?

One of the ways we can capture this richer sense of how clergy understand their role is in terms of representation. Representation is a complex relational concept that incorporates many of the ambiguities we seek to understand about clergy. From one perspective we can think about clergy as agents who are delegated tasks to carry out. Just who or what provides direction regarding those tasks is one of the primary ambiguities for political as well as religious representatives (McDaniel 2008, 79). In short, clergy may represent principles (a set of ideas about how the world should work) or principals (congregation members and others who have the responsibility to hire and fire them). In another literature, these are summarized differently – representatives may be delegates, following the interests of constituents literally, or are trustees, making decisions on behalf of constituents whether they agree with those decisions or not (Schneier and Gross 1993; Thomas and Pika 1997). These roles need not drive different decisions, but they might, and, more importantly, they entail very different motivations for action.

Resolving the extent to which they are drivers of clergy behavior is an essential task in understanding their political significance in a democracy. There is nothing anti-democratic about advocating from a theological or ideological position. However, American religion has long been

marked by a significant anti-clericalism (Finke and Stark 2005), where any elevation in stature of the clergy over others was seen as at odds with the American tradition. Thus, the practical effects of a trustee/principled perspective on representation may entail less influence. The frequent criticism of American denominations as “generals without armies” encapsulates this notion neatly (Nazworth 2013). This, then, highlights the other side of the coin, which is that a delegate model would augment the trust in and credibility of the representative – a persistent finding regarding political representatives (Lupia and McCubbins 1998).

Lastly, finding evidence of the delegational pulpit changes our view of religion in a democracy. If one view of religion is that its concerns are orthogonal to political norms and pressures, then finding delegates in the pulpit indicates the extent to which religion bends to the political distributions of their congregants. Religion, in this instance, might be seen as a force looking to mend representational deficits and seeking to make a more perfect union.

What Shapes Representational Roles?

Perhaps the most significant factor that could shape clergy representational roles may be the same driving force which compelled clergy to pursue the field of ministry entirely - theology. While many ministers are quick to note that they were “called” to ministry through their understanding of God’s purpose of their lives (Christopherson 1994), many ministers take this calling a step further and believe that their understanding of God’s call is not limited to a minister being the religious leader of a congregation but also the laity’s political representative to the community. Subsequent research has provided support for this claim with Olson concluding that a significant minority of minority subjects were political leaders largely because they believed that taking on such a role was part of their Divine calling (2000).

While personal theology describes the way that an individual member of the clergy relates to God, other scholars have noted that most ministers also rely on a well developed social theology

which is concerned with what role the Church plays in the world (Guth et al. 1997). Hadden believes that social theology is largely to be blamed for what he calls “the gathering storm,” with clergy believing that the role of the congregation as to “move beyond the four walls of the church,” while the laymen, “seeks comfort and escape from the world in the sanctuary of God.” (Hadden 1969, 99). The dichotomy that Hadden describes places clergy in a precarious position: either act in a way that comports with their social theology (a trustee) or remain silent in effort to appease their congregations and maintain the post as a pastor (a delegate).

While social and personal theology has a significant impact on the way that clergy see their roles as political representatives; the contextual factors that confront a member of the clergy can also force leaders to reassess their role as political representatives. One of the most significant environmental factors that shape how clergy views political representation is perhaps the most basic - the financial state of the congregation. The majority of previous literature that focuses on clergy activity has concluded that clergy feel oftentimes compelled to engage in the political process as a way to try to steer public resources to their impoverished congregations (McDaniel 2008; but see Djupe and Gilbert 2002: 72). In this way clergy believe that their unique position in their community can allow them access to the halls of power. In fact, in a series of interviews with local pastors in Wisconsin, Laura Olson concluded that the clergy that were the most easily identifiable as political leaders were ministers who were in charge of churches in economically distressed areas (2000).

A trove of recent research efforts have focused specifically on how clergy react to being charged with leading impoverished churches in urban areas. Books by McDaniel and Owen have described how clergy of predominantly African-American churches have used their positions of leadership to create partnerships with government in hopes of alleviating many of the problems that are pervasive in poor, urban neighborhoods. This effort for revitalization often takes the form of collaboration between government agencies and local churches (Owens 2007). This collaborative

process requires little mobilization at the level of the congregation, but instead relies on religious elites acting largely as political representatives for their congregation. This process is described as “(clergy) assuming the voice of a putatively coherent black community and projecting it toward policy makers...The ‘people’ don’t get to speak; they are spoken for” (Reed 2001, 4–5). This example stands as perhaps the clearest articulation of the clergy assuming an active role as a political trustee as a way to be a voice for a community that has suffered in silence. However it is crucial to note that not all clergy react in similar ways when placed in a situation that would typically lead to clergy taking on trustee orientation. For example, research in this field has consistently arrived at the conclusion that younger, less experienced ministers were much less likely to engage in political activity. The relationship between political activity and length of tenure was found to be curvilinear with the most politically active clergy being mid-career, followed by an overall drop off as the pastor reached retirement age (Olson 2000; McDaniel 2008).

In addition, religious tradition (or lack thereof) can dramatically shape how a clergy see their representational role. For some Protestant denominations (such as Baptists) there is very little leadership structure and therefore each minister is granted significant latitude to represent the political viewpoints of their congregations as they see fit (Lincoln and Mamiya 1990). For other traditions that have a more rigid hierarchy, the denominational structure can provide cues to clergy on how to represent congregations politically (Campbell and Pettigrew 1959; Calfano 2009). In addition, many religious traditions have developed long standing approaches to how the members of the congregation interact with those who are not part of their religious community. For example, the most significant shift in the Catholic Church’s approach to inclusion came in the form of Vatican II which drastically changed how open the church was to laity and outsiders (Leege and Welch 1989), and many Protestant churches have turned toward inclusion as a way to increase church attendance (Stark and Glock 1968; Finke and Stark 2005). It would seem likely that churches with a more

inclusive posture would be led by clergy who are willing to serve the needs of parishioners and therefore be more likely to become political representatives.

Finally, in recent years the emergent church movement (ECM) has espoused a radical rethinking of the role of the clergy in representing the congregation in both theological and political matters. Observers of the movement have noted that those who identify as emergent are focused on “a continual practice of deconstruction” (Marti and Ganiel 2014, 6), in all aspects of religious life but specifically in areas of leadership. Both recognized leaders of the movement as well as social scientists have noted that the ECM is intentionally focused on a religious community with little formalized leadership and instead emphasizes understanding and practicing spirituality as a shared experience (Jones 2011; Packard 2012). While empirical research has confirmed that ECM identifiers are both deliberative in nature and inclusive of a wide variety of political ideologies (Burge and Djupe 2015; Burge and Djupe 2014), there has been no attempt to understand how the emergent approach to religious authority translates to political representation.

Design and Data

Our data from clergy result from a survey conducted via the internet through the Qualtrics platform, after clergy were invited by email to participate.¹ We obtained responses from United Methodist, Southern Baptist Convention, Reformed Church in America, Presbyterian Church (USA), and Greek Orthodox clergy. This is clearly not a random sample of clergy, nor are the denominations/traditions present representative of the American religious population. What is useful about the sample, despite its limitations, is that appropriate questions were asked to gauge

¹ Clergy were contacted to participate via their listed office email address. For the smaller denominations in our study – the Greek Orthodox and RCA – addresses were culled from publicly-available parish and denominational websites that listed this individual-level contact information. PCUSA clergy contact information was provided to the authors from the denomination’s in-house research office. For the largest denominations in our study – the UMC and SBC – we relied on a commercially-generated email list from the vendor Exact Data, which maintains current congregational lists for a variety of US denominations. Each of the culling methods has drawbacks from the standpoint of representativeness, although it is not possible to determine exact sampling biases a priori. In each denominational case, we endeavored to use the total population of clergy with listed email addresses, which is a subset of the total clergy population in each denomination. Given missing data, we received somewhere between 375-411 valid responses depending on the question.

identification as a political representative of the congregation and the sample includes considerable diversity of religious and political conservatism. With appropriate controls, we can test with some confidence our hypotheses about the religious, political, and demographic correlates of representational identification. On the other hand, we have little confidence that the descriptive statistics regarding the levels of representation can be generalized to a relevant population. We will still display them (especially by denomination), but they should not be taken as necessarily representative of the larger population of clergy.

Descriptive Results

The survey included a large battery of questions concerning the representational role of clergy. It captured identification as a representative, representative behavior, and structural placement as a representative. Figure 1 breaks out the results of this line of questioning by the denominations included in the sample. The most common experience from 70 percent of the sample was that congregants approached clergy with political concerns. Not all clergy took up the mantle of representative, though more did (31%) than perceived that the congregation considered them a representative (25%). That said, many are well placed in the social structure to easily access public officials as just under two-thirds (62%) knew public officials personally. Few took advantage of this access, at least on behalf of congregation members, as only 20 percent contacted “government officials on behalf of members of my congregation.” Of course, such contact was much greater (29 vs 11%) among those who had social access to officials. Somewhat surprisingly, the variance among included denominations was muted with the exception of the Greek Orthodox, who often stood out by their prominent representational role. The remainder was closely aligned – outside the Greek Orthodox, only contacted government officials and introducing government officials to the congregation had significantly variation among denominations.

[Figure 1 about here]

To focus our efforts in explaining whether clergy adopt a representational role, we collapsed responses from three of these variables creating a dichotomous measure if they referred to themselves as representatives, believed the congregation thought of them as representatives, or whether they contacted officials on behalf of the congregation. These are highly correlated – the former two at $r=.92$ (tetrachoric correlations), the latter two at $r=.71$, and the others at $r=.52$. A scale would have an alpha of $.76$. The scale from 0-3 has a mean of $.78$ ($sd=1.08$), while the dichotomous measure we employ indicates that 40 percent report playing a representational role in at least one of these ways.

Model Results – Representational Role

Model estimates of the probability of playing a representational role are available in Table 1. The results confirm that taking on representation is a function of the interplay of values and circumstance. The effect of values show up in multiple ways and perhaps most prominently through the interaction of religious conservatism and religious authority. Displayed in Figure 2, the results show that conservatives are consistently less likely to take on a representational role – their predicted probability varies by an insignificant 14 points. Religious authority has a profound effect on religious liberals. Liberals who eschew authority for themselves and their theology (right side) are much less likely to take on a representative role than those who value authority. Since liberal clergy are more likely to value organizational and theological flatness, this serves to depress the difference between liberals and conservative clergy. It is important to note that this effect is not a function of a general authority mindedness – it has no direct effect and does not interact with religious conservatism. Instead, representation of the congregation reflects religious specific notions of authority.

[Table 1 and Figure 2 here]

It is no surprise that a greater commitment to inclusive religious values promote adopting a representational role. Inclusion accepts people where they are, overlooking differences to reach the

goal of promoting involvement in the congregation. Viewed this way, inclusion promotes a delegate model of representation in which clergy would feel able to represent a more diverse array of people than trustees. Exclusive value commitment weakly undermines representation itself, but it interacts with the similarity of the congregation to the community (see Figure 3).² Among those who reject exclusivity (left side of the graph), those who feel dissimilar are more likely to adopt a representational role. Notably, this is the effect that Djupe and Gilbert (2003) found among Mainline Protestant clergy; this is also where we are more likely to find Mainline clergy. But this relationship reverses as the embrace of exclusivity grows. On the high end of the scale, similarity drives up a representational role. Though both inclusion and exclusion are tools in the kits of congregations in the religious economy (Stark and Finke 2000), in the context of similarity, exclusion looks like niching in response to competition (Lowery and Gray 1998). Taking on a representative role could be seen as a way to offer a fuller range of services. In a related vein, the more outreach for new members the congregation conducts, another sign of competition, the more likely is the clergy to occupy a representational role.

[Figure 3 about here]

The relationships of the clergy to public officials and to the congregation affect their likelihood of being a representative. Knowing public officials personally drives up being a representative by 14 percent. While social relations facilitate access, representation is still built on fundamentals. Greater perceived opinion differences with the congregation undermine representation – those experiencing the most extensive differences are 20 percent less likely to adopt a representational role.

Relative to the Southern Baptists, the mainline Protestant clergy are less likely to adopt a representational role. This is not surprising since mainline clergy are less likely to say that they have

² Notably, inclusive and exclusive value commitments are not correlated with their similarity to the community ($p > .6$), which underscores that there are variable responses to competition (e.g., Stark and Finke 2000).

“great capacity” to influence the views of members (Djupe and Gilbert 2009). On the other hand, the Greek Orthodox priests are more likely to adopt a representational role, ratifying the descriptive statistics in Figure 1. Though clearly offering additional leverage on the question of representation, the results mirror the larger distinctions about authority and social exclusivity.

Model Results – Clergy Political Activity

A representational role is less important if it is not connected to a greater rate of political activity. That link is tested in Table 2, using a participation scale involving up to 10 activities; the average is 3.5 activities. Most important, adopting a representational role boosts political activism by almost one full activity (.9). This holds in the context of a host of controls, including several items that push and pull at a representational role. For instance, clergy participate at higher levels when congregants bring their political concerns (push), and so do clergy who know public officials. Of course it is entirely possible that highly participatory clergy make themselves accessible to public officials and invite the expression of concerns from congregants, but these relationships do highlight the degree to which clergy political activity is mobilized.

Like a representational role, clergy political activity is also driven by values, which work in the same way as the representation model results. Figure 4 shows the interaction between religious conservatism and religious authority, which makes the same point as Figure 2 – religious conservatives participate at lower rates – about a half point below the sample mean. Again, only liberal clergy’s political activity varies by their commitment to religious authority and the more they embrace authority in the congregation, the more political activity they engage in. The difference is sizable at the extreme, though most liberal clergy are not there but instead closer to 3 on the religious authority scale which pegs the difference between liberal and conservative clergy at 1 political activity.

[Figure 4 about here]

The other interaction is between inclusive values and community similarity. While most of the range of the interaction (see in Figure 5) does not support a significant difference, the high end of the inclusive value range does. It is important to note that this is where most of the observations (60%) are clustered. Clergy who are more inclusive with dissimilar congregations are more participatory. This effect supports Djupe and Gilbert's (2003) finding that mainline Protestant clergy are more likely to participate when the congregation is a minority in the community. An inclusive orientation is served by reaching out through multiple channels, politics included. This interpretation gains steam with the consistent effect of member outreach – more outreach is associated with greater clergy participation in politics (see Djupe and Neiheisel no date).

It is interesting that the homogeneity of the congregation undermines both adopting a representative role and the participation rate of the clergy. In part, this reflects the push that disagreement with the clergy directs their energies elsewhere. But it also shows what a lack of stimulus to action homogeneity represents. This is also the effect that lead to the title “the prophetic pulpit” (Djupe and Gilbert 2003), as clergy are more engaged when faced with a diverse (and therefore disagreeable) congregation.

Consistent with political participation research, strong partisans are more likely to participate. In a shift from prior research, every denomination's clergy is less politically active than the Southern Baptists. Thirty years ago, they were less active, but have made steady gains so that by the 1990s they had achieved parity with more liberal clergy (Guth et al. 1997). Apparently twenty years on they have surpassed clergy in more liberal denominations.

Conclusion

Some previous work has discussed clergy as representatives, but these are inferences from patterns of clergy activity. This paper provides a more concrete next step using responses about the adoption of a representational role, congregant perceptions of clergy in that role, and clergy behavior that fits the role. This is a useful avenue on which to travel since there is a tension in the literature over just what clergy are representing when they are active. That tension, largely among coauthors on this paper, concerns whether clergy are strategic actors maximizing their policy agenda or whether they are actors on behalf of others. Of course, there are opportunities for both in the myriad ways in which clergy can be active, but this gives us an estimate of the extent to which clergy consider themselves explicitly to represent the interests of congregants.

The evidence from this sample of clergy suggests considerable agreement across included denominations (save the Greek Orthodox) about the roles they adopt. It is common for congregants to approach clergy with political concerns, and less common for clergy to indicate that they take on a representational role. All told, 40 percent were considered a representative or took action as a representative.

This does not resolve the debate because the adoption of a representative role is in some ways dependent on political agreement and strong partisan identities. Thus, to an extent, representation is consonant with policy maximization. But we did learn several things about the social and value conditions under which clergy adopt the representational role. Some of how clergy think about their place in public life is shaped by what has been called their “social theology” (Guth et al. 1997). Theological liberals are more likely to think of themselves as representatives and are more active in political affairs.

But this is another axis of values that is important to consider – religious authority. Religious authority reflects thoughts about the place of the clergyperson in the congregation and the importance of theological uniformity. This has no effect among religious conservatives since the

population of anti-authority conservatives is effectively an empty set, but it does among more liberal clergy. And the rejection of authority serves to drive down their work as representatives and their participation in political life.

So too their value orientation toward those outside the congregation, as captured through their inclusive and exclusive value commitments, helps structure their representative roles. More inclusive orientations drive up a representational role and exclusive values drive them down, but this is contingent on whether the congregation is similar to the community in ways that suggest representation is driven by competition. For instance, exclusive orientations under congregational-community similarity drive up a representational role, suggesting that representation is another service that clergy can offer their congregants.

Representation is common, engaged by a large minority of clergy. This, in and of itself, is a contribution – we have to acknowledge that many clergy are seen as organizational representatives. This does not deny that they seek to fulfill their own agenda, but that their roles are complex and perhaps competing. Whether they take on this representational role is conditioned by their worldviews specifically about authority as well as their placement in the social structure. That their place in the social structure indicates that political representation is more a function of religious competition raises questions worthy of additional pursuit.

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Table 1 – Predictors of a Representational Role (logit)

	B	(SE)	<i>p</i>
Religious conservatism	-1.64	(.68)	.02
Religious authority values	-1.41	(.77)	.07
Rel Con * Rel Auth values	.34	(.21)	.10
Inclusive values	.61	(.25)	.02
Exclusive values	-.46	(.33)	.17
Community similarity	-.81	(.37)	.03
Exclusive * Similarity	.32	(.13)	.01
Knows public officials	.75	(.29)	.01
Authoritarianism	-.01	(.54)	.99
Education level	.21	(.21)	.32
Adult education norms	-.07	(.37)	.85
Democracy promotion	-.16	(.10)	.12
Member outreach	.38	(.12)	.00
Clergy-church opinion diff.	-.55	(.29)	.06
Congregant homogeneity	-.23	(.15)	.13
Partisan strength	.23	(.16)	.15
Female	-.21	(.37)	.58
Greek Orthodox	1.98	(.83)	.02
So. Bapt. Conv. (reference)	—		
UMC	-1.35	(.78)	.08
RCA	-1.41	(.54)	.01
PCUSA	-1.29	(.59)	.03
Constant	5.09	(3.59)	.16
Model statistics	N=317, pseudo R ² =.19		

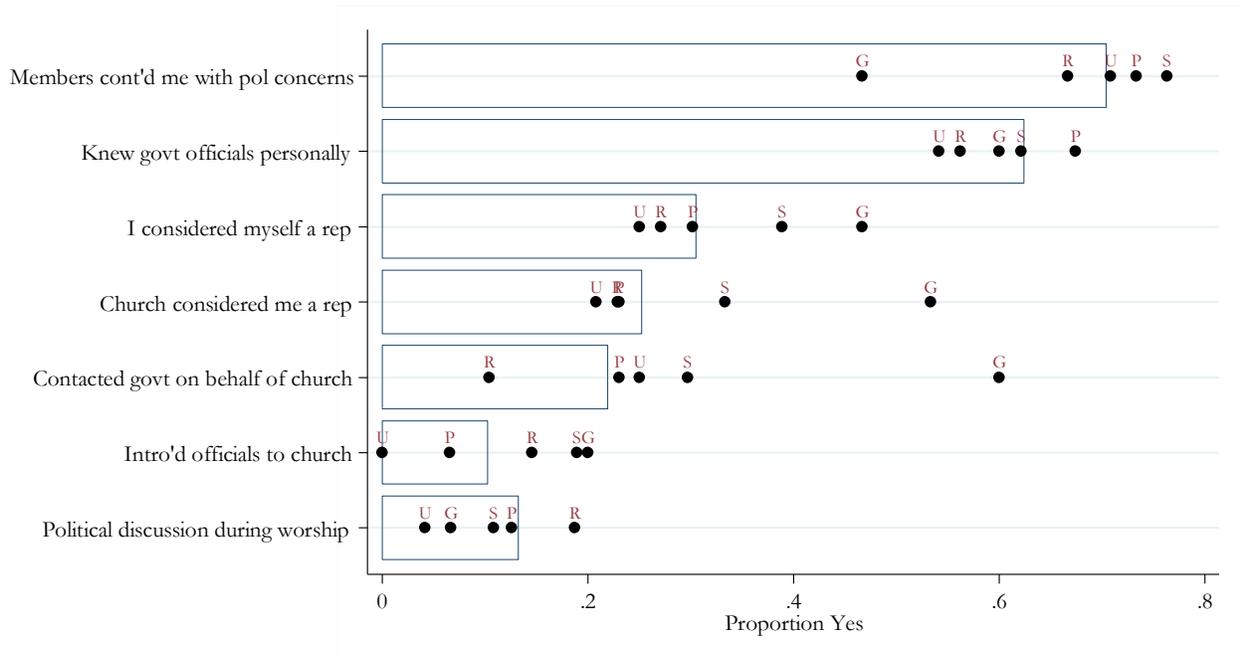
Source: 2014 Clergy Study

Table 2 – Predictors of Clergy Political Activity (OLS)

	B	SE	<i>p</i>
Representational orientation	.90	(.19)	.00
Congregants bring political concerns	.42	(.19)	.03
Religious conservatism	-1.05	(.42)	.01
Emergent church values	-.96	(.47)	.05
Rel Con * EC values	.19	(.13)	.14
Inclusive values	.42	(.29)	.14
Community similarity	1.76	(1.98)	.38
Inclusive * similarity	-.53	(.45)	.24
Exclusive values	.09	(.10)	.37
Knows public officials	.43	(.18)	.02
Authoritarianism	.10	(.33)	.76
Education level	-.08	(.12)	.53
Adult education norms	.42	(.23)	.06
Democracy promotion	.03	(.06)	.62
Member outreach	.13	(.07)	.08
Clergy-church opinion diff.	-.08	(.18)	.67
Congregant homogeneity	-.17	(.09)	.06
Partisan strength	.45	(.10)	.00
Female	.07	(.23)	.76
Greek Orthodox	-1.27	(.47)	.01
So. Baptist Conv. (excluded)	—		
UMC	-.84	(.47)	.07
RCA	-.73	(.33)	.03
PCUSA	-.86	(.36)	.02
Constant	4.14	(2.32)	.08
Model statistics	N=317, R ² =.32 RMSE=1.43		

Source: 2014 Clergy Study

Figure 1 – Representational Roles by Clergy, by Denomination



Source: 2014 Clergy Survey.

Note: G=Greek Orthodox, P=Presbyterian Church (USA), R=Reformed Church in America, S=Southern Baptist Convention, and U=United Methodist. Bars represent the sample mean.

Figure 2 – The Interactive Effects of Religious Conservatism and Emergent Church Values on the Likelihood of Adopting a Representative Orientation

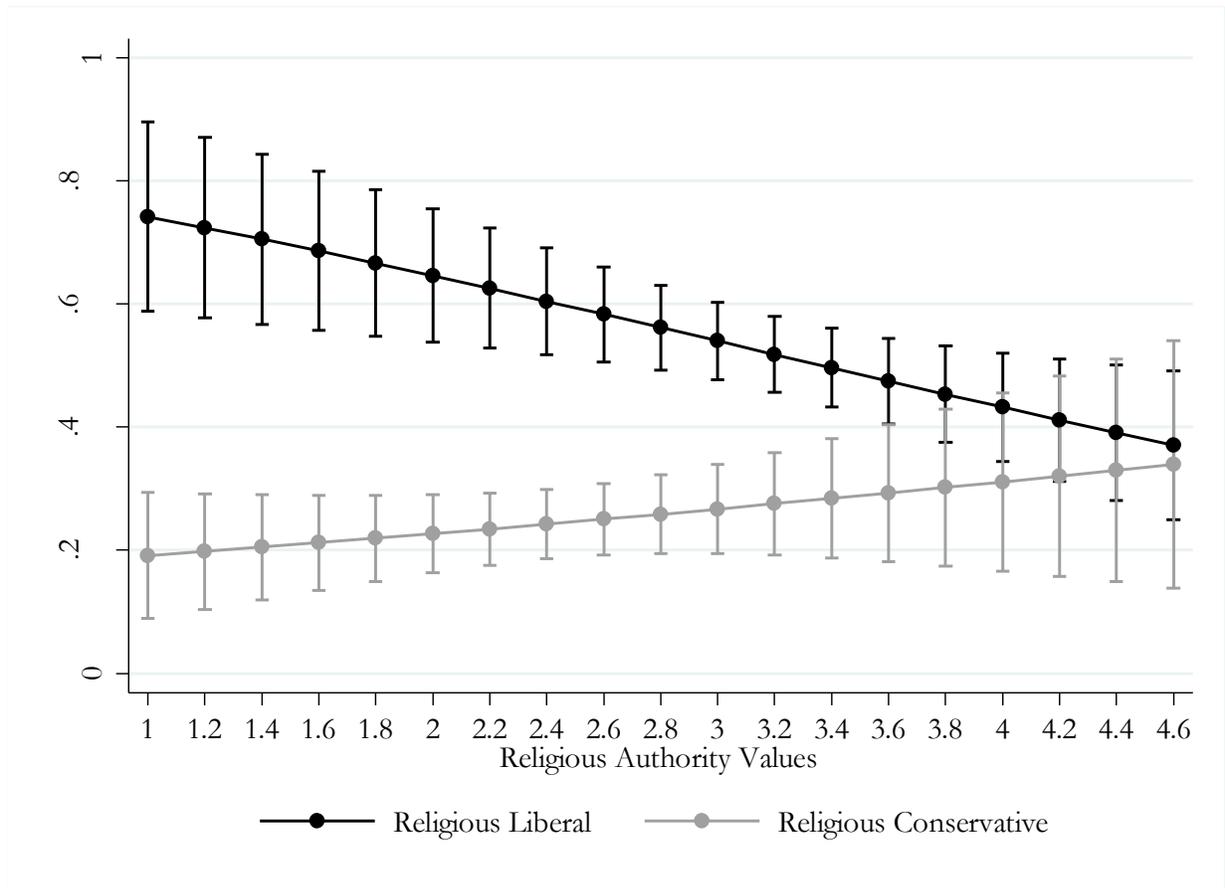


Figure 3 – Interactive Effects of Exclusive Value Commitment and Community Similarity on the Likelihood of Adopting a Representative Orientation

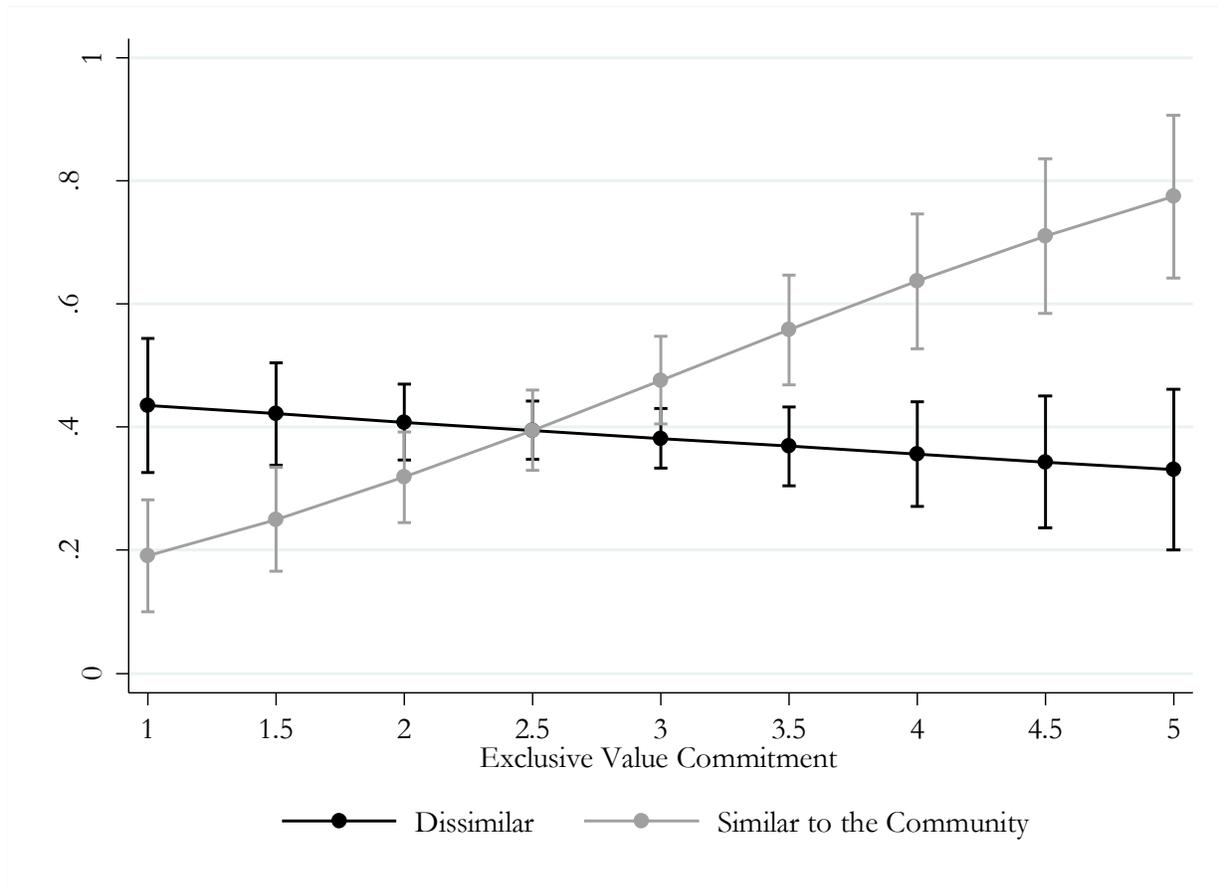


Figure 4 – The Interactive Effects of Religious Conservatism and Emergent Church Values on Clergy Political Activity Levels

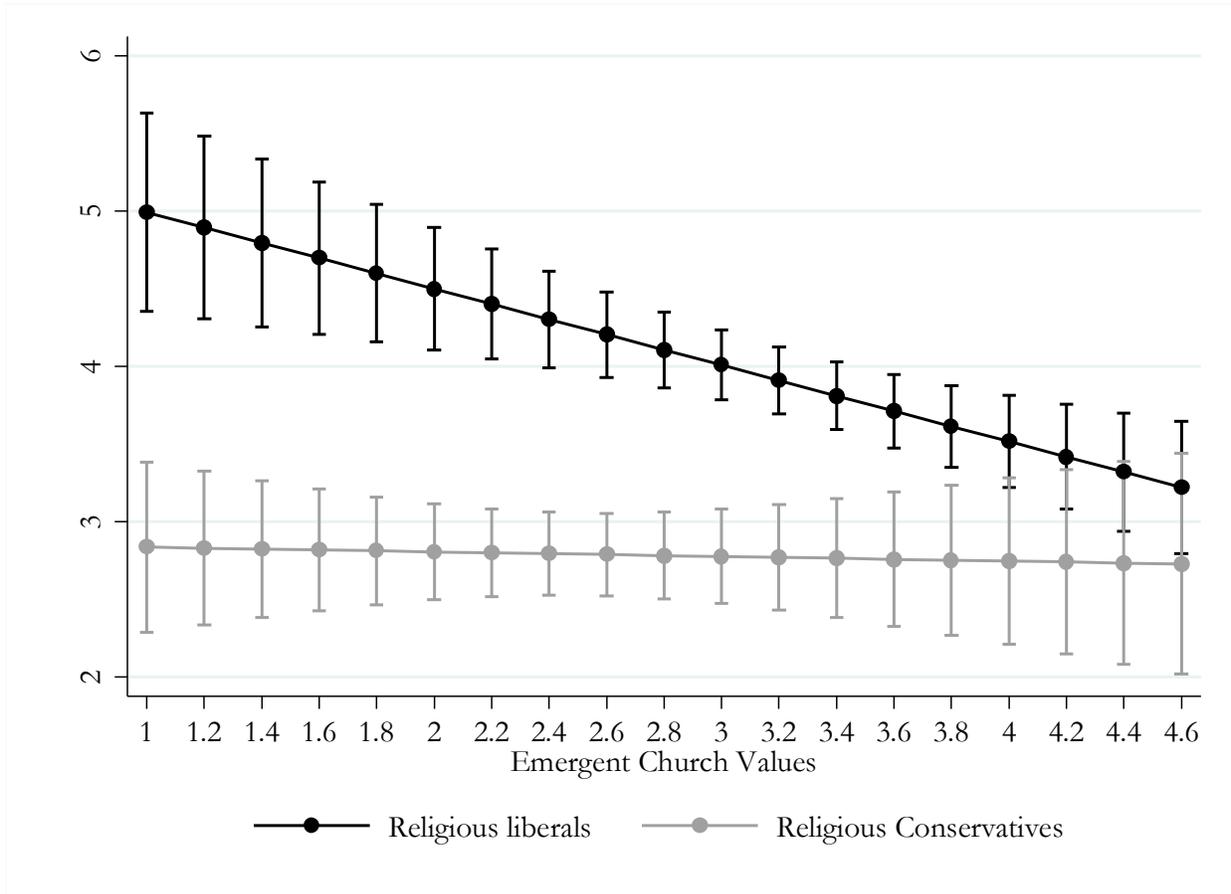


Figure 5 – The Interactive Effects of Inclusive Value Commitment and Community Similarity on Clergy Political Activity Levels

