

Religious Research Association, Inc.

Moving from Sect to Church: Variations in Views regarding Sanctification among Wesleyan/Holiness Clergy

Author(s): Jean Stockard, Susie C. Stanley and Benton Johnson

Source: *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (Sep., 2001), pp. 70-92

Published by: Religious Research Association, Inc.

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3512244>

Accessed: 11-08-2016 00:37 UTC

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

http://www.jstor.org/stable/3512244?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at

<http://about.jstor.org/terms>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Springer, Religious Research Association, Inc. are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Review of Religious Research*

**MOVING FROM SECT TO CHURCH:
VARIATIONS IN VIEWS REGARDING SANCTIFICATION
AMONG WESLEYAN/HOLINESS CLERGY***

JEAN STOCKARD

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

SUSIE C. STANLEY

MESSIAH COLLEGE

BENTON JOHNSON

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

REVIEW OF RELIGIOUS RESEARCH, 2001, VOLUME 43:1, PAGES 70 - 92

This paper examines the extent to which clergy within three Wesleyan/Holiness denominations (The Church of God [Anderson, Indiana], The Church of the Nazarene, and The Evangelical Church of North America) adhere to traditional beliefs regarding sanctification. Results indicate that while there is significant support for traditional holiness views, a substantial number of clergy indicate doubts on some elements of the doctrine. Almost half of the variation in these views can be accounted for by the independent influence of denominational affiliation, church size, age, being a later generation pastor, and other theological beliefs. In addition, independent of denominational affiliation, age, education, and general political outlook, clergy with less traditional views regarding sanctification are significantly less likely to support cooperation with the Christian Holiness Partnership and less likely to express views that could be considered socially conservative. At the same time, denominational affiliation exerts a strong influence on the extent to which clergy adhere to the doctrines of sanctification and on views regarding ecumenism and moral, political, and social issues. We suggest that these results can help scholars understand the ways in which variations in individual attitudes contribute to the movement from sect to church and point to the importance of denominational culture and heritage in understanding variations in religious and political/social attitudes.

Churches within the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition, including groups that broke from Methodism in the nineteenth century and others that arose independently, are a distinct and significant strand of American Protestantism. The Wesleyan/Holiness movement takes its name from its distinguishing doctrine and the individual who first articulated it, John Wesley, an Anglican priest and the founder of Methodism. The distinctive

feature of these groups is a belief in the doctrine of sanctification or holiness, a second distinct work of grace that follows the experience of Christian conversion, the first work of grace. According to Wesley (1966) and his followers, conversion involves the forgiveness of sins while sanctification involves the cleansing of a person's sinful nature. The emphasis on personal holiness accompanied a social consciousness and concern for the less fortunate, a tradition that is most clearly illustrated by The Salvation Army, a Wesleyan/Holiness group whose co-founders had been Methodists in England.

A commonly reported pattern in the history of church organization is the gradual movement and transition over time from "sect" to "church," the tendency for groups that originally espouse views that reject their social environment (sects) to move gradually to acceptance of views that embrace the social environment (churches) (Johnson 1963, 1971; also see Bainbridge 1997: 31-59; Iannacone 1988; Stark and Bainbridge, 1996). Observers within Wesleyan/Holiness denominations suggest that these groups have proceeded along this continuum over the last century, and leaders have expressed concern that the unique tenets of the Holiness movement are disappearing or may have already been lost (e.g. Collins 1999; Drury 1994; Taylor 1999; Wall 1990).

Any such changes on the organizational level no doubt reflect alterations in the views of individuals, as church leaders and members gradually abandon traditional beliefs and practices and adopt ones that are more similar to the larger society. By exploring variations in the beliefs of individuals within particular sectarian groups we may learn more about social forces that promote the sect-to-church movement. This paper explores this issue among Wesleyan/Holiness clergy. We look at the extent to which contemporary Wesleyan/Holiness clergy adhere to traditional views regarding sanctification, examine variables that can account for variations in their views, and also look at the relationship between their positions regarding sanctification and attitudes toward other religious, political and social issues.

RELATED LITERATURE

While informed by a broad tradition of work within the sociology of religion, our research questions are necessarily exploratory in nature. A review of the Religion Index from 1975 to the present and of the ATLA Religion Database from 1960 to the present uncovered no articles that specifically examined Wesleyan/Holiness clergy. Only one article (Dann 1976) looked at the Holiness Movement, tracing its spatial diffusion from 1827 to the mid twentieth century. Our analysis addresses important issues regarding the ways in which secularization and the sect-to-church movement occur among clergy and begins to fill the void in sociological writings regarding the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition. Our analysis also incorporates historical insights regarding the Wesleyan/Holiness movement. We use both fields of study because there is so little sociological work on these groups and to illustrate how an understanding of historical and theological context can enhance sociological investigations of dynamics within religious groups.

Theoretical Background

Sect-to-church theory suggests that, over time, religious organizations experience less tension with their environment (e.g. Johnson 1971; Stark and Bainbridge 1996). Sects

tend to become more church-like as restrictions about behaviors diminish and church doctrine becomes more accepting of the surrounding environment. Surprisingly little writing, however, has examined the micro-level processes that produce these changes. As with any organization, the sect-to-church transformation no doubt occurs because individual people develop different beliefs and adopt different behaviors. Such large scale organizational changes occur gradually and often involve the actions of many different individuals, yet the sect-to-church literature provides clues as to why and how these changes might occur.

First, it is possible that the sect-to-church dynamic reflects the changing composition of individuals within the group, a process of *generational replacement*. For instance, Finke and Stark's (1992) extensive analysis of religious history within the United States documents the ways in which Methodism changed as members became more middle class and traditional strictures against behaviors such as card playing and dancing gradually disappeared. As older members died and younger generations replaced them, the tension between Methodism and the surrounding environment diminished dramatically. In general, the sect-to-church dynamic could reflect the growing predominance of a generation that is more comfortable with the surrounding environment and thus more likely to adopt beliefs and practices that are less in tension with the larger society. Factors that could promote such generational differences include greater education of members and exposure to the wider society as well as the growth of the group to encompass a larger portion of the population, thus potentially including people who would be more comfortable with the larger society (see Johnson 1971; Stark and Bainbridge 1996).

Second, the sect-to-church dynamic could reflect organizational characteristics and the extent to which a *denominational culture* can protect against such changes. That is, individual influences on change occur within organizational cultures and such cultures can potentially either promote or deter such change. For instance, groups that are less tolerant of dissent or have a more highly structured belief system might be more likely to inhibit the sect-to-church change while groups with a less structured system could be less likely to do so.

Organizational leaders are especially important with respect to organizational change. Clergy generally serve as opinion leaders for their congregations. Through the topics they choose to emphasize in sermons they are a key source of doctrinal views and beliefs. Thus, the most accurate examination of the sect-to-church dynamic should probably focus on clergy rather than parishioners.

The optimal design for studying the sect-to-church dynamic would probably be to explore changes in individual views and denominational composition over several generations. A more practical alternative is to examine variations in attitudes among clergy within a set of denominations that have historically held similar theological positions. If a group were in the process of moving to a more church-like orientation, it would be expected that there would be variation in the beliefs of individual members. We examine beliefs of clergy within three Wesleyan/Holiness groups in order to examine the influence of factors related to both generational replacement and denominational culture on such variations.

The Wesleyan/Holiness Movement

John Wesley's evangelists brought his teachings, including the doctrine of sanctification, to the American colonies from England in the mid 1700s, resulting in the organization of The Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784. While sanctification was part of the Methodist message, it experienced a revival in the early nineteenth century, fostered in large part by Methodist lay theologian and preacher Phoebe Palmer (Bassett 1911; Raser 1987; White 1986).¹ Over time several groups split from Methodism, in what can be seen as a classic example of the sect-to-church dynamic (Finke and Start, 1992).² Other denominations that accepted the doctrine of sanctification resulted from the organization of members from a variety of groups. Ultimately, these new sects comprised the Wesleyan/Holiness movement.

Our study focuses on three Wesleyan/Holiness groups: the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), The Church of the Nazarene, and The Evangelical Church of North America. Historically, the Church of God's emphasis has been on sanctification as well as primitivism by returning to New Testament principles. Seeing themselves as a movement rather than a denomination, the Church of God has refused to join inter-denominational organizations, including the Christian Holiness Partnership (CHP).³ Due to its focus on unity, the Church of God has been racially integrated throughout its history, with African Americans comprising about twenty percent of its membership (Stanley 1995; Telfer 1981). Although the Church of God is non-creedal and maintains that the Bible is their "rule of faith," a distinctive "doctrinal culture" has emerged that clearly places the group within the Wesleyan/Holiness movement. The Church of the Nazarene resulted from a series of mergers between independent holiness groups, many of whose members and leaders had been Methodists. The Evangelical Church of North America, also known as The Evangelical Church, consists of congregations formerly within the Evangelical United Brethren (EUB) who did not merge with the Methodist Church to become the United Methodist Church (UMC) in 1968. About 150 EUB churches, primarily in the Pacific Northwest, believed that the UMC was too liberal and refused to participate in the merger. Table 1 provides a summary of this information as well as more data on creeds, church polity and involvement in ecumenical groups.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

Even though these Wesleyan/Holiness groups share social networks and a traditional belief in sanctification they are now, with the possible exception of The Evangelical Church, several generations removed from the founding members. Based on literature within the sect-to-church tradition it could be expected that these denominations may be losing features that distinguish them from other American Protestant groups, much as the comments of the Wesleyan/Holiness leaders noted above (Collins 1999; Drury 1994; Taylor 1999; Wall 1990) would suggest. Thus, we first explore the extent to which contemporary Wesleyan/Holiness clergy subscribe to the original doctrine of sanctification.

Second, we examine the ways in which variables related to denominational culture and generational replacement influence variations in beliefs regarding sanctification. With regard to denominational culture it might be expected that clergy in the groups that have espoused creeds (The Evangelical Church and the Nazarenes) could be more likely to

TABLE 1
Characteristics of the Three Wesleyan/Holiness Groups in our Sample

	Church of God (Anderson, Indiana)	The Church of the Nazarene	The Evangelical Church of North America
Formation	1880s "Come-outers" from other denominations	Early 20th century Merger of independent Holiness groups	1968, when refused to participate in merger of Evangelical United Brethren and United Methodist Church
Creeds	Noncreedal	Creedal	Creedal
Denominational Structure	Congregational autonomy Minimal bureaucracy	Some congregational auto- nomy, but district and general superintendents provide oversight	General superintendents provide oversight, although less powerful than traditional bishops, as in the UMC
Interdenominational Associations	None	Natl. Asso. of Evangelicals and Christian Holiness Partnership	Natl. Asso. of Evangelicals and Christian Holiness Partnership

Sources: Peters 1956; Smith 1980; Smith 1962.

have maintained their belief in sanctification than the non-creedal Church of God clergy simply because the articles of faith are institutionalized. In addition, the relatively recent formation of The Evangelical Church, which involved the reinforcement of theological differences with the United Methodist Church, may have strengthened beliefs in traditional views regarding sanctification among Evangelical Church clergy. With regard to variables related to generational replacement, we could expect that younger clergy, those with higher levels of education, and clergy with less traditional beliefs in other areas might have less traditional beliefs in sanctification. To the extent that early socialization in a faith promotes traditional views, we could expect that clergy whose parents had been ministers would hold more traditional views. On the other hand, to the extent that the maturing of a religious organization involves a change from a membership that experiences conversion to one that primarily includes those who were "born to the faith," we could expect that these second generation ministers might have less traditional views regarding holiness theology. Finally, we might expect differences in the views of pastors serving congregations of varying size. It is possible that pastors serving larger churches might have a more diverse congregation and perhaps more pressure to conform to the outside world, socially or theologically, thus promoting a departure from traditional views. Reversing the causal order, pastors who wish to attract large numbers of congregants may downplay unique theological traditions in order to appear as "nonsectarian" as possible. Either scenario would result in pastors from larger churches reporting less traditional views.

Our third research question concerns the effect of the clergy's views of sanctification on their views in other areas including relationships with other denominations, moral principles, and social and political attitudes. If rejecting the notion of sanctification implies a movement toward less tension with and more acceptance of the social environment outside the church, as sect-to-church theory suggests, we could expect that clergy who have

more doubts about the traditional tenets of sanctification would be more likely to promote linkages with other denominations, be more permissive on moral issues, and hold more liberal social and political attitudes.⁴ On the other hand, given the historical identification of many Wesleyan/Holiness groups with social justice concerns, the more traditional adherents to sanctification might promote more liberal political and social views. Of course, because demographic and general political characteristics can also influence attitudes toward these issues, it is important to control for variables commonly recognized to be associated with political and social views, such as age, educational level, and general political orientation (cf. Gay and Ellison 1993, p. 317). It is also important to control for denominational affiliation to determine the extent to which any influence of views regarding sanctification is independent of the possible influence of denominational culture and heritage.

METHODOLOGY

Data examined in this paper come from a survey administered to Wesleyan/Holiness clergy in the state of Oregon in 1994. With the cooperation of regional ecclesiastical leaders, mail-out, mail-back surveys were sent to 235 clergy. Standard follow-up procedures to improve the return rate were used. The final sample included 146 clergy (a return rate of 62%), with 39 Church of God pastors, 41 from the Evangelical Church, and 66 Nazarenes.

We limited our study to the state of Oregon for both practical and theoretical reasons. The first simply reflects the nature of our personal contacts and the ability to obtain accurate lists of clergy within the chosen denominations, which are generally maintained on a state-wide basis. The second reflects the nature of social networks and cultural differences among denominations from one area of the country to another. Churches, even within the same denominational framework, can differ substantially in their modal beliefs and attitudes from one part of the country to another.⁵ Thus, our decision to limit our sample to only one state provides an important control, for we remove variations in belief that could be caused by regional and cultural differences.

The clergy completed an eighteen-page survey that covered three general areas. The first included many questions related to theology and the church, tapping pastors' theological views, their conception of the proper mission of the church, their personal spiritual practices, their position on various church practices, and some basic information about the churches they pastor. Information from this section of the survey was used to develop measures of the pastors' views regarding sanctification, their theological position, and demographic information about their churches. The second general area included a number of questions regarding contemporary social and moral issues and their political affiliations and views. Questions from this area were used to develop measures of the pastors' attitudes regarding political and moral issues and their self-described political orientations. Finally, a series of questions concerned the pastors' personal lives. Information from this section was used to develop measures of demographic and background characteristics. Complete information on each measure used in the analysis is given in the results section below.

A simple analysis of frequency distributions was used to answer the first research question regarding the extent to which pastors subscribe to the original doctrine of sanctifica-

tion. The second research question regarding variables that explain these differences was explored through regressing pastors' views of sanctification on denominational affiliation, demographic variables, and measures of other religious beliefs. Multiple regression was also used to examine the third research question regarding the influence of views on sanctification on views regarding relationships with other denominations, moral issues, and social and political topics. Each of these variables was regressed on the pastors' views on sanctification and, for control purposes, their denominational affiliation and other variables that might influence such attitudes including age, education, and self-described political orientation.

There were only a few cases of missing data, and these appeared to be randomly distributed among items in the questionnaire. Thus, mean values were substituted for any cases with missing data in the multiple regressions. This substitution did not alter the substantive findings reported below.

RESULTS

To what extent do contemporary Wesleyan/Holiness clergy subscribe to the original doctrine of sanctification?

The clergy responded to five questions that assessed the degree to which they adhered to the traditional doctrine of sanctification: 1) Do you believe that the experience of sanctification or holiness is a second distinct work of grace? 2) Do you believe in eradication [of original sin]? 3) How familiar are you with the Wesleyan/Holiness movement's historic teaching on sanctification? 4) How important do you think it is for Wesleyan/Holiness churches to emphasize sanctification today? and 5) Have you preached on sanctification within the past year? Responses to these questions indicate that the majority still subscribe to traditional views regarding sanctification, although there is variation in the extent to which they believe in some of the particular aspects and the emphasis that they place on sanctification in their preaching. Three quarters believe that holiness is a second distinct work of grace and that it is very important for Wesleyan/Holiness churches to emphasize sanctification today. Almost two-thirds of the clergy indicate that they are very familiar with the historic teachings on sanctification. On the other hand, less than a third of the clergy indicate that they preached on sanctification many times during the last year, and almost as many indicate that they did so only once or twice or not at all. Similar numbers express doubt regarding the doctrine of eradication (31% responded "not sure" or "no").

Responses to these questions were combined into an additive scale (coefficient alpha = .63). Those with a higher score on this scale are less likely to believe sanctification is a second distinct work of grace, less likely to believe in eradication, not very familiar with the Holiness movement's teachings, don't think it is important to emphasize sanctification today, and haven't preached on it recently. While, theoretically, scores on this scale could range from 5 to 20, in reality, they ranged from 5 to 16, with a mean of 8.0 (median = 7.0) and a standard deviation of 2.5. Thus, there is a large amount of support for traditional views of holiness, but a substantial number of clergy who doubt some traditional elements of the doctrine.

What variables can explain differences in adherence to traditional views?

It was expected that variation in views toward sanctification could be explained by differences in denominational affiliation as well as variables related to generational replacement. Preliminary analysis indicated a strong effect of denominational culture, with Church of God clergy most likely to hold nontraditional views (mean = 9.9) and Nazarene clergy least likely to do so (mean = 6.9; mean for Evangelical Church clergy = 8.4; $F = 18.90$, $df = 2, 129$; $p < .001$). Two dummy variables were constructed to represent the three groups, with the reference category being Nazarene.

The clergy range in age from 24 to 77 (mean = 47 years, $s.d. = 11.2$) and serve churches with an average Sunday attendance that ranges from 13 people to 800 (mean = 164, $s.d. = 163$).⁶ Eighty-four percent are senior or solo pastors, 14 percent serve as associate pastors, and the remainder are in other positions.⁷ A substantial number of the clergy (27%) report that one of their parents had been a minister. Education is measured on an 8 point scale ranging from high school completion to graduate degrees. Almost all report that they have finished college, and over two-thirds have attended seminaries or graduate schools.⁸

As one would expect, the Wesleyan/Holiness clergy, as a group, have very similar views regarding many theological issues. They are virtually unanimous in stating their belief in a personal God, in the Trinity, in the immortality of the soul, and in the full deity, bodily resurrection, and personal return of Christ. In addition, virtually all believe in the “personality of Satan” and that heaven will be a real place. Only two of the questions regarding beliefs elicited variation in views: While almost two-thirds say that they believe the literal story of creation as presented in Genesis, the remainder express varying degrees of doubt. Similarly, while 70 percent believe that “Christianity is God’s only authentic self-revelation to humanity,” the remainder prefer the less strict tenet that “Although there is truth in many religions, Christianity is God’s fullest revelation.”

Besides asking clergy about their religious beliefs, the survey asked respondents to designate their “theological position.” Again, there is substantial agreement among the clergy, with almost none saying that they adopt liberal, neo-orthodox, feminist, or liberation views. Two descriptors provide enough variation to be included in our analysis: moderate, marked by 16 percent of the respondents, and conservative, marked by 30 percent. Preliminary analysis indicated that the designation of moderate is a better predictor of our dependent variable and is used in our model.⁹

Table 2 gives the means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations. The correlations in column one of this table reflect the denominational differences in views on sanctification noted above and also indicate that more nontraditional views on sanctification are held by clergy from larger churches, those who are the children of ministers, have higher levels of education, are younger, are less likely to believe the literal creation story or reject the validity of other religions, and who call themselves “moderates.” The correlations in columns 2 and 3 indicate significant differences among the clergy from the three denominations in the size of church that is served, level of education, and some beliefs. Evangelical Church clergy serve substantially larger churches (mean Sunday attendance = 216, $s.d. = 203$) than either Church of God clergy (mean = 169, $s.d. = 147$) or Nazarene clergy (mean = 129, $s.d. = 136$; $F = 3.78$, $df = 2, 142$, $p = .02$). Clergy in The Evangelical

TABLE 2

Means, Standard Deviations, and Bivariate Correlations of Sanctification, Denominational Affiliation, Demographic Variables, and Beliefs

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1) Nontraditional sanctification views	1.00									
Denomination:										
2) Church of God	.36***	1.00								
3) Evangelical	.09	-.38***	1.00							
Demographic Variables:										
4) Church Size	.38***	.02	.20**	1.00						
5) 2nd generation minister	.27***	-.02	-.01	.27***	1.00					
6) Education	.16*	-.25**	.30***	.27***	.10					
7) Age	-.20**	.13	-.06	-.15	-.13	-.12	1.00			
Beliefs:										
8) Doubt creation story	.31***	.09	-.14	.10	.18*	.24**	-.002	1.00		
9) Other religions valid	.17*	.11	-.23**	-.02	.05	-.08	.01	.26**	1.00	
10) Self-designated moderate	.33***	-.01	-.06	.08	.20*	.20*	-.14	.36***	.30***	1.00
Mean	8.01	0.27	0.28	164.1	0.27	5.56	47.1	1.52	1.30	0.16
Standard deviation	2.40	0.44	0.45	162.9	0.45	1.61	10.8	0.87	0.46	0.37

n = 146

Note: When a variable is a dichotomy (e.g. the dummy variables for denomination, 2nd generation minister, and self designation as moderate), the mean value indicates the proportion of cases. Education is measured on an eight point scale with 8 indicating the completion of one or more graduate degrees and 1 indicating high school completion or less. Beliefs regarding sanctification are measured on a 15 point scale (5-20), beliefs regarding the creation story are measured on a four point scale (1-4), and beliefs regarding the validity of other religions are measured on a three point scale (1-3). Descriptions in the table refer to the high scores on each scale.

Church also tend to be less likely to accept the validity of other religions than either Church of God or Nazarene clergy ($F = 4.19$; $df = 2,141$; $p = .02$). Finally, Church of God clergy tend to have lower levels of education and Evangelical Church clergy tend to have more education than Nazarene clergy ($F=9.11$, $df=2,143$; $p < .001$).

Other relationships within the table are small to moderate in magnitude. Clergy serving larger churches are more often the children of ministers and have higher levels of education. Later generation pastors and more highly educated clergy more often doubt the creation story and describe themselves as moderate. Responses on the three belief items are positively correlated, with clergy who doubt the Genesis story also more likely to recognize the validity of other religions and describe themselves as moderate.

Table 3 gives the results of the regression of views toward sanctification on the independent variables. Close to half of the variation in nontraditional views on sanctification can be explained by the variables included in the equation. Most significant is the influence of denominational affiliation, followed by church size, self designation as moderate, age, belief in the creation story, and second generation in the ministry. The influences of recognition of other religions as valid and level of education are not significant. The direction of all relationships is identical to the bivariate results in Table 2.

TABLE 3

**Regression of Nontraditional Sanctification Views on Denominational Affiliation,
Demographic Characteristics, and Theological Beliefs**

	unstandardized regression coef.	standardized regres. coef.	t-value	prob.
<u>Denomination:</u>				
Church of God	2.51	.46	6.71	<.001
Evangelical Church	1.40	.26	3.62	<.001
<u>Demographic Variables:</u>				
Church Size	.003	.22	3.22	.002
2nd generation minister	.70	.13	1.98	.050
Education	.04	.03	.37	.710
Age	-.04	-.16	-2.51	.013
<u>Theological Beliefs:</u>				
Doubt creation story	.45	.16	2.31	.022
Other religions valid	.42	.08	1.18	.239
Self-designated moderate	1.28	.20	2.76	.007
Constant	6.24		6.07	<.001
Adjusted R ² =.46 F = 13.73, df = 9, 136, p < .001				

Comparing the standardized regression coefficients in Table 3 with the zero-order correlations in column one of Table 2 indicates that the influence of denominational affiliation is enhanced when demographic measures and beliefs are introduced as control variables. In other words, when the respondents have similar demographic characteristics and beliefs, the tendencies for Church of God and Evangelical Church clergy to be more likely than Nazarene clergy to express nontraditional views becomes even larger. This relationship is suppressed in the zero-order relationships because of the tendency for Church of God clergy to have lower levels of education and for Evangelical Church clergy to have more traditional beliefs regarding the validity of other religions.

How are views on sanctification related to views on ecumenical, moral, and social, and political issues?

Our third research question concerns the influence of the clergy's views of sanctification on their views regarding relationships with other denominations, moral principles, and social and political issues. There is little variation in the clergy's views regarding cooperation with other denominations, with virtually all of the pastors supporting such cooperation in general. Yet the clergy differ in the extent to which they believe their church should merge with other denominations, with almost a fifth saying yes, close to a third saying "yes with reservations," and fully half replying no. They also differ in their views regarding cooperation with religious organizations that link denominations. The majority believe in cooperating with the Christian Holiness Partnership (CHP) and the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), with less than a quarter expressing reservations and disagreements. In contrast, the majority of the clergy express opposition to participation in the National Council of Churches (NCC) or the World Council of Churches

(WCC). Views regarding cooperation with the CHP and NAE are only moderately correlated ($r = .25, p = .004$), and these two items are examined separately. Views regarding participation in the NCC and WCC are very highly correlated ($r = .81, p < .001$) and are combined into an additive scale. Higher scores on each of these measures indicate greater opposition to relationships with other groups.

Some questions involving moral issues asked about the clergy's own views as well as their standards regarding behaviors of church members. When asked how they would react if an active member of their congregation was involved in a stable lesbian or gay relationship, was living out of wedlock with a member of the opposite sex, was sexually active with a number of partners, or was having an affair with someone else's husband or wife, the pastors voice virtually unanimous disapproval. However, when asked about a congregant who got a divorce and wanted to continue teaching Sunday School or who got a divorce and wanted to keep a leadership position in the church, their responses indicate more variability, with only about a fifth indicating disapproval to both circumstances. Responses to the two items regarding divorce are highly correlated ($r = .87$) and are combined into an additive scale with a higher score indicating more disapproval of divorced church members holding responsible positions.

A second set of questions asked the clergy about issues "that have concerned many Christians." These questions examined views regarding activities that have traditionally been used to maintain boundaries between sectlike groups and the larger society, such as those regarding smoking, drinking, and sex. The clergy express virtually unanimous opposition to smoking cigarettes, smoking marijuana, premarital sex among adolescents, and homosexual relations between consenting adults. In contrast, there is considerably more variation in views toward dancing, playing cards, drinking wine, and drinking other alcoholic beverages, although a large majority express at least some concern with these behaviors. Responses to these items are combined into an additive scale ($\alpha = .77$), with a higher score indicating greater opposition to these worldly activities.

Finally, a large number of items asked the clergy their views on a number of "moral and social issues which have been of concern to Christians both now and in the past." Responses could vary on a five point scale from strongly support to strongly oppose. Based on the examination of the correlation matrix and results of a factor analysis the items were combined into two separate scales. Scale scores were averaged to increase comparability and, where appropriate, responses were recoded so that a higher score indicates a more conservative or traditional view. The first scale includes views toward political issues, both historically and at the time the survey was given ($\alpha = .67$).¹⁰ The average response to this scale is 4.07 (s.d. = .54), indicating relatively conservative political views. The second scale taps issues related to social and moral concerns, ($\alpha = .79$).¹¹ The average score on this scale is 3.53 (s.d. = .54), reflecting moderate to slightly conservative views.¹²

Multiple regression was used to examine the effect of clergy's views on sanctification on their ecumenical, moral, and social/political views. Each of the dependent variables was regressed on the clergy's views regarding sanctification, the dummy variables for denominational affiliation, age, level of education, and self-rated political conservatism. The latter variable was obtained by asking the clergy, "Would you call yourself a liberal or a conservative in your political outlook?" Six percent of the clergy describe themselves

as moderately liberal, 51 percent as moderately conservative, and the remaining 43 percent as very conservative.

Correlations between views of sanctification, denominational affiliation, age, and education are in Table 2 and discussed above. Political outlook is negatively correlated with nontraditional views on sanctification ($r = -.28, p=.001$), indicating that those who reject the traditional views tend to be more politically liberal. Church of God clergy rate themselves as significantly less conservative ($r=-.24, p=.004$), but the correlations of political views with age, membership in The Evangelical Church and level of education are close to zero and statistically insignificant.

Bivariate correlations between the independent variables and each of the dependent variables are given in Table 4, and results of the multiple regressions are given in Table 5. The standardized regression coefficients in Table 5 may be directly compared to the correlations in Table 4.

The results in Table 5 indicate that views regarding sanctification have a significant influence on only one of the four variables used to measure ecumenical attitudes, with pastors who have more nontraditional attitudes regarding sanctification being more opposed to cooperation with the Christian Holiness Partnership. This influence is independent of denominational affiliation, age, education, and political orientation. Although the zero-order correlations in Table 4 indicate that more nontraditional views regarding sanctification are significantly associated with opposition to participation in the National Association of Evangelicals, this relationship is spurious, disappearing when affiliation with the Church of God is introduced as a control variable.

TABLE 4
Bivariate Correlations of Views on Ecumenism, Moral Issues, and Political/Social Concerns with Views on Sanctification, Denominational Affiliation, Age, Education, and Political Outlook

	Nontraditional Sanctification Views	Church of God	Evangelical Church	Age	Education	Politically Conservative
Ecumenical Views:						
1) Reject merging with other denominations	-.03	.31***	-.12	.12	-.28***	-.003
2) Oppose cooperation with the CHA	.35***	.09	.17*	-.14	.04	-.21**
3) Oppose participation in the NAE	.23**	.38***	-.14	-.01	-.05	-.19*
4) Oppose membership in NCC or WCC	-.13	-.25**	.18*	.16	-.02	.31***
Moral Issues:						
1) Disapprove divorced church leaders	-.16	-.10	.16*	.01	-.08	.18*
2) Oppose worldly pleasures	-.42***	-.23**	-.13	.35***	-.22**	.38***
Social/Political Issues:						
1) Political conservatism	-.19*	-.12	.04	-.03	-.07	.40***
2) Social conservatism	-.47***	-.42***	.08	.06	-.06	.50***

TABLE 5

Regression of Views on Ecumenism, Moral Issues, and Political/Social Concerns on Views on Sanctification, Denominational Affiliation, Age, Education, and Political Outlook

	Nontraditional Sanctification Views	Church of God	Evangelical Church	Age	Education	Politically Conservative	R-square
<u>Ecumenical Views:</u>							
1) Reject merging with other denominations	-.10	.32***	.08	.03	-.20*	.04	.11***
2) Oppose cooperation with the CHA	.27**	.01	.17*	-.07	-.07	-.15	.16***
3) Oppose participation in the NAE	.04	.34***	-.02	-.04	.03	-.09	.16***
4) Oppose membership in NCC or WCC	.06	-.20*	.11	.18*	-.08	.25**	.13***
<u>Moral Issues:</u>							
1) Disapprove of divorced church leaders	-.14	.04	.21*	-.03	-.11	.14	.05*
2) Oppose worldly pleasures	-.14	-.24**	-.16*	.29***	-.16*	.29***	.34***
<u>Social/Political Issues:</u>							
1) Political conservatism	-.06	-.01	.03	-.04	-.06	.37***	.12***
2) Social conservatism	-.22**	-.23**	.003	.02	-.06	.35***	.32***

Note: R squared values are adjusted for the number of independent variables in the equation. All coefficients are standardized regression coefficients.

Views regarding sanctification have no influence on attitudes regarding divorcees in church leadership positions in either the bivariate or multivariate results. While views toward sanctification have a strong and highly significant influence on attitudes toward worldly activities in the bivariate results (Table 4), this influence declines to an insignificant level in the multiple regression analysis due to the association of Church of God affiliation, age, and political conservatism with views toward both sanctification and worldly activities. All of the control variables in the analysis appear to have a stronger influence on views toward the worldly activities than do attitudes toward sanctification.

Finally, while the bivariate analysis indicates that clergy with more nontraditional views regarding sanctification are also less likely to report conservative political and social views, only the influence on social conservatism remains significant in the multiple regression. The only significant influence on political conservatism is self-reported political orientation. In contrast, pastors who have more nontraditional views on sanctification tend also to be less socially conservative, independent of their denominational affiliation, age, educational level, or general political orientation. A post-hoc analysis indicated that these results also appear when individual items within each of these scales are analyzed.

Affiliation with the Church of God has a significant, independent influence on 5 of the 8 dependent variables in both the bivariate and multiple regression analyses. Church of God clergy are more likely to reject the possibility of merging with other denominations and to oppose participation in the NAE, but less likely to oppose participation in the WCC and NCC. They are also less opposed to worldly activities, such as dancing, card playing,

TABLE 6
Summary of Significant Denominational Differences

	Less		More
Nontraditional Views on Sanctification	Nazarene	Evangelical Church	Church of God
<u>Ecumenical Views:</u>			
Reject merging with other denominations ^a	Nazarene/Evangelical Church		Church of God
Oppose cooperation with the CHA ^b	Nazarene/Church of God		Evangelical Church
Oppose participation in the NAE ^a	Evangelical Church/Nazarene		Church of God
Oppose membership in NCC or WCC ^a	Church of God		Nazarene/Evangelical Church
<u>Moral Issues:</u>			
Disapprove of divorced church leaders ^b	Nazarene/Church of God		Evangelical Church
Oppose worldly pleasures	Church of God	Evangelical Church	Nazarene
<u>Social/Political Issues:</u>			
Social conservatism	Church of God		Nazarene/Evangelical Church

Note: The order given above reflects the results of the multiple regressions. When a denomination is listed in the left-hand column, clergy in that group have the lowest average score on the variable, net of other variables in the analysis; and when a denomination is in the right-most column its clergy have the highest average score. For instance, net of church size, 2nd generation ministerial status, education, age, and various theological beliefs, Nazarene clergy have the least nontraditional views regarding sanctification and Church of God clergy have the most nontraditional views.

a. No significant difference between Evangelical Church and Nazarene clergy.

b. No significant difference between Church of God and Nazarene clergy.

and drinking alcohol, and less socially conservative. Evangelical Church clergy differ significantly from other pastors in three areas. They are more likely to oppose cooperation with the Christian Holiness Partnership, more likely to disapprove of divorced people holding leadership positions within the church, and less likely than Nazarene clergy (but more likely than Church of God clergy) to oppose worldly activities. It is important to stress that these influences of denominational affiliation are independent of views on sanctification, age, education, and self-rated political views. (See Table 6.)

The relatively small influence of the three other control variables is noteworthy. Age has an independent influence only on the pastors' opposition to membership in the NCC and WCC and their views of worldly activities, with older clergy more likely to have negative views. Education significantly influences only views on worldly activities and mergers with other denominations, with more highly educated clergy more supportive of both. Finally, higher self-ratings of political conservatism are related to greater opposition to membership in the NCC and WCC and to worldly activities as well as more conservative views on both measures of social/political attitudes.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

While the clergy in this study express a large amount of support for traditional holiness views, a substantial number express doubts on some traditional doctrinal elements. While a large majority affirm the doctrine of sanctification in the sense that they believe that holiness is a second distinct of grace and that it is very important to emphasize sanctification today, somewhat fewer say that they are familiar with the historic teachings, and substantially fewer indicate that they frequently or even occasionally preach on the topic. We suggest that the fact that almost a third of the clergy preached on sanctification only

once or twice or not at all in the past year reflects the gradual movement of these pastors toward positions that are more indicative of a church-like organization than the more traditional sect-like orientation of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement.

Almost half of the variation in clergy's views regarding sanctification can be accounted for by the independent influence of denominational affiliation, church size, age, being a later generation pastor, and theological beliefs, a degree of explanation that is relatively unusual in the examination of attitudes and orientations. In addition, independent of denominational affiliation, age, education, and general political outlook, clergy with less traditional views regarding sanctification are significantly more likely to oppose cooperation of their church with the Christian Holiness Partnership and less likely to express views that could be considered socially conservative. We believe that these results have implications for theoretical understandings regarding the process of changes from sect-to-church as well as implications for scholars of religion and denominational leaders.

Theoretical Implications

While the theoretical basis of, and many analyses within, the sect-to-church tradition focus on organizations as the unit of analysis, our results extend this approach to the level of individuals. Specifically, by examining variations in sect-like beliefs within specific denominations our analysis provides an example of the process that underlies the sect-to-church transition and illustrates the importance of variables related to both generational replacement and denominational culture.

Generational Replacement — As hypothesized, both younger clergy and pastors of larger churches are more likely to reject traditional views. In contrast, even though the bivariate analysis indicates that a higher level of education is associated with less traditional views regarding sanctification, this relationship disappears in the multivariate analysis. The influence of education on less traditional views appears to be indirect, through the relationship of education with denominational affiliation, church size, and other religious beliefs. More highly educated pastors tend to serve The Evangelical Church, larger churches in all denominations, and to be more likely to classify themselves as theologically moderate. We suspect that these variables intervene in the relationship between education and views regarding sanctification, thus explaining *how* higher levels of education influence the development of less traditional views. In addition, it must be remembered that there is relatively little variation among the clergy in their years of education. In explaining variations in clergy's views, the nature of their theological training and the type of seminary and post-graduate experience they have had may be more important variables than simply the number of years of schooling attained. Unfortunately, we did not gather these more specific measures.

The significant influence of second-generation pastoral status on less traditional attitudes counters the possibility that early socialization in a faith promotes traditional views and instead supports the proposition that the movement from sect to church occurs when those who are "born in the faith," rather than converted, become more numerous (e.g. Stark and Bainbridge 1996: 277), a key element of the notion of "generational replacement." We were, however, somewhat surprised by this finding, especially because second-generation pastors tend to be younger, more highly educated, more likely to serve larger

churches, and to have more moderate theological views — variables that also influence less traditional views and that were controlled in the analysis. While some of the total influence of second generation status is indirectly channeled through these variables, a significant net, direct, relationship remains in the multivariate analysis.¹³

The multiple regression results indicate that views regarding sanctification have a significant independent effect on only attitudes toward cooperation with the Christian Holiness Partnership and the scaled measure of social conservatism. The association of more nontraditional views regarding sanctification with greater opposition to cooperation with the CHP could be expected given that this group represents traditional Wesleyan/Holiness views. Thus, the rejection of doctrines regarding sanctification appears to be associated with a rejection of the social and organizational ties of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement.

The association of more nontraditional views regarding sanctification with less social conservatism was not necessarily expected and, in fact, may reflect a change in the historical association of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement with social issues. The first generations of Wesleyan/Holiness believers understood that sanctification included not only becoming holy themselves but transforming the world as well (Magnuson, 1977). The fact that contemporary clergy who express more traditional beliefs in holiness doctrines also express more concern with gambling, sexual promiscuity, alcoholism, and the sanctity of human life can be seen as a continuation of this historical association of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement with moral issues. Yet, these clergy are also ^{less} likely to express views that could be interpreted as promoting racial and gender-based justice, peace, or general health and well being,¹⁴ a pattern *opposite* to that which would have been expected given the historical Wesleyan/Holiness tradition of concern for social justice, abolition, and the poor. We suspect that the retention of traditional views regarding sanctification may now involve embracing a wider and different range of social issues than could be expected from the historical commitments. While traditional areas include opposition to gambling, excessive drink, and promiscuous sexuality, new issues such as the sanctity of life, preservation of private enterprise, global isolationism, and individual enterprise have been added.¹⁵

Ironically, the clergy who have rejected more traditional theological elements of the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition are actually more accepting than their fellow clergy of the social justice elements of the tradition. In contrast, the pattern of social concerns voiced by theologically traditional Wesleyan/Holiness pastors may have altered in recent years to resemble what may be seen as a socially conservative political agenda and to more closely parallel the social and political agenda of evangelicalism. Thus, changes within the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition may reflect two different trends: 1) a rejection of the theological tradition of sanctification with a retention of the social concerns and 2) a retention of the theological traditions while moving away from the traditional political and social agenda. The pattern of generational replacement may involve alterations on more than simply one dimension.

Denominational Culture — The strong influence of denominational affiliation on both attitudes toward sanctification and ecumenical, moral, and social/political issues is striking and provides strong support for the hypothesis that denominational culture may influence the pace and nature of the sect-to-church dynamic. The strength of these results is

striking given that they appear within a group of denominations that are within the same theological family and when various demographic and theological variables are controlled.

Church of God clergy differed significantly from the other clergy on 6 of the 8 dimensions in which denominational differences appeared (see Table 6), and we suspect that these differences can be traced to several cultural and historical characteristics of this group: first, their noncreedal heritage may support an atmosphere that encourages variations from traditional views, such as those regarding sanctification, worldly activities, or social and moral issues. Second, their tradition of racial integration can, perhaps, account for their lower levels of social conservatism, a measure that includes questions related to sanctions against Apartheid and support for affirmative action. Third, their historical opposition to bureaucratic denominational affiliations and their historical “come outer” orientation can explain their greater opposition to participation in the NAE as well as, indirectly, their lower levels of social conservatism. Finally, while the greater support of Church of God clergy for participating in the NCC and WCC may seem contradictory to the aversion to ecumenical groups, this support can be explained by understanding the specific historical context of our sample. While the Church of God is not a member denomination of the NCC, congregations and individuals in Oregon have been significantly involved in Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon, the state affiliate of the NCC.

Evangelical Church clergy fall between Nazarene and Church of God clergy on some dimensions (e.g. views on sanctification and worldly pleasures), but indicate the most sectarian views in other areas.¹⁶ These results were somewhat unexpected. Since many current clergy would have been present at the founding of The Evangelical Church in 1968, we expected that this group would espouse the most traditional beliefs, especially with respect to sanctification and traditional Wesleyan/Holiness associations. Further analysis of the historical context surrounding the origins of The Evangelical Church helped us make sense of these results. When they organized, members of The Evangelical Church were more concerned about preserving and promoting evangelical doctrine than in promoting sanctification. Influenced by “fundamentalist leavening,” they added an innerrancy statement to their doctrine and prohibited women from being ordained. Thus, while their refusal to merge with the Methodist Church represented a sectarian move, the issues involved did not center as much around the traditional Wesleyan/Holiness doctrine of sanctification as around other issues. The Evangelical Church clergy’s somewhat greater acceptance of traditional worldly activities also reflects the historical tradition of the EUB, which tended to operate in a broader social and political environment than other Wesleyan/Holiness groups. For instance, the EUB did not ban dancing or movies.

Compared to others within our sample the Nazarene clergy have the most traditional views regarding sanctification, are most likely to favor cooperation with the CHP, and are the most opposed to worldly activities. Their views regarding social issues, mergers with other denominations, and participation in the NAE, WCC, and NCC are similar to Evangelical clergy, standing in contrast to those of Church of God clergy. We believe that these results reflect the unique denominational history and context of the Nazarenes. Of the groups in our study, their historical ties with the Methodist tradition are the strongest. We suspect that the Nazarene’s strong creedal tradition and bureaucratic structure reinforce adherence to traditional beliefs and identification. In fact, in a post hoc analysis we

found that Nazarene clergy are significantly more likely than clergy in the other two groups to describe their theological position as “holiness.” Ninety-six percent of Nazarene clergy, 87% of Church of God clergy, and only 76% of The Evangelical Church clergy chose this self-descriptor (chi-square = 9.23, $df=2$, $p=.01$).

Implications for Researchers and Religious Leaders

It will be important to replicate our analysis with Wesleyan/Holiness clergy in different areas of the country, with clergy from different denominations, and with lay people as well as pastors. Specific findings uncovered in this work also deserve additional attention. First, church size appears to be an important correlate of clergy’s beliefs, but our design did not allow us to disentangle causal relationships between size, beliefs, and other pastoral and church characteristics. Given the growing prevalence of “mega-churches,” future studies of such groups and their clergy would no doubt be fruitful. Second, our finding that second-generation pastors expressed more non-traditional views independently of other variables was unexpected. The process by which second generation pastors come to exercise more doctrinal independence deserves further scrutiny. Third, our findings regarding the independent effect of views regarding sanctification on attitudes regarding social issues, but not on attitudes regarding more purely political issues, should be explored in more detail, especially in light of recent research that has documented a substantial amount of heterogeneity among members of “conservative” religious groups (e.g. Davis and Robinson 1996; Gay, Ellison, and Powers 1996; Hall 1997: 33; Hart 1992: 156-172; Hoffmann and Miller 1997; Pyle 1993; Roof 1999; Shibley 1996; Smith 1998). Finally, we have suggested that the variations in clergy’s views documented in our analysis provide the basis for changes in Wesleyan/Holiness groups from sect-like to more church-like structures. Yet we have no direct evidence for this linkage and future research could employ multi-level and longitudinal designs to examine this process. We believe such work will be most productive if it incorporates both historical and sociological traditions of scholarship.

We also believe that continuing research on understudied religious groups such as those in the Wesleyan/Holiness movement should be an important agenda item for the sociology of religion. Given the important and unique role of these groups in American Protestantism, we were, in fact, quite surprised to find such a lack of sociological attention to them. If such work develops, we believe, based upon the important role of denominational affiliation in our results, that it will be crucial to maintain distinctions between specific denominational groups in such analyses. More generally, our results suggest that social scientists would be well served by paying much more attention to the influence of specific denominational affiliations and traditions.

In groupings of denominational affiliation most often used in sociological analyses the three groups in this study are often placed in inappropriate categories. For instance, in Smith’s (1990) categorization they would simply be termed “fundamentalist.” Such broad groupings make it easier to analyze large data sets that include representations of many different denominations. Yet they can result in categorizations and labels that are at odds with denominations’ theological and historical traditions. For instance, describing Wesleyan/Holiness groups as “fundamentalist” ignores the distinct history of the funda-

mentalist tradition as well as the history of Wesleyan/Holiness groups that did not participate in the modernist-fundamentalist controversy but instead were “innocent bystanders” (Stanley, 1998). Only 12% of the Wesleyan/Holiness clergy in our sample describe themselves as fundamentalist (see endnote 9). Labels commonly used by social scientists can also result in combining groups with very strong theological differences. For instance, Wesleyan/Holiness denominations are often grouped with Pentecostal denominations with an appellation of Holiness/Pentecostal, ignoring the long history of antagonism between the two traditions. Based on the strong independent explanatory power of denominational affiliation found in our results (also see Guth, et al 1996 and Johnson 1998), we suggest that measurement schemes that ignore the reality of denominational culture and historical heritage can greatly decrease our ability to understand sociological phenomena (see also Dayton 1991; Gay and Ellison 1993; Hart 1992: 172; Woodberry and Smith 1998). Contrary to suggestions that denominational differences may be declining in significance (e.g. Wuthnow 1988), our results indicate that, at least among clergy, such denominational differences, even among groups within the same historical tradition, are very strong indeed.

Finally, religious leaders who have voiced concerns that the Wesleyan/Holiness movement is losing its unique characteristics will find confirmation in this work, for our results do indicate the movement of a substantial number of clergy away from the original concerns of the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition. On the other hand, these leaders can find comfort in the sect-to-church analyses, which have documented the dynamic relationship between churches and sects. While historically sects have tended to become churches, these churches, in turn, have experienced divisions and conflicts, producing new sects. Thus, even though our results indicate that many contemporary Wesleyan/Holiness clergy are moving away from traditional teachings, it is important to remember that in matters of faith, as well as religious organization, there is always the possibility of change and renewal.

*Funding for this project was provided by the Louisville Institute. Address of the corresponding author is Jean Stockard, Department of Planning, Public Policy and Management, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 97403, jeans@oregon.uoregon.edu.

REFERENCES

- Bainbridge, William Sims. 1997. *The Sociology of Religious Movements*. New York and London: Routledge.
- Bassett, Paul Merritt. 1991. “The Theological Identity of the North American Holiness Movement.” Pp. 72-108 in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, edited by Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Collins, Kenneth J. 1999. “Why the Holiness Movement is Dead.” *The Asbury Theological Journal*. 54 (Fall): 27-35.
- Dann, Norman K. 1976. “Spatial Diffusion of a Religious Movement.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 15: 351-360.

- Davis, Nancy J. and Robert V. Robinson. 1996. "Religious Orthodoxy in American Society: The Myth of a Monolithic Camp." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 35: 229-245.
- Dayton, Donald W. 1991. "Some Doubts about the Usefulness of the Category 'Evangelical.'" Pp. 245-251 in *The Variety of American Evangelicalism*, edited by Donald W. Dayton and Robert K. Johnston. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Drury, Keith. 1994. "The Holiness Movement is Dead." *Holiness Digest*. 8 (Winter): 13-15.
- Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark. 1992. *The Churching of America, 1776-1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Gay, David A. and Christopher G. Ellison. 1993. "Religious Subcultures and Political Tolerance: Do Denominations Still Matter?" *Review of Religious Research*. 34: 311-332.
- Gay, David A., Christopher G. Ellison, and Daniel A. Powers. 1996. "In Search of Denominational Subcultures: Religious Affiliation and 'Pro-Family' Issues Revisited." *Review of Religious Research*. 38: 3-17.
- Guth, James L. 1996. "The Politics of the Christian Right." Pp. 7-29 in *Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front*, edited by John C. Green, James L. Guth, Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Guth, James L., John C. Green, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt. 1996. "The Political Relevance of Religion: The Correlates of Mobilization." Pp. 300-329 in *Religion and the Culture Wars: Dispatches from the Front*, edited by John C. Green, James L. Guth, Corwin E. Smidt, and Lyman A. Kellstedt.. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Hall, Charles F. 1997. "The Christian Left: Who are They and How Are They Different from the Christian Right?" *Review of Religious Research*. 39: 27 - 45
- Hart, Stephen. 1992. *What Does the Lord Require? How American Christians Think About Economic Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hoffman, John P. and Alan S. Miller. 1997. "Social and Political Attitudes among Religious Groups: Convergence and Divergence over Time." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 36: 52-70.
- Iannacone, Laurence R. 1988. "A Formal Model of Church and Sect." *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (Supplement): S241-S268.
- Johnson, Benton. 1963. "On Church and Sect." *American Sociological Review* 28: 539-549.
- Johnson, Benton. 1971. "Church and Sect Revisited." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 10: 124-137.
- Johnson, Benton. 1998. "Theology and the Position of Pastors on Social Issues: Continuities and Change Since the 1960s." *Review of Religious Research* 39: 293-308.
- Magnuson, Norris. 1977. *Salvation in the Slums: Evangelical Social Work, 1865-1920*. ATLA Monograph Series, No. 10. Netuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press and American Theological Library Association.

- Peters, John Leland, 1956. *Christian Perfection and American Methodism*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1956.
- Raser, Harold E. 1987. *Phoebe Palmer: Her Life and Thought*. Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Roof, Wade Clark. 1999. *Spiritual Marketplace: Baby Boomers and the Remaking of American Religion*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Pyle, Ralph E. 1993. "Faith and Commitment to the Poor: Theological Orientation and Support for Government Assistance Measures." *Sociology of Religion*. 54: 385-401.
- Shibley, Mark A. 1996. *Resurgent Evangelicalism in the United States: Mapping Cultural Change Since 1970*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Smith, Christian. 1998. *American Evangelicalism: Embattled and Thriving*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, John W. V., 1980. *The Quest for Holiness and Unity*. Anderson, Indiana: Warner Press.
- Smith, Timothy L. 1962. *Called to Holiness: The Story of the Nazarenes: The Formative Years*. Kansas City, Missouri: Nazarene Publishing House.
- Smith, Tom. 1990. "Classifying Protestant Denominations." *Review of Religious Research*. 31: 225-245.
- Stanley, Susie C. 1995. "'Bumping' into Modernity: Primitive/Modern Tensions in the Wesleyan/Holiness Movement." Pp. 121-138 in *The Primitive Church in the Modern World*. edited by Richard T. Hughes. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press.
- Stanley, Susie C. 1998. "Wesleyan/Holiness Churches: Innocent Bystanders in the Fundamentalist/Modernist Controversy." Pp. 172-193 in *Re-Forming the Center: American Protestantism, 1900 to the Present*, edited by Douglas Jacobsen and William Vance Trollinger, Jr. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans.
- Stark, Rodney and William Sims Bainbridge. 1996. *A Theory of Religion*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Taylor, Richard S. 1999. "Why the Holiness Movement Died." *God's Revivalist and Bible Advocate*. 111 (2): 6-27.
- Telfer, David A. 1981. *Red & Yellow Black & White & Brown*. Anderson, Indiana: Warner Press.
- Wall, Robert Walter. 1990. "The Embourgeoisement of the Free Methodist Ethos." *Wesleyan Theological Journal*. 25 (1): 117-129.
- Welsey, John. 1966. *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*. London, 1872. Reprint, Kansas City, Mo.: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City.
- White, Charles Edward. 1986. *The Beauty of Holiness: Phoebe Palmer as Theologian, Revivalist, Feminist, and Humanitarian*. Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press of Zondervan Publishing House.
- Woodberry, Robert D. and Christian S. Smith. 1998. "Fundamentalism et al: Conservative Protestants in America." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 24: 25-57.
- Wuthnow, Robert. 1988. *The Restructuring of American Religion: Society and Faith Since World War II*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

ENDNOTES

1. The Keswick movement, which promoted a Calvinist version of holiness, emerged from the Keswick camp meetings that began in England in 1874. This view differed from the Wesleyan understanding of holiness because it rejected the doctrine of eradication, maintaining that inbred sin was suppressed rather than eradicated. It became popular in many Calvinist churches in the United States but no new denominations resulted from the Keswick movement.
2. Many Methodists left Methodism and affiliated with Wesleyan/Holiness groups because they believed Methodism had abandoned its emphasis on the doctrine of sanctification. The United Methodist Church has continued to accommodate Holiness enclaves, such as the Asbury College network but, overall, it has professed sanctification much less than Wesleyan/Holiness bodies.
3. The Christian Holiness Partnership (CHP) is a coalition of Wesleyan/Holiness churches and individuals and provides an organizational network for communication and partnership. The CHP has been known by a number of different names throughout its history. It began in 1867 as the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness, as an outgrowth of ecumenical camp meetings where holiness believers gathered. At the time of our survey it was called the Christian Holiness Association (CHA). It became the Christian Holiness Partnership in 1997.
4. It is, of course, possible that views in these areas also influence attitudes regarding sanctification. Unfortunately, we are unable to analyze this reciprocal relationship with our cross-sectional data set.
5. This is exemplified by the origins of The Evangelical Church. Prior to 1968 congregations of the Evangelical United Brethren within the Pacific Northwest were substantially more conservative than EUB congregations in other parts of the country. These theological differences led them to opt out of the merger with the United Methodists and to form a separate denomination.
6. The median average attendance was 100, reflecting the fact that a few churches are very large in size (about 16% had over 250 in attendance each Sunday).
7. To maintain a larger sample size, as well as greater variation in age of pastors (for the associate pastors tend to be somewhat younger than the senior or solo pastors), all Wesleyan/Holiness clergy who responded were included in the analyses. When the sample was limited to only senior or solo pastors, results were obtained that were substantively identical to those reported here.
8. Only about 9 percent did not attend religious colleges during some of their undergraduate schooling, thus eliminating this variable as a possible predictor.
9. Results obtained with the use of the self designation of conservative are available upon request. They do not alter the substantive conclusions presented in this paper. Clergy could also indicate if their theological position was "evangelical" or "fundamentalist." The vast majority (81 percent) termed themselves as evangelical, but not fundamentalist; 12 percent checked both evangelical and fundamentalist; and the remaining 7 percent chose neither.
10. Questions in this scale tapped views toward capital punishment, voluntary prayer in the public schools, tuition tax credits for parents of children attending private schools, laws forbidding discrimination against homosexuals, inclusion of creationism in the curriculum of the public schools, the establishment of Christian elementary and secondary schools, President Reagan's "star wars" program, and U.S. aid to the Contras in Nicaragua.

11. Items in this scale examined views regarding strong governmental sanctions against Apartheid in South Africa, state lotteries, U.S. participation in the United Nations, advertisements of condoms on network TV to help stop the spread of AIDS, sale of alcoholic beverages, abortion if it is needed to save the life of the mother, abortion if the mother wants it because she is unable to support the child adequately, abortion for whatever reason the mother requests it, nuclear disarmament, affirmative action for women and minorities, participation of the church in the so-called sanctuary movement, the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, stricter gun control laws, and national health insurance
12. We realize that terming these two scales, respectively, "political" and "social/moral" is somewhat arbitrary, for both scales deal with both politically charged and social/moral issues. For example, our "social/moral" scale includes items about nuclear disarmament, gun control, and national health insurance. Our "political" scale includes items about laws regarding discrimination against homosexuals. Still, the two scales are only moderately correlated ($r = .35$) and, as can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, have different patterns of correlations with our independent variables. Thus, while both scales tap items that involve politically charged social and moral issues, we have chosen to maintain them as distinct measures.
13. To further examine this relationship we also looked at the denomination in which the pastors were raised. Ninety percent of the second-generation pastors, compared to about two-thirds of the other pastors, were raised in their current denomination. In a post-hoc analysis we explored the extent to which being "born in the faith" rather than converting might account for the effect of second-generation pastoral status. The results indicate that clergy who were raised in their current denomination are slightly less likely to hold traditional views regarding sanctification, but that the influence of this variable is not significant and cannot account for the influence of second-generation pastoral status. In addition, the correlation between being raised in a Holiness denomination and views regarding sanctification is fairly low. Thus, the influence of being a second-generation pastor on holding less traditional views regarding sanctification, while smaller than that of other variables, appears to be robust. Understanding the dynamics underlying this relationship will no doubt require further research.
14. Views regarding gambling, sexual promiscuity, alcoholism and the sanctity of life were tapped by scale items regarding state lotteries, advertisement of condoms, the sale of alcohol, and abortion. Views regarding racial and gender-based justice, peace, and general health and well-being were tapped by items regarding sanctions against apartheid, Affirmative Action, the Equal Rights Amendment, nuclear disarmament, sanctuary movement, participation in the United Nations, stricter gun control, and national health insurance.
15. We realize that these are sweeping statements, but suggest that these concerns reflect the issues that appear within our second measure of moral and social issues, on which views regarding sanctification had a significant independent influence (see Table 5 and footnote 14).
16. For instance, they are the most socially conservative, most likely to disapprove of divorcees in church leadership positions, most likely to oppose membership in the CHA, NCC and WCC, and least likely to oppose participation in the NAE. (see footnote 14).