A look at the Protestant Church in the city

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A LOOK AT THE PROTESTANT CHURCH IN THE CITY

by

David J. Hauman

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Accepted by the Department of Sociology of Illinois Wesleyan University in fulfillment of the requirement for departmental honors.

[Signature]

Project Advisor
The City

And this is a city
    In name but in deed
It is a pack of people
    That seek after meed (profit).
For officers and all
    Do seek their own gain.
But for the wealth of the Commons
    Not one taketh pain.
And hell without order
    I may it well call
Where every man is for himself
    And no man for all.

Robert Crowley
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outline</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preface</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. Introduction</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Religious Influences on the City</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. Urban Socio-religious Phenomena</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The Cell Concept</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Conclusion</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix. A Proposed Research Project</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Footnotes</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A LOOK AT THE PROTESTANT CHURCH
IN THE CITY
(Outline)

I. Introduction
A. The Urbanization Process
B. Secularization, Alienation and the Increased Religious Needs
C. The Place of Methodism
D. The Need for a Sociological Study

II. Religious Influences on the City: A Historical Approach
A. Prehistory
B. Graeco-Roman Period
C. Early Christian Era
D. The Middle-Ages
E. The Modern Period: Some of its Problems
   1. Population Shifts
   2. Apartment Housing
   3. Freeways
   4. Decline of Church Prestige
   5. Concern of Religious Leaders

III. Urban Socio-Religious Phenomena of the Inner City
A. The Church
   1. The Failure of the Church
   2. Types of Churches
      a. Institutional
      b. Mission
      c. Sects and Cults
   3. Problems of Church Operations
      a. The Church Plant
      b. Personnel
      c. Budget
      d. Congregational Size
   4. The Prophetic Mission
B. Ecological Aspects of the Church
   1. Population Shifts
   2. Large Housing Units
      a. Public Housing Developments
      b. Apartments
   3. Effective Radius Debate
C. The People of the Inner City
   1. The Attraction of the Slums
   2. A Description of the People
IV. The Cell Concept: A Suggested Solution
   A. A Definition
   B. Some Predicted Advantages
      1. Deals with Urban Loneliness
      2. Deals with Urban Despair
      3. Gives Stability
      4. The Primary Group Effect
      5. The Psychological Concommitants
      6. The Functional Advantages

V. Conclusion
Preface

"The rise of urban civilization and the collapse of traditional religion are the two main hallmarks of our era and are closely related movements." 1

It is a peculiar set of circumstances when the founder of an institution is ultimately maimed or destroyed by that very institution. Yet this is the difficult situation the urban church finds itself in today. Now, more than ever before, due to the centrality and immensity of the city, the church has the potential to reach the masses. And yet, it seems like the masses were never farther removed. Through neglect and the lack of positive action the church may sink into the well-known urban anonymity, or it may rise to the occasion and make its Saviour a relevant and dynamic force in the lives of people.

It is the purpose of this study to explore some of the numerous facets of the church in the city and more especially the inner-city. Trite, though it may be, it should be stated that it would be utterly impossible to cover every aspect of this problem. Instead, the author wishes only to touch on a few chosen subjects in hopes that this will spark interested readers to further investigation. The magnitude of the problem is immense and could not possibly be covered in one paper, or in one volume.

At the outset of this investigation, no thought was given to any possible solution to the problem. Yet as data and opinions were gathered...
and accumulated, an idea developed. This idea is presented in its embryonic state later in the paper. It should be understood that not in any way is this a definitive suggestion for the church. Rather it is only one mode of thinking which may be carried further by others.

Before starting the paper, allow me to extend a word of gratitude to Dr. Paul Miller, Dr. Max Pape, Dr. Richard Stegner and Dr. Jerry Stone for their help and encouragement. Also, allow me to thank my roommate Roy Hawkins for giving me many hours of solitude and quiet which were necessary in the writing of this paper.
A LOOK AT THE PROTESTANT CHURCH
IN THE CITY

I. INTRODUCTION

"If secularization designates the content of man's coming of age, urbanization describes the context in which it is occurring." 1

A. The Urbanization Process

Beyond anyone's serious doubt, America is becoming an urbanized country. The U.S. census figures point out that at the time of the American Revolution nine out of every ten Americans lived on the farm. In 1959, the rural population had fallen to 11.5%. During the 40's and 50's, urbanization was accelerated until by 1960 "39 of the 50 states had more than half of their population living in cities." 3 According to another source, "where there was one urban resident in 1900, there are three today." 4

Not only are the urban residents becoming more numerous but the cities themselves, are increasing.

"Fifty years ago there were approximately 800 communities of 5,000 population and above in the United States. By 1910 the figure had risen to 1,200. More than 600 cities had been added by the end of the second decade, Over the half-century period, gain of several hundred additional communities each decade accounts for the present astounding total of 2,431 cities." 5

"Clearly, in recent decades metropolitan areas have come to be the characteristic dwelling place for Americans." 6 If the church is to survive, and if the belief in Jesus as the Christ is to continue through the church, the church must find a way to speak to the urban masses. Jesus went to the cities because this was where the people were. In the Methodist tradition, John Wesley went where the people were.
Today the church is again to make the same move (to the people) and for the same reasons.

B. Secularization, Alienation and the Increased Religious Needs

Elizabeth Nottingham points out that due to the increased stresses of urban life, a need for religion is heightened, not weakened. This is true in the suburbs as well as the slum, but more so in the slum. The highest concentration of minority groups is found in this core city or inner-city. And to them, religion is even more important. "To members of minority ethnic groups, the church probably provides some compensation for inferior social status in the urban society as a whole." Therefore, religion, or more particularly Christianity, may be viewed as a very important means to deal with stress of any kind, and in this situation, the stresses of urban living.

The need for urban church renewal is recognized widely and from both sides of the sacred-secular fence. A seminary text states that "urban church trends since the turn of the century reveal that Protestantism is in danger of losing the city. As a whole, church membership appears generally static or modestly increasing." And from the secular side:

"Throughout the modern world, urbanization is accompanied by some separation of institutionalized religion from other spheres of activity. This trend is particularly clear in American urban regions where traditional religion is highly compartmentalized as a result of an unparalleled division of labor in the community." 11

People are feeling the need for a relevant church ministry in the cities. Even officials and city planners are puzzled and dismayed by the "something missing"

Strictly secular means are not adequate to fill all the needs of urban life. Perhaps this is best illustrated by a quotation that Daniel
Seligman uses from a student of New York's slums. He says:

"Once upon a time, we thought that if we could only get our problem families out of those dreadful slums, then papa would stop taking dope, mama stop carrying a knife. Well, we've got them in a nice apartment with modern kitchens and a recreation center. And they're the same bunch of bastards they always were." 12

Man cannot look entirely to himself for his salvation. And likewise, he cannot ultimately solve all of the ills of the city by strictly secular means.

C. The Place of Methodism

So far, we have been considering Protestant Christianity in general. Now we must view the situation for just a moment as it relates to Methodism. Where do Methodists stand in Christianity's losing battle for the city? Bluntly, they're right in the middle. Methodism is to the renewal of the urban church as Martin Luther was to the Protestant Reformation. And fortunately this is being recognized by parts of the Methodist Church.

"It has been said around the nation that the Methodists, having more city churches than any other Protestant denomination, would either make or break the drive to get the Christian ministry alive again in the great cities." 13

Methodism is beginning to realize its place and is beginning to react through its MUST program and its annual conferences on Urban Life, but it has a long way to go.

D. The Need for a Sociological Study

The need for a cooperation between sociology and religion to solve the problems of the city and the city church is great indeed. Too long has the church been wary or jealous of sociology and sociology
the church. Protestantism grew up in the cities just as the cities grew up themselves, without planning or organization. And now Protestantism, like the city, finds itself unable to cope with its problems. New techniques seem to take forever to evolve. And worthy experimental projects attract little attention. Is it any wonder that the city church is in such a state? One source sums up the need very nicely. "Lack of adequate sociological knowledge of parish work appears to produce many blunders. Such ignorance underlies repeated mistakes in..." and then the author makes a listing of the ills.

No longer need there be any tension between science and religion. Indeed, if religion is valid, there never was a need. Sociology can be an extremely useful tool for the pastor. And the day when "intellectuals" claim that religion was all but dead and that all of humanity's ills could be cured by objective science is long gone. As one sociologist has stated, "this polar tension between other-worldly and this worldly, radical and conservative tendencies..., makes it (religion) a fascinating and exceedingly complicated study for the sociologist." The underlying purpose of this paper is to take a sociological look at the problems of the urban church, and to suggest one possible solution.
II. RELIGIOUS INFLUENCES ON THE CITY:

A HISTORICAL APPROACH

"Every feature of the early city revealed the belief that man was created for no other purpose than to magnify and serve his gods. That was the city's ultimate...

A. Prehistory

From its conception, the city was the home of gods. "Since religion was the dominate force in men's lives in early antiquity... the cities were in fact theocratic societies and centers of cult worship, presided over by priests." Here was man's worship center. Here was where his ideals were formed and formalized. Here was the god's home on earth. We look at the Incas with their god-kings and their huge temples. In Egypt we find the same social structure. And on the Indus River in China, again we find theocratic government sponsoring the formation of cities.

B. Graeco-Roman Period

Venturing into the recorded history of Greece and Rome and Mesopotamia, we find that religious bodies held tremendous power over the cities. The remnants of the Greek temples stand as a tribute to their belief in Gods and the place they occupied in urban life. The great Parthenon in Athens stands in part today as a tribute to the city's patron goddess. Although weakened somewhat by the power of the Principate, religion was still of importance in the Roman Empire, and especially in Rome itself. Rome, while it served as the center of the empire, also served as the center of religious cults and sects.

In Mesopotamia, it seemed everyone belonged to some temple or its gods and did labor for them. In fact the basis of
"citizenship" was this religious affiliation. Despite the power of the king, the cities were still religious strongholds with more priests than ever before. So strong were the religious influences that the distinctions between the sacred and the secular aspects of life were almost beyond perception.

C. Early Christian Era

And, oddly enough, where did early Christianity find its strongest adherents other than the cities like Jerusalem, Ephesus, Corinth, Athens, Thessaly, and Rome. It was the city that was Christianized first and not the countryside. "In the Graeco-Roman western world Christianity was at first an urban phenomenon. The countryside long remained pagan,..." Not until the fifth century with the founding of monasticism and the parish concept did Christianity take on the rural symbolism and conceptualism that it still retains today.

D. The Middle-ages

There seems to be some ambivalence of opinions concerning the church and the city in the middle-ages. On the one hand the Roman Church had a vested interest in feudalism and was not particularly happy about the rise of the fortified cities. Besides, it frowned on the practice of usuary which was an integral part of the urban economic life. (And on the other hand, Christianity proved to be a rather large influence in dissolving clan associations and thereby became important in the founding of cities. One might agree with Lewis Mumford and his conclusion:

"In a very definite sense, despite its manifold origins and its ambivalent results, the medieval city in Europe may be described as a collective structure whose main purpose was the living of a Christian life."
Then, from the Middle-ages to the present, the church has looked at the city from a changing point of view. Perhaps more so in America than in Europe, the city began to be looked upon as a dirty place to live. Many rural parishioners heard the repeated sermon theme concerning the wicked, evil city. "City people" were looked upon with suspicion. And in the back of many a rural mind were images of sinful, corrupt, lewd and thoroughly evil city dwellers being punished in the eternal fires of Hell. Is it any wonder that the church has such a Herculean task before it to recapture the city? Not only must the church change its symbolism to fit the urban environment, but it must reconceptualize its whole attitude toward the city.

E. The Modern Period: Some of its Problems

Aristotle has said, "the city came into being for the sake of life, and continued in being for the sake of the good life." After this extremely brief historical background, and before we begin the body of the paper, let us very quickly survey some of the aspects of contemporary urban living and their concomitants to the city church, and "the good life."

When a family moves to the city, or for that matter when a family begins in a city, there are likely to be many shifts of residence as the family's size and income rise and fall. This puts pressure on the church to make its contacts and to affect results in a sometimes extremely short time-span. No longer does it have generation after generation as it did in the rural parish. Now it must reach people who might literally be here today and gone tomorrow. Although population shift is here mentioned in personal terms, i.e. dealing with a single family, this phenomenon takes on even more implications when numbers of families are involved all of which are of the same minority
group. (This will be discussed later in the paper.)

Huge apartment complexes and public housing projects have changed the church also. These institutions provide the church with large numbers of people within easy distance of the church, but this advantage is countered by the doorman and the "limited access" procedures of many apartment buildings and the repugnance for organized religion by many of the occupants of the housing projects.

Add to the list of ills the criss-crossing matrix of high-ways, tollways, and freeways. These plus the man made obstacles centers, train yards, and huge public buildings and the natural obstacles of streams, lakes, hills, and valleys into numerous parts, some of which are too small even to support a traditional church, but which the church must reach if it is to be true to itself.

In addition to, or perhaps because of, the above, the church seems to be losing any prestige and influence it may have had in former days. Of course many would question this. But as Stuart Queen writes, "... the church is coming to mean less and less in modern society and serve less and less as a core of community organization."

Happily, the leaders although utterly perplexed, are not unaware of the situation. As one text put it "the rise of the modern city has greatly complicated the task of organized religion. Though millions of people live closer together today, more people are further from God than ever before." After the Watts riots of last summer Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist Church rebuked the church's "head over
heels" rush to the suburbs and the corresponding lack of effort in the slums and ghettos.

"The rapid growth of cities has induced a state of crises and confusion among Protestants. ... frankly, Protestantism has been caught napping and apparent disorder has entered the ranks of the denominations. ... Hardly a local congregation or a community escaped the disturbing influence of the crises and the result is a stunned, floundering and confused church. ... Caught in the throes of so great an urban metamorphosis, Protestantism is trying desperately to muddle through." 20

It is the opinion of the author that the church can no longer afford to simply "muddle through". It must put all of its forces to work at the task of analysing and organizing. In effect, there needs to be a new reformation.
I. III. URBAN SOCIO-RELIGIOUS PHENOMENA
OF THE INNER CITY

"Urban religion, therefore, is a study in contrasts; more slowly than the economic and political spheres, it is involved in readjusting once dominant values and organizations to the complex cultural and ecological changes of modern urban regions." 1

A. The Church

Perhaps the most obvious of all new facts concerning the American city is the urban dweller's felt need to escape the city. It seems as if he considers the city only a place to work and certainly not a place in which to live. And when the people (or at least certain sections of people) move out, the church moves out also. As Lyle Schaller comments in his Planning for Protestantism in Urban America "the exodus of stable, home-owning, middle-class families to the suburbs usually is cited as the prime cause" of inner city church problems. This one section of the population forms the core of lay-leadership in the typical Protestant church. Once it moves to the suburbs, the "powers that be" have moved to the suburbs and in most cases it's only a matter of time before the church moves also.

William H. Whyte, Jr. notes "people are no longer drawn inward toward the center but outward to the new shopping center. Los Angeles, which has sometimes been called 100 suburbs in search of a city shows the pattern at its most extreme ...." 3 Once a significant portion of members and leaders in a city church are suburban-oriented, the church is faced with a severe problem. The problem is so immense it almost forms a split personality in the congregation. Some feel that they should move the building to where the majority of the members reside. Others feel that it is their Christian duty to keep their building
where it is in order to serve the neighborhood as well as the members of the church. 

_W. Sanderson states the problem very concisely:

"Sometimes a church with a good building finds its membership living so far away and its pattern of life so inflexible that it cannot continue to make effective use of its historic site. In such cases a radical new beginning becomes necessary." 4

There are certain economic aspects which make a move to the suburbs very attractive. It is well known that real estate values in the core of a city often reach astronomical proportions. Hence the site of a church may sometimes reach into the six figures bracket. It is more than a little temptation to sell the church's property to a business firm and then use its ample equity in starting a suburban church where it will have smooth financial sailing in the future. Fortunately, some denominations, notably the Methodists, have recognized this trend and have considered its ultimate consequences. As the major denominations shift their emphasis and facilities to the suburbs, the inner-city is spiritually left high and dry. To site just one example, in Boston five Methodist churches remain within the inner-city, five others have closed down or taken the suburban move in the last decade. 6

The suburban move, although it comprises a large share of the religious problems of the inner-city, is not the only difficulty with church work in these regions. The core city literally defies traditional concepts of church work. This is somewhat of a paradox for as Shippey points out, the area is the focus of transportation facilities and furnishes a position of "high visibility" yet a successful ministry is extremely hard to come by. As a result of the failure, the inner-city becomes a fertile "breeding-grounds of religious experiments by migratory
or unadjusted lower class persons." We shall view some of these experiments later.

Elizabeth Nottingham has commented, "historical evidence indicates that new religious movements are best able to make a lasting imprint on human societies if they are born when civilizations are in turmoil." Into the turmoil of the modern city, numerous types of churches arise. Some, mainly sponsored by the established denominations, strive to meet the people's secular needs. Others look upon themselves as home missions. And still others are composed of sects and cults which are literally here today and gone tomorrow. In this section, I would like to look more closely at these three types of churches: the institutional church, the mission and the sects and cults.

The institutional church is nearly always supported by an established denomination. Their purpose, originally was to combine an evangelistic ministry with some very practical services. Among these services are literacy courses, maternity schools, hygiene classes, and first aid classes. In short, the church took upon itself the obligations to at least expose some of the underprivileged to opportunities which they would have otherwise never had access. This is a laudable ideal, but as ideals usually turn out, it has become somewhat corrupted. Religion began to play a smaller and smaller part. Fredrick Shippey states it nicely:

"Though the institutional church type is now definitely established in the city, there are some projects were a progressive de-emphasis upon religious ministry has reduced the work to scarcely more than a social-service center. Religion has been neglected to a remote corner of the program and rendered but token effort."
Another laughable example comes from Mr. Andrew Mackerel, a fictitious pastor of the People's Liberal Church of Avalon, Connecticut. This is his description of his church:

"Our church in America. It has 5 rooms and 2 baths downstairs--dining area, kitchen, and 3 parlors for committee and group meeting... Upstairs is one large all-purpose interior, divisible into different sized components by means of sliding walls and convertible into an auditorium for putting on plays, a gymnasium for athletics, and a ballroom for dances. There is a small worship area at one end... in back of this building is a newly erected clinic, with medical and neuro-psychiatric wings, both indefinitely expandable. Thus People's Liberal is a church designed to meet the needs of today, and to serve the whole man." 11

Although one must be quick to add that this is not the unbreakable rule of institutional churches, it has to be admitted that it is the overriding tendency.

The mission church is almost entirely limited to the downtown area. Usually it is surrounded by slums and severely deteriorated neighborhoods. As will be mentioned later, Protestant churches flee from such area to move to the more comfortable climate of the suburb. This leaves the abandoned inhabitants with a religious vacuum. And just as "nature abhors a vacuum" so do people abhor no religion whatsoever, hence the mission. It seems that people wish to have a second-class church than no church at all, so then the mission's main objective is to serve the people of extremely limited economic and cultural status. 12

Although sects and cults could be differentiated, for the purposes of this paper, they will be considered a singular phenomena. Sects and cults are found virtually always within the large metropolitan area. Usually a significant number have a messianic promise in their message.
The reasons behind their existence are legion. According to one authority, messianic cults arise whenever there is a clear contrast between "the demands of the people and the needs of their society on the one hand, and action determined from 'above' by the clerical hierarchy on the other." This would seem to be one explanation in urban America. Also a large share is due to the sense of anomie which a person feels having just arrived in a city. Since anomie is a fertile breeding ground for new and unusually untraditional ideas, it is little wonder that it would also give rise to new forms of religion. Most of the recruits come from rural backgrounds and feel thoroughly estranged life.

Usually this same section of rural-urban immigrants has a low educational and socio-economic level. Because of this the cults and sects tend to be highly emotional and usually having a very "fundamental" faith. They seek to separate themselves from the staid and complacent churches which they view as having "fallen away" and "back-sliding" to the There is a strong emphasis on a personal religion and bureaucracies and any tendency to become organized is looked upon with suspicion. The paradox of the cult is that its only chance for survival is that very organization which it despises. As Elizabeth Nottingham states in: "In the modern American metropolis, as in Rome, there are many cults which spring up and flourish briefly, only to wither and die. Those which survive are likely to have had at their core a relatively strong organization and to have developed it along current American denominational lines."
With this organization it is merely a personality cult which survives as long as the personality survives. If it develops a sustaining organization, it too has betrayed its original ideals. It also has become one of the denominations it at one time claimed to be so wicked.

Now that we have briefly acquainted with some of the more unusual species in the urban-church zoo, let us take a look at the traditional church in its urban center. To say the least, not only is the urban church surrounded by tall secular buildings, it is also surrounded by tall mountains of problems. In this section, we will cover: the church plant, personal, budget, congregational size, and the problem of carrying on an effective evangelistic program in the urban context.

Right at the beginning the urban church is faced with the problem of where it is going to meet. Real estate values soar as the property gets closer to the center of the city. It is more than a little temptation to sell the property and make the suburban move. A well known fact in clerical circles is that laymen will work harder and dig deeper for a building campaign than any other type of financial program. But the high cost of building coupled with the astronomical costs of land, dampens even the most ardent spirits when it comes to building in the city.

Hence Christianity finds itself on the outside looking in to the city. Sometimes, after a move to the suburbs, a church develops a congregational guilt complex, feeling that perhaps indeed, its true place was in the city. Or as more often is the case, the denomination comes up with a guilt complex and decides to re-enter the city. In either case
the party is confronted with the staggering problem of a meeting place. In many instances this takes the form of a storefront church. This concept is fairly new and in at least one authority's opinion is "has an important and legitimate role in Protestantism's re-entry into the inner city."

The storefront church was originally just what its name implies. The congregation obtains a commercial building and remodels the interior (usually only slightly for financial reasons) and calls the structure its "church". Certainly this is radical break from the traditional and, as could be expected it has some socio-psychological concomitants. If it appears to the congregation that the storefront will be the permanent home of the church, an air of defeatism soon becomes apparent. Yet, on the other hand if they feel that the storefront is only the start of a growing church and only the beginning to bigger and better things, then the storefront is viewed by both the congregation and the denomination as an invaluable tool.

Thus, the storefront church, if used properly, has a number of advantages. Its cost is comparatively low and this is extremely important in inner-city work. Because of the building's former use, its interior is flexible and may be used in a variety of ways with a minimum of remodeling. The storefront idea is mobile. If due to a population shift, or some other social phenomena, the church is left without a congregation, the "church" can easily be moved to another location. The storefront church proves to be extremely accessible to the entire neighborhood, and because of this accessibility it also proves
To be quite familiar to the inhabitants. Because of this and its rather informal atmosphere, it encourages newcomers to mix with the congregation and provides a form of intimacy which cannot be found in traditional churches. And finally, because of the building itself, the storefront churches tend to have a program centered operation as opposed to a building centered operation.

Yet with all these advantages, the storefront concept is not without fault. Perhaps its worst limitation is the image it presents to the community. A converted store may not be the most appealing aspect of any evangelistic campaign. Youth work is hampered because of the lack of any adequate facilities for athletics. The congregational growth is limited to the building and because of the congested nature of the neighborhood, there is little opportunity to move into a larger site. The atmosphere for worship is strained or nearly non-existent if one is conditioned to a more traditional church sanctuary. And finally, the symbolism entailed in a storefront church proves distasteful to the occupants of the neighborhood. They are surrounded by their poverty and squalor and would usually wish to get out of this blighted condition through their religion if nothing else.

One of the most crucial issues in inner-city church work, if not the most crucial issue is that of staff. LyleE. Schaller confirms this opinion: Yet here again, the church in the inner-city is stymied. As Schaller points out "the number of paid staff members in a local church is determined primarily by the financial resources of the membership rather than the need or by the number of members." In actuality the inner-city always has the need and in a large proportion of the times the greater potential membership, but because of the limited
economic status of the inhabitants, they are unable to afford either the quality or the quantity of staff they desperately need.

The difference in staffs is only too clear when comparing the inner-city church with the suburban church. The slum areas have an average of one congregation for every 4-500 people, while the suburbs have a ratio of one congregation for every 1,000 residents. This seems to give the inner-city the appearance of being almost "over churched" yet when we take into account resident-paid staff ratios the picture changes radically. The suburbs had one full time staff member to every 700 residents. In the inner-city this ratio drastically falls to one full time staff member to every 2,000 to 3,000 residents. Obviously, this is not enough.

Schaller suggests that to adequately cover the wants of the slum residents, there would need to be one full-time clergyman to every 1,200 to 1,500 residents. This he considers to be the bare minimum. To adequately provide leadership for their needs, a ratio of 1:300 is suggested. This radical change is needed because of the extreme lack of lay-leadership which is related to the suburban move mentioned above. Shippey suggests a compromise ratio of one minister to every 600-1,000 residents. No matter what the ratio, we find that the inner-city church is severely understaffed.

Not only does the inner-city church need more qualified clergyman, but it also needs a host of other types of trained people for which there is no need in a traditional church. Schaller recommends that slum
churches employ full-time dietitians to help the residents learn the basic homemaking skills. Besides these, there is a desperate need for youth workers, qualified Christian education leaders, recreational leaders, and counselors. All of these go far beyond the traditional pastor's role.

One final comment on staff problems. It has already been stated that the place of Methodism is vitally important to Christianity re-winning the city. Unfortunately Methodism has within it one quality which will prevent it taking this leadership role unless it is modified. I am referring to our "three-year-pastors" who, because of the governmental set-up of their church are moved from church to church at somewhat irregular intervals averaging about three years. To have an effective ministry in the inner city, the pastor must be able to remain in his position for longer periods of time. This circulating system has many advantages when dealing with traditional church work, but the inner-city is not traditional church work. Fortunately some Methodist leaders are discovering this and advocating longer pastorates in city parishes.

Traditionally churches have been thought of as self-supporting entities. Shippey points out that the "policy trend is turning away from subsidy. Scientific studies reveal that funds thus provided rarely save the situation. Too often the congregation becomes pauperized." Yet rarely is the institutional church self-supporting, mainly because it provides too many services to its members. Generally it draws money from the local community chest and its denominational headquarters.

Contrary to what Shippey believes, Grace Episcopal Church of Jersey City is one outstanding example of a church that is subsized by the
diocese and is performing a fine ministry in all aspects. This subsidization allows it to have a team ministry which, no doubt, should receive a large share of credit for its success. Shippey's "pauperization" effect never materialized in the case of North Presbyterian Church in Cleveland. For years it had been subsidized by the denomination. When it felt that it had grown strong enough, it rejected denominational support and "went in alone." Its membership and giving has been steadily growing. Schaller supports the position that rigid and absolute self-supporting policies must be abandoned with the inner-city church.

In conclusion, then, it must be stated that it is true as Shippey says that "there are numerous instances of success where the method of complete self-support was utilized." Yet there also seems to be a substantial amount of evidence on the side of some form of subsidization. Perhaps the same principle applies here as to the "storefront" concept. If the congregation feels that subsidization is a permanent way of life, then they will rely upon it to such a degree as to dampen any individual ambition. But on the other hand, if they feel that it is only a stepping stone to a better and self-supporting church, then, as with the storefront, it may be a valuable tool for Protestantism and certainly not one to be disqualified by a church with a distinct lack of alternatives.

Even beyond the size of the city "the most important single factor in determining the nature and content of the church program is the size of the congregation." Unfortunately, a significant number of churches are below the level of effective strength necessary to carry out a
rounded church program. Shippey comments that "in some cities 50-75 percent of the institutions are below the level of effective strength necessary for city church work."

Shippey continues by saying that "...rarely does the local church of less than five hundred active members make a significant religious impact upon its neighborhood environment." He then sets the "safe ratio" at 2,000-3,000 members per church. This would seem to give the church an upper limit of 3,000 members and here again Shippey and Schaller run headlong into a conflict. Schaller flatly states that "there is no such thing as an 'optimum number of members which can be applied as a general principle in planning for church growth." This is a radical statement and one which must be digested rather slowly.

To conclude this section on the church, it is only fitting that some comment be given to the prophetic mission of the church in the city. Langmead Casserley, who has spoken on the Wesleyan campus many times, writes "... the characteristic forms of religious leadership is prophetic," as far as the city is concerned. Louis Finkelstein supports this by saying "the phenomena of literary prophecy is probably associated closely with the emergence of the cities of Jerusalem and perhaps Samaria." From these statements one could conclude that within the Judeo-Christian tradition a large portion of the religious activities within the cities was in the form of prophecies and prophets. Translating this into modern terms, Casserley comments:

"The real task of spirituality and religion is to consecrate and exalt the values of the city life.... Spirituality and religion must find some way of giving ultimate meaning to city life by transforming its activities so that they can be dedicated to the greater glory of God."
Although I question if Casserley was speaking directly about the inner-city church, where else are the problems of modern urban life laid so nakedly bare? Were else is the need so tragically evident? Where else, but from such an environment of stress, would one anticipate a prophet to arise? Casserley closes his essay with this stern warning "the Word of God must be spoken in the great city even though the activity and its consequences may destroy the man who speaks it."

B. Ecological Aspects of the Church

Although one of the ecological aspects of the church, namely the suburban move, has been described above, there are several other facets of the problem which have not been covered yet. Not the least of these is the well-known urban phenomena called population shifts. "Churches, like other social institutions do not exist in a vacuum, but are involved in larger social situations." As the neighborhoods within which a church is located changing ethnic and social-economic character, so also the church changes.

The term "ecological invasion" has been used to refer to such changes in the dominant characteristics of the residents of an area. The near west side of Chicago may be cited as an example of this phenomena. Within a relatively short period of time, its predominate ethnic characteristics have changed from Czech to Jew, to Irish, to Italian, to Negro. And corresponding to these changes the churches and patterns of church work have changed, or deteriorated, depending on one's point of view.
Schaller points out that:

"For most urban churches, however, the parish can be described more accurately in non-geographical (social class, denomination, ethnic background, income, vocation, age, et cetera) rather than in geographical terms." 49

What Schaller fails to take into account is the fact that more often than not these "non-geographical terms" and the geographical terms coincide. Sections of the city can be typified quite easily as to all of these non-geographical terms to form quite geographical patterns. This point will be dealt with at greater length when the typical slum dweller is described.

The total significance of this constant and swift change in population is that the church is forced into radically new forms of evangelization. Shippey states it concisely when he says:

"No longer does the church have twenty to fifty years of temporal latitude in which to overtake the individual and confront him with the Christian gospel. Rather, if the religious message is to be communicated at all, it must be imparted within a brief time span (a year or two) and mediated essentially to people on the move." 50

An ever increasing urban phenomena is the multi-family housing structure. More and more people are living in apartments and with the advent of public housing projects this trend has snowballed. One study of Manhattan revealed that 337,000 families lived in large scale housing structures. These structure usually contained from 20-100 families and 80% of all the residents in Manhattan lived in buildings containing 10 or more families.
The multi-family structures pose a very definite problem to the urban ministry. For the purposes of this study, only the public housing structures and the large apartment buildings will be under consideration.

Urban renewal projects have changed the face of many of America's larger cities. These projects, although originally intended to lift up the poverty families, fail to achieve this end. More often than not they are built on the city's former slums and contain the same prison-like atmosphere as the slums they were supposed to alleviate. They might well be called high-rise slums for that is exactly what they are. They contain the same people with the same persistent problems. In their relations with the church, they move even more multi-problem families within reach of the inner-city church, yet the church seems to be unable to reach these people. The Appendix contains a proposal for a research project dealing with the cybernetic problem of inner-city churches.

Apartments also pose a very real problem to the urban ministry. But as Shippey comments, "the local church is compelled to go to the residents via a program of cultivation and personal invitation." But contacts are hard to come by if the apartments have a buzzer system or if admission must be obtained from a doorman or a hostess. For the residents, this is a convenient way to keep away salesmen and solicitors but it also is quite a hindering obstacle to a pastor trying to complete an evangelistic calling campaign.

The characteristics of apartment dwellers are generally inimical
to the church. First of all, apartment dwellers are generally from all economic ranges and status'. Such heterogeneity is difficult to minister to. As mentioned above, the residents are generally inaccessible and only 2% take the initiative to find a church. And paradoxically enough, because areas which contain a large number of apartment buildings have a much higher population density than single family dwelling unit areas, the opportunities for the church are that much greater. Because this form of dwelling is widely accepted and often predicted as the probable permanent form of urban housing, it is absolutely crucial that the church find an acceptable way to contact and keep the apartment dwellers.

The question of how far a church can geographically extend its reach has been answered in various ways. Perhaps the average of all of these and the distance most generally accepted is one mile. Yet others disagree and say that in reality, the distance is closer to one-half mile. At this point Lyle Schaller has some interesting comments to make.

In the first place, he suggests that distance is really a pretty crude means for guiding church planning. Instead he would suggest population density as a better criteria. If population densities were used, a heavily populated area would receive more churches than a less populated area. But when we get down to the core of his writing, we find that he suggests that the idea of an effective radius is an outgrown concept and doesn't fit the present urban situation. With the advent of high-speed expressways, one church could with a multiple staff, minister to a large section of the metropolitan area.
This idea is more relevant to the suburban parish, but theoretically the inner-city is also served by the same means of rapid transportation. But as we shall see in the following paragraphs, because of the ethnic, socio-economic status of the inhabitants and the extremely congested climate of the inner-city, the geographical parish still seems to be the most workable idea.

C. The People of the Inner City

Many middle-class Americans seriously think that to find poverty one must go to the East, or South America, or at least to the Appalachian Mountain area. As America's prosperity and the standard of living steadily rise, some are left behind. As Daniel Seligman comments:

"In this second decade of postwar prosperity in a time of steadily advancing living standards, the slum problem of our great cities is worsening. Today some 17 million Americans live in dwelling that are beyond rehabilitation." 61

The slum has many attractions for its many people. For the owners, it's a good place to get rich by charging high rents for houses in which people are forced to live through prejudice and ignorance. It's a place to grow rich off the government via the various welfare programs and their rent allowances. For the poor, it's usually the first place to go after arriving in the city. Here they find relatively cheap rents, and those immigrants to the city who arrived before them and will find those who arrive after. It's a place to keep some of their rural background in the urban complex. It's a place to be confused and confused. It's a place where multi-problem families seem to congregate as if by some law of nature. It's the slum.

Some of this population consists of immigrants drawn to the city from a rural background. Like small human magnets, they attract
each other and form a tightly knit ban of residence. More often than not, this ban is in a slum or inner-city area. The people living in such conditions usually tend to be "semi-literate, low-income, of rural origin, and members of racial minorities." Because of these factors just mentioned, many of the families are what is known in social work terminology as "multi-problem families." Consequently "the ministry of pastoral care will be both time consuming and emotionally exhausting."
IV. THE CELL CONCEPT

"A more specific function of primary groups in the past was the counsel and encouragement which neighbors were ready to provide each other in times of stress or misfortune. ... It is a pattern of interpersonal religious inspiration which organized religion today substantially lacks." 1

A. A Definition

Within the last few years, there has been a drive both within and without the church, urging Christians to vitalize their faith and their church. This paper, it is hoped, has pointed out one instance where this need is most severely felt. The church and its faith have come under extremely sharp criticism to make Christianity "real." Books have been written and read which question the justification of the church in its present state and are preparing for its last rites. Within the church, young and old seminarians advocate a return to "first century Christianity" because they feel that it is "authentic" and "real". In this section, I hope to examine how these ideas might be amalgamated into what is termed the cell concept for the urban church.

John Gulick criticises "...it is only too evident that the religiousness characteristic of America today is very often a religiousness... (which is) a way of sociability or 'belonging' rather than a way of reorienting life to God? Few people, except perhaps those who like things the way they are, would deny this statement. Yet the ever present question still stands unanswered. If we admit that the church is inadequate as it now stands, if we admit that the inner-city points up all of these problems more acutely than any other place, we are still left with the question, how are we to change? Perhaps
our first clue, oddly enough, from a study of juvenile delinquent gangs in Chicago by Frederic Throscher. He noted that although the gangs would range all the way up to 40 and 50 members, small cliques would form because of the need for a vital face to face relationship. Perhaps this is what "first century Christian" had when it met in the now famous catacombs of Rome and the small upper-rooms. There is little doubt that this is what the modern congregation lacks.

As one writer put it, the congregation sometimes conveys the impression that it is "less a fellowship of worshippers than it is a loose aggregation of individuals who separately seek God."

What I am advocating is the return of the church to the small group or to the cell. Cells would be composed of from 6-10 people who live in close geographical proximity of each other. This may be one floor of a housing development or all the church members in an apartment building or perhaps the cell would extend to all the members of one street. At any rate, they would be in close physical contact with one another to facilitate attendance at meetings. This cell would then proceed to take the place of the traditional Sunday morning worship service. The minister, one of a team of workers within the church, would meet with the cell. With the minister present the cell does not degenerate into a spiritual version of "the blind leading the blind." Hence the main worship organ of the church would become the cell and not the traditional Sunday morning nap-time. Each cell meeting would contain all the traditional elements of worship (hymns, scripture, responses, prayer and sermon, which now is shortened to a brief talk)
and include a new one, -- discussion. After the minister's brief talk time would be allotted for discussion and assimilation of what he had just said. In effect, it is hoped, this cell would become a Christian primary group.

When the main worship organ of the church meets in homes and apartments, the need for a large sanctuary is eliminated. Economically, this is one of the costliest features of the church. It is traditionally ornate and hence expensive, yet is used for an hour or two a week. In the cell concept, the sanctuary space could be remodeled into a chapel area for weddings and funerals, with the rest of the area being used for the social welfare services which are critically needed in the inner-city church. These services would be financed by the combined offerings of all the cells, and if the case merits, denominational help.

B. Some Predicted Advantages

There seem to be, at least in theory, many advantages to this cell concept. Both functionally and spiritually certain advantages appear. And the implications for all of Christianity are immense.

One of the best known psychological urban phenomena is the loneliness which urban life produces. Because nearly all of the urbanites relationships are on such a secondary level, he feels really close to no one. This problem is compounded when the individual is further isolated by belonging to a minority ethnic-racial group or is in a lower income status. Langmead Casserley states the problem in almost
poetic style:

"Urban loneliness is quite distinct from the solitude of the rural worker. It is a loneliness which a man experiences only among a large number of his fellow men in the knowledge that he is not related to any of them on a genuinely personal level." 6

Hopefully the cell would solve this problem. It provides a primary group for those who have none. And it would provide an excellent opportunity for a person to assimilate himself into a group upon his arrival into the city. The cell would fulfill the need for the personal, face-to-face relationships which the gregarious animal known as man seems to need so much.

A persistent characteristic of slum dwellers is their lack of hope. A.W. Sanderson comments, "the greatest tragedy of East Harlem is nor the lack of possessions, but the absence of hope and vision which would challenge the people to fight against environmental conditions." 7 Through membership in a cell, it is expected that "hope and vision" will evolve. The concept has already proven its effectiveness in organizations such as Alcoholics Anonymous. If the companionship which comes by meeting on a very personal level people who are in the same situation can help in the cure of the extreme despair of alcoholism, why can it not serve the same functions for the church?

Instability and anxiety are frequent by-products of the immigrants' urbanization process. Consisting mainly of people from a rural background, they may have lived all their lives on the unstated philosophy that while they weren't rich, they "always had something to eat" from their backyard gardens. After moving to the city,
the backyard garden vanished and everything suddenly depends on "the job", which is often unstable itself. The cell would provide the perfect means for church-oriented relief work. For a long time the church has passed off to the government the task of providing unfortunate people with the essentials of life. In the cell, members would share misfortunes as well as fortunes. If one member, through no fault of his own, meets a hoard of the inevitable reverses of life, the cell would come to his aid. If the cell did not have enough resources then the church, through the pastor, would add what was needed. There needn't be any sense of charity or condescension but only a sense of sharing through the principle of Christian concern for his fellowmen.

Again referring to Sanders, it has been said that "church work, especially in the changing city, must be organized in terms of neighborhood need." Churches have been gaining slowly, or barely maintaining their own in membership in the last few years. With the neighborhood orientation of the cell, evangelism would be a much more natural outcome. Schaller has said that a church will "achieve a deeper penetration into the total population with many small churches than with a few larger congregations." Within the cell concept, there would be a multitude of "small churches" each making their own "deeper penetration." As David Barry reiterates, the church's problem is its "inability to make a vital contact with the people." Each cell would be an evangelistic team. No longer would visiting new residents be looked upon as "the pastor's job." Just as an individual assimilates new friends, so new residents, would be assimilated into the cells and hence into the church. Visiting immigrants to the city
becomes an impossible job for the pastor, but for the cells, it would be an almost natural outcome of their existence.

It is all too apparent for those on both sides of the pulpit, that at best, the sermon has few lasting effects on the lives of the congregation. A few comments like "interesting sermon, Pastor," and "nice sermon" are about as far as it goes. One explanation for this is the inability of the congregation to feel like they are actively participating when the pastor is preaching. One of the main purposes of a sermon is to stimulate a response in the congregation, yet it has proved to be an ineffective tool. Kurt Lewin, states that "...it is usually easier to change individuals formed into a group than to change any one of them separately." The group, obviously enough, is the cell. J.A.C. Brown stoutly agrees by stating:

"One of the most successful means used today to bring about attitude change is the creation of a group in which the members feel belongingness since in these circumstances the individual accepts the new system of values and beliefs by accepting belongingness to the group."  

This effect is adequately illustrated by the experiment during the war of trying to convince British mothers of the values of feeding their babies orange juice. Lecturing the mothers proved to be almost completely ineffective. But when the mothers were invited to discuss the problem, "the great majority accepted and continued to follow the practice indefinitely." In this manner the mothers felt that it was their information, and consequently it was assimilated much more quickly and was far more permanent. The implications for changing the sermon to a short talk and a discussion period are obvious.
If the cell group could, in fact, become a primary group, and there is no reason why it could not, it would as Michael Olmsted states:

"Play a vital part in the psychic life of the individual by providing him with training, with support, and with the opportunity for intimacy and emotional response."

Two of the ever present problems in the church are time and money. Besides all of the spiritual advantages of the cell group mentioned above, it would also alleviate some of the problems in these areas also. It would save the pastor's time by allowing him to work with from 6-10 people instead of only one in his cells. Distance in the city is a formidable and time consuming obstacle. By working with cells, the pastor's travel time could be reduced to a sixth of its former size. Also by pooling the offerings of all the cells, the church could support various projects. A sense of stewardship would grow in each cell and provide a substantial difference in the stewardship patterns of the church as a whole.
V. CONCLUSION

"The prophet must interpret city life as epic drama. For him there are always two cities: the city of God and the city of man. The responsibility of choosing repeatedly between them means that city life is a perpetual spiritual crisis."

In conclusion, it might be said that due to the processes of increasing secularization and urbanization, the church must of necessity find new forms to make itself relevant. Methodism, owning more urban churches than any other denomination is at the faeal point of Christianity's re-entry into the city. There needs to be an extensive sociological study of the urban church. This present paper is not it, but rather a springboard from which others may continue.

The modern urban church finds itself in a rather peculiar position. While from the conception of the city religious activities have always been of supreme importance, now they find themselves behind many other activities. From pre-history, through the Graeco-roman period, the early Christian era, and the Middle Ages, the church has always been first in the city. Now, the urban church is surrounded by the problems of population shifts, apartment housing, freeways and the decline in church prestige.

Christianity in the inner-city is plagued with a multitude of problems. At a crucial time in the life of the inner city, the church moved to the suburbs. This move was sponsored by a number of reasons, but its end result was to leave the inner-city without any main line Protestant churches. Some of the types of churches which tried to fill this religious vacuum are the institutional church,
the mission church and the various sects and cults. Church operations are hampered by a constellation of interrelated problems of the church plant, personnel, budget and congregational size. Besides these, certain ecological aspects affect the church. The problems of population shifts and large housing developments mean altered mode of operation for the church. And with the advent of huge mass transportation systems, we see the advent of the effective radius debate.

To counteract some of these difficulties, the cell concept is forwarded as a possible solution. It would divide a church into small groups of people by geographical distribution and these cells would become the main worship-study organ of the church. In theory, this concept would fulfill many of the needs of the inner-city. By use of the principles of group dynamics and by making the cells "Christian primary groups," they would alleviate the phenomena of urban despair. The cells would give stability to their members. Finally, in theory at least, the cells would provide an excellent means of making the Christian message more meaningful because the cell members feel that they are "participating" in the redesigned worship service.

In conclusion, the modern church finds itself in a desperate situation. Its message no longer has meaning to peoples lives. Its Saviour is used in contemporary language only in profanity. This situation pervades all America, but it is worse in the city, and it is critical in the inner-city. It is mandatory that the church explore new possibilities to answer these crucial needs, otherwise it and its God will be dead indeed. The cell concept, as it is defined within this paper, appears to be one possible answer.
APPENDIX

PROPOSED RESEARCH ON
SOURCE OF IDENTIFICATION
AND EFFECTIVENESS OF APPEAL

SECTION I
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

There is much concern today both inside and outside organized religion about the relevance of today's church. There is concern by outsiders because they fear what might happen to society without this stabilizing influence. There is concern within the church because, on the one hand, this issue calls into question the validity of their means of livelihood. And on the other hand, some approach the issue from a very real Christian faith, and their concern is in relating that faith to others.

This has brought about a generation of books more or less epitomized by The Secular City, The Lonely Crowd, and The Comfortable Pew.

It is generally assumed in these books, that for one reason or another, the church is no longer reaching people with its message. Somewhere along the line, communications break down and become ineffective. They seem to draw casual correlations between the rise of urbanism and the ineffectiveness of religion. It is the purpose of this appendix to suggest one casual factor and provide a means of testing the validity of this cause.
SECTION II
SCOPE OF RESEARCH

It is obviously impossible to try to search out all the facets of urbanism and how they individually and as a group affect religious activity. Therefore, this study will be limited to the break-down of the primary group in metropolitan areas and how this affects religious feeling and activity.

There are several assumptions within this project which must be stated at the outset. First of all, it is assumed that the breakdown of the primary group, or the family, occurs more frequently in an urban environment rather than a rural environment. And furthermore, this primary group disintegration leads to a feeling of isolation by the individual member. He more or less feels that he is "on his own" and must rely on his own resources. In effect he loses his primary group identification and must find his self-identification.

The second assumption is the opposite of this, namely that in rural environment, the primary group is held intact and does not disintegrate as quickly as in an urban environment. Therefore the individual relies more upon the resources of the primary group and consequently identifies himself closely with this group.

There is a third assumption in this project and although it does not have any direct bearing on the results themselves, it does have some bearing on their importance. It is assumed that this disintegration of primary groups (and their concommitant shift of identification) is a general trend throughout contemporary society, but manifests itself to a greater degree in urban areas. This assumption, coupled with the
trend toward general urbanization in our country, make this project important now and increasingly important in the future.

Definitions

The type of appeal to be used in this study is that of the church through its full church program. This includes not only its reoccurring themes in preaching, but also in the general tone of all of its programs.

Only two sources of identity will be used, the primary groups source and the individual source. The former will be assumed to be more predominate in rural areas, and the latter in urban areas. The source of identity is thereby defined as the social location, whether it be primary group or the individual himself, to which he most closely identifies himself.

Hypothesis

In order for an appeal to be effective, it must be directed at the individual's source of identity.
SECTION III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Primarily the project divides itself into one experimental group and two control groups. The experimental group is composed of individuals who have matured to the age of 21 in a rural environment and then migrated to an urban environment and have continued in this new environment for at least five years. It is felt that in this time period any change in the source of identification will have taken place. As Diagram I illustrates, these individuals will be subjected to the traditional family oriented appeal in their churches in their rural environments and then exposed to a self-identification appeal in their urban churches. The two control groups consist of a group of urban dwellers exposed to both the traditional and the experimental appeals and a group of people from a rural environment exposed to both the experimental and traditional appeals. Each of the three groups would consist of 100 persons and each would be interviewed twice.

The lists for these names would be randomly selected. Of necessity Group I would have to concern two churches, one in the country and one in the city. The other two groups would only be concerned with one church apiece. The changes in appeal would come through a pastoral change in the church.

The effectiveness of the variant appeals would be measured by interviewers. The interview schedule will aim at discovering the amount of participation the individual takes in the church and to what extent he identifies with the church. The first is quite easily
quantified. The second would require a scaling technique. Attitudes toward the church would be scaled having these things in mind: positive and negative feelings toward the church as a whole, pride in the church, and feelings toward the sermons and worship services. After the interviews each individual case would be assigned a geometric mean as to how effectively the church's appeal was to this individual. When all the interviews are finished and evaluated, each subgroup (a, b, c, d, e, and f) will have an arithmetic mean. These arithmetic means would then yield the various correlations.

There would be a five year lag between the first interviews and the second interviews. This allows Group I, who have experienced a change in environment, to become accustomed to their changed surrounding. Groups II and III would also have time to become accustomed to the change in appeal.

All interviews would be quantified at one time and by the same company. This reduces any error which may be introduced if the interviews were quantified at various times and by various experimenters.

In order for the hypothesis to be proven, there needs to be a high correlation between subgroups a-d, d-e, and a-c. Correspondingly, there ought to be low correlations between b-e, c-f, a-b, and d-f.
Methodology

Diagram I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Traditional Primary Group Oriented</th>
<th>Experimental Self-identification Oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>a. F</td>
<td>a. C&lt;sub&gt;5&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>b. C&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>e. C&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>c. F&lt;sub&gt;1&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>f. F&lt;sub&gt;2&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Code**

A.) Matured to age 21 in rural environment
b. and e.) Life-time urban environment
c. and f.) Life-time rural environment
d.) Matured to age 21 in rural environment and then moved to urban environment for minimum of five years
Cod e on the fir st page

Research Schedule

5 year interim

Rehypothesize

Code on the following page
Code to
Research Schedule

1.) Lists randomly selected for groups I, II, and III
2.) Interview subgroups a, b, and c
3.) Subgroups a moves to city and experiences appeal change
4.) Change appeal in churches of groups II and III
5.) Sub group d. interviewed
6.) Subgroups e. and f. interviewed
7.) All interviews quantified
8.) Correlations drawn
9.) Conclusion or re-hypothesize
SECTION IV
CONCLUSION

If this hypothesis proved correct, the implications could be far reaching. Certainly, there would then be some facts behind the alarmist theorizing which has thus far captivated the minds of many. In the light of the rapid urbanization of the United States, the church would certainly be interested in the results of this project. If proven correct, it would be called to radically change its mode of operation.

But the usefulness is not limited merely to the church. Advertising would be turned upside down. Perhaps the admen have already been using this technique to a limited extent, but without scientific backing. But once this principle moved from the unconscious to the conscious only a fool would predict the outcome.

Also this hypothesis has far reaching implications to political campaigns. America is fast becoming a country of big cities and these cities wield tremendous power. The type of an appeal that a candidate offers could be radically changed.

In short, whenever an appeal of any sort is made to a population, this principle could come into great importance.
FOOTNOTES

Prefix


Chapter I, Introduction

2. Cox, op. cit., p. 4.


5. Ibid., p. 18.


8. Ibid., p. 303.

9. Ibid., p. 29.


15. Ibid., p. 173.

16. Ibid., p. 27.


18. Ibid., p. 59.

Chapter II. Religious Influences on the City


Chapter III. Urban Socio-religious Phenomena of the Inner-city

1. Boskoff, op. cit., p. 2.3.


4. Ross W. Sanderson, The Church Serves the Changing City, p. 11.

5. Shippey, op. cit., p. 117.


7. Shippey, op. cit., p. 95.

9. Nottingham, op. cit., p. 64.


15. Nottingham, op. cit., p. 66.

16. Ibid.


20. Ibid., p. 171.


22. Ibid., p. 165.

23. Ibid., p. 169.

24. Ibid., p. 156.

25. Ibid., p. 130.

26. Ibid., p. 155.

27. Ibid., p. 156.


31. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 121.

32. Shippey, op. cit., p. 119.

33. Ibid., p. 105.

34. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 92.
FOOTNOTES--4

35. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 82.

36. Schaller, op. cit., p. 60.

37. Shippey, op. cit., p. 119.

38. Ibid., p. 24.

39. Ibid.,

40. Ibid., p. 205.

41. Schaller, op. cit., p. 132.

42. Langmead Casserley in The Metropolis in Modern Life., p. 342.

43. Louis Finkelstein in The Metropolis in Modern Life., p. 348.

44. Casserley, op. cit., p. 300.

45. Ibid., p. 342.

46. Queen and Carpenter, op. cit., p. 300.

47. Gist and Fava, op. cit., p. 156.

48. Ibid., p. 162.

49. Schaller, op. cit., pp. 102-03.


51. Ibid., p. 138.

52. Schaller, op. cit., p. 58.


54. Ibid., p. 144.

55. Ibid., pp. 143-44.

56. Ibid., p. 137.

57. Ibid., p. 161.

58. Schaller, op. cit., p. 102.

59. Ibid., p. 103.

60. Ibid., p. 140.

61. Seligman, op. cit., p. 111.
64. Seligman, op. cit., p. 119.

Chapter IV: The Cell Concept

3. Frederick Thrasher in The Small Group, p. 33.
6. Ibid., p. 341.
7. Sanderson, op. cit., p. 197.
10. Schaller, op. cit., p. 142.
11. David W. Barry in The Church Serves the Changing City, p. 236.
15. Ibid., p. 48.

Chapter V. Conclusion

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