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**Does the Black Church in West Virginia Speak with a Prophetic Voice?
A Sociological Analysis of the Black Church as an Agent for Social Change**

Thesis submitted to
The Graduate College of
Marshall University

In Partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
Sociology

By

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Abstract

This research examines the function of the black church in African American Society in general, and its function in the African American community in West Virginia in particular. Determining what the black church sees as its overall mission is my primary concern. Specifically, the research examines the relationship between themes that emerge from black pastor's personal ministry philosophies, and themes that appear in priestly ministry and prophetic ministry. Determining whether the black church views its primary mission as (priestly) caring for the spiritual needs of its congregation, or (prophetic) calling for changes in societal structures that foster oppression and racism in the African American community is the purpose of this research. As part of the prophetic conceptualization, the research will also look for churches that implement social programs that address problems in their communities. The relationship between pastoral ministry philosophy and programmatic trust of the churches will also be explored.

Focus groups are used as a means to assess this relationship. An analysis is done using standard focus group methodology. The following patterns emerged from this analysis: One pastor stated the black church must make a paradigm shift in order to change society. The pastors stated that the black church should be the nerve center of the African American community. The church should have a solution for any problem being faced by a member of the congregation. Determining, and meeting the spiritual needs of the community must remain a top priority of the black church, but it must not be its only priority.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Barbara who has encouraged me to continue my education. She has also been a tremendous source of strength when I really felt like giving up. I must mention the understanding members of the Institute Church of the Nazarene who have allowed me to attend college at both the under graduate and the graduate level while remaining their full time pastor. I appreciate the concern of my children Michelle, and Jamie and my grandson Donovan who continued to insist that I hurry and finish. I would also like to thank Dr. R.W. Cunningham and Mrs. Elsie Ours for their encouragement to me and in their insistence that I continue my education. And, a special thanks to my teacher, advisor, and friend, Lynda Ann Ewen who has been a great blessing in my life.

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Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Since its beginning on the banks of the Savannah River in Augusta, Georgia sometime between 1773 and 1775, the black church has become the dominant institution in the African American community. But what is the function of the black church in American society in general and the African American community specifically? Lincoln and Mamiya argue that a general theory for social analysis of black religious phenomena and sociology of black churches has not yet appeared (1990:13-16). Lincoln and Mamiya go on to offer what they consider to be a dialectical analysis of the black church. They abandon the more rigid analytical paradigms of the past, and recognize that the African American church is fluid and its function changes based upon a given point in history and the needs of the community. They identify six pairs of polar opposites, which form the basis of their analysis. Lincoln and Mamiya argue that black churches are institutions that are involved in a constant series of dialectical tensions, and these dialectics holds polar opposites in tension constantly shifting between these polarities in historical time.

The six dialectical pairs discussed by Lincoln and Mamiya are the dialectic between *priestly and prophetic function*; between *other world and this world*; between *universalism and particularism*; between *communal and the privatistic*; between *charismatic versus bureaucratic*; and the dialectic between *resistance versus accommodation*. The dialectical pair that I will apply in my research will be the priestly and the prophetic (1990:13-16).

The priestly function relates closely to its name. The main concerns would be spiritual growth and development of its congregation, the worship of God, and a focus on heavenly concerns. Their priority would be what Durkhiem termed the sacred rather than the profane. The prophetic church means that the church is involved in the wider activities of the community. This would include the political arena as it relates to issues of justice. The prophetic church sees its role in the same light as the Old Testament prophets. They were to pronounce a radical word of God's judgment against the injustices of their time. I will use this paradigm as a context of analysis for the black church in West Virginia. The analysis will seek to understand where the black church sees itself as it relates too priestly versus prophetic ministry. The analysis will seek to answer the question: What is the relationship between the personal ministry philosophy of the black pastor, and the programmatic ministry of the church? Does the black church in West Virginia speak with a prophetic voice?

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to discover if the African American Church in West Virginia is an agent for social change. Using a focus group methodology the study will explore the personal ministry philosophy of four groups of black pastors, resulting in a description of the function of the black church from these pastor's perspective. After identifying the themes that emerge from the data collected, the themes will be compared with themes that appear in both priestly and prophetic ministry. The comparisons will be used to analyze the relationship between priestly ministry, prophetic ministry, and programmatic outreach in the black church in West Virginia. The resultant findings will be discussed in light of the standpoint of the informant's personal experiences and observations. At this point in the research, the standpoint of the black pastor is considered synonymous with the role of the black church in the African American Community.

Literature Review

African American Religion in America

Religion, its essence and function have been the subject of much sociological inquiry. The study of religion in the African American community has been no different. C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya undertook such a study. These authors examined the six major black denominations in the United States. The results of their study were published in "*The Black Church in the American Experience*." In this book, Lincoln and Mamiya defined the role of the researcher. "The task of the social analyst is to examine the social conditions of any particular black church, including the situation of its leadership and membership, in order to determine what its major orientation is in relation to any pair of the dialectical polarities" (Lincoln, and Mamiya, 1990:12). I listed the polarities in the introduction of this paper.

Andrew Billingsley used the Lincoln and Mamiya paradigm to study the black church. Billingsley examined the black church as an agent for social reform using the dialectic between communal and privatistic ministry. Billingsley was able to show that the black church has always been involved in every aspect of life in the African American community. He related the following story to illustrate the point.

On Thursday night January 12, 1865, less than three weeks after the fall of Savannah, twenty black religious leaders were summoned to the headquarter of General Sherman himself. Gen. Sherman, Edwin Stanton, the secretary of war, and President Lincoln had summoned these twenty black religious leaders to help them figure out how to implement the Emancipation Proclamation. Seven of the leaders were pastors, and the other thirteen were mainly associates at the churches that were represented. One of the questions posed to these leaders was, "State in your own

manner how you think you can take care of yourselves?" Rev. Frazier responded, The way we can best take care of ourselves is to have land, and turn it and till it by our own labor-that is, by the labor of the women and children and old men, and we can soon maintain ourselves and have something to spare." (Billingsley, 1999: 22-34).

Billingsley stated, "In times of extreme and sustained crisis, the African American community will turn to the church and their ministers for comfort, support, leadership, and guidance" (1999:185).

His research further indicated that the black church would respond to social crisis to the extent that they were strong, independent and resourceful. Ministers who were strong, independent, and resourceful led the black churches that responded to social needs. Billingsley was able to identify three types of black churches from his research. Conservative churches, which limit their work to basic spiritual and religious concerns, those churches that reached out just a small amount to embrace social and community issues, and finally activist churches that move with vigor into the community to address and confront social issues and concerns.

Aldon D. Morris in *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement* was also able to show that the Black church has been an agent of social change. Morris argues "The black church functioned as the institutional center of the modern civil rights movement" (1984:4). The church provided an organized base, a leadership of clergymen not financially dependent upon the larger white society, who were skilled in the art of managing people and resources. It was the church which provided an institutionalized financial base to fund the protest, and meeting places where the masses planned tactics and strategies and collectively committed themselves to the struggle.

Morris used what he called an "indigenous perspective" on social movements to examine the civil rights movement. Morris defined the task of the indigenous perspective

as being to examine how dominated groups take advantage of and create the social conditions that allow them to engage in overt power struggles with dominant groups. Morris's approach maintains that in order for a movement to emerge and sustain, it must have (1) certain basic resources, (2) social activists with strong ties to mass-based indigenous institutions, and (3) tactics and strategies that can be effectively employed against a system of domination. Applying the indigenous perspective to the civil rights movement, Morris was able to show that the black church more than any other institution was the sustaining force behind the civil rights movement.

Michael Dyson also discusses the importance of faith and the black church in the struggle for social reform in *I May Not Get There With You: The True Martin Luther King Jr.* Dyson takes somewhat of a different approach, and argues that it is not the entire African American church that is involved in social reform but what he termed a "militant minority." It is this militant minority in the African American church that will be involved in social change. Dyson identified King as one of these social change agents. He goes on to say that "King was profoundly influenced by the militant minority of the black Baptist church, and it was the church that was at the heart of the black community's resistance to racism" (2000:127).

Dyson uses the terms, militant minority, radical remnant, and prophetic brigade interchangeably, and he insists that it was that arm of the black church that taught King to translate his faith into the language of social justice and civil virtue. Dyson challenges us to recognize the power of prophetic ministry in action by demanding that we consider the impact that King had upon the world and its societies. Michael Dyson argues that "we

should remember King's challenging legacy because Martin Luther King, Jr. is, arguably, "the greatest American ever produced on American soil" (2000:7). Dyson admits that there are other great Americans who sized the national imagination and made great contributions. He mentions Lincoln and Jefferson as examples. However, he suggests that King's impact was greater because the formal held public office while King "redefined our country's destiny as a private citizen in a remarkable career that lasted only thirteen years" (2000:7).

I will now turn to the black church in Appalachia.

The Black Church in Appalachia

Literature on the black church in Appalachia is virtually non-existent. Edward J. Cabbell illustrates the point with the following quote.

Black people in Appalachia are a neglected minority. There are few studies on their existence and plight in the hills and valleys of Appalachia; it is therefore, a most difficult task to analyze their situation. Even the most basic kinds of information about blacks in the region are difficult to obtain. Statistical data and published materials are scarce, and media frequently ignore their experiences. When black people in Appalachia are recognized, their experiences are often so “artfully clouded in myth and reality” that they remain virtually “invisible.” This creates a very serious dilemma for black Appalachians (Turner and Cabbell, 1985:1-10).

The neglect of blacks in the study of Appalachian religion is illustrated by this disclaimer in the preface of *Christianity in Appalachia* edited by Bill J. Leonard. “The book is indeed a survey, sketching general aspects of the religious life in Appalachia. It profiles some, but certainly not all, of the religious groups and observances, which exist in the region. Appropriate chapters on United Methodists, African Americans traditions, and mountain hymnody, though sought were not available when this volume went to press” (1999:xiii).

Again, in his book, *Giving Glory to God in Appalachia: Worship Practices of Six Baptist Subdenominations*, Howard Dorgan makes no mention of blacks. His study is confined to whites in Appalachia (1987:xvi). There is one published volume that deals with the black church in West Virginia. It is titled *Historical Digest: Jefferson County West Virginia's African American Congregations 1859-1994*. In this book, the authors chronicle the African American church in Jefferson county West Virginia

(Taylor, 1999:xix-3)

Evelyn M.E. Taylor is not concerned with the black church and social action in this volume. Although the book does discuss the importance of the African American church to the community, it is more concerned with presenting these congregations and their history in such a way that their history is preserved. The book chronicles the historical formation, and development of twenty-seven congregations in Jefferson and surrounding counties. It provides a panoramic view of their formation from just after the Civil War, to their progress through 1994. The book presents valuable information; however, it does not address the social struggle of the African American church in West Virginia. The only research that I was able to locate on the African American church in Appalachia was from a non-published study done by William Turner in 1991. The study is not available. It is my understanding that the data was destroyed in a fire. The executive summary was preserved, and it contains the following information.

Turner acknowledges the lack of academic information on the black church in Appalachia. He argues, "black churches in Appalachia remain an underdeveloped area of inquiry by scholars; the sociology and ethnography of the African American and people of color in the region are largely ignored by the development-oriented efforts of public agencies and foundations" (1991:iii). However, Turner's research recognized the importance of the African American church. Turner says, "In African American enclaves in rural Appalachia, the church is the only possible and capable conduit for change and survival/prosperity for the people" (1991:v). However, the churches that serve African Americans in Appalachia cannot meet the requirements for change unless the preconditions for their survivals are met. Those include: programs and policies that will

(a) halt the out migration of youth; (b) encourage economic diversification, growth, and development; and (c) create the conditions to attract a stable and educated cadre of clergy” (1991 vi) The findings concerning the African American church that led the researcher to make the preceding conclusions were: (1) The ministers commuted, and were not available to provide regular counseling, visits, and the leadership normally provided by the African American pastor. (2) Unlike (rural) churches in the so-called Black Belt of the South, mountain churches have-not served as agents and catalysis in the struggle for blacks’ civil and human rights. (3) The average church had an income of \$9,000 per year. This amount is not sufficient to provide the necessary resources to engage in social change. (4) No interaction between black and white churches. This also means no exposure to policy makers. (5) The churches do not have non-churches related groups or organization meeting in the church. (1991 iii-vi)

I have listed three authors, and their concepts of the black church and how it has been an agent of social change from a national perspective. Research has also shown that it has been a contingent of the black church that has been responsible for social change. Dyson identified this group of preachers, and churches as the militant minority, the radical remnant, or the prophetic brigade. He identified King as a member of this group, and showed the militant minority’s ability to change society by attributing Kings success to his radical faith. I have also reported on the neglect of African Americans as a population of inquiry by the academic community. The literature is indicative of that fact. However, the one unpublished source that I located which was an actual study of the black church in Appalachia gives a point of departure, as well as a set of themes of analysis for the study at hand. Turner was able to show that the black church was the only institution capable of

providing the necessary resources to institute social change in the African American community in Appalachia. However, his research was confined to the rural churches and pastors. I would suspect that urban Appalachian churches would be substantially different from the churches analyzed by Turner.

The research that I am going to do will be exploratory. However, it will be a more in-depth investigation of one factor necessary for the black church to be an agent for social change. That factor is leadership. Does the leadership, or the black pastors, see bring about social change as a function of the church?

Methodology

Type of design used is Focus Groups

This research was exploratory in nature; therefore, a qualitative design was chosen. Based on the subject under analysis, and the available literature, a qualitative design was more functional for my purposes. The research was limited to the leadership aspect of the black church, and a qualitative design allowed me to explore the reality of the black pastor as it relates to the essential mission of the black church. The design placed the researcher in the process with the understanding and acceptance that the values and perceptions of the researcher would be inherent in any conclusions. A more rigid empiricist paradigm would not lend itself to this desired approach. I chose a focus group methodology to actually gather and analysis the data. This methodology was chosen because of the interaction between the informants that this method would generate.

Focus groups are basically group interviews. They are a research method for collecting qualitative data. They are focused efforts at data gathering, and they generate data through group discussions. A moderator guides the interview while a small group discusses the topic that the interviewer raises. What the participants in the group say during their discussions are the essential data in focus groups. Typically there are six to eight participants who come from similar backgrounds, and the moderator works from a predetermined set of discussion questions or topics (Kruger, 1998:1-17).

The data is then analyzed to identify emerging categories. Comparative analysis can be used to make data comparisons from group to group, or to compare existing data to data collected in the current research.

The Role of the Researcher

My standpoint for understanding the role of the African American Church has been shaped to a significant degree by my participation in the Church of the Nazarene as an ordained elder. I have also served on the National Black Strategy Committee for the denomination for the past six years, and have been the senior pastor of the Institute Church of the Nazarene for the past eleven. In these roles, I have been responsible for trying to articulate the role of the African American Church on both the local and national level. For the purpose of this study, being an ordained elder and pastor makes me a participant observer. It allows me to see things from their perspective, and helps me understand the conversations, or responses given by the pastors in the focus groups.

While I approach this study understanding the need for objectivity, my desire for the black church to resume its role at the forefront of the Civil Rights struggle is being stated emphatically. My desire is to produce scholarly research, which means the collection of impartial data, and the interpretation of that data in an accurate manner. And, while every attempt is being made to maintain that perspective, a non-African American pastor might interpret these findings differently.

Data Collection

This research started as a project to identify every African American church in the state of West Virginia. The state lends itself to such a study because the majority of the African American population is confined to seven counties. The original project proved too enormous for a masters thesis; therefore, I had to decide on a geographical area of the state in which to work. I decided on Kanawha and McDowell counties. These two counties have a substantial African American population, and they represent opposite ends of the urban-rural spectrum. Kanawha County is considered urban, and McDowell is considered a rural county. This would give the focus groups an inherent point of contrast, and make group comparison from a geographical perspective relatively simple.

After deciding on a geographical area in which to concentrate my research, I identified as many African American Churches, and their pastors as possible. I used personal contacts, word of mouth, ministerial alliance documents, association membership lists, and telephone books to make identifications. At the end of this process I had identified more than two hundred and seventy two churches in the state, including fifty, and sixty-six respectively, in the two counties under consideration.

The method that I used to get informants to attend the focus groups was to call them and invite them to come. In the case of McDowell County, I had to make two trips to the county and make the acquaintance of a local pastor and enlist his aide in setting up the focus groups and getting informants to attend. I informed each prospective informant that I was studying the role of the African American church, as it related to prophetic ministry. I tried to give enough information to define the study, but not enough to aide or

encourage the informants to formulate answers before hand. The only criteria for participating in the study was being African American and pastoring an African American church. I also wanted an African American female pastor in each focus group. I was able to accomplish this. The reason that I wanted a female pastor in each group was because of the disproportionate number of female members in the average African American congregation. "Females comprise sixty-six to eighty percent of the average African American congregation, but they average less than five percent of the leadership" (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990:304).

The informants were National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc. Progressive Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal, Bible Church, and Church of God in Christ, Nazarene, and Independent Pentecostal. These church congregations varied from upper middle class, to what could be consider those on the lower end of the social-economic ladder. The location of the focus groups was the activity building of the Institute Church of the Nazarene, in Kanawha County and the fellowship hall in the basement of the Baptist Church in McDowell County. All focus groups were held during the day in Kanawha County, however, in McDowell County the focus group had to be held in the evening. This was due to the fact that the pastors that agreed to come in Kanawha county were full time for the most part, while the rural pastors held full time employment outside of the church, and they were not available during daytime hours.

I arranged a total of four groups with six to ten pastors agreeing to participate. When the groups were actually held, group one had four participants, group two had five, group three had four, and the McDowell county group had five. This indicates that approximately half of those agreeing to come actually attended. I do not have an answer

for the fifty-percent attendance versus acceptance rate. I did not pay any transportation cost for the informants, and they did not receive any monetary stipend for participation.

Written informed consent was obtained from all participants.

The only demographic information collected was the name of the church they were currently pastoring, and the length of time they had been there. The men averaged 9.25 years in their current pastorates, while the women averaged 19 years in their current assignments. I served as moderator for each group. I also made notes of statement of special interest to me in each focus group. I had an assistant who was responsible for taking field notes, and in three of the groups there was a second assistant who also took field notes.

Each group lasted approximately one and a half-hours, and included group discussion using predetermined open-ended questions that I had previously formulated. I also used one question from the national Faith Communities Today Survey. The Faith Communities Today project was a survey of more than 260,000 congregation and faith groups in the United States. The survey contained more than 200 core questions. Based on the literature concerning prophetic ministry and priestly ministry, questions were asked about personal ministry philosophy of the pastors, and the programmatic outreach of each church. The themes that appeared in the data that the informants gave were compared to the themes that appeared in the definition of prophetic ministry and priestly ministry. Data was also collected concerning that actual outreach programs being operated by the churches. A comparison of the personal ministry philosophies, and the programs being offered by the churches was also compared. The frequency of programmatic outreach by

the churches participating in the focus groups, and the result of the national Faith Communities Today was also made.

I followed standard methodology for conducting focus groups. Each group was recorded, using standard audio equipment. The tapes were used to make notes on each group. The audiotapes, the written notes from the tapes, my notes, and the field notes of the assistants, comprised the data available for analysis.

Method of Verification

Verification basically answers the question; did we accurately capture the responses of the informants? The answer is yes. We used a team. At each point in the research we used standard focus group protocol. We listened very closely to the informants. Their responses were recorded, and notes taken. At the end of each group, a debriefing took place, and we discussed what changes needed to be made to make the next focus group better. We also asked the participants what questions did we need to ask that we didn't ask. I am confident that the responses listed in this research are those of the informants.

Data Analysis

The data were analyzed to determine what common themes each group generated. These themes were used as units to make a comparative analysis from group to group. The analysis paid particular attention to a comparison of the urban group with the rural group. Finally, the same analytical approach was used to compare the themes identified in the focus groups under discussion to themes identified in the literature concerning the African American church and prophetic ministry versus priestly ministry. I also examined the relationship between the programs that the pastors said should be operating, and the ones that were actually being operated by the churches under analysis. A further comparison was made between the programmatic outreach of the churches this focus group study, and the nation Faith Communities Today Survey.

The following are a list of the definitions, or themes that are associated with the ministries under discussion. They represent the themes that I was looking for in the data collected from the informants.

1) Prophetic Ministry

The Prophetic Voice or Prophetic Ministry is first and foremost a Biblical concept. Its literally means the voice of the prophet, or the ministry of the prophet. A primary example from the Bible is Amos 5:24 “But let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an ever flowing stream.” It is clear from this passage that the prophet is calling for a change in the social order. The office of prophet means he is speaking the oracles of God, which gives him the authority to call for such a change in the social order. Walter Brueggemann offers a more contemporary definition of prophetic ministry.

He says, "The task of prophetic ministry is to nurture, nourish, and evoke a consciousness and perception alternative to the consciousness and perception of the dominant culture around us" (1978:13). The phrase "evoke a consciousness and perception alternative of the dominant culture" is a call for social justice and equality in the social order. According to Brueggemann, this call for social change has to be issued by a voice from outside of the dominant group. The Biblical prophets and Brueggemann's definitions of prophetic ministry denote a call for structural changes in society. Carlyle Fielding Stewart builds upon Brueggemann's definition by emphasizing social change and personal change at a local level.

Stewart defines prophetic ministry as

The process of calling the people of God into a awareness of God's saving liberating and redemptive acts so as to compel the radical participation of individuals and communities in spiritual, social and personal transformation. The result of that transformation will be the realization of human wholeness and potential in the present, as well as in the future (Stewart, 1994: 22).

Stewart's concept of prophetic ministry is more focused on operating social programs. Stewart argues that prophetic ministry must compel radical participation by individuals and communities in spiritual, social and personal transformation, or change.

In this paper and for research purposes, prophetic ministry is defined as ministry that calls for structural changes in society, and is actively involved in community transformation at the local level.

2) Prophetic Radical- Group of African American clergy whose analysis of American's problems leads them to the conclusion that their energies must be expanded towards the

radical restructuring of the free-market capitalist economy. Rather than cooperating with the powers that be, the prophetic radical accepts the responsibility to call the nation to a higher level of moral reasoning and a heightened self-interest to sacrificial action on behalf of the common good (Phillips, 1999:16).

3) Radical Remnant, militant minority, or prophetic brigade- These terms are interchangeable, and can be defined as that portion of the black church which preaches a theology of racial justice and social liberation (Dyson, 2000:128).

4) Priestly Ministry

Priestly ministry is the focus on the spiritual well being of the congregation. I looked for terms such as saving souls, evangelism, winning people to Christ, and getting people to heaven to identify pastors that were concentrating on priestly ministry.

5) Programmatic Outreach

This ministry is focused on providing and operating social programs that impact the social condition of the members of the congregation as well as the at large community.

This ministry can be indicated by a direct question about current programs in operation.

These definitions guided the analysis, and following are the findings.

Findings

Prophetic Ministry

When asked directly if they were familiar with the terms prophetic ministry, or priestly ministry, most of the informants were not completely familiar with the terms. However, they were more familiar with priestly ministry than prophetic ministry. There was one informant in group one and one informant attending group three who had knowledge of the terms. There were no informants attending group four, the rural group, who were familiar with prophetic ministry as defined in this research.

Most of the informants held a Biblical, rather than a sociological definition of prophetic ministry. They equated prophetic ministry with outreach, and being involved with the community. There were two informants, who had attended seminary, and they both had heard of Walter Brueggemann and his definition of prophetic ministry, and one was very familiar with Brueggemann's writings and arguments. Referring to Brueggemann he said, "That is subversive reading Doc." "Doc" is short for doctor, and is a term that black preachers use when referring to each other. When asked what a prophetic church would look like, the same informant answered, "It would require the church to make a paradigm shift. It would be a radical change in the way we view things. It would be chaos." He was totally correct in his understanding of the concept of prophetic ministry. He said by chaos, "I mean that the present societal structures would have to be torn down and new ones put in their places." He used terms such as radical, and prophetic when referring to the church and the ministry required to meet the needs of

people in the twenty first century. He mentioned Dr. King and economic justice as the next frontier that the church must conquer in the struggle for equality. He said, “the black church was the cradle of the civil rights movement.” That was possible because the pastor was independent of the white power structure. “The people went to work and caught hell on Monday so the black preacher could say what needed to be said on Sunday. The church gave a voice to the voiceless, spoke out against injustice. You see, prophetic ministry is not only foretelling, but also folk telling.” Folk telling means the black preach must speak against injustice, tell folks when they are wrong. He mentioned the scripture from Amos 5:24.

This particular informant represented what Dyson referred to as the militant minority. He was the only informant in any of the four groups who understood prophetic ministry in terms of the definitions listed in this research.

Priestly Ministry

The need to get people saved was the most frequent theme mentioned in all of the groups. The informants viewed meeting the spiritual needs, of the congregation and getting people to attend church as the primary function of the church. The rural groups held this view more strongly than did the urban groups. One informant from the rural group stated that the function of the church is simply “to get people to come.” Another said “the church is a place of worship to offer some spiritual medicine for a few hours a week.” Meeting the spiritual needs of the congregation was mentioned four times by the three urban groups, while it was mentioned five times by the one rural group.

One participant in group number one held that priestly ministry was the most important. He stated, "Priestly ministry is more important. If you address all the social issues that we have been discussing, the solutions will be temporary unless you address the person's spiritual needs." When asked to decide whether priestly ministry or prophetic ministry was more important, the informants did not want to make a choice. However, when I insisted, they said priestly was more important. Two of the informants refused to choose between the importance of prophetic and priestly ministry and said the church should take a "holistic" approach to ministry.

Programmatic Outreach

The theme that indicated the informant's views on the programmatic outreach of the church was what they termed as the center. By center, the informants stated that the black church had been and should continue to be the center of African American community life. One informant stated, "The church should be the center of all community life. It needs to play a major part in all community activities, particularly where I am." He shared the following story to illustrate the importance of the black pastor and the black church in the community.

"I can remember when I was little, and my sister graduated, and left home to get a job in a different city. The most important thing that she carried with her was a letter from the pastor." Another informant in group one stated, "we should be involved in every aspect of peoples lives. That includes education, finances, training whatever is needed." Another informant from group two stated, "Whatever problem a person has, they should be able to find an answer from the church." Another informant stated, "We should be the leader, and

the provider for the community.” A member of the rural group stated, “The church should be the voice of the community.”

One pastor from group two in Kanawha County remembered when the church was what he called “the nerve center of the community.” He held a unique ministry philosophy, which he called his Biblical ministry manifesto. He quoted Luke 4:18, as the foundation for what he called a holistic approach to ministry. “When I am engaging in housing, and when I am engaged in finance, I am ministering the same as if I was preaching. Jesse Jackson, a Baptist minister says the fourth movement of the civil rights era is to bring Wall Street to Main Street. In the black church, we did not separate the secular from the sacred.”

One of the informants from the rural group said, “there should be recreation, and tutoring, counseling, keeping marriages together, all of these are functions of the church.” There was a time when the people depended upon the preacher. They did what the pastor said. Now it is different. The informants remembered when the black church was the center of community life, and they had a desire to see that social order again.

I tried to get some indication concerning the pastor’s understanding of the systematic approach to social change by asking them to mix the secular with the sacred. I asked them if they would allow a pregnant teen, a politician, a doctor, or a congregational member to speak to the congregation on Sunday morning in their place. The only one that any of the pastors agreed to let speak was the pregnant teenager. This was an indication that teen pregnancy was an issue that the pastors thought the black church should address. They held such strong views about this issue, and its impact on the black community that they

were willing to alter Sunday morning worship to address the issue. That is an example of a social program in action.

The results of the survey question that actually indicated what programs the churches were operating are listed in the appendix. The questionnaire asked about sixteen different ministry areas. The following are the results of the seventeen churches that participated in my focus group research. All of the churches 100% said they had given cash assistance to an individual or a family in the past twelve months. This compared to 90% in the national survey. None of the churches indicated they had any kind of an outreach program for migrants or immigrants while 18% of the churches in the Faith Communities Survey indicated they had such a program.

The programs that African American pastors mentioned during focus group discussions ranked close to the national averages. Thrift store donations was 52%, versus 63% nationally, operation a food pantry or soup kitchen was 65% versus 85%, and offering elderly, emergency or affordable housing was 39% versus 42%. In the area of programs provided for education, 29% of the church under analysis offered daycare, pre-school, before/after school programs, this compared to 35% nationally. Tutoring and literacy programs were 47% in the Appalachian churches, while only 38% percent of national churches offered such programs.

The programs that would closely identify with social struggle had the following surprising results. The African American Churches in this study indicated that 47% of them were involved in organized social advocacy or community organizing, while only 35% of those churches on a national level indicated such an initiative. The percentages for voter registration, and voter education were 41% and 34% respectively. The other areas

of particular interest to the African American community were substance abuse, and criminal justice. In these areas, 35% of the focus group churches indicated they had a program, this compared to 37% of the national churches, and 41% of both the focus group and the national churches indicated they had a jail or prison ministry. I will discuss these findings

Discussion

This research was exploratory. The original question “Does the Black Church in Appalachia Speak with a Prophetic Voice?” cannot be answered from this limited research. However, the statement can be made that there is a prophetic voice speaking from within the black church in Appalachia. The sixteen pastors that participated in the study had varied philosophies as to the function of the African American Church. Their standpoint seemed to indicate the dialectic between priestly and prophetic ministry observed by Lincoln and Mamiya was operating in each of the focus groups.

For example, each pastor said the most enjoyable part of ministry was seeing, or being a part of a person’s life changing event. This placed the church in the priestly ministry perspective of the Lincoln and Mamiya analytical paradigm. However, the idea of the black church being the center of life in the African American community was expressed very strongly and was an overriding theme throughout the study. The pastors indicated that the African American Church should be program oriented, and it should provide programs that addressed social issues that are a concern in the African American community. This indicated the pastors viewed the function of the church as prophetic according to the Steward definition stated earlier.

The one pastor who was very familiar with the writing that I mentioned in the literature review section of this paper means that classic prophetic ministry is alive among the seventeen churches that I studied. The prophetic voice is speaking in Appalachia; however, it is not a collective voice. That pastor’s standpoint placed the black church in King’s prophetic brigade. According to Dyson, the collective church does not have to be involved to cause social change, only a militant minority. This research

indicated that the black churches under analysis are operating social programs, at and sometimes above the national average. That could be interpreted both positively and negatively. It could be seen as positive because the church is doing something. It could be viewed negatively because Appalachia is behind the national averages in the areas mentioned in the survey question. If we are only operating at the national average, significant progress is not being made. What is the potential of these churches to be agents for social change in Appalachia?

The answer to that question cannot be determined from this limited study, because this study was narrowly focus on leadership, and program outreach. Leadership is only one component necessary for a church to be an agent of social change. The other factors that are necessary include congregation size, and church resources and the focus and quality of program outreach. This study was not designed to consider either of these factors.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant because blacks are not included in academic studies in West Virginia. Therefore, very little has been said about blacks in West Virginia in general, and the black church in particular. This analysis could serve as a springboard for further study of the black church. This paper includes a database of over two hundred African American Churches. These data could serve as material for a continuation of research on the African American Church. The research examines a group of people who are oppressed, existing within an Appalachian culture, which, is oppressed. A comparison of the attitudes of these black churches in Appalachia to those outside Appalachia could yield some important insights into the sociology of religion among the oppressed.

This study confirms the fact that the African American Church is still the dominant institution in the African American community. It gives us some insight into the ideology of the black pastor. The black pastor has traditionally expressed the concerns of the African American community as a whole. This study gives some insight into the thinking of the African American community.

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited in several ways. It was intended to be exploratory in nature from conception to completion. The sample size limited the findings, in terms of being able to make any grand generalizations or to be able to make concrete statements about the African American church in Appalachia. The informants themselves also limit the findings of the study. Class was not a consideration when the informants were chosen. The literature indicated that there was a correlation between prophetic ministry and resources of the church that would be involved in social change. I made no effort to measure church resources in my research. I used the term Appalachia, even though my sample was confined to two counties in West Virginia. I did so because West Virginia is the only state where all of its counties are in Appalachia.

The focus group methodology has some inherent limitations. The most dangerous statistical misuse of this focus group study would come from attempts to generalize these results to larger black church population in Appalachia. The samples herein are too small and too unrepresentative to generate meaningful numbers. I have tried to emphasize depth and insight into the personal ministry philosophy; hence, I did not employ the rigorous sampling procedures necessary to produce useful numerical results. The comparisons made using the national survey data is just that comparison, I make claims concerning predictability.

Recommendation for further Study

I recommend that this project be finished. The just released census indicated that African Americans are still concentrated in a relatively small area in the state. The African American churches could be identified, and in depth research could be done. The resources necessary for social change could be identified church by church. These data could then be used to determine the likelihood of the black church in West Virginia really becoming an agent for social change.

Another hypothesis that could be studied is Marx's concept that the ideas of the age are the ideas of the ruling class. The question of the pastors of black churches in the coalfields serving at the will and pleasure of the coal company would make an interesting sociological study. The ministry philosophy of African American female pastor compared to the male pastors could also yield interesting results. The quality of the social programs being operated by the black churches in this study could be examined. The Faith Communities Today Survey could be given to the entire active black church community in the state of West Virginia. All of the aforementioned topics are parts of a comprehensive study that needs to be done. The study is the sociology of the African American Church in Appalachia.

Appendix

Focus Group Questions

Questions

1. Tell us your name, church's name and how long have you been the pastor there.
2. What do you enjoy most about pastoring?
3. We are here to discuss the role of the African American Church in its community. How do you see that role?
4. Have you ever heard the term priestly church and or prophetic church? How would you define the two?
5. Which of these two functions are more important to you and why?
6. Would you allow any of the following people to be the main speaker in a Sunday Morning worship service? What about Sunday night? What about Wednesday?
 - A. A politician running for office.
 - B. A physician speaking about healthcare.
 - C. A teen speaking about the problems associated with teen pregnancy.
 - D. A congregational member speaking about the need to vote and be active in the political process.
7. Based on the definition of prophetic ministry that you have just been given, describe how a prophetic church would operate. How close is your current church to that model? Is this something that you should be moving toward?
8. Survey Questions
9. How would you change the church to make it more effective?
10. We have been trying to determine the role of the African American Church. What other questions should we have asked?

Handout for question (7)

“The task of prophetic ministry is to nurture, nourish, and evoke a consciousness and perception alternative to the consciousness and perception of the dominant culture around us.” Brueggemann

Question (8)

In the past 12 months, did your congregation directly provide or cooperate in providing any of the following services for your own members or for people in the community.

A. Food pantry or soup kitchen	Yes	No
B. Cash assistance to families or individuals	Yes	No
C. Thrift store or thrift store donations	Yes	No
D. Elderly, emergency or affordable housing	Yes	No
E. Counseling services or "hot line"	Yes	No
F. Substance abuse program	Yes	No
G. Daycare, pre-school, before/after-school programs	Yes	No
H. Tutoring or literacy programs for children & teens	Yes	No
I. Voter registration or voter education	Yes	No
J. Organized social issue advocacy or community organizing	Yes	No
K. Employment counseling, placement or training	Yes	No
L. Health programs/clinics/health education	Yes	No
M. Hospitals or nursing homes	Yes	No
N. Senior citizen programs (other than housing)	Yes	No
O. Program for migrants or immigrants	Yes	No
P. Prison or jail ministry	Yes	No

Note This question was taken from the Faith Communities Today

West Virginia Counties With Highest African American Population

1. Kanawha	13,955
2. Raleigh	6,753
3. Cabell	4,150
4. Berkeley	3,668
5. Monongalia	3,558
6. Mercer	3,250
7. McDowell	2,763
8. Marion	2,571
9. Ohio	1,823
10. Jefferson	1,691
11. Harrison	1,105
12. Greenbrier	1,048

2000 Census Data

African American Churches By County

ID	Church Name	County
1	Institute Church of the Nazarene	Kanawha
2	Rand Bethel Church of the Nazarene	Kanawha
3	Westside Church of the Nazarene	Kanawha
4	Allen Chapel AME	Kanawha
5	Asbury United Methodist	Jefferson
6	Community Baptist Church	Jefferson
7	Ebenezer-Mt Calvary Holy Church of America,	Jefferson
8	House of Prayer Church of God	Jefferson
9	King's Apostle Holiness Church of God, Inc	Jefferson
10	Mt. Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church	Jefferson
11	Mt. Zion United Methodist	Jefferson
12	King's Deliverence Holiness Church	Jefferson
13	Prosperity Baptist Church	Jefferson
14	St. John Baptist Church	Jefferson
15	St. Paul Baptist	Jefferson
16	St. Philip's Episcopal Church	Jefferson
17	Sylvannah Baptist Church	Jefferson
18	Wainwright Baptist Church	Jefferson
19	Zion Baptist Church	Jefferson
20	Curtis Memorial Chapel	Jefferson
21	Halltown Memorial Chapel	Jefferson
22	Zion Free Will Baptist Church	Jefferson
23	Mt. Tabor Baptist Church	Berkely
24	Trinity Temple Church of God	Berkely
25	Ferguson Memorial Baptist Church	Kanawha
26	First Baptist of Charleston	Kanawha
27	Grace Bible Church	Kanawha
28	New Covenant Baptist Church	Kanawha
29	Rimson Memorial COGIC	Kanawha
30	Riverview Baptist Church	Kanawha
31	Simpson United Methodist	Kanawha
32	St. Paul African Methodist Episcosal	Kanawha
33	Temple of Faith Ministries	Kanawha
34	Ebenezer Baptist Church	Kanawha
35	Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church	Kanawha
36	Berea Seventh Day Adventist	Kanawha
37	Bethlehem Missionary Baptist	Kanawha
38	Bibleway Worldwide	Kanawha
39	Central Community Tabernacle	Kanawha
40	Community Missionary Baptist Church	Kanawha
41	Cornerstone Christian Center	Kanawha
42	Faith and Truth Apostolic	Kanawha
43	Glorious Liberty Apostolic	Kanawha
44	Greater Emmanuel	Kanawha
45	Kanawha City First Baptist	Kanawha

46 Levi First Missionary Baptist Church	Kanawha
47 Rehoboth Apostolic Outreach Ministries	Kanawha
48 Samaritan Baptist	Kanawha
49 St. Paul Baptist	Kanawha
50 True Church House of Prayer to All Nations	Kanawha
51 Woods Temple	Kanawha
52 Vandalia Baptist Church	Kanawha
53 Walls AME Zion	Kanawha
54 Whosoever Will Full Gospel Baptist Church	Kanawha
55 Zion Hill Church of God	Kanawha
56 Apostolic Free Church of God	Kanawha
57 Temple of Faith Outreach Ministries	Cabell
58 Young Chapel AME	Cabell
59 First Baptist Church	Cabell
60 Original Glorious Liberty Church of God AF	Cabell
61 Calvary Baptist	Cabell
62 Antioch Missionary Baptist Church	Cabell
63 Mt. Zion Baptist Church	Cabell
64 Christ Temple AOH	Cabell
65 Glorious Church of God in Christ	Cabell
66 Ebenezer United Methodist	Cabell
67 Full Gospel Mission	Cabell
68 Shiloh Baptist Church	Cabell
69 Sixteenth Street Baptist Church	Cabell
70 Mt. Olive Baptist Church	Mercer
71 Warren United Methodist Church	Taylor
72 First Baptist Church	Fayette
73 Sumerlee Baptist Church	Fayette
74 Scott Baptist Church	Mercer
75 M. Herman Baptist Church	Monongalia
76 Ebenezer Baptist Church	Logan
77 Golden Gate Baptist Church	Mercer
78 Glorious Church of God in Christ	Raleigh
79 Greater Mount Zion Pentecostal	Mercer
80 Jones United Methodist	Monongalia
81 Glorious Church of God in Christ	Logan
82 Morning Star Baptist	Marion
83 Trinity United Methodist Church	Marion
84 Mt. Zion Baptist Church	Marion
85 St. Paul AME Church	Monongalia
86 Dodley Baptist	Berkeley
87 Waldon United Methodist	Mineral
88 Galilee Baptist Church	McDowell
89 First Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
90 Pilgram Baptist Church	Mercer
91 First Baptist Church	McDowell
92 Wingfield Batpist Church	McDowell
93 Mt. Zion Baptist Church *	Mercer

94 Mt. Moriah Baptist Church	McDowell
95 Morning Star Baptist Church	McDowell
96 Mill Creek Baptist Church	Mercer
97 Mt. Carmel Baptist Church	McDowell
98 St. James Baptist Church	McDowell
99 Rock Hill Baptist Church *	McDowell
100 Mt. Calvary Baptist Church	Mercer
101 Hartwell Baptist Church	Mercer
102 Golden Gate Baptist Church	Mercer
103 Mt. Nebo Baptist Church *	McDowell
104 Upland Baptist Church	McDowell
105 Royal Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
106 Beulah Baptist Church	McDowell
107 Scott St. Baptist Church *	Mercer
108 Mercy Seat Baptist	McDowell
109 Trinity Baptist Church	McDowell
110 Laurel Creek Baptist Church	Mercer
111 First Baptist Church	McDowell
112 First Baptist Church	McDowell
113 Mt. Ebenezer Baptist Church	McDowell
114 Mt. Chapel Baptist	McDowell
115 New Morning Star Baptist	Mercer
116 Thompson Memorial Baptist Church	Mercer
117 Mill Creek Baptist Church	Mercer
118 Bluestone Baptist Church	Mercer
119 Mt. Olive Baptist Church	Mercer
120 Union Baptist Church	Mercer
121 First Baptist Church	McDowell
122 Shiloh Missionary Baptist Church	Mercer
123 Switchback Memorial Baptist Church *	Mercer
124 Lovely Zion Missionary Baptist	McDowell
125 First Baptist Church	McDowell
126 Redeeming Life Christian Center	Mercer
127 Greater Mt. Zion Pentecostal Church *	Mercer
128 First St Baptist North Beckley	Raleigh
129 Mt. Zion Baptist Church	Raleigh
130 Welcome Baptist Church	Raleigh
131 Heart of God Ministry	Raleigh
132 Scott Baptist Church	Raleigh
133 Outreach for Christ Christian Center	Raleigh
134 Central Baptist Church	Raleigh
135 Free and Independent Holiness Church	Raleigh
136 New Era Baptist	Raleigh
137 St. Paul Baptist Temple	Raleigh
138 Truth Temple of Deliverance	Raleigh
139 United Apostolic Faith Church	Raleigh
140 7th Day Adventist-Kimball Bethel	McDowell
141 Mt. Zion A.M.E. Church	McDowell

142 Mt. Zion Temple A.M.E. Church	McDowell
143 Upland Baptist Church	McDowell
144 Apostolic Temple of Gary	McDowell
145 Emmanuel Tabernacle Church	McDowell
146 Court Street United Methodist Church	McDowell
147 Smith Memorial Church	McDowell
148 Rockhill Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
149 Conley Chapel A.M.E Zion Church	McDowell
150 Mt. Harmon Branch Church of God	McDowell
151 Metropolitan United Methodist Church	McDowell
152 Little Zion Missionary Baptist	McDowell
153 Zion Temple A.M.E. Zion	McDowell
154 Sabbath Day Church	Raleigh
155 Mt. Zion Church of Christ	McDowell
156 Zion Temple of the Heavenly Sunlight	McDowell
157 Mt. Zion United Methodist	McDowell
158 Jehovah's Witnesses	Raleigh
159 New Jerusalem Holiness	Raleigh
160 North Beckley Church of Christ	Raleigh
161 Crab Orchard Baptist Church	Raleigh
162 Daniels Missionary Baptist Church	Raleigh
163 Ebenezer Baptist Church	Raleigh
164 First Baptist Church of Harper Heights	Raleigh
165 Hilltop Baptist Church	Raleigh
166 Memorial Baptist Church	Raleigh
167 New Hope Baptist Church	Raleigh
168 New Hope Primitive Baptist Church	Raleigh
169 First Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
170 Truevine Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
171 Mt. Airy Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
172 First Missionary Baptist Church	Mercer
173 Second Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
174 Lilly Grove Baptist Church	McDowell
175 Havaco Temple Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
176 Zion Temple A.M.E. Zion Church	McDowell
177 Clinton Chapel Methodist Church	McDowell
178 Galilee Baptist Church	Raleigh
179 Mt. Chapel Missionary Baptist Church	Mercer
180 St. James Baptist Church	McDowell
181 Conley Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church	McDowell
183 Mt. Mariah Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
184 Kingdom Hall of Jehovah Witness	McDowell
185 Gospel Tabernacle United Holiness Church	McDowell
186 Switchback Memorial	McDowell
187 Mt. Zion United Holiness Church	McDowell
188 Kyles Chapel A.M.E. Zion Church	McDowell
189 Emmanuel Tabernacle Baptist Church	Raleigh
190 Revival Tabernacle	McDowell

191 Mt. Bethel United Holiness Church	McDowell
193 New Bethel Church	McDowell
194 Bethel Seventh Day of Adventist Church	McDowell
195 Mercy Seat Baptist Church	McDowell
196 First Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
198 Miracle Mount Carmel Church of God	McDowell
199 Apostolic Temple Church of God	McDowell
200 Church of Heavenly Sunlight	McDowell
201 True House of Prayer Church	McDowell
202 Free Mission in Christ	McDowell
203 Mt. Harmon Branch Church of God	McDowell
204 Mt. Zion Church of Christ	McDowell
205 United Christian Church	McDowell
207 Mt. Chapel Missionary Baptist Church	Mercer
208 Mercy Seat Baptist Church	Mercer
209 Little Zion Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
210 Trinity Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
211 Galilee Baptist Church	Raleigh
212 First Missionary Baptist Church	Mercer
214 First Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
215 Mt. Ebenezer Baptist Church	McDowell
216 Lilly of the Valley Baptist Church	McDowell
217 Morning Star Missionary Baptist Church	McDowell
218 Beulah Baptist Church	McDowell
219 Mt. Grove Baptist Church	McDowell
220 Zion Temple A.M.E. Zion	McDowell
221 Midway Shiloh Temple	Wetzel
222 Pilgrim Home Baptist Church	Kanawha
223 Samaritan Baptist Church	Kanawha
224 Maranatha Bible Baptist Church	Kanawha
225 Mount Zion Baptist Church	Kanawha
226 Valley Christian Assembly	Kanawha
227 Metropolitan Baptist Church	Kanawha
228 Liberty Baptist Church	Kanawha
229 Ebenezer Baptist Church	Kanawha
230 Vineyard in the Hills	Kanawha
231 Power House of Deliverance	Kanawha
232 Tabernacle of Praise	Kanawha
233 Crossroads Fellowship	Kanawha
234 Maple Avenue Church of God	Marion
235 First Church of God	Kanawha
236 7th Avenue Church of God	Kanawha

PROGRAMS FREQUENCY CHART

Program being operated by churches				
	Yes	No	Total	Percent
Food pantry or soup Kitchen	11	6	17	64.7%
Cash assistance to families or individuals	16	1	17	94.1%
Thrift store or thrift donations	9	8	17	52.9%
Elderly, emergency or affordable housing	6	11	17	35.2%
Counseling services or "hot line"	8	9	17	47%
Substance abuse program	6	11	17	35.2%
Daycare, pre-school, before/after-school programs	5	12	17	29.4%
Tutoring or literacy programs for children & teens	8	9	17	47%
Voter registration or voter education	7	10	17	41.1%
Organized social issue advocacy or community organizing	8	9	17	47%
Employment counseling, placement or training	7	10	17	41.1%
Health programs/clinics/health education	7	10	17	41.1%
Hospitals or nursing homes	9	8	17	52.9%
Senior citizen programs (other than housing)	7	10	17	41.1%
Program for migrants or immigrants	0	0	17	0%
Prison or jail ministry	7	10	17	41.1%%

PROGRAMS FREQUENCY CHART

FOCUS GROUP

NATIONAL AVERAGE COMPARISON

Program being operated by churches		
	Churches In Focus Groups	National Averages
Food pantry or soup Kitchen	64.7%	85.6%
Cash assistance to families or individuals	94.1%	86.8%
Thrift store or thrift donations	52.9%	56.1%
Elderly, emergency or affordable housing	35.2%	34.3%
Counseling services or "hot line"	47%	38.7%
Substance abuse program	35.2%	26.8%
Daycare, pre-school, before/after-school programs	29%	23.2%
Tutoring or literacy programs for children & teens	47%	24.3%
Voter registration or voter education	41.1%	16.1%
Organized social issue advocacy or community organizing	47%	24.1%
Employment counseling, placement or training	41.1%	14.8%
Health programs/clinics/health education	41.1%	23.1%
Hospitals or nursing homes	52.9%	41.6%
Senior citizen programs (other than housing)	41.1%	39.1%
Program for migrants or immigrants	0%	14.3%
Prison or jail ministry	41.1%	31.4%

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