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Classifying Protestant Denominations

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Although the importance of religion as a attitudinal predictor in general and as a marker of cultural pluralism in particular has been increasing acknowledged in recent years (Smith, 1986), the use of religion in sociological
analysis has been stunted by the difficulty of working with denominational variables. The basic reason for the difficulty is the complex
nature of America's denominational profile. As the Reverend J. Gordon Melton - America's champion church hunter, once remarked, "We are probably the most religious people -- and the most diversely religious people -- on earth." Our tradition of religious pluralism goes deeply into our colonial history. Edwin S. Gaustad noted that even as early as the 17th century one found "Huguenots in Charleston, Anglicans in Tidewater Virginia, Catholics in St. Mary's City, Swedish Lutherans along the Delaware, Quakers and Presbyterians further up the river, Dutch Reform in Manhattan, Puritans in New England, Baptists, and Heaven-knows-what-else in Rhode Island." Early in the history of the American republic, the French aristocrat Talleyrand is reported to have derisively observed that the United States had 32 religions, but only one sauce. Since then America has continued to both import foreign and spawn indigenous religions, until by the late 1970s Melton came up with a list of 1,187 primary denominations in the United States. This makes religion a difficult variable to collect and probably even more troublesome to use. It

leaves the analyst with a myriad of small, obscure, and easily confused groups
 to sift through.

     This problem is compounded by lack of government data on religion.
Because the Census Bureau feels proscribed by the First Amendment from
including religious affiliation questions on either the Census or the Current
Population Survey (CPS), authoritative, fine-grain statistics on religion are
in short supply. (The census of religious bodies was last conducted in 1936
and the CPS has not asked about religion since 1957. "Religion," 1958 and
Mueller and Lane, 1972).

                         Classifying Schemes

     The classic solution for dealing with large numbers of small and
unordered groups is to create a classification scheme and aggregate the
separate groups into a manageable number of categories. Many classification
schemes for religion have been developed over the years using one criterion
or another to group denominations. For example, the grouping of churches
into denominational families based on theological and historical similarity
has been common (Backman, 1983; Jacquet, 1980; Synan in Jacquet, 1980; and
Hunter, 1981) and other schemes have been used such criteria as form of
church government (Wbod, 1970) and the distinction between sects and
denominations (Wilson, 1970).

     Social scientists in the United States however have found the
most useful classification to be one that discriminated denominations along a
continuum from fundamentalism to liberalism (or in similar schemes with
different labels from the orthodox, conservative, or Evangelical to the
secular, modern, or humanistic). It is hard to place a rigorous definition on
the poles of the continuum (and even harder to so label the way stations),
because there is enough particularism among denominations and conflict over
the use and meanings of terms that it is difficult to tailor a set of
criteria that are exact and easily quantifiable. Nevertheless, it is possible
to outline the main issues that separate fundamentalist and liberal
theologies and to array denomination along such a continuum.

     At one end we find the Fundamentalists, a movement of conservative or
traditionalist Protestant denominations that grew largely out of the Holiness
and Pentecostal movements (and later denominations) of the nineteenth century.
The movement was formed in the early 20th century as a reaction to what was
seen as the secularization and modernization of religious beliefs and
practices within many mainstream and established Protestant denominations. Its
keys beliefs were first articulated in a series of pamphlets called The
Fundamentals (1909). In addition to their opposition to the growth of secular
influence in society, the Fundamentalists are distinguished by belief in
1) the inerrancy of the Bible (or more technically in the verbal, plenary
inspiration of the Bible), 2) personal salvation by accepting Christ as their
saviour in what is often called the born-again experience, 3) the personal,
pre-millenial imminent return of Christ, 4) an evangelical or revivalist
desire to reach out to save and convert others, and 5) acceptance of most
traditional Protestant beliefs such as in Trinity, the Virgin birth, and the
existence of angels and devils. The position of liberal denominations is
perhaps less clear than that of the Fundamentalists, but tends to 1) emphasize

concerns about the nature and operation of this world more than salvation in
the next which leads to support for social action and progressive reform,
2) accept secular change and science as probably worthwhile and at least not
as anti-religious, 3) have little faith in the literal message of the Bible
and particularly in Biblical miracles which are seen as either questionable as
historical facts or metaphorical in nature, and 4) be non-adventist. The large
group of moderates between the two poles tends of course to reflect varying
elements of both the polar groups. They tend for example to reject the the
extreme inerrancy and anti-science leanings of the Fundamentalists while
sharing with them many other traditional Christian beliefs. Likewise, they
tend to share the liberal acceptance of modernization and some of their
leanings toward humanitarian reform, but share less of the deism or even
agnosticism that pervades some liberal faiths.

          Categorizing Along the Fundamentalist-Liberal Continuum.

To categorize denominations along Fundamentalist-Liberal continuum, we
used five different techniques: 1) utilization of prior classifications
schemes, 2) membership in theologically oriented ecumenical associations, 3)
surveys of denominational members, 4) surveys of denominational clergy, and 5)
theological beliefs of denominations. In developing our classification scheme
we have tried both to create a general scheme for classifying denominations
for analysts who may not wish to devise their own scheme and also compile
enough raw information so other analysts can make informed choices about how
to categorize denominations.

     Numerous scholars have developed schemes to classify individual
denominations along the Fundamentalist-Liberal continuum. These schemes are
presented in Tables 1 and 2 [Endnote 1]. (Denominations are presented in two
tables to correspond to the way religion is coded into discrete variables on
the General Social Survey (GSS), see Appendix 1 for details on the way
religion is measured on the GSS.) They differ greatly on coverage, categories,
and terminology. Some schemes cover only a few denominations while others
cover over 75. Several enumerate only Fundamentalist denominations and either
ignore or treat as separate categories all remaining denominations. Those that
do more than just listing the Fundamentalists without reference to other
denominations use as few as two categories (Fundamentalist vs. Non-
Fundamentalist) to as many as five categories (usually Fundamentalist,
Conservative, Moderate, Liberal, and Excluded). Likewise they vary on what
they call the different poles. For example, what we are calling
Fundamentalists are also referred in Tables 1 and 2 as Orthodox, Conservative,
Neo-Fundamentalist, Evangelical, Pentecostal/Evangelical and Sects. Despite
these wide differences in the mechanics of the sundry schemes, there is
actually a great deal of agreement about the placement of the large majority
of denominations.

     The second technique for classifying denominations examined what inter-
church association they are affiliated with. The right most columns in Tables
1 and 2 indicate whether the denominations are affiliated with the moderate-
to-liberal National Council of the Churches of Christ or one of the three
Fundamentalist bodies (the National Evangelical Association, the Pentecosital
Federation of North America, and the Christian Holiness Association). While
many denominations do not belong to any of these bodies, the measure does

clearly distinguish between denominations since no church belongs to both the NCCC and to any of the Fundamentalist associations.

The third technique was to study the beliefs of denominational members. Tables 3 through 5 show the beliefs of various denominational members on an orthodoxy/traditional belief scale and to two theological items (Bible inerrancy and being born again) that are central to Fundamentalism. The advantage of these scales is that they quantify a denomination's position. Most denominations however do not appear in any of these tables either because too few people from a particular denomination appeared in the survey sample (we reported figures for as few as ten cases) or because the denomination was not separately coded in the survey. In addition, because of the often very small sample sizes, the figures for many denominations are highly variable.

The fourth technique is similar to the third except that it involves a sample of clergy rather than a sample of laity. As in the case of the surveys of members the advantage is the objective criteria and the quantification, but we are aware of only one major inter-denominational example and only a half dozen denominations are covered (Hadden, 1969).

The last technique was to determine the theological orientation of denominations in the standard reference works (Jacquet, 1980; Mead, 1970; Melton, 1978, 1985; Barrett, 1982). This approach is the most comprehensive since more denominations are covered in these sources than in any of the other approaches, but it is often difficult to determine the current Fundamentalist-Liberal leaning of denominations based on short descriptions that tend to emphasize the denominational history of the church and the theological points that originally distinguished them from other faiths, but which are often not related to the contemporary Fundamentalist-Liberal dimension.

As we have seen each of the five techniques that we have utilized has particular strengths and weaknesses. In addition, certain problems are common to all approaches. It is difficult to find information onmany of the smaller denominations. For 8 of the 154 denominations coded on the GSS, no information was locatable and for one insufficient information was available for even a leaning to be determined. (We have tried to maximize the number of classified denominations by assigning all denominations for which even minimal amount of information indicated a tentative orientation.) A second problem is confusion between denominations. Many denominations with decidedly different theological orientations have highly similar and occasionally even identical names [Endnote 2].

Such confusion not only makes it difficult to determine which denomination is being referred to in the various sources discussed above, but also, as we shall see, probably contributes to respondent and interviewer confusion about how to code respondents on surveys. Problems of obscurity and confusion as well as other problems combine to make it impossible to place 20 out of 154 religions (or religious groupings) on the GSS. (While these represent 13.0% of the coded denominations, they amount to only 0.4% of all respondents.) For eight of these, no information was obtainable from any source. Six denominations could be not distinguished from denominations with similar names, four were non/interdenominational churches, one was non-Christian and one was identified, but could not be characterized [Endnote 3].

Another problem in deciding where a denomination falls is whether evaluations of its place is being made across all denominations or only within its denominational family. Several denominations have gained reputations as being liberal or fundamentalist from being compared to their sister denominations when in fact on an absolute scale they may not be either particularly "liberal" or "fundamentalist" (Hadaway, 1978). As Figure 1 shows, for example, the Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod is significantly more fundamentalist on Bible inerrancy than the rest of the Lutherans, but compared to all denominations they fall near the Fundamentalist/Moderate dividing line.

The final problem was how to put together the various criteria into one scheme. As noted above, the problem was not as difficult as one might have feared since agreement, especially within technique, tended to be very high. The first step was to ass-ign a tentative classification as fundamentalist, moderate, or non-fundamentallst on the basis of the consensus among prior classifications and group affiliation. Denominations that could be identified as nonfundamentalist, but for which there was inadequate information to delineate as moderate or liberal were left in the non-fundamentalist or liberal category. For the few churches with conflicting assignments, the denominations were examined in the standard reference sources and in every case the assignment with the preponderance of votes was agreed to after evaluating information on the history and beliefs of the denomination. For those denominations that were not rated by two or more prior schemes, the assignment was made on the basis of their historical and theological orientation. We then checked these classifications with those from the surveys of members and clergy. Four notable disagreements appeared. First, while prior classification schemes consistently treat the American Baptist Churches in the USA as a liberal to moderate church compared to the Southern Baptist Convention, it came out as more Fundamentalist than the Southern Baptists on the key Bible inerrancy question. Similarly, while the consensus is that the Southern Presbyterians are more Fundamentalist than the Northern Presbyterians (i.e. United Presbyterian) or at least equally moderate, the Southern Presbyterians came out as much more liberal on Bible inerrancy than the Northern Presbyterians. Relatively small sample sizes probably contribute to these unexpected reversals, but in both cases we suspect that a large part of the problem came from confusion between churches with similar names. We suspect that the Southern based and fundamentalist American Baptist Association and the more Northern centered and moderate American Baptist Churches were often confused. Confusion also may have arisen from the fact that American Baptist Churches has changed its name twice in the last 30 years.

Besides the obvious similarity in names, there are two pieces of information that lend indirect support for this interpretation. First, although published membership figures report about the same number of laity in the American Baptist Association as the American Baptist Churches, the GSS finds twice as many respondents belonging to the former than the later. This suggests that many Northern Baptists are incorrectly classifying themselves as members of the American Baptist Association. Of course, since official church membership figures are notoriously inaccurate (and often also self-serving) we do not want to place great weight on this comparison. Second, Baptists seem to have greater than average difficulty in identifying the exact denomination they belong to. While 13-14% of Lutherans and Methodists did not know what denomination they belong to, 26% of Baptists were unsure.

The situation may be similar for the Presbyterians. In 1983 the Northern Presbyterians, called the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, merged with the Southern Presbyterians, called the Presbyterian Church in the United States, to form the Presbyterian Church, USA. m e post-merger name more closely resembles the title of the Southern Presbyterians than the Northern Presbyterians. In addition confusion also may arise between these churches and the fundamentalist and Southern oriented Presbyterian Church in America (formed in 1973 as an off-shoot of the Presbyterian Church in the United States) and the Presbyterian Church in the Unites States of America which had joined the United Presbyterian Church of North America in 1958 to form the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. We suspect that members of the Northern Presbyterians wrongly indicated that they were members of the Southern Presbyterian Church, confusing it with the merged and similarly named Presbyterian Church, USA. As in the Baptist cases, there are several pieces of data supporting this conclusion. Among published church figures, the Southern Presbyterians make up 26% of the merged church, but on the GSS, they account for 41%. In addition, the balance is shifting so that by 1986 more people were reporting themselves as members of the Southern branch than of the Northern denomination. Also, as among Baptists, uncertainty is high with 30% unable to indicate what denomination they belong to. In both of these cases, we assume on the basis of other survey data, prior classification schemes, and/or the analysis of the denomination's history and theology that the survey data on Bible inerrancy is misleading and have classified the American Baptist Churches as moderate rather than fundamentalist and the Southern Presbyterians as moderate rather than liberal.

Two major problematic cases result from conflicts between our various categorization procedures, but do not involve confusion between denominations with similar names. We classify the Mormons (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) as Fundamentalist. They were so placed by six prior schemes, called pseudo-Fundamentalist by one investigator (by which he meant they resembled, but were distinct from the Fundamentalists), and excluded from the Fundamentalist-Liberal continuum by another scheme. But in terms of their theological beliefs, it is impossible to consider them as Fundamentalists and the beliefs expressed by members hardly mark them as Fundamentalists. On the Bible scale, they come out as Liberals and on the born-again questions they fall along the Fundamentalist-Moderate dividing line. Yet there has been a consensus among prior researchers that they can be classified as Fundamentalist and we have followed that precedent (although we will suggest a preferred way of handling the Mormons later on)[Endnote 4].

A similar situation exists for the Christian Scientists. They have been classified as Fundamentalist by two investigators and excluded from the scale by two others. On Bible inerrancy however, they come out as moderate-to-liberal. Again, we have followed past practices and classed them as Fundamentalist. Both of these classifications are problematic not only because of the conflicting information, but because among the splintered Fundamentalist groups they make up a non-trivial proportion of members - Mormons are 14.1% of the Fundamentalists from the OTHER variable and Christian Scientists are 2.5%.

With these caveats the final assignment of denominations to the Fundamentalist-Liberal scale is given in Appendix 2. This lists all

denominations coded in the 1972-1986 GSSs and the Fundamentalist-Liberal category (i.e., Fundamentalist, Moderate, Liberal, or Excluded) of each denomination.

Classification Prior to 1984

On the GSS prior to 1984 the major Protestant denominations were not delineated into their major sub-divisions (Baptists, Lutherans, Methodist, Presbyterians). One can handle the broad denominational umbrellas as entities and either place them in their most appropriate category or treat each as separate categories. Alternatively, one can attempt to approximate denominational sub-divisions by using other variables. The most common procedure has been to breakdown Baptists into Southern and non-Southern groups to better distinguish the Southern Baptist from the American Baptist Churches (Simpson 1985a, 1985b; Smith, 1984a; Gill, 1982; Hadaway, 1978 and Jelen, 1984). Unfortunately, while region does discriminate between these denominations, the degree of segregation is only moderate. In the 1984-1986 GSS, we find that 77.5% of Southern Baptists lived in the South as did 40% of the American Baptists. However, since there are many more Southern Baptists than American Baptists, they outnumbered the former by 4:1 even outside the South. Similar, but even weaker, regional divisions occur among the Presbyterians.

One can either sub-divide the Baptists (or Presbyterians) by region (South vs. Non-South) to approximate denominational distinctions and thereby place some of the regional variation within the constructed denominations or control for region and in effect, place some of the denominational variation within region. Both are partial but crude solutions to the problem of overly broad denominational classifications prior to 1984 (McIntoch, Alston, and Alston, 1979).

Another denominational distinction that is hidden by the pre-1984 classifications is that between white and black denominations (mainly Baptists and Methodists). Most prior investigators have not dealt with the problems directly, but some have used race as well as region to isolate black denominations (Gill, 1982). Unfortunately, as in the case of region, racial segregation is not so sharp to allow the neat separation of denominations. In the 1984-1986 GSS, all members of the two black African Methodist churches were black, but as many blacks were in the inter-racial United Methodists as were in the African Methodists. Similar overlaps occur among the Baptists. As with region, quasi-denominational contructions using race would only crudely distinguish denominations. Whether denominations are contructed from race or race is used as a separate control depend on where the analyst wants to place the error.

Of course, if the broad denominational families delineated prior to 1984 were theologically and socially cohesive then one could simply accept these crude categorizations. Figure 1 shows however that within denominational variation on Biblical inerrancy is often extremely large and prior research (Smith, 1984b) has shown that the denominational refinements notably increase the explanatory power of religion. It is thus analytically desirable to have the more refined categories used since 1984.

     Despite the admitted difficulties and imperfections, the categorization
of denominations along the fundamentalism/liberal scale works quite well. Both
when applied to Protestant denominations on the OTHER variable and when
applied to all denominations (from RELIG, DENOM and OTHER) the
fundamentalism/liberalism scale is a strong predictor of various religious and
social variables. The predictive power of religion is even higher when the
larger denominations are retained as distinct categories and only the smaller
denominations are consigned to the three fundamentalism/liberalism categories
(Table 6). The retention of the larger denominations as distinct categories
permits detailed analys1s of particular faiths, makes the religion variable\
a better overall predictor, and avoids forcing some groups (in particular the
Mormons) into ill-fitting categories. In addition, most previous religion
analysts have preserved major denominations as distinct groups. For these
reasons it would generally be desirable to separately distinguish as many
denominations as are practicable (Table 6, note b).

                              Conclusion

     Despite the analytic difficulties of working with religion, the labor is
amply rewarded by the explanatory gains that emerge when religion is used in
research. As a key indicator of cultural origin and orientation, religion is a
strong predictor of not only of matters of faith, but also of such diverse
moral, social, and political issues as abortion, sex roles, education (prayer
in schools, creationism, government support for parochial schooling),
contraception and sexual permissiveness, and anti-Communism - to name only a
few. Just how religion is employed will of course depend on the theoretical
and quantitive approaches that a researcher utilizes. Most frequently,
however, researchers will probably want to use some type of
fundamentalism/liberal categorization and both the suggested classification
proposed within and the material gathered from other classifications and
surveys should help to assist the researcher in that task.

                              ENDNOTES

(l) For studies consulted but not used in these tables see Smith, 1987.

(2) Among the more important confusions are:

 1 The American Baptist Association vs. the American Baptist Churches in
 the U.S.A. (formerly the American Baptist Convention and the Northern
 Baptist Convention). 2. m e Presbyterian Church in the Unites States vs.
 the Presbyterian Church (The former merged with the United Presbyterian in
 Church of Christ. 4. The Brethren churches including Brethren in Christ
 Church, United Brethren in Christ Church (Sandusky), Brethren Church
 (Ashland), Brethren in Christ, Church of the Brethren in Christ, Mennonite
 Brethren, and Church of the Brethren. 5. Christians which could be the
 Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Christian Church (merged in
 1931 to form the Congregational Christian), the Christian Church of North
 America (Italian Protestants), the United Christian Church (Brethren),
 other denominations using the word "Christian" such as Christian

Congregation, Christian Mission, Christian Union, etc. or a general non-
denominational profession of being a generic Christian.

(3) In addition, those coded "Other" on RELIG are excluded. This is a
catchall category with a majority of non-Christian respondents. A detailed
listing of religions coded "Other" is available from the GSS project.

(4) The Mormons also present a second problem that is unrelated to
classification issues. When NORC adopted a new sample frame based on the 1980
census in order to replace its 1970 census sample frame, a primary sampling
unit was selected from Utah whereas Utah had not been in the 1970 sample
frame. This led to a significant increase in the proportion of Mormons
falling into the cross-sections (since Utah is heavily Mormon and Mormons
tend
to be concentrated in and around Utah). Under the 1970 sample frame about
0.9% of the cross-section was Mormon while under the 1980 sample frame
~lormons
have been 2.4%. Since there has been no change in the proportion of Mormons
prior to the frame switch nor any since the switch and since the 1983 split
frame experiment shows the same pattern (Peterson and Smith, forthcoming), we
know that this "increase" in Mormons is entirely artificial.

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                          TABLE 1

        MAJOR PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------
Denomination                Code  1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10
11    12
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------
BAPTIST                                 F       C           C       C   C
(L)

American Baptist Association..10
F                                               X
American Baptist Churches
  in the U.S.A...............11   C   NF              O(L) C
National Baptist Convention
  of
America.................12                                                  X
National Baptist Convention,
  U.S.A, Inc.................13
F                                               X
Southern Baptist Convention...14      F       F       O   F       C
Other Baptist Churches.......15
Baptist, Don't know which.....18

METHODIST                         L       L  NF  LM   L   L   NC      L
M    X

African Methodist Episcopal
  Church......................20
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X
African Methodist Episcopal
   Zion Church................21
L             X
United Methodist Church.......22
Other Methodist Churches......23
Methodist, Don't Know which...24
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LUTHERAN                                    NF    C            NC        M     M

American Lutheran Church......30   C    NF              O(L)}
C                    X
Lutheran Church in America....31   C    NF              O(L)}
Lutheran Church-Missouri
   Synod.......................32  F    F              O     F
Wisconsin Evangelical
   Lutheran Synod.............33   F
Other Lutheran Churches.......34
Lutheran, Don't know which....38

PRESBYTERIAN                          L  NF   LM       M  NC       M     L

Prebyterian Church in the
   United States..............40
M                             X
United Presbyterian Church
   in the U.S.A...............41   M                   M
L          X
Other Presbyterian Churches...42
Presbyterian, Don't know
   which......................48

EPISCOPAL CHURCH.............50   L         NF   LM  L    L  NC    L     L
L    X

OTHER (SPECIFY)..............60

NO DENOMINATION GIVEN OR
 NON-DENOMINATIONAL CHURCH....70
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Notes to Table 1


1 - Wood, 1970 - F = fundamentalist, C - conservative, M = moderate, L =
liberal

2 - Chi and Houseknecht, 1985 - F = fundamentalist, NF = not fundamentalist

3 - Johnson, 1962 - F = fundamentalist, L = liberal
```

4 - Houghland and Christenson, 1983 - C = conservative, LM - liberal/moderate

5 - Backman, 1983 - O = orthodox, O(L) = orthodox with large liberal minority, M
= moderate, M(L) = moderate with large liberal minority, L = liberal

6 - Glock and Stark, 1965 and Stark and Glock, 1968 - F = fundamentalist, C = conservative, M = moderate, L = liberal

7 - McCutcheon, 1985 - C = conservative, NC = not conservative

8 - Roof and McKinney, 1985 - C = conservative, L = liberal

9 - Roof and Hadaway, 1979 - C = conservative, M = moderate, L = liberal

10 - Elifson and Hadaway, 1985 - C = conservative, M = moderate, L = liberal

11 - NCCC, 1980 - X = member of National Council of the Churches of Christ

TABLE 2

OTHER PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONAL CLASSIFICATIONS

```
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Denomination           Code  1 2  3 4   5  6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Hungarian Reformed.......1       VE                                        X
Evangelical
  Congregational........2                  F
Ind. Bible, Bible,
  Bible Fellowship.......3      F
Eckankar................4       MA
Church of Prophecy.......5      F
New Testament
  Christian.............6       F
Church of God, Saint
  & Christ..............7
Moravian.................8      F                                       X
Christian and Missionary
  Alliances..............9      F        PE     C                F      X
Advent Christian.......10       F
Spiritualist...........11       MA        PE                   EX
Assembly of God........12  E    F F NEO PE F F C F F C    O F F
X
Free Methodist.........13       F F NEO   F         F     S
F           X
Apostolic Faith........14        F                  F    C
African Methodist.......15      VE
```

Table 2 (Continued)
```
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Denomination          Code  1 2  3 4   5  6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Free Will Baptist.......16     F  F    NEO     F C      F                F
X
Eden Evangelist........17        F          F C      F
Holiness (Nazarene).....18 E F  F          PE   F C  F  F
F         X
Baptist (Northern)......19                      F
Brethren Church,
   Brethren.............20    C  F          F     M                   F  X  X
Witness Holiness.......21        F          F           C
Brethren, Plymouth......22 E    F    NEO    F F                          F
United Brethren, United
   Brethren in Christ....23 E C  F          F     F
F         X
Independent............24
Christian Disciples.....25 E M    F                              M       X
Christ in Christian
   Union................26
X
Open Bible.............27       F                         S
X
Christian Catholic......28                                           X
Christ Church Unity.....29       H
Christ Adelphians.......30                     F


Table 2 (Continued)
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Denomination          Code  1 2  3 4   5  6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20
-------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Christian; Central
   Christian............31    M                 C  M              M    X  X
Christian Reform.......32 E F                   F  F
Christian Scientist.....33    MA                F     C       EX
Church of Christ,
   Evangelical..........34 E    F F             F        F           F  F
Church of Christ.......35 E    F F NEO    F F C  F  F  C      O  F  F  X
Church of God (Except
   with Christ and
   Holiness)............36 E F  F F NEO PE F F C  F     C        F  F  X
X  X
Churches of God in
   Christ................37 E   F    NEO    F F C  F  F  C      O     F
Church of God in Christ
   Holiness.............38 E    F          F C      F                F
Church of the Living
   God..................39       F          F C  F     C          NF
```

```
Congregationalist,
  1st Congregation......40         H                       L     LM         L NF
Community Church.......41         V
Covenant...............42
Dutch Reform...........43                                                          X
Disciples of Christ....44  E M NF F                C   M NF LM          M   F      X
Evangelical, Evangelist.45                      F C   F   F   C              F
X          X
```

Table 2 (Continued)

```
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Denomination          Code  1 2  3 4   5   6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Evangelical Reformed....46                   F C     F   C              F
Evangelist Free Church..47        F           F C F     C              F
First Church............48                    C
First Christian
  Disciples of Christ...49  E M NF F          C   M                M   F      X
First Reformed.........50                     C
First Christian........51                     C   M
Full Gospel............52  E      F      PE    C   F     C   S
Four Square Gospel......53       F F           C       F
X          X
Friends................54       NF                  M NF LM            NF      X
Holy Roller............55       F             C                        F
Holiness; Church of
  Holiness.............56       F      PE   F C   F     C   S      F
F          X
Pilgrim Holiness.......57       F      PE   F           C          F   F
Jehova's Witnesses......58       PF                 F     C   S  O F   F
LDS....................59       PF F              F   F   C   S  O
LDS-Mormon.............60       PF F              F   F   C   S  O EX
```

Table 2 (Continued)

```
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
Denomination          Code  1 2  3 4   5   6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------
LDS-Reorganized.........61       PF F              F   F   C   S  O EX
LDS-Jesus Christ; Church
  of Jesus LDS..........62       PF F              F   F   C   S  O EX
Mennonite..............63  E      F                      F                F
Mormon.................64       PF F              F   F   C   S  O EX
Nazarene...............65  E F  F F NEO PE F F     F       C   S  O F
F          X
Pentacostal Assembly
  of God................66       F  F    NEO PE F F C     F   C   S      F   F
X
Pentacostal Church
  of God................67       F  F    NEO PE F F C     F   C   S      F   F X
X
```

Denomination	Code	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Pentacostal	68		F	F		NEO	PE	F	F	C	F	F	C	S		F	F	X		X	
Pentacostal Holiness, Holiness Pentacostal	69		F	F		NEO	PE	F	F	C	F	F	C	S		F	F	X		X	
Quaker	70		NF	F								NF	LM		L		NF		X		
Reformed	71	C	NF								M	F	C		O				X		
Reformed United Church of Christ	72												F						X		
Reformed Church of Christ	73																F				
Religious Science	74			MA						F											
Mind Science	75			MA																	

Table 2 (Continued)

Denomination	Code	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Salvation Army	76		NF			NEO	PE				F	F	C			F					
7th Day Adventist	77	E	F	F	F	NEO		F	F		F	F	C	S	O	F				F	X
Sanctified, Sanctification	78			F								F									
United Holiness	79			F			PE		F								F	F			
Unitarian, Universalist	80		L	H							L	NF	LM		L		NF				
United Church of Christ	81		L	V							L	NF	LM		L		NF		X		
United Church, Unity Church	82			H																	
Wesleyan	83	E		F																X	X
Wesleyan Methodist-Pilgram	84			F										S			X				
Zion Union	85			VE																	
Zion Union Apostolic	86			VE																	
Zion Union Apostolic-Reformed	87			VE																	
Disciples of God	88												F								
Grace Reformed	89																				
Holiness Church of God	90			F			PE		F		F					F				X	

Table 2 (Continued)

Denomination	Code	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Evangelical Covenant	91			F					F		F	F				F	F				
Mission Covenant	92			F												F					
Missionary Baptist	93			F					F							F					
Swedish Mission	94			VE																	
Unity	95			H							F				EX						

```
United Church of
   Christianity.........96                                              X
Other Fundamentalist....97          F              F C  F
Federated Church.......98
American Reform........99
Grace Brethren........100
Christ in God.........101
Charismatic...........102
Pentacostal
Apostolic..103                                                   X
House of Prayer.......104
Latvian Lutheran.......105
```

```
Table 2 (Continued)
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Denomination          Code  1 2  3 4   5  6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18
19 20
------------------------------------------------------------------------
Triumph Church of God..106
Apostolic Christian....107
Christ Cathedral of
   Truth...............108
Bible Missionary.......109
Calvary Bible.........110
Amish.................111
Evangelical Methodist..112                                       X
Worldwide Church
   of God..............113  E
Church Universal and
   Triumphant..........114
Mennonite Brethren.....115                                       X
Church of the
   First Born..........116
Missionary Church......117
X         X
The Way Missionary.....118
United Church
   of Canada...........119
Evangelical United
   Brethren............120
The Church of God
   and Prophecy........121  E
Chapel of Faith.......122
Polish National Church.123
Faith Gospel
   Tabernacle..........124                                              X
Christian Calvary
   Chapel..............125
Camelite...............126
```

```
NOTES TO TABLE 2
```

1 - Hunter, 1981 - E = evangelical, see also Hunter, 1984 and Ammerman, 1982

2 - Wood, 1970 - F = fundamentalist, C = conservative, M = moderate, L = Liberal

3 - Chi, 1981 - F = fundamentalist, NF = not fundamentalist, PF = pseudo-fundamentalist, MA = manipulationist, H = humanistic, V = varies, VE = varies, ethnic

4 - Johnson, 1962 - F = fundamentalist

5 - SRC, 1980 - NEO = neo-fundamentalist

6 - Bahr, 1982 - PE = Pentecostal/evangelical

7 - Legge, 1983 - F = fundamentalist

8 - Hertel and Hughes, forthcoming - F = fundamentalist

9 - McCutcheon, 1984 - C = conservative

10 - Gill, 1982 - F = fundamentalist, M = moderate, L = liberal

11 - Jelen, 1984 - F = fundamentalist, NF = non-fundamentalist, see Jelen, 1982

12 - Houghland and Christenson, 1983 - C = conservative, LM = liberal/moderate

13 - Simpson, 1983, 85a, 85b - S = Sects

14 - Backman, 1983 - O = orthodox, M = moderate, L = liberal

15 - Glock and Stark, 1965; Stark and Glock, 1968 - F = fundamentalist sects , C = conservative, M = moderate, L = liberal, EX = excluded

16 - Gay, 1985 - F = fundamentalist, NF = non-fundamentalist

17 - NAE, 1980 - X = member of the National Association of Evangelicals

18 - NCCC, 1980 - X = member of the National Council of the Churches of Christ

19 - PFNA, 1980 - X = member of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America

20 - CHA, 1980 - X = member of the Christian Holiness Association

Table 3

                      Denominational Differences
                       on an Orthodoxy Scale

                     % High on Orthodoxy (a)

```
Sects(b)                         52%          (131)
Other Baptist                    45            (91)
Southern Baptist                 44           (186)
Lutheran Missouri Synod          38            (45)
Evangelical Reform               36            (28)
American Baptist                 33            (91)
Catholic                         29           (506)
American Lutheran (c)            27           (147)
Presbyterian Church, US          26            (38)
Methodist                        24           (214)
Christian                        23            (39)
Episcopalian                     15            (53)
United Presbyterian              14            (74)
Congregational                    5            (43)
```

(a) Believing in God, the Devil and life after death, from 1963 NORC anti-
 Semitism study, (Stark and Glock, 1968). Glock and Stark, 1965 also includes
 a similar scale from a Bay area survey. See also Hadaway, 1978.

(b) Assembly of God, Church of Christ, Church of God, Four Square Gospel,
 Free Methodist, Mennonite, Nazarene, Pentecostal, Salvation Army,
 Seventh Day Adventist, Cambellite, Jehovah's Witness, Christian Missionary
 Alliance, Mission Covenant, and Holiness.

(c) Lutheran Church in America and American Lutheran Church.

                            TABLE 4

                 DENOMINATIONAL DIFFERENCES ON

                      BIBLICAL INERRANCY

```
----------------------------------------
--------------------------------------------
Percent                            Percent
Bible                              Bible
Literal (a)                        Literal (b)
 (GSS)                              (SRC)
----------------------------------------
--------------------------------------------
Assembly of God          93.3  (15)   Jehovah's Witness
96.8   (38)
```

Holiness (149)	92.3	(13)	Church of Christ	85.9
Church of Christ 84.0	83.7	(43)	Pentecostal/Assem. of God	
Church of God 82.1	76.2	(21)	Other Fundamentalist	
Natl. Baptist 81.8	75.0	(12)	Church of God in Christ	
Other Baptist 80.4	74.0	(104)	Church of God/Holiness	
Pentecostal 76.9	73.5	(34)	Evangelical and Reform	
American Baptist Church 75.7	69.6	(23)	Other Protestants	
Nazarene 75.7	66.7	(18)	Nazarene/Free Methodist	
Southern Baptist (637)	65.3	(251)	Baptists (ALL)	72.5
African Methodist 71.4	65.0	(20)	Seventh Day Adventist	
Other Presbyterian 65.4	61.5	(13)	United, Evangelical Brethern	
Other Methodist 60.0	61.1	(18)	Reformed (ALL)	
American Baptist Assoc. (122)	59.3	(54)	Christian	59.0
Baptist, Don't Know 58.3	57.5	(160)	Non-denominational	
National Baptist 54.5	54.5	(11)	Quaker	
Lutheran, Missouri Synod (449)	53.2	(62)	Lutheran (ALL)	54.4
Christian 50.0	53.2	(47)	Disciples of Christ	
American Lutheran 49.2	43.7	(71)	Methodist	
Lutheran, Don't know 45.0	42.9	(28)	Christian Scientist	
Non-denominational (1501)	41.3	(104)	Catholic	42.0
Other Lutheran 40.7	40.0	(15)	Orthodox (ALL)	
Disciples of Christ (165)	40.0	(10)	Protestant(Not Specified)	40.0
United Methodist (315)	35.1	(245)	Presbyterian	38.1
Presbyterian, Don't Know 36.0	31.6	(38)	United Church of Christ	
United Presbyterian (322)	30.8	(52)	No preference	25.8
Catholic 25.7	27.5	(778)	Congregational	
Other 25.4	24.4	(45)	Mormon	

```
Mormon                        20.0   (60)   Other (Non-Christian)
24.3    (37)
Congregational                14.3   (21)   Agnostic/Atheist
18.5    (27)
None                          12.8  (211)   Episcopal                      17.1
(187)
Episcopal                     10.1   (69)   Jewish                         12.0
(158)
Jewish                         3.6   (55)   Unitarian/Universial
7.1    (14)
-------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

(a) % believing in Biblical literalness, from combined 1984 and 1985 GSSs.

(b) % believing in Biblical literalness, from combined 1960, '64, '80, '84
    American National Election studies.

TABLE 5

DENOMINATIONAL DIFFERENCES ON
BEING BORN-AGAIN

```
-------------------------------------------------------------------------
                                     % Born Again (a)
-------------------------------------------------------------------------
Church of God/Holiness               93.8   (32)
Pentecostal/Assem. of God            88.9   (45)
Other Protestant                     80.0   (30)
Other Baptist                        73.9   (46)
Other Fundamentalist                 69.2   (13)
Christian                            65.4   (52)
Seventh Day Adventist                63.6   (11)
Southern Baptist                     62.3  (260)
Baptist                              58.3  (247)
Mormon                               56.7   (30)
Non-denominational                   56.3   (32)
Church of Christ                     49.1   (53)
Nazarene, Free Methodist             44.4   (18)
Other religions                      42.1   (19)
No preference                        36.5   (74)
Protestant, general                  29.2   (48)
Congregational                       25.0   (25)
Jehovah's Witness                    23.1   (13)
Reform                               23.1   (13)
Presbyterian                         22.0  (109)
United Church of Christ              21.1   (19)
Episcopalian                         16.7   (72)
Lutheran (not Missouri Synod)        14.9  (161)
Catholic                             13.6  (668)
Methodist                            13.0  (285)
Jewish                                7.1   (42)
-------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

(a) Of whose who said religion was important, % saying they have been born
    again, from combined 1980 and 1984 SRC American National Election Studies.

TABLE 6

PREDICTIVE POWER OF
TWO FUNDAMENTALIST/LIBERAL VARIABLES

(ETA)

Dependable Variable	Three Categories (a)	Three Plus Major Denomination (b)
Bible Inerrancy (BIBLE, BIBLEY)(c)	.362	.442
School Prayer (PRAYER)	.174	.244
Church Attendance (ATTEND)	.286	.404
Life After Death (POSTLIFE)	.131	.258
Abortion for Poor (ABPOOR)	.243	.290
Sex Education (SEXEDUC)	.166	.182
Premarital Sex (PREMARSX)	.263	.319
Communism Govt. (COMMUN)	.144	.201
Free Speech for Atheists (SPKATH)	.174	.214

(a) All denominations classed as Fundamentalist, Moderate, or Liberal, See
    Appendix 2.

(b) All denominations classed as Fundamentalist, Moderate, or Liberal except
    Southern Baptist, Catholic, Jewish, United Methodist, Evangelical,
    Lutheran Church of America, Presbyterian Church, USA, Episcopalian,
    Inter-denominational, Disciples of Christ, Mormons, and No religion which
    are separate categories.

(c) For the exact wordings see Davis and Smith, 1986.

APPENDIX 1:

Denominational Variables on the General Social Survey

    The GSS asks respondents about their current religious preference, the
religion they were raised in, the current religion of their spouse, and what
religion their spouse was raised in. This report discusses and is based on
only the current religion of respondents. But since the variables and codes
are similar for all four sets of questions on religious preference findings

and classifications developed within can be applied to the religions of
spouses and to respondents' religion of origin. The religious preference data
are collected by a two part question. It first asks whehter a person's
"religious preference" is "Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion,
or no religion." "Protestant" includes any post-Reformation Christian church,
"Catholic" include only the Roman Catholic Church (Latin Rite), "Jewish"
includes all branches of Judaism, and "Other" includes all others mentions.
For Protestants, a follow-up question on "specific denomination" is asked.

    Response are coded into one of three variables. Major religions from the
first question are coded in the variable RELIG. Major Protestant denominations
that are precoded in the variable DENOM. Unlisted Protestant denominations
are coded "60" on DENOM and are also coded in more detail on the variable
OTHER.

    The major religion variable (RELIG) has not changed over the time in
either how it is collected or coded. For DENOM a major change was made in 1984
when the number of categories was expanded from seven (Baptist, Methodist,
Lutheran, Presbyterian, Episcopal, Other, and Inter- or Non-denominational)
to 25 categories (Davis and Smith, 1986). By collapsing into the general
denominational families used prior to 1984, one can produce a consistent
coding scheme across all surveys. (Reasons for the changes are discussed in
the body of this paper.) The OTHER variable has also changed over the years,
growing from 52 entries in 1972 to 126 denominations on the 1972-1986
cumulative file. Typically, a few new denominations are added each year as
small groups are picked up for the first time or new denominations are formed.

    To use the denominational variables (DENOM, DENOM16, SPDEN, SPDEN16) both
prior to 1984 and in 1984 to present, one must adjust for the refinements of
codes. One way of doing this is to collapse the individual denominational
codes used since 1984 into the broad codes used prior to 1984. Under this
procedure codes 10 to 18 equal Baptists, 20 to 28 equal Methodists, 30 to 38
equal Lutherans, and 40 to 48 equal Presbyterians.

Appendix 2:

Summary Classification of All Religions
on the General Social Surveys, 1972-1986

Denominations	Code(a)	Categories(b)
RELIG		
Catholic	R2	M
Jewish	R3	L
None	R4	L
Other	R5	X

```
DENOM

 Baptist                                    D10-18(c)              F

  American Baptist Association              D10                    F
  American Baptist Churches in the USA      D11                    M
  National Baptist Convention of
     America                                D12                    F
  National Baptist Convention, USA, Inc.    D13                    F
  Southern Baptist Convention               D14                    F
  Other Baptist Churches                    D15                    F
  Baptist, Don't Know Which                 D18                    F

 Methodist                                  D20-28                 M

  African Methodist Episcopal Church        D20                    M
  African Methodist Episcopal
     Zion Church                            D21                    M
  United Methodist Church                   D22                    L
  Other Methodist Churches                  D23                    F
  Methodist, Don't Know Which               D28                    L

 Lutheran                                   D30-38                 M

  American Lutheran Church                  D30                    M
  Lutheran Church in America                D31                    M
  Lutheran Church -- Missouri Synod         D32                    F
  Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod      D33                    F
  Other Lutheran Churches                   D34                    M
  Lutheran, Don't Know Which                D38                    M

 Presbyterian                               D40-48                 L

  Presbyterian Church in the
     United States                          D40                    M
  United Presbyterian Church in
     the USA                                D41                    L
  Other Presbyterian Churches               D42                    F
  Presbyterian, Don't Know Which            D48                    L

 Episcopal                                  D50                    L


 No Denomination/Non-denominational         D70                    M
```

APPENDIX 2 (Continued)

```
-----------------------------------------------------------------
Denominations                       Code (a)        Categories (b)
-----------------------------------------------------------------
OTHER

 Hungarian Reformed................     01                  L
```

```
Evangelical Congregational.........       02              F
Ind. Bible, Bible, Bible
    Fellowship....................       03              F
Eckankar..........................       04              X
Church of Prophecy................       05              F
New Testament Christian...........       06              X
Church of God, Saint & Christ......       07              L
Moravian..........................       08              L
Christian & Missionary Alliance....       09              F
Advent Christian..................       010             F
Spiritualist......................       011             L
Assembly of God...................       012             F
Free Methodist....................       013             F
Apostolic Faith...................       014             F
African Methodist.................       015             M
Free Will Baptist.................       016             F
Eden Evangelist...................       017             F
Holiness (Nazarene)...............       018             F
Baptist (Northern)................       019             L
Brethren Church, Brethren.........       020             M
Witness Holiness..................       021             F
Brethren, Plymouth................       022             F
United Brethren, United
    Brethren in Christ............       023             F
Independent.......................       024             X
Christian Disciples...............       025             M
Christ in Christian Union.........       026             F
Open Bible........................       027             F
Christian Catholic................       028             F
Christ Church Unity...............       029             X
Christ Adelphians.................       030             F
Christian; Central Christian......       031             M
Christian Reform..................       032             F
Christian Scientist...............       033             F
Church of Christ, Evangelical.....       034             F
Church of Christ..................       035             F
Churches of God (Except with
    Christ and Holiness)..........       036             F
Church of God in Christ...........       037             F
Church of God in Christ Holiness...       038             F
Church of the Living God..........       039             F
Congregationalist, 1st Congreg.....       040             L
Community Church..................       041             X
Covenant..........................       042             F
Dutch Reform......................       043             M
Disciples of Christ...............       044             M
Evangelical, Evangelist...........       045             F
Evangelical Reformed..............       046             F
```

APPENDIX 2 (Continued)

```
------------------------------------------------------------------
Denominations                     Code (a)      Categories (b)
------------------------------------------------------------------


OTHER (continued)

  Evangelical Free Church.............      047           F
  First Church.......................      048           X
  First Christian Disciples
     of Christ........................      049           M
  First Reformed.....................      050           M
  First Christian....................      051           M
  Full Gospel........................      052           F
  Four Square Gospel.................      053           F
  Friends............................      054           L
  Holy Roller........................      055           F
  Holiness; Church of Holiness.......      056           F
  Pilgrim Holiness...................      057           F
  Jehovah's Witnesses................      058           F
  LDS................................      059           F
  LDS--Mormon........................      060           F
  LDS--Reorganized...................      061           F
  LDS--Jesus Christ; Church of
     Jesus LDS........................      062           F
  Mennonite..........................      063           F
  Mormon.............................      064           F
  Nazarene...........................      065           F
  Pentecostal Assembly of God........      066           F
  Pentecostal Church of God..........      067           F
  Pentecostal........................      068           F
  Pentecostal Holiness, Holiness
     Pentecostal......................      069           F
  Quaker.............................      070           L
  Reformed...........................      071           M
  Reformed United Church of Christ.....    072           L
  Reformed Church of Christ..........      073           X
  Religious Science..................      074           L
  Mind Science.......................      075           L
  Salvation Army.....................      076           F
  7th Day Adventist..................      077           F
  Sanctified, Sanctification.........      078           F
  United Holiness....................      079           F
  Unitarian, Universalist............      080           L
  United Church of Christ............      081           L
  United Church, Unity Church........      082           X
  Wesleyan...........................      083           F
  Wesleyan Methodist--Pilgrim........      084           F
  Zion Union.........................      085           M
  Zion Union Apostolic...............      086           M
  Zion Union Apostolic--Reformed.......    087           M
  Disciples of God...................      088           X
  Grace Reformed.....................      089           X
  Holiness Church of God.............      090           F
```

```
    Evangelical Covenant.................    091              F
    Mission Covenant....................    092              F
```

APPENDIX 2 (Continued)

```
-------------------------------------------------------------------
Denominations                           Code (a)       Categories (b)
-------------------------------------------------------------------


OTHER (continued)

Missionary Baptist..................    093              F
Swedish Mission.....................    094              L
Unity...............................    095              X
United Church of Christianity.......    096              L
Other Fundamentalist................    097              F
Federated Church....................    098              X
American Reform.....................    099              M
Grace Brethren......................   0100              F
Christ in God.......................   0101              X
Charismatic.........................   0102              F
Pentecostal Apostalic...............   0103              F
House of Prayer.....................   0104              X
Latvian Lutheran....................   0105              L
Triumph Church of God...............   0106              F
Apostolic Christian.................   0107              F
Christ Cathedral of Truth...........   0108              X
Bible Missionary....................   0109              F
Calvary Bible.......................   0110              F
Amish...............................   0111              F
Evangelical Methodist...............   0112              F
Worldwide Church of God.............   0113              F
Church Universal and Triumphant.....   0114              X
Mennonite Brethren..................   0115              F
Church of the First Born............   0116              X
Missionary Church...................   0117              F
The Way Ministry....................   0118              X
United Church of Canada.............   0119              L
Evangelical United Brethren.........   0120              L
The Church of God of Prophecy.......   0121              F
Chapel of Faith.....................   0122              X
Polish National Church..............   0123              L
Faith Gospel Tabernacle.............   0124              F
Christian Calvary Chapel............   0125              F
Camelite............................   0126              X
-------------------------------------------------------------------
NOTES:
```

(a) R = RELIG, D = DENOM, O = OTHER. The numbers are codes on these GSS variables, for example, R2 means a code 2 on RELIG, D10 a code of 10 on DENOM, and O1 a code of 1 on OTHER.

```
(b)    F = Fundamentalist,
       M = Moderate,
       L = Liberal (not fundamentalist),
       X = Excluded, Don't Know
```

(C) Prior to 1984 main denominations (Baptist, Methodist, Lutheran, Presbyterian, and Episcopal) were not broken into individual denominations. The ranges (D10-18, D20-28, D30-38, D40-48) refer respectively to these denominational groups in the earlier years.

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