



Published in final edited form as:

Rev Relig Res. 2010 December ; 52(2): 125–145.

Religious Involvement among Caribbean Blacks in the United States

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Abstract

This study examined demographic and denominational differences in religious involvement (i.e., organizational, non-organizational, subjective) among Caribbean Blacks (Black Caribbeans) residing in the U.S. using data from the National Survey of American Life. Caribbean Blacks who were born in the U.S. had lower levels of religious involvement than those who immigrated and respondents originating from Haiti (as compared to Jamaica) had higher levels of religious involvement, while persons from Trinidad-Tobago reported lower service attendance than did Jamaicans. Older persons, women and married persons generally demonstrated greater religious involvement than their counterparts, while highly educated respondents expressed lower levels of self-rated religiosity. Denominational differences indicated that Baptists reported high levels of religious involvement; however, in several cases, Pentecostals and Seventh Day Adventists reported greater involvement.

Keywords

Church Attendance; Prayer; Afro-Caribbean; West Indians

Since 1990 more than 1.4 million people of Caribbean descent have immigrated legally to the U.S. (USCIS, 2006). Caribbean immigrants are part of a much larger population of second, third, and older generations of persons of Caribbean descent, the majority of whom came to the United States over the past four decades. Caribbean immigration has had an indelible influence on popular American culture (e.g., music, language, hair styles, modes of dress), as well as on major social institutions such as education, the economy, and politics. Conversely, American culture has had a significant impact on Caribbean immigrants themselves and, by extension, on the culture, politics and economies of the Caribbean region (Allen & Slater, 2001; Kasinitz, 1992; Patterson, 2000; Stepick, 1998).

In recent years, discourse about Caribbean Blacks in the U.S. has paid increasing attention to their religious and spiritual lives. Since Warner's observation (1997) regarding the relative lack of discussions of religion in the immigration literature, a number of recent studies have contributed to our understanding of the role of religion in the lives of immigrants (Alanezi & Sherkat, 2008; Cadge & Ecklund, 2006, 2007; Connor, 2008; Leonard et al., 2005; Stepick, Rey & Mahler, 2009). Recent scholarly efforts have begun to address questions of migration

and religion in a more explicit manner (see Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Yang & Ebaugh, 2001a, 2001b; Foley & Hoge, 2007; Prothero, 2006; Hurh & Kim, 1990; Warner & Wittner, 1998) often employing a comparative framework to examine similarities and differences in how immigrant groups recreate religion and worship communities in their host countries. Research on religious involvement among Black immigrants from the Caribbean region, in particular, provides a unique opportunity to contribute to this research.

The extensive body of sociological, social historical and ethnographic literature on the religious traditions and spiritual systems of the Caribbean region (e.g., Vodou, Obeah, Santeria, Espiritismo and Rastafarianism) and among immigrants to the U.S., provides invaluable information on the ongoing transformations and adaptations of these traditions within immigrant communities in the U.S. (Gossai & Murrell, 2000; Maynard-Reid, 2000; Stepick et al., 2009; Richman, 2005; Zane, 1999). For example, Richman's (2005) research on Vodou practices in Haitian migrant work communities in rural Virginia, Florida and Haiti, provides an explicitly transnational perspective on how religion and immigration are engaged in mutually transformative processes. This work is representative of a number of excellent localized studies of specific Caribbean Black religious and spiritual traditions in the U.S. (e.g., Brown, 1991; McAlister, 1998; Richman, 2005; Stepick, 1998; Stepick et al., 2009). Relatively little research however, examines the religious and spiritual lives of Caribbean immigrants involving samples representing diverse Caribbean nationality groups. Consequently, there is a lack of basic information regarding demographic correlates of religious involvement and a need for research using representative samples of respondents (Cadge & Ecklund, 2007).

The present study contributes to research in this area by examining these issues using the Black Caribbean sub-sample of the National Survey of American Life (NSAL). The NSAL, the first national probability sample of Black Caribbeans ever conducted, provides an unparalleled opportunity to examine the demographic correlates of religious participation among Caribbean Blacks residing in the U.S. For the purposes of this study, Caribbean Blacks are defined as persons who trace their ethnic heritage to a Caribbean country, but who now reside in the United States, are racially classified as black, and who are English-speaking (but may also speak another language). This initial investigation represents an important addition to and expansion of the current literature on Caribbean religion that allows us to explore how social status (e.g., age, gender, marital status) and denominational factors function to pattern religious involvement within this population.

This study is framed by several related areas of scholarship on religion and the immigration experiences of Black Caribbeans in the U.S. The literature review begins with a discussion of religion and the immigration experience and the functions of religion and worship settings for the individual and immigrant communities in host countries. This section is followed by a general discussion of religion and worship practices among Black Caribbeans immigrants in the U.S. and extant research on these questions. Specific issues characterizing the immigration experiences of Black Caribbeans are noted, including immigrants' perceptions of racial hierarchies in the U.S. (as the receiving country) and the significance of race and ethnicity as dual identities for Black Caribbean immigrants. Finally, as one of the limitations of immigration research is the lack of comparison to broader populations in the U.S (Stepick et al., 2009), we conclude the literature review with a discussion of the functions of religion and worship communities among African Americans who share racial background and similar life experiences with Black Caribbeans.

Religion and Immigration

Religious concerns and participation in worship communities have historically been important features of the experience of immigrating groups and a primary means by which new immigrants are incorporated into U.S. culture (Foley & Hoge, 2007; Stepick et al., 2009; Warner, 1998; Yang & Ebaugh, 2001a). This literature highlights several related themes regarding the role of religion in relation to immigrants. First, religion has a role in emphasizing immigrant identity. Religion and its institutions serve as ethnic repositories that provide the means by which immigrants attempt to retain their ethnic identity, while simultaneously adapting their culture to new circumstances (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001a). Worship communities and their attendant rituals and observances help to develop and reinforce ethnic identities that emphasize one's status as a co-ethnic (e.g., "ethnic hero") and strengthen an "immigrant ideology" in which positive traits such as achievement, hard work, and piety are idealized (Bashi, 2007; McAlister, 1998; Stepick et al., 2009; Vickerman, 2001a). Second, religion and churches fulfill important social welfare and social capital functions. Religion and worship communities provide an array of social and psychological benefits for immigrants including the maintenance of important cultural symbols and practices, the development of social networks and cultural ties in both sending and receiving countries, insulation from racism and racial stratification, and the provision of important reference groups and norms for shaping immigrants' self-perceptions and identities (Bashi, 2007; Ebaugh & Curry, 2000; Foley & Hoge, 2007; Kurien, 2006; Maynard-Reid, 2000; Vickerman, 1999, 2001a, 2001b; Waters, 1999). Tangible benefits of involvement in immigrant worship communities include the enhancement of social capital and other social resources, provision of material assistance, goods and services, and opportunities for civic and community engagement and participation (Cadge & Ecklund, 2006, 2007; Stepick et al., 2009). Finally, recent research raises important questions about the meaning of immigrant religion within the post-immigration context. Several scholars have suggested that religion and religious involvement has increased significance for immigrants following relocation due, in part, to the development of distinctive ethno-religious communities within immigrant churches (Yang & Ebaugh, 2001b) and the substantial material and psychosocial resources accruing to immigrants. Accordingly, immigrants are thought to demonstrate higher rates of formal denominational affiliation and participation following immigration (Connor, 2008; Foley & Hoge, 2007; Kurien, 2006), while subsequent generations demonstrate lower levels of religious investment than their parents (Herberg, 1960).

Race, Religion and Immigration

Caribbean Blacks in the U.S. occupy a dual position as persons of African descent and as immigrants (Bashi, 2007; Foner, 2005; Vickerman, 1999, 2001a; Waters, 1999). Accordingly, research on religious involvement among Caribbean Blacks is informed by their unique situation as immigrants, as well as the special pressures and circumstances that are associated with Black race in the U.S. (Taylor, Chatters & Jackson, 2007a,b). The following section explores these dual aspects of Caribbean Blacks' status, with special attention to the ways that religious practices and worship communities are responsive to and shaped by the immigration experience and their social circumstances in the U.S. The reviewed literature is also attentive to similarities in patterns of religious involvement observed among native African American populations. Religious institutions have performed comparable roles for these two groups and, accordingly, have similar significance and centrality in their individual and community lives.

Black Caribbeans represent several groups with different national origins and immigration histories, as well as diverse language, religious and cultural traditions. Given different histories and patterns of immigration, Black Caribbeans reflect a full range of experiences in

the United States, including recent arrivals to those tracing several generations of family to the Caribbean region. Despite differences between Black Caribbeans and African Americans, both groups share a racial and cultural heritage of African descent that is manifested in distinctive cultural artifacts and traditions such as music and worship practices (Maynard-Reid, 2000). However, within American society, Caribbean Blacks' ethnic distinctiveness is relatively invisible given their physical similarities with native African Americans (Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999) and the role of race as a 'master status' in the U.S. (Foner, 2005; Vickerman, 1999; Waters, 1999). Consequently, Black Caribbeans have been historically treated in a manner largely indistinguishable from their African American counterparts, including encounters with racial prejudice and discrimination in employment, housing, education, and health care (Sutton & Chaney, 1987; Vickerman, 1999).

Notwithstanding similarities in the racial and social circumstances of these two groups, Caribbean Blacks are also immigrants with distinctive cultural experiences and histories and who have experienced the challenges associated with immigration (i.e., geographic dislocation, disruptions in family and social bonds and networks, difficulties in relocating in a receiving country and forming new networks). Similar to other immigrating groups (Cadge & Ecklund, 2006; Foley & Hoge, 2007; Warner, 1998; Yang & Ebaugh, 2001b), participation in worship communities is an important aspect of the immigration experience of Caribbean Blacks and a primary means by which new immigrants are incorporated into U.S. culture. Religious institutions figure prominently in the Black Caribbean immigration process (Bashi, 2007) and constitute important linkages and bridges for immigrants in making the transition from sending to receiving countries. Worship communities provide pre-immigration referral networks that identify sponsors and select suitable candidates for migration, as well as post-immigration assistance with social and tangible resources for resettlement in the U.S. Once in the U.S., religion and worship communities function as ethnic repositories (Vickerman, 2001a; Yang & Ebaugh, 2001a) that provide social and psychological benefits for immigrants such as: 1) maintaining cultural symbols, practices and ethnic identities, 2) developing social networks and cultural ties, and 3) providing reference groups and norms for positive self-perceptions (Bashi, 2007; Cadge & Ecklund, 2006; Ebaugh & Curry, 2000; Foley & Hoge, 2007; Kurien, 2006; Maynard-Reid, 2000; Stepick et al., 2009; Vickerman, 2001a; Waters, 1999). Specifically, these associations develop and reinforce ethnic identities and reinforce an "immigrant ideology" and associated traits such as achievement, hard work, and piety (Bashi, 2007; Vickerman, 1999). Religious communities, then, constitute co-ethnic social networks that provide extensive psychological, social and community benefits and services to Caribbean immigrant communities (Bashi, 2007; Stepick et al., 2009).

Religious institutions within Caribbean Black communities in the U.S. also mediate the broader social, political and racial environments for their constituents, a function that is particularly critical with respect to race. The U.S. context places Caribbean Blacks in a social system in which their racial background (i.e., black race) is salient, devalued and stigmatized and which adversely impacts life circumstances and opportunities in several domains (e.g., education, employment, housing, and health care). Furthermore, because the significance attached to race in the U.S. is at odds with their prior socialization experiences, Caribbean Blacks develop a new sense of self in relation to prevailing racial and ethnic hierarchies (i.e., "learn to be black") and that incorporates their status as immigrants. This ongoing process of confrontation and negotiation occurs within a racialized social stratification system that requires successive generations of Caribbean Blacks to develop new strategies for adaptation and learning what it means to be Caribbean, Black and American (Vickerman, 1999). As ethnic repositories, religion and worship communities, provide the psychological, social and community space and resources to mold these new identities and insulate Caribbean Black immigrants from prejudice and racism while

simultaneously assisting their adaptation to a new culture and circumstances (Bashi, 2007). Furthermore, religious identities, behaviors and affiliations are shaped by a broad array of social, generational and contextual factors (e.g., demographic, denominational) that have garnered scant attention in the literature (Cadge & Eckland, 2007; Stepick et al., 2009).

Finally, questions concerning religious involvement among Caribbean Blacks have strong parallels to research on the historic and contemporary roles of religious institutions in the lives of African Americans (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Stepick et al., 2009; Taylor, Chatters & Levin, 2004). Religious institutions have functioned in a comparable manner among African Americans in the U.S. (Frazier, 1964; Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). African American churches' long-standing "civic tradition" of community outreach, social and civic activism, and political involvement has played a pivotal role in developing independent black institutions (e.g., educational, health, social welfare) and promoting individual and community social resources (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990; Nelsen & Nelsen, 1975; Stepick et al., 2009; Taylor et al., 2004). Historically, African American churches assisted in the settlement and community integration of Black migrants from the rural South to urban communities in the Northeast and Midwest and provided critical health and social services functions, helped to establish new arrivals in housing and jobs, and acted as a buffer and mediator of the larger culture (Taylor et al., 2007b; Frazier, 1964).

Further, a growing body of work suggests that African Americans and Caribbean Blacks share similar religious orientations, worship modalities and devotional practices (e.g., call and response, communal prayer, collective/participatory worship) which are a reflection of their common African heritage and worldview (e.g., Maynard-Reid, 2000; Stewart, 1999). Recent comparative analyses (Chatters, Taylor, Bullard & Jackson, 2009) indicate that African American and Black Caribbean respondents are largely comparable with respect to various forms of religious participation (e.g., attendance, religious coping, subjective religiosity). The present investigation's exclusive focus on Caribbean Blacks provides for a more indepth examination of the demographic and denominational correlates of religious involvement within this group.

Focus of the Present Investigation

The present investigation seeks to advance the discourse on Black Caribbean religious life by providing a preliminary examination of the demographic and denomination correlates of religious participation among Caribbean Blacks in the United States. Research has demonstrated that religiosity is a multidimensional construct (i.e., conceptualized as having organizational, non-organizational, and subjective components), and that demographic factors (e.g., age, gender) are related to each dimension of religiosity. Consistent with research on the multi-dimensional nature of religious participation (Levin & Taylor, 1998; Levin, Taylor, & Chatters, 1995; Taylor & Chatters, 1991; Taylor, Mattis, & Chatters, 1999), this study examines the correlates of organizational religiosity (behaviors that occur within the context of a church, mosque, or other religious setting such as, church attendance, membership, participation in auxiliary groups), non-organizational religiosity (behaviors that may occur outside of a religious setting such as private prayer, reading religious materials) and subjective religiosity (perceptions and attitudes regarding religion such as self-reports of the importance of religion, the role of religious beliefs in daily life, and individual perceptions of being religious).

Previous research among African Americans and the general American population identifies several demographic correlates of religious involvement. Women, older persons, and married individuals, are more inclined than their counterparts to report higher levels of participation (Chatters, Levin, & Taylor, 1992; Cornwall, 1989; Levin, Taylor, & Chatters,

1994; Taylor, 1988; Taylor & Chatters, 1988, 1991; Taylor et al., 2004). Explanations for these differences focus on social role (i.e., gender, age, marital status) expectations and obligations that reinforce religious orientations and behaviors. For example, women's traditional roles as primary socializing agents for children (including religious socialization) means they have greater contact with religious groups and social networks and more familiarity with religious content than men. With regard to marital status, divorce and separation are associated with lower religious involvement likely due to the marginalized position associated with these statuses in religious settings. Education and income effects on religious involvement are inconsistent. Positive education effects are found for church membership, attendance, and reading religious materials (Chatters, Taylor, & Lincoln, 1999; Taylor 1988), while education is negatively associated with religious broadcast media use (i.e., radio, television). Lower income is associated with stronger religious sentiments and identities and deriving spiritual comfort from religion (Chatters et al., 1999). Research on denominational profiles indicates that Catholics, Pentecostals, and Seventh Day Adventists report higher than average rates of service attendance (Newport, 2006). Consequently, these groups are expected to report higher overall levels of religious involvement. With respect to immigration status, we anticipate that Caribbean Blacks who are born in the U.S. (e.g., second generation) will demonstrate lower levels of religious involvement than their counterparts who have immigrated (Herberg, 1960). Finally, respondents from non-English speaking countries may rely on religious social networks and resources more heavily and thus may have higher levels of religious involvement.

This analysis responds to recent critiques of research on immigration and religion (Cadge & Ecklund, 2007) concerning the role of demographic factors and immigration status as independent factors that shape religious involvement among immigrants. This approach provides the opportunity to: 1) explore diversity within the Caribbean Black population with respect to several social status (e.g., age, gender, socioeconomic position) factors that are known correlates of religious involvement, 2) examine a broad array of organizational, non-organizational and subjective religiosity variables, and 3) investigate immigration status (e.g., immigrated vs. born in U.S.) and national origin differences in religious involvement.

METHODS

Sample

The National Survey of American Life: Coping with Stress in the 21st Century (NSAL) was collected by the Program for Research on Black Americans at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. The field work for the study was completed by the Institute of Social Research's Survey Research Center, in cooperation with the Program for Research on Black Americans. A total of 6,082 face-to-face interviews were conducted with persons aged 18 or older, including 3,570 African Americans, 891 non-Hispanic whites, and 1,621 Blacks of Caribbean descent. The NSAL includes the first major probability sample of Black Caribbeans. For the purposes of this study, Black Caribbeans are defined as persons who trace their ethnic heritage to a Caribbean country, but who now reside in the United States, are racially classified as Black, and who are English-speaking (but may also speak another language). The overall response rate was 72.3%. Response rates for individual subgroups were 70.7% for African Americans, 77.7% for Black Caribbeans, and 69.7% for non-Hispanic Whites. This response rate is excellent considering that African Americans (especially lower income African Americans) and Black Caribbeans are more likely to reside in major urban areas where it is more difficult and much more expensive to collect interviews. Final response rates for the NSAL two-phase sample designs were computed using the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) guidelines (for Response Rate 3) (AAPOR, 2006).

In both the African American and Black Caribbean samples, it was necessary for respondents to self-identify their race as black. Those self-identifying as black were included in the Black Caribbean sample if they: 1) answered affirmatively when asked if they were of West Indian or Caribbean descent, b) said they were from a country included on a list of Caribbean area countries presented by the interviewers, or c) indicated that their parents or grandparents were born in a Caribbean area country (see Jackson et al., 2004 for a more detailed discussion of the NSAL sample). The interviews were face-to-face and conducted within respondents' homes. Respondents were compensated for their time. The data collection was conducted from 2001 to 2003.

Measures

Dependent Variables—The present analysis examines measures of organizational, nonorganizational, and subjective religious participation. Organizational religious participation included: frequency of service attendance, church membership, and frequency of participation in church activities. Frequency of religious service attendance is measured by combining two items—one that indicates frequency of attendance and one that identifies respondents who have not attended services since the age of 18. The categories for this derived variable are: attend nearly everyday, attend at least once a week, a few times a month, a few times a year, less than once a year (except for weddings and funerals) and never attended services since the age of 18. This variable ranges from 6=nearly everyday to 1=never attended religious services since the age of 18. Church membership is measured by the question: “Are you an official member of a church or other place of worship?” (1=yes, 2=no). Frequency of participation in church activities is measured by the question: “Besides regular service, how often do you take part in other activities at your church? Would you say nearly everyday, at least once a week, a few times a month, a few times a year, or never?” This item ranges from 5 for nearly everyday to 1 for never.

Three separate measures of nonorganizational religious participation are used in this analysis: 1) reading religious books or other religious materials, 2) praying, and 3) asking someone to pray for you. Respondents were asked the frequency with which they engaged in each of these activities: nearly everyday, at least once a week, a few times a month, at least once a month, a few times a year or never. The range of each item is 5 for nearly everyday to 1 for never. Finally, four measures of subjective religiosity are used in this analysis: 1) importance of religion while growing up, 2) importance of parents taking or sending their children to religious services, 3) overall importance of religion in the respondent's life, and 4) respondents self-rating of religiosity. All of these items have 4 categories and range from 4 (very important or very religious) to 1 (not important at all or not religious at all).

Independent Variables—Sociodemographic variables (i.e., age, gender, family income, education, marital status, and region) and denomination affiliation are utilized as independent variables. Missing data for household income were imputed for 773 cases (12.7% of the NSAL sample). Missing data for education were imputed for 74 cases. Imputations were done using an iterative regression-based multiple imputation approach incorporating information about age, sex, region, race, employment status, marital status, home ownership, and nativity of household residents. Income is coded in dollars and for the multivariate analysis only has been divided by 5000 in order to increase effect sizes and provide a better understanding of the net impact of income on the dependent variables. Denomination is measured by the question: “What is your current religion?” More than 35 different denominations were mentioned by this sample of Black Caribbeans. This variable was recoded into eight categories: Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Seventh Day Adventist, Other Protestant (e.g., Lutheran, Presbyterian), Other Religion (e.g., Buddhist, Muslim), and None.

Additionally, two demographic variables that are particularly relevant to the Black Caribbean population in the United States are included in this analysis (immigration status and country of origin). Immigration status has five categories corresponding to respondents who were: 1) born in the United States, 2) immigrated to the United States 0 to 5 years ago, 3) immigrated to the United States 6–10 years ago, 4) immigrated to the United States 11–20 years ago, and 5) immigrated to the United States more than 20 years ago. Finally, respondents identified over 25 different countries of origin. Country of Origin was recoded into five categories: Jamaica, Trinidad-Tobago, Other English-speaking country (e.g., Barbados), Spanish-speaking country (e.g., Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic) and Haiti. The means and standard deviations for all of the religious involvement and independent variables utilized in this analysis are presented in Table 1.

Analysis Strategy

Logistic regression was used for the dichotomous dependent variable (church membership). Analytic tests (skewness and kurtosis) indicated that linear regression could not be appropriately used with the frequency of prayer, the importance of religion in childhood, the importance of taking children to religious services and the importance of religion in daily life. Consequently ordered logistic regression was used for those variables. Linear regression was used with the remaining variables. The linear and logistic regression analysis was conducted using SAS 9.13 and ordered regression was conducted using STATA 9.2. To obtain results that are generalizable to the Black Caribbean population, all of the analyses utilize analytic weights to match the sample to the Black Caribbean adult population. Additionally standard error estimates corrected for sample design (i.e., clustering and stratification) are utilized.

RESULTS

Table 2 presents the regressions for organizational religious involvement—frequency of religious service attendance (Equation 1), the logistic regression for whether the respondent is an official member of a place of worship (Equation 2), and the regression for frequency of participation in church related activities (Equation 3). Age, gender, marital status, denomination, country of origin and immigration status are all significantly associated with frequency of attending religious services (Table 2, Equation 1). Women attend religious services more frequently than men and older respondents attend services more frequently than their younger counterparts. Among the marital status groups, those who are married attend religious services more frequently than those who reside with their partners, but are not married (i.e., cohabitating partners). Denominational differences were evident with Pentecostals and Seven Day Adventists reporting that they attend religious services more frequently than Baptists, while persons with no denominational affiliation report that they attend services less frequently than Baptists. With respect to country of origin, persons from Trinidad-Tobago attend services less frequently than those from Jamaica. Finally, respondents who immigrated to the United States 6–10 years ago attend services more frequently than Caribbean Blacks who were born in the U.S.

The results for the logistic regression of demographic and denomination variables on whether a respondent is an official member of a place of worship are presented in Equation 2 (Table 2). Gender, family income, denomination, country of origin and immigration status are all significantly related to the probability of being an official member of a place of worship. Women and higher income Caribbean Blacks have a higher probability of being a church member than their male and lower income counterparts. Catholics and respondents without a current religious affiliation are less likely to be church members than Baptists. Haitians and respondents from Trinidad-Tobago are more likely to be church members than respondents who emigrated from Jamaica. Respondents who immigrated to the United

States within the last 5 years have a lower probability of being a church member than those who were born in the U.S.

The correlates for frequency of participating in other church related activities are presented in Equation 3. Age, gender, marital status, denomination, and country of origin are significantly associated with frequency of participation in church related activities. Older respondents and women report participating in church activities more frequently than their counterparts. Married respondents participate in church related activities more frequently than respondents who are separated, divorced, never married, and those who live with their partner. Baptists participate in other church activities more frequently than do Catholics, Episcopalians, persons who report another religion (non-Christian) and respondents who indicate no denominational affiliation. However, respondents who identify with other Protestant denominations participate in other church activities more frequently than Baptists. Finally, findings for country of origin indicate that Haitians participate in other church activities more frequently than do Jamaicans.

The results of the regression analyses for nonorganizational religious activities are presented in Table 3. Age, gender, denomination and immigration status are significantly associated with frequency of reading religious books and other materials (Table 3, Equation 1). Older respondents and women indicate reading religious materials more frequently than their counterparts. Pentecostals read religious books more frequently than do Baptists, whereas Catholics read religious books less frequently than do Baptists. Baptists also read religious materials more frequently than respondents who do not indicate a religious denomination. Respondents who immigrated to the U.S. between 6 and 10 years ago read religious materials more frequently than persons who were born in the U.S.

The regression coefficients for frequency of prayer are presented in Equation 2 (Table 3). Women reported praying more frequently than do men, respondents from Haiti pray more frequently than those from Jamaica, and Pentecostals pray more frequently than Baptists. Finally, marital status, denomination, and immigration status are significantly associated with frequency of requesting prayer from others. Never married respondents indicate that they request prayer from others less frequently than do married respondents. Seventh Day Adventists request prayer from others more frequently than Baptists, whereas those with no current denomination request prayer from others less frequently than do Baptists. Additionally, respondents who immigrated to the United States between 6 and 10 years ago, request prayer from others more frequently than those born in the United States.

Table 4 presents the regression analyses for the demographic and denomination variables on the four indicators of subjective religiosity. Marital status, denomination and immigration status are associated with respondents' reports of the importance of religion in their home when growing up (Table 4, Equation 1). Widowed respondents are more likely than marrieds to report that religion was important during their childhood. Respondents who are Pentecostal are more likely than Baptists to indicate that religiosity was important in their home, while respondents who immigrated to the U.S. in the last 11–20 years are more likely than U.S.-born Caribbean Blacks to indicate that religion was important when they were growing up. Gender, denomination, and country of origin are significantly associated with respondents' attitudes about the importance of taking children to services (Table 4, Equation 2). Women are significantly more likely than men to endorse the view that it is important that parents take their children to religious services. Baptists more strongly endorse this view than do persons in other Protestant denominations, as well as those without a current religious affiliation. Respondents from Haiti and Spanish speaking countries are more likely than Jamaicans to indicate that it is important that parents take their children to religious services.

Perceived importance of religion in daily life is associated with education, marital status, and denomination (Table 4, Equation 3). Respondents who possess lower levels of education attach greater importance to religion than do persons with more years of formal education. Widowed respondents indicate that religion is more important in daily life than married respondents. Pentecostals more strongly endorse the importance of religion in their lives than do Baptists, and Baptists endorse the importance of religion more strongly than those who do not have a current denomination.

Equation 4 (Table 4) presents the coefficients for the regression of the demographic and denomination variables on self-rated religiosity. Gender, education, marital status and denomination are all significantly associated with self-rated religiosity. Women report higher levels of self-rated religiosity than men and respondents with lower levels of formal education report higher levels of self-rated religiosity than their more highly educated counterparts. Married respondents report higher levels of self-rated religiosity than do persons who have never married. Lastly, Pentecostals indicate higher levels of self-rated religiosity than Baptists, while Baptists report higher levels of self-rated religiosity than persons who do not indicate a current denomination.

DISCUSSION

This analysis provided the first survey-based exploration of religious participation among a national sample of Caribbean Blacks in the United States. The findings revealed that Caribbean Blacks demonstrate relatively high levels of religious involvement across a variety of dimensions. In particular, Caribbean Blacks indicated high levels of organizational religious participation, strong endorsements of the subjective religiosity items, as well as reports of private prayer.

The present analysis revealed significant demographic variation in religious involvement among Caribbean Blacks. Many of the observed demographic differences are consistent with previous work on African Americans and within the general U.S. population. By far, gender was the most important determinant of religious involvement and was a significant predictor in 6 of the 10 regressions and bordered significance in one regression. Similar to gender findings within the African American and general population (Cornwall, 1989) and research on immigrants (Alanezi & Sherkat, 2008), Black Caribbean women demonstrated higher levels of organizational, nonorganizational and subjective religious participation than did men (Taylor et al., 2004). Age was significant in 3 of the 10 regressions examined, notably for two indicators of organizational behavior (church attendance and other church activities) and reading religious materials. Consistent with previous literature on whites, African Americans (Taylor et al., 2004) and immigrants (Alanezi & Sherkat, 2008), older Caribbean Blacks reported higher levels of religious participation than their younger counterparts for these indicators.

Several interesting findings were observed for marital status differences in religious involvement. Marital status was significant in 6 out of the 10 regressions. Significant contrasts indicated that married respondents displayed higher levels of religious participation than those who had never married (3 regressions), those who were cohabitating (2 regressions) and divorced and separated respondents (1 regression). The majority of the marital status differences were with organizational religious activities where cohabiters attended religious services less frequently and separated, divorced, never married, and those who live with their partner participated in church related activities less frequently than married counterparts. Collectively, these findings are consistent with previous research among African Americans and Whites, as well as immigrants (Alanezi & Sherkat, 2008) indicating higher levels of religious involvement among married in comparison to unmarried

respondents. However, there was one noticeable difference in the present analysis. Widowed respondents were more likely than married respondents to indicate that the importance of religion in childhood and the importance of religion in daily life.

Previous findings on African Americans indicate that divorced persons, in particular, report lower levels of service attendance (Taylor, 1988), requests for prayers from others (Taylor & Chatters, 1991), and support from church members (Taylor & Chatters, 1988). However, in the present study of Caribbean Black adults, participation in other church activities was the only significant difference between divorced and separated persons and married individuals. Although divorced and separated respondents were no less likely than married persons to be official members or attend religious services, they were significantly less likely than married respondents to participate in other activities (e.g., choir practice, women and men's clubs) at their place of worship. Churches' explicit endorsement and sanctioning of marriage (pro-marriage position) may privilege this status and provide special advantages to those who are married. In contrast, separated and divorced persons may be devalued and subtly ostracized in religious settings, thereby discouraging them from fully participating in the life of the church. Divorced and separated persons may experience a certain level of stigma associated with their marital status that may make them feel less comfortable and accepted in religious settings (Taylor et al., 2004). Finally, in comparison to prior research on African Americans, the relatively few differences between marrieds and divorced and separated persons may suggest greater tolerance for these statuses in Caribbean churches.

In the present analysis, there was one significant effect in which income was positively related to church membership indicating that higher income respondents were more likely to be church members. This finding likely reflects two related issues. First, if we assume that people of higher incomes attend churches with comparable average incomes (i.e., income homogeneity), it may be the case that higher vs. lower income congregations place a greater emphasis on being an official church member. Second, higher income respondents may be more inclined to establish accurate documentation of church contributions (i.e., documentation of membership dues, yearly tithing and other contributions to church funds and obligations) for income tax purposes. As a consequence, maintaining official membership may be of greater importance to higher income persons. Many churches provide official members with a yearly statement of contributions for income tax purposes. This documentation is more important for higher income respondents who are more likely to claim deductions for charitable contributions.

Education was significant in 2 of the 10 regression equations, both of which involved measures of subjective religiosity. Respondents with fewer years of formal education were more likely than their higher educated counterparts to indicate higher levels of self-rated religiosity, and indicate that religion was of greater importance in their daily life. In contrast, prior research on African Americans indicated that those with higher education were more likely to attend services and be official church members (Chatters et al., 1999; Taylor, 1988). Collectively, these findings demonstrate that while there are no education differences in organizational and non-organizational activities, Caribbean Blacks with lower levels of education report that religion is more central to their lives.

Denomination differences were evident in all 10 of the regression models. As might be anticipated, the majority of the differences were between those who did not have a current religious denomination and Baptists (the excluded category); those without a stated religious affiliation reported lower levels of religiosity (7 regressions). One notable non-significant finding is that those without a religious denomination prayed as frequently as Baptists. Catholics were less likely to be official members of their churches, engaged in other church activities and read religious materials less frequently than Baptists. Episcopalians also

engaged in other activities at their place of worship less frequently than did Baptists. In addition, however, several comparisons indicated that other denominations had higher levels of religious involvement than did Baptists. Pentecostals indicated that they attended religious services, read religious materials and prayed more frequently, and also expressed higher levels of subjective religiosity (i.e., importance of religion in home when growing up, importance of religion in life, self-rated religiosity). Similarly, in comparison to Baptists, Seven Day Adventists attended religious services more frequently and asked someone to pray for them on a more frequent basis. Collectively, these findings underscore pervasive denominational patterns of religious involvement and are consistent with recent research from the Gallup Polls indicating that Pentecostals report higher levels of religious service attendance than Baptists, while Baptists, in turn, report higher levels of service attendance than Catholics and Episcopalians (Newport, 2006). The findings are also consistent with research on immigrants which found that higher service attendance among immigrants from sectarian groups (i.e., Pentecostals, Seven Day Adventists) (Alanezi & Sherkat, 2008).

Due to their relatively small sample sizes, many prior analyses do not differentiate Episcopalians from other religious denominations. This denominational group, however, is somewhat larger among Caribbean Blacks. The present analysis showed that despite media representations of Episcopalians as having a more secular outlook, Caribbean Blacks who are Episcopalians report levels of religiosity (i.e., non-organizational and subjective religiosity) that are comparable to persons who identify as Baptists. Several differences did emerge, however, in which both Episcopalians and Catholics engaged in other church activities less frequently than Baptists, while Catholics were less likely to be official members of their churches and to read religious materials. Foley and Hoge's (2007) analysis of immigrant religion suggests that differences in organizational culture (e.g., house of worship, family-style, community-style, civic leader) that are broadly associated with denomination shape types of religious involvement and expression within faith communities. Catholic congregations are characterized as hierarchical and emphasizing formal structure, whereas evangelical congregations stress lay involvement and participation and cohesive social networks. Accordingly, denominational differences in participation in other church activities could be related to a greater number of internal groups and organizations (e.g., men's and women's choirs, auxiliary groups) within Baptist churches as compared to Catholic and Episcopalian congregations. However, it is important to exercise caution when discussing and interpreting denominational differences in religious participation, particularly in relation to statements regarding comparative levels of religious devotion. Normative expectations for religious involvement differ significantly by and within denominations and may be formally structured by specific practices, traditions and requirements of specific religious institutions (Foley & Hoge, 2007; Newport, 2006).

Immigration status was significantly related to 5 of the 10 measures of religious participation. In most instances, native born Blacks of Caribbean descent had lower levels of religious participation (i.e., church attendance, read religious materials, requests for prayer, and religious upbringing) than those who had immigrated. This is particularly true for immigrants who have been in the United States for 6 to 10 years and 11 to 20 years. Church membership was only exception in which very recent immigrants (0–5 years in U.S.) were less likely to be official members of their place of worship than native born Caribbean Blacks. This suggests that although immigrants (6 to 10 years in the U.S.) are more likely to attend church than native-born Caribbean Blacks, more recent arrivals may not have yet selected a church to join. Similarly, recent immigrants may be reluctant to officially join a church if they see their time in the U.S. as temporary.

Overall, these results indicating significant relationships between immigration status and indicators of organizational, non-organization and subjective religiosity is consistent with

research which indicates that religious involvement would be of greater importance for first generation immigrants vs. second or third generation, native-born Caribbean Blacks (Foley & Hoge, 2007; Herberg, 1960; Kurien, 2006). However, the nature of these relationships is neither simple nor straightforward. In some cases, there were no differences between immigration status and religious participation, while in others significant effects were different depending on years since immigration. When significant differences did emerge (with the exception of church membership) they were in the anticipated direction indicating that first generation immigrants as compared to native-born Caribbean Blacks had higher levels of religiosity. The overall pattern of relationships between immigration status and religiosity is consistent with observations by Herberg (1960) and others (Connor, 2008) about the salience of religion for first generation immigrants and suggests that a number of issues (e.g., the role of broader social influences and community institutions such as the church) are deserving of further study.

Country of origin was significant in 6 instances. Persons from Trinidad-Tobago (compared to Jamaicans) attended religious services less frequently, but were more likely to be church members. Respondents from Spanish speaking countries more strongly endorsed the view that it is important to take children to religious services. Haitians engaged in other activities at their place of worship more frequently, prayed more frequently, were more likely to be church members, and attached greater importance to taking children to religious services than respondents from Jamaica. We argued that persons from non-English-speaking countries, who are triple minorities by virtue of being Black, foreign and non-English speakers (Boswell, 1982), would rely upon and invest in religious behaviors, attitudes and formal religious settings to a greater degree than those from Anglophone countries. For non-English speaking immigrants, religious commitments and activities are important for reinforcing a sense of cultural and language identity and providing access to a variety of social networks and concrete resources located within worship communities. The social and civic functions of Caribbean churches (Foley & Hoge, 2007; McAlister, 1998; Stepick et al., 2009) are especially salient for those Haitian immigrants whose primary or only language is not English (Haitian Creole), and who, as a consequence, have limited access to health and social welfare services and information that are provided in English (Stepick, 1998).

Haiti's ongoing experiences of political upheaval, military subjugation, and economic underdevelopment has resulted in successive waves of large number of immigrants seeking better life conditions and opportunities in the U.S. (Stepick, 1998). The most recent immigrants (beginning in the early 1970s), including the so-called Haitian boat people, were a particularly disadvantaged group (e.g., poorer, undocumented status, unskilled urban workers and rural peasantry) as compared to earlier cohorts. Upon entry to the U.S., these latest Haitian immigrants experienced extraordinary levels of discrimination and social, political and economic marginalization, including disease-related social stigma (alleged carriers of HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis) and officially-sanctioned detention (Boswell, 1982; Stepick, 1998). Given these challenging life circumstances, Haitian immigrants are particularly predisposed to draw on the resources and networks found within the church (Stepick, 1998). The present findings of higher rates of church membership, participation in church activities, prayer, and stated importance of children's religious training among Haitian immigrants are consistent with research demonstrating high levels of service attendance among this group (Stepick, 1998) and the central position of churches in providing social, cultural and community resources (Richmond, 2005; Stepick et al., 2009). A slightly different pattern of findings for persons from Trinidad and Tobago (higher levels of church membership, but lower levels of service attendance) are interesting and require further study. Explanations for the observed significant country of origin differences in religious involvement for immigrants from Haiti and Trinidad and Tobago are multifaceted and complex. Subsequent research on the noted social, cultural, psychological and civic

functions of Caribbean immigrant worship communities can explore in more detail the factors and processes associated with religious expression and involvement.

In conclusion, this is the first paper on the demographic correlates of religious participation among a national sample of Black Caribbean adults. The availability of a nationally representative sample of Caribbean Blacks, was a definite advantage of the study and provides an important complement to small and geographically situated ethnographic studies of religious involvement among Black Caribbean communities. Despite these advantages, the findings are limited by restrictions in the sample. The Black Caribbean sample excludes individuals who do not speak English (i.e., persons who only speak Spanish, Haitian-French, or Creole dialects) and, as a consequence, the study findings are not generalizable to these groups of Caribbean Blacks. Nonetheless, the significant advantages of the national probability sample, methods, and analysis provide a unique opportunity to examine demographic differences in religiosity across multiple measures of religious participation. In addition, specific findings for country of origin and immigration status differences suggest important new areas of study for religious involvement among Caribbean Blacks. Taken together, these findings lay the groundwork for future investigations of religious involvement both within this population and in comparison to other race, ethnic and immigrant groups.

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Table 1Distribution of Demographic, Denomination and Religious Involvement Variables^a

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES	MEANS (S.D.) OR N (%)
Age	40.27 (5.77)
N	1621
Education	12.88(1.01)
N	1621
Income	47,044 (15,190.78)
N	1621
Gender	
Male	643 (50.87%)
Female	978 (49.13%)
Marital Status	
Married	559 (37.56%)
Partner	131 (12.57%)
Separated	128 (5.36%)
Divorced	178 (9.29%)
Widowed	78 (4.28%)
Never married	542 (30.91%)
Region	
Northeast	1135 (55.69%)
Other Region	486 (44.31%)
Country of Origin	
Spanish	180 (14.07%)
Haiti	298 (12.64%)
Jamaica	510 (31.72%)
Trinidad-Tobago	170 (9.98%)
Other English	440 (31.57%)
Years in the US	
US born	440 (35.75%)
Less than 5 years	119 (7.89%)
6–10 years	164 (8.25%)
11–20 years	364 (19.91%)
21 years or more	512 (28.18%)
Denomination	
Baptist	278 (20.52%)
Methodist	66 (3.17%)
Pentecostal	152 (8.70%)
Catholic	367 (18.66%)
Episcopal	80 (3.31%)

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES	MEANS (S.D.) OR N (%)
Seventh Day Adventist	87 (4.22%)
Other Protestant	333 (25.10%)
Other Religion	56 (3.56%)
No Religion	194 (12.72%)

RELIGIOUS VARIABLES	
Organizational	
Religious Service Attendance (Range = 1–6)	3.63 (0.48)
N	1619
Official Member	
Yes	740 (53%)
No	547 (47%)
Church Activities (Range = 1–5)	2.16 (0.41)
N	1288
Non-organizational (Range = 1–6)	
Read Religious Materials	4.19 (0.60)
N	1618
Watch Religious Television	3.46 (0.63)
N	1616
Listen to Religious Radio	3.26 (0.70)
N	1618
Prayer	5.53 (0.42)
N	1618
Request Prayer From Others	3.17 (0.65)
N	1615
Subjective Religiosity (Range = 1–4)	
Importance of Religion in Childhood	3.58 (0.28)
N	1617
Importance of Taking Children to Services	3.73 (0.22)
N	1614
Importance of Religion in Daily Life	3.59 (0.27)
N	1617
Self-rated Religiosity	3.03 (0.26)
N	1615

^aData are given as means (weighted standard deviation) for continuous variables and weighted percentages for categorical variables.

Table 2

Organizational religious involvement measures regressed on demographic factors, immigration status, country of origin, and denominational affiliation.

Predictors/ Age Gender: Female Immigration Status Immigrated 0-5 Yrs Ago Immigrated 6-10 Yrs Ago Immigrated 11-20 Yrs Ago Immigrated >21 Yrs Ago Country of Origin Spanish Haiti Trinidad-Tobago Other English-speaking Imputed Family Income Years of Education Marital Status Cohabit Separated Divorced Widowed Never Married Northeast Denomination Methodist	Equation 1: Service Attendance		Equation 2: Church Membership ²		Equation 3: Church Activities	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
	.013**	.004	.007	.009	.017***	.003
	.449***	.074	.746***	.168	.179*	.084
	.034	.279	-1.90*	.688	-.250	.177
	.320*	.121	-.359	.268	-.020	.110
	.090	.137	-.445	.332	-.043	.119
	.118	.116	.286	.443	-.150	.116
	.076	.172	-.216	.317	.160	.115
	.171	.174	.893***	.253	.686	.113
	-.603**	.186	1.06*	.524	.212	.141
	-.146	.146	.022	.320	.003	.073
	.007	.006	.055***	.016	-.007	.004
	.004	.023	-.034	.035	.017	.014
	-.516**	.148	-1.32	.725	-.785**	.258
	-.214	.172	.190	.333	-.399**	.114
	-.242	.163	-.541	.650	-.481*	.216
	.005	.301	-.380	.407	-.181	.304
	-.152	.116	-.139	.342	-.246*	.120
	-.229	.120	-.237	.192	-.068	.071
	.127	.124	.362	.3937	-.127	.193

Predictors ¹	Equation 1: Service Attendance		Equation 2: Church Membership ²		Equation 3: Church Activities	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Pentecostal	.642***	.090	-.022	.466	.185	.164
Catholic	-.151	.148	-1.27**	.417	-.591***	.112
Episcopalian	-.188	.130	-.017	.354	-.366***	.091
Seventh Day Adventist	.345*	.154	.001	.508	.260	.232
Other Protestant	.047	.125	-.001	.284	.310**	.092
Other Religion	-.205	.206	-.334	.979	-.602*	.250
No Religion	-1.21***	.132	-2.19***	.637	-.517**	.151
Intercept	3.11***	.468	.174	.638	1.53***	.227
F	73508.4***		15589.3***		274.8***	
R²	0.27		--		0.25	
N	1578		1258		1259	

¹ Several independent variables are represented by dummy variables. Gender, 0 = female, 1 = male; Country of Origin, Jamaica is the excluded category; Marital Status, married is the excluded category; Region, Other regions is the excluded category; Denomination, Baptist is the excluded category.

² The analysis for Church Membership is a logistic regression

* p < .05;

** p < .01;

*** p < .001

Table 3

Non-organizational religious involvement measures regressed on demographic factors, immigration status, country of origin, and denominational affiliation.

Predictors/ Age	Equation 1: Read Religious Materials		Equation 2: Prayer ²		Equation 3: Requests for Prayer	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
	.014***	.004	.016	.016	-.000	.005
Gender: Female	.375***	.087	1.00***	.271	.200	.152
Immigration Status						
Immigrated 0 to 5 Yrs Ago	.220	.310	-.063	.554	-.037	.346
Immigrated 6 to 10 Yrs Ago	.507***	.145	-.384	.297	.526**	.192
Immigrated 11 to 20 Yrs Ago	.278	.188	.053	.414	-.184	.207
Immigrated >21 Yrs Ago	.298	.228	.264	.468	-.027	.231
Country of Origin						
Spanish	.317	.289	.445	.277	.190	.222
Haiti	.189	.242	.794*	.317	-.101	.193
Trinidad-Tobago	-.182	.176	-.018	.351	-.369	.229
Other English-speaking	.066	.143	-.312	.384	-.203	.251
Imputed Family Income	-.006	.011	-.023	.016	-.022	.012
Years of Education	-.028	.024	-.045	.056	.007	.029
Marital Status						
Cohabit	-.373	.275	.244	.618	-.276	.244
Separated	-.240	.393	-.233	.492	-.058	.248
Divorced	-.045	.195	-.105	.548	-.245	.321
Widowed	-.701	.644	.294	.726	-.422	.313
Never Married	-.214	.141	-.386	.312	-.332*	.156
Northeast	-.151	.101	-.609	.395	-.064	.170
Denomination						
Methodist	.118	.347	1.12	.752	.301	.354

Predictors ¹	Equation 1: Read Religious Materials		Equation 2: Prayer ²		Equation 3: Requests for Prayer	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Pentecostal	.775***	.179	1.57*	.628	.360	.247
Catholic	-.651***	.183	-.453	.466	.075	.283
Episcopalian	-.506	.317	-.078	.665	-.093	.219
Seventh Day Adventist	.402	.229	.326	.714	1.155**	.372
Other Protestant	.194	.209	.380	.366	.169	.201
Other Religion	.407	.251	.542	.516	.512	.456
No Religion	-1.43***	.237	-.974	.679	-.671*	.316
Intercept	4.02***	.428	--	--	3.45***	.527
F	1403***		9.97		528***	
R²	.233		--		.086	
N	1577		1577		1574	

¹ Several independent variables are represented by dummy variables. Gender: 0 = female, 1 = male; Country of Origin: Jamaica is the excluded category; Marital Status: Married is the excluded category; Region: Other regions is the excluded category; Denomination: Baptist is the excluded category.

² The analysis for Prayer is a ordered regression.

* p < .05;

** p < .01;

*** p < .001

Table 4

Subjective religious involvement measures regressed on demographic factors, immigration status, country of origin, and denominational affiliation.

Predictors ¹	Equation 1: Importance of Religion Growing Up ²		Equation 2: Importance of Taking Children to Services ²		Equation 3: Importance of Religion in Life ²		Equation 4: Self-rated Religiosity	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Age	.018	.018	-.003	.011	.008	.007	.000	.002
Gender: Female	.179	.209	.993*	.417	.611	.330	.129 [†]	.064
Immigration Status								
Immigrated 0-5 Yrs Ago	-.203	.555	-.133	.664	-.347	.484	.193	.136
Immigrated 6-10 Yrs Ago	.885	.488	.829	.684	1.06	.556	.166	.108
Immigrated 11-20 Yrs Ago	.961*	.381	.749	.409	.881	.506	.038	.103
Immigrated >21 Yrs Ago	.296	.608	.335	.490	.144	.459	.107	.105
Country of Origin								
Spanish	-.131	.364	.784*	.357	.562	.364	.094	.124
Haiti	.238	.488	.835*	.354	.157	.459	.062	.091
Trinidad-Tobago	-.351	.318	.528	.430	.128	.307	-.126	.069
Other English-speaking	-.243	.240	.030	.198	-.225	.263	-.040	.081
Imputed Family Income	-.007	.010	.004	.018	.008	.012	.001	.004
Years of Education	-.091	.066	-.110	.060	-.160**	.048	-.022*	.010
Marital Status								
Partner	.043	.698	-1.00	.616	-1.14	.629	-.418	.124
Separated	-.170	.463	-.001	.645	.207	.435	-.088	.100
Divorced	.032	.493	.122	.526	.771	.479	-.015	.113
Widowed	1.51*	.740	1.06	.769	2.25**	.689	.049	.120
Never Married	-.150	.280	-.445	.354	-.095	.356	-.277***	.063
Northeast	.004	.387	1.77	.363	.265	.263	-.004	.055
Denomination								
Methodist	.487	.727	.263	.694	.521	.535	.080	.131

Predictors ¹	Equation 1: Importance of Religion Growing Up ²		Equation 2: Importance of Taking Children to Services ²		Equation 3: Importance of Religion in Life ²		Equation 4: Self-rated Religiosity	
	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.	Coeff.	S.E.
Pentecostal	1.30*	.489	1.20	.847	1.53*	.666	2.65*	.101
Catholic	-.268	.390	-.753	.425	-.463	.412	-.121	.111
Episcopalian	.072	.463	-.523	.549	-.398	.616	-.107	.083
Seventh Day Adventist	-.078	.362	-.838	.599	-.657	.492	.180	.117
Other Protestant	-.241	.387	-.798*	.313	-.305	.330	.119	.083
Other Religion	.649	.489	.088	.531	.789	.541	.204	.137
No Religion	-.457	.492	-2.00***	.495	-2.68***	.475	-.775***	.195
Intercept	--	--	--	--	--	--	3.36***	.203
F	571.8**		15.35		10.20		15358***	
R²	--		--		--		0.25	
N	1576		1573		1577		1575	

¹ Several independent variables are represented by dummy variables. Gender: 0 = female, 1 = male; Country of Origin: Jamaica is the excluded category; Marital Status: Married is the excluded category; Region: Other regions is the excluded category; Denomination: Baptist is the excluded category.

² [†] p < .06;

* p < .05;

** p < .01;

*** p < .001

² Analyses for Importance of Religion Growing Up, Importance of Taking Children to Services and Importance of Religion in Life are ordered regressions