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The Influence of Religious Attendance and Gender in Accessing High-Status Social Ties

James W. Phillips

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Brigham Young University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

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# ABSTRACT <br> The Influence of Religious Attendance and Gender in Accessing High-Status Social Ties 

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Religious participation often influences the composition of one's social network, but less is known about the degree to which religious attendance increases access to highly-influential individuals who can offer potential advantages in terms of resource distribution. Using data from the Panel Study of American Religion and Ethnicity (PS-ARE) I examine the influence of religious attendance and gender on accessing high-status social ties, which are defined as having conversations with the highly educated, elected public officials, and congregation leaders. I estimate ordered logistic regression models and find that increased religious attendance is associated with greater odds of accessing high-status social ties. Additionally, I test for any moderating influence of gender and find that similarly attending women and men largely access such social ties equally, with a few exceptions. This study identifies religion as an organization that offers similar social networking opportunities for women and men alike. Since women attend religious services more frequently than men, this study draws conclusions that the relationship between religious participation and access to high-status social ties may be particularly meaningful for women on the aggregate, who often experience social networking disadvantages within other organizations.

Keywords: religion, gender, social ties, social networks, status

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## Introduction

Participation in many types of organizations often influences the formation of potentially beneficial social ties. However, involvement in particular employment, education, and community organizations can be more helpful to the formation of these potentially advantageous social ties than others (Coleman 1990; Putnam 2000). Furthermore, the organizations that do offer a fertile environment for accessing such social ties often benefit some groups more than others. Oftentimes having unequal access to potentially influential social ties means that some groups are at a disadvantage in mobilizing their social resources toward positive outcomes (Lin 1999b). Identifying the influences behind differential access to social ties that offer some likelihood of social mobility as well as the organizations and groups that obtain increased access to such social ties is important to further understanding the relationship between social networks and social advantage.

Depending on the position or status of a social contact, having access to certain individuals may be considered beneficial due to the possibility that some social ties have greater accessibility to resources than others. Among the many social institutions that provide opportunities to develop such social ties, one that researchers have examined closely only recently is religion (e.g., Alexander 2007; Lockhart 2005; Strømsnes 2008). As an institution, religion may be uniquely suited to the formation of social ties due to its approachable and personal context which helps facilitate information exchange and may be one of the few means that some traditionally marginalized groups of society access potentially beneficial social ties.

In this research I review why high-status individuals offer potentially beneficial resources and empirically test various groups' access to them. Specifically, I analyze the degree to which religious participation affects access to high-status social ties and whether such access differs by
gender, which is important because women, relative to men, are often at a disadvantage in accessing potentially beneficial social networks (Gidengil et al. 2006). Additionally, this research sheds light on the social experience of religious participation and why religious participation might be more meaningful to women due to the potential connections with high-status individuals available through religion that might not be available elsewhere.

## Background

## Social Ties

Through the mobilization of cooperative social ties many people gain advantages such as employment, education, information, and other benefits (Hanifan 1916; Granovetter 1973; Bourdieu 1990; Coleman 1990; Lin 1999a, 1999b; Putnam 1995, 2000), but several individual and contextual characteristics influence the degree to which various types of social ties are beneficial (Granovetter 1973; Lin 1999b). Muller and Ellison (2001) declare that "some relationships possess certain qualities that make them a special resource to facilitate action and contribute to positive outcomes" (p. 157). One type of relationship that offers potentially beneficial outcomes is having social connections with high-status individuals-people who are highly educated, wealthy, or otherwise represent "various kinds of elite power or influence" (Wuthnow 2002). Social connections with these individuals are referred to as "high-status social ties" (Wuthnow 2002), "high-status contacts" (Jackman and Jackman 1973), or "high-status others" (Kim 2009), but are similarly defined as having a social tie with someone who has a high degree of power or prestige. Further developing what predicts access to such relationships is a key consideration due to the potential for positive outcomes that such social ties may bring.

In terms of describing the favorable outcomes that arise from accessing high-status social ties, previous research highlights the consistent finding that more access to high-status individuals tends to be associated with more positive social outcomes. In employment outcomes, having a high-status social tie is related to higher job prestige when seeking employment ( De Graaf and Flap 1988; Mardsen and Hurlbert 1988) and more successful employment-seeking outcomes (Montgomery 1992). Having a high-status social tie also mitigates the influence of education on employment outcomes (De Graaf and Flap 1988), especially when attempting to obtain top corporate management positions (Useem and Karabel 1986). Across a range of positive outcomes, high-status social ties' relation to positive outcomes is consistent:

Findings generally show that higher socioeconomic position of the contact is related to better search outcomes because the higher the status of the contact is, the more information the contact possesses and the more influence the contact can exert on behalf of the individual seeking help. (Lai, Lin, and Leung 1998:161)

Whether race, class, gender, or other characteristics influence a state of disadvantage, high-status social ties uniquely benefit these "individuals seeking help" (p. 161) which often includes minorities and other traditionally disadvantaged groups. For immigrants engaging in border-cross activities, having a high-status social tie mitigates many dangers and costs and also offers advantages in acculturation and citizenship-seeking outcomes (Soehl and Waldinger 2010). Within sociology of sport, Day and McDonald (2010) find that high-status social ties are more effective for Black coaches than for White coaches when seeking coaching promotions in college football. When members of racial minority groups negotiate salary increases (which are significantly lower salary increases than those among racial majority groups) the salary gap is diminished when controlling for the influence of social ties to the company's leaders (Seidel,

Polzer, and Stewart 2000). Additionally, a social network comprised of high-status individuals offers increased access to medical care options for immigrant minorities (Pescosolido 1986). Overall, having access to high-status social ties potentially offers a variety of favorable social outcomes and often aids traditionally marginalized groups in particular.

In theory, the reason high-status social ties offer these benefits is due to the contact's position of authority or influence over resource distribution and mobility (Lin 1982, 1999a, 1999b) or due to the timely information that high-status social ties offer (Kim 2009). This is intuitive because high-status individuals often have more stable cohesiveness to one another and their network locations (Borgatti, Jones, and Everett 1998) and often interact with high-status others (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, Cook 2001). Having a stable and tightly knit social network comprised of high-status others adds to the ability to mobilize resources because when one highstatus individual is seeking resources, even if that individual is unable to offer personal resources, he or she is likely to know someone who is. In summary, high-status individuals hold power over resource distribution, often interact with others who do also, and are one avenue among many for resource mobility.

When considered as a tool for resource mobility, accessing high-status social ties is important to research because some groups of people are able to access them more effectively than others. In a sense, network composition could be considered an extension of personal traits in how marginalized groups fall within the disadvantaged spectrum of class stratification. In addition to various groups' access, some organizations offer access to high-status social ties better than others. Therefore, identifying both organizations and groups that exhibit stratified access to potentially beneficial high-status social ties and to what degree unequal access occurs is important to understanding structural constraints of social inequality.

Research on various groups' and organizations' access to social networking opportunities offers some understanding to stratified access to high-status social ties. Women and minorities are groups that most often experience this type of social disadvantage (McGuire 2000; Ibarra 1992). For women, their disadvantage in accessing social networking opportunities compared to men is evident within organizations related to information technology, law practice, or business management (Markiewicz, Devine, and Kausilas 1999). Research indicates a distinct male networking advantage found within ad hoc "locker room" sectors of marketing agencies (Gregory 2009). Within higher education where informal ties can offer valuable benefits, women are at a disadvantage in their networking opportunities compared to their male colleagues within upper level academia (Šadl 2009). Even within social organizations such as country clubs, overt gender discrimination of male-only memberships give men ultimate social networking advantage over excluded women (Vamplew 2010). The trend across these findings is that women are the most commonly disadvantaged group in terms of social networking opportunities, and that such social inequality occurs across a variety of organizations.

However, research also identifies organizations that offer more egalitarian access to social resources. For example, although men often experience social network advantages within larger corporate businesses relative to women (Campbell 1988), within small business involvements men and women have similar social networking opportunities (Loscocco et al. 2009). This is an important consideration because organizations that offer similar prospects for social resources identify areas of social equality and potential mobility for the traditionally disadvantaged, as in the case of women having similar social opportunities as men within small business organizations.

Participation in various other work, education, or community organizations might offer opportunities to form potentially advantageous social ties as well, but little research has focused on identifying them. Although involvement within formal affiliations often influences social network compositions, voluntary organizations influence social contacts' characteristics as well (Beggs and Hurlbert 1997). This is an important consideration because marginalized groups tend to rely on informal, voluntary organizations to develop meaningful social contacts (Lin 1999b). Among the many social institutions that provide access to high-status social ties, one that researchers have considered only recently is religion.

## Religious Participation

Like other organizational involvements religious participation offers access to potentially valuable high-status social ties. However, several unique characteristics of religion make the possibility of increased exposure to high-status individuals possible. Religious groups often act as a pool of various types of social contacts (Coleman 1988; Putnam 2000; Smidt 2003; Wuthnow 2004) and offer a comfortable environment to build social ties, friendship, and cooperative support that facilitate a sense of community (Ammerman 1997; Bellah et al. 1996; Schervish 1990). Religious services also invite non-class stratified interpersonal contact, which facilitates contact and information exchange or "information channels" from one party to another (Coleman 1988). When an organization allows informal and non-hierarchically structured social interactions as most religious groups do, an increased flow of information and exchange between the participants often occurs. One example of how religious participation can facilitate information channels is through religion's function as a tool for economic exchange. Bankston and Zhou (2000) found that many groups of people, especially minorities, describe their church
as a place to gather important economic information relevant to various employment opportunities.

The possibility for religious participation to influence access to high-status social ties is particularly meaningful for women, minorities, and low SES individuals since traditionally marginalized groups use such informal channels for personal gain most often (Lin 1999b). Although involvements in religious services may be of much lower consequence to one's access to high-status individuals than, for example cultural or educational background and occupation type, nonetheless it is one potential conduit through which traditionally disadvantaged groups may be able to gain access to valuable high-status social ties. Religious-based social ties tend to offer employment gains (Kwon, Ebaugh, and Hagan 1997), enhanced educational outcomes (Muller and Ellison 2001), and opportunities for civic participation (Smidt et al. 2008). Such outcomes would be especially meaningful for traditionally marginalized groups.

Through informal approachability, ease of information flow, and the prospect of providing a diverse range of social contacts, religion may act as a valuable tool in offering access to high-status social ties and the positive outcomes that such ties offer, through information, personal referencing, or otherwise. Previous research suggests that membership in a religion offers increased access to high-status individuals (Wuthnow 2002), but less is known about whether the extent of involvement influences the access to high-status social ties, or whether such access is similar for various groups. Given the unique characteristics of religious participation that suggest it may be more agreeable to social networking opportunities for marginalized groups, perhaps religious participation offers some advantage in accessing highstatus social ties for women relative to men. Identifying that women's religious participation is associated with greater access to high-status social ties relative to males would be important
because religion could be identified as one organizational involvement that offers opportunities of social advantage to a group that often experiences disadvantage across many other organizational involvements.

## Gender

In general, women have different social network compositions relative to men, which may be relevant to whether religion participation is associated with access to high-status social ties differently for men and women. Not only do women as a whole consistently have numerically smaller social networks than men (Marsden 1987), but they also have less access to career-oriented social networks (Brass 1985; McGuire 2000, 2002; Moore 1990), which may hinder access to certain types of people. In considering social networks and religion, men and women have different social experiences through their religious participation (Sullins 2006; Ebaugh and Chafetz 1999; Taylor, Chatters, and Levin 2004), which would also influence the types of people they interact with. Due to the gender-based structural inequality of social networks, women may be better suited-or at least as equally suited as men-to capitalize on accessing high-status social ties through religious participation. This is reasonable to theorize for three reasons.

First, women's social experiences of religious participation might advantage them compared to men in their social networking opportunities. The social experiences within religious settings are different for women and men in that affective religiousness (interior personal piety) is more characteristic of women while active religiousness (formally organizing and participating) is more characteristic of men (Sullins 2006; see also Peek, Lowe, and Williams 1991). This means that a "unique-by-gender" social experience of religious
participation occurs with two layered meanings-women differ from men both in terms of attendance and extra-worship involvement rates and they also differ in how their religiousness influences personal attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors. Although men often comprise positions of authority within religious organizations, women often fill lay roles that are still quite influential and in areas of religious socialization, support, and social service (Ebaugh and Chafetz 1999). Although these areas are often de-valued and not considered as prestigious as the formal leadership roles that men often hold, women's roles within these areas substantially impact their social networking because socialization, support, and service is conducive to meeting new and different types of people. Perhaps as a result of assuming these supportive and service-oriented religious roles, research finds that women develop more of a socio-relational focus in their religious behavior than men (Taylor, Chatters, and Levin 2004). This means women's social positions within religion are more conducive to forming relationships and supportive networks. These findings suggest a gender difference in men and women's social experiences of religious participation, but less is known about the consequences of such a difference influencing social contact with different types of individuals, particularly high-status individuals.

Second, religious participation may influence men and women's myriad attitudes differently, which could indirectly influence behaviors that are impacting to social resource acquisition. In other words, men and women may have different ways of accessing similar social resources. One example of how this occurs is through men and women's different attitudes of biblical literalism. Women espouse biblical literalism more so than men (Village 2005), but women espouse biblical literalism as a compensatory expression of religious devotion, which men are less likely to do since their religious devotion is manifest by participating as religious leaders (Hoffmann and Bartkowski 2008). In this example, women espouse an attitude, biblical
literalism, as a tool to express religious devotion since they typically do not hold leadership positions in church. Leadership positions are indeed an expression of religious devotion, but most often for men and not women. Through different means, biblical literalism and religious leadership roles, men and women have different ways of accessing a social resource-high expression of religious devotion. Similarly, religious participation may influence men and women's access to high-status social ties through different interpretations of religious adherence. Women often express religious adherence through personal convictions pronounced with religious others, while men often express religious adherence as a by-product of their religious membership (Peek, Lowe, and Williams 1991). One attitude of religious adherence is interpersonal and the other is institutional-based. Due to the attitudinal tendency for women to value interpersonal religious expression, it is reasonable to surmise that such attitudes could indirectly influence social behaviors relevant to accessing high-status individuals.

The third reason why religious participation may be one conduit for women's access to high-status social ties is due to the overall gender gap in religious participation. Since, by and large, women attend religious services more often than men across a variety of religious traditions, cultures, and historical epochs (Cornwall 1989; De Vaus and Mcallister 1987; Francis 1997; Freese 2004; Miller and Stark 2002; Stark 2002; Stark and Glock 1968) and for a variety of reasons (see Chen 2005; Miller and Hoffmann 1995; Iannacconne 1997; Marquardt 2005), a saturation of women occurs within most religious settings. Perhaps as a result women may find that forming connections within the backdrop of a religious environment to be easier relative to men, who typically access high-status social ties elsewhere through other organizational involvements that are more male-oriented. Given that religious settings exhibit some degree of sex homophily due to the gender gap in religious participation and because homophilous settings
positively influence women's social networking behaviors more than men's (Brashears 2008) women's social networking within religious organizations might come easier. Consequently, women would experience fewer social barriers in their social networking due to the added interpersonal comforts associated with sex homophily. In turn, women's religious involvement may uniquely influence their access to high-status social relative to men.

## Statement of the Problem and Hypotheses

Given this information about high-status social ties, religious participation, and gender, I consider whether religious participation is an avenue for accessing high-status social ties and if such access is influenced by gender. Therefore, in this study I consider two hypotheses: (1) increased religious participation is associated with increased access to high-status individuals generally, and (2) gender moderates this relationship. Specifically, I hypothesize that female respondents who attend religious services access high-status social ties more than similarly attending males for the three reasons outlined earlier. After testing these hypotheses, I also explore the extent to which attendance is beneficial to women's access to high-status social ties.

## Methods

Data
The data used for testing these hypotheses comes from the Panel Study of American Religion and Ethnicity, or PS-ARE (Emerson and Sikkink 2006; see also Emerson, Sikkink, and James 2010 for more description of these data). ${ }^{1}$ The PS-ARE includes data from non-

[^0]institutionalized United States civilians who were 18 years of age or older at the time of survey. The survey is nationally representative, but also over-sampled ethnic and racial minorities. Each survey took place as a face-to-face interview with each respondent, who was paid an incentive of $\$ 50$ to complete the interview. The interviews took an average of 80 minutes and resulted in 2,610 cases. The response rate for the survey was $50 \%$, with a cooperation rate (those reached who agreed to the interview) of $71 \%$.

The PS-ARE is ideal for use as a secondary data source for several reasons. Principally, the PS-ARE is one of only a handful of data sets that contains extensive measurements of religious behavior as well as everyday social and lifestyle behaviors. Having extensively detailed variables about various nuances of respondents' social networks was a key characteristic in selecting these data to analyze the relationships between gender, religious attendance, and highstatus social ties. The PS-ARE data were also collected recently (April to October 2006). Additionally, these data are more refined due to face-to-face and audio computer assisted selfinterview (ACASI) interview strategies, which mitigates several response biases related to mailin or internet-based surveys (Dillmann 2007).

Of the 2,610 cases within the PS-ARE, a number of the variables used in this analysis contained missing data. In order to account for these missing data, I used a multiple imputation (MI) procedure to produce likely values for the missing data based on each variable's distribution, along with a random error component. The random error component allows the standard errors to be adjusted, leading to less biased estimates in the results. This method of dealing with missing data has the advantage of producing less distortion of the variable's distribution and more realistic variance than, for example, mean substitution or available case analysis (Jinn and Sedransk, 1989; Little and Rubin 1990, 2002). Any remaining
missing data resulted from a skip pattern or missing cases within each outcome variable, bringing a total analytic sample for conversations with someone with a graduate degree to 2,574 , for conversations with an elected official to 2,595 , and conversations with a religious leader to 1,335 (see the subsequent description of the outcome variables). Each of the analytic samples in the subsequent analyses is based on the ten imputed data sets in order to minimize any biases related to missing data.

The PS-ARE also provides a sample weighting variable which allows for a more accurate representation of the population. Since the PS-ARE includes an oversampling of racial and ethnic minorities, it is appropriate to consider how this survey reflects the distribution in the population. In order to compensate for the PS-ARE's stratified sampling strategy I include this designed weighting variable. By including an appropriate sample weight, all results presented in this study are generalizable to the U.S. population.

## Measures-Outcome Variables

I examine outcomes related to three dependent variables in my analyses, each meant to measure social ties to influential members of society, or high-status social ties. Surveys that include items asking about a person's social ties are considered effective ways of gathering information about these people and the groups they associate with (Sigelman et al. 1996; Putnam 2001) and including variables that measure respondents' conversations with certain types of people is an established approach to analyzing social ties (see McDonald, Lin, and Ao 2009; Onyx and Bullen 2000; Wuthnow 2002, 2003). The three variables used to analyze access to high-status social ties are based on the frequency of one's conversations with (1) people who have a graduate or professional degree, (2) elected public officials, (3) and religious
congregation leaders. Having conversations with these three types of people best represents contact with people of influence who are likely to have some degree of control over social resource distribution, or at least socialize closely with high-status others who do exercise control over such resources.

In describing these three outcome variables, the PS-ARE asks about social ties with someone holding a graduate or professional degree in the following manner:"Now think about conversations you have had with different types of people in the past twelve months. How often do you have a conversation with someone who, as far as you know had a graduate or professional degree?" Responses to this question included the categories "Never", "Once or twice a year", "Once a month", "Few times a month", "Once a week", "Few times a week", and "Every day," which are coded as an ordinal variable from 0-6. Social ties with an elected official were asked in the following form and included the same response categories, which were coded 0-6 similarly: "Now think about conversations you have had with different types of people in the past twelve months. How often do you have a conversation with someone who, as far as you know, is an elected official? Third and similarly, social ties to a religious congregation leader were asked as "How often do/did you talk with the religious leader at your congregation, not including just saying 'hello' after worship services?" Responses to this question included the categories "Never", "Few times a year", "Once a month", "Two to three times a month", "Once a week", "Two to three times a week", "Every day," and were also coded as an ordinal variable from 0-6. This third outcome variable, conversations with a religious congregation leader, was asked among respondents who indicated that they had at least some affiliation with a religion in the past year. Therefore, this variable represents a sub-sample of PS-ARE respondents. For additional description of these outcome variables, refer to Table 1.

## Measures-Explanatory Variables

The key explanatory variable used to predict access to high-status social ties is a measure of religious participation. Respondents were asked, "How often do you attend worship services, not including weddings or funerals?" This was an ordered, categorical variable that included the response categories "Never", "Once or twice a year", "Several times a year", "Once a month", "Two to three times a month", "Once a week", "Twice a week", "Three times or more each week." These response categories were recoded together to form an ordinal variable scaled 0-3, with "Never," "Low," "Medium," and "High" as four levels of religious participation in order to simplify interpretation. "Low" attenders include those that participated once or twice a year or several times a year. "Medium" attenders include those that participated once a month or two to three times a month. "High" attenders include those that participated once a week or more.

Additionally, respondents' gender is used as a key explanatory variable, which I coded as $0=$ female and $1=$ male. Female respondents are used as the reference group for gender throughout the analyses. To test whether gender moderates the relationship between religious attendance and access to high-status social ties, I created interaction terms by combining gender with each rate of religious attendance. In so doing, this study allows comparisons for a group of interest to an omitted reference group, here comparing females at each rate of religious attendance with males at each similar rate of attendance. These moderating variables are a series of dummy variables for each gender at each level of religious attendance. For example, in coding "Never-attending males" I include all male respondents who indicated "Never" as their rate of religious attendance as " 1 " and all other respondents coded as " 0 ." Similarly, in coding "Never-attending females" I include all female respondents who indicated "Never" as their rate of religious attendance as " 1 "
and all other respondents coded as " 0. ." I used this same coding pattern for each combination of gender with "Never," "Low," "Medium," and "High" rates of religious attendance. Doing so allows for comparisons between males and females at similar rates of religious attendance, which isolates any complementary moderating influence of gender.

## Measures-Control Variables

To account for other factors that are also related to one's social network composition and to isolate the influence of religious participation and gender, I include a number of control variables in all analyses. I include religious tradition as a control variable by generating dummy variables following the Steensland et al. (2000) approach. This resulted in the following categories: "Black Protestant," "Evangelical Protestant," "Mainline Protestant," "Catholic," "Jewish," "Other," "Unaffiliated," and "Other Protestant," with the group "Unaffiliated" used as the reference category. I also control for respondents' race/ethnicity by including dummy variables constructed from each of the major racial/ethnic categories, which included "White" (reference category), "Black", "Hispanic", "Asian", and "Native American." I control for educational background by including a continuous education variable that ranged from having less than a high school degree to having a graduate or professional degree. I also control for marital status by including dummy variables for being "Married/partnered" (reference group), "Never married", and "Previously married." Additionally, the following control variables are included: region of residence (a dummy variable of whether the respondent lives in the South or not); population of one's county of residence (a continuous variable ranging from " 5,000 or less" to "over 2,000,000"); income (an ordinal variable indicating approximate household income in dollars during the previous year); age in years; subjective indication of health (an ordinal
variable ranging from "Poor", "Fair", "Good", "Very good", and "Excellent", coded from 0-4); number of residents in the household of the respondent (a count variable ranging 1-10); whether there were children or adolescents in the home (a generated, dichotomous variable that measured whether there was no child in the home or at least one child aged 0-17 present in the home; and whether the respondent lived with parents or grandparents (a generated dichotomous variable of whether this condition occurred or not.

In addition to these characteristics, I include control variables to account for the following behavioral or personal characteristics: Sociability outside the immediate workplace, asked as, "About how many times in the past twelve months have you socialized with coworkers outside of work," coded continuously as $0="$ Never", $1="$ Once", $2=" 2-4$ times", $3=" 5-9$ times", $4="$ Once a month", $5=" T$ wice a month", $6="$ Once a week", and $7="$ More than once a week." I also control for network density, which was measured by, "How many people, if any, would you say you feel close to?" Network density is treated as a continuous variable ranging from "None" to "20 or more." For a complete description of each of these control variables as well as all other variables used in analyses, refer to Table 2.

## Analysis

To test the relationship between religious attendance, gender, and access to high-status social ties, I estimate ordinal logistic regression models. Ordinal logistic regression is appropriate to analyze these data due to the distribution of each of the outcome variables. ${ }^{2}$ Since the outcome variables are ordered from "Never" to "Every day" but the sizes of the intervals between each

[^1]category are not necessarily equal, ordinal logistic regression is an appropriate statistical approach to use (Long and Freese 2001). For each of the three outcome variables I estimate five separate models, and each model is reported using odds ratios (log of the odds) instead of unstandardized coefficients to allow for easier interpretation. To test my hypotheses, I estimate five models for each outcome variable. In the first model I estimate the odds ratios for accessing each type of high-status social tie using religious attendance, gender, and the control variables mentioned previously, which I repeat for each of the three outcome variables. This first model is meant to assess hypothesis one-whether increased religious participation is associated with increased access to high-status individuals generally.

To test the second hypothesis, I compare outcomes for males and females at each level of religious attendance. This approach identifies any complementary moderating influence gender may have on accessing high-status social ties at various rates of religious attendance. Using males as the reference group at each rate of religious attendance, I estimate four models to test any significant differences between males and females at each of the four levels of religious attendance. In the second model I compare "never-attending females" with "never-attending males," with never-attending males as the reference group. In the third model I use a similar pair of dummy variables, comparing "low-attending females" with "low-attending males," with lowattending males as the reference group. The fourth model is similar in comparing mediumattending respondents and the fifth model is similar in comparing high-attending respondents. I repeat each of these statistical models similarly for each of the three outcome variables and include all control variables for each of these models. Varying these reference groups is an important consideration because a moderating influence of gender may occur at one rate of religious attendance and not others. By including each level of attendance and gender as
interaction terms across these four models, I identify specifically whether being female acts as a complementary moderating influence in predicting the odds of accessing each type of high-status social tie at each rate of religious attendance. ${ }^{3}$

## Results

Overall I find support for the hypothesis that increased religious attendance is associated with increased odds of accessing high-status social ties. I also find that gender is associated with each of the outcome variables: females are more likely to report conversations with those with a graduate or professional degree and males are more likely to report conversations with elected officials and congregational leaders. However, in analyzing whether gender moderates the association between religious attendance and access to high-status social ties, mixed results arise.

## Religious Attendance, Gender, and High-Status Social Ties

Model 1 of Table 4 estimates the degree to which religious attendance, gender, and the control variables are associated with conversations with someone who holds a graduate or professional degree. I find that having low religious attendance is associated with 1.278 (or $27.8 \%, \mathrm{p}<.10$ ) and medium attendance is associated with a 1.327 (or $32.7 \%, \mathrm{p}<.10$ ) increase in the odds of accessing this type of social tie. However, a high level of religious attendance is a stronger predictor of having conversations with the highly educated. Having high religious attendance compared to never attending religious services is associated with a 1.586 (or $58.6 \%$, $\mathrm{p}<.01)$ increase in the odds of having conversations with this type of social tie. In short, greater religious attendance is associated with increased odds of having conversations with people

[^2]holding a graduate or professional degree, and this association has higher odds as attendance rates are more frequent.

In addition, relative to females, males report a 0.816 (or $18.4 \%$, $\mathrm{p}<.05$ ) decrease in the odds of having conversations with a graduate or professional degree. This suggests that males have a lower likelihood of associating with this particular type of high-status individual, and that women are more likely to associate with them.

When considering conversations with an elected public official, I find a similar pattern: increased religious attendance is associated with an increase in the odds of having these conversations, as outlined in Model 1 of Table 4. Compared to never attending religious services, reporting low attendance is associated with a 1.291 (or $29.1 \%, \mathrm{p}<.10$ ) increase in the odds, reporting medium attendance is associated with a 1.407 (or $40.7 \%, \mathrm{p}<.10$ ) increase in the odds, and reporting high attendance is associated with a 1.695 (or $69.5 \%, \mathrm{p}<.01$ ) increase in the odds of having conversations with an elected public official, controlling for the effects of the other variables in the model. This means that increased religious attendance is associated with increased odds of having conversations with an elected public official, and higher rates of attendance indicate increased odds of having these conversations. I also find that males report a 1.242 (or $24.2 \%, \mathrm{p}<.10$ ) increase in the odds of accessing someone who is an elected official relative to females. This suggests that males have a greater likelihood than females of associating with this particular type of high-status individual.

In the analysis of religious attendance and gender on having conversations with a religious congregation leader, I find a statistically significant association only at the highest rate of attendance. As shown in Model 1 of Table 6, reporting a high rate of religious attendancecompared to never attending religious services-is associated with a 3.907 (or $390.7 \%$, $\mathrm{p}<.01$ )
increase in the odds of having conversations with a religious congregation leader, controlling for the effects of the other variables in the model. This means that attending religious services once a week or more is positively associated with having these types of conversations, but lower rates of religious participation have no statistically significant association. In analyzing how gender might predict having these types of conversations, I find that males experience a 1.476 (or $47.6 \%, \mathrm{p}<.01$ ) increase in the odds of having a conversation with a religious congregation leader compared to females.

The results reported thus far indicate support for this study's first hypothesis-that increased religious participation is associated with an increase in the odds of having conversations with high-status individuals. This trend is supported across each of the three measures of high-status individuals. Additionally, each of these models shows a statistically significant influence of gender, where females have a higher odds of having conversations with someone holding a graduate or professional degree, but males have a higher odds of having conversations with public officials and religious congregation leaders.

## Moderating Influence of Gender

The second hypothesis is that gender moderates the association between attendance and access to high-status social ties, with the possibility that being female acts as a complementary moderating influence on the association between religious attendance and having these conversations. To test whether gender has a moderating influence, I compare female respondents at each level of religious attendance to similarly attending males in their reports of conversations with members of each group.

In Model 2 of Table 4 I find that females who never attend religious services are roughly similar in their odds of having conversations with the highly educated compared to males who never attend religious services. In Model 3 of Table 4 I find that being a low-attending female is associated with a 1.419 (or $41.9 \%, \mathrm{p}<.05$ ) increase in the odds of having conversations with someone holding a graduate or professional degree relative to similarly attending males. In Model 4 of Table 4 I find that being a medium-attending female is statistically similar to being a medium-attending male, and in Model 5 of Table 4 being a high-attending female is statistically similar to being a high-attending male. In summary, only one model shows a statistically significant association: being female at a low-attendance rate is a complementary moderating influence relative to similarly attending males in predicting the odds of having conversations with the highly educated. However, this is one exception to the more numerous non-significant findings, which suggest that gender does not consistently moderate the relationship between religious attendance and having conversations with the highly educated.

The analysis of having conversations with an elected official shows a similar pattern. In Model 2 of Table 5, comparing never-attending females to never-attending males shows no statistically significant difference. In Model 3 of Table 5, low-attending females are roughly similar to low-attending males, and in Model 4 of Table 5 medium-attending females are also roughly similar to medium-attending males in their conversations with elected officials. However, in Model 5 of Table 5, I find that being a high-attending female is associated with a 0.650 (or $35 \%, \mathrm{p}<.05$ ) decrease in the odds of having conversations with an elected official relative to similarly attending males. This model suggests that gender moderates the association between religious attendance and conversations with high-status social ties, but only at the highest level of attendance. Overall, the number of nonsignificant comparisons for whether
gender moderates the relationship between attendance and having conversations with elected officials suggest no moderating influence of gender. To conclusively support the hypothesis that gender serves as a moderator a significant influence at each level of religious attendance would be necessary. Here, I find only one exception at the highest rate of religious attendance, which suggests that female respondents who attend religious services have lower odds of having conversations with an elected official compared to similarly attending males.

A similar pattern of findings occurs when predicting the odds of having conversations with religious congregation leaders. In Model 2 of Table 6, I find that being a never-attending female is statistically similar to being a never-attending male and in Model 3 of Table 6, being a low-attending female is also statistically similar to being a low-attending male in predicting conversations with congregation leaders. These nonsignificant findings suggest that gender has no moderating influence at these lower rates of religious attendance. However, in Model 4 of Table 6 I find that being a medium-attending female is associated with a 0.521 (or $47.9 \%, \mathrm{p}<.01$ ) decrease in the odds of having conversations with a religious congregation leader relative to similarly attending males. Similarly, in Model 5 of Table 6, being a high-attending female is associated with a 0.711 (or $28.9 \%, \mathrm{p}<.10$ ) decrease in the odds of having conversations with a religious congregation leader, relative to similarly attending males. In other words, females report lower odds of having conversations with a religious congregation leader relative to males, but this moderating influence occurs only at medium and high rates of religious attendance.

In summarizing hypothesis two, I find, with few exceptions, that gender has no moderating influence on the relationship between religious attendance and having conversations with high-status individuals. The exceptions occur when examining high rates of attendance. Therefore, it is worthwhile to explore these findings in more detail.

## Exploring Attendance and Gender

A key consideration to add to the interpretation of these results is that, in reality, men and women do not attend religious services at similar rates. Figure 1 displays the distribution of religious attendance patterns for women and men. It shows that women are more likely to fall into the "high-attending" group, whereas men are most likely to fall into the "low-attending" group. Therefore, comparing "high-attending females" with "low-attending males" may be a more representative comparison, as opposed to the comparisons in the previous section, because these groups are most common in the actual United States population. Although comparing similarly attending groups allows testing for a moderating influence of gender, comparing these most commonly found groups adds to the understanding of religious attendance and gender.

When making comparisons between high-attending females and low-attending males, the importance of frequency of attendance in predicting the odds of having conversations with highstatus social ties is more evident. In comparing these most common groups, according to Model 3 of Table 4 being a high-attending female is associated with a 1.62 (or $62 \%, \mathrm{p}<.01$ ) increase in the odds of having conversations with someone who holds a graduate or professional degree, relative to being a low-attending male. This is a higher odds ratio than the comparison between low-attending females and low-attending males (1.42, or $42 \%$, $\mathrm{p}<.05$ ), which suggests that a stronger odds ratio occurs as attendance is more frequent. Similarly, according to Model 3 of Table 6 being a high-attending female is associated with a 3.979 (or $398 \%$, $\mathrm{p}<.001$ ) increase in the odds of having conversations with a religious congregation leader relative to being a lowattending male, whereas a comparison between similarly attending groups identified no significant difference.

In considering these commonly occurring groups, women's access to high-status social ties is indeed associated with religious participation more so than men. However, this occurs because more frequent attendance is associated with higher odds of accessing high-status social ties. This is still relevant to examining whether gender influences the association between religious attendance and access to high-status social ties, but not because gender is a moderating influence-rather, simply because women attend religious services more frequently than men. In summary, because women participate in religious services more frequently than men, they are likely to report more conversations with high status people.

## Discussion

In this study I examine the relationship between religious attendance and gender in accessing high-status social ties, namely the highly educated, elected officials, and leaders of religious congregations. Having social connections with these types of individuals is important because increased access to them may offer beneficial outcomes due to the access these individuals have to social resource distribution. In this study I affirm and build upon several findings of previous literature, using recent data from the PS-ARE.

Most notably, I find that more frequent religious attendance is generally associated with increased likelihood of accessing high-status social ties, at least in terms of the frequency of conversations with high status people. Previous research has found that membership, but not attendance, is positively associated with increased access to high-status individuals (Wuthnow 2002). This study expands the understanding of religious participation and access to high-status social ties by showing an empirical association between the two. Generally, as the degree of religious participation increases, the odds of accessing high-status social ties also increase. This
is evident in finding that the highest rates of attendance are consistently associated with higher odds of accessing each type of high-status social tie, while lower rates of religious attendance are associated with lower odds of access. This is reasonable considering that the extent of religious involvement, as opposed to membership, has been shown to be a key factor in influencing various social outcomes (Strømsnes 2008) and activities such as increased rates of religious volunteering (Ecklund and Park 2007). In this study, the extent of religious involvement is a key factor that is associated with increased access to high-status social ties.

In examining whether gender itself is influential in accessing high-status social ties, I find that males are more likely than females to access social ties with elected officials and religious congregation leaders, which affirms previous research (Wuthnow 2002). However, females are more likely than males to access social ties with someone holding a graduate or professional degree, which differs from previous research. To better understand how gender might influence the relationship between religious attendance and access to high-status social ties, this study tests the possibility of a moderating influence of gender.

I find little evidence that gender acts as a moderating influence in accessing high-status social ties. Overall, male and female respondents who attend religious services at similar rates have similar odds of accessing high-status social ties. However, a few important exceptions occur. At the highest rate of religious attendance males have greater odds of accessing elected officials and religious leaders relative to similarly attending females, while another model suggests that low-attending females have greater odds of accessing someone with a graduate or professional degree relative to similarly-attending males. These are exceptions to the general trend, which indicates that religious involvement offers similar access to high-status social ties for men and women alike.

However, finding that similarly attending men and women access high-status social ties roughly equally is an important exception to literature that identifies men's myriad advantages in their social networking opportunities relative to women (Gidengil et al. 2006). Across many organizational involvements research has shown men's social networking advantages relative to women (Campbell 1988; Ibarra 1992; McGuire 2000; Marikewicz, Devine, and Kausilas 1999). This research hypothesizes that women's access to high-status social ties is greater than men's because of women's unique social experiences within religion, interpersonal attitudes of religious adherence, and because women are more involved, generally, in religious organizations. I find that no advantage occurs implicitly due to being female. However, even finding a "similar-by-gender" access to high-status social ties is important because this research identifies religious organizations as offering similar social networking opportunities for women and men alike. For traditionally marginalized groups, identifying an organization that offers an equal playing field for obtaining social resources is noteworthy. Similar to research by Loscocco and colleagues (2009) that identifies small businesses as an area that offers equal social networking opportunities by gender, this study finds that religious involvement is associated with similar access to high-status social ties by gender. Additionally, the results also offer an example of how traditionally marginalized groups use informal organizational involvements as a medium to access potentially valuable social ties (Lin 1999b).

Even though there is little support for the hypothesis that gender moderates the association between attendance and access to social ties, it is important to note that, because women have higher rates of attendance than males, religious participation involves some degree of advantage for women in their access to potentially beneficial social connections. In general, women's high rate of religious participation has an added meaning due to women's greater
participation as an aggregate. Previous research highlights that religious participation offers different social experiences for men and women. For example, women are more likely to participate in interpersonal religious activities such as volunteering, social service, and Bible groups more than men (Ebaugh and Chafetz 1999; Taylor, Chatters, and Levin 2004; Sullins 2006; Pevey, Williams, and Ellison 1996). The current study adds to this literature by showing that, since access to high-status social ties is associated with increased religious participation, any group that participates highly has a greater odds of accessing such individuals. Thus, given that women participate at higher rates than men, they are likely to garner high-status social ties more than those who participate less. In general, then, participating in religious activities is one way that people gain access to high status individuals, and women, since they participate more than men, may have a way to gain access to these individuals that is unavailable through participation in other organizations (cf. Markiewicz, Devine, and Kausilas 1999).

## Limitations

Several limitations apply to these findings, however. This research is cross-sectional and cannot determine causation; the positive association between religious participation and access to high-status individuals may be due to selective affiliation or as a participation effect. In other words, future research should consider the longitudinal associations between attendance and access to social ties to better establish the causal order. Additionally, access to high-status social ties is neither necessary nor sufficient for obtaining various positive outcomes that often are associated with having high-status connections. Rather, access to high-status social ties only indicates a greater likelihood of obtaining these positive outcomes. Much research discusses correlations between accessing such individuals and a range of positive outcomes, therefore
studying the organizational affiliations that offer access to them and whether one group or another has increased opportunity for access is important.

## Future Research

In addition to addressing the limitations of this study, the next step in future research on this topic would include the following considerations. Relevant to social capital literature, this study provides analysis of only a part of the social capital process. For social capital to be manifest an agent must have a social tie to a contact, and that social contact then offers some advantageous resource back to the agent (Coleman 1988). In this study's analysis of whether some individuals access high-status social ties, this is in essence only the first "half" of analyzing social capital theory. Whether these high-status contacts are indeed offering resources back to an agent would be an enlightening area for qualitative investigations. Additionally, men and women could be receiving different pay-offs of similar high-status social ties. In other words, given access to the same type of high-status social tie, what types of trends occur by gender in terms of resource returns? Moreover, the issues of status between the agent and the contact warrant further research as well. Some research receives the label of examining "status-bridging social capital" (Wuthnow 2002); however, such analyses are neither status-bridging, nor indeed true manifestations of social capital, at least in terms of outcome-driven social arrangements as described previously. For research to clearly examine the nuances of whether social ties indeed bridge differences in terms of SES, education, or otherwise, a future study would have to consider the class status of the agent, the class status of the contact, and the space or difference between the two. Additionally, a longitudinal design would be required to examine outcomes relevant to these status-bridging ties. Current data limitations halter such research approaches,
but nevertheless an exciting prospect of analysis is relevant to finding the direct connections between status of social ties and outcomes that such social ties offer.

Apart from the status of social ties, further research would also consider racial background as well. Does a high-status social tie offer more prospects for social mobility for Blacks, Hispanics, or Asians compared to Whites, all other SES factors held constant? Given the collection strategies of the PS-ARE, such analyses would be possible and future waves of data would offer enlightening understanding of high-status social ties by race of respondent, or other "race-bridging" analyses. Although this research examines moderating influences of gender, perhaps race offers another area of future research as well.

## Conclusion

In this research I find that increased religious participation is by and large associated with access to high-status social ties and that gender has little moderating influence on this relationship. Since women generally participate in religious services more than men, however, their religious participation is more meaningful because increased religious attendance is associated with greater access to potentially beneficial high-status social ties. The social experience of women's religious participation offers them access to these potentially valuable connections that might not be as readily available to women through participation in other institutions. This is important because men often experience advantages in their networking opportunities within other organizational involvements, such as in the workplace, but this study identifies religious participation as an alternative conduit for networking opportunities. Identifying an organization that offers social resources for women and men alike is also important because access to social resources and social networking often influences class
stratification. By offering access to valuable social resources, religious participation might unlock some access to class mobility for the otherwise disadvantaged. In this study, I find that increased religious attendance is associated with greater access to high-status social ties, and that such access may benefit women uniquely because they tend to attend religious services more frequently than men. Consequently, such groups access potentially valuable social resources more than groups who attend less or not at all.

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Table 1. Description of Dependent Variables and Descriptive Statistics

| Dependent Variables: High-Status Social Ties | Full Sample |  | Males |  | Females |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $N$ | Mean/\% SD | $N$ | Mean/\% SD | $N$ | Mean/\% | $S D$ |
| Graduate or Professional Degree |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Now think about conversations you have had with different types of people in the past twelve months. How often do you have a conversation with someone who, as far as you know, had a graduate or professional degree?" | 2,574 | 3.52 (2.23) | 1,049 | 3.50 (2.21) | 1,525 |  | (2.24) |
| $0=$ "Never" | 441 | 14.70 | 176 | 15.04 | 265 | 14.38 |  |
| 1="Once or twice a year" | 206 | 7.49 | 85 | 7.8 | 121 | 7.20 |  |
| $2=$ "Once a month" | 200 | 7.81 | 87 | 7.9 | 113 | 7.73 |  |
| $3=$ "Few times a month" | 316 | 12.69 | 135 | 12.4 | 181 | 12.95 |  |
| $4=$ "Once a week" | 264 | 10.82 | 101 | 10.22 | 162 | 11.38 |  |
| 5="Few times a week" | 429 | 17.76 | 186 | 19.12 | 243 | 16.49 |  |
| 6="Every day" | 719 | 28.73 | 279 | 27.51 | 440 | 29.86 |  |
| Elected Official |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "Now think about conversations you have had with different types of people in the past twelve months. How often do you have a conversation with someone who, as far as you know, is an elected official?" | 2,595 | 0.66 (1.28) | 1,056 | 0.68 (1.23) | 1,539 |  | (1.28) |
| $0=$ "Never" | 1,709 | 63.57 | 669 | 60.54 | 1,040 | 66.38 |  |
| 1="Once or twice a year" | 542 | 22.86 | 245 | 24.66 | 297 | 21.19 |  |
| $2=$ "Once a month" | 120 | 5.19 | 58 | 6.06 | 62 | 4.38 |  |
| $3=$ "Few times a month" | 85 | 3.47 | 28 | 3.03 | 57 | 3.88 |  |
| $4=$ "Once a week" | 56 | 2.02 | 22 | 2.42 | 34 | 1.65 |  |
| 5="Few times a week" | 40 | 1.39 | 21 | 2.01 | 19 | . 81 |  |
| 6="Every day" | 43 | 1.51 | 13 | 1.29 | 30 | 1.71 |  |
| Congregation leader |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| "How often do/did you talk with the religious leader at your congregation, not including just saying 'hello' after worship services?" |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 1,335 | 2.06 (1.74) | 465 | 2.22 (1.71) | 870 |  | (1.74) |
| $0=$ "Never" | 291 | 22.07 | 78 | 18.28 | 213 | 24.73 |  |
| $1=$ "Few times a year" | 359 | 28.07 | 132 | 28.64 | 227 | 27.67 |  |
| $2=$ "Once a month" | 187 | 15.42 | 66 | 14.71 | 121 | 15.92 |  |
| $3=$ "2-3 times a month" | 151 | 10.99 | 53 | 12.59 | 98 | 9.88 |  |
| $4=$ "Once a week" | 191 | 12.54 | 80 | 14.34 | 111 | 11.29 |  |
| 5="2-3 times a week" | 130 | 9.40 | 47 | 10.17 | 83 | 8.87 |  |
| 6="Every day" | 26 | 1.50 | 9 | 1.29 | 17 | 1.65 |  |

Note: In addition to an overall mean, a weighted percentage is reported at each level of the ordinal scale for each variable to more accurately reflect the sample population in terms of census demographics.

Table 2. Description of Independent Variables and Descriptive Statistics

| Explanatory Variable | Graduate, Professional Ties ( $N=2574$ ) |  | Elected Official Ties$(N=2595)$ |  | Religious Leader Ties$(N=1335)$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| Religious attendance <br> "How often do you attend worship services, not including weddings or funerals?" |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | 2.53 | (2.22) | 2.51 | (1.15) | 3.17 | (.95) |
| $0=$ Never | 0.24 | (.43) | 0.24 | (.43) | 0.05 | (.22) |
| 1=Low | 0.29 | (.46) | 0.29 | (.46) | 0.23 | (.42) |
| 2=Medium | 0.18 | (.38) | 0.18 | (.38) | 0.22 | (.41) |
| 3=High | 0.29 | (.45) | 0.29 | (.45) | 0.50 | (.50) |
| Moderating Variable |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent's gender |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| $0=$ Female | 0.59 | (.49) | 0.59 | (.49) | 0.65 | (.48) |
| 1=Male | 0.41 | (.49) | 0.41 | (.49) | 0.35 | (.48) |
| Control Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious tradition |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent's religious tradition |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Black Protestant | 0.11 | (.31) | 0.11 | (.31) | 0.15 | (.35) |
| Evangelical Protestant | 0.22 | (.41) | 0.22 | (.41) | 0.29 | (.45) |
| Mainline Protestant | 0.11 | (.31) | 0.11 | (.31) | 0.13 | (.34) |
| Catholic | 0.29 | (.45) | 0.29 | (.45) | 0.29 | (.45) |
| Jewish | 0.01 | (.11) | 0.01 | (.11) | 0.01 | (.10) |
| Other | 0.07 | (.25) | 0.07 | (.25) | 0.06 | (.24) |
| Unaffiliated (Reference Group) | 0.16 | (.36) | 0.16 | (.36) | 0.05 | (.22) |
| Other Protestant | 0.04 | (.20) | 0.04 | (.20) | 0.03 | (.17) |
| Race |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent's race |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| White (Reference Group) | 0.49 | (.50) | 0.50 | (.50) | 0.51 | (.50) |
| Black | 0.21 | (.41) | 0.21 | (.41) | 0.26 | (.44) |
| Hispanic | 0.21 | (.41) | 0.21 | (.41) | 0.16 | (.37) |
| Asian | 0.08 | (.27) | 0.08 | (.27) | 0.06 | (.25) |
| Native American | 0.01 | (.08) | 0.01 | (.08) | 0.00 | (.07) |
| Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent's highest degree earned (Range $=1-6$ ) | 2.71 | (1.26) | 2.70 | (1.26) | 2.83 | (1.22) |
| $1=$ Less than high school | 0.13 | (.34) | 0.14 | (.34) | 0.09 | (.29) |
| 2=High school or equivalent | 0.41 | (.49) | 0.41 | (.49) | 0.41 | (.49) |
| 3=Two year college or technical degree | 0.19 | (.39) | 0.19 | (.39) | 0.22 | (.41) |
| 4=Bachelor's degree | 0.17 | (.37) | 0.17 | (.37) | 0.18 | (.38) |
| 5=Master's degree | 0.06 | (.25) | 0.06 | (.25) | 0.08 | (.27) |
| 6=Doctoral or professional degree | 0.03 | (.18) | 0.03 | (.17) | 0.03 | (.17) |
| Marital Status <br> "Are you married or living with a partner, divorced, separated, or widowed, or have you never been married?" |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never married | 0.25 | (.43) | 0.25 | (.43) | 0.22 | (.42) |
| Divorced, separated, or widowed | 0.22 | (.41) | 0.22 | (.42) | 0.24 | (.43) |
| Married or living with partner | 0.53 | (.50) | 0.53 | (.50) | 0.53 | (.50) |

Table 2. (Continued) Description of Independent Variables and Descriptive Statistics

|  | Graduate, Professional Ties ( $N=2574$ ) |  | Elected Official Ties ( $\mathrm{N}=2595$ ) |  | Religious <br> Leader Ties $(N=1335)$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| Control Variables (continued) |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Employment status <br> "Are you working full time, part time, retired, a homemaker, in school, unemployed, or something else?" |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployed | 0.07 | (.25) | 0.07 | (.25) | 0.06 | (.24) |
| Other (homemaker, in-school, retired) | 0.31 | (.46) | 0.31 | (.46) | 0.31 | (.46) |
| Part-time employed | 0.12 | (.33) | 0.13 | (.33) | 0.13 | (.33) |
| Full-time employed | 0.51 | (.50) | 0.51 | (.50) | 0.51 | (.50) |
| Having a dependent living at home |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent has at least one child or adolescent at home, aged 0-17 |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| No child at home | 0.55 | (.50) | 0.55 | (.50) | 0.54 | (.50) |
| At least one child at home | 0.45 | (.50) | 0.45 | (.50) | 0.46 | (.50) |
| Geographic region of respondent |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent lives within South census region or not |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| South | 0.35 | (.48) | 0.35 | (.48) | 0.38 | (.49) |
| Non-South | 0.65 | (.48) | 0.65 | (.48) | 0.62 | (.49) |
| Network density |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Number of people respondent feels close to (Range $=0-12$ ) | 6.97 | (3.99) | 6.95 | (4.00) | 7.54 | (3.89) |
| Sociability outside the workplace |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Times in the past twelve months socialized with coworkers outside of work (Range $=0-7$ ) | 2.32 | (2.29) | 2.32 | (2.29) | 2.31 | (2.23) |
| Population of county of residence |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| County subdivision population (Range=1-10) | 5.81 | (2.53) | 5.82 | (2.53) | 5.54 | (2.50) |
| Income |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent's total income (Range=1-19) | 8.45 | (4.63) | 8.44 | (4.63) | 8.76 | (4.60) |
| Age |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Respondent's age (Range=18-80) | 43.49 | (16.34) | 43.61 | (16.39) | 44.93 | (16.52) |
| Health |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Subjective indication of respondent's health, coded poor to excellent (Range=0-4) | 3.43 | (1.14) | 3.43 | (1.14) | 3.50 | (1.14) |

Table 3. Mean Level of Conversations by Attendance and Gender

| Explanatory Variable | Graduate, <br> Professional Degree ( $N=2574$ ) |  | Elected Official$(N=2595)$ |  | Religious Leader$(N=1335)$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mean | SD | Mean | SD | Mean | SD |
| Religious Attendance, All Cases |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never | 3.36 | (2.33) | 0.51 | (1.12) | 1.64 | (1.88) |
| Once-twice a year | 3.58 | (2.19) | 0.73 | (1.39) | 1.12 | (1.51) |
| Several times a year | 3.40 | (2.26) | 0.58 | (1.12) | 1.45 | (1.56) |
| Once a month | 3.44 | (2.30) | 0.65 | (1.33) | 1.55 | (1.49) |
| 2-3x a month | 3.51 | (2.21) | 0.71 | (1.26) | 1.81 | (1.33) |
| Once a week | 3.76 | (2.13) | 0.76 | (1.32) | 2.19 | (1.59) |
| Twice a week | 3.73 | (2.05) | 0.76 | (1.26) | 2.91 | (1.83) |
| 3 x a week, or more | 3.46 | (2.11) | 0.88 | (1.35) | 3.77 | (1.69) |
| Religious Attendance, Males Only |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never | 3.39 | (2.32) | 0.55 | (1.12) | 2.08 | (1.93) |
| Once-twice a year | 3.54 | (2.14) | 0.78 | (1.35) | 1.22 | (1.44) |
| Several times a year | 3.22 | (2.24) | 0.57 | (1.10) | 1.77 | (1.63) |
| Once a month | 3.29 | (2.38) | 0.64 | (1.35) | 1.86 | (1.62) |
| 2-3x a month | 3.69 | (2.21) | 0.69 | (1.26) | 1.95 | (1.35) |
| Once a week | 3.79 | (2.10) | 0.83 | (1.33) | 2.36 | (1.57) |
| Twice a week | 4.00 | (1.89) | 0.80 | (1.20) | 3.08 | (1.76) |
| 3 x a week, or more | 3.35 | (1.93) | 0.79 | (1.02) | 3.92 | (1.68) |
| Religious Attendance, Females Only |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never | 3.34 | (2.35) | 0.48 | (1.12) | 1.38 | (1.82) |
| Once-twice a year | 3.62 | (2.25) | 0.68 | (1.44) | 1.04 | (1.57) |
| Several times a year | 3.53 | (2.28) | 0.59 | (1.13) | 1.25 | (1.49) |
| Once a month | 3.54 | (2.26) | 0.66 | (1.32) | 1.43 | (1.43) |
| 2-3x a month | 3.42 | (2.21) | 0.72 | (1.26) | 1.73 | (1.32) |
| Once a week | 3.74 | (2.14) | 0.72 | (1.32) | 2.10 | (1.59) |
| Twice a week | 3.62 | (2.12) | 0.74 | (1.29) | 2.85 | (1.86) |
| 3 x a week, or more | 3.51 | (2.20) | 0.92 | (1.48) | 3.70 | (1.71) |

Note: Each of the three outcome variables, conversations with people holding a graduate or professional degree, elected officials, and religious leaders, is measured from from low to high, ranging $0-6$, where $0=$ "Never" and 6="Every Day."

|  | Model 1 |  |  | Model $\mathbf{2}^{\text {a }}$ |  |  | Model 3 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ |  |  | Model $4^{\text {c }}$ |  |  | Model 5 ${ }^{\text {d }}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { Odds } \\ & \text { Ratio } \end{aligned}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { Odds } \\ & \text { Ratio } \end{aligned}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Std. } \\ \text { Error } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ |
| Explanatory Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious Attendance (Never=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Low | 1.278 | (.18) | 0.075 † | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Medium | 1.327 | (.21) | $0.068 \dagger$ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  | - | - |
| High | 1.586 | (.24) | 0.002 ** | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Gender ( $0=$ female, $1=$ male ) | 0.816 | (.08) | 0.038 * | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Moderating Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never Attending Males | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.922 | (.17) | 0.670 | 0.887 | (.20) | 0.596 | 0.689 | (.15) | 0.081 † |
| Never Attending Females | - | - | - | 0.987 | (.19) | 0.948 | 0.911 | (.17) | 0.610 | 0.876 | (.20) | 0.554 | 0.680 | (.14) | $0.061 \dagger$ |
| Low Attending Males | - | - | - | 1.084 | (.21) | 0.670 | - | - | - | 0.962 | (.20) | 0.849 | 0.747 | (.14) | 0.122 |
| Low Attending Females | - | - | - | 1.538 | (.30) | 0.030 * | 1.419 | (.25) | 0.045 * | 1.364 | (.29) | 0.137 | 1.060 | (.20) | 0.756 |
| Medium Attending Males | - | - | - | 1.127 | (.26) | 0.596 | 1.040 | (.21) | 0.849 | - | - | - | 0.777 | (.17) | 0.244 |
| Medium Attending Females | - | - | - | 1.547 | (.32) | 0.034 * | 1.427 | (.26) | $0.052 \dagger$ | 1.372 | (.29) | 0.140 | 1.066 | (.20) | 0.734 |
| High Attending Males | - | - | - | 1.451 | (.31) | $0.081 \dagger$ | 1.339 | (.25) | 0.122 | 1.287 | (.28) | 0.244 | - | - | - |
| High Attending Females | - | - | - | 1.756 | (.34) | 0.004 ** | 1.620 | (.28) | 0.005 ** | 1.558 | (.32) | 0.030 * | 1.210 | (.21) | 0.278 |
| Control Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious tradition (Unaffiliated=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Black Protestant | 0.812 | (.19) | 0.379 | 0.820 | (.19) | 0.400 | 0.820 | (.19) | 0.400 | 0.820 | (.19) | 0.400 | 0.820 | (.19) | 0.400 |
| Evangelical Protestant | 0.672 | (.11) | 0.016 * | 0.674 | (.11) | 0.017 * | 0.674 | (.11) | 0.017 * | 0.674 | (.11) | 0.017 * | 0.674 | (.11) | 0.017 * |
| Mainline Protestant | 0.933 | (.17) | 0.704 | 0.940 | (.17) | 0.733 | 0.940 | (.17) | 0.733 | 0.940 | (.17) | 0.733 | 0.940 | (.17) | 0.733 |
| Catholic | 0.701 | (.12) | 0.033 * | 0.704 | (.12) | 0.035 * | 0.704 | (.12) | 0.035 * | 0.704 | (.12) | 0.035 * | 0.704 | (.12) | 0.035 * |
| Jewish | 1.516 | (.93) | 0.498 | 1.516 | (.93) | 0.499 | 1.516 | (.93) | 0.499 | 1.516 | (.93) | 0.499 | 1.516 | (.93) | 0.499 |
| Other | 0.889 | (.21) | 0.616 | 0.891 | (.21) | 0.624 | 0.891 | (.21) | 0.624 | 0.891 | (.21) | 0.624 | 0.891 | (.21) | 0.624 |
| Other Protesteant | 0.888 | (.23) | 0.648 | 0.901 | (.24) | 0.690 | 0.901 | (.24) | 0.690 | 0.901 | (.24) | 0.690 | 0.901 | (.24) | 0.690 |
| Race (White=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Black | 1.182 | (.20) | 0.327 | 1.177 | (.20) | 0.338 | 1.177 | (.20) | 0.338 | 1.177 | (.20) | 0.338 | 1.177 | (.20) | 0.338 |
| Hispanic | 0.627 | (.10) | 0.004 ** | 0.630 | (.10) | 0.004 ** | 0.630 | (.10) | 0.004 ** | 0.630 | (.10) | 0.004 ** | 0.630 | (.10) | 0.004 ** |
| Asian | 1.125 | (.36) | 0.709 | 1.128 | (.36) | 0.704 | 1.128 | (.36) | 0.704 | 1.128 | (.36) | 0.704 | 1.128 | (.36) | 0.704 |
| Native American | 0.876 | (.39) | 0.766 | 0.912 | (.40) | 0.831 | 0.912 | (.40) | 0.831 | 0.912 | (.40) | 0.831 | 0.912 | (.40) | 0.831 |
| Education | 1.472 | (.07) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.475 | (.07) | <0.001 *** | 1.475 | (.07) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.475 | (.07) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.475 | (.07) | $<0.001^{* * *}$ |
| Marital Status (Married/Partnered=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never Married | 1.174 | (.16) | 0.254 | 1.180 | (.17) | 0.244 | 1.180 | (.17) | 0.244 | 1.180 | (.17) | 0.244 | 1.180 | (.17) | 0.244 |
| Previously Married | 0.900 | (.11) | 0.393 | 0.891 | (.11) | 0.353 | 0.891 | (.11) | 0.353 | 0.891 | (.11) | 0.353 | 0.891 | (.11) | 0.353 |
| Employment Status (Full-time=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployed | 0.562 | (.12) | 0.007 ** | 0.560 | (.12) | 0.006 ** | 0.560 | (.12) | 0.006 ** | 0.560 | (.12) | 0.006 ** | 0.560 | (.12) | 0.006 ** |
| Other Employed | 0.645 | (.08) | <0.001 *** | 0.642 | (.08) | $<0.001$ *** | 0.642 | (.08) | <0.001 *** | 0.642 | (.08) | $<0.001$ *** | 0.642 | (.08) | $<0.001^{* * *}$ |
| Part-Time Employed | 1.000 | (.15) | 0.997 | 0.988 | (.15) | 0.933 | 0.988 | (.15) | 0.933 | 0.988 | (.15) | 0.933 | 0.988 | (.15) | 0.933 |
| Dependent Living at Home | 1.065 | (.12) | 0.563 | 1.057 | (.12) | 0.610 | 1.057 | (.12) | 0.610 | 1.057 | (.12) | 0.610 | 1.057 | (.12) | 0.610 |
| South | 1.080 | (.11) | 0.443 | 1.080 | (.11) | 0.443 | 1.080 | (.11) | 0.443 | 1.080 | (.11) | 0.443 | 1.080 | (.11) | 0.443 |
| Network Density | 1.072 | (.01) | <0.001 *** | 1.072 | (.01) | <0.001 *** | 1.072 | (.01) | <0.001 *** | 1.072 | (.01) | <0.001 *** | 1.072 | (.01) | $<0.001$ *** |
| Sociability Outside the Workplace | 1.075 | (.03) | 0.002 ** | 1.076 | (.03) | 0.002 ** | 1.076 | (.03) | 0.002 ** | 1.076 | (.03) | 0.002 ** | 1.076 | (.03) | 0.002 ** |
| Population of County of Residence | 0.983 | (.02) | 0.402 | 0.982 | (.02) | 0.386 | 0.982 | (.02) | 0.386 | 0.982 | (.02) | 0.386 | 0.982 | (.02) | 0.386 |
| Income | 1.063 | (.02) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.062 | (.02) | <0.001 *** | 1.062 | (.02) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.062 | (.02) | <0.001 *** | 1.062 | (.02) | <0.001 *** |
| Age | 0.993 | (.00) | $0.071 \dagger$ | 0.993 | (.00) | $0.072 \dagger$ | 0.993 | (.00) | $0.072 \dagger$ | 0.993 | (.00) | 0.072 † | 0.993 | (.00) | 0.072 † |
| Health | 0.989 | (.04) | 0.806 | 0.989 | (.04) | 0.802 | 0.989 | (.04) | 0.802 | 0.989 | (.04) | 0.802 | 0.989 | (.04) | 0.802 |

a. Reference group="Never attending males"; b. Reference group="Low attending males; $c$. Reference group="Medium attending males; d. Reference group="High attending males"

Note: A likelihood-ratio chi-square test of the goodness of fit for adding interaction terms in Models 2-5, compared to Model 1 was 2.59 , p $<.1072$.
$\mathrm{N}=2.574$; *** $p<.001$; ** $p<.01 ; * p<.05 ;+p<.10$

Table 5. Conversations with an Elected Public Official

|  | Model 1 |  |  | Model $\mathbf{2}^{\text {a }}$ |  |  | Model $3^{\text {b }}$ |  |  | Model 4 ${ }^{\text {c }}$ |  |  | Model $5^{\text {d }}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { Odds } \\ & \text { Ratio } \end{aligned}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | Odds Ratio | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \hline \text { Odds } \\ & \text { Ratio } \end{aligned}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \hline \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ |
| Explanatory Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious Attendance (Never=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Low | 1.291 | (.19) | $0.091 \dagger$ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Medium | 1.407 | (.27) | $0.078 \dagger$ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| High | 1.695 | (.28) | 0.002 ** | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Gender ( $0=$ female, $1=$ male ) | 1.242 | (.14) | $0.051 \dagger$ | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never Attending Males | - | - | - | - | - | - | 0.787 | (.16) | 0.239 | 0.714 | (.20) | 0.229 | 0.499 | (.12) | 0.003 ** |
| Never Attending Females | - | - | - | 0.875 | (.19) | 0.550 | 0.689 | (.15) | 0.087 † | 0.625 | (.18) | 0.105 | 0.437 | (.11) | <0.001 *** |
| Low Attending Males | - | - | - | 1.271 | (.26) | 0.239 | - | - | - | 0.907 | (.24) | 0.717 | 0.635 | (.14) | 0.034 * |
| Low Attending Females | - | - | - | 1.157 | (.24) | 0.482 | 0.910 | (.18) | 0.631 | 0.825 | (.22) | 0.478 | 0.577 | (.12) | 0.009 ** |
| Medium Attending Males | - | - | - | 1.401 | (.39) | 0.229 | 1.102 | (.30) | 0.717 | - | - | - | 0.700 | (.19) | 0.195 |
| Medium Attending Females | - | - | - | 1.224 | (.29) | 0.402 | 0.962 | (.22) | 0.867 | 0.873 | (.25) | 0.635 | 0.611 | (.14) | 0.032 * |
| High Attending Males | - | - | - | 2.003 | (.46) | 0.003 ** | 1.575 | (.34) | 0.034 * | 1.429 | (.39) | 0.195 | - | - | - |
| High Attending Females | - | - | - | 1.301 | (.26) | 0.190 | 1.024 | (.19) | 0.900 | 0.929 | (.24) | 0.773 | 0.650 | (.12) | 0.022 * |
| Control Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious tradition (Unaffiliated=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Black Protestant | 0.970 | (.24) | 0.902 | 0.959 | (.24) | 0.866 | 0.959 | (.24) | 0.866 | 0.959 | (.24) | 0.866 | 0.959 | (.24) | 0.866 |
| Evangelical Protestant | 0.994 | (.19) | 0.974 | 0.980 | (.18) | 0.913 | 0.980 | (.18) | 0.913 | 0.980 | (.18) | 0.913 | 0.980 | (.18) | 0.913 |
| Mainline Protestant | 1.014 | (.20) | 0.945 | 1.004 | (.20) | 0.985 | 1.004 | (.20) | 0.985 | 1.004 | (.20) | 0.985 | 1.004 | (.20) | 0.985 |
| Catholic | 0.634 | (.12) | 0.015 * | 0.624 | (.12) | 0.012 * | 0.624 | (.12) | 0.012 * | 0.624 | (.12) | 0.012 * | 0.624 | (.12) | 0.012 * |
| Jewish | 0.945 | (.49) | 0.914 | 0.929 | (.49) | 0.888 | 0.929 | (.49) | 0.888 | 0.929 | (.49) | 0.888 | 0.929 | (.49) | 0.888 |
| Other | 1.114 | (.30) | 0.683 | 1.122 | (.30) | 0.665 | 1.122 | (.30) | 0.665 | 1.122 | (.30) | 0.665 | 1.122 | (.30) | 0.665 |
| Other Protesteant | 0.998 | (.25) | 0.994 | 1.000 | (.25) | 0.999 | 1.000 | (.25) | 0.999 | 1.000 | (.25) | 0.999 | 1.000 | (.25) | 0.999 |
| Race (White=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Black | 1.412 | (.27) | 0.073 † | 1.417 | (.27) | $0.071 \dagger$ | 1.417 | (.27) | $0.071 \dagger$ | 1.417 | (.27) | $0.071 \dagger$ | 1.417 | (.27) | $0.071 \dagger$ |
| Hispanic | 1.239 | (.24) | 0.264 | 1.241 | (.24) | 0.262 | 1.241 | (.24) | 0.262 | 1.241 | (.24) | 0.262 | 1.241 | (.24) | 0.262 |
| Asian | 0.402 | (.16) | 0.020 * | 0.394 | (.16) | 0.019 * | 0.394 | (.16) | 0.019 * | 0.394 | (.16) | 0.019 * | 0.394 | (.16) | 0.019 * |
| Native American | 0.653 | (.31) | 0.367 | 0.651 | (.31) | 0.364 | 0.651 | (.31) | 0.364 | 0.651 | (.31) | 0.364 | 0.651 | (.31) | 0.364 |
| Education | 1.250 | (.06) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.245 | (.06) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.245 | (.06) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.245 | (.06) | <0.001 *** | 1.245 | (.06) | $<0.001$ *** |
| Marital Status (Married/Partnered=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never Married | 0.975 | (.15) | 0.872 | 0.976 | (.15) | 0.879 | 0.976 | (.15) | 0.879 | 0.976 | (.15) | 0.879 | 0.976 | (.15) | 0.879 |
| Previously Married | 1.102 | (.15) | 0.471 | 1.106 | (.15) | 0.454 | 1.106 | (.15) | 0.454 | 1.106 | (.15) | 0.454 | 1.106 | (.15) | 0.454 |
| Employment Status (Full-time=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployed | 0.818 | (.23) | 0.477 | 0.814 | (.23) | 0.460 | 0.814 | (.23) | 0.460 | 0.814 | (.23) | 0.460 | 0.814 | (.23) | 0.460 |
| Other Employed | 1.197 | (.18) | 0.225 | 1.194 | (.18) | 0.230 | 1.194 | (.18) | 0.230 | 1.194 | (.18) | 0.230 | 1.194 | (.18) | 0.230 |
| Part-Time Employed | 0.807 | (.14) | 0.204 | 0.806 | (.14) | 0.199 | 0.806 | (.14) | 0.199 | 0.806 | (.14) | 0.199 | 0.806 | (.14) | 0.199 |
| Dependent Living at Home | 0.969 | (.12) | 0.797 | 0.968 | (.12) | 0.793 | 0.968 | (.12) | 0.793 | 0.968 | (.12) | 0.793 | 0.968 | (.12) | 0.793 |
| South | 0.970 | (.11) | 0.780 | 0.971 | (.11) | 0.790 | 0.971 | (.11) | 0.790 | 0.971 | (.11) | 0.790 | 0.971 | (.11) | 0.790 |
| Network Density | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.095 † | 1.025 | (.02) | 0.103 | 1.025 | (.02) | 0.103 | 1.025 | (.02) | 0.103 | 1.025 | (.02) | 0.103 |
| Sociability Outside the Workplace | 1.121 | (.03) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.123 | (.03) | <0.001 *** | 1.123 | (.03) | <0.001 *** | 1.123 | (.03) | <0.001 *** | 1.123 | (.03) | <0.001 *** |
| Population of County of Residence | 0.896 | (.02) | $<0.001$ *** | 0.894 | (.02) | <0.001 *** | 0.894 | (.02) | <0.001 *** | 0.894 | (.02) | <0.001 *** | 0.894 | (.02) | <0.001 *** |
| Income | 1.027 | (.02) | 0.102 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.103 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.103 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.103 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.103 |
| Age | 1.003 | (.00) | 0.449 | 1.003 | (.00) | 0.457 | 1.003 | (.00) | 0.457 | 1.003 | (.00) | 0.457 | 1.003 | (.00) | 0.457 |
| Health | 1.030 | (.05) | 0.558 | 1.032 | (.05) | 0.526 | 1.032 | (.05) | 0.526 | 1.032 | (.05) | 0.526 | 1.032 | (.05) | 0.526 |

a. Reference group="Never attending males"; b. Reference group="Low attending males; $c$. Reference group="Medium attending males; $d$. Reference group="High attending males"

Note: A likelihood-ratio chi-square test of the goodness of fit for adding interaction terms in Models 2-5, compared to Model 1 was 5.95, p<.0148.
$\mathrm{N}=2,574 ; * * p<.001 ; * * p<.01 ; * p<.05 ;+p<.10$

|  | Model 1 |  |  | Model $2^{\text {a }}$ |  |  | Model 3 ${ }^{\text {b }}$ |  |  | Model ${ }^{\text {c }}$ |  |  | Model $5^{\text {d }}$ |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Std. } \\ \text { Error } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | Odds Ratio | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | Odds Ratio | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Odds } \\ \text { Ratio } \end{gathered}$ | Std. Error | $\begin{gathered} P- \\ \text { value } \end{gathered}$ |
| Explanatory Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious Attendance (Never=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Low | 0.710 | (.31) | 0.431 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| Medium | 1.460 | (.64) | 0.385 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| High | 3.907 | (1.68) | 0.002 ** | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |  |
| Gender ( $0=$ female, $1=$ male ) | 1.476 | (.20) | 0.003 ** | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| Moderating Variables ${ }^{\text {a }}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never Attending Males | - | - | - | - | - | - | 1.292 | (.93) | 0.721 | 0.512 | (.37) | 0.349 | 0.231 | (.16) | 0.037 * |
| Never Attending Females | - | - | - | 0.849 | (.73) | 0.850 | 1.098 | (.60) | 0.864 | 0.435 | (.24) | 0.128 | 0.196 | (.10) | 0.002 ** |
| Low Attending Males | - | - | - | 0.774 | (.56) | 0.721 | - | - | - | 0.396 | (.11) | <0.001 *** | 0.179 | (.05) | $<0.001^{* * *}$ |
| Low Attending Females | - | - | - | 0.571 | (.40) | 0.427 | 0.737 | (.20) | 0.255 | 0.292 | (.07) | <0.001 *** | 0.132 | (.03) | <0.001 *** |
| Medium Attending Males | - | - | - | 1.952 | (1.39) | 0.349 | 2.523 | (.70) | <0.001 *** | - | - | - | 0.451 | (.10) | <0.001 *** |
| Medium Attending Females | - | - | - | 1.018 | (.71) | 0.980 | 1.316 | (.36) | 0.321 | 0.521 | (.13) | 0.007 ** | 0.235 | (.05) | $<0.001$ *** |
| High Attending Males | - | - | - | 4.330 | (3.04) | 0.037 * | 5.596 | (1.50) | <0.001 *** | 2.218 | (.51) | $<0.001$ *** | - | - | - |
| High Attending Females | - | - | - | 3.079 | (2.14) | 0.106 | 3.979 | (1.03) | $<0.001$ *** | 1.577 | (.35) | 0.040 * | 0.711 | (.13) | $0.058 \dagger$ |
| Control Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious tradition (Unaffiliated=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Black Protestant | 1.437 | (.65) | 0.424 | 1.460 | (.65) | 0.398 | 1.460 | (.65) | 0.398 | 1.460 | (.65) | 0.398 | 1.460 | (.65) | 0.398 |
| Evangelical Protestant | 1.543 | (.68) | 0.325 | 1.558 | (.68) | 0.307 | 1.558 | (.68) | 0.307 | 1.558 | (.68) | 0.307 | 1.558 | (.68) | 0.307 |
| Mainline Protestant | 1.244 | (.55) | 0.620 | 1.249 | (.54) | 0.607 | 1.249 | (.54) | 0.607 | 1.249 | (.54) | 0.607 | 1.249 | (.54) | 0.607 |
| Catholic | 0.528 | (.23) | 0.141 | 0.531 | (.23) | 0.138 | 0.531 | (.23) | 0.138 | 0.531 | (.23) | 0.138 | 0.531 | (.23) | 0.138 |
| Jewish | 2.106 | (1.20) | 0.193 | 2.161 | (1.24) | 0.178 | 2.161 | (1.24) | 0.178 | 2.161 | (1.24) | 0.178 | 2.161 | (1.24) | 0.178 |
| Other | 1.414 | (.75) | 0.511 | 1.442 | (.76) | 0.487 | 1.442 | (.76) | 0.487 | 1.442 | (.76) | 0.487 | 1.442 | (.76) | 0.487 |
| Other Protesteant | 1.766 | (.88) | 0.256 | 1.788 | (.88) | 0.240 | 1.788 | (.88) | 0.240 | 1.788 | (.88) | 0.240 | 1.788 | (.88) | 0.240 |
| Race (White=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Black | 1.474 | (.33) | $0.083 \dagger$ | 1.479 | (.33) | 0.084 † | 1.479 | (.33) | 0.084 † | 1.479 | (.33) | 0.084 † | 1.479 | (.33) | 0.084 † |
| Hispanic | 1.402 | (.29) | 0.096 † | 1.406 | (.29) | 0.095 † | 1.406 | (.29) | 0.095 † | 1.406 | (.29) | 0.095 † | 1.406 | (.29) | 0.095 † |
| Asian | 1.032 | (.41) | 0.938 | 1.048 | (.43) | 0.909 | 1.048 | (.43) | 0.909 | 1.048 | (.43) | 0.909 | 1.048 | (.43) | 0.909 |
| Native American | 0.183 | (.19) | 0.108 | 0.191 | (.20) | 0.117 | 0.191 | (.20) | 0.117 | 0.191 | (.20) | 0.117 | 0.191 | (.20) | 0.117 |
| Education | 0.880 | (.05) | 0.034 * | 0.881 | (.05) | 0.035 * | 0.881 | (.05) | 0.035 * | 0.881 | (.05) | 0.035 * | 0.881 | (.05) | 0.035 * |
| Marital Status (Married/Partnered=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Never Married | 0.670 | (.15) | $0.065 \dagger$ | 0.668 | (.14) | $0.062 \dagger$ | 0.668 | (.14) | $0.062 \dagger$ | 0.668 | (.14) | $0.062 \dagger$ | 0.668 | (.14) | $0.062 \dagger$ |
| Previously Married | 0.936 | (.16) | 0.688 | 0.945 | (.16) | 0.735 | 0.945 | (.16) | 0.735 | 0.945 | (.16) | 0.735 | 0.945 | (.16) | 0.735 |
| Employment Status (Full-time=Ref. group) |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Unemployed | 0.942 | (.26) | 0.829 | 0.965 | (.27) | 0.899 | 0.965 | (.27) | 0.899 | 0.965 | (.27) | 0.899 | 0.965 | (.27) | 0.899 |
| Other Employed | 1.032 | (.17) | 0.851 | 1.045 | (.17) | 0.790 | 1.045 | (.17) | 0.790 | 1.045 | (.17) | 0.790 | 1.045 | (.17) | 0.790 |
| Part-Time Employed | 0.739 | (.15) | 0.140 | 0.750 | (.15) | 0.161 | 0.750 | (.15) | 0.161 | 0.750 | (.15) | 0.161 | 0.750 | (.15) | 0.161 |
| Dependent Living at Home | 1.128 | (.16) | 0.407 | 1.129 | (.16) | 0.402 | 1.129 | (.16) | 0.402 | 1.129 | (.16) | 0.402 | 1.129 | (.16) | 0.402 |
| South | 1.005 | (.14) | 0.968 | 1.007 | (.13) | 0.958 | 1.007 | (.13) | 0.958 | 1.007 | (.13) | 0.958 | 1.007 | (.13) | 0.958 |
| Network Density | 1.025 | (.02) | 0.147 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.124 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.124 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.124 | 1.026 | (.02) | 0.124 |
| Sociability Outside the Workplace | 1.095 | (.04) | 0.007 ** | 1.095 | (.04) | 0.006 ** | 1.095 | (.04) | 0.006 ** | 1.095 | (.04) | 0.006 ** | 1.095 | (.04) | 0.006 ** |
| Population of County of Residence | 0.960 | (.02) | 0.120 | 0.961 | (.03) | 0.126 | 0.961 | (.03) | 0.126 | 0.961 | (.03) | 0.126 | 0.961 | (.03) | 0.126 |
| Income | 0.980 | (.02) | 0.316 | 0.980 | (.02) | 0.309 | 0.980 | (.02) | 0.309 | 0.980 | (.02) | 0.309 | 0.980 | (.02) | 0.309 |
| Age | 0.997 | (.01) | 0.633 | 0.997 | (.01) | 0.616 | 0.997 | (.01) | 0.616 | 0.997 | (.01) | 0.616 | 0.997 | (.01) | 0.616 |
| Health | 0.893 | (.05) | $0.061 \dagger$ | 0.892 | (.05) | $0.060 \dagger$ | 0.892 | (.05) | $0.060 \dagger$ | 0.892 | (.05) | $0.060 \dagger$ | 0.892 | (.05) | $0.060 \dagger$ |

a. Reference group="Never attending males"; b. Reference group="Low attending males; c. Reference group="Medium attending males; d. Reference group="High attending males"

Note: A likelihood-ratio chi-square test of the goodness of fit for adding interaction terms in Models 2-5, compared to Model 1 was 8.94, $\mathrm{p}<.003$
$\mathrm{N}=2.574 ; * * * p<.001 ; * * p<.01 ; * p<.05 ;+p<.10$

Conversations with Someone Holding a Graduate, Professional Degree

|  | Model 1 |  |  | Model 2 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Odds | Std. | $P-$ | Odds | Std. | $P-$ |
|  | Ratio | Error | value | Ratio | Error | value |


| Explanatory Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Religious Attendance (0-7, continuous) | 1.061 | $(.03)$ | $0.014 *$ | - | - | - |
| Gender (0=male, 1=female) | 1.220 | $(.12)$ | $0.041 *$ | - | - | - |
| Moderating Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender x Attendance (1=female, 0-7 attendance) | - | - | - | 1.004 | $(.05)$ | 0.933 |
| Gender | - | - | - | 1.211 | $(.16)$ | 0.153 |
| Religious Attendance | - | - | - | 1.059 | $(.04)$ | $0.094 \dagger$ |
| Likelihood-Ratio Chi2 Test | - | - | - | 0.090 | 0.765 |  |

## Conversations with an Elected Public Official

|  | Model 1 |  |  | Model 2 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Odds <br> Ratio | Std. <br> Error | $P$ value | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Odds } \\ & \text { Ratio } \end{aligned}$ | Std. <br> Error | $P$ value |  |
| Explanatory Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Religious Attendance (0-7, continous) | 1.084 | (.03) | 0.003 ** | - | - | - |  |
| Gender ( $0=$ male, $1=$ female) | 0.800 | (.09) | 0.044 * | - | - | - |  |
| Moderating Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender x Attendance (1=female, 0-7 attendance) | - | - | - | 0.941 | (.05) | 0.234 |  |
| Gender | - | - | - | 0.901 | (.14) | 0.488 |  |
| Religious Attendance | - | - | - | 1.115 | (.04) | 0.005 | ** |
| Likelihood-Ratio Chi2 Test | - | - | - |  | 410 | 0.522 |  |

## Conversations with a Religious Leader

|  | Model 1 |  |  |  | Model 2 |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Odds | Std. | $P-$ |  | Odds | Std. | $P-$ |
|  | Ratio | Error | value | Ratio | Error | value |  |

## Explanatory Variables

| Religious Attendance (0-7, continous) | 1.540 | $(.07)$ | $<.001$ | $* * *$ | - | - | - |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender (0=male, 1=female) | 0.664 | $(.09)$ | 0.002 | $* *$ | - | - | - |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Moderating Variables |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gender x Attendance (1=female, 0-7 attendance) | - | - | - | 1.031 | $(.08)$ | 0.691 |  |
| Gender | - | - | - |  | 0.607 | $(.16)$ | 0.060 |$\dagger$

***p<.001; **p<.01; *p<.05; $\dagger p<.10$
Note: Each model includes all control variables, omitted from this table for brevity. For Model 2, the likelihood-ratio chi-squared test measures whether the addition of an interaction term, gender $x$ attendance, is statistically influential toward the model's overall goodness of fit.


[^3]
[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Funding for this project is co-attributed to the Lilly Endowment Inc., the University of Notre Dame, and Rice University, with Michael O. Emerson and David H. Sikkink as principal investigators.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ During earlier phases of analyses, I also tested each hypothesis treating religious attendance as a linear variable, as opposed to the never, low, medium, and high attendance dummy variables. Table 7 shows the results for this approach of analysis; however, in examining hypothesis two specifically, I determined that the best fitting model for examining interaction effects involved the use of dummy variables rather than a linear measure of attendance.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ As a supplement to the aforementioned interaction models, Table 3 includes descriptive statistics for the mean number of conversations for each outcome variable, at each level of religious attendance by gender.

[^3]:    Note: $\mathrm{N}=2,603$ ( 1,544 females and 1,059 males).

