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Giving and going: US congregational participation in disaster response

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Abstract

With the increase in the severity of natural disasters linked to climate change, the role religious congregations play in response is not well known, despite their substantial involvement in general charitable activity. Most disaster response research is event-based, *ex post*, and not focused on religious institutions or donor capacity considerations. Data from the National Study of Congregational Economic Practices fill this gap. The findings indicate that in 2017, a substantial percentage of US congregations participated in disaster-related charitable giving and volunteering. However, the profiles of participating congregations are nuanced and do not always follow prior theory. A congregation's religious tradition is less predictive than some might expect in the context of disasters. Consistent with open systems theory, we find that congregations' interorganizational networks and their proximity to disaster areas are better predictors of participating in disaster relief efforts. Based on our finding of robust congregational participation in disasters, we call for more integration of religious institutions in nonprofit disaster response research.

KEYWORDS

disaster philanthropy, disaster response, open systems theory, religious congregations, theory of planned behavior

1 | INTRODUCTION

US religious institutions are important but understudied actors in civil society space (Cnaan & Curtis, 2013). In 2020, they received nearly one-third of all US charitable dollars: approximately \$131 billion (Giving USA, 2021). Although they allocate most of this money toward running their internal operations, all US faiths still contribute more resources toward meeting social needs than any other type of nonprofit organization apart from those whose primary function is social service provision (Chaves & Eagle, 2016).

Any current examination of giving and volunteering to disasters is by definition set in the context of climate change. Climate change has increased the number and severity of weather-related disasters around the globe. Warming oceans are producing more hurricanes and typhoons; warming landscapes are producing more heat-related disasters from forest fires to spikes in urban heat.

In this article, we will refer to religious institutions as “congregations.” Dispersed in communities across the United States, congregations have a notable capacity to respond to disasters with financial and human capital. But do they? Their role in disaster giving is not captured by current data efforts. For example, the Center for Disaster Philanthropy (2019) only captures secular institutional giving. Moreover, although a substantial number of studies explore the role of congregations in social services provision (Fulton, 2016), very little research systematically addresses the characteristics of congregations that participate in disaster relief efforts. Further, this research has not been generalizable, as most are constrained to single natural disasters (see e.g., De Vita & Kramer, 2014; Smith, 1978). As a consequence, we are aware of no prior statistical estimations of the extent of congregational participation in disaster relief more broadly.

Given the variety in the types of congregations and approaches to service provision, further research and synthesis are needed in order to better understand drivers of congregation-based disaster relief. The value of this research for theory-building is in understanding religious institutions as distinct actors, and the value for nonprofit management studies generally is in helping communities develop a greater capacity to respond in light of climate change.

This article asks: What predicts a congregation's involvement in disaster response, both in terms of philanthropy (“giving”) and volunteering (“going”)? The focus on congregations is deliberate given that research about them is scarcer. Congregations' primary tax-exempt activity is to facilitate regular corporate religious worship among their adherents, while activities such as social service provision may be secondary or absent (Fulton, 2020). Most research has defined and categorized domestic and international faith-based organizations (FBOs) broadly, which generally are subject to federal reporting requirements (Austin et al., 2022). By contrast, the vast majority of congregations are not required to file federally, a situation requiring independent data collection.

2 | LITERATURE REVIEW

Multiple streams of literature help to explain congregational activities, priorities, and preferences. We begin with the literature on religious giving and volunteering in general, and then focus on the limited scholarship that may help to explain disaster-related giving and volunteering. Because this literature is dispersed across many disciplines and journals, we systematized the literature review for the greatest coverage, using two waves of keyword searches within the search engines SCOPUS and Google Scholar, sorting by relevance and using a snowball method to identify additional sources.

As conceptual frameworks driving our hypotheses, the theory of planned behavior (TPB) offers the main overall “compass” that explains and predicts volitional behavior, including mission-driven nonprofit activities and the activities of their members as donors and volunteers. Because TPB is about readiness to act (Ajzen, 1985), applying TPB to the dynamic and unpredictable context of disaster response has particular value if it helps planners anticipate the circumstances under which any actor, including religious institutions, will participate. Rex et al. (2015) have argued for the greater application of TPB to social benefit behavior beyond its traditional usage in predicting consumer behavior, while Kashif and De Run (2015) have argued for greater testing of TPB on donor intentions, including in religious contexts. Applying TPB to congregational disaster response helps to explain voluntarism or philanthropy as a continued and predictable expression of the religious mission of a congregation.

In addition, in early explanations of disaster response, Haas and Drabek (1973, p. 8) suggest a role for open systems theory in that an organization is a “relatively complex discernible interaction system” subject to external demands. In other words, a nonprofit’s resource, organizational and normative characteristics affect its capacity to respond to disaster, while the relatively larger demand for relief posed by more severe disasters also impacts disaster response (Smith, 1978). Systems thinking has become a useful approach to viewing the complex behavior of seemingly simple, isolated nonprofit activities to both internal and external pressures and opportunities (Gazley & Nicholson-Crotty, 2018). It also helps to explain the behavior of organizations beyond the obvious capability explanations such as size and resources. Especially in disaster response, organizations respond to external demands from their community in need and from their members who desire to help (Haas & Quarantelli, 1964). An open system approach also allows for brief forays into philanthropic, religious, political, and collaborative theory as well, since organizational (congregational) behavior is subject to variations in the characteristics of individual congregants/members.

2.1 | Predicting religious giving and volunteering generally

The literature on giving generally points to higher socio-economics, frequency of solicitation, and motivations as key drivers of philanthropy (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Herzog & Price, 2016; Wiepking & Bekkers, 2012). These same patterns are often observed with religious giving (see e.g., Austin & King, 2017; Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008; Rooney, 2010).

In the United States, religious organizations are also the source of a substantial percentage of overall volunteer hours (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016; Grønbjerg & Never, 2004). Americans who regularly attend religious services are also more likely to volunteer, and to volunteer more hours (Herzog & Price, 2016). Religious affiliation is especially a significant driver of civic activity among minority groups. For example, Hispanics are the fastest growing ethnic minority group in the United States, but they volunteer at substantially lower rates than the population at large—with the exception of religiously affiliated Hispanics, who volunteer more (Wang et al., 2013). In disaster giving, however, differences in participation rates may also be due to personal connections individuals see with the cause; “identity” connections which support or override minority status. In a British study, volunteers of color were 50 to 100 percent more likely to support either religious causes or disaster aid than were white individuals (Low et al., 2007).

Congregations also vary substantially in their capacity to give to any cause (Mundey et al., 2019). Applying general institutional theories about nonprofit capacity, Smith (1978) suggests that congregations with more resources (staff and infrastructure) are more likely to respond to

disasters. Still, monetary resources can be a more complicated issue for a congregational response. The vast majority of congregations support these services through their own funds and private donations, without government or public support (Cain & Barthelemy, 2008). Limited funding may reduce their likelihood to give to external causes (Pant et al., 2008).

Given the lack of a single direction in prior research, a “null” hypothesis must first be offered, in which congregational members are no different than the population at large in their patterns of giving and volunteering, *including* to disasters. In other words, this form of charitable activity may operate largely as a function of non-religious characteristics, such as capacity.

Hypothesis 1. Controlling for other potential factors, congregational giving and volunteering to disasters are positively related to a congregation’s resources.

Similarly, theories about philanthropic giving suggest that being solicited and the ease of giving are associated with greater giving to disasters (Herzog & Price, 2016).

Hypothesis 2. Congregational giving to disasters is positively related to whether a congregation asks its members to make special contributions and whether it provides an option for participants to make contributions online.

In many studies, giving and volunteering represent distinct and separable activities. General sociological and economic theories of charitable activity find giving and volunteering to be highly contextual and, in many circumstances, complementary rather than substitute activities (Jones, 2006). In the Low et al. (2007) study of British volunteers, 58 percent of those surveyed both gave money and donated labor, but only 12 percent did both for overseas aid and disaster response, evidently due to logistical constraints. The study also found Hindu and Muslim volunteers are more likely to see the activities of “giving” and “going” as separable. Bekkers and Schuyt (2008) found *giving* outside church to be associated with higher wealth but *volunteering* outside of church to be associated with lower wealth.

For disaster response, it therefore makes sense to view “giving” and “going” as separable activities, based on these and other possible factors such as differences in opportunities to give versus opportunities to volunteer. Capacity to give derives from material resources while capacity to volunteer derives from relational resources and mission. In fact, congregations may have a propensity toward high volunteer mobilization regardless of size (Bolin & Bolton, 1986; Brunsma et al., 2007) because their volunteers belong to the communities they help (Cherry & Lucas, 2016). Yet, smaller congregations may lack volunteers who specialize in disaster relief (Pant et al., 2008) and could struggle to maintain a disaster workforce without the material capacity to support them, such as housing and basic infrastructure (De Vita et al., 2004):

Hypothesis 3. Patterns of disaster giving will be distinct from patterns of disaster volunteering.

2.2 | Religiously-affiliated giving and volunteering to disasters

The paucity of research specifically about congregation-based disaster aid required an expanded literature review to include prior work on faith-based organizations (FBOs). Generally, the literature finds faith-based contributions to disaster relief are widespread, significant, and possibly

under-estimated (Ralph et al., 2022). Disaster response efforts have been observed across all religions and denominations, as well as across varying organizational sizes and geographic scopes (Baidhaw, 2015; Gaillard & Texier, 2010; Joshi, 2010; Wisner, 2010).

Congregations are often among the first organizations to respond during and after disasters (Gajewski et al., 2011; Pant et al., 2008; Provenzo & Provenzo, 2002; Smith & Sutter, 2013) and provide both immediate services and long-term recovery aid (Bolin & Bolton, 1986; Cain & Barthelemy, 2008; De Vita & Kramer, 2014; Holcombe, 2007; Homeland Security Institute, 2009; Pant et al., 2008; Rivera & Nickels, 2014; Smith & Sutter, 2013). FBOs outside of the immediate area may also support relief efforts through fundraising efforts (Iizuka, 2018).

The role congregations and faith-based organizations play in disaster response has been recognized by policymakers, who have gradually expanded the scope of planning tools to include these actors in policy documents. A central example is the US Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) National Response Framework (NRF, October 2019), which describes disaster response as foremost a local responsibility where nongovernmental organizations—including faith-based organizations—may serve as “key partners in preparedness activities and response operations” (p. 28) including coordination of volunteers and donated goods, providing food, providing shelter, search-and-rescue, and logistics support. Some short- and long-term support activities are organized within the National Voluntary Organizations Active in Disaster (NVOAD), which counts congregations and faith-based organizations as approximately one-third of its total membership, and the National Disaster Interfaiths Network (NDIN), organized for religiously-affiliated responders.

Despite the implied importance of congregations and FBOs in responding to local and regional disasters, the literature about their past experiences in this area of community service is limited. The first problem is the selectivity of the coverage, as a research area that is generally studied from the ground up and *ex post*, event by event. For example, the 2005 Hurricanes Katrina and Rita are widely studied contemporary natural disasters, during which local, regional, and national faith-based institutions were found to play a crucial role in disaster response and recovery (De Vita & Kramer, 2014; Holcombe, 2007; Pant et al., 2008). Notably, as of 2015, the United Methodist Church's relief organization, Katrina Aid Today, had received the single largest government-managed grant given to any part of the private sector for disaster response (Gilbert & Bloom, 2015).

However, not all disasters have received the same amount of scholarly attention, and the attention has come mostly from scholars of emergency management rather than scholars more generally interested in religion, the nonprofit sector's capacity, or volunteerism. This uneven disciplinary landscape matters because emergency management scholars can overlook dynamics that scholars of religion might identify. For example, in some past disasters, religiously-affiliated organizations have been accused of proselytizing, which may discourage public officials from including them in response plans (Fletcher et al., 2005; MHum et al., 2011).

A second limitation of the current literature is its scope. Most disaster studies focus on the event or recipients of aid as the units of analysis. The focus is less frequently on the donors of aid. This difference matters if the inquiry is focused on the nature of the response and the capacity of responding organizations, a topic that is often treated as a secondary issue after accounting for the number of people served or dollars donated.

The literature that does focus on donors most often addresses the individual level. In our study, congregations are the mediating institution for congregants' giving and going behavior. Many congregations themselves are members of networks, associations, and denominations. The forms of collaboration, competition, and control differ among the types of regional or

national organizational bodies. From strict hierarchies to loose networks, these associations often direct activities and negotiate partnerships with nonprofit and government actors, and therefore play a significant role in coordinating their congregants' giving and going opportunities (Chaves, 1993; Schneider, 2013; Wittberg, 2013). Some limited prior research from emergency management also suggests proximity to a disaster increases the likelihood of response (Maki et al., 2019; Nelson, 1973; Smith, 1978). This prior research generates two possible outcomes:

Hypothesis 4. A congregation affiliated with a national denomination or association is more likely to give or volunteer to any disaster—local, domestic (beyond local), or international.

Hypothesis 5. A congregation that is geographically proximate to disasters (i.e., located within the same U.S. Census region) is more likely to give or volunteer to disasters.

2.3 | Congregational characteristics as predictors of giving and volunteering to disaster

We next examine disaster response from the perspective of congregational characteristics. A possible factor is the congregation's religious tradition. In terms of general giving, several studies find both Jewish and Muslim households on average donate more annually than Protestants and Catholics. However, Protestants are most likely to focus the majority of their giving through congregations (Austin & King, 2017; Siddiqui & Wasif, 2021). More fine-grained studies also note giving differences within the many Protestant religious groups (Rooney, 2010).

Scholars have developed only a partial understanding of how differences in religious tradition influence giving *outside* of congregations (Yasin et al., 2020). The scholarship on the relationship between religious tradition and disaster response is even thinner. When giving to help people in need beyond their congregations, a recent study of American Muslims, Christians, and Jews found that donors in all traditions were most likely to give to domestic poverty relief and that Muslims were most likely to support domestic poverty relief by giving to organizations outside of their own faith community (Mahmood et al., 2019).

However, among Christian denominations, differences may disappear after controlling for socio-economic factors such as income, wealth, ethnicity, etc. (Ottoni-Wilhelm, 2010). Socio-economic factors may explain some differences in giving, but the relative intensity of religious identity and activity (e.g., religious attendance and other forms of participation, specific religious teachings on giving, and community norms and expectations for religious practice) also likely influence religious giving (Monsma, 2007; Olson & Paul, 2001; Olson & Paul, 2005; Scheitle & Finke, 2008; Whitehead, 2010; Yueng, 2018).

Hypothesis 6. Posed as a null hypothesis, holding other factors constant, a congregation's religious tradition is not associated with participation in disaster giving and volunteering.

As noted above in the discussion of public policy on disasters, disaster response is viewed as a collaborative activity given the scope of needs. As De Vita and Kramer (2014) note, among

other scholars cited here, collaboration is a recurring dynamic of faith-based organizational disaster response, whether as a positive influence or limiting factor. Central theories of collaborative success are found in the relationship between strong communication among partners and effective disaster response systems (Atkinson, 2014). We also see evidence of disaster response collaborations to supplement weaker service areas as Gazley and Brudney (2007) have found in general community service contexts. For example, some religious organizations collaborated with others after Hurricane Katrina to overcome service limitations. In disaster response many first responder organizations choose to specialize in a specific service area (Homeland Security Institute, 2009). Coordination also can help prevent duplicate services (Cain & Barthelemy, 2008; Gajewski et al., 2011), prevent leadership conflicts during reconstruction (Bolin & Bolton, 1986), and publicize efforts (Pant et al., 2008).

However, possible limits to religious collaborative opportunities include the fact that religious organizations appear to work more often with *other* religious organizations than with secular and governmental agents (De Vita & Kramer, 2014; Zhi et al., 2017), with the exception of the Red Cross, which frequently partners with religious organizations (Pant et al., 2008). While collaboration with local health departments prior to a disaster may also increase the disaster preparedness of a religious organization (Adams et al., 2018), congregations were not found to have a collaborative history with local governments after Hurricanes Katrina and Rita (De Vita & Kramer, 2014). As a result, increasing the effectiveness of religious organizations' responses may depend on increasing cross-faith and cross-sector communication, such as between public officials and religious organizations (Bolin & Bolton, 1986; Murphy & Pudlo, 2017). We note, however, that the coordination barrier between the government and religious organizations does not always exist, such as was found in the case of the 1983 Wasatch Front floods, where many Latter-day Saints church leaders were also public officials (Fisher, 1985).

Where do these collaborative strengths come from? The social capital¹ held by congregations is frequently cited as a positive influence on disaster response capacity. After Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, congregations with more social connections used them to bolster relief efforts (Brunsma et al., 2007; Rivera & Nickels, 2014). The connection is also personal, whereby social capital of individual congregants supports collective activity (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008). Social capital may also help congregations to obtain information about external funding (Rivera & Nickels, 2014). Congregations' status as a regular community gathering place may also help them provide effective disaster response (Cheema et al., 2014; Sledge & Thomas, 2019), and informal networks may lead to congregations becoming centers of cooperation and distribution (Pant et al., 2008; Smith & Sutter, 2013). However, the potential concentration of within-congregation connections may present limitations to broader relief partnerships. Bolin and Bolton (1986) note that in a case of disaster response led by the LDS Church, the church may have been less effective at reaching nonmembers and inactive members.

Hypothesis 7. Congregations engaged in more collaborative activities are more likely to be active in disaster volunteering.

3 | METHODS

To identify characteristics associated with congregations donating money to disaster relief efforts and their members participating in disaster relief service, this study analyzes survey data from the National Study of Congregations' Economic Practices (NSCEP) (Fulton & King, 2018).

The NSCEP is a nationally representative survey of religious congregations from every state and major religious group. Conducted in 2018, the survey had a response rate of 40 percent from key informants in 1227 congregations comprising a representative sample of US congregations. Key informants (typically a leader in each congregation) completed an online survey that asked questions about the congregation's characteristics, its activities, and economic practices.

"Giving": The analysis examines six dependent variables related to congregational disaster giving. These variables were constructed using the following survey item: "In fiscal year 2017, approximately how much money did your congregation donate specifically to disaster relief efforts?" Key informants were asked to differentiate between the amount of money their congregation gave to efforts inside and outside the United States. With this information, we created three binary variables indicating respectively whether the congregation gave to: any disaster relief efforts, disaster relief in the United States, and relief outside the United States. In addition, we created three continuous variables that indicate the total amount the congregation gave to all disaster relief efforts, the amount of US aid, and the amount of international aid.

"Going": The analysis also includes four dependent variables based on this survey item: "Within the past 12 months, has your congregation organized or participated in a service project or program that involved providing disaster relief?" Responses to these items were coded 1 for "yes" and 0 for "no". Positive responses were asked to indicate the area(s) in which their congregation had provided that service: in their congregation's local community, in the United States (beyond their congregation's local community), and/or outside the United States. With this information, we created four binary variables indicating respectively whether the congregation participated in any disaster relief service and whether it participated in any local, domestic (beyond local), and international efforts.

Independent Variables "congregational resources", "networks", "religious tradition" and "location": Measures associated with a congregation's resources include its annual revenue, number of ministerial staff, and age, whether the congregation provides opportunities for its participants to make special contributions, and whether it provides an option for participants to make contributions online.

To measure a congregation's networks, the analysis examines whether the congregation is affiliated with a national denomination or association and the number of types of organizations the congregation collaborates with to provide social services. For religious tradition, the analysis sorts congregations into Catholic, mainline Protestant, evangelical Protestant, Black Protestant, and non-Christian traditions. To measure a congregation's geographic location and its proximity to disaster-prone areas, the analysis includes the US Census region in which the congregation is located.

Based on prior research, the analysis controls for the congregation's social composition along the following dimensions: gender (the proportion of participants who are male), predominantly white (a simplified binary variable indicating whether 80 percent or more of the congregation's participants are white), and cultural generation (the proportion of participants who are Millennials, Generation X, Baby Boomers, and Greatest Generation). The analysis also includes a control for the congregation's community context (i.e., whether it is located in an urban, suburban, or rural setting).

Table 1 displays the descriptive statistics for each of the variables used in the analysis. The analysis estimates that 71 percent of congregations in the United States gave money to disaster relief efforts in 2017, and that two-thirds of all congregations gave to efforts in the United States, while 35 percent gave to efforts outside the United States. Among the congregations that gave to disaster relief efforts in 2017, the mean amount of money collectively donated was \$8482. Nearly

TABLE 1 Descriptive statistics of U.S. congregations

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Congregational involvement in disaster relief					
Gave money to disaster relief efforts	0.71		0.00	1.00	515
Gave money to disaster relief efforts in the United States	0.67		0.00	1.00	506
Gave money to disaster relief efforts outside the United States	0.35		0.00	1.00	484
Amount given to disaster relief efforts ($\times \$100$) ^a	84.82	279.50	0.02	5000.00	399
Amount given to disaster relief efforts in the United States ($\times \$100$) ^a	70.82	271.94	0.01	5000.00	371
Amount given to disaster relief efforts outside the United States ($\times \$100$) ^a	38.53	75.02	0.01	1500.00	236
Participated in disaster relief service	0.48		0.00	1.00	960
Participated in disaster relief service locally	0.16		0.00	1.00	960
Participated in disaster relief service domestically (beyond local)	0.41		0.00	1.00	960
Participated in disaster relief service internationally	0.25		0.00	1.00	960
Resources					
Annual revenue ($\times \$100,000$)	4.03	8.34	0.03	41.00	1041
Number of full-time ministerial staff	1.35	2.48	0.00	150.00	1138
Age of congregation	82.18	57.64	1.00	337.00	1141
Provides opportunities for participants to make special contributions	0.97		0.00	1.00	946
Provides an option for participants to make contributions online	0.46		0.00	1.00	1091
Networks					
Affiliated with a national denomination or association	0.81		0.00	1.00	1141
Number of collaborator types	2.00	1.65	0.00	7.00	1089
Religious tradition					
Catholic	0.11		0.00	1.00	1141
Mainline Protestant	0.28		0.00	1.00	1141
Evangelical Protestant	0.42		0.00	1.00	1141
Black Protestant	0.14		0.00	1.00	1141
Non-Christian traditions	0.05		0.00	1.00	1141
Gender composition					
Proportion of participants who are male	0.39		0.00	1.00	1141
Ethnoracial composition					
Predominantly white	0.65		0.00	1.00	1133
Predominantly black	0.16		0.00	1.00	1133

(Continues)

TABLE 1 (Continued)

Variable	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Predominantly Latinx	0.01		0.00	1.00	1133
Predominantly Asian	0.00		0.00	1.00	1133
No predominant race/ethnicity	0.18		0.00	1.00	1133
Generational composition					
Proportion of participants who are Millennials (18–34 years old)	0.14		0.00	.90	808
Proportion of participants who are Generation X (35–53 years old)	0.25		0.00	1.00	808
Proportion of participants who are Baby Boomers (54–72 years old)	0.36		0.00	1.00	808
Proportion of participants who are Greatest Generation (over 72 years old)	0.25		0.00	.95	808
Community context and geographic location					
Census tract is predominantly urban	0.68		0.00	1.00	1141
Census tract is predominantly suburban	0.10		0.00	1.00	1141
Census tract is predominantly rural	0.22		0.00	1.00	1141
Located in the Northeast	0.21		0.00	1.00	1141
Located in the South	0.32		0.00	1.00	1141
Located in the Midwest	0.30		0.00	1.00	1141
Located in the West	0.17		0.00	1.00	1141

Note: Congregation level weights applied.

^aAmong congregations that gave some amount of money to disaster relief efforts.

Source: National Study of Congregations' Economic Practices, 2018.

half of all congregations in the United States participated in a disaster relief effort in 2017; 16 percent of congregations participated in local efforts, 41 percent participated in US domestic (beyond local) efforts, and 25 percent participated in international efforts.

To identify relationships between a congregation's characteristics and likelihood of donating money to disaster relief efforts, we performed six multivariate regressions. Logistic regressions are displayed in the first three columns of Table 2 for the binary dependent variable “gave money” (separately for total response, United States, and international giving). The results are reported as odds ratios wherein integers larger than 1.0 reflect greater odds of participating and those less than 1.0 reflect lower odds. In the last three columns, OLS linear regressions are displayed for three models employing continuous dependent variables (for total donations, US and international donations). Variables predicting “amount of giving” are displayed as unstandardized coefficients.

The number of cases across the models differs due to occasional missing values, resulting in pairwise deletion. In addition, the models analyzing the amount given to disaster relief efforts include only those congregations that gave some amount of money. To normalize the distribution of the dependent variables for those models, the values are logged, which causes the cases that did not give any money (i.e., \$0) to be dropped from the models. The omission of those cases from the last three models is acceptable and preferred because the first three models assess characteristics associated with *whether* a congregation gives, while the last three models

TABLE 2 Logistic and OLS linear regressions estimating congregations' likelihood of giving any money to disaster relief efforts and the amount given among congregations that gave some amount

	Gave money to disaster relief Efforts ^a			Amount given to disaster relief Efforts ^{b,c}		
	Any	U.S.	International	All ^d	U.S. ^d	International ^d
Annual revenue ^d	1.019 (0.345)	0.858 (0.268)	1.670 (0.473)	2.305*** (0.320)	2.353*** (0.324)	1.807* (0.425)
Number of full-time ministerial staff ^d	1.715 (1.457)	2.892 (2.038)	2.070 (1.127)	1.170 (0.288)	1.064 (0.270)	0.757 (0.297)
Age of the congregation ^d	1.384 (0.389)	1.539 (0.403)	1.643* (0.402)	0.925 (0.140)	0.824 (0.146)	0.743 (0.284)
Provides opportunities to make special contributions	19.207* (22.010)	18.351* (22.185)	1.835 (2.079)	0.392 (0.309)	0.742 (0.421)	0.330 (0.269)
Provides an option to make contributions online	1.760 (0.893)	1.591 (0.812)	0.666 (0.307)	0.689 (0.163)	0.661 (0.163)	0.963 (0.405)
Affiliated with a national denomination or association	4.186* (2.510)	13.415*** (8.728)	1.262 (0.756)	2.068* (0.740)	2.142 (0.995)	1.317 (0.773)
Participated in disaster relief service	4.219** (2.340)	3.818* (2.021)	1.423 (0.641)	1.189 (0.279)	1.243 (0.301)	1.192 (0.436)
Catholic ^e	15.142* (17.206)	9.181* (9.388)	3.424 (3.785)	3.144 (3.781)	3.566 (4.024)	1.163 (1.544)
Mainline Protestant ^e	7.667* (7.629)	3.223 (2.433)	1.733 (1.650)	2.772 (3.259)	3.389 (3.703)	0.509 (0.685)
Evangelical Protestant ^e	8.779* (8.038)	4.782* (3.802)	0.673 (0.617)	2.778 (3.225)	3.874 (4.180)	0.664 (0.869)
Black Protestant ^e	8.952 (13.244)	5.272 (7.637)	4.261 (5.601)	3.058 (3.813)	3.213 (3.839)	0.632 (0.875)
Proportion male	1.073* (0.036)	1.065* (0.034)	1.052 (0.029)	1.044** (0.017)	1.048** (0.016)	1.030 (0.020)
Predominantly white	0.488 (0.390)	0.401 (0.307)	0.612 (0.360)	0.756 (0.236)	0.689 (0.250)	0.744 (0.319)
Proportion Generation X ^f	1.072* (0.033)	1.098** (0.035)	1.011 (0.030)	1.030 (0.019)	1.047* (0.022)	1.041 (0.029)
Proportion Baby Boomer ^f	1.078*** (0.024)	1.069** (0.024)	1.027 (0.024)	1.030 (0.017)	1.048* (0.021)	1.048* (0.023)
Proportion Greatest Generation ^f	1.075** (0.029)	1.101*** (0.029)	1.002 (0.023)	1.024 (0.015)	1.041* (0.018)	1.030 (0.024)
Urban ^g	1.388 (1.105)	1.233 (0.971)	0.344 (0.193)	1.298 (0.407)	1.649 (0.588)	0.822 (0.443)
Suburban ^g	2.144 (2.225)	2.536 (2.561)	0.395 (0.286)	2.170* (0.831)	2.972** (1.192)	2.030 (1.485)

(Continues)

TABLE 2 (Continued)

	Gave money to disaster relief Efforts ^a		Amount given to disaster relief Efforts ^{b,c}			
	Any	U.S.	International	All ^d	U.S. ^d	International ^d
Northeast ^h	12.255** (11.165)	9.805** (7.490)	3.276 (2.160)	1.246 (0.488)	1.223 (0.523)	0.517 (0.299)
South ^h	8.361** (5.736)	12.382*** (8.146)	1.147 (0.714)	1.178 (0.341)	1.342 (0.379)	0.660 (0.364)
Midwest ^h	8.818** (6.091)	9.609*** (6.016)	0.867 (0.573)	0.673 (0.178)	0.780 (0.223)	0.649 (0.330)
N	457	449	432	354	329	214

Note: Standard errors reported in parentheses; constants are not displayed.

^aLogistic regressions; odds ratios.

^bOLS linear regressions; betas.

^cAmong congregations that gave some amount of money to disaster relief efforts.

^dLogged values.

^eReference category: Non-Christian traditions.

^fReference category: Proportion Millennials.

^gReference category: rural.

^hReference category: West.

* $p \leq .05$; ** $p \leq .01$; *** $p \leq .001$ (two-tailed tests).

asses characteristics associated with *how much* a congregation gives (among those that gave something).

4 | FINDINGS

4.1 | Giving to disasters and amount of giving

As noted above from Table 1, more than two-thirds of congregations (71%) gave money to disaster relief in 2017, indicating a substantial impact on this area of need. However, the analysis also indicates a congregation's annual revenue, number of staff, and age are not significantly related to its likelihood of giving or not to disaster relief efforts. But while Hypothesis 1 (a "capacity" hypothesis) is not supported when it comes to the decision to give, it is supported in terms of the amount of giving. A congregation's annual revenue, whether it is affiliated with a national denomination or association, the proportion of male participants, and a suburban location are all positively related to the amount of money a congregation gives to disaster relief efforts. In addition, the proportion of Generation X, Baby Boomer, and Greatest Generation participants in a congregation are positively associated in minor amounts with the amount of money it gives to disaster relief efforts in the United States. These results provide partial support for Hypothesis 1—although the amount of financial resources a congregation has is not related to whether it gives to disaster relief efforts, it is related to how much it gives.

We find support for Hypothesis 2 (a "solicitation" hypothesis) in Table 2 in that giving is substantially (up to 19 times) more likely when a congregation has organized special opportunities for congregants to give. Surprisingly, although offering opportunities to give is a central maxim of fundraising theory (Tempel et al., 2016), this result does not extend to international giving, where congregants are no more likely to give even with special opportunities.

We also find support for Hypothesis 4 in that affiliation with a national denomination and participating in collaborative disaster relief projects are both associated with increasing a congregation's likelihood of giving to disaster relief efforts by a factor of 4. We find partial support for Hypothesis 5 as well in a finding of regional US differences. Compared to congregations located in the West, congregations in the Northeast, South, and Midwest are more likely to give to disaster relief efforts by a factor of 12, 8, and 9 respectively. We suggest this connection is related to greater experience with local disasters, as hypothesized.

We do not find support for Hypothesis 6 with respect to giving, so faith traditions do indeed vary in their support for disasters. Compared to non-Christian congregations, Catholic, main-line Protestant, and evangelical Protestant congregations are respectively 15 times, 8 times, and 9 times more likely to give to disaster relief efforts. However, the effect only appears to apply to the decision to give and only in domestic contexts. For international disasters, the only characteristics associated with giving to disaster relief efforts abroad or the amount of giving are a congregation's annual revenue and the proportion of Baby Boomer congregants.

4.2 | Going to/volunteering for disasters

Table 3 displays the predictors of congregational disaster volunteering (displayed as odds ratios). Support is found for Hypothesis Three in that patterns of congregational disaster giving are distinct from patterns of disaster volunteering. Support is also found for Hypothesis 6. For

TABLE 3 Logistic regressions estimating congregations' likelihood of participating in disaster relief service

	Participated in disaster relief service			
	Any	Local	Domestic (beyond Local)	International
Annual revenue ^a	1.440 (0.309)	0.910 (0.258)	1.732* (0.380)	2.349** (0.610)
Number of full-time ministerial staff ^a	0.762 (0.257)	1.676 (0.698)	0.537 (0.172)	0.668 (0.269)
Age of the congregation ^a	1.259 (0.298)	1.874* (0.497)	1.440 (0.379)	1.029 (0.186)
Affiliated with a national denomination or association	1.249 (0.678)	0.265* (0.151)	1.988 (1.199)	0.388 (0.247)
Number of collaborator types	1.709*** (0.254)	1.514** (0.195)	1.577** (0.219)	1.609*** (0.169)
Catholic ^b	0.536 (0.431)	3.016 (2.542)	0.507 (0.401)	0.366 (0.268)
Mainline Protestant ^b	0.755 (0.534)	4.021 (3.053)	0.624 (0.432)	1.490 (1.039)
Evangelical Protestant ^b	0.808 (0.550)	1.817 (1.480)	1.080 (0.723)	0.629 (0.475)
Black Protestant ^b	1.609 (1.512)	14.844* (16.320)	2.305 (2.178)	1.067 (1.000)
Proportion male	1.000 (0.023)	1.003 (0.024)	1.015 (0.024)	0.992 (0.019)
Predominantly white	2.026 (0.905)	1.314 (0.661)	2.920* (1.276)	2.556* (1.169)
Proportion Millennials	0.992 (0.016)	1.036** (0.012)	0.996 (0.017)	0.981 (0.020)
Urban ^c	0.749 (0.416)	1.137 (0.720)	0.714 (0.407)	0.939 (0.542)
Suburban ^c	1.306 (0.940)	4.061* (2.734)	1.137 (0.882)	1.589 (1.391)
Northeast ^d	3.659* (2.002)	1.232 (0.731)	2.716* (1.382)	2.767 (1.461)
South ^d	3.679** (1.632)	1.732 (0.913)	2.490* (1.161)	1.696 (0.841)
Midwest ^d	3.428** (1.629)	1.127 (0.590)	2.748* (1.315)	1.973 (0.919)
N	734	734	734	734

Note: Odds ratios reported; standard errors in parentheses; constants are not displayed.

^aLogged values.

^bReference category: Non-Christian traditions.

^cReference category: Rural.

^dReference category: West.

* $p \leq 0.05$; ** $p \leq 0.01$; *** $p \leq 0.001$ (two-tailed tests).

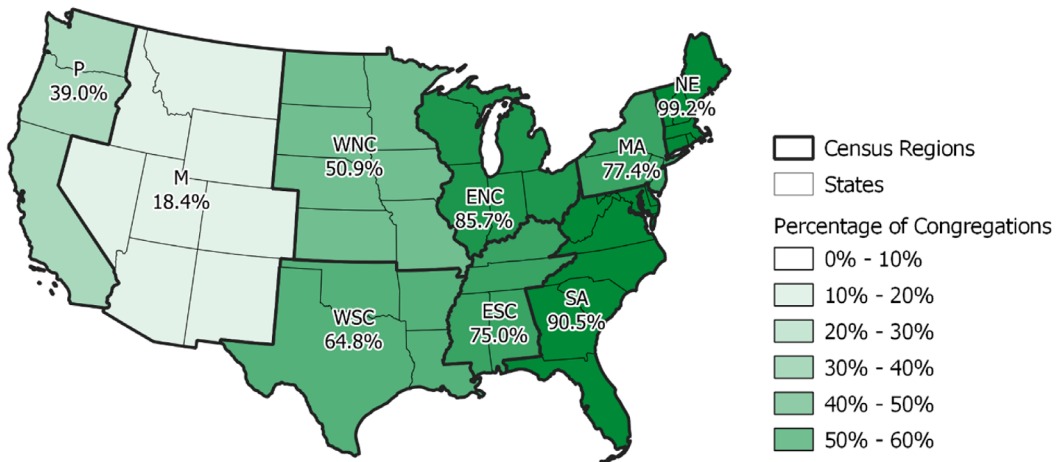
example, when focused on local disaster response, Black Protestant congregations are now most likely to participate compared to non-Christian congregations, by a factor of 14. Suburban congregations are also 4 times more likely than rural congregations to participate locally—potentially based on a greater determination of need. Although predominantly white congregations are not more likely to volunteer locally, they are nearly three times more likely to participate in domestic and international efforts. Similarly, a congregation's annual revenue is not associated with its likelihood of volunteering for local disaster relief; however—perhaps due to the greater need for logistical support—congregational wealth is positively associated with the likelihood of volunteering in domestic and international efforts further from home.

In the context of volunteering, our test of Hypothesis 4 produces an interesting result in that national affiliation only matters in the context of local response, and serves to reduce rather than increase participation. Comparing these results against Hypothesis 7 may explain the

finding. Strong support is found for Hypothesis 7 (a “collaboration” hypothesis) in that more networked congregations (displayed as “number of collaborator types”) are more likely to respond to disasters, locally to nationally to internationally. These results suggest that the power of collaborative work is indeed local but also that when it comes to collaborative opportunities, the attention of nationally affiliated congregations may be focused elsewhere.

Last, as we did with giving, volunteering for disasters appears to have substantial differences across regions of the United States. Whether these patterns support Hypothesis 5 is difficult to discern given the way this variable was operationalized. The findings related to regional giving and volunteering are also displayed as US Census Region maps in Figures 1a,b. Compared to congregations located in the West, congregations in the Northeast, South, and Midwest are

(a) Percentage of congregations by region that gave money to disaster relief efforts in the U.S. in 2017



(b) Percentage of congregations by region that participated in disaster relief service in the U.S. in 2017

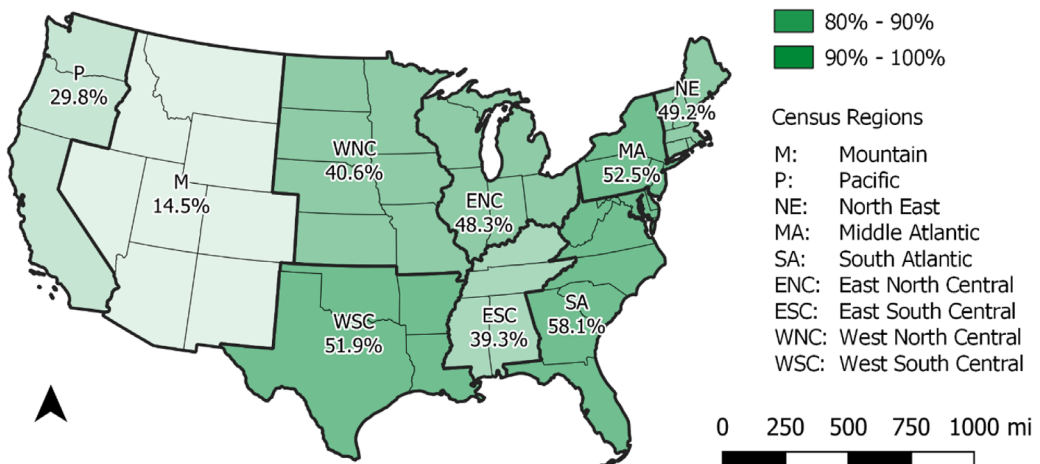


FIGURE 1 (a) Shows the prevalence of binary (yes/no) disaster giving by census region, corresponding to the variable “Gave money to disaster relief efforts in the U.S.” (b) Shows the prevalence of binary (yes/no) disaster volunteering, corresponding to the combination of the variables “Participated in disaster relief service locally” and “Participated in disaster relief service domestically (beyond local)”

approximately 3.5 times more likely to participate in any disaster relief service and approximately 2.5 times more likely to participate in disaster response in the United States. This outcome is likely related to the greater prevalence of disasters (e.g., hurricanes, floods, and tornadoes) in the Northeast, South, and Midwest in 2017 (a time period prior to the onslaught of wildfires in the West). With respect to control variables, older and whiter congregations and the proportion of Millennial participants are also related to greater likelihood of disaster volunteering.

5 | DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This study confirms that religious participation in disaster relief is a substantial phenomenon in the United States. However, from a theory-building perspective, the analysis indicates that patterns associated with congregational disaster giving and volunteering are nuanced and do not always follow prior theory. We do see some of the expected connection between organizational capacity and giving, and we also see the expected connection between giving capacity and networked and collaborative activity. Direct solicitation and related volunteer opportunities also increase giving, consistent with fundraising theory and theories of planned behavior. We also find congregational characteristics offer limited predictors of giving: only financial resources, religious affiliation, the suburban location and, to a slight extent, gender appear to matter more than any other characteristic.

But some new patterns also emerge. With respect to demographics, disaster giving is positively related to older congregants, but not to the age of the congregation itself. But members of older congregations do volunteer more in their own communities, perhaps as more locally trusted disaster participants (consistent with open systems theory). Distinct from many other philanthropic trends based on gender, it appears that giving and volunteering for disaster relief is positively related to the percentage of men in the congregation. This finding is particularly noteworthy since religious congregations are most often made up of majority female attendees.

Next (and also related to theories of planned behavior) is the disconnect between disaster giving and prior research on general generosity patterns among religious traditions. Catholic and Protestant congregations are more likely to give to disasters than non-Christian congregations. The reason is not necessarily because of theological/value differences. It could be partly because of the composition of non-Christian congregations, which may have more immigrant participants who are more inclined to donate to needs in their home country. We note for example that Christian congregations are more likely to give to US relief efforts, but not more likely to give to international relief efforts. In contrast, the analysis finds—with one exception—that a congregation's religious tradition is not associated with disaster volunteering. The exception is that Black Protestant congregations are exceedingly more likely to volunteer for local disasters. Trader-Leigh (2008) observed that Black congregations were under-recognized for their role in Katrina response, and our analysis supports that conclusion with much greater generalizability. In our analysis, racial distinctions are also reflected in our finding that predominately white congregations are more likely to send volunteers overseas for disaster response, but not locally.

Consistent with Drabek's disaster-focused theory of institutional response as a form of systems theory, we surmise that the immediate experience of a congregation may be more important than its congregational characteristics. We see this idea reflected in the finding that congregations are nearly two times more likely to give to and participate in disaster relief efforts in the United States compared to those outside the United States. We also see it in more disaster

giving and volunteering from congregations in the eastern two-thirds of the United States, which we suggest is related to the greater number of extreme natural disasters (e.g., hurricanes, floods, and tornadoes) in this region. The year 2017 was a record-setter for hurricanes, spawning Harvey, Irma, and Maria. It is to date the costliest season on record in terms of dollars and lives. The multi-state scope of these events also supports a “regional” analysis.

Our results may be of interest to policymakers or secular and governmental disaster relief networks interested in encouraging more help from local congregations. Prescriptively, in their recruiting efforts, disaster networks should look to older, suburban, Black Protestant, and more networked congregations. Nonetheless, in a year with numerous major weather disasters in the United States, the finding of limited local response is striking and should be noted by emergency planners. Only 16 percent of congregations reported participating in disaster volunteering in their local community. Due to the design of our study, it is not known whether this low participation rate in local disaster volunteering is due to the limited interest or capacity of local congregations, or instead due to lack of opportunity (i.e., no local disaster so no need to participate). While studies from Hurricanes Katrina/Rita suggest some serious capacity limits on local congregations to respond to disasters, especially when local disasters affect their own infrastructure, this study did not separate *opportunity* to respond from *willingness* or *ability* to respond. As climate change increases the percentage of affected communities, this distinction may matter more.

Next, of especial interest to scholars of volunteering are the relationship we found between both Black Protestant and younger (Millennial) congregants and local volunteering. These distinct profiles of local disaster volunteering warrant further study because they suggest a racial distinction between local congregational volunteering and national/international congregational volunteering, the latter being whiter.

Another noteworthy finding is the negative connection between local volunteering and being affiliated with a national denomination or association. It is not clear why nationally affiliated congregations are less likely to participate in local disaster volunteering. It is possible that national denominations/associations organize campaigns primarily around larger or more high-profile disasters, overlooking smaller, potentially localized disasters. Affiliated congregations might also allocate more of their limited resources to disasters for which their affiliation is focusing on, thereby lacking the resources or attention for local disaster participation.

To summarize, congregations make a significant impact in providing charitable giving and volunteering in response to disasters with over 70% of congregations giving to disaster relief and over half volunteering for disaster-related projects. However, differences in religious traditions are less predictive of participating in giving and going than some might have expected. Is it possible that the direct experiences of these congregations with community disasters and the ways in which traditions are networked with other religious or secular organizations locally, nationally, or internationally are perhaps better predictors of participation in disaster relief than particular religious beliefs or practices?

The minimal connections with international giving may rest on the more politically challenging work of international relief, with the aforementioned trust issues, but it may also rest on the more removed nature of disasters that occur outside the United States. Greater distance may increase the costs of participating, both in terms of giving and going. Distance may also hinder a congregation from responding due to less congregational awareness and a greater perceived difference between those giving and those receiving disaster relief. The disaster giving patterns may also be correlated with the already established collaborations or networks that may be less established abroad. In general, it appears relationships (whether in-group/out-

group, past experience in giving and volunteering, or established institutional networks) may serve as key factors for giving and going.

6 | CONCLUSION

While this nationally representative study makes useful contributions in mapping the American national landscape of congregation-based disaster response—finding a robust participation by congregations of all kinds—future research should go further to map this landscape in detail.

Future studies might address the severity, location, and particular type of the disaster. The magnitude of the disaster, a congregation's distance from it as well as whether the congregation itself was directly impacted by a disaster may also be factors in the extent and type of response. We captured these factors only roughly, and we did not differentiate between short-term and long-term response. For example, while there is evidence in this study and previous studies of a connection between proximity and response (Smith, 1978), there is also evidence for potentially contrasting responses wherein immediate relief comes from more distant congregations and long-term relief comes from those nearby (De Vita & Kramer, 2014).

In addition, this study was conducted before the rampant and devastating West Coast fires, and so our rather general finding of regional differences in disaster response invites more detailed chronological exploration. The American West does experience other annual weather events such as extreme heat, drought, wildfires, and earthquakes more frequently than do the Midwest or East. Was the 2017 hurricane season an outlier in our study, or are congregations in the American West always less likely to give or to participate in disaster relief activities? Our finding is even more surprising alongside Herzog and Price's (2016) findings that individuals in the West are slightly more likely to donate to charitable causes overall and to give more on average (although less likely to volunteer). When focused on congregations, in particular, do residents of the American West have a different approach to their religious activities or a different experience through which they respond to disasters?

All these questions should also be asked in the context of differences in religious traditions. Religious networks extend far beyond local and national borders. It is possible that international giving may change based on whether the disaster occurs in a context of shared religious tradition. How does “giving” and “going” differ internationally between in groups and out groups? Social psychological research has begun to test these questions through prompts of prayer and giving (Greenway et al., 2018).

While this is the first national study of congregations to look at disaster giving and volunteering across the entire United States, the major limitation of this study—its reliance on a point-in-time survey—should also be noted. A key reason to advocate for longitudinal or panel studies in this area is that natural disasters are annual events, increasing in severity under climate change. The capacity and interest of US congregations to respond annually to more complex and severe natural disasters should be captured on an ongoing basis.

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CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that they have no conflict of interest.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

All authors contributed equally to this work.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Research data are not shared.

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ENDNOTE

¹ Defined as “the range of formal and informal associations, networks and ties which can be called upon for support, together with the norms which govern them” (Lyons, 2010, p. 44).

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