



Called to Serve

A Study of Clergy Careers, Clergy Wellness,
and Clergy Women

Jointly sponsored by:

The Executive Council's Committee on the Status of Women

The Church Pension Fund's Office of Research

The Episcopal Church Center's Office of Women's Ministry

CREDO Institute, Inc.

Called to Serve

A Study of Clergy Careers, Clergy Wellness, and Clergy Women

Section I

Introduction

Dr. Matthew Price

On September 16, 1976, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church approved the ordination of women as priests and bishops. There are now almost 4,000 female priests and bishops in the Episcopal Church. Women represent over 40% of ordinations to the priesthood and have done so for over five years. Despite the presence of women clergy in the Church for over thirty years, there are still significant gaps when comparing compensation and years of service between male and female clergy, pointing to the significant obstacles that women clergy face. In seeking to understand these obstacles we acknowledge at the outset that our subject matter — the role of ordained women in the Church — is both complex and dynamic. Complex, in that the forces that shape women's choice of ministry are situated within an organization whose power dynamics are not simply hierarchical, but are also relational and associational. Power in the Episcopal Church is diffused through the denominational structure and leadership, dioceses, and congregations, and even within congregations between clergy and lay leaders. Ministry in the Church is not executed from the top, but negotiated at multiple levels. Women's ministry also takes place in a wider society that influences and constrains what women can do. Family roles that still place on women primary responsibility for the raising of children and the care of elderly parents constrain the opportunities that women have to pursue opportunities in ministry. Even as ministry takes place in complex ecclesial and social structures, these structures are themselves dynamic, constantly evolving so that both the Church and society in which women's ordination to the priesthood took place thirty years ago have changed significantly and new generations of ordinands differ in their expectations and attitudes.

In 2006, a set of General Convention resolutions reflected concerns over barriers that clergy women have faced and continue to face; specifically, discrimination in the search for Church employment both now and during the first ten years after women were ordained, the complexities created by balancing career and family, and the overall welfare and wellness of clergy women. (See Appendix One.) In order to fully comprehend this dynamic complexity of today's ministry environment, the Church Pension Fund, in cooperation with the Episcopal Church Center's Office of Women's Ministry and CREDO, carried out the landmark *Called to Serve* survey. So that we might understand the challenges ordained women face, this survey examined the changing nature of clergy career patterns and measured wellness among not only all clergy women whom we could contact, but also a random sample of active clergy men and retired clergy men. In doing this survey we needed to understand how clergy careers were changing for both men and women as part of understanding the dynamic and changing entity that is the Church; hence the inclusion in the sample retired males whose career patterns of early ordination and long service became the norm against which modern clergy careers are measured. We wanted to avoid comparing the career patterns of today's clergy women with the career patterns of male clergy ordained forty years ago. Our ambition was to move beyond an epistemology

of absence in which we simply noticed how the careers of clergy women were not like those of previous generations of clergy men, to describe the emerging pattern of clergy careers.

In this paper we will attempt to answer the main questions that were posed to us in the resolutions given to us by the 75th General Convention in 2006. First, *we will examine the service and compensation gap between clergy men and women* using the data from the Church Pension Group. Second, *we will describe those forces within the Church that have created these inequalities*, looking at formal structural barriers, but also at the subtle steering currents that lead clergy women into career backwaters. Third, *we will examine forces outside the organization*. These are more complex in that the forces that prevent women from realizing their career aspirations are tied into their family relationships and are attached to deeply inscribed role expectations which women come to occupy through role-taking within the family. It is a source of inequality that is fundamentally relational and thus harder to point to and counteract. It is a source of inequality in which women clergy might act against their own self-interest because they see themselves as acting in the collective interest of their family; a choice, but nevertheless a constrained one. For women married to higher-earning males, the choices can be shaped by the unequal earning power of themselves and their male spouses and thus ultimately caused by wider societal patterns of gender inequality.

In looking at the complexity of choices around family and career we also do not want to normalize a traditionally masculine perspective of seeing the maximization of career opportunities as being synonymous with the interests of one's family. That women clergy experience stress in the attempt to balance career and family and will place the collective interests of their families ahead of their own career advancement should not necessarily be seen as somehow an inferior choice.

In order to come up with a broader comparative measure than compensation we also have a broad set of measures of emotional wellness which give us a deeper insight into the state of ordained women's ministry. In all these observations we will set our findings within the context of the wider research on gender, work, and family with the understanding that the Church is not isolated from the wider society. The Church is shaped by society's norms even as it tries to reshape them by action and example.

Section II

Review of Current Literature

Grace Yukich

The challenges confronted by the Church in creating as much gender equality as possible are not faced by the Church alone. Instead, many of the patterns — both good and bad — that we see with male and female clergy are seen in other occupations. We begin by discussing some of the similarities between the Church and wider society in creating greater gender equality in pensions and earnings. We then discuss the similarities between the Church and society in remaining patterns of inequality. We use insights from sociological research on gender, work, and family to better understand why these patterns exist and what possible solutions there might be. Finally, we point out differences between the Church and the wider society, how those differences might influence the future course that patterns of inequality may take, and thus which solutions may be most fitting for the particularities of the Church's context.

In recent decades, the lives of American women and men have gone through substantial changes, particularly in their work and family roles. In 1970, only 40 percent of women 16 and older participated in the paid labor force. By 2005, that number had risen to 60 percent. Today, the majority of female workers work full-time, and they are making inroads into high-status occupations that have traditionally been dominated by men. Mothers, in particular, are employed outside of the home more often than in the past. In 1975, less than half of women with children under 18 engaged in paid employment, but by 2005 that number had increased to more than 70 percent.¹

These changes in women's participation in the labor force have not been accompanied by similarly dramatic shifts in male employment; we do not see men working far less than before. Rather, the rise in dual-earner couples has been striking, with a model that has long been present in the working class taking hold in the middle and professional classes as well.² Though women still perform a majority of the household labor in addition to their paid labor, the amount of household labor done by men has increased somewhat.³ Men have increased their labor within of the home by increasing their participation in child care. The amount of time men spend with their children has increased since 1965, especially among married men. At the same time, women have not decreased the amount of time they spend on child care, so children are actually cumulatively experiencing more time with their parents than in the past.⁴

These changes have created new benefits for men, women, and children. By increasing their paid labor, women have more freedom and control over their own lives and decision-making than ever before. Though many people assume that changes in women's participation in the work force has had a negative impact on children, research indicates that it actually has several benefits, including the fact that their parents actually spend more time with their children and that dual-earner couples report being happier, healthier, and more equal.⁵

Despite these beneficial developments, society still has a long way to go to reach full

¹ Sarah Winslow-Bowe, "Work-Family Intersections," *Sociology Compass* (2007) 1:385-403.

² Jerry A. Jacobs and Kathleen Gerson, *The Time Divide: Work, Family, and Gender Inequality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

³ Winslow-Bowe, "Work-Family Intersections."

⁴ Winslow-Bowe, "Work-Family Intersections."

⁵ Jacobs and Gerson, *The Time Divide*; Winslow-Bowe, "Work-Family Intersections."

gender equality, and the entrance of women into the workforce in increasing numbers without an accompanying decrease in the number of working men has resulted in problems collectively known as “work–family conflict.”

Even today, women earn only 77 cents to every dollar that men earn.⁶ This is partly due to occupational sex segregation, with women being concentrated in lower-paying jobs than men, but there is still a pay gap between men and women even when factors such as job, tenure, education, and experience are the same.⁷ In addition, the very fact that women are disproportionately concentrated in lower-paying, lower-status, and part-time jobs is problematic, as research shows that this is not primarily due to women’s preference for these types of jobs. Instead, research shows that discrimination against women is still prevalent, whether intentional or unintentional, in both the labor market itself and in pre-labor market preparation.⁸

Not only does general inequality exist between men and women’s earnings, but the effects of being married and of having children differ for men and women, exacerbating the inequality. Women are subject to a “motherhood wage penalty,” while men are rewarded with a “fatherhood wage premium.”⁹ For women under 35, the pay gap between mothers and non-mothers is greater than the pay gap between men and women. In other words, employed mothers account for most of the gender pay gap. Research demonstrates that this is at least partly due to discrimination against mothers among employers.¹⁰ In contrast, men are often rewarded for having children, with married fathers earning higher wages than childless men. Studies demonstrate that this is because the birth of a child creates a more unequal gender division of labor, freeing up fathers to spend more time at work, as well as cultural expectations regarding masculinity and breadwinning that cause employers to prefer fathers to men without children.¹¹

Related to these issues of remaining gender inequality in the paid labor force, differences exist in the extent to which men and women experience what is usually called “work–family conflict.” The conflict between work and family is particularly strong for women because they experience “competing devotions” between the notion of the ideal worker and the norms of female devotion to family.¹² Even though women increasingly work full-time outside of the home, they still tend to do the majority of household tasks, a phenomenon known as “the second shift.”¹³ Also, though men participate more in household labor than they used to, men and women tend to perform different tasks, with women doing more of the jobs that must be done every day.¹⁴ Additionally, though men do more of the housework than in the past and participate more in child care than in the past, women generally retain ultimate

⁶ Winslow-Bowe, “Work–Family Intersections.”

⁷ Isabel Fernandez-Mateo, “Cumulative Gender Disadvantage in Contract Employment,” *American Journal of Sociology* (2009) 114:871-923.

⁸ Stephen J. Rose and Heidi I. Hartman, “Still a Man’s Labor Market: The Long-Term Earnings Gap,” *Institute for Women’s Policy Research* (2004), Publication #C355.

⁹ Shelley J. Correll, Stephen Benard, and In Paik, “Getting a Job: Is There a Motherhood Penalty?” *American Journal of Sociology* (2007) 112:1297-133; Rebecca Glauber, “Race and Gender in Families and at Work: The Fatherhood Wage Premium,” *Gender & Society* (2008) 22:8-30.

¹⁰ Correll, Benard, and Paik, “Getting a Job.”

¹¹ Glauber, “Race and Gender in Families and at Work.”

¹² Mary Blair-Loy, *Competing Devotions: Career and Family Among Women Executives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

¹³ Arlie Russell Hochschild with Anne Machung, *The Second Shift: Working Families and the Revolution at Home* (New York: Viking Books, 1989).

¹⁴ Suzanne M. Bianchi, Melissa A. Milkie, Liana C. Sayer, and John P. Robinson, “Is Anyone Doing the Housework?” *Social Forces* (2000) 79:191-228.

responsibility for all of these tasks.¹⁵ This means that women must cut back on other things, such as personal or leisure time.

Why do these inequalities persist, despite many efforts to eradicate them? Research demonstrates that there are multiple reasons that the realities of women and men's work and family lives remain significantly different from one another. First, the most commonly discussed reasons for the gender pay gap are gender segregation in the labor market (with women working in lower-paying occupations and positions), women spending more time outside of paid labor in caring for the family, and women receiving lower rewards for comparable work and qualifications.¹⁶ In particular, for the highest-paying and most prestigious jobs, a "glass ceiling" exists through which women have had great difficulty breaking in order to have access to these jobs. This is at least partly due to the fact that these jobs still largely belong to men, and "in-group favoritism" as well as differences in social networks can lead men to prefer other men over equally qualified women.¹⁷ Second, regarding the motherhood penalty and the fatherhood premium (which contribute heavily to the gender pay gap), cultural stereotypes about motherhood and fatherhood, which still depend heavily on a breadwinner-homemaker model that is largely nonexistent today, lead to discriminatory practices by employers and pressures on parents to fulfill their "appropriate" work-family roles.¹⁸

In addition, inequalities in time spent in the work force (due to part-time work and/or leaves), differences in the types of jobs worked, and inequities in responsibility for household tasks and child care are often attributed to women and men "choosing" different things. Though an element of choice may be involved, men and women have different options from which to choose from the very beginning. Pre-labor market preparation differs for men and women, directing them into different types of jobs.¹⁹ Also, as scholars Stephen Rose and Heidi Hartman point out, "When women 'choose' to spend more time out of the labor market taking care of children than their husbands do, how much of that choice is constrained by lack of affordable, good quality alternative care, women's lower pay or inferior working conditions on the job, their expectations that they won't be promoted anyway, or social norms in their kinship network, religious group, or community?"²⁰ In other words, it is not just that women have different preferences than men; their choices are almost always constrained.

Though much of this news is discouraging to those who seek greater gender equity, in the end, when both paid and unpaid labor are taken into account, men and women work a similar number of hours, but far more in total than they did in the past.²¹ For both men and women, these authors fear that what is sacrificed is neither work nor family, ultimately, but "the self."²² Therefore, what is needed is to address not only the issues of gender inequality and work-family balance, but also the cultural assumptions that this much work is necessary and healthy.²³

¹⁵ Winslow-Bowe, "Work-Family Intersections."

¹⁶ Barbara Reskin and Patricia Roos, *Job Queues, Gender Queues: Explaining Women's Inroads into Male Occupations*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Rose and Hartman, "Still a Man's Labor Market"; Louise Marie Roth, *Selling Women Short: Gender and Money on Wall Street* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

¹⁷ Elizabeth H. Gorman and Julie A. Kmec, "Hierarchical Rank and Women's Organizational Mobility: Glass Ceilings in Corporate Law Firms," *American Journal of Sociology* (2009) 114:1428-74.

¹⁸ Blair-Loy, *Competing Devotions*; Correll, Bernard, and Paik, "Getting a Job"; Glauber, "Race and Gender"; Gretchen Webber and Christine Williams, "Part-Time Work and the Gender Division of Labor," *Qualitative Sociology* (2008) 31:15-36.

¹⁹ Rose and Hartman, "Still a Man's Labor Market."

²⁰ Rose and Hartman, "Still a Man's Labor Market."

²¹ Suzanne Bianchi, John Robinson, and Melissa Milkie, *Changing Rhythms of American Family Life* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2006); Webber and Williams, "Part-Time Work."

²² Jacobs and Gerson, *The Time Divide*; Webber and Williams, "Part-Time Work."

²³ Jacobs and Gerson, *The Time Divide*.

Section III

**Long-Term Gender Discrepancies
in Compensation**

Anne Hurst

The fundamental question put to the research team was: Are there differences or inequalities between women and men clergy in terms of employment and compensation? The short answer is: yes. Using twenty years worth of compensation and employment data for clergy, we were able to identify some of the most basic gender differences between men and women clergy. Men show significantly higher employment ratios, defined as years of employment with respect to years since ordination; for example, a cleric who has been ordained for twenty years and has been employed for eighteen of those years may be said to have a 90% employment ratio. Men's employment ratios average of 64% in comparison to 48% for women. Moreover, there is a predictive relationship between employment ratio and average compensation which reveals similar gender discrepancies, where women's employment ratio more strongly predicts their compensation, while men's less strongly predicts compensation. Thus, although clergy men hold more employment positions during their careers, their employment ratio moderately affects their pay, whereas clergy women, who hold fewer employment positions during their careers, experience a stronger influence of employment ratio on their pay.

Men enjoy significantly higher average compensation levels than women, with men earning \$60,773 on average and women earning \$45,656 on average. This result emerges even in the light of the fact that women have a significantly higher average percentage of pay increases from year to year, where women receive 2.1% increases on average and men receive 1.7% increases on average. These results answer the primary research question in short, but to gain a better understanding of these differences and inequalities, we examined influencing factors on compensation and employment, and took a closer look at gender differences for clergy over the span of twenty years.

Although we find the same gender differences detailed above consistently over time, the discrepancies between men and women are shrinking in some respects. When examining employment ratios over time we find that in just twenty years the gap between men and women has decreased, and though men previously had higher employment ratios than women, that pattern has inverted in recent years (See Figure 3.1).



Figure 3.1 Employment ratio over time by gender.

This shift in the employment ratio pattern for men and women is mirrored when we look at this pattern segmented to show employment ratios in five-year spans. This shows a gradual decrease in the employment ratios between clergy women and men (See Figure 3.2).

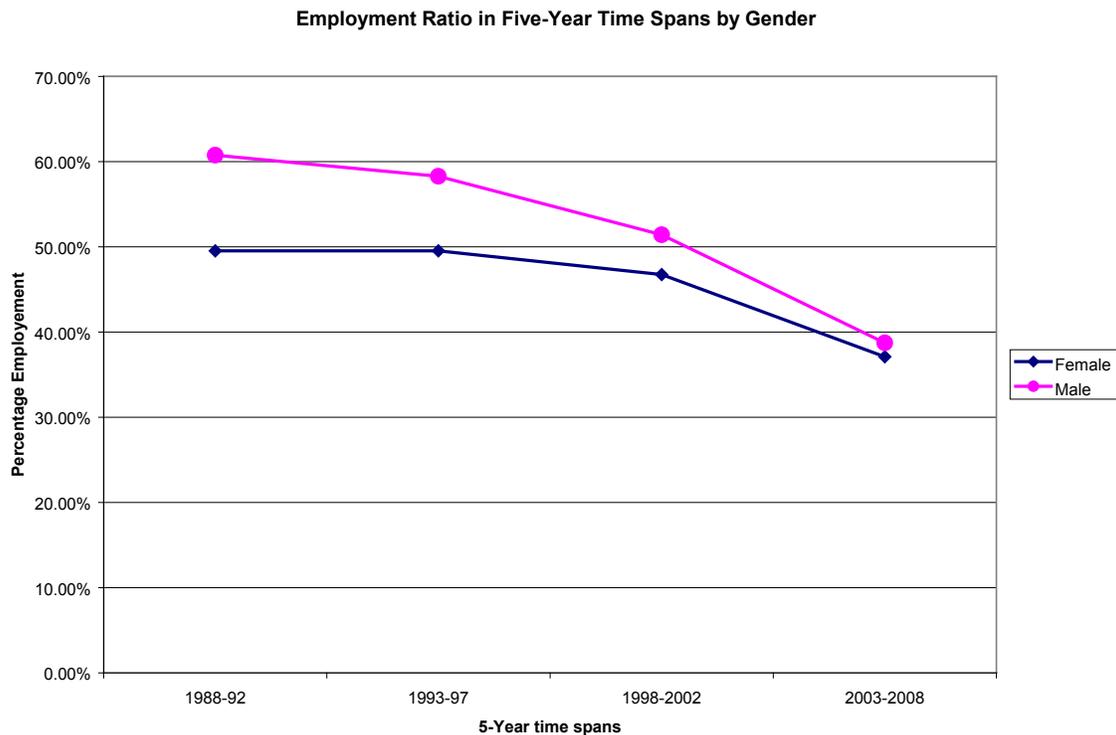


Figure 3.2 Employment ratio in five-year time spans by gender.

Although we see decreases in gender discrepancies in clergy employment ratio, the difference in compensation for men and women clergy remains fairly consistent over the past twenty years. (See Figure 3.3)

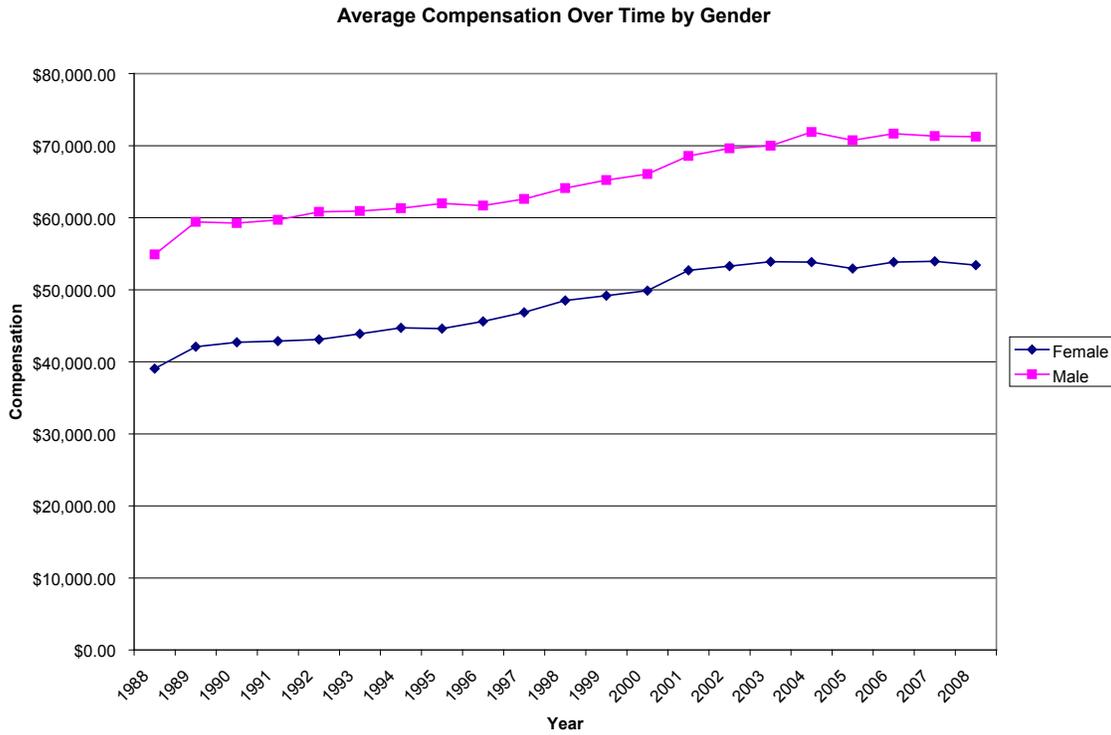


Figure 3.3 Average compensation over time by gender.

In contrast to the trends found in compensation, percentage pay raises over time show different discrepancies between men and women clergy. Consistent with the finding that on average women clergy have significantly higher pay increases than male clergy even though compensation is typically higher for men, we see this same pattern across a twenty-year span (See Figure 3.4).

Percent Pay Increases Over Time by Gender

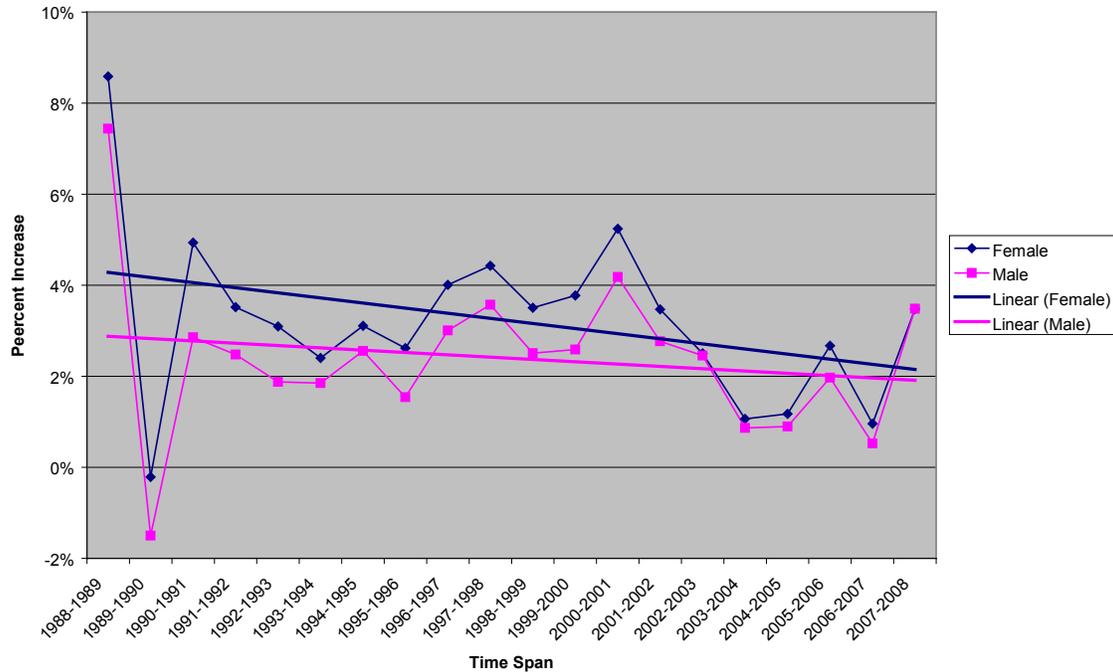


Figure 3.4 Percent pay increases over time by gender.

Although pay raises appear to stay consistently higher for women clergy, they have not been enough to have a compound effect over time to raise women’s average compensation closer to the level of clergy men.

Looking at these gender trends across time helps to give context to the inequalities we find between clergy women and men. To add further context to these findings, we look at influencing factors that relate uniquely to gender, employment, and compensation. One influencing factor on all three of these constructs is that of marital status. There is evidence in the secular working world that marital status influences job opportunities as well as income. These factors are reflected in our own data, as well. In the clergy population, both men and women are more likely to be married than not; 82% of men and 64% of women are married. Being married, however, has a significantly different relationship to rate of employment and compensation for women than for men.

Married men have greater employment ratios (65% on average) than non-married men (59%), while married women have lower employment ratios (47% on average) than non-married women (51%; see Figure 3.5).

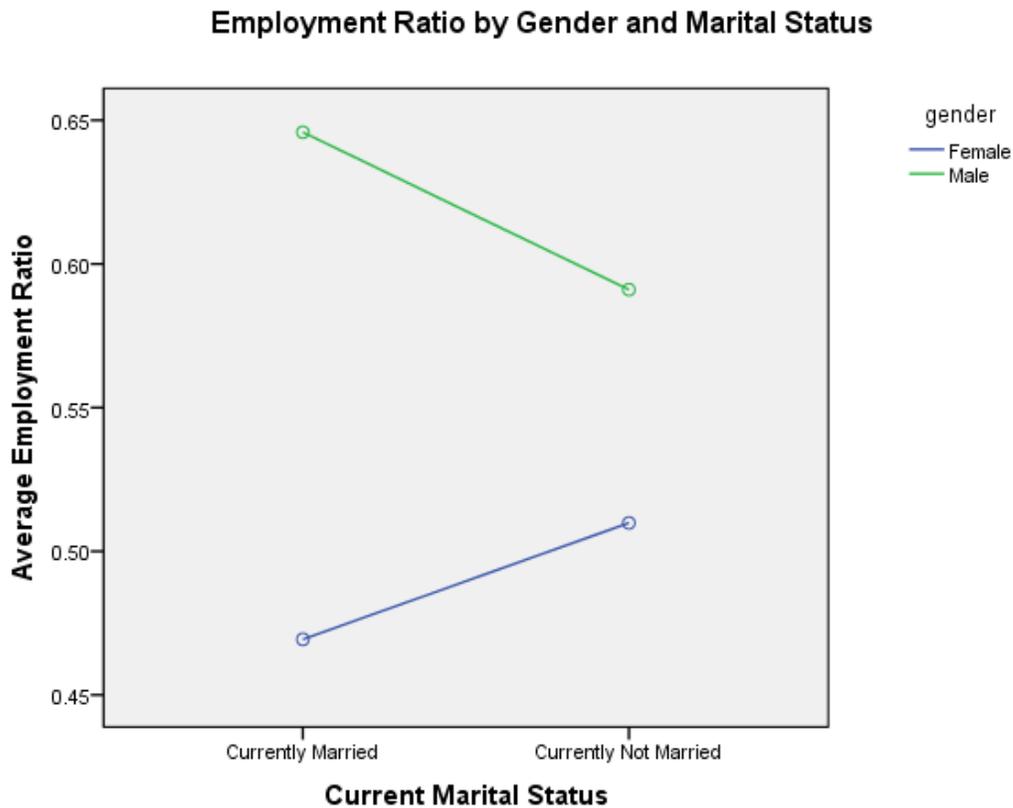


Figure 3.5 Employment ratio by gender and marital status.

Analogous to the relationship found between employment ratio and compensation, a similar pattern is found for the effect marital status and gender have on compensation. Men who are married receive greater compensation on average (\$61,964) than men who are not married (\$55,388). In contrast, the inverse is true for women. Married women receive significantly less compensation on average (\$44,544) than non-married women (\$47,455; see Figure 3.6).

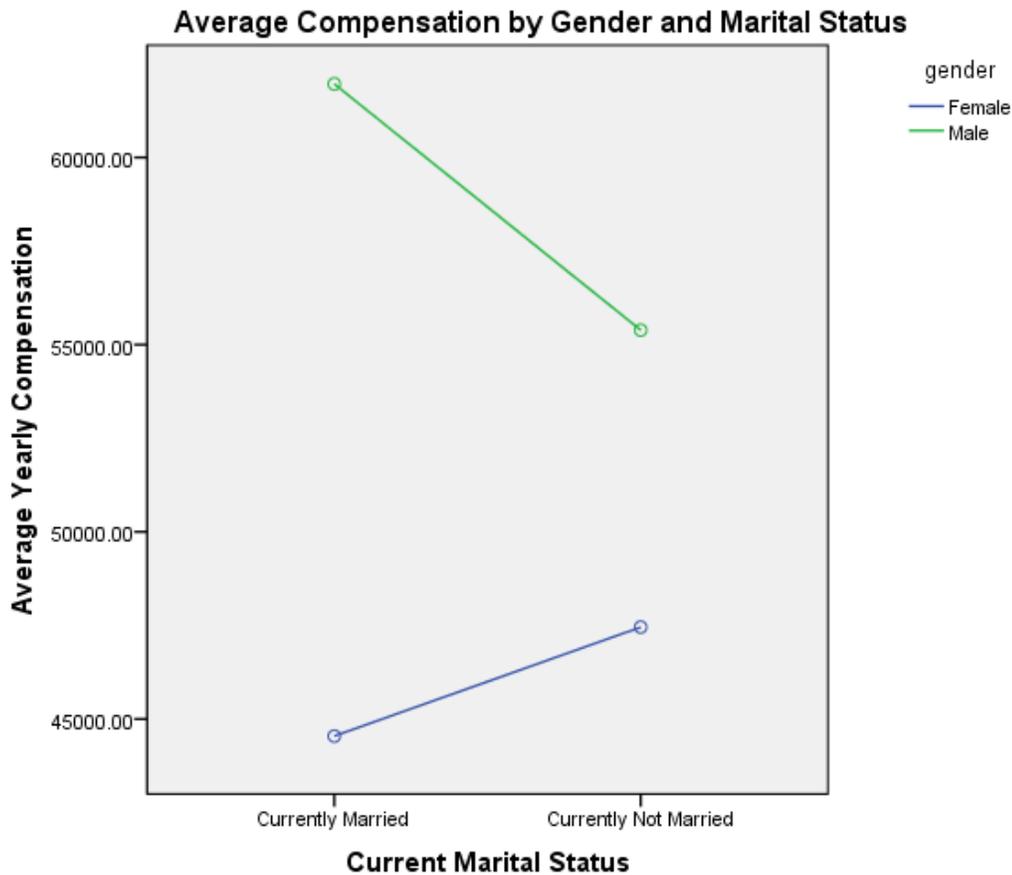


Figure 3.6 Average compensation by gender and marital status.

In conclusion, there are simple answers and more complex answers to the question of equity in employment and compensation for clergy women and clergy men. There are discrepancies on average and over time that both support and do not support presumed ideas surrounding gender equity in employment practices within the Church. Moreover, these patterns must be evaluated with respect to influencing factors that may better illuminate the complex issue of gender and employment in the Church.

Section IV

Explaining the Gap – Factors Within the Church

The Rev. Dr. Paula Nesbitt

Historically, a number of forces have emerged from within the Church to affect clergy career paths. These have included the active encouragement or discouragement by bishops, deployment officers, and other leaders; the helpfulness of informal networks of seminary contacts and colleagues; the Church Deployment Office (CDO); and a number of other resources. For women, the most overwhelmingly negative influence within the Church was the refusal of some dioceses to allow their ordination as deacons or priests or, if ordained, to allow or support their employment. The challenges faced by women ordained to the priesthood in the 1970s who sought parish ministry positions is well-known. During the 1970s and afterward, fewer search committees were willing to consider women for rectorships or other professional positions than men, or to hire women if they did apply, which contributed significantly to the development of a gender gap between men's and women's career paths. Many studies have shown that while men normally have moved into a rectorship after their first few years following ordination, women typically have moved laterally into another associate or staff position. The gender gap in compensation, credited service, full-time placements, attainment of rectorships and higher-level positions, has been well documented by these studies over the years.²⁴

Although the *size* of the gender gap has diminished somewhat over the last decade in a number of ways, its continuing persistence has been troubling—especially at an historic time in the Church when women have been called and elected to positions that include the Church's highest office (Presiding Bishop) and they are now able to be ordained and their ministries recognized in all dioceses of the Church. What effects, if any, do forces within the Church still have that may continue to contribute to this overall gender gap? Alternatively, is the gender gap a product of women preferring to choose different types of ministries than those associated with high levels of leadership, compensation, and credited service? To begin looking at these various effects, we must consider what may be occurring when clergy are seeking paid work in the Church in the following situations: seeking a return to employment after a break of service, seeking a rector/vicar position, seeking a high-level position as a cathedral dean or bishop, and seeking a specialized ministry position.

How easily can one find a paid position if one's own employment contract ends or is terminated, or one needs to move to another city or region due to family or other reasons? Such changes involve *forced* mobility, rather than the type of mobility where clergy may actively *choose* to leave one position for another. Historically, women clergy have more often been affected than men by the conditions of forced mobility, in part because they have been more likely to hold staff and other support positions that were more vulnerable to turnover when a new supervisor (e.g., rector) was called, or the types of positions they held were more easily eliminated with downturns in the parish or diocesan economy. Additionally, women who are married or partnered have faced forced mobility when a spouse/partner relocates to another region, or they lost their position when needing to take time out for childbirth or extended family care responsibilities.

²⁴ See, for example, Matthew Price, *2006 State of the Clergy Report*, Church Pension Group (<http://download.cpg.org/home/publications/pdf/stateofclergy2006.pdf>); Barbara Brown Zikmund et al., *Clergy Women: An Uphill Calling* (Minneapolis, MN: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1998); Paula Nesbitt, *Feminization of the Clergy in America: Occupational and Organizational Perspectives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

When priests have returned to parish ministry after time away, the data showed that nearly two-thirds felt that it was somewhat to very easy to return and we found there were no gender differences. However, when it came to finding a *suitable paid* position within the Church, men were significantly more likely to say that it had been easy for them to do so.

Table 4.1 Ease of return to parish ministry for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Ease of re-entering parish ministry	Men	Women	Total
Very easy	33% (N=21)	34% (N=64)	34% (N=85)
Somewhat easy	30% (N=19)	29% (N=55)	29% (N=74)
Somewhat difficult	20% (N=13)	22% (N=41)	21% (N=54)
Very difficult	17% (N=11)	15% (N=28)	16% (N=39)

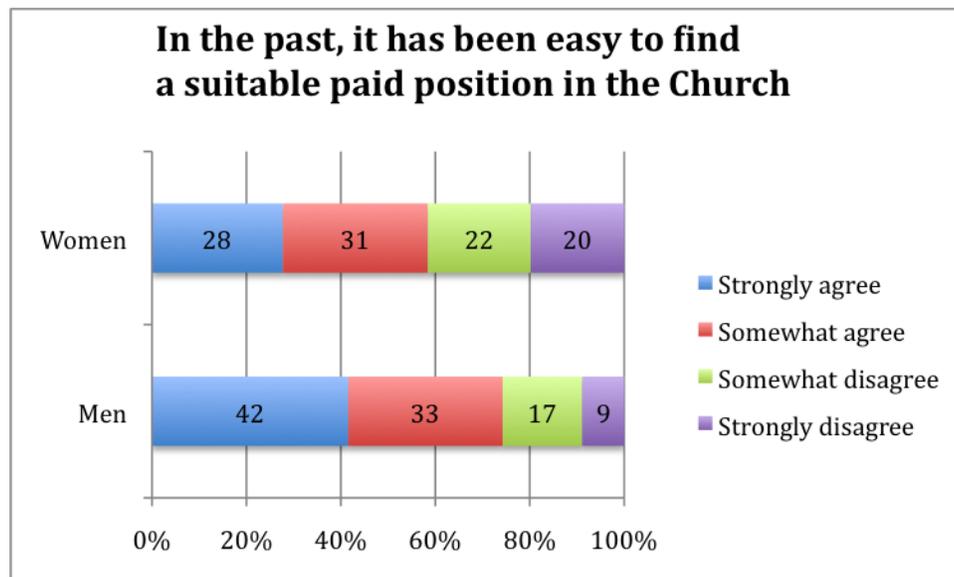


Figure 4.1 Ease of finding *suitable* paid position in the Church for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

This was the case, even when controlling for the era when they were ordained, their age at ordination, or either past or present inability to geographically relocate. Race and ethnicity had no effect. This suggests that while positions may be available, gender may affect one’s ability to find paid work that either is appropriate to one’s qualifications or to one’s economic needs.

One of the challenges that clergywomen traditionally have faced is being able to move from an associate rector or other staff-level placements to a rectorship or other position where they are the principal or senior ordained leader. Research over the past thirty years has shown a persistent trend of

men called to rectorships by their second placement, on average, while women typically have moved laterally to another staff position. This trend has changed little. In the data, women were significantly more likely than men to have applied for positions as vicar or rector but not to have held them, indicating both an active interest in such positions and evidence that there may be gender disparities in who becomes hired (called).

Table 4.2 Those who *applied* for rector or vicar positions but *never* have held them, for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Applied for rector or vicarship	Men	Women	Total
No	82% (N=62)	57% (N=157)	62% (N=219)
Yes	18% (N=14)	43% (N=118)	38% (N=132)

When age was taken into account, the gender difference was pronounced for those ordained in their thirties, with women much more likely than men ordained at that age to have applied unsuccessfully for vicar and rectorships.

Table 4.3 Those who *applied* for rector or vicar positions but *never* have held them, for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Age ordained	Applied for rector or vicarship	Men	Women	Total
20s	No	90% (N=26)	64% (N=35)	73% (N=61)
	Yes	10% (N=3)	36% (N=20)	27% (N=23)
30s	No	82% (N=28)	60% (N=51)	66% (N=79)
	Yes	18% (N=6)	40% (N=34)	34% (N=40)
40s	No	70% (N=7)	55% (N=48)	57% (N=55)
	Yes	30% (N=3)	45% (N=39)	43% (N=42)
50s	No	33% (N=1)	47% (N=20)	46% (N=21)
	Yes	67% (N=2)	54% (N=23)	54% (N=25)
60s	No	0% (N=0)	60% (N=3)	60% (N=3)
	Yes	0% (N=0)	40% (N=2)	40% (N=2)

The persistent gender gap in attainment is critical partly because holding a rectorship historically has been considered to be the standard career position for clergy to hold—one which combines both parish ministry and leadership skills. It also has been the normal expected experience for clergy to be called to high-level leadership within the Church, such as cathedral dean or bishop. In the data, men were significantly more likely than women to have held a position as vicar or rector, regardless of when or what age they had been ordained, and whether or not clergy were able to relocate either in the past or currently. Race or ethnicity had no effect.

Table 4.4 Those having held rector or vicar positions, for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Rector or vicarship	Men	Women	Total
No	7% (N=253)	35% (N=331)	28% (N=349)
Yes	93% (N=63)	65% (N=626)	72% (N=879)

Table 4.5 Those having held rector or vicar positions by age ordained, for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Age ordained	Held rector or vicarship	Men	Women	Total
20s	No	6% (N=6)	46% (N=57)	28% (N=63)
	Yes	94% (N=94)	54% (N=67)	72% (N=161)
30s	No	4% (N=4)	29% (N=75)	22% (N=79)
	Yes	96% (N=98)	71% (N=186)	78% (N=284)
40s	No	7% (N=3)	28% (N=89)	25% (N=92)
	Yes	94% (N=43)	72% (N=229)	75% (N=272)
50s	No	7% (N=1)	42% (N=93)	40% (N=94)
	Yes	93% (N=14)	58% (N=129)	60% (N=143)
60s	No	57% (N=4)	50% (N=15)	51% (N=19)
	Yes	43% (N=3)	50% (N=15)	49% (N=18)

Men were more likely to have held not only rectorships but also higher-level leadership positions in the Church (such as cathedral dean and bishop). Among clergy who have not held certain leadership positions but have applied for them, men were significantly more likely to have applied for a position as cathedral dean or bishop, despite not being called or elected.

Table 4.6 Those who have *applied* for elite leadership positions (cathedral dean or bishop) but *have not* held them, for men and women active priests ordained since 1970.

Applied for position as cathedral dean or bishop	Men	Women	Total
No	55% (N=42)	74% (N=204)	70% (N=246)
Applied for cathedral dean or bishop	32% (N=24)	20% (N=54)	22% (N=78)
Applied for both cathedral dean and bishop	13% (N=10)	6% (N=17)	8% (N=27)

In further analyses, women were significantly less likely to have applied for those positions even when controlling for age at ordination and current inability to relocate. This raises further questions as to the extent that a gender gap in high-level leadership can be attributed to women’s personal decisions not to apply for such positions.

When analyzing the effect that gender and other influences might have on attaining not only vicar and rectorships but also high-level leadership positions of cathedral dean or bishop, gender was the strongest predictor even when year ordained, age at ordination, race/ethnicity, and whether one had been unable to geographically relocate (either in the past or currently) were held constant. Current inability to relocate predictably had a strong effect on attainment, but race/ethnicity did not. When male and female clergy career paths were considered separately, an inability to geographically relocate had no effect on men moving into a vicar- or rectorship or higher-level leadership, but current geographic immobility was significant for women. This may suggest that men are more able to find a leadership-level position regardless of current geographic limitations than are women.

Among priests working for pay in specialized ministry settings, neither a lack of geographic mobility nor a lack of support from diocesan leaders showed any significant differences by gender for those who might have wanted a parish position, even when controlling for when they were ordained. Nor did gender differences emerge for those who preferred such positions in order to have more flexibility for family and personal concerns.

Negotiating compensation and benefits

Once clergy have been called to a position, another challenge may arise in how well the compensation package fits their needs. In secular organizations, employers normally make an offer based on expectations that some negotiating will take place that could increase the overall value of the compensation package. For clergy, compensation packages may involve a range of aspects such as salary, housing arrangements, vacation and leave policies, continuing education, and other matters. While some compensation packages as offered may fit clergy needs well, typically some negotiation is expected in order to arrive at a good fit for both employer and the one who has been called.

Gender differences did emerge from the data in clergy experiences of having negotiated and received greater compensation than originally offered, with men significantly more likely than women to have successfully negotiated a greater compensation package than what had been offered, which suggests that men overall are more successful than women in negotiating their financial needs. This

finding is well-known in research on secular occupations, where negotiating pays off more for men than women. Although we do not know the extent of gender differences, if any, among priests who accepted an offer *without* negotiating, women in secular work have been much more likely than men to accept what was offered rather than to negotiate additional needs, which can result in yet greater gender differences in overall compensation. The cumulative effects of either women not negotiating or doing so less successfully than men can contribute sizably to a financial gender gap across clergy careers.

Table 4.7 Having negotiated and received more compensation than offered in Church positions, for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Negotiated and received more compensation than offered	Men	Women	Total
Strongly agree	19% (N=48)	11% (N=104)	13% (N=152)
Somewhat agree	25% (N=63)	22% (N=211)	23% (N=274)
Somewhat disagree	24% (N=60)	25% (N=234)	24% (N=294)
Strongly disagree	33% (N=84)	43% (N=407)	41% (N=491)

Employment, Gender and the Organizational Structure of the Church

Finding suitable positions may involve a variety of resources. One of the more important sources for learning about openings across the Church has been the Church Deployment Office (CDO), which offers a bulletin as well as the ability to have one's profile available for search committees and deployment officers to identify as a possible match for openings. Overall, male clergy have found the profile to be a significantly more useful resource than women. When broken down by age at ordination, the CDO Profile was seen by men ordained in their twenties and thirties as significantly more useful in finding positions than it was by women ordained at those ages.

Table 4.8 Usefulness of CDO profile in obtaining paid Church positions for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Usefulness of CDO Profile	Men	Women	Total
Very useful	29% (N=80)	20% (N=191)	22% (N=271)
Somewhat useful	40% (N=109)	45% (N=439)	44% (N=548)
Not useful	31% (N=83)	35% (N=338)	34% (N=421)

Table 4.9 Usefulness of CDO profile in obtaining paid Church positions for non-retired male and female priests *by age* ordained since 1970.

Age ordained	Usefulness of CDO Profile	Men	Women	Total
20s	Very useful	26% (N=31)	13% (N=17)	19% (N=48)
	Somewhat useful	44% (N=53)	40% (N=55)	42% (N=108)
	Not useful	30% (N=36)	47% (N=64)	39% (N=100)
30s	Very useful	34% (N=36)	19% (N=52)	23% (N=88)
	Somewhat useful	40% (N=42)	45% (N=124)	44% (N=166)
	Not useful	26% (N=27)	36% (N=97)	33% (N=124)
40s	Very useful	31% (N=15)	24% (N=75)	25% (N=90)
	Somewhat useful	33% (N=16)	46% (N=145)	44% (N=161)
	Not useful	37% (N=18)	30% (N=94)	31% (N=112)
50s	Very useful	20% (N=3)	20% (N=44)	20% (N=47)
	Somewhat useful	40% (N=6)	47% (N=102)	47% (N=108)
	Not useful	40% (N=6)	33% (N=71)	33% (N=77)
60s	Very useful	17% (N=1)	12% (N=3)	13% (N=4)
	Somewhat useful	33% (N=2)	46% (N=12)	44% (N=14)
	Not useful	50% (N=3)	42% (N=11)	44% (N=14)

Table 4.10 Usefulness of CDO profile in obtaining paid Church positions for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970, *by decade of ordination*.

Year ordained	Usefulness of CDO Profile	Men	Women	Total
1950s/1960s	Very useful	27% (N=7)		27% (N=7)
	Somewhat useful	42% (N=11)		42% (N=11)
	Not useful	31% (N=8)		31% (N=8)
1970s	Very useful	30% (N=21)	18% (N=8)	25% (N=29)
	Somewhat useful	45% (N=32)	41% (N=18)	44% (N=50)
	Not useful	25% (N=18)	41% (N=18)	31% (N=36)
1980s	Very useful	37% (N=28)	18% (N=34)	23% (N=62)
	Somewhat useful	43% (N=32)	49% (N=93)	47% (N=125)
	Not useful	20% (N=15)	34% (N=64)	30% (N=79)
1990s	Very useful	26% (N=9)	25% (N=40)	25% (N=49)
	Somewhat useful	37% (N=13)	51% (N=82)	48% (N=95)
	Not useful	37% (N=13)	25% (N=40)	27% (N=53)
2000s	Very useful	27% (N=18)	23% (N=97)	24% (N=115)
	Somewhat useful	38% (N=23)	45% (N=187)	44% (N=212)
	Not useful	35% (N=23)	32% (N=136)	33% (N=159)

Overall, this could suggest that the CDO profile had been sufficiently improved and marketed as a deployment tool such that gender differences disappeared for those ordained in 1990 and later.

Another resource, especially helpful for clergy during the first few years of ministry, has been their seminary deans, faculty, and professional staff. Female priests who were ordained in their thirties saw this as significantly more helpful in finding positions than did their male peers, although gender made no difference for other age groups.

Table 4.11 Usefulness of seminary deans, faculty, and professional staff in obtaining paid Church positions for non-retired male and female priests, *by age*, ordained since 1970.

Age ordained	Usefulness of Seminary Professional Contacts	Men	Women	Total
20s	Very useful	19% (N=14)	21% (N=24)	20% (N=38)
	Somewhat useful	29% (N=22)	28% (N=32)	29% (N=54)
	Not useful	52% (N=39)	50% (N=57)	51% (N=96)
30s	Very useful	8% (N=6)	23% (N=47)	19% (N=53)
	Somewhat useful	30% (N=23)	29% (N=59)	29% (N=82)
	Not useful	63% (N=49)	48% (N=98)	52% (N=147)
40s	Very useful	14% (N=5)	16% (N=39)	16% (N=44)
	Somewhat useful	25% (N=9)	26% (N=62)	26% (N=71)
	Not useful	61% (N=22)	58% (N=140)	59% (N=162)
50s	Very useful	11% (N=1)	15% (N=24)	14% (N=25)
	Somewhat useful	22% (N=2)	29% (N=48)	29% (N=50)
	Not useful	67% (N=6)	57% (N=94)	57% (N=100)
60s	Very useful	0% (N=0)	10% (N=2)	8% (N=2)
	Somewhat useful	20% (N=1)	38% (N=8)	35% (N=9)
	Not useful	80% (N=4)	52% (N=11)	58% (N=15)

Table 4.12 Usefulness of seminary deans, faculty, and professional staff in obtaining paid Church positions for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970, *by decade of ordination*.

Year ordained	Usefulness of Seminary Professional Contacts	Men	Women	Total
1950s/1960s	Very useful	29% (N=5)		29% (N=5)
	Somewhat useful	24% (N=4)		24% (N=4)
	Not useful	47% (N=8)		47% (N=8)
1970s	Very useful	10% (N=4)	33% (N=11)	21% (N=15)
	Somewhat useful	31% (N=12)	21% (N=7)	26% (N=19)
	Not useful	59% (N=23)	46% (N=15)	53% (N=38)
1980s	Very useful	8% (N=4)	19% (N=23)	16% (N=27)
	Somewhat useful	32% (N=16)	22% (N=27)	25% (N=43)
	Not useful	60% (N=30)	59% (N=73)	60% (N=103)
1990s	Very useful	4% (N=1)	18% (N=23)	16% (N=24)
	Somewhat useful	44% (N=10)	28% (N=35)	30% (N=45)
	Not useful	52% (N=12)	54% (N=69)	54% (N=81)
2000s	Very useful	9% (N=5)	15% (N=50)	14% (N=55)
	Somewhat useful	15% (N=8)	32% (N=107)	29% (N=115)
	Not useful	76% (N=40)	54% (N=183)	57% (N=223)

When considering year of ordination, this resource has been particularly helpful for women ordained since 2000, as well as for women ordained in the 1970s. This may have been the result of both an active commitment by seminaries to get their female alumni placed during the era when female priests were few and, since 2000, a generational change in seminary leadership overall that is more likely to support women today.

Yet another important resource for finding a paid position is one's diocesan leadership. Overall, male priests have viewed their bishop as a more useful resource for obtaining paid work than have women, although gender differences within age or ordination cohorts disappear.

Table 4.13 Usefulness of bishop in obtaining paid Church positions for non-retired male and female priests.

Usefulness of Bishop	Men	Women	Total
Very useful	45% (N=140)	38% (N=402)	40% (N=542)
Somewhat useful	34% (N=104)	34% (N=360)	34% (N=464)
Not useful	21% (N=66)	27% (N=286)	26% (N=352)

Men and women priests were equally likely to view diocesan deployment officers as a useful resource or as not useful.

Table 4.14 Usefulness of diocesan deployment officer in obtaining paid Church positions for non-retired male and female priests ordained since 1970.

Usefulness of diocesan deployment officer	Men	Women	Total
Very useful	41% (N=109)	40% (N=417)	41% (N=526)
Somewhat useful	37% (N=98)	37% (N=384)	37% (N=482)
Not useful	23% (N=61)	22% (N=231)	23% (N=292)

Thus, a number of gender differences are evident in the perception of the usefulness of key resources in finding paid work, as well as perceived ease of finding a suitable position, despite personal factors such as past or present geographic immobility. Age at ordination also showed important differences, which suggests that both gender and age may affect the perceived ease of obtaining employment, especially in vicar or rector positions, and the perceived usefulness of key resources for doing so.

Section V

The Impact of Seminary Choice and External Factors on Church Employment

Andrea VanZile

The Effects of Attending an Episcopal Seminary

The role of seminaries overlaps the internal and external forces that restrict women’s opportunities in the Church. Women who did not attend an Episcopal seminary find the employment process significantly more difficult than women who attended an Episcopal seminary and more difficult than do men, no matter whether the men attended an Episcopal seminary or a non-Episcopal seminary. Women who attended non-Episcopal seminaries were 22% less likely to hold full-time regular positions than women who attended an Episcopal seminary.

The following figures depict those employed full-time and part-time after ordination.

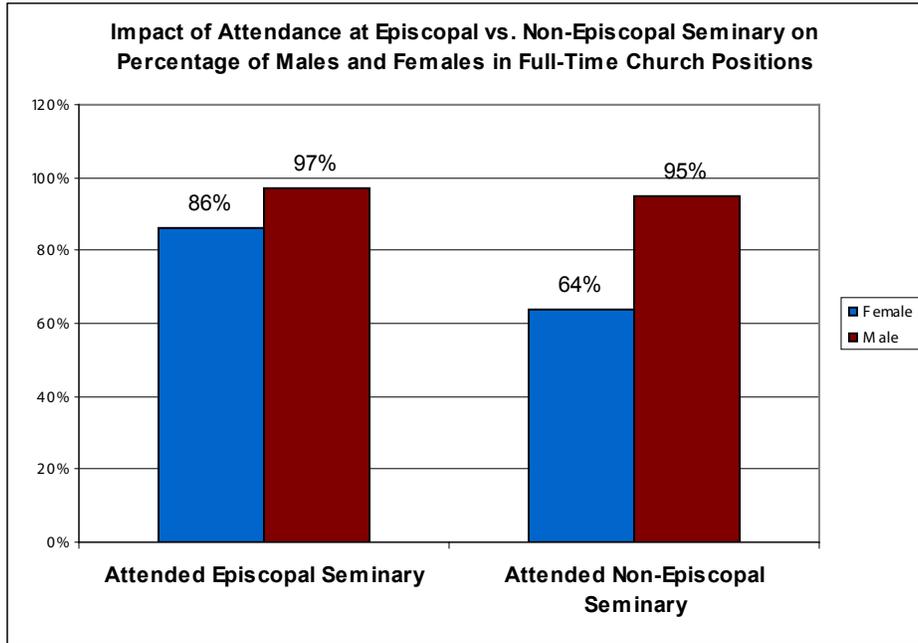


Figure 5.1 Impact of attendance at Episcopal versus non-Episcopal seminary on percentage of males and females in full-time Church positions.

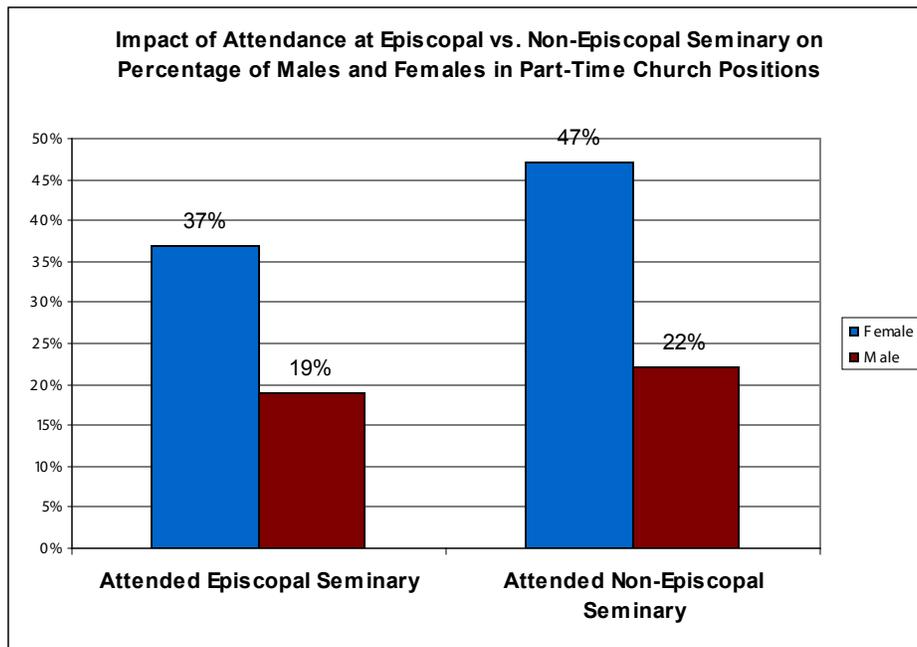


Figure 5.2 Impact of attendance at Episcopal versus non-Episcopal seminary on percentage of males and females in part-time Church positions.

Women who attended non-Episcopal seminaries are in fewer full-time positions, and they also hold 10% more part-time positions than do women from Episcopal seminaries. Of those ordained who have never done paid work in the Church, women from non-Episcopal seminaries topped the chart with 7%, 5% more than women who attended an Episcopal seminary.

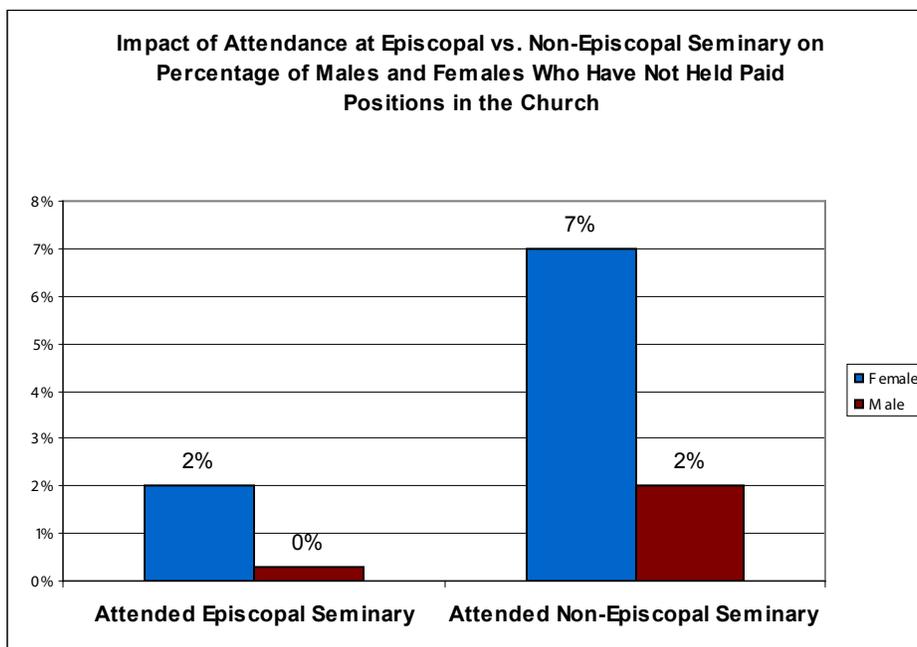


Figure 5.3 Impact of attendance at Episcopal versus non-Episcopal seminary on percentage of males and females who have not held paid positions in the Church.

Clearly, seminary staff are important factors in obtaining employment and those attending Episcopal seminaries have a distinct advantage. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that this factor stands alone. Some who did not attend an Episcopal seminary could not do so because of geographical

constraints and these same geographical constraints could also affect obtaining. Indeed, the issue of mobility proves to be important among respondents.

External Factors Church Affecting Employment Trends

Many factors outside of the workplace have enormous effects on clergy professional lives. Attempting to balance careers with responsibilities at home often causes substantial stress. One *Called to Serve* respondent said, “My spouse has felt resentful that I spend so much time at a ‘job’ that pays me part time.” Marital status and children and caregiving are two factors investigated here.

We have studied at length the effects marital status has on clergy careers. One of the most significant findings is that significantly more married or partnered women work on a part-time basis.

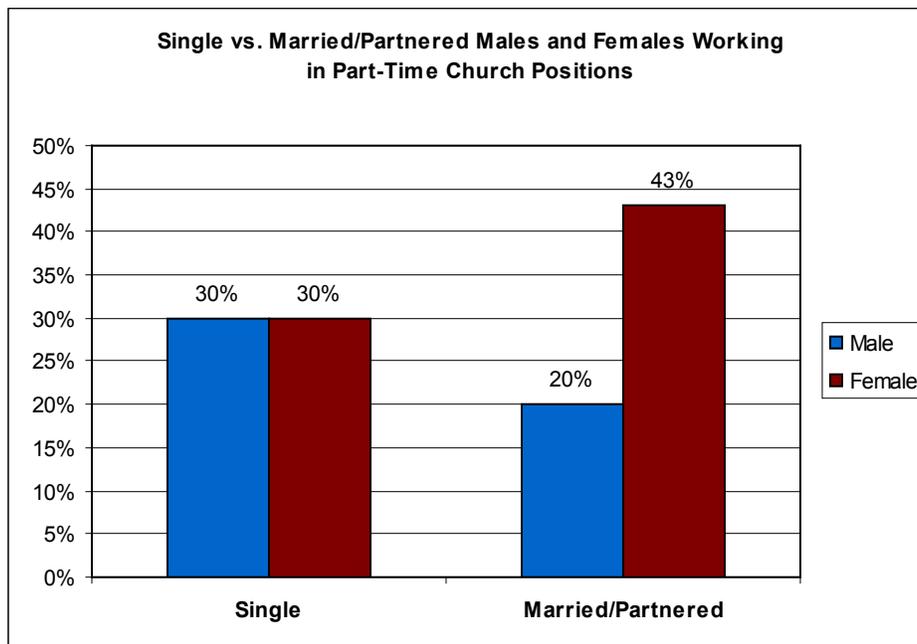


Figure 5.4 Comparison of single versus married or partnered males and females working in part-time Church positions.

Marital status can affect many aspects of a cleric’s life, including mobility. Often family obligations, be it a spouse’s job restrictions or children in school, can hinder the ability to take jobs in different parts of the state or country. Another survey respondent said, “The rocky start to my vocation (right after seminary) was a direct result of not being accepted in a diocese where I had to live [due to husband’s work], but was not called. When a spouse’s career involves a change of location, it would seem appropriate for the ordained person to be welcomed into the life of a new diocese in some way.”

In an attempt to better understand why clergy experience difficulties in finding paid positions within the church, respondents were presented with the statement, “I could not get a parish position in this area and am not geographically mobile,” and asked to rate how accurate that statement was to them.

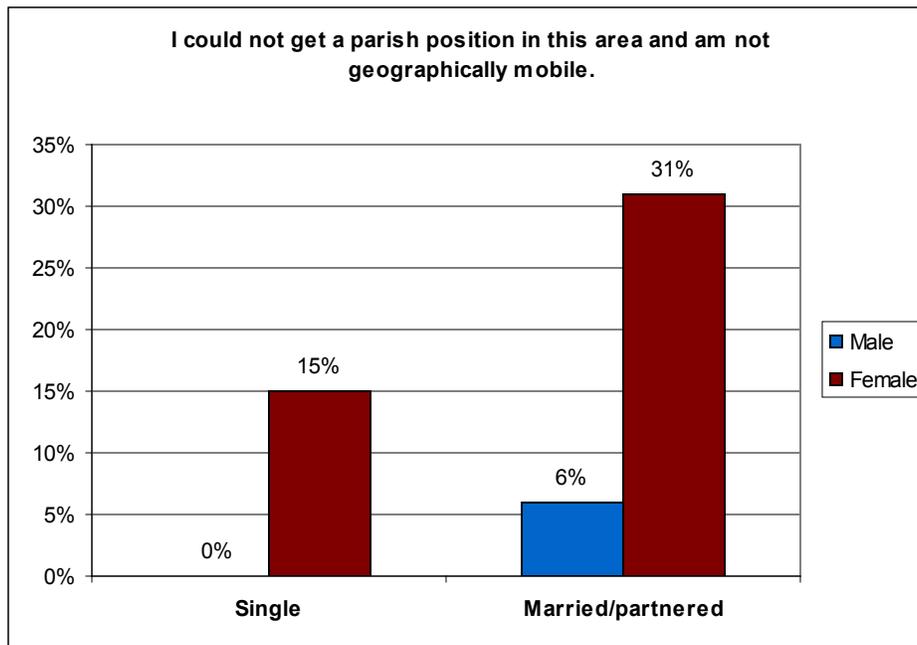


Figure 5.5 Percentage of single versus married or partnered males and females unable to secure a parish position where they live.

Twice as many married/partnered clergywomen are unable to find jobs where they live and are unable to move to a different location. This statistic might help us understand why so many married/partnered clergywomen hold part-time positions in the Church; it may be the only work available to them in their area and they are not geographically mobile.

Working part-time rather than full-time can have a tremendous impact on pension contributions. Having identified this effect, it was interesting to note that 15% more married/partnered clergywomen believe they will have sufficient income during retirement.

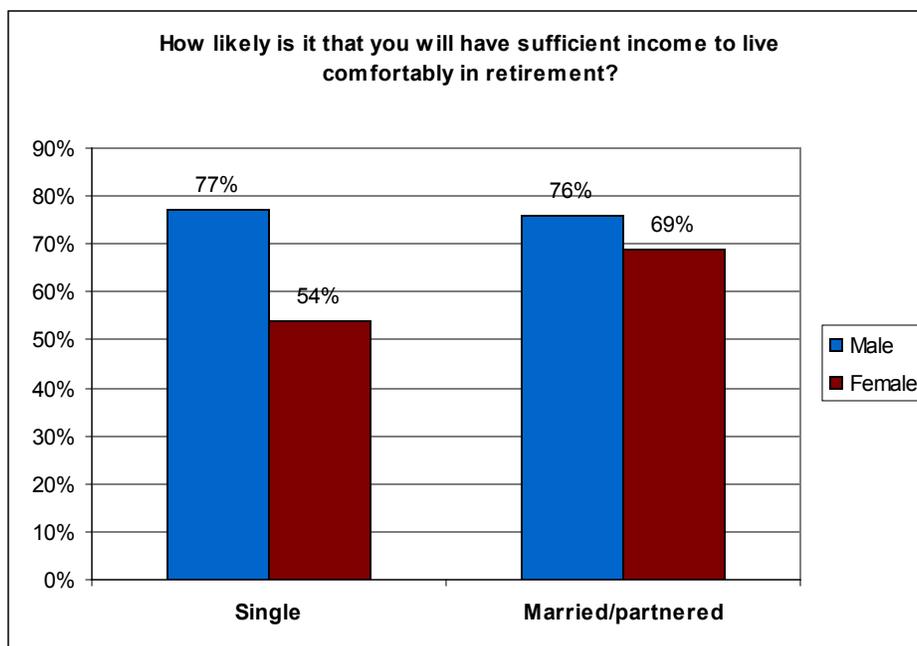


Figure 5.6 Percentage of single versus married/partnered men and women who believe post-retirement income will be sufficient.

Called to Serve data show that approximately 87% of male clergy and 48% of women clergy have had children under the age of 12 in the home at some point during their ordained ministry. (The significant difference here may be related in part to the average age at ordination for men being 34 years old and the average age for women at ordination being 43 years old; i.e., women are more likely to be ordained after their children are older.) The following figure depicts the cleric’s employment status (within the Episcopal Church) while having children under the age of 12 in the household.

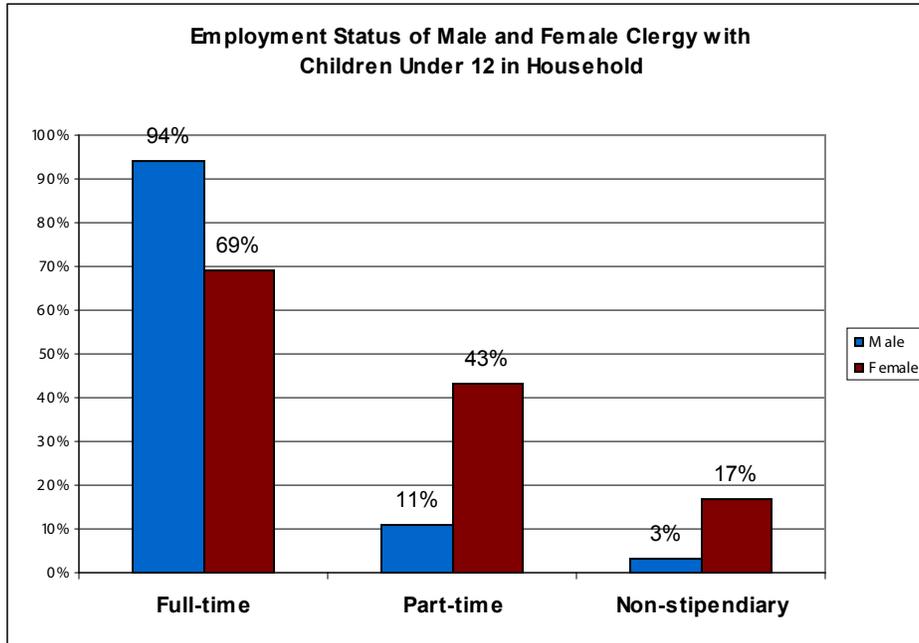


Figure 5.7 Employment status of male and female clergy with children under 12 in household

Far more male clergy hold full-time positions while there are children in the home, while nearly half of the female clergy have part-time or non-stipendiary positions. This is most likely caused by clergy women needing to balance their vocations with the responsibility of being the primary caregiver in the home. One respondent commented, “When we fight, it’s almost always about time and work, and who has to sacrifice to make things work logistically for the family.”

The following figure shows the level of difficulty clergy experience in balancing the role of cleric with the role of parent.

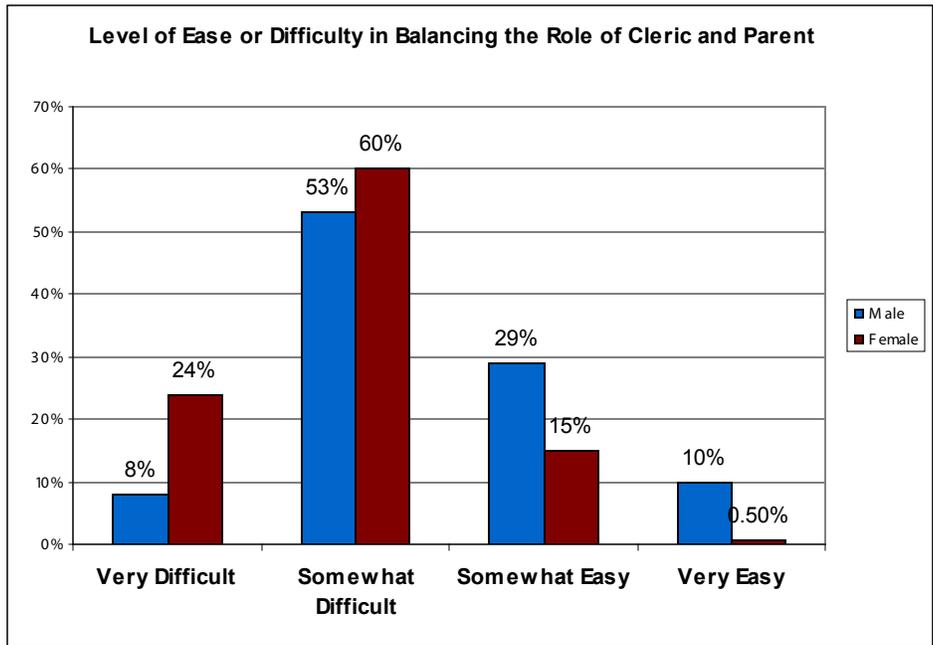


Figure 5.8 Level of ease or difficulty in balancing roles as cleric and parent.

On average, about 61% of clergy men find balancing these roles difficult while nearly 84% of clergy women find it difficult. When asked whether or not they felt they had enough caregiving support, 5% more clergy women feel that they rarely or never have enough caregiving support. The survey asked respondents to grade how important it is to be offered “flextime” or to be able to work fewer hours for a specified time. About 38% of clergy men found flextime to be important while about 53% of clergy women found it important.

The data clearly show that, while both male and female clergy experience stress in balancing their roles at home with their roles in the Church, significant stress is placed on clergywomen by the lack of caregiving time and support and the lack of mobility.

Section VI

Clergy and Emotional Well-Being: Satisfied, Happy, and Tense

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Stewart-Sicking

Judging from some recent headlines²⁵, clergy seem to be among the happiest people in the United States. But this seems at odds with the many anecdotes that clergy share with each other about the stresses of their job. In order to explore this puzzle about the emotional well-being of clergy, *Called to Serve* included several standard measures used in psychological research on happiness. The responses to these questions show the complexity of clergy emotional well-being: clergy are satisfied, happy, and tense.

When asked a series of questions about how satisfied they are with their life (SWL), the non-retired clergy who took part in *CTS* had a median score of 24 on a 30 point scale. This is quite high compared to other populations that have been studied. While it can be difficult to equate the situations in which people are reflecting on their emotional well-being in different studies, this score is higher than 77% of those responding in a study of nurses, and even higher than 68% of respondents in a study of nuns.²⁶ There were no significant differences in SWL across many different groups (including gender, ethnicity, time since ordination, clergy couples, or order) or working conditions (including position type, non-stipendiary ministry, working in multiple parishes, or having a position). Those who were single and had no children did show lower SWL than other family groups, and partnered and retired clergy were both slightly more satisfied than the rest of clergy. Even those who have left the church were not less satisfied with their lives unless they were interested in returning. These patterns are consistent with research showing that people adapt after changes in life to return to former levels of happiness.

A second aspect of emotional well-being is the amount of positive emotions (PE) people experience. When asked the extent to which they experienced several positive emotions over the past few months, non-retired clergy who took part in *CTS* had a median score of 40 on a 50 point scale. Again, this score is quite high; compared to the general population, these clergy score in the 89th percentile.²⁷ There was even less difference among the various groups taking part in the study on this variable than SWL—no significant differences were observed. Clearly, being a clergyperson is intrinsically rewarding and enjoyable.

The final component of emotional well-being is the amount of negative emotions (NE) people experience. Contrary to what we might expect, levels of NE are not simply the inverse of PE. As with PE, clergy were asked the extent to which that they experienced negative emotions over the past few months. The median score on NE for non-retired clergy taking part in *CTS* was 19 on a 50-point scale. Here, we can see the complexity of the emotional health of the clergy, as this score is also quite high compared to the general population, placing in the 72nd percentile.²⁸ While not quite as large a difference as was seen on PE, this difference is still practically significant. As seen in other studies of the

²⁵ Tom W. Smith, "Job satisfaction in the United States" (2007), <http://www-news.uchicago.edu/releases/07/pdf/070417.jobs.pdf> (retrieved June 22, 2009, from NORC/University of Chicago).

²⁶ William Pavot and Ed Diener, "Review of the Satisfaction With Life Scale," *Psychological Assessment*, 5, no. 2 (1993): 164-172.

²⁷ John R. Crawford and Julie D. Henry, "The Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS): Construct validity, measurement properties and normative data in a large non-clinical sample," *British Journal of Clinical Psychology* 43, no. 3 (2004), 245-265.

²⁸ Ibid.

clergy, one emotion in particular was noteworthy among *CTS* participants: 36% of non-retired *CTS* participants reported being lonely very or fairly often. Loneliness was most pronounced among interims (21% said “very often”), and solo clergy (27% said “fairly often”).

There are also more differences among groups that took part in the study. While there were no significant differences by gender, ethnicity, position type, years since ordination, or whether one had a paid position, small differences were seen in other domains. Women priests in assistant/associate positions under age 45 reported slightly more NE than other priests. Priests as a group had slightly more NE than vocational deacons. Clergy couples were also slightly higher in NE than all other clergy. Those with children under age 6 at home showed higher NE than all other family configurations. While differences should be noted, they are small compared to the difference in NE between the clergy and the general population. It is clear from the *CTS* data that while being a clergyperson is on average very satisfying and a source of positive emotions, it is also much more stressful than other vocations (see Figure 6.1). It is important for programs that work with clergy to remember that it is possible to be both totally engaged in one’s ministry and to feel used up at the same time.

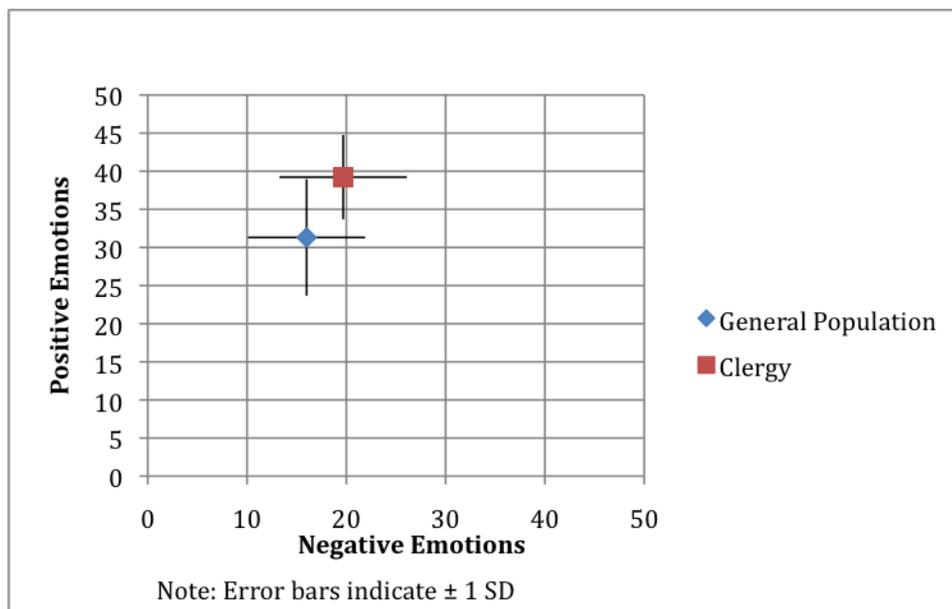


Figure 6.1 Mean balance of positive and negative emotions.

In addition to comparing clergy to other groups and each other, the *CTS* survey also identified many variables that are associated with the different facets of emotional well-being. The most important of these are listed in Table 6.1, with *M* and *F* signifying male and female:

Table 6.1 Associations with emotional well-being variables among non-retired clergy.

Variable	Strong Association	Moderate Association
SWL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived Pathways to Success (+) • Perceived Agency to Create Success (+) • Satisfaction with Support (+) <i>M</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congregational Stress (-) • Congregational Morale (+) • Financial Satisfaction (+) • Housing Satisfaction (+) • Family Satisfaction (+) • Satisfaction with Current Position (+) • Satisfaction with Support (+) <i>F</i>
PE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perceived Pathways to Success (+) • Perceived Agency to Create Success (+) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Satisfaction with Support (+) • Perceived Fit with Congregation (+) • Satisfaction with Current Position (+) • Practices to Maintain Work-Home Boundaries (+) <i>M</i>
NE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Congregational Stress (+) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family Satisfaction (-) • Satisfaction with Current Position (-) • Perceived Agency to Create Success (-) • Perceived Pathways to Success (-) <i>M</i> • Satisfaction with Support (-) <i>M</i> • Perceived Fit with Congregation (-) <i>M</i> • Congregational Morale (-) <i>M</i> • Financial Satisfaction (-) <i>M</i>

In examining Table 6.1, it is helpful to notice that some of the strongest associations are between emotional well-being and beliefs about one’s pathways and agency to succeed, identified by psychologists as the two dimensions of hope.²⁹ While influenced by personality, hope is an attitude that can be learned—or damaged—through working with others. This link provides evidence in favor of helping clergy develop healthy belief systems in order to deal with the challenges they face. It is also worth noting that different factors are associated with different aspects of emotional well-being: for instance, congregational stress is a strong source of NE, but it does not seem to detract from PE. In order to help clergy achieve a healthy balance of emotions, it is not enough to reduce stressors or capitalize on the positive things in ministry; it will take both. Finally, gender differences must be kept in mind when thinking of how to promote emotional well-being in the ministry. Those things that are important to men may not be as crucial for women.

Spiritual Well-Being: Satisfied but Idealizing?

Unlike emotional well-being, established research measures for spiritual well-being do not work well for clergy populations. Instead, clergy were asked about their satisfaction with their spiritual life. As seen in Figure 6.2, the large majority of clergy taking part in the study are satisfied with their spiritual lives. And in Figure 6.3, we can see that clergy also report high levels of self-care and devotional practices. However, some differences can be seen among different groups: bivocational priests are slightly less satisfied than others, and priests in general are slightly less satisfied than vocational deacons. These

²⁹ Charles Richard Snyder, “The past and possible futures of hope,” *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology* 19, no. 1 (2000): 11-28.

differences may be related to age, as family stage showed the strongest differences in satisfaction with spiritual life: those clergy with children under 6 showed the lowest satisfaction, followed by those with 6-12 year old children. Perhaps clergy assume an ideal of the spiritual life that is not easily achieved in this stage; clergy reported doing the fewest devotional activities (e.g., Daily Office, journaling, scripture reading, contemplative prayer) in this period, and these practices were associated with clergy satisfaction with their spiritual lives.

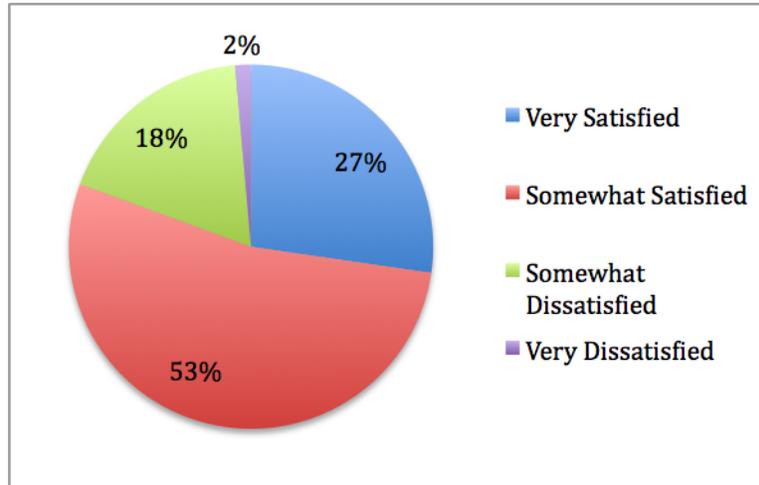


Figure 6.2 Satisfaction with spiritual life among non-retired clergy

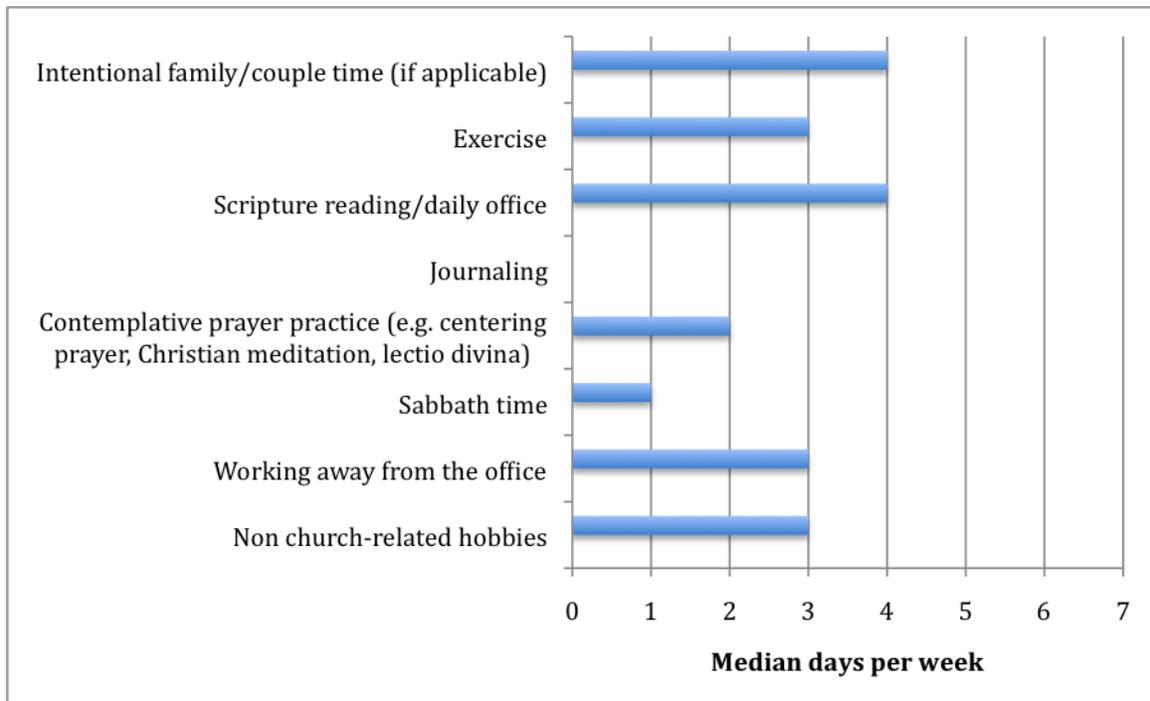


Figure 6.3 Self-care and devotional practices

Vocational Well-Being: Different Things for Women and Men

As can be seen in Figure 6.4, the large majority of the clergy who took part in *CTS* report being satisfied with the ministries in which they find themselves, and few find themselves in a position in which they are doubting their calls. These percentages parallel those found in other recent studies of clergy,³⁰ though in the *CTS* study, there is a larger proportion of clergy who are considering other types of ministry—perhaps due to the overrepresentation of women in the sample. There are some small differences among different groups: extraparochial clergy are more likely than other groups to consider different ministries, and vocational deacons are less likely to consider different ministries. When the willingness to consider different ministries is examined across different age ranges, it appears that women maintain some openness to changing ministry type until their late fifties, whereas men immediately appear to start ruling out other possibilities as they begin their careers. This difference may reflect both the different realities of the jobs available to women and men across their lifespans, and a greater proclivity of men to see ministry as a career ladder than women—a finding seen in other research.³¹ Consistent with this research, women seem more interested in the intrinsic rewards of each particular position, a difference seen in the stronger association between women’s satisfaction with their current ministry position and their consideration of leaving for a different ministry or leaving ministry altogether.

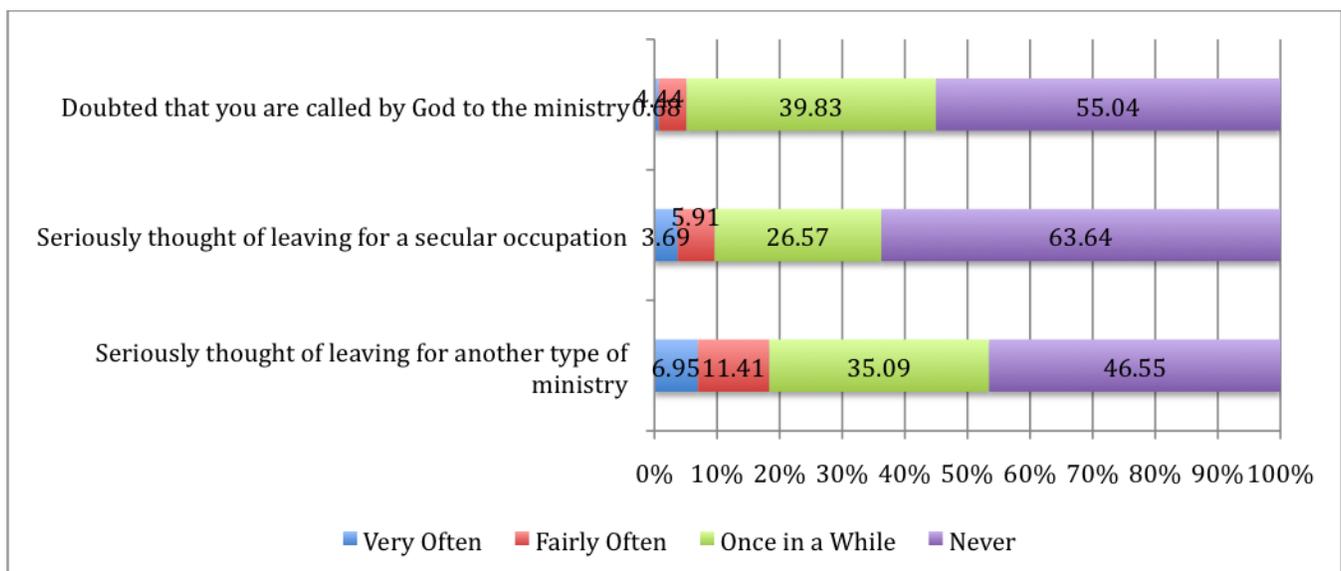


Figure 6.4 Vocational satisfaction for non-retired clergy

Family Well-Being: Satisfied, but Living in Different Life Spaces

Fifty-eight percent of the non-retired clergy who took part in *CTS* reported being very satisfied with their family lives, and only 10% were dissatisfied in any way. Two-thirds — 66% — of those who had spouses or partners reported being very satisfied with these relationships, and only 3% reported any kind of dissatisfaction. While both genders reported high family well-being, men were slightly more satisfied with their families; there was no difference in satisfaction with marriage or partnerships.

³⁰ Jackson W. Carroll, *God’s Potters: Pastoral Leadership and the Shaping of Congregations*. (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006).

³¹ Elaine M. McDuff, “The Gender Paradox in Work Satisfaction and the Protestant Clergy,” *Sociology of Religion* 62, no. 1 (2001): 1-21.

Further questions from *CTS* show that the family experiences of male and female clergy, although satisfying, are different. The experience of family stress differed by gender. Some 25% of women (compared to 8% of men) reported that it was very difficult to balance the demands of being clergy and parent. Thirty-five percent of men said that their ordained status was positive for their dating lives, compared to 8% of women. Spousal concern over finances was slightly more detrimental to men's partnerships, whereas women's satisfaction with family life was more closely linked to a sense that work prevented time with children. These different ways in which work interferes with family well-being are not surprising, but they suggest that any programs aimed at helping clergy families will need to consider the different life spaces that men and women inhabit over the course of their careers.

Section VII

Conclusion

Dr. Matthew Price

While we found that male and female clergy perceive that the formal deployment mechanisms of the Church are, to an extent, gender neutral, the informal, less-structured means by which clergy reach their vocational goals still inhibit women clergy from attaining the highest positions within the Church. Hence male and female clergy perceive diocesan deployment officers, the Church Deployment Office, and the seminaries as equally helpful when it comes to achieving full-time employment within the Church, with male clergy being slightly more likely to find bishops to be helpful. Interestingly, attending an Episcopal seminary gave female clergy a significant boost in terms of finding full-time employment and reduced the gender gap. Thus the gender equality policies aimed at the formal structure of the Church have, it seems, largely succeeded, but the informal mechanisms that perpetuate inequality, those that occur in everyday interactions outside the arena of formal policy making, remain in place.

As we placed the quantitative data in the context of the extensive qualitative data we received from the open-ended questions, it became clear that the world of the parish and the internal workings of the family still present barriers to the advancement of women clergy. We found that parish search committees were more likely to contact short-listed male clergy directly than they were to contact female clergy. Paula Nesbitt's data point clearly to the continuing barriers women face simply getting a foot on the important early rungs of the career ladder. Even when a rectorship had been obtained, female clergy, in their comments, showed some frustration about their experiences as parish rectors, reflected in the congregation's resistance to having a female cleric. An analysis of other data from the 2005 Episcopal Congregational Life and Leadership survey pointed to the fact that female clergy were more likely to be located within congregations where their political and theological views differed from that of the congregation. These mismatches heighten the probability of conflict within the congregation which can then be linked to a decline in congregational numbers. Thus it can be more difficult for female clergy to build up the type of record that will lead to calls to larger congregations. It may be that part of a cleric's preparation should be to train in how to work optimally in "low-fit" situations, giving female clergy in particular a better opportunity to establish a strong track record of congregational leadership.

Outside the congregation, our analysis shows that family dynamics play a major part in both constraining opportunities clergy have to further their careers and in affecting their sense of wellness. The ability to move is perhaps even more restrictive in a universe of limited positions with differential levels of fit, as is with the case for female clergy, than it is in a numerically more feminized profession such as elementary school teacher, where the employment universe is significantly larger. In any partnership, the pursuit of a career opportunity by one partner has to be balanced in terms of its effects on the other. Geographical relocation frequently creates significant issues for the partner who is not accepting a new opportunity, so unless a cleric has a partner who is not limited to any geographic location for reasons of employment or family ties, pursuing opportunities within the Church will likely place a high level of stress on their partnership. Additionally, as Joe Stewart-Sicking showed, the stresses involved in balancing work and family in a vocation that has many demands on the personal lives of clergy can have a negative effect on clergy wellness, particularly when there are children in the home. Hence the home, far from being a refuge from the high stress levels that clergy face in their vocational lives, may instead become yet another source of stress.

This initial summary of the results of the *Called to Serve* survey has only scratched the surface of a very rich data source. It is clear that we need follow-up on some very promising lines of research. First, we need to have a better sense of the inner dynamics of parish search committees because that is the place in which decisions routinely being made may mean that women are unable to place their foot on the first rung of the career ladder. We need to have a stronger idea of the intra-family dynamics that go into the decision to pursue, or not to pursue, certain career opportunities. Finally, we need to understand how a sense of wellness in each of these spheres affects the cleric's success in her or his chosen vocation. We will be taking up these questions in the next few months.

Appendix One

Resolution A140

Title: Women Clergy Retirement Needs

Topic: Church Pension Fund

Committee: Church Pension Fund

House of Initial Action: Bishops

Proposer: Status of Women

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention of the Episcopal Church affirm the work of the Church Pension Group in considering ways to respond to the particular needs of ordained women as they approach retirement and asks that the Church Pension Group consult with the Committee on the Status of Women to further the work.

EXPLANATION

Women have served in the priesthood long enough to reach retirement age after twenty or thirty years of ordained ministry. Many of the issues these women face are unique to being women because of their roles in the family and unique to being forerunners in a new status of ministry. The Church Pension Group would serve clergy well by listening to the concerns and issues that affect these women and consider how best to help them and the church prepare for their retirement.

Resolution D065

Title: Family Leave Pension Waiver

Topic: Clergy Benefits

Committee: Church Pension Fund

House of Initial Action: Bishops

Proposer: The Rev. Paige Michele Blair (Maine)

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention request that the Board of Trustees of the Church Pension Fund study the feasibility of a Family Leave Pension Waiver policy for clergy taking time-off to care for family members with the results of the study to be reported to the 76th General Convention.

EXPLANATION

In 2003 the CPG produced a study entitled “The State of the Clergy 2003,” which included information about the number of clergy that struggle with work/home balance. At that point, fifteen to thirty percent of clergy regularly considered leaving parish ministry because of family concerns.

One of the ways the CPG might address this problem is to offer a Family Leave Waiver, modeled on the current Waiver of Assessments During Graduate Studies.

As the Episcopal Church continues to seek out more young clergy who will be having families and more older clergy are called to care for aging parents, a Family Leave Waiver can be a proactive way for the Church Pension Fund to respond to the very real stresses in the lives of many active clergy. This waiver would be for employed clergy who are moving into one of the following roles:

- New biological or adoptive parents who are functioning as primary caregivers
- People who, because of a change in circumstance (age, illness, new diagnosis, etc), need to become the primary caregiver of a family member

Just like the Study Waiver, clergy using this waiver would be required to return to the workforce for a time equal to the time of the waiver in order for it to be in force.

Resolution D033

Title: Episcopal Clergy Wellness Report

Topic: Church Pension Fund

Committee: Church Pension Fund

House of Initial Action: Bishops

Proposer: The Rev. Katherine M. Lehman (California)

Resolved, That the 75th General Convention commend CREDO Institute, Inc. for *Episcopal Clergy Wellness: A Report to The Church on the State of Clergy Wellness* and affirm the recommendations contained therein; and be it further

Resolved, That CREDO Institute, Inc. be encouraged to work collaboratively with other offices, agencies, and organizations to address the recommendations in a systemic and strategic manner in order to strengthen the ordained leadership of this Church, and that a report on the progress be made to the 76th General Convention.

EXPLANATION

The report, *Episcopal Clergy Wellness: A Report to The Church on the State of Clergy Wellness*, seeks to provide a long-term, systemic and strategic perspective to strengthen the clergy, and ultimately the Church, through a focus on wellness. It is intended to serve as a benchmark for future reports, to be produced every six years, to discover trends and suggest potential courses of action to improve overall clergy wellness in the Episcopal Church. CREDO Institute, Inc. seeks the endorsement of the 75th General Convention as it addresses issues of clergy wellness with other agencies and organizations through collaborative partnerships, research, and programs.

* The final language, as well as the final status of each resolution, is being reviewed by the General Convention office. The *Journal of the 75th General Convention* and the *Constitution and Canons* will be published once the review process has been completed.

Called to Serve **Contributors**

Dr. Matthew Price is vice president for retirement programs and services and director of analytical research at the Church Pension Group.

Grace Yukich is a graduate student in sociology at New York University.

Anne Hurst is a data research analyst in the Church Pension Group's office of research.

The Rev. Dr. Paula Nesbitt is a visiting associate professor of sociology at the University of California, Berkeley.

Andrea VanZile is a data research analyst in the Church Pension Group's office of research.

The Rev. Dr. Joseph Stewart-Sicking is assistant professor of pastoral counseling at Loyola University Maryland.

Susan Erdey is a data and research products specialist in the Church Pension Group's office of research.