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The State of the Clergy

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RESEARCH

Introduction

In this second State of the Clergy Report we will re-visit some of the themes that appeared in the 2003 State of the Clergy Report as well as highlighting new areas of research on clergy. In particular, the report will examine patterns of ordination for the period 2003 through 2005 to see if there have been any significant changes, looking both at the number of persons being ordained and their key demographic characteristics, noting the significant variations by Province. In this report we go slightly further along in the life stages of a cleric, tracking where the ordinands ended up working in the Church, their compensation level, and some of the characteristics of the congregations where they are employed. This report will also focus on clergy compensation, attempting to understand the “gender gap” in compensation and what may be generating the gap. In addition the report will feature our analysis of patterns of inequality and difference within the Church, looking particularly at the career patterns of women clergy, and compensation differences between Caucasian, African-American, and Hispanic clergy. Finally, the report will look at the next phase of research on the Episcopal Church and what we hope to achieve over the next three years.

Key Findings

There are twelve key findings that come from an analysis of the data which the Pension Fund collects, both through the transactions generated by the pension system, and in fulfilling its responsibilities as Recorder of Ordinations:

- Vocational Deacons represent one quarter of all ordinations in the 2003 through 2005 period, over 20% of all the Vocational Deacons for whom the Pension Fund has records.
- The number of persons ordained by a diocese does not necessarily correspond to the size of the diocese.
- The number of clergy retiring slightly exceeds the number of those being ordained. If one looks at the total number of “entries” and “exits,” including receptions, transfers into ECUSA, transfers out of ECUSA, and depositions, the gap of “exits” over “entries” widens slightly but not significantly.
- The average age of ordination for those ordained to the priesthood has not changed significantly since the 2003 State of the Clergy Report.
- While the Church is ordaining more young ordinands, it is ordaining more ordinands of all ages, hence the proportion of those ordained under 35 is not changing.
- There are significant differences between Provinces in the percentages of men and women who are being ordained.
- Roughly equal numbers of male and female ordinands have become active in the Church

Pension Fund over the last three years, but with many more men than women retiring from active service, the gender balance of the active clergy will ineluctably change.

- Age is a more important variable than gender in determining the probability that an ordinand will be employed in the Church.
- In terms of first jobs, newly ordained male and female clergy are roughly equal in terms of compensation.
- For all active clergy, there is a persistent gap in compensation between men and women even when adjusting for position within the parish and years of credited service.
- The career paths of clergy women appear to differ significantly from those of clergy men.
- An analysis of compensation by race and ethnicity shows that African-American clergy, on average, have higher levels of compensation than Caucasian clergy, while Hispanic clergy have lower levels of compensation than both African-American and Caucasian clergy.

Section One: Clergy Supply, Numbers, Orders and Age Profiles

As can be seen in Exhibit One, almost exactly one quarter of the clerical ordinations in the period 2003 through 2005 have been to the Vocational Diaconate. When one considers that there are approximately 1,900 vocational deacons and 15,000 priests, it is clear that a significant proportion of our Vocational Deacons have been ordained in recent years. We don't see any sign of this trend receding and so we expect a continued growth in the Vocational Diaconate.

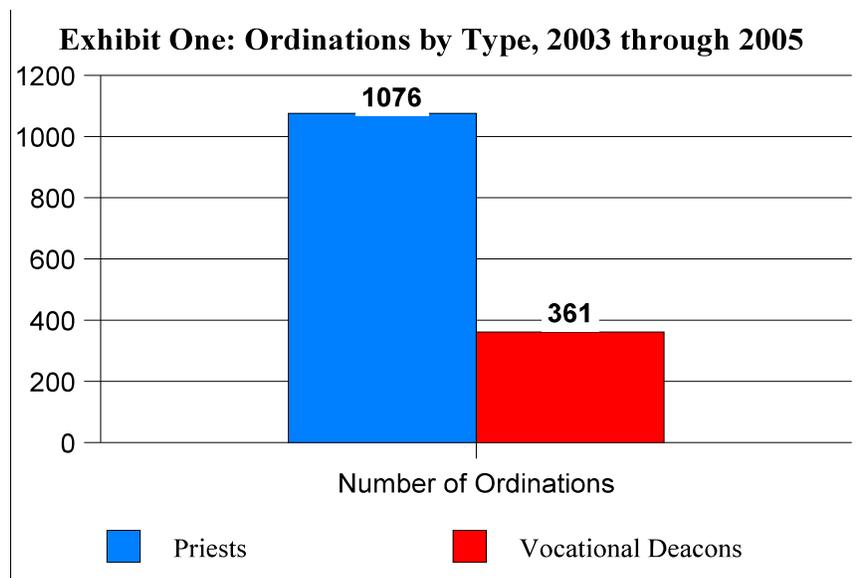


Exhibit Two demonstrates that numbers of ordinations to the priesthood¹ vary significantly by diocese and are mostly, though not entirely, based upon the size of the diocese.²

Exhibit Two: Top Ten Dioceses by Number of Ordinations, 2003 through 2005		
Diocese	No. of Ordinations	Size Ranking by Decile
Atlanta	43	1
Virginia	43	1
Pittsburgh	36	4
Los Angeles	35	1
Chicago	27	2
Massachusetts	27	1
Newark	27	2
Southeast Florida	27	3
New York	21	1
Dallas	20	3

The 2002 Church Pension Group report, “Will There Be a Clergy Shortage?”³ focused on two main areas of concern for the Church. The first was the overall supply of clergy indicated by the number of ordinations and the second was the age structure of the ordinands. With ordinations to the priesthood now at the same level they were in the 1980's, the rebound in the number of ordinands has been significant. Clergy ordinations now come fairly close to matching clergy retirements in overall numbers, as can be seen in Exhibit Three. If we look at other factors affecting the supply of clergy during the same three-year period, such as receptions from other denominations, receptions into the Episcopal Church from other parts of the Anglican Communion and restorations from deposed status, there are 149 entrants into the priesthood through these three mechanisms. If we look at “exits,” namely depositions, renunciations, and transfers out of ECUSA, the number is 186. Of these, 20 also retired during the 2003-2005 period; hence the total number of “entrants” is 1,225 (1,076 + 149) versus exits of 1,281(1,115 + 166), for a net difference of (-56).

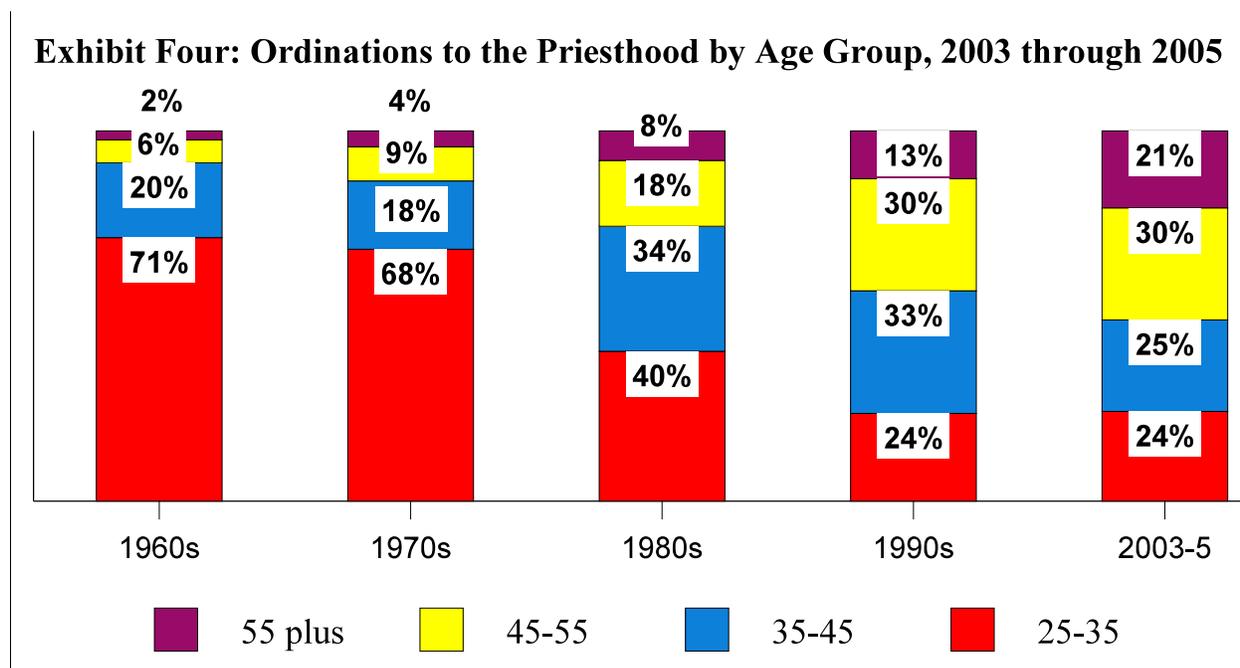
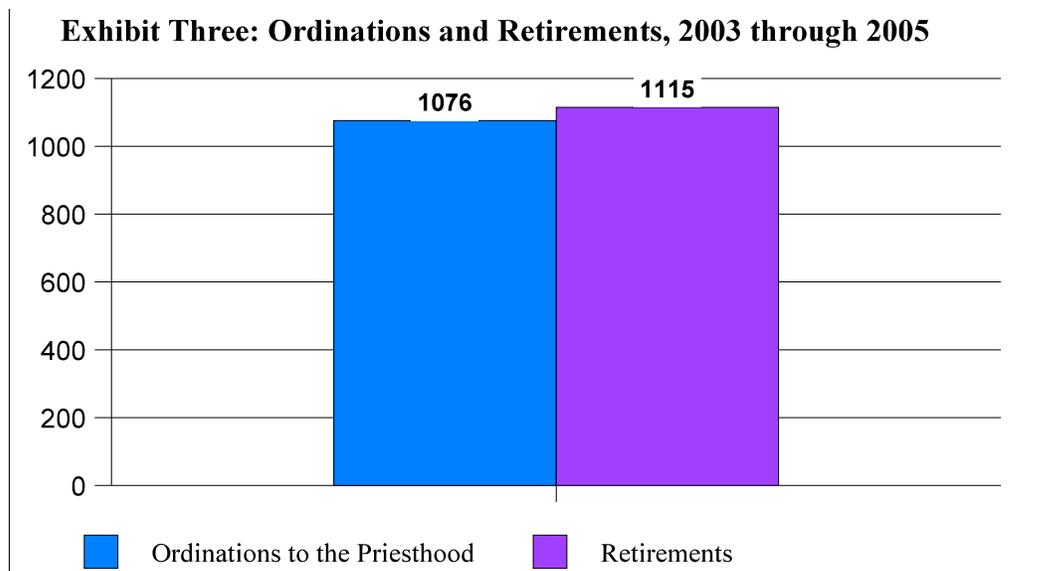
Interestingly, while the number of ordinations has increased, the overall average age of those who will become priests, 44 years old, has not changed significantly from 2000 when it was 45. Even

¹ Our most comprehensive indicator of the number of priestly ordinations are the reported ordinations to the Transitional Diaconate under Title III Canon 8 *Of the Ordination of Priests*, and this is the number represented in the exhibits in this report.

² The diocesan size measure is based on a 1 to 100 index score on four dimensions of diocesan size. This was comprised of number of full-time clergy, number of parishes, Average Sunday Attendance in the parishes, and the sum of total parish revenues. The combined score of the indexes was divided by four to give a single combined standard score out of 100. The ranked dioceses were then ranked into deciles from the top ten largest dioceses down to the ten smallest.

³ This report is available at www.cpg.org/research.

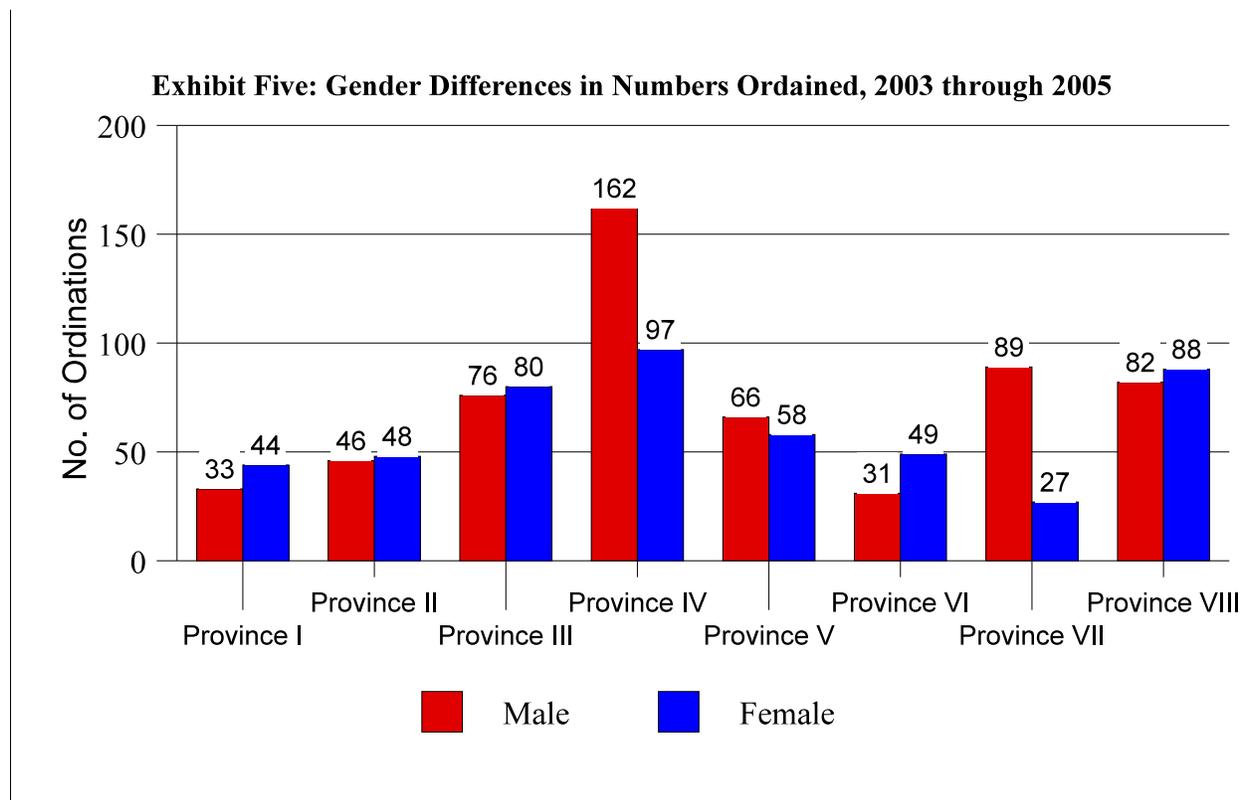
trying to take account of the changes in the Canons which might have affected the overall averages, the average age of those being ordained who had attended one of the Episcopal seminaries, representing the “traditional” seminary trained priest, was still 42.⁴



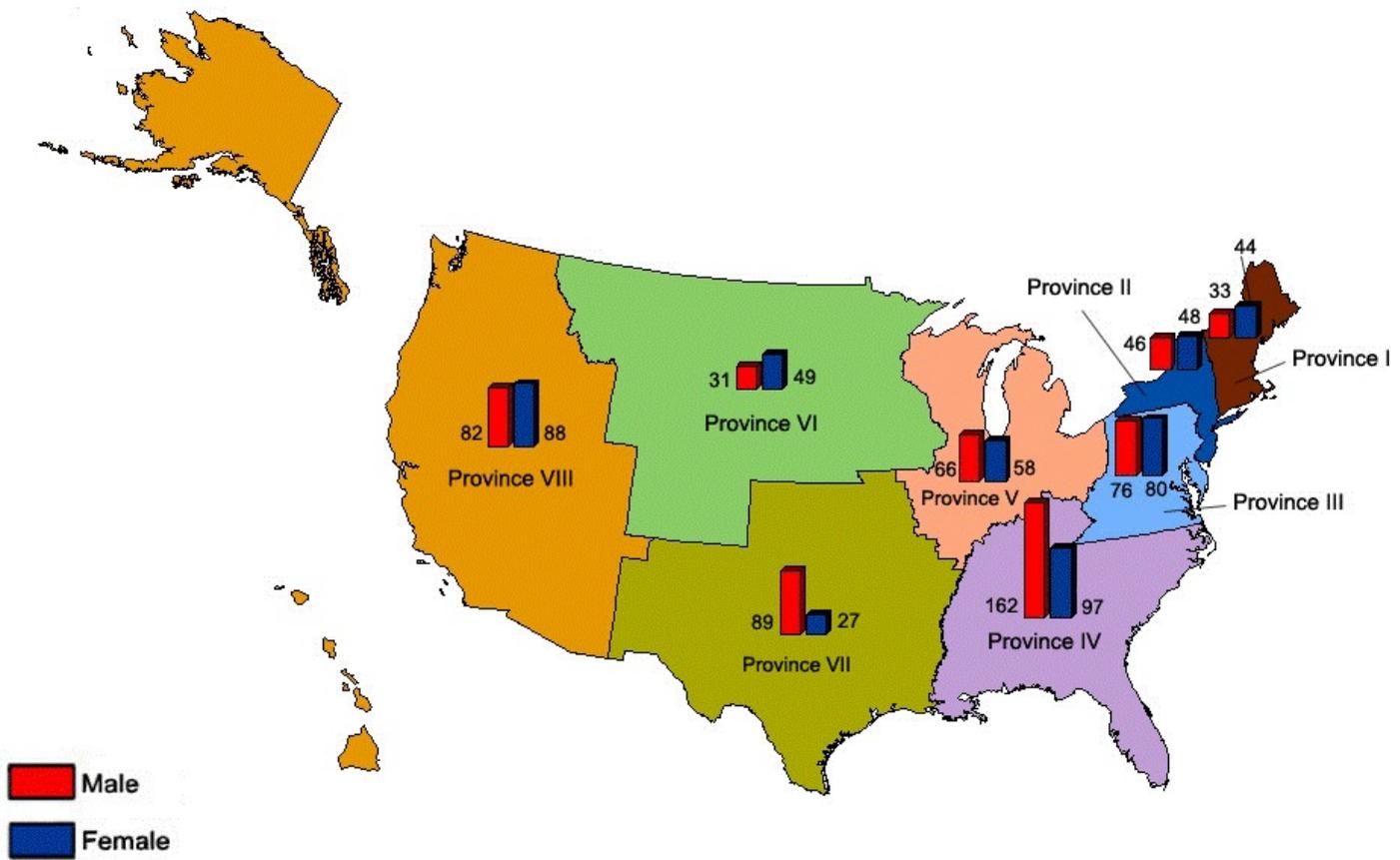
⁴ Changes to the Canons enacted by General Convention in 2003 ended the distinction between Canon VI and Canon IX priests and thus a certain proportion of the Transitional Deacons would have been classified under the previous Canon IX rubric. Therefore the proportion of ‘traditional’ ordinations would be even lower than is shown in Exhibit One. The end of the Canon VI / Canon IX distinction also somewhat complicates our ability to make comparisons across time on age at ordination and the number of clergy entering employment.

Thus, while it is true that we are ordaining more young priests, we are ordaining more priests in every age group, with the 45-55 cohort still being the largest. As Exhibit Four demonstrates, the Church is a long way from returning to the pre-1980s patterns of ordination. Significantly, the group that has increased the most in relative size in recent years are those being ordained over the age of 55. Another critical measure of whether the age structure of the clergy is changing is the number and proportion of those being ordained under the age of 35. While it is true that the number of clergy ordained under the age of 35 has risen from the roughly 50 per year of the late 1990s to close to 90 per year today, the overall trend in proportions has not been significantly reversed. Thus while in the early 1970's, on average, 75% of those ordained were under age 35, the figure for 2003 through 2005 is still just 25%.

As can be seen in Exhibit Five, there are striking differences in the numbers of men and women ordained by Province with significant gender differences in Provinces IV and VII which make up the bulk of the geographically Southern dioceses. (This same data can be seen in map form on Map One: Gender Differences by in Numbers Ordained, 2003 through 2005). This pattern is significant when seen in light of a trend towards younger male ordinands in some regions. Exhibit Six shows that in Provinces I and VII, the median age at ordination for men has fallen below 40, a significant milestone in terms of a statistical indicator. It also demonstrates that there has not been as much success in recruiting younger females to the ordination process as there has been with younger males. An even more striking sense of the regional pattern of these gender differences can be seen in Map Two where the percentage of those ordained under 35 varies significantly by gender.



Map One: Gender Differences in Number Ordained, 2003 through 2005



Map Two: Percentage Ordained Under 35 by Gender, 2003 - 2005

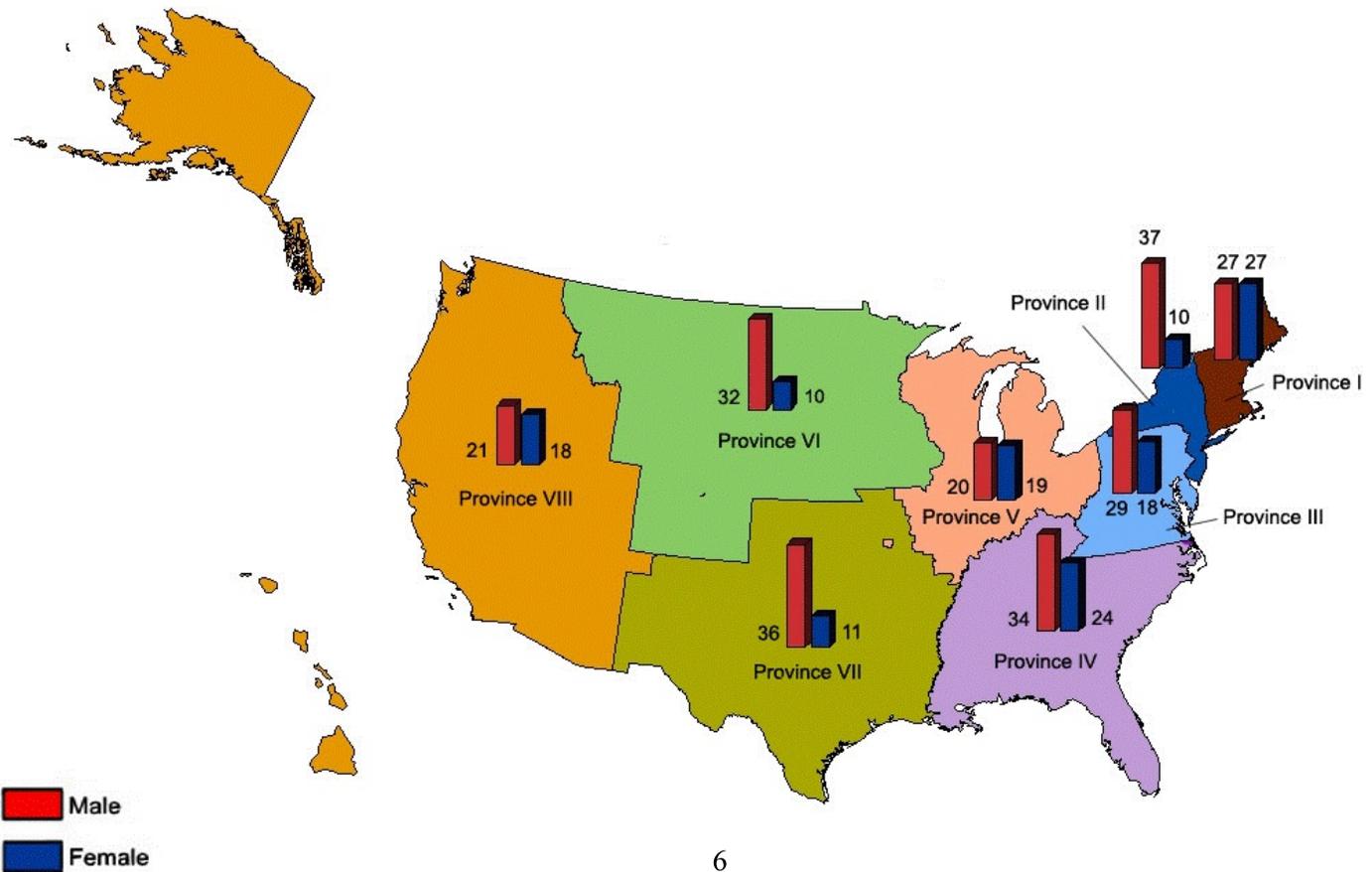
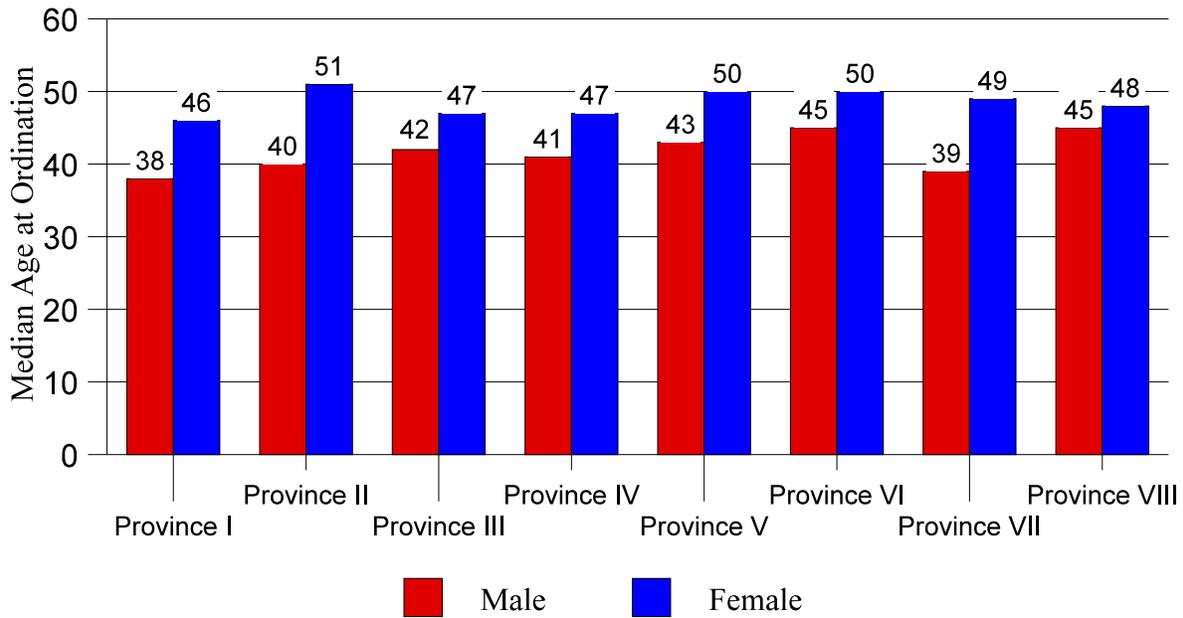


Exhibit Six: Median Age of Ordination by Gender and Province, 2003 through 2005



Section Two: Clergy Careers Stage One, New Ordinands and Employment

Despite regionally based gender differences in patterns of ordination, both the overall numbers of those being ordained, and those ordinands who become active in the Church, are fairly close to being in balance. Looking at Exhibit Seven, it is clear that the gender balance of the Church does look set to change, even if the age structure does not. There is a significant difference between new entrants to the pool of those actively employed within the Church and those retiring. We expect the trend towards a more evenly balanced gender profile for active clergy to continue. It should be noted that women ordinands find employment in a first job in roughly the same proportions as men, with two-thirds of those ordained ending up employed in the Church.

Exhibit Seven: Newly Ordained Clergy 2003-2005, Clergy Retiring 2003 - 2005, and Currently Active Clergy by Gender

Gender	Ordained to Priesthood	New Ordinands Now Employed	Newly Retired	Active Clergy
Male	54%	53%	85%	69%
Female	46%	47%	15%	31%

While the probability of employment is roughly equal in terms of gender, the same could not be

said of age. Exhibit Eight shows the percentage of the 2003 - 2005 ordinands who are currently employed in the Church. The most likely group to find employment in the Church are women under the age of 35 with 81% being employed. Employment percentages decline significantly for men over 45 and women over 55 and are lowest of all for men over 55 with just 38% of such men finding employment in the Church.

Age at Ord	Male	Female
25-35	77%	81%
35-45	78%	71%
45-55	59%	72%
55 plus	38%	46%
Total	66%	67%

Not only does a combination of age and gender influence the probability of employment, it also influences what type of positions new ordinands get in parishes. As can be seen in Exhibits Nine and Ten, which look at the proportions of those who are associates or curates versus solo rectors, by far the most likely course for younger ordinands is to be placed in associate, assistant or curate positions, with almost 90% of women ordinands under 35 and 71% of similarly aged males being employed in such positions. By contrast, 45% of female ordinands who are over the age of 55 are solo rectors and two-thirds of males over 55 occupy such positions. One might argue that sole charge of a parish is a position of greater responsibility than an assisting clergy role, but Exhibit Eleven shows this assumption would not be reflected in median compensation levels of clergy by age. In fact, the younger clergy, who are most likely to be assisting rather than in charge, receive the highest level of compensation.

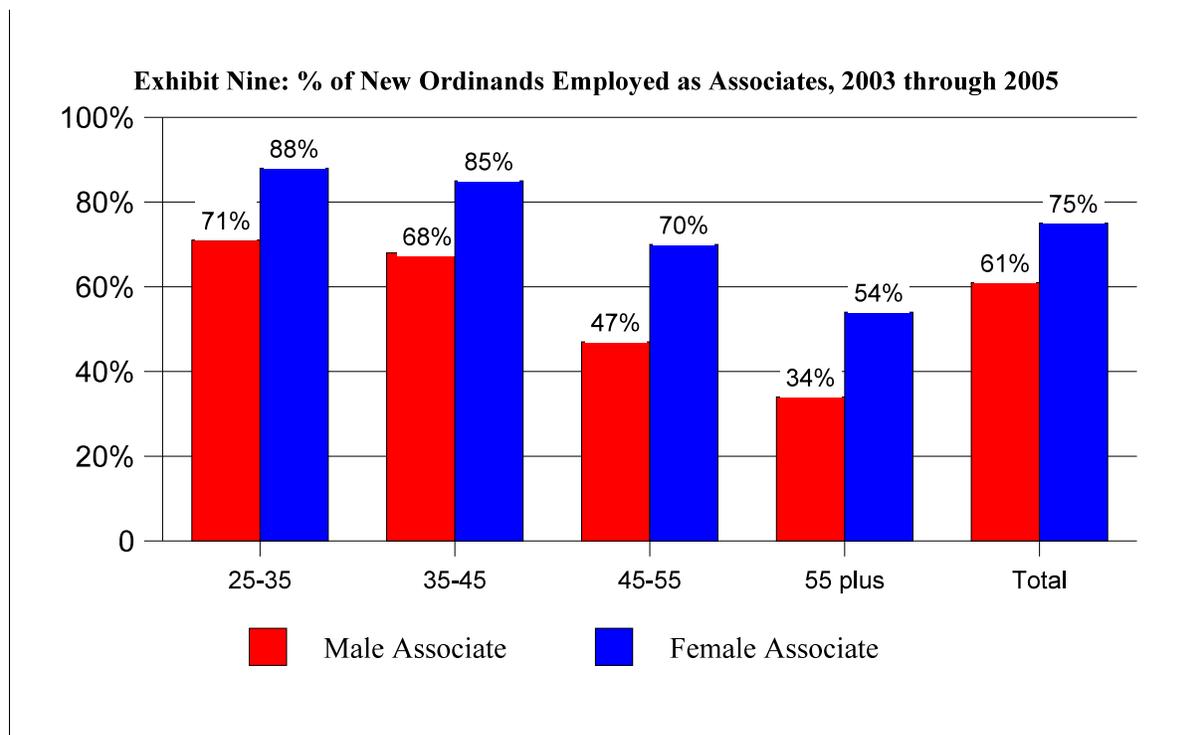


Exhibit Ten: Newly Ordained Employed as Solo Rectors, 2003 through 2005

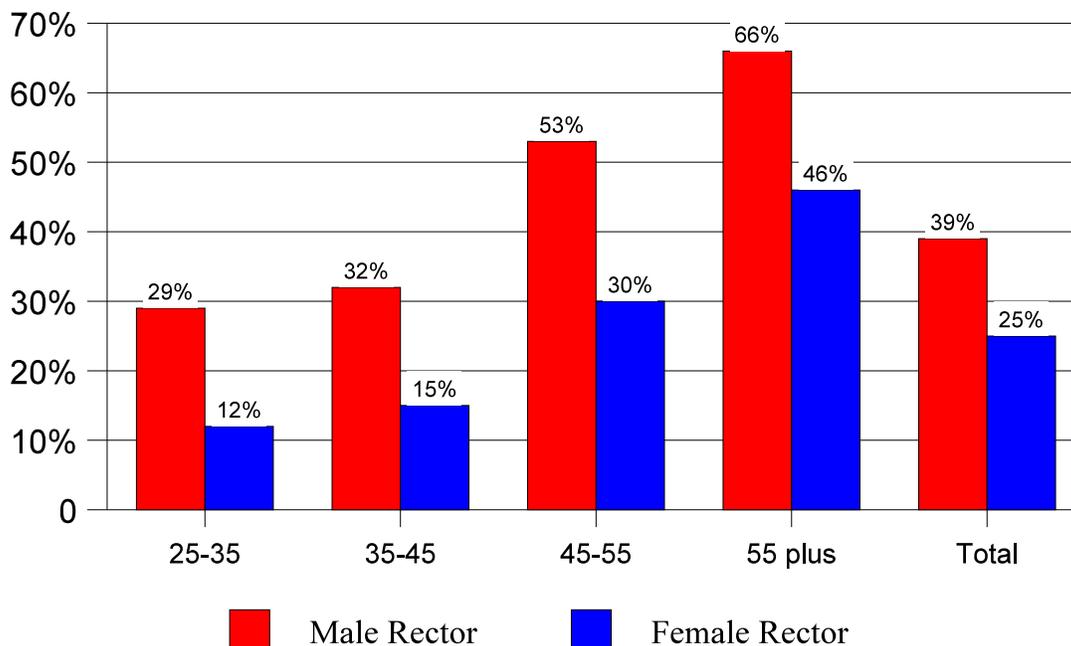


Exhibit Eleven: Compensation by Age and Gender for Those Ordained 2003 through 2005			
Age at Ordination	Compensation All New Ordinands	Compensation New Male Ordinands	Compensation New Female Ordinands
25-35	\$47,669	\$46,916	\$48,318
35-45	\$46,578	\$48,050	\$45,432
45-55	\$45,115	\$47,295	\$43,186
55 plus	\$38,839	\$43,643	\$33,547
Total	\$45,922	\$47,056	\$45,000

It is also interesting that the highest-earning group in the exhibit are women under age 35, although the median compensation level for women ordinands overall is slightly lower than for men. As we see in the next section, when looking at the compensation levels of all clergy, there is a significant and persistent gender gap in compensation.

Section Three: The Pay Gap, and Gender Patterns in Clergy Careers

In Exhibit Twelve, we can see there is a large overall gap in compensation levels for clergy men and women. On average, full-time male clergy earn 17.5% more than full-time women clergy, defining full time as earning over \$27,000. In 2001, when we first started publishing differences in compensation by gender, male clergy earned \$57,369 and female clergy \$48,645, an 18% gap; hence the progress towards compensation equity is slow. As can also be seen from Exhibit Twelve, the pay gap still exists even when comparing men and women in the same relative positions.

Exhibit Twelve: Compensation by Gender and Position for Currently Active Clergy			
Cleric's Job Level	Gender	% of Total	Median Comp
All Full Time Clergy	Male	71.3%	\$64,825
	Female	28.7%	\$55,076
	Total	100.0%	\$61,379
Associate or Curate	Male	50.1%	\$56,536
	Female	49.9%	\$51,610
	Total	100.0%	\$53,500
Senior Rector <i>(In charge of a multi-clergy congregation)</i>	Male	85.6%	\$86,137
	Female	14.4%	\$74,166
	Total	100.0%	\$83,425
Solo Rector <i>(The sole cleric responsible for the congregation)</i>	Male	74.2%	\$60,822
	Female	25.8%	\$55,511
	Total	100.0%	\$59,532
Non-Parochial	Male	70.9%	\$68,117
	Female	29.1%	\$56,431
	Total	100.0%	\$64,002

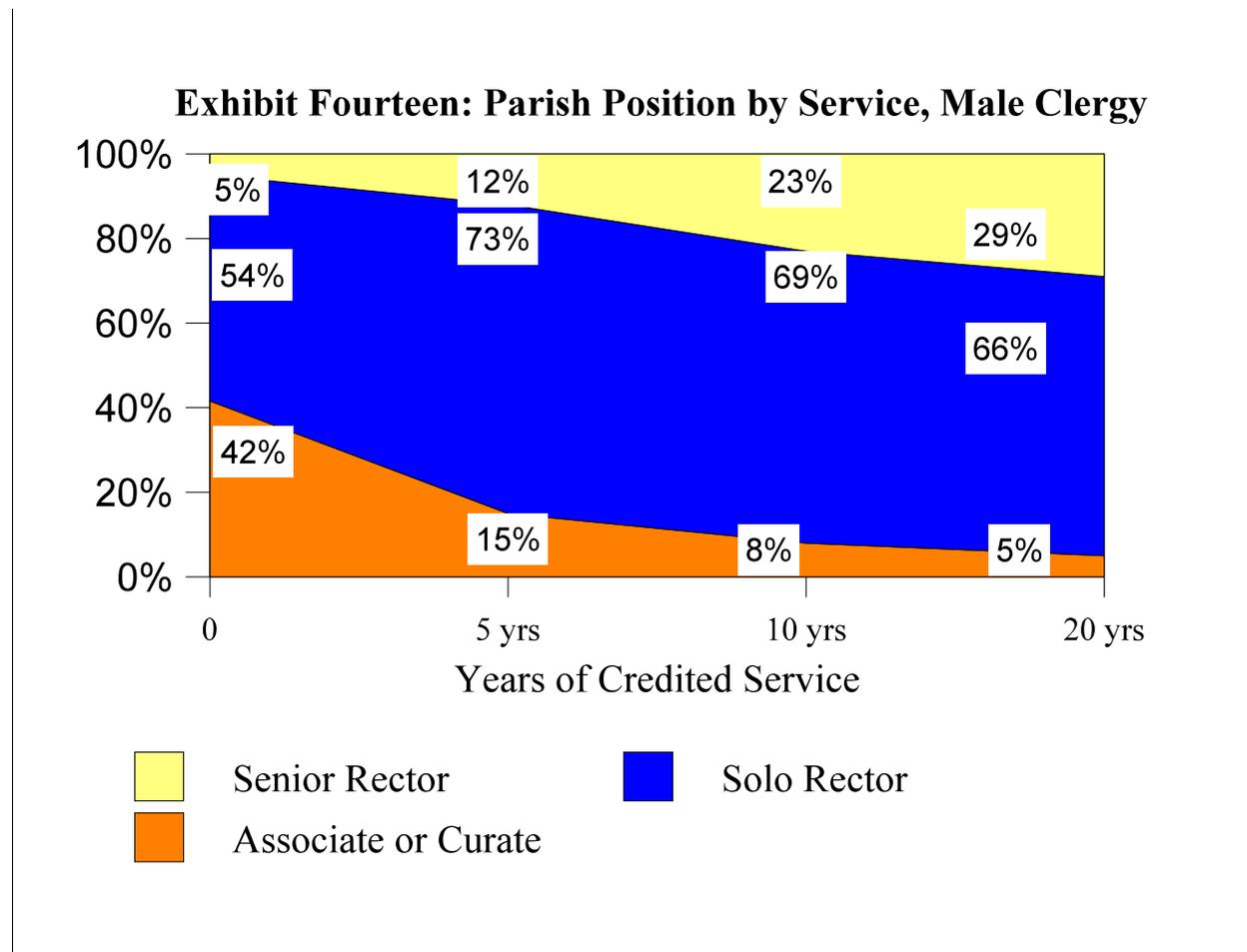
The gender gap is also not explained by men having more years of credited service. As can be seen in Exhibit Thirteen, with more years of credited service, the gap between male and female median compensation grows. Some of the initial theories we had as to why this gap occurred have not been borne out by the data.

Exhibit Thirteen: Compensation for Full-Time Clergy by Years of Credited Service and Gender			
Credited Service	Cleric's Total Compensation All Clergy	Total Compensation Male Clergy	Total Compensation Female Clergy
1 to 5 yrs	\$50,129	\$51,017	\$48,498
5 to 10 yrs	\$58,195	\$59,740	\$55,978
10 to 20 yrs	\$64,214	\$66,516	\$60,386
Over 20 yrs	\$73,193	\$73,626	\$65,101

Believing that gaps in service might be having a detrimental effect on women's clerical careers we looked to see if men and women differed overall in the number of years they have been

ordained and years of credited service. On average, there does not seem to be a significant difference, although further research will be needed to see if we find particular patterns as to when men and women have gaps in service and for what reasons. Another line of analysis we pursued was to see if female clergy were more likely to drop out of active service in comparison to males. In our analysis, we found that, with the exception of the last four years, female clergy are less likely to have become actively employed, this being true of 28% of women clergy as against 18% of men. But once they are employed, women clergy don't seem any more likely to drop out of active service than male clergy. Of all the non-retired clergy for whom we have employment histories, approximately 75% are still active, and this is true for those who start in both parochial and non-parochial situations.

One clue to the compensation gender gap may be the particular career patterns that female and male clergy careers appear to follow. Exhibits Fourteen and Fifteen show the distribution of parish positions by gender and years of credited service for active male and female clergy.



Comparing the two exhibits is informative. The proportion of female clergy who occupy some type of assisting clergy role not only larger at the outset compared to men - 42% for men versus 59% for women - but remains higher even at the upper end of the credited service range. Thus, while only 5% of men are in associate, assistant, or curate roles after 20 years, this is true for 16% of female clergy. By contrast, the proportion of women clergy occupying senior rector positions grows more slowly than that of males and thus while after 10 years of credited service almost one quarter of male clergy have achieved the position of senior rector, this is true for just 13% of women clergy. If we then look at the congregations that women are in when they become solo rectors we can gain a greater understanding, perhaps, both as to why women remain in assisting roles and the compensation gap between men and women.

Exhibit Fifteen: Parish Position by Service, Female Clergy

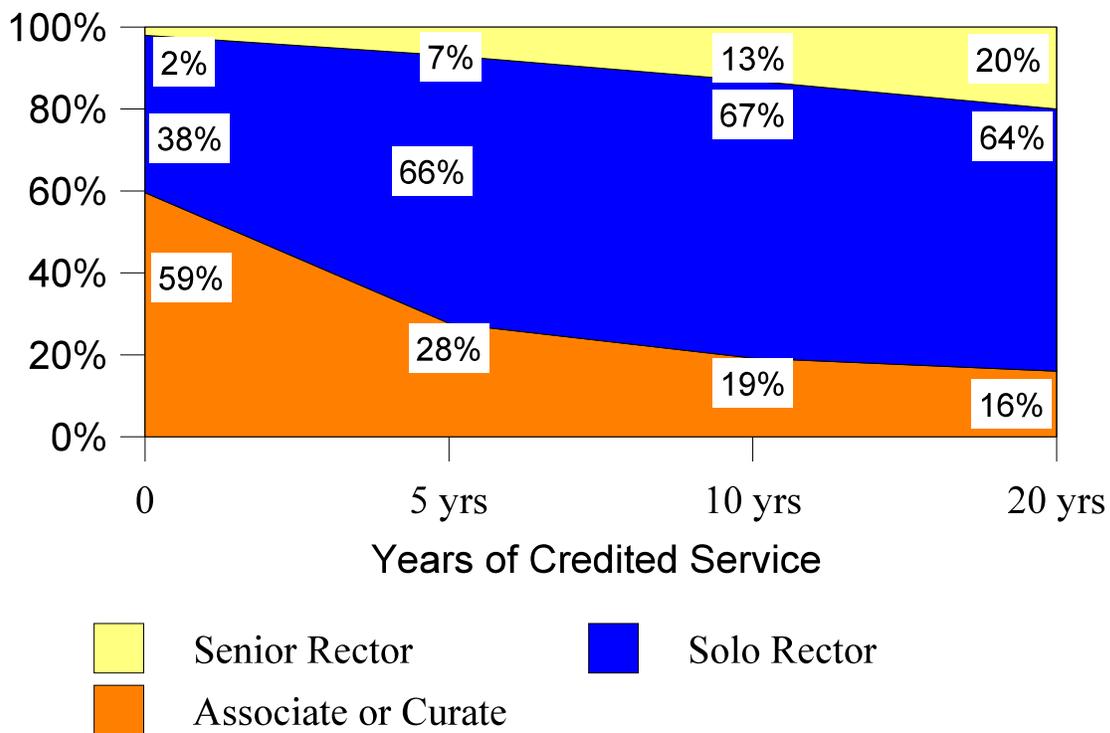


Exhibit Sixteen shows that when women are in sole clergy positions, they are in charge of congregations with lower Average Sunday Attendance (ASA) and Operating Revenues than is the case with male clergy and this is true regardless of years of Credited Service.⁵

Exhibit Sixteen: Attendance and Revenue Congregations with Solo Rectors by Gender and Credited Service			
		ASA	Oper Rev
All Solo Rectors	Male	124	\$220,963
	Female	95	\$177,407
	Total	116	\$209,712
1 to 5 yrs Credited Service	Male	92	\$171,019
	Female	81	\$157,842
	Total	88	\$166,538
5 to 10 yrs Credited Service	Male	115	\$196,752
	Female	88	\$159,025
	Total	105	\$182,482
10 to 20 yrs Credited Service	Male	126	\$222,804
	Female	106	\$195,654
	Total	120	\$214,224
Over 20 yrs Credited Service	Male	137	\$249,143
	Female	103	\$201,784
	Total	135	\$245,630

With Average Sunday Attendance and Operating Revenue lower for the congregations in which women have sole charge, it is hardly surprising that women have a tendency to serve in assisting clergy positions. Moreover, this may help explain why the 2001 Pulpit and Pew study found that female rectors suffered more highly from stress than male rectors. If female rectors are either having as their first cure the rectorship of a congregation that is relatively under-resourced, or if they are moving from multi-clergy congregations that are well resourced to ones with more constrained finances, this would almost certainly heighten stress levels. While it does not seem from our analysis of the parish clergy “drop out” problem that women in the parish are actually leaving in higher numbers, there are certainly the factors present that would increase levels of stress.

A brief case study of clergy men and women in the Diocese of Maryland, seems to indicate that there is a difference in the types of cures with which women and men begin their careers, with women having a higher proportion of associate or curate positions than men. In addition, men are more likely to work in a non-parochial setting, which may slightly inflate salary, especially in

⁵ The Average Sunday Attendance and Operating Revenue figures come from the 2004 Parochial Report. CPG would like to thank Dr. Kirk Hadaway and Office of Research and Statistics at the Church Center for providing access to this data made possible by the collaborative relationship that now exists between our two organizations in the standardization and exchange of data.

diocesan positions. The reason for this difference is not clear, but may be partially affected by the start date of the different genders' careers. Men, in general, began their careers in the Church earlier than women and tend to have longer work histories. Women were much more likely to postpone ordination until after their children were grown, while men showed no specific preference with regard to children's ages. While women do receive some solo and senior rector positions upon ordination, their start dates tend to be restricted to the last 10 years, whereas men's start dates span the past 40. This may account for some of the perceived difference in the treatment of men and women in the Church with regard to employment opportunities.

Further analysis of clergy women's careers is clearly necessary, but we can see that clergy women are far more likely to start and remain in assisting clergy positions. Such positions clearly have advantages, including the possibility of strong mentoring relationships with an experienced rector. Associate or curate positions may also offer more flexibility simply because multi-clergy congregations allow clergy to cover for each other when unexpected commitments and emergencies arise. But such positions may potentially make the transition to being in sole charge that much more difficult, especially if the sole charge congregation is constrained in its resources. We hope that with further research, we can assist the larger Church, dioceses, and parishes to gain additional insight and formulate solutions to these problems.

Section Four: Clergy Compensation, Race, and Ethnicity: Some Preliminary Findings

In an effort to respond to the many inquiries concerning the relative compensation situations of clergy from different groups in the Church, the Church Pension Group took lists of African-American and Hispanic clergy held by Church agencies and other organizations and matched those names with the Church Pension Fund database, allowing us to look for patterns in the Fund's compensation data.⁶ Clearly such an analysis has some limitations. First, in order to be in the Church Pension Fund database, a cleric must not only have been ordained but must have filled out his/her paperwork for the Church Pension Fund. Hence those clergy on the "Limbo List," for whom the Church Pension Fund has only a name and an ordination date would not appear in this analysis, and there *may* be a higher proportion of such clergy who are non-white. Second, the Church Pension Fund has limited data about licensed clergy from outside ECUSA, although it has started to collect this data as part of its remit as the Recorder of Ordinations. A significant number of these licensed clergy from outside ECUSA are clergy of color. Within the group of clergy that we have identified, it is obviously with only those clergy who are currently active within the Church Pension Fund that we are able to perform a comparative compensation analysis. Thus, this is not an analysis of all African-American and Hispanic clergy, but those who are active within the Church Pension Fund.⁷

⁶ The term African-American is used here for all clergy of African origin including those from Africa and the Carribean. We are grateful to the Office of Black Ministries for providing us with their list of Black Clergy for our research. A handful of clergy overlapped being listed both as African-American clergy and Hispanic clergy, but all data for this analysis is from unique cases.

⁷ Naturally, the full completion of this project will involve making sure that we have all of the diverse clergy groups represented as part of the analysis, a goal we will pursue after General Convention.

With those caveats stated, an analysis of the data has pointed to some interesting patterns. As can be seen in Exhibit Seventeen, compensation is highest among African-American clergy and lowest among Hispanic clergy.⁸

Exhibit Seventeen: Clergy Compensation by Racial / Ethnic Group		
	No. of clergy	Median Comp
All Clergy		
African-American	216	\$66,236
Caucasian	6482	\$59,278
Hispanic	80	\$52,879
Total	6778	\$59,361
Male		
African-American	166	\$68,304
Caucasian	4447	\$63,110
Hispanic	68	\$53,964
Total	4681	\$63,097
Female		
African-American	50	\$58,929
Caucasian	2035	\$52,179
Hispanic	12	\$50,168
Total	2097	\$52,286

This basic pattern holds true when adding gender as a variable. What we do not know from our data are the compensation levels of licensed clergy from Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America. Introducing those groups might well change these figures significantly. The second pattern that is also important to note is the very small proportion of active clergy who are African-American or Hispanic, pointing to a significant under representation of clergy of color in the pulpits of our Church. One variable which does point to some significant patterns is region. As can be seen in Exhibit Eighteen, the pattern of African-American clergy achieving an equal or higher level of compensation than of Caucasian clergy is true in the Provinces of the East Coast, Midwest and West Coast, but not so in the South. The largest positive compensation differentials for African-American clergy are in Provinces II, III and VIII.

⁸ For this analysis, I used all active clergy, rather than just those whom the Church Pension Fund believes are working full time, in order not to exclude lower-paid clergy of color in a way that would bias the data with higher-paid clergy of color.

Exhibit Eighteen: Compensation by Racial / Ethnic Group by Province		
Province	Race / Ethnicity	Median Comp'
Province I	African-American	\$60,540
	Caucasian	\$60,931
	Hispanic	\$57,629
	Total	\$60,836
Province II	African-American	\$71,400
	Caucasian	\$62,639
	Hispanic	\$57,805
	Total	\$63,592
Province III	African-American	\$75,482
	Caucasian	\$60,976
	Hispanic	\$62,113
	Total	\$61,165
Province IV	African-American	\$58,969
	Caucasian	\$60,000
	Hispanic	\$52,475
	Total	\$59,929
Province V	African-American	\$57,963
	Caucasian	\$55,457
	Hispanic	\$48,100
	Total	\$55,457
Province VI	African-American	\$54,693
	Caucasian	\$51,100
	Hispanic	\$45,495
	Total	\$51,100
Province VII	African-American	\$45,423
	Caucasian	\$57,747
	Hispanic	\$53,300
	Total	\$57,680
Province VIII	African-American	\$66,800
	Caucasian	\$58,786
	Hispanic	\$45,100
	Total	\$58,317

One explanation is that African-American clergy in the coastal provinces tend to be in larger urban congregations, whereas clergy in the South are more likely to be in smaller rural congregations. Another explanation for this phenomenon may be the growth in congregations that are made up of immigrants from Caribbean and African countries, congregations that are more numerous on the East and West Coasts and that are experiencing a steady growth. This is a

phenomenon that, in the combined research efforts of the Episcopal Church Center and the Church Pension Group, we are looking at in much greater detail. For Hispanic clergy, the picture may be different, with many congregations either in, or newly emerging from, mission status. Exploring further the issues faced by Hispanic clergy and congregations is also part of a shared agenda for the research officers of the Episcopal Church Center and the Church Pension Group.

Conclusions and Avenues for Future Research

While we are able to report some fairly significant research findings in the areas of clergy supply, clergy careers, and clergy compensation, there is much work still to be done to address some of the major issues facing the Church. In the area of clergy supply, the growing complexity of congregational leadership roles, both clerical and lay, means that we are trying to gain a fix on a constantly moving target. The more that the Church Pension Fund knows, in terms of better data records that allow us to look at the complexities of clergy career paths along with the integration with data from the Episcopal Church Center, the faster the picture changes; responsibilities that we once associated with the stipended clergy, on whom the Pension Fund has good records, are often held by licensed clergy from other parts of the Anglican communion, Vocational Deacons, clergy working after retirement, or non-stipendiary clergy. This is before we even touch the role of laity in congregational leadership. Thus, the picture of who is at the altar and in the pulpit is increasingly beyond the Church Pension Fund's routine methods of data collection. In response to this new ecclesial landscape the Church Pension Fund has integrated its multiple points of data collection. This will allow congregations to report non-traditional clergy leadership roles in a way that integrates that information into our established databases so that we can build a more complete picture of the Church. Without this knowledge, it would be too easy to conclude that many of our congregations are without clergy, simply because a significant number of clergy who lead congregations are off the traditional radar screen.

In our work on clergy compensation and careers, the initial findings are intriguing, but more research is needed. We need to start looking in narrative detail regarding the career paths of clergy, of how the divergence of male and female opportunities unfolds within the lives of clergy, from a holistic point of view. This would include both the congregational context and clergy family dynamics, and would be a research effort that will include many people in the Church. We will, in cooperation with others, explore the increasingly complex and diverse clerical and congregational life we experience. As persons from other parts of the Anglican Communion come to this country and into the Episcopal Church, the Church is diversified, and even the ways in which we have understood our diversity will become more complex. We eagerly look forward to exploring these research frontiers. We have already made an important start. This spring, over 400 congregations participated in the U.S. Congregational Life Survey, a collaborative project of the research offices of the Episcopal Church Center and the Church Pension Group, with surveys being filled out by tens of thousands of Episcopalians and their congregational leaders. We believe that this data will help answer some of the questions raised by the initial findings in this report and we look forward to reporting these findings over the next three years.