

Experiences of Women and Men Clergy in the Job Market

In the early 1970s the battle for the acceptance of women was in the seminaries. By the late 1970s, the seminary fight had mostly been won. It has shifted to the judicatories as women seek to get jobs.—SEMINARY FACULTY WOMAN

I don't think it makes any difference in finding a parish if a woman is single. Because if you are single, they wonder why. If you are married to another minister, that causes problems in how you are placed. If you are married to someone who is not a minister, then you have the question, "Well, is he going to move with you?" There are only three options, and all three of them cause problems with the hierarchy. What it boils down to is that they don't want to deal with women!—CLERGYWOMAN

Women pastors in my area have done outstanding jobs so that district executives are screaming for more women.—CLERGYWOMAN

Far too many men and women will only serve in certain areas or in the city. They are unwilling to go where they are needed. They are serving themselves, not the Lord, the Church or its people.—DENOMINATIONAL EXECUTIVE

These comments reveal differing perspectives on the job situation for clergywomen and raise several issues that make it difficult to give a simple answer to the question of how clergywomen are faring in the job market. In this chapter we explore this question, looking at a variety of concerns about the employment of clergywomen and men: ease of getting a first job; use and perceived helpfulness of the denominations' placement systems, including the advocacy of judicatory officials; types of parish jobs and parishes, and salary levels. We also consider the experiences of clergy couples in the job market. We are especially fortunate not only to have our own data but also that from two studies of particular denominations¹ that focused mainly on job placement of

women and therefore treated the issues in more depth than we were able to do.

How Clergy Get Jobs

To understand how women are faring in the clergy job market, we consider first how clergy get jobs. While it may seem incongruous to think of clergy, who typically understand themselves as responding to a divine call, negotiating in a market for jobs, it is nevertheless necessary to do so. Each denomination has established its own internal labor market in which clergy find employment in congregations or other church-related employers. Because these "internal markets" differ, and because these differences affect the way clergywomen and men find employment, we will describe them briefly, noting both their similarities and differences.

Following Carroll and Wilson's distinctions in *Too Many Pastors?*² three major formal methods of deploying pastors are used by the denominations in our study. First, there is what may be called an open method of deployment, used by those denominations that give primary emphasis to local congregational autonomy, for example the American Baptist Churches, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), and the United Church of Christ. In the extreme form of the *open* method, the congregation is free to secure and employ whomever it wishes to have as pastor. The person selected is ordained (certified) by the congregation. The candidate is free to negotiate whatever terms he or she chooses and to accept or reject any offer the congregation may make. The adequacy of the candidate's professional training is determined by the congregation.³ The denominations mentioned above do not completely reflect this extreme form; however, in each, the final authority in clergy deployment is the congregation. The denominational deployment structures exist primarily to facilitate congregational decision-making.

A second method is a variant of the open method and may be called *restricted open*. Used by the Episcopal Church, the two Presbyterian bodies (UPCUSA and PCUS), and the two Lutheran denominations (ALC and LCA), this method allows considerable congregational choice in securing a minister, while at the same time restricting the pool of persons who are eligible for consideration. A denominational body or official determines criteria for ministry in the denomination and admits (approves for ordination) only those persons who meet the criteria. They are judged on such matters as the adequacy of their training, their theological orthodoxy in relation to the denomination's position, and various personal attributes. Once approved they become a pool of candidates from which congregations may select. While laity are

often involved in the examination of candidates, clergy tend to dominate and function as gatekeepers into the denomination's ministry.

The third method is distinctively different and is practiced only by the United Methodists among the denominations in our study. It may be called a *closed* method in that the denominational body (as distinct from the congregation) has virtually complete control of both the admission of candidates and their deployment in churches. Committees made up entirely of clergy (Boards of Ordained Ministry in the United Methodist system) screen and admit candidates based on denominationally established criteria. Deployment is carried out by bishops who appoint clergy to churches on the advice of district superintendents. Congregations and clergy must be consulted in the appointive process; however, ultimate authority for appointment belongs to the bishop. Under current United Methodist practices, every clergyperson (once admitted and ordained into the ministry) is guaranteed an appointment by the annual conference (regional body) of which he or she is a member. The appointment may be in a local church or in some other position approved by the bishop.

This overview of the three major methods of deployment calls attention to important historic differences in the labor markets of differing denominations; however, there are common features.

For one thing, all of the denominations in our study, with the exception of United Methodist, have developed some formal structures for deployment that operate denomination-wide. These include some type of national clearinghouse, often computerized, whereby clergy seeking a change of positions may have a résumé on file for distribution to local churches or other church agencies that have a job opening. Likewise, such a clearinghouse usually makes available to clergy a list of available positions in congregations and other church agencies. There is no requirement that clergy or congregations in any of these denominations use the national offices; however, they are available for use, and as we shall note, it seems to be important that clergywomen in particular use their denomination's services.

Parenthetically, we note that the development of national deployment services is an example of the way in which modernization, mentioned in Chapter 2, has affected churches and clergy. It is an attempt to bring rational methods and universalistic selection criteria to bear on clergy placement. Or, in other words, it reflects an effort to develop efficient methods of matching available jobs and job seekers throughout the denomination and to give everyone a fair chance of being considered.

A second common feature is the use of regional judicatory officials (bishops, conference or executive ministers, executive presbyters) to

assist clergy and congregations in the placement process. Moving from the open, through restricted open, to closed methods, there is increasing formal authority granted to the regional executive vis-à-vis the clergy and congregation; however, it is safe to say that in all cases the regional executive plays a key role in the process, whether by using formal authority or informal (but powerful) personal influence. He or she is the linking person through whom most clergy and congregations make initial contact. In both the United Methodist Church and those denominations that fall in the restricted open type, the judicatory official (or a regional judicatory committee) must approve an appointment or call of a clergyperson to a particular congregation in his or her judicatory; however, there is variation in the degree to which some officials in restricted open denominations actually exercise this prerogative. As we shall see, regional judicatory officials are usually crucial in the success or failure that clergy, especially clergywomen, meet in the job market.

A final similarity in the three methods is the growth of congregational power in the selection of ministers, even in a denomination such as the United Methodist Church with its essentially closed-method deployment. The consultation between United Methodist congregations and bishops that is now mandatory is an example. The bishop may ignore the congregation's wishes, but the "marriage" between a minister and reluctant congregation is unlikely to be happy. In all denominations, not simply those in the congregational (open) tradition, congregations have considerable voice in who their minister will be.

The various methods that operate in clergy labor markets reflect primarily the formal process of deployment. Obviously, too, there are informal networks—"old boy" networks or "cousin" systems as they are sometimes called in the denominations. These consist of friends, relatives, former college or seminary classmates, who may inform a clergyperson of a vacancy (often before it is public information in the formal system), or who may suggest to a congregation that a particular clergyperson should be considered seriously as a candidate. Such systems are especially powerful and effective in smaller denominations that have familistic characteristics.

It is possible for a clergyperson seeking a job to ignore both formal and informal systems and to apply directly to a congregation with a job opening. We suspect, however, that most clergy and churches that are a part of a denomination would not choose to use this method. Not only do some denominational polities prohibit it, but there is so much at stake in the selection of the right person for the congregation that congregations are unlikely to bypass the various formal and informal structures available to them in selecting a clergyperson.

Entering the Job Market

We turn now to the data from our survey, beginning with a look at how women, as compared with men, have fared as they entered the job market. In doing so, we must repeat our caution that our data include only those women and men who have succeeded in securing a parish call or appointment. Most people knowledgeable about the clergy job market believe that it is not too difficult for women or men to secure a first placement or appointment in parish. The difficulty is more likely to arise in subsequent moves.

We asked the clergy how long it took them to obtain a first parish position.⁴ Eighty-five percent of the women and 95 percent of the men were able to find a position within six months. The percentages rose to 91 percent of the women and 97 percent of the men who found positions within a year. While the figures for most denominations followed this pattern, United Methodist and United Presbyterian women were most likely to have received a parish appointment or call within six months (90 percent). Presbyterian Church U.S. women had the lowest percent getting called within six months, but that figure was a rather respectable 76 percent. The guarantee of an appointment for United Methodists no doubt explains the ease most women experience in that denomination. United Presbyterians have an active program of advocacy for the placement and support of women.

In general, then, neither women nor men in our sample report having had great difficulty in their first placement. What kinds of first positions clergy find and how they fare in subsequent placements are also important and will be considered later in the chapter.

First, however, we consider how our respondents view the current prospects for clergy entering the job market. This question is important, not only because our respondents are close to the situation and able to give an assessment; their perceptions also are often communicated to seminary students and to others contemplating a ministerial career and may have a bearing on career decisions.

Respondents were asked for their perceptions about the job market for seminarians graduating in 1981 (the year the data were gathered). Women were asked only about the situation for women graduates, while men were asked about all graduates. There were significant differences that do not seem explicable by different question wording. Only 5 percent of the men believed that new graduates would have an easier time than they did; however, 31 percent of women believed this would be the case. Almost 60 percent of the men and over one-third of the women thought the situation for new graduates would be more difficult.

When asked why they responded as they did, women who believed new graduates would have an easier time most frequently gave as their reason that the increased exposure of women has made them more acceptable. Also, they believed that, because women have proved themselves in ministerial positions, there will be less apprehension that they will lead the church into ruin. Others cited improved denominational support as making first placements easier.

Men, on the other hand, tended to compare the current placement situation with the time of their own entry into the job market when there was a shortage of clergy. The current job market, as a recent study has shown,⁵ is one of a surplus of clergy in several mainline Protestant denominations (e.g., especially Episcopal, United Presbyterian, and United Church of Christ) and a relatively balanced situation in others (e.g., the Lutheran Church in America). Thus when clergymen view the prospects for new entrants, they compare it with their situation and are more pessimistic than women. Both the men and women are seeing the same job market, but they are viewing it from different perspectives. To use a sociological concept, their reference groups are different, and they perceive the job market differently as a result.

Even if there are jobs available, a number of men and women respondents believe the positions will probably be relatively unattractive to new graduates. That is, the positions are likely to be in marginal situations; for example, churches with poor salaries or in isolated locations.

These varying perceptions from men and women concerning the job market show further differences when the year the respondent was ordained is considered. Clergymen ordained prior to 1970, and men ordained prior to 1975, are likely to believe the current situation will be more difficult for new entrants. The differences in perceived difficulty almost disappear for men and women ordained after 1974, with approximately one-third of each group saying the situation will be more difficult. Women, however, remain more optimistic, regardless of year of ordination.

When we compared denominational variations in perceptions of the job market for new clergy in 1981, less than 15 percent of the clergymen in all denominations believed that new clergy would have an easier time than they had. The greatest pessimism among clergymen—that new entrants will have a more difficult time—comes from UCC (80 percent), Episcopal (79 percent), and United Presbyterian (77 percent), the denominations with the most difficult current job markets. Least pessimistic among men (at approximately 30 percent each) were Disciples and United Methodists. Over half to two-thirds of the men in the

remaining denominations are pessimistic, led by American Baptists at 67 percent.

Women clergy in all denominations are significantly more optimistic than men, but there are also denominational differences in optimism and pessimism. For example, only 14 percent of the Presbyterian Church U.S. women believe new women entrants will have an easier time, as compared with four out of ten LCA women. There is in fact considerable pessimism about the job market for new entrants among women in several denominations: American Baptist, Disciples, Episcopal, and Presbyterian U.S. women are all somewhat pessimistic (between 47 and 57 percent). Only United Methodist women show little pessimism (17 percent saying that the job market would be more difficult in 1981).

In summary, (1) women are typically more optimistic than men about prospects for new entrants as compared with the situation when they were ordained; (2) with minor exceptions, the longer clergypersons, either men or women, have been ordained, the more pessimism they express about the situation for new entrants; and (3) there are significant denominational differences for both men and women in their perceptions of the 1981 job market for new clergy. Several of those differences seem to reflect the job situation for clergy in particular denominations; others may reflect denominational deployment practices.

Changing Parishes

Many seminary faculty and judicatory officials whom we interviewed expressed the opinion that entry level jobs are really not too problematic—if entering clergy are willing to accept what is available. Their fears, rather, are with second, third, and subsequent calls or placements. Not only does this fear reflect recognition of the present oversupplied job market, but also a suspicion regarding women that they may not be accepted as sole or senior pastors in larger, high-status churches as easily as men. One United Methodist official said, “The jury is still out on second and third appointments. Will these appointments be horizontal or will [women] in fact be moving in their careers to more responsibility and more opportunity?” A faculty member at an interdenominational seminary echoes this apprehension:

... For a lot of women, it is time to move. They've been in parishes for three or four years. A lot of parishes that were initially open to women have sort of said, "Well, we've done that; we've had our woman," and so second level positions are becoming very difficult. And a lot of my friends are now looking for secular work. They never had any intention of

doing that. . . . One of the things that needs to be raised with women who are in seminary now is to say, "Hey, look, it ain't all cake out there." It is really going to be difficult, and in terms of having a career that grows and develops within parish ministry, . . . women are going to have to be prepared. I think women going into the ministry today need to be prepared in two professions. That's tragic but I think it is true.

References to "career" and upward mobility in both comments articulate the expectation shared by many clergy that each successive move to a new position within the church should be a move *up* the career ladder. Such an expectation is obviously not unique to ordained ministry; it affects many occupations, especially professional and managerial ones. But will it be possible for clergy, especially women clergy, to move upward in the current job market?

To assess how clergy themselves perceive the possibilities for upward mobility, we asked about plans to leave their current position for another job within the next couple of years. Just over half of all clergy say that such a move is likely, with seven out of ten of both men and women anticipating a move to another parish. The majority of women not wishing another parish expressed a desire to serve in a hospital or other type of chaplaincy situation. Male clergy not interested in continuing in the parish were considerably more likely to express interest in a denominational staff position.

Respondents were also asked whether they thought it would be easy or difficult to obtain a position slightly better than the one now held; that is, how likely is it that they will be able to climb the career ladder? Table 5.1 shows the responses broken down by gender. Sixty percent of the women and 55 percent of the men anticipate some degree of difficulty in upward mobility; although that leaves 40 and 45 percent of the women and men, respectively, who are relatively optimistic about their chances, in spite of the difficult job market. What are some of the factors that affect these perceptions?

Age is one contributor to differences. Men under age forty are especially optimistic, with six out of ten believing that there will be relative ease of upward mobility. There are only slight differences among women, with older and younger women both falling near 40 percent in perception of relative ease. Men who are currently fifty years or older are least likely to believe upward mobility will be easy (34 percent indicating "somewhat" or "very easy"). Their responses may reflect that these men are already at the "top" churches on the career ladder and have nowhere else to go that can be defined as "slightly better." Women over fifty, on the other hand, are not typically at the top of the ladder, as reflected in their slightly more optimistic responses (38 per-

Table 5.1 Perceived Ease of Getting a Parish Position Slightly Better Than the One Now Held

	<i>Women</i> %	<i>Men</i> %
Very easy	12	9
Somewhat easy	28	35
Somewhat difficult	38	41
Very difficult	22	15
<i>Total</i>	100	100
(N)	(600)	(705)

cent indicating relative ease). The pessimism of older men may, however, support findings from previous research that older clergy are especially vulnerable in a difficult job market; that is, they are among those most likely to find mobility difficult.⁶ An American Lutheran official told us that older clergymen in that denomination are having more difficulty finding calls than are women.

There are also denominational differences in perceptions of ease of mobility if the person were to try to get a slightly better parish position than the one now held. United Methodists are most likely to be optimistic, with just under two-thirds of men and women believing an upward move will be relatively easy. The United Methodist closed method of placement with its guarantee of an appointment is clearly behind this assessment. The optimism about *upward* mobility probably reflects the fact that United Methodist bishops attempt to move clergy to relatively "better" or at least comparable situations where possible. This, however, is not guaranteed. Episcopal clergy, especially clergywomen, and American Baptist clergymen, are the least optimistic about upward mobility. The response of the Episcopal clergy is interpretable in terms of the current oversupply of clergy in that denomination. Evidently American Baptist clergy also find upward mobility difficult. Approximately one-third to one-half of the clergy in the remaining denominations expressed optimism.

Large differences in optimism over upward mobility exist between men and women in several denominations, especially among Disciples and in the Lutheran Church of America, where men are 22 percent higher in optimism than women. Disciples and Presbyterian Church U.S. women (18 and 27 percent respectively) are also much more likely than men to believe that it will be very difficult to better their current position in a move. Explanations for these differences are not readily

apparent. Some may reflect differences in denominational structure and practice; others may reflect regional variations.

While such factors are important, characteristics pertaining more to individual clergymen and women may also affect their perceptions of the chance for obtaining a better move. In addition to age, which has already been suggested as important, a clergy's experience of success or failure in his or her current parish makes a difference in perceptions about mobility. In Chapter 6, we examine these various measures of success in some detail. Here let us simply note that clergy—both men and women—who are experiencing a degree of success in their present parish are more likely to believe moving to a better parish will be relatively easy. Indicators of success include positive self-evaluations of a variety of clergy roles, getting ideas accepted by parish governing boards, feeling satisfaction with their current position, and finding that their present position maximizes the use of their talents. Such success breeds confidence in both men and women that they will also be successful in obtaining better parishes in future moves.

Getting Jobs: Factors That Help or Hinder

Earlier we noted the different denominational methods by which clergy find church positions and churches find clergy. How do these various methods work for women and men? Additionally, how do various *personal* attributes of the clergy themselves help or hinder the process of job seeking? To answer these questions we use both our own data and findings from Edward C. Lehman Jr.'s studies of American Baptist and United Presbyterian clergywomen.

As Lehman's analysis suggests, there is a sequence which many clergy follow in job seeking, particularly in denominations using open or restricted-open methods. The formal placement structures, especially the national denominational deployment offices, are consulted first to discover job openings. Informal contacts also are consulted. Once contacts have been established with local congregational search committees, the importance of the national structure is diminished and regional or local factors become more important in helping a clergy person secure an interview with a congregation. These regional or local "gatekeepers" include regional judicatory leaders who may have to give official approval, seminary officials and faculty, and clergy or lay friends who are known to the congregation and can vouch for the candidate. At this point, personal attributes of the clergy person come strongly into play and become paramount in the final stage, the interview itself.

We asked clergy general questions about their use of the formal deployment structures. Approximately six out of ten clergy indicate that

they have adequate information about vacancies. When responses are compared by denomination and sex (Table 5.2), there are two significant differences within denominations by sex: Episcopal women are less likely than men (by 13 percent) to report having adequate information, while the opposite is true for United Church of Christ clergy where women are 16 percent more likely to answer affirmatively. Overall, no more than half of the clergy, male and female, in the American Baptist, Lutheran Church in America and the United Methodist Church report having adequate information.

Three-fifths of the women and men (excluding United Methodists for whom the question does not apply) reported using the national deployment services and have a current profile or dossier on file with the national office. However, as Table 5.2 reveals, there is considerable variation by denomination and sex. Some of the denominational variation reflects differences in how denominational systems function. Some, for example, encourage all clergy to keep current profiles on record; in others, clergy use the service only when looking for a change. Half of the men and 60 percent of the women are not currently looking. Thus, we will ignore overall denominational differences in Table 5.2 and consider variations by sex within denominations.

In four denominations, women were significantly less likely than men to report using the national system. These include Disciples (31 percent fewer women than men), Presbyterian U.S. (21 percent), American Lutheran (14 percent) and UCC (12 percent). While the differences may result from fewer women looking for a change of positions, it is also probable that fewer women than men in these denominations choose to use the national system.

We asked those currently using the national system how helpful they have found it to be in getting interviews or actual positions. Approximately one-third of the women and men express some dissatisfaction. Table 5.2 shows responses by denomination and sex. Denominational differences are evident regardless of sex, with Disciples most satisfied and Presbyterian U.S. clergy least satisfied. Because the latter denomination is comparatively small, regional, and often described in familistic terms—its informal placement network is called the “cousin system”—these factors may make the denomination’s formal system less important for placement. Nevertheless, when sex is taken into account, PCUS men are significantly more satisfied with the denomination’s formal system than are women (a 24 percent difference). American Baptist and Episcopal women are also less satisfied than men with their denominations’ systems.

When those not using the national system were asked why they were not doing so, the major reason given, other than that they were not

Table 5.2 Use and Effectiveness of Deployment Structures
(by Sex and Denomination)

	(by Sex and Denomination)								
	Denomination								
	ABC W M %	CC(D) W M %	EC W M %	LCA W M %	ALC W M %	PCUS W M %	UPC W M %	UMC W M %	UCC W M %
Percent Saying:									
Presently using placement services of the national denomination office.	90 89 (63) (62)	47 78 (49) (64)	80 88 (79) (103)	63 62 (54) (42)	56 70 (39) (64)	37 58 (19) (24)	24 35 (70) (108)	Not Applicable	45 57 (89) (88)
(N)									
National Office helpful at least in getting interviews at churches	38 56 (55) (54)	65 68 (23) (53)	26 40 (57) (96)	47 35 (35) (31)	52 49 (25) (47)	20 44 (5) (16)	52 49 (27) (59)	Not Applicable	58 63 (41) (60)
(N)									
Have adequate information about all church related vacancies.	44 46 (64) (59)	58 50 (52) (64)	56 69 (77) (100)	51 50 (53) (46)	67 64 (42) (63)	75 84 (20) (25)	75 81 (78) (110)	49 52 (127) (133)	80 64 (93) (87)
(N)									

currently looking, was that regional and personal ties are also necessary and seem more important. Some women indicated that they were restricted, for family reasons, from moving to other regions and, thus, did not believe the national system to be helpful. Others, both men and women, indicated that they do not trust the national office or the processes used.

Regional denominational officials are a key link in the effectiveness of the denominational deployment system, regardless of denomination. In all but the United Methodist Church these persons receive resumes of available clergy from the national office, often consult directly with congregations in the choice of their pastors, and confer with clergy regarding available jobs. They frequently use executive discretion in agreeing or refusing to accept a given minister into the judicatory. For example, Episcopal bishops have the right to refuse a particular clergy-person entry into a position in the diocese, and other denominational officials can informally withhold their endorsement of the clergy, which is often tantamount to a veto.

Clergy were asked to what extent they anticipated their own regional officials might affect their placement or mobility negatively. Less than 10 percent of either sex would go so far as to say that they anticipated a great deal of trouble; however, 45 percent of the women and 39 percent of the men anticipated at least some possibility of a negative influence by their regional officials. When responses were compared by denomination and sex, United Presbyterian women and men were least likely of all denominations to anticipate any difficulty (18 and 14 percent respectively). Episcopal women were the most likely to anticipate problems, with two-thirds indicating some degree of difficulty. Over half of the American Baptist women and 40 percent of the Disciples, Lutheran (both), and Methodist women also anticipated some or much difficulty.

In giving reasons for anticipated problems, women were most likely to cite officials' reluctance to be advocates for clergywomen in the churches under their jurisdiction. A comment by one woman, typical of many others, is that executives in her denomination are "more neutral than negative; but nevertheless the result becomes negative." An American Baptist woman said, "Even the [denominational] executives who are open to women have other priorities. For example [securing employment for] blacks." A Lutheran woman anticipated difficulty "because, since most of the districts have their two or three token women, bishops feel that they don't have to help the advancement of women." Or again, "In the United Presbyterian Church no one officially badmouths women, but. . . ." Or finally, a Methodist woman commented that "Unless the bishop is forceful in placing women and

encourages district superintendents to support them, we're in a lot of trouble."

What these quite typical comments highlight is that for women to be placed it is necessary for judicatory officials of all denominations to be more than pleasant but inactive in support of women clergy; rather, they need to be active advocates if women are to find jobs. One large United Methodist annual conference was cited to the researchers as a case in point. The conference has very few women clergy, and several women have transferred out in recent years. Neighboring conferences, in contrast, have significant numbers of women. The difference is in the attitude of the bishops.

The fear of negative recommendations from denominational officials is not restricted to women. A comment by UCC clergymen is very typical: "Our present executives are on the inner circle [of the denomination] and can casually pass prejudicial judgment that can harm or help, *and the parish minister never knows*" (emphasis supplied). Other comments from clergymen indicated that they were perceived as being "too independent" or as "not playing ball," and were thus not helped in job seeking by their denominational officials.

By no means are all comments about denominational officials negative. Many women praise the efforts of their regional officials. Said one United Methodist, "My bishop leans over backwards for women and thinks they are better than men. I have also proved myself quite highly to my bishop." Her last comment is echoed by a number of men and women. Both sexes, but especially men, are apt to cite their personal competence as a reason why they expect support from denominational officials in their regions.

It would be inappropriate to place all blame or praise regarding clergy job seeking and mobility on denominational placement systems or regional judicatory officials. In denominations which call clergy, vacancy or search committees of lay members of the congregation play a major role. Indeed the congregation as a whole typically has the final "say" regarding the pastoral call. Even United Methodists, as noted, make consultation with congregational leaders regarding appointments mandatory. We asked both clergy and lay leaders a number of questions regarding their congregations' preferences for men or women clergy. Much of this material will be dealt with in the next chapter; however, several findings are pertinent here.

We should repeat the caution that our lay leader sample is biased in favor of those who have experienced having a woman as pastor. While this may lead those with experience to be more favorable to women, it may also, in fact, make them favor a man as their next pastor. They may wish to avoid being typed as a congregation with women pastors.

(We treat this "alternation" hypothesis more fully in the following chapter.) These possibilities need to be kept in mind in interpreting the data.

Earlier, we suggested that personal attributes of clergy are more critical for congregational choice by the time the job search process has reached the interview stage. Thus, we listed a number of personal attributes and asked both laity and clergy what would be the likely gender preference for a new minister for each attribute listed. Clergy were asked to respond on behalf of the congregation as a whole. Laity were asked to express their personal preference. Attributes listed included the following: single person in mid-twenties; about sixty years old and widowed; divorced; widowed with children under ten years; obese; and physically very attractive. Two-thirds or more of the clergymen responding believe their churches would prefer the male candidate regardless of the attribute listed. Six percent or fewer believe their church would prefer a woman. Approximately two-fifths (ranging from 38 to 47 percent depending on the listed attribute) of the clergywomen also believe their church would prefer a man, with only 11 percent or fewer indicating preference for a woman on any attribute. Clergywomen are much more likely than men to believe that gender would make no difference with reference to the attributes.

Lay leaders are considerably more likely than clergy to say that the sex of the clergy makes no difference. Regardless of the attributes listed, 60 percent or more of the laymen and women give this response. Where preference is expressed, laymen are consistently more likely to prefer a man; however, fewer than 10 percent of the men or women would prefer a woman candidate.

The differences between clergy and lay leader perceptions are striking. The probable explanation for them is that clergy are responding in terms of their perceptions of the likely preference of the congregation as a whole. Laity are responding for themselves; however, they are leaders in their congregations and describe themselves as theologically more liberal than rank-and-file members. Thus they probably are not entirely representative of their congregations.

With reference to the attributes themselves, there were generally such insufficient differences in how each attribute would affect gender preferences for a new minister that we have not commented on the differences. However, in interviews, many respondents believed that being divorced and being over age sixty and widowed would likely disqualify a candidate regardless of sex.

Also pertinent to congregational preference for clergy is a question asked both clergy and lay leaders. "If a ministerial vacancy should occur in my congregation (or finances permit an additional minister to

be hired), the search committee should actively seek a woman candidate." Responses to this question will be considered more fully in Chapter 6; however, here we note that laity and clergy, men and women, are relatively evenly distributed across the three possible responses: agree, have mixed feelings, disagree. Slightly more clergymen agree than clergywomen (40 to 34 percent respectively) with the reverse direction being true for laity (34 percent of the women agreeing and 20 percent of the men). Evidently, a large majority of clergy and lay leaders are mixed at best or negative in their attitudes toward affirmative hiring for women. Given the stronger preference expressed for male clergy rather than female, we believe that someone of influence, more likely the judicatory executive, will have to give at least a subtle push for women if they are to be placed.

As a way of both concluding this section on deployment practices and adding additional insights into the process, we note several findings from Lehman's studies of American Baptist and United Presbyterian clergy. Lehman focuses in greater detail than we have on deployment practices in these two denominations. Both of his studies confirm the importance for women of using the formal placement structures and procedures. This is necessary to provide legitimation for the women as bona fide candidates to regional judicatory officials and congregations.⁷ Lehman's Baptist data indicate that the greater the number of formal structures used by a woman, the more her formal identity as a minister is likely to be legitimated. If she ignores the formal structures and relies on informal networks or direct contact with parishes, she is likely to be viewed as "not playing by the rules." The same findings do not hold for Baptist clergymen, for whom personal attributes were more important in final placement outcomes.⁸

In Lehman's study of United Presbyterian women the findings are similar to those for Baptist women;⁹ however, the Presbyterian study does not include clergymen. The findings once more show the relevance of formal structures and informal networks for early stages of the placement process, especially for legitimation of the clergywoman, and the increasing importance of personal attributes of the clergywoman during the interview stage.

In addition, Lehman documents how the number of "special needs" restricts chances for satisfactory placement and salary level for the candidate. Respondents were given a list of factors that might limit the location and nature of a church job. They included restrictions such as their spouse's job, needs of their children, or their own educational needs. The greater the number of needs specified, the fewer the number of interviews the candidate had, the fewer the calls she received, and the lower her salary.¹⁰

Types of Parishes and Parish Positions

Thus far, we have primarily considered perceptions about the job market and mobility within it. What kinds of parishes do the clergy in our sample actually serve? Are there differences between the parishes and types of parish positions available to men and women clergy? Do kinds of parishes and types of positions available differ for men and women as they move through their careers? Answers to these questions are critical in determining whether women are overcoming professional marginality in the ordained ministry.

Women apparently are likely to experience more limited opportunities than men as they move into second and subsequent parish positions. Lehman also has hypothesized that churches experiencing decline or difficulty will be more receptive to women than those experiencing some degree of success. The latter are likely to view clergywomen as a drastic deviation from tradition and consequently as an organizational threat.¹¹ Hence clergywomen by default have an increased chance of being hired by declining churches. Lehman cites data from a study of American Baptists to support the hypothesis; however, he did not control for whether it was the clergyperson's first or subsequent position. Since most clergywomen are in first positions, to compare their positions with men who have considerable experience may be misleading. Therefore, we will need to control for whether the respondents are in their first, second, third (or more) parishes.

Before considering variations by experience, it is instructive simply to compare men and women as to type of position as in Table 5.3. While 88 percent of the men are in sole and senior pastor positions, quite a different story is true for women. Overall, women are significantly more likely to be assistant or associate pastors than men and less likely to be sole or senior pastors of churches.

The pattern of positions for women varies by denomination. Presbyterian U.S., United Methodist, United Presbyterian, Lutheran Church in America, and UCC women are most likely to be sole pastor positions (ranging from 70 percent in the Presbyterian U.S. to 45 percent in the UCC). Over six of ten Episcopal women are employed as curates (assistant ministers). Likewise, four of ten Disciples women are assistants/associates. American Baptist and American Lutheran women are about equally divided among sole and assistant/associate positions. Almost three out of ten American Lutheran women serve as co-pastors and two of ten Baptists as Ministers of Christian Education. Thus there are denominational variations in the deployment of women. These variations reflect, in part, denominational practices in the deployment of starting ministers, since many of the women are in their first parishes.

Table 5.3 Type of Position in Ministry
(by Sex of Pastor)

<i>Position</i>	<i>Women</i> %	<i>Men</i> %
Sole pastor	47	66
Senior pastor	2	22
Co-pastor	14	2
Associate/assistant pastor	27	8
Minister of education	5	0
Interim pastor	4	1
Other	1	1
<i>Total</i> (N)	100 (604)	100 (725)

In the Episcopal Church, for example, beginning clergy frequently serve as curates, while United Methodist and Presbyterian Church U.S. clergy often start as pastors of small parishes.

Twenty-five percent of the women and 5 percent of the men are part-time, most of whom work half or three-fourths time. As we shall see later, a large number of part-timers are married to another clergy-person. Part-time clergywomen are evenly distributed across denominations (ranging from 26 to 33 percent) with the exception of the Lutheran Church in America and United Methodists, who have 14 and 7 percent respectively. Until 1980, United Methodist polity prohibited a part-time appointment of an ordained minister. We will consider below the effect on salary of being part-time. Other than salary differentials, women working part-time are especially more likely to be married than those working full-time (81 percent to 46 percent). This probably also accounts for their greater unwillingness to relocate their residence to take a new position (true for both women and men part-timers). They are also significantly more likely to serve churches of less than 100 members (again true for both sexes).

Differences in types of positions between women and men reflected in Table 5.3 no doubt reflect the number of years of experience in ministry. Since the majority of women are relative newcomers to ordained ministry, it is more likely that they will be disproportionately in entry-level positions. In Table 5.4 we have controlled for whether the position represents the individual's first, second, third (or more) parish. Sole and senior pastor categories have been combined. All other categories have been combined with associate/assistant. In this table we have not further controlled for denomination.

Table 5.4 Position in Church and Pastoral Experience
(by Sex of Minister)

<i>Present Position</i>	<i>First Church</i>		<i>Second Church</i>		<i>Third-plus Church</i>	
	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>W</i>	<i>M</i>
	%		%		%	
Sole pastor/ senior pastor	42	68	49	85	60	92
Assistant/ associate pastor	58	32	51	15	40	8
<i>Total</i>	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N)	(233)	(74)	(169)	(120)	(187)	(518)
Tau Beta: -.14 (sig. .0002) for clergywomen						
Tau Beta: -.19 (sig. .0000) for clergymen						

The differences between men and women are striking at each point of comparison. Men are significantly more likely than women to be sole or senior pastors and less likely to be assistant or associate pastors. While the data are cross-sectional rather than longitudinal, it is tempting to interpret them longitudinally; that is, to suggest that women are more likely than men to enter the ministry in assistant or associate roles and remain there. Almost six out of ten women enter in assistant or associate positions; four out of ten women in third or more positions are at the same level. However, men progressively move to sole or senior pastor positions.

Are there also differences in the types of churches to which men and women are called or appointed? As we noted earlier, Lehman cited data from an American Baptist study that suggested that declining churches are more likely to call a woman pastor. We asked respondents to describe their churches on several measures. When we compare clergymen to women in first positions only, ignoring whether they are sole pastors or assistant/associate, there is only one statistically significant difference. Clergywomen are significantly less likely than men (48 to 63 percent) to describe the dominant theological position of their congregation as very or moderately conservative. Rather, their congregations are typically described as being either liberal theologically (31 percent) or mixed (21 percent), as compared to 25 and 12 percent, respectively, for men. Other than this difference, women and men are not significantly different in describing their churches as growing or declining when they first arrived. The size of the places in which the churches are located does not differ significantly; nor do church size, the age struc-

ture of the congregations, the congregations' social class composition, or the churches' financial positions differ significantly. Thus, considering all churches to which women are called, our data do not support Lehman's earlier findings. Rather, the major difference between first churches served by women and men is their theological position. Liberal churches are more likely to be open to women.

But, what happens to this picture of little or no difference when we compare the churches of men and women who are in their first positions as sole pastors? Table 5.5 presents these comparisons. It also includes comparisons of men and women in their second and third or more parishes. Because our sample contains too few male assistants or associates in second or third positions to allow for meaningful analysis, we consider only sole or senior pastors in the table.

Looking at first positions only, clergywomen and men are about equally likely to say that their churches were declining when they arrived (46 and 44 percent respectively); that they are located in a small city, small town or rural area (both 80 percent); that their churches are predominantly middle and upper class (54 and 56 percent respectively); and that the present financial health is excellent or good (40 and 46 percent). These differences are not statistically significant. However, there are significant differences between the first parishes of clergywomen and men at several points. Women are much more likely (by 26 percent) to be in churches of fewer than 200 members and (by 9 percent) to be in churches where two-thirds of the members are age 50 and older. Significant differences in the theological conservatism of the congregations remain, with men more likely (by 17 percent) to say their congregation members are mostly conservative. Thus, there are differences in first parishes served by women and men who are sole or senior pastors, but the hypothesis that women are more likely to be called or assigned to declining churches is not supported by our data.

Table 5.5 does, however, lend some support to a hypothesis that clergywomen do not fare as well as men in second, third and subsequent calls. There are strong and significant differences between women and men in their second and third or more parishes in several comparisons. The third or more parishes of women are more likely than those of men to be located in small cities, small towns, or rural areas, and to have older members; both second and third parishes of women are more likely than those served by men to be small (under 200 members), to have fewer middle and upper class members, and are *less* likely to be in good or excellent financial health. Thus, women who are in sole or senior pastorates do not appear to keep pace with clergywomen in the kinds of positions to which they are called or appointed in their second or subsequent moves. It must be noted again that these

Table 5.5 Comparisons of First, Second, and Third-Plus Parishes of Clergymen and Clergymen as Sole or Senior Pastors*

	<i>Women</i> %	<i>Men</i> %
1. Percent saying when first called church was generally declining:		
First parish	46	44
Second parish	52	45
Third-plus parish	52	46
Tau Beta:†	.03 ns	.003 ns
2. Percent saying the church is in a small city (less than 54,000), town, or rural area:		
First parish	80	80
Second parish	69	64
Third-plus parish	76	61
Tau Beta:	.08 (sig. .04)	.10 (sig. .002)
3. Percent saying the church size is under 200 members:		
First parish	72	46
Second parish	61	32
Third-plus parish	55	21
Tau Beta:	.09 (sig. .04)	.16 (sig. .0000)
4. Percent serving congregations where two-thirds of the parishioners are age 50 and older:		
First parish	33	24
Second parish	27	22
Third-plus parish	40	32
Tau Beta:	-.08 ns	-.09 (sig. .006)
5. Percent serving churches where two-thirds of the parishioners are middle and upper-middle class:		
First parish	54	56
Second parish	48	59
Third-plus parish	45	61
Tau Beta:	.06 ns	-.04 ns
6. Percent saying church's predominant theological position is conservative:		
First parish	54	71
Second parish	46	63
Third-plus parish	53	60
Tau Beta:	-.01 ns	.04 ns

Table 5.5—*CONTINUED*

	Women %	Men %
7. Percent saying present financial health of the church is excellent or good:		
First parish	40	46
Second parish	38	61
Third-plus parish	21	59
Tau Beta:	.05 ns	-.02 ns
8. Percent saying they are "quite willing" to relocate residence one hundred miles away from present residence in order to take a new position:		
First parish	60	61
Second parish	51	57
Third-plus parish	58	51
Tau Beta:	.002 ns	.04 ns

*Assistant/associate ministers are excluded.

†Tau Beta is used to test the significance of the difference for each sex between first, second, and third parishes, *not* between sexes.

data are cross-sectional, comparing three different groups of women at different stages of their careers. We cannot compare the same woman at differing career stages; nevertheless, the data support the hypothesis of differences in second and third-plus placements for men and women.

One other aspect of a minister's position for which comparisons are appropriate is salary. Overall, 39 percent of the clergywomen reported receiving a salary of less than \$10,000, as compared with 10 percent of the clergymen. Since, however, there is a considerable difference in years of experience in the samples of men and women, the salary differential may simply reflect experience. Comparing women and men with five or less years of experience, the salary difference remains, although not as sharply. While 16 percent of the men with five or less years of experience earn less than \$10,000, 40 percent of the women with comparable experience do so.

We also compared men and women in sole pastor positions, controlling as before on whether this was their first, second, or third-plus parish. Table 5.6 contains the breakdowns. The table reveals significant differences in the levels of cash salary between clergywomen and men in sole or senior pastorates within most categories. Only in two of the first parish comparisons are there insignificant differences. In the remainder, men consistently receive higher salaries than women.

Table 5.6 Cash Salary Paid to Women and Men Clergy in Sole or Senior Pastorates Comparing First, Second, and Third-Plus Parishes

<i>Salary</i>	<i>Parish</i>	<i>Women</i> %	<i>Men</i> %
\$10,000 and under	First parish	39	23
	Second parish	36	11
	Third-plus parish	37	6
\$11,000 – \$15,000	First parish	53	55
	Second parish	52	42
	Third-plus parish	50	37
\$16,000 – \$20,000	First parish	5	15
	Second parish	7	31
	Third-plus parish	10	30
\$21,000 and over	First parish	3	6
	Second parish	5	16
	Third-plus parish	3	27

Another likely factor contributing to the salary differences between men and women is the larger percentage of women working part-time. As might be expected, part-time employment is negatively correlated with the amount of salary earned, both for men and women. However, the correlation is stronger for women (tau beta: $-.37$) than for men (tau beta: $-.23$). Still, being part-time does not entirely reduce the differential between men and women. Twenty-seven percent of the women working full-time earn \$10,000 or less. Only 7 percent of the men do so.

The difference between full-time men and women clergy increases when we compare clergy in first, second and third or more parishes. While men are 11 percentage points more likely than women to earn more than \$10,000 in their first parish, they are 24 percent more likely to do so in their third parish.¹²

To assess the relative importance of various factors that might affect salary, we used multiple regression analysis separately for women and men. For women, being part-time has the most significant negative effect on salary. The number of years of experience in ministry plays a small but statistically significant positive role. For men, the reverse is true. Years of experience are most important positively in increasing salary, while being part-time is significant in its negative effect. For

men, then, years of experience increase the chances for a higher salary, more so than is true for women. Marital status was not significant relative to salary, nor was support (or lack thereof) of judicatory officials.

No doubt other factors also contribute to salary difference. For example, Bonifield and Mills found the joint effects of church size and the position of the pastor (sole pastor or member of a staff) to be the most important factor affecting clergy salary.¹³ This factor, however, should affect men and women alike. More to the issue of salary differences affecting women, Lehman found that having one or more special needs (e.g., family, education, spouse's job) affected the amount of salary earned by United Presbyterian women.¹⁴ These needs set conditions that limit a woman's flexibility and thus her opportunities for better-paying positions. Probably most important, however, is the widespread tendency in many occupations for women to be paid less than men. Evidently the doctrine of equal pay for equal work is not any more observed by many churches than by other institutions.

Interestingly, in spite of the salary differences, women are more likely than men to say that they usually had sufficient money during the last year to live comfortably. Seventy-two percent of the women answered affirmatively, while 61 percent of the men did so. Is this because as one Episcopal clergywoman suggested, "Women priests are happy to have parish jobs that pay anything at all"? We used multiple regression analysis to assess the relative importance of various factors that might affect satisfaction for women and men. For both, having sufficient income to retire was the most important factor making one relatively satisfied, followed by total family income. Having a spouse employed was positively related to satisfaction with salary for women, but negatively so for men. For clergymen, having a working wife is often seen as a necessity to supplement an insufficient parish salary, as a number of men commented in interviews. Supplementing their husbands' incomes is less likely to be considered a necessity for married clergywomen. Finally, for men, but not for women, the number of years in ministry positively affects satisfaction with salary, no doubt reflecting salary differences between men and women at higher levels of experience.

In summarizing this section, the following inferences can be drawn: (1) while women and men seem to be able to secure first positions without undue difficulty, there are differences in the positions they secure, with women significantly more likely to be in assistant or associate positions; (2) there are more women than men functioning part-time, apparently related to restrictions that marriage and spouse's job place on mobility; (3) the career lines of women appear to be different

from those of men, since women are more likely than men to be in assistant and associate positions or in small and financially precarious churches beyond their first parish positions; (4) women are no more likely than men to find placements in declining churches, although they are less likely to be in theologically conservative churches than men; (5) the cash salary paid to women is significantly lower than for men of comparable experience and for men in sole or senior pastorates, a finding that is only partially explained by the larger number of women clergy serving part-time; and (6) despite lower salaries, women are more likely than men to find their current salary sufficient.

These findings raise some important questions about careers in parish ministry for women and men that can only be fully answered by longitudinal rather than cross-sectional data. However, we believe it important to speculate on these issues as if our data were longitudinal. In particular we ask why the apparent differences in career lines and salaries paid to women and men, and why the relative satisfaction with salary that women express despite the differences?

One possible explanation is that women bring different values to careers than men, that they are less likely to demand upward mobility. Their goal, in contrast to that of clergymen, is not always to move upward to positions offering greater prestige and higher rewards. Women's socialization has been traditionally more service oriented, stressing nonmaterial satisfactions, and leading to a different set of motivations as clergy. This explanation is akin to the position, discussed in Chapter 1, that there are feminine characteristics or "special gifts" that women bring to the ministry that are different from men. Thus the different career lines, unequal in rewards though they may be, reflect different values that women bring to the ministry.

While we are unable from our data to confirm or disconfirm this hypothesis, we tend not to give it much weight. Joy Charlton's findings with reference to clergywomen's views of denominational structures seem more applicable here. Charlton found little evidence that women were dissatisfied with denominational organizations which tend to be pyramidal. "Their goal is to move *into* these organizations, not to challenge them."¹⁵ We suspect that this observation also carries over to career mobility and rewards.

We note, however, that those who do explain the apparent differences in clergywomen's career mobility by the "different motivations" hypothesis are using what Cynthia Fuchs Epstein calls the "myth of the good woman;" that is, the myth that women possess, or should possess, higher moral standards than men and, in this case, therefore, are "too good" to get trapped in the upward mobility game. In her study of women lawyers, Epstein notes that however laudable this myth may be,

it can be used "to legitimate the restriction of women to positions without power or prestige."¹⁶

If women do not choose assistant/associate positions or small churches on the basis of special feminine characteristics they probably choose these positions because there are desired rewards attached to them: for example, better salaries than are often available to women in sole pastorates, which are often small in size and relatively low in salary. Another benefit is that assistant or associate positions are often located in large towns or cities where there are more opportunities for support and interaction with congenial persons outside the parish. Let us add that we do not intend to depreciate either small churches or assistant/associate positions as being less important than larger parishes or sole pastor positions. The latter are simply viewed by prevailing standards as being higher on the career ladder.

Both of these explanations place the primary emphasis on personal choices made by women regarding their careers. The second explanation, however, suggests that women's choices are made within constraints or limits present in the job market. That is, the career line for women within the church system may be different, not simply because women personally choose to follow different career lines, but because the career lines open to them are to some extent different and carry with them different possibilities for movement and rewards. This is similar to a suggestion by Lehman that women may be "typecast"; that is they may enter a particular position initially and find themselves "locked into" similar kinds of positions for the future as well as for the present.¹⁷ If such typecasting occurs, as we suspect that it does, it is probably neither blatantly nor maliciously done, nor even fully recognized. Rather it is probably much more subtly, even unconsciously done, reflecting the dilemmas and contradictions of status noted in Chapter 1. We would add, however, that its subtle and perhaps unconscious character does not make such typecasting any less unjust.

Despite the apparent injustice that clergywomen seem to be experiencing, why do they appear to be relatively satisfied with this situation, especially with their salaries? Based on the widely held belief in fairness or distributive justice, we would expect women not only to be dissatisfied, but quite angry about their situation. Why then are they not? We can only continue to speculate, but it may be that the women in our study are not using clergymen as their reference group or standard of comparison. Rather, they are viewing their situation in terms of the experiences of "pioneer" women parish clergy or of the stories they heard in seminary about how "grim" things are for women in parish ministry. With earlier women clergy as their reference group, the women in our study did not expect their rewards to be great, and

therefore they express relative satisfaction with what they have found. Had they made clergymen their reference group (or *when* they make clergymen their reference group) their anger might have been (or *will be*) quite different.¹⁸

Clergy Couples

Before concluding this discussion of the job market for clergy, we look briefly at a relatively new phenomenon affecting clergy deployment, clergy couples. Increasing numbers of clergy are marrying other ordained persons, and both frequently seek placement in parish positions. It is not surprising that this is happening, with the large number of women and men together in seminaries; although, as one bemused Lutheran official said: "Clergy couples really took us by surprise. Somehow, we failed to anticipate that our men and women seminarians might marry each other!"

Clergy couples will be profiled in more detail in Chapter 8. Here, we deal only with deployment issues.

We did not draw our sample explicitly to include clergy couples; rather, we asked in the clergy interviews and questionnaires if their spouse is ordained. Of the 635 clergywomen interviewed, 195 or 31 percent are married to an ordained clergyman. Of the 739 clergymen, only nineteen, or 2.5 percent, have an ordained clergywoman as spouse. The large difference reflects the years in ministry of respondents. Women are relative newcomers and much more likely to have married during seminary. Most clergymen in our sample, as in the general population, have been in the ministry longer and finished seminary before the large influx of women seminarians. Indeed, in the total sample, of the 55 percent of the women who are married, almost two-thirds are married to an ordained minister. Of the 94 percent of the clergymen who are married, only 4 percent are married to an ordained minister. The very small number of men in the sample who are part of clergy couples in the sample makes it questionable to use their responses for more refined analysis; however, the profile of the women provides considerable insight into deployment issues for couples.

Because the issues of placement for ordained couples involve securing two jobs rather than one (or one shared job), and because two careers do not always run on the same track or at equal speed, an early decision that a couple faces is whose career goals will take priority. Such an issue is obviously not unique to clergy couples. All two-career families must face it. Approximately eight of ten respondents, men and women, indicated that both spouses' goals were given equal weight when considering a position. Of the remainder, the husband's goals took priority in the majority of cases. As one woman said, "We give his

priority because of reality factors: he is more employable basically because he is male."

Clergy couples are little different from other clergy in reported ease of finding a first position; however, the options open to them and choices to be made may be somewhat different from others. For example, will they both seek employment in the same church, perhaps necessitating sharing a salary? If so, will one or both partners work part or full-time? Will they try to find separate church jobs, either a parish job for each, or a parish for one and some other church-related or secular job for the other? These options have obvious consequences for both work and marital relationships for the couple, and for the relationship of the couple to the church or churches they are serving. For example, one United Presbyterian woman whose husband serves a different church reported that her congregation was not happy that her spouse was relatively inactive in her church. They "have no opportunity to get to know him, and they occasionally use it as a way of expressing dissatisfaction with me." A United Methodist couple who serve parishes some distance apart are able to live together only for a part of each week. Said the wife: "When I first was appointed to the church and my husband would come to visit, my parishioners responded as if somehow we were 'living in sin.' Now they've gotten more accustomed to his visits."

The most popular option appears to be functioning in the same parish, either as co-pastors or in senior-assistant/associate relationships, with one or both clergy working part-time. Fifty-seven percent of the women and 72 percent of the men work in the same parish with their spouse. One-third of the women and one-fifth of the men work in different parishes from their spouses, with fewer than 10 percent indicating that their spouses are in non-parish work settings (typically in chaplaincy or judicatory positions).

If a choice must be made between full- or part-time work, clergy couple women are more likely to be part-time than men; although half of the women and two-thirds of the men report working full-time. As one clergy couple woman said:

Women may have family responsibilities. Never mind that the man does; it is not acceptable for him to go to work part-time. A woman can get away with being hired part-time and still find herself accepted very readily, whereas I think a man who takes on a part-time church position is thought to be somebody who can't make it.

The part-time position for the wife in the clergy couple may also be relatively acceptable because laity often transfer to her traditional ex-

pectations for the pastor's wife. In many instances pastors' wives have functioned, or have been expected to function, as unpaid assistant ministers. For this reason, the part-time co-pastor wife may be more acceptable to some laity than a full-time, sole pastor woman.

When asked how satisfied they are with their present position, clergywomen who are part of couples differ little in their responses from the total number of clergywomen (41 and 42 percent respectively saying that they are very satisfied); however, the clergymen married to ordained women are significantly more likely (by 25 percentage points) to express some dissatisfaction. This may be due to the small sample of men in this category; however, it may also indicate that men perceive their hoped-for career mobility thwarted by the difficulty of negotiating two clergy careers.

Neither men nor women who are part of a clergy couple are more likely than other clergy to anticipate a move "in the next couple of years." They are not significantly more likely to anticipate difficulty in making a move to a better parish than the one they now serve, nor are they more likely than other clergy to anticipate that judicatory staff will negatively affect their mobility. Men, but not women, who are part of clergy couples, however, are much more likely than other clergymen to express difficulty in planning a career strategy.

Do the churches clergy couples serve, either singly or as couples, differ from those served by other clergy? On the various measures of size of membership, size of community, financial health, growth or decline, and theological position, there are no major differences reported. In cash salary, however, women and men who are part of a clergy couple are somewhat more likely to report making less salary than other clergy. This is especially true for men at the upper salary level, where only 21 percent of men married to an ordained woman are making over \$15,000 as compared to 51 percent of the total sample of men.

In summary, our data do not reveal striking differences between clergy couples and other clergy, especially in the types of churches they serve or their experiences in the job market. Perhaps most significant is the way they work out their careers. A majority serve in the same parish, and when a choice must be made for one partner to serve part-time, it is usually the woman who does so. How couples function in parishes and some of the concerns they have will be dealt with in Chapter 8.

Summary

The findings of this chapter are obviously mixed when it comes to the experiences of clergywomen in the job market. Neither women nor

men have very much difficulty in securing a first parish position, and women are generally more optimistic than men about the situation for new entrants. Perceived ease of career mobility after the first position varies both by denomination and by characteristics of individual clergy, including age and experience of success or failure in previous or present parishes. Placement and career mobility are affected by the denomination's deployment methods. In those denominations using national deployment systems, use of the system is important for men and women at the early stages of job search, though regional judicatory executives and local congregation pastoral search committees become increasingly salient as the job search narrows. While the advocacy of judicatory executives is crucial to overcome lay resistance to a woman pastor, it does not always occur. Men and women find it relatively easy to find first positions, but the kinds of positions differ, with more women than men serving in assistant or associate pastor positions or as part-time pastors. Likewise, the career lines of women seem to be more "flat" than those of men. It appears that women continue to serve as pastors of smaller churches or in assistant or associate positions in second, third, and subsequent positions. Also, there are salary inequities between men and women, although women are more likely than men to report that their current salary is sufficient. Finally, as noted, clergy couples do not differ significantly from other clergy except in the ways that they work out their dual careers.

In general, while the findings regarding the job market for clergywomen contain much that is positive, inequities still exist. Only time will tell whether the inequities will continue, or if the greater numbers of women entering the job market and the consequent increased exposure of laity, clergymen and denominational officials to clergywomen will aid in overcoming them. The generally positive responses of laity to clergywomen are cause for hope. They reflect the importance of having first-hand experience of clergywomen. Until these inequities are overcome, use of formal denominational placement processes and the positive advocacy of judicatory officials, seminary faculty, administrators, and others able to influence congregational decision makers will be critical.