# Notes

- 1. E. Wilbur Bock, "The Female Clergy: A Case of Professional Marginality," American Journal of Sociology 72 (March 1967), p. 539.
- 2. Martin E. Marty, A Nation of Behavers (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 53.
- 3. Perspectives on Working Women: A Databook (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics), Bulletin 2080, October 1980, p. 3.
- 4. Richard B. Freeman, The Over-educated American (New York: Academic Press, 1976), pp. 123 ff.
- 5. Disciples include in their annual count of clergy both ordained and licensed ministers. The latter group of ministers change significantly from year to year and make difficult a true picture of trends among fully ordained Disciples clergy.
- 6. Marvin J. Taylor, ed., Fact Book on Theological Education, 1980-1981 (Vandalia, Ohio: Association of Theological Schools, 1981), pp. 8-9.
- 7. Hartford Courant, January 30, 1982.
- 8. For a fuller treatment several of these factors, see Freeman, The Over-educated American, pp. 165 ff.
- 9. Daniel Yankelovich, New Rules (New York: Random House, 1981), p. 103.
- 10. Freeman, The Over-educated American, p. 176.
- 11. Jackson W. Carroll and Robert L. Wilson, The Clergy Job Market: Oversupply and/or Opportunity (Hartford, CT: The Hartford Seminary Foundation, 1978),
- 12. Carole R. Bohn, "The Changing Scene: Women Come to Seminary" (paper presented at the meeting of the American Academy of Religion, Dallas, Texas, 1980), p. 7.
- 13. Bock, "The Female Clergy," p. 531.
- 14. Everett C. Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradictions of Status," The American Journal of Sociology 50 (March 1945), pp. 353-59. The article has been reprinted in Everett C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1958).
- 15. Cited in Bohn, "The Changing Scene," p. 7.
- 16. For a discussion of ambivalence over conflicting statuses, see Elinor Barber and Robert K. Merton, "Sociological Ambivalence," in Sociological Theory, Values and Sociocultural Change, ed. Edward A. Tyriakian (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), pp. 91-120. We might add that another stereotype of the minister-male or female-is of the "holy" person, that is one who represents moral purity. Such a stereotype causes ambivalence both for the minister and others when he or she is in a group of "good old boys" or when he or she acts out of character. The point is that stereotypes, status contradictions, and ambivalence are not exclusive to clergywomen, but to men as well.
- 17. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation (New York: Basic Books, 1977), pp. 207 ff.

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- 18. Joy Charlton, "Women Entering the Ordained Ministry: Contradictions and Dilemmas of Status "(paper presented at the meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Hartford, Connecticut, October 26–29, 1978), p. 22.
- 19. These included Bock, "The Female Clergy"; Charlton, "Women Entering the Ordained Ministry"; Marjorie Garhart, "Women in the Ordained Ministry," Lutheran Church in America, 1976, mimeographed; Harry Hale, Jr., Morton King, and Doris M. Jones, New Witness, United Methodist Clergywomen (Nashville: United Methodist Board of Higher Education and Ministry, 1980); Arthur R. Jones, Jr., and Lee Taylor, "Differential Recruitment of Female Professionals," in Professional Women, ed. Athena Theodore (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 355-362; Kanter, Men and Women of the Corporation; Edward C. Lehman, Project S.W.I.M.: A Study of Women in Ministry (Valley Forge, PA: Task Force on Women in Ministry of the American Baptist Churches, 1979); G. Lloyd Rediger, "The Feminine Mystique and the Ministry," The Christian Century, July 4-11, 1979, pp. 699-702; "Research Report of the 1978 Women in Ordained Ministry Questionnaire," Lutheran-Northwestern Theological Seminaries, St. Paul, Minnesota, duplicated; "Report of the Advisory Commission on Women in Church and Society to the Twelfth General Synod of the United Church of Christ," United Church of Christ Executive Offices, New York, 1979, duplicated; "Seminary Selection Study, Research Division of the Support Agency, "United Presbyterian Church, New York, 1977, duplicated; Gay H. Tennis, "Clergywomen in the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A." (paper presented at the meeting of the Religious Research Association, San Antonio, Texas, October 19, 1979).
- 20. The responses to the layleader questionnaire can be obtained from the Center for Social and Religious Research, Hartford Seminary, 77 Sherman Street, Hartford, CT 06105 for the cost of reproduction and postage.

- 1. Barbara Brown Zikmund, "The Feminist Thrust of Sectarian Christianity," in Women of Spirit, ed. Rosemary R. Ruether and Eleanor McLaughlin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pp. 209-220.
- 2. Harry Leon McBeth, "The Role of Women in Southern Baptist History," Baptist History and Heritage 12, no. 1, pp. 3-25.
- 3. Charles H. Barfoot and Gerald T. Sheppard, "Prophetic vs. Priestly Religion: The Changing Role of Women Clergy in Pentecostal Churches," Review of Religious Research 22, no. (September 1980), pp. 2-17.
- 4. Ibid., p. 4.
- 5. See, for example, Josephine Massingbyrde Ford, Which Way for Catholic Pentecostals? (New York: Haper & Row, 1977).
- Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion: 1800 to 1860," in Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspective on the History of Women, ed. Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), pp. 137-57.
- 7. William Bean Kennedy, The Shaping of Protestant Education (New York: Association Press, 1966), p. 63.
- 8. Elaine Magalis, Conduct Becoming to a Woman (Women's Division, Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, 1973), p. 38.
- 9. See, for example, Lorraine Lollis, *The Shape of Adam's Rib* (St. Louis: Bethany Press, 1970), pp. 22-28.
- 10. Magalis, Conduct, p. 38.
- 11. McBeth, Role of Women, p. 7.

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- 12. Lester G. McAllister, "Women Became Involved through the Christian Woman's Board of Missions," Discipliana 33, no. 1 (Winter 1973), p. 6.
- 13. Katherine Schutze, "Women and Ministry," The Disciple 1, no. 13 (June 23, 1974), p. 4.
- 14. Report on Project 368: Lay Professional Development and Support," Division for Professional Leadership, the Lutheran Church in America, March 27-29, 1980.
- 15. Mary O. Evans, "Removing the Veil: The Liberated American Nun," in Reuther and McLaughlin, Women of Spirit, pp. 255-78.
- 16. Frederick S. Weiser, United to Serve (Gladwyne, PA: LCA Deaconness Community, 1966), p. 3.
- 16 Norene Carter, "The Episcopalian Story," in Ruether and McLaughlin, Women of Spirit, p. 357.
- 18. Virginia Lieson Brereton and Christa Ressmeyer Klein, "American Women in Ministry: A History of Protestant Beginning Points," in Ruether and McLaughlin, Women of Spirit, p. 311.
- McBeth, Role of Women, pp. 12-14.
  Elizabeth Gray Vining, "Women in the Society of Friends," Ward Lecture, Guilford College, November 11, 1955.
- 21. Brochure from the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, by Mrs. Joan Russell, General Secretary of the Society.
- 22. Peter Berger, Brigitte Berger, and Hansfried Kellner, The Homeless Mind (New York: Random House, 1973).
- 23. Elizabeth Howells Verdesi, In But Still Out: Women in the Church (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), "The Women That Publish the Tidings Are a Great Host," pp. 55-78.
- 24. Lollis, Shape, p. 68.
- 25. Max Weber, Economy and Society, ed. Gunther Roth and Claus Wittich (New York: Bedminster Press 1968), p. 212.
- 26. Private correspondence, Mary Sudman Donovan, January 5, 1981.
- 27. Private correspondence, Suzanne Hiatt, 1982.
- 28. The Discipline of the Methodist Church (Nashville: Methodist Publishing House,
- 29. "More about Deaconesses," The Deaconess 8, no. 2 (Fall 1978), p. 3.
- 30. Charles E. Raven, Women and the Ministry (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929), p. 67.
- 31. "Professional and Pastoral," The Deaconess 8, no 2 (Fall 1978), p. 4.
- 32. Janet Harbison Penfield, "Women in the Presbyterian Church: An Historical Overview," Journal of Presbyterian History 55, no. 2 (1977), p. 155.
- 33. "Bishop's Address Read Before the General Conference at Its First Session, Wednesday Morning, May 4, 1910," Journal of the Sixteenth General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1910, p. 26.
- 34. Raven, Women, pp. 23-29.
- 35. Verdesi, In But Still Out, pp. 120-32.
- 36. As quoted in ibid., pp. 151-52.
- 37. See ibid., Chapter 6, for a discussion of the way this occurred among religious educators.
- 38. Our thanks to the Rev. Susan Robinson for this information.
- 39. Carter Heyward, A Priest Forever (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 32-33.
- 40. Fran Ferder, Called to Break Bread? (Mt. Ranier, MD: The Quixote Center, 1978), p. 53.
- 41. Rt. Rev. Stanley Atkins, "The Theological Case Against Women's Ordination,"

Children and Market and Aller and Aller

in The Ordination of Women: Pro and Con, ed. Michael Plock Hamilton and Nancy S. Montgomery (New York: Morehouse-Barlow, 1975), p. 27.

42. "Report of the Division for Missions in North America, Consulting Committee on Women in Church and Society," Lutheran Church in America, 1980, pp. 45-46.

43. Barbara Brown Zikmund, "Attacking the Male Power Structure in American Protestantism" (paper presented at the meeting of the American Academy of Religion, New Orleans, November 1978).

## Chapter 3

1. Carole R. Bohn, "The Changing Scene: Women Come to Seminary" (paper presented at the American Academy of Religion Meeting, Dallas, Texas, 1980), p. 6. More specifically, she indicates: "A large percentage of respondents said that their fathers were important role models. Although there were not frequently named as role models, mothers seemed to provide considerable more emotional support than decisive, suggesting a sex difference in the manner in which parents and significant others effect vocational development" (p. 8).

2. Good discussions, reviews, and articles on the determinants and correlates of social class may be found in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., Class, Status and Power, 2nd ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1966); Ely Chinoy, Society: An Introduction to Sociology (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 130-166; and William J. Goode, ed., The Dynamics of Modern Society (New

York: Atherton Press, 1966), pp. 63–108.

3. While clergy was a choice of only 2 percent of the college students surveyed by Gallup in 1973-74, between three-fifths and three-fourths of these came from families where the father had a high school education or less, or were employed in clerical, sales, or blue collar occupations. Gallup Opinion Index, Religion in

America, Report no. 114 (1975), pp. 34-37.

4. The tendency for lower socioeconomic classes to be members of fundamentalist denominations or sects, or doctrinally orthodox wings of mainline Protestant denominations has been documented in numerous studies. For example, see Wade Clark Roof, "Traditional Religion in Contemporary Society," American Sociological Review 41 (April 1976), pp. 195-208. Also, lower parental socioeconomic status has been shown to be associated with clergy who hold doctrinally orthodox beliefs. See Jackson W. Carroll, "Structural Effects of Professional Schools on Professional Socialization: The Case of Protestant Clergymen," Social Forces 50 (Summer 1971), pp. 61-74; also Yoshio Fukuyama, The Ministry in Transition (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1972), pp. 5, 26–27.

5. Gideon Sjoberg and James Otis Smith, "Origin and Career Patterns of Leading Protestant Clergymen," Social Forces 39 (May 1961), pp. 290-96. The authors indicate a very high level of involvement in nonparish ministries among those in

Who's Who listings, most of whom came from leading families.

6. N. J. Demerath III, Social Class in American Protestanism (Chicago: Rand McNalley, 1965); S. Goldstein, "Socioeconomic Differentials Among Religious Groups in the United States," American Journal of Sociology 74 1969), pp. 612-31; B. Lazerwitz, "Religion and the Social Structure of the United States," in Religion, Culture and Society, ed., Louis Schneider (New York: Wiley, 1964).

7. Lehman also reports in a recent study of American Baptist seminary graduates that the women were significantly more likely to come from higher social class families. Edward C. Lehman, Jr., "Placement of Men and Women in the Ministry," Review of Religious Research 22 (September 1980), pp. 18-40.

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- 8. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Women in Law (New York: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 24-31, quote p. 31.
- 9. Personal communication from The Reverend Dr. Roger Fjeld, Field Director, Office of Support Ministries of the American Lutheran Church.
- 10. See for example, Eli Ginsberg, et al., Occupational Choice: An Approach to General Theory (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 141; also Arthur R. Jones and Lee Taylor, "Differential Recruitment of Female Professionals: A Case Study of Clergywomen," in The Professional Woman, ed. Athena Theodore (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Company 1971), pp. 355-62.
- 11. The Reverend Dr. Diane Tennis, Staff Associate, Professional Development, of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, suggests in personal correspondence that the reason "more PCUS women are in religious colleges probably has to do with their being in private colleges which is probably a lingering phase of delayed urbanization."
- 12. The Reverend Susan Robinson, Director of Developing Ministries of the Christian Church-Disciples of Christ comments in personal correspondence that "The high percentage [of clergy attending denominational colleges] may be due to the strong recruiting efforts of our denominational colleges and their offering of work in preministerial degrees. Also, affluence and geography may have played a part. Our population is sparse in the Northeast, where the private secular colleges are located." She also suggests that, "The Disciples would have a larger number of clergy who attended secular colleges if the clergy were divided between those who attended college "pre- and post-1950."
- 13. Burton R. Clark, et al., Students and Colleges: Interaction and Change (Berkeley, California: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, 1972), pp. 300-16.
- 14. Allen H. Barton, "The Religious Factor in the 1968 Student Demonstrations at Columbia," mimeographed paper, March 1973. Barton found the higher the parental social class, the less likely college men were to espouse religious values.
- 15. Wagner Thielens, Jr., "Some Comparisons of Entrants to Medical and Law School," *The Student Physician*, ed. Patricia L. Kendall, Robert K. Merton, and George C. Reader (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 131-52. For example, Wagner Thielens argues that one reason medical students made an earlier decision than law students to attend their respective graduate professional schools is the higher standing of medicine than law in society, hence making it more attractive to youth.
- 16. Orville Brim, Jr., "Adult Socialization," in *Socialization and Society*, ed. John A. Clausen (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), pp. 183–226, quote p. 187.
- 17. Ronald M. Pavalko, Sociology of Occupations and Professions (Ithaca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1971), pp. 80-109.

- 1. Marvin J. Taylor, ed., Fact Book on Theological Education, 1974-75 (Vandalia, Ohio: Association of Theological Schools, 1975), pp. 5-6.
- 2. The Cornwall Collective, Your Daughters Shall Prophesy: Feminist Alternatives in Theological Education (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980).
- 3. See George Lindbeck (in consultation with Karl Deutsch and Nathan Glazer), University Divinity Schools: A Report on Ecclesiastically Independent Theological Education (New York: The Rockefeller Foundation, 1976).
- 4. This point has been emphasized in two articles in Theological Education 18 (Au-

tumn, 1981): Leon Pacala, "Reflection on the State of Theological Education in the 1980s," pp. 32-33; and Jackson W. Carroll, "Project Transition: An Assess-

ment of ATS Programs and Services," pp. 69-70.

5. Lindbeck, "University Divinity Schools," p. 32, reports that for a "fair number" of students who attend these interdenominational university seminaries (Harvard, Union-New York, University of Chicago, Vanderbilt, and Yale) "divinity school represents the last serious involvement with organized religion, and this holds also for some who go on and teach religion in colleges, universities, or even seminaries. In contrast, it is a rare denominational seminary which does not initially send eighty—and usually over ninetý—percent of its M.Div. graduates into parish work."

6. Walter Robert Strobel, "Personal and Academic Problems of Bachelor of Divinity Degree Candidates at a Large Metropolitan Theological Seminary" (Ed.D. dissertation, Teacher's College of Columbia University, 1966); Adair T. Lummis, "Especially Union? Educational Policy and Socialization in an Elite Boundary Professional School" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1978).

7. "Seminary Selection Study," Research Division of the Support Agency, United

Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., pp. 50-51.

8. Donald E. Edgar, "The Institutional Context," in *The Competent Teacher*, ed. Donald E. Edgar (Sydney, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1974), p. 19.

9. Donald Ploch, Faculty as Professionalization and Change Agents, final report

(USHEW Project 0-0355), p. 1972.

- 10. "Research Report of the Advisory Commission on Women in Church and Society to the Twelfth General Synod of the United Church of Christ," United Church of Christ Execution Offices, New York, 1979, duplicated; "Research Report of the 1978 Women in Ordained Ministry Questionnaire," Lutheran-Northwestern Theological Seminaries, St. Paul, MN. duplicated; Gay Tennis, "Clergywomen in the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A." (paper presented at the meeting of the Religious Research Association, San Antonio, TX, October 19, 1979).
- 11. Marjorie Garhart, "Women in the Ordained Ministry" (a report to the Division for Professional Leadership, Lutheran Church in America, 1976).

12. Lummis, "Especially Union?" pp. 315-519.

13. This is suggested or directly indicated by Lindbeck, University Divinity Schools, and Lummis, "Especially Union?" dealing with faculty goals and preferences in university seminaries; the Ploch study of fifteen seminaries (many of which were at least university associated if not interdenominational), and a study comparing goal emphases in different types of seminaries for the kinds of student products produced: Jackson W. Carroll, "Structural Effects of Professional Schools on Professional Socialization: the Case of Protestant Clergymen," Social Forces (September 1971), pp. 61–74.

14. Edward C. Lehman Jr., Project S.W.I.M.: A Study of Women in Ministry (Valley Forge, PA: Task Force on Women in Ministry of the American Baptist

Churches, 1979).

15. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology 82

(March 1977), pp. 965–90.

16. For a good theoretical discussion of this process of how professions acquire the power to certify, see William J. Goode, "The Theoretical Limits of Professionalization," in *The Semi-Professions and Their Organization*, ed. Amitai Etzioni (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 266-313.

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- 17. "Report of the Advisory Commission on Women," 1979, duplicated; and Harry Hale, Jr., Morton King, and Doris Moreland Jones, New Witnesses, United Methodist Clergywomen (Nashville, TN: Division of Ordained Ministry, United Methodist Church, 1980), especially pp. 51-53.
- 18. Jackson W. Carroll and Robert L. Wilson, *Too Many Pastors?* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1980), pp. 76-77.
- 19. Elizabeth Rodgers Dobell, "God and Woman: The Hidden History," Redbook Magazine, March 1978, pp. 37-44.
- 20. Beverly Wildung Harrison, "Sexism and the Contemporary Church: When Evasion Becomes Complicity," in Sexist Religion and Women in the Church: No More Silence!, ed. Alice L. Hageman (New York: Association Press, 1974), pp. 195-216.
- 21. Beverly Wildung Harrison, "The Early Feminists and the Clergy: A Case Study in the Dynamics of Secularization," Reivew and Expositor 72 (Winter 1975), p. 51.
- 22. Laurie Davidson and Laura Gordon, *The Sociology of Gender* (Chicago: Rand McNally Publishing Company, 1979), pp. 190-99.
- 23. Ibid., pp. 191-95.
- 24. The Cornwall Collective, Your Daughters Shall Prophesy.
- 25. Barbara Brown Zikmund, "Attacking the Male Power Structure in American Protestantism" (paper presented at the meeting of the American Academy of Religion, New Orleans, November 1978).
- 26. Davidson and Gordon, Sociology of Gender, p. 199.
- 27. The alpha coefficient, indicating the relative homogeneity of the four items, is .77.

- 1. Both studies were undertaken by Edward C. Lehman, Jr. The first, Project S.W.I.M.: A Study of Women in Ministry (Valley Forge, PA: Task Force on Women in Ministry of the American Baptist Churches, 1979), involved a comparative study of American Baptist clergymen and women, and included data from laity and denominational officials. An article based on the study, "Placement of Men and Women in the Ministry," was published in the Review of Religious Research 22 (September 1980), pp. 18-40. The second is a forthcoming study of United Presbyterian clergywomen, a portion of which was presented as "Correlates of Placement of Women in Ministry: Half a Replication," at the 1981 meeting of the Association of the Sociology of Religion.
- Jackson W. Carroll and Robert L. Wilson, Too Many Pastors? The Clergy Job Market (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1980), pp. 33-35. For another, slightly different classification, see William C. Bonifield and Edgar W. Mills, "The Clergy Labor Markets and Wage Determination," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 19 (June 1980), pp. 146-58.
- 3. Carroll and Wilson, Too Many Pastors, p. 35.
- 4. The actual question wording asked, "How long after you were ordained did it take for you to obtain a parish position?" This was not a good question, since many denominations require a call to a position as a prerequisite for ordination. In spite of the question wording, to which some respondents called attention, most understood it as in inquiry to the difficulty or ease of first placement.
- 5. Carroll and Wilson, Too Many Pastors, pp. 33-48.
- 6. Ibid., pp 31–2.
- 7. Lehman, "Correlates of Placement of Women in Ministry," pp. 24-6.

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- 8. Lehman, "Placement of Men and Women in Ministry," pp. 35-8.
- 9. Lehman, "Correlates of Placement of Women in Ministry."

10. Ibid., pp. 24-6.

11. Edward C. Lehman, Jr., "Organizational Resistance to Women in Ministry" (paper presented at the Association for the Sociology of Religion, New York.

New York, August 24-26, 1980).

12. Denominational differences exist in salaries paid to men and women, but to control for both salary and denominational differences for men and women creates too few cases in many categories for meaningful analysis. Suffice to say that salary differentials appear to exist for women and men in all denominations, with women receiving lower salaries than men.

13. Bonifield and Mills, "The Clergy Labor Markets," pp. 154-55.

14. Lehman, "Correlates of Placement of Women in Ministry," p. 26.

- 15. Joy Charlton, "Women Entering the Ordained Ministry: Contradictions and Dilemmas of Status" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Hartford, Connecticut, October 26-29, 1978).
- 16. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Women in Law (New York: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 268-69.

17. Edward C. Lehman, Jr., personal correspondence.

18. For a discussion of reference groups and relative deprivation, see Robert K. Merton, Social Theory & Social Structure (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 225 ff; and Peter M. Blau, Exchange & Power in Social Life (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964), pp. 151-60.

## Chapter 6

1. Edward C. Lehman, "Organizational Resistance to Women in Ministry" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Sociology of Religion, New York City, August 24-25, 1980).

2. Ibid.

3. Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (New York: Harper & Row, 1957), pp. 120-27, argues that for many members of an organization, organizational survival is identical with maintaining the organization as a distinctive or particular kind of organization.

4. Donald E. Edgar, "Socialization Theory," in The Competent Teacher, ed. D. E.

Edgar (Sydney, Australia: Angus and Robertson, 1974), pp. 1-13.

5. See for example, the following studies: Mary Jean Huntington, "The Development of a Professional Self-Image," in The Student Physician, ed. S. Patricia L. Kendall, Robert K. Merton, George C. Reader (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 179-97; Charles Kadushin, "The Professional Self-Concept of Music Students," American Journal of Sociology, 75 (November, 1969), pp. 389-404; Wagner P. Thielens, Jr., The Socialization of Law Students (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1965), pp. 282-84.

6. Gerald J. Jud, Edgar W. Mills, Jr., and Genevieve Walters Burch, Ex-Pastors: Why Men Leave the Parish Ministry (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970), p. 91

7. See studies cited in footnote 5 above, as well as: Ronald M. Pavalko, Sociology of Occupations and Professions (Itasca, Illinois: F. E. Peacock Publishers, Inc., 1971), pp. 87-88, 98.

8. Clergywomen on Church Staff in Last Ten Years:

	Laymen	Laywomen
None	30%	25%
	(108)	(92)
1 to 2	70%	75%
	(247)	(281)
	100%	100%
	(355)	(373)

- 9. Edward C. Lehman, Project S.W.I.M.: A Study of Women in Ministry (Valley Forge, PA: Task Force on Women in Ministry of the American Baptist Churches 1979).
- 10. Edward C. Lehman, Jr., "The Minister-At-Large Program: An Evaluation," report issued by the Vocation Agency, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, May 1981.
- 11. Mitchell found that the discrepancy between social class backgrounds of pastors and their parishioners made it more difficult for the pastor to minister effectively to them. Robert Edward Mitchell, "When Ministers and Their Parishioners Have Different Social Class Positions," Review of Religious Research 7 (Fall 1965), pp. 28-41.

- 1. For a discussion of the role-set concept, see Robert K. Merton, Social Theory & Social Structure (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 368-80. For a discussion of the concept in relation to the ordained ministry, see Gerald J. Jud, Edgar W. Mills, Jr. and Genevieve Walters Burch, Ex-Pastors, Why Men Leave the Parish Ministry (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970), pp. 80 ff.
- 2. See, for example, Phillip E. Hammond, et al., "Clergy Authority and Friendship Patterns," *Pacific Sociological Review* (April 1972), pp. 185-201.
- 3. Marjorie Garhart, "Women in the Ordained Ministry," a report to the Division for Professional Church Leadership, Lutheran Church in America, 1976; Harry Hale, Jr., Morton King, and Doris M. Jones, New Witnesses, United Methodist Church Clergywomen (Nashville: United Methodist Board of Higher Education & Ministry, 1980), pp. 59-60; Edward C. Lehman, Project S.W.I.M.: A Study of Women in Ministry (Valley Forge, PA: Task Force on Women in Ministry of the American Baptist Churches, 1979), pp. 18-19; and Report of the Advisory Commission on Women in Church and Society to the Twelfth Annual Synod of the United Church of Christ, 1979, duplicated.
- 4. Joseph Bensman and Arthur J. Vidich, Small Town in Mass Society (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1958), p. 244.
- 5. Jackson W. Carroll, "Some Issues in Clergy Authority," Review of Religious Research 23 (December 1981), pp. 99-117. See also Phillip E. Hammond, Lois Salinas, and Douglas Sloane, "Types of Clergy Authority: Their Measurement, Location, and Effects," Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion 17 (September 1978), pp. 241-53.
- 6. Hammond et al., "Types of Clergy Authority," pp. 247-50.
- 7. Joy Charlton, "Women Entering the Ordained Ministry: Contradictions and Dilemmas of Status" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Hartford, Connecticut, October 26–29, 1979), p. 23.

8. Jeffrey K. Hadden, The Gathering Storm in the Churches (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1969).

9. The Rev. LaVonne Althouse, personal correspondence.

10. Discussion and illustration of appropriate clerical dresses for women appears in Garhart, "Women in the Ordained Ministry."

11. Hedwig Jemison, "Clothing Men of the Cloth," Ministry: A Magazine for Clergy

(July 1980), pp. 5–6.

12. For a general discussion of the importance of normative consistency in the three components of "front" (setting, appearance, and manner), see Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959), pp. 22-30.

13. For a review of equity theory and research, see William J. Goode, The Celebration of Heroes, Prestige as a Social Control System (Berkeley: University of Califor-

nia Press, 1978), pp. 376-94.

14. Jud et al., Ex-Pastors, pp. 81-83.

15. Overall differences in our study between men and women in how they get along with other clergy are smaller than reported in other studies. See "Research Report of the 1978 Women in Ordained Ministry Questionnaire," Luther-Northwestern Theological Seminaries (duplicated), pp. 7-10; and Lehman, S.W.I.M., pp. 18-19.

16. Jackson W. Carroll and Robert L. Wilson suggest that "the degree of competition and tension between men clergy and women clergy will be in direct ratio to the scarcity of available positions in the church" (The Clergy Job Market [New

York: Pilgrim Press, 1980], p. 85).

17. See Merton, Social Theory & Social Structure, pp. 225-386.

18. Lehman (S.W.I.M., pp. 19-20) reports that male ministers were accepted much better by other ministers' spouses in the community than were women clergy.

19. Bishops are also usually well aware of the potential role conflict in their job of being judge, counselor, friend, and conflict manager to clergy and their congregations. They are also aware that the role of judge must take precedence; therefore, they often delegate the counseling role to others in the diocese. See "Bishops and Diocesan Councils View the Episcopate: A Study in Church Leadership," a report by the Commission of Pastoral Development, House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church, pamphlet dated October 1, 1979. Also see Jud et al, Ex-Pastors, p. 85.

Chapter 8

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1. Conflict can occur, as Merton describes, not only between demands made on one individual by members of his or her role set attached to his or her occupational status, but as easily or more easily because of conflicting demands on the individual occasioned by people he or she associates with in private life contrasted to demands made on the individual by people he or she associates within occupational life. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (London: The Free Press of Glencoe: 1957), pp. 368-84.

2. Various ways individuals can reduce role strain are described in: William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," American Sociological Review 25 (August

1960): pp. 483–96.

3. E. Wilbur Bock, "The Female Clergy: A Case Study of Professional Marginality," American Journal of Sociology 72 (1967): pp. 331-39.

4. Elizabeth M. Havens, "Women, Work, and Wedlock: A Note on Female Mari-

- tal Patterns in the United States," in Changing Women in A Changing Society, ed. Joan Huber (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 213-19
- 5. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein, Women in Law (New York: Basic Books, 1981), pp. 340-41.
- 6. Michael P. Fogarty, Rhona Rapoport, and Robert N. Rapoport, Sex, Career and Family (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1971), pp. 334-82.
- 7. Harry Hale, Jr., Morton King, Doris Moreland Jones, New Witnesses: United Methodist Clergywomen (Nashville, Tennessee: Board of Higher Education and Ministry, the United Methodist Church, 1980), p. 76.
- 8. Erving Goffman, The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959).
- 9. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology 82 (March 1977), pp. 965-90, pp. 966, 972 especially.

10. Epstein, Women in Law, p. 194.

- 11. An earlier study of UCC clergy dropouts from the parish ministry also indicated that clergy who experience role conflicts between what parishioners expected of them, and what they wanted and expected of, and for, themselves, led to dissatisfaction with their present position and eventual withdrawal from the parish ministry altogether. See Gerald J. Jud, Edgar W. Mills, Jr., and Genevieve Walters Burch, Ex-Pastors: Why Men Leave the Parish Ministry (Philadelphia: Pilgrim Press, 1970).
- 12. Dean R. Hoge, John E. Dyble, and David T. Polk, "Organizational and Situational Influences on Vocational Commitment of Protestant Ministers," *Review of Religious Research* 23 (December 1981), pp. 133–149, quote p. 147.

- 1. See F. Ross Kinsler, The Extension Movement in Theological Education, A Call to the Renewal of Ministry (S. Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1978), pp. 12-14.
- 2. See Perspectives on Working Women: A Databook (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, Bulletin 2080, October 1980), pp. 48 ff.
- 3. This definition is an adaptation of that of racism in Robert W. Terry, For Whites Only (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1970), p. 41.
- 4. See Jackson W. Carroll and Robert L. Wilson, Too Many Pastors? The Clergy Job Market (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1980), Loyde Hartley, "Economics of American Protestant Congregations," mimeographed (Hartford Seminary Foundation Research Report, 1980); and Dean R. Hoge and David A. Roozen, Understanding Church Growth and Decline (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1979).
- 5. This discussion is influenced by Cynthia Fuchs Epstein's, "Encountering the Male Establishment: Sex-Status Limits on Women's Careers in the Professions," American Journal of Sociology 75 (May 1970), pp. 965-82.
- 6. See Jackson W. Carroll, "Some Issues in Clergy Authority," Reivew of Religious Research 23 (December 1981), pp. 111-14.
- 7. Paul Tillich, Systematic Theology, Vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 212-13.