PREACHER WOMAN:

RE-CONCEPTUALIZING THE STAINED GLASS CEILING

THROUGH THE LENS OF GENDERED ORGANIZATIONS

AN ABSTRACT

SUBMITTED ON THE EIGHTEENTH DAY OF APRIL 2017

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BY

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Abstract

The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) is a denominational entity that theologically and organizationally supports the equal leadership of men and women in the church. However, despite women graduating from Baptist seminaries in almost equal numbers as men, women remain vastly underrepresented in pastoral positions, particularly senior pastor positions, a phenomenon referred to as the "stained glass ceiling" (e.g. Purvis, 1997). This study examines the taken-for-granted gendered organizational processes within CBF-affiliated congregations that contribute to and reinforce barriers faced by Baptist women pastors despite organizational and theological goals of gender equality and the official affirmation of women's equal leadership in the church. By applying the theoretical lens of gendered organizations (Acker 1990) and the methodological approach of critical ethnography, this research addresses the following questions: (1) Why/how do CBF-affiliated congregations that are officially committed to gender equality reinforce outcomes of gender inequality? (2) What are gendered barriers faced by women pastors within CBF-affiliated congregations? This research demonstrates the gendered division of labor across 656 CBF-affiliated churches through a database displaying the sex composition of every church position. Results show that women occupy only five percent of solo senior pastor positions and hold ninety-five percent of ministerial assistant roles. Through further analyses of data from congregational surveys (N=187), church staff and congregant interviews (N=53), participant observation (40+ hours), and official church documents, this study unveils organizational barriers faced by women pastors prior, during, and after congregational hiring processes. Specifically, these gendered barriers include exclusionary theology, a dearth of mentors and role models, a lack of opportunities to gain pastoral experience, congregational hiring criteria that advantages men, congregants' conscious and unconscious gender biases, and congregants' perceived incongruence of the female body with the masculinized role of pastor. Despite congregational intentions of gender equality, the identified gendered organizational processes demonstrate that women pastors face barriers even after effectively breaking through the stained glass ceiling thus resulting in what I term the "stained glass labyrinth." Finally, this study illustrates women pastors' forms of resistance and makes recommendations of strategies for long-term organizational change.

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Chapter 1: Introduction & Theoretical Background

The Women's Liberation Movement of the 1960's and 1970's initiated significant progress in the gender integration of various occupations including religious clergy. While the number of denominations opposed to women's leadership has decreased from 93 percent to less than 50 percent in the last century (Chaves 1996), women almost outnumber men in seminary enrollment (Sullins 2000; Status of Baptist Women 2016), women constitute the largest proportion of religious participants (Adams 2007; Bruce 2002; Miller and Hoffman 1995; Sherkat 1998; Smith et al. 2002), they still only make up about 17.5% of clergy (U.S. Census Bureau 2010) and just under 10% of senior clergy nationally (National Congregations Study 2012). The *Church Law and Tax Report* (2014) also reveals an average annual wage gap of $10,000 between male and female clergy of comparable positions. In particular, the report illustrates a $25,000 wage gap between male full-time senior pastors and female full-time senior pastors. Despite women's movement toward clergy positions, these findings demonstrate persistent inequalities between men and women ministers; this phenomenon has been termed by scholars as the "stained glass ceiling" (Adams 2007; Finlay, 2003; Purvis 1995; Sullins 2000)

Although religious congregations consistently influence more Americans than any other voluntary social organizational form and persist as the most consistent form of American religion (Chaves and Anderson 2012; Putnam and Campbell 2010), De Gasquet (2010) states that gender and feminist researchers have generally understood modern religion as "archaic residue, scientifically secondary, or too exotic to be accessible to non-specialists, or conversely, as the site where women's alienation is most

pronounced" (22). In particular, Gasquet argues that women's oppression and marginalization in religious organizations appear so patently obvious that an in-depth study of gender inequality within religious organizations seems unnecessary to many gender researchers. Therefore, research studies examining barriers faced by clergywomen is dismissed as irretrievably patriarchal by secular dominated field and remains limited, particularly on the organizational level. The overall purpose of this study is to apply the theoretical framework of gendered organizations (Acker 1990) for the examination of gendered organizational barriers faced by clergywomen serving in congregations that intentionally support and affirm the leadership of women.

Clergywomen & the Stained Glass Ceiling

Conservative theological interpretations of biblical Scripture prove to be the initial and most rigid contributor to the *stained glass ceiling* (Adams 2007). In the context of American Christianity, congregations that theologically or doctrinally bar women's leadership are usually of the Roman Catholic (0.0% of senior clergy are women), Southern Baptist (0.0% of senior clergy are women), or other conservative, evangelical, or sectarian Protestant (1.5% of senior clergy are women) denominations (National Congregations Survey 2012). Specifically, Adams (2007) shows that the conservative or fundamentalist theological belief in the inerrancy of biblical Scripture functions as the strongest organizational barrier to women in leadership positions. Therefore, it is clear why women's leadership in these denominations proves almost non-existent.

Organizational research shows that other organizational processes also contribute to women's underrepresentation in ministerial positions. In his book *Ordaining Women*,

Mark Chaves (1996) investigates organizational practices pertaining to the ordination of clergywomen and demonstrates that denominational characteristics are often generated by organizational responses to external, institutional pressures that may only tenuously reflect actual organizational pragmatic activity thus resulting in a *loose coupling* between doctrine and actualized practices. In other words, the Women's Liberation Movement may have resulted in subsequent doctrinal shifts toward the formal theological and organizational affirmation of women's leadership in the church, however, "a denomination's policy allowing (or prohibiting) women's ordination is better understood as a symbolic display of support for gender equality (or of resistance to gender equality) than as a policy either motivated by or intended to regulate the everyday reality of women inside the organization" (6). On a structural level, this proves true even today with women never constituting more than 30 percent of senior clergy in any American Christian denomination (National Congregational Survey 2012).

Additionally, Chaves (1996) finds that even in more progressive denominations, congregations are more likely to create gender inclusive leadership policies in response to external, secular pressures than as a result of overarching organizational progressive attitudes. Therefore, women clergy are more likely to hold part-time ministerial positions, work in precarious situations, pastor the smallest congregations, and make smaller salaries than men (see also Purvis 1995; Sullins 2000). Studies also show that women pastors are less likely to progress to the same professional positions as their male counterparts and the number of women clergy decreases drastically as one climbs the religious ladder (Nesbitt 1993; Purvis 1995; Chang 1997; Sullins 2000; Finlay 2003; de

Gasquet 2010). Furthermore, it takes significantly longer for women to receive their first ministerial position than their male counterparts (Chang 1997).

Barriers Faced by Clergywomen

Although researchers have effectively established the *stained glass ceiling*, few studies examine specific barriers faced by women ministers. Available studies show that family-work balance, traditional understandings of the role of pastor, and congregants' gendered assumptions present challenges that are specific to women ministers (Zikmund et al. 1998; Finlay 2003; Frame & Shehan 2004; 2005; Bagilhole 2006; de Gasquet 2010). For instance, Frame & Shehan (2004; 2005) show that Methodist women pastors' most significant challenge was balancing personal and family needs with their pastoral roles. One clergywoman stated, "There's always more to do than can get done. It is very difficult to balance pastoring and parenting. I feel guilty about not giving enough to the church and not giving enough to my family" (15). Another minister stated her greatest challenge was, "Being the wife of a husband who still expects so much from me as 'homemaker.' There's no wife for me!" (376). The dual expectations of full-time domestic *and* work responsibilities present challenges to women effectively maintaining full-time pastoral positions.

Additionally, congregants typically understand the role of pastor, like other male-dominated professions (e.g. the military, politics), as a "two-person" career (Frame & Shehan 2005; Bagilhole 2006). In this way, the comprehensive role of pastor may more accurately be understood as the combination of a full-time job and a part-time job rather than one full-time job. Historically, clergy wives have participated in high rates of unpaid work in their husbands' churches thus enabling their husbands to achieve higher status

appointments with higher salaries, however, most clergywomen are married to professional men with no time or interest in engaging the expected role of "clergy spouse" (Frame & Sheehan 1994). In this way, women ministers are sometimes expected to perform the tasks of two people rather than one perhaps resulting in negative outcomes in performance evaluations or the pursuit of part-time, lower paying employment.

Furthermore, a mismatch between expectations for femininity and the male-dominated occupation of pastor presents issues for women when developing their pastoral identities (Gasquet 2010; Frame & Shehan 2004; 2005). For instance, one clergywoman stated that the greatest challenge she faced was "the 'good ol' boy' behavior that borders on sexual harassment from male colleagues. There is a lack of understanding and support from older male colleagues and a lack of role models and mentors from women in our conference" (Frame & Shehan 2004, 376). Another clergywoman from the same study stated, "Cultural stereotypes require extra energy on my part to 'explain' my role and 'reassure' doubters of my credibility. Wrestling with self-doubt fatigues me and I often feel drained facing such extensive ministry needs. Interactive patterns and habits which devalue women's perspectives and authority often require extra time and effort and my initiative before productive work with people can take place" (376). In this way, the need for women clergy to maneuver around and address congregants' gendered assumptions serves as a barrier to most effectively working toward professional and ministerial goals.

These studies provide insight into the particular challenges faced by clergywomen, however, they remain limited in scope. First, all of these studies primarily investigate the experiences and perceived expectations of clergy thus leaving the opinions and

expectations of congregants and hiring entities largely unexplored. Secondly, none of these studies provide a comprehensive examination of congregations that encompasses the intersections of the individual, interactional, and organizational levels. Third, none of these studies employ a participant observation approach, which would provide a more nuanced understanding of organizational culture and interactions between ministers and co-workers as well as congregants. Furthermore, most of these studies were conducted at least a decade ago. This research study contributes to this body of literature and addresses the aforementioned limitations of current literature.

Theoretical Framework

Bem (1993) demonstrates that we often reproduce inequality, even when we actively or consciously oppose sexism. Risman (2004) argues that key to understanding the production of gender inequality is an understanding of the social construction of gender difference because unless we "see" differences between genders then we cannot justify inequality. In this way, difference is foundational to inequality. Just as "separate but equal" was impossible to achieve in race relations, Risman (2004) argues that "simply accepting gender as a legitimate basis for any role allocation validates inequality" (5; see also West & Zimmerman 1987); therefore, key to understanding the production of gender inequality is the identification of the taken-for-granted assumptions of gender difference. By this notion, gender is understood not as an essential component of males and females, men and women, or something we "are" but rather something we "do" (see also West & Zimmerman 1987). In this way, gender is patterned throughout our individual identities, interactions, cultures, organizations, institutions, and society overall. In assuming that gender difference and, therefore, gender inequality are patterned throughout society, this

research addresses the ways in which gender inequality is patterned through organizations, specifically congregations.

In her article, "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations" (1990), Joan Acker shifts the understanding of organizations as gender-neutral and dominated by men to organizations as gendered structures. In light of previous studies that describe organizational discourses as being "grounded in the working worlds and relations of men" (Smith 1979: 148) as well as works that illustrate how organizations are themselves gendered (see Cockburn 1983, 1985; Game and Pringle 1984; Pringle 1989), Acker builds on this theoretical foundation by developing a theory of gendered organizations. In this way, the unit of analysis shifts from the characteristics of workers within the organizations to the organizations themselves.

Acker (1990) argues that organizations are inherently gendered rather than gender-neutral and argues that gendered organizations are gendered when "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker 1990: 146). Therefore, Acker understands organizations as locations through which gender is presumed and gender differences and hierarchies are reproduced. Furthermore, Acker (1990) challenges the common assumption of the "disembodied, universal worker" by arguing "the abstract, bodiless worker, who occupies the abstract, gender-neutral job has no sexuality, no emotions, and does not procreate. The absence of sexuality, emotionality, and procreation in organizational logic and organizational theory is an additional element that both obscures and helps to reproduce the underlying gender relations." That is, it is assumed that workers are men (particularly white, straight men)

with little to no relationship with reproduction, childcare, or domestic responsibilities. Therefore, the male body, sexuality, and connection to procreation and labor are portrayed in the image of the ideal worker and permeate organizational processes. These assumptions most often marginalize women workers and reinforce gender segregation in the workplace.

Acker (1990) further suggests and empirical research shows that the extent to which organizations are gendered occurs within five interactive gendered processes: (1) organizational logic and/or culture (e.g. Britton 1997, 2003; Wingfield 2009; Manchester et al. 2013; Purcell 2012; Paap 2006); (2) construction of symbols and images, (e.g. Irvine & Vermilya 2010; Kurtz et al. 2012); (3) division of labor (e.g. Snyder & Green 2008; Leahey 2007; Kenney 2000, 2004); (4) interactions, (e.g. Davies 2003; Kelan 2010; Britton 1997); and (5) individual identity (e.g. Rhoton 2011; Britton 1997; Lester 2008; Dellinger & Williams 1997).

Acker's (1990) landmark article has been widely cited in research on gender, the workplace, and organizations, however, I have only identified two studies that apply the lens of gendered organizations to religious congregations (Manville 1997; Bagilhole 2006). While these studies effectively demonstrate ways in which congregational culture, organizational logic, and gendered interactions negatively impact the experiences and success of women pastors, they focus on a singular congregation or organizational process. Additionally, these studies do not examine U.S. congregations or congregations with democratic, autonomous organizational structures.

The purpose of this research study is to identify and better understand barriers faced by women pastors through applying the lens of gendered organizations to seven

congregations affiliated with the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF), a denominational entity that believes in the equal leadership of women; this is a key component of its collective identity. CBF-affiliated congregations adhere to a democratic, autonomous organizational structure, which means that Baptist churches do not exist within a hierarchy of denominational decision-makers like the Roman Catholic Church, for example. It also means that congregants vote on and make major personnel decisions. Therefore, this study captures the perspectives of all organizational members including pastors, church staff, and congregants through the examination of all five organizational interactive processes (i.e. the division of labor, construction of individual identities, interactions, organizational logic, symbols and images). In this way, this study presents a comprehensive understanding of how organizational processes present challenges to clergywomen and reinforce outcomes of gender inequality.

Summary & Purpose

The implications of this study prove interdisciplinary in scope with relevance to the fields of sociology, religion, and social work. By examining a context scarcely explored through the lens of sociological gender theory, this study presents significant theoretical and empirical contributions to scholarship on gendered organizations, work, and gender inequality.

Chapter One provides a statement of the issue, a review of relevant literature, and demonstrates a gap in scholarship on the stained glass ceiling, particularly on the organizational level. *Chapter Two* provides a detailed description of critical ethnography and justification for this method and instruments utilized in this study. *Chapter Three* investigates the expectations of congregants and analyzes their gendered

conceptualizations of the "ideal pastor." *Chapter Four* investigates the life histories of women pastors and shows how their distinct experiences of exclusion delay the development of their pastoral identities. *Chapter Five* investigates the gendered assumptions of congregants conducting hiring processes and how these organizational processes result in inequitable outcomes for women clergy on the job market. Finally, *Chapter Six* highlights the mismatch between the masculinized role of pastor and femininity with particular focus on the female body, feminization of women pastors, and women pastors' work-home balance.

Finally, the *Conclusion* argues that the stained glass ceiling proves a limited framework for understanding the gendered barriers faced by women pastors because it suggests that women pastors no longer face these barriers once they have effectively broken the stained glass ceiling and secure the role of senior pastor. My findings show that women pastors face gendered barriers before, during, and after the hiring process. Therefore, I draw on Eagly and Carli's (2007) image of the gendered labyrinth by conceptualizing barriers faced by women pastors as the "stained glass labyrinth" and suggest ways for congregations to engage in processes of undoing gender on the individual, interactional, and organizational levels.

In the past few years, several books have been published addressing the *stained glass ceiling* (e.g. Fielder 2010; Smith 2013; Jones 2014; Park 2014) thus confirming that this issue remains particularly relevant. However, the vast majority of these books seek to equip, encourage, and empower women as they navigate barriers they face as pastors. In contrast, this study places a critical sociological lens on the congregations themselves to determine ways in which taken-for-granted or well-intentioned processes contribute to

these barriers and reinforce gender inequality. In this way, this study provides pastors and church social workers critical insight for identifying processes of inequality within their congregations so that they may effectively work toward change on the organizational level and women pastors will no longer have to maneuver around organizational gendered barriers.

Chapter 2: Methods

In 1991, moderate-liberal Baptists established the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) in response to the Southern Baptist Convention's official barring of women's leadership. Since then, CBF congregations have identified women's equal leadership as a distinct component of their collective identity (http://www.cbf.net/core-values/), however, research shows that women occupy only 5.0% (N=652) of lead pastor positions in the CBF (Status of Baptist Women 2015), which is less than percent of women in top pastoral positions in all denominations in the U.S. Women's underrepresentation in top positions in CBF-affiliated churches suggests the existence of underlying organizational processes contributing to inequitable outcomes experienced by women pastors. The purpose of this research study was to identify, examine, and analyze gendered processes within CBF-affiliated congregations that contribute to and reinforce the stained glass ceiling.

Research Questions

Acker (1990) identifies five interactive organizational processes that contribute to gendered outcomes. These include the following: division of labor, construction of individual identities, interactions, organizational logic, and organizational gender culture. Through examining these five interactive organizational processes, this research addresses two overarching questions: (1) Why/how do CBF-affiliated congregations that are intentionally committed to gender equality reinforce outcomes of gender inequality? (2) What are barriers faced by women pastors within CBF-affiliated congregations?

Critical Ethnography

Critical ethnography is a method that seeks to uncover underlying assumptions, expectations, processes, systems, and structures that reinforce inequality. It is for this reason that critical ethnography acts as an appropriate and effective methodology for this study. The partnership between Acker's theory of gendered organizations and critical ethnography identifies taken-for-granted gendered patterns within organizations *and* explains why these patterns occur. In this way, the goal of this research was to uncover underlying organizational structures, patterns, and systems contributing to and reinforcing inequalities pertaining to gender within congregations committed to gender equality. Additionally, this methodology renders visible organizational processes that present barriers to women pastors.

Critical ethnography seeks to "describe, analyze, and open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas, power centers, and assumptions that inhibit, repress, and constrain. Critical scholarship requires that commonsense assumptions be questioned" (Thomas 1993: 2-3). While conventional ethnography refers to "the tradition of cultural description and analysis that displays meanings by interpreting meanings," critical ethnography refers to the "the reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgments of meaning and method to challenge research, policy, and other forms of human activity" (Thomas, 1993: 4). This approach assumes a "taken for granted" reality that Schutz (1972) describes as "that particular level of experience that presents itself as not in need of further analysis" (74). Thomas (1993) expands on this point by writing, "We create meanings and choose courses of action within the confines of generally accepted existing choices, but these choices often reflect hidden meanings

and unrecognized consequences" (3). For these reasons, this method serves as an appropriate fit for identifying taken-for-granted gendered organizational processes.

Similarly, Bourdieu (1991) demonstrates how institutions of power function as the underlying structure of behavior and cultural meanings that create and limit choices, grant legitimacy, and direct our daily routines. Furthermore, he refers to this type of power as "symbolic power" which relies on shared beliefs and ways of expressing those beliefs. Bourdieu & Passeron (1979) argue that "symbolic power" is oppressive because it appropriates preferred meanings and represses alternatives. Similarly, Thomas (1993) argues "critical ethnographers resist symbolic power by displaying how it restricts alternative meanings that conceal the deeper levels of social life, create misunderstanding, and thwart action" (7). Given that an assumption of gender equality presumably exists within churches that affirm the equal leadership of women, critical ethnography offers in-depth analyses of seemingly "gender-neutral" organizational processes and identifies potential for change.

Sample

This research utilizes a purposive sampling method for the selection of seven CBF-affiliated congregations located in six different cities in the southern United States through contacts made by my extensive experience in organizations and congregations affiliated with the CBF. This sampling method proves most effective for this research study because my experiential knowledge of the CBF and my relationships (both direct and indirect) with individuals affiliated with these congregations allows for some previous knowledge of congregations and, therefore, the selection of a diverse sample. It

also contributes to an existing level of rapport with leaders and key informants of congregations, therefore, making congregations within the sample more accessible.

The sample represents various organizational models with both men and women lead pastors of different generations (3 congregations with women senior pastors, 3 congregations with men senior pastors, 1 congregation with man and woman co-pastors). While all congregations in the sample theologically support the equal leadership of women, the sample includes congregations across the spectrum of conservative-moderate to liberal ideologies, theologies, and political views. The sample is also predominantly white, middle-upper class, and heteronormative. I interviewed three gay and lesbian congregants, including one ordained minister, but there were no pastors in the study who identified as LGBTQ.

I approached this project assuming two organizational levels: (1) the denominational level and (2) the congregational level. First, I developed a denomination-wide database illustrating the sex composition of each church staff position in 656 CBF-affiliated denominations. On the congregational level, I examined organizational policies, distributed congregational surveys, facilitated church staff and key congregant interviews, and observed and participated in congregational activities and events to gain an in-depth understanding of interactive gendered processes within these particular organizations. Initially, I began extensive participant observation at one CBF church that recently hired its first woman senior pastor. After I identified relevant patterns and processes, I then designed the congregational survey and the church staff interview guide. Subsequently, I deployed the surveys, conducted the interviews, and conducted the research study first in the initial church and then in the 6 other participating congregations. In this way, I

investigated gendered processes specific to each congregation and identified those that were consistent throughout the denomination as it pertains to the sample.

Methods & Instruments

As the theory of gendered organizations acts as a tool for identifying underlying organizational gendered processes, critical ethnography is a method through which researchers apply an in-depth analysis of taken-for-granted, seemingly neutral assumptions, expectations, processes, and systems that reinforce inequality (Thomas 1993). The design of the proposed study is modeled like other critical ethnographic studies examining how gendered organizational processes result in inequitable gendered outcomes (see Paap 2006, Britton 2003). This study applies critical methodology outlined by Phil Carspecken in *Critical Ethnography in Educational Research* (1996) because it includes well-defined methodology and standards of rigor.

I designed a five-part study in order to comprehensively examine all five organizational processes. First, I created a database identifying the division of labor of all church staff positions in all CBF churches (N=656), except for the ones without websites (approx. n=103; 15.0%). Second, I distributed an online survey to congregants to better understand congregational gender culture, expectations, and assumptions. Specifically, the survey investigated congregants' ideal conceptualizations of individuals in all pastoral and church staff positions (e.g. preferred traits, skills, preaching styles). It also collected demographic information. Third, I interviewed church staff and key informants to gain a better understanding of life histories, professional experiences, perceived gendered expectations of congregants, actual congregant expectations, and hiring processes. Fourth, I examined organizational documents such as job descriptions, salaries, family leave

policies, and evaluation standards. Finally, I engaged in participant observation to gain a better understanding of individual behaviors and interactions between actors.

Database. I developed a database that provides an overview of the division of labor within CBF churches to identify the extent to which the division of labor is gendered across the denomination. The database provides information on the male to female ratio of head pastors, associate pastors, administrators, educators, secretaries, janitorial staff, organists, etc. I identified church affiliates of the CBF through the organizational website (www.cbf.net/find-a-church) and gained access to the relevant staff information pertaining to each particular church through the churches' websites.

Organizational Documents. I acquired official organizational documents such as job descriptions, evaluation standards, by-laws, family leave policies, and benefit policies to determine the extent to which such policies contribute to gender inequality. These documents addressed questions like: Do women pastors receive paid family leave? In addition, I acquired lists of church committee members. These committees include those responsible for hospitality, human resources, maintenance, landscaping, finance, and leadership. This information allowed me to identify the division of labor within volunteer positions as well.

Congregational Survey. Autonomy is a defining characteristic of CBF churches. This means that the congregations in this study exist independently over each other rather than as part of a denominational hierarchy. Furthermore, these churches function as democratic organizational structures with congregants maintaining power through committees and votes, including hiring and personnel committees. Therefore,

understanding the gendered expectations and assumptions of congregants is particularly relevant to understanding the extent to which congregations reinforce gender inequality.

Informed by participant observation in the initial church (research site), I utilized Survey Monkey to design an online congregational survey that was emailed by the pastor through an online church newsletter or church email database at least three times over a six-week period. As Acker (1990) posits that actual job positions are not neutral but are gendered, the survey sought to understand congregants' ideal conceptualizations of church staff positions (e.g. lead pastor, children's pastor, office manager) by asking congregants to list traits and skills they value *most* and *least* as they relate to each position. It also investigated preferred leadership and preaching styles as well as general demographic information. (Please see *Appendix A* on page 202 for the full congregational survey.) The lead pastor emailed the survey to adult congregants. The survey script read as follows:

> Welcome to the Congregational Survey on Church Leadership! We appreciate your time and participation in this study. Your participation in this survey contributes to a larger study examining preferred leadership styles in at least six other Baptist churches in the United States. Please know that your responses will be submitted anonymously. The survey includes 42 questions and takes about 10-15 minutes to complete. This survey has been approved by the Tulane University Institutional Review Board. You must be 18 years or older and your participation in this survey signifies consent. For further questions regarding the study, please contact Katie Lauve-Moon at kmoon1@tulane.edu. For further questions regarding the survey, contact: irbmain@tulane.edu.

Church Staff and Key Informant Interviews. First, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 22 church staff members (e.g. pastors, ministers, office managers, etc.). I requested interviews with all church staff members at every participating congregation. Every church staff member voluntarily participated in the study. The purpose of the church staff interviews was to gain an in-depth understanding of their personal histories, professional experiences and decisions, perceived expectations of congregants, and compare experiences between men and women church staff.

Second, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 31 key congregational informants, particularly those who have served on pastoral search and hiring committees as well as human resource committees. I was connected and introduced to the majority of these interview participants through the senior pastors of the congregations, however, sometimes I interviewed congregants who I met as I participated in congregational activities. Key informant interviews sought to understand the congregants' history with the church and roles they have held as members of the church, gather information on hiring and evaluation processes, and identify general expectations they have of church staff. All interviews were 30-90 minutes.

The interview guides were created through the direction of *The Ethnographic Interview* (Spradley, 1979/2016). Spradley (1979/2016) highlights a variety of questions that are categorized either as descriptive, structural, or contrast questions. An example of a descriptive question included in the study's interview guide is as follows: *Describe how you decided to become a pastor.* Structural questions sought to understand how participants shape their knowledge. For example: *In what ways were you supported or not supported when you decided to go into the ministry?* Finally, contrast questions

sought to understand meanings of language and descriptions. For instance: *When you say the thing you value most in a pastor is "good preaching," what do you mean by this? What is the difference between good preaching and bad preaching?* (Please see *Appendices B* and *C* on pages 214-215 for the full interview guides.)

I conducted interviews in private offices or rooms in the respective churches or in a private location of the participants' choosing. Prior to conducting the interview I provided a consent form to the participant. Then I verbally gave an overview of the consent form communicating that the interview was voluntary and identities would remain anonymous and assigned a pseudonym. (Please see *Appendix D* on page 215 for the full consent form.) In the consent form, the participant had the option of having the interview recorded. If the participant selected this option, I recorded the interview session with a recording device in addition to taking notes. If not, I only took notes during the interview. The participant also had the option of having the recording transcribed. If the participant chose this option, the interview was transcribed. Once the interview was transcribed, I read the transcription and listened to the interview simultaneously to correct any mistakes and add non-verbal details. After this, I deleted the recording. Once terms were agreed upon and the participant signed the consent form, I asked to begin the interview.

Participant Observation. I engaged in participant observation to investigate organizational gendered processes. In the initial church, I participated-observed just over 40 hours. Participation included Sunday morning services, congregational dinners and social gatherings, staff and committee meetings, educational workshops, vacation bible school activities, baptisms, political protests, weddings, as well as informal social

gatherings. Through participant observation, I identified nuanced processes of gender within the organization (e.g. power dynamics, gender displays and presentations, interactions between congregants and with clergy, symbols and language used in services, body language). Also, I noted topics of informal conversations with congregants and church staff during this process as well. I recorded interactions and observations in a field notebook.

Similarly, I participated and observed in six additional CBF congregations to gain a better understanding of gendered processes within the denomination overall as well as difference and similarities between congregations. The participant observation in these congregations was informed by established gendered patterns discovered in the initial congregation. I spent a total of 20 participant-observation hours in the other six congregations.

Data Analysis

Carspecken (1996) outlines four major stages of data collection: (1) Compile primary record; (2) Complete preliminary reconstructive analysis; (3) Generate dialogic data; (4) Explain findings through system relations. These stages are approached cyclically rather than linearly. In the first stage, I created a database demonstrating the gendered division of labor throughout CBF congregations, examined the aforementioned organizational documents, distributed online congregational surveys, and engaged in participant observation in the nine participating congregations. During participant observation, I paid attention to gendered dynamics particularly within interactions. The second stage began with the *initial meaning construction* (Carspecken, 1996), which applies underlying meanings to findings. This process was as follows: (a) Identify

potential meaning in primary record; (b) Categorize meanings with low level coding; (c) Select sections for in-depth analysis; (d) Code selected themes for detailed meanings.

In the third stage, dialogic data creation involved conducting in-depth interviews with church staff and clergy as well as with key informants in the congregation (Carspecken, 1996). In this stage, I compared the careers of men and women pastors by examining life histories, professional decisions and experiences, and perceptions of congregational expectations. I also examined the expectations and hiring processes of congregants, which was particularly important in these democratic congregations. In the final stage, I compared results and integrated the findings within existing social and gender theory as well as relevant empirical studies and considered for the formulation of new theory (Carspecken, 1996).

Database. I categorized and organized data demonstrating the division of labor through an Excel spreadsheet. I uploaded the data to IBM SPSS statistical software for statistical analysis and determine to what extent the results portray gendered outcomes based not only on the male-female ratio of the upper level positions but the lowest level positions as well.

Congregational Survey. I analyzed survey results by uploading responses to close-ended questions to SPSS. The majority of close-ended questions pertained to demographics, including income, marital status, education, race, age, employment status and employment status of spouse (if applicable). This finding was particularly helpful in understanding the gender culture of the congregations from a structural perspective. The survey also included open-ended questions investigating congregants' expectations pertaining to their ideal conceptualizations of various church staff positions. As gender

research demonstrates particular characteristics are understood as feminine (e.g. listener, nurturer) while others are understood as masculine (e.g. assertive, authoritative) (see Connell, 1995), these findings provided insight into the extent to which church staff positions were gendered. For these results, I assigned a numerical coding scheme to each adjective and uploaded data into SPSS. The surveys also examined preferred preaching and leadership styles. I coded these responses thematically and uploaded to ATLAS-TI as supplementary data to other qualitative findings.

Interviews & Participant Observation. Interviews and participant observation findings were strictly qualitative. I recorded these findings in my field notes and/or transcribed and uploaded them into ATLAS-TI, a qualitative data analysis and research software, throughout the study. As I identified emerging themes pertaining to gender, I became more focused and intentional in my observation and interviewing. These themes were coded, categorized, and further analyzed through the lenses of gender theory and other relevant empirical findings.

Reflexivity & Validity

Critical ethnography is inherently a reflexive methodology and, therefore, assumes some degree of relationship between the researcher and the research sites or subjects. Reflexivity refers to the ways in which the researcher(s) and research processes (i.e. selections of sample, topic, research question(s), theoretical framework, methods, instruments, and approach to analysis) affect the results and conclusions of the research. For this reason, critical ethnography requires a process of self-reference or the "turning back on oneself" on the part of the researcher (Davies, 1999).

My relationship with the topic of this study begins with being raised near and in the culture of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC). While most of my childhood I attended a Methodist church where I experienced women ministers, the vast majority of my extended family attended a Southern Baptist church where I often attended events and services. Later, my immediate family began attending a Southern Baptist church when I was in junior high school, where I became involved in a youth group. In college, I was involved in a SBC campus ministry and went on several SBC mission trips. I also worked as a counselor at a SBC summer camp. These experiences both deepened my knowledge of Southern Baptist culture and prompted internal questions concerning SBC theology, mission, and goals.

As a result, I attended a seminary affiliated with the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) to pursue a dual masters degree in theology and social work. Here I became aware of the larger implications of the Fundamentalist Takeover, a movement of which I was previously unaware and became more informed of social justice issues and religion's relationship with these issues. For two years, I also worked as an office manager at a CBF-affiliated church with an all-male full-time pastoral staff and a part-time children's pastor who was a woman. During this time, I began observing that the sex-composition of pastoral positions in CBF-congregations was only nominally different if at all than the sex composition of SBC churches, despite distinct theological differences concerning women's equal leadership.

Although I never had any intention to become a pastor, I also observed that many of my women seminary colleagues struggled to obtain pastoral positions of any level, however, many of my male colleagues received jobs in churches, sometimes as senior

pastors shortly after graduating from seminary. The disconnection between denominational values, individual intentions, and actualized outcomes was perplexing, however, at the time I possessed no analytical framework for understanding *why* this trend was occurring.

In 2012, I began attending a church dually affiliated with the CBF and The Alliance of Baptists. I served on various committees at this church. While not directly involved, I observed the process of hiring the church's first woman senior pastor in its one hundred year history. Concurrently, I was pursuing my Ph.D. in an interdisciplinary program where I cultivated knowledge of gender and organizational sociological theory and engaged empirical studies on gender in the workplace. I began applying these analytical frames to my personal experiences as a woman in the masculinized field of academia and identifying gendered organizational processes in my congregation. I also began attending national denominational meetings and workshops where I discovered that women across the Baptist denomination were asking *why* women were underrepresented in pastoral positions. Furthermore, I identified few studies effectively addressing this question both within sociological scholarship and religious life.

Given my previous and current experience in Baptist culture, relationships with CBF-affiliated pastors including my spouse, and my emphasis on gendered organizations in my doctoral studies, it is apparent that I am intimately connected with this research study through my background and personal experiences. Specifically, my networks and experience in various forms of Baptist culture influenced my selection of the research context and sample and my sociological education guided the theoretical framework, methods, and analytical approaches. Although I did not have direct relationships with all

the pastors and churches in the study, my established relationship with Baptist life provided access to CBF-affiliated congregations, the ability to quickly establish trust and rapport with church staff and congregants, and knowledge of theological and religious terminology as well as denomination specific jargon. Furthermore, my status as a full participant provided more opportunities for an in-depth analysis of organizational processes thus resulting in more comprehensive findings. In this way, my relationship with the research context increases the validity of the study.

With this said, my personal connection with this research study potentially presents challenges related to objectivity, therefore, requiring additional validity methods. For interviews, I carried out Carspecken's (1996) validity requirement of using multiple recording devices by digitally recording interviews and simultaneously recording observational notes. For participant observation, I applied Carspecken's (1996) flexible observation schedule. My close proximity to the initial congregation allowed for longstanding engagement in the field (approx. 40 hours). Also, I applied a triangulation method by utilizing several forms of data collection (e.g. compiling a database, surveys, interviews, participant observation) and examining the ways findings from each method support or contradict each other. In addition, I investigated the perspectives of both congregants and pastors to understand the perceptions of each group as well as ways they support or contradict each other. Finally, I completed consistency checks between accounts offered by congregants and other congregants as well as the accounts of church staff.

Chapter 3: Conceptualizing the Role of Pastor

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the historical and cultural background of the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) as a denominational entity, demonstrate the gendered division of labor of churches affiliated with the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF), and conceptualize the role of senior pastor in relation to gender and power. Specifically, this chapter presents the sex composition of all church staff positions in 652 CBF-affiliated congregations. It also utilizes congregational survey data to show the gendered expectations of congregants in relation to the role of senior pastor. Finally, it draws on church staff and congregant interview data to provide a nuanced analysis of the gendered conceptualizations of the *ideal pastor* and illustrate how these conceptualizations are deeply rooted in and reactionary to cultural shifts in the Southern Baptist Convention.

The Southern Baptist Convention (SBC)

To understand the historical roots of the CBF, one must first become acquainted with the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC). The SBC is the largest Baptist denomination in the world as well as the largest Protestant group in the United States. With 16 million members in 2010, it is second only to the Catholic Church as the largest Christian body in the United States (Lindler 2010). In 1845, the Southern Baptist Convention was established and quickly grew to develop associations, mission societies, and schools, particularly in the southern United States. These organizations were vital in spreading the "pious Southern way of life" (Ammerman 1990, 30). Southern Baptists began to dominate Southern culture through revivals and cultivating an evangelical ethos

characterized by authoritative, directive, hellfire and brimstone sermons; this ethos continues even today (Ammerman 1990, 30). The Southern Baptists' evangelical approach and targeting of poor, uneducated "ordinary folk" contributed to a membership growth rate was three times more than the region's population growth rate at the time. Historian Donald Mathews (1977) notes that evangelical "symbols, style of self-control, and rules of social decorum became dominant in the social system." Nancy Ammerman (1990), author of *Baptist Battles,* wrote, "With evangelicalism at the center of the culture, Baptists in the South began to proclaim theirs as the best possible way for a Christian to live, a model for humanity" (Ammerman, 1990, 31).

Today, in addition to having thousands of church affiliations, the Southern Baptist Convention owns six seminaries: (1) Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, (2) Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest, North Carolina, (3) Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, Texas, (4) Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kansas City, Missouri, (5) New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary in New Orleans, Louisiana, and (6) Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary in Mill Valley, California. It also oversees the North American Mission Board (NAMB) as well the International Mission Board (IMB). These boards are responsible for sending, placing, and training missionaries both within the United States and internationally. Today the Southern Baptist Convention often intersects with conservative right politics and remains the denominational affiliation of individuals such as Billy Graham, Franklin Graham, Jimmy Draper, and Ted Cruz.

The Fundamentalist Takeover

Historically, Baptist congregations have adhered to two distinct denominational components: *priesthood of the believer* and *autonomy of the local church.* Priesthood of the believer means that pastors' wills, desires, and beliefs are not elevated above congregants'. The autonomy of the local church refers to an autonomous democratic organizational structure that adheres to no centralized denominational hierarchy or doctrine thus allowing for various perspectives and approaches to biblical Scripture within one denomination. Furthermore, this means that Baptist churches typically maintain a series of democratic organizational decision-making processes usually carried out through committees and voting. However shortly after the Women's Liberation Movement, conservative Southern Baptist leaders devised a plan that challenged these two fundamental elements of Baptist life and ultimately resulted in the official denominational barring of women in leadership positions. Moderates-liberals commonly refer to this shift in the Southern Baptist Convention as the "conservative takeover" or the "fundamentalist takeover" (James et al., 1999) while conservatives refer to it as the *conservative resurgence*.

In 1976, Paige Patterson, President of Criswell College in Dallas, and Paul Pressler, a judge in Houston, met in New Orleans at Café Du Monde to devise a political plan to elect a conservative president of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) who would, in turn, nominate like-minded people to the Committee of Committees, a committee responsible for nominating members to all other committees. The Committee of Committees would then nominate like-minded people to the Committee of Nominations who would, in turn, nominate like-minded board members and directors of

Southern Baptist institutions and organizations. These board members and directors would then hire like-minded faculty and staff members and slowly purge the moderate-to-liberal minded leaders of the SBC. Pressler deemed this plan as "going for the jugular" (Shurden and Shepley 1996).

Less than three years later and after months of campaigning, the initial stage of this plan came to fruition. In 1979, the SBC elected a conservative president, and conservative candidates have secured the presidency every year since. The conservative takeover of the SBC made its most significant headway in the mid-1980s through the mid-1990s. In 1984, the SBC met in Kansas City and adopted an emphatic proposition against the leadership of women in churches "because man was first in creation and the woman was first in the Edenic fall" (Ammerman 1990). In 1985 in Dallas, Texas, the SBC elected a Peace Committee to address the conflicts and controversies that were brewing between moderate-liberal and conservative minds within the denomination. The purpose of the Peace Committee was "to determine sources of the controversy in the denomination, and make findings and recommendations regarding these controversies so that Southern Baptists might effect reconciliation"(SBC Convention Bulletin, First Day, Part II 1987: 20). Conservatives (fundamentalists), moderates-liberals, and those who were not publically aligned with either side comprised the Peace Committee. While this committee was intended to bridge differences in political and theological perspectives and beliefs between moderates-liberals and conservatives within the SBC, the balance of power on the committee was heavily slanted toward the conservatives' side. Moderates-liberals consistently lost major votes, but their presence was occasionally effective in moderating the results of decisions.

The Peace Committee compiled a report for the utilization of institutions, faculty, and staff affiliated with the SBC. This report acknowledged the existence of diversity within the Southern Baptist denomination; however, the report functioned more as a "fundamental creed rather than an inclusive Baptist confession of faith" (James et al. 2006: 44). First, the report stated a belief in direct creation (i.e. Adam and Eve were absolutely real people). Second, it took the position that the named authors did, in fact, write the biblical books ascribed to them. Lastly, conservative Southern Baptists understood historical, biblical narratives as fully and wholly accurate, reliable accounts given by the assigned authors. While many conservatives and moderates did and still do feel comfortable with aforementioned statements, conservatives posit that "they cannot support nor have fellowship with any Christian who disagrees at any point with their list of 'commonly held beliefs'" while moderates-liberals grant other Christians more room and freedom to differ (James et al. 2006: 45). In 1987 in St. Louis Missouri, the SBC voted to officially adopt the report compiled by the Peace Committee.

In 1987, the Board of Trustees of Southeastern Baptist Seminary in Wake Forest, North Carolina, whose majority was conservative, voted only to hire faculty members who followed and fully believed in the revised Baptist Faith and Message. With this decision, the SBC asked Randall Lolley, President of Southeastern Baptist Seminary, to resign because he did not fully agree with the revised Baptist Faith and Message. One year later, the SBC diverged from its historical roots of applying Baptist Faith and Message as a guideline and decided to employ it as a creed for hiring new faculty and staff at its seminaries. Furthermore, at a conference in San Antonio, Texas in 1988, the SBC voted on a resolution that drastically contradicted the historically Baptist

understanding of the "priesthood of the believer" and "soul competency" which democratized the role of priest. In contrast, the former President of the SBC, W.A. Criswell, said "the man of God who is the pastor of the church is the ruler" (James et al. 2006: 13).

By 1989 a conservative majority affiliated with the takeover plan comprised almost all SBC committees and boards. Therefore, the 1990s brought forth a series of resignations and terminations, which further pushed the conservative agenda. In 1990, a young, recently-appointed trustee on the board of Southern Seminary accused Roy Honeycutt, president of Southern Seminary, of "not believing in the Bible" based on his moderate approach to Scripture. Honeycutt's retirement in 1993 and the appointment of Al Mohler as the new president of Southern Seminary subsequently followed this accusation. Additionally, the SBC terminated Al Shackleford and Dan Martin, journalists of the Baptist Press, the SBC's official news service, for "persecuting the fundamentalists in their news coverage" (James et al. 2006: 13). In 1992, moderate Keith Parks, resigned under pressure from the conservatives after serving as president of the SBC's Foreign Mission Board for thirteen years. The president of the Sunday School Board, moderate Lloyd Elder, also resigned while under pressure from the fundamentalists, and Texas native fundamentalist pastor, Jimmy Draper, quickly replaced him.

Later in 1992, the predominantly conservative board at Southwestern Seminary in Fort Worth suddenly fired Russell Dilday, the seminary's president for over fifteen years. Although the trustees gave him a favorable annual job performance evaluation the day before he was fired, they released a statement asserting that Dilday failed to support the conservative agenda in the SBC and "held liberal views of Scripture" (James et al. 2006:

14). While Southwestern Seminary faculty opposed these charges against Dilday, the Board of Trustees denied him access to his office by quickly changing the locks. In the month of November 1992 alone, 159 employees of the SBC voluntarily or involuntarily retired.

In 1998, the conservative takeover reached full circle with the election of Paige Patterson as president of the SBC. The man who began planning the Conservative Takeover almost exactly twenty years before was now the most powerful leader in the SBC. After his election, the SBC added a clause to the Baptist Faith and Message stating that a wife was to "submit herself graciously" to her husband (Baptist Faith and Message 2000). In 2000, the SBC officially adopted the new version of the Baptist Faith and Message as a creedal statement to be used and signed by SBC organizations and institutions. This version forbade the ordination and leadership of women in the church.

The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship

Moderate-liberal Baptist men and women established the *Cooperative Baptist Fellowship* (1991) in response to the Fundamentalist Takeover. Given that these Baptists had experienced a realized threat to the Baptist ideals of the *priesthood of the believer* and *the autonomy of the local church*, CBF Baptists particularly emphasize a democratic congregational structure with most decisions voted on by congregant committees or the entire congregation. The CBF also pays particular attention to congregational freedoms. These freedoms are defined as follows:

- **Soul Freedom** — We believe in the priesthood of all believers and affirm the freedom and responsibility of every person to relate directly to God without the imposition of creed or the control of clergy or government.
- **Bible Freedom** — We believe in the authority of Scripture. We believe the Bible, under the Lordship of Christ, is central to the life of the individual and the church.

> We affirm the freedom and right of every Christian to interpret and apply scripture under the leadership of the Holy Spirit.
> - **Church Freedom** —We believe in the autonomy of every local church. We believe Baptist churches are free, under the Lordship of Christ, to determine their membership and leadership, to order their worship and work, to ordain whomever they perceive as gifted for ministry, and to participate as they deem appropriate in the larger body of Christ.
> - **Religious Freedom** — We believe in the freedom of religion, freedom for religion, and freedom from religion. We support the separation of church and state. (http://www.cbf.net/core-values/)

The Cooperative Baptist Fellowship (CBF) considers the equal leadership of women as a core component of its collective identity. All of the congregations in this study are affiliated with the CBF. Additionally, some of the congregations are dually aligned with a more progressive Baptist denominational entity, The Alliance of Baptists (1987). The Alliance of Baptists also formed in response to the Conservative Takeover. These congregations tended to be more theologically liberal and socially progressive than congregations only affiliated with the CBF.

Today, over 700 Baptist congregations are affiliated with the CBF. Furthermore, women's enrollment in CBF affiliated seminaries has steadily increased from 40.4% in 2010 to 46.7% in 2015, however, today women still only represent 5 percent of solo senior pastors and 6.5 percent with the addition of women co-senior pastors (*Status of Women in Baptist Life* 2015). This statistic proves lower than the national percent of congregations led by women senior pastors at roughly 10 percent (National Congregations Study 2012), which includes congregations that doctrinally bar women from leadership positions. This statistic is also significantly lower than the percent of mainline Protestant congregations led by women senior pastors at about 20 percent (National Congregations Study 2012). Women's underrepresentation in pastoral positions

within Baptist congregations that deliberately separated from the Southern Baptist Convention to support the ordination and equal leadership of *all* individuals, namely women, presents reason for further research investigating why these outcomes persist. The following sections begin addressing this question by presenting the division of labor of all church staff positions in 656 congregations affiliated with the CBF and applying Acker's conceptual understanding of the *ideal worker* for the analysis of congregants' conceptualizations of the *ideal pastor.*

Gendered Jobs

A foundational component of Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations is that job positions themselves are gendered. Acker's conceptualization of gendered jobs includes the sex composition as defined by the ratio of males to females within particular occupations *and* the gendered expectations and tasks associated with particular jobs. By the latter definition, masculinized jobs are jobs that value qualities commonly associated with masculinity such as strength, leadership, authority, assertiveness, rationality, technical skills, taking risks, and power (Acker 1990). The common assumption that masculinity is the essential nature of men in conjunction with the widespread expectation of the *ideal worker* effectively embodying masculinity (i.e. male body, little to no connection with procreation or domestic responsibilities, effective embodiment of aforementioned masculine attributes) often contributes to men's dominance in masculinized professional roles such as business & finance officers (e.g. Blair-Loy 2001), lawyers (e.g. Gorman 2005), doctors (e.g. Davies 2003), engineers (e.g. Hatmaker 2013), judges (Kenney 2013), academic professors (e.g. Manchester et al. 2013), and scientists (e.g. Rhoton 2011) and to white men disproportionately occupying leadership positions

such as managers, directors, partners, executives, and supervisors, an effect termed the *glass ceiling* and in churches, the *stained glass ceiling* (e.g. Hymowitz et al. 1986; Purvis 1995; Oakley 2000; see also U.S. Census Bureau 2016).

Meanwhile, feminized positions within masculinized occupations are typified by support roles such as secretaries or assistants and are predominately held by women (U.S. Census Bureau 2016). Feminized occupations are dominated by women and characterized by feminine qualities such as being nurturing, caring, supportive, emotional, helpful, and are often defined by roles related to domestic work or children (e.g. Children's Pastor/Director, nurses, elementary school teachers, social workers, school librarians, housekeepers). Furthermore, even within feminized professions white men disproportionately ascend to top management positions (e.g. school principals, nursing supervisors) because attributes of authority, leadership, power, and status are conflated with masculinity, an effect termed the glass escalator (Williams 1995; Wingfield 2008; Williams 2013).

Although feminized and masculinized jobs are sometimes understood as "different but equal," their established relationships with status, power, authority, autonomy and financial benefits show that these jobs are complementary and hierarchical. Women working in feminized jobs within both masculinized and feminized occupations often are overworked, underpaid, lack professional autonomy, opportunities for vertical advancement, and/or are usually in part-time or temporary positions. Here we not only observe differences between masculinized and feminized jobs but an established hierarchy as well. Furthermore, studies show that as women enter male-dominated occupations, symbolic or actualized processes of feminization, de-skilling, and/or de-

professionalization ensue (Davies, 1982; England, 1992; Sorensen, 1994; Steinberg, 2001; Irvine et al., 2013). For instance, Irvine et al. (2013) show a conceptual shift from "doctoring" to "caring" as women began outnumbering men in veterinary practice despite women effectively engaging in the same scientific technical skills as men. This pattern of "deskilling" ultimately contributes to a decrease in the value of the overall occupation and the devaluation of women's work in particular thus resulting in lower salaries in feminized professions and a wage gap between working men and women (Padavic and Reskin, 2002).

In this way, the division of labor contributes to the extent to which organizations, specifically workplaces, are gendered. To understand how CBF congregations are gendered, we first must understand how church staff positions are gendered both in terms of sex composition and gendered expectations. The following sections present the sex composition of all church staff positions in CBF-affiliated congregations and demonstrate how congregants conceptualize the *ideal pastor* in terms of gender.

Sex Composition of Church Positions

To gain an initial understanding of the gendered division of labor within CBF-affiliated congregations on a structural level, I documented the sex-composition of all pastoral and church staff positions in 656 congregations. As demonstrated in other research (*Status of Women in Baptist Life*, 2015), of all Senior (also referred to as Lead or Head) Pastor positions (N=652), 95.0% (N=619) were held by men and 5.0% (N=33) were held by women. After combining the number of solo senior pastors with co-senior pastors (N=675), findings showed 631 (93.5%) male senior pastors and 44 (6.5%) female senior pastors.

The next clergy position typically second in status and authority is the Associate Pastor. Results showed that of all Associate Pastor positions (N=288), 67.0% were held by men (N=193) and 33.0% were held by women (N=95). Typically equal in status and authority to the Associate Pastor is the Executive Pastor, also referred to as the Administrative Pastor. The person in this role is typically oversees human resource tasks e.g. evaluations, hiring, terminations, staff development, and logistical details. Results showed that of all Executive Pastor positions (N=54), 41 (75.9%) were men and 13 (24.1%) were women.

Typically, the third tier of status and authority comprises of positions responsible for particular ministries or tasks (e.g. music ministry, education, spiritual formation, pastoral care). It is important to note, however, that the levels of status and authority vary depending on how many other staff members the church employs, size of the congregations, resources available, etc. For instance, if a church does not employ an Associate or Executive Pastor, a third tier pastor may be considered second in authority and status. The fourth tier of status and authority typically comprises of positions responsible for engaging particular groups of people (e.g. youth, senior adults) and are often part-time positions. The fifth ministerial tier of status and authority typically comprises of individuals who are responsible for particular ministries or groups, but are not given a ministerial title. These positions are typically subordinate to pastors or ministers of all levels. This group of church staff also includes positions that are typically "ministers in training" or ministerial support roles (e.g. ministry associates, ministry residents, ministry assistants). Finally, all non-ministerial positions are typically subordinate to most ministerial positions. Of the non-ministerial positions, also referred

to as administrative positions, the office manager or administrator and the finance director (e.g. accountant) typically have the most status and authority with secretaries and assistants having the least amount of authority and power. Please see Graph 1 on page 214 and Table 1 on page 215 for the sex composition of all pastoral and church staff positions.

These results both demonstrate overall job segregation between men and women and clearly illustrate a gendered hierarchy. As power, authority, and status decrease, the number of women increases, and vice versa. In other words, most of the women in the sample occupy subordinate roles and the vast majority of men occupy positions of leadership and authority. These findings parallel women's underrepresentation in senior pastor positions across other denominations nationally (National Congregations Study, 2012) as well as women's underrepresentation in leadership roles and overrepresentation in subordinate roles in other professions (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016). By this, I determine that from a structural standpoint the gendered division of labor of CBF-churches reinforces an inequitable division of labor on a national level.

Congregants' Gendered Expectations of Senior Pastors

As previously mentioned, in addition to conceptualizing occupations and jobs as gendered in terms of sex composition, jobs may also be gendered by symbolic significance, expectations, and tasks. In order to investigate how pastoral positions are gendered in this way, the congregational survey asked congregants about their ideal conceptualizations of pastors and church staff. This chapter focuses specifically on the top position of senior pastor (also referred to as lead pastor or head pastor).

To investigate congregants' gendered conceptualizations of the role of senior pastor, the congregational survey asked participants to list 2-3 qualities or traits they

associated with this position. Results showed that the vast majority of congregants listed feminized traits such as caring for people (e.g. empathetic, compassionate, kind, nurturing, loving, giving, understanding, patient). In fact, this category accounted for almost one fourth of all descriptors (24.2%, n=67). Secondly, congregants associated lead pastors with being intelligent, well-educated, and knowledgeable (11.6%). The next two categories were associated with morality (9.7%) and being relational or social (8.3%). The two categories typically associated with positions of authority (Leadership & Administration) accounted for about 13% of all descriptors. Please see Table 2 on page 216 for comprehensive findings.

The congregational survey asked participants to list 2-3 qualities or traits they *value most* in a senior pastor. These responses proved similar to those of the previous question. A little more than one fourth of descriptors referred to pastors' ability to care for people (25.9%). The second most reported category was 'Collaborator-Listener' (14.2%). This category referred to senior pastors' ability to work alongside and listen to congregants rather than authoritatively or unilaterally make decisions. The categories of 'Leadership' and 'Administration' made up 3.6% and 3.3% of reported qualities, respectively while 'Humility' constituted 4.3% of responses. Furthermore, congregants' expectations of senior pastors being available, accessible, and helpful to congregants accounted for 5.3% of responses. See Table 3 on page 217 for comprehensive findings. For good measure, congregational survey asked participants to list 2-3 *skills* they would look for in a senior pastor if they were serving on a pastoral hiring committee. Findings showed that over one third of skills reported pertained to caring for people, being

relational, being moral/ethical, or being available. See Table 4 on page 218 for more details.

Finally, congregants were asked to list 2-3 traits or qualities they valued *least* in senior pastors. The highest reported category pertained to being prideful or egotistical (26.2%). The second and third highest reported categories pertained to pastors acting authoritatively or dictatorially (13.9%) and not working collaboratively or listening to congregants (13.9%). Please see Table 5 on page 201 for comprehensive findings.

These findings demonstrate that congregants' expectations of lead pastors are similar to the expectations of feminized jobs (e.g. nursing, social work, child care). Additionally, congregants' least desirable qualities are most often characterized by masculinity (e.g. assertiveness, authoritative, confident). For this reason, congregants' feminized expectations of senior pastors fail to fit squarely in most studies on male-dominated professions that demonstrate how expectations of masculinity typically function as a barrier for women in that occupation thus resulting in the glass ceiling effect. Congregants' feminized expectations of senior pastors present an additional question: *If congregants maintain feminized expectations of lead pastor positions, then why are women significantly underrepresented in these positions?* The following section draws on interview data to begin addressing this question.

The Authority of Pastor

In the interviews, I asked congregants to describe each senior pastor that had served at their church since they became a member. Many of the congregants had been at their churches since their inceptions (sometimes for 20-30 years). Therefore, as they spoke about the qualities and leadership of past pastors, these narratives often intersected with historical shifts in the Southern Baptist Convention as well as the experience of

breaking away from the SBC and becoming affiliated with the CBF. Many of the congregants recalled friends and connections they lost as a result of the Fundamentalist Takeover and grieved the aggressive threat to the Baptist ideals of the *autonomy of the local church* and the *priesthood of the believer*, Baptist principles that sought to maintain the freedom and democratization of faith. In fact, congregants' pastoral expectations of collaboration and a non-authoritative leadership style were often stated in relation to the effects of the Fundamentalist Takeover. Most congregants expressed that they never wanted to be in a situation where the voices of the congregants were powerless and the pastor retained the power to lead the congregation in a direction that they felt uncomfortable or disagreed with. Furthermore, this pattern emerged regardless of the sex of the pastor. For instance, Glenn who served on the pastoral search committee at his church stated:

> Glenn: Yeh, we didn't want to go there again. We didn't want someone telling us what to do or what to believe. You know, we didn't want a dictator. You see Southern Baptists weren't always the way they are now. They weren't just conservative. They used to have all different types of people—conservatives, liberals, you name it! We just really just didn't want a pastor who dictates to us what we are supposed to believe. That's how we got here to begin with [breaking from the SBC]. We wanted to get away from that. A pastor should be able to lead all types of people.

Like many other congregants in the study, Glenn's reaction to the Fundamentalist Takeover influenced his understanding of the role of pastor and resulted in the desire for a pastor who was *not* authoritative or dictatorial but rather respected and complemented Baptists' democratic ideals. In this way, Glenn's conceptualization of the ideal pastor proved less masculinized than previous images of pastors. However, as illustrated by the last sentence, Glenn still expects senior pastors to lead congregants thus demonstrating a distinct difference in status between congregants and pastors. Here we see that pastors are

expected to *be* authority figures without acting authoritatively. This finding both supports and complicates survey findings.

The act of preaching is one way that pastors enact authority. When asked about preferred preaching styles, congregants' responses were often stated in comparison to the traditional authoritative Southern Baptist preaching styles. For instance, congregants of different congregations stated:

> Joel: Well, for me personally, it's someone who speaks to, appeals to my intellect as opposed to my fear of hellfire and brimstone. Since I was influential in the selection of our next pastor that's in my view [current pastor's] preaching style. Not someone who is shouting from the pulpit for dramatic effect or beating…[Sermons should be] researched, logical, connected thoughts, a message that makes sense in light of the biblical passage that is the focus of the message.
>
> Mary: What do I mean by good preaching? I can tell you we didn't want someone who had one way of preaching the Bible and expected us to believe that way too. I personally don't want over emotional preaching where pastors try to scare you into believing a certain way. I prefer sermons that make you think, are researched, that connect Scripture with today and aren't divisive.
>
> Hope: We always look for excellent preachers. [This church] has a lot of highly educated folks. [laughs] They have to be pretty intelligent preachers; well read. Pastoral but challenging, well-read, educated, and probably not evangelistic.

Consistent with survey findings, congregants disliked preaching styles that were authoritative and determined, therefore, preferring sermons that created room for varying perspectives. Additionally, congregants preferred sermons that were grounded in intellect and research rather than emotions, a preaching approach that had historically been used to ensue fear in congregants so that they would believe a particular way. These expectations were usually cited as reactions to fundamental understandings of Scripture that often proved to be uninformed by or not situated in the cultural, historical, political, and social context of biblical Scripture and excluded certain groups of people from leadership and full participation in the Christian faith. While the emotional realm is typically understood

as feminine, here we see that a shift from emotionalism is conflated with a shift away from authoritative and directive preaching, characteristics typically associated with masculinity. Furthermore a shift toward intellectualism and rationality, qualities typically understood as masculine, signals a shift toward the feminine qualities of inclusivity, collaboration, and passivity. It is through both demonstrating intellectual prowess *and* being pastoral (i.e. loving, inclusive, relational) that pastors meet the criteria of the ideal pastor as it relates to preaching and establish their authority. In this way, congregants' gendered expectations of pastors prove to be dynamic and complex.

Congregant interviews also revealed dynamic expectations pertaining to pastors' administrative skills. Pastors were equally expected to be *involved* and *strong leaders* as well as *hands-off administrators* who *did not micro-manage.* For instance, after having a senior pastor who congregants described as *soft as a leader, uninvolved,* and *weak administratively*, congregants searched for a more *take-charge* type pastor. However, congregants quickly discovered that this pastor was *too hands-on*:

> William: David [Current pastor] has done a lot more hands-on in administration [than the previous pastor], which interestingly I was on the transition committee. [Before hiring him] One of the things we did was a survey of the congregation, we said "Okay you had this kind of pastor for 35 years, what kind of pastor do you want?" We found out they didn't want somebody to stand up and tell us what to do. But they wanted somebody who is going to be a strong leader and be hands on and all this stuff. Well, they were blowing smoke. They failed at what they want because that's not what they wanted. But they got what they asked for.
>
> Interviewer: So what happened?
>
> William: Well if you lay David's credentials and his experience and what he had done in other churches alongside what we were asking for. It was a match. It's just when he got here and started acting on what he understood was his role and purpose and began making some changes. He started getting some push back because, "Well, we asked for this but that's not what we meant." We had been a congregation led church for so long….[For instance] he changed the worship service right away, which I would not. I would have backed into that. In fact, I said to him, "I think more of the ways to address that is to do more education first

> of what our options are and why we might choose to do this, or this, or this as against some other thing, rather than just changing." He has since backed off a bit.

Similarly Terry, a congregant from the same congregation, commented on the church's initial reaction to David's leadership:

> Terry: The one that does stick out for me is they said they wanted someone who was more hands-on, more outgoing, more socially comfortable, you know visiting with people in the hospital, visiting shut-ins, you know, pastoral. And David certainly is [comparatively]…But he [David] came into a congregation that was full of chiefs and not many indians. There was a certain amount of head-butting that occurred because David wanted to do certain things his way and other people who were entrenched in their positions were used to doing it a different way. That was the post-honeymoon period that I was not surprised that we went through. It just never seemed to die down…. It's taken a little longer, I think, for David to get used to us and for us to get used to David. David has toned down a little bit and the congregation has gotten much more used to him and his style. All of which is to say that now, I think David better understands our dynamic and the necessity for asking permission rather than asking for forgiveness. He almost always gets what he asks for, but it seems to be important to this congregation that he ask before something is done. [It needs to go through the committee process.]

Similar to the other congregations in the study, this congregation desired strong leadership partnered with congregational collaboration. In fact, it was only through collaboration that pastors could most effectively lead. This finding parallels congregants' expectations of pastors leading through their preaching but not dictating what congregants should believe. Congregant interviews presented analogous findings in other congregations as well. For instance, Elaine, a congregant at a different church and pastoral search committee member, recalled that one applicant failed to establish authority:

> Elaine: I thought--I was on that committee--that she was too gentle and kind. I think we would have beat her up. You got to be tough here. It's not deliberate, but it's such a group of strong-willed people that you have to [be able to stand firm].

Similarly, Alice a congregant at a different church remarked:

> Alice: I think that was one thing the search committee was really looking for was someone who could be senior pastor [be assertive] regardless of their age and regardless of their experience. This is not an easy staff to be senior pastor of

> because we have an associate pastor who's been here for 35 years or 30 years or whatever. Also, a lot of Baptist congregations serve a lot of different groups and different people who have different focuses on different things and different things matter to them and they all want their thing to matter the most.

These findings demonstrate congregants' dual expectations of pastors maintaining authority *and* congregants upholding a strong voice in organizational decisions and processes. Again, we see dual expectations of strong leadership *and* collaboration both with congregants and other church staff. This means that pastors are expected to lead and initiate change collaboratively while being able to stand firm in these decisions when some congregants disagree.

The distinct expectation of senior pastors being able to exhibit strong leadership separates them from congregants and other church staff; it is within this distinction that their authority resides. However, pastors' authority is predicated on an active and intentional relationship with congregants. For instance, associate pastor Ben describes the relationship between senior pastor Olivia's authority and accountability to congregants:

> Ben: I do not have to deal with conflicts, difficult personalities or that kind of thing. Olivia has to deal with petty personality differences as well as when people get really angry over theological, ideological, practical differences. I have to deal with plenty of non-glamorous stuff as well, but she as the [senior] pastor is the one who has to answer more directly to the congregation on all matters. I answer more directly to her.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think she has more authority or freedom than you do?
>
> Ben: I would say Olivia absolutely has more authority than me. She has less freedom though because she has more direct consequences of her actions because she is on the front line of receiving the negative feedback. When I say something prophetic or uncomfortable in a sermon, people who disagree can say "Oh, well he's the associate pastor so we don't have to hear from him again for a couple of months." When Olivia says something prophetic, it becomes more personal because her words, in a sense, represent each member who chooses to attend the church.
>
> Interviewer: So what does her having more authority look like or mean?

> Ben: Olivia has more authority because she is the senior pastor. While she fosters a more collaborative model where she genuinely values my opinion and the opinions of members, ultimately she makes the final decisions and deals with the positive and negative feedback that follows. From an institutional standpoint, the congregation has given her authority to make most decisions, although there are balances in place for the congregation to weigh in or have a majority vote for veto on big decisions. She is higher on the hierarchy than me. She is my boss and supervisor, whereas the church is her supervisor but also, she is the authority figure of the church. Everyone turns to her to lead and expects her to uphold that authority responsibly and with wisdom.

Similarly, Jane describes the differences between her role as associate pastor and Anna's role as senior pastor:

> Jane: I would say, I have more autonomy but she has more authority. She definitely has more authority in the congregation than I do… I think she as pastor speaks to and with the whole congregation and she carries the weight of that role, and the associate pastor has a lot more freedom.

Here we see that pastors' increase in authority and status signifies an increase in accountability to congregants and a decrease in autonomy. In this way, pastors' power (not necessarily authority) is constrained by congregants' expectations and undergoes constant negotiation. Furthermore, the process of accountability between pastors and congregants requires constant communication and interactions between congregants and pastors. It is within these interactional processes that pastors are expected to practice the idealized skills of listening, patience, being understanding, and working collaboratively *and* it is through effectively practicing these skills that pastors are able to establish and maintain their authority. Furthermore, it is through the effective embodiment of authority that the masculinized significance of the ideal pastor emerges.

In interviews, pastors were asked to describe how they balanced the dual expectations of maintaining authority and leading *as well as* being relational, collaborative, and inclusive. For instance, senior pastor Olivia recalled congregants'

reactions to a sermon she preached about race that pushed the bounds of the normative congregational discourse and how she negotiated these dual expectations:

> Olivia: It's not easy, but with-- the first time I preached a sermon on race here that was pretty bold, there were people waiting to talk to me, and so I had a couple of weeks there where I had some really difficult, sometimes painful, conversations. There was one church member that, we cried together and held hands at the end and prayed for each other and just left it, knowing we don't see this in the same way, but we really respect each other and we want to hear what the other has to say, and we want to stay in a relationship. So maybe we're not going to understand it today, but we value staying in a relationship more than we value being right and feeling right. I try to be respectful of everybody who's there, as long as I feel like, [laughs] it's worthy of respect. If you're being cruel, then I'm not going to respect your position of cruelty and I'm going to part ways with you. But even that I'm going to try to do it with grace, if you'll let me…. But it's part of it. These relationships have to happen so that I'm trusted to take them to uncomfortable places.

This quote is an illustrative example of the dynamic skills often required and expected of a pastor. Here, Olivia meets congregants' expectations of empathy, patience, and relationality as she interacts with congregants who disagreed or felt uncomfortable with her sermon on racial issues. However, she does not recant her position or let congregants "push her around." It is both through establishing caring relationships and building trust with congregants *and* standing her ground that Olivia's authority is established and reinforced. In this way, the feminized qualities that were most reported by congregants (e.g. being relational, compassionate, accessible, collaborative) partially serve as the vehicle by which pastors establish and maintain their authority within their congregations.

Similarly, when associated pastor, Ben, wants to lead the congregation through a perhaps uncomfortable change, he takes a relational and methodical approach:

> Ben: I would say, if I'm wanting to change something on the committee level, it's really preparing people so that when you share this big change, or this new book, or a big set of information that may or may not be well received, doing it in little bits and preparing them over time. If I wanted to invite the church as part of following the ways of Jesus to participate in Black Lives Matter protest, I might plan six months or a year out even, because, in my time as a minister I've realized

> that things usually move way slower, than maybe, I would like-- but, I think that's part of walking alongside people.
>
> I would maybe mention Black Lives Matter in a sermon just briefly, or maybe mention it in a business meeting where I talk about how I heard a talk about Black Lives Matter--to just get them to thinking about it. Then, maybe, having a Wednesday Night Program that talked about race and starting to draw parallels between the civil rights movements in the '50s and '60s in connection to where we are now. At some point, I would have to preach a sermon that became more open about my beliefs and that would be the one. Eventually, you're going to have to do something that might get a lot of pushback and hopefully, you have spent enough time having individual conversations with people and what you have done up until that point lessens that pushback or at least creates a little more open-mindedness and space for discussion. After doing some of that preparation, then invite people into maybe a protest or being more actively involved in Black Lives Matter. For example, you're ultimately not going to get everyone to agree with you and that is just anytime in you're in an organization, you're not going to typically have complete agreement. But as a pastor, it's also my responsibility to lead.

Like Olivia, Ben exhibits care for people and consideration for varying perspectives as he establishes his authority in his particular role as associate pastor tasked with community outreach and engaging social justice issues. Additionally, Ben demonstrates a methodical plan for cultivating an atmosphere of openness and inclusivity and for helping people become more informed in ways that are as unthreatening as possible. In this way, Ben establishes his authority by casting a vision for the congregation and leading them toward this vision while caring for and communicating with congregants who may feel uncomfortable along the way.

Many congregants described this relationship between pastors and congregants by using the metaphor of a shepherd leading his sheep. The shepherd must establish the trust of his sheep, tend to them, and ensure that none have been left behind, however, the shepherd ultimately leads the sheep and is, therefore, most often distinctly different from the sheep in relation to status and authority. The metaphor is limited because sheep do not

have a valued and organized voice in the same way that congregants in Baptist churches do and shepherds were historically men. However, this metaphor remains helpful in conceptualizing the way in which pastors utilize feminine qualities to lead and establish their positions of authority. So while congregants expect pastors to exhibit feminine attributes like empathy, compassion, relationality, collaboration, and inclusion, the role of pastor remains conflated with authority and leadership and, therefore, is masculinized in this way.

The Stained Glass Ceiling?

While the partnership of quantitative and qualitative data provides a more nuanced understanding of congregants' expectations of senior pastors, these findings remain in an uncertain relationship with existing research on the glass ceiling. First, these findings fail to demonstrate a traditional hierarchical structure that culminates with senior pastors occupying the top position *and* maintaining the most power. Although senior pastors typically have ultimate power over other church staff, democratic organizational processes and congregants' expectations constrain pastors' ultimate power over organizational processes and goals. Secondly, although pastoral positions have historically and are currently predominately occupied by men, these jobs are primarily characterized in terms of femininity. The combination of these findings proves different from other research on the glass ceiling effect within male-dominated professions where masculinized attributes are often most valued.

In fact, men's overrepresentation in senior pastor positions seems to closely parallel the glass escalator effect, which disproportionately pushes men to top authority positions in feminized professions (Williams 1995). However, the vocational ministry

also proves different than other feminized professions because *all* pastoral roles, with the exception of children's pastor, have historically and are currently predominantly occupied by men. Furthermore, congregational survey results show that with the exception of the most feminized pastoral position of children's minister, congregants associate all pastoral positions with varying levels of authority and leadership. Therefore, different from other feminized professions, the vocational ministry as a whole is conflated with authority and authority is conflated with masculinity. Finally, feminized professions are typically intrinsically linked with processes of deskilling and de-professionalization and, therefore, devalued in comparison to masculinized professions. In contrast, the role of pastor proves to be highly revered and valued by congregants as evident by their expectations of pastoral authority and leadership. For these reasons, the glass escalator effect proves limited in its explanatory power in the context of CBF-affiliated congregations.

Congregants' conceptualizations of the ideal pastor are best understood in relation to a small body of research that examines a similar shift in patients' conceptualizations of the ideal doctor (Lupton 1997, Jones and Green 2006, Riska 2008). Similar to congregants' conceptual shift from authoritative and omnipotent senior pastors often characteristic of the Southern Baptist Convention, relatively recent studies illustrate that in response to a medical profession that has become increasingly clinical, medically negligent, and *not* patient-centered, patients' conceptualizations of the "ideal doctor" have become increasingly more feminized. Whereas historically patients commonly understood doctors as *god-like, omnipotent* medical authorities (Lupton 1997), more recently patients often describe the ideal professional behavior of doctors as being "able

to draw patients out, to listen to their concerns and to translate medical jargon into terms that patients can easily understand" (Lupton 1997: 488). Additionally, patients characterize good doctors as good communicators, empathetic, understanding of patients' needs and perspectives, genuinely interested in people and their welfare, and able to cultivate collaborative relationships with patients.

In fact, patients describe "bad doctors" as dishonest, failing to listen carefully, "being in it for the money", not establishing rapport, and one who "preaches to patients and has a prepared routine that they are forever giving to this patient and that patient" (Lupton 1997: 489). One doctor noted, "I think people don't see the doctor as the god, I don't think as much now, and they are prepared to challenge and question. And I think that is really healthy and I think doctors are having to answer to that and be less patronising and less domineering and less powerful" (486). In this way, gendered conceptualizations of the ideal doctor have shifted toward femininity.

However, it is important to note that unlike in other professions where feminization results in a subsequent actual or perceived deskilling or de-professionalization of that occupation (e.g. Irvine et al. 2013), Lupton (1997) argues that the feminization of the medical field should be understood as "re-professionalization" rather the "de-professionalization." In other words, this feminized shift in the medical field demonstrates that "doctors may have been removed from their pedestals to some extent, but they still find that at the individual, interpersonal level patients often want and expect them to retain an air of authority and formality" (485) and patients still expect doctors to effectively demonstrate their scientific knowledge and expertise. Furthermore, research fails to effectively illustrate that doctors' status and authority have significantly

diminished (Freidson 1993; Light 1993; Lupton 1997). In fact, some research shows that despite this feminized shift, medical practitioners still received the highest ranking of all other occupations in terms of social status and public esteem (Willis 1993). In this way, idealized conceptions of pastors and doctors serve as atypical cases by which the integration of feminized skills into the profession does not result in a subsequent devaluation of these positions overall, but rather contributes to pastors' and doctors' ability to establish their authority and status as professionals within these particular contexts.

Additionally, the relatively recent power dynamic between doctors and patients closely parallels the established power dynamic between pastors and congregants within CBF-affiliated churches. Movement toward a person-centered medical practice, patients' ability to more easily access medical information independently, and the medical field's shift to a consumer-based occupation has resulted in patients desiring more power and having more power than they have had historically. Lupton (1997) further explains this negotiation of power between doctors and patients:

> As the present study suggests, doctors are highly aware that their patients' trust is now no longer necessarily won by virtue of their occupying the role of 'Doctor', but must be earned and worked at continually. It is rather too simplistic, thus, to argue that patients and doctors have contradictory interests or are engaged in a struggle over who may hold the most power. Changes in the medical encounter and the status of doctors are not just a matter of the state, patients, or other groups 'gaining' or 'taking' more power from doctors, or vice versa, but involve a series of dynamic and interpersonal negotiations of power centred on the ethic of professional practice (493).

Similar to the relationship between doctors and patients, pastors must listen to congregants, be in caring relationships with congregants, and effectively value the differing perspectives of congregants *while* engaging in constant negotiations of power with congregants. Pastors' ability to effectively demonstrate this dynamic skillset proves

intrinsically linked to the amount of authority pastors are able to establish within these congregations. Further, pastors' ability to effectively establish authority in this way increases trust between pastors and congregants and positively influences pastors' ability to lead thus reinforcing their authority as pastors. Here, we see that congregants' expectations of pastors engaging in skills that are commonly understood as feminine fail to result in the "de-skilling" of the vocational ministry, but rather result in the "re-skilling" of pastoral positions. In this way, feminized skills valuably contribute to the overall authority of pastors and strengthen their ability to lead rather than weaken it. I refer to this pattern as the revaluation of femininity.

However, despite the demonstrated value of feminized skills in establishing the authority of pastors, the ultimate significance of the senior pastor position lies in the symbolic and actual authority of the position itself. For instance, despite the incorporation of feminized skills and responsibilities into the position of doctor, women still only make up 34 percent of all physicians in the United States and make 70.9 percent of what male doctors earn (U.S. Census Bureau 2014). This statistic suggests and empirical research demonstrates that images of the ideal doctor remain intertwined with the male body (e.g. Davies 2003) thus resulting in women's underrepresentation in this field and a wage gap. Furthermore, the authority and status conflated with the role of doctor remains largely understood in terms of masculinity thus creating challenges for women in establishing their authority as doctors (e.g. Davies 2003).

Similarly, women's underrepresentation in pastoral positions overall and CBF-affiliated churches specifically suggests that with the exception of children's pastor, pastoral positions as positions of authority remain conflated with maleness despite

expectations of feminized attributes and tasks. Furthermore, empirical research demonstrates a close relationship between the role of pastor and assumptions of masculinity (Frame and Shehan 2004, 2005; Bagihole 2006; Mansville 1997).

I argue further that different from patients' interactions with doctors, which are typically confined to the medical office or hospital, congregants' established expectations of *accessibility* and *relationality* extend well beyond pastors' office hours as well as official church events and activities. This results in the often taken-for-granted congregational expectation that pastors refer to as *always having to be on.* I observed that in addition to embodying the role of pastor within the intimate spaces and moments of congregants' lives such as weddings, funerals, and hospital visits for illnesses and births, pastors *and* their families were expected to take part in the informal community of the church.

On any given week, pastors may engage unofficial congregational gatherings like pool parties, birthday parties, soccer games, boy scout ceremonies, holiday gatherings, girl scout fundraisers and informal social gatherings where congregants and pastors eat together, drink alcoholic beverages together, watch football together, and play games together. Their kids may play together and their spouses may socialize together. In fact, for many pastors the church community *was* their social community. During these social gatherings, I observed that most of the time pastors interacted as equals with their fellow congregants, but usually spontaneous and fleeting moments emerged that distinguished the pastors from congregants (e.g. pastors being asked to pray over meals, congregants taking back a curse word that slipped in front of the pastor). Therefore, the gendered ways pastors move in and out of various other roles such as *spouse*, *parent*, *friend*, or

coach are constantly on display and intersect with their *ever-present* role of pastor in ways that potentially reinforce or undermine their perceived authority as pastors. The constant negotiation of power between pastors and congregants is intensified by the unique accessibility of pastors thus presenting arguably more opportunities than any other occupation for their established authority to be compromised by how they embody gender, particularly femininity, in other roles and contexts. Therefore, pastors' are not only in constant negotiations of power with congregants, but are constantly negotiating the ways they embody gender in other parts of life to avoid undermining their authority as pastors. This expectation is particularly relevant to women pastors as they potentially engage feminized roles like mothering, which typically is not associated with authority.

Given the established relationship between senior pastors and authority, I argue that pastor positions are ultimately masculinized; therefore, the stained glass ceiling effect offers some explanation for the underrepresentation of women in top leadership positions in the church. I also argue that the stained glass ceiling proves to be a limited theoretical framework for conceptualizing women's underrepresentation in these positions because it suggests that women no longer face gendered barriers once they are hired as pastors. The following chapters contribute to and build on the small body of literature examining the persistence of the stained glass ceiling by illustrating how and why masculinized congregational (organizational) processes present barriers to women's attainment of pastoral positions and challenges to women's ability to effectively establish and/or maintain their authority as pastors. Additionally, the following chapters demonstrate how gendered patterns external to official congregational processes contribute to challenges faced by women pastors in the context of their congregations.

Chapter 4: Gender Structure & Women Pastors' Professional Paths

This chapter provides a historical overview of theoretical conceptualizations of gender and explores the ways men's and women's pastoral identities develop differently and unequally as a consequence of the normative gender structure within Baptist culture. Specifically, this chapter illustrates ways in which pastors' experiences prior to being on the job market impact their path toward pastoral positions, particularly senior pastor positions, in ways that contribute to inequitable outcomes for women seminary graduates. Furthermore, this chapter shows how conservative interpretations of Scripture and the lack of women pastor role models in Baptist life produces internalized emotional, intellectual, and moral conflict in relation to women's ministerial callings. In particular, it illustrates how these inner conflicts, which are instilled at early ages, contribute to the deferred development of women's pastoral identities and their indirect paths to pastoral positions.

Conceptualizations of Gender Difference & Inequality

Essentialism

At the emergence of sociological and psychological research on gender and sex, researchers argued that essential differences existed between men and women. Medical doctors with expertise in the production and regulations of hormones initially believed that the embodiment of masculinity and femininity was resultant of sex hormones (Lillie, 1939). As this vein of study progressed, however, it became apparent that there was evidence of the presence of estrogen and testosterone in both sexes, therefore, sex hormones failed to effectively distinguish between males and females (Evans 1939; Frank 1929; Laqueur et al. 1927; Parkes 1938; Siebke 1931). Later Young et al. (1965)

showed that the brain was connected to reproductive functions. Through this study as well as other similar studies, sexual differentiation, sexual orientation and gendered behavior has been understood as a result of differences in the brain (Phoenix et al., 1959). Recently, there has been a resurgence of medical research that supports the notion that sex differences can be traced to the brain (Arnold & Gorski 1984; Brizendine 2006; Cahill 2003; Collaer & Hines 1995; Cooke et al. 1998; Holterhus et al. 2009; Lippa 2005), and therefore, many studies argue that brains function as the connection between gendered behavior and sex hormones. This research practice focuses very little if at all on inequality between men and women.

Even a casual observer may note that there is often overlap in the personalities and behaviors of men and women. The assumption of essential biological differences between men and women fails to address why some women often act more rationally than some men and other women, or why some men are more nurturing than some women and other men. For these reasons, sociologists have studied how the interaction between sex differences and cultural experiences exacerbate, reduce, or eliminate sex differences with reproductive capabilities notwithstanding.

Furthermore, several studies have put forth critiques of medical research pertaining to sex differences (Epstein 1996; Fausto-Sterling 2000; Jordan-Young 2010; Oudshoorn 1994; Risman & Davis 2013). For instance, Jordan-Young (2010) applied a synthetic analysis of more than 300 brain sex research studies and also interviewed scientists who conducted these studies. Jordan-Young concluded that brain organization research fails to pass the basic indicative test for scientific research. Specifically, by and large these studies rely on inconsistent understandings of sex, gender, and/or hormones

and are methodologically flawed in that they rarely produce consistent findings across studies thus resulting in major deficiencies pertaining to explanatory power. Furthermore, the majority of this type of sex difference research persists through animal research or quasi-experimental data with assumed transferability to human beings.

Finally, in an analysis of MRIs of 1,400 human brains from four distinct datasets Joel et al. (2015) "reveals extensive overlap between the distributions of females and males for all gray matter, white matter, and connections assessed." This study concludes that no matter the reason for differences between males and females (nurture or nature), human brains cannot be classified into two different categories, male brains and female brains. Despite the inconsistent medical research which both suggests distinct binaries between men and women's brains *and* no distinct differences between brains on the basis of sex, these assumed essential differences between men and women function as the dominant narrative and serve as the foundation for structural gender inequality.

Socialization

Studies of the last forty years implicitly or explicitly demonstrate that men and women behave differently because girls and boys are socialized to be different human beings. Chodorow (1978, 1989, 1999) applies a psychoanalytic lens to demonstrate how gendered personalities begin developing within the mother to infant relationship, particularly in the pre-oedipal period. This research shows that women, who are almost universally responsible for the majority of child rearing, relate to their boy and girl infants differently. Chodorow observed that often mothers coalesce identities with their daughters and relate to their sons as distinct and separate individuals. Therefore, boys develop identities grounded in independence and autonomy while girls' identities are

realized through connectedness and in relation to others (e.g. mother, husband, children).

Other studies show that children with a same sex primary caregiver develop an ability to nurture. Because mothers are often the primary caregiver, girls develop the ability to nurture while this ability is unlikely to develop in boys because their same-sex parent is typically minimally involved in their care (Risman 1998). Given this pattern, girls are less likely than boys to create autonomous self-identities because they are more emotionally connected to their primary care-givers (mothers). Boys, on the other hand, repress the intimacy with their mothers and individuate more successfully. Although this often results in men's intimacy issues, it also contributes to men's increased ability to develop autonomous self-identities. As a result, "we get nurturant women and independent men in a society dominated by men and which values independence," particularly within the context of labor and leadership (Risman 1998: 15).

Some research demonstrates gender socialization through the family and pre-school curriculum (e.g. Martin 1998; Stockard 2006; Kane 2012). For instance, boys are dressed in clothes that allow for rough and active play while girls are often clothed in dresses or delicate fabrics fit for sitting still or being small, disciplined, and 'lady-like.' Boys are registered for sports, which offers opportunities to build leadership skills and make independent decisions on the court or field while girls are typically enrolled in ballet classes that follow rigid choreography, rarely promoting free thinking. Moreover, boys are given bats and balls for birthdays while girls, even as babies themselves, are given baby dolls to care for and play kitchen (Powlishta et al., 2001).

Relatedly, reinforcement theory (e.g. Bandura and Walters 1963; Mischel 1966; Weitzmen 1979) suggests that girls develop nurturing qualities because they are affirmed

for their interest in babies and dolls while boys develop competitive identities because they are praised for winning, whether it be in cards or soccer. While more recently girls have been given more opportunities to participate in traditionally boys' activities like sports and are given a wider range of toys, boys are still typically given masculine toys and enrolled in masculine activities thus demonstrating that masculine activities have become more acceptable for girls but not vice versa and points to a hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity (Kane 2012). These patterns not only shape children's personalities but influence psychological development as well as individual abilities and desires thus creating a cyclical re-affirming process (see Thomas and French 1985; Butterfield and Loovis 1993; Plimpton and Regimbal 1992; Smoll and Schutz 1990; Martin 1998).

These individualist theories argue that by adulthood the majority of men and women have developed largely different personalities. Men have become independent, competitive, and work-oriented while women have become nurturing, relational, and child-centered. Psychological insights related to parenting and childhood socialization offer a partial explanation for understanding gender differences, however, more recent research suggests that gendered personality development and socialization are limited in their explanatory power related to gender differences and inequality.

One issue with explanations of socialization assumes the continuity of behaviors and gendered personalities throughout the entire life course, an assumption that has been challenged by researchers (Risman 1987; Gerson 1993). For instance, socialization theories fail to explain why women become more career-oriented after the children go to school. The second major issue concerning the internalization of masculinity and

femininity is that an individual may in some contexts display qualities of femininity (e.g. passivity, subordination) and embody qualities of masculinity (e.g. assertiveness, dominance) within other contexts. For instance, research shows that men can be nurturing and domestic when there is not a woman to fill those roles and that women may be assertive at work but not at home (see Risman 1987; 1999). Third, the explanations fail to show why, for example, some women embody forms of masculinity more often than other women or even some men and vice versa. Finally, these individualist approaches fail to consider the impact of interactions on the construction of our gendered selves.

While socialization theories prove less rigid than biological conclusions of essential differences between sexes, the absolute argument that dominant gender norms ultimately socialize men and women to develop distinctly different personalities contributes to structural gender inequality. For example, if decision-makers in CBF-affiliated congregations value gender equality but understand men as socialized to be rational, strong leaders and women to be passive and indecisive, then there is a higher likelihood that congregants will prefer men for the masculinized role of pastor. The assumption of difference, whether understood as socialized or biological, creates a barrier between women and pastoral positions thus ultimately resulting in outcomes of gender inequality despite goals of gender equality. (The gendered assumptions of congregants will be explored in Chapter 5).

Doing Gender

By the end of the 20th century, gender scholarship built upon and offered an alternative to socialization theories by illustrating that gender is something we do rather than something we are (West and Zimmerman 1987). For this reason, "the question of

whether sex differences exist has evolved into the more demanding question of why the sexes differ considerably at some times and at other times differ moderately, minimally, or not at all" (Eagly et al. 1991: 13). Here we understand gender as fluid presentations and behaviors of individuals rather than the essential natures of individuals. In their groundbreaking work, "Doing Gender," West and Zimmerman (1987) show that gender is "a routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment" embedded in everyday interactions (126).

"Doing gender" involves a multifaceted system of interactional and micro political activities that categorize particular behaviors as expressions of masculine or feminine "natures." Viewing gender as an accomplishment or "an achieved property of situated conduct" shifts the focus from internal processes of the individual to the interactional and institutional spheres. In other words, "Rather than as a property of individuals, we conceive of gender as an emergent feature of social situations: both as an outcome of and a rationale for various social arrangements and as a means of legitimating one of the most fundamental divisions of society" (126). In this way, gender is created through and structures interactions. Individuals either reinforce dominant gendered expectations (expectations of femininity or masculinity) or resist these expectations while interacting with each other. Either way, gender is always present. Further, understanding gender as something we do rather than something we are offers explanation as to why some people are, for example, highly masculine in some situations and highly feminine in others. "Doing gender" helps us understand that gender is something we move in and out of rather than something we are.

Key to understanding "doing gender" or more precisely "doing difference" (West

& Fenstermaker 1995) is the assumption that within interactions one typically "does dominance" and one "does deference" (e.g. traditional courting rituals). Therefore, these recurring acts demonstrate *constructed* differences between masculinity and femininity as well as a complementary relationship between masculinity and femininity (e.g. dominant/subordinate, assertive/passive, rational/emotional, independent/dependent, pursuing subject/pursued object, directing/listening (Butler 1990) with masculinity characterized by behaviors most valued by society, particularly in relation to work and leadership, and femininity characterized by behaviors least valued or undervalued. In this way, doing gender as influenced by dominant expectations of masculinity and femininity also establishes a gendered hierarchy on the interactional level.

The ease of interactions depends on these gendered scripts and shapes expectations around how men and women are *supposed to* behave and interact with each other. In other words, once individuals are assigned to one of the constructed sex categories, they are held morally accountable for presenting as and behaving like others in that sex category (i.e. males should behave in a masculine manner; women should behave in a feminine manner). Although dominant expectations of gendered behaviors often influence how individuals "do gender," the theoretical assertion that gender is something we do, along with empirical studies that corroborate this assertion, challenges assumptions that gender is a fixed quality of individuals and begins to dismantle the "naturalized" hierarchical relationship between men and women, particularly on the interactional level. Then gender, as something we do, is defined as the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category (i.e. constructed category determined by biological

criteria).

Gender as a Social Structure

Risman (1998) synthesizes individualist, interactional, and structural conceptualizations of gender by demonstrating that gender is present at every level of analysis (i.e. the individual, interactional, and institutional). Specifically, Risman conceptualizes gender as an omnipresent, recurring, and interactive process on the individual, interactional, organizational, cultural, and institutional levels (Risman 2004; Schippers 2007). That is, "Gender is deeply embedded as a basis for stratification not just in our personalities, our cultural rules, or institutions, but in all of these, and in complicated ways" (Risman & Davis 2013: 744). Foundational to gender structure, individuals' assigned sex category is expected to align with their associated gender. This means that males should be masculine and engage in activities socially understood as masculine and females should be feminine and involved in activities that are socially understood as feminine (Connell 1995; Schippers 2007).

Specifically, gender structure distinguishes opportunities and constraints based on sex category with consequences in three different interactive dimensions. First, gender structure contributes to individuals' development of gendered selves, therefore, acknowledging the influence of socialization particularly in early childhood development. For example, this level includes how we dress and act, the development of our personalities, professional aspirations, the extent to which we internalize social mores, and how we view ourselves. Secondly, gender structure encompasses the interactional level or "doing gender." For instance, men and women experience different social expectations when interacting with each other, even when they occupy identical structural

positions (e.g. identical job positions). Third, gender structure includes the institutional level, which refers to gendered cultural norms, social mores, belief systems, and regulations related to resource distribution and discriminatory policies. It also includes the ways gender is patterned throughout families, organizations, and other structural entities. Most importantly, gender structure operates as a basis for the constructed complementary and hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity, which ensures masculinity's dominance over femininity and stratifying outcomes between men and women on all levels (Schippers 2007).

The conceptualization of gender as a "structure" assumes a dualism between idealized gendered expectations and systems acting as a constraint *and* individuals functioning as agentic actors. Risman (2004) suggests that understanding structure strictly as a constraint limits our understanding as to how and why actors choose one option over another. For instance, men and women both are socially coerced into different social roles *and* make their own gendered choices. Therefore, individuals rationally and purposefully make decisions that maximize their perceived well-being while also being constrained by expectations of the gendered social structure. By this, gender structure is omnipresent and encompasses the individual, interactional, organizational, cultural and institutional as dynamic interactive processes.

Risman's conceptualization of gender structure pervades all levels of society thus elevating gender to the same plane as economics or politics. Therefore, gender is understood as always active and relevant whether gendered process are reinforcing the dominant gender structure or disrupting (resisting) it. For instance, a work organization that offers paid family leave disrupts the normative gender structure in the U.S., which

conceptualizes the ideal worker as having little to no relationship with procreation and childcare responsibilities (Acker 1990). Moreover, men and women who negatively judge other women for working full-time and choosing to not have children reinforce normative gender structure. Similarly, women who do not choose to have children disrupt normative gender structure as well. Also, the guilt women may experience for not having children is at least partially a result of normative gender structure as well. In this way, individuals maintain a dynamic relationship with gender. Individuals have agency to make their own gendered choices consciously, yet they are unconsciously constrained by the dominant gender structure.

The omnipresent component of gender structure means that men and women will inevitably engage with or be impacted by gender structure. For instance, a woman who proves to be assertive and strong, characteristics typically understood as masculine and valued in professionalism, may have more success professionally but will still inevitably be impacted by gender structure. For instance, she may be discouraged to pursue a masculinized field like engineering, marry someone who expects her to be the primary childcare giver, face discriminatory attitudes and hiring practices, be offered fewer resources and promotions, or experience the established wage gap. Women maintain agency to make their own decisions, however, dominant gender structure inevitably influences and/or constrains these decisions. In other words, women may perhaps effectively enter masculinized occupations or excel past the glass ceiling but will face more barriers and feminine expectations than men. For this reason, the glass ceiling has been re-conceptualized as an occupational labyrinth (Eagly and Carli 2007). Moreover, I argue that gendered barriers faced by women pastors are best conceptualized as the

stained glass labyrinth rather than the *stained glass ceiling*.

The gendered division of labor and the established wage gap on a national level is a key component of normative gender structure particularly in the U.S. Burt (1982) argues that actors compare themselves and their options to those in structurally comparable positions. Risman (2004) further demonstrates that "as long as women and men see themselves as different kinds of people, then women will be unlikely to compare their life options to those of men…the social structure is not experienced as oppressive if men and women do not see themselves as similarly situated" (432). In western societies, idealized images of authority and power are often conflated with images of straight white men. In societies like these, it remains difficult to imagine that anyone who fails to fit this mold is capable of such leadership. In fact, research shows that the presence of women role models is vital to the development of women's identities as professionals and leaders as well as the re-conceptualization of idealized images of leadership (e.g. Rosenthal et al. 2013; Sealy & Singh 2006). Therefore, images of women in masculinized positions and occupations influence the internalized gendered identities of girls and other women perhaps resulting in the movement of more women into these professional positions. This cyclical process then disrupts normative gender structure on the individual and institutional levels.

In conclusion, Risman argues that the constructed differences as well as the complementary and hierarchical relationship between genders are patterned throughout all levels of society (i.e. individual, interactional, organizational, cultural, institutional). Consequently, Acker's (1990) conceptualization of gendered organizations functions as both a result of gender structure and a microcosm or substructure of gender structure

through Acker's five interactive gendered organizational processes (i.e. construction of individual identities, interactions, symbols and images, organizational logic, division of labor). Therefore, organizational processes may reinforce or disrupt normative gender structure on a societal level. The following sections illustrate the gendered processes of the Southern Baptist Convention and how these processes influence the development of pastoral identities in ways that result in inequitable outcomes for pastors affiliated with the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship.

Gendered Consequences of the SBC

Given the Southern Baptist Convention's official organizational policy barring the leadership of women, little sociological analysis is required to determine why women are not represented in pastoral positions within this denomination. However, there are approximately 46,800 SBC congregations in the U.S. and only about 800 Baptist congregations affiliated with the CBF and/or the Alliance of Baptists. This means that Baptist folks living in the southern United States are significantly more likely to be raised in or attend Southern Baptist churches. Furthermore, given the timing of the Conservative Takeover and the subsequent emergence of more moderate-liberal Baptist denominations and congregations in the early 1990s, the vast majority of pastors, church staff, and congregants in this study were raised in a Southern Baptist congregation during the Conservative Takeover.

From a very early age, those raised in Southern Baptist cultures typically observed women in congregational support and subordinate roles and men in positions of authority and leadership. As a consequence, women rarely, if ever, had women role models serving in pastoral positions, especially senior pastor positions. While the

likelihood of girls and women having role models in most professions like politics, law, medicine, science, engineering, and religious leadership positions overall proves low as well (U.S. Census Bureau 2016), women's lack of role models in Baptist life is acute because the SBC, the largest Baptist denomination and largest Protestant denomination in the U.S., adheres to a conservative theological perspective and official policy barring women's leadership.

Not only did many women pastors in this study never experience women pastors as role models, they were taught to believe that it was morally wrong for women to serve as pastors and, therefore, their callings to the vocational ministry were sinful or at the very least "not an option" and not entertained. Consequently, despite many women's equal involvement in church activities as children and youth, they were rarely encouraged to pursue the vocational ministry or granted opportunities for embracing and cultivating their callings as ministers, not to mention as senior pastors, until many years after their male counterparts. For instance, Allie, an associate pastor, recalled her consistent involvement in church as a youth:

> Allie: Growing up I went to a Southern Baptist Church. I was extraordinarily involved in my youth group. In a typical week, of course, I was there Sunday morning for Sunday school and for worship. I was there for Sunday night training union. Sunday afternoon, I had girls' ensemble rehearsal and youth choir rehearsal. I would come to church on Monday afternoons for discipleship group. I would come on Tuesdays for youth hand bells. Be there Wednesday for youth group. If I could find an excuse to come on Thursday, I would do that too. I would just show up and volunteer, what can I do to help? I would, you know, I have vacuumed sanctuaries, I have swept stairwells. I just loved being there. Yet it never entered my mind that I might be called to ministry. And I look back on that and I think, you know, why did my youth minister or other people, who observed me closely--why didn't they see that? Why didn't they call it out? Because it's so clear to me now, looking back. But, you know, it was just that my whole identity was wrapped up in my involvement in the church… But again, it didn't enter my mind that it might be [a vocational call].

Most women pastors shared similar experiences as Allie. As children and youth, many were very involved in their churches and youth groups. Some were even given opportunities to hold youth leadership positions and lead Bible studies in high school in equal ways as their male counterparts. However, unlike men who were often affirmed by leaders in the church, engaged images of male pastors, and were given opportunities to preach at earlier ages, women rarely experienced affirmation and encouragement in terms of their vocational ministerial callings and were rarely given opportunities to preach, which is one of the most desired accomplished skills of Baptists. Allie said that despite her intense involvement in church activities, "It never entered my mind that I might be called to ministry." As a current pastor who ministers to youth, Allie asked, "Why did my youth minister or other people, who observed me closely—why didn't they see that? Why didn't they call it out? Because it's so clear to me now, looking back."

Despite the fact that Allie's identity was intensely connected to the life of the church, congregational beliefs about women in the church and the lack of women pastor role models constrained Allie's ability to consider becoming a pastor as a possibility. Therefore, she was unable to begin developing her pastoral identity during her teenage years. In contrast, many men pastors, especially those whose fathers were pastors, communicated that they often tried to *escape* their families' expectations of them becoming pastors. Therefore, men's callings to the ministry were often explicitly encouraged or implicitly affirmed through images of other male pastors from a very early age.

After high school, Allie attended college, graduated with a degree in business, and was married soon after. She and her husband then returned to her home church:

> Allie: [After graduating college and getting married] When we came back, we went back to the same church that I had been a teenager and jumped right back in and teaching-- my husband and I were teaching preschoolers in Sunday school, I was working with children's choir, I was singing the adult choir, I was even working a few hours a week officially for the church, for the minister of music. I was teaching in parents' day out. I was involved in W.M.U. [Woman's Missionary Union] and all of it. Still, it is not on, you know, my way of [unintelligible] at all.
>
> Then we changed churches. We started going downtown to [First Baptist] when our son was almost four, I guess and we were there for 15 years. And it was at First Baptist where there were some women in the church who immediately-- Some older women who latched on to me and began to call out my gifts. Began to verbally affirm what they were seeing in me.
>
> Within a week of having joined that church, I found myself in a car with three senior adult women being driven to Birmingham to W.M.U (Woman's Missionary Union).Very quickly they gave me an opportunity at the church to help lead. And then I began to have opportunities with W.M.U. in our association and state to lead sessions-- that's when I started writing for WMU. I really owe a debt to those women.

Women in Allie's congregation began to "call out" and "verbally affirm" her gifts for the first time in her life. Allie explained, "Women [immediately] latched on to me and began to call out my gifts. Began to verbally affirm what they were seeing in me." They also introduced her to the Woman's Missionary Union (WMU), which is an auxiliary organization of the Southern Baptist Convention committed to providing a comprehensive approach to awareness and participation in missions and gave her opportunities to lead… Although WMU remained an organization constrained by Southern Baptist values, policies, and theology, these opportunities initiated the development of Allie's ministerial and leadership skills. Therefore, women's authority was confined to the processes of the WMU and the WMU's authority held little value relative to other SBC entities and leadership positions, which were almost always held by men. Although Allie was developing as a leader, the role of pastor in SBC congregations remained exclusively male; therefore, the idea of becoming a pastor still never occurred

to Allie and was never encouraged.

Nevertheless, Allie received affirmation through her experiences in the WMU in ways that she had never received in her previous church. Through the interactions with those who affirmed her giftedness, Allie began to realize her leadership qualities as well:

> Allie: Anyway, I began to have more a sense of my giftedness. I remember going to a young women's church retreat in Gatlinburg. They had a break out session called, "Unwrapping Your Spiritual Gifts." I went and took an inventory and I remember being genuinely astonished that I had spiritual gifts. That was like I'd always heard of spiritual gifts. But the fact that I had them and that on my inventory I was kind of looking at other people's scores, and I was off the charts on some things.
>
> And then there was another conference that we went to that was here locally and there was a session on leadership and there was a leadership inventory we took. And you would chart these different things and plot them on a graph. I was kind of looking at other people's stuff and they had these, you know, little shapes and I had this huge triangle-
> And I thought, "Oh my gosh. There's- there's something untapped there".

Despite all of her experience in church work, Allie said she was "genuinely astonished" that she had spiritual gifts. She knew of others with spiritual gifts, however, she was not aware of hers until adulthood. In contrast, men were often encouraged, affirmed, and given opportunities for ministerial development at an earlier age. Most often, men's professional paths were characterized by the question of whether or not they *would* pursue the pastoral ministry rather than whether or not they *could* pursue it. This leadership conference allowed Allie to draw her own conclusions about her leadership capabilities, she said "I was kind of looking at other people's stuff and they had these little shapes and I had this huge triangle—And I thought, 'Oh my gosh. There's something untapped there.'"

Through exposure to leadership development opportunities, Allie began to realize that her desire to work in the church was related not only to a willingness to help others

working in the church, but to her abilities as a leader as well. This realization initiated the development of her pastoral identity and ultimately, the pursuit of the vocational ministry.

> Allie: I just continued to take advantage of, you know, whatever opportunities opened up. I didn't seek out things. But I was working with children at church. I was leading some big events for women. I was enjoying the writing that I was doing. But again, still, just not on my horizon because at that point, you know, I was fully entrenched as a young mom, I was involved in the PTO and all that stuff. But it was Holy Week of 1999 and we were in the mountains in a cabin on spring break and-- this is my favorite part of the story. I was outside alone at night in the hot tub. No kidding. Looking at the moon, I had just this very clear sense that God was speaking to me and calling me go to seminary. I sat there and I said, "You know, this is-- I'd always-- I'm a lifelong learner, I love to learn new things, I enjoy writing papers, I enjoy reading. But I had not-- after I became a mom, I thought, "If I've had to do anything like that, it will be after my son's graduation." It just didn't make sense. But it was such a strong impulse…I just had this sense of clarity that I was supposed to go to Samford, to Beeson Seminary. And I knew two things about Beeson. I knew where it was and I knew one woman who I had met through W.M.U. She was actually the elected [state] W.M.U. President. And she- she's at least 15 years older than me. She was going as a student, she started seminary in her '50s. And I thought-"Well I can do that."

In the same way that normative gender structure situates men in leadership positions, women are expected to serve in support roles both at church and at home. Specifically, women are expected to tend to childcare and domestic responsibilities while men's careers are prioritized. Here we see how these normative expectations of men and women initially constrained Allie's perceived life choices and what she perceived she *should* be doing. When she thought about going to seminary before her son went to college, Allie thought "it didn't make sense." However, Allie engaged other people and opportunities that challenged normative Southern Baptist beliefs and expectations of women. Once she was exposed to a woman role model who woman attended seminary later in life, Allie thought "Well I can do that" and decided to attend seminary even before her son went to college. Allie's decision to pursue the pastoral ministry disrupted normative gendered expectations and ultimately contributing to a shift in the gendered division of labor in

Baptist life.

Allie's story represents the professional trajectory of many of the women pastors in this study. Similarly, most women grew up in a Southern Baptist church where they never experienced models of women in leadership or were affirmed in their callings to the vocational ministry. Women's lack of encouragement and affirmation often resulted in their deferred sense of callings and development of pastoral identities as well as indirect career paths characterized by alternative forms of ministry or different professions completely. On the other hand, the majority of men in this study had experienced other men as pastors since childhood and never questioned the morality of their callings based on their sex. They were often affirmed in their callings to the vocational ministry early in life and given opportunities for cultivating their pastoral identities thus resulting in more direct paths toward pastoral positions, particularly senior pastor positions.

The following sections provide an in-depth analysis of how the normative Baptist gender structure influences the disparate and unequal professional paths of men and women pastors as experienced from childhood to their roles as pastors. Specifically, these sections demonstrate the interconnectedness of gendered beliefs, organizational policies, the division of labor, interactions, and the development of individual gendered identities. They also show how gendered processes within the Southern Baptist Convention influence organizational processes in CBF churches and seminaries in ways that result in inequitable outcomes for women pastors.

Childhood & Youth

Although it was much later in life that most women pastors fully connected with

their callings to the vocational ministry, some expressed their pastoral callings earlier in life. For instance, when asked when she knew she wanted to go into the ministry, Jane recalled her first thought about becoming a minister in childhood:

> Jane: I didn't realize until college…Now, when I was a kid, I definitely thought, "Maybe I'm supposed to be a missionary. Maybe I'm supposed to blah-blah-blah", and I said to my mom at some point when I was probably 10 or a little younger, "I think I'm going to be a preacher. I think I want to be a preacher," and she said, "Well, Baptists don't have women preachers. Maybe you should marry one." As a kid I just thought, "Hmm—" well, "Hmm—" And I probably thought, "Well, maybe I could be something else. Maybe I could be a different type [other than Baptist]." But probably in my young head, I couldn't really imagine that was possible.

As a girl, Jane's intuition to become a preacher was quickly met with Southern Baptist exclusionary beliefs and policies about women's role in the church, which served as the initial barrier to her pursuing the pastoral ministry. These beliefs undergirded Jane's interaction with her mother, who when Jane shared she thought she wanted to become a pastor, responded "Baptists don't have women preachers. Maybe you should marry one." This interaction communicated to Jane that the support role of a pastor's wife, a role typically understood as the unpaid, subordinate, complementary opposite of the traditionally male-dominated leadership roles, was her only viable option in relation to the pastoral ministry. Furthermore, Jane's interaction with her mother contributed to her internalization of these gendered beliefs. Jane may have thought she could be a different type of pastor, but as a young child "couldn't really imagine that was possible." In fact, Jane communicated that consequently she did not consider the vocational ministry again until college when she was exposed to more inclusive theological perspectives thus delaying the development of her ministerial identity. At an early age, this experience not only teaches girls and young women to interpret women's pursuit of pastoral leadership

as morally wrong, it also redirects aspirations of leadership to support roles and causes them to question and repress their intuitions, desires, and ambitions.

In conversations with men and women ministers, it became clear that their levels of involvement in church youth and college groups was largely equitable while teenagers. Both men and women pastors had been involved in activities like leading Bible studies, serving as youth group leaders and interns, singing in the choir, and attending church camps. Many women pastors communicated that differences in leadership tasks only surfaced within conversations about vocational callings. As a result, women's involvement in ministerial activities in high school and college were often interpreted as an extension of their faith, largely temporary, or constrained to non-leadership roles while men's involvement was typically approached as part of their leadership development thus advancing their individual pastoral identities. For instance, Laura who is a co-senior pastor recalled her calling experience in high school:

> Laura: See, I felt called to the ministry in youth group, but I didn't know what that was allowed to look like, so I made a profession of faith at youth camp, and I come to church the next Sunday and I have a card that's given to me that says, "So you've been called to be a missionary?" And never did I say that, but that's what the expectation was, that, "Oh, she's called to ministry. Clearly she's called to be a missionary." I think I still have it somewhere…So then I put that on the back burner, because I didn't have a context for that, right? I mean the only women who served in my church served Wednesday night supper, and they served in the nursery, and cleaned up after, and they didn't have a real children's minster, so those were the women who were the one's who did it. So I had no model, I had no idea what it meant that I was called to ministry. I go to college and end up specializing in volunteer management, social work, sociology and psychology, because I'm like, "Well, I'll just go into the helping profession and live it out that way."

In Southern Baptist culture, although women are not permitted to serve as ministers or pastors, they are allowed to serve as missionaries, who are generally understood as humble and exist outside of the organizational hierarchy. This distinction demonstrates

that barring women from ordained positions in the church is not related to a belief that women engaging in ministerial activities is theologically unsound, but rather the belief that women maintaining ministerial positions of *authority* and *leadership* should not be permitted. As a result, Laura's call to the vocational ministry was immediately limited to the calling of a missionary, therefore, denying her the freedom to determine her own ministerial path.

Furthermore, the lack of women role models in Baptist leadership positions offered no imaginable path to becoming a pastor. As Laura stated above, "I had no model, I had no idea what it meant that I was called to ministry…so I put that on the backburner, because I didn't have a context for that." Laura internalized this belief system and went to college to pursue "volunteer management, social work, sociology and psychology" with the thought that she could live out her calling by going into the "helping profession" thus delaying the development of her pastoral identity and skills and reinforcing the gendered division of labor in Baptist life.

Although men, specifically straight men, who grew up in Baptist congregations never experienced this exclusion and constantly observed men in leadership positions, the most social justice-oriented male pastor in the study became aware of the effects of Southern Baptist gender structure on women's calling at an early age:

> Kyle: My mother shared a very strong calling story from when she was 16, 17 at her Baptist church. She went to Union University-a Baptist school-wondering what that meant, fell in love with my father who was going to be a pastor. And thought, "Okay, this is how I will live out my calling." Because what else was there in Baptist life? What other models?

At the time Kyle's mother, Anne, had no role models or opportunities to serve as a Baptist pastor. Consequently, Anne began developing her identity within a supportive

role and in relation to her husband's independent identity as a pastor. As Kyle said, "Because what else was there in Baptist life? What other models?" After Kyle's father passed away, Anne went on to become a Methodist minister, a denomination historically more open to women ministers, particularly older women. However, that happened almost forty years later. Similar to Laura, the lack of role models and opportunities for women to lead in Baptist life postponed the development of Anne's pastoral identity and ultimately caused her to become a minister in a different denomination years later.

Other congregations maintained conservative beliefs about women's leadership in the church, but sometimes made exceptions for women with whom they had close relationships.

Heather, a part-time church office manager who had attended seminary and held two masters degrees in theology, communicated that she returned to her childhood church and requested that the congregation ordain her as a minister. Although her congregation eventually agreed to this idea, Heather remembered receiving mixed messages at her ordination service:

> Heather: At the church I grew up in, we didn't really have any women pastors, but I asked to be ordained at the church. They took a while to decide over it and stuff, but then finally decided yes, and with no stipulations, just full ordained kind of thing. I was the first woman to be ordained at that church and a lot of people came to the ceremony. A couple people didn't like it, but then I had like one lady - old lady who was like 89, 90 kind of thing - who brought me a card, and she's like, "Well, I don't agree with women in ministry, but congratulations," and gave me a congratulations card. It's just a weird mix. Like " I'm not for this. I want you to know that, but here's a check for $25. Don't spend it all in one place." You just take it and whatever.

Given this congregation's conservative beliefs and organizational policy barring women from ordination, the male church leaders discussed whether or not Heather would be allowed to be ordained as an exception to this rule thus limiting her ability to make her

own professional choices and reinforcing men's positions of power. Although Heather's sex caused debate over her inherent value and status as an ordained minister, the church leaders ultimately decided that she would be allowed ordination. This decision demonstrates that the theological assertion that women should be barred from the ordained ministry on account of their sex category may be lifted for only the exceptional women thus communicating that Heather must not only be qualified but exceptional enough to be accepted *despite* being a woman. Furthermore, the church leaders' decision to make an exception for Heather shows that the policy barring women from leadership is more about male pastors maintaining the authority to determine who deserves the power to lead and who does not. Therefore, Heather's dependence on men's authority and decision-making to determine her ministerial path reinforces men's dominant status and women's subordinate status as determined by normative gender structure in Baptist life.

Despite the temporary lift on the organizational policy, congregants in the church had never observed another woman being ordained in their congregation and had internalized the conservative teaching that Scripture prohibits the ordination of women. Therefore, gendered beliefs and culture characterized by normative gender structure both persisted and were disrupted when Heather became the first ordained woman in their congregation. Although gender beliefs barring women's leadership were challenged through the act of Heather's ordination, one congregant explicitly stated, "I don't agree with women in ministry, but congratulations" thus characterizing Heather's ordination as immoral despite its approved status. Heather refers to this woman's comments as a "weird mix" illustrating that these mixed messages failed to offer Heather full affirmation of her ordination. Men's and women's approval for ordination in this congregation were

evaluated by two unequal sets of criteria by which women must prove that they are worthy of ordination despite their sex while men's inherent value based on their sex is assumed and their ordination fully affirmed.

Although few women pastors experienced women role models in their youth, some encountered male pastors who taught more inclusive approaches to biblical Scripture and, therefore, caused some women to question theological perspectives and policies that barred women's leadership. Grace, a part-time children's pastor, recalled her youth pastor being a major influence on her path to the vocational ministry:

> Grace: As far as having an image of women in ministry, I didn't have that model. I grew up in a Southern Baptist Church… But I did have a Truett grad as a youth minister, an early Truett grad. He really kept that rebellious spirit. He had grown up in that type of church, so he came back and I think you had kind of this underground thing in the youth ministry, where he was more liberal in his ideas, definitely supported women in ministry… It really didn't end well for him at that church [because they were more conservative-minded], but through his youth ministry, I mean he was there up until part way through my senior year [in high school], he really affected my interest in studying religion and in asking the follow-up questions in Sunday school. I think that is part of the reason why I ended up taking the path that I did, that eventually led me to seminary.

Although at this point Grace didn't have a *model* or *image* of women in ministry, her male youth pastor offered an alternative way for approaching Scripture that supported the inclusion of women in leadership. Through her relationship with he youth minister, who exposed her to more inclusive theology, Grace experienced freedom from sinful notions of women's leadership in the church and, therefore, was able to imagine her possibilities as a minister in high school. Grace said, "I think that is part of the reason why I ended up taking the path that I did, that eventually led me to seminary."

Only one woman pastor in the study encountered a woman youth pastor when she was a teenager. Meg, an associate pastor, communicated the particular value of the

woman youth minister who influenced the lives of she and other young women in her youth groups:

> Meg: [I went to] First Baptist Church, so it's probably the most moderate in this small town that I grew up in and actually when I was in 9th grade, we had a female youth minister come, which was huge for me and she was a big influence on my life and on me coming into the ministry. She's had at least three females who have come through in her youth group and gone on to be ministers of churches… Because you really don't know it's possible until you see.

Meg's experience with a woman youth minister presented an image of pastoral leadership that was different from the images of male pastors that Meg had previously experienced. Meg understood this role model as significantly influential in her decision to pursue the pastoral ministry because as Meg stated above, "you really don't know it's possible until you see." Specifically, Meg's opportunity to observe a woman *doing* and *embodying* a pastoral role offered her a new and alternative image of ministers that encompassed women as leaders rather than helpers. Therefore, as a teenager Meg considered the pastoral ministry as a professional possibility and began cultivating her ministerial identity and skillset. Meg went on to communicate the limitations of even supportive male pastors:

> Meg: Well even if people tell you, even men could tell you all they want to that you could be a minister but when you're in churches and you only see men in leadership. [pause] We've been reading about feminist theology and the invisibility of women has just really stood out to me so much because that's what we see, invisibility in so many Southern Baptist churches because the women are working and they're keeping the church going all behind the scene. But heaven forbid we let them get up behind the pulpit and speak the Word of God.

Here, Meg communicated that the overrepresentation of women in supporting roles not only renders them subordinate but invisible as well. Therefore, normative images of men in leadership roles and women in invisible, undervalued support roles proves more influential than any verbal messages that men may offer affirming women's ability to

become ministers. For this reason, women role models prove vital to women's pursuit of the vocational ministry, specifically pastoral positions. While CBF-affiliated congregations support and affirm women's leadership theologically, few opportunities are available for girls and women to engage with women pastoral role models, therefore, reinforcing the dominant images of men in leadership.

College

Many pastors were first introduced to the idea of women in ministry in college. Most times their peers, professors, and university groups offered a more inclusive view of women's leadership which offered women more opportunities for connecting with and developing their pastoral identities. While many women pastors often engaged these alternative more inclusive narratives and beliefs in college, several still faced opposition and resistance in various other ways.

Sophie, a senior pastor, recalled being encouraged to consider ministry in college but found that her congregation at the time presented barriers to her leadership in the church:

> Sophie: Well, I started thinking about ministry in college. That was new to me because I had grown up in a Southern Baptist Church in [the Midwest] so I'd never met a female pastor. But I kept feeling this tug to it and my college-- I went to a [different Christian denomination] college and they had women pastors for a while but I was like, "I can't do that!" It was kind of this really slow process for me all through college and my professors were really supportive and peers in school but my church not so much. Like for example one time I was-- for a time I was helping lead the youth group on-- I can't remember whether it's Wednesday or Sunday nights because the youth pastor had resigned and so there was no one to do it. Then without talking to me they just canceled youth like there was no youth anymore. Then one time they were doing something over the summer for Sunday school like instead of their normal classes they were going to do these different series and they were looking for people--I think there were videos or something and they were just looking for different people to lead them on it. Anyway, they were looking for people to guide the discussion and lead it. I volunteered and I think at that point as a junior in college I had more theological

> education than any one in the church including the pastor. I got a letter from an elder saying that like, "Well, we can't have you teaching because there'll be men in the room and everything."

Until college, Sophie, who grew up in a Southern Baptist church, said, “She had never met a female pastor.” When she went to college, she was exposed to a denomination that had “women pastors for a while” and encountered images of women pastors for the first time. At this point, alternative, more inclusive gendered beliefs and images of women in leadership challenged Sophie’s internalized Southern Baptist beliefs about women’s leadership in the church. Having never considered being a pastor, Sophie first thought, “I can’t do that!” when considering the possibility of becoming a pastor. However, the affirmation and support of her professors and peers initiated a process of *undoing* her internalized “I can’t do that!” messages, resultant of having no examples of women pastors and conservative, exclusionary theology. Once her more traditional gender beliefs began to loosen, she was able to cultivate her intuitive tug toward the ministry. The exposure to more inclusive theology, women role models, and interactions with affirming peers and mentors disrupted her preconceived notions of who could hold authority and lead in Baptist life and ultimately contributed to her pursuit of the pastoral ministry.

Although Sophie was exposed to a more inclusive gender culture, she was not completely free of the constraining influence of normative Baptist beliefs and policies related to women’s leadership during her time in college. As she states above, even though she had more theological education than all of the congregational leaders including the senior pastor, church leaders still told her “"Well, we can't have you teaching because there'll be men in the room and everything.” Sophie was restricted from leading Sunday school workshops not because she was unqualified, but because she was

a woman. In fact, Sophie's account would suggest that the church took issue, not with Sophie leading a class in general, but specifically with leading men in the class. Therefore, Sophie's status as a woman superseded whatever gifts, knowledge, and skills she may offer as a church leader. When church leaders barred Sophie from having this opportunity to further develop her pastoral identity and skillset, they reinforced not only a gender structure that keeps men in positions of power over women, it also reinforced Sophie's own understanding of who can lead and who cannot. Although Sophie experienced a shift in her own sense of calling while in college, she remained structurally constrained by exclusionary policies concerning women's leadership and the consequential lack of opportunities to lead.

Similarly, co-senior pastor Laura continued to experience messages of exclusion as a college student as well. Laura explained that she sought out alternative forms of ministerial leadership in college and recalled that her fiancé at the time and some of his friends voiced their sexist opinions about women leading in the church:

> Laura: I started a Christian sorority while I was [in college], and so being able to minster to about 60 or 75 girls that way, there was something in me that would be filled that way. But I was engaged at the time. I didn't know what that was going to look like. I secretly had been looking at seminary and all of that, but I didn't even really know what that was -- no idea. Didn't know about the split [conservative takeover], didn't know about any of these things. I had no context for any of it. One day we we're just driving in the car. He was with his college friend and I'm in the back seat, and his college friend asked him, "Would you ever go to a church if a woman was the pastor?" And keep in mind we're getting married in, what, three months, and he said, "Well, I mean, I think they could be ministers, but I wouldn't go if she was the senior pastor. I don't believe in that." And there's no part in me, in sitting in that car, that I thought I was going to be a senior pastor, but for whatever reason it just triggered something and I couldn't really tell you why. We broke up.

Laura who had been told in high school that she was theologically barred from the pastoral ministry started a Christian sorority in college so that she could cultivate her

ministerial calling outside of the authority of the church. She bypassed the existing gender structure of Baptist life by initiating and creating a space for ministering to other college women. However, while her college friends supported women as ministers, they did not support the leadership of women in the position of the highest authority, senior pastor. Specifically, her fiancé stated, “I think they could be ministers, but I wouldn't go if she was the senior pastor. I don't believe in that." This interaction reinforced the belief system that undergirds the normative Baptist gender structure, both of which ultimately ensure men’s power and women’s subordination in Baptist congregations.

Laura also discovered that her fiancé at the time thought women should never occupy the most powerful position in congregations based solely on the fact that they were women. This realization perhaps provided Laura with a glimpse of how her marriage would be arranged in terms of power, with her subordination and his dominance. Laura said, “For whatever reason it just triggered something and I couldn’t really tell you why. We broke up.” While Laura was not yet conscious of her calling to pastor a church, she wanted the freedom to choose that path. Laura breaking up with her fiancé for this reason demonstrates that the dissonance she previously experienced between her status as a woman and her calling was beginning to diminish.

Although most had grown up in Southern Baptist congregations, all of the male pastors in my study supported the equal leadership of women in the church. Matt, a youth minister, spoke about how he and his wife both planned to attend seminary upon graduating college. He recalled his feelings about one of his friends saying that she felt called to be a pastor’s wife:

> Matt: I remember one of [my wife’s] friends, I can't remember who it was, we were talking about what they were going to do [after college], and she was like I

> really feel called to be a pastor's wife. I remember thinking at that point in time, "That's stupid." [Laughter] Not because we [he and his wife] knew we were going to be pastors, but why would you feel called to [be a pastor's wife]?

While Matt notably supports women in leadership and affirms his wife's pursuit of pastoral roles, his dismissal of his friend's choices as "stupid" reveals two significant things. First, it reveals the androcentric assumption that the work of lead pastors' wives is insignificant, if not "stupid." Second, it reveals his lack of sociological understanding of what women face. Clearly, he has never experienced exclusion or doubt about his own vocational calling precisely because he is a man. In other words, his calling had never been judged as sinful or theologically prohibited because he was a man. While it seems obvious to Matt that women should feel free to pursue leadership positions within the church, it is also reasonable to assume that this woman had never been exposed to a woman pastor or fully engaged theological beliefs that affirmed women's leadership in the church. Having never had his desire to pursue the vocational ministry questioned, Matt is blind to the ways this woman's choices were likely constrained by conservative Baptist beliefs, which bar women's official leadership.

Some women pastors who grew up in more moderate Baptist congregations attended college already possessing a theological approach to Scripture that affirmed women's pastoral leadership. Even those who were affirmed in their pastoral callings in high school encountered and experienced doubts about women's leadership. Olivia, a senior pastor, recalled feeling conflicted about women holding senior pastor positions when she was in college:

> Olivia: I was a high schooler who knew I wanted to work in a church, and had done the whole Baptist walk the aisle and said I wanted to go into full time Christian vocation.

> Interviewer: Did you grow up in a Southern Baptist Church? Was this ok?
>
> Olivia: Grew up Southern Baptist, but in a congregation that was on the moderate side before the takeover thing was official. My pastor was on the first coordinating council of the CBF…But still going into [college], even then, I still wasn't sure that women should be senior pastors, and I can remember my first year in college. Somebody was doing this senior thesis about this and asked, "Do you think women can work as a church secretary?" "Do you think women can work as youth ministers?" I remember checking "yes" on every single one until I got to senior pastor. And feeling like I should say yes to that, but I just really wasn't sure that it was okay for that one particular task.
>
> Interviewer: Do you remember why?
>
> Olivia: It was just like, I felt really conflicted about it. I had flirted with fundamentalism in high school, more out of adolescent anxiety asked what if I'm wrong? What if we need to have these rules? What if the Bible really is literal and my church is teaching the wrong thing? Because I had plenty of conservative friends telling me that my church was teaching the wrong thing. I know that I put "No" on that, but felt really disloyal and conflicted about it.

Despite the more moderate theological influences of her home church, Olivia had college friends who made her question what her church was teaching her. Olivia began to ask herself, “What if I’m wrong? What if we need these rules? What if my church is teaching it wrong?” The interactions with her more conservative friends made her feel “conflicted” about the theological soundness of women serving as senior pastors. Olivia stated, “I had plenty of conservative friends telling me that my church was teaching the wrong thing. I know that I put ‘No’ for that, but felt really disloyal and conflicted about it.” As a result of these interactions, Olivia continued to question the morality of women serving as senior pastors until she met a woman pastor who mentored her and challenged the belief that women should not serve as pastors:

> Olivia: I worked in a church in college that had a female senior pastor and it was their first. And I watched that, and she really pushed me to preach and to lead some Wednesday nights. She constantly put me in leadership roles and would leave the room so that I couldn’t turn to her for help [laughs]. We took a trip together to Atlanta one day. She was preaching at McAfee School of Theology.

> She really invited me to go with her just because it meant that we had a car ride alone together. On the way there, she was saying, "Do you understand that God has called you to preach?" I was like, "No, I like preaching but I want to be an associate pastor, because-- then the responsibility is not on you for all things. You can preach sometimes, but not all the time." I just felt like that it was a way to do a lot of the work that I like to do, but not have the burden on me. She was just calling BS [bullshit] on that...[She finally said] You have to go to seminary. We can't keep you here forever. You have to go seminary.

Through her interactions with a woman pastoral role model, Olivia became more confident in her theological perspective that affirmed women's equal leadership. Additionally, Olivia's pastor in college not only was an important role model for how a woman can effectively embody the role of pastor, but she also affirmed Olivia's gifts as a preacher and encouraged her to attend seminary. This experience allowed Olivia to connect with and develop her pastoral identity in college and question, not only her conservative friends, but also the theology of Southern Baptist churches.

Similarly Meg, who previously had a woman youth minister as a role model, arrived at college more theologically confident in the idea of women pastors. She recalled this message being reinforced during her college years:

> Meg: When I went for my college visit and said something to them about having an idea that I wanted to go into ministry of some sort, [the college administrator] asked what I wanted to do and I don't know but I was talking about an associate type role and she said, "Well why wouldn't you want to be the senior pastor?" The first semester. I felt this is a good place for me. [laughter] I need to be in a place where that would be expected…Or at least not a surprise and that doesn't necessarily mean that's for me but that it's an option…I mean not every man is suited to be senior pastor. And it's almost expected that they are going to try to get there.
>
> Interviewer: Yes, like that's the course, that's their professional ladder.
>
> Meg: Yes. Educational or associate or youth [pastor] or whatever for now, then senior pastor after that.

Meg recalled telling her college advisor that she wanted to pursue an associate type role

in the church, and her advisor asked, “Why wouldn’t you want to be the senior pastor?” Meg decided that it was good to be surrounded by people who would expect this of her and push her to pursue leadership roles that she may not have considered otherwise. She also pointed out that there are often differing expectations of women and men pastors in Baptist life, even within the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship. Women are not typically expected to pursue senior pastor positions while it is usually assumed that men’s callings will naturally culminate in senior pastor positions even though “not every man is suited to be a senior pastor.” Although Meg believed that women should be encouraged to pursue positions of top authority, she continued to engage a culture that consciously or unconsciously reinforces the historically idealized masculine image of senior pastor and assumes that women will pursue less powerful positions or perhaps more flexible ones. Even though CBF congregations provide a more inclusive theology that affirms the leadership of women, these types of expectations reinforce an unequal division of labor by expecting men to pursue senior pastor positions and women to pursue positions with less authority.

Seminary

Some women attended seminary with the hope that they would finally be released from sexist theology, policies, and expectations related to their pastoral callings, however, they sometimes discovered that their classmates remained unconvinced that women should hold senior pastor positions. For instance, Sophie recalled her experience at a CBF-affiliated seminary:

> Sophie: Once I got to seminary I thought like “I'm free!” and so I would just tell people [about wanting to be a senior pastor], assuming everybody was okay with it. I didn't learn until years later that several people have told me like, "You are the first person I ever met that wanted to be a head pastor—you were the first

> female I'd ever met. One friend [from seminary] told me-- this is like a couple years, several years after we graduated, she told me that I was the person who changed her mind [about women as senior pastors] and I was like, "I didn't even know you ever changed your mind!"

Sophie attended seminary assuming that she would finally be *free* of sexist beliefs. However, later on she found that some of her classmates were still opposed to women as senior pastors. In fact, one classmate told Sophie, "You are the first female I ever met that wanted to be a head pastor." Sophie's classmate, like many of the students attending this Baptist seminary, was raised in a Baptist church and had likely never encountered a woman pastor. However, Sophie's example disrupted traditional Baptist beliefs about women's leadership and "changed her mind." On one hand, by occupying the role of pastor, Sophie effectively changed the conservative opinions of some of her classmates, which is significant because this challenged the beliefs instilled in them by the SBC. In addition, this example illustrates how attending a CBF-affiliated seminary does not necessarily guarantee complete freedom and acceptance. Given the dearth of women in Baptist pastoral positions overall, it is likely that most Baptist seminary students have not actually ever interacted with or seen a woman pastor. Even though the seminary might support the leadership of women, it is not unreasonable to assume that the students will probably continue to (consciously or unconsciously) adhere to sexist beliefs about women's leadership abilities and question whether women can or should hold the top position in the church. In other words, though it is likely that women will, for the first time in their lives, be affirmed in their pastoral callings in seminary, it is also likely that many of those women will be around classmates who do not fully affirm their leadership.

Other women pastors who eventually ignored the theological restrictions of their youth faced gendered processes in seminary that sought to redirect their vocational goals.

Laura, who was unaware of moderate-liberal Baptist congregations' recent separation from the SBC,, first planned to attend a Southern Baptist seminary. During her pre-registration visit, Laura was urged by seminary professors to switch to a more theologically sound professional path:

> Laura: I decide I'm going to go to Southwestern, but there's something in me that didn't feel right about it. And so as I make an appointment with the Dean's office and have to go talk to him before I can register, I go talk to them and they say, "Well, once you take hermeneutics courses and your theology courses, you'll understand why women shouldn't be in the M.Div. program, or women shouldn't be in-I was accepted into the M.Div. program. I was accepted into the graduate school for Southwestern, but they said that it would be better for me to do the Master of Christian Counseling or the Master of Christian Education. And once I took my hermeneutics courses I would understand why, you know, once I read Titus and First Timothy.

As expected in a Southern Baptist seminary, the staff urged Laura to pursue alternative ministerial paths based on theological arguments for barring women's leadership in the church. Specifically, seminary officials told Laura that once she was more familiar with Scripture she "would understand why women shouldn't be in the M.Div. program." This theological argument reinforces a gender structure that ensures men's authority and power over women and further contributes to patterns of exclusion similar to those that Laura experienced in her youth and college. The seminary staff cast further doubt on Laura's calling by telling her she would "understand why" she shouldn't pursue the pastoral ministry once she took her hermeneutics courses and once she read Titus and First Timothy thus suggesting that the issue was that she was either ignorant of the Bible or misunderstood it.

This experience did not deter Laura's pursuit of vocational ministry. Instead of giving up, Laura connected with a CBF-affiliated seminary that theologically supported the leadership of women. She went on:

> Laura: So I leave the office and call [a representative from a moderate Baptist seminary] crying in the parking lot and told her that I made a horrible mistake. And I'm there by the end of the week for an orientation. Yes, showed up homeless. Just packed my little bag. [laughter] And I when I got to orientation [the dean at the time] gets up and says, "All of you will take leadership, all of you will take preaching because who are we to say what you are called to do based on your gender?" So that right there, finally confirmed it.

For the first time, Laura was provided with an alternative theological perspective that affirms her pastoral calling as a woman rather than denies it. Laura's first day of seminary, the dean stated "All of you will take leadership, all of you will take preaching because who are we to say what you are called to do based on your gender?" The dean's statement finally affirmed Laura's calling that she had connected with several years earlier and encouraged her to further develop this calling in seminary.

Laura later discovered that there were few seminary professors who served as mentors or advocates (there were only two women faculty at the time). Women's underrepresentation in seminary faculty positions resulted in a lack of women role models for students, particularly women students, to further develop as pastors. Despite experiencing more freedom to pursue the pastoral ministry in seminary, Laura remained constrained by a gendered division of labor. Laura and Michael, co-senior pastors, and Ben, an associate pastor, further explained the different and unequal messages they received in seminary.

> Laura: Did I have professors [while in seminary] saying "Yes, you're supposed to do this. Go do it, I'll help you do it."? No. That came from [my social work professors]. I had to go through [pauses]-this question's so loaded because I had to go through [tears up]. I mean they [men] get to start seminary knowing – [begins to cry] I can't talk about all of this. [pauses]
>
> Michael: We have the opportunity to know that there's something on our side…on the other side [of graduating]. It's a lot easier.
>
> Ben: People were grooming us to do it. Lots of affirmation, lots of "Yes, you can

> do this."
>
> Laura: They got to start seminary knowing -- not just men, maybe women who had been able to find someone to show them [what it looked like] earlier, but knowing what they get to do after graduation… I think I had to spend a few years figuring out that, first, I was allowed to do it, but then (tears up) that I was capable of doing it.

Laura had internalized messages of exclusion she had received for most of her life, therefore, as an adult, Laura had to spend time emotionally processing the devaluation of her calling and *undoing* these messages of exclusion and replacing them with ones of affirmation. Laura said, "I had to spend a few years figuring out that, first, I was *allowed* to do it, but then that I was *capable* of doing it." While Laura spent most of her time in seminary building her pastoral identity from the ground up, her male counterparts retained the privilege of starting seminary having received various forms of affirmation their entire lives, church leadership experience, and the security of knowing that *all* churches would be open to hiring them once they graduated.

It is important to note that these two different narratives about men's and women's abilities to lead are *not* one of exclusion in the case of women and neutrality for men nor is it one of affirmation of men and neutrality for women. These narratives are about *both* excluding women *and* affirming men. Narratives and beliefs about male pastors never included moral judgment about their desire to lead because of their sex. As a result, none of the male pastors ever questioned whether or not it was morally or theologically permissible to pursue the vocational ministry at any points in their lives. In fact, most of the men in this study were the sons or grandsons of male pastors and, therefore, were probably cultivating pastoral skills since the moment they were born. The women in my study were not able to grow up with their mothers as pastoral role models.

By the time male pastors arrived at seminary, most had experienced if not explicit affirmation from others, then implicit support in the form of male role models. In contrast, Laura was discouraged, questioned, and judged. It is no wonder that it took much of her young adult life to develop her pastoral identity and only after attending a seminary that theologically affirmed her equal leadership as a woman and connecting with role models.

Despite not connecting with a mentor in seminary, Laura communicated how valuable one of her social work professors (who was also an ordained minister) was in cultivating her pastoral calling:

> Laura: At dinner she said, "Look at you, you're worthy." I haven't thought about this in a long time. She told me, "You are your worst enemy -- get out of your way because you're going to do it -- you're limiting yourself." She still tells me that, she texted me that a month ago, or something because she wanted me to apply for the Ph.d program and I didn't do it. [laughs] I'm not going to be hurt… I've heard "No" too many times. Because even in trying to find a job-there are more churches that are not open to a woman.

Laura didn't go after some opportunities that she was interested in because she said, "I'm not going to be hurt…I've heard 'No' too many times.'" But Laura said her mentor continually tells her, "You are your worst enemy—get out of your way because you're going to do it—you're limiting yourself." Laura's interactions with her mentor replace the messages of exclusion she had experienced since she became aware of her calling in her Southern Baptist congregation. It is important to note that Laura eventually applied and was accepted to a Ph.d. program while serving as a co-lead pastor. Here we see that Laura evolved from believing she was *allowed* to do it to believing she was *capable* of doing it to *doing it.*

Similarly, when Anna first considered becoming a senior pastor, she had a conversation with a seminary professor who helped her connect with her ministerial calling and affirmed her desire to become a pastor:

> Anna: I chose the perfect person to talk to about it-[name of seminary professor]… He was a peer to my parents…I made an appointment and went by to talk with him and I said, "Dr. Finch, I'm finding that I appreciate my religious education classes. The trick was I wasn't learning anything different from what I had learned as an early childhood major [in undergrad]." I said, "Where I'm finding my greatest challenges are in my theology classes. I love New Testament and that's what I really want to study." He said, "Okay, so what does that mean to you?" I said, "Well, I really think that my call is changing." He just kind of leaned into me and said, "How do you think it's changing?" I said, "Well, I'm a little bit afraid to say it." He said, "Why are you afraid?" I said. "Because I've never seen it done before." Then he reached over me and grabbed both of my hands and he said, "Or would you rather be a part of something? I know it's exciting to be a part of something that hasn't always been." I said, "I think I'm called to preach. He said, "Then you must go home and tell your family." [laughs] But I softened it. I went home and because I was still so -- I was a little unsure and I softened it to them and said, "I think I want to stay and get another degree," and they said okay.

Before interacting with her seminary professor, Anna remained constrained by having never encountered the image of a woman *doing* the role of pastor, a result of the gendered division of labor in Baptist congregations. As Anna realized she wanted to be a pastor, she said to her advisor, "I'm a little bit afraid to say it because I've never seen it done before." However, her professor responded, "Or would you rather be a part of something? I know it's exciting to be a part of something that hasn't always been." Anna, although unsure at first, was given the resources and support she needed to take the first step toward embracing her identity as a pastor. Anna's interaction with her professor offered an alternative path to the one that had been defined by SBC beliefs and policies related to women's leadership. Instead of encouraging her to continue pursuing "religious education," her mentor encouraged her to pursue something she had never seen done, become a woman senior pastor. Yet Anna said she was still a little unsure and "softened"

her plans to become a pastor when she told her parents; her father was an SBC pastor. Despite Anna's loosening beliefs about women's ability to lead as pastors, her freedom to fully embrace her calling was constrained by her parents' Southern Baptist beliefs and her fear of their response to her plan become a pastor.

Unlike the women in my study who considered their experiences with mentors as vital to their career trajectory, male pastors rarely pointed toward an influential professor in seminary. When they did, they did not characterize them as crucial influences on their vocational paths. Moreover, when male pastors mentioned role models or mentors including some men and some women, they spoke of these relationships as enhancing their callings not directing them towards their callings. For instance, Brett, a lead pastor, emphasized a need for a mentor that guided his personal development as a husband and father rather than his professional development. Brett's need for development in this way points toward the differential ways men and women are socialized that result in few opportunities or role models for this type of development in men. Differently, women pastors' rare opportunity to connect with mentors relates to the gendered division of labor within Baptist life and negatively implicates their professional development, money, status, authority, and the ability cultivate their ministerial callings. Brett's lack of mentors for personal development presented no noted bearing on his ability to become a pastor. In fact, he received a full-time preaching position upon graduating from seminary.

Becoming Pastors

While many women aspiring to be senior pastors have not yet attained these positions, some women who were hired as pastors continue to face processes of exclusion and resistance even as pastors in churches that support the leadership of women. Given

that the churches in the study were at varying levels congregationally led, those congregations who hired a woman pastor rarely presented direct opposition to having a woman as lead pastor. Conversely, in a church that hired a husband and wife co-senior pastor team, some congregants refused to acknowledge Laura as their pastor:

> Interviewer: Do you think even now some of those people who were resistant at first, may just look at Michael as their pastor?
>
> Nate: Oh yes, they do. There's still people saying, "This is our preacher and here's our preacher's wife."
>
> Interviewer**:** Really?
>
> Nate: It makes Laura so mad. [laughs] You know that's another thing, in this world, in this day and time, if you're going to do this, you got to understand reality. [laughs] These people ain't reality. So you can't let little stuff like that bother you. You just got to understand, thank God that we're as far as we are, don't be upset with these people.

Although Nate dismissed the sexist behaviors of congregants who refuse to acknowledge Nate, a retired Baptist pastor, states that the opinions of the people who refuse to acknowledge Laura as their pastor "ain't reality", however, for most of Laura's life these types of exclusionary opinions had been her reality and barred her from ministry opportunities in very realistic, concrete ways. Also, congregants' refusals to acknowledge Laura as their pastor undermine her authority and result in very real and inequitable professional outcomes between she and Michael in terms of actualized authority and leadership. Laura cannot effectively lead as a pastor if congregants refuse to acknowledge her authority and only respond to the pastoral authority of her husband, Michael. Even in a CBF-affiliated congregation where she is officially a pastor, congregants' sexist beliefs and comments *are* her reality and reinforce the exclusionary beliefs that have served as barriers to her calling as a pastor her whole life.

Nate further states that if Laura's "going to do this" (be a woman pastor), "You can't let little stuff like that bother you. You just got to understand, thank God that we're as far as we are, don't be upset with these people." This statement shifts the blame to Laura's reaction rather than acknowledging a need for the congregation's shift in attitude. It also communicates that if Laura is going to choose this profession, she needs to be prepared for the consequences and ultimately figure out a way to get over it. Nate remains blind to how the organization itself is gendered and expects Laura to adjust her behavior and perspective instead of working toward change in the congregation itself. Nate, a retired Baptist pastor whose authority had never been called into question on account of his sex, fails to see how congregants' discriminatory attitudes and comments are not "little stuff," they collectively contribute to barriers faced by women pastors and ultimately result in structural inequality (e.g. unequal and gendered division of labor). These findings further demonstrate that despite Laura successfully securing the position of pastor within a CBF-affiliated congregation, sexist beliefs about her ability to lead persist and undermine her authority as a pastor.

While upcoming chapters effectively demonstrate specific barriers women face once becoming a pastor, most women did not recall experiencing *overt resistance* from their congregations like Laura experienced, however, some faced resistance from the surrounding community. For instance, Anna, who graduated seminary in the middle of the Conservative Takeover and won the distinguished preaching award at her seminary, received her first full-time senior pastor position after searching for twenty-five years. Anna described the local community's response when she received the position of senior pastor:

> Anna: In my first year here, we had rocks thrown through the windows and all kinds of stuff on the front page of the paper everyday for about a week.
>
> Interviewer: Really? Because the church hired a woman pastor?
>
> Anna: Yes. We had a couple that was at the international mission who were trying to be appointed as volunteer missionaries. Well the trustee for the International Mission Board [of the Southern Baptist Convention] from the state of Alabama called the International Mission Board to say this couple has a female as their pastor and so their application was denied.

Despite finding a church that was open to hiring her as a senior pastor, Anna still faced aggressive opposition from community members who failed to believe women were worthy of the job. Additionally, congregants faced punitive consequences concerning their calling as missionaries simply because they attended Anna's church. In this way, the familiar dominant narrative of exclusion and marginalization followed Anna (as well as her congregants) even as she served in a church that supported her as senior pastor.

Many women did not face explicit resistance from their congregations or surrounding communities after becoming pastors, but continued to experience opposition, silence, or lack of affirmation from their families and friends. Sophie who graduated from seminary about twenty-five years after Anna and also received the distinguished preaching award at her seminary, reflected on the apprehension of her family:

> Sophie: So back home I was always real quiet about [wanting to be a pastor] because I just didn't want to deal with people's reactions… I mean my parents, they weren't really supportive but my family sort of avoids anything controversial so it wasn't like we had direct conversation about it. Like when I was in college my mom would tell people I was going to be a professor even though I'd never said that it was just easier for her, I guess, it just easier for her to get around it. They've definitely warmed up over time, particularly for my mom I think when she came for my ordination that made a big difference for her. She didn't say that but I think so.

While some women pastors' parents proved supportive, many parents never brought up the subject or were judgmental. Sophie shared that even after she decided she wanted to

be a pastor, she was "always real quiet" about her professional goals when she visited her hometown so she didn't have to "deal with people's reactions," including her family's. Although Sophie's parents no longer explicitly disapprove of Sophie as a pastor, they still fail to explicitly affirm her pastoral calling. In other words, their silence or perceived positions of neutrality fails to disrupt the internalized messages and beliefs of exclusion that Sophie had received growing up. Differently, male pastors noted that sometimes family members disagreed with their moderate-liberal theology, preferred that they choose a profession that made more money, or expected that they pursue lead pastor positions, but their sex was never an issue of discussion with their families. Ben, an associate pastor, communicated that he had no desire to be a senior pastor in the future and he and his partner, Ashley, commented on how congregants and family members typically respond to this notion:

> Ben: I think people [congregants] are often confused by the fact that I don't…that it's not an aspiration.
>
> Ashley: Definitely, my family will ask when he will start looking for lead pastor positions and are surprised, maybe even worried when I say he has no interest in doing that. I think they still think that women should, need to be taken care of by a man. Even though I have my own thing going on professionally, they need to be the breadwinners.

Families' and congregants' critiques of men's choices to not pursue the position of senior pastor suggest that they think men are not empowered when they are not making enough money or hold the most authority. In other words, because masculinity and power are conflated, men are expected to pursue goals associated with leadership, money, and authority while women "should, need to be taken care of by a man" despite their abilities to take care of themselves. Although these expectations are unfair to men, these assumptions still assume men's dominance and, therefore, function as barriers to women

pursuing positions of authority and leadership thus further contributing to the inequitable gendered division of labor in Baptist life.

Having experienced different expectations than men, many women only considered pursuing a senior pastor position after serving in other ministerial positions and roles (often part-time) for several years. They typically credited their interactions and experiences with women senior pastors as partially responsible for their pursuit of lead pastor positions. For instance when I asked Jane, an associate pastor, if she will ever pursue a senior pastor position, she stated:

> Jane: Yes. And I've only ever said that out loud to one other person, my husband and it was just a few months ago. I'm in my forties and I'm just now thinking. Yeh, this is something I want and could do. I think it has been since working with Anna. I have learned a lot from her. And also, I'm starting to think more independently in terms of leadership. Just recently I noticed, she may handle something a certain way, and I think to myself, "Hmm. I might have handled that differently."

Anna, both as an example and mentor, helped Jane realize that she was capable of being a senior pastor and further developed her ability to "think more independently" as a leader. Moreover, Jane's experience with Anna as a role model further contributed to the development of her leadership skills and gave her the confidence to pursue a senior pastor position in the future.

Finally, women pastors' past exclusion sometimes negatively influenced their ability to participate in activities alongside their male counterparts. For instance, Kristen, a co-lead pastor, reflected on a workshop activity at a denominational conference for pastors:

> Kristen: I remember being at a denominational meeting. There was a room full of pastors and we were asked to call out the person in our lives who first affirmed our call to the ministry. So all of the men started calling out the names of people who affirmed their calling. I was sitting next to Karen one of the only other

> women pastors in the room, co-pastor. We both remained silent during this process. As we got into the elevator to go back to our rooms, she asked why I didn't say anything. I said, "No one ever named that in me. I just always knew from within or I guess God." She said, "Me too. And I thought it too presumptuous to say Isaiah!" [laughs]

Here, Kristen and her co-pastor were unable to fully participate in the workshop because gendered assumptions were built into the activity. Unlike the other male pastors in the room who had been verbally affirmed by ministers or other people in their lives, Kristen stated that "no one ever named that" for her or for Karen. This activity failed to consider the differing and unequal experiences of many women pastors thus reinforcing their exclusion despite their status as pastors. This example also illustrates the utility and value of women pastors having relationships with other women pastors who share similar experiences. It is through Kristen's interaction with her colleague that this experience of exclusion was transformed into an exchange of mutual understanding and affirmation of their callings thus further disrupting the persistent exclusionary patterns of Baptist gender structure.

Steps Toward Change

This chapter shows that, as women pastors progressed from high school to college to seminary and finally, to their position as pastors, they felt more free to be both a woman and a pastor. For instance, while most women pastors in the study were initially constrained by conservative theology, they were eventually exposed to more inclusive theology that affirmed their equal leadership and presented new possibilities for their pursuit of the vocational ministry. Additionally, some women pastors eventually connected and interacted with role models, mentors, and advocates and were granted opportunities to receive a theological education and serve as pastors through CBF-

affiliated seminaries and churches. These experiences helped undo and replace the messages of exclusion that many women pastors had internalized over the course of their lives, provided new images of women pastors, offered opportunities to develop their pastoral identities and skills, and ultimately contributed to the movement of women into Baptist pastoral positions thus disrupting the gendered division of labor in Baptist congregations.

Despite the aforementioned progress, women pastors in CBF congregations and seminaries, which theologically support women's equal leadership, remain constrained by processes resultant of normative Baptist gender structure. For instance, women's interactions with classmates and congregants who hold sexist and exclusionary beliefs about their ability to be a senior pastor reinforces the internalized exclusionary beliefs they experienced for most of their lives in Baptist culture despite attending a seminary or being employed at a church that theologically supports women's leadership. Additionally, although the SBC offers no opportunities for congregants to be exposed to a woman senior pastor, CBF churches present very few opportunities as well (of 675 senior pastors, only 44 are women). Also, most of the faculty members at CBF-affiliated seminaries are men. Therefore, women have limited opportunities to observe images of women pastors and connect with women role models and mentors. These processes contribute to women's deferred realization and connection with their calling, the delayed development of their pastoral identities and skills, and the lack of opportunities to serve as leaders, particularly preachers, in churches. As a result, many women have less experience than men once they graduate seminary and begin applying for pastoral positions thus resulting in their pursuit of alternative forms of ministry and indirect paths to the pastoral ministry.

The effects of these outcomes will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

In addition to becoming aware of the ways that normative Baptist gender structure remains influential in CBF congregations and in lives of women pastors particularly, it is important to point out that CBF congregations are inextricably linked to the gender structure of dominant culture as well. In other words, women's underrepresentation in senior pastor positions in CBF congregations parallels dominant patterns in the gendered division of labor of other occupations on a national level. Women remain significantly underrepresented in the higher echelons of leadership in politics, business, medicine, law, and other denominational entities and underrepresented overall in fields like science, technology, and engineering. The likelihood of women having access to women role models in any leadership positions remains remarkably low. Therefore, in order for CBF congregations to effectively fulfill their mission of women's equal leadership and theological commitment to equality and justice for all human beings, they must work beyond officially stating that they support the leadership of women by being intentional about hiring more women in senior pastors positions as well as seminary faculty positions, providing more opportunities for leadership and development for young women and girls, and inviting more women as guest preachers in their congregations. Additionally, pastoral staff should be deliberate about hosting discussion panels, classes, and workshops directed at shifting congregants' and church staff's conscious and unconscious sexist beliefs about women.

For instance, at the end of one of my research visits at a CBF church that had never hired a woman in any full time pastoral position, one congregant asked about some of the themes that were surfacing in my study. I communicated some of the findings of

this chapter, particularly the patterns of women rarely receiving affirmation of their vocational callings early in life. To this she asked, "Well do you think it's just because women generally need more affirmation than men?" The findings of this chapter show that women pastors need more encouragement and affirmation than do men pastors, not because they are *naturally* more insecure or socialized to have sensitive personalities, but because of internalized messages of discrimination and exclusion, the consistent lack of affirmation of their callings from a young age, and the dearth of women role models demonstrating that being a Baptist pastor is possible while men and boys constantly receive implicit encouragement and explicit affirmation. My interaction with this congregant further demonstrates the pervasiveness of normative gender structure and, therefore, calls for further awareness of these gendered processes and a re-framing of perceptions of women's need for affirmation. My study shows that women pursued the vocational ministry and attained pastoral positions *despite* experiencing persistent messages of exclusion and little to no affirmation of their callings. While most women's exclusion often delayed the cultivation of their pastoral identities and created indirect paths to pastoral positions, the women in this study proved resilient in their pursuit of the vocational ministry despite gendered barriers along the way.

Chapter 5: Gendered Hiring Processes

The previous chapter demonstrated how gendered processes negatively impact women's professional trajectory within the Baptist context before entering the job market. This chapter shows how these gendered patterns intersect with congregational hiring processes in ways that result in inequitable outcomes for women. First, this chapter offers a theoretical overview of organizational logic as developed in Acker's theory of gendered organizations. Secondly, this chapter examines the hiring processes of CBF congregations and demonstrates how seemingly gender-neutral hiring criteria and congregants' conscious and unconscious gender biases result in inequitable outcomes for women pastors despite congregations' explicit goals of gender equality. Finally, this chapter explores the specific circumstances that lead to the hiring of women in congregations and suggests that unconscious biases related to women in leadership decrease as congregants have more experience with women pastors.

Organizational Logic

Gender is a foundational component of *organizational logic*, or the underlying assumptions and processes that shape work organizations (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980). Acker (1990) challenges the pre-conceived notion that organizational logic is gender neutral by arguing that there is a gendered substructure underlying the daily practical work activities that occur within organizations. Organizational logic in its material forms refers to "work rules, labor contracts, managerial directives, and other documentary tools for running large organizations, including systems of job evaluation"(Acker, 1990, p. 147). Organizational logic also includes more abstract hiring protocols, job descriptions,

hiring criteria, and the unofficial *ways of doing things* influenced by organizational goals as well as the assumptions and beliefs of organizational actors. These organizational configurations carry symbolic meanings that shape organizations' form, structure, and outcomes. Furthermore, the ways in which these symbolic indicators are approached, interpreted, and conversed about in the job evaluation and hiring processes illuminates the underlying organizational logic and to what extent, in this case, it is gendered (organizational logic also implicates race, class, age, and sexuality).

Several empirical studies examine organizational logic as gendered processes that reproduce gender inequalities within workplaces. In particular, researchers have examined the gendered organizational logic in prisons (e.g. Britton, 2003, 1997), the military (e.g. Britton & Williams, 1995), the police academy (e.g. Prokos & Padavic, 2002), manufacturing firms (e.g. Di Tomaso, 1989), the service sector (e.g. Blum & Kahn, 1996), fire-fighting (e.g. Skuratowicz, 1996), nursing (e.g. Brown, 2009; Wingfield, 2009; Snyder & Green, 2008), academia (e.g. Manchester, Leslie, & Kramer, 2013), technology (e.g. Ridgeway, 2008) and the retail industry (e.g. Purcell, 2012). For instance, Britton (1997) examines the "gender neutral" organizational logic of men's and women's prisons to find that underlying gendered assumptions are actually embedded in trainings, evaluation standards, and work assignments in ways that result in inequitable outcomes for women. Furthermore, Britton builds on Acker's conceptualization of gendered organizations, which assumes that workers are not neutral but men, and argues that organizational logic is not gendered but, more specifically, masculinized and reinforces men's dominance.

In relation to congregations, I identified only one study that examined the hiring processes of congregations through the lens of gender. Fobes (1997) specifically examines the hiring processes of an Anglican parish in Australia and demonstrates how well-intentioned search committee members consistently "do gender" even as they claim and believe they behave in "gender free" ways. Fobes frames gendered hiring processes through the theoretical lens of cultural resources defined as "an available repertoire of claims, including their rationales, that organizational [and group] members use to establish or justify practices, policies, or arrangements" (p. 89). Different from organizational policies, which are understood as non-negotiable and non-pliable (e.g. barring women's ordination), cultural resources are negotiable and pliable and shape the organizational logic or *the ways things work* within an organization. Specifically, Fobes shows that congregant's cultural understandings and values related to gender influence hiring processes in ways that negatively impact women applicants.

In particular, Fobes (1997) illustrates that when the hiring committee could only fund the airline and hotel expenses for three of the four candidates being interviewed, the three candidates chosen were all males while the fourth candidate, who was a woman, was invited for an interview but was responsible for all of her traveling expenses. The committee's rationale was that they could only afford to fly three candidates, however, they also funded traveling expenses for the three male candidates' wives. When the chair of the search committee was asked why funding was offered to the wives but not to the woman candidate, he stated, "Usually all the wives fly down. It's just standard 'cause you want to meet their family" (p. 94). In this way, the organizational logic of the hiring processes privileged men candidates and their wives over the woman candidate's equal

opportunity for an interview. Fobes (1997) further showed that one of the male candidates was selected for the job for reasons such as being "assertive" and a "well-liked man who takes care of his family" (p. 95) which often are identified as qualities assumed to be exclusively related to masculinity. Although committee members believed that gender was "never a deciding factor," gendered assumptions patterned throughout the hiring process produced gendered outcomes that resulted in stratifying effects for women ministers.

Gendered Hiring Processes

In Baptist churches, congregants are responsible for hiring and personnel processes. Typically, the church votes on a pastoral search committee usually comprised of 5-7 members. Generally, the committee conducts a search, visits pastors and observes their preaching, and chooses 4-5 candidates to interview. Once the hiring committee interviews all of the candidates, it usually votes and decides on a candidate to present to the whole congregation. In most of the churches in the sample, this candidate is brought to the church to preach and engage in discussion with congregants. Then the entire congregation votes on whether or not to hire the candidate. For this reason, congregants' gendered opinions and attitudes are particularly relevant to churches' organizational logic, specifically hiring processes.

To varying degrees, all of the congregations in this study have established a goal of inclusiveness and equality particularly pertaining to women and women's leadership. In fact, all of the pastoral hiring committees were represented equally by men and women members with the goal of achieving equality in the hiring process. The following sections outline how, despite congregants' intentions of equitable hiring processes, gendered

hiring criteria as well as congregants' conscious and unconscious gender biases perpetuate an inequitable division of labor in Baptist churches. As discussed below, there are two ways in which hiring outcomes are affected by congregants' gender biases. First, I examine how congregants' explicit and implicit assumptions of gender differences reinforce men's ascension to pastoral positions. Second, I demonstrate how congregants' feelings of anxiety or apprehension, commonly experienced when individuals encounter something new or different, exacerbate unconscious gender biases and potentially result in inequitable outcomes for women applicants. Finally, in the last section, I focus on the specific circumstances by which women were hired as senior pastors and show that exposure to women pastors typically decreases congregants' gender biases thus creating more equitable hiring processes.

"Gender Neutral" Hiring Criteria

In every congregation, search committee members explicitly stated there were no differences between how they reviewed the resumes of men and women. Instead, they believed they were looking for the "most qualified candidate" regardless of gender. Central to these processes was how congregations' hiring criteria and women's unequal gendered experiences *prior* to the job market (as discussed in the previous chapter) intersect to reinforce an unequal division of labor in Baptist congregations.

First, most search committee members said that they usually looked for someone who was younger (20s, 30s, 40s). Congregants from two different churches, Beth and Edith, explained why they preferred to hire a young pastor.

> Beth: My husband was on the search committee for Kyle. I knew a lot about it. We knew he was young, we knew we wanted somebody young. All our churches do now. They want someone young… Because we got older members now and our kids aren't going to church.

> Edith: We wanted someone young. We were a dying church with mainly older people so we thought having a young, vibrant pastor and a young family would bring more people.

Edith stated that churches want to hire younger pastors because they think "a young, vibrant pastor and a young family would bring more people." Beth's pastoral search committee specifically wanted to hire young pastors because as she stated above, "our kids aren't going to church." Although congregants' preference of hiring someone younger does not intentionally advantage men over women applicants, this hiring criteria inevitably decreases the likelihood of women receiving senior pastor positions. Significantly, by the time many women pursue senior pastor positions, they have aged out of the preferred age range thus resulting in men's advantage in securing these positions. Congregants consider this hiring criteria gender-neutral because it does not explicitly discriminate against women, however, they fail to see how the gendered barriers women face prior to the hiring process negatively influence the likelihood that women applicants will still be within the preferred age range when they apply for senior pastor positions. Therefore, criteria that privileges younger pastors not only excludes older applicants, but disproportionately purges women from the hiring pool thus rendering this hiring norm masculine not neutral.

Similar to the hiring criteria at most workplaces, pastoral search committees also considered applicants' work experience as a key qualification and, therefore, directly compared the pastoral experience of men and women applicants. Co-senior pastor, Laura, explained why this practice was problematic for women on the job market:

> Laura: By the time we graduated seminary, he [Michael, co-senior pastor] had almost ten years of experience on me. And it's not just that he had more experience than me on paper but he had opportunities to practice things like

> preaching. And so [motions hand toward Michael], who do you think they're going to choose? I feel like I have to go get my doctorate just to catch up.

Exclusionary beliefs and policies in Baptist life presented barriers to women receiving opportunities for pastoral leadership. Laura explained, "By the time we graduated seminary, Michael had almost ten years of experience on me." While she was being denied opportunities for pastoral experience, Michael was being offered these opportunities. Furthermore, Laura pointed out that Michael not only had experience in terms of years and job titles, but he was also able to develop important pastoral skills such as preaching. Laura's lack of opportunities for gaining pastoral experience in high school, college, and seminary resulted in her having significantly less experience than Michael, therefore, making him more competitive and marketable to congregations. Similarly, Ashley, a congregant and ordained minister, described how her and her friends' experiences differed from men's in seminary.

> Ashley: I know that while I was—and a lot of my girlfriends—were just trying to figure out what we were going to do in seminary. Like—"Yes! We got to come! Now what?" A lot of my guy friends were already preaching and being senior pastors [while they were in seminary]. You know, they were part-time because the churches were rural and small, but they were still getting that experience. They could say at the end of it that they had already been a senior pastor somewhere and had preaching experience. Not to mention, a lot of these smaller rural churches were typically more conservative. I remember many of my friends talking about how they couldn't preach the sermons they wanted to preach at their churches because they would be pushing it too far. So, most of the churches probably wouldn't have hired a woman [seminary student] anyway. I don't know of any women seminary students who were part-time [senior] pastors or preached at one of these smaller churches on Sundays… A lot of us also worked at Centrifuge and M-Fuge (summer camps affiliated with the SBC). Both males and females were allowed to be counselors and teach Bible studies. I remember having a woman director. And some of my guy friends were camp pastors, but I don't remember ever seeing a woman camp pastor.

Ashley echoed Laura's point that she and many of her women colleagues spent much of their time in seminary connecting with their callings and developing their newly

discovered pastoral identities. She said above, “I know that while I was—and a lot of my girlfriends—were just trying to figure out what we were going to do in seminary. Like—‘Yes! We got to come! Now what?,’” meanwhile, her male classmates were serving as ministers and pastors or, sometimes, even senior pastors in congregations. Therefore, when they graduated from seminary, Ashley had significantly less experience than her male colleagues.

Ashley also explained that her moderate-liberal male classmates got pastoral and preaching experience at more conservative congregations. In order to pass as conservative, they often withheld beliefs that conflicted with congregational theology and preached sermons that didn’t “push it too far” therefore bypassing any controversial topics and conflicts. Although they “couldn’t preach the sermons they wanted to preach,” they did not have to adhere to these more conservative theological perspectives and beliefs permanently because these jobs were largely part-time and temporary. Male seminary students only had to meet conservative expectations long enough to gain pastoral experience while they were in seminary.

Additionally, Ashley stated, “Most of these [conservative] churches probably wouldn’t have hired a woman [seminary student] anyway. I don’t know of any women seminary students who were part-time [senior] pastors or preached at one of these smaller churches [regularly].” She further noted that she and many of her friends worked as camp counselors at SBC-affiliated camps, but stated, “Some of my guy friends were camp pastors, but I don’t remember ever seeing a woman pastor.” Women were less likely to pass as conservative than men because many conservative congregations and entities consider the very notion of women pastors as theologically moderate-liberal. While

conservative beliefs excluded women from pastoral positions in many congregations and even in summer camps, men were able to benefit from these exclusionary gender beliefs. Connell (1993) conceptualizes this as *complicit masculinities*, which refers to when men do not necessarily support or fit into dominant systems of gender, but fail to challenge them, therefore, receiving some of the exclusive benefits of these systems. Men's ability to gain pastoral experience in *all* Baptist churches and affiliated entities, including conservative ones, results in their advantage on the job market. Therefore, when hiring committees directly compare the pastoral experience of men and women applicants, they create a masculinized hiring process rather than a gender-neutral one.

Some churches not only valued pastoral experience, but specifically required or preferred senior pastor experience. I observed the process that led to the hiring of one congregation's senior pastor, Olivia, the church's first woman pastor. The search committee narrowed down the search to five applicants, two women and three men. Although Olivia was one of the top five candidates, the search committee initially selected one of the male candidates, Sam, to be invited to preach, interview with the congregation, and be voted on by the congregation. Olivia and Sam were both in their thirties, the age range most sought after by search committees. In fact, the male candidate was actually younger than Olivia but already had several years of senior pastor experience while Olivia only had associate pastor experience. When this announcement was made, some women in the congregation disagreed with the decision because they thought it was time to hire a woman pastor, which later led to the hiring of Olivia. Deb, a search committee member, described why Sam was first chosen instead of Olivia:

> Deb: [We had] a wide age variation, a very wide age range. Well, not that wide, maybe thirties… I don't think that the fact that she was a woman made any

> difference negative or positive. I think it was entirely neutral thing. Maybe to some, it did. But to me, she was a unifier and she knew how to respond to the congregation. She was a solid, well-trained pastor that fit in our mold. She was highly recommended by people we respected… But to me personally, there is no stronger proponent of women in ministry than I am but I really was looking at the person. To be honest with you, Olivia did not have senior pastor experience that was what some of us were looking for… But I'm telling you that what Sam did have which certain people did think was important, he had senior pastor experience for a long time. I don't know for how many years, maybe five.

Deb, the chair of the committee, explicitly supported women's equal leadership by stating, "there is no stronger proponent of women in ministry than I am." She also described the hiring process as an "entirely a neutral thing." However, because the committee preferred candidates who had previous senior pastor experience *and* were a certain age, the odds of women being qualified for the position were significantly decreased because they are significantly less likely than men to have senior pastor experience. Although Deb thought Olivia was "a solid, well-trained pastor" and was "highly recommended" by people the congregation respected, ultimately Olivia had never been a senior pastor. Therefore, Olivia did not initially receive the job. Despite Deb's intentions of gender-neutrality in the hiring process, preferring candidates to have senior pastor experience proves to be a masculinized process rather than a neutral one because it largely benefits men.

Deb further explained why many of the women candidates were not considered seriously for the job.

> Deb: I'm trying to think how many women versus men applied for the job. I would say and this may not be accurate, 25% were women who were actually in the top contenders because there were women who didn't have pastoral experience at all, or women who had like taken strange twists and turns who may have been in our mold [what they were looking for] but--
>
> Interviewer: Strange professional twists and turns?

> Deb: One of them. One woman, she had taken on social justice issues and she was actually working with the homeless. That's an example. She was an ordained minister, but her full time job was in working with say the homeless or working with prostitutes.

Deb communicated that she preferred more direct professional paths to senior pastor positions by stating the reason some women ministers were excluded early in the deliberation process was because their resumés took "strange twists and turns," characterized by jobs directed at social justice issues such as ministering to homeless people. However, what Deb described as "twists and turns" are actually the effects of the theological, interpersonal, cultural, and organizational barriers that women pastors encounter prior to the job market and often lead them to pursue helping professions like social work and counseling. Deb interpreted these professional "twists and turns" as shortcomings rather than a sign of their resilience. Consequently, Deb's preference for direct career trajectories functions as a barrier to women attaining senior pastor positions. For this reason, despite her support of women pastors, Deb proved unaware of the influence of gendered barriers on women pastors' career trajectories and, therefore, understood these hiring criteria as neutral rather than as benefitting men.

Similarly, Melissa, a search committee member at a church that had never hired a woman as senior pastor, required similar criteria in the selection process for their last senior pastor. She also communicated her regret about not further pursuing one of the women applicants:

> Melissa: I don't know how many women we had apply, but there was definitely one woman who was- this is just off the top of my head, it's approximate, but I would say that there was one woman who for me anyway would have been in maybe the top 15 that we were looking at. They were probably 10 that wound up on our top list and there was not a woman in that group. I remember this particular woman and I've always, to tell you the truth, regretted that I did not push more for us to [consider her further]- I wish she'd been more of our top 10,

> and I wish we had listened to her preach, and I wish we had talked to her as a group and we didn't. We only talked to men, and I have regretted that, that I didn't do that, one of my regrets…She had not been a [senior] pastor, I think she had been an associate pastor, we eliminated anyone who had not been a senior pastor, so really it was less a gender thing. But looking back on it, how are you going to have women who have been a senior pastor if you don't let them be a senior pastor?

Melissa recalled that one woman in particular made it to her final fifteen, but she did not make the cut to the top ten because, as Melissa said above, "she had not been a [senior] pastor, I think she had been an associate pastor, we eliminated anyone who had not been a senior pastor, so really it was less a gender thing." Similar to Deb, Melissa expected men *and* women candidates to have senior pastor experience and, therefore, considered these criteria gender-neutral rather than masculinized. This finding suggests that Melissa is not fully aware of the gendered barriers women face prior to the job market and how this hiring expectation actually *is* a "gender thing." Melissa also regretted that she "did not push more" to seriously consider the woman candidate and further stated, "Looking back on it, how are you going to have women who have been a senior pastor if you don't let them be a senior pastor?" This statement illustrates Melissa's emerging understanding of the negative and inequitable impact of normative Baptist gender structure on the careers of women pastors and realizes that congregations need to be more intentional about hiring women in order to break the cycle of women not receiving senior pastor positions.

Mary, a pastoral search committee member at a church with a woman senior pastor, had a similar type of commitment to equality as many of the other hiring committees.

> Mary: No, we did not set out to hire a woman. We looked at men and women equally. We didn't want to be "affirmative action-y."

Mary stated that the search committee "looked at men and women equally" thus showing their intention of equality during the hiring process. Additionally, Mary explained, "We didn't want to be 'affirmative action-y'" by being intentional about hiring a woman. Affirmative action is a policy that seeks to establish equitable access to employment opportunities and to create a workforce that is an accurate reflection of the demographics of the qualified workers in the related job market. Different from most of the hiring committees' approach to equality, the affirmative action approach takes into account the structural barriers women face over the course of their lives and achieves equality by factoring these barriers into the hiring process. In contrast, Mary considers an affirmative action approach in conflict with the search committee's efforts to create an equitable hiring process because from her perspective, it fails to consider the resumes of men and women equally. This approach to equality parallels those of other search committees by not considering how men and women experience unequal paths to the job market and ultimately results in men's advantage in the hiring process.

In one congregation that has never hired a woman in any full-time pastoral position, an "affirmative action-y" approach was attempted during a pastoral hiring process but was ultimately unsuccessful. Brett, the senior pastor, served on a pastoral search committee that was hiring for two full-time pastoral positions. These positions were not lead pastor positions, but this church maintained a flat leadership structure at the time so they were full-time positions with equal authority, autonomy, and leadership as senior pastor positions. According to Brett, the top six candidates consisted of two women and four men. The search committee then narrowed down the pool to four candidates, three men and one woman. One of the positions was given to one of the male

candidates pretty early in the deliberation process. For the second pastoral position, all three of the other candidates were seriously considered for the position. The committee debated over the two male candidates as essentially the same candidate because they offered similar qualities. Also, both male candidates had been part of the congregation as members previously. So the deliberation about the candidates was essentially about whether or not to hire the woman candidate or one of the two male candidates. Brett explained how this conversation occurred:

> Brett: When we met to discuss, I said, "Everybody, well I really think, it would be beneficial with two positions that we hire one male and one female. Because we have a lot of women in the congregation and it would great to have somebody that could minister to them." And Greg-- No more Jon, Dan and Alice [other committee members] were like, "I don't think that at all." and Alice said, "That's offensive. That's offensive to me as a woman that you would say that."
>
> Interviewer: Did she you go on? Why was that offensive?
>
> Brett: Nope, she didn't. I go "Okay." I started to back off there and was like well we'll just see where the discussion goes if she [Meredith] can get there on her own merit then I win anyways. I did want Meredith [woman candidate] because she was really talented, really talented and because she was female.

During the deliberation process, Brett said to the search committee, "I really think it would be beneficial with two positions that we hire one male and one female. Because we have a lot of women in the congregation and it would great to have somebody that could minister to them." Here, we see Brett take an affirmative action approach to hiring a woman pastor. Since the church had an all-male pastoral staff, he valued the presence of a woman role model for girls and women in the congregation. Alice took offense to the idea of hiring Meredith *just* because she was a woman. In other words, Alice objected to the potential of a *token hire*, which is when workplaces hire a small number of people from underrepresented groups to give the appearance of diversity and equality but the

hire is typically perfunctory and holds only symbolic significance. Different from a token hire, Meredith was already a top two candidate when Brett suggested that it would be beneficial to hire a woman meaning that she was clearly qualified for the job. Also, there were only four pastors on staff so hiring Meredith wouldn't have represented only a symbolic image of equality, she would have effectively made up one fourth of the staff. Moreover, in addition to Meredith being a woman, Brett said that he wanted to hire her "because she was really talented, really talented," which is also clear by how far she came in the decision-making process. Therefore, Brett's effort to hire a woman pastor in this instance should not be understood synonymously with the concept of a token hire but instead an effort to disrupt the normative Baptist division of labor and provide the congregation with a woman pastoral role model.

Once Alice expressed that she was offended, Brett stated above, "I started to back off there and was like well we'll just see where the discussion goes if she [Meredith] can get there on her own merit then I win anyway." Ryan, another search committee member who was present for this conversation, further explained that once Alice stated that she was offended, the conversation ceased because many perceived Alice as having the expert opinion on what was offensive in terms of gender because she was herself a woman. This assumption suggests that the committee generally understood women as a homogenous group with the same perspectives, lacked a general understanding of gender structure as a whole, and failed to recognize how men *and* women often reinforce dominant gender structure. Additionally, although the hiring process was designed as a democratic one, Ryan explained that search committee members viewed Alice as holding a lot of unofficial authority and influence within the church, which also contributed to no

one challenging her about the idea of hiring a woman. As a result, two men were hired for the two pastoral positions.

Even though Alice was a woman, she was uninformed of the effects of gender structure and how the lack of women pastors as role models reinforces images of men in leadership and contributes to girls' self-perceived capabilities of occupying positions of leadership. Women's representation in pastoral positions would have been particularly important at this church because it is located in a Baptist college town that also has a seminary. Hiring a woman would have provided a rare woman role model to college students considering the vocational ministry or any leadership roles. It would have also provided a unique mentor to women seminary students as they maneuvered through gender barriers characteristic of Baptist life thus resulting in one less barrier for them to face.

Despite search committees' good intentions of gender neutrality and equality in pastoral hiring processes, most hiring criteria assume that women pastors have equal opportunities for pastoral experience and for direct career trajectories as men and, therefore, are masculinized not neutral. Specifically, congregants requiring applicants to have senior pastor experience and a direct career trajectory as well as their normative practice of directly comparing the pastoral experience of men and women applicants fail to account for the structural barriers women pastors face prior to the hiring process. While most men are affirmed as ministers much earlier in life, they are able to attend seminary with a better understanding of their capabilities and career goals. Furthermore, men are able to get pastoral experience at all Baptist churches including the largest group of Baptist churches, conservative ones. By contrast, over the course of their lives most

women pastors encounter theological, cultural, organizational, and interpersonal barriers to obtaining opportunities for pastoral leadership and experience, especially preaching. Therefore, when hiring committees consider the resumes of men and women candidates in *completely equal ways* without awareness of their unequal professional paths, this only reinforces a gender structure that advantages men and contributes to a gendered division of labor.

I argue that if search committees want to actually achieve equality in hiring processes, then they need to consider the ways that the paths of men and women pastors are not equal. Otherwise seemingly gender-neutral hiring processes will continue reinforcing an unequal division of labor. In order for CBF congregations to most effectively pursue the equal leadership of women, they must undo established gendered hiring processes and re-imagine new criteria for hiring pastors. For instance, in addition to attributes related to education, experience, and preaching, search committees should consider qualities that many women likely cultivate as they push against barriers on their paths to actually becoming a pastor such as resilience, strength, courage, an acute sense of self, determination, deep spirituality, inclusiveness, collaboration, creativity, discernment, adaptability, and patience—most of which are qualities that congregants identified as important qualities of pastors anyway.

Additionally, congregations should actively consider, interview, and select women pastors. Currently, the majority of Baptist congregants are women and the number of women graduates in CBF-affiliated seminaries is almost completely even with the number of male graduates, however, women still only make up five percent of solo senior pastor positions. Therefore, an affirmative action approach *should be* the approach

applied by CBF congregations currently and will ultimately contribute to a more equitable division of labor within CBF congregations overall.

Gendered Assumptions

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the role of pastor is conflated with expectations of authority and leadership, and therefore, is intrinsically linked to masculinity. Although pastors are expected to engage in feminized skills such as being patient, a good listener, compassionate, empathetic, and collaborative in order to establish their authority, the gendered significance of the role of pastor is situated in their ability to demonstrate strong leadership skills and embody authority effectively. Specifically, these expectations were referred to by congregants as pastors' ability to "stand their ground," "be tough," "be assertive," "be a senior pastor," and "not be pushed around," which are abilities and traits generally associated with masculinity (Acker, 1990). Congregants also expected pastors to establish their authority through "good preaching" typically defined by pastors' ability to demonstrate a high level of intelligence, research and technical skills, and commanding attention in the pulpit, which are also qualities generally associated with masculinity as well (Acker, 1990, Rhoton, 2011).

Since the role of pastor is ultimately masculinized, if congregants assume essential differences between men (e.g. masculine) and women (e.g. feminine) then men will be more likely to receive pastoral positions because they will be perceived (consciously or unconsciously) as better fits for these jobs. Additionally, women would have the additional burden of proving that they are exceptions to their sex and capable of establishing their authority *despite* being a woman. Most congregants, particularly women, in churches with a woman pastor often attributed differences between men and

women pastors to individual personalities rather than sex differences. Congregants who did assume essential differences between men and women rarely explicitly stated that they believed men and women were naturally different rather these assumptions surfaced in implicit ways suggesting that they had unconscious gender biases. However, some congregants, almost exclusively in congregations that had never hired a woman senior pastor, explicitly stated that they understood women as essentially different than men but believed these differences should be valued equally thus illustrating their conscious gender bias. This section explores congregants' unconscious and conscious gender biases and demonstrates how these biases likely influence hiring processes in ways that reinforce the normative Baptist division of labor by which men maintain most senior pastor positions.

In interviews with pastors and congregants I did not ask many questions that explicitly inquired about their attitudes or opinions pertaining to men and women because they were typically aware enough to respond with the "right" or politically correct answers. However, sometimes for my closing question I would explicitly ask, "Do you believe that women and men are essentially different?" or "Do you think there is something essentially different between a woman doing the role of pastor and a man doing the role of pastor?" In response to the former question, senior pastor Brett, who had served on a hiring committee for two pastoral positions at a church that has never hired a woman in any full-time pastoral position, responded:

> Brett: I think men lead aggressively, mechanistically sometimes. I think men are more focused on results and solving problems. Men are not as patient and able to sit in ambiguity as long…Women think--I don't know, I can't get any specifics it's like a perceptual thing. I think women are typically better listeners in my experience. Women are typically more patient. I think women are typically more thoughtful. I think women tend to have a different kind of courage.

Brett perceived that women typically embody traits of femininity like listening, patience, and thoughtfulness more often and effectively than men. Also, he described men as more aggressive leaders who are more rational, focused on solving problems, and less comfortable with ambiguity and, therefore, more decisive. Although Brett placed equal value on the different qualities of men and women, he fails to see how these assumptions reinforce a gendered hierarchy, with men being more suited for leadership and women more suited for support roles.

As we continued our conversation, we pointed out examples of men and women who failed to fit these descriptions, but Brett referred to these examples as exceptions and statistically atypical thus showing his bias toward men as more rational, problem-solving, decisive leaders. Given Brett's understanding of differences between men and women, he will likely perceive men as more *naturally* able to embody pastoral positions of authority and leadership. As the exception to his rules, women would have to prove that they have the qualities required to be good leaders.

Brett also described women as having a "different kind of courage." In response, I asked "What kind of courage?"

> Brett: Well, again because women are part of a class in our society that has more experience being discriminated against, they're more likely to see things like that in the [biblical] text. When they preach for example they are able to further identify with people who are also discriminated against.

Brett described women's courage in relation to their ability to identify with others who have been discriminated against and shed light on others' discrimination through their sermons.

Specifically, Brett said that because women have been discriminated against, they are more likely to "see things like that in the biblical text" and are able to "further identify with people who are also discriminated against" when they preach. The significance of Brett's statement about women's courage lies in the word "different." Presumably Brett understands men's courage as *courage* and women's courage as *a different kind of courage* than men's. Therefore, Brett understands men's courage in normative terms such as strength, leadership, bravery, decisiveness, and boldness--traits typically associated with positions of authority, and women's courage as primarily related to their subordinate status as women and their ability to speak out against discrimination. This type of "courage" is largely associated with helping and caring professions like social work not positions of authority.

Women should be considered courageous for preaching sermons on social justice issues that are considered controversial by church members. The courage women embody by risking their jobs in leading congregants to controversial and important places does not differ from the kind of courage traditionally associated with masculinity, particularly in a modern world, except for the fact that it is embodied by women. Because dominant society constructs masculinity, in this case courage, as the exclusive trait of men, Brett perceives women's embodiment of courage as "a different kind of courage," and therefore different from the type of courage required of positions of authority of leadership. In this way, Brett's distinction between men's and women's courage is not simply one of difference; it is one of value. Courage embodied by men is connected to their ability to lead. However, when women embody courage, it is in relation to their subordinate status. Therefore, Brett's understanding of men's courage better qualifies

them for positions of leadership and authority in churches while his limited definition of women's courage proves valuable only in relation to their compassion for and desire to help people and is valuable only to congregations that desire social justice oriented pastors. This pastoral quality proves to be valued by only a small group of churches in the context of the Baptist denomination.

Some congregants' assumptions of gender differences emerged as they described different pastors, including previous pastors. Chris, a congregant at a church with a woman pastor, explicitly stated that he supported women's leadership in the church and viewed men and women as equals. However, when Chris described the leadership qualities of his pastor, he said:

> Chris: She was the first woman lead pastor we had—but she was very assertive, did a good job.
>
> Interviewer: Assertive in what way?
>
> Chris: She was effective in leading services, preaching, you know—leadership.

Chris, who understands assertiveness to be a trait of good leaders, clarifies that *although* this pastor was a woman, she proved to lead assertively. This qualifying statement suggests that Chris understands men as naturally assertive as well as natural leaders, while women must prove that they can be assertive and effective leaders despite being women. In the context of hiring decisions, these types of assumptions likely reinforce a gendered division of labor by which men maintain most senior pastor positions and women occupy subordinate, support roles or at most, pastoral positions with fewer leadership expectations than senior pastors.

Will served on a congregational personnel committee at a church with a woman associate pastor, but had never hired a woman as a senior pastor. He explicitly stated that

he supported the equal leadership of women, but thought it was unfair that women were sometimes expected to fit into the masculinized mold of pastor and *lead like men:*

> Will: I think women should have the freedom to lead like women. I think sometimes they are expected or maybe they just feel like they have to act like a man and overcompensate in different ways.
>
> Interviewer: In what kind of ways?
>
> Will: Well, like being overly aggressive when they should be able to lead like a woman.
>
> Interviewer: What does that mean?
>
> Will: Listening. Being caring, relational. Leading that way.

Although Will supports women's leadership in the church, he, like Brett, understands men and women as essentially different. As he stated above, "[women] are expected or maybe they just feel like they have to act like a man and overcompensate in different ways." Will believes that women should be able to naturally lead *like a woman*, defined by feminine traits like "listening, being caring, relational." In other words, Will thinks that masculinity is and *should be* the natural and exclusive quality of men, therefore, he views women leaders who embody qualities of masculinity are unnatural or "overcompensating" for their femininity thus restricting and judging women's access to masculinity. This is a result of what Schippers (2007) terms *pariah femininities,* which refers to the stigmatization and sanctioning of women's embodiment of masculinity.

Will's assertion that women should lead in a feminine way is problematic because qualities of masculinity are conflated with those of leadership and authority and, therefore, those of pastors. While the feminine qualities Will understands as natural to women's leadership are expected of all pastors, men *and* women, congregants also expect pastors to lead assertively and effectively establish authority, qualities understood as

masculine. Therefore, women's exclusion from masculine qualities ultimately ensures men's dominance in effectively "doing" the role of pastor.

Furthermore, Will conceptualizes gender inequality by describing the unfair expectations that women leaders must lead like men. Specifically Will said, "women should have the freedom to lead like a woman." While it is unjust that femininity is often undervalued in positions of leadership (although not in the position of pastor), it is equally unjust for women who embody forms of masculinity as leaders to be perceived as unnatural, inauthentic, or overcompensating. Gender equality is not achieved through women's freedom "to lead like a woman;" this only ensures men's exclusive access to masculinity and, therefore, their dominance and power. Rather gender equality is achieved through women (and men) having the freedom to lead *however they want.* Despite Will's intentions of gender equality, he remains blind to the inherent hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity that undergirds an unequal gendered division of labor, specifically the glass ceiling, and how women must embody forms of masculinity in order to maintain authority.

Similarly, Jeff, a licensed counselor and congregant at a church with a woman senior pastor who had served on several different congregational committees, explicitly stated that men and women were naturally different but the real issue is that there needs to be more acceptance around women doing things differently from men.

> Jeff: Male brains and female brains are not the same, male bodies and female bodies are not the same. You can do whatever you want but women still bear children in our species and that's not going to change. I was thinking about the whole issue of female sexuality that is connected to stuff like [hormones]. Which I'll let you read on your own time but it orients us in different ways. I think there was a need for the feminist critique of leveling the playing field and talking about ways that males and females are alike. That point needed to be made but it needs -- also there is just, some leveling with the fact that men and women don't do

> things exactly the same way and probably never had and probably never will and that's that -- can we be okay with that or do we need to be just really anxious about that? There's a lot of anxiety in our society about this issue…

Jeff acknowledged some similarities between men and women when he stated, "There was a need for the feminist critique of leveling the playing field and talking about ways that males and females are alike. That point needed to be made." However, he also argued that the essential differences between men and women were a result of their different bodies, brains, relationships to procreation, and hormones and concludes, "men and women don't do things exactly the same way and probably never had and probably never will and that's that." In other words, Jeff believes gender is something *we are* rather than something *we do*. Furthermore, Jeff extends men's and women's biological differences to their approaches to leadership. He then asked, "Can we be okay with that? Or do we need to be just really anxious about it?" Here, Jeff is arguing that we need to accept the reality that men and women are different, but does not think this reality should be a source of anxiety, particularly if we learn to value men's and women's behaviors equally. Similar to Will, Jeff fails to see that masculinity and femininity are not only constructed as different and complementary, but exist in a hierarchical relationship with each other, with masculinity as dominant (Schippers, 2007). Jim's naturalization of this relationship only justifies men's dominance and reinforces gender inequality. It is for good reason, that society, particularly feminists, are "anxious" about dominant understandings of men and women as essentially different because the naturalization of this relationship ultimately leads to gender inequality.

Jeff further argued that these essential differences bolster men's and women's different leadership styles and that a new model of ministry should be re-configured for

women in ministry.

> Jeff: I'll use business as an example, is I think it's easy for women to get pulled into trying to act like men and use that aggression and not listening. I'm not sure that anybody benefits from that. Yes, I mostly find that and I think that it would be easy for a lot of women to feel like they have to do ministry the same way that men do. I think probably we are at a time in our society, where there's enough creative thinking going on where there might be ways for a woman in ministry to not have to do it, just do it in a new job fashion. I hope so.

Despite Jeff's binary conceptualization of gender in the previous quote, above he suggested that women *can* engage in masculine behaviors, however, it is understood as unnatural or a result of external pressures, and ultimately not valued. Specifically, Jeff stated above, "I think it's easy for women to get pulled into trying to act like men and use that aggression and not listening. I'm not sure that anybody benefits from that." Unlike in the previous quote, Jeff does not state that men and women are different, but rather argues that men and women have different behavioral expectations. Specifically, it is not that women are unable to embody forms of masculinity, but that it is not beneficial to anyone for women to act aggressively or not listen thus rendering masculinity the exclusive trait of men and ensuring men's dominance and women's subordination (Schippers, 2007).

Like Will, Jeff pursues gender equality by emphasizing the need to re-imagine the role of pastor so that women do not have to be "lead like men." Jeff stated above, "it would be easy for a lot of women to feel like they have to do ministry the same way men do. I think probably we are a time in our society, where there's enough creative thinking going on where there might be ways for a woman in ministry to not have to do it, just do it in a new job fashion. I hope so." Here, Jeff recognizes that the position of pastor is masculinized and believes that in order to achieve gender equality we must be creative

and re-conceptualize this role so that women can fit into this position more naturally. He hopes that gender equality can be achieved in this way.

However, congregants already generally expect pastors, both men and women, to have qualities of femininity which are generally described as being "pastoral," but the significance of pastors' role as authority figures and leaders is situated within qualities of masculinity, such as assertiveness, decisiveness, strength, and courage. Jeff's notion that the role of pastor should be re-imagined for women so that they can approach it in "a new job fashion," which does not encompass masculinity is problematic because leadership is conflated with masculinity. If masculinity is understood as the exclusive domain of men and women only have access to femininity, then women pastors will lose the ability to effectively lead. This means that women's access to masculinity is vital to their ability to effectively embody the role of pastor and should not be discouraged, judged, or perceived as different, unnatural, or wrong. Only then will gender equality may be achieved.

Similarly, Jim, a congregant who served on a congregational personnel committee at a church that had never hired a woman as senior pastor, stated that he thought there were distinct differences between men and women and these differences complemented each other. In his explanation, he described the complementary relationship between his senior pastor, Kyle, and woman associate pastor, Meg.

> Jim: I think they work great as a team. I personally think that a church of our size, because that's what I know, works fantastic with a he and a she or she and a he. That doesn't mean you can't have a she and she or he and a he. But, I really like the dynamic there because I think shes and hes bring different perspectives… Personally, I would always like to see balancing. Again, it wouldn't be a requirement but there would be some preference on trying to have diversity [as defined by different sexes] within our ministers.

Jim expressed what a great pastoral team Kyle and Meg were together. This observation

could be attributed to their particular personalities, however, he went on to describe this complementary relationship through the use of more general pronouns stating that it "works fantastic with a 'he' and a 'she' or 'she' and a 'he.'" He did not believe that men should always hold the positions of senior pastors and suggested that it would be equally beneficial to have a woman senior pastor and a man associate pastor. While this shows a commitment to gender equality, Jim argued that men and women bring "different perspectives" that are complementary in the context of a leadership duo. Moreover, Jim suggested that diversity is achieved by having a "she" and "he" on staff thus demonstrating that he understands men and women as distinctly different homogenous groups that complement each other. This naturalized relationship between men and women fails to acknowledge how attributes of femininity and masculinity overlap between the sexes and how there are differences within these groups. Furthermore, it fails to recognize that in an androcentric society, men's traits are valued more than women's. When asked what he meant by *different perspectives*, he responded:

> Jim: I think it's just men and women, just in general men and women, the roles that men and women have in society. The gender roles that are still there. The good and the bad, the pluses and the minuses, positives and the negatives, the yin and the yang. To me, it's like my best friend, longtime partner-my wife. I think we offset one another. We're yin and yang, we fit together. You see that in a leadership position in church as well. Kyle may not think of an idea or he might have a different approach than Meg may have in part because of her gender, because of her background and the role that she has been put into whether good or bad. The same for Kyle.

Here, Jim extends from the relationship between Kyle and Meg to the relationship between the two sexes overall. As he stated above, "I think it's just men and women, just in general men and women, the roles that men and women have in society." Here, Jim argues that men and women are defined and understood in relation to their roles in

society. Specifically, Jim states, "Kyle may not think of an idea or he might have a different approach that Meg may have in part because of her gender, because of her background and the role that she has been put into whether good or bad. Same for Kyle."

Gender roles are understood gender as rigid with men in masculinized roles (i.e. independent leadership roles) and women in feminized roles (i.e. support roles). Therefore, Jim's perception of men and women being each other's "yin and yang" is grounded in his naturalization of the complementary and hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity by which women are not just different than men but are subordinate, dependent, listeners, and supporters while men are dominant, independent, directors, and leaders. Jim assumes the gendered relationship between Meg and Kyle is normative of the relationships between men and women in general rather than a result of their individual personalities or pastoral roles with Meg, the associate pastor, who is professionally subordinate to Kyle, the senior pastor. Despite his intention of valuing men's and women's roles equally, Jim proves unaware of the inherent hierarchy situated within the constructed complementary relationship between these gender roles, and how the naturalization of this relationship justifies men's ascendency into leadership positions.

When I interviewed congregants, I asked them to describe every pastor they encountered since they became a member at their current church. In total, congregants described about thirty different senior pastors with only five of these being women as well as other male associate pastors. Many congregants described pastors in terms of their leadership and preaching skills and, then, in relation to their "pastoral" skills, which were characterized by feminine qualities like being good listeners, kind, compassionate, patient,

caring, and attentive. Congregants described the vast majority of pastors as effectively embodying these feminine qualities. In fact, for some men pastors, congregants referred to their pastoral skills as their best qualities.

It is important to note that out of all of these conversations, congregants never made statements like "This pastor was a man, *but* he was really caring." While many congregants conceptualized masculinity as the property of men and femininity as the property of women, men's assumed ability to "be pastoral," characterized by traits of femininity, was never questioned and doubted. Congregants assumed that if a man was a pastor, he possessed at least some of the feminine traits and skills that were most often expected of pastors. In a few cases, male pastors were critiqued for not being "good enough listeners" or not being "pastoral enough," however, this was always attributed to their specific personalities rather than their sex.

This finding is significant for two reasons. First, this pattern contradicts recent trends that society is more likely to acknowledge women's professional capabilities, though in unequal ways to men's, than to assume that men can effectively embody feminine traits like being nurturing, caring, and good listeners (Williams, 1995; Irvine and Vermilya, 2011; Wingfield, 2009). Secondly, this finding shows that congregants' unconscious gender biases present barriers for women pastors but not for men pastors. While congregants assume that men pastors will "fit the mold" of the masculinized role of pastor despite the expectations of feminized qualities, women often have to prove their ability to establish authority, lead assertively, and "stand their ground." In the context of the hiring process, congregants' conscious or unconscious assumption that masculine qualities are or should be the exclusive traits of men and that women who embody these

traits are exceptional ultimately advantages men in the job market and reinforces the unequal gendered division of labor in CBF-affiliated churches.

"It Just Doesn't Feel Right"

In the same way that many women who were raised in Baptist life never experienced or even met a woman pastor, many of the congregants in this study had never experienced a woman as a senior pastor either. For some, their current pastor was the first woman pastor they ever encountered. Therefore, many congregants communicated that despite morally and intellectually supporting the equal leadership of women, they initially felt uneasy or anxious about the idea of a woman pastor. For only a few, this feeling continued even after having a woman pastor. For most, this uneasy feeling significantly diminished or disappeared after experiencing a woman pastor. This pattern is important to note because individuals' feelings of anxiety and uneasiness undergird unconscious biases or "gut feelings" that influence the decisions of hiring committees. This section explores congregants' initial feelings about women pastors and the varying degrees to which congregants engage this discomfort and process this anxiety and apprehension.

While all congregants in the study supported women's leadership in the church, some highlighted the dissonance between being intellectually and morally open to women pastors and not *feeling* completely comfortable with it. For instance, Nate served on the pastoral search committee that hired Laura and Michael as co-pastors. He completely supported this decision, however, noted that it still did not "feel right." When I asked why, he explained:

> Nate: Well, I've had that wondering in my own head, I know that, and it's probably based on my history, it's hard to--just because it's not been that way.

> And I think there is some basic difference and I couldn't tell you exactly what I think that is. [laughs] The authority that a male can present. [pauses] Mainly because women have not been expected or allowed, not just in church but in our whole society. It seems that we have accepted it more in a political world than we have in church. I've wondered that about myself, trying to figure out, okay now what is it about this I don't like? [laughs] I don't know what it is. I can't tell you. But I do think there's a difference and I think it probably is those of us that are still around, and as time goes on that won't be as big of a deal. But you look at our church, you talk about the leadership and all the people who never experience [a woman pastor]. And it's that we are open to the change, but still it just doesn't feel right. It's not that… it just doesn't feel right and we don't want to be mean about it or against it.

Although Nate progressed toward the moral and intellectual affirmation of women in church leadership, he reflects on why "it just doesn't feel right" by asking himself, "Okay, now what is it about this I don't like?" He does not know exactly and continues to wrestle with this question. Nate, who was raised in Baptist churches with male pastors and women in support roles, thinks that it may be "just because it's not been that way," meaning he is not used to having a woman in a position of authority in the church and "as time goes on it won't be a big deal." However, right now he does think that there is "some basic difference [between men and women pastors]" and goes on to state that it has something to do with "the authority that a male can present" compared to women. Nate does not think men's ability to establish authority is an effect of their essential natures, but rather "because women have not been expected or allowed [to lead], not just in church but in our whole society." Nate appears to have some understanding of the effects of normative gender structure on women's opportunities to gain pastoral experience and further stated, "we are open to change, but still it just doesn't feel right. It's not that…it just doesn't feel right and we don't want to mean about it or against it." This example shows that Nate's good intentions and moral affirmation of women's leadership may lead to hiring a woman pastor but does not necessarily result in the full

acceptance of women pastors, which ultimately undermines their authority.

Similarly, Elaine, a congregant that now attends a church with a woman senior pastor, recalled being a on a search committee for a previous pastor and explained that one male committee member, Ted, did not fully support the idea of women in senior pastor positions. In response, the committee sent him and another committee member to observe her preaching and leading a service at her current church. Elaine described his response once he returned:

> Elaine: We thought the best thing is for him-- she was far away from here. For him and one other person to go and visit her. He just loved her. He said when he came back, he said, "Well, I see it entirely differently," then he said, "This is a struggle for me," but he said, "I do see this differently." She was one of our top three.

According to Elaine, Ted's observation of a woman actually "doing" the role of pastor caused him to intellectually and morally change his stance on women's leadership. However, despite seeing women's leadership "entirely differently," Elaine noted that women pastors are "still a struggle for him." While his being exposed to a woman pastor initiated a step in the right direction, he remained uneasy with the idea of women pastors. It is impossible to know if this committee member's feelings of uneasiness with women in leadership directly resulted in the hiring committee selecting a male pastor for this position, however, it is important to note that his feelings of uncertainty were inevitably present in the deliberation process and played a part in the hiring process if only unconsciously.

Most congregants I spoke with supported Elaine's account of Ted's transition. They acknowledged an initial opposition, strangeness or discomfort the first time they heard a woman preach or had a woman pastor, however, their experience with women

pastors caused these feelings to quickly diminish or disappear altogether. For instance, Carol who attended a church with a woman senior pastor remarked:

> Carol: Now I remember the first time I heard a woman actually preach and I have to admit that was a new feeling. I was unsure about it. I was unsure about it when we first hired Lynne [their first woman pastor] even though I knew it was right. But she was so wonderful, I didn't even think about it over time. I got used to it.

Carol stated that when she first heard a woman preach it was a "new feeling" and she was "unsure" about it. She further stated, "I was unsure about it when we first hired Lynne, even though I knew it was right." Carol distinguished between her feelings of uncertainty and what she understood to be the right moral stance, which was the support of women as pastors, and noted the disconnection between these two internal processes. Then as a result of actually having a woman pastor, Carol stated, "I didn't even think about it over time. I got used to it" suggesting that her gendered bias had at least diminished.

Similarly, senior pastor, Kyle, recalled his wife's apprehension when they decided to try a Baptist church with a woman senior pastor while he was in seminary:

> Kyle: Our first Sunday I said "Allison, have you heard about this church in town that has a woman senior pastor, Kelly? I said "Let's go" and she said "Okay," because she always laughed that I was the feminist in the family. She was very honest as we were preparing to get to church that intellectually she didn't have any problem but she was really anxious about what it would actually feel like to have a woman pastor. We went that Sunday and we never visited anywhere else. We both -- something happened that morning and the preaching was just healing for us and so we were both very active lay leaders there. I think I learned more from preaching, from Kelly, those three years than I did in any class.

Kyle explained that Allison had no issue with the idea of women pastors intellectually but "she was really anxious about what it would actually feel like to have a woman pastor." However, according to Kyle, Allison's feelings of anxiety subsided after attending Kelly's service only once. As a result, Allison and Kyle both became very involved in the church. In fact, as stated above by Kyle above, "I learned more from preaching from

Kelly those three years than I did in any class." Here we see that Kyle and Allison's (as described by Kyle) experience with a woman pastor not only shifted their gender bias, but proved particularly valuable to his personal development as a pastor as well.

Feelings often drive the unconscious biases of individuals. Therefore, congregants' feelings and emotional responses to women pastors are significant in pastoral hiring processes. These examples show that similar to how many women in this study slowly evolved into realizing they were allowed to be pastors and could be pastors, it also took time for some congregants to "undo" their biases related to women's leadership. Typically, congregants' first accept and affirm women's leadership on intellectual and moral levels, but even then, congregants' feelings of uneasiness may remain, consciously or unconsciously, and function as barriers for women pastors during hiring processes. By contrast, men's leadership is never questioned intellectually, morally, or emotionally on the basis of sex and so they don't encounter these same barriers. Moreover, congregants' discomfort with women pastors is directly connected to their familiarity and comfort with male pastors. Therefore, congregants' discomfort about women's leadership proves particularly advantageous to men pastors who are applying for the same jobs as women.

Eventually most congregants felt morally, intellectually, *and* emotionally comfortable with a woman as senior pastor. However, most congregants do not have extensive experience with women pastors before the hiring processes. This means that women pastors must be so exceptional that they not only convince congregants of their leadership abilities on an intellectual and moral level *but also* make them feel comfortable with them leading their congregation. It also means that women's ability to become senior pastors and maintain their authority depends largely on congregants'

willingness to be open to acknowledging and surpassing new and uncomfortable feelings related to women's leadership. Moreover, it also depends on the extent to which congregants' maintain the sociological intelligence to continue processing why unconscious gendered biases exist in the first place so that they can gradually diminish.

Successfully Hiring Women Pastors

The demonstrated barriers faced by women in the hiring process sparked my further investigation into the patterns that led to congregations actually hiring a woman. This section examines the circumstances by which women were hired as senior pastors. In particular, four specific circumstances led to the hiring of women senior pastors: (1) the hiring committee put significant efforts into educating and persuading other congregants to agree to hiring a woman; (2) congregants formed a coalition purposed for convincing the search committee to hire a woman; (3) the congregation had a previous relationship with the pastor; and (4) the previous senior pastor was a woman.

When most churches hired their first woman pastor, the prospect of a woman leading the church often caused conflict between congregants. In more progressive, inclusive churches this conflict usually amounted to a handful of congregants who usually left or eventually got used to having a woman pastor. In the more conservative churches, the relatively open-minded committee members usually faced resistance from other congregants. As a result, one search committee put together strategies or educational efforts to gradually help other church members who were resistant to become more supportive. When Laura and Michael applied for a senior pastor position as co-pastors, the church reached out to Michael first, who negotiated the possibility of co-pastoring with Laura and hiring her as well. When the committee, agreed they faced

resistance from other congregants but were intentional about implementing strategies to alleviate concerns:

> Interviewer: What was the congregation's response?
>
> Nate: It was a mix. It was tough. I mean, we had just come off of bringing a different female and we had a lot of push back then… They [congregants] weren't saying a lot, but we were getting indirect word about it. Even after we brought Michael and Laura, it was a painful process. You know of the conservative people we had, we didn't want to bring anybody in, if we didn't have 99% agreement. So we had to do a lot of educating. We don't make those kind of rash changes without process. Even down to the day that we voted we had two or three people who weren't [on board.]

The search committee knew that hiring a woman pastor would be "tough" and potentially cause conflict within the congregation or even cause members to leave the church with negative implications for relationships and financial security. However, the search committee members put in extra time to educate and prepare other congregants and were ultimately successful in passing the vote for hiring both Laura and Michael. Although even after Laura and Michael were hired "it was a painful process," the search committee's commitment to hiring a woman and intentionality around educating the congregation ultimately resulted in Laura having the opportunity to serve as a pastor and the disruption of the normative division of labor in Baptist congregations.

As previously mentioned, the pastoral search committee in the church where Olivia serves as senior pastor actually decided to hire one of the male candidates before hiring Olivia. However, when the decision was announced to the rest of the congregation, a group of women organized and pressured the search committee to reconsider hiring Olivia, who would have been the first woman hired as senior pastor in this church's hundred year history. When asked why it was that they thought hiring a woman was important, one congregant responded:

> Carolyn: I felt like that this was the time in history that we had -- even as a Southern Baptist Church we have done so much to support women and their various roles. We stood behind them breaking away from -- not so much the old ideology of the Southern Baptist but the more recent one. Why would we not want to continue in that vein? We just had a grand opportunity and we had this woman in our top five—I just thought it was time.

Carolyn thought it was important that her congregation not continue to maintain the status quo and instead disrupt the gendered division of labor in Baptist life. Carolyn said, "We just had a grand opportunity and we had this woman in our top five—I just thought it was time." This was different than previous examples of congregants who did not want to be "affirmative action-y." Carolyn, a professional herself with a Ph.d. in psychology, had experienced and observed the unequal effects of dominant gender structure on professional women, and therefore, understood the significance of being intentional about hiring a woman, particularly one who was as qualified as Olivia. Carolyn along with a team of women pushed for Olivia's hiring and was ultimately successful without any resistance during the voting process. Olivia received a unanimous vote from the congregation and search committee members have stated that "she was the right choice." The decision to hire Olivia was a result of these women "pushing" forward and ultimately contributed to the disruption of the normative division of labor in Baptist congregations and a new, more inclusive image of a pastor.

In the other two churches, the congregants' had previous relationships with the women they hired as their first women senior pastors. Margaret described how Anna was hired as their first woman pastor:

> Margaret: Two things- they had progressed so far by then and then they knew her. She had come in at -- just what she did was just come in and love the people like they were. She had no ambition to be our pastor when she came in… In fact, at the time it was agreed that the interim could not be considered for pastor… But they fell in love with her.

Anna had served as the congregation's intentional interim pastor for several months with no intention of becoming the its permanent pastor. In fact, at the time, "it was agreed that the interim could not be considered for pastor" in any permanent capacity. So when Anna first arrived as their interim, the congregation was able to bypass any controversial conversations about hiring their first woman pastor; her position was temporary. However, after experiencing Anna as a pastor, they "fell in love with her" and so they hired her as their first woman senior pastor.

When another church considered their first woman lead pastor, there was not only the issue of hiring a woman for the first time but also the issue of having only women in the two full-time pastoral positions. At the time they had a woman associate pastor and some were concerned about having an all-women pastoral staff. So although this congregation was open to hiring a woman as senior pastor, the idea of having *too many* women on staff was an issue for some. This finding is interesting because having an all-male pastoral staff rarely surfaced as problematic in other congregations. Also, this demonstrates the unconscious gender bias of congregants even in the one of the most progressive churches in the study. Despite these anxieties, this congregation narrowed down the search to a man and woman and they ultimately hired Amber as their first woman pastor. Hazel explained how this happened:

> Hazel: Amber grew up in [our town] so we knew her parents. A lot of members of the church knew Amber. That was a more natural fit, it was somebody they were familiar with because it was like when I was ordained back in the dark ages, one of the comments was, "Well, I don't believe in women in ministry but it's okay that you're being ordained."

Hazel communicated that she thought the hiring of their first woman pastor went more smoothly because many congregants already had close relationships with Amber and her

parents. The existing relationship between the congregation and Amber assuaged their unconscious gender biases that initially caused them anxiety and ultimately led to their hiring Amber as their first woman senior pastor. In fact, Hazel said it was a "more natural fit" *because* they knew her and were already aware of her pastoral capabilities. By having a relationship with the congregation, Amber and Anna had the opportunity and time to demonstrate their ministerial skills and capacities for leadership thus ultimately rendering issues related to their status as women inconsequential in relation to the hiring process. Hazel went on to explain that when they hired their second woman senior pastor there was no conflict at all. In fact, their top three candidates in the job search were women, which suggests a shift in conscious or unconscious gender biases after having a woman as pastor.

For every instance that a woman was hired as senior pastor, either she had a pre-existing relationship with the congregation, had a group of congregants strongly advocate for her hiring, or was the second woman senior pastor to be hired with the one prior having had a previous relationship with the congregation. These findings suggest that, despite unconscious gender biases conscious strategies for overcoming those biases can open the door, and once in, women as lead pastors, specifically in the cases of women *solo* senior pastors, can diminish or even overcome those biases. Secondly, these findings show that women's chances of being hired as a senior pastor are closely linked with congregants' commitment to advocating on behalf of women candidates to other congregants who may be resistant or have gender biases. For this reason, it is particularly important for congregations to be intentional and active about hiring women throughout the entire hiring process. In this way, congregations can more effectively change the

current masculinized division of labor in CBF congregations and work toward gender equality.

Chapter 6: The Body & Authority

The construction of gendered bodies influences perceptions of individuals' credibility and capabilities related to authority, management, and leadership and the senses are intimately connected with conscious and unconscious evaluations of embodied authority (e.g. Davis 1997). Moreover, bodies frame how individuals structure their gendered interactions to the extent that it is impossible to interact with others separate from their sex categories, which often results in the doing of dominance and submission between men and women (Ridgeway 2009). This chapter illustrates how gendered meanings of women's bodies and appearances interfere with their authority as pastors. First, this chapter offers a theoretical overview of hegemonic masculinity and femininities. Secondly, it demonstrates the incongruence of hegemonic femininity, particularly the female body, with dominant images of the ideal worker. Then, this chapter shows the mismatch of the female body specifically with the masculinized role of pastor and how women pastors' authority is often questioned as a result. In particular, I illustrate how this occurs through five major patterns: (1) the relationship between perceived authority and pastors' body statures and voices; (2) the regulation of women pastors' weight; (3) congregants' expectations of femininity for women pastors; (4) women congregants' expectations that women pastors conceal their femininity; and (5) the sexualization of women pastors by men congregants.

Hegemonic and Pariah Femininities

Hegemonic features of society are those that benefit and ensure the power of the ruling classes, legitimate their dominance, power, and control, and persuade others to

agree to or go along with unequal social arrangements created by the ruling class. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity and femininity serve as the foundational components of dominant gender structure, or *gender hegemony* (Schippers 2007). In her groundbreaking work *Masculinities*, Connell (1995) argues that gender organizes "practice" at all levels of social organization including the individual identities, interactions, symbolic rituals, policies, and large-scale institutions. Connell conceptualizes masculinity as central to these gender relations, therefore, ensuring male dominance. Specifically, Connell defines masculinity as (1) a social location that both men and women can move into through gender practice, (2) a set of attributes and behaviors understood as masculine, and (3) the embodiment of masculinity by men and women results in large-scale cultural and social effects.

Schippers (2007) both builds on and critiques Connell's work by arguing that the hegemonic significance of gender relations lies in the naturalized complementary and hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity. Specifically, Schippers (2007) combines Connell's work with that of Butler's (1990), which conceptualizes gender as the socially constructed binary that classifies "men" and "women" as two different classes of people, and argues that the dominant construction of gender assumes that "there are certain bodies, behaviors, personality traits, and desires that neatly match up to one or the other category" (Schippers, 2007: 89-90). These constructed gender differences result in a wide variety of symbolic meanings that establish the origins (e.g. biology, divinely inspired design, socialization), significance, and quality characteristics (e.g. men as independent, rational, strong, authoritative and women as dependent, emotional, weak, compliant) of men and women.

Schippers (2007), then, argues that the hegemonic significance of masculinity and femininity is found in the *idealized quality content* of the categories "man" and "woman." Here, *idealized quality content* is defined as the different "qualities members of each gender category *should* and *are assumed* to posses" and create and define the positions of men and women in society (Schippers, 2007: 90). Furthermore, gender hegemony is established through the naturalization of the differences between masculinity and femininity *as well as* the complementary and hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity, men and women.

A vast amount of empirical research demonstrates that the idealized quality content of masculinity includes authority, physical strength, assertiveness, the ability to use violence, self-confidence, rationality, independence, decisiveness, and being the sexual pursuer. Additionally, empirical research shows that the idealized quality content of femininity encompasses compliance, physical vulnerability, tentativeness, the inability to use violence effectively, insecurity, emotionality, dependence/relationality, passivity, and being the sexual object, qualities generally understood as complementary and subordinate to masculinity. In an androcentric society where qualities of masculinity are intrinsically related to money, power, status, and authority, so we have the established complementary and inherently hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity.

Even if the majority of men and women do not actually maintain these qualities in relation to each other, the assumed hierarchical and complementary relationship between masculinity and femininity pervades society and "establishes symbolic meanings for the relationship between women and men that provide the legitimating rationale for social

relations ensuring the ascendancy and dominance of men" and women's subordination (Schippers 2007: 91). Specifically, the idealized characteristics that constitute the complementary and hierarchical relationship between men and women function as a rationale for how gender is done at all levels of society from self to interactions to organizations to policy to other institutional structures. Therefore, as individuals, groups, and societies use the relationship between the genders as legitimization for what to do and how to do it, hegemonic gender structure commonly shifts from being understood as a construction of society to "just the way things are;" in this way, gender difference and relationality are institutionalized.

Social practice is the vehicle by which the hierarchical relationship between masculinity and femininity organizes social life. Schippers (2007) argues that social practice understood as how we dress, style our hair, walk, talk, interact with each other as well as how we go about child-raising, sexual activity, designing policy, writing and producing television programs, sell products, delivering services, and so on, is part of a wide-reaching system of gender meanings that organize social life. Therefore, the relationship between masculinity and femininity not only influences individuals' embodiment of gender and gendered behaviors, it also coordinates and regulates these social practices. In other words, "Masculinity and femininity and their constructed relationship to each other are an available rationale for practice and a referent with which to interpret and judge" the gender displays and practices of individuals, groups, and institutions (Schippers, 2007: 93). Moreover, in order for the *idealized* relationship between masculinity and femininity to remain intact, men and women must respectively embody and practice the idealized qualities of masculinity and femininity, respectively,

or they will be judged, sanctioned, and marginalized hence its hegemonic status.

Therefore, if we understand hegemonic masculinity as "the qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Schippers, 2007: 94), then we must understand hegemonic femininity as consisting of the "characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Schippers, 2007: 94). In this way, the idealized relationship between masculinity and femininity is central to gender hegemony.

Furthermore, if the ideal qualities of hegemonic masculinity distinguish men from women and contribute to and legitimate their dominance over women, then these qualities must remain completely unavailable to women. This does not mean that women cannot embody and practice masculinity; this means that women's embodiment and practice of masculinity are simultaneously perceived as and labeled feminine and deviant, and are, therefore, stigmatized. This socially regulated system contains women's access to masculinity and presents women who are assertive, aggressive, or embody authority as "bitches" or "frigid," women who are sexual pursuers as "sluts" and "whores," women who don't want to be full-time child-care givers or have children as "selfish" or "cold," and so on.

We saw a glimpse of this pattern in the previous chapter when congregants wanted women to "lead like women," an expectation that ultimately takes the quality content of masculinity out of the hands of women and reserves it exclusively for men

thus keeping gender hegemony intact. In this example, the congregant did not suggest that women were unable to embody and practice masculinity rather they *shouldn't* embody and practice masculinity thus ensuring men's dominance. The simultaneous feminization and stigmatization of women embodying forms of masculinity is what Schippers (2007) refers to as *pariah femininities.* Through social sanctions and stigmatization, the power, status and authority conflated with hegemonic masculinity remains exclusively accessible to males and is, therefore, also conflated with the male body.

The aforementioned conceptualizations of hegemonic masculinity and femininity refer to how gender difference is represented and reinforced in dominant culture. However, hegemonic masculinity and hegemonic femininity may be defined slightly differently depending on the context (e.g. family, organization, workplace). Therefore, in some cases women who embody forms of masculinity may be portrayed in a positive light, however, considered tom-*boyish* or *one of the guys* or the exception to her sex. Because masculinity is understood as dominant, women's achievement in masculinized roles is often referred to with terms like "badass." For these reasons, highly successful or professional women are referred to as "power" women because it is not typically assumed that women have access to power or maintain positions of power. This qualifier is not typically used when referring to men in power because masculinity and power are conflated. In fact, men who embody feminine roles are often questioned and understood as weak or under-achievers. Furthermore, when decision-makers seek to hire someone who embodies leadership qualities often associated with hegemonic masculinity (e.g. assertiveness, strength, rationality), women who embody these qualities are unlikely to be

perceived as embodying them as effectively as men if at all.

Hegemonic Femininity and the Ideal Worker

The idealized quality content of hegemonic femininity is patterned throughout society. For instance, ideal portrayals of women's bodies are patterned through media outlets suggesting to women that they should be physically fit yet still feminine. The fashion industry and celebrities offer idealized conceptualizations of beauty by showing women what clothes to wear and how to wear them as well as presenting expectations of long, flowing healthy hair and made-up faces. Feminized images of women are also patterned through the gendered division of labor with most women occupying positions in feminized jobs characterized by caring, helping, nurturing, and support roles (i.e. social work, nursing, secretaries) and are usually related to childcare or domestic duties (i.e. teachers, nursery workers, stay-at-home moms). Although the idealized quality content of hegemonic femininity may vary by context, these images generally serve as a measuring stick by which women often judge themselves and are judged and evaluated by men and other women in dominant culture; they define how women *should* act and be. It is through women's effective embodiment and practice of hegemonic femininity that they receive approval and acceptance.

Expectations of hegemonic femininity undergird women's uncertain relationship with what Acker defines as the *ideal worker.* As a conceptual piece to her theory of gendered organizations, Acker (1990) shows that the ideal worker is reflected in the image of the male body with no emotions, no sexuality, and no relationship with procreation and whose life revolves around his full-time job while a woman takes care of his children and personal needs. Also, the ideal worker is best understood through the

idealized quality content of hegemonic masculinity such as being strong, decisive, rational, assertive, authoritative, and confident (Acker 1990; Connell 1995; Schippers 2007). This means that the female body and hegemonic femininity are incongruent with the ideal worker mold. In fact, Acker (1990) argues, "Women's bodies cannot be adapted to hegemonic masculinity; to function at the top of male hierarchies requires that women render irrelevant everything that makes them women" (153). The fact that women's bodies can never fully embody hegemonic masculinity proves problematic for women professionals particularly in masculinized jobs because they will not fit squarely into these positions in the equal ways that most men do, particularly white straight men.

Research on gender in the workplace demonstrates that the assumed managerial body is inherently masculine (Pringle 1989; Acker 1990; Collinson and Hearn 1996; McDowell 1997) and perceptions of individual competence are closely related to the sex of the body with the female body often being perceived as weak or incompetent (Acker 1990; Kerfoot and Knights 1993; Connell and Wood 2005; Calas and Smircich 2006; Schilt 2006). For instance, in a study examining the experiences of transmen in the workplace, Schilt (2006) found that white transmen were assumed to be more competent and given more authority, respect, recognition, and economic gains after their transitions showing that the male body is deeply connected to perceptions of authority, leadership, and competence. Similarly, Davies (2003) compared patients' responses to men and women doctors and found that men were typically assumed to be doctors and women were often assumed to be nurses or assistants, even after executing technical tasks like performing surgery.

Leadership research also shows that "bodies activate unconscious processes and gendered societal archetypes that reinforce or undermine authority, power, and socially-constructed credibility" (Sinclair 2011: 118). As a result, the body plays a key role in reinforcing ideologies that associate heroic leadership with hegemonic masculinity (Sinclair 2011). For instance, research shows that large and tall body statures such as normative male bodies are often associated with commanding attention, strong leadership, effective managerial skills, and exerting authority (Davies 2003; Schilt 2006; Kenny and Bell 2011; Sinclair 2011; Haynes 2012; Bell & McNaughton 2007; Heineck 2005). By contrast, the female body is often perceived as weak, frail, small, less authoritative, or sexualized thus reducing women to their bodies and undermining women's leadership capabilities (Cockburn 1991; Bell and Kenny 2011). This research illustrates the incongruence of the female body with authority and leadership as well as the congruence of the normative male body with normative molds of leaders, managers, and authority figures. In other words, women's normative bodies are typically smaller than men's and are typically socially expected to be petite and thin yet individuals typically do not perceive these types of bodies as capable of effectively asserting authority and demonstrating leadership qualities.

Furthermore, the dominant conceptualization of women as objects that exist for the pleasure, benefit, and judgment of others further exacerbates their visibility as women when they engage masculinized professional roles. Therefore, women leaders and authority figures are often experienced first as the *feminine other* and then as a professional if at all (Ridgeway 2009). In contrast, the male body, typically understood as an autonomous subject, is conflated with professionalism, authority, and leadership. For

instance, a man pastor is typically referred to as a "pastor," and a woman pastor is almost always referred to as a "woman pastor." Women's authority and credibility as professionals, authority figures, and leaders is undermined when they are viewed and approached as women first because femininity is incongruent with authority. By contrast, a man is viewed as a man *and* a professional, authority figure, or leader simultaneously because masculinity and authority are intrinsically linked. Therefore, women typically are dually evaluated by their ability to embody femininity, their socially assigned gender, and embody their masculinized role. By contrast, men simultaneously embody masculinity, their socially assigned gender, and their professional role because the two are conflated.

The incongruence of the ideal qualities of hegemonic femininity and the ideal worker (hegemonic masculinity) results in women professionals' constant negotiation of their physical appearance, dress, make-up, and hairstyles. For instance, researchers found that conventionally attractive people (as defined by hegemonic femininity and masculinity) maintain higher potential for occupational success than less attractive people (see Rubenstein 1995). However, other scholars show that when women are sexualized by their make-up and dress, it results in negative consequences concerning their success in the workplace (Kanter 1977; Gutek 1985; Dellinger & Williams 1997; Weitz 2001). Also, Kaslow & Schwartz (1978) found that while high status occupations perceive attractiveness as an advantage for women acquiring new job opportunities, attractiveness functions as a liability for women when collaborating with male colleagues (like, for instance, being at risk for sexual harassment) and for being taken seriously as professionals in the long-term thus creating a double-bind for women professionals.

For instance, Weitz (2001) found that those women who style their hair in ways consistent with hegemonic femininity feel more powerful. However, women found that power attained through these more conventional feminine hairstyles was fragile and constrained because it required constant maintenance and was largely dependent on men's attraction to them. Weitz writes, "the same hairstyles that identify a woman as conventionally attractive and increase her power in intimate relationships highlight femininity. Yet, our culture links femininity with incompetence. Thus although men can only benefit from attractiveness, women can also be harmed by attractiveness if it leads others to regard them as less competent" (677), objectified, or less credible. On the other hand, those women who cut their hair very short to feel more powerful and look more professional, often bypassed being harassed by co-workers and bosses, but were less likely to be considered conventionally attractive and receive the job offers, promotions, and salaries that conventionally attractive women often received. These findings show the conflicting dual expectations of women to be both the object of attraction and a professional.

This chapter contributes to the small amount of research examining the relationship between the body and organizational leadership by demonstrating the incongruence of the female body with the authority role of pastor. Specifically, this chapter demonstrates this pattern through five major themes. The first section shows how pastors' body statures and voices interfere with congregants' perceptions of their authority and result in inequitable outcomes for women pastors in particular. The second section demonstrates the ways congregants regulate women pastors' bodies in relation to their weight. The third section reveals congregants' expectations of femininity as women

engage the role of pastor. The fourth part shows women congregants' expectations of women pastors to desexualize their bodies and conceal their femininity. Finally, the last section shows how men congregants do just the opposite and sexualize women pastors' bodies. Collectively, these patterns demonstrate how women pastors constantly negotiate their embodied femininity with the masculinized role of pastor and how congregants' dual expectations function as a barrier to women pastors effectively establishing their authority.

The Body & Perceived Authority

Most congregants assessed pastors' ability to lead in relation to their preaching. Specifically, congregants most often referred to how pastors were able to command attention or establish authority as they delivered sermons. Congregants perceived pastors as credible and commanding attention when they had "good material," usually characterized by thought-provoking, well-researched, well-written, and insightful sermons. In addition to having strong well-written sermons, congregants expected pastors to present a strong delivery, which was often characterized by body stature, voice, charisma, and the ability to get and keep their attention. For instance, Burke and Carolyn, congregants from two different churches, described what they appreciated about their previous pastors' preaching styles.

> Burke: They were thought-producing sermons. Nothing flashy or showy about them. He occasionally employed a little bit of humor, but he was just not built for humor that much. But it was that week after week after week just solid good material and a solid delivery. He was tall and had a fairly resonant voice and good content. He commanded attention.
>
> Carolyn: Now he was someone who could get your attention. He was charismatic. He was smart, funny. He had a really broad frame and you paid attention when he spoke.

Above Burke stated that his pastor "commanded attention" through his "solid good [sermon] material and solid delivery." Burke also explained that his pastor was able to command attention because "he was tall and had a fairly resonant voice and good content." Similarly, Carolyn stated that her pastor was "someone who could get your attention," a quality congregants desire in a pastor because it is a way they establish their authority. Like Burke, she connected her pastor's ability to "get your attention" with his "really broad frame." She also suggested that he had a resounding voice when she said, "you paid attention when he spoke." Here, we see that these congregants' perceptions of pastors' abilities to command attention and establish authority are deeply connected to the normative male body structure and voice.

Olivia's preaching voice was not deep in tone but she used it in a way that carried well in the sanctuary and commanded attention. However, she noticed that sometimes congregants did not perceive the strength of her voice and power of her delivery as positively as congregants had perceived men's strong deliveries.

> Olivia: I know that there was a guy who was coming for a while. He was maybe 60 and had dark hair and these little cool glasses. He always sat right in the middle, but towards the back. And one of the sermons on race-- he didn't say it to me, he said it to Ben [associate pastor], "I really don't come to church to be yelled at." He just felt like I was yelling. Ben tried to encourage him to come and talk to me, but the guy was clear just like, "I'm out." I wonder, if a man had said with passion some of the same things that I said, would he had been bold and brave? Would he have really been speaking out for truth and justice? Was it because I was a woman, that it was perceived that I was yelling at him? I do wonder-- I have gotten feedback from some of our more conservative, and conservative in this sense of cautious. If you ask them they would say they identify as liberal [ideologically]. We really just want to come to church to hear that God loves us and everything is going to be okay. They like when I'm very soft, and gentle, and affirming. That's when I do feel like they want me to be the mama, that tells them it's going to be okay. Sometimes I'm okay doing that… but it's not my job to always do that.

Olivia recalled a particular man who had been attending Sunday morning service for a while. After Olivia preached one of her more assertive sermons, he told the associate pastor, Ben, "I really don't come to church to be yelled at." Olivia said, "He just felt like I was yelling" and he never returned to her church after that. This example proves different from the previous ones where male pastors established authority through their booming voices. Moreover, I observed Olivia deliver this sermon. It was a controversial sermon about race and she was bold, resolute, passionate, and strong in her delivery, however, I did not perceive her as yelling. I have never witnessed her yell during a sermon in the year of Sundays that I observed her preaching.

This man's dissatisfaction with Olivia's tone suggests that he expected Olivia to be soft-spoken, more passive in her delivery, and affirming in her message, qualities characteristic of hegemonic femininity. For good reason, Olivia considered the notion that her status as a woman influenced this man's negative perception of her sermon delivery. She questioned, "I wonder, if a man had said with passion some of the same things that I said, would he had been bold and brave? Would he have really been speaking out for truth and justice? Was it because I was a woman, that it was perceived that I was yelling at him? I do wonder." Olivia thought that possibly the same act by a man would have been interpreted as brave and bold rather than as scolding the congregation. It is likely that if a man had delivered the same sermon in the same way as Olivia that it would not have been received negatively because men are *suppose* to have strong, assertive tones. On the other hand, Olivia was acting outside of the expectations of hegemonic femininity characterized by qualities like being passive, nurturing, and

warm. Therefore, her assertive voice was framed negatively and as a result he never returned to hear her preach.

Olivia thought further about how this example related to feedback she received from other congregants and explained, "They like when I'm soft, and gentle, and affirming. That's when I do feel like they want me to be the mama, that tells them it's going to be okay. Sometimes I'm okay doing that…But it's not my job to always do that." Here Olivia described the conflicting dual expectations of being both a woman and a pastor. She explained that some congregants would rather she embody qualities of hegemonic femininity like being maternal, caring, soft, and gentle. Furthermore, they expect it from her as a woman or as a "mama." However, pastors are equally expected to establish their authority, be bold, assertive, and lead so if Olivia meets their expectations of femininity all the time, then she is unable to effectively do these more masculine aspects of her job. Congregants' expectations that require Olivia to act or speak in feminine ways conflict with her role of authority and leadership thus putting Olivia in a double bind. By contrast, when congregants expect men pastors to both act like a man and be a pastor, this results in a singular congruent expectation because masculinity and authority are closely connected.

Congregants often compared co-pastors, Michael and Laura's, voices as a way for evaluating their preaching abilities.

> Hazel: I think they both have good preaching, but I need to hear it. Everybody can hear Michael. Laura has problems with that because her voice is—well it's different. It's soft.

Hazel said that although they are both good preachers, Michael's sermon delivery best meets her expectations because she has no issue hearing his voice. In fact, everyone could

hear Michael's voice. On the other hand, she explained, "Laura has problems with that because her voice is---well it's different. It's soft." For Hazel, Laura's "different" voice means that it is a problem in relation to preaching. Therefore, Laura's voice negatively influences Hazel's perception of her preaching and ability to establish authority in the pulpit. When this quote is compared to the previous quote, we see that women are either too loud or too soft, which points to the incongruent expectations of being feminine and authority figures.

Similarly, Alice recalled her initial reaction when her senior pastor, Sophie, was hired. She referenced Sophie's appearance and voice as factors working in opposition to her ability to be assertive and convey authority.

> Alice: She's not afraid to be a senior staff person from what I'd perceive. I think she knew when she came in that given her age, and her appearance, and her voice that she needed to be pretty assertive. My perception is she is…because as anybody who knows Sophie knows that there are times in which her voice is problematic because you talk to her on the phone you might think she's twelve.

Sophie was the youngest and most petite woman pastor in the study. She also had a high-pitched voice, which she often used quite assertively especially in her preaching. However, Alice perceived that Sophie's age, petite appearance, and voice were factors working against her ability to establish authority as a "senior staff person" and said her voice was "problematic because you talk to her on the phone you might think she's twelve." Here, Alice described Sophie's voice as childlike thus showing her disassociation of high-pitched voices with authority. In fact, Alice said that Sophie "needed to be pretty assertive" in order to compensate for her size and voice illustrating the perceived mismatch of small statures and high voices with effectively establishing authority and women pastors' need to compensate for their female bodies.

However, Alice explained that the congregation put in extra effort to lessen the negative effects of Sophie's voice in ways that proved most effective.

> Alice: I think the search committee did a really nice job of doing that [preparing us] in terms of introducing her and her background, buying her book and providing it to the congregation. I appreciate the way the church took the time to really work on the microphone and the sound system in terms of her sounding the best. I like the way they prepared us for that [Sophie's voice] because I remember seeing her the first time she talked and I thought, "Oh, yes. This is what they were talking about." But I don't even think about it anymore and I don't think I thought about it after the first two minutes. I think they prepared me for having that moment. From there on, I was totally focused on what she says.

In an effort to balance potential negative responses to Sophie's voice and appearance, the congregation worked to establish her credibility *before* meeting her assuming that her voice, age, and small stature may suggest otherwise. Alice said the search committee did a good job preparing the congregation by "introducing her and her background, buying her book and providing it to the congregation." Alice further said that before Sophie preached at their church, "the church took the time to really work on the microphone and the sound system in terms of her sounding her best." Like other congregants who associated a resonate voice with effective leadership and preaching, Alice thought the microphone and sound system helped Sophie "sound her best." Alice thought this was particularly important because as she said above, "I remember seeing her the first time she spoke and thought, 'Oh yes. This is what they were talking about,'" referring to Sophie's size and tone of voice. However, Alice further stated that shortly after Sophie became her pastor, her voice stopped being a distraction and she was "totally focused on what she says" now thus indicating her shift in bias.

This example is significant for three reasons. First, the church perceived Sophie's voice as problematic so they went to extra lengths to build Sophie's credibility to the

church and provide an effective sound system so that she could more effectively establish her authority as a preacher. On one hand, this helped Sophie bypass the perceived barrier of her voice and demonstrates the congregation's commitment to her success. On the other hand, and secondly, it both illustrates and reinforces the dominant idea of what leaders are *supposed* to look and sound like. The fact that the congregation thought that it was important to warn the congregation about what Sophie looked and sounded like shows that being small and having a high voice, normative and expected qualities of women, are considered as undesirable or ineffective attributes of pastors. Finally, it is important to note, that after hearing Sophie preach, Alice not longer perceived Sophie's voice as an issue, which shows that her visual and audible perceptions of authority shifted after spending time with a pastor whose voice and stature did not fit into the typical pastor mold.

While Alice indicated her shift in bias after hearing Sophie preach, it is also important to note that Sophie who was hired for this position was an above average preacher. She had won the distinguished preaching award at her seminary and published a book of her sermons shortly after seminary graduation. Additionally, some of her congregants described her as prophetic, brilliant, and the *next Barbara Brown Taylor*, who was a prolific, noteworthy woman preacher and trailblazer of her time. Therefore, Sophie's exceptional gift for preaching and writing sermons was undeniable thus contributing to her ability to overcome the perceived hurdle of her voice and stature in ways that many other women may not as effectively. In other words, Sophie had *exceptional* material and sermon delivery, therefore, she was able to establish her authority effectively even though she didn't fit into the male bodied role of pastor.

Although Sophie's exceptional sermons and the church's attention to an effective sound system contributed to Sophie's ability to establish authority and keep congregants' attention while she preached her sermons, she still interacted with congregants who infantilized her as she embodied the role of pastor.

> Sophie: I feel like the main thing that happens for me is I feel like I get -- I've made up a phrase, I get grand-daughtered a lot. Part of me understands it because a lot of times my congregants are old enough to be like my grandparents but they're just sort of like, "You're such a cute, little pastor." I get a lot of that, I mean maybe not that exact phrasing but just sort of like even when they're complimenting my sermon or something like you feel more like, "I'm so proud of your ballerina recital." …I think I get a lot of pushback, not pushback but just strange reactions based on my age and based on the fact that I tend to look younger and sound younger than I am and I'm petite. I don't always know how to separate when it's gender and when it's age. I notice age reactions much more than gender but I often feel like the whole age thing-- if I were a man and I had a deep voice I wouldn't be getting the same sort of like hesitancy or disbelief or lack of respect or, "Oh, you're so cute."

Sophie said that even right after she preaches a sermon, she gets "grand-daughtered a lot." Sophie used this term to refer to when congregants talk to and engage her in a way that is similar to them saying, "You're such a cute, little pastor." Sophie further described that when congregants compliment her sermons it often feels more like they are saying, "I'm so proud of your ballerina recital." When Sophie explained this to me, she turned her shoulders in making herself smaller, folded her hands, and directed her eyes down as if she were talking to a child. Afterwards she said, "I get a lot of that" and further stated, "I just get strange reactions based on my age and based on the fact that I tend to look younger and sound younger than I am and I'm petite." Despite the fact that Sophie held more authority than anyone in the congregation and typically had just delivered a sermon, the pastoral activity that presents the most authority, congregants often approached her as if she were a cute little girl rather than their pastor. Here, we see that despite her abilities,

skills, and position of authority, Sophie's embodied femininity proved more visible than her embodied authority because congregants perceive her female body as incompatible with the normative male pastor mold.

Sophie considered that these types of interactions may be a result of age difference because she was young and some of her congregants were old enough to be her grandparents. However, as she stated above, "but I often feel like the whole age thing-- if I were a man and I had a deep voice I wouldn't be getting the same sort of like hesitancy or disbelief or lack of respect or, "Oh, you're so cute." Sophie believed that if she were a man, had a deep voice, and fit better into the male-bodied mold of pastor, these interactions would be structured in a way that respected her position of authority instead of a way that called her authority into question. In other words, if congregants were engaging a male pastor, his gender would be rendered invisible because masculinity and authority are intertwined. Therefore, despite some congregants' intentions of complimenting Sophie, these types of interactions feminize her as she engages the masculinized role of pastor and ultimately undermine her pastoral authority and professional credibility.

Congregants' dual expectation of femininity and masculinity proves to be an almost impossible standard for women pastors to reach. Consequently, they are constantly negotiating their embodied femininity and masculinity in order to successfully walk the very fine line between hegemonic femininity and pariah femininities. They must be feminine enough so that they are not negatively evaluated for not being womanly enough and they must embody masculinity just enough to establish their authority and lead effectively. Some women pastors employed tactics for addressing this gendered

predicament. For instance, Sophie began wearing a robe and shoes that made her taller when she preached on Sundays.

> Sophie: I wear high heels on Sunday and never during the week. I like dressing up a little extra for Sunday and, to be honest, I like being a little taller—again, I feel like people take me more seriously, but heels are way too uncomfortable to wear with any regularity…. I am very petite so I wear a robe. It helps so much to wear something that automatically tells people I am the minister, and I [less often] have to deal with all the awkward conversation with visitors who think I am someone's daughter or granddaughter or who feel shocked or embarrassed when they find out they're talking to the pastor. I feel like it provides me with this sort of credibility in people's eyes.

Sophie wears high heels on Sunday because as she stated above, "I like being a little taller—again, I feel like people take me more seriously." Given that congregants associate tall statures with leadership and authority, Sophie wears high heels to be taller and fit more squarely into the normative male mold of pastor. To address her petite figure, Sophie stated, "I wear a robe. It helps so much to wear something that automatically tells people I am the minister…I feel like it provides me with this sort of credibility in people's eyes." Here, Sophie uses the robe as tool for decreasing congregants' responses that call her authority into question.

On one hand, Sophie wearing heels and a robe are positive and effective approaches because they help her establish authority *despite* her voice and small stature. However, they also reinforce images of what leaders, specifically pastors, *should* look like, sound like, and act like in order to be taken seriously as leaders and authority figures. And as Sophie stated above, "Heels are way too uncomfortable to wear with any regularity!" Although Sophie created a way to be taller, and therefore, a way to be perceived as having pastoral authority, she does so at the cost of her own personal comfort. Moreover, while Sophie has found a way to overcome the gendered barrier of

her stature, the responsibility of change lies solely on her shoulders rather than on the congregation itself. Here, we see that Sophie's forms of resistance simultaneously function as strategies of accommodation and conformity.

Organizational Control Over Women Pastors' Weight

As having trim attractive figures is commonly an expectation of hegemonic femininity, women pastors also experienced differing congregational expectations regarding their weight. For instance, co- pastors, Laura and Michael, conveyed how congregants often practiced methods of control only over Laura's weight.

> Laura: And then in the serving line at Wednesday night dinner-they will fill up his plate--
> Michael: They really do the whole, "Oh, he's a growing boy," sort of thing.
> Laura: Like pile it on for him, right?
> Michael: And load up my plate. But when Laura goes through-
> Laura: It's "Oh, you don't want bread do you?" You know things like that-
> Michael: And they know we're both on diets and exercising, but they just do it to her.

When the congregants serve Michael's plate, as they stated above, "They will fill up his plate. They really do the whole, 'Oh, he's a growing boy,' sort of thing." Here, congregants encourage Michael to eat more because as illustrated in the previous section being big and strong is associated with authority and power, all qualities of masculinity. However, when they serve Laura's plate they ask questions like, "Oh, you don't want bread do you?" This shows that they expect Laura to maintain a small figure, an idealized quality of hegemonic femininity. This expectation reinforces dominant expectations of what women *should* look like and demonstrates that women are expected to be small and feminine in their stature, which are traits not perceived in relation to authority. Michael highlighted this differential treatment by stating, "They know we're both on diets and exercising, but they just do it to her." Moreover, not only is there differential treatment

concerning the management of Michael and Laura's weight, there is an assumption that Laura's body, perceived as the sexual object, is available for others to judge and control despite having no connection to her role as a pastor. Here we see that Laura's body is an object to be controlled by congregants thus undermining her authority as a pastor.

Senior pastor, Olivia, experienced similar interactions with congregants who assumed her weight and body was an open topic of discussion.

> Olivia: There are two women in church who are really proud of me when I'm losing weight, and would comment on it, "Are you just not eating? That's probably what you are doing right now. Oh, I'm so proud of you." And one male church member, for the first year I was here, every time he saw me eating something unhealthy, he would say, "That's 10 more pounds."

Olivia communicated that a couple women in the congregation consistently comment on her weight and say to her, "Oh I'm so proud of you" when she loses weight. These interactions not only reinforce expectations related to how women are suppose to look, they position Olivia as the sexual object which should be attractive and pleasing to look at, as defined by hegemonic femininity. As a result, Olivia is seen first as a woman rather than a pastor thus undermining her authority. To follow up, I asked the male associate pastor at Olivia's church if he had experienced these comments from congregants. He responded that although he was dieting as well, congregants never interjected concerning his eating habits.

Conceptualizations of female bodies as sexual objects and expectations of hegemonic femininity related to women's bodies are so pervasive that many women come to have these expectations of their own bodies and judge other women by these standards as well. In my conversations with Olivia over the course of a year, she often referenced her weight. Sometimes she communicated that she gained weight or that she

needed to lose weight. Sometimes she would refer to her outfit and say, "I probably shouldn't wear this now that I've gained weight." Like many other women who have had their bodies judged and evaluated even from a very young age, Olivia's perception of her own body fueled a deep insecurity in her as well as pressure to fit idealized images of women. One time she described an interaction with a congregant who suggested she was fat while she was officially acting as pastor at a Wednesday night dinner at church:

> Olivia: A man [a congregant] called me fat tonight. Well, he insinuated that I was unable to button my red International Women's Day jacket because I've put on weight. And it hurt. And I crumbled like a sixth grade girl being "mean girl-ed."

Despite Olivia's authority position of pastor, this congregant obviously viewed her as a woman first and, therefore, felt free to critique her body by insinuating that she was unable to button her jacket. In response, Olivia "crumbled" and felt like she was "a sixth grade girl being 'mean girl-ed,'" a pattern that is also an effect of gender hegemony. Even though she embodied the role of pastor, a role that is typically revered and respected, this congregant interacted with her as a woman whose body, as the sexual object, was open to judgment.

However, because this congregant made this statement about her "red International Women's Day jacket" on International Women's Day, something shifted in Olivia. As a result of this interaction, she became more aware of gender structure and the unequal expectations placed on women's bodies. Olivia described this shift in consciousness:

> Olivia: I have been thinking about my reaction and how tender I am to that kind of comment. And then I thought of my daughter's boldness. And the ridiculous industry and injustice that surrounds gender. And the story I am telling her with my life. And I thought, "No more." This body grew babies and sustained them. This body embraces and blesses and visits and comforts every single day. This body is powerful, and I say no more to the shame that my culture throws at

> women. I am proud of the woman I am. And I will document my life without commentary or judgment. And I will eat real bread with real butter with real wine because I am crushing it and won't apologize for not buttoning my bottom button.

Olivia compared the sensitivity, tenderness, and hurt she feels in response to people commenting on her weight to her young daughter's boldness and realized that women are not born with these insecurities. Further, she realized that the "industry" of gender unjustly shames women about their bodies to the extent that they begin to believe it and think it about themselves like she had. She further reflected on the story of gender she is telling her daughter through the life she leads, and said, "No more" to reinforcing this type of shaming and reducing women, including herself, to these types of judgments. She went on to re-frame how she values her body for its significance, worth, and power. For these reasons, she said, "I will document my life without commentary or judgment. And I will eat real bread with real butter with real wine because I am crushing it and won't apologize for not buttoning my bottom button."

Olivia's shift in consciousness is important. This realization disrupts her internalized gender norms and bolsters her impact as a role model and mentor to girls and women. Moreover, as Olivia effectively embodies the role of pastor, she offers a more inclusive image of pastor to others who may not fit the traditional mold. However, like Sophie, Olivia's re-framing of how she personally views her body and commitment to "not apologize for not buttoning her bottom button" results in her exclusively shouldering the responsibility of change. Therefore, this approach does not disrupt the gendered expectations of congregants and address issues of gender on the organizational level. In fact, the year that I observed she and other pastors preach at her church, issues of gender were never addressed in a sermon in the same explicit ways that race, immigration, and

LGBTQ issues were addressed. In order for these gendered assumptions to be changed, they must be addressed on the congregational level or normative gender structure will be reinforced and Olivia and other women pastors will continue to bear the weight of these interactions.

Congregants' Expectations of Femininity

In terms of hegemonic femininity, women are often expected to be pleasant, smile, and generally make the people around them feel good through their appearance and body language. Women pastors often faced these types of expectations from congregants even while they engaged in some of the masculinized tasks of pastors. For instance, Olivia recalled that the first time she preached, one congregant evaluated her preaching based on her ability to embody femininity while engaging this masculinized pastoral task.

> Olivia: But one of the very first times, if not the first time, that I've preached in that service. A really nice man came up to me afterwards and he's like, "You did a really good job today, but it would have been so much better if you just would've smiled." So I thought about that when poor Hillary, got picked on for not smiling and how she talks about all the issues facing the first woman President of the United States. And even then, I knew that that was inappropriate. And I said to--because my mentor would meet with me afterwards, "How did it go? How did you feel? Do you want to discuss any of it?" because he really wanted to help me. But I said to him, the first thing that someone says as I came out of that chapel was, "You should smile next time." And I said, "They never would've said that to a man. It never would've happened." But he was like, "Well, maybe that's true, but look at it this way, he knows you're going to preach again [laughs]." But I know that if I had gone to his wife, she would've been nice and righteously angry about that on my behalf, and it would've confirmed my suspicion.

Directly after Olivia preached, one congregant said to her, "You did a really good job today, but it would have been so much better if you just would've smiled." This congregant expected Olivia to effectively deliver her sermon *and* do it while smiling. This evaluation of Olivia shows that he thought it was permissible for Olivia to preach, in fact he affirmed her preaching skills, however, she must remain attractive and pleasant

while doing so, an additional expectation that most men don't encounter. Olivia compared this gendered expectation with the experiences of Hillary Clinton who was also frequently judged by her ability to do her job as a politician (embody masculinity) *and* her ability to embody hegemonic femininity through her physical appearance thus illustrating how the misfit of femininity and roles of authority transfers to other professions as well.

When Olivia talked to her mentor about this congregant's sexist comment, she stated "They never would've said that to a man. It never would've happened." It makes sense that men pastors would not be dually evaluated on how well they executed the role of pastor *and* embodied masculinity, their socially assigned gender, because masculinity and the role of pastor are conflated thus resulting in one evaluation standard rather than two. The conflicting gendered expectations placed on women pastors are not only close to impossible to achieve, but it negatively influences congregants' perceptions of women pastors effectively doing their jobs.

Despite the good intentions of Olivia's mentor, as a male pastor he likely had never faced expectations of hegemonic femininity as he held the position of pastor. Therefore when Olivia brought this comment to his attention he responded, "Well, maybe that's true, but look at it this way, he knows you're going to preach again [laughs]." Olivia's mentor failed to understand the wide-reaching effects of gender structure and how this congregant expecting Olivia to smile as she preached was not only sexist but an effort to keep gender hegemony intact by ensuring that women remain feminine and men remain masculine and therefore dominant. In this way, these types of comments point to the way that men and women are unequally evaluated and, therefore, reinforce normative

division of labor in Baptist life. Moreover, her mentor's suggestion that she re-frame this sexist comment to mean something positive puts the responsibility on her to adapt to processes of gender inequality rather than on the congregant to change his biased gender beliefs thus further reinforcing normative gender structure.

Congregants, particularly women congregants, also expected women to embody hegemonic femininity through their appearance (e.g. dress, make-up, and hair). For instance, one congregant described associate pastor Meg's attire when she came for her interview.

> Beverly: With Meg, when she first came, I don't think-- this is total perception but I am close to Meg. I don't think she's spends a lot time worried about what she looks like. She's got some pretty features, she's got some things I'm sure she works on. But when she came to interview for her weekend with the church, she was very plain. She wore black slacks and a white shirt. That sort of thing. Almost to the extreme of, "I don't want you making an assumption on anything other than what I'm saying and doing." And I think that is still a part of her and still part of her that I think is authentic. She wants to be-- that being said, she's got a style of her own. And now that she's comfortable with us, she shows it. She doesn't-- I don't think she tries to dress for the congregation. And I think she is comfortable with that.
>
> Interviewer: Do you think congregants are comfortable with that?
>
> Beverly: Some probably aren't. [No], some people aren't.

Beverly described Meg's appearance by saying, "She's got some pretty features, and she's got some things I'm sure she works on." This statement shows that Beverly values being pretty and assumes Meg works on the features she has that she does not perceive as pretty. Beverly further explained, "I don't think she spends a lot of time worried about what she looks like" and described Meg's attire as "very plain." Here, Beverly took notice of Meg's clothes and made a judgment about them within the context of Meg's interview. As a result, Meg was simultaneously evaluated on her feminine appearance

and her qualifications for a pastoral position.

Beverly did acknowledge the potential of women professionals not being taking seriously when they dressed too femininely, however, she said that Meg's attire in this case was "almost to the extreme of, 'I don't want you making an assumption on anything other than what I'm saying and doing.'" Here, Beverly perceived that Meg dresses plainly because she fears the consequences of having her appearance evaluated instead of her words and actions. However, Meg's appearance was still judged for not being feminine enough despite the fact that Meg's clothes style had no relation to her ability to effectively be a pastor. Beverly stated above, "She has a style of her own. I don't think she tries to dress from the congregation." This statement suggests that the congregation has a set of expectations or preferences related to how women should dress and Meg does not fit into this mold nor does she try to fit into this mold. When I asked Beverly if she thought the congregation was generally comfortable with Meg's clothes style, she said that some people were not. Therefore, although Meg was ultimately hired for this job despite her plain attire, she remains judged for her clothes style.

In a separate conversation with Meg, I asked if she ever received critiques on the way she dressed. Meg said that she received comments on her dress primarily from other women:

> Meg: Older women are the worst [most often critiqued her dress] so for example one Sunday morning I was coming out of the restroom, I had on a button up shirt and some slacks and she says, "Oh wow, you really can wear whatever you want to under that robe." [laughs]

Even on a Sunday morning, the day that pastors' authority is displayed the most, a woman still negatively evaluated Meg's attire by stating, "Oh wow, you really can wear whatever you want to under that robe." This congregant's comment is significant for two

reasons. First, dominant understandings of women as sexual objects to be gazed upon and evaluated are so engrained in society, that women's appearances have become a normative entry point for conversations between women and the main criteria by which to judge women. Therefore, Meg's attire was this congregant's first and only point of conversation with her that morning. Secondly, this congregant implicitly communicated to Meg that her attire, which was a button up shirt and slacks, did not meet her expectations of femininity thereby urging Meg to dress more femininely. As a result, Meg's status as a woman, who is expected to wear feminine clothes, superseded her status as an authority figure.

Jane, an associate pastor at a church with a woman senior pastor, indicated that she felt pressured to meet women congregants' expectations of dress and appearance.

> Jane: And I think about what shoes I have on, I do. It's fine for me to have painted toenails but [they] should not be nasty-- whatever looking, that would not be okay. And that's not necessarily my standard, I just would worry about what they would think… If I'm meeting with women-- I dress up more if I'm meeting with women than if I'm meeting with men. If I'm meeting with men, I'd hardly even worry about what I'm wearing. But if I know I'm going to a women's lunch or blah blah blah, then I know I've got to look a certain way.

Jane indicated that she paid more attention to her attire when she knew she would be interacting with other women because they had particular expectations related to her appearance and attire. For instance she said, "I think about what shoes I have on. It's fine for me to have painted toenails but they should not be nasty. That would not be okay." Here, Jane shows that congregants would negatively evaluate her for having toenails that weren't well groomed. She also said, "If I'm meeting with women, I dress up more than if I'm meeting with men. If I know I'm going to a women's lunch, then I know I've got to look a certain way" and looking a "certain way," at least in part, means dressing up

more. Women congregants' have determined a "certain way" that women are suppose to look and dress like, including themselves, and they hold Jane to this standard as well because she is a woman.

Jane clarified that these expectations aren't her personal standards, but she conforms to these expectations because she would worry about what the congregants would think which shows that she remains constrained by expectations of femininity. Here we see that congregants think Jane should be attractive, well groomed, and dressed up in addition to meeting her professional expectations. Moreover, these congregants' evaluations of Jane's displayed femininity constrain her ability to dress however she wants and demonstrate the additional evaluative criteria that are applied women pastors.

When I spoke with male pastors, I asked if they experienced similar expectations related to their attire by congregants. Most male pastors didn't recall these types of expectations. Some stated that congregants preferred that they were clean-shaven and dressed professionally. Women were also expected to dress professionally, but unlike men, they additionally had to find ways to be professional and feminine simultaneously. This is a predicament men don't face because dressing professionally is masculine. One male pastor said that congregants would comment on his handsome looks and attire but he stated that this did not occur frequently. Another male pastor mentioned that one time he received feedback that his hair was too fluffy, however, he was single and it was often assumed that he "needed" this advice from women in the congregation because he was not in a relationship with a woman. Relatedly, most of the time congregants assumed that male pastors' attire was their wives' domain and responsibility so they were not judged for their appearances.

When women pastors *did* express their femininity through their clothes, accessories, or make-up, congregants often found it distracting from their roles as pastors.

> Olivia: But the [woman] who always wants me to wear red lipstick, said to me recently, We were in the trustees meeting the other night, and she said, "I just got so distracted looking at you and thinking how beautiful you are. And how wonderful it is to have such a beautiful pastor. And it must've been that you had red lipstick on that night."

This congregant both expected Olivia to wear red lipstick and was also distracted by Olivia wearing red lipstick. Moreover, she thought it was wonderful that Olivia was so beautiful and red lipstick accentuated beauty. The congregant further stated, "I just got so distracted looking at you and thinking how beautiful you are." Even while Olivia was leading a congregational meeting, this congregant saw her first as a woman and objectified her thus diminishing her value even as a pastor to her beautiful appearance. This example further demonstrates the double bind that women pastors face. In this case, if Olivia does not wear red lipstick, this congregant expresses to her that she should because Olivia being a beautiful pastor is important to her. However, if Olivia does wear red lipstick, the congregant becomes distracted thus viewing Olivia as a woman or an object to be admired rather than as a pastor. Although the congregant was intending to compliment Olivia, she also diminished Olivia's authority by reducing her to her looks and beauty. Men, who are not typically perceived as objects of beauty, were never expected to wear lipstick or look beautiful, therefore, this never became part of the criteria by which they were judged and evaluated as pastors.

Similarly, a congregant who was also an ordained minister in Olivia's church, recalled the initial response of another woman congregant immediately after she preached a sermon.

> Molly: I preached a sermon one time. I worked really hard on it. Spent a lot of time researching and practicing my delivery. Then when I finished, the first thing a woman said to me was, "I'm sure you preached a wonderful sermon, but I couldn't listen because I was so distracted by your cute shoes."

Molly explained that she spent a considerable amount of time researching, preparing, and practicing her sermon. After all, the effective practice of preaching is one key way preachers establish their credibility and authority. However, the first feedback she received when she finished was not about the sermon itself, but about her "cute shoes." Since cute shoes fail to fit the traditional pastoral mold, the congregant said that she was too distracted to listen to the sermon because Molly's shoes were so cute thus rendering Molly's sermon and her role as a minister irrelevant.

It is obvious this congregant meant to compliment Molly. Because most women have been treated as sexual objects over the course of their lives and are typically expected to dress-up, wear make-up, and accessorize, these types of compliments often serve as a way for women to bond and affirm each other. In fact, for some women this may be the first and only thing they talk about with each other. These types of interactions are not necessarily malicious or entirely negative. However, it is important to acknowledge that there are many other topics that women value and can talk about with each other that extend beyond these subjects. Moreover, there are many other ways to affirm women. In this case, it would have been relevant for the congregant to compliment Molly's sermon. In this way, Molly's hard work, credibility, and authority as the preacher would not have been undermined and reduced to her shoes.

Allie, an associate pastor, had a similar experience with a congregant in relation to her hair.

> Allie: One time when I finished preaching, one woman touched my hair and told me that I had split ends. She was a hairdresser and offer to cut my hair for me. [laughs]

Allie, unlike most women pastors in the study, had long hair and did not always pin it up when she preached. Therefore, just after she preached one Sunday, a congregant touched her hair and told her that she had split ends. Although Allie had just preached a sermon, this congregant's attention went directly to one of Allie's feminine qualities, her hair or specifically her split ends. This interaction not only shows that the congregant viewed Allie's status as a woman as more definitive than her status as a pastor, but also communicates to Allie that having healthy hair is also an expectation thus resulting in an additional and unequal criteria for evaluation.

Women Congregants' Expectations of Concealed Femininity

In contrast to the previous section, some women congregants expected pastors to minimize their expressions of femininity because they were distracting and proved a misfit for the masculine pastor mold, which typically does not include long hair, make-up, or accessories.

> Meg: When I preach I almost always pull my hair back and wear no earrings because I don't want distractions. [Because] I had a friend who when she preached, she had some long earrings on one time and somebody told her that they couldn't hear anything she said because they were watching her earrings and not to wear them.

Meg explained that she pulled her hair back and never wore earrings so that she did not distract congregants. By minimizing her femininity or to use one congregant's words "looking plain," Meg more squarely fits the masculinized image of pastor and congregants are more likely to listen to her sermons. Meg also said, "I had a friend who when she preached, she had some long earrings on and somebody told her that they couldn't hear anything she said because they were watching her earrings and not to wear them." This quote is significant for two reasons. First, congregants are accustomed to a

particular image of a pastor that does not include accessories. Therefore, this congregant was distracted by this different image of a pastor, which included earrings, and failed to observe this pastor effectively engage her role as pastor. Secondly, this woman asked the pastor to not wear earrings anymore. This expectation reinforces the masculine image of pastor, requires this pastor to repress this form of feminine expression, and shifts the responsibility of change to her rather than the congregant. Meg negotiates the mismatch of her feminine qualities with the masculinized role of pastor by deploying these strategies that help her to better fit into this masculine mold and prevent congregants from being distracted by her femininity. However, this also reinforces what congregants' think a pastor *should* look like and fails to create new, more inclusive images of pastors.

Although congregants encouraged Olivia to wear red lipstick to accentuate her beauty and femininity, she also received feedback that her red lipstick was distracting. Similarly, Olivia tried to make sure congregants were not distracted by not wearing nail polish.

> Olivia: I really like gray nail polish, and I have one that's a dark gray purple. And I'll put it on, like Thursday through Saturday. But almost always, I'll take it off before Sunday. Because I feel it becomes too distracting. If I'm using my hands, then you can really see that.

Olivia expressed that she liked dark gray purple nail polish. However, constrained by the masculinized image of pastor, she only wears it on days she does not preach so that congregants are not distracted by the color of her fingernails. She stated above, "If I'm using my hands, then you can really see that." In order to have a higher likelihood of being perceived as a pastor rather than a woman, Olivia takes her nail polish off before she preaches. Similar to the previous example, while this is an effective strategy and perhaps an essential strategy, it reinforces masculine images of pastors that do not

incorporate feminine characteristics like long hair, accessories, or nail polish. It also requires Olivia to repress an authentic part of her creative expression as an individual.

Some women in the congregation preferred that women pastors not display sexualized femininity, meaning that they thought it was inappropriate for them to expose certain parts of their bodies. When I asked Grace if she had any expectations of how Olivia dressed, she said:

> Grace: No, I don't think so. Well I don't want her to come to church with a low cut shirt and tight skirt or something. I expect her to be professional.

At first Grace stated that she had no particular expectation, but then clarified by saying she didn't want Olivia to wear a "low cut shirt" or a "tight skirt." She further stated, "I expect her to be professional." This quote shows that Grace thinks the female body is incompatible with professionalism. For this reason, it should be covered and definitely not accentuated. Moreover, Grace's clarification suggests that Olivia is discouraged to embody a sexualized femininity. In other words, she is often expected to display femininity but not too much femininity thus narrowing the criteria for how she can do gender even more.

Similarly, one congregant at Meg's church recalled an instance when there was a church pool party and Meg wore a two-piece swimsuit.

> Beverly: This just came to mind. We had a spring fling with college students, with kids and little toddlers were playing in the swimming pool. Meg had on a two-piece bathing suit and she was out there playing with them. I have three grandkids and daughters, son in laws and all, that age doesn't know what- that's not even important to them--so probably half of the people [younger half] didn't notice, then half went, "Hmmm." But I've never heard anybody say anything about Kyle [male senior pastor] in situations like those. That's the difference.

As associate pastor, part of Meg's job was to attend church events. In this case, the event was a swim party for college students. Meg wore a normative women's swimsuit,

however, the exposure of her body made some of the older congregants feel uncomfortable. Here, Meg's body was sexualized and understood as unprofessional to some congregants who preferred she wear something that covered more of her body. On the other hand, Beverly stated, "But I've never heard anybody say anything about Kyle in situations like those. That's the difference." Unlike the female body, which is consciously and unconsciously objectified, men's bodies are perceived as independent actors and are feminized in this way because the male body is more congruent with professionalism than the female body. While not everyone objected to Meg wearing a swimsuit, it is important to note that Beverly never experienced people talking about Kyle and the appropriateness of his normative male swimsuit. Here, we see that although Meg is expected to embody forms of femininity through her dress and appearance, *sexualized* femininity is not encouraged and is negatively judged by some.

I also observed co-pastors, Michael and Laura, in a similar situation. At a church pool party for Vacation Bible School, Michael and Laura were swimming with other congregants including children and adults. When I walked into the pool party, Laura came to greet me and said, "I know, right? What does a woman pastor wear to a church pool party?" as she pointed to the dress she was wearing over her swimsuit. Then she said, "What else am I going to do?" When I later asked Laura why she felt like she needed to wear the dress, she said, "They don't make swimsuits that cover the parts I'm suppose to cover! Like what women's swimsuit is still professional?" Most women's swimsuits are designed in a way that accentuates and sexualizes the female body, which is understood as an object of pleasure. Therefore, Laura created a strategy for reconciling the conflict between her female body and professionalism. In this way, her female body becomes less

visible and her professionalism remains intact. However, similar to other women pastors' forms of resistance, this strategy may be necessary and effective in the short-term, but it also reinforces the perceived mismatch between the female body and professionalism.

Men's Objectification and Sexualization of Women Pastors

Women pastors' interactions with men were sometimes characterized by the sexualization of their bodies. In contrast to women congregants who worked to make sure that women pastors did not sexualize their bodies, men in the congregation did just the opposite. For instance, Olivia recalled being objectified by male congregants even right after she preached or while engaging her role of authority as pastor.

> Olivia: One time before I wore a robe, I preached and afterwards one man told me, 'You really have some va-va-voom curves.' And another person-- a man who is close enough to my age, said- it was very awkward and changed my relationship with him forever- said something about how hot I looked that day, and Jack [my husband] must love those heels…I can remember doing a wedding once. At the rehearsal, where I'm leading and directing and pulling people together, I can hear the groomsmen talking about me and one of them goes like, "Oh, you mean kind of like a little hot-for-teacher situation?"

In the first scenario, just after Olivia preached her sermon, one man told her, "You really have some va-va-voom curves." Despite her particularly visible role as the leader of this congregation and expert in her field, this male congregant reduced Olivia to her body thus undermining her authority as pastor. In the second example, Olivia explained that one male congregant told her that she "looked hot that day" and said, "Jack [her husband] must love those heels." Here, this congregant sexualized Olivia's body and presumed that her husband would experience as much pleasure as he was experiencing while seeing her in her high heels. This congregant's comment defines Olivia as a sexualized object purposed for bringing he and her husband pleasure. Instead of being valued as an independent authority figure and leader, she was valued for the pleasure she offers men

through her appearance thus undermining her authority as pastor. Finally, in the last scenario while Olivia was coordinating and leading a wedding rehearsal as the officiant, some of the groomsmen began talking about her with each other. When referring to Olivia, one said, “Oh, you mean kind of like a little hot-for-teacher situation?” Similar to the previous examples, the authority that Olivia held as pastor in this context was superseded by her sexualized body.

Other women pastors encountered similar interactions with male congregants as well. In fact, some women pastors noted that sometimes these interactions progressed from sexualized comments to physical touch. For instance, associate pastor Meg explained the difference in how male congregants approach her in comparison to senior pastor, Kyle:

> Meg: So for example, Kyle doesn't have a lot of old men hitting on him all the time or even those who aren't hitting on him constantly talking about how he looks or how much they love him in that way or rubbing on him or whatever that--people think it is okay because you're a woman.

Meg explained that Kyle, the male senior pastor, doesn’t have to maneuver through “old men hitting on him all the time or even those who aren’t hitting on him constantly talking about how he looks or how much they love him in that way or rubbing on him or whatever.” Meg further stated, “People think it is okay because you’re a woman.” The combination of her female body and her single status resulted in male congregants perceiving her as up for grabs whether it be by touching her body or hitting on her. These interactions fit squarely in the hegemonic relationship between masculinity and femininity, with men as the sexual pursuers and women as the object pursued. Here, men interacting with Meg as the sexual object divorces her body from her personal desires not to mention her role as pastor, and positions it as something to be enjoyed and had by

others. Clearly, these men view Meg as a woman before they view her as a pastor thus simultaneously disrespecting and under-cutting her authority.

Meg also experienced a couple of men in the congregation who were interested in her romantically. She described her experience with one of these men below:

> Meg: But anyway, he was like always asking me to meet him places or for coffee. I finally had to have a conversation with him to tell him like it's not going to happen and I'm his pastor. So then I got out of that and then he just persisted and persisted and he would try to get me alone and he would-- and Kyle thankfully, I let him know what was going on and he didn't believe it at first. [laughter] "Really? Maybe you're thinking a little too much, he's probably just being flirty," but then he saw it. [laughter] So he took care of it. He had coffee with him and told him that he could not talk to me anymore.

Meg explained that once she realized that this congregant was pursuing her, she made a point to tell him that she was not interested in pursuing a relationship with him and reminded him that she was his pastor. However, even after Meg told him this she said, "he just persisted and persisted and he would try to get me alone." This congregant's behavior maintains the hegemonic relationship between masculinity and femininity by assuming his dominance and expecting Meg's compliance despite her position of authority. This clearly shows that he viewed Meg as a woman rather than as a pastor because he disrespected her requests for him to stop pursuing her. After Meg told Kyle about this situation, she said he "took care of it" and "told him he could not talk to me anymore." In this case, Kyle's intervention was obviously necessary because this congregant persisted despite Meg's appeals and her position of authority as his pastor. However, the fact that Meg had to call on Kyle to handle this situation and the congregant did not stop pursuing Meg until another man stepped into stop it reinforces gender hegemony. In other words, the need for Kyle to step in is a result of the symbolic

relationship between masculinity and femininity *and* reinforces this relationship thus undermining Meg's authority as a pastor.

Resistance and Paths Toward Change

In an attempt to minimize the objectification of their bodies, all of the women senior pastors in this study wore robes and required their ministerial staff to robe as well. Only one male pastor in the entire study said that he often received comments about his attire, and decided to wear a robe to bypass these comments. However, he was an exceptional case and was the only single male pastor in the study. It appeared that these types of comments, which came exclusively from women congregants, were more an effect of his singleness than his sex. In other words, women congregants often assumed that this pastor did not have a wife or woman tending to his appearance.

In most congregations in this study, congregants typically critiqued the idea of robing because they highly valued the democratic structure of Baptist congregations. Therefore, some congregants and male pastors initially opposed the idea of wearing robes because they thought it created a visible separation between the pastor and the congregants. For instance, when senior pastor Olivia decided that she as well as other ministerial staff would wear robes during religious services, associate pastor, Ben, initially resisted this idea.

> Ben: I initially objected to the idea of robes. I think it creates a separation between pastors and congregants that maybe shouldn't be there, especially as Baptists. I'd rather be one with the people. But the truth is, people take you more seriously when you're wearing a uniform. I think for me, I'm young, so the robe helped congregants take me more seriously. And for Olivia, it's probably age and because she's a woman—I know people kept making comments about her clothes or how she looked. But I think the robe kind of takes gender out of it—it's sort of an equalizer.

Like Ben, most congregants who initially objected or felt uncomfortable with their pastors wearing robes eventually got used to it and their perceptions of pastors having too much authority when they wore robes lessened or went away completely after time. However, it is important to note their initial critique because women who decide to wear a robe to establish their authority and increase their perceived credibility also run the risk of being viewed as embodying *too much* authority within the context of these Baptist congregations. It is also important to note that the choice to robe is not equal between men and women. Although Ben noted that he was taken more seriously once he began to robe because he was a young pastor, Olivia equally faced the obstacle of age *in addition* to the issue of being feminized by congregants.

Ben further stated, "I think the robe kind of takes gender out of it—it's sort of an equalizer." Based on feedback from women pastors, the robe does seem to function as an equalizer to an extent because it helps establish their authority and they receive fewer comments on their appearance. However, if the robe signifies authority then it is intertwined with masculinity. That is, it adds to the authority men already carry through their male bodies. On the other hand, the robe helps establish the authority of women by hiding their female bodies and minimizing their femininity. This means that when men, who already fit into the masculine pastor mold, wear robes, it underscores their authority. When women wear robes, it is in an effort to eliminate their femininity so that they can better fit into the pastoral mold, which is incongruent with their femininity. Therefore, since authority is conflated with masculinity, it does not take gender out of it; it only takes femininity out of it. And even then, past examples show that women's bodies were

feminized even while wearing robes or just after taking their robes off. While the robes help, it only acts as an equalizer partially and temporarily.

When Olivia was offered the job as senior pastor, she made sure she was explicit about her and the rest of ministerial staff wearing a robe.

> Olivia: Well, I knew [I would wear a robe year around] once I was in a position that I can make the decision for myself. Because I was in a church where, they already had a tradition that for whatever reason, the pastors robed in Lent and Easter and Advent and Christmas, but not in between. In the interview process here, I said that I would, that's part of it. I don't want what I'm wearing that day to be the source-- even if it's something nice. "Oh, you're so cute today, that's just such a great dress." I don't want that to be what anybody's thinking in that moment. Then of course now there's always somebody still finding something like, "Is she wearing red lipstick?" whatever part of me they can see, they stalk.

Olivia used the robe as a way to keep people's attention on her role as a pastor and explained,

"I don't want what I'm wearing that day to be the source—even if it's something nice. 'Oh, you're so cute today, that's just such a great dress.' I don't want that to be what anybody's thinking in that moment." For Olivia, the robe masks her feminine features so that congregants are less likely to feminize her and more likely to focus on how she effectively engages the role of pastor. However, she also stated, "Then of course now there's always somebody still finding something like, 'Is she wearing red lipstick?' whatever part of me they can see, they stalk." Since female bodies and feminine forms of expression are not characteristic of the normative pastor mold, they prove particularly noticeable and visible. Therefore, even with the robe, congregants still judge, whether it be compliments or critiques, whatever feminine parts of Olivia they can see thus reducing her to these parts and undermining her authority as a pastor.

The second significant point from this quote is that Olivia was in a position of power to decide whether or not she would wear a robe. She stated above, "I knew [I would wear a robe year around] once I was in a position that I can make the decision for myself. Because I was in a church where, they already had a tradition that for whatever reason, the pastors robed in Lent and Easter and Advent and Christmas, but not in between. In the interview process here, I said that I would, that's part of it." As senior pastor, Olivia had the authority to make the decision to wear the robe every Sunday and, therefore, better maneuver around the gendered barriers she encountered when she did not robe during services. However, this means that only exceptionally successful women pastors, specifically those who are senior pastors, maintain the power to make this type of decision for themselves. Otherwise, their ability to wear a robe is dependent on the willingness of the typically male senior pastor.

This chapter demonstrates how the mismatch between embodied femininity and the position of pastor requires women pastors to constantly navigate congregants' conflicting expectations of gender through their bodies and appearance. They are required to achieve a perfect combination of masculinity and femininity in order to be respected as women and pastors. Furthermore, this perfect combination of masculinity and femininity is subject to change by setting, by people, or by moment. In some cases, this fine line appears impossible to achieve and certainly impossible to sustain. As shown above, Sophie who is small in stature wears high heels so that she is taller and can better establish her authority within the masculinized role of pastor. However, when Olivia wore heels as a pastor, she was sexualized thereby diminishing her authority. This shows that women pastors' strategies of resistance for bypassing the consequences of their

femininity are not permanent, certain, or reliable solutions for effectively engaging the masculine role of pastor. Moreover, although a ministerial robe functions as a tool for women to cover their bodies, decrease congregants' distractions, and establish their authority, it also reinforces the notion that the female body is incompatible with the role of pastor as well as masculine images of pastors. Finally, as I demonstrated throughout this chapter, women utilizing strategies to disrupt gendered patterns that disrespect or diminish their positions as pastors may be effective temporarily but they fail to create significant change on the organizational level; the responsibility is theirs to change and adapt to the gendered patterns and expectations of the congregation. Although the presence of women pastors shifts images of pastors slightly, pastors and congregants must put intentional and additional strategies in place for undoing gendered processes in the organizations themselves. Otherwise, if congregants continue to place conflicting gendered expectations on women pastors, then gender equality may never be reached on organizational and structural levels.

As it relates to the embodied authority of women pastors, the path to gender equality on an organizational level is two-fold. First, congregants and church staff must re-conceptualize and broaden their understandings of what women are *supposed* to look like, sound like, and act like and create spaces for women to express and display qualities of femininity *and* masculinity without facing judgment or consequence. This also means that congregants and church staff must use these more dynamic understandings of women to design new ways of engaging women that do not reduce them to their femininity, particularly their bodies and appearances. Secondly, congregants and church staff must re-conceptualize and broaden their understandings of what pastors and all authority

figures are *supposed* look like, sound like, act like, and feel like. This way, women *and* men who, for example, are small in stature and/or have feminine voices are fully perceived as authority figures and leaders. All of these gendered shifts in congregants' consciousness are predicated on understanding gender as something *we do* rather than something *we are*. Therefore, masculinity is no longer perceived as the natural exclusive qualities of men and femininity is no longer perceived as the natural exclusive qualities of women, but rather are fluid qualities that we all move in and out of perhaps even moment by moment. In this way, women pastors who want to wear heels, wear heels. And women pastors who never want to wear heels, don't wear heels. But all women pastors are perceived as authority figures in equal ways to men.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study examined the taken-for-granted gendered processes within CBF-affiliated congregations that contribute to and reinforce barriers faced by Baptist women pastors despite organizational and theological goals of gender equality and the official affirmation of women's equal leadership in the church. By applying the theoretical lens of gendered organizations (Acker, 1990), this study identified organizational barriers faced by women pastors prior, during, and after congregational hiring processes as they engaged the masculinized role as pastor.

These findings are particularly important for CBF-affiliated congregations because these congregations emphatically support the equal leadership of women in the church on theological and organizational levels. This means that their organizational goals of gender equality and affirmation of women pastors in these congregations are ontologically different from workplaces in other fields because these goals are founded in and conflated with the moral and theological convictions that undergird the congregations themselves. That is, congregants in this study believe that to be a Christian means to believe in the equality of men and women and work toward this end. Therefore, to be a church means to collectively believe in the equality of men and women and work as an organization toward this end. Therefore, these goals of gender equality should be actualized within these congregations as well as be included as part of their collective mission as congregations that engage a gendered and unequal society. The moral obligation of these congregations to create change for the sake of gender equality situates

this study as both a critique of processes of inequality and a hope for undoing these gendered processes and creating more equitable ones.

Specifically, the first analysis chapter (Chapter Three) examines the gendered expectations of congregants. My findings show that, although most congregants expected pastors to embody traits of femininity like being caring and loving, the role of pastor is ultimately masculinized because it is conflated with leadership and authority. The masculinized role of pastor presents particular barriers for women pastors. These barriers are identified and discussed in detail in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

Chapter Four explores the life histories, particularly of women pastors, and identifies the barriers they face prior to becoming pastors. My findings show that, as a result of exclusionary theology barring women from the pastoral ministry and the lack of women pastors as role models in Baptist life overall, women are often discouraged from embracing their callings as pastors and excluded from opportunities that develop their pastoral identities and skills. On the other hand, men are encouraged to become pastors and are given significantly more opportunities to develop their pastoral skills. These findings are significant because women typically connect with their vocational callings later in life and have indirect paths to senior pastor positions that consist of other helping professions and alternative forms of ministry. Moreover, women often seek senior pastor positions later in life. Therefore, by the time men and women seminary students graduate from seminary and enter the job market, women have significantly less experience than the men they are competing against for jobs.

Chapter Five investigates the seemingly "gender-neutral" hiring processes of CBF congregations. The findings show that, despite congregants' good intentions of gender

equality, hiring processes benefited men applicants because 1) congregants directly compared the professional experiences of men and women pastors, 2) preferred direct professional trajectories to senior pastor positions, and 3) required senior pastor experience. The data also show that most hiring committees preferred younger pastors. Because of women's career trajectories as outlined in Chapter 4, by the time many women pastors apply for senior pastor positions they are no longer in the preferred age range and men pastors have significantly more pastoral experience than they do. Specific strategies to overcome these gendered processes include establishing organizational goals around being intentional about hiring women pastors such as an affirmative action approach. I also recommend that congregants broaden the hiring criteria from education and experience to other pastoral qualities such as resilience, a strong sense of self, creativity, and perseverance, which are qualities that congregants stated they valued and are often cultivated by women as they maneuver around barriers on their paths to pastoral positions. Moreover, the data show how congregants' unconscious gender biases negatively influence their perceptions of women as effective leaders and authority figures. To address such gender biases, I suggest that congregants' actively engage in unconscious bias workshops and seminars.

Finally, Chapter Six focuses on the incongruence between embodied femininity and the masculinized role of pastor. The data reveal that women pastors are required to walk a fine line between masculinity and femininity in that they must maintain both their authority as pastors and femininity as women. Specifically, the data show how women pastors are simultaneously expected to maintain their femininity on the one hand, and critiqued for not maintaining standards of feminine attractiveness or decorum, thus

resulting in additional evaluation criteria to men. The data also illustrate how the feminization of women's bodies undermines their authority as pastors. These are barriers male pastors do not face because masculinity and the role of pastor are conflated. Moreover, the data show how congregants' conceptualizations of authority are closely related to the normative male body thus resulting in an additional barrier for women as they engage the role of pastor. To address congregants' unequal and dual expectations of women, I argue that congregants must broaden and re-imagine how women *should* look, sound, and act like as well as how pastors *should* look, sound, and act like. While women pastors have effectively applied strategies of resistance to lessen the effects of these gendered barriers, I argue that the organizations themselves remain unchanged unless congregants begin to re-structure their expectations pertaining to the images and behavior of women as well as the images and behavior of pastors.

These findings demonstrate that women pastors continue to face gendered barriers even after effectively breaking through the stained glass ceiling and securing pastoral positions. Therefore, I conclude that the stained glass ceiling proves limited as a conceptual frame because it insinuates that women pastors, particularly senior pastors, no longer face gendered barriers once they secure top positions in churches. Instead, I re-purpose Eagly and Carli's (2007) concept of the labyrinth and present the conceptual framework of the *stained glass labyrinth*, which accounts for the additional hurdles women pastors maneuver around after securing positions as pastors and calls for the ongoing process of undoing gender on the individual, interactional, and organizational levels within CBF congregations.

Implications

This study is important to congregants and pastors, particularly women pastors, who remain perplexed about the loose coupling between denominational goals of gender equality and the actualized gendered division of labor. These findings strongly suggest that the current underrepresentation of women pastors can and should be attributed to issues of gender that extend beyond the good intentions and inclusive beliefs of congregants and organizational policies as well as beyond the individual qualifications of women pastors. Some male pastors, particularly those at churches that had never hired a woman as senior pastor, assumed that the issue of gender inequality had been solved at their churches simply because they believed in the equal leadership of women. For instance, one male pastor stated, "Gender is something we don't address a lot, because that's something that we would say we've dealt with and we want gender equality especially in the church." Acker (1990) and Risman (1999; 2004) show that individuals' good intentions and beliefs of gender equality fail to adequately address and change the gendered societal and organizational processes that create and reinforce outcomes of gender inequality. Therefore, actual organizational change requires restructuring the congregations themselves on the individual, interactional, and organizational levels.

Additionally, this study shows the mismatch between congregants' good intentions of gender equality and assumptions of essential differences between men and women and how these assumptions shape everyday organizational processes. Overall, these findings reveal how pastors and congregants lack a sociological understanding of gender and how the relationship between femininity and masculinity is inherently hierarchical thus resulting in unconscious gender biases that reinforce gendered

organizational processes. This study provides insight into how to address and change these unconscious gender biases through sermon material, educational workshops, discussion panels, and the increased representation of women on pastoral church staffs.

In terms of sociological research, this study contributes to the very small body of literature that examines gendered organizations comprehensively through the analysis of all five of Acker's gendered interactive organizational processes (e.g. Britton, 2003). Specifically, it contributes to the literature on gendered organizations by investigating gendered processes within religious congregations, a type of organization scarcely researched through the lens of gendered organizations. Moreover, this study shows how organizations committed to gender equality still reinforce outcomes of inequality.

Unlike the majority of other studies that apply Acker's theory, the organizations included in this study are not purely hierarchical but are structured rather democratically. Moreover, although the role of pastor is ultimately masculine, congregants widely characterize the role by feminized traits and skills unlike in other male-dominated professions and jobs, which are typically characterized by qualities of masculinity. This study offers a unique contribution to research on gender and work because it illustrates the revaluation of feminized qualities and skills within masculinized job positions, a pattern only identified within the relatively recent expectations of medical doctors. Furthermore, these feminized traits and skills are expected of *both* men and women and call for a gendered shift in hegemonic masculine leadership approaches by replacing these with more gender-balanced approaches. For example, pastors are no longer expected to be authoritative, but they are expected to be collaborative while retaining their ability to effectively establish their authority as pastors. In this way, femininity does

not devalue the role of pastor but rather adds to its value. These types of gendered shifts in the conceptualizations of leadership are novel and require continued investigation.

Finally, this research provides a case study for social workers, especially church social workers who are working toward gender equality in their own organizations and congregations. Specifically, church social workers are most often focused on micro tasks such as counseling church members or macro tasks such as community engagement. This research provides a model for addressing inequality on the mezzo level and identifying ways congregations reinforce gender inequality through seemingly gender-neutral processes. In this way, church social workers can broaden their agenda to addressing and changing organizational processes that result in gender equality as well as race, class, and sexuality inequality through consciousness-raising, educational workshops, and interactive discussion panels.

Limitations

This study addresses questions of gender inequality within a limited sample of congregations within one particular denomination, which limits the ability to generalize results. Although the results may not be generalized in relation to other organizations, patterns identified offer insight into gendered processes occurring in other congregations that intentionally support gender equality as well as other organizations that deliberately adhere to feminist ideals and strive for gender equality. Also, this research fails to develop actual organizational models of change but it sets the groundwork for the development of these models in the future; perhaps this research may be partnered with already established models of change. I consider this endeavor to be *Phase 2* of the study. Finally, this study focuses exclusively on the experiences of white, straight men and

women pastors and, therefore, fails to examine the intersections of gender with race and sexuality.

Future Chapters & Research

-Seminary Graduate Survey. In addition to the Congregational Survey utilized in this study, I also designed and distributed a Seminary Graduate Survey to men and women seminary graduates through alumni social media pages of Baptist seminaries. Specifically, this survey investigated the employment status of seminary graduates, the salaries and benefits of employed seminary graduates, and the job satisfaction of seminary graduates as well as demographic information. At this point, just over 200 respondents have taken the survey. I plan to use this data to bolster the data from my dissertation study and establish the wage gap between men and women pastors and determine the reasons women pastors perceive that they are not being hired for pastoral positions.

-Awareness of gender Structure & the leadership of women pastors. The data from my study shows that compared to women pastors, men pastors are largely unaware of gender structure, which contributes to how men and women pastors lead differently. Often congregants referred to women pastors as "fearless" and "courageous." They were also more likely than men to take on controversial social justice issues such as racism, heteronormativity, and xenophobia. Unlike some leadership research which suggests that women are more likely to take a social justice approach as a result of their "maternal instinct" or their feminized qualities like being nurturing or caring, my findings suggest that women's courage to take on these controversial topics within these congregations is more related to their personal experiences of oppression and marginalization rather than feminine qualities. On the other hand, most men in the study were more cautious about approach controversial topics and rarely took hard stands on social justice issues. I also plan to conduct a discourse analysis of the pastors' sermons, which are all posted online.

-The position of pastor's wife and parenting. Data from this study illustrate that the role of pastor's wife is understood as a complementary component of the role pastor. For instance, during his interview process at his current church, one single male pastor was asked, "How are you going to be able to do this job without a wife?" My data support that much of a pastor's workload falls on the shoulders of his wife. In other words, historically the role of pastor has been 1.5 jobs rather than one single job. Congregants' expectations of women pastors persist today, however, these expectations do not extend to the husbands of women pastors. In fact, one woman pastor was critiqued for utilizing assistance from her husband too much in one of her job evaluations. Furthermore, where congregants traditionally expect pastors' wives to take care of his children and domestic responsibilities, my data shows that many congregants think women pastors should be the primary caregivers because men are perceived as not being able to care for children in the same way that women can. This is particularly interesting

since congregants fully expect men pastors to embody femininity by being compassionate, caring, attentive, and patient but are less likely to believe that they can have these qualities in the context of their children. This suggests that men are understood to be able to embody femininity when status and authority is attached to the role but not when it is a subordinate role. These findings are further corroborated through churches offering maternity leave to women but no paternity leave to men.

-**An investigation of the congregations themselves.** I still have not analyzed several questions from the Congregational Survey. I would like to further investigate whether or not congregations that have hired a woman have distinct qualities. For instance, I would like to look run statistical analyses on demographic variables, particularly education to see if there are significant differences between these congregations. Also, some of my data suggest that congregations are already social justice oriented before hiring a woman pastor, and then the social justice approach of women pastors reinforces this part of their identity. I want to examine patterns that make one congregation more social justice oriented than others.

-Feminized church staff roles. My research also includes interviews with women seminary graduates who held the most feminized church staff positions like children's ministers and office managers. I would like to further explore how these women's subordinate positions result in significantly less pay and fewer benefits despite their equal work and same education as their other co-workers in other pastoral positions.

-Gendered Language. A lot of my data shows how congregations differ in terms of whether or not they use gender-neutral or gender-inclusive language in their prayers, religious services, hymns, and when referring to God. In fact, during my interviews I directly asked congregants their opinions on gender inclusive language. There were distinct differences in how this was approached and talked about between churches. These differences were also reflected in church literature. For instance, in a book outlining the history of a church with a woman senior pastor, the first woman pastor was referred to by "Mrs. Husband's First Name and Husband's Last Name." I would like to explore this pattern further.

-Sexualized Organizations. Finally, some of my data illustrates heteronormative organizational processes and assumptions that would likely contribute to inequitable outcomes for LGBTQ pastors and ministers. In addition to the data that I already have, I would like to expand my study to congregations affiliated with the Alliance of Baptists, which explicitly supports the equal leadership of LBGTQ pastors, yet they remain underrepresented in pastoral positions within these congregations. Therefore, I would like to determine how these congregations are sexualized and reinforce heteronormative processes despite intentions of equality.

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Graph 1: Hierarchical Division of Labor by Sex

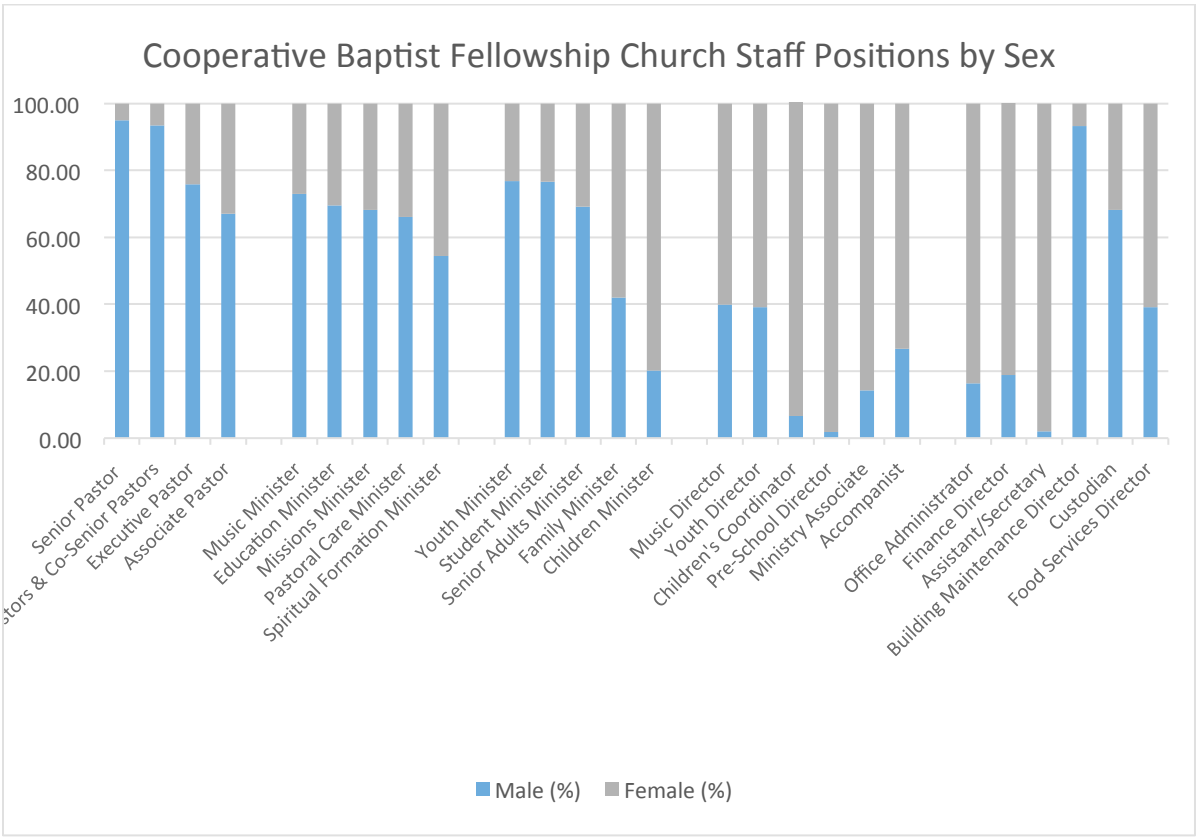

Table 1: CBF Church Staff Male-to-Female Percentages

Position (N=)	Male (%)	Female (%)
Senior Position		
Senior Pastor (652)	95.0	5.0
With Co-Senior Pastors (675)	93.5	6.5
Executive Pastor (54)	75.9	24.1
Associate Pastor (288)	67.0	33.0
Music Minister (369)	73.0	27.0
Education Minister (56)	69.6	30.4
Missions Minister (91)	68.1	31.9
Pastoral Care Minister (56)	66.1	33.9
Spiritual Formation Minister (79)	54.4	45.6
Youth Minister (199)	76.8	23.2
Student Minister (111)	76.6	23.4
Senior Adults Minister (55)	69.1	30.9
Family Minister (69)	42.0	58.0
Children Minister (209)	20.1	79.9
Music Director (103)	39.8	60.2
Youth Director (46)	39.1	60.9
Children's Coordinator (90)	6.6	94.4
Pre-School Director (156)	1.9	98.1
Ministry Associate (259)	14.3	85.7
Accompanist (329)	26.7	73.3
Office Administrator (178)	16.3	83.7
Finance Director (96)	18.8	81.3
Assistant/Secretary (546)	2.0	98.0
Building Maint. Director (120)	93.3	6.7
Custodian (135)	68.1	31.9
Food Services Director (51)	39.2	60.8

Table 2: Qualities Most Associated with Lead Pastors

	Total	**%**
Care for People	67	24.2
Knowledge/Intelligence	32	11.6
Morality/Ethics	27	9.7
Relational/Personable	23	8.3
Charisma	23	8.3
Administrator	21	7.6
Accessibility/Servant Leader	17	6.1
Visionary/Prophetic	15	5.4
Preaching/Public Speaking	15	5.4
Leadership/Authority	15	5.4
Other	12	4.3
Open/Listening Skills	11	3.9
Total	**277**	**100**

Table 3: Qualities Valued Most in a Lead Pastor

	N	**%**
Care for People	71	25.9
Collaborator	39	14.2
Morality/Ethics	33	12
Knowledge/Intelligence	24	8.8
Relational/Personable	18	6.6
Communication/Preaching	15	5.5
Wisdom	15	5.5
Accessibility/Servant Leader	14	5.1
Humility	12	4.3
Administrator	10	3.6
Leadership	9	3.3
Charisma	8	2.9
Visionary	3	1.1
Other	3	1.1
Total	**247**	**100**

Table 4: Skills Valued Most in a Senior Pastor

	N	**%**
Preaching/Communication	44	18.7
Caring for People	34	14.5
Intellectual	31	13.2
Relational	26	11.1
Administrator	16	6.8
Visionary	14	5.9
Morality	14	5.6
Collaborator	13	5.5
Leadership	13	5.5
Available	13	5.5
Wise	11	4.7
X-Factor (Charismatic)	3	1.3
Brave	3	1.3
Total	**235**	**100**

Table 5: Qualities Valued Least in a Lead Pastor

	N	**%**
Prideful	49	26.2
Authoritative/Dictatorial	26	13.9
Not Inclusive or Collaborative	26	13.9
Uninvolved	24	12.8
Judgmental or Merciless	12	6.4
Unethical	12	6.4
Not Relational	10	5.3
Insecure	9	4.8
Indecisive	4	2.1
Not a good communicator/preacher	3	1.6
Immature	3	1.6
Not educated or thoughtful	1	0.5
Other	8	4.2
Total	**187**	**100**

Appendix A: Congregational Survey

Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Welcome to the Congregational Survey on Church Leadership!

We appreciate your time and participation in this study. Your participation in this survey contributes to a larger study examining preferred leadership styles in at least six other Baptist churches in the United States. Please know that your responses will be submitted anonymously. The survey includes 42 questions and takes about 10-15 minutes to complete.

1. Please verify that you are affiliated with the church that shared this survey (by a church staff member's email, church newsletter, or through the church's website, Facebook page or Twitter account) by clicking 'Yes.' If 'No,' please exit the survey.

◯ Yes

2. Please verify that you are 18 years or older by clicking 'Yes' below. Then, click 'Next' at the bottom of the page to begin the survey. If you are not 18 years or older, please exit the survey.

◯ Yes

This survey has been approved by the [insert University] Institutional Review Board. Your participation in this survey signifies consent. For further questions regarding the study, please contact [insert researcher's name] at [researcher's email] For further questions regarding the survey, contact: [insert IRB email]

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Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Personal Information

3. Age:

4. Gender:

5. Do you identify as LGBTQIA?

- ◯ Yes
- ◯ No

6. To which race do you most identify?

- ◯ African American or Black
- ◯ American Indian or Native American
- ◯ Asian or Pacific Islander
- ◯ Latino or Hispanic
- ◯ White
- ◯ Other (please specify)

7. Marital Status:

- ◯ Single
- ◯ Married/Partnership
- ◯ Divorced
- ◯ Widowed
- ◯ Other

8. Education Level:

9. Occupation:

10. Occupational Information:

- ◯ Full-time
- ◯ Part-time
- ◯ Retired
- ◯ N/A

11. Spouse/Partner's Gender (if applicable):

12. Spouse or Partner's Education Level (if applicable):

13. Spouse/Partner's Occupation (if applicable):

14. Spouse/Partner's Occupational Information (if applicable):

- ◯ Full-time
- ◯ Part-time
- ◯ Retired
- ◯ N/A

Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Congregant Information

15. How long have you been a part of your current congregation?

16. How involved in this congregation do you consider yourself?

- Just barely
- Somewhat
- Moderately
- Very

17. Have you ever served on any congregational committees?

- No.
- Yes, currently.
- Yes, but not currently.

If yes, please list the committees you have served on and indicate if you were chair.

18. Have you ever served on a pastoral or church staff search committee for your current congregation?

- Yes
- No

Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Leadership Information: Lead Pastor

19. Please list 2-3 personality traits you generally associate with individuals in senior/lead pastor positions.

1)
2)
3)

20. Please describe personality traits **you** value most in a lead pastor.

21. Please describe personality traits you would **not want** in a lead pastor.

22. If you were on a search/hiring committee, what three skills would you most look for in a lead pastor?

1)
2)
3)

23. Please list three words describing your current lead pastor.

1)
2)
3)

Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Leadership Information: Preaching and Leadership Styles

24. Please describe your preferred preaching approach (e.g. style, content).

25. What is a preaching style(s) you **do not** appreciate? Why?

26. To what extent does your current lead pastor exhibit your preferred preaching style?

- ◯ Very Much
- ◯ Pretty Much
- ◯ Somewhat
- ◯ Not At All

27. What type of leadership style do you appreciate in a lead pastor? Please explain.

28. What is a leadership style you do not appreciate in a lead pastor? Please explain.

29. To what extent does your current lead pastor exhibit your preferred leadership style?

- ◯ Very much
- ◯ Pretty much
- ◯ Somewhat
- ◯ Not at all

Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Leadership Information:
Ministerial & Administrative Church Staff

Please list 2-3 personality traits or qualities you generally associate with individuals who hold the following church staff positions. It is likely that your current church does not maintain all of the following positions, however, if you are familiar with these positions from past experience, please offer your response. If you are unfamiliar with particular positions, please feel free to skip.

30. Associate Pastor

1)
2)
3)

31. Administrative/Executive Pastor

1)
2)
3)

32. Office manager/Church administrator

1)
2)
3)

33. Church Secretary/Receptionist

1)
2)
3)

34. Music/Worship Minister

1)
2)
3)

35. Spiritual Formation/Discipleship Minister

1)
2)
3)

36. Children's Minister

1)
2)
3)

37. Missions/Outreach/Community Minister

1)
2)
3)

38. Teaching/Education Minister

1)
2)
3)

39. Youth Minister

1)
2)
3)

40. College Minister

1)

2)

3)

41. Older Adults Minister

1)

2)

3)

Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Leadership Information: Co-Pastors

42. Do you think there are benefits and/or limitations to having co-lead pastors of different genders? Please explain.

10

Congregational Survey on Church Leadership

Thank you for sharing your time and thoughts!
We so appreciate your participation in the survey.
HAVE A GREAT DAY!

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Appendix B: Church Staff Interview Guide

1. How did you decide to go into the professional ministry?
2. When did you realize this was something you wanted to do?
3. Who were you main supporters? Was there anyone who did support you?
4. If so, what were the reasons for not supporting you?
5. What about seminary? Did you have any particular mentors there?
6. Is this the position you were hoping to be in when you graduated seminary? What position would you actually like to be in?
7. Have you ever experienced sexism in your role as pastor (insert other positions)? If so, how?
8. Do people within the church, congregants or staff, make assumptions about you based on your sex? If so, how?
9. Do people within the church make comments concerning how you are dressed or how you look? If so, what do they say?
10. Describe your leadership style.
11. Please describe tasks that you are responsible for on a weekly basis?
12. What do you consider to be the most stressful part of your job?
13. Do you perceive there to be particular expectations placed on you as someone who identifies as a [man or woman] in this particular role? If so, what are they?

Appendix C: Congregant Interview Guide

1. How long have you been a member at [insert church]?

2. Why did you choose this particular church?

3. Who was in leadership when you first came? Please explain his/her leadership style. What did you appreciate about this leadership style? What did you not appreciate? [Repeat until current leadership]

4. In your opinion, what are the elements of a good preacher/good sermon?

5. Were you on a pastoral search committee? If so, what does the search process look like?

6. What exactly was the committee/congregation looking for in a new pastor?

7. Were there in disagreements in the selection process? What were they? Explain.

8. Have you ever served on a congregational personnel or human resources committee? If so, what is your purpose? What are some of the issues that arise?

9. Have you observed a difference in expectations pertaining to your male and female ministerial staff?

Appendix D: Consent Form

Principal Investigator: [Info. deleted for submission]

Study Title: Religious Congregations and Gendered Organizations: Understanding Barriers Faced by Female Clergy

Sponsor: [Info. deleted for submission]

The following informed consent is required by my University for any research study conducted by investigators at the University. This study has been reviewed by the University's Institutional Review Board for Human Subjects.

Introduction

You are invited to participate in a research study to better understand your experiences and perceptions of gendered processes because you are a leader or congregant at a church affiliated with the Cooperative Baptist Fellowship or the Alliance of Baptists.

No research activity is to be conducted until you have had an opportunity to review this consent form, ask any questions you may have, and sign this document if applicable.

Why is this study being done?

The purpose of this research study is to better understand the extent to which congregations reinforce gendered outcomes for clergy, male and female.

What are the study procedures? What will I be asked to do?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will then be asked to participate in an interview. If you are a staff member, you will be asked about your perceptions of congregants' expectations of you as a church staff member and how these expectations have impacted your experiences or your behavior. If you are a congregant, you will be asked about hiring processes, congregational expectations, and preferred leadership styles.

The interviews will take place in each church staff member's office. Each interview will be 45 minutes to 1-hour. There are 7-9 congregations participating in this study. Each congregation will be assigned a pseudonym. All clergy and church staff members from each congregation will be invited to participate in the interviews, which will result in a total of approximately 40 interview participants.

Each interview will be recorded with an audio recording device and transcribed within 1 week of the interview.

What other options are there?

The other option to participation in this study is non-participation. The interview is completely voluntary and there is no consequence for non-participation.

What are the risks or inconveniences of the study?

We believe there are minimal risks associated with this research study; however, a possible inconvenience may be the time it takes to complete the study. A breach in anonymity and confidentiality are possible risks of the study, however, the researcher will assign a pseudonym to each interview participant as well as each church with which the participants are affiliated. All interview data will be kept in a password protected file.

What are the benefits of the study?

You may not directly benefit from this research; however, we hope that your participation in the study may contribute to understanding the ways in which gender may be patterned throughout religious congregations.

Will I receive payment for participation?

You will not be paid to be in this study.

Are there costs to participate?

There are no costs to you to participate in this study.

How will my personal information be protected?

The following procedures will be used to protect the confidentiality of your data. All church names and names of study participants will be assigned a pseudonym and data will be coded and recorded by pseudonym. A master key that links names and codes will be maintained in a separate and secure location. All electronic files (e.g., database, spreadsheet, etc.) containing identifiable information will be password protected. In this way anonymity will be protected. Audio recordings will be destroyed once transcriptions are completed. Transcriptions will be completed within 4 weeks of recorded interview. All transcriptions will be kept in a password-protected file. Study records may be kept indefinitely, as long as the data has been stripped of identifiable information and described as such in the consent form. Any computer hosting such files will also have password protection to prevent access by unauthorized users. Only the members of the research staff will have access to the passwords. Data that will be shared with others will be coded as described above to help protect your identity. At the conclusion of this study, the researchers may publish their findings. Information will be presented in summary format and you will not be identified in any publications or presentations. Any mater key, audio recording, and other data described in this paragraph will be maintained in accordance with the security provisions of this paragraph until destroyed by the researchers.

You should also know that the [my] University Human Research Protection Office, Social/Behavioral Institutional Review Board (IRB) and/or the Office of Research Compliance may inspect study records as part of its auditing program, but these reviews will only focus on the researchers and not on your responses or involvement. The IRB is

a group of people who review research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Can I stop being in the study and what are my rights?

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. If you agree to be in the study, but later change your mind, you may drop out at any time. There are no penalties or consequences of any kind if you decide that you do not want to participate.

You do not have to answer any question that you do not want to answer.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the study?

Take as much time as you like before you make a decision to participate in this study. We will be happy to answer any question you have about this study. If you have further questions about this study, want to voice concerns or complaints about the research or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the principal investigator, [info deleted for submission] If you would like to discuss your rights as a research participant, discuss problems, concerns, and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research, you may contact the [info deleted for submission].

Consent to Audio/Videotape:

This study involves *audio and/or video recording of your participation.* Neither your name nor any other identifying information will be associated with the *audio recordings or any transcripts created from them.* Only the researcher(s) will be permitted to *listen to* the recordings.

Immediately following the interview, you will be given the opportunity to have the recordings erased.

Please initial one of each pair of options.

___ I consent to have my participation recorded.
___ I do not consent to have my participation recorded

___ I consent to have my recorded participation transcribed into written form.
___ I do not consent to have my recorded participation transcribed.

The recordings will be transcribed by the researcher and erased once the transcriptions are checked for accuracy. Transcripts of your participation may be reproduced in whole or in part for use in presentations or written products that result from this study. Neither your name nor any other identifying information (such as your voice or picture) will be used in presentations or in written products resulting from the study.

___ I consent to the use of the written transcription in presentations and written products resulting from the study provided that neither my name nor other identifying information will be associated with the transcript.

___ I do not consent to the use of my written transcription in presentations or written products resulting from the study.

The above permissions are in effect until February 2017. On or before that date, the tapes will be destroyed.

_____ _____

Signature of Participant Date

Documentation of Consent:

I have read this form and decided that I will participate in the research project described above. Its general purposes, the particulars of involvement and possible risks and inconveniences have been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that I can withdraw at any time. My signature also indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form.

_____ _____

Subject Date

_____ _____

Parent/Legally Authorized Representative (if applicable) Date

_____ _____

Person Obtaining Consent Date

I am unable to read but this consent document has been read and explained to me by _____ (name of reader). I volunteer to participate in this research.

_____ _____

Subject Date

_____ _____

Witness Date

_____ _____

Person Obtaining Consent Date

Biography

Katie Lauve-Moon was born and raised in Alexandria, Louisiana. She graduated with a Bachelor of Science in Marketing from Louisiana Tech University in May 2007. In August 2007, she began a Master of Divinity (M.Div.)/Master of Social Work (MSW) dual degree program at Baylor University's School of Social Work and George W. Truett Theological Seminary. She earned her MSW with a concentration in Community Practice in May 2010 and later graduated with her M.Div. in December 2011. Katie's research focuses on the sociology of gender, women's work, gendered organizations, macro social work education, and the intersection of religion and society.

In August 2017, Katie will join the Texas Christian University faculty as a tenure-track Assistant Professor of Social Work where she will continue her research and teach macro social work as well as gender studies. Katie is married to Tim Lauve-Moon who is also a graduate of Truett Seminary.