

1989

A descriptive study of sex-trait stereotypes of lay church members for women clergy

Loretta A. Mueller

College of William & Mary - School of Education

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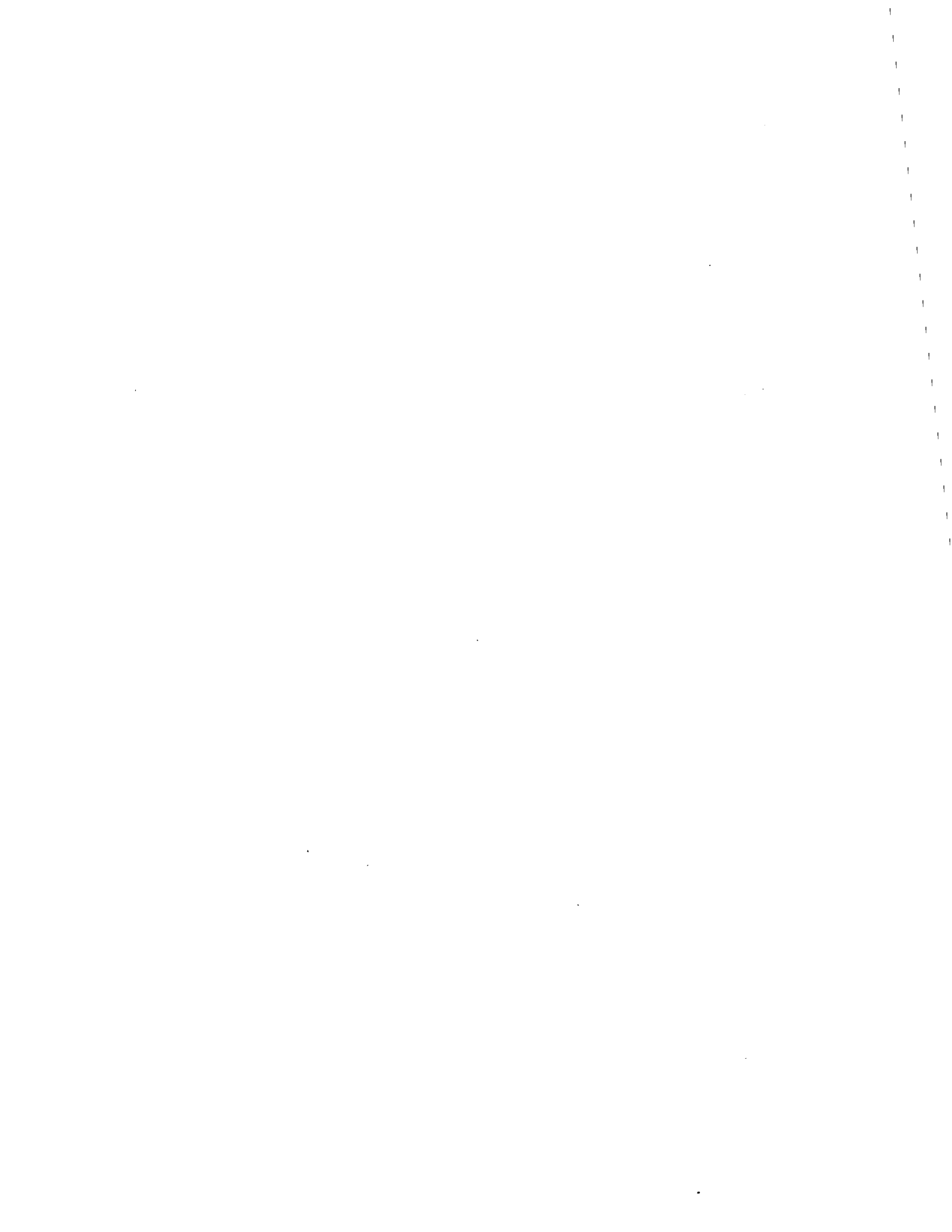
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**A descriptive study of sex-trait stereotypes of lay church
members for women clergy**

Mueller, Loretta A., Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary, 1989

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A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY
OF
SEX-TRAIT STEREOTYPES
OF
LAY CHURCH MEMBERS
FOR
WOMEN CLERGY

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by

Loretta A. Mueller

February 1989

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY
OF
SEX-TRAIT STEREOTYPES
OF
LAY CHURCH MEMBERS
FOR
WOMEN CLERGY

by

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this volume to the eight women who made up my first clergy women support group and to my husband, Arnold W. Mueller. The group members were the ones who impregnated me with the idea, and who encouraged me throughout the pregnancy. My husband was the one who walked the floor with me when the going got tough and who was as eager and as excited as I about the birth. Without all of you, I would never have made it through this process. Thanks!

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The total list of individuals who have made contributions to this experience would be prohibitively long. I am grateful to all of you.

There are a few people who must be mentioned. Dr. Fred Adair, who served as the chairman of my committee, was patient enough to allow me to work at my own pace. He also is the one who did battle for me when others questioned the value of my research.

Jim Schiess was my statistician is another person who deserves to be mentioned. He and his magic machine were responsible for the statistical analysis of my data.

I would also like to acknowledge the contributions of my husband, Arnold Mueller. He put many hours into helping me reduce the data, edited what I had written, and helped me to make my complicated design understandable to all who read the paper.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	ix
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
Chapter.....	1
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
Justification for the study.....	1
Facts about women in the workplace.....	2
Women in the church.....	3
Women as clergy.....	4
Resistance to clergy women.....	9
Statement of the problem.....	12
Theoretical Rationale.....	13
General Theories.....	13
The Church.....	17
Women in the General Population.....	18
Clergy women.....	26
Definition of terms.....	26
General Hypotheses.....	28
Sample and data gathering procedures.....	28
Limitations of the Study.....	29
2. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	32
The General Population.....	32

Women in General.....	32
Women in non-traditional careers.....	35
Women as managers.....	44
Clergy.....	48
Major Studies of Clergy Women.....	48
Facts about clergy women.....	51
Personality and Sociology of Clergy.....	53
Resistance to clergy women.....	61
Contact theory.....	68
Summary of clergy research.....	71
Stereotypes.....	72
Summary of research and relationship to the problem.....	79
3. METHODOLOGY.....	82
Population and selection of the sample.....	82
Procedures.....	83
Instrumentation.....	85
Adjective Check List (ACL).....	85
Design.....	93
Specific hypotheses.....	99
Summary of methodology.....	99
4. Analysis of Results.....	101
Introduction.....	101
Hypothesis 1.....	101
Hypothesis 2.....	107
Hypothesis 3.....	112

Hypothesis 4.....	118
Hypothesis 5.....	123
Analysis by Adjective Check List Scales.....	128
Summary.....	133
5. Summary, Conclusions, and Implications for Future Research.....	143
Summary.....	143
Conclusions.....	147
Implications for future research.....	148
Limitations of the study.....	148
Lay Population.....	149
Clergywomen Population.....	158
Other Limitations.....	165
APPENDICES.....	168
Appendix A. Frequency Counts by Church.....	169
Appendix B. Information sent to Churches.....	171
Appendix C. Description of Clergy population...	174
Appendix D. Material Distributed to the Lay Population	177
Appendix E. Material Distributed to the Women Clergy.....	183
Appendix F. Adjectives Adjective Check List Profiles.....	187.
Appendix G. Graph of Adjective Check List Profiles.....	191

REFERENCES..... 193
VITA..... 211
ABSTRACT..... 212

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1.	Frequency Counts for People Who Have Not Had a Woman Clergy (Hypothesis 1).....	104
2.	Frequency Counts for People Who Have Had a Woman Clergy (Hypothesis 2).....	109
3.	Frequency Counts for People Who Have Had a Woman Clergy Versus Those Who Have Not (Hypothesis 3).....	115
4.	Frequency Counts for People Who Have Had a Woman Clergy Versus Women Clergy (Hypothesis 4).....	120
5.	Frequency Counts for People Who Have Not Had a Woman Clergy Versus Women Clergy (Hypothesis 5).....	125
6.	Composite ACL results converted to standard scores.....	134
7.	Lay population by educational level.....	154
8.	Lay population by income level.....	155
9.	Clergy by educational level.....	162
10.	Clergy by income level.....	163

LIST OF FIGURES

Figures

1. Flow chart of data analysis process.....137
2. Lay population by age: Male and Female.....152
3. Lay population by age: Have and have
not had a woman clergy.....153
4. Lay population by denominational affiliation:
frequency counts.....157
5. Lay population by denominational affiliation:
percentages.....158
6. Clergy by age.....161
7. Clergy Population by Denomination:
frequency.....164
8. Clergy Population by Denomination:
percentage.....165

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Justification for the study

Some observers trace the feminist movement to Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and others in the Women's Suffrage Movement early in this century. To others the real momentum appeared with Margaret Sanger and the birth control movement about a generation later. Yet most observers see the Women's Liberation Movement per se as having begun in 1963 with the appearance of Betty Friedan's book, The Feminine Mystique.

In the mid-1970's, Anders (1983) observed that women appeared only a stone's throw removed from the four spheres defined for women by barbaric Germans some 1500 years ago - "Kinder (children), Kleiden (clothing), Kuche (kitchen), and Kirche (church). The roles circumscribed by those arenas still describe the dominant ministries of women in society, church, and at the hearth side" (p. 429). Anders (1983) concludes that no sexual revolution has occurred in the work place. At best there is an increased awareness of inequities and some scattered evolutionary changes. Bock (1967) indicated that females were increasingly being encouraged to enter male dominated occupations but they were not being accepted by the public or by their male colleagues in their professional roles. Sixteen years later it would seem that Anders (1983) would agree with Bock since she says "Women in ministry need not look to secular arenas for bold

role models yet" (p. 429).

Facts about women in the workplace. From 1900 to 1970, in every census year, the majority of women workers were concentrated in occupations that were predominantly female. In 1970, half of all women workers were employed in 17 occupations, as contrasted with the 63 occupations in which half of the men were located (Kanter, 1977a).

Since 1970 the number of women in professions such as law and medicine has doubled, but their proportion in the professions has not increased significantly. Although one-third of the students entering law school and one-fourth of the students entering medical school are women, they have not swelled the professional ranks greatly. Only 18.1% of our nation's lawyers and 17.2% of our doctors are women (National Manpower Council, 1985).

Of all employed women in 1985, 77% were in non-professional occupations: clerical, sales, service, factory, or plant jobs. Only 11% of all women workers were in non-traditional occupations (those in which 75% or more of the workers are men). Of the more than 36 million women employed in non-professional occupations in 1985, 24 million (67%) worked in female-dominated jobs (those in which 75% or more of the workers were women). Women earn on average 64 cents for every dollar earned by men and nearly two-thirds (63.6%) of all minimum wage earners (\$3.35 per hour) are women (National Manpower Council, 1985).

Women in the church. One profession that apparently is even more resistant to change than some of those previously mentioned is the clergy. Here is a profession which "...has not only been defined as masculine but as 'sacredly' masculine...Sacred tradition has therefore helped maintain the boundaries of the clerical profession" (Bock, 1967, p.531). Even though Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act introduces clear guidelines for implementing both "equal opportunity" and "affirmative action," in the case of religious occupations it does not apply due to the First Amendment to the Constitution - the separation of church and state doctrine. There is no law which says religious organizations must employ women.

For thousands of years, theology has had the perspective that the male is the norm and that the female is inferior - in all roles. In history, women have always had options for ministry, but women have not always determined their own options (Anders, 1983). Any exploration of the part of women in the history of religion soon encounters two constraints: women usually outnumber men, while men exercise the authority (Lehman, 1985). According to Mary Daly, one of the first and foremost feminist theologians, "All of the major world religions function to legitimate patriarchy. This is true also of the popular cults such as the Krishna and the Jesus Freaks" (p. 20).

Why would women today seek out a career so obviously

dominated by men? Almqvist and Angrist (1970) offer two hypotheses - the deviance hypothesis and the enrichment hypothesis. Those who support the deviance hypothesis believe that the strongly career oriented woman who chooses a masculine occupation is the product of social learning experiences which set her apart from her more conventional age-mates. These experiences have led her to develop a masculine image of herself and her adult role. The enrichment hypothesis purposes that the unconventional chooser is not so much a renegade as a product of additional enriching experiences. These experiences have led her to a less stereotyped and broader conception of the female role than that of other females. This enrichment hypothesis predicts that these women have been influenced more frequently by occupational role models in their career choice, have had a working mother and have had more work experiences themselves than most women.

Historically, women have been the backbone of churches in America. Women know the church. They know they can carry on the ministries effectively, because they have been serving the church as volunteers for years (Zikmund, 1982). The new feminist theology is seeking to correct the prejudices of the past and alter liturgical practices to include a greater role for women. The current feminist movement is challenging the churches to practice what they preach.

Women as clergy. The ordination of women to the

pastoral ministry represents the most radical social and theological change to affect American Christians in this century. Nearly a quarter century has passed since most mainline denominations in the U.S. issued pronouncements endorsing the ordination of women as clergy. The controversy has split denominations and congregations. The arguments are theological, sociological and psychological (Ekhardt & Goldsmith, 1984).

To many mainline, middle-class denominations, the fledgling movement to ordain women was scandalous because of its shift from traditional patriarchalism. T. Cox wrote, "We note that in all false isms, cults and sects a woman is either the founder and leader of the organization or one or more women are prominently connected with the leader" (1927, p.27). Forty-seven years later Harvey Cox expresses similar ideas, "Why do we find women leaders and female imagery so much more frequently among religions of the oppressed than we do among the religions of the privileged?" (1974, p. 178).

At the turn of the century there were 3405 clergy-women. By 1960 the number had increased 38% to 4695 (Bock, 1967). In 1973 there were approximately 6000 clergy women. Today there are over 16,000 women clergy, representing most Protestant denominations, as well as Reform, Reconstructionist and Conservative Jewish congregations. They now constitute about 5% of all clergy members (Scobey,

1986).

Statistics indicate that women are making more inroads in some denominations than in others. In the Episcopal Church (which first sanctioned women's ordination in 1976) 10% of its 10,000 priests and a third of its 1,500 seminarians are women. However, bishops heading 15 of the 110 Episcopal dioceses still refuse to ordain women and few women hold leadership positions. The United Church of Christ (ordaining women since 1853) has one of the highest ratios of clergy women to membership of any main denomination - about 1,000 for 1.7 million members. The church also promotes women and boasts the top ranking women of any denomination. Women make up about half of the denomination's seminarians. The United Methodist Church has 1,300 women ministers and two of the 46 bishops in the church are women. Another woman is Dean of Wesley Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C. (Carey, 1984). Those denominations which have more than one-half of their ordained women serving congregations include the American Baptists (80%), Lutherans (73%), Presbyterians (62%) and Disciples of Christ (50%) (Anders, 1983).

In June of 1984, the Southern Baptist Convention approved a resolution opposing the ordination of women. And yet, over 300 Southern Baptist women had already been ordained and their number has continued to increase at the rate of about one ordination per week since the resolution

was passed. (Campbell, 1985)

Pentecostal bodies have the highest percentage of ordained female clergy, but their numbers are decreasing annually as those movements pattern themselves after major Protestant denominations. Though best remembered for their roles in healing evangelism and missionary endeavors, many women were founders and pastors of the largest Pentecostal churches (Barfoot & Sheppard, 1980). Carroll, Hargrove and Lummis (1983) explain this developmental phenomena of churches. They present three phases that religious movements go through. In the first phase, which they call the "charismatic phase," women have typically been permitted freedom of expression and are accepted as leaders. However, as the movement becomes older and larger, it enters into its "consolidation and organization phase," in which women are absorbed into a system dominated by men and not allowed much autonomy of expression, organization, or decision making. Further development of the religious movement into a well-established denomination, typically creates conditions favorable for the reemergence of women as visible leaders.

In 1985 there were almost 60,000 students involved in theological degree programs. Twenty-five percent of those were women (Campbell, 1985). From 1969 to 1980 the total enrollments in theological seminaries grew 66%. The increases were 31% for males and 223% for females. The increase of female enrollments in degree programs leading

specifically to ordination was 241%. Even with this increase in enrollment of females in seminary only about 3% of the theological faculty are women (Lehman, 1985). In an earlier article (1981), Lehman stated:

...Admitting increasing numbers of women helped to compensate for declines in male enrollments and the male candidates' qualifications. In the absence of efficient placement structures, however, the female seminary graduates experience formidable resistance in their search for parish positions. Women's admission to seminary clearly served the interests of the school, but admission alone was not adequate to meet the clergywomen's needs. (p. 117)

Three common concerns emerge from women in ministry - credibility, rivalry and calling. Women ministers do not have the acceptance and support which their male colleagues enjoy. Consequently they must spend energy establishing and maintaining their credibility as ministers. Obtaining a desirable position in a church can be difficult for clergy women, especially in denominations where clerics outnumber existing openings (as in the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.). For their first jobs, seminary graduates - male as well as female - are routinely offered small congregations, assistantships, or rural parishes. Women tend to be restricted when they want to move on to positions with more responsibility, bigger budgets, or in more prestigious urban

institutions (Scobey, 1986).

Because of their minority status and poor bargaining position, more clergy women than clergy men are willing to accept pastoral positions at low salaries, with few benefits and with little chance for upward mobility to a larger church. To the declining church, the clergywoman represents another opportunity to make a last stand against dissolving the congregation. If they cannot convince a man to serve them as pastor, perhaps a well trained woman will agree to work with them. This is one pragmatic pressure which can open the door of a church for a woman. By linking clergywomen with declining churches, the hierarchy can both address the women's complaint about placement and provide competent professional leadership for churches that they think can no longer afford it (Lehman, 1981).

Resistance to clergy women. Despite the professional competence of clergy women, the general public frequently judges women ministers by tougher standards or tries to thrust them into preconceived roles. These stereotypes often become major barriers to the successful placement of clergywomen (Minter, 1985).

When trying to conceptualize resistance to women in ministry, the focus most often is on theological interpretations and cultural symbols. Theological interpretations can be seen in the quotation from the Southern Baptist Convention of 1984 :

Whereas, while Paul commends women and men alike in other roles of ministry and service (Titus 2:1-10) he excludes women from pastoral leadership (I Timothy 2:12) to preserve submission God requires because the man was first in Creation and the woman first in Edenic Fall. (I Timothy 2:13) (As quoted in Campbell, 1985).

Cultural factors in the resistance to women as ordained ministers stem from age-old assumptions about what is naturally male and female. The resisters believe that men and women differ in their temperament, moods, and intellectual abilities, and the movement of persons of one sex into a field considered the appropriate province of the other sex appears to be an act against nature (Lehman, 1985). The roles required of the clergy may often conflict with those traditionally required of women (Bock, 1967). Laypersons with these beliefs allow their cultural symbols to distort their judgements.

Lehman (1985) offers another interpretation of this resistance. He believes that church members react to clergywomen in the same way they would respond to other minority group members.

They recognize the justice in the candidate's plea for consideration. They also grant that the woman is just as capable and well trained as a man. Nevertheless, they resist the idea of seriously considering a clergywoman simply because they are afraid it would

hurt their churchWhen in conflict, the values appear to become ranked, usually with the desire for organizational maintenance being given precedence over equal opportunities for clergywomen. (p. 117)

Minter (1984) suggests that the problem of acceptance of women in ministry stems from the realities of human sexuality and of the hunger for power. She believes that the issues are different for each sex. Men will resist a woman pastor because they may see this as decreasing their power - they feel threatened when women share opportunities for leadership. These men will unconsciously resist getting into situations where they feel subordinate to women. In our culture, men have many and varied opportunities to be with or be visually stimulated by women; therefore, a woman pastor is not especially needed by men to meet this need.

Women on the other hand may find church attendance more appealing because of the basic pleasure they get from gazing at and listening to an attractive man. These same women fear their husbands' reactions to a similar stimulus (nice to look at) from an attractive woman minister. It is also common for women to need a supportive male friend to balance the many times that men have treated them badly. A male minister who is good at giving pastoral support may be just the right person. Widows who go weeks on end with no male touch except that of the minister prefer a male in that position. (Minter, 1984)

Zikmund (1982) adds another opponent to the list - the staff of the church. Because ministry is a profession which rewards individual excellence and builds upon unique personal gifts and talents, staff relationships are often difficult. Successful ministers are strong leaders who attract followers, and in many cases they are not skilled team workers. In addition, the senior pastor (who is usually male), may worry about how he will measure up when compared with exceptionally able women. If he is young and attractive, there may be sexual innuendos and jealousies. If he is supportive, his best intentions sometimes come out in paternalistic ways.

Ecclesiastical systems of all types do not have structures that are supportive of the career/life cycle of women ministers. Women are dropping out of parish ministry more frequently than their male counterparts (Zikmund, 1982). Many of these dropouts indicate that a primary reason for the drop-out is the reluctance of parishioners and church staff people to acknowledge authority when it is vested in women (Christian Century, Jan. 23, 1985). Anders (1983), in a summary of studies concerning the overwork and burnout of women in denominational service reports that women work 60 to 70 hours per week, many observe no day of rest, and many do not have house-husbands to prepare meals, launder, and give moral support.

Statement of the problem

Experts in the field of theology and sociology are generally in agreement that there is discrimination against women who choose the ordained ministry as a profession (Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Anders, 1983; Bock, 1967; Campbell, 1985; Ekhardt and Goldsmith, 1984; Kanter, 1977a; Lehman, 1981; Lehman, 1985; Minter, 1984; Minter, 1985; Scobey, 1986; Zikmund, 1982). Only one major study found evidence to the contrary. This research was done within the Presbyterian church and concluded that lay persons do not have a stereotypic view of clergywomen (Lehman, 1985). Considering the large volume of evidence to the contrary, Lehman's results seem suspect. This research study examined the sex-trait stereotypes lay members, from several different denominations, had of women clergy.

Theoretical Rationale

Lehman (1985) says: "Churches are human organizations, and as such they manifest many of the same characteristics of those found in other kinds of structures" (p. 135). If that is the case, a logical place to start a theoretical investigation is with the general population and subsets of it. In this section, the general theme will be a discussion of the theories about stereotypes as they relate to four specific areas: the general population, the church, women in general and clergywomen.

General Theories. The commonest form of an erroneous belief is the generalization which holds that all members of

a group possess some alleged characteristic. Allport (1958) explains this by saying:

"There is a curious inertia in our thinking. We like to solve problems easily. We can do so best if we can fit them rapidly into a satisfactory category and use this category as a means of prejudging the solution" (p. 20).

A person thinks of a member of some group with a preconceived image or stereotype in mind.

Hayes (1958) speaks of the concept of "implicit personality theory" which provides a model of the way stereotypes influence behavior. This model proposes that people, on the basis of their own experiences, develop theories about other people, and these theories are used to explain behavior.

Rokeach (1968) speaks of a stereotype in the following way:

A stereotype is a socially shared belief that describes an attitude object in an oversimplified or undifferentiated manner; the attitude object is said to prefer certain modes of conduct which, by implication, are judged to be socially desirable or undesirable...a person's stereotype may contain an element of truth in it, but the stereotype is not qualified in any way. (p. 125-126)

Gordon Allport (1958) distinguishes stereotypes from

prejudice. The term "stereotype" is most often employed to designate the effect of simplification upon the process of judgement. The stereotype acts both as a justification device for categorical acceptance or rejection of a group, and as a screening or selective device to maintain simplicity in perception and in thinking (Allport, 1958).

Stereotypes are socially supported by our media of mass communication, but to reduce the use of stereotypes in the mass media will not in and of itself eradicate the roots of prejudice. Allport believed that stereotypes were not in themselves a full explanation for rejection. They are primarily images within a category involved by the individual to justify either love-prejudice or hate-prejudice. They play an important part in prejudice but are not the whole story (Allport, 1958).

The study of stereotypes is the study of the language of prejudice, for stereotypes provide a common language for prejudiced persons. Stereotypes function to reinforce the beliefs and disbeliefs of the users, and to furnish the basis for the development and maintenance of solidarity of motives for the action of prejudiced persons. These stereotypes signal the socially approved and accessible targets for the release of hostility and aggression (Ehrlich, 1973).

Most educated people sincerely believe they do not have stereotypes when the topic is the focus of their conscious

attention. However, when conscious attention is focused on other matters, as it is virtually all of the time, the stereotypes operate unconsciously, as automatic assumptions (Geis, Brown, Jennings and Corrado-Taylor, 1984).

Whether favorable or unfavorable, a stereotype is an exaggerated belief associated with a category. Its function is to justify our conduct in relation to that category. Generally that category grew up from a "kernel of truth." (Allport, 1958). Some stereotypes are totally unsupported by facts and others develop from an overgeneralization of facts. The possession of stereotypes may interfere with even the simplest rational judgements (Allport, 1958).

Allport (1958) indicates that stereotypes do not necessarily cause antagonistic actions. "This happy condition is not often achieved, but it remains from the psychological point of view a hopeful possibility" (p.67). Rokeach (1960) explains this further by saying that belief-disbelief systems, from which prejudice and stereotypes evolve, serve two motives at the same time: "the need for a cognitive framework to know and to understand and the need to ward off threatening aspects of reality" (p.67). Antagonism is likely to be absent as long as the cognitive need to know is predominant and the need to ward off threat is absent. As the need to ward off threat becomes stronger, the cognitive need to know becomes weaker and the result is prejudicial actions.

The Church. In the preface to the book The Nature of Prejudice, Gordon Allport (1958) indicates that prejudice stems from antiquity. "For the most part, prejudice and persecution have rested on other grounds [than race], often on religion" (p. xv). Allport found that on the average, church-goers and professed religious people have considerably more prejudice than do non-church goers and non-believers. In the same book Allport (1958) refined his findings in this way:

...Belonging to a church because it is a safe, powerful, superior in-group is likely to be the mark of an authoritarian character and to be linked with prejudice. Belonging to a church because its basic creed of brotherhood expresses the ideals one sincerely believes in, is associated with tolerance. Thus, the "institutionalized" religious outlook and the "interiorized" religious outlook have opposite effects in the personality. (pp. 452-453)

Rokeach (1960) found that people with formal religious affiliation were more anxious individuals who were less humanitarian and tended to express more intolerance toward racial and ethnic groups (different from their own) than do nonbelievers or even Communists. Rokeach (1968) reminds us:

Throughout history man, inspired by religious motives, has indeed espoused noble and humanitarian ideals and often behaved accordingly. But he has also committed

some of the most horrible crimes and wars in the holy name of religion - the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the crusades, the Inquisition, the pogroms, and the burnings of witches and heretics. (pp. 189-190)

Rokeach (1968) finds these facts of history and of his research easier to understand by assuming that there exists simultaneously, within organized religion of the West, psychologically conflicting moral forces of good and evil.

Allport (1958) even calls upon theologians in his discussion of prejudice:

...Holding to a prejudgment when we know better is one of the strangest features of prejudice. Theologians tell us that in prejudgments based on ignorance there is no question of sin; but that in prejudgments held in deliberate disregard of evidence, sin is involved.

(p. 23)

Women in the General Population. The feminist movement has certainly led to a critical examination of the concepts of masculinity and femininity (Williams and Bennett, 1975). Stereotypes of women as a subordinate group in society have been documented for at least half a century (Allport, 1937; Anastasi and Foley, 1949; Wylie, 1961; Maccoby, 1966; Williams and Bennett, 1975; and Kanter, 1977a and 1977b). In 1937 Allport indicated that even a woman who was financially independent found her success dependent upon the attitudes of people toward her. He stated:

It is important for her to know, for example, whether her male associates in business have an antagonistic, jocular, patronizing, or fair-minded point of view regarding her presence in their profession. She must develop skill in understanding them. (Allport, 1937, p. 517)

Bem (1981) noted that the prevalence of gender-based cognitive processing stems in part from society's insistence that an individual's gender makes a difference in some way in everything that person experiences. This means that a person is often categorized as a man or woman first and a nurse or clergy second. This also means that a male nurse may be evaluated quite differently than a female nurse.

Williams and Best (1982), in discussing sex stereotypes in the work place, state:

It appears that, in the United States, the sex stereotypes create a barrier whenever persons of one sex seek entry into an occupation that has traditionally been occupied primarily by members of the other sex....Logically, one might think that the successful performance of a few persons of the other sex in a traditionally sex-typed occupation would be sufficient to eliminate occupational sex bias. Psychologically, it doesn't work this way. As long as the successful other-sex persons are few, they are viewed as exceptions... (pp. 294-295)

Rosebeth Moss Kanter (1977a) in her book Men and Women of the Corporation has addressed the issues of women in the corporate world. She found that women populated the corporate world, but they practically never ran it - especially the large businesses and public establishments. She believes that this is due to modern management theory, which has its origins in paternalism and is infused with the "masculine ethic."

When Kanter (1977a) looks at sex-role stereotypes for women she says:

Findings about the 'typical' behavior of women in organizations that have been assumed to reflect either biologically based psychological attributes or characteristics developed through a long socialization to a 'female sex role' turn out to reflect very reasonable and very universal - responses to current organizational situations. Even discrimination itself emerges as a consequence of organizational pressures as much as individual prejudice. (p. 9)

Moore and Rickel (1980) address the long socialization process which trains women in their traditional sex-role. They believe that women are poorly equipped for the leadership roles of business and industrial organizations. Their reasoning is that society encourages women to behave in ways that are maladaptive to success in leadership roles and encourages men and women to expect women to behave in such

maladaptive ways. Women have the burden of convincing management that they are serious about their careers. For many women, this may involve suppressing or eliminating attitudes and behaviors that would identify them as typically female. Kanter (1977a) reports that even successful women who reported little or no discrimination said they thought they had to work twice as hard and expend more energy than the average man to succeed.

Kanter (1977a), in her research on women in American corporations has supplied a feminist interpretation to her findings. She believes that part of the early image of managers which can be identified is a "masculine ethic." This ethic evaluates the traits assumed to belong to some men as necessary for effective management. Some of these traits include:

"a tough-minded approach to problems; analytic abilities to abstract and plan; a capacity to set aside personal, emotional considerations in the interests of task accomplishment; and a cognitive superiority in problem-solving and decision making" (pp. 22-23).

These supposed 'masculine' characteristics were determined to be necessary for successful managers and were used to exclude women from managerial positions.

The women who did enter management were few and often the "token" of the company, thus indicating non-discriminatory promotion practices. The problem then becomes one of

men versus women, for hierarchical systems of organizations are often successful in fragmenting groups and leading them to believe that their interests lie in opposition. Then each group blames the other for any problems rather than uniting to change the system. The result is each group ferociously attempting to keep the other group out, while ferociously improving themselves. This is a characteristically American approach to the problems stemming from inequality, an approach rooted in individual models. Kanter (1977a) believes that the solution to this problem is to examine the systems of work and how they are organized. This examination should provide insight into how these systems themselves can be modified to provide more opportunities, more power and a better balance of numbers than they currently do, for all of the kinds of people whose work lives are spent there.

Kanter (1977b) sees tokens as simultaneous representatives and exceptions. They serve as symbols of their category, yet they also are seen as unusual examples of their kind, especially when they succeed. She has an extensive analysis of the whole "token" process and relates this to stereotypes. According to Kanter (1977a):

There is a tendency to exaggerate the extent of the differences between tokens and dominants because... tokens are, by definition, too few in numbers to defeat any attempts at generalization....Tokens are more

easily stereotyped than people found in greater proportion....It is also easier for tokens to find an instant identity by conforming to the preexisting stereotypes. So tokens are ironically, both highly visible as people who are different and yet not permitted the individuality of their own unique, non-stereotypical characteristics. (p. 211)

In a similar vain, Ashmore and Del Boca (1979) believe that because of the different expectations people have for the behavior of women and men, they are likely to behave differently toward them. Addressing this issue, they state:

Sex stereotypes also seem likely to affect the behavior of both perceiver and target. Thus, for example, a male perceiver may associate the trait indecisive with the social category "female." In interacting with a specific woman, this perceiver is likely to behave in a manner consistent with his stereotype (e.g., taking charge of planning a joint activity). Further, the perceiver is likely to expect that his own behavior will be anticipated and appreciated. A particular target may respond to the perceiver's actions in a way which tends either to challenge (e.g., she may have already formulated a tentative plan herself) or reinforce (e.g., she may simply wait for him to propose a course of action) his stereotypic expectations.... Targets may often be led to behave in line with

expectations, and, as a consequence, their behavior may reinforce stereotypes. (pp. 241-242)

Kanter (1977b) discusses the problems which tokens experience within an organization. Tokens are made aware of their differences from the numerical dominants, but they often pretend that the differences do not exist, or have no implication. Tokens are among the most visible and dramatized of performers, noticeably on stage, yet they are often kept away from the organizational backstage where the dramas are cast. Disruptions of interaction around tokens (and their personal problems) are seen by the organization as a huge deflection from its central purpose, a drain of energy, leading to the conclusion that it is not worth having people like the tokens around.

Tokens suffer from their aloneness, yet the dynamics of interaction around them create a pressure for them to seek advantage by dissociating themselves from others of their category and to remain alone. Tokens are considered individuals in the organization, since they stand apart from the mass of peer group members; yet they lose their individuality behind stereotyped roles (Kanter, 1977b).

Kanter (1977b) goes on to explain those stereotypical roles. Each stereotype was formed around one behavioral tendency of the token. The stereotype is built into an image of the token's place in the group. For women each is defined by dominants in response to a single aspect of her

sexuality. Kanter (1977a) sees four gender roles for women managers - mother, seductress, pet and iron maiden. The first two certainly conform with Freudian theory. Freud believed that men needed to handle women's sexuality by envisioning them either as madonnas or whores - as either asexual mothers or overly sexual seductresses (Rieff, 1963). The other two stereotypes Kanter (1977a) presents, pet and iron maiden, can be envisioned within a family context as the kid sister and the virgin old-maid aunt.

Goode (1973) contends that if our stereotypes of women are correct, the skills and behaviors they acquire in becoming a woman are exactly those of good managers:

...they are trained in human relations, not test tubes and machinery; in insight; in the organization and maintenance of a social unit, the family; in command not through arbitrary orders, but through persuasion and participation; in taking care of subordinates and serving their needs so that they will produce better.

(p. 99)

Goode concludes that if women can become good homemakers then surely they should be excellent managers.

Werner and LaRossa (1985) believe that sex-role stereotypes may change at a slower rate than do the behaviors of the men and women involved. More substantial behavioral changes in men and women may have occurred over the past decades which have not yet registered in many of

their conceptions of one another.

Clergy women. According to Minter (1985) women are stereotyped as being good at serving, crafts, baking and childcare. These are often the first issues a woman pastor faces in a new parish. Zikmund (1982) found that in clergy couples people turned to the male leadership first and viewed the wife's work as secondary: or they squeeze her into the sex-stereotyped ministry of Christian education or music.

Even Freud has had a hand in the discrimination against women as clergy, although certainly in a very indirect way. In Totem and Taboo, Freud (1918) says that our personal relationship to God is dependent upon our relationship to our physical parent. "God is at bottom nothing but an exalted father" (p. 242). Some would say this implies that God's personal representatives on earth must be male in order for a proper transference to take place.

To summarize, in this section theories of stereotypes were discussed. Having taken a closer look at stereotypes, at stereotypes about women in general and at stereotypes about women in the church, it is time to discuss the specifics of this research. The following definitions may prove helpful to the reader.

Definition of terms

Clergywoman. A woman who holds a license to preach or who is ordained and holds or has held a position in a

church-related job. For the purposes of this study, only clergywomen who have been either a pastor or an assistant in a congregation were considered.

Sex-role. A set of shared expectations about the behavior of men and women (Gutek & Morasch, 1982). "...activity of social significance in which the two sexes actually participate with differential frequency - that is, predominantly male activities, such as repairing cars and doing construction work, and predominantly female activities, such as keeping house and nursing" (Williams and Best, 1982, p. 16).

Sex-role stereotype. "...beliefs concerning the general appropriateness of various roles and activities for men and for women (Williams and Best, 1982, p. 16).

Sex stereotype. "A constellation of psychological traits generally attributed to men and women respectively" (Williams & Bennett, 1975, p.327)

Sex-trait stereotypes. "...constellations of psychological traits that are said to be more characteristic of one sex than of the other." (Williams and Best, 1982, p. 15)

Sex-typed occupation. An occupation in which a large majority of those in it are of one sex and when there is an associated normative expectation that this is how it should be (Epstein, 1970).

Stereotype. A set of beliefs and disbeliefs about any

group of people (Ehrlich, 1973).

Work-role. A set of shared expectations about behavior in a job.

General Hypotheses

The general hypotheses investigated by this study are: lay persons in congregations have a sex-trait stereotype of women in ministry; this stereotype changes when they are exposed to a clergywoman in the capacity of pastor or assistant pastor; and, the stereotypic view that lay people have of women in ministry is very different from the view that clergywomen have of themselves. Specifically the questions investigated by this study were:

Do male lay persons differ significantly from female lay persons in the personality stereotype they have of female ministers?

Do lay people, who have been exposed to a woman minister differ significantly from lay people who have not been exposed in the personality stereotype they hold of women ministers?

Are the personality stereotypes that any of these categories of lay persons have of women ministers different from the view that women ministers have of their own personalities?

Sample and data gathering procedures

There were two sample populations used for the purposes of this study. The first was male and female lay persons

who were members of adult Sunday School classes within their respective churches. This sample was divided into two categories of people: those who had never been members of a church congregation which had a female pastor or assistant pastor, and those who had been members of a church congregation which had a female pastor or assistant pastor. The second sample population was made up of women who had been ordained or licensed within their denominations and who had served as either a pastor or an assistant pastor.

The lay persons were asked to complete the Adjective Check List (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980), indicating whether each adjective was more often associated with male clergy, female clergy or neither. The women clergy were asked to use the same instrument to describe themselves. The analysis of the research data was similar to that used by Williams and Best (1982) when examining sex-trait stereotypes in various countries. The results of the ACL were compared and contrasted by statistical means to determine if there were significant differences between the populations and these differences were defined.

Limitations of the Study

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study comes in the area of generalizability. The lay population used was taken from a conservative southeastern Virginia area. This area has a high concentration of military personnel and blue collar workers.

In addition the samples of lay persons may be said to not represent the population at large within their respective congregations, since Sunday School attendance might imply more church involvement than the majority of the congregation. Williams and Best (1982) justify this type of nonrepresentational sample in the following way:

...in a questionnaire study in which subjects are asked to describe their own personal beliefs and values, a relatively representative sample would seem appropriate. On the other hand, if the subjects are asked to serve as reporters on the prevalent beliefs and values in their culture, a selected sample of intelligent, socially observant subjects might be preferable to a more representative sample..." (p. 33)

The clergywomen sample was taken from a much wider geographic area, although the majority of the women were currently living and working on the eastern coast of the United States. The sample was not random and did depend on the women being willing to participate. Borg and Gall (1979) discuss the characteristics of volunteers which cause them to be biased. Volunteers, when compared to nonvolunteers, tend to be better educated, of a higher social class, more intelligent, higher in need for social approval, more conventional, less authoritarian, more self-disclosing and more anxious than non-volunteers. Considering the fact that women clergy are certainly a special group of well

educated, intelligent, unconventional individuals, some of these criticisms of a volunteer population may not be applicable here.

As with any ex post facto research, causal conclusions cannot be reached. It was possible to determine that there was a stereotype for clergywomen, but it cannot be said that some factor caused this stereotypic view.

The final criticism of this study might be directed at the method of approach. Subjects were asked to indicate those adjectives that were more characteristic of male ministers than of female ministers. Williams and Best (1982) call this a "relative judgement" method. Another method of approach would be the "absolute judgement" in which one group of subjects would be asked to indicate the characteristics of female ministers and another group of subjects would be asked to indicate the characteristics of the male ministers. According to Williams and Best (1982):

If one employs an absolute method and asks for separate descriptions of men and women, the resulting characterizations are much more similar than they are different. Our relative methodology is designed to "extract" the differences in views of men and women rather than focus on their similarities. (p. 57)

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

This chapter will look at the research relevant to this study. It is organized to review research about women in the general population first. Within this section three major bodies of research will be discussed: research on women in general, research on women in non-traditional career fields and research on women managers. Research directed at clergy will be the second area of discussion. Under this rubric will be a look at two major research studies which have been done about women clergy. The resistance to women clergy and the personality and sociological characteristics of women clergy will also be presented. The final section of the chapter will review research which has examined sex-trait stereotypes.

The General Population

Women in General. Much of the research on stereotypes of women has investigated stereotypes of working women. Walaskay (1982) found several studies which suggested that whatever roles they appropriate, women will be received positively in these roles if they behave in a feminine way, but Walaskay also found that women in authority are received negatively.

Walaskay also found that women are evaluated more critically than are men for certain qualities in non-verbal performance. One example can be found in voice tone. Whereas a man with a throaty voice will be viewed more

positively and as one with more authority than the average man, a woman will be regarded as less intelligent and more masculine than the average woman. She also is considered to be lazy, unemotional, ugly, careless, naive, neurotic, and uninteresting.

Kalin et al. (1980) found that the sex-appropriateness was more powerful than the qualifications of job applicants. Poorly qualified people of one sex were judged more suitable for same-sex occupations than highly qualified persons of the other sex.

Rosen and Jerdee (1974), after an extensive management survey, concluded that women are expected to change to satisfy the organizational expectations. Stafford (1984) in a survey of the literature regarding stereotypic female role behavior concluded that this role behavior is devalued in our culture and that traditional female occupations are accorded lower status and lower remuneration.

Etaugh and Petroske (1985) found that personality traits of employed women were perceived more favorably than those of unemployed women. In addition personality traits of married women were perceived more favorably than those of unmarried women; but, the professional competence of the unmarried women was perceived more favorable than that of married women.

Beauvais and Spence (1987) replicated a study conducted by Taylor and Falcone in 1982. Subjects listened to videotapes of males and females in a staged discussion of ways to increase voter turnout. Subjects then attempted to identify which speaker had made each of the suggestions offered during the discussion. In both the Taylor and Falcone study and the Beauvais and Spence study, both genders made significantly more within-gender than cross-gender attribution errors, suggesting the importance of gender in processing information. Subjects also rated the speakers on items reflecting their likability and their competence. Contrary to Taylor and Falcone, Beauvais and Spence found no pro-male prejudice effects.

Belk and Snell (1986), in developing and validating the Beliefs about Women Scale (BAWS) found that women and men had different beliefs about women. Women believed that women were less dominating, had more emotional insight, were more interpersonal and more moral than men. Women disagreed with the stereotypes that women are less career-interested, less intelligent, less decisive, less sexual and sillier than men. Males, on the other hand, believed that women were less dominating, more vulnerable, had more emotional insight, and were more interpersonally oriented than men. They also believed that women are sexual teases. Men rejected the stereotypes that women were less intelligent, less decisive and less sexual than men. They also disagreed

with the notion that menstration debilitates women. The authors conclude:

...although men have tended to move away from a stereotypic image of women on some dimensions, ...they still have room for further change regarding their perceptions of women's sexuality and women's personal and interpersonal attributes. (p. 411)

Women in non-traditional careers. Since the 1960's prejudice against women in non-traditional careers has been documented in the research (Etaugh & Riley, 1983; Paludi & Bauer, 1983). Within the past ten years behavioral scientists have completed a number of empirical studies on the impact of gender on role performance and on perceptions of performance by observers of women and men at work. In surveying these Walaskay (1982) found that both women and men perceived and evaluated the performance of women differently from that of men, and often women were more negatively evaluated for equal performance of a like task. One might ask if this trend is changing. The remainder of this section will present a chronological look at research which has investigated various aspects of the non-traditional woman at work.

Feldman-Summers and Kiesler (1974) reported that, whether evaluating undergraduates on an intellectual task or competent and successful physicians, college students attributed greater motivation to females than to males. In

addition, males perceived the female physician as being less able and having an easier task than the male physician; however, female subjects perceived the female physician as having a harder task than the male physician.

Mischel (1974) found that individuals in the U.S. tended to evaluate more highly authors whose sex was normatively associated with the field in which the article was written; therefore, women writing in the area of home economics were more highly evaluated than men writing in the same field. Similarly, men writing in the area of engineering were evaluated more highly than women.

In a study conducted by Deaux and Emswiller (1974) performance by a male on a masculine task was most often attributed to skill, whereas an equivalent performance by a female on the same task was seen to be most often influenced by luck. The reverse did not hold true on a feminine task. Men were generally seen as more skillful.

A year later Taynor and Deaux (1975) found that on a masculine task a masculine model was rated as deserving more rewards and perceived as performing better than the feminine model. However, on a feminine task, a feminine model was perceived as performing better but not as deserving of more rewards as a masculine model.

Abramson, Goldberg, Greenberg and Abramson (1977) investigated subjects' attributions of success of the stimulus person in vocation, potential marriage, and inter-

personal attractiveness. The subjects were college students and they were presented biographies of the stimulus person. This stimulus person was either a male or a female and either an attorney or a paralegal worker. The authors describe the results of their analysis in the following way:

There is no difference in the perception of interpersonal attractiveness as a function of the sex of the stimulus person or their occupation. Moreover, where marriageability is concerned, while males generally give higher ratings of potential success, both men and women see both the male and female attorney as being essentially equal in their potential as a spouse, with both attorney biographies being subordinate to the ratings of marriageability for the male paralegal worker....the data strongly suggest that accomplishments of successful women are recognized and that perceptions of a successful woman's marriageability or interpersonal attractiveness mirror those of a successful man. (pp. 122-123)

Abramson, et al., (1977) also found that it was actually female subjects who gave the highest capability ratings to the female attorney. This, they believe, may indicate that women have a greater sensitivity to the obstacles preventing a woman from achieving success in this male dominated field.

Garland (1977) used college students to examine

reactions to success and failure in sex-linked occupations. Subjects responded with impressions of the worker, causal attributions for his/her success or failure, and evaluations of the likelihood of a number of positive and negative consequences for the worker. Males were perceived more favorably following success than failure, while the reverse was true for females. Subjects assigned more personal responsibility to males for success than they did for failure, but they assigned more personal responsibility to females for failure than they did for success. Males were expected to experience greater consequences for success and greater negative consequences for failure than were females. Females made greater attributions to effort and to personality than males. Females made the strongest attributions to personality for successful female workers; whereas, males made the strongest attributions to personality for successful male workers. Female workers in this experiment were actually evaluated significantly higher than male workers. This might reflect a general trend to upgrade evaluations of the contributions made by females in the work force.

Kaschak (1978) examined student evaluations of professors' teaching methods. She found that female students rated female and male professors as equally likable, concerned, excellent and effective. Male students, however, showed a consistent bias in favor of male professors. Both

genders were more willing to take a course with the same-gender professor. Lombardo and Tocci (1979), in a similar study, also found that male instructors were perceived as more competent than female instructors by male students, whereas female students showed no gender bias.

Vaughn and Wittig (1980), using college students as subjects, investigated levels of expectation of negative consequences. Their findings suggest that women in traditionally feminine occupations and endeavors are devalued more by females of college age than by males of college age. Some of their other findings indicated that: males more than females perceived nontraditional involvement for women to be socially desirable; both traditional and non-traditional women who were competent were perceived as more intelligent than their incompetent counterparts regardless of their level of overload; males liked the competent nontraditional woman as a coworker while females liked the competent traditional woman; both sexes regard competent, achieving, career women positively.

Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) cite several studies which found that school and career counselors exhibited the most negative attitudes toward the appropriateness of women in non-traditional occupations. Within this group some of the notions held were: women are out ill more than male workers; training women is a waste of resources because they do not work as long as males, that is, they drop out of the work

force to marry; women take jobs away from men who need them; the employment of mothers leads to juvenile delinquency; and men do not like to work for women supervisors.

In 1981 Kaschak repeated her investigation of student evaluations of professors' teaching methods. She found that most of the gender bias disappeared when the professors were described as "award winning". However, male professors were still described as more powerful and effective than female professors, and female professors in "feminine" fields were rated as more concerned and likable than male professors in those fields.

Swatko (1981) investigated personality dimensions of traditional versus non-traditional women. Non-traditional women were designated by their choice of the "Ms." honorific. The author found these non-traditional women scored high on the Investigative personality dimension of Holland's Vocational Preference Inventory. Persons scoring high on this dimension tend to be rated as intellectual, analytical, critical and independent.

Gutek and Morasch (1982) believe that the sex-ratio at work often leads to sex-role spillover (the carryover into the workplace of gender-based expectations about behavior) which, in turn, often results in sexual harassment. In order to investigate their contention, the authors surveyed 827 women in the Los Angeles area (a representative sample of all working women in the area). They found that women in

male-dominated work were generally more likely than other women workers to report a variety of different kinds of social-sexual behavior in their current jobs.

In addition, Gutek and Morasch (1982) found 36% of the women in nontraditional work, compared to 22.8% of all women, said that sexual harassment was a problem where they worked. These same women were more likely to report that they had experienced negative consequences from sexual harassment. Nontraditionally employed women also reported that their personal characteristics affected how they were treated by men at work (i.e., physical attractiveness was a factor in the way they were treated by men at work).

Bennett (1982) investigated the effect of both gender and gender role variables on teaching evaluations. The results suggested that gender role stereotypes influence evaluations of female professors but not of male professors. Bennett found that greater demands for student contact and support were placed on female professors than on male professors. In addition female professors' received higher ratings of warmth, potency, or both and this accounted for their more positive evaluations on interpersonal aspects of teaching.

Flagg (1984) found that women who possess both masculine and feminine traits achieve greater psychological health and choose non-traditional careers more readily than do their non-androgynous peers.

Stafford (1984) believed that self-esteem in women would be higher when attitudes toward the woman's role and occupational behavior were compatible. This did not prove to be true. This study, using subjects who had completed at least a four year degree program, found that women whose attitudes seemed to be compatible with their occupational behavior did not have higher self-esteem than women whose attitudes and occupation seemed to be incompatible. Furthermore, the results showed that women who subscribed to traditional attitudes toward women's roles had self-esteem levels more or less equal to those who subscribed to a more non-traditional role definition.

Cann and Garnett (1984) studied children's stereotypes concerning occupational roles. The children (ages five to nine) expected females to be more competent in traditionally female occupations and males were perceived superior in the male sex-typed roles. Jacobs and Powell (1985) found that the general prestige of occupations is best predicted by the sex-typical jobholder.

Basow and Silberg (1987) reexamined the issue of student evaluations of college professors. Their overall results support the position that professor gender would interact with student gender on student evaluations of college professors. Again, researchers found a consistently less favorable rating of female professors over male professors given by male students. The fact that all of the

professors evaluated were rated at least average suggests that female professors were perceived as effective teachers despite being rated more negatively than male professors. The authors suggests that the results of male students showing more bias than female students may be because men tend to be more traditional than women in terms of attitudes toward women and because traditional attitudes toward women are associated with more prejudicial attitudes.

Jackson and Cash (1985) examined the relationships between components of gender stereotypes and stereotypic and nonstereotypic judgements. They found that information about gender role behaviors and the gender label interacted to influence not only ratings of a target person's gender traits but also ratings of his or her likability and adjustment (i.e. females who engaged in gender appropriate behaviors were rated as more likable than females who engaged in gender inappropriate behaviors and were rated as better adjusted than males who engaged in similar, but for them gender inappropriate behaviors.

Jackson, MacCoun and Kerr (1987) found that gender role attitudes of a target individual influenced judgements about him or her on the dimensions of likability, adjustment, and occupational potential. Female subjects were more influenced by gender role attitudes than male subjects. Female subjects evaluated nontraditional targets more favorably than traditional targets on all dimensions. In

contrast, male subjects favored nontraditional targets on the adjustment dimension, but only when the target was male. The male subjects favored nontraditional targets on the occupational potential dimension only when the target was female.

Women as managers. In 1979, Brown published an essay in which she discussed "a selection of the better works available" on women and business management. She found that the research in this area

...has certain characteristics peculiar to the nature of the subject and its stage of development: (1) With a few important exceptions, most of the work has been produced as periodical articles and doctoral dissertations. (2) Articles tend to be impressionistic rather than empirical. (3) Research standards vary across disciplines, and much of the work is poorly done by any standard. (4) Profound changes in social context have made some of the standard works and research instruments obsolete. (p. 267)

Other findings of Brown (1979) in her survey of the literature were that responses of executives showed that there were greater organizational concerns for the careers of men than for those of women, and that there is a degree of skepticism about women's abilities to balance work and family demands. Researchers have also found that males are selected for challenging managerial positions over females

with identical qualifications. These findings illustrate definite discrimination when viewed in light of the fact that in work situations with leaders and subordinates, researchers have consistently found no differences between male and female leaders in performance, behavior or subordinate satisfaction.

Schein (1973) found that successful middle managers were perceived to possess those characteristics, attitudes and temperaments more commonly ascribed to men in general than to women in general. The author believes that this increases the likelihood of a male rather than a female being selected for or promoted to a managerial position.

In an organizational simulation using college students, Bartol (1975) found that sex of the leader did not by itself affect satisfaction, even when female leaders were characterized by high dominance, a trait most likely to "offend" male subordinates. Terborg, Peters, Ilgen, and Smith (1977) reported that women with more education and greater orientation to a career had more favorable attitudes toward women as managers than did women who were less educated and career oriented.

In 1957, the National Manpower Council (in Womanpower 1957), reported that male bosses were the preference. In 1965, Bowman, Worthy and Greyser surveyed 1000 male and 900 female executives among Harvard Business Review readers. Over two-thirds of the men and nearly one-fifth of the women

reported that they themselves would not feel comfortable working for a woman. Fifty-one percent of the men responded that women were "temperamentally unfit" for management.

In a study designed to measure female subordinate reactions to male and female managers, Linden (1985) found 80% of the female subordinates in the sample showed a preference for male managers. Male managers were also perceived as having more influence than did the female managers. Linden believes that the results of this study are inconclusive since the preference for male managers appeared to be caused by situational factors and not by negative attitudes toward women managers. For this reason he believes that further investigation needs to be done.

Moore and Rickel (1980) examined characteristics of women in traditional (nurses) and non-traditional (business women) managerial roles. Women in non-traditional business roles as compared to the traditionals were more achieving, emphasized production more, saw themselves as having characteristics more like managers and men, and saw no self-characteristics which conflicted with those ascribed to male managers. The business women considered the domestic role as less important, had fewer children and fewer children living at home than did the nurses. These findings lead to the conclusion that leadership attributes and behavior of women do vary between organizational settings and across occupational levels.

In the 1977 study reported by Garland it was found that managers were seen as more masculine than secretaries by subjects, which could mean that under certain conditions sex-role stereotypes still play an important role in people's reactions to others. Hahn (1984) found that in management situations, where there are no rules for making decisions, the more stress there is, the more everybody likes to be the same. That stress makes people move back to earlier levels of sex role stereotyping, i.e., having the man in charge.

In 1976 the U.S. Congress mandated that women be integrated into one of the last bastions of male sanctity, the military service. Research published in 1977 (Binkin and Black) and 1979 (Long) indicated that military men were not accepting of women within their ranks. Men who had chosen a military career held to social stereotypes concerning women. They believed feminine traits would preclude leadership, command or the ability to deal with danger and stress. Males in high-ranking administrative positions frequently reported women should not be allowed in military endeavors beyond mere support functions. It was even suggested that women's high-pitched voices disqualified them from positions of command.

Larwood, Glasser and McDonald (1980) assessed attitudes of ROTC members toward women cadets. Their assessments were taken in 1975 and again in 1977. They found women had more

contemporary attitudes about women in the military than did men. They also found that men's attitudes about women in the military improved over time.

During the academic year of 1977-1978, Cheatham (as reported in 1978) assessed attitudes towards women cadets at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy. Cheatham concluded that males at the academy reflected society's sexist attitudes toward women. Stevens and Gardner (1987) replicated and expanded the study of Cheatham and found that male cadets' attitudes toward women were more positive than they were previously.

It would seem that some of the reasons for rejecting women have changed, but the fact remains that in the secular world of work, women are still discriminated against. Next the research relating to clergy and the world of the religious will be examined.

Clergy

Major Studies of Clergy Women. There have been two very extensive studies conducted on women clergy in the last five years. One was funded by the Ford Foundation and the results were published in 1983 in a book entitled Women of the Cloth. The second, published in 1985, was funded by the Vocation Agency of the United Presbyterian Church. This study was conducted by Edward Lehman, Jr. and the results were published in a book entitled Women Clergy.

Women of the Cloth, written by Carroll, Hargrove and Lummis (1983), reports on the first major cross-denomina-

tional study of clergy women. It is a descriptive work, drawing principally on sociological perspectives and methods. Nine denominations were studied: the American Baptist Church in the U.S.A., the American Lutheran Church, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), the Episcopal Church, the Lutheran Church of America, the Presbyterian Church of the U.S., the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church, the United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. These are the mainline Protestant denominations with the largest number of women clergy.

The research design for this project (Carroll, et al., 1983) involved male and female clergy and key lay leaders within congregations. Six hundred thirty-six clergy women (70% of those contacted) were interviewed by telephone for one hour. One hundred twenty male clergy (60% of those attempted) were interviewed by phone and another 679 (59%) were surveyed via a questionnaire. The lay leaders were given questionnaires by clergy women and men and 737 (53%) questionnaires were returned. The final source of data included telephone interviews with women faculty teaching full-time at forty major Protestant and interdenominational seminaries. Eighty interviews (80% of those identified) were completed and transcribed for content analysis.

Not only did the authors (Carroll, et al., 1983) carefully select a large sample of clergywomen, but their objective was to also gathered a broad spectrum of data on

clergywomen, including social origins and factors leading to the choice of the ministry, experiences in seminary, experiences in the clergy job market, functioning in parish ministry, and balancing career with other roles and responsibilities. A second objective was to compare the experiences of clergywomen with those of clergymen and to compare the experiences of women in each of the nine denominations. A third objective was to view clergywomen in relation to other persons and groups within the church system who are significant to their acceptance, functioning and support. The final objective was to provide data that would have policy relevance and would be of practical significance to those concerned with the recruitment, education, deployment and support of clergy.

Due to the extensive and unique nature of this study, it will be referred to throughout this section of the paper. It will serve as a source for much of what is known about clergy women and their experiences.

The other major research project (Lehman, 1985) was also sociological in approach. The purpose of this study was to report the reactions of church members to women in ministry. To accomplish this goal Lehman surveyed the "Presbyterian Panel." This panel is made up of persons in the denomination who agree to participate in an ongoing mail survey for a three year period. Lehman surveyed four groups from this panel: lay church members, elders, pastors and

clergy in specialized ministries. Each was selected by random sampling within each geographical unit of the denomination. Of the 2263 elders and other laypersons surveyed, 1720 (75%) responded. Of the 1414 pastors and special clergy surveyed, 1143 (81%) responded.

Lehman's (1985) study will be the major source of information about the reactions of church members to clergywomen. His research, as reported in Women Clergy as well as several other studies (1980, 1981a, and 1981b) he has conducted on women clergy, will also be cited extensively in this section of the paper.

Facts about clergy women. In only three of the nine denominations examined in the Carroll, Hargrave and Lummis (1983) study - Disciples (4.8%), United Church of Christ (7.8%) and United Presbyterian (4.5%) - does the percentage of women clergy as a total of all clergy exceed the 4.2% figure. To concentrate only on the relatively small proportions of clergywomen in the nine denominations is to ignore the considerable growth which has taken place in the last twenty years. It also ignores the fact that between forty and fifty percent of the students in most major seminaries are women. (Carroll, et al., 1983).

The women clergy studied by Carroll, Hargrave and Lummis (1983) were somewhat more likely than the men to have had working mothers. They were more likely than their male counterparts to have been born into families where the

fathers (and often the mothers) were well educated, and the father was a business executive or professional. The authors believe that being born to higher class parents may mean that the parents are more open to their daughters' aspiring to graduate education and an unconventional career.

These women were typically reared in families where at least one of the parents was active in a church when they were growing up. The more active the parents were in a church while the clergy were growing up, the more likely the clergy were to have been active themselves in a church during their college years (Carroll, et al., 1983).

Clergy who were more active in a church during their college years were more likely to make an early decision to enter seminary. While these findings held true for both men and women, women were still more likely to make a later decision than men to enter seminary. Men as well have been entering seminary later in more recent years than in previous ones (but not as late as women). A general culture unsupportive of women attempting to enter the male-dominated vocation of parish ministry is believed to account for the fact that women both decide to enter seminary later and in fact do enter at older ages than do men. (Carroll, et al., 1983)

The women in Women of the Cloth, were less likely than the men to enter seminary with the intention of preparing

for parish ministry. Nearly two-fifths of the women had no intention of becoming pastors. Women entering seminary more recently were more likely than those who entered seminary earlier to have come intending to be parish ministers. (Carroll, et al., 1983)

The strongest factor in women's decisions to be ordained was their belief that they had a call from God to the ordained ministry, similar to men. Over half the women also were motivated to seek ordination because they perceived that this official recognition from the church would facilitate their ministries. Less than a third of the women were seeking ordination in order to change the sexist nature of their denominations. (Carroll, et al., 1983)

Clergy women feel competent in their ministries and are indeed rated as quite competent by their lay leaders. Although women pastors are not evaluated by themselves or their lay leaders as highly in managing the budget of the church, in all other role activities they typically equal or excell clergy men in self and lay evaluations. (Carroll, et al., 1983)

Personality and Sociology of Clergy. Schindler, Berren, Hannah, Beigel and Santiago (1987) investigated the attitudes of people toward psychiatrist, psychologist, non psychiatric physicians and clergy. In comparisons between the psychiatrist/psychologist group and the clergy group, the clergy were perceived more favorably on the personal

qualities of warmth, caring, professionalism and stability than the mental health practitioners.

In a totally theoretical paper, Meloy (1986) hypothesizes that narcissistic character disorders are prevalent among members of the clergy precisely because the profession provides strong reinforcement for such personality problems. Meloy makes no gender distinctions, therefore the reader may assume he is speaking of both male and female clergy. Unfortunately, the author provides no supporting evidence for his position.

Templer (1974) reviewed a number of studies that used the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) with clergy men and seminarians and concluded that these groups were more abnormal on psychological measures than were individuals from the general population. They scored in a "feminine" direction on psychological tests, and they had measured interests in the area of "helping others" and in activities of verbal, literary and cultural nature. Simono (1978) conducted a similar study with male seminarians and found similar results. These findings might indicate that women would be perfect candidates for the ministry if indeed feminine characteristics are desirable for such a position.

Cardwell (1985) studied the most and least successful women minister graduates of Christian Theological Seminary (in Indianapolis, Indiana) between 1959 and 1980 using the battery of psychological tests administered to entering

students. Successful ministers scored significantly higher on measures of verbal intelligence than those that were less successful. Successful women ministers scored significantly higher on several of the self-image scales, beginning with that for Personal Adjustment than those that were less successful. Characteristics of persons with such scores would be: optimism, cheerfulness, interest in others and a readiness to adapt, seen as dependable, peaceable, trusting, friendly, practical, loyal and wholesome, fits in well, asks little, treats others with courtesy, and works enterprisingly toward her own goals, possesses the capacity to love and work. Successful women ministers also scored higher on the Need Affiliation scale, defined as a need to seek and sustain numerous personal friendships. High scorers on this scale are adaptable, anxious to please, ambitious, and concerned with position. The successful women ministers, therefore, would tend to have better interpersonal relationships than the less successful ones. This extends to better relationships with opposite sexed peers and to a general interest in life in a healthy, direct and outgoing manner. (Cardwell, 1985)

The women on Cardwell's (1985) study tended to see themselves as attractive, feminine, active, affectionate, intelligent and verbal. MMPI differences indicated that the successful women scored lower on a scale measuring conscious repression (the extent to which a person uses denial and

rationalization as coping behaviors, and also, a lack of effective self-insight). This would mean the successful women were more willing to be open and self-disclosing to others, more likely to be outgoing, emotional, and spontaneous than were those who were less successful. Because they use less repression than the other women tested, they were more aware of situational anxiety when they felt it. These women were also higher than the less successful ministers in the extent to which they could control problem behavior and give realistic self-appraisals. They were more willing to admit to general human foibles and were significantly more relaxed than the less successful ministers.

Cardwell (1985) also found that when the successful women were compared with the less successful ministers, they were: less defensive; tended to take more charge of their own lives; had more leadership potential; admitted more need for other people; were more active, with more projects they tended to complete; were more open to alternative viewpoints without being rebellious against parental values.

Because successful women in other atypical (i.e. male-dominated) professions have been described as psychologically androgynous and exhibiting high self-esteem (Banfield, 1976; Disabatino, 1976), Flagg (1984) hypothesized that clergywomen, as members of a traditionally male-dominated profession, would also possess these traits. The sample for Flagg's study was comprised of 114 female ministers from

Protestant denominations in New England. Of this sample, 32% were classified as Androgynous, 16% as Masculine, 21% as Feminine and 31% as Undifferentiated on the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI). Thus the hypothesis that these women would tend to score high on Androgyny was not confirmed. There was some tendency, however, for fewer clergywomen to be classified as Feminine, and more as Undifferentiated. Flagg also hypothesized that this sample of clergywomen would score high on a self-esteem measure and this hypothesis was confirmed. Flagg tries to explain the unexpected results of her research in the following way:

One possible explanation for the unexpected large percentage (31%) of clergywomen classed as Undifferentiated is the self-negating, self-effacing value central to notions of Christian virtue, especially for women...The Christian woman is admonished to be "modest," "submissive," and "silent." The problem with this interpretation is that it fails to account for the high self-esteem scores exhibited by clergywomen...Evidently it is possible to think well of oneself without attributing to the self a high degree of leadership, competence, ambition, dominance, aggression, and self-reliance, all masculine traits on the BSRI...It may be more meaningful to the effective practice of ministry that clergy exhibit what we might think of as well-rounded personalities, rather than extremes in

masculinity or femininity. (pp. 226-227)

Flagg (1984) also found that the highest income group within this sample of women clergy was significantly lower in femininity scores than the other three groups. This group also tended to be higher on masculinity scores. There was a tendency for women under 40 years of age to have higher femininity scores than women over 40.

Eckhardt and Goldsmith (1984) studied 37 male and 54 female seminarians enrolled in Master of Divinity Programs in 11 Protestant seminaries. Subjects were given a questionnaire containing personal data items, the Bem Sex-Role Inventory and the Personality Research Form (PRF-E). There appeared to be very substantial differences between the seminarians and the general norms ($p < .05$). Male seminarians scored higher than college males on nurturance, succorance and desirability, and lower on autonomy. This pattern is consistent with the person-oriented, helping model of the clerical stereotype. Women seminarians were higher than the college norms on affiliation, dominance, exhibition, understanding, and desirability, but lower on aggression and change. This pattern combines traditionally feminine traits, such as affiliation, with traditionally masculine ones such as dominance and understanding. Both sexes of seminarians were incorporating personality traits usually shown by the opposite sex. Both sexes cared very much about following societal norms and being accepted by others.

The male and female seminarians differed less from each other than they did from the norms of their respective sexes. Females were significantly higher than the male seminarians in needs for harmavoidance and impulsivity, and males were significantly higher than females in needs for abasement, endurance, and order. Except for the male seminarians' higher need for order and abasement, these differences seem to reflect the usual sex differences in our society. Overall, the personality profiles of the men and women seminarians look more similar to each other than those for college men and women do. (Ekhardt and Goldsmith, 1984).

Men and women seminarians differ from their respective norms in some very different ways. If norms set expectations, congregations can be predicted to have expectations for a woman pastor which will differ sharply from the kind of woman she actually is. She will be more dominant, intellectual, and less submissive than they think she should be. Men differ from their norms, too, but their differences should be more or less in line with a congregation's expectations for a male minister, because expectations for what a minister should be like have been set by similar men in the past (Ekhardt and Goldsmith, 1984).

Ekhardt and Goldsmith (1984) hypothesized that male and female seminarians would have more similar profiles of

motivational needs than men and women in the general population, and that they would combine masculine and feminine traits more in their personality profiles. Both hypotheses were supported. Men and women in this sample were alike in many personality traits, and thus there should be no reason to consider one sex more fit for the ministry than the other. The authors indicate that:

If the question of effective ministry depends upon who the ministers actually are, then these women and men should be equally effective, for they are very similar. But, an effective ministry also depends upon the perception of who the minister is, and here the women seminarians are in trouble. Informal norms serve to set our expectations for what people will be. (p. 115)

Hale, King and Jones (1980) in a study of 838 United Methodist female seminarians and clergy found women clergy to have much in common with the men.

On closer examination of these emerging parish ministers, Ekhardt and Goldsmith (1984) found them to be serious (low on Play, high on Understanding), cautious (low on Impulsivity, High on Harmavoidance), outgoing (high on Exhibition), socially-oriented (high on Affiliation and Social Desirability), and people helpers (high on Nurture). The men are well above the average for their gender in willingness to receive help from others, but the women are slightly below average. If the women are unable to meet

the expectations made of them and not able to receive help easily, there is a real question how long they will stay in ministry. Due to nurturance scores, the men may be perceived to be relatively more caring pastors than the women. Women pastors may have a more directive counseling style than would be expected of them or they may be more insistent on their own views when working with other church leaders than those others would approve.

Ekhardt and Goldsmith (1984) in summarizing the research on congregations' expectations for clergy found that pastors were expected to be first scholars and leaders, then social activists, then counselors and therapists, as well as managers, and evangelists capable of competing with the electronic church. If traditional sex-role stereotypes are also considered, it is easy to see why women clergy have a difficult time being accepted.

Resistance to clergy women. Lehman (1985) found three theoretical approaches to prejudice against clergywomen. (1) There was evidence that the level of receptivity/resistance to clergywomen was partly a matter of more general inclinations to either favor or oppose changes in sex roles, primarily among the laity rather than the clergy. This was a feature of sexism in general. (2) The more the laity were traditionally involved in the religious system, the more they tended to oppose women in ministry. This was a consequence of a persons' religious committments. (3) The

larger and more affluent the church to which the person belonged, the more likely that member was to be opposed to women in ministry. This was a derivative of the type of church in which the lay person was involved.

Carroll, Hargrove and Lummis (1983) found that more women than men experienced difficulty in becoming ordained. Ease in getting ordained was tied very closely to whether or not the seminary graduate was able to get a first parish call (in most denominations). The authors found that neither women nor men have very much difficulty in securing a first parish position, and women are generally more optimistic than men about the situation for new entrants. Perceived ease of career mobility after the first position varies both by denomination and by characteristics of individual clergy, including age and experience of success or failure in previous or present parishes. Tennis (as cited in Ekhardt and Goldsmith, 1984) in a study of 283 United Presbyterian women clergy found that they reported more problems in placement than men.

Carroll, Hargrove and Lummis (1983) found that kinds of first positions differed, with more women than men serving in assistant or associate pastor positions or as part-time pastors. Likewise the upward mobility of careers of women seemed to be less than those of men. It appears that women continue to serve as pastors of smaller churches or in assistant or associate positions in second, third and

subsequent positions. There were (and still are) salary inequities between men and women, although women were more likely than men to report that their current salary was sufficient (Carroll, et al., 1983). Contrary to the above findings, Royle (1982) did not find that women were placed in smaller or less viable churches than men.

According to Lehman (1981a), many of the candidates for placement sought to find a job by making informal contacts outside the formal placement structures of their denominations (e.g. contacting friends or making direct contacts with churches known to have vacancies). More women than men used this strategy. Making informal contacts was not associated with placement among the men, but making informal contacts was negatively related to placement for the women. As Lehman (1985) stated in his later work, "The 'price of their ticket' seems to be 'being a good girl' and 'doing as you are told.'" (p.264)

In the Women of the Cloth study, lay leaders perceived their own woman pastor as competent in various ministerial tasks but that did not necessarily mean that they wanted their next minister, and particularly a senior minister, to be a woman. The best that can be said is that lay leaders claimed they would not care if their next minister were a woman or a man. However, the typical feeling was that churches should not specifically try to hire a woman, or that it is best for the church if women and men clergy are

alternated (even among those favorable to women clergy).

Tennis (as cited in Ekhardt and Goldsmith, 1984) in the study of 283 women clergy in the United Presbyterian Church, found three-fourths of whom said they had encountered problems peculiar to women in ministry. Anders(1983), in a survey of Southern Baptists clergywomen found that these women felt that the pastoral role was the most closed area of their denominational work for ordained women.

In the Women of the Cloth study, clergywomen reported having the most difficulty with businessmen, executives, middle-aged men and middle-aged women. Lehman (1985) found males, older persons and those with lower levels of formal education tended to be more resistant to women in ministry than did females, younger persons and the more educated.

One of the reasons given by some parishoners for not hiring women was that the parish would suffer. Royle (1982) found that churches with clergywomen did not report significantly lower figures on memebrship or financial indicators. In general Royle found a lack of significant differences between the churches with women and the churches with men pastors, especially for associate pastors and for the first year of the woman's pastorate. The author offers several reasons for this lack of differences. These include: (1) the insensitivity of the membership and financial indicators to the effect of having a woman pastor; (2) an insufficient time for the effects of a woman pastor

to be felt; or (3) the overwhelming effects of contextual variables. Differences in funds raised and expenses were linked more with size of church than with sex of pastor. Growth in women members or in members of church women's groups appeared to be neither helped nor hindered by women clergy.

In his study of the American Baptist Church, Lehman (1979) found three patterns of resistance to women in ministry on the part of the laity: (1) tendencies to define female ministers in traditionally female stereotypical terms, (2) preferences for having men perform ministerial functions, and (3) willingness to discriminate against women applying for positions in ministry in the local church.

In his study of Presbyterian laity, Lehman (1985) found most people were fundamentally and philosophically open to women in ministry, including specifically the ordained ministry. Yet many of them did have reservations. Lehman found that among lay church members, the more they took the role of member seriously the more they perceived consideration of women ministers as a threat to local church solidarity. Hale, King, and Jones (1980) surveyed United Methodist clergywomen to ascertain professional satisfaction and problems, and found evidence of attitudinal resistance to women ministers on the part of congregations.

Most church members were willing to consider having clergywomen function in a wide range of ministerial acti-

vities; however, they applied variable criteria when indicating their preferences for people in the various ministerial roles. More members had preferences for male clergy when it came to organizational concerns than other dimensions such as sacramental and subordinate ones (Lehman, 1985).

Eighty-four percent of the lay church members surveyed in Lehman's (1985) study indicated that a clergywoman could perform the one personal function they most wanted from their minister as well as a man. Eighty percent perceived clergywomen as equally capable as men of dealing with the organizational needs of the church; however, when the organizational viability of the church was at issue, church members were less inclined to perceive a woman as being as competent as a man in dealing with what needed to be done. Nearly two-thirds of the lay respondents indicated that in the face of some local church resistance to calling a woman as pastor, it was acceptable to set the woman's candidacy aside in preference for a man. The significance of this pattern is underscored by the fact that in circumstances such as these, a minority of members can have significant influence on collective decisions about which path to follow.

Anders (1983) found that Southern Baptist clergywomen thought that lay people were more accepting and supportive of them than clergymen. Hahn (1984), in a survey of women

clergy attending a ecumenical conference on women clergy issues, indicated that many of these women found it hard working with men who didn't have enough self-confidence to hear the women clergy. Carroll and Wilson (1978) found that parish ministers felt threatened by a growing sense of competition for a shrinking number of jobs, and the authors believe this is one of the factors underlying some of the resistance of pastors to women in ministry.

Lehman (1985) found that just as with the laity, there were real discrepancies in the male clergy attitudes toward women ministers.

They tend to take a very positive stance in relation to women in ministry...On all counts the clergy were more receptive than were the lay members, although among the clergy the pastors were more resistant than were special clergy. (p.76)

As a group the clergy appeared much less willing to discriminate against women in ministry than did the laity. Less than one in ten were prepared to discriminate outright and have the committee withdraw the woman's name in favor of a man.

One third of the clergy in Lehman's 1985 study preferred a man in ministerial roles over a woman. This is a disturbingly large number and can have far reaching consequences, as Lehman (1985) explains:

Even though it is the laity who ultimately decide

whether or not to accept women in the role of pastor, the position the clergy take on the issue is quite important. This is true for three fundamental reasons. First, the clergy function as "opinion leaders" in the local churches and most other segments of the denomination....The second reason...is that they exert significant influence on members' consideration of the ministry as a vocation....In addition to being significant sources of inspiration and validation for clergywomen, male ministers are also usually strategically placed in various networks of social relationships in the denomination within which policy is created, codified and implemented. (pp. 56-60)

Contact theory. In an effort to deal with negative attitudes toward women cadets at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy (as reported in Cheatham's study of 1978), the administration of the academy drew from the cognitive dissonance work of Festinger (1957).

Male cadets, according to the general theory of cognitive dissonance, would be likely to feel what Festinger called "dissonance resulting from forced compliance." In their public acts toward female cadets, the men would display comraderie, unprejudice, and fair, direct competition, regardless of their private attitudes, for the military allows little defiance of authority. Festinger predicted that the

dissonance produced under conditions of forced compliance and high motivation, (i.e., where the rewards and/or punishments are important, will have the effect of changing "private opinions...over and above what the variables in the situation, not including dissonance, would account for" (Festinger, 1957, p.122). In other words, if male cadets are forced to treat female peers as equals, they will grow to perceive them as equals. (Stevens and Gardner, 1987, p.183)

By replicating Cheatham's (1978) study, Stevens and Gardner (1987) found evidence to support Festinger's position. The attitudes of the male cadets toward their women peers did improve over time.

Zajonc and Markers (1982) found that when they showed people objects for such a brief time (one-thousandth of a second) that they could not recognize them, they preferred these objects to totally new objects. This is a fundamental process that goes back to a person's survival requirements. When a person encounters something new, the person becomes alert and tenses up. When the person encounters it again, alertness diminishes and with it the feeling of unpleasantness. So the person becomes more positive toward the object. The entire process is subconscious. Some research on women clergy (Royle, 1982; Carroll, et al., 1983; Lehman, 1985) indicates that as people are exposed to women clergy their attitudes toward those women clergy become more

positive.

Royle (1982) tested several hypotheses regarding women clergy by examining the data from yearbooks and journals of four major Protestant denominations: the Disciples of Christ, the Lutheran Church in America, the United Methodist Church and the United Presbyterian Church. In this examination Royle found that clergywomen, after they were in parish settings, generally found greater acceptance in the parish than in the organizational structures placing them.

Royle (1982) also found that accounts of women ministers themselves generally reported that the women were accepted and supported by their parishioners once they are known. Carroll, Hargrove and Lummis (1983) indicate that their data suggests that having a woman minister leads laity to change negative attitudes toward clergywomen into positive ones. But another question which needs to be addressed is: if the woman is followed by a man in the pastoral position, do the parishioners keep their positive attitudes about women clergy?

Lehman (1985) investigated a project constructed to place women as interim pastors. His goal was to evaluate whether contact changed attitudes about women in ministry. He found that contact increased receptivity on the cognitive and affective levels. There was still a question about its effectiveness in reducing willingness to discriminate against female candidates. Predictions of large-scale

withdrawal of church members in response to a woman pastor did not materialize in congregations involved in this study. Less than 2% left. Members reported significant gains in membership, budget, and participation in their congregations in relation to the clergywoman's assuming the role of pastor.

Lehman (1985) believes that fears of congregational conflict notwithstanding, contact with women in the role of pastor tends to be a positive experience for church members. The experience transforms resistance into acceptance.

Summary of clergy research. Some tentative generalizations derivable from these studies are that: (1) the numbers of women who are seeking pastoral positions previously held almost exclusively by men are increasing; (2) these women experience resistance to their placement; (3) once these women are placed, their churches usually accept them very well, and the mass defections which were predicted do not materialize; and, (4) women clergy have serious problems of adjustment to the pressures associated with their professional marginality at every step of their journey.

Lehman (1985), predicts that: (1) women will have to continue to pressure for complete acceptance as ordained religious leaders in the foreseeable future; (2) The level of frustration of these women clergy is likely to increase because the number of churches accepting ordained female

leadership each year is considerably less than the number of women graduating from seminaries; and (3) Women who are allowed to function as ordained clergy in local congregations will succeed as fully as men.

Lehman (1981b) in concluding his report on clergywomen in the American Baptist Church makes this statement:

Analysis of these data support the contention that no matter where one looks in the system, clergywomen are usually perceived as a threat to organizational maintenance in local churches and some denominational offices. Where the values of organizational viability and equal opportunity for clergy women are experienced as being in conflict, church members and officials will tend to act more to protect organizational viability than to comply with denominational policy concerning placement of clergy women. (p. 116)

This is a good summation of the situation in most Protestant denominations which ordain women.

Stereotypes

People vary in the extent to which they personally adhere to stereotypes about women. The need to investigate stereotypes is underscored, not only by the fact that stereotypes play a role in employment discrimination (Kanter, 1977a), but by findings indicating that rape and other forms of sexual assault against women may be related to people's stereotypes about women (Costin, 1985;

Malamuth and Check, 1985; Selby, Calhoun, and Brock, 1977).

Three major studies have been conducted on sex-trait stereotypes using a list of adjectives to define the stereotypes. In 1957 Sherriffs and McKee assessed stereotypes using Sarbin's adjective check list at the University of California at Berkley. In 1975 Williams and Bennett used Gough's Adjective Check List at Wake Forest University to compare with the earlier study by Sherriffs and McKee (1957). Werner and La Russa (1985) reported on a study which they conducted in 1978 trying to replicate exactly the study of Sherriffs and McKee. The study conducted by Williams and Bennett (1975) was the first of several conducted by these authors in conjunction with others. The final report on all of these studies was published in 1982 in a book entitled Measuring Sex Stereotypes: A Thirty-Nation Study. This report encompasses stereotypes for twenty-five countries in which adult subjects were asked to take the ACL and some additional countries in which children's stereotypes were examined.

Werner and LaRussa (1985) found few changes in the sex-role stereotypes from the earlier study of Sherriffs and McKee (1957). The authors felt this was of particular note considering both studies were conducted at the University of California at Berkley, a campus known for activist programs.

In the 1957 (Sherriffs and McKee) study the stereotype

of men was more favorable than that of women. In the 1978 (Werner and La Russa, 1985) study the pendulum had swung the other way and women were pictured slightly more favorably than men. In no case did an adjective change sexes over the two decades; however, 38% of the adjectives assigned to men in the 1957 study and 23% of the adjectives assigned to women in the 1957 study did not yield statistically significant differences in the 1978 study. Similarly, many previously undifferentiating adjectives were added to current stereotypes. The majority (20 of 27) of adjectives dropped from the male list were favorable ones, while unfavorable adjectives tended (11 of 14) to be dropped from the female list. Similarly, adjectives entering the stereotype of women in 1978 were almost exclusively favorable (11 of 13), but unfavorable adjectives predominated (14 of 15) among those added for men.

Williams and Bennett (1975) asked 50 male and 50 female college students to go through the Adjective Check List of Gough and Heilbrun (1965) and indicate whether the adjective was more frequently associated with women than men or vice versa. The hypothetical male was described as follows:

Exaggeration in negative direction, particularly in denial of anything positive - passive-aggressive personality pattern; false cockiness, bravado, fearful, impulsive defense of imagined slights to ego and potency, immature, depressed, juvenile delinquent -

black leather jacket - either Lord of the Flies fascination with violence and brutality (pulls wings off of all flies - goes out of way to step on any small, defenseless creature) or the cruel, vicious, frightened striking out of the cornered rat. Most fearful of show of affection or relationships involving meeting human needs. Compulsively cruel but in a fundamentally inept, weak, cowardly way. Grotesque characterization of "high school Harry" in way over his head. (p.335)

The male stereotype was atypically low in nurturance, abasement, deference, affiliation, and intraception. It was atypically high in autonomy, aggression, and exhibitionism.

The female stereotype was atypically low only on dominance and was atypically high only on succorance and abasement. The hypothetical female was described in the following way:

Exaggeration in negative direction - passive dependent personality pattern: gives impression of being lazy, scatterbrained to cover profound self-doubts; alternates between complaining and self blame with self-blame prevailing; may attempt to manipulate via martyrdom; weepy, clinging vine, rattles easily in emergency, may avoid by fainting, trouble with own hostility; has some nurturant, mothering kinds of instincts, i.e., might gush over a puppy or baby but

would plead inadequacy or try to transfer responsibility for cleaning up messes or delivering discipline. (p. 335)

The male stereotype represents a statistically more deviant pattern than did the female stereotype (Williams and Bennett, 1975).

Williams and Bennett (1975) indicate some surprize that the adjectives coarse, disorderly, jolly and severe were considered so highly masculine and that the adjectives appreciative, complaining, and sophisticated would have been considered so highly feminine. Of the 15 male evaluative adjectives 10 were scored "favorable" according to standard Adjective Check List scoring. Ten of the 15 female evaluative adjectives were scored "unfavorable." This according to the authors, provides some support for the popular notion that the male stereotype is relatively more favorable than is the female stereotype.

~ In the 25 country analysis of adult sex-stereotypes (Williams and Best, 1982), the ACL was used to identify both male- and female-associated traits in all countries. Similarities and differences across countries were demonstrated. When male- and female- associated traits were examined with respect to the three affective meaning dimensions of favorability, activity and strength, there was no consistent tendency across countries to evaluate one more favorably than the other. On the other hand, the activity

and strength analyses indicated a clear trend in all countries - the male stereotypes were more active and stronger than the female stereotypes.

When the Transactional Analysis (TA) scales were considered, the male stereotypes tended to be higher on the Critical Parent and Adult ego states across all countries. The female stereotypes tended to be higher on the Nurturing Parent and Adapted Child ego states. (Williams and Best, 1982).

Henry Murray's conceptualization of human personality in terms of relative need strengths was used to create the Need scales of the ACL. Need states associated with the male stereotypes were generally higher than the female stereotypes on needs for dominance, autonomy, aggression, exhibition, achievement, and endurance. The female stereotypes were generally higher on needs for abasement, deference, succorance, nurturance, affiliation, and heterosexuality. In all cases (Affective Meaning scales, TA scales, and Need scales) there was evidence of cross-national variation associated with the stereotypes. (Williams and Best, 1982).

The evidence of pancultural similarities in the sex-stereotype findings of Williams and Best (1982) seems much stronger than the evidence of cultural differences. Considering the diverse cultures included in the survey, the authors question the causes of this phenomenon. In an attempt

to explain the pancultural stereotypes of this research, the authors,

...draw on concepts and findings from several fields, including human biology, sociology, psychology, psychobiology, and cultural anthropology. In brief, we shall argue that certain biological differences between women and men make it socially efficient for them to assume different social roles, and that the sex-trait stereotypes develop to support this task assignment and to provide models of the expected adult roles for the socialization of children. (p. 231)

As Williams and Best (1982) examined cultural differences in the sex-stereotypes across countries, they found that some of the differences were related to national work-related values and to religious traditions. There was little evidence that the differences found in this study were related to indices of socioeconomic development or to variables related to the status of women in education and employment. The authors interpret the differences as reflections of "...deeply rooted, traditional belief systems that are not easily modified by more superficial factors, such as the proportion of women in the labor force or in higher education" (p. 272).

The primary difference Williams and Best (1982) found which could be attributed to religious tradition was one between predominantly Protestant and predominantly Catholic

countries. Men and women were viewed as somewhat more similar in psychological makeup in the Catholic countries than in the Protestant countries. The female stereotype was more favorable than the male in both groups of countries; however,

...the female stereotype in the Catholic countries appeared relatively more favorable and relatively less weak than in the Protestant countries - findings that seem consistent, for example, with the virtue and power associated with the Virgin Mary....the male-as-adult/female-as-child effect was less evident in the Catholic countries - an observation that seems to reflect the more significant role of women in the Catholic tradition. (p. 263)

The authors point out that one of the primary functions of the Protestant-Reformation was to eliminate the presence of females in popular theology and in professional religious services. Thus the Protestant tradition, more than the Catholic tradition has a less favorable view of women, having removed Mary from the prominent role which she held in Roman Catholicism.

Summary of research and relationship to the problem

Views about women are changing and becoming more positive, but research indicates that women are still expected to behave differently than men. In non-traditional careers, the research reports are varied; however, women who

choose these non-traditional roles are often not being treated as competent professionals. They are seen as women who happen to be competent - more a matter of luck than skill. This latter attitude prevails even amongst much evidence that these women are intelligent, analytical, critical, and independent. Even in the area of management, researchers have consistently failed to find differences between males and females in performance, but corporate America is more concerned with the career development of its young men than its young women.

Women clergy view themselves as competent in their ministries and are rated as quite competent by their lay leaders. On objective measures, clergy women score high in verbal intelligence and personal adjustment. Despite this congregations expect women clergy to be very different from the way the women actually are. Clergy women receive little support from their denominational hierarchy, fellow clergy or laity. These women encounter more resistance to ordination than men. They are typically placed in less desirable congregations than men and they are often prevented from "moving up the ladder" professionally. The primary justification for discriminating against these competent professional women is the survival of the church (i.e., the church cannot survive the trauma of a female pastor).

Sex-trait stereotypes do exist within our society and

these stereotypes have changed very little over the last 30 years. In perhaps the most extensive study of sex-trait stereotypes (Williams and Best, 1982) the authors found that Roman Catholics view women more favorably than Protestants; and yet, the Roman Catholic church is one of the last strong holds against the ordination of women. In this same study, Williams and Best conclude that stereotypes change very slowly and until they are changed some people will still use their own stereotypes to judge all members of the group about which they have the stereotype.

This research will examine the stereotype that lay persons have of women clergy. It will define that stereotype for lay persons who have been exposed to a clergy woman and for lay persons who have not been exposed to a clergy woman. The intent is also to determine if that stereotype changes as lay persons are exposed to clergy women. The last objective of this research is to compare both of these stereotypes with the self-description that clergy women give. The hope is to shed some light on the obstacles which clergy women are experiencing. With more knowledge, perhaps the process of change can be accelerated.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Population and selection of the sample

The population of this study was composed of two distinct groups. The first was lay persons who were members of an adult Sunday School class within their respective churches. Within this group there were two categories of people: those who had never belonged to a church congregation which had a female minister as either pastor or assistant pastor (n=152) and those who had belonged to a church congregation with a female minister as either pastor or as assistant pastor (n=245). The second group of the population was made up of women who had been ordained or licensed within their denominations and who had served as either a pastor or assistant pastor (n=81 approximately). A detailed description of the lay population may be found in Appendix A.

The lay persons were selected from congregations in the Hampton Roads area of Virginia. Permission to conduct the research was obtained by the primary researcher from the appropriate adjudicary board within the congregations. The permission process was initiated by sending a letter to the pastor of forty-four churches and the Jewish Community Center (Appendix B contains a copy of the letter which was sent). Twenty-eight responses were received and nineteen were willing to participate in the research. The Adjective Check List was administered by the Sunday School teacher of

adult classes in these congregations.

The clergywomen sample was composed of members of a support group for clergywomen run by the author. In addition, the members of the support group provided names of other women clergy who were contacted by mail. All together one hundred seventy women were contacted and one hundred seven ACLs and surveys were returned. These women represented ten denominations: Episcopal, Southern Baptist, Presbyterian, United Methodist, Church of the Brethren, Unitarian, Lutheran(ELCA), United Church of Christ, Disciples of Christ and Lutheran. A detailed description of the clergy population may be found in Appendix C.

Procedures

Without disclosing their names each lay person was asked to go through the 300 adjectives of the Adjective Check List (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980). A copy of the instructions and the materials which were given to each subject can be found in Appendix D. The instructions were a modified version of instructions used by Williams and Best (1982, p. 51).

Subjects were instructed to mark male adjectives as well as female adjectives. This was done to disguise the purpose of this study. It was hoped that this would prevent the subjects from giving socially desirable responses.

In addition to the Adjective Check List (ACL), each lay

person was asked to fill out a demographic questionnaire. This questionnaire asked for age, income level, education level, denominational affiliation, and whether this person had ever been a member of a congregation which had a woman in the position of pastor or assistant pastor. A summary of the results of the demographic questionnaire may be found in Appendix A.

The women ministers were asked to complete the ACL in a self-descriptive manner. They were also asked to give demographic information. The demographic questionnaire which they completed was more extensive, asking for age, income level, education level, denominational affiliation, were they ordained or licensed by their denomination, number of years ordained or licensed, number of years in service as an assistant pastor, and number of years in service as a pastor (a summary of the results of this questionnaire may be found in Appendix C). Copies of the materials sent to the women clergy can be found in Appendix B. These women were contacted by mail and the purpose of the study was explained to them in a cover letter. An added incentive was included for the women clergy, a bag of herbal tea.

In none of the response sheets for the ACL was there any information which could identify the individuals within the sample. In the case of the ministers, the ACL and demographic questionnaire were returned to the experimenter in a sealed envelope which was provided. This envelope had

no information identifying the ministers. If the clergy woman subject wished to receive a copy of the results of the study, she returned a post card provided by the author in the initial mailing. On this card she indicated her name and address. Eighty-nine cards were returned. The lay people received their ACL and questionnaire and were asked to return them to the teacher of their class. All the response sheets for a class were placed in a large envelope and returned to the author. Again there was no information on any of these response sheets which would allow anyone to know who completed the forms contained within. In this manner confidentiality of all subjects was protected.

Instrumentation

Adjective Check List (ACL). The ACL was created by Harrison G. Gough and Alfred B. Heilbrun, Jr. It is published by the Consulting Psychologist Press, Inc. The check list is made up of three hundred adjectives arranged alphabetically. The test is designed for anyone from ninth grade through adulthood. It can be self-administered and takes fifteen to twenty minutes. (Buros, 1985)

The purpose of the ACL is to offer words and ideas commonly used for description in everyday life in a format which is systematic and standardized. The approach is fully idiographic in that one thinks only of the person being described. No special knowledge or competence is presumed. The ACL was initially developed for use by observers in

describing others, but it can also be used in self-description; and according to the ACL manual "this is the modal application that has emerged over the years..." (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980, p.1).

The ACL has 37 scales available on scoring protocols. The following is a summary of what each scale indicates:

Modus Operandi Scales (pertain to the manner in which a subject deals with the ACL)

1. Total number of adjectives checked (No, Ckd.) - used to determine validity of the protocol. Protocols will be considered invalid for males who check more than 138 adjectives or less than 49 and for females who check more than 140 or less than 55.
2. Number of favorable adjectives checked (Fav.) - positive self-image.
3. Number of unfavorable adjectives checked (Unfav.) - negative self-image.
4. Communality (Com) - helps identify unreliable or randomly completed protocols and assesses group unity.

Need Scales (pertain to Murray's need-pressure theory of personality)

5. Achievement (Ach.) - intelligent, hard-working, involved.
6. Dominance (Dom.) - forceful, strong-willed,

- perservering.
7. Endurance (End.) - persistent, self-controlled, responsible.
 8. Order (Ord.) - organized, sincere, dependable, neat.
 9. Intraception (Int.) - reflective, serious, conscientious.
 10. Nurturance (Nur.) - helpful, self-disciplined.
 11. Affiliation (Aff.) - friendly, adaptable, anxious to please.
 12. Heterosexuality (Het.) - interested in opposite sex and most things around him/her.
 13. Exhibition (Exh.) - attention seeking, self-centered, poised, self assured.
 14. Autonomy (Aut.) - independent, assertive, self-willed.
 15. Aggression (Agg.) - competitive, non-conforming.
 16. Change (Cha.) - avoids routine, perceptive, alert, spontaneous.
 17. Succorance (Suc.) - solicits sympathy, trusting, guileless, naive.
 18. Abasement (Aba.) - submissive, self-effacing.
 19. Deference (Def.) - conscientious, dependable, perservering, subordinate.

Topical Scales (contains measures of various facets of personality and social dispositions not drawn from any

single theory or unitary context)

20. Counseling Readiness (Crs.) - open to change, might profit from counseling.
21. Self-Control (S-Cn.) - responsible and dependable.
22. Self-Confidence (S-Cfd.) - assertive, affiliative, outgoing, persistent and actionist;
23. Personal adjustment (Per.Adj.) - positive attitude toward life, socially poised, assertive.
24. Ideal Self Scale (Iss) - close correspondence between ideal and real self.
25. Creative Personality Scale (Cps) - clever, wide range of interests.
26. Military Leadership Scale (Mls) - oriented toward duties and obligations.
27. Masculine attributes scale (Mas) - masculine, forceful.
28. Feminine Attributes Scale (Fem) - feminine, sentimental, warm.

Transactional Analysis Scales (scales for the five ego states of Transactional Analysis)

29. Critical Parent Scale (CP) - bossy, demanding, and resentful.
30. Nurturing Parent Scale (NP) - appreciative, forgiving and soft-hearted.
31. Adult Scale (A) - alert, confident, practical and

steady.

- 32. Free Child Scale (FC) - energetic, headstrong and talkative.
- 33. Adapted Child Scale (AC) - dependent, inhibited, touchy and worrying.

Origence-Intellectence Scales (scales based on George Welsh's structural dimensions of personality)

- 34. High Origence, Low Intellectence (A-1) - adventurous, easygoing, relaxed and sophisticated.
- 35. High Origence, High Intellectence (A-2) - complicated, hostile, individualistic, original and reflective.
- 36. Low Origence, Low Intellectence (A-3) - appreciative, kind, pleasant and wholesome.
- 37. Low Origence, High Intellectence (A-4) - clear-thinking, efficient, intelligent, logical, persistent and stubborn.

The normative sample for the ACL was composed of 5,238 males and 4,144 females. These samples were of arbitrary composition and clearly ad hoc and therefore "...may not adequately represent general population trends." (p.29, Gough and Heilbrun, 1980). Gough and Heilbrun (1980) go on to say that the samples were highly deversified with respect to age, education level, occupation or occupational preference, intelligence and social status. According to Teeter (Buros, 1985) "inspection of the sample breakdown

indicates that these variables were not equally represented." (p.51).

Internal consistency of the ACL was calculated on samples of 591 males and 588 females. "For males, the 37 coefficients ranged from .56 for Change and Succorance to .95 for Favorable. The median was .76. For females, the range was from .53 for Counseling Readiness to .94 for Favorable, with a median of .75." (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980, p. 30). Teeter warns test users to be conservative in their interpretations of scales falling below the median values, because "these subtests are less reliable and are prone to measurement error unrelated to the traits or characteristics under study." (Buros, 1985, p. 51)

The test-retest reliability of one study of 199 males, after a six month interval has a median of .65 and a range of .34 to .77. A sample composed of 45 college females yielded test-retest correlations ranging from .45 to .86 with a median value of .71. This latter study had a retest interval of one year. Gough and Heilbrun (1980) comment on the reliability:

The reliability estimates based on single trial data are in the region of correlations commonly found for self-report inventories. Several scales, however, show variations in scores on retesting: Masculine Attributes, Feminine Attributes, A-2 (high origence, high intellectence), and Communality had test-retest

coeficients below .55 for both sexes. (p.30)

Taking this into consideration, it would seem that these scales have questionable value for research. Teeter (Buros, 1985) points out that there is a longer test-retest interval and a smaller sample for the female study and this makes it difficult to compare the stability of the ACL for males and females.

In summarizing their findings regarding reliability, Gough and Heilbrun (1980) state:

Reliability over time on the ACL appears to be a meaningful psychological variable and not just a statistical property of the ACL. Respondents of a cheerful, outgoing, and active temperament will tend to give similar self-reports at different times, whereas respondents who are more conventional, subdued, and phlegmatic will be less consistent in the accounts they give of themselves. (p.30)

In the test manual the authors try to avoid the issue of validity, speaking only of predictive validity. They contend that the problem of demonstrating validity becomes one of amassing a wealth of information for each scale, and then, from this evidence determining whether a useful pattern can be evolved. (Gough and Heilbrun, 1965). In the 1980 version of the manual for the ACL, the authors again have not directly addressed the validity of the ACL. Instead they provide an appendix in which correlational data

on the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory and the California Personality Inventory as well as several other instruments are given. There is no attempt to summarize this data (Zarske in Buros, 1985).

Teeter (Buros, 1985) also addresses the highly related nature of the scales. In a factor analysis of the 37 scales, only 6 independent factors appeared. This indicates that "the scales are highly related and probably should be interpreted in clusters rather than as 37 independent personality factors." (Teeter, in Buros, 1985, p. 51).

Gough and Heilbrun (1980) indicate:

The ACL has frequently been used in studies of stereotypes, that is, in investigations of opinions concerning groups or collectivities that are not based on empirical observation or knowledge. The method has been applied to beliefs about men, women, persons in particular occupations and professions, and to specialties within professions. (p.44)

Williams and Best (1982) selected the ACL over two other instruments which had been used for stereotype studies because:

The initial item pool was to be a large and diverse one descriptive of human personality, in general, rather than sex stereotypes, in particular; the item pool was to include both favorable and unfavorable traits in order to permit the assessment of positive and negative

aspects of sex stereotypes; the method was not to require the assumption that masculinity and femininity are opposed concepts and, thus, was to permit the assessment of androgyny; the method was to interface with previous research in personality and with personality theory; and the procedure was to be interesting to subjects and easily administered and scored. (p. 21)

Design

The procedures described in this section are basically those used by Williams and various associates in investigations of sex-trait stereotypes (Williams, J.E. and Bennett, S.M., 1975; Best, D.L., Williams, J.E. and Briggs, S.R., 1977; Best, D.L., Williams, J.E., Cloud, J.M., Davis, S.W., Robertson, L.S., Edwards, J.R., Giles, H., and Fowles, J., 1977; Williams, J.E., Giles, H., Edwards, J.R., Best, D.L., and Daws, J.T., 1977; Williams, J.E., and Best, D.L., 1977; Williams, J.E., Daws, J.T., Best, D.L., Tilquin, C., Wesley, F. and Bjerke, T., 1979). These investigations were combined and reported on in a book entitled Measuring Sex Stereotypes: A Thirty-Nation Study, by John E. Williams and Deborah L. Best (1982) of Wake Forest University.

The responses of the lay subjects in each category (There are two categories: 1. lay persons who have been in a church congregation which had a female pastor or assistant pastor and; 2. lay persons who have not been in a church congregation which had a female pastor or assistant

pastor.) were scored by counting, for each of the 300 adjectives, the number of subjects who indicated that the adjective was more characteristic of males than females (M frequency score) and the number who indicated that it was more characteristic of females than males (F frequency score) and the number of 'cannot says". Below is a matrix showing how the data was broken down within the categories.

	Have Had				Have Not Had			
	Masculine		Feminine		Masculine		Feminine	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
adj ₁	A ₁	B ₁	C ₁	D ₁	H ₁	I ₁	J ₁	K ₁
adj ₂	A ₂	B ₂	C ₂	D ₂	H ₂	I ₂	J ₂	K ₂
adj ₃	A ₃	B ₃	C ₃	D ₃	H ₃	I ₃	J ₃	K ₃
.
.
.
adj ₃₀₀	A ₃₀₀	B ₃₀₀	C ₃₀₀	D ₃₀₀	H ₃₀₀	I ₃₀₀	J ₃₀₀	K ₃₀₀

where

-adj₁ thru adj₃₀₀ are the first thru the 300th adjectives of the ACL.

-A₁ thru A₃₀₀ are the number of male subjects who have had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more often associated with male pastors.

-B₁ thru B₃₀₀ are the number of female subjects

who have had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more often associated with male pastors.

$-C_1$ thru C_{300} are the number of male subjects who have had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more often associated with female pastors.

$-D_1$ thru D_{300} are the number of female subjects who have had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more often associated with female pastors.

$-H_1$ thru H_{300} are the number of male subjects who have not had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more often associated with male pastors.

$-I_1$ thru I_{300} are the number of female subjects who have not had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more often associated with male pastors.

$-J_1$ thru J_{300} are the number of male subjects who have not had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more often associated with female pastors.

$-K_1$ thru K_{300} are the number of female subjects who have not had a female pastor or assistant pastor and who said adj_N was a characteristic more

often associated with female pastors.

For the purposes of this step of the data analysis, only the columns under both the "have had" and "have not had" categories, which were associated with female pastors (C_N , D_N , J_N and K_N) were considered. The data was first examined to determine the level of agreement between male and female subjects. For each category, the F frequency scores of female subjects were correlated with the F frequency scores of the male subjects across the 300 items. A product moment correlation coefficient was calculated for each category (Williams and Best, 1982).

The common variance between male and female subjects was calculated for the "have had" and "have not had" categories and this statistic was used to determine the level of significance of the correlation coefficients. This common variance indicated the significance level of the correlation coefficient (Roscoe, 1975).

In the next step of the data analysis, all of the frequency counts indicated in the above matrix were used. In each category, the frequency data for each adjective was used to compute $M\%$ and $F\%$ scores. The $M\%$ score indicated how frequently an adjective was associated with male clergy relative to its combined frequency of association with male and female clergy. Likewise, the $F\%$ score was the relative measure of how often the item was associated with female clergy. The formulas are:

$$M\% = M/(M + F)$$

$$F\% = F/(M + F)$$

and

$$M\% + F\% = 100\%$$

The 'cannot say' responses do not enter into these scores (Williams and Best, 1982).

The overall cross-category similarity of the sex stereotypes was examined by a product moment correlation coefficient computed between the F frequency scores across all 300 items. This coefficient indicated the degree of agreement in the relative frequency with which the adjectives were associated with female ministers (Williams and Best, 1982).

The common variance between "have had" and "have not had" subjects was calculated and this statistic was used to determine the level of significance of the correlation coefficients. This common variance indicated the significance of the correlation coefficient (Roscoe, 1975).

The stereotypes of the two categories of subjects were also examined by means of the ACL need profile analyses in which the items comprising each stereotype in each category were treated as the self-descriptive responses of a hypothetical person. Since the modal number of adjectives checked by persons taking the ACL in self-descriptive fashion is 100, the female stereotype in each category was defined by the 100 items with the highest

F frequencies scores. From these 100 items in each category a profile for a hypothetical subject from the "have had" category and a profile for a hypothetical person from the "have not had" category was derived (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980).

In order to compare the stereotypes with the actual self-description of the female ministers a similar procedure was followed to analyze the ministers' ACLs. First the frequency of responses for each item were determined. A correlation coefficient was calculated for the ministers compared to the "have had" subjects. Another correlation coefficient was calculated for the ministers compared to the "have not had" subjects (Williams and Best, 1982). Both of these correlation coefficients were tested in the same manner as described above to determine the level of significance of the coefficient (Roscoe, 1975).

A composite profile for women ministers was constructed by selecting the 100 items which had the greatest frequency of use. These were then treated as the responses of a hypothetical woman and converted to standard scores using the ACL female self-descriptive norms (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980).

The final phase of this analysis was to provide one graph which would contain a pictorial profile of the "have had" stereotype, the "have not had" stereotype and the self-description of women ministers. From this graph, the

reader may visually identify the similarities and the differences in the populations when considering the ACL scales.

Specific hypotheses

The specific hypotheses investigated in this proposed study were:

Hypothesis 1: Male and female lay persons who have not had a female minister will view female ministers in a similar fashion.

Hypothesis 2: Male and female lay persons who have had a female minister will view female ministers in a similar fashion.

Hypothesis 3: Lay persons who have had a female minister will view her as significantly different from lay persons who have not had a female minister.

Hypothesis 4: Lay persons who have had a female minister will view her similar to the way she views herself.

Hypothesis 5: Lay persons who have not had a female minister will view her as significantly different from the way she views herself.

Summary of methodology

All subjects were given the ACL. Lay persons were asked to respond to the ACL by indicating whether each adjective was characteristic of male ministers, characteristic of female ministers or could not be attributed to either. Female clergy were asked to respond to the ACL

in a self-descriptive manner. Correlational statistics were calculated to determine if there were significant differences between stereotypes and between each of the stereotypes and reality. Frequency of response data was used for these correlations. Composite profiles on the thirty-seven ACL scales were also constructed. These profiles were for lay persons who had not had a woman minister, lay persons who had a woman minister and women ministers themselves.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Introduction

The purpose of this research was to examine the stereotype that lay persons have of women clergy. The methodology used replicated that of Williams and Best (1982), one of the most extensive investigations into sex-trait stereotypes. The instrument used to measure these stereotypes was the Adjective Check List (Gough, 1952), a personality assessment which can be used both for self-description and for description of others.

There are five research hypotheses formulated for this research study with conclusions based upon a comparison of lay persons' description of women clergy with the description women clergy used for themselves. The lay persons were further divided into categories. One category was individuals who had had a woman clergy as pastor or assistant pastor and the other category was made up of people who had not. Within each of these categories, the male and female responses were examined separately. The statistics are reported separately by research hypothesis. Appendix E contains a table of all the data which was used for the statistical analyses which are described in the following pages.

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 states that male and female lay persons who have not had a female minister will describe female

ministers in a similar fashion. This hypothesis was tested by using the frequency counts of lay people's responses to the Adjective Check List. A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient ($r=0.863$) was calculated comparing male to female responses of lay persons who had not had a clergywoman as either pastor or assistant pastor. This high correlation coefficient shows a strong linear relationship exists between the responses given by the males of this group when compared to the responses of the females of this group. The common variance was then calculated to determine the level of significance of the correlation coefficient (Roscoe, 1975). The correlation coefficient was highly significant ($p<<.0005$). This means is that the hypothesis is accepted and the probability of an error being made by so doing is less than .05% ($p<<.0005$). Table 1 presents the data which was used for this analysis.

Table 1
Hypothesis 1: Frequency Counts for People Who Have Not
Had a Woman Clergy

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
1	4	2	48	4	12
2	7	19	49	10	23
3	11	39	50	7	22
4	6	18	51	4	4
5	13	23	52	0	6
6	26	44	53	14	31
7	4	14	54	1	11
8	7	12	55	7	19
9	8	12	56	3	9
10	14	12	57	12	22
11	17	30	58	4	15
12	5	10	59	7	16
13	22	33	60	10	25
14	9	12	61	12	22
15	2	7	62	8	8
16	24	34	63	10	21
17	9	16	64	6	7
18	26	26	65	9	20
19	3	3	66	1	3
20	6	13	67	6	13
21	8	9	68	8	11
22	3	3	69	3	6
23	3	4	70	5	7
24	13	18	71	15	24
25	13	26	72	2	5
26	3	13	73	8	12
27	3	2	74	10	14
28	20	33	75	11	25
29	19	36	76	2	3
30	21	30	77	30	48
31	16	32	78	7	20
32	8	15	79	5	11
33	4	9	80	10	22
34	10	17	81	4	11
35	0	1	82	16	36
36	6	6	83	5	15
37	2	8	84	6	14
38	10	19	85	18	23
39	12	17	86	33	56
40	2	7	87	11	17
41	3	7	88	9	13
42	9	7	89	0	7
43	9	25	90	1	3
44	9	15	91	4	16
45	19	33	92	2	6
46	7	16	93	14	22
47	8	6	94	6	14

Table 1 (Continued)

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
			143	7	7
			144	2	6
95	2	15	145	11	22
96	11	25	146	13	19
97	11	18	147	3	1
98	13	25	148	6	13
99	6	12	149	14	28
100	21	33	150	10	17
101	5	6	151	14	32
102	11	4	152	4	14
103	2	10	153	9	21
104	1	2	154	11	32
105	1	1	155	20	28
106	2	6	156	16	23
107	5	5	157	5	16
108	1	14	158	15	24
109	3	12	159	2	9
110	4	12	160	11	24
111	12	28	161	2	4
112	20	37	162	2	10
113	6	10	163	5	13
114	2	6	164	9	24
115	2	4	165	14	33
116	7	19	166	9	24
117	14	32	167	9	20
118	14	35	168	8	16
119	2	12	169	14	32
120	10	16	170	15	32
121	16	21	171	17	24
122	7	12	172	2	7
123	1	7	173	8	21
124	8	23	174	8	23
125	2	12	175	5	4
126	5	6	176	6	15
127	2	12	177	16	21
128	6	12	178	2	8
129	10	18	179	14	22
130	5	13	180	7	13
131	11	22	181	10	23
132	4	8	182	12	23
133	4	7	183	8	20
134	8	20	184	2	5
135	5	9	185	2	10
136	8	15	186	11	18
137	7	4	187	13	20
138	14	13	188	3	14
139	7	9	189	0	3
140	15	26			
141	0	1			
142	2	7			

Table 1 (Continued)

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
190	6	14	239	13	26
191	19	23	240	21	42
192	1	6	241	11	23
193	3	13	242	8	17
194	6	14	243	3	3
195	4	17	244	10	28
196	6	22	245	12	24
197	6	15	246	3	9
198	1	3	247	5	7
199	5	24	248	1	4
200	4	14	249	2	7
201	4	21	250	1	3
202	7	10	251	1	6
203	9	20	252	7	18
204	6	18	253	16	25
205	4	13	254	10	24
206	8	11	255	12	14
207	4	10	256	3	10
208	1	6	257	9	12
209	3	5	258	18	30
210	1	3	259	16	30
211	3	9	260	3	8
212	3	6	261	17	31
213	8	10	262	15	31
214	10	22	263	12	21
215	12	21	264	0	3
216	9	15	265	7	18
217	6	25	266	14	33
218	5	6	267	10	24
219	3	5	268	10	27
220	22	44	269	8	27
221	24	45	270	17	24
222	3	13	271	1	7
223	1	5	272	5	22
224	16	21	273	3	9
225	1	12	274	3	7
226	3	12	275	4	15
227	2	1	276	6	21
228	1	9	277	0	3
229	9	12	278	15	27
230	14	29	279	1	1
231	8	14	280	1	2
232	4	8	281	2	3
233	11	20	282	2	7
234	0	2	283	0	1
235	2	3	284	0	1
236	5	2	285	5	11
237	5	6	286	0	2
238	7	18	287	8	15

Table 1 (Continued)

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
288	6	9	294	10	20
289	8	11	295	5	12
290	6	25	296	2	5
291	25	30	297	7	17
292	4	13	298	2	13
293	10	13	299	12	28
			300	5	13

Hypothesis 2

Research hypothesis 2 states that male and female lay persons who have had a female minister will describe female ministers in a similar fashion. This hypothesis was tested by using the frequency counts of lay people's responses to the Adjective Check List. A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient ($r=0.870$) was calculated comparing male to female responses of lay persons who had had a clergywoman as either pastor or assistant pastor. The common variance was then calculated to determine the level of significance of the correlation coefficient (Roscoe, 1975). The correlation coefficient was highly significant ($p<<.0005$). Table 2 presents the data which was used for this analysis. This means the hypothesis was accepted.

Table 2
Hypothesis 2: Frequency Counts for People Who Have
Had a Woman Clergy

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
1	6	5	48	9	8
2	19	23	49	17	20
3	32	49	50	17	16
4	26	25	51	2	5
5	21	21	52	2	2
6	59	52	53	25	21
7	16	17	54	8	0
8	10	20	55	27	24
9	10	12	56	6	8
10	25	18	57	31	29
11	36	34	58	13	13
12	9	9	59	13	10
13	29	39	60	9	12
14	19	15	61	23	14
15	6	6	62	17	9
16	49	48	63	29	22
17	20	21	64	6	6
18	49	25	65	21	13
19	6	5	66	5	3
20	11	12	67	24	13
21	20	8	68	7	6
22	7	6	69	7	4
23	7	7	70	11	6
24	14	11	71	30	25
25	25	31	72	4	1
26	11	4	73	15	25
27	6	10	74	36	19
28	33	26	75	12	14
29	36	37	76	4	5
30	39	29	77	54	43
31	22	25	78	19	23
32	9	7	79	18	17
33	9	6	80	24	28
34	15	16	81	11	4
35	2	2	82	41	32
36	8	6	83	14	8
37	1	5	84	21	13
38	24	16	85	24	12
39	25	18	86	77	77
40	28	5	87	19	15
41	10	7	88	19	10
42	22	12	89	8	7
43	16	19	90	5	1
44	15	9	91	6	9
45	31	27	92	4	7
46	14	18	93	19	22
47	3	4	94	17	6

Table 2 (continued)

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
			143	7	7
95	20	13	144	9	7
96	24	21	145	11	14
97	20	14	146	16	12
98	26	16	147	0	1
99	15	19	148	11	6
100	37	37	149	27	19
101	7	1	150	14	16
102	20	10	151	24	23
103	15	8	152	12	8
104	5	3	153	13	19
105	1	0	154	28	28
106	13	11	155	28	21
107	4	3	156	28	17
108	12	9	157	14	17
109	22	14	158	25	23
110	11	12	159	16	11
111	19	28	160	15	13
112	28	32	161	5	1
113	15	11	162	18	15
114	6	5	163	17	14
115	7	8	164	14	25
116	17	15	165	21	27
117	27	31	166	22	30
118	29	42	167	12	19
119	16	12	168	11	15
120	12	10	169	29	23
121	21	24	170	33	30
122	17	18	171	27	24
123	4	5	172	14	12
124	17	24	173	15	15
125	10	14	174	19	23
126	2	4	175	15	9
127	15	21	176	17	16
128	11	14	177	24	13
129	14	18	178	9	8
130	13	18	179	18	28
131	16	20	180	9	12
132	8	3	181	12	19
133	15	7	182	22	25
134	14	14	183	17	15
135	8	4	184	8	4
136	13	20	185	13	10
137	4	3	186	26	25
138	9	9	187	18	12
139	11	11	188	9	6
140	20	21	189	2	3
141	4	1	190	14	19
142	12	8	191	22	19

Table 2 (continued)

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
192	7	4	241	19	17
193	6	6	242	14	13
194	20	12	243	4	7
195	10	12	244	23	26
196	9	16	245	35	33
197	17	15	246	7	5
198	4	7	247	6	4
199	22	20	248	2	3
200	4	14	249	2	4
201	9	8	250	4	0
202	16	11	251	2	4
203	18	16	252	21	15
204	18	18	253	25	25
205	12	7	254	17	18
206	20	5	255	16	15
207	6	6	256	9	6
208	12	8	257	15	10
209	7	5	258	35	30
210	3	3	259	19	26
211	10	5	260	7	9
212	9	8	261	33	32
213	9	10	262	32	25
214	16	12	263	24	17
215	18	21	264	3	4
216	22	13	265	17	11
217	15	15	266	20	22
218	7	8	267	18	21
219	5	4	268	28	12
220	41	43	269	17	13
221	44	53	270	24	17
222	12	13	271	3	4
223	2	1	272	21	18
224	29	12	273	9	8
225	7	8	274	7	8
226	7	4	275	9	10
227	2	0	276	20	22
228	4	8	277	2	4
229	12	3	278	25	21
230	29	20	279	2	2
231	17	9	280	2	5
232	7	8	281	2	2
233	22	18	282	8	14
234	1	4	283	0	3
235	3	3	284	0	4
236	7	3	285	9	13
237	6	4	286	0	1
238	16	10	287	12	15
239	21	23	288	11	7
240	35	39			

Table 2 (continued)

ADJ	MALE	FEMALE	ADJ	MALE	FEMALE
289	11	6	295	10	12
290	18	24	296	2	5
291	32	30	297	11	8
292	11	7	298	12	6
293	22	10	299	22	15
294	25	13	300	14	8

Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 states that lay persons who have had a female minister will describe her as significantly different from lay persons who have not had a female minister. The magnitude of the correlation coefficients for the first two hypotheses indicated sufficient agreement between the genders to warrant pooling the men's and women's data from each category. Williams and colleagues (Williams, J.E. and Bennett, S.M., 1975; Best, D.L., Williams, J.E. and Briggs, S.R., 1977; Best, D.L., Williams, J.E., Cloud, J.M., Davis, S.W., Robertson, L.S., Edwards, J.R., Giles, H., and Fowles, J., 1977; Williams, J.E., Giles, H., Edwards, J.R., Best, D.L., and Daws, J.T., 1977; Williams, J.E., and Best, D.L., 1977; Williams, J.E., Daws, J.T., Best, D.L., Tilquin, C., Wesley, F. and Bjerke, T., 1979; Williams, J.E. and Best, D.L., 1982) pooled men's and women's data even with correlation coefficients as low as .75, although most coefficients were in the range of .82 to .92).

In each of the two categories, people who have had a woman clergy and people who have not had a woman clergy, the male and female frequency counts were combined. A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient ($r=0.913$) was computed for these combined frequency counts and the common variance between "have had" and "have not had" subjects was calculated to determine the level of significance of the correlation coefficient. The correlation coefficient was highly

significant ($p < .0005$). This means that the hypothesis was accepted and that people who have had a woman clergy do not differ significantly in their stereotype of women clergy from people who have not had a woman clergy. Table 3 is a listing of the data used for testing hypothesis 3.

Table 3
 Hypothesis 3: Frequency Counts for People Who Have
 Had a Woman Clergy Versus Those Who Have Not

ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT	ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT
1	11	6	48	17	16
2	42	26	49	37	33
3	81	50	50	33	29
4	51	24	51	7	8
5	42	36	52	4	6
6	111	70	53	46	45
7	33	18	54	8	12
8	30	19	55	51	26
9	22	20	56	14	12
10	43	26	57	60	34
11	70	47	58	26	19
12	18	15	59	23	23
13	68	55	60	21	35
14	34	21	61	37	34
15	12	9	62	26	16
16	97	58	63	51	31
17	41	25	64	12	13
18	74	52	65	34	29
19	11	6	66	8	4
20	23	19	67	37	19
21	28	17	68	13	19
22	13	6	69	11	9
23	14	7	70	17	12
24	25	31	71	55	39
25	56	39	72	5	7
26	15	16	73	40	20
27	16	5	74	55	24
28	59	53	75	26	36
29	73	55	76	9	5
30	68	51	77	97	78
31	47	48	78	42	27
32	16	23	79	35	16
33	15	13	80	52	32
34	31	27	81	15	15
35	4	1	82	73	52
36	14	12	83	22	20
37	6	10	84	34	20
38	40	29	85	36	41
39	43	29	86	154	89
40	33	9	87	34	28
41	17	10	88	29	22
42	34	16	89	15	7
43	35	34	90	6	4
44	24	24	91	15	20
45	58	52	92	11	8
46	32	23	93	41	36
47	7	14	94	23	20

Table 3 (continued)

ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT	ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT
95	33	17	144	16	8
96	45	36	145	25	33
97	34	29	146	28	32
98	42	38	147	1	4
99	34	18	148	17	19
100	74	54	149	46	42
101	8	11	150	30	27
102	30	15	151	47	46
103	23	12	152	20	18
104	8	3	153	32	30
105	1	2	154	56	43
106	24	8	155	49	48
107	7	10	156	45	39
108	21	15	157	31	21
109	36	15	158	48	39
110	23	16	159	27	11
111	47	40	160	28	35
112	60	57	161	6	6
113	26	16	162	33	12
114	11	8	163	31	18
115	15	6	164	39	33
116	32	26	165	48	47
117	58	46	166	52	33
118	71	49	167	31	29
119	28	14	168	26	24
120	22	26	169	52	46
121	45	37	170	63	47
122	35	19	171	51	41
123	9	8	172	26	9
124	41	31	173	30	29
125	24	14	174	42	31
126	6	11	175	24	9
127	36	14	176	33	21
128	25	18	177	37	37
129	32	28	178	17	10
130	31	18	179	46	36
131	36	33	180	21	20
132	11	12	181	31	33
133	22	11	182	47	35
134	28	28	183	32	28
135	12	14	184	12	7
136	33	23	185	23	12
137	7	11	186	51	29
138	18	27	187	30	33
139	22	16	188	15	17
140	41	41	189	5	3
141	5	1	190	33	20
142	20	9	191	41	42
143	14	14			

Table 3 (continued)

ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT	ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT
192	11	7	241	36	34
193	12	16	242	27	25
194	32	20	243	11	6
195	22	21	244	49	38
196	25	28	245	68	36
197	32	21	246	12	12
198	11	4	247	10	12
199	42	29	248	5	5
200	18	18	249	6	9
201	17	25	250	4	4
202	27	17	251	6	7
203	34	29	252	36	25
204	36	24	253	50	41
205	19	17	254	35	34
206	25	19	255	31	26
207	12	14	256	15	13
208	20	7	257	25	21
209	12	8	258	65	48
210	6	4	259	45	46
211	15	12	260	16	11
212	17	9	261	65	48
213	19	18	262	57	46
214	28	32	263	41	33
215	39	33	264	7	3
216	35	24	265	28	25
217	30	31	266	42	47
218	15	11	267	39	34
219	9	8	268	40	37
220	84	66	269	30	35
221	97	69	270	41	41
222	25	16	271	7	8
223	3	6	272	39	27
224	41	37	273	17	12
225	15	13	274	15	10
226	11	15	275	19	19
227	2	3	276	42	27
228	12	10	277	6	3
229	15	21	278	46	42
230	49	43	279	4	2
231	26	22	280	7	3
232	15	12	281	4	5
233	40	31	282	22	9
234	5	2	283	3	1
235	6	5	284	4	1
236	10	7	285	22	16
237	10	11	286	1	2
238	26	25	287	27	23
239	44	39	288	18	15
240	74	63			

Table 3 (continued)

ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT	ADJ	HAVE	HAVE NOT
289	17	19	295	22	17
290	42	31	296	7	7
291	62	55	297	19	24
292	18	17	298	18	15
293	32	23	299	37	40
294	38	30	300	22	18

Hypothesis 4

Research hypothesis 4 states that lay persons who have had a female minister will view her similar to the way she views herself. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the frequency counts for the people who have had a woman clergy with the frequency counts of the women clergy as they responded to the Adjective Check List in a self-descriptive manner.

A Pearson product moment correlation coefficient ($r=0.429$) was computed for this data and the common variance was calculated ($p < .0005$). Although this correlation coefficient is low compared to those found for the first three hypotheses, these two groups of subjects do tend to use the same adjectives to describe female ministers although with a much lower linear relationship in their responses than occurred in the first three hypotheses. This means that this hypothesis is accepted. Table 4 is a listing of the data used to test this hypothesis.

Table 4
Hypothesis 4: Frequency Counts for People Who Have
Had a Woman Clergy Versus Women Clergy

ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY
1	11	10	48	17	8
2	42	73	49	37	69
3	81	70	50	33	48
4	51	42	51	7	2
5	42	4	52	4	0
6	111	73	53	46	66
7	33	14	54	8	10
8	30	62	55	51	28
9	22	6	56	14	1
10	43	39	57	60	15
11	70	26	58	26	30
12	18	2	59	23	26
13	68	76	60	21	76
14	34	10	61	37	13
15	12	2	62	26	3
16	97	39	63	51	68
17	41	70	64	12	28
18	74	70	65	34	50
19	11	4	66	8	7
20	23	5	67	37	6
21	28	1	68	13	10
22	13	1	69	11	5
23	14	2	70	17	20
24	25	12	71	55	17
25	56	42	72	5	4
26	15	76	73	40	36
27	16	3	74	55	3
28	59	29	75	26	60
29	73	23	76	9	6
30	68	30	77	97	38
31	47	63	78	42	61
32	16	45	79	35	34
33	15	66	80	52	65
34	31	34	81	15	2
35	4	1	82	73	21
36	14	1	83	22	70
37	6	1	84	34	8
38	40	7	85	36	12
39	43	40	86	154	61
40	33	2	87	34	0
41	17	67	88	29	11
42	34	5	89	15	0
43	35	74	90	6	28
44	24	14	91	15	41
45	58	72	92	11	18
46	32	32	93	41	63
47	7	11	94	23	9

Table 4 (continued)

ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY
95	33	47	144	16	6
96	45	77	145	25	66
97	34	2	146	28	41
98	42	1	147	1	6
99	34	55	148	17	63
100	74	55	149	46	2
101	8	1	150	30	30
102	30	49	151	47	10
103	23	65	152	20	18
104	8	0	153	32	30
105	1	10	154	56	27
106	24	27	155	49	12
107	7	0	156	45	2
108	21	3	157	31	62
109	36	19	158	48	10
110	23	64	159	27	3
111	47	79	160	28	25
112	60	8	161	6	0
113	26	78	162	33	27
114	11	0	163	31	8
115	15	57	164	39	51
116	32	29	165	48	54
117	58	55	166	52	39
118	71	64	167	31	53
119	28	1	168	26	31
120	22	26	169	52	13
121	45	29	170	63	41
122	35	70	171	51	37
123	9	0	172	26	6
124	41	29	173	30	53
125	24	49	174	42	50
126	6	0	175	24	4
127	36	44	176	33	26
128	25	19	177	37	63
129	32	8	178	17	18
130	31	45	179	46	43
131	36	69	180	21	21
132	11	80	181	31	61
133	22	6	182	47	50
134	28	63	183	32	26
135	12	4	184	12	4
136	33	37	185	23	15
137	7	0	186	51	51
138	18	2	187	30	2
139	22	14	188	15	1
140	41	66	189	5	1
141	5	9	190	33	35
142	20	15	191	41	23
143	14	41			

Table 4 (continued)

ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY
192	11	1	241	36	22
193	12	39	242	27	10
194	32	2	243	11	2
195	22	53	244	49	44
196	25	63	245	68	33
197	32	15	246	12	59
198	11	1	247	10	49
199	42	60	248	5	4
200	18	31	249	6	0
201	17	72	250	4	0
202	27	3	251	6	60
203	34	27	252	36	22
204	36	53	253	50	5
205	19	72	254	35	11
206	25	22	255	31	1
207	12	3	256	15	2
208	20	5	257	25	5
209	12	11	258	65	64
210	6	1	259	45	52
211	15	8	260	16	0
212	17	8	261	65	33
213	19	62	262	57	9
214	28	47	263	41	15
215	39	16	264	7	0
216	35	8	265	28	43
217	30	14	266	42	67
218	15	1	267	39	17
219	9	2	268	40	4
220	84	67	269	30	62
221	97	39	270	41	8
222	25	55	271	7	20
223	3	2	272	39	52
224	41	30	273	17	13
225	15	0	274	15	3
226	11	26	275	19	12
227	2	0	276	42	28
228	12	4	277	6	0
229	15	4	278	46	72
230	49	17	279	4	1
231	26	7	280	7	1
232	15	10	281	4	1
233	40	73	282	22	19
234	5	0	283	3	0
235	6	5	284	4	0
236	10	0	285	22	3
237	10	1	286	1	0
238	26	4	287	27	23
239	44	49	288	18	0
240	74	33			

Table 4 (continued)

ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVE	CLERGY
289	17	1	295	22	50
290	42	50	296	7	46
291	62	76	297	19	2
292	18	10	298	18	34
293	32	2	299	37	19
294	38	1	300	22	12

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 states that lay persons who have not had a female minister will view her as significantly different from the way she views herself. For this hypothesis the frequency counts for women clergy were correlated with the frequency counts of people who had not had a woman clergy. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient ($r=0.458$) was then used to compute the common variance between these two groups of subjects ($p \ll .0005$). Although this correlation coefficient is also low, this hypothesis is also rejected and suggests the same conclusion which was reached in hypothesis 3. Table 5 is a listing of the data used for this analysis.

Table 5
Hypothesis 5: Frequency Counts for People Who Have
Not Had a Woman Clergy Versus Women Clergy

ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY
1	6	10	48	16	8
2	26	73	49	33	69
3	50	70	50	29	48
4	24	42	51	8	2
5	36	4	52	6	0
6	70	73	53	45	66
7	18	14	54	12	10
8	19	62	55	26	28
9	20	6	56	12	1
10	26	39	57	34	15
11	47	26	58	19	30
12	15	2	59	23	26
13	55	76	60	35	76
14	21	10	61	34	13
15	9	2	62	16	3
16	58	39	63	31	68
17	25	70	64	13	28
18	52	70	65	29	50
19	6	4	66	4	7
20	19	5	67	19	6
21	17	1	68	19	10
22	6	1	69	9	5
23	7	2	70	12	20
24	31	12	71	39	17
25	39	42	72	7	4
26	16	76	73	20	36
27	5	3	74	24	3
28	53	29	75	36	60
29	55	23	76	5	6
30	51	30	77	78	38
31	48	63	78	27	61
32	23	45	79	16	34
33	13	66	80	32	65
34	27	34	81	15	2
35	1	1	82	52	21
36	12	1	83	20	70
37	10	1	84	20	8
38	29	7	85	41	12
39	29	40	86	89	61
40	9	2	87	28	0
41	10	67	88	22	11
42	16	5	89	7	0
43	34	74	90	4	28
44	24	14	91	20	41
45	52	72	92	8	18
46	23	32	93	36	63
47	14	11	94	20	9

Table 5 (continued)

ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY
95	17	47	144	8	6
96	36	77	145	33	66
97	29	2	146	32	41
98	38	1	147	4	6
99	18	55	148	19	63
100	54	55	149	42	2
101	11	1	150	27	30
102	15	49	151	46	10
103	12	65	152	18	18
104	3	0	153	30	30
105	2	10	154	43	27
106	8	27	155	48	12
107	10	0	156	39	2
108	15	3	157	21	62
109	15	19	158	39	10
110	16	64	159	11	3
111	40	79	160	35	25
112	57	8	161	6	0
113	16	78	162	12	27
114	8	0	163	18	8
115	6	57	164	33	51
116	26	29	165	47	54
117	46	55	166	33	39
118	49	64	167	29	53
119	14	1	168	24	31
120	26	26	169	46	13
121	37	29	170	47	41
122	19	70	171	41	37
123	8	0	172	9	6
124	31	29	173	29	53
125	14	49	174	31	50
126	11	0	175	9	4
127	14	44	176	21	26
128	18	19	177	37	63
129	28	8	178	10	18
130	18	45	179	36	43
131	33	69	180	20	21
132	12	80	181	33	61
133	11	6	182	35	50
134	28	63	183	28	26
135	14	4	184	7	4
136	23	37	185	12	15
137	11	0	186	29	51
138	27	2	187	33	2
139	16	14	188	17	1
140	41	66	189	3	1
141	1	9	190	20	35
142	9	15	191	42	23
143	14	41			

Table 5 (continued)

ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY
192	7	1	241	34	22
193	16	39	242	25	10
194	20	2	243	6	2
195	21	53	244	38	44
196	28	63	245	36	33
197	21	15	246	12	59
198	4	1	247	12	49
199	29	60	248	5	4
200	18	31	249	9	0
201	25	72	250	4	0
202	17	3	251	7	60
203	29	27	252	25	22
204	24	53	253	41	5
205	17	72	254	34	11
206	19	22	255	26	1
207	14	3	256	13	2
208	7	5	257	21	5
209	8	11	258	48	64
210	4	1	259	46	52
211	12	8	260	11	0
212	9	8	261	48	33
213	18	62	262	46	9
214	32	47	263	33	15
215	33	16	264	3	0
216	24	8	265	25	43
217	31	14	266	47	67
218	11	1	267	34	17
219	8	2	268	37	4
220	66	67	269	35	62
221	69	39	270	41	8
222	16	55	271	8	20
223	6	2	272	27	52
224	37	30	273	12	13
225	13	0	274	10	3
226	15	26	275	19	12
227	3	0	276	27	28
228	10	4	277	3	0
229	21	4	278	42	72
230	43	17	279	2	1
231	22	7	280	3	1
232	12	10	281	5	1
233	31	73	282	9	19
234	2	0	283	1	0
235	5	5	284	1	0
236	7	0	285	16	3
237	11	1	286	2	0
238	25	4	287	23	23
239	39	49	288	15	0
240	63	33	289	19	1

Table 5 (continued)

ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY	ADJ	HAVEN'T	CLERGY
290	31	50	296	7	46
291	55	76	297	24	2
292	17	10	298	15	34
293	23	2	299	40	19
294	30	1	300	18	12
295	17	50			

Analysis by Adjective Check List scales.

Table 6 lists the standard scores on each of the thirty-seven scales of the ACL. An examination of this table or the graph which may be found in Appendix G, reveals scales on which there is a wide discrepancy between the lay people and the women clergy. The first of these occurs in the area of favorable adjectives checked. Although all three groups checked about the same number of adjectives, the lay people marked fewer favorable adjectives than did the clergy women and the lay people checked more unfavorable adjectives than the clergy women. An interpretation of these results would be that the clergy women have a positive self-image but the lay people have a negative image of the clergy women.

The next subset of scales are the Need Scales. These are drawn from Murray's need-pressure theory of personality. Here the Need for Achievement score is higher (61) for clergy women's self descriptions than for lay people (41 and 43). This may be interpreted to mean that the clergy women see themselves as more intelligent, hard-working and involved than the lay people see the clergy women.

The Need for Dominance, Need for Endurance, Need for Order and Need for Intraception scales have similar differences in the scores. Clergy women see themselves as more forceful, strong-willed, persevering, persistent, self-controlled, responsible organized, sincere, dependable,

neat, reflective, serious, and conscientious than the lay people see the women clergy.

In the area of Need for Nurturance, there is little difference among the three groups; however, it is interesting to note that the score of those who have not had a woman clergy is closer to how the women clergy describe themselves than that of the lay people who have had a woman clergy. Perhaps those who had a woman clergy were disappointed that she was not more nurturing and this score is a reflection of that disappointment. The differences among the scores for Need for Affiliation, Need for Heterosexuality and Need for Exhibition are also not great.

On Need for Autonomy and Need for Aggression there is a wide gap between the lay people who have not had a woman clergy and the women clergy themselves and the lay people who have had a woman clergy fall in between. These are areas in which attitudes may have changed once the lay people experienced a woman in the pulpit. On Need for Change the scores are again close, but on Need for Succorance and Need for Abasement there are again wide gaps in the scores. Here the lay people describe the women clergy as more trusting, guileless, naive, submissive, and self-effacing than the women clergy describe themselves. On Need for Deference, lay people who have not had a woman clergy see them as more conscientious, dependable, persevering, and subordinate than either the lay people who have

had a woman clergy or the women clergy themselves. It would seem that the lay people who had not had a woman clergy had very high expectations.

The next group of scales are called the Topical Scales. These contain measures of various facets of personality and social dispositions not drawn from any single theory or unitary context. On the first two scales within this category, Counseling Readiness and Self-Control, the scores are not very different. On Self-Confidence, Personal Adjustment, Ideal Self, Creative Personality, Military Leadership and Masculine Attributes, there is a wide gap between the lay scores and the clergy women scores. Clergy women see themselves as more assertive, affiliative, outgoing, persistent, actionist, socially poised, clever, oriented toward duties and obligations, masculine and forceful than the lay people see them. In addition, the women see themselves as having a more positive attitude toward life than the lay people see them as having. The high score on the Ideal Self Scale indicates a close correspondence between ideal and real self. In the area of feminine attributes there is close agreement among all of the groups.

The Transactional Analysis Scales are the next subset of scales. These are scales for the five ego states of Eric Berne's Transactional Analysis. On the critical parent scale, all groups score close together, but on the nurturing

parent scale, women clergy describe themselves as more appreciative, forgiving and soft-hearted than the lay people. The women clergy also score higher on the Adult Scale and the Free Child Scale than the lay people's descriptions, implying that they see themselves as more alert, confident, practical, steady, energetic, headstrong and talkative than the lay people. On the Adapted Child Scale, the relationship shifts. In this case the lay people see the women clergy as more dependent, inhibited, touchy and worrying than the women clergy see themselves.

The next group of scales are the Origence-Intellectence Scales, based on Welsh's structural dimensions of personality. The only agreement among all three groups is on the Low Origence and Low Intellectence scale. Below is a description of what characteristics may be associated with each of these scales.

1. High Origence, Low Intellectence (A-1) - adventurous, easygoing, relaxed and sophisticated.
2. High Origence, High Intellectence (A-2) - complicated, hostile, individualistic, original and reflective.
3. Low Origence, Low Intellectence (A-3) - appreciative, kind, pleasant and wholesome.
4. Low Origence, High Intellectence (A-4) - clear-thinking, efficient, intelligent, logical, persistent and stubborn.

It seems that everyone is in agreement that women clergy are appreciative, kind, pleasant and wholesome.

In general, the lay people appear to describe the women clergy in a more negative manner than the women clergy describe themselves. There appears to be little agreement when comparing the lay and clergy populations. When comparing the two lay populations, there appears to be agreement.

Table 6: Composite results converted to standard scores

SCALE	HAVEN'T HAD	HAVE HAD	CLERGY
Number Checked	52	50	51
Favorable	40	38	71
Unfavorable	54	50	39
Communality	31	28	57
Achievement	41	43	61
Dominance	30	37	61
Endurance	48	44	62
Order	49	42	57
Intraception	45	43	69
Nurtutance	58	55	60
Affiliation	52	54	64
Heterosexuality	54	54	59
Exhibition	36	41	52
Autonomy	22	43	51
Aggression	34	43	47
Change	50	62	52
Succorance	70	75	42
Abasement	76	66	41
Deference	65	52	52
Counseling Readiness	49	46	37
Self-Control	54	43	52
Self-Confidence	31	41	67
Personal Adjustment	42	39	65
Ideal Self	48	45	70
Creative Personality	41	49	64
Military Leadership	41	33	60
Masculine Attributes	27	31	52
Feminine Attributes	65	61	57
Critical Parent	44	44	50
Nurturing Parent	46	42	63
Adult	35	32	63
Free Child	42	50	63
Adapted Child	62	65	32
Hi.Org.-Low Intell.	60	68	35
Hi.Org.-Hi. Intell.	58	65	46
Low Org.-Low Intell.	48	48	52
Low Org.-Hi. Intell.	42	39	56

Summary

The research results presented in this chapter on the five hypotheses, indicated that:

Hypothesis 1. There were no significant differences

between the responses of males and females who had not had a woman clergy.

Hypothesis 2. There were no significant differences between the responses of males and females who had had a woman clergy.

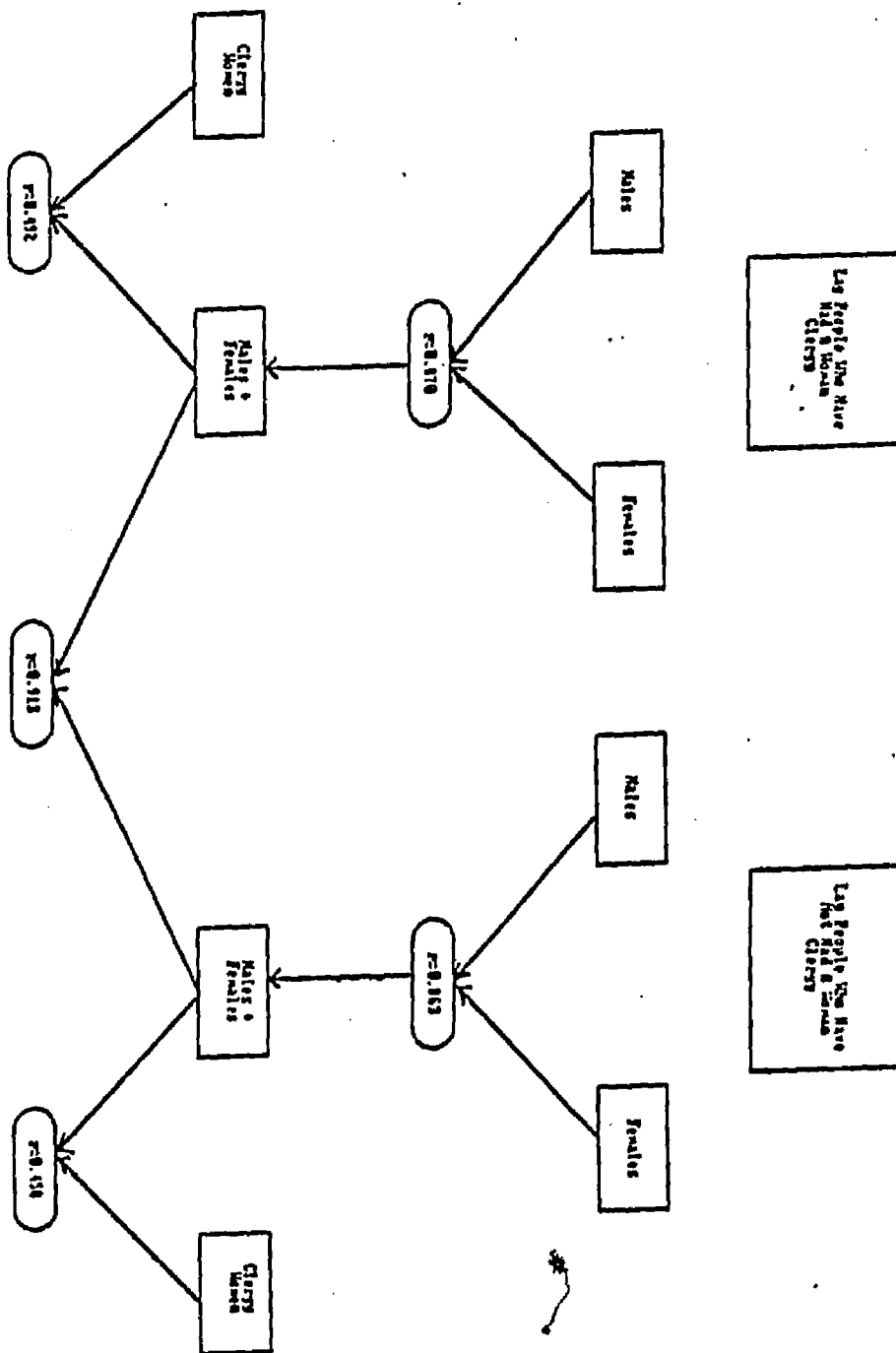
Hypothesis 3. There were no significant differences between the responses of people who had had a woman clergy and people who had not.

Hypothesis 4. There were significant differences between the responses of people who had not had a woman clergy and the responses of the women clergy themselves.

Hypothesis 5. There were significant differences between the responses of people who had had a woman clergy and the responses of the women clergy themselves.

To summarize even further, the stereotypes held by all lay people, male and female, both those who have had a woman as pastor or assistant pastor and those who have not, are very similar. That stereotype is significantly different from the way women clergy describe themselves. Figure 1 gives a visual representation of the process used and the results obtained.

Figure 1: Flow chart of data analysis process



In an attempt to define the stereotype that lay people have of women clergy, a composite profile was constructed from the lay people's responses to the ACL. Again a technique used by Williams (Williams and Best, 1982) was utilized. In each category, the 100 adjectives with the highest frequency counts were used to create a response to the ACL which would represent the stereotypic clergy woman (see Appendix F for a list of the adjectives used). In addition the same procedure was used for the clergy women to create a profile which would represent clergy women as they see themselves. A graph of these profiles may be found in Appendix G. The following narrative is the result of interpreting these composite adjectival descriptions with the Collins-Adair Interpretation System for the ACL (1987).

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY
AS DESCRIBED BY LAY PEOPLE

Your Tendencies to
Productiveness

You appear to experience great difficulty in setting aside roles you learned in childhood. This is most often demonstrated through your lack of independence, and the fact that you often feel unsure in coping with the demands of adult life. Also, you fear direct confrontation and avoid it assiduously. To compensate you seek satisfaction in daydreams and fantasies and not in the threatening context of everyday life. Usually you are relaxed and responsive but not always effective in coping with the demands of work and the responsibilities of adulthood. YOU TEND TO BE FREE-WHEELING AND ABLE TO CHANGE WITH THE TIMES. OCCASIONALLY INFLUENCED BY ILLOGICAL CONCERNS, YOU DELIGHT IN INFORMALITY AND JUST "LETTING GO". (Section in capitol letters was part of the profile for those who had a woman clergy).

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY 137
AS DESCRIBED BY THEMSELVES

Your Tendencies to
Productiveness

You are hardworking, goal directed, and determined to do well. Your motivation to succeed seems to lie less in competitive drives than in an insistent need to live up to your own high and socially commendable criteria of performance. Others acknowledge the energy and enterprise you display. However, they also see elements of coercion, impatience, and self-aggrandizement in your actions. Working conscientiously, you have a strong sense of duty and avoid playfulness and things non-essential. For you, conservation of the tried and true is more important than the discovery of the new and different. Reliable, ambitious, and work-centered you are known to be self-disciplined and attentive to duties and obligations. This self-discipline is admirable but may have been obtained at the cost of spontaneity, jollity and the ability to enjoy respite and tranquility. The expression of love, affection and tenderness makes you uncomfortable. While autonomous and effective, you are often inconsiderate. In achieving independence, you have suppressed your own personal feelings and ignored those of significant others. You seek power, success and tangible accomplishments without worry in a world that is free of subjective concern.

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY
AS DESCRIBED BY LAY PEOPLE

Your Tendencies to
Assertiveness

Typically submitting to the wishes and demands of others and avoiding conflict at all costs, you ask for little in life. Your interpersonal world is viewed with worry and foreboding and you usually view others as more effective and deserving than yourself. Usually you lack confidence in yourself, preferring to be on the periphery of a group enterprise and shunning situations calling for competition or the assertion of self. LACKING CONFIDENCE IN YOURSELF YOU SHRINK FROM ANY ENCOUNTER IN WHICH YOU WILL BE EITHER TOO VISIBLE OR 'ON STAGE'. YOU ARE A CAUTIOUS INDIVIDUAL WHO HOLDS BACK AVOIDING CONFLICT AND GIVING IN TO ESCAPE INTERPERSONAL STRESS OR CONTROVERSY. INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT IS AVOIDED AT ALMOST ANY COST. FEW IF ANY DEMANDS ARE MADE OF OTHERS. IN YOUR INTERPERSONAL LIFE YOU ARE FORBEARING AND CONCILIATORY. HOWEVER, THIS DOES NOT INDICATE COMFORT AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF OTHERS' BEHAVIOR, JUST THE INABILITY TO TOLERATE THE INTERPERSONAL CONFLICT WHICH WOULD OCCUR IF YOU SPOKE OUT. TIMID AND FEARFUL, TENDING TO GIVE UP EASY AND WITHDRAW, YOU HAVE DIFFICULTY MOBILIZING YOUR RESOURCES AND TAKING ACTION. BEING EASILY THREATENED, SHY AND INHIBITED BOTH YOUR VOCATIONAL AND INTERPERSONAL OPPORTUNITIES ARE RESTRICTED. (The section in capitols is from the profile of people who have not had a woman clergy).

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY 138
AS DESCRIBED BY THEMSELVES

Your Tendencies to
Assertiveness

Being strong-willed, ambitious, determined and a forceful individual, you are typically free of self-doubt in the pursuit of goals, and little, if at all, inhibited by the disapproval or opposition of others. You like to direct the actions of others toward the attainment of socially worthy objectives, and can usually do so without being viewed as domineering. An initiator who confidently strives to achieve goals. You are not above cutting a few corners to create a good impression. Observers see you as assertive, enterprising and self-confident. Ebullient and enterprising, you are not at all inclined to exercise self-restraint or to postpone gratifications. While others may see you as entertaining as you sweep them along in the rush of enjoyment (whether they like it or not!) they may also view you as aggressive.

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY
AS DESCRIBED BY LAY PEOPLE

Your Tendencies to
Sociability

You may fit either of the two following descriptions, depending upon your circumstances: (a) you may be dispirited, self-denying, fearful of the future and easily subdued by the vicissitudes of life. This is likely to be an authentic self-evaluation where you describe yourself as being deficient in socially desirable attributes; or (b) you may be skeptical, counter-active in style, sharp tongued, and quick to discern and point out incongruities, flaws, and blameworthy shortcomings in the behavior of others. This is likely to be the case when you are in defiant rejection of the niceties of convention where you do not care what others think of you. ANXIOUS, HIGH-STRUNG, AND MOODY, YOU AVOID CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS WITH OTHERS AND WORRY ABOUT YOUR ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THE STRESSES AND STRAINS OF YOUR LIFE. DISSATISFIED AND PESSIMISTIC, YOU APPEAR TO OTHERS AS DEFENSIVE, PREOCCUPIED, AND EASILY DISTRACTED. (The section in capitals is from the profile of people who have had a woman clergy).

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY 139
AS DESCRIBED BY THEMSELVES

Your Tendencies to
Sociability

You are adaptable, outgoing and protective of those close to you. You remain both cheerful in the face of adversity and a productive worker. When asked to do so, you are known to describe yourself accurately. A genuine love of your fellow human beings results in cooperative and tactful social behavior. Relationships are valued and by temperament, you are both sympathetic and supportive of others. You are comfortable in social situations because you really like people and adapt readily to the changing demands of group process. Not given to soul-searching, you tend to gloss over inner complexities, preferring to take people at face value. With a positive attitude toward life, you enjoy the company of others, feel capable of initiating activities and carrying them through to conclusion. It is probable that you do not thoroughly understand yourself, but you are comfortable and have a high ability to 'love and work' which was proposed by Freud as the critical criteria of personal adjustment. Continuity and the preservation of old values are important to you. Rapid changes and shifts in convention are threatening and difficult for you to accept. You seek to sustain relationships and to foster feelings of courtesy and respect between parent and child, the young and old, the advantaged and disadvantaged - in fact

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY
AS DESCRIBED BY LAY PEOPLE

Your Tendencies to
Individuality

(In this category the profiles were completely different for lay people who had a woman clergy and for lay people who had not had a woman clergy. The first profile will be for people who have not had a woman clergy.)

You prefer anonymity and freedom from conflict over the winning of interpersonal victories. You are conscientious, unassuming and patient, deferring to others without loss of self-respect. Conventional values and life styles are preferable and you seek security in the tried and true, often avoiding risks. Being directed by a valued other is comforting to you as you hesitate to make decisions or take responsibility. (The next section is the profile for people who have had a woman clergy.) WITH A HIGH DEGREE OF CONFIDENCE IN YOURSELF, YOU COMPREHEND PROBLEMS AND SITUATIONS RAPIDLY AND INCISIVELY. YOU WELCOME THE CHALLENGES FOUND IN COMPLEXITY AND DISORDER. YOU TAKE PLEASURE IN CHANGE AND VARIETY AND ARE TYPICALLY PERCEPTIVE,

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY 140
AS DESCRIBED BY THEMSELVES

between any two persons. Others see you as helpful, loyal, genuinely responsible and a good person from whom to obtain counsel. You appear to have settled comfortably into the role of a gentle, unambitious, other-directed helpmate. More or less happy with your self as a person, you feel little need for counseling.

Your Tendencies to
Individuality

The basis for behavior, yours and others, concerns you. Your desire to understand behavior causes people to see you as logical, foresighted, complex, internally differentiated and valuing intellectual and cognitive matters. You are venturesome, aesthetically reactive, clever and quick to respond. People recognize in you intellectual characteristics such as breadth of interests, cognitive ability and ideational fluency.

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY
AS DESCRIBED BY LAY PEOPLE

SPONTANEOUS AND AESTHETICALLY-MINDED. ALWAYS SELF SUFFICIENT, YOU ARE KNOWN TO BE STRONG-WILLED, SENSITIVE, INDIFFERENT TO CONVENTION, AND MUCH ANNOYED BY THOSE WHO ARE UNINSIGHTFUL, INTELLECTUALLY MALADROIT OR LACKING PERSPICACITY. THOUGH A VERY TALENTED PERSON, YOU ARE NO MORE COMFORTABLE WITH YOUR OWN NEEDS THAN THOSE OF PERSONS YOU KNOW. YOU AVOID INTIMACY BASED ON CANDID SHARING OF EMOTIONALLY SIGNIFICANT FEELINGS, SENSING IT AS A DANGEROUS THING TO DO.

Your Perception of Self

Most often you feel inadequate to cope with stress and crises, tending generally to avoid confrontation. You may retreat into fantasy on occasion. Others are seen as stronger and more effective than you and you frequently seek their support. Being sympathetic and considerate, you elicit positive reactions from others and in turn treat them with respect. You are cooperative, appreciative, cheerful, warm and value intimacy and mutuality in relationships with others.

Your Tendencies to
Submissiveness

A conflict is apparent in that you seek adventure and activity while remaining sophisticated, and relaxed. Academic underachievement is probable as life, eroticism, and action interfere with intellectual activity. Creative, independent spontaneous behavior is more important than conformance. Being uncertain of

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY 141
AS DESCRIBED BY THEMSELVES

Your Perception of Self

Dependable, tactful, and tolerant, you are easily offended.

Your Tendencies to
Submissiveness

Although you can be characterized as being high in interpersonal effectiveness and as having highly developed goal attaining abilities, you tend to have a bit of narcissistic ego inflation. Never the less, people see you as well-adjusted. A strong commitment to duties and obligations with an avoidance of deviation from

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY
AS DESCRIBED BY LAY PEOPLE

others, you may express your ambivalence in deviant ways. You tend to be contentious and defensive, finding it difficult to conform to the everyday expectations of interpersonal life. Being gentle, kind, considerate, and fatalistic about personal misfortune or adversity. You are vulnerable to attack and aggression and willingly substitute day dreams and fantasies for more direct or tangible experience. VARIETY AND CHANGE ARE ATTRACTIVE TO YOU WHILE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY DESIGNED PLANS IS UNPLEASANT AND DIFFICULT FOR YOU TO DO. YOU CARRY THINGS TO EXTREMES TO SEE IF RULES CAN BE BENT OR BROKEN. (The section in capitols is from the profile of people who have had a woman clergy).

PROFILE OF WOMEN CLERGY 142
AS DESCRIBED BY THEMSELVES

an agreed upon course of action makes you appear rigid. You experience displeasure when others or events interfere with your plans. You work hard to see that consensual goals are attained, acting as a steady influence upon others. Valuing good organization and careful planning you seek to avoid emotionalism but become dissatisfied with yourself and others when interfered with. You tend to be a prudent person who is vigilant and programmed. Your ability to plan ahead allows you to avoid intemperance and undue expression of impulse. Your desire for order leads you to have strong opinions on ethical issues, looking askance at those who violate societal conventions.

Chapter 5: Summary, Conclusions, and
Implications for Future Research

Summary

Views about women are changing and becoming more positive, but research indicates that women are still expected to behave differently from men. In non-traditional careers, the research reports are varied; however, women who choose these non-traditional roles are often not being treated as competent professionals. Experts in the field of theology and sociology are generally in agreement that there is discrimination against women who choose the ordained ministry as a profession (Almquist and Angrist, 1970; Anders, 1983; Bock, 1967; Campbell, 1985; Ekhardt and Goldsmith, 1984; Kanter, 1977a; Lehman, 1981; Lehman, 1985; Minter, 1984; Minter, 1985; Scobey, 1986; Zikmund, 1982). This discrimination prevails even though there is evidence that these women are highly competent.

Women clergy view themselves as competent in their ministries and are rated as quite competent by their lay leaders on objective measures. Despite this congregations expect women clergy to be very different from the way the women actually are and are resistant to hiring women clergy.

A study of stereotypes is a study of the language of prejudice, for stereotypes provide a common language for prejudiced persons. Stereotypes function to reinforce the beliefs and disbeliefs of the users, and to furnish the

basis for actions of prejudiced persons.

Sex-trait stereotypes do exist within our society and these stereotypes have changed very little over the last 30 years. In perhaps the most extensive study of sex-trait stereotypes (Williams and Best, 1982) , the instrument used to measure stereotypes was the Adjective Check List (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980). This checklist is made up of adjectives, words used to denote a quality of a noun. By examining which words people use to describe women in general and men in general, Williams and Best were able to determine the stereotype that the people studied had of women and men. Williams and Best conclude that stereotypes change very slowly and until they are changed some people will still use their own stereotypes to judge all members of the group about which they have the stereotype.

In this research, the methodology of Williams and Best was used to determine the stereotype that lay people had of women clergy. There were two sample populations used: the first was male and female lay persons who were members of adult Sunday School classes within their respective churches; and, the second was composed of women who had been ordained or licensed within their denominations and who had served as either a pastor or an assistant pastor. The lay sample was divided into two categories of people: those who had never been members of a church congregation which had a female pastor or assistant pastor, and those who had been

members of a church congregation which had a female pastor or assistant pastor.

The lay persons were asked to complete the Adjective Check List (Gough and Heilbrun, 1980), indicating whether each adjective was more often associated with male clergy, female clergy or neither. The women clergy were asked to use the same instrument to describe themselves. The analysis of the research data was similar to that used by Williams and Best (1982) when examining sex-trait stereotypes in various countries. The results of the ACL were compared and contrasted by statistical means to determine if there were significant differences between the populations.

The results presented in chapter 4 indicated that the stereotypes held by all lay people, male and female, those who have had a woman as pastor or assistant pastor and those who have not, were very similar. That stereotype was different from the way women clergy described themselves. A summary of the results by hypotheses follows.

Hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 states that male and female lay persons who have not had a female minister will view female ministers in a similar fashion. One might expect there to be some differences in the ways men and women perceive women clergy, but this did not prove to be the case.

Hypothesis 2. Research hypothesis 2 states that male

and female lay persons who have had a female minister will view female ministers in a similar fashion. Since women are usually more relationship oriented, it would seem reasonable that once people experienced a woman clergy that the women might perceive her different from the men. This did not prove true either. These men and women described women clergy very similarly.

Hypothesis 3. Hypothesis 3 states that lay persons who have had a female minister will view her as significantly different from lay persons who have not had a female minister. Since men and women did not describe women clergy differently, the males and females of each of the groups were combined. Again, it might be expected that as people experience a woman clergy their perception of her would change. This was not the case. There was no difference between those people who had experienced a woman clergy and those who had not.

Hypothesis 4. Research hypothesis 4 states that lay persons who have had a female minister will view her similar to the way she views herself. Once lay people experience a woman clergy, it would seem likely that they would get to know her and therefore be able to describe her rather accurately. This was not the case. These lay people described women clergy differently from the way women clergy described themselves.

Hypothesis 5. Hypothesis 5 states that lay persons who

have not had a female minister will view her as significantly different from the way she views herself. This hypothesis proved true, this group of lay people did describe women clergy different from the way in which women clergy described themselves. A pictorial representation of the differences found between these three groups can be found in Appendix G.

Conclusions

From the results of this research, several conclusions may be drawn. The first of these is that lay people do not change their attitudes toward women clergy once they have had a woman as their pastor or assistant pastor. This contradicts results reported by Royle (1982), Carroll et al. (1983) and Lehman (1985). These authors found that attitudes toward women clergy became more positive once lay people were exposed to a woman cleric. However, Lehman (1985) also reported that lay people were no more willing to have a second woman than they were to have the first woman - the resistance to accepting a clergy woman was still present. These churches also did not differ from churches which had not had a clergy woman.

Another conclusion which may be drawn from the data analysis, is that lay people perceive women clergy differently from the way in which women clergy describe themselves. A further discussion of these differences will be given in the next section. It is also interesting that

once lay people have experienced a woman clergy, they still perceive her differently from the way clergy women describe themselves.

Implications of Future Research

Future researchers need to determine if the stereotype that lay people have of women clergy is different from the stereotype that lay people have of male clergy. It might also be helpful to compare and contrast self-descriptions of male and female clergy to determine if male clergy describe themselves differently from how female clergy describe themselves.

Another question to be investigated is why is there this discrepancy between how women clergy describe themselves and how lay people describe women clergy. Is there some personality characteristic of women clergy which causes them to present a false image?

A final issue which needs to be addressed is the contact theory. Since contact with women clergy does not seem to significantly change the attitudes of lay people toward women clergy, what can be done to change these attitudes so that lay people perceive women clergy more accurately? This last question is perhaps the most important to address if churches are to become more accepting of women clergy.

Limitations of the Study

Perhaps the greatest limitation of this study comes in

the area of generalizability; therefore, it seems appropriate to discuss, in detail, the populations which were studied; both the lay population and the clergy population.

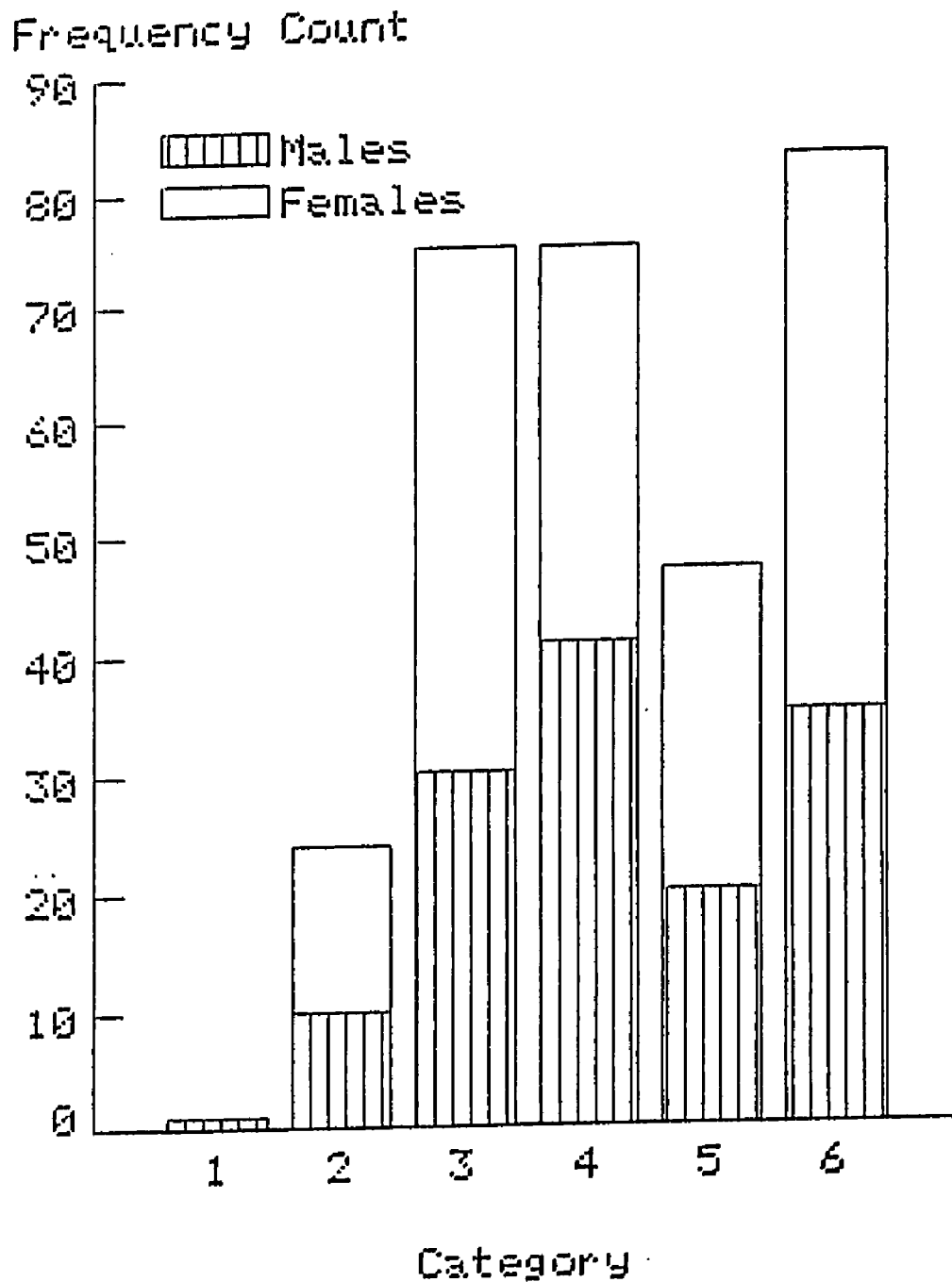
Lay population. All together there were 728 packets distributed to churches and of these only 397 were returned. This is a 54.5% rate of return. According to Borg and Gall (1979), if more than twenty percent of the surveys distributed are missing, "it is very likely that most of the findings of the study could have been altered considerable if the nonresponding group had returned the questionnaire and had answered in a markedly different manner than the responding group" (p.308). One of the frustrations of this author was that several of the churches allowed the subjects to take the surveys home even though they were asked not to do so. This seemed to account for the greatest number of nonreturned surveys.

In examining the total numbers in each of the segments of the lay population, the reader will notice that there were a total of 245 respondents who had experienced a woman clergy but there were only 152 who had not. In fact there were more churches which had not had a woman clergy than those which had which were asked to participate in this research. The churches which had not had a woman clergy seemed less willing to participate than those that had. Several interpretations might be offered for this: 1. The churches which had not had a woman clergy did not believe

they were qualified to respond for their denomination; 2. These churches (or their pastors) were unwilling to discuss this with their congregations; and/or, 3. These churches were more conservative in nature and were the type which would be unwilling to take part in any research project. The lack of exposure to women clergy and a lack of time available were the reasons given for not participating in the study.

In Figure 2 the lay population responses to the first question of the sociological survey (age) are represented. It can be seen that there is a significant dip in the data for those individuals who were in the fifty-one to sixty category. By displaying the data in a way which shows those who had experienced a woman clergy on one type of bar and those who had not on another type of bar (Figure 3), it can be seen that this discrepancy also occurs in the population which have had a woman clergy.

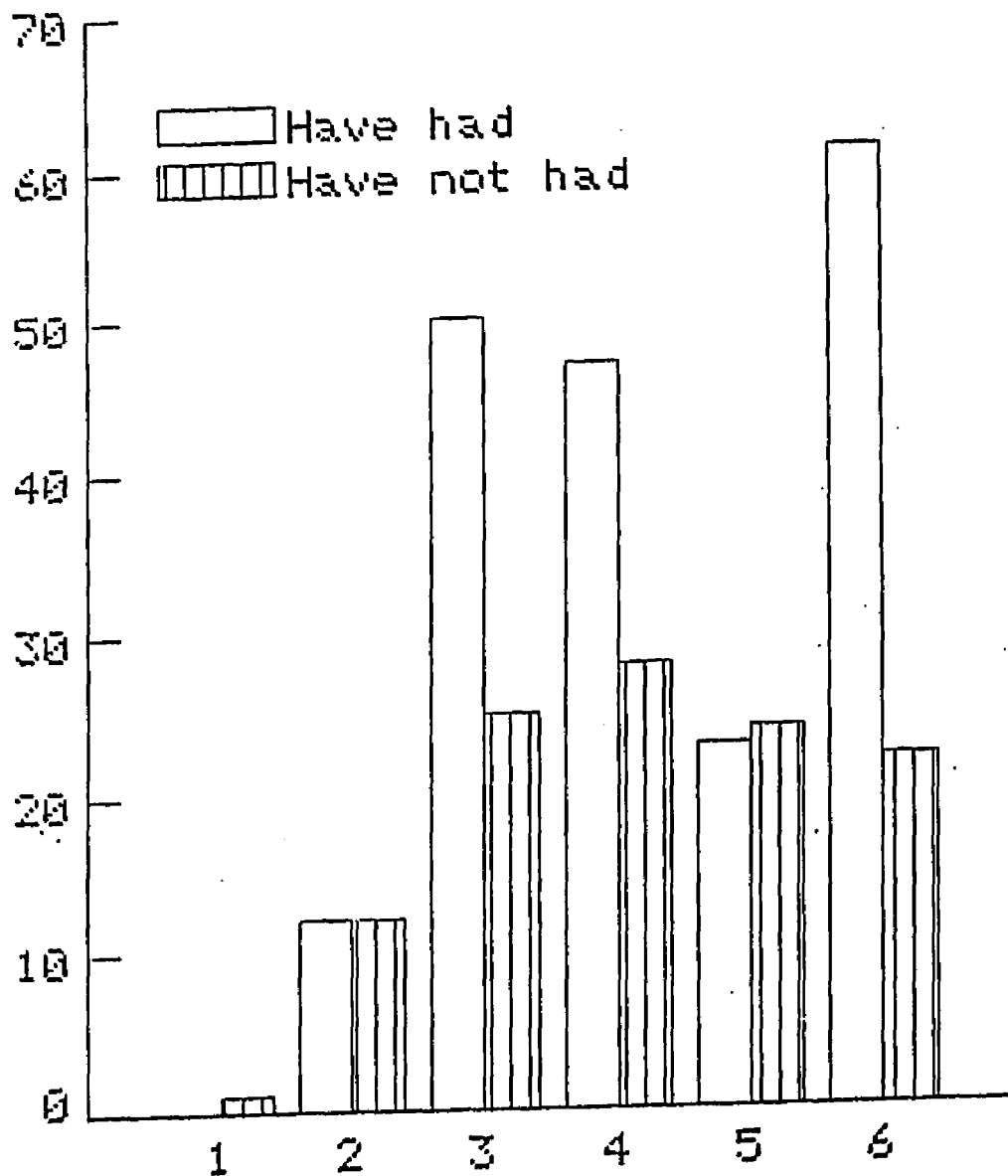
Figure 2: Lay population by age: Male and Female



Category	Age Range
1	Less than 20
2	21 to 30
3	31 to 40
4	41 to 50
5	51 to 60
6	Over 60

Figure 3: Lay population by age: Have and have not had a woman clergy.

Frequency Counts



Category	Age Range
1	Less than 20
2	21 to 30
3	31 to 40
4	41 to 50
5	51 to 60
6	Over 60

Approximately fifty percent of the population had at least a bachelor's degree and twenty percent had at least a masters degree. This seems to be a well educated group. This may be because the subjects were obtained by surveying Sunday school classes. These classes may attract those who are better educated. Table 7 lists the distribution for lay people when considering educational level.

Table 7: Lay population by educational level.

(On the following table "YES" means those lay people who have had a woman clergy as pastor or assistant pastor and "NO" stands for those lay people who have not).

QUESTION	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL
	YES	NO	YES	NO	
Education					
did not complete high school	1	1	2	1	5
high school diploma	6	4	19	8	37
GED	0	1	1	0	2
High school +1 year of college	17	5	21	16	59
Associate's degree	5	1	5	5	16
High school + 3 years of college	11	6	10	6	33
Bachelor's degreea	5	1	0	2	8
College degree + graduate hours	24	12	24	21	81
Master's degree	5	4	7	3	19
Master's degree + graduate hours	13	5	10	5	33
Doctorate	5	3	0	0	8
Doctorate + graduate hours	0	2	0	0	2

It would also seem that this population was financially above the national average in annual family income (see Table 8) since over thirty-two percent of the lay population reported earning over \$50,000 per year. According to The 1988 Information Please Almanac, the national median family income in 1986 was \$28,236 and only 19.6 percent of the population had a total family income over \$50000. This may

be a reflection of the educational level of this particular population.

Table 8: Lay population by income level.

(On the following table "YES" means those lay people who have had a woman clergy as pastor or assistant pastor and "NO" stands for those lay people who have not).

QUESTION	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL
	YES	NO	YES	NO	
Income					
Less than \$10000	0	0	4	2	6
\$10000 to \$20000	2	6	7	7	22
\$20001 to \$30000	14	7	16	17	54
\$30001 to \$40000	23	4	19	12	58
\$40001 to \$50000	20	11	19	9	59
Over \$50000	31	16	29	20	96

When considering the lay population's denominational affiliation, it may be seen (Figure 4) that ten denominations were represented by the sample, but the largest percentage of these were Methodist. Figure 5 gives the percentage value for each of the frequency counts within the denominations. The numbers within the total are skewed by the large number of Methodist who have had a woman clergy. For the population which had not had a woman clergy, the Methodist represent twenty-five percent of the sample, whereas in the total population, the Methodist represent 46.6% of the sample.

Of all of the denominations represented, the Southern Baptist and the Roman Catholics are the only ones which have taken an official position opposing the ordination of women. This has not stopped the Southern Baptist from ordaining women. Of all of the denominations represented

the Methodist and the Church of Christ have been ordaining women since the 1800's and have the largest number of ordained women clergy (Insight, 1987). This may be a reason for the large number of Methodist who have had a woman clergy as pastor or assistant pastor. It is difficult to find a Methodist congregation which has not had a woman as at least an assistant pastor.

Figure 4: Lay population by denominational affiliation:
frequency counts.

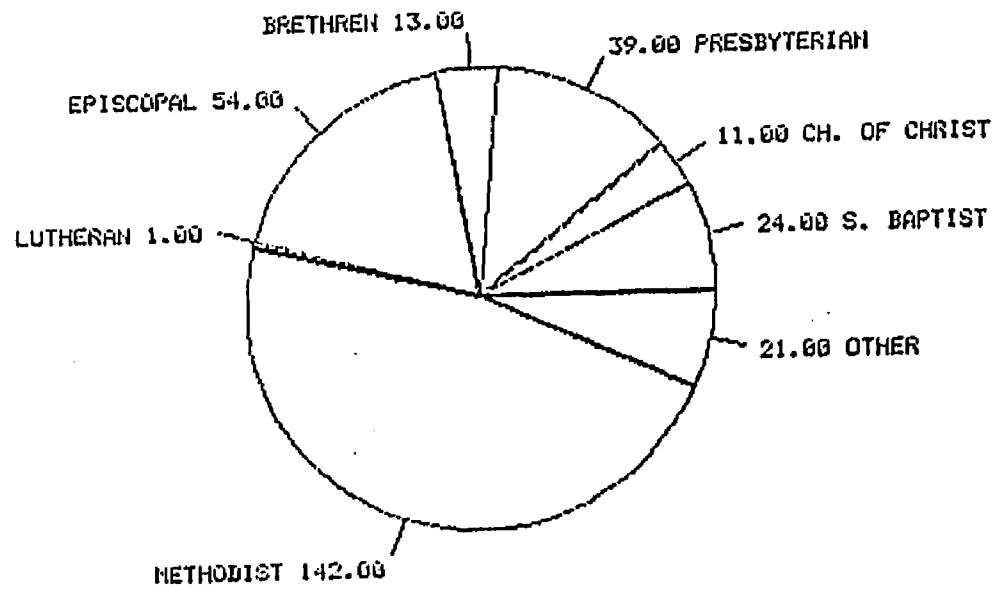
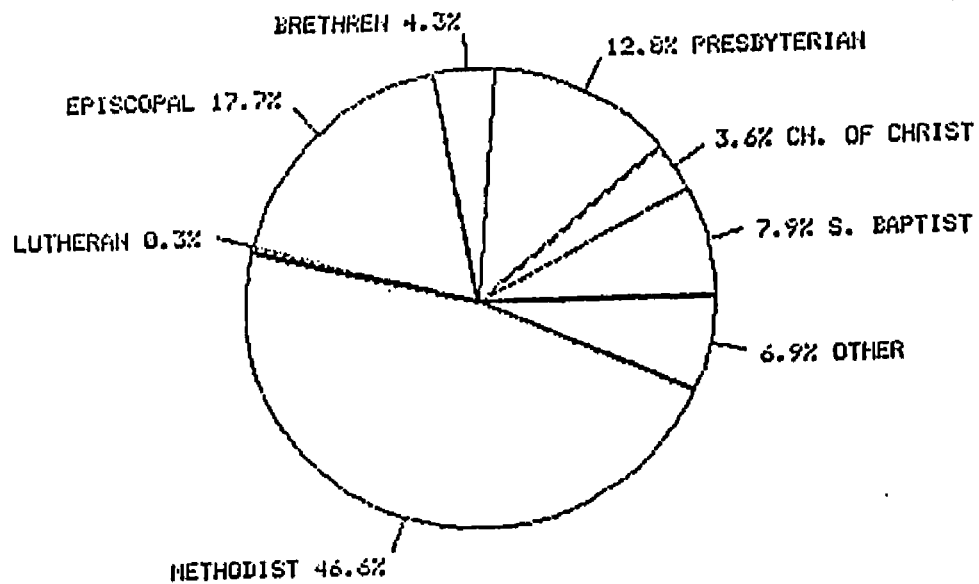


Figure 5: Lay population by denominational affiliation: percentages



The lay population used was taken from a conservative southeastern Virginia area. This area has a high concentration of military personnel and blue collar workers. It also has a high concentration of conservative Christians. For these reasons, the lay people sample may have been composed of more conservative people than if the sample had been taken from a wider geographic area.

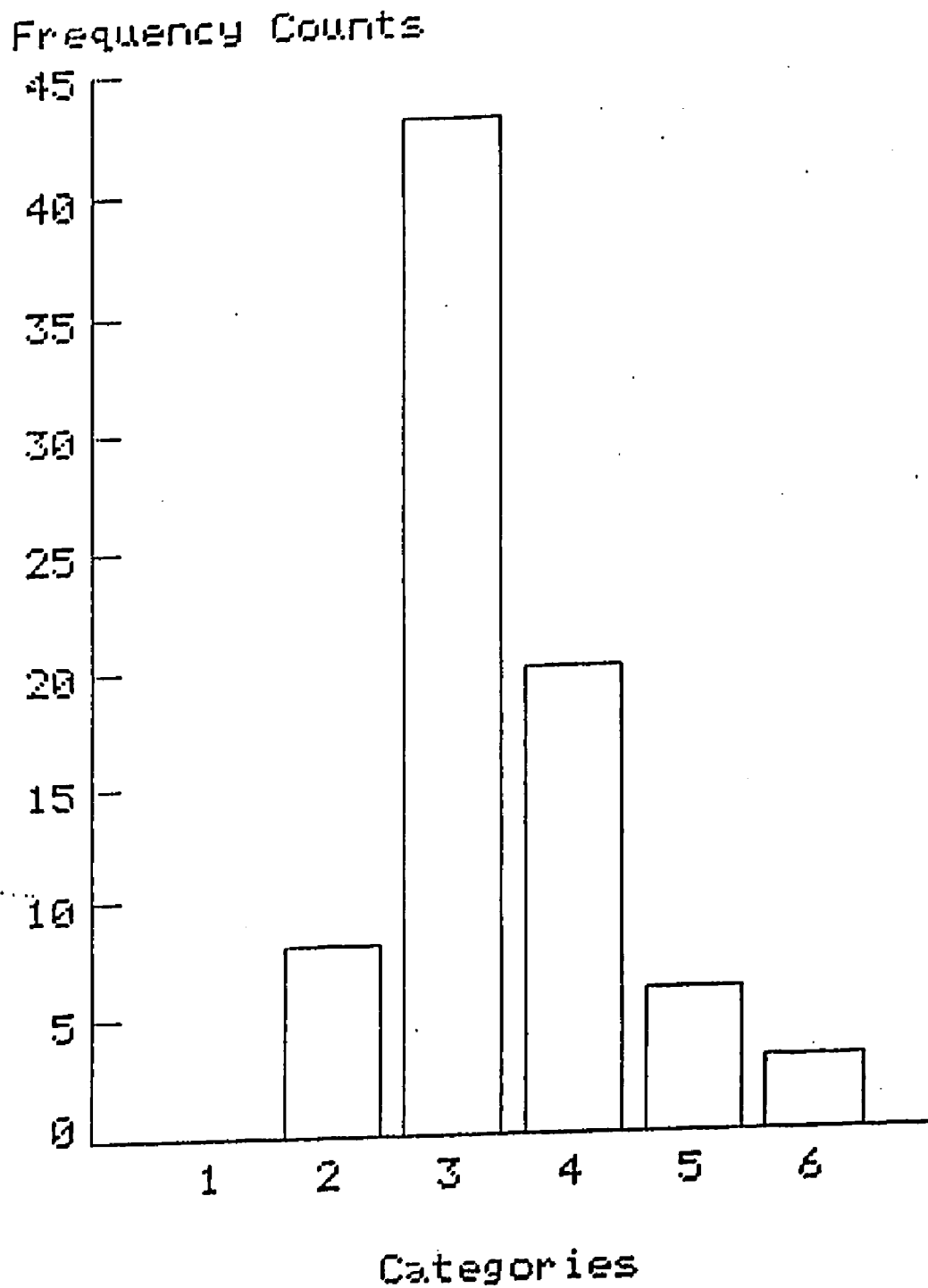
In addition the samples of lay persons may be said to not represent the population at large within their respective congregations, since Sunday School attendance might imply more church involvement than the majority of the congregation.

Clergywomen population. For the clergy women, one hundred seventy packets were distributed. Of those, one hundred seven were returned. This represents a 62.9 percentage of return rate, again falling short of Borg and Gall's (1979) eighty percent return rate. However, Kerlinger (1973), a noted behavioral researcher states that returns of 40 to 50 percent are common for mailed questionnaires and that most researchers have to content themselves with returns as low as 50 or 60 percent. Nachmias and Nachmias (1987) state that a return rate of 20 to 40 percent is common and Reichmann (1961) indicates that a researcher will be lucky to get a 20 percent return rate. Considering these last three sources, it would seem that this rate of return is certainly within the expected range.

Some of the people who received these packets were in ministry (ministers of religious education, music, etc.) but were not ordained. Eleven responses were received from women in this category. In addition, fifteen responses were received from women who were ordained but who had not served as a pastor or assistant pastor. Some other interesting observations about the clergy responses are that eight of the women wrote personal letters to the author and twenty-four wrote personal notes either on their surveys or on the response cards.

The data for the clergy women seems to follow a much closer to normal distribution than the lay population within the survey questions pertaining to age, educational level and annual income. It might be expected that there would be a larger number of women in the younger categories, but a large number of the women entering seminaries are over thirty when they begin their studies. Figure 6 is a graph of the frequency counts for the clergy women population broken down by age.

Figure 6: Clergy by age



Category	Age Range
1	Less than 20
2	21 to 30
3	31 to 40
4	41 to 50
5	51 to 60
6	Over 60

Since a master's degree in divinity is the usual minimum for ordination within most denominations, it would make sense that the majority of the women have at least a master's degree. When it comes to education, the clergy women are certainly similar to the lay subjects on educational level, but seem to fall far below when income is considered. Table 9 is a breakdown of the distribution for educational level of the clergy women.

Table 9: Clergy by educational level.

EDUCATION	<u>SAMPLE</u>
college degree + graduate courses	1
master's degree	39
master's degree + graduate courses	32
doctoral degree	7
doctoral degree + graduate courses	3

One consideration which needs to be observed when considering income, is that some clergy receive a separate housing allowance. Since the question pertaining to income did not indicate whether or not to include this housing allowance, it is likely that some respondents did and some did not. It should also be noted that several of the people indicated that the income figure they marked was for part time work. This is common among clergy women, since some share positions with their clergy spouses. Table 10 gives a breakdown of the income levels of the the clergy women who took part in this study.

Table 10: Clergy by income level

INCOME	<u>SAMPLE</u>
Less than \$10000	9
\$10000 to \$20000	19
\$20001 to \$30000	39
\$30001 to \$40000	10
\$40001 to \$50000	2
More than \$50000	0

The clergy population has an overrepresentation of Episcopalians. This is largely due to the fact that this is the one denomination for which a central office mailing list was obtained. The other clergy names were obtained from other clergy or from interdenominational mailing lists of clergy organizations. The group with the second largest representation within this sample is the Methodist. So in both the clergy and lay populations, the two groups with the highest numbers within the samples were the same, Methodist and Episcopalian. Figures 7 and 8 show the distribution of the clergy sample broken down by denominational affiliation.

Figure 7: Clergy Population by Denomination: frequency

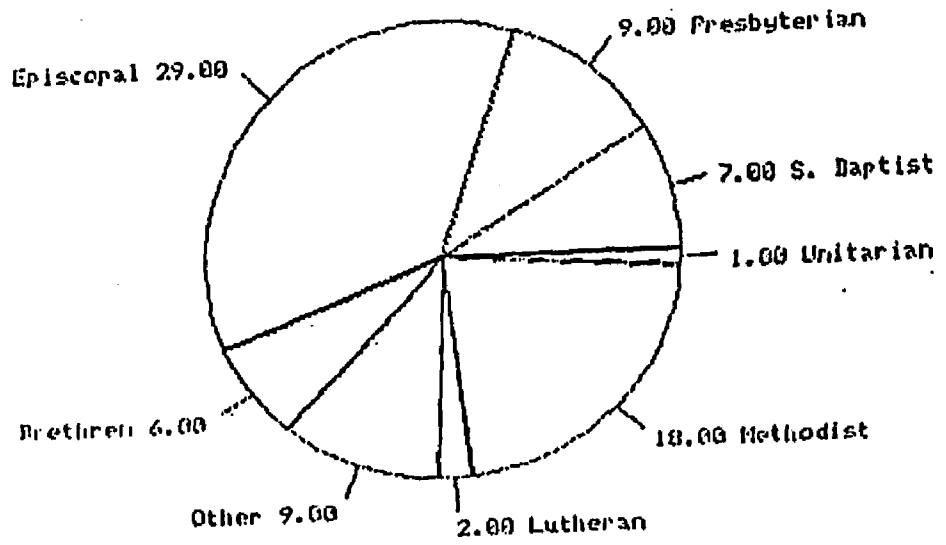
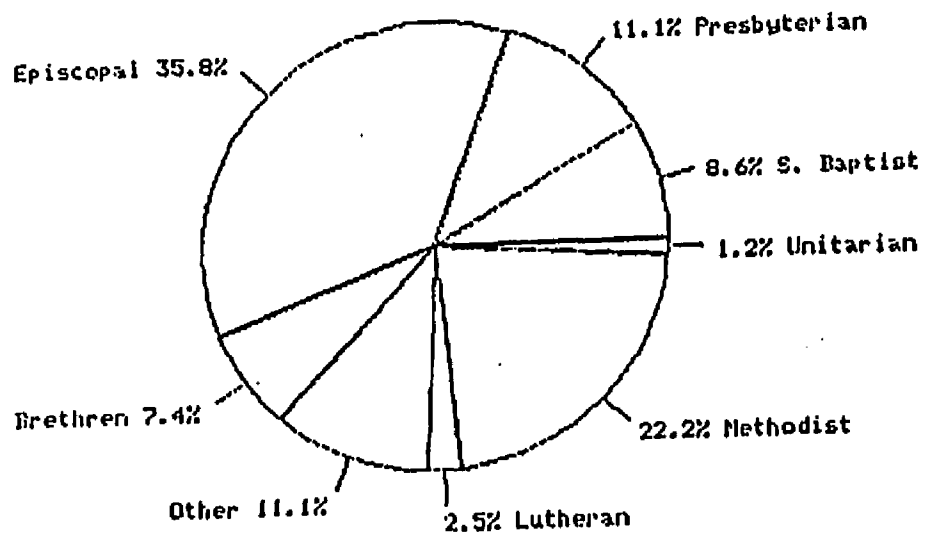


Figure 8: Clergy Population by Denomination: percentage



The clergywomen sample is taken from a much wider geographic area, although the majority of the women are currently living and working on the eastern coast of the United States. The sample is not random and does depend on the women being willing to participate. Borg and Gall (1979) discuss the characteristics of volunteers which cause them to be biased. Volunteers, when compared to nonvolunteers, tend to be better educated, of a higher social class, more intelligent, higher in need for social approval, more conventional, less authoritarian, more self-disclosing and more anxious than non-volunteers. Considering the fact that women clergy are certainly a special group of well educated, intelligent, unconventional individuals, some of these criticisms of a volunteer population may not be applicable here.

Other Limitations. Another limitation of this study is that it is an ex post facto descriptive study and, as such, suffers the difficulties of that genre of educational research. External validity of such a study is usually weak and therefore disallows any sweeping generalizations.

As with any research which uses correlational statistics, causal conclusions cannot be reached. It was possible to determine that there was a difference in how lay people described women clergy and how women clergy described themselves, but it cannot be said that some factor caused this stereotypic view.

Another criticism of this study is the failure to examine the data which would have defined a stereotype for male clergy. This data was gathered but not examined in this study. The study does determine how female clergy are viewed by lay people but it does not determine if that stereotype is different from the way lay people see male clergy. It also does not determine if female clergy view themselves differently from how male clergy view themselves.

Research often tends to raise as many questions as answers or to point the way to other methods which may be more useful in examining the data produced by the research. In this regard, a study of the mathematics of statistical analysis suggests another approach to analysing the data obtained in this study.

In utilizing the concept of the correlation coefficient statistic (as done by Williams and Best, 1982) to study the data obtained in this study, useful conclusions have been reached. However, the correlation coefficient statistic is obtained from the statistical analyses of linear regression which assumes that a Gaussian distribution exists for the data population. Although not unreasonable, it is thought that the use of nonparametric statistical analyses through the use of the analysis of variances may strengthen the conclusions of this study. Thus by assuming a distribution free population, one may use a nonparametric Chi-squared analysis to test for significant differences in each of the

hypothesis of this study without considering whether a linear relationship exists within the data.

Appendix

Appendix A
Frequency Counts by Church

CHURCH	MALES		FEMALES		UNUSABLE ^a	
	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO
St. Andrew Pres(20)	3	1	1	4	1	0
Chestnut Memorial UMC(70)	22	7	18	7	0	0
Ivy Farms Ch. of the Brethren(20)	0	0	0	0	12	5
First UMC of Newport News(100)	24	0	29	1	27	1
Richmond Ch. of the Brethren(35)	5	3	2	3	0	0
St. Stephen's Episcopal(30)	10	0	10	0	3	0
Wesley United Methodist(25)	4	3	0	5	0	1
Yorkminster Presbyterian(70)	3	0	12	0	1	0
St. Andrew's Episcopal(20)	0	0	0	8	3	4
Northside Church of Christ(50)	1	3	1	5	0	0
Christ United Methodist(25)	6	0	7	1	1	0
St. George's Episcopal(40)	2	10	4	13	0	1
Hilton Christian(20)	0	10	1	10	0	0
Royster Presbyterian(50)	5	0	9	1	0	0
Smith's Grove United Methodist(18)	3	0	2	1	1	1
Williamsburg Baptist(50)	4	9	6	8	1	4
Community Presbyterian(30)	0	11	1	9	0	0
Hidenwood Presbyterian(5)	0	0	0	1	0	0
Jewish Community Center(50)	0	1	0	0	0	0
Totals(728)	92	58	103	77	50	17

^a The lay people survey's went out without a question asking for the gender of the person responding. All but a few of these were corrected after the author contacted the Sunday school teachers. Those that were not corrected were not used in the data analysis and are accounted for in these two columns.

Frequency Data for Responses to Lay Questionnaire

QUESTION	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL
	YES	NO	YES	NO	
1. Age					
less than 20	0	1	0	0	1
20 to 30	6	4	6	8	24
31 to 40	22	8	28	17	75
41 to 50	28	13	19	15	75
51 to 60	9	11	14	13	47
over 60	27	8	34	14	83
2. Education					
did not complete high school	1	1	2	1	5
high school diploma	6	4	19	8	37
GED	0	1	1	0	2
High school +1 year of college	17	5	21	16	59
Associate's degree	5	1	5	5	16
High school + 3 years of college	11	6	10	6	33
Bachelor's degreea	5	1	0	2	8
College degree + graduate hours	24	12	24	21	81
Master's degree	5	4	7	3	19
Master's degree + graduate hours	13	5	10	5	33
Doctorate	5	3	0	0	8
Doctorate + graduate hours	0	2	0	0	2
3. Income					
Less than \$10000	0	0	4	2	6
\$10000 to \$20000	2	6	7	7	22
\$20001 to \$30000	14	7	16	17	54
\$30001 to \$40000	23	4	19	12	58
\$40001 to \$50000	20	11	19	9	59
Over \$50000	31	16	29	20	96
4. Denomination					
Assembly of God	0	0	0	0	0
Southern Baptist	4	9	4	7	24
Church of Christ	1	4	2	4	11
Friends	0	0	0	0	0
Presbyterian	11	1	23	4	39
Unitarian	0	0	0	0	0
American Baptist	0	0	0	0	0
Brethren	5	3	2	3	13
Episcopal	12	9	14	19	54
Lutheran	0	1	0	0	1
United Methodist	58	9	56	19	142
Other					
Disciples of Christ	0	8	1	9	18
Roman Catholic	0	1	0	1	2
Christian	0	0	0	1	1

Appendix B
Information Sent to Churches

435 Nicewood Drive
Newport News, VA. 23602
28 September 1987

The Reverend Joe Smith
First Church
Church Lane
Hampton, VA. 00000

Dear Reverend Smith:

Your name was given to me by Judy Jones as someone who might be able to help me with some research I am conducting. I am a doctoral candidate at the College of William and Mary, and am in the process of collecting data for my doctoral dissertation. My topic of investigation is attitudes lay people have of clergy. I hope to find some keys to help with the problem of clergy burnout. At this point I am looking for adult Sunday School classes that will participate.

Let me explain what I need. Enclosed is a copy of an instruction sheet, a checklist of words and a brief questionnaire (these are stapled together and I shall call it a "packet"). In order to conduct my research, I need two things: 1) someone to distribute and collect the packets to class members; and, 2) members of the classes to complete the checklist and the questionnaire. The entire time to complete the packet is 15 to 20 minutes. It is important that this take place during a normal Sunday School period and that none of the packets are taken home by class members. I will deliver enough packets for your group during the week before they will be administered and I shall collect them the week after they have been completed. A logical person to be responsible for distributing and collecting the packets would be the class teacher.

My hope is to have all my data collected by the 30th of November. If this deadline is a problem, please let me know and perhaps other arrangements can be made. As soon as I finish the analysis of the data, I will send a copy of my report to you to share with those who have participated in the research.

I have enclosed a form letter on which you may respond. I have also enclosed a stamped self-addressed envelope. If you have any questions, feel free to give me a call at my home (877-6889) or at my office (599-9494). I will appreciate any assistance you can render in this matter.

Gratefully,

Loretta A. Mueller, Ed.S.

Loretta A. Mueller
 435 Nicewood Drive
 Newport News, VA. 23602

Dear Loretta,

___ Yes, we shall be glad to participate in your research project. _____ is the Sunday on which we shall ask our Sunday School to respond to your checklist and questionnaire. We shall need _____ packets to distribute. (If there are any special delivery or pick-up instructions please write these in at the bottom of the page).

___ No, I am sorry but our congregation can not participate in your study at this time.

Signed _____

Title _____

Church _____

Address _____

Appendix C
Description of Clergy Population

FREQUENCY COUNTS FOR RESPONSES TO CLERGY QUESTIONNAIRE

	<u>SAMPLE</u>	<u>UNUSED</u>
1. AGE		
Less than 20	0	0
20 to 30	8	2
31 to 40	43	6
41 to 50	20	3
51 to 60	6	1
Over 60	3	3
2. EDUCATION		
college degree + graduate courses	1	1
master's degree	39	5
master's degree + graduate courses	32	8
doctoral degree	7	1
doctoral degree + graduate courses	3	0
3. INCOME		
Less than \$10000	9	5
\$10000 to \$20000	19	3
\$20001 to \$30000	39	3
\$30001 to \$40000	10	3
\$40001 to \$50000	2	1
More than \$50000	0	0
4. DENOMINATION		
Assembly of God	0	0
Southern Baptist	7	7
Church of Christ	0	0
Friends	0	0
Presbyterian	9	2
Unitarian	1	0
American Baptist	0	0
Brethren	6	1
Episcopal	29	2
Lutheran	2	0
United Methodist	18	2
Other		
Lutheran (ELCA)	2	0
United Church of Christ	5	1
Disciples of Christ	2	0

5.^a Are you ordained or licensed by your denomination?

(SAMPLE) 77 Yes No How many years? Average = 7.6 years

(UNUSED) 15 Yes No How many years? Average = 7.3 years

6. Have you ever served as assistant pastor to a church?

(SAMPLE) 60 Yes 20 No How many years? Average = 3.6 years

(UNUSED) 0 Yes 15 No

7. Have you ever served as pastor to a church?

(SAMPLE) 62 Yes 19 No How many years? Average = 3.4 years

(UNUSED) 0 Yes 15 No

8. What is your gender?

(SAMPLE) 0 male 81 female

(UNUSED) 0 male 15 female

Note. If the answer to both 6 and 7 was "no", the responses were not included in the sample. The information on the next page summarizes the information about the women who had been ordained but had never served as either a pastor or assistant pastor.

^a This question was used to remove any unordained women from the sample (there were 11 women in this category who responded).

Appendix D
Material Distributed to Lay Subjects

PLEASE NOTE:

Copyrighted materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation, however, in the author's university library.

These consist of pages:

178-181, Lay Person's Survey

U·M·I

Please check all of the appropriate responses.

1. How old are you today?

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> under 20 years old | <input type="checkbox"/> 41 to 50 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 20 to 30 | <input type="checkbox"/> 51 to 60 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 31 to 40 | <input type="checkbox"/> over 60 |

2. Which of the following best describes your educational level?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> did not complete high school plus high school diploma | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 year college degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> G.E.D. | <input type="checkbox"/> some graduate courses |
| <input type="checkbox"/> high school plus one year of some college | <input type="checkbox"/> master's degree |
| <input type="checkbox"/> associate's degree | <input type="checkbox"/> master's degree plus graduate courses |
| <input type="checkbox"/> high school plus 3 years of some college | <input type="checkbox"/> doctoral degree |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> doctoral degree plus graduate courses |

3. Which of the following best describes your families' total yearly income?

- | | |
|--|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Under \$10,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> between \$30,001 and \$40,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> between \$10,000 and \$20,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> between \$40,001 and \$50,000 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> between \$20,001 and \$30,000 | <input type="checkbox"/> over \$50,000 |

4. What is the denomination of the church you currently attend?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assembly of God | <input type="checkbox"/> American Baptist |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Southern Baptist | <input type="checkbox"/> Brethren |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Church of Christ | <input type="checkbox"/> Episcopal |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Friends | <input type="checkbox"/> Lutheran |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Presbyterian | <input type="checkbox"/> United Methodist |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Unitarian | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) |

5. Have you ever been a member of a congregation which had a woman pastor or assistant pastor?

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Yes | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|

6. Please indicate your gender

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Male | <input type="checkbox"/> Female |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|

Appendix E
Material Distributed to Women Clergy

435 Nicewood Drive
Newport News, VA. 23602
January 29, 1988

The Rev. Mary Smith
First Church
1234 Main St.
Anywhere, VA. 00000

Dear Mary:

Your name was given to be by Sally Jones. Sally believed you might be interested in taking part in a research project I am currently conducting, the purpose of which is to define the stereotype that lay persons have of women clergy. An additional goal of my research is to compare the view women clergy have of themselves with that held by lay people.

I need your assistance in this latter phase of my research. You may give this assistance by reading and following the instructions associated with the enclosed copy of the Adjective Check List. This list is made up of 300 adjectives which are sometimes used to describe people. On the checklist itself is a place for you to record your answers. The entire process should take between 15 and 20 minutes. As an added incentive I have enclosed a gift of herbal tea. My hope is that you will fix yourself a cup of tea and fill out the Adjective Check List while you are drinking the tea. Once you have finished the Adjective Check List please respond to the questions on the Clergy Questionnaire and return both forms to me. I have enclosed a postage paid envelope for your use.

If you would like to have a copy of the results of the study, please indicate this on the card provided, mailing it to me separately. All individual results will be confidential and will be combined to form a group profile of women clergy.

Thank you for your cooperation and time. Your input will help clergy women know how they are viewed by their congregations. Once the stereotypes are clearly defined, both clergy women and those teaching clergy women may evaluate those stereotypes and initiate changes.

Sincerely,

Loretta A. Mueller, Ed.S.

Clergy Questionnaire

Please check only one response to each of the following.

1. How old are you today?

- under 20 years old 31 to 40 51 to 60
 20 to 30 41 to 50 over 60

2. Which of the following best describes your educational level?

- 4 year college degree plus some graduate courses
 master's degree
 master's degree plus some graduate courses
 doctoral degree
 doctoral degree plus some graduate courses

3. Which of the following best describes your salary level?

- Under \$10,000 between \$30,001 and \$40,000
 between \$10,000 and \$20,000 between \$40,001 and \$50,000
 between \$20,001 and \$30,000 over \$50,000

4. With which denomination are you affiliated?

- Assembly of God American Baptist
 Southern Baptist Brethren
 Church of Christ Episcopal
 Friends Lutheran
 Presbyterian United Methodist
 Unitarian Other (please specify)
-

5. Are you ordained or licensed by your denomination?

- Yes No How many years? _____

6. Have you ever served as assistant pastor to a church?

- Yes No How many years? _____

7. Have you ever served as pastor to a church?

- Yes No How many years? _____

8. What is your gender?

- male female

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These consist of pages:

186, Adair-Collins Answer Sheet

U·M·I

Appendix F
Adjectives for Adjective Check List Profile

Adjectives most often used by lay people who have not had a woman clergy to describe women clergy.

adaptable	modest
affected	moody
affectionate	nagging
anxious	nervous
appreciative	obliging
artistic	optimistic
attractive	organized
bossy	original
calm	outgoing
cautious	painstaking
changeable	patient
charming	peaceable
cheerful	persevering
complaining	persistent
complicated	pleasant
conscientious	poised
considerate	practical
cooperative	praising
courageous	progressive
curious	prudish
defensive	quiet
dependable	reflective
determined	reserved
discreet	self-controlled
dreamy	self-denying
efficient	self-punishing
emotional	sensitive
enthusiastic	sentimental
excitable	sexy
fearful	shy
feminine	sincere
forgiving	sociable
friendly	soft-hearted
frivolous	sophisticated
fussy	spontaneous
gentle	spunky
helpful	submissive
high-strung	suggestible
idealistic	sympathetic
imaginative	tactful
impulsive	talkative
individualistic	temperamental
insightful	tense
kind	thoughtful
loyal	thrifty
mannerly	timid
meek	tolerant
mild	touchy
moderate	

Adjectives most often used by lay people who have had a woman clergy to describe women clergy.

active	mEEK
adaptable	mild
adventurous	modest
affected	moody
affectionate	nagging
ambitious	nervous
anxious	optimistic
appreciative	organized
artistic	original
assertive	painstaking
attractive	patient
calm	peaceable
cautious	persistent
changeable	pleasant
charming	poised
cheerful	praising
complaining	progressive
complicated	quiet
considerate	reflective
cooperative	resourceful
curious	self-denying
daring	sensitive
defensive	sentimental
dependent	sexy
determined	shy
dissatisfied	sincere
dreamy	sociable
easy going	soft-hearted
effeminate	sophisticated
emotional	spontaneous
energetic	spunky
enthusiastic	stubborn
excitable	submissive
fearful	sympathetic
feminine	tactful
forgiving	talkative
friendly	temperamental
fussy	tense
gentle	thoughtful
headstrong	thrifty
helpful	timid
high-strung	touchy
idealistic	trusting
imaginative	unconventional
impulsive	understanding
individualistic	versatile
informal	warm
insightful	whiny
kind	worrying

Adjectives Most Often Used by clergy women to describe themselves.

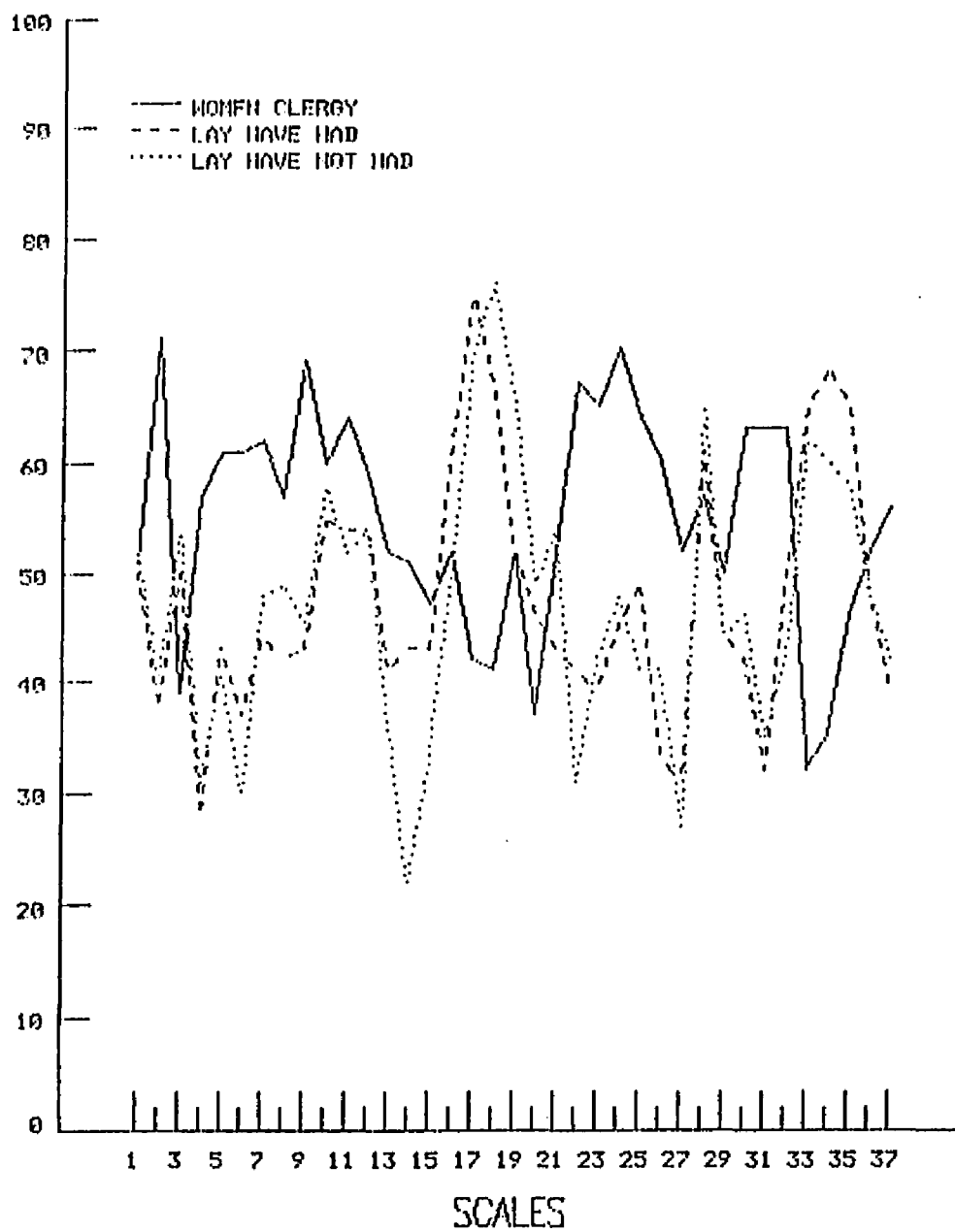
active	intelligent	wholesome
adaptable	interests wide	wise
adventurous	inventive	
affectionate	kind	
alert	leisurely	
ambitious	logical	
appreciative	loyal	
artistic	mannerly	
assertive	mature	
attractive	natural	
calm	optimistic	
capable	organized	
cheerful	original	
civilized	outgoing	
clear-thinking	patient	
complicated	peaceable	
confident	persevering	
conscientious	persistent	
considerate	pleasant	
cooperative	poised	
courageous	practical	
curious	praising	
dependable	progressive	
determined	rational	
discreet	realistic	
efficient	reasonable	
emotional	reflective	
energetic	reliable	
enthusiastic	resourceful	
fair-minded	responsible	
feminine	self-confident	
foresighted	self-controlled	
forgiving	sensitive	
frank	sentimental	
friendly	serious	
generous	sincere	
gentle	sociable	
good-looking	spontaneous	
healthy	stable	
helpful	steady	
honest	strong	
humorous	sympathetic	
idealistic	tactful	
imaginative	thoughtful	
independent	tolerant	
industrious	trusting	
informal	understanding	
initiative	versatile	
insightful	warm	

Appendix G
Graph of Adjective Check List Profiles

APPENDIX G

Adjective Check List profiles

STANDARD SCORES



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CHANGE, Newport News, Virginia
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Hague Psychological Services, Norfolk, Virginia
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A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF SEX-TRAIT STEREOTYPES
OF LAY CHURCH MEMBERS FOR WOMEN CLERGY

Loretta A. Mueller, Ed.D.

The College of William and Mary in Virginia, February, 1989

Chairman, Fred L. Adair, Ph.D.

The purpose of this study was to investigate the the sex-trait stereotype church lay people had of women clergy. Two groups of lay people were studied, those who had and had not had a woman clergy as either pastor or assistant pastor of a church to which they belonged. Data was also obtained from women clergy.

Gough's Adjective Check List was used to determine a stereotype that the above described lay people had of women clergy. The goal was to determine if there were differences between lay men and women in the way they described women clergy and if there were differences between lay people who had and had not had experienced a clergy woman.

An additional comparison was made between each of the lay groups and the women clergy. It was found that both groups of lay people did describe women clergy differently from the way in which the women clergy described themselves.

Further study is needed to evaluate this data using a nonparametric method. It is also necessary to examine data from male clergy, to determine if these results are unique to women clergy.