

Sexual Harassment, Gender Harassment, and Workplace Aggression in the Church: Comparing
the Experiences of Mennonite and Episcopal Clergywomen

by

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Defense Date: April 1, 2025

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy in the Department of Sociology in The Graduate School of Duke University
2025

ABSTRACT

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I compare clergywomen's experiences of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression between Mennonite Church USA and the Episcopal Church in order to explore how organizational context relates to these three categories of workplace experiences, which are rarely studied simultaneously. I draw on original data from in-depth interviews with clergywomen and a systematic survey administered to a nationally representative random sample of clergy in each denomination. I designed a new survey questionnaire, the Supporting Pastors Survey, to assess the predictors, outcomes, and prevalence of workplace harassment among congregational clergy.

First, I compare the prevalence of these experiences by gender and denomination. I find that sexual harassment was reported at the highest rates by Episcopal clergywomen, gender harassment by clergywomen and Episcopal clergy (with no joint effect of denomination and gender), and workplace aggression by Episcopal clergy. Next, I assess the relative incidence, co-occurrence, and outcomes of these forms of harm. Clergy of both genders reported sexual harassment less often than gender harassment and workplace aggression, and it was seldom reported in isolation. Additionally, all these experience types were linked with poorer mental health and job satisfaction, both individually and in combination. Finally, I investigate who is perpetrating harmful workplace experiences and revisit the earlier comparisons by gender and denomination. Most incidents reported by men and women in ministry were perpetrated by laypeople. After controlling for other factors, Episcopal clergywomen and women who led multi-pastor teams reported more harmful experiences than other women, which was not the case for men. Clergywomen who viewed regional leaders and congregants as supportive tended to report fewer harmful workplace experiences. Overall, this dissertation contributes to the literature on workplace harassment by taking a mixed-methods, comparative approach; simultaneously assessing multiple forms of harm; and assessing these dynamics in an understudied population.

Dedication

To every woman in ministry, from Mary Magdalene to the modern day, who pursued God's call even when the world told her *no*.

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1. Introduction

Organizations are sites where power and gender inequalities become institutionalized, and one way in which these hierarchies are reinforced is harassment. The most obvious form is sexual harassment, which represents a tool for individuals to gain control over less powerful individuals, reinforce workplace sexism, and sabotage women at work (McKinney 1990; Schultz 1998; Lopez, Hodson, and Roscigno 2009; Saguy and Rees 2021). Sexual harassment both draws from existing power differentials and reinforces them, simultaneously resulting from and maintaining gendered hierarchies (Acker 1990; Berdahl et al. 1996). Gender harassment, which describes behaviors that demean the target based on gender rather than sexual advances, is less commonly researched, but it similarly operates to exclude women and reinforce male dominance in the workplace (Collinson and Collinson 1996; Quinn 2000; Berdahl 2007b, Saguy and Rees 2021).

Not all forms of harassment that harm women in the workplace are explicitly sexual or gender-based in nature (Lopez et al. 2009). Workplace aggression, which describes acts of disrespect and hostility that are not explicitly related to gender, can include acts of physical violence, bullying, incivility, and sabotage via withholding support or denying access to key information (Levitin, Quinn, and Staines 1971; Deaux and Taynor 1973; Cleveland and Kerst 1993; Cortina et al. 2001; Parkin and Hearn 2001; Lampman et al. 2009, 2016; Hershcovis 2011; Lampman 2012). These experiences are disproportionately reported by women, are viewed by women as a more subtle form of gender-related harm, and have a greater negative impact on women's work lives and health than men's (Richman et al. 1999; Cortina et al. 2001, 2002, 2013; Parkin and Hearn 2001; Lampman et al. 2009, 2016; Lampman 2012; Settles and O'Connor 2014; Smith et al. 2021). Thus, while they may not be gender-related on the surface, these forms of harassment are still gendered and therefore contribute to the gendering of organizations.

Organizations shape experiences of harassment in direct and indirect ways.

Organizations' policies and procedures for handling sexual harassment, the training and education provided on the topic, and the tone of leaders in discussing sexual violence shape reported levels of sexual harassment and individuals' attitudes towards it (Gruber 1998; Buchanan et al. 2014; Hart, Crossley, and Correll 2018). Other, less directly-linked organizational factors such as the gender ratio of workers, managers' leadership styles, decentralization, social integration, and support from coworkers and supervisors also influence rates of sexual harassment within an organization (Gruber 1998; De Coster, Estes, and Mueller 1999; Mueller, De Coster, and Estes 2001; Chamberlain et al. 2008; McDuff 2008; Lee 2018). Most broadly, organizations grant some individuals organizational power over others, thereby creating opportunities for the power imbalances that enable gendered harassment to occur (Thacker and Ferris 1991; Walker and Zelditch 1993; Parkin and Hearn 2001; Salin 2003; Roscigno, Lopez, and Hodson 2009; Alvinus and Holmberg 2019; Minnotte and Legerski 2019). These power imbalances are gendered; even when women are in positions of authority, they are perceived as having lower power and less legitimate authority than men in the same positions using the same strategies (Wiley and Eskilson 1982; Eagly and Karau 2002).

The power imbalances created by organizations and other social structures shape whom harassers target in conflicting ways. According to the *vulnerable-victims* model, perpetrators use harassment to demonstrate their structural power over less powerful targets (De Coster et al. 1999). In line with this model, prior research suggests that people who are structurally vulnerable due to factors such as race, gender, and occupational position are more likely to experience bullying and sexual harassment (Rogers and Henson 1997; Uggen and Blackstone 2004; Gettman and Gelfand 2007; Roscigno et al. 2009). However, according to the *power-threat* model, perpetrators target those whom they view as a threat to their power (Berdahl 2007a; McLaughlin, Uggen, and Blackstone 2012). And indeed, women who threaten patriarchal power structures by

holding organizational power, violating gender norms, and entering male-dominated organizations are also more frequently targeted by sexual harassment (Rospenda et al. 1998; De Coster et al. 1999; Berdahl 2007b; McLaughlin et al. 2012). In these cases, sexual harassment functions as a tool to protect threatened hierarchies by punishing the target and returning her to subordinate status (Rospenda, Richman, and Nawyn 1998; Berdahl 2007a; Mansbridge and Shames 2008; Rudman and Phelan 2008; Minnotte and Legerski 2019). By giving or withholding formal organizational authority from the women in their ranks, organizations set up the conditions for harassment aligned with either of these models to occur. Comparing similar organizations that structure authority differently may therefore shed additional light on these experiences.

1.1 Clergy as case study

Christian clergy present a uniquely suitable opportunity to study workplace harassment from an organizational perspective for several reasons. First, the way that power is structured differs substantially between denominations, presenting opportunities for comparative research. This can be illustrated by the way that denominations conceive of pastoral authority (Carroll 1981). For example, the highly liturgical Episcopal Church emphasizes clerical authority derived from the priestly office and priests' role as mediators of the sacred, setting them apart from the community. On the other hand, Anabaptists conceptualize clerical authority as derived from the community, thereby emphasizing the pastor's personal qualities (potentially including gender) over their role and putting the continued legitimacy of the pastor into the group's hands.

Secondly, clergywomen may be at particularly high risk of harassment for reasons aligned with both the vulnerable-victims and power-threat models. Their structural vulnerability is evidenced by clergywomen's overrepresentation in subordinate positions with lower status and power; more difficult time finding ministry placements after ordination; and disproportionate likelihood of pastoring congregations that are smaller, rural, less well-resourced, and struggling (Lehman 1993; Nesbitt 1993; Schmidt 1996; Konieczny and Chaves 2000; Sullins 2000; Adams

2007; Hoge 2009; de Gasquet 2010; Chaves and Eagle 2015). Additionally, women in ministry are paid lower salaries, perceive lower levels of social support, and receive less favorable evaluations from their congregations than male pastors with the same behaviors, all contributing to their structural vulnerability relative to male clergy (Zikmund, Lumis, and Chang 1998; Maybury and Chickering 2001; McDuff and Mueller 2002; Hoge 2009; Miles and Proeschold-Bell 2012). On the other hand, because women have historically been excluded from the pastorate, have entered it more slowly than comparable professions, and remain underrepresented, their very presence in positions of authority as clergy is threatening to the status quo in this male-dominated profession (Bock 1967; Chaves 1996; Hoge 2009; Campbell-Reed 2018). This creates motivation for backlash that may take the form of workplace harassment.

Despite the elevated risk of harassment experienced by clergywomen for these reasons, insufficient scholarly attention has been paid to harassment *of* (not *by*) clergy due to the assumption that organizational power derived from the pastor role protects them (Sawchuk et al. 2007; McDuff 2008). However, the risk of workplace harassment is serious for women in ministry, who consistently report higher rates of sexual harassment than their male colleagues (Majka 1991; Nath 2007; McDuff 2008; Murphy-Geiss 2020). Sexual harassment functions as one of many gendered barriers to ministry making up what Lauve-Moon (2021) termed “the stained-glass labyrinth” (p. 193). Organizational factors such as support from one’s congregation and denominational executives, autonomy, and job security influence sexual harassment rates for clergy just as they do for other professions (McDuff 2008). However, most research on sexual harassment targeting clergy has focused on a single denomination and not included these organizational measures, limiting our ability to understand the role of organizational context. Furthermore, comparatively little is known about how religious organizations shape clergy’s experiences of gender harassment and workplace aggression because research and policy has prioritized sexual harassment over other potentially harmful experiences.

There are several differences worth noting between the situation of clergy and other professionals. While the pastorate is male-dominated, some clergy (especially solo pastors) may spend most of their time around congregants, who are mostly women (Pew Research Center 2016, 2019; Schwadel and Shadoan 2024). This is different from professions where the gender ratio of workers and the gender ratio of people encountered in one's workday are more similar. Laypeople are a mix of paid and volunteer laborers, which differs from workplaces where subordinates are also employees (Monahan 1999; Anderson 2002). The legal remedies available to clergy who are harassed at work in the United States are limited by the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of religion, which blocks most lawsuits by clergy claiming employment discrimination in what is known as the "ministerial exception" (Lupu and Tuttle 2018). Among gig workers, similarly lacking legal protections against sexual harassment reduced workers' propensity to label their experiences as such (Ravenelle 2019). Church work is often accompanied by strong shared values and a sense of vocation. As an example of how extreme this sense of vocation can be, consider this comment I received from a nationally respected Mennonite pastor who had attended my presentation on this research. In animated terms, he gushed about how revolutionary it had been and concluded with, "I'd just never thought of being a pastor as a *job* before."

Most critically, power dynamics in congregations are less straightforward than they are in many professions. Much of the work on harassment from a less powerful perpetrator towards a more powerful target has been conducted in higher education (e.g., McKinney 1990; Lampman et al. 2009, 2016; Lampman 2012; May and Tenzek 2018). However, the power a clergywoman has over a parishioner is less apparent than the power a female faculty member has over a student. The professor controls the student's grades; the pastor may be similarly recognized as an expert resource, but she is not tasked with evaluating congregants on the record in a way that is consequential for their earthly futures. Other workplace harassment research has investigated

harassment received by employees from supervisors (e.g., O'Connell and Korabik 2000; Roscigno et al. 2009; Hershcovis and Barling 2010b) or service workers from customers (e.g., Gettman and Gelfand 2007; Good and Cooper 2016; Minnotte and Legerski 2019). Neither is a precise analogue for the clergy-laity dynamic. Clergy cannot fire congregants in the same way that supervisors can fire employees (nor can a single congregant fire a pastor in this manner, though some congregations can), yet viewing clergy as service workers fails to recognize the unique spiritual authority they are granted by their congregants.

Despite these unique aspects of professional religious leadership, clergywomen still represent a valuable case study for understanding workplace harassment. Clergywomen are functionally executive leaders in a male-dominated profession, and executive leaders have seldom been considered as targets in the literature on workplace aggression (Tanner 2017). An in-depth study of their experiences can help inform the broader conversation about these experiences among women in traditionally male executive roles. They represent a case where the power afforded by one's gender and one's formal role differ, enabling nuanced analysis of how these sources of power interact. Furthermore, studying denominations presents a valuable opportunity for comparative research, since denominations differ in how they organize power in ways that are likely to influence workplace harassment. As mentioned above, research on harassment perpetrated by someone with less formal organizational authority than their target has been concentrated in higher education and has not taken a comparative, between-university perspective. Research that considers sex-based harassment and workplace aggression simultaneously has, similarly, generally not taken this comparative perspective (for an exception, see Lopez et al. 2009). The relative dearth of comparative work in these areas limits our ability to understand how organizational factors shape these experiences, and the structural differences between denominations present an opportunity to address this gap in the literature.

1.2 Comparing Mennonite Church USA and the Episcopal Church

In this dissertation, I compare clergywomen's experiences of workplace harassment in two denominations: Mennonite Church USA (MC USA), an Anabaptist¹ denomination, and the Episcopal Church, a mainline Protestant denomination. These denominations are similar in several key respects. The Episcopal Church and the two denominations that would merge to become MC USA began ordaining women between 1973 and 1976 (Armentrout and Slocum 2000; Klassen 2013). Both remain male-dominated: 42% of active clergy in the Episcopal Church and 32.5% of active clergy in MC USA were women in 2022 and 2023 respectively (Price and So-Schoos 2022; MC USA 2023). Both are organized into similar layers: the local level (church or parish), the regional level (conference or diocese with conference ministers or bishops), and the national level (denomination) (see Table 1). MC USA conferences, of which there are sixteen, are geographically larger than Episcopal dioceses, of which there are 113, but serve a similar role in overseeing congregations. Despite these similarities, power is situated differently.

MC USA and the Episcopal Church are at nearly opposite ends of the spectrum of ecclesiastical polity (i.e., governance structure), which ranges from congregational to episcopal. MC USA's more congregational polity is characterized by decentralization and, consequently, variation. More decisions are made at the regional than national level; the comparatively few decisions that are made nationally are made by a majority or supermajority vote of delegates from each congregation, who can be laypeople or clergy. Conferences vary in their permissiveness towards certain congregational choices (especially, during the first few years in which this dissertation was written, around decisions involving LGBT inclusion). However, while conferences wield power through ordaining or licensing pastors, seven of sixteen conferences allow congregations to hire pastors without credentials. Additionally, congregations can change

¹ Some people consider Anabaptists a subcategory of Protestants, but there is disagreement about this among Anabaptists themselves. I do not label Mennonites as Protestants out of respect for self-identification.

their conference affiliation, further limiting the ability of conference ministers to control or influence congregations. Similarly, conferences can choose to withdraw from the denomination, and many decisions made at the national level (for example, recent proposed revisions to the harassment policy) are not binding on conferences or congregations. The power of conference ministers and national leaders over pastors and congregations is largely relational.

Table 1: Differences in Polity and Liturgy Between Mennonite Church USA and the Episcopal Church

		Mennonite Church USA	The Episcopal Church
Ecclesiastical polity (governance structure)			
	Congregational	Decision-making procedures vary; emphasis on communal decision-making by entire congregation	Parish decisions made by rector and elected vestry
	Regional	16 conferences led by conference ministers, whose power is largely relational; variation between conferences	113 dioceses led by elected bishops with greater power over clergy; annual convention where laypeople and clergy vote
	National	Relatively decentralized collection of conferences with few binding national-level decisions	Two elected houses (bishops, laypeople and clergy) vote on decisions at General Convention
Liturgy (forms of public worship)			
	Material	No visible markers of clerical authority; anyone can distribute sacraments	Robes, collars, vestments; priest must distribute sacraments
	Theological	Priesthood of all believers; clerical authority derived from community	Clerical authority derived from office and participation in the sacred community

At the local level, Mennonite² congregations choose their own decision-making processes, so there may be churches within the same conference that make decisions by

² When I use the term “Mennonite” in this dissertation, I am referring to Mennonite Church USA. While there are other denominations with names including the word “Mennonite,” my research focuses on MC USA.

consensus of the entire congregation, use a voting system, or entrust committees of laypeople with most decisions. However, there is a shared cultural value of communal decision-making, and even congregations that employ voting rather than consensus tend to require a much higher degree of agreement than a simple majority (e.g., 80-95% agreement for major decisions such as hiring a pastor). Many Mennonite congregations have a board of lay leaders which may appear like the Episcopal vestry, but the role of this board is to bring decisions to the entire congregation rather than to make them itself. Mennonite pastors are not placed on a pedestal to the same degree as clergy in other traditions, and the authority they hold is derived from the community and based on personal qualities rather than the priestly office (Carroll 1981). The decentralized nature of Mennonite polity means there are exceptions to both of these generalizations; for example, the relational and personal nature of power in Mennonite spaces makes it possible for strong pastors to lead in a top-down way with the consent of their individual congregations, and some non-English-speaking congregations place pastors on a higher pedestal than is normative in mainstream White Mennonite culture (A. Zimelman, personal communication, February 26, 2025). Despite these exceptions, the overall norms of communal decision-making and community-derived clerical authority empower laypeople and disempower the pastor relative to other traditions.

The decision-making process is more standardized in Episcopal than Mennonite spaces. Despite its name, the polity of the Episcopal Church in the United States is in practice a combination of episcopal (decisions made by bishops) and presbyterian (decisions made by elected laypeople), and democracy is embraced at all levels. At the national level, there is a General Convention every three years at which two houses – one consisting of bishops and the other composed of laypeople and clergy – make decisions, such as electing the presiding bishop. At the diocesan level, bishops are elected by clergy and lay delegates (who are in turn elected by their parishes), and each diocese holds an annual convention where laypeople and clergy must

vote in agreement on specific matters. While the governance of the Episcopal Church includes lay and clergy voices, bishops have greater power over clergy and congregations than do Mennonite conference ministers. For example, bishops must formally approve individuals to begin the ordination process and can even choose which seminaries the potential ordinand is permitted to attend.

At the parish level, decisions are generally made by the rector (the tenured lead pastor, who is hired rather than elected) and the vestry (a board of laypeople elected for three-year terms by the congregation). The vestry is led by the senior warden, who is typically appointed by the rector, and the junior warden, who is typically elected by the vestry. In general, an Episcopal rector oversees worship and spiritual formation whereas the vestry handles fiduciary responsibilities and the building and grounds. There are decisions that rectors can make unilaterally, though it is not always politically wise for them to do so. The rector's authority is drawn from their priestly office and role as a mediator of the sacred, which sets them apart from the community (Carroll 1981).

While there is some variation in the titles and responsibilities of leaders between Episcopal parishes, this is less extreme than the variation between Mennonite congregations. If an Episcopal congregation is not financially self-supported, it will be known as a mission rather than a parish, have a bishop-appointed vicar or priest-in-charge rather than a hired rector, and have a bishop's committee that is essentially the same as a parish's vestry. There can also be differences in the specific responsibilities given to each vestry member according to a parish's bylaws; for example, while the junior warden typically handles the church building and maintenance, I spoke with one priest whose junior warden was instead responsible for reaching out to the surrounding community. However, this is still more standardized than leadership and decision-making in Mennonite congregations, where there is such variety in the structure of lay leadership that it can be difficult for conference ministers to know what to call the lay leaders of any given

congregation within their conference (A. Zimbelman, personal communication, February 26, 2025).

In terms of liturgy (i.e., the forms of public worship), MC USA is a low church denomination which gives little emphasis to clerical authority. Clergy do not wear vestments, and sacraments are not reserved for clergy to distribute. Anyone, for example, can preside over communion. In the Episcopal Church, sacraments such as the Eucharist can only be administered by priests, and robes and collars are worn as visible markers of clerical authority derived from the office and participation in the power of the sacred (Carroll 1981). The lack of these markers in Mennonite worship is a conscious decision reflecting a theology that emphasizes the priesthood of all believers, blurring the boundaries between pastor and congregant and reflecting a history of nonhierarchical clergy-lay relationships in Anabaptism. In these denominations, polity and liturgy are consistent with and inseparable from one another; liturgy provides (or does not provide) tangible symbols that reinforce the authority of the cleric.

Based on how these denominations structure power, we may expect differences to emerge in the prevalence, severity, forms, and sources of workplace harassment targeting clergy. Insofar as harassment is aligned with organizational power and perpetrators target those who are structurally vulnerable (the vulnerable-victims model), Mennonite pastors are likely to experience a higher rate of harassment from laypeople than Episcopal priests due to their lower degree of clerical authority. Episcopal priests are likely to experience higher rates of abuse from bishops, who hold more power relative to pastors than MC USA conference ministers. However, harassment is sometimes used as a tool to protect hierarchies by punishing women who violate gender norms through achieving high levels of power and status (the power-threat model). When this occurs, we might expect Episcopal clergywomen to experience higher rates of harassment from laypeople as well because of their position of organizational power and greater degree of

clerical authority. Either or both of these conflicting processes could be involved in shaping the experiences of women in ministry.

1.3 Conclusion

In this dissertation, I compare the experiences of Mennonite and Episcopal clergywomen in order to better understand how organizational power structures shape workplace harassment. These denominations differ greatly in polity and liturgy, which shape and reflect power dynamics within these groups. Prior research suggests that harassers may target those with less structural power than them (the vulnerable-victims model) or women who challenge gender norms by holding positions of authority (the power-threat model) (De Coster et al. 1999; McLaughlin et al. 2012). Because each model offers different predictions for how harassment will differ between Mennonite and Episcopal clergy, this comparison can help us adjudicate between these perspectives. Organizational factors like job security and support from supervisors influence sexual harassment rates for clergy just as they do for other professions (McDuff 2008). However, literature and training on sexual harassment in religious spaces has emphasized the individual rather than allocating appropriate attention to church structures (Sawchuk et al. 2007). Additionally, research on clergywomen to date has largely focused on sexual harassment; nonsexual forms of harassment such as gender harassment and workplace aggression should also be considered, given that they influence job satisfaction in other workplaces (Lapierre, Spector, and Leck 2005; Leskinen, Cortina, and Kabat 2011). Even outside of the clergy profession, research on these three forms of workplace harassment has largely been siloed (Lapierre et al. 2005; Lim and Cortina 2005; Lopez et al. 2009). Thus, by taking a comparative organizational approach and studying these three categories of harassment in tandem, this dissertation contributes to the conversation about women in ministry and the broader scholarly conversation about workplace harassment in all its forms.

2. Methods

This dissertation is a mixed-methods study of workplace harassment in Mennonite Church USA and the Episcopal Church consisting of two components: a systematic survey and in-depth interviews. The survey enables me to compare the prevalence of workplace harassment in each denomination and explore its antecedents and consequences. The in-depth interviews allow for a deeper understanding of the mechanisms at play in instances of workplace harassment. Collecting my own data was necessary because there were no comparable, up-to-date secondary data available on these experiences in these denominations. MC USA last surveyed clergy on gender issues in 2005, when 17.6% of randomly sampled clergywomen reported that they had experienced sexual harassment using a self-labeling measure (Nath 2007). The Episcopal Church surveyed clergy in 2020 and found a far higher rate of 73.1% for clergywomen, but this study used a nonrandom sample and asked respondents about a list of behaviors researchers labeled as sexual or gender-based misconduct rather than asking them how they self-labeled their experiences (Murphy-Geiss 2020). Prior research in these groups has not investigated gender harassment as a related but distinct phenomenon from sexual harassment and has not inquired about workplace aggression at all. My new data thus update our knowledge on sexual harassment in these denominations, allow us to compare them for the first time, and provide the first generalizable evidence of these other experiences in these organizations.

2.1 In-depth interviews

The qualitative portion of this study consisted of semi-structured interviews, each lasting approximately 1-2 hours, with 27 current and former women in ministry in MC USA and three in the Episcopal Church. All interviews were conducted via Zoom so that clergywomen from across the United States could participate. The interview guide, which is available in Appendix A, covered a variety of topics, including how pastors experienced power structures in their denominations and congregations in practice, defined and thought about sexism and harassment,

and avoided or navigated negative experiences. The semi-structured nature of these interviews permitted us to ask about experiences of workplace harassment beyond sexual harassment and to probe more deeply about who perpetrated these incidents, how the situation was resolved (or not resolved), and the presence of factors that may have enabled or inhibited the harassment.

Interview results were vital in designing the systematic survey and understanding potential mechanisms behind the differences in harassment rates found in the survey.

2.1.1 Data-sharing

These interviews were conducted in collaboration with Amy Zimbelman, an MC USA conference minister who received a grant from the Louisville Institute to research Mennonite women in ministry as I was beginning this research. Because we were interested in the same topics, we used a common interview guide (see Appendix A) and established an IRB-approved data sharing agreement to securely share redacted transcripts with one another. This agreement involved submitting written notice from Amy of how she would share files with me, a confidentiality agreement signed by her, and her recruitment materials to the Duke University IRB (see Appendix B). Mennonite interview participants were asked for permission for us to share interview transcripts with one another in recruitment materials and at the start of each interview (see Appendices A-C). We analyzed transcripts separately, as per IRB instructions. Because of our respective goals and access to institutional resources, it made the most sense for Amy to focus on conducting interviews while I focused on designing and administering the systematic survey. Therefore, 24 of 27 Mennonite interviews used in this dissertation were conducted by Amy and shared with me as transcripts with direct identifiers redacted. Amy conducted one additional interview that is not included in this dissertation because of technical issues with recording and transcription. Upon request, I have provided Amy with the results of specific quantitative analyses using Mennonite survey data for use in her presentations and

writing. However, I did not share Episcopal transcripts nor survey data from either denomination with Amy, as our data use agreement pertained solely to Mennonite interview transcripts.

2.1.2 Interview guide

The interview guide included in-depth questions about workplace harassment and other aspects of a pastor's career (see Appendix A). The workplace harassment questions included questions about sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression, including training and policy in these areas and personal stories of what the participant or their friends had experienced. The broader questions inquired about a pastor's journey to ministry, their current role or reason for having left ministry, how power operates/operated within their congregation and conference or diocese, their hopes for the future of women in ministry, and their demographic characteristics.

The interview guide, which is quite long, should be read as a guide for conversing with particularly reticent participants rather than a depiction of how these conversations went in practice. Pastors are generally very skilled at presenting verbal narratives, so questions were often addressed without being directly asked. For example, clergywomen's responses to the first question about their call to ministry often covered their call to ministry, training, former ministry roles, current position, and the challenges they'd faced along the way, allowing us to skip questions 2-6 (see Appendix A). Because these were semi-structured rather than structured interviews, using the interview guide flexibly in this way was expected and not an obstacle to this research.

2.1.3 Sampling and recruitment

Interview participants included current and former clergywomen in both denominations. We did not restrict interview participation based on current pastoral role (e.g., limiting our study to lead pastors) because, regardless of their current role, pastors often spoke at length about their experiences in previous positions. Similarly, former clergywomen had plenty of stories to share

about their experiences in ministry; restricting our study to pastors who had stayed in ministry would have limited our ability to understand the challenging experiences women in ministry face by introducing survivorship bias. Interview participants were not selected based on whether they had experienced workplace harassment because we also valued understanding how pastors who had not encountered these experiences thought about them. All the women we spoke with had stories of sexism or workplace harassment that had happened to them or to their colleagues.

The 27 MC USA clergywomen interviewed were recruited via snowball sampling. Pastors from each of the sixteen MC USA conferences were represented in this sample. Seventeen were current MC USA pastors, eight had retired or left ministry, and two had moved from congregational ministry into a non-congregational ministry role. This sample deliberately overrepresented queer and racial/ethnic minority clergy, with two interview participants self-identifying as queer (7.41%, whereas only 5.88% of survey respondents self-identified as LGBT) and four identifying themselves as people of color (14.81%, compared to 9.31% of survey respondents).

The three ordained Episcopal priests interviewed were recruited with a post on the Young Clergy Women International Facebook group. Two were currently serving as parish priests, and one was a former rector who reentered parish ministry after our interview. All had served in multiple pastoral roles, one was a woman of color, and all three were heterosexual. While I intended to conduct a comparable number of interviews with Episcopal as with Mennonite clergy, unexpected challenges in generating an Episcopal survey sample (described below) left me with limited time to complete qualitative work in this denomination. After completing the survey, Episcopal clergy were directed to an unconnected follow-up survey that asked whether they would be willing to participate in an interview about their experiences (see Appendix C). When I resume Episcopal interviews after defending this dissertation, I will be able to use these responses

to generate a broad sample of women in Episcopal ministry who have already expressed interest in becoming interview participants.

Appendix C contains the interview recruitment materials and informed consent document used in this study. Participants were compensated \$45 for participating in an interview. Appendix C also contains a re-consent email; this is because, prior to the formal beginning of this project, I had already conducted six interviews (three in each denomination) as a class assignment. Because these interviews were conducted as part of my coursework, I did not seek IRB approval in advance. However, I received IRB permission to follow up with these participants and seek their consent to use their interview transcripts for this research moving forward, which all six of them gave. These transcripts were not shared with Amy.

2.1.4 Analysis

Interview data were transcribed using automated software, manually corrected, then systematically coded using NVivo. I analyzed interviews independently from Amy in two rounds. In the first round of analysis, conducted before the design and release of the survey, I used an abductive coding process that embraced the full spectrum of topics included in the interview guide. The findings from these early interviews were vital in iteratively refining the interview guide and developing the questionnaire for the systematic survey. In the second round of interview coding, conducted after the release of the survey for the purpose of writing this dissertation, I focused more narrowly on incidents of conflict, harm, or harassment and the circumstances surrounding them (such as perpetrators, settings, and outcomes). I plan to apply the more in-depth coding process used in analyzing earlier interviews to the full set of interviews in the future.

2.2 Systematic survey

I designed the Supporting Pastors Survey for this project to assess the prevalence, predictors, and outcomes of workplace harassment for pastors in congregational ministry. The

design of the questionnaire was based on findings from early interviews with clergywomen, questionnaires addressing similar topics or audiences (e.g., the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire and National Survey of Religious Leaders), and pretesting with men and women in ministry. The survey was sent to a nationally representative random sample of clergy in each denomination and achieved a response rate of 52.24% among Mennonite pastors and 40.60% among Episcopal clergy. The results of this survey allow me to explore how harassment rates differ by gender and denomination, the patterns in which harassment occurs, the job- and wellbeing-related outcomes linked with specific forms and patterns of harassment, who is perpetrating harassment targeting clergy, and which factors are correlated with lower reports of workplace harassment. The cross-organizational comparison and inclusion of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression in the same study are seldom done and represent a valuable contribution to our knowledge of how these behaviors occur and intersect.

2.2.1 Questionnaire design

The Supporting Pastors Survey questionnaire was initially developed based on prior literature and interview findings, then iteratively refined through multiple rounds of pretesting. I discuss specific questionnaires and studies that influenced the design of my questionnaire below. To give one example of how interview findings shaped the survey, early interviews revealed that the most salient and impactful experiences of harm reported by clergywomen often fell outside of my original intended focus of sexual harassment. These findings drove me to engage with the literature on gender harassment and workplace aggression and include questions about these experiences on the survey.

Amy and I pretested the Mennonite version of the survey by conducting cognitive interviews, which are a type of interview aimed at understanding the participant's thought process when presented with a question rather than learning from their response. Each cognitive interview was around an hour in length and conducted via Zoom or telephone. We presented participants

with a small list of survey questions and, after they had answered each question, asked a series of targeted probes to identify any difficulties. For example, we worried that asking pastors to select the year in which they started ministry might be taxing on their recall; this question was therefore followed by the probe, “How easy or difficult was it to remember this?” as suggested by Willis (2005) in his excellent guide to cognitive interviewing. I do not include cognitive interview guides in an appendix because the questionnaire was revised between every cognitive interview to maximize the value of each one, making each of these interviews unique. We conducted nine cognitive interviews with seven different Mennonite pastors, including two men. Five of these interviews were conducted by Amy, but as the party responsible for questionnaire design, I created the cognitive interview guides, evaluated results, and revised the questionnaire between each interview. I conducted an additional cognitive interview with an Episcopal seminary graduate and two cognitive interviews with Episcopal priests before releasing the survey in that denomination. Cognitive interview participants were compensated \$45 for their time. Further technical pretesting of the survey was conducted with the help of friends and colleagues who volunteered their time to ensure that skip patterns worked as expected by clicking through the survey on Qualtrics.

Fewer cognitive interviews were conducted with Episcopal clergy than with Mennonite clergy because most questions were kept consistent for comparative purposes; only the small portion of the survey that was subject to change was tested. Changes between denominations included wording changes, such as swapping in “bishop” for “conference minister” and providing different question wording for Episcopal clergy serving multiple congregations at the same time (which did not emerge as a potential issue for Mennonites). Additionally, one question about the misuse of titles was only included in the Episcopal survey, as it emerged as salient in Episcopal interviews but was irrelevant to Mennonites, who generally do not use titles. Please see Appendix D for the MC USA version of the questionnaire and Appendix E for the Episcopal version.

2.2.1.1 Measuring workplace harassment

One of the primary goals of the Supporting Pastors Survey was to assess workplace harassment rates, and my central measure of this was a behavioral checklist of experiences commonly reported by clergywomen in pretesting and early interviews. I use the term *experiences* rather than *harassment* when describing what these items represent moving forward because this checklist assessed concrete behaviors rather than inquiring about whether respondents perceived them as harassment. Prior research has suggested that such a checklist is a more effective way of measuring sexual harassment than self-labeling (Magley et al. 1999; Munson, Miner, and Hulin 2001). Experiences were grouped into the categories of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression after data collection based on prior literature and the correlations between responses (see the subsection “Constructing composite measures” below for further details). Each experience reported led to follow-up questions assessing recency and, for recent or severe experiences, perpetrator identity and setting.

The wording of the sexual harassment items on my behavioral checklist was drawn from the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ), which is widely used to assess sex-based harassment (e.g., Fitzgerald et al. 1995, 1999; Stark et al. 2002). However, I added experiences of workplace aggression commonly reported by clergy and clergy-specific gender harassment items that emerged during interviews. It is not unusual to modify the SEQ, which is best considered a family of questionnaires rather than a single questionnaire (Gutek, Murphy, and Douma 2004). I nonetheless do not label my version as the SEQ because of its broader scope and highly specific target population.

In addition to the behavioral checklist, I investigated whether respondents labeled their own experiences as sexual harassment. After the checklist and the follow-up questions about each experience, respondents were asked: “We’ve asked you about a variety of experiences that carry different labels for different people. Based on your own understanding of the term ‘sexual

harassment, ' have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a pastor (priest or deacon) in MC USA (the Episcopal Church)?" Answer options included yes, no, not sure, and prefer not to say. The "not sure" option was intended to capture ambiguous or borderline experiences of sexual harassment, which emerged as a theme in Mennonite but not Episcopal interviews. The behavioral checklist likewise gave respondents the chance to report on experiences that they may or may not have confidently labeled as harassment, which could still be distressing to clergy.

2.2.1.2 Measuring predictors and outcomes

Predictors and outcomes were drawn from prior literature. Prior research has suggested that workplace harassment is related to aspects of organizational context such as autonomy, job security, and support from colleagues and supervisors (De Coster et al. 1999; Chamberlain et al. 2008; McDuff 2008; Lopez et al. 2009). Question wording for these topics was borrowed from McDuff (2008). Additionally, certain individual characteristics, such as job title, age, and marital status, relate to one's harassment risk (De Coster et al. 1999; O'Connell and Korabik 2000; McLaughlin et al. 2012; Wynen 2016). Wording for these questions was customized for each denomination or borrowed from the National Survey of Religious Leaders (NSRL). Outcomes such as job satisfaction, intent to stay in one's current job, mental wellbeing, and physical health have also been found to correlate with sex-based harassment and workplace aggression (O'Connell and Korabik 2000; Cortina et al. 2001, 2013; Willness, Steel, and Lee 2007; Chan et al. 2008; Griffin 2010; Herscovis and Barling 2010a, 2010b; McLaughlin, Uggen, and Blackstone 2017; Jorgensen et al. 2024). Specific question wording for these topics was borrowed from the NSRL to allow for an eventual comparison with other religious leaders.

2.2.2 Sampling and recruitment

The Supporting Pastors Survey was sent to a nationally representative random sample of congregational clergy of all genders in each denomination. In recent counts, there were 3,160 men and 1,849 women in ministry in the Episcopal Church and 665 men and 309 women in

ministry in MC USA (Price and Hurst 2016; MC USA Women in Leadership 2018). Because of the smaller number of Mennonite women in ministry and differences in my access to internal denominational databases, the Mennonite sample is stratified based on gender, while the Episcopal sample represents the gender ratio of the full population of Episcopal clergy.

The Mennonite sample was drawn from an internal directory listing each pastor's name, gender, roles and contact information shared with me by MC USA leadership. The information in this directory is provided by conference ministers, who are incentivized to update it by being charged a small annual fee for each pastor listed. The criteria for inclusion in my sample were (a) having a credential status of "active" or "on probation" and (b) being in the role of lead pastor, associate pastor, licensed towards ordination, missions, or special ministry. This excluded retired or inactive clergy and clergy in non-congregational roles, namely conference ministers, chaplains, ordination overseers, and teachers or instructors. While it is likely that most people in missions or special ministry are not congregational ministers, I included these individuals in my sample in case pastoring a congregation was a component of their role. The first question of the survey filtered out pastors who were not currently in congregational ministry despite their database entry meeting these sampling criteria (see Appendix D). I did not limit the survey to paid, ordained clergy because not all conferences require pastors to be credentialed and, while uncommon, some MC USA clergy lead their congregations on a volunteer basis. I stratified my sample based on gender and sent the survey to all 248 women in the database who fit my criteria and a random sample of 355 men. This number of men was chosen to obtain an equal number of responses from men and women based on gender differences in response rates to the 2005 survey (Nath 2007). No individual's gender was listed as nonbinary in the database at the time of sampling.

The Episcopal Church maintains tighter control over information about its clergy, so an equivalent database is not available to researchers. After considering many options, I took a simple random sample of 500 cathedrals, historical churches, and parishes in the United States

from the Episcopal Clerical Directory Online Institution Finder, an official and publicly available online resource for locating Episcopal institutions. Parishes were the most common type of Episcopal congregation, representing 96.60% ($n = 483$) of institutions sampled. I did not include other institution types because they were either outside of the congregational scope of this project (e.g., campus ministries, seminaries, and dioceses) or consistently had no website available (i.e., missions). I used the Institution Finder rather than the Clergy Finder because the latter contained many inactive and retired clergy; focusing on institutions allowed me to feel confident that I was sampling active congregational clergy. I then visited each congregation's website to manually gather the name, gender, and email address of each cleric serving that congregation so that I could send the survey to every priest and deacon in each sampled congregation. Fifty-one of these congregations had closed, provided no way to contact them, were between priests, or were otherwise out of scope. Of the remaining congregations, 236 did not list email addresses for each cleric on their website, so I emailed the church office or administrative staff to request this information. I ended up with a random sample of 436 priests and deacons (195 women, 239 men, and 2 nonbinary or unknown). Because this sampling procedure involved locating clergy through the congregations they served, Episcopal clergy serving more than one congregation were more likely to be sampled, which I address by using weights in my analyses.

Recruitment materials for the survey are available in Appendix F. At the conclusion of the survey, respondents were directed to a separate, unconnected survey where they could enter themselves into a drawing to win one of four \$50 Amazon gift cards. In the Episcopal survey, respondents were also asked about their willingness to participate in a follow-up interview sometime in the future, but their eligibility for the Amazon gift card drawing was not influenced by their response to this question (see Appendix C). Prior research with other populations has suggested that lottery incentives are effective in boosting survey response rates (Laguilles, Williams, and Saunders 2011; Pedersen and Nielsen 2016).

2.2.3 Data collection

The Supporting Pastors Survey was self-administered over the internet using Qualtrics, a cloud-based survey platform. Using this software allowed me to create branching paths depending on respondents' previous answers, which meant that I could ask follow-up questions about specific reported incidents of harassment. Additionally, prior research has suggested that respondents are more likely to report sensitive information and behaviors in web surveys, which was important for this study because of the sensitive questions being asked (Kreuter, Presser, and Tourangeau 2008; Gnambs and Kaspar 2015). While response rates are lower for web surveys than for other modes of survey administration, this difference can be minimized by inviting respondents to participate via email (Daikeler, Bošnjak, and Lozar Manfreda 2020). I further maximized my response rate by sending personalized reminder emails to non-respondents and offering monetary incentives, as described above.

The survey was open to MC USA clergy from June to December 2023 and to Episcopal clergy from July to December 2024. They were not sent simultaneously because of the need to field the Mennonite survey in time to present results at the denomination's biannual convention, the work involved in revising the survey for a new population, and the challenges of generating an Episcopal sample (as described above). I do not believe that differences between these groups are the result of any external factors related to the topic of the survey changing between 2023 and 2024.

2.2.4 Response rates and nonresponse bias

The response rate among MC USA clergy was 52.24% ($n = 315$), which is favorable compared to the 2005 survey of this population, which yielded a response rate of 34% (Nath 2007). Out of all surveys started by Mennonite respondents, 93% were fully completed. The response rate among Episcopal clergy was 40.60% ($n = 177$), and 97% of surveys started by Episcopal respondents were completed. Incomplete responses from congregational clergy were

retained in analyses unless they were missing one or more of the specific variables being analyzed. Responses from clergy not currently serving in a congregational setting were dropped from the remainder of this dissertation, leaving 213 responses from Mennonite pastors in congregational settings and 161 responses from Episcopal priests and deacons in congregational settings.

I assessed nonresponse bias in a different way for each denomination based on the information available to me. On the Episcopal side, I compared the demographic characteristics of my survey respondents with the demographic characteristics of the full population of active Episcopal clergy reported by Episcopal Church researchers Price and So-Schoos (2022). For Mennonites, because I did not have access to recent population-level estimates of demographic characteristics, I used successive wave analysis, which involves comparing early respondents to those who responded only after receiving reminders (Halbesleben and Whitman 2013; Duszynski et al. 2022). This method is based on the idea of a “continuum of resistance” with immediate responders on one end and nonparticipants on the other; those who require follow-up messages to respond are thought to be more similar to nonparticipants, since they would have been nonparticipants if the study had ended sooner (Lin and Schaeffer 1995). This method allowed me to compare early Mennonite respondents with near-nonparticipants on demographic characteristics and outcomes of interest to this study. I was not able to similarly compare earlier and later waves of Episcopal survey respondents because I sent the survey out in waves as I was able to contact specific clergy. For this reason, some clergy whose contact information was available on their congregation’s website had already received a reminder email before other clergy whose information I obtained by personally corresponding with their congregation had received their first recruitment email. Since I did not collect any identifying information such as contact information or IP address on the survey, I am not able to connect Episcopal responses with the number of recruitment emails that individual had received at the time of their response.

Table 2: Assessing Nonresponse Bias by Comparing Demographic Characteristics of Active Episcopal Clergy

	Priests		Deacons	
	Price and So-Schoos (2022)	Supporting Pastors Survey (2024)	Price and So-Schoos (2022)	Supporting Pastors Survey (2024)
<i>Gender</i>				
Woman	40%	40.71%	64%	65.00%
Man	60%	59.29%	36%	35.00%
<i>Race</i>				
White	87%	89.55%	71%	94.74%
Black	4%	3.73%	12%	-
Latin	4%	2.99%	10%	-
Asian, Pacific	1%	0.75%	2%	-
Native	0.5%	1.49%	-	-
Multi	3%	1.49%	5%	5.26%
Other	0.5%	-	-	-
<i>Sexual Orientation</i>				
Heterosexual	76%	87.59%	86%	78.95%
Gay or lesbian	16%	6.57%	13%	10.53%
Bisexual	5%	2.19%	1%	5.26%
Other	3%	3.65%	-	5.26%

As Table 2 shows, the gender ratio of my Episcopal respondents is a near-perfect match for the overall gender ratio of active Episcopal priests and deacons. However, White deacons and heterosexual priests are somewhat overrepresented in my sample. This may be in part because the small number of deacons in my sample ($n = 20$) but may also reflect genuine differences between congregational and non-congregational active Episcopal clergy. Price and So-Schoos (2022) demonstrated that clergy of color and LGBTQ+ clergy are more likely to serve outside of the parish setting than White and heterosexual clergy. The presence of differences between my sample of congregational clergy and the overall population of active clergy in race and sexual orientation, but not gender, aligns with this finding rather than indicating bias.

For Mennonites, I conducted t-tests comparing early and late respondents on the three demographic characteristics assessed for Episcopal clergy as well as reports of workplace

harassment. Based on these tests, there were no statistically significant differences between early and late Mennonite respondents in terms of being a man or a woman, White or a racial or ethnic minority, and heterosexual or LGBT ($p > 0.05$). Additionally, there were no statistically significant differences between initial respondents and those who required reminders to participate in reports of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression over the past year and the course of one's entire career ($p > 0.05$). I thus believe that this sample adequately represents the population of Mennonite clergy both in terms of demographic characteristics and the experiences I am studying.

2.2.5 Analysis

Quantitative data were analyzed using R. I describe specific analytical strategies, dependent variables, and covariates in greater depth in the chapters that follow. In this chapter, I will explain the construction of composite measures for different categories of workplace harassment and survey weights, as these are relevant for all three empirical chapters.

2.2.5.1 Constructing composite measures

I organized the experiences in the behavioral checklist into three categories based on prior literature and how closely related specific experiences were to one another. Because many of the experiences on the behavioral checklist were new, clergy-specific experiences not drawn from existing questionnaires, I tested multiple groupings to determine which combination of theoretically linked experiences also had the highest internal consistency, which suggested that they measured a common underlying construct (Tavakol and Dennick 2011). Each of these categories has a Cronbach's alpha value of greater than 0.7, which is generally accepted as adequate (Cortina 1993).

Table 3: Experiences Included in Composite Measures of Sexual Harassment, Gender Harassment, and Workplace Aggression

In your capacity as a pastor [priest or deacon], how many times have you been in a situation where someone has:	
Sexual Harassment (alpha = 0.741)	made unwanted attempts to draw you into discussion of sexual matters, including attempting to discuss or comment on your sex life?
	made crude or offensive sexual remarks, either in front of other people or to you privately?
	continued to ask you for a date, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you had previously said “no”?
	made unwanted or uncomfortable attempts to touch, stroke, or fondle you, for example touching your arm or hand or stroking your leg or neck?
	made it seem necessary for you to respond positively to sexual or romantic invitations in order to be well-treated on the job?
	made unwanted physical attempts to have sex with you?
	<i>Answers of “Yes” to a question presented separately after the behavioral checklist: We’ve asked you about a variety of experiences that carry different labels for different people. Based on your own understanding of the term “sexual harassment,” have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a pastor [priest or deacon] in MC USA [the Episcopal Church]?</i>
Gender Harassment (alpha = 0.729; 0.772 with title question included)	made inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about your appearance or voice?
	mistaken you for a pastor’s spouse, secretary, or other nonclergy role?
	overtly criticized you for not conforming to stereotypes about how your gender should behave?
	<i>Asked of Episcopalians only: refused to call you by a title you have requested they use?</i>
Workplace Aggression (alpha = 0.8)	put you down, mistreated, slighted, ignored, or been condescending to you?
	left or threatened to leave the congregation because they did not want you as pastor?
	used money, such as your salary or their tithes, as a way to control your actions or punish you?
	used committees or other bureaucratic means to hold up or sabotage your work?
	sent you emails, notes, letters, texts, calls, or social media posts that you experienced as harmful or intimidating?
	impeded, reviewed, suspended, or revoked your credentials for reasons you considered unfair?
	threatened you with bodily harm?
	physically attacked or done violence to you?
	threatened you with retaliation because you brought attention to sexism, harassment, or the abuse of yourself or someone else?

Please see Table 3 for each category's alpha values and associated experiences. As the table indicates, one item in the gender harassment category related to the use of titles was asked only of Episcopalians because differing norms around the use of titles in Mennonite spaces rendered the question potentially offensive. Including this item raises the alpha score, but it is not included in the composite gender harassment measure used to compare Mennonites and Episcopalians because doing so would mean either (a) introducing missing data for every Mennonite respondent by setting their responses for this item to NA or (b) systematically raising Episcopal gender harassment rates in comparison by setting Mennonite responses to "never" for an experience which they were not given the opportunity to report. I do, however, use the title question when analyzing rates of specific experiences or comparing Episcopal men and women without including Mennonites. Table 3 also includes one question about self-labeling sexual harassment that was not part of the behavioral checklist but is still a part of the sexual harassment composite measure. For each item in the behavioral checklist, respondents could state that they had experienced that behavior many times in their career, a few times in their career, one time in their career, or never.

The behavioral checklist question asked about specific experiences but did not ask the respondent *why* they thought any given behavior had occurred, since perpetrators' motivations are often unknown to their targets. This means that the way I group any one incident in Table 3 may not perfectly align with the way the target experienced it in practice. For example, I include the behavior "made inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about your appearance or voice" in the gender harassment category. However, if the inappropriate remark a pastor received was sexual in nature, that individual incident would arguably belong in the sexual harassment category instead. Alternatively, I include the behavior "left or threatened to leave the congregation because they did not want you as pastor" in the workplace aggression category. If a clergywoman knows that people left her congregation because they did not want a woman as pastor, she may experience

the same behavior as an act of gender harassment rather than workplace aggression. I addressed this limitation by also conducting in-depth interviews, which gave women in ministry the opportunity to share causal narratives about experiences they could only report the frequency of in the survey, and using Cronbach's alpha to provide a mathematical basis for these groupings rather than relying solely on prior literature and my instincts as a researcher.

After organizing specific experiences into the three categories, I created a composite measure for each category with the commonly used simple averaging technique described by Song and colleagues (2013). First, I standardized every experience by turning each observation into a z score with a mean of 0. I then created the composite measures by summing the z scores of each item in each category. These steps were necessary to account for different variances in the original variables and prevent the relationship between the composite measure and the outcomes under study from being unduly influenced by a single variable with a large variance (Song et al. 2013). Additionally, taking this step allowed me to use variables with different scales. Rather than needing to collapse each item into a binary ("at least once" vs. "never") to match the binary responses to the sexual harassment labeling question ("yes" vs. all other responses), I could include all levels presented on the four-point scale: "never," "one time in my career," "a few times in my career," and "many times in my career." This made better use of my data and allowed the composite measures to represent not only the variety of experiences a cleric reported, but also the frequency of each type of experience.

Finally, as suggested by Song and colleagues (2013) and executed by Ward and colleagues (2009), I transformed the composite measure into a standardized T score with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of 10. This improves interpretation of the data by creating a more intuitive measure that generally ranges from 0-100; thus, a larger sexual harassment score (for example) can be easily interpreted as indicating more sexual harassment, both in terms of frequency and variety of experiences. A score of 50 represents the average amount of sexual

harassment reported by all clergy I surveyed, and an increase or decrease of 10 points represents a one standard deviation change in reported sexual harassment.

In addition to the composite measure of experiences over a cleric's entire career described above and in Table 3, I also created a composite measure using the same process for each category of experience within the past twelve months. There are two differences between the whole-career and past-year measures. First, the past-year composite measures do not include levels indicating frequency ("never," "one time in my career," "a few times in my career," "many times in my career") because I only have binary data about these recent experiences. The follow-up question about timing asked respondents, "Within the past 12 months, in your capacity as a pastor (priest or deacon), has someone:" followed by a list of all behaviors the respondent had reported experiencing. Answer options were "Yes, within the past 12 months" and "No, not within the past 12 months" and thus do not indicate frequency, only whether an experience had occurred. Secondly, the question about sexual harassment labeling addressed a pastor's entire career, and there was no similar question for the past year only. The past-year sexual harassment composite measure is therefore limited to the six behavioral measures and does not include the self-labeling question (see Table 3). The same guidelines for interpretation (larger numbers indicate more experiences within a category, 50 is the average score, and an increase or decrease of 10 indicates a change of one standard deviation) otherwise apply.

2.2.5.2 Survey weights

When comparing Episcopalians with Mennonites without controlling for gender, I weighted responses by gender to account for the fact that Mennonite women were intentionally oversampled. The weighted responses represent the proportion of the total active clergy population in each denomination. For Mennonites, I calculated the weights so that the gender distribution in my sample matched the gender distribution in the sampling frame, i.e., active clergy listed in the Mennonite clergy database (32.5% female, 67.4% male, and 0.1% nonbinary).

The raw gender distribution among Mennonite survey respondents is 47.0% female, 52.6% male, and 0.5% nonbinary.

For Episcopalians, since I did not have access to an official database, I calculated the weights so that the gender distribution among respondents matched the gender distribution of clergy in my random sample of 500 congregations. That distribution (43.8% women, 56.0% men, and 0.1% nonbinary) is similar to the distribution reported in an official presentation by the Episcopal Church (42% female, 56% male, and 2% multiple, nonbinary, or otherwise self-described, reported in Price and So-Schoos 2022). The raw gender distribution among Episcopal survey respondents is 43.5% female, 55.9% male, and 0.6% nonbinary.

An additional weight was necessary for Episcopalians. Because I initially sampled congregations, clergy who serve multiple congregations had a higher chance of being selected than clergy who serve only one congregation. To account for this, each Episcopal response is weighted inversely proportional to the number of congregations the respondent currently serves.

2.3 Ethical considerations

One ethical consideration that influenced my research design was the possibility of re-traumatizing research participants by asking them to recall challenging and possibly traumatic experiences. To avoid this, I carefully structured the interview guide and survey questionnaire to begin with lighter topics to build rapport and conclude on a hopeful note. Additionally, research participants in both parts of this study were informed of their right to skip any question for any reason and to end their participation at any time (see sections titled “informed consent” or “consent to participate in research” in Appendices B-E for this wording). I have not received any reports of re-traumatization because of participation in this research. Interview participants who shared challenging experiences with me tended to do so in a tone that suggested camaraderie rather than dread, likely because I (as a young woman) am perceived as capable of empathizing with frustrating experiences of sexism. Several survey respondents contacted me afterwards to

express that they appreciated knowing their stories were being taken seriously, with one even describing the process of taking the survey as a healing experience.

An additional ethical consideration was confidentiality. I use the term *confidentiality* rather than *anonymity* because I cannot absolutely guarantee the latter, even in my quantitative data. For example, given the small size of MC USA, an uncommon combination of demographic characteristics could be used to indirectly identify a research participant. To protect the confidentiality of survey respondents, I report on aggregate data and do not highlight results from very small groups, such as nonbinary clergy or clergy with any one specific minority racial background. I did not collect information I believed could be used to identify respondents (e.g., IP address, contact information, diocese or conference, the specific orientations of sexual minority pastors in MC USA) except for indirect identifiers necessary to the research (e.g., basic demographic characteristics, information about uncommon workplace experiences). If I am someday asked to share survey data with specific other researchers, I will share only deidentified data and first submit an IRB amendment with a data use agreement, description of how said researchers will use and store the data, and explanation of how I will ensure that all indirect identifiers are removed. Raw survey data are only accessible to myself and my advisor at the time of writing.

To protect the confidentiality of interview participants, direct identifiers were redacted from transcripts immediately after transcription. However, it may still be possible to deduce someone's identity from their redacted interview transcript through indirect identifiers and personal stories. For this reason, full transcripts have never and will never be shared, except with those individuals whom the participant consented to have view their transcript before participating in the interview (i.e., me for all interviews, Amy for most Mennonite interviews, and my qualitative research methods instructor Jessi Streib for the two interviews conducted as an assignment for her class). I only publicly share quotes that I do not believe pose a risk of

indirectly identifying individual research participants and do not include additional information about the speaker that could contribute to identifying them. One interview participant who was particularly concerned about being identified asked that we contact her (through Amy, as I do not know her identity) for permission to use specific quotes in publications, and Amy and I have both adhered to this.

2.4 Positionality statement

I bring a mix of insider and outsider statuses to bear on this research, beginning with the fact that I am a Mennonite. This research project emerged in part from the invitation of the MC USA Women in Leadership (WiL) group to review a survey questionnaire draft for them, as one committee member at the time knew that I was a sociologist. I used my coursework as an opportunity to prepare to assist them with questionnaire revisions by reviewing the relevant literature and conducting pilot interviews, and this preparation convinced me that this topic was of sociological as well as practical importance. These pilot interviews grew into the qualitative portion of this dissertation, and the initially planned WiL survey was shelved in favor of the broader Supporting Pastors Survey. My insider status as a Mennonite woman (albeit a convert to the denomination) has granted me access and trust that may otherwise have remained inaccessible to me in an organization where power is often relational. That said, my youth, status as a layperson with no seminary training, and connection with the academy set me apart as an outsider, giving me the ability to ask questions that might seem obvious if asked by a trained pastor.

I selected the Episcopal Church as a comparison group because of how it differs from MC USA in terms of polity and liturgy. I am honest about my personal religious affiliation when asked, and the response from Episcopal priests has been one of friendly curiosity about why I have chosen to research Episcopalians rather than suspicion or distrust. I believe that my identity as a fellow woman was more critical in establishing rapport during interviews than my

denominational identity. To guard against bias and misperceptions because of my relative lack of familiarity with the Episcopal world, I have consulted with a small group of experienced Episcopal clergywomen at various stages in this project. I am especially grateful to the Revs. Marisa Tabizon Thompson and Megan Castellan for their input on my methods and interpretation on several occasions. Finally, I will note that I began this project with a suspicion that the relative de-emphasis on clerical authority in Anabaptist spaces would result in particularly high rates of workplace harassment for Mennonite clergywomen relative to clergywomen in other denominations. While the results in the following chapters do not support this, I hope that this initial hypothesis illustrates my resistance to bias toward results that reflect well on my own denomination.

This research was motivated by my desire to support women in ministry. Using mixed methods allowed me to gather the quantitative, generalizable data that I believed would be useful for convincing denominational leaders of the importance of addressing gender inequality while also centering and elevating the voices of specific women who participated in qualitative interviews, whose stories I have felt honored to hear and carry. It is my dearest hope that the results of this project can lead to concrete changes that benefit its participants. My position against sexism (and all systems of oppression) stems from both my training as a sociologist and the values of my religion. Anabaptist theology emphasizes nonviolent resistance to the powers and principalities of this world, and untangling the relationship between power structures and the systemic sin of sexism is one way for me to live out this sacred responsibility.

2.5 Limitations in scope

The following chapters are based on data gathered from congregational clergy who were accessible through my sampling methods. This means that my results may not be applicable to clergy who serve in other contexts, such as chaplains, seminary faculty, and missionaries. To be included in the systematic survey portion of this study, Mennonite clergy had to be listed in the

MC USA pastor database. Conference ministers provide the information in the database; while they are incentivized to update it regularly by a small annual per-pastor fee, there may be confessional differences in the accuracy and recency of clergy contact information. The database is not limited to paid, ordained clergy, but clergy serving in particularly informal capacities (e.g., recent church planters, clergy uninterested in seeking or unable to seek licensure) may be absent. To be sampled for the survey, Episcopal clergy had to serve a congregation listed in the Episcopal Clerical Directory Online Institution Finder, which may similarly exclude particularly new or informal congregations and their clergy. Because Episcopal interview participants were recruited from the Young Clergy Women International Facebook group, they may be more similar in age and more aware of gender dynamics than is true of the larger population of Episcopal clergy, which is something I hope to address by recruiting subsequent interview participants from the survey. Mennonite interview participants were recruited via snowball sampling, but bias was minimized by asking participants to refer us to acquaintances rather than close friends and intentionally recruiting diverse participants in terms of age, race, sexual orientation, and conference affiliation. No sampling method is perfect, and I selected these techniques to make the best use of the time and resources available to me.

In the following chapters, I focus on clergywomen's experiences with various forms of harm in the workplace even though my data are broader than this. My emphasis on the challenges of a pastoral career does not emerge from a desire to downplay the strength and resilience of women in ministry. On the contrary, I believe that understanding these challenges underscores the persistence of clergywomen who have pursued their calling in the face of intense obstacles. I hope to share findings about clergywomen's stories of empowerment, strategies for countering sexism, and hopes for the future of women in ministry in subsequent publications. Additionally, I focus on gender differences and women's experiences rather than other sources of inequality and the experiences of clergy of other genders. I deeply appreciate every individual who took my

survey and recognize that gender is not the only source of challenges in ministry, even if other sources largely fall outside of the purview of this dissertation. I hope that this step forward in understanding how workplace harassment targeting clergy is related to gender and denomination can help lay the groundwork for even more intersectional studies of these experiences in the future.

2.6 Conclusion

This project was methodologically complex, involving both quantitative and qualitative research methods, coordination with a researcher outside the academy, the development of a new survey questionnaire, comparing two organizations that required different approaches for accessing research participants, and sensitive subject matter. However, the complications involved in collecting original data were necessary given the lack of existing data that could be compared between denominations and included all the potentially harmful experiences under study (sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression). The breadth and comparative aspect of this project represent a valuable contribution to the literature, not only updating our knowledge about sexual harassment targeting clergy but creating new knowledge about these other experiences and the organizational factors that relate to them. The in-depth interviews both shaped the design of the survey and provided context for interpreting its findings, and the development and testing of a new survey questionnaire is itself a contribution. The findings in the chapters that follow enrich our understanding of workplace harassment targeting clergy and the experiences of women in ministry in a way that would not have been possible without the combination of research methods described in this chapter.

3. Sexual Harassment, Gender Harassment, and Workplace Aggression Targeting Clergy: The Role of Gender and Denomination

Women in ministry are systematically disadvantaged relative to men in ways that we might predict would lead to greater workplace harassment. Gendered workplace harassment tends to target both those who are structurally vulnerable and those who threaten existing gendered hierarchies (Minnotte and Legerski 2019). Clergywomen fall into both of these categories, given their overrepresentation in subordinate positions in under-resourced congregations and the fact that their very presence in positions of authority as clergy is a threat to the status quo in this male-dominated profession (Bock 1967; Nesbitt 1993; Konieczny and Chaves 2000; Sullins 2000; Adams 2007; Hoge 2009; Campbell-Reed 2018).

This is, in fact, exactly what we see. Prior research has found that clergywomen are indeed more likely to experience sexual harassment than their male colleagues in multiple denominations, including the United Methodist Church (UMC), Mennonite Church USA, the United Church of Christ (UCC), the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) (DOC), and the Episcopal Church (Majka 1991; Nath 2007; McDuff 2008; Murphy-Geiss 2020). Differences between denominations are more difficult to assess because of variation in the measurement of sexual harassment. For example, a checklist question assessing experiences with behaviors researchers consider sexual misconduct yielded sexual harassment rates of 77.2% in a random sample of UMC clergywomen and 73.1% in a nonrandom sample of Episcopal clergywomen (Majka 1991; Murphy-Geiss 2020). However, asking random samples of Mennonite clergywomen whether they had ever experienced sexual harassment and UCC and DOC clergywomen whether sexual harassment was a problem for them at work yielded substantially lower estimates of only 17.6% and 14.75% respectively (Nath 2007; McDuff 2008). Thus, while we understand that women are more likely to report sexual harassment than men within

individual denominations, how these rates and the influence of gender on harassment differ across denominations is not well understood.

Despite the elevated risk of harassment women in ministry face, research and training has tended to focus on harassment *by* clergy rather than harassment *of* clergy because of the assumption that authority derived from the pastor role protects them (Sawchuk et al. 2007; McDuff 2008). Additionally, researchers have tended to focus on sexual harassment; while work exists on other manifestations of sexism (e.g., Lauve-Moon 2021) and harmful workplace experiences that are not based on sex or gender (e.g., Tanner 2017; Turner 2018), publications on ministers' experiences with these topics are outnumbered by publications on their experiences with sexual misconduct. Finally, even the research on sexual misconduct is often methodologically limited, out-of-date, or both. Neither of the two denominations I am researching has recent and generalizable data on sexual harassment available: Mennonite Church USA last surveyed clergy on this topic in 2005, and the Episcopal Church's recent survey on the topic used a nonrandom sample, thereby limiting the ability of researchers to make prevalence claims based on these data (Nath 2007; Murphy-Geiss 2020).

In this chapter, I will report findings from my nationally representative surveys of Mennonite and Episcopal clergy and in-depth interviews with women in ministry in these denominations. By comparing experiences in these two groups, which differ vastly in cultural norms and governance structures as described in Chapter 1, my research represents a large part of the spectrum of Christian practice in the United States. Both my survey and in-depth interviews expand on prior research by simultaneously assessing three types of workplace experience: sexual harassment, gender harassment, and harmful workplace experiences that are not explicitly based on sex or gender. Thus, this research not only provides the only generalizable and up-to-date information on sexual harassment in Mennonite Church USA and the Episcopal Church but also

expands our knowledge by providing the first generalizable empirical evidence of these other experiences in these denominations.

3.1 Methods

Data in this chapter are drawn from interviews with clergywomen and from the Supporting Pastors Survey, which I designed and administered for this project. In this chapter, I primarily report quantitative findings from the survey but occasionally refer to the in-depth interviews to provide additional context on survey findings. In addition to providing this context on quantitative findings, the in-depth interviews were vital in designing a survey that assessed the most common and salient workplace experiences faced by women in ministry.

3.1.1 In-depth interviews

The in-depth interviews were conducted virtually, lasted 1-2 hours, and covered a variety of topics, including clergywomen's training and beliefs about workplace harassment and their personal experiences with harm during their ministry careers. The 27 Mennonite pastors interviewed were recruited via snowball sampling, represented every MC USA conference, and overrepresented LGBT+ and BIPOC clergy. These interviews were conducted in collaboration with Amy Zimelman, an MC USA conference minister conducting similar research with whom I established an IRB-approved data sharing agreement. The 3 Episcopal priests interviewed were recruited with a post on a Young Clergy Women International Facebook group. Clergywomen were compensated \$45 for their participation. Please see Chapter 2 for additional details on the interview guide, sampling and recruitment, and analysis.

3.1.2 Systematic survey

I obtained a random sample of Mennonite clergy, stratified by gender so as to oversample women, from an internal database of all active MC USA clergy provided to me by the denomination. However, no similar database is available to researchers for Episcopalians. Instead, I took a simple random sample of 500 cathedrals, historical churches, and parishes from

the Episcopal Clerical Directory Online Institution Finder, a publicly available online resource for locating Episcopal institutions. I then visited each congregation's website to manually gather information, including contact information, about their clergy, and I sent the survey to every cleric at each sampled congregation. For this reason, my random sample of Episcopalians is not stratified by gender like my random sample of Mennonites. It also means that Episcopal clergy who serve more than one congregation are over-represented, a sample feature I address with weights in my analyses.

I designed The Supporting Pastors Survey to assess the prevalence, predictors, and outcomes of a variety of forms of workplace harassment. The survey was pretested using cognitive interviews with men and women in ministry and administered using Qualtrics. It was open to my Mennonite sample from June 2023 to December 2023 and had a final response rate of 52.24%, which is better than the 34% response rate achieved by a 2005 survey of this population (Nath 2007). Data collection from a nationally representative sample of Episcopal clergy began in July 2024 and continued until December 2024 with a response rate of 40.60%. Please see Chapter 2 for more information on questionnaire design, pretesting, sampling, recruitment, incentives, and why I believe these samples adequately represent the population of Mennonite and Episcopal clergy with respect to key variables.

3.1.3 Measuring workplace experiences

The in-depth interviews gave clergywomen the opportunity to share about potentially harmful workplace experiences in a variety of ways. First, the semi-structured nature of these interviews meant that the conversation could turn to such experiences if the interview participant brought them up on her own. Additionally, certain sections of the interview guide opened up this topic of conversation, beginning with more ambiguous questions (e.g., “if it has, how would you say that being a woman has impacted your ministry?” and “have you ever had experiences as a pastor where someone has crossed a boundary and made you uncomfortable?”) and transitioning

into more specific questions (e.g., “how do you think of or define sexual harassment?” and “have you ever been sexually harassed in your role as a pastor (priest)?” along with a parallel question about non-sexual harm or abuse). (Please see Appendix A for the full interview guide.)

Participants did not have to label their experiences in any particular way in order to discuss them in the interview, and there was no list of behaviors provided to limit what they were able to discuss. This allowed for rich conversation about the most salient experiences they’d encountered in ministry and how they interpreted those experiences.

Based on findings from the in-depth interviews and prior research, the survey inquired about workplace experiences in multiple ways. The central measure of potentially harmful workplace experiences in the survey was a behavioral checklist composed of 18 experiences for Mennonites and 19 for Episcopalians that were commonly reported by clergywomen in questionnaire pretesting and in-depth interviews. This measure was inspired by prior research, particularly that using the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ), which asks about specific behaviors rather than how respondents label their experiences. The SEQ is considered the gold standard for measuring experiences of sexual harassment and is widely used to assess the prevalence of these experiences (e.g., Fitzgerald et al. 1995, 1999; Stark et al. 2002). I also asked respondents whether their experiences constituted sexual harassment according to their own definition of that term. However, prior research has found that scores from behavioral checklists like the SEQ are more closely related to the negative outcomes of sexual harassment than self-labeling, which suggests that the former is a better way of measuring sexual harassment (Magley et al. 1999; Munson et al. 2001).

The checklist on the Supporting Pastors Survey differs from the SEQ in its breadth. While I drew some items from previous versions of the SEQ, most were generated based on common experiences reported by interview participants. In these conversational interviews, the most common and distressing experiences that emerged were not necessarily those traditionally

considered sexual harassment. As such, the checklist on the Supporting Pastors Survey asks about three types of experiences: sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression. Sexual harassment encompasses unwanted expressions of sexual or romantic interest and coercive behaviors intended to induce sexual cooperation (Fitzgerald et al. 1995; Leskinen et al. 2011). Gender harassment includes behaviors that demean the target based on their gender, rather than sexual advances (Fitzgerald et al. 1995; Berdahl 2007a; Leskinen et al. 2011). Workplace aggression describes acts of disrespect and hostility that, in principle, are unrelated to gender; this phrase was suggested as an umbrella term by Hershcovis (2011) to replace overlapping constructs such as incivility, bullying, social undermining, and others.

For each of the 18-19 behaviors, respondents were asked whether they had experienced the behavior many times in their career, a few times in their career, one time in their career, or never. Respondents who selected an option other than “never” were asked a follow-up question about whether this experience had occurred within the past twelve months. Please see Appendices D-E for the full survey questionnaires, including the checklist question and timing follow-up question (which are Q44 and Q46 in Appendix D and Q68 and Q70 in Appendix E). I grouped behaviors into three categories based on prior literature and the correlation between them in my data, then converted these into a composite measure as described in Chapter 2. The composite measure for each category generally ranges from 0-100 and centers on 50, and an increase or decrease of 10 indicates a one standard deviation change. A higher score on a composite measure made up of experiences over one’s entire career can indicate both greater variety and greater frequency of experiences in that category, as I included the reported frequency of each behavior (many times, a few times, one time, or never) in these measures. The composite measures of experiences within the past 12 months only indicate the number of recent experiences in each category, not their frequency, as I only asked *whether* behaviors had occurred within the past 12

months and not *how often* they had occurred in that period. I will now describe the set of behaviors included in each category.

3.1.3.1 Sexual harassment

I asked survey respondents about sexual harassment in two ways: a labeling question and the behavioral checklist. The labeling question, which came after the behavioral checklist, was phrased as follows: “We’ve asked you about a variety of experiences that carry different labels for different people. Based on your own understanding of the term ‘sexual harassment,’ have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a pastor (priest or deacon) in MC USA (the Episcopal Church)?” Answer options included yes, no, not sure, and prefer not to say. The “not sure” option was included to capture the ambiguous “gray area” experiences that emerged in interviews with Mennonite pastors, which I will describe in more detail in the results section of this chapter.

The sexual harassment composite measure used in subsequent analyses is composed of seven items with a Cronbach’s alpha score of 0.741; I used 0.7 as a cutoff, as prior research has accepted this as adequate (Cortina 1993). The first of these seven items is whether pastors answered “yes” to the labeling question, which was more consistent with answers on the behavioral measures than “not sure” responses. The six behavioral measures are whether someone has (a) made unwanted attempts to draw you into discussion of sexual matters, including attempting to discuss or comment on your sex life; (b) made crude or offensive sexual remarks, either in front of other people or to you privately; (c) continued to ask you for a date, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you had previously said “no”; (d) made unwanted or uncomfortable attempts to touch, stroke, or fondle you, for example touching your arm or hand or stroking your leg or neck; (e) made it seem necessary for you to respond positively to sexual or romantic invitations in order to be well-treated on the job; and (f) made unwanted physical attempts to have sex with you. The composite measure of sexual harassment within the past 12

months includes only the six behavioral items, as I did not ask respondents whether they had been sexually harassed within this period.

3.1.3.2 Gender harassment

The gender harassment composite measure includes three items with an alpha score of 0.729. These items are whether someone has (a) made inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about your appearance or voice; (b) mistaken you for a pastor's spouse, secretary, or other nonclergy role; and (c) overtly criticized you for not conforming to stereotypes about how your gender should behave. The nineteenth item on the Episcopal version of the checklist, whether someone has (d) refused to call you by a title you have requested they use, also falls into this category and raises the alpha value of the composite measure to 0.772. However, I do not include this in the composite measure used to compare Episcopal and Mennonite clergy because it was not asked of Mennonites, as a cultural aversion to the use of titles rendered the question irrelevant or even offensive. The title question appears alongside other items in the gender harassment category when I compare the rates of specific experiences across genders and denominations.

3.1.3.3 Workplace aggression

Finally, the workplace aggression measure is composed of nine items with an alpha score of 0.8. These items are whether someone has (a) put you down, mistreated, slighted, ignored, or been condescending to you; (b) left or threatened to leave the congregation because they did not want you as pastor; (c) used money, such as your salary or their tithes, as a way to control your actions or punish you; (d) used committees or other bureaucratic means to hold up or sabotage your work; (e) sent you emails, notes, letters, texts, calls, or social media posts meant to harm or intimidate you; (f) impeded, reviewed, suspended, or revoked your credentials for the purpose of harming you rather than holding you accountable; (g) threatened you with bodily harm; (h) physically attacked or done violence to you; and (i) threatened you with retaliation because you brought attention to sexism, harassment, or the abuse of yourself or someone else.

3.1.4 Analytical strategy

In this chapter, I begin by using *z*-tests to compare the proportion of men and women in each denomination, then the proportion of Episcopal women versus Mennonite women, who report specific experiences in each category. Then, I use linear regressions to analyze how sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression vary by gender and denomination and how the relationship between gender and workplace experiences differs for Mennonites and Episcopalians. I used R to analyze the quantitative data. Interview data were transcribed then coded with NVivo; the quotes used here to support quantitative findings relate to specific incidents of harm reported by women in ministry (coded as “sexual harassment,” “gender harassment,” or “workplace aggression”) and how women define and think about sexual harassment (with relevant codes being “defining sexual harassment” and “gray area experiences”).

I measured gender with the survey question, “Which of the following best describes your gender?” Mennonite respondents could choose from answer options “man,” “woman,” and “not listed (please specify).” Episcopal respondents had an additional option, “nonbinary.” This was not included in the Mennonite version of the survey because, at the time, denominational leaders knew of no openly nonbinary pastors in MC USA; we therefore believed the risk of biasing results by causing conservative respondents to exit the survey outweighed the risk of offending closeted nonbinary respondents by asking that they type in their gender. When reporting findings by gender, I include only men and women to protect the confidentiality of the small number of nonbinary respondents ($n = 2$, one in each denomination).

I incorporate two types of survey weights into my analyses to address certain limitations of my sampling methods. First, when comparing Mennonites and Episcopalians *without* controlling for gender, I weight responses by gender to address the fact that Mennonite women were deliberately oversampled relative to men. Second, in my linear regressions, I weight

Episcopal responses inversely proportional to the number of congregations a priest or deacon currently serves because clergy serving more than one congregation had a higher chance of being selected. Please see Chapter 2 for more details on the construction of these weights.

There are a variety of covariates that one might reasonably expect to impact the outcomes in this chapter, such as congregation size, job title, full- or part-time status, age, education, tenure, marital status, race, and sexual orientation. This chapter focuses solely on gender and denomination. Please see Chapter 5 for analyses that incorporate these additional variables yet produce similar results to those reported here.

3.2 Results

I have organized my results by category of experience, beginning with sexual harassment, continuing with gender harassment, and finishing with workplace aggression. I begin each subsection by using responses about specific experiences over the course of a pastor's entire career to document how the prevalence of these experiences varies by gender and denomination. In the first subsection, I follow this with a discussion of how labeling one's experiences as sexual harassment, as well as uncertainty in labeling one's experiences in this way, also differ along denominational lines. Finally, for all three categories of experience, I finish by examining the same gender and denominational differences using the three composite measures as dependent variables in a regression framework. I also introduce an interaction term to assess whether gender differences are equivalent in both denominations.

3.2.1 Sexual harassment by gender and denomination

3.2.1.1 Specific experiences

As Figure 1 shows, clergy reported having experienced specific sexual harassment behaviors during their careers at different rates depending on gender and denomination. The following relationships are statistically significant at at least the $p < 0.05$ level using two-proportions z -tests. Compared to their male peers, over twice as many women in both

denominations reported having experienced uncomfortable attempts to touch them and unwanted attempts to draw them into sexual discussions. Additionally, over one and a half times as many Episcopal women as Episcopal men reported hearing crude or offensive sexual remarks.

These gender differences are unsurprising considering past literature demonstrating that sexual harassment is more commonly reported by women than by men. However, what is surprising are the denominational differences. Compared with Mennonites, over two and a half times as many Episcopal women reported hearing crude sexual remarks; over twice as many had experienced unwanted attempts to touch them, nearly twice as many had had others attempt to draw them into discussions of sexual matters, and over three times as many had had someone continue to ask them out on dates after they had previously said “no” (see Figure 1). While gender differences within each denomination were present for only two or three of the six sexual harassment behaviors, four of the six differed between denominations for women.

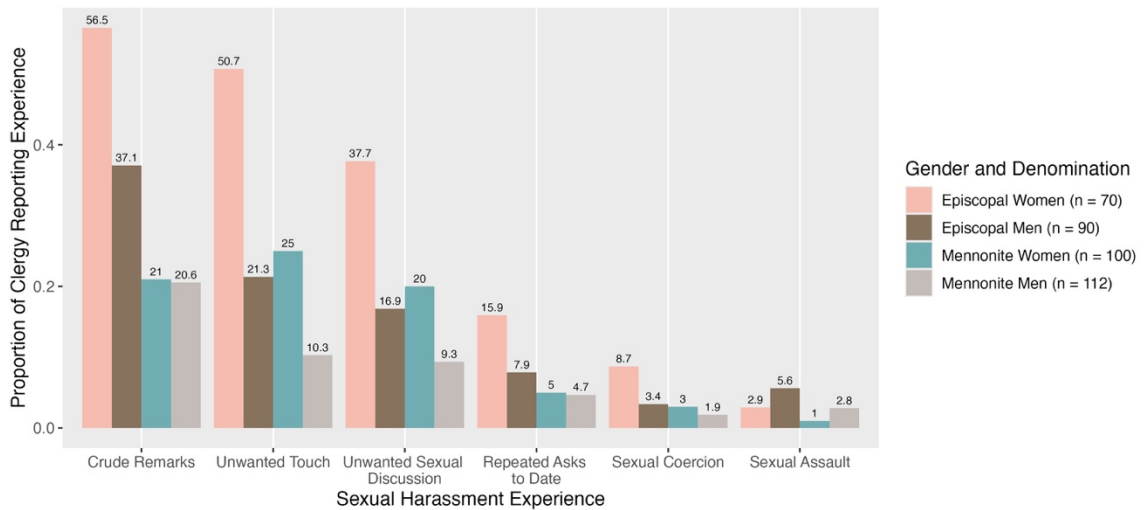


Figure 1: Specific Sexual Harassment Experiences by Gender and Denomination

As a reminder, the survey question asked respondents how many times “in [their] capacity as a pastor (priest or deacon)” this situation had occurred. It is striking that over half of Episcopal clergywomen have experienced offensive sexual remarks and uncomfortable attempts to touch them *while working as a priest or deacon*, not in their personal lives outside of work. It

is also striking that these workplace experiences varied so much not just by gender, but by denomination. This suggests that something about the different working conditions present in different denominations correlates with a two- to three-times higher risk of experiencing certain forms of sexual harassment, even for clergy of the same gender.

It is also worth noting that while men reported these specific forms of sexual harassment at lower rates than women, rates of these experiences among men were still shockingly high. Almost two in five Episcopal clergymen and one in five Mennonite clergymen reported having heard offensive sexual remarks in their pastoral workplace; two in ten and one in ten, respectively, had had someone make unwanted attempts to touch or fondle them. These rates cannot and should not be considered acceptable by denominations simply because they are lower than the comparable rates for women in ministry.

One additional gender difference does not show up in the quantitative data, and that is the meaning that these behaviors hold for men and women. While we did not conduct in-depth interviews with men, one of the men who participated in a cognitive interview to pretest the survey spoke at length about how these experiences were different for men and women. For example, he was uncomfortable with older women grabbing him and holding him by the arm, but he noted that this was commonly done to men and seldom raised red flags for people around them the way a gender-swapped version would have. Additionally, he shared that almost all the sexual harassment he'd faced in the workplace had happened before he was married. Transitioning to marriage did not necessarily lead to the same abatement of sexual harassment for my female interview participants. One Episcopal priest shared that congregants told her "they were jealous of my fiancé when I was getting married. Like one guy in [state] actually told me that he was the president of the Dirty Old Men's Club. And they were very jealous... It was so shocking." While the quantitative data presented in Chapter 5 do not support a statistically significant relationship between marital status and sexual harassment for clergy of either gender, these contrasting stories

hint at how perpetrators of sexual harassment may target men and women for different reasons. Single male pastors may be seen as desirable potential spouses, leading to an abatement of unwanted sexual attention when they are married; female pastors, whether single or married, are deviant by virtue of their presence in an authority position at odds with their gender role, and unwanted sexual attention can be a tool to punish them for this inconsistency.

3.2.1.2 Self-labeling

Gender and denominational differences in self-labeled sexual harassment parallel the differences in specific sexual harassment behaviors. Figure 2 shows how clergy responded to the question, “Based on your own understanding of the term ‘sexual harassment,’ have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a pastor (priest or deacon) in MC USA (the Episcopal Church)?” In both denominations, a significantly ($p < 0.05$) greater proportion of women than men answered “yes” to this question, with 34.85% of Episcopal clergywomen and 15.31% of Mennonite clergywomen affirming that they had been sexually harassed (compared to only 17.65% and 5.71% of men in the Episcopal and Mennonite churches, respectively). Over twice as many Episcopal women as Mennonite women selected this answer.

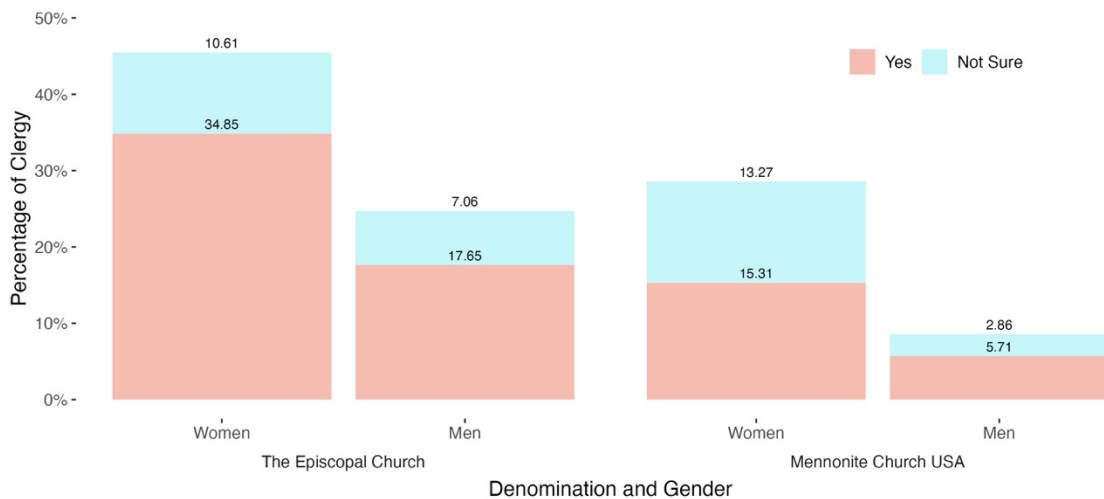


Figure 2: Self-Labeled Sexual Harassment Rates by Gender and Denomination

In addition to the answer options “yes” and “no,” I added a “not sure” option that was not included in the harassment question in the previous survey of MC USA clergy (Nath 2007). I added this because Mennonite interview participants often expressed a degree of hesitation when it came to labeling an experience as sexual harassment. For example, as one Mennonite pastor memorably put it:

This is why sexism is so hard, because it’s not like someone’s like, “Hey, I love the way your boobs look,” you know? But someone says, “Oh, that’s a great fit of your t-shirt.” And you’re just like, “Wait, what? I don’t know. Am I crazy?” It’s always so subtle that you can’t quite put your finger on it.

Episcopal priests had less difficulty categorizing experiences as sexual harassment in interviews, typically reporting much more blatant incidents (such as the “Dirty Old Men’s Club” comment quoted above) that they easily labeled as sexual harassment when asked.

Survey results support this qualitative finding. As Figure 2 shows, 13.27% of Mennonite clergywomen said they were not sure whether they had been sexually harassed, which was significantly higher than the proportion of their male colleagues who said the same (2.86%). However, there was no statistically significant difference between Mennonite and Episcopal women in this measure, even though the rate of “yes” answers was significantly higher among Episcopalians. In fact, a slightly smaller proportion of Episcopal women said they were unsure whether they’d been sexually harassed than Mennonites (10.61% vs. 13.27%).

Altogether, 45.45% of Episcopal women and 28.57% of Mennonite women reported that they either had been sexually harassed or were not sure whether they’d been sexually harassed, a statistically significant difference between denominations. A significantly smaller proportion of men reported definite or potential sexual harassment than their female colleagues, with 24.71% of Episcopal and 8.57% of Mennonite clergymen choosing one of these answers. All of this is consistent with the results shown in Figure 1, which indicated that specific experiences of sexual

harassment were more commonly reported by women than men and by Episcopal women than Mennonite women. The consistency between findings from the behavioral checklist and the self-labeling measure suggests that gender and denominational differences exist not only in respondents' willingness to label their experiences as sexual harassment, but in the actual behaviors that clergy are subjected to as well.

3.2.1.3 Interaction effects

The models in Table 4 examine the gender and denominational differences documented above using the composite measure of sexual harassment rather than specific experiences. These regressions also include an interaction term to assess whether gender differences vary by denomination. The results of Models 1-3 suggest that, consistent with the patterns described previously, being a woman and being Episcopalian were both associated with significantly higher rates of sexual harassment over the course of one's entire career. However, Model 4, which introduces a significant interaction between gender and denomination, shows that gender did not have the same effect on the likelihood of experiencing sexual harassment in each of these denominations. Rather, women in the Episcopal Church reported particularly high scores on the sexual harassment measure compared to clergymen and Mennonite women in ministry. When this interaction is included, gender and denomination on their own cease to be significant. The most noteworthy relationship is between being an Episcopal woman and experiencing sexual harassment: Individuals in this category reported sexual harassment rates two standard deviations higher than those reported by other groups.

When we look at only the past 12 months rather than pastors' entire careers, the findings are much the same. As Models 5-8 in Table 4 show, once again, the interaction between gender and denomination in Model 8 is statistically significant. Being an Episcopal clergywoman was associated with significantly higher sexual harassment regardless of which period we focus on.

Table 4: Sexual Harassment by Gender and Denomination

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>							
	Sexual Harassment Over Whole Career				Sexual Harassment Over Past Year			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Woman	14.861** (4.596)		15.884*** (4.477)	6.541 (5.844)	3.191 (2.387)		3.538 (2.370)	-1.747 (3.095)
Episcopalian		20.858*** (4.616)	20.650*** (4.514)	10.595 (6.063)		5.951* (2.446)	6.387** (2.387)	0.779 (3.188)
Woman:Episcopalian				22.166* (9.002)				12.497** (4.759)
Constant	41.322*** (3.122)	38.762*** (3.019)	32.059*** (3.650)	36.570*** (4.060)	47.749*** (1.614)	46.814*** (1.603)	44.856*** (1.931)	47.396*** (2.146)
Observations	354	354	354	354	360	360	360	360
R ²	0.029	0.055	0.083	0.099	0.005	0.016	0.025	0.043
Adjusted R ²	0.026	0.052	0.078	0.091	0.002	0.014	0.019	0.035
Residual Std. Error	43.077 (df = 352)	42.941 (df = 352)	41.907 (df = 351)	41.607 (df = 350)	22.568 (df = 358)	22.993 (df = 358)	22.376 (df = 357)	22.194 (df = 356)
F Statistic	10.455** (df = 1; 352)	20.418*** (df = 1; 352)	15.989*** (df = 2; 351)	12.834*** (df = 3; 350)	1.787 (df = 1; 358)	5.917* (df = 1; 358)	4.490* (df = 2; 357)	5.341** (df = 3; 356)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Figure 3 depicts this interaction graphically. As you can see, the relationship between gender and sexual harassment was much more dramatic for Episcopalians than Mennonites, and the denominational gap between women was greater than that between men. (While there was a noticeable denominational difference for men present in Figures 1 and 2, keep in mind that these figures depict the prevalence of specific experiences or self-labeling; Figure 3 uses the composite measure that incorporates frequency as well as prevalence, which could contribute to differences from other figures.) This interaction is strikingly similar whether we use the composite measure including experiences over respondents' entire careers or only within the past 12 months, which builds confidence in these findings.

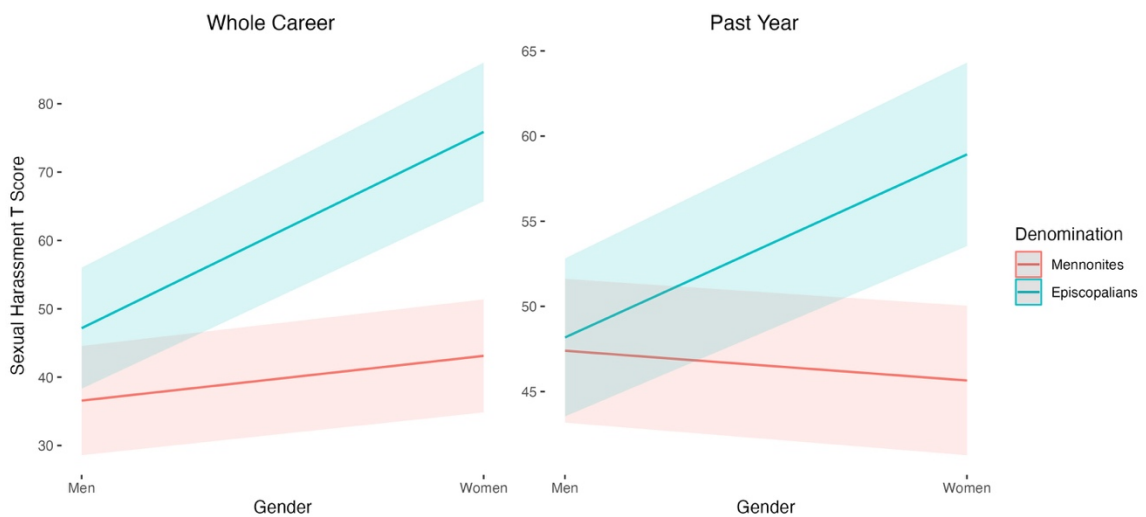


Figure 3: Interaction Between Sexual Harassment, Gender, and Denomination

3.2.2 Gender harassment by gender and denomination

3.2.2.1 Specific experiences

Specific experiences of gender harassment, like experiences of sexual harassment, were unequally distributed by gender, as Figure 4 shows. Compared to men in their denominations, around four times as many clergewomen reported having been mistaken for a pastor's spouse, secretary, or other nonclergy role, and over twice as many reported being overtly criticized for not conforming to gender roles ($p < 0.001$ for all four z -tests). Additionally, around one and a half

times more Episcopal women than men reported someone refusing to use a title for them that they'd requested others use, and around 29% more Episcopal women reported receiving inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks on their appearance or voice ($p < 0.01$ and $p < 0.05$ respectively). These gender differences are aligned with what we would expect given prior research.

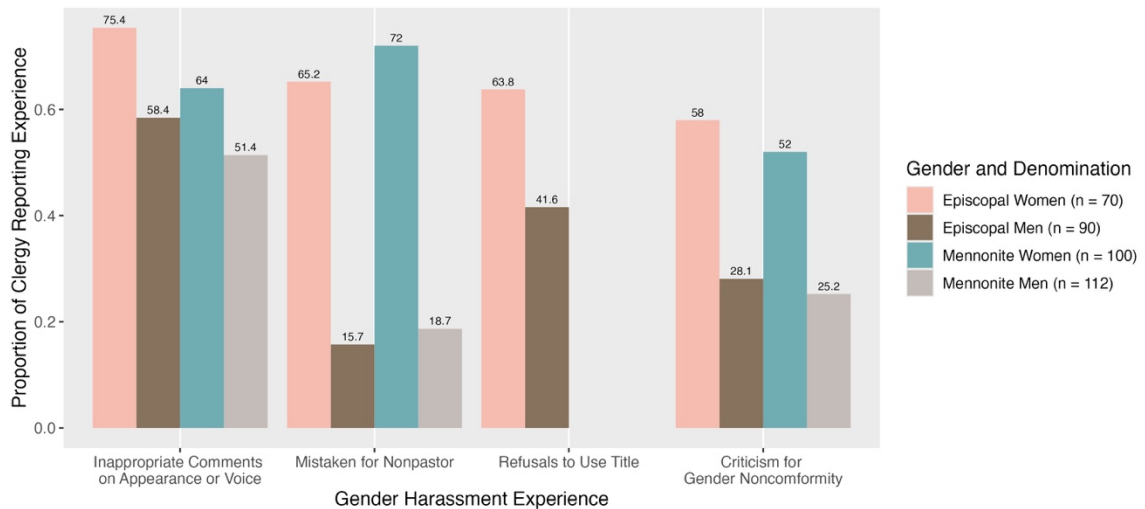


Figure 4: Specific Gender Harassment Experiences by Gender and Denomination

However, unlike we saw for sexual harassment, the prevalence of specific gender harassment behaviors did not differ between Episcopal and Mennonite clergywomen. There were no statistically significant differences in the proportion of women in ministry who reported these experiences by denomination. Gender harassment experiences were common in both settings, with a majority or even supermajority of women in ministry reporting each one of these experiences. This suggests that gender, rather than denomination, is primarily related to the prevalence of gender harassment.

Most men had also received uncomfortable remarks on their appearance or voice, which highlights the importance of addressing this issue for clergy of all genders, not just women. Additionally, I will note that the content of these remarks may differ along gender lines in ways that were not captured in my quantitative data. While I did not systematically interview men, one

Mennonite clergywoman I spoke with shared vivid examples of what these remarks had looked like in practice for men and women she knew. The stories she'd heard from female colleagues in multiple denominations included:

Things like, "You're looking super sexy today, pastor" – seriously, sometimes it's that blatant – or just like, weird inappropriate touching in the line when people are shaking the pastor's hand or calling them "sweetie" and "honey" and commenting on, like, their low neckline, or all kinds of weight comments. I mean, the women clergy get comments on their weight constantly... For women pastors who spend a whole week researching and praying with the scripture and pouring their heart into this sermon that they're hoping and praying will touch the lives of people in their church and bring the word of God, and then to have someone commenting on your shoes instead of what came out of your mouth....

The remarks she described here were sometimes blatantly sexual and could be tied with other acts of sexual harassment, like inappropriate touch. Her last sentence implied emotional pain from receiving comments on appearance, even presumably nonsexual ones like remarks about one's shoes, rather than one's work after pouring effort into making a difference in congregants' lives. Compare this with a later comment about men's experiences:

Men get that to a certain extent, I know. I mean, I've heard male pastors talk about, especially if they shave – oh, heaven forbid, if you're a male pastor with a beard and you show up on Sunday and you've shaved it off, people don't even know what to do.

This likely also qualifies as an inappropriate remark about one's appearance, given that there is no reason for congregants to comment on a pastor's facial hair. However, it is less intrusive and demeaning than the stories the same Mennonite pastor recounted when sharing about women's experiences. Thus, while most men and women report these kinds of remarks, the content and impact of them may differ along gender lines in practice, which a future research project based on interviews with both men and women in ministry could more systematically explore.

3.2.2.2 Interaction effects

Figure 4 suggested that gender harassment rates primarily differed by gender rather than denomination, and the regression results presented in Table 5 largely support this finding. Models 3 and 7 indicate that gender harassment, both over the course of one's entire career and within the past year, was significantly correlated with both gender and denomination. Women reported higher scores on the composite gender harassment measure than men by a substantial amount (almost two standard deviations higher over their entire careers and almost one standard deviation higher within the past year only). Episcopal clergy also reported higher scores than Mennonite clergy, which is not what we saw for the specific experiences in Figure 4. However, the magnitude and significance of this difference in the Table 5 regressions was smaller than that of the difference along gender lines. Models 4 and 8 suggest that there is not a significant interaction between gender and denomination; the effect of gender on gender harassment appears to be the same in both Episcopal and Mennonite settings.

Figure 5 (below) shows the parallel relationship between gender and gender harassment in both denominations, in contrast to the dramatic interaction seen for sexual harassment in Figure 3. Serving in the Episcopal Church and being a woman were both associated with greater gender harassment, but being an Episcopal clergywoman specifically was not linked with additional risk. The absence of this interaction is surprising, given that it was present for sexual harassment. Prior research that has grouped sexual harassment and gender harassment into the single category of sex-based harassment may have unintentionally overlooked differences in the way organizational context and gender interact to shape these experiences.

Table 5: Gender Harassment by Gender and Denomination

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>							
	Gender Harassment Over Whole Career				Gender Harassment Over Past Year			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Woman	19.533*** (2.323)		19.807*** (2.312)	18.594*** (3.060)	8.435*** (2.304)		8.719*** (2.289)	8.006** (3.035)
Episcopalian		7.208** (2.499)	5.440* (2.326)	4.154 (3.150)		6.714** (2.256)	5.942* (2.302)	5.191 (3.116)
Woman:Episcopalian				2.831 (4.675)				1.658 (4.630)
Constant	41.152*** (1.577)	45.496*** (1.648)	38.672*** (1.892)	39.258*** (2.127)	46.167*** (1.562)	46.469*** (1.489)	43.459*** (1.872)	43.801*** (2.104)
Observations	365	365	365	365	364	364	364	364
R ²	0.163	0.022	0.176	0.176	0.036	0.024	0.053	0.054
Adjusted R ²	0.161	0.020	0.171	0.169	0.033	0.021	0.048	0.046
Residual Std. Error	22.117 (df = 363)	23.666 (df = 363)	21.982 (df = 362)	22.001 (df = 361)	21.904 (df = 362)	21.345 (df = 362)	21.734 (df = 361)	21.761 (df = 360)
F Statistic	70.716*** (df = 1; 363)	8.319** (df = 1; 363)	38.529*** (df = 2; 362)	25.763*** (df = 3; 361)	13.400*** (df = 1; 362)	8.859** (df = 1; 362)	10.137*** (df = 2; 361)	6.784*** (df = 3; 360)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

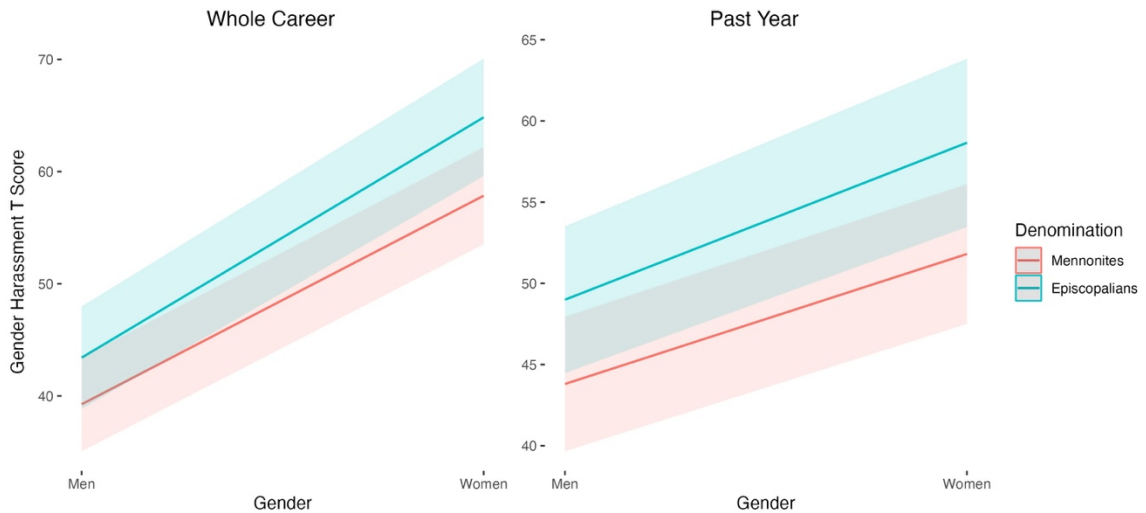


Figure 5: Interaction between Gender Harassment, Gender, and Denomination

3.2.3 Workplace aggression by gender and denomination

3.2.3.1 Specific experiences

As Figure 6 shows, gender differences were less pronounced for workplace aggression than for sexual or gender harassment. This makes sense, since these experiences are not explicitly gendered the way experiences in the other two categories are. Unlike what we saw for gender and sexual harassment, when significant gender differences in specific forms of workplace aggression emerged, it was men who tended to report these experiences at higher rates than their female colleagues. Around 39% more men than women in the Episcopal Church reported that someone had left or threatened to leave their congregation because they did not want them as pastor ($p < 0.05$). Compared to Mennonite women, almost three times as many Mennonite men reported that someone had used money to control or punish them, 77% more men said someone had used committees or other bureaucratic means to sabotage their work, and over four times as many men had been threatened with bodily harm ($p < 0.001, 0.001, \text{ and } 0.05$, respectively). These findings suggest that ministry can be a challenging profession for people of all genders, though the specific challenges clergy are most likely to face in the workplace may vary.

Interestingly, the same three experiences that Mennonite women reported at lower rates than men varied by denomination among clergywomen as well. Almost four times as many Episcopal women reported finances being used against them, over twice as many said bureaucracy had been used to sabotage their work, and over five times as many had been threatened with bodily harm ($p < 0.001, 0.001, \text{ and } 0.01$, respectively). This suggests that Mennonite clergywomen may experience particularly low rates of these three behaviors compared to other clergy who share either their gender or their denominational setting.

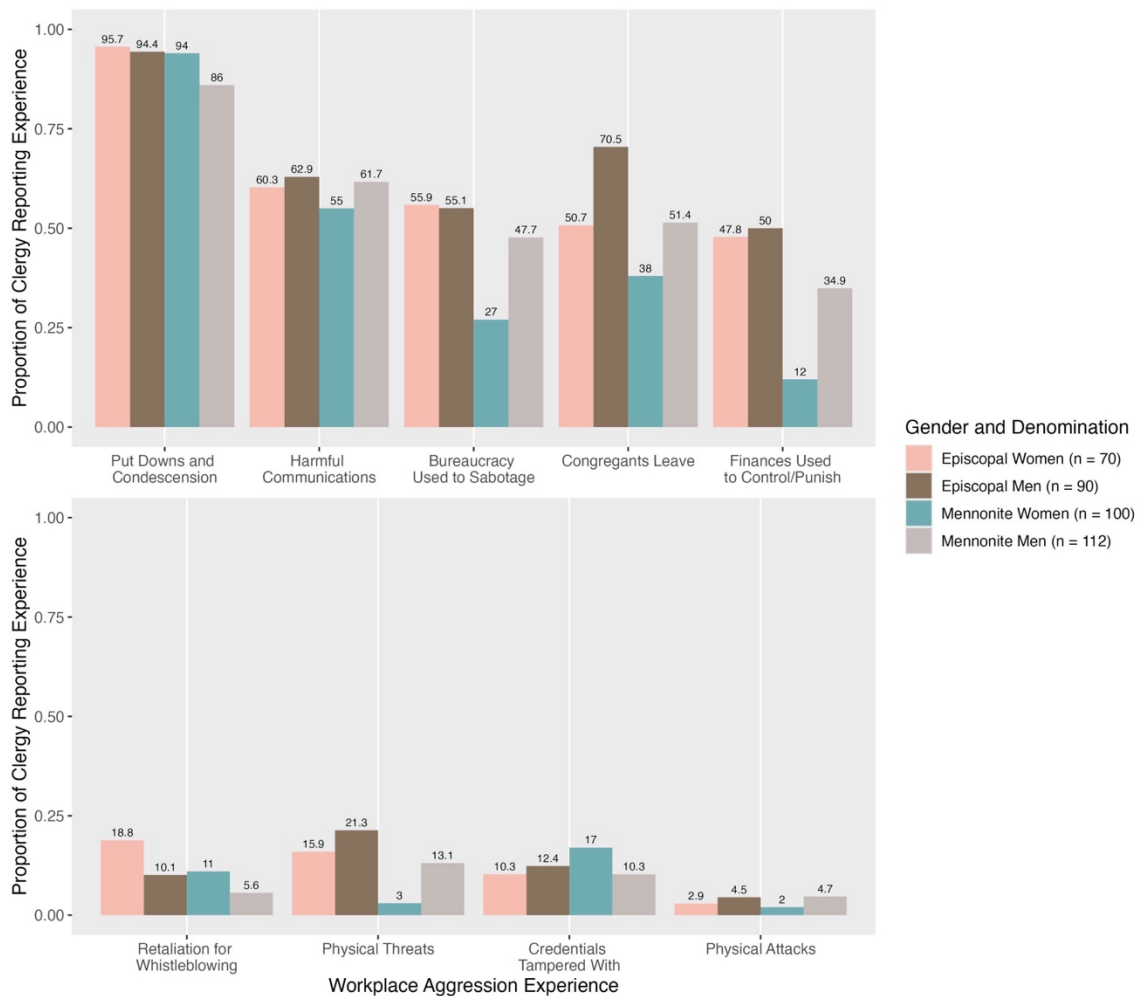


Figure 6: Specific Workplace Aggression Experiences by Gender and Denomination

The finding that men reported certain workplace aggression behaviors at higher rates than women is somewhat surprising. Prior research has suggested that bullying and incivility

disproportionately target women across a wide spectrum of professions ranging from university faculty to active-duty military (Cortina et al. 2001, 2002, 2013; Lampman 2012; Smith et al. 2021). However, the Supporting Pastors Survey used new measures of workplace aggression drawn from interviews and pretesting. Many of the experiences I inquired about were either specific to clergy (e.g., congregants leaving, individuals unfairly tampering with one's ministry credentials) or arguably more severe than what has been defined as incivility in prior work (e.g., physical attacks, threats of bodily harm). This complicates comparisons with earlier research.

Additionally, besides the item about gender stereotypes, experiences on the behavioral checklist made no reference to the respondent's gender. This choice was made in alignment with best practices in questionnaire design and because, in interviews, women were often uncertain about whether a negative experience was related to their gender. As one Mennonite youth pastor who encountered a situation of potential workplace sabotage put it, "I suspect that a male colleague would be treated differently. I don't know. Again, that uncertainty is part of how these dynamics work." Similarly, an Episcopal priest expressed uncertainty about whether her experiences with offensive comments were related to her gender or the unusually large size of her parish: "Some of it I'm never sure, is this a gender thing or a 'you're the bad person (*laugh*), the evil one in the ivory tower.'" Requiring survey respondents to guess whether an experience was motivated by their gender would have greatly increased the cognitive load associated with answering the question.

However, the consequence of this design choice is that these survey data reflect concrete experiences rather than respondents' causal narratives about *why* these experiences occurred. The meaning and content of workplace aggression experiences may vary by gender in ways that are not captured by the quantitative data, just as I described above for sexual and gender harassment. In interviews, clergywomen shared experiences of workplace aggression that they viewed as clearly motivated by their gender, such as a new pastor's salary being withheld because the

church treasurer did not want the congregation to have a woman as pastor for the first time. This is consistent with work by Cortina and colleagues (2002), who suggested that women have a unique perspective on workplace aggression and often perceive it as a subtle extension of gendered workplace harm. Thus, while it is true that, for example, significantly more Episcopal clergymen than clergywomen reported that a parishioner had left or threatened to leave because they did not want them as a pastor, the parishioner did not necessarily reject them as pastor *because of their gender*, as was sometimes the case for women.

3.2.3.2 Interaction effects

While the prevalence of certain specific workplace aggression experiences varied by gender and denomination (as shown in Figure 6), only denomination was correlated with the composite measure of workplace aggression. In Table 6, Models 3 and 7 indicate that clergy serving in the Episcopal Church reported significantly higher workplace aggression than Mennonite clergy by nearly two standard deviations over their entire careers and over one standard deviation in the past twelve months. While women reported somewhat lower scores on the workplace aggression measure, this relationship did not meet the threshold for statistical significance. The interaction between gender and denomination in Models 4 and 8 likewise did not emerge as statistically significant, which suggests that gender was related to workplace aggression in similar ways across denominations (which is to say, very little).

Figure 7 (below) depicts this interaction graphically. The workplace aggression scores of Mennonite clergywomen appear noticeably lower than the scores of other clergy. While this interaction did not emerge as statistically significant in Table 6, this is consistent with Figure 6 and its associated analyses, which demonstrated that a significantly smaller proportion of Mennonite women in ministry reported three of the nine workplace aggression experiences compared to others who shared their gender or denomination.

Table 6: Workplace Aggression by Gender and Denomination

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>							
	Workplace Aggression Over Whole Career				Workplace Aggression Over Past Year			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Woman	-8.190 (5.870)		-7.122 (5.793)	-12.429 (7.645)	-4.337 (5.170)		-3.803 (5.155)	-10.168 (6.802)
Episcopalian		18.539** (5.987)	19.990*** (5.833)	14.331 (7.895)		9.186 (5.328)	10.483* (5.188)	3.730 (7.006)
Woman:Episcopalian				12.455 (11.713)				14.895 (10.405)
Constant	53.859*** (3.991)	43.139*** (3.939)	44.759*** (4.745)	47.335*** (5.327)	51.727*** (3.509)	46.619*** (3.509)	46.955*** (4.217)	50.029*** (4.727)
Observations	362	362	362	362	361	361	361	361
R ²	0.005	0.026	0.037	0.040	0.002	0.008	0.013	0.019
Adjusted R ²	0.003	0.023	0.032	0.032	-0.001	0.005	0.008	0.011
Residual Std. Error	55.665 (df = 360)	56.406 (df = 360)	54.853 (df = 359)	54.843 (df = 358)	48.948 (df = 359)	50.156 (df = 359)	48.739 (df = 358)	48.667 (df = 357)
F Statistic	1.946 (df = 1; 360)	9.587** (df = 1; 360)	6.875** (df = 2; 359)	4.962** (df = 3; 358)	0.704 (df = 1; 359)	2.972 (df = 1; 359)	2.397 (df = 2; 358)	2.285 (df = 3; 357)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

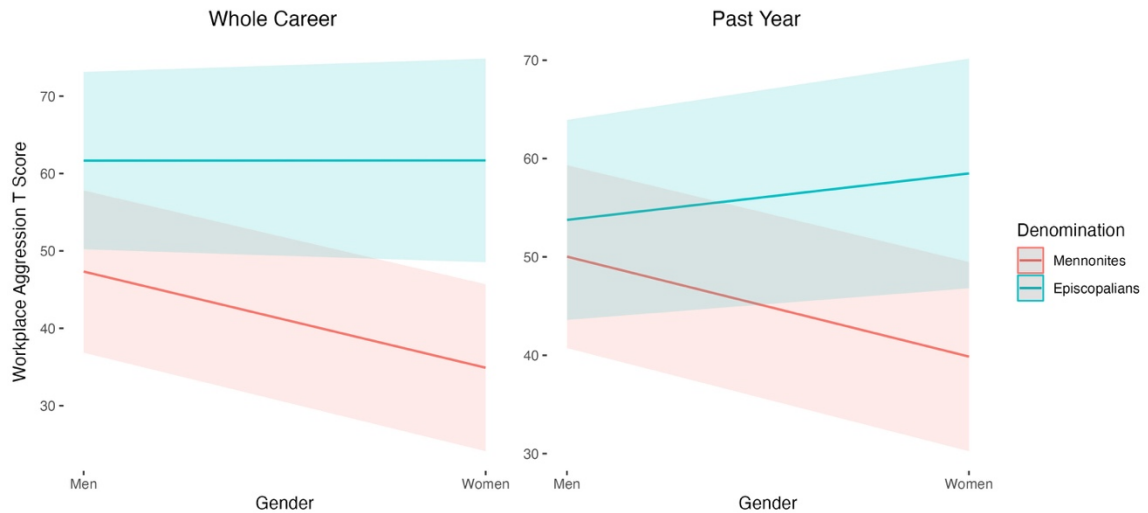


Figure 7: Interaction Between Workplace Aggression, Gender, and Denomination

3.3 Conclusion

Prior to this study, our knowledge about clergy experiences was limited in several key ways. Most research on clergy focused only on sexual misconduct rather than taking an expansive view of all the potentially harmful experiences that clergy face in the workplace. Surveys of Mennonite and Episcopal clergy were not recent or nonrandom, limiting our ability to understand the prevalence of sexual misconduct targeting clergy in these groups in the present day (Nath 2007; Murphy-Geiss 2020). I update and correct the picture of sexual harassment painted by older or methodologically limited studies and provide the first generalizable evidence of the prevalence of gender harassment and workplace aggression in these denominations.

While it is unsurprising that sexual harassment was reported more often by women than by men in both denominations, it was not previously known that sexual harassment targeting clergy is more prevalent in the Episcopal Church than Mennonite Church USA. To my knowledge, mine is the first empirical study taking this comparative approach to the problem of sexual harassment targeting clergy; other scholars who have surveyed multiple denominations have grouped rather than compared them (see McDuff 2008) or published on them separately (see

Murphy-Geiss 2007, 2020). The denominational differences I identified in this chapter will be explored further with added control variables in Chapter 5.

In addition to providing the first denominational comparison, my work provides more solid data on these experiences within each denomination than was previously available. I will note that changes in question wording mean that caution should be taken in comparing my results to those from these prior surveys; full question wording for the existing questions I am comparing with my own in these paragraphs is available in Appendix G. The last survey of MC USA clergy, conducted in 2005, found that 17.6% of women self-labeled as having experienced sexual harassment during their ministry careers, as did 6.3% of men (Nath 2007). My survey found that, similarly, 18 years later, 15.3% of women self-labeled as having experienced harassment compared to 5.7% of men. Additionally, I provided an option of “not sure” for respondents who (like my Mennonite interview participants) had “gray area” experiences that they were uncertain constituted sexual harassment, and 13.3% of women and 2.8% of men selected this response. This suggests that a sizable proportion of Mennonite clergy have had ambiguous experiences that may have been missed in the previous survey. No behavioral measure of sexual harassment has been included in prior surveys of MC USA clergy.

The most recent survey in the Episcopal Church, conducted four years before mine, did not ask about self-labeled sexual harassment but did include a behavioral checklist with similarities to my own (see Appendix G and Murphy-Geiss 2020). Based on answers to this checklist, Murphy-Geiss (2020) estimated that 73.1% of cisgender clergywomen and 39.6% of cisgender clergymen had experienced sexual misconduct in the church. However, this study was not conducted using a random sample, limiting our ability to generalize from its results. I replicated Murphy-Geiss’s measures as best I could with my own data by counting how many clergy had experienced at least one form of sexual harassment from my checklist. With this method, I determined that 71.0% of women and 51.7% of men report having experienced sexual

harassment, which is similar to the rate the previous study reported for women but greater than the one reported for men. I will note also that these numbers differ dramatically from the numbers of clergy who self-label their experiences as sexual harassment, which included 34.8% of women and 17.6% of men (increasing only to 45.4% of women and 24.6% of men if we include uncertain respondents in this category). Across gender and denomination, the rate of sexual harassment based on self-labeling is less than half that generated by relying instead on the behavioral measure.

Gender and denomination had a joint effect on the sexual harassment experiences reported by clergy. It was not only the case that women tended to report more sexual harassment than men, and Episcopalians than Mennonites; being an Episcopal clergywoman specifically was associated with reporting greater sexual harassment compared to other clergy. Similar patterns emerged in self-labeling and behavioral measures of sexual harassment, suggesting that differences exist both in clergy's willingness to label incidents as sexual harassment and in the actual behaviors clergy encounter in the workplace.

Gender harassment was also more commonly reported by women than by men and by Episcopalians than Mennonites. Gender had a more substantial effect on reporting these experiences than denomination, which was significantly associated with the composite measure of gender harassment but not any of the specific behaviors reported by women in ministry. There was no joint effect of gender and denomination on gender harassment experiences, indicating that the effect of gender on these experiences is similar across denominations. This was not true for sexual harassment. This suggests that research that has grouped gender harassment and sexual harassment together may have missed something important about how these gendered experiences are influenced differently by organizational context.

Finally, workplace aggression was reported more commonly by Episcopal clergy than Mennonite clergy. Additionally, certain behaviors were reported more often by men than their

female colleagues, though gender was not significantly associated with the overall composite measure. While Mennonite clergywomen reported particularly low rates of certain specific workplace aggression behaviors compared to clergy sharing either their gender or denomination, the interaction between gender and denomination was not statistically significant.

Given that women more commonly reported sexual and gender harassment, it is somewhat surprising how prevalent many of these experiences still were among men in ministry. For example, over half of men in both denominations had received inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about their appearance or voice, and around two in ten Episcopal and one in ten Mennonite clergymen had had others attempt to touch them in a way that made them uncomfortable while they were acting in their capacity as a religious leader. Four of the nine workplace aggression behaviors were more commonly reported by men in one denomination than their female colleagues. It is possible that the content of or causal narratives surrounding specific incidents differ along gender lines in a way that can only be revealed through qualitative data. For example, clergywomen I interviewed described certain experiences of workplace aggression that were not explicitly gendered as clearly motivated by misogyny in practice, which is consistent with prior research suggesting that women view workplace aggression as a subtle form of gendered harm (Cortina et al. 2002). Nonetheless, the high prevalence of these experiences among men should provide additional motivation for denominations to act on these problems. Measures to address workplace harassment targeting clergy may especially benefit women, since they report higher levels of sexual and gender harassment, but they would benefit men as well.

Altogether, these findings paint an important and novel picture of the landscape of challenging interactions that Christian clergy face. In this chapter, I have compared the prevalence of sexual harassment across denominations for the first time and provided the first generalizable estimates of gender harassment and workplace aggression in MC USA and the Episcopal Church. I found that sexual harassment was especially prevalent for Episcopal

clergywomen, that gender harassment was more commonly reported by women than men across denominations, and that workplace aggression was more prevalent among Episcopal than Mennonite clergy. Similar patterns emerged whether considering experiences over a pastor's entire career or looking only at experiences within the past twelve months, which suggests that inequality along gender and denominational lines persists into the present day. Understanding these inequalities is crucial given the effect of workplace experiences on clergy's feelings about their jobs and wellbeing, which I will now discuss in Chapter 4.

4. The Incidence, Co-Occurrence, and Outcomes of Sex-based Harassment and Workplace Aggression Among Clergy

Workplace misbehavior takes a variety of forms, and the research literature on such behavior has often been siloed accordingly. Despite the surface-level differences between gender harassment, sexual attention or coercion, and workplace aggression, and the separation between researchers on these topics, such behaviors often co-occur and have common impacts: protecting the perpetrator's social status at the expense of another, harming the target's well-being, and reinforcing gender hierarchies in the workplace (Acker 1990; Lim and Cortina 2005; Berdahl 2007a; Chan et al. 2008; Lopez et al. 2009; McLaughlin et al. 2017). Despite these similarities and the efforts of some researchers to bridge the divide (e.g., Lim and Cortina 2005; Lopez et al. 2009; Hershcovis and Barling 2010a; Smith and Griffiths 2022), literatures on varied forms of harmful workplace experiences still tend not to overlap. This artificial division fails to reflect the reality of co-occurring experiences and impedes researchers from developing a complete picture of antecedents, incidents, and consequences of workplace experiences in practice. This project adds to the relatively small body of literature assessing both sex-based harassment and workplace aggression by studying these concepts in tandem in a new population: clergy.

4.1 Divisions in the literature

Sex-based harassment has traditionally been divided into three domains: unwanted sexual attention, sexual coercion, and gender harassment (e.g., Fitzgerald et al. 1995). Greater scientific attention has been paid to the first two categories than to gender harassment, which encompasses behaviors that demean the target based on their gender rather than sexual advances (Berdahl 2007a; Leskinen et al. 2011; Kabat-Farr and Cortina 2014; Saguy and Rees 2021). However, prior research distinguishing between these types of harms has found that gender harassment is more common than sexual attention and coercion and can be equally impactful (Leskinen et al. 2011; Sojo et al. 2016; Saguy and Rees 2021).

Workplace aggression, which describes acts of disrespect and hostility seemingly unrelated to gender, is an umbrella term recommended by Hershcovis (2011) as a replacement for the overlapping theoretical constructs permeating this literature. My use of this term therefore includes acts that other authors might label general harassment or bullying (which includes intent to harm the target) and workplace incivility (which is more subtle and ambiguous), since the same behavior could fall into either category depending on intent, intensity, and the power dynamics involved (Hershcovis 2011). While workplace aggression is not explicitly gendered, it has been found to disproportionately target women in multiple professions, thereby reinforcing gender discrimination in the workplace (Richman et al. 1999; Cortina et al. 2001, 2002, 2013; Settles and O'Connor 2014; Smith et al. 2021). In comparison to sex-based harassment, nonsexual workplace aggression has been found to be more common and more or similarly impactful for job satisfaction and mental health (Richman et al. 1999; Lapierre et al. 2005).

4.2 Clergy as case study

This research uses clergy as a case study to explore these intersecting forms of workplace harm. Prior research suggests that sexual harassment can function as backlash against women entering leadership roles in male-dominated professions in growing numbers (Berdahl 2007b; Stainback et al. 2011; McLaughlin et al. 2012; Saguy and Rees 2021). This perfectly describes the situation of clergywomen, who have historically been excluded from the pastorate, remain underrepresented, and are considered by some to represent a threat to the status quo of this historically male profession by their very presence in it (Bock 1967; Chaves 1996; Hoge 2009; Campbell-Reed 2018).

Across denominations, clergywomen have been shown to experience higher rates of sexual harassment than their male peers (Majka 1991; Murphy-Geiss 2007, 2020; Nath 2007; McDuff 2008; Wiggins Hare et al. 2017). However, this research on sexual harassment has tended to exclude gender harassment or fail to distinguish it from harassment involving sexual

advances. Workplace aggression targeting clergy has also been identified in multiple denominations yet remains under-researched by social scientists, with most published work on the topic coming from current or former clergy (e.g., Martin 2012; Tanner et al. 2012; Turner 2016). The relationship between gender and workplace aggression in the clergy profession has seldom been emphasized in this prior work, and sex-based harassment and workplace aggression have been studied in distinct, non-overlapping bodies of literature. To form a complete picture of the behaviors that reinforce gendered hierarchies in the church and harm women in ministry, simultaneous consideration of sex-based harassment and workplace aggression is necessary.

4.3 Research questions

This chapter will address three questions. First, what is the relative incidence and frequency of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression targeting clergy? In the previous chapter, I explored the effect of gender and denomination on the prevalence of specific behaviors and composite measures of these three experience categories. In this chapter, I will focus on differences between categories rather than differences of gender and denomination (which I will return to in Chapter 5). We might expect sexual harassment to be more common than gender harassment and workplace aggression because research on clergy has largely addressed the former and denominational policies tend to emphasize sexual harassment over other negative experiences. For example, at the denominational level, MC USA handles all pastoral misconduct, even non-sexual misconduct, through the *Ministerial Sexual Misconduct Policy and Procedure* because no specific procedure exists at this level to address other forms of harm (MC USA and MC Canada 2016). The focus on sexual harassment in research and policy would make sense if this is the most common category of experience. On the other hand, based on prior research in other populations, we might expect workplace aggression and gender harassment to be more prevalent and frequent experiences than sexual harassment (Richman et al. 1999; Lim and

Cortina 2005; Leskinen et al. 2011; Sojo et al. 2016). If this is the case, the lack of research and policy on these experiences is deeply troubling.

Second, does sexual harassment occur in isolation, or alongside gender harassment and workplace aggression? The siloed nature of prior research and absence of non-sexual harassment from denominational policy indicate that these have been treated as separate problems. However, research studies that have taken a more expansive view of harm have found that sexual harassment often co-occurs with gender harassment or workplace aggression (Richman et al. 1999; Lim and Cortina 2005; Lopez et al. 2009; Leskinen et al. 2011). Positive evidence of this occurring in the clergy profession would further challenge the prevailing emphasis on sexual misconduct in church spaces.

Finally, how are sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression related to clergy wellbeing and pastors' feelings about their jobs? Researchers and denominational leaders prioritizing sexual harassment over other forms of harm may be justifiable if these experiences are more closely related to negative outcomes, even if they are less common and frequent experiences overall. This is difficult to assess using existing data because prior research on clergy has addressed the negative outcomes of sex-based harassment and workplace aggression separately, if at all (e.g., Tanner et al. 2012; Murphy-Geiss 2020). However, research in other professions has found that workplace aggression and gender harassment have similar, compounding, or greater negative impacts on well-being and job satisfaction compared to sexual harassment (Richman et al. 1999; Lapierre et al. 2005; Lim and Cortina 2005; Leskinen et al. 2011; Sojo et al. 2016). Discovering whether this is true for clergy as well adds to this small body of literature and carries practical implications for future research and policy.

4.4 Methods and measures

To answer these questions, I will be using data from a survey I designed and conducted on gender and experiences in ministry in Mennonite Church USA (MC USA) and the Episcopal

Church. While these denominations began ordaining women within three years of one another and have a comparable proportion of clergywomen today, they differ substantially in how they are organized (Armentrout and Slocum 2000; Klassen 2013; Campbell-Reed 2018; MC USA Women in Leadership 2018). Mennonites embrace a relatively nonhierarchical structure and place little emphasis on clerical authority, whereas Episcopalians operate with a greater degree of hierarchy and greater emphasis on the authority of the clerical role (Carroll 1981). Their being situated in nearly opposite positions along the spectrum of ecclesiastical polity makes them an ideal comparison for exploring the role of denominational structures in workplace harm and, in combination, a better representation of the clergy profession than either denomination would be on its own. Please see Chapter 1 for more information on how these denominations compare in terms of polity and liturgy.

I designed a new questionnaire, the Supporting Pastors Survey, to assess the prevalence, antecedents, and outcomes of workplace harassment for pastors in congregational ministry. The Supporting Pastors Survey was administered to a nationally representative random sample of MC USA pastors, stratified by gender, in 2023 and a nationally representative sample of Episcopal priests in 2024 with response rates of 52.24% and 40.60%, respectively. Questionnaire design, sampling, data collection, and assessments of nonresponse bias are described in more detail in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

4.4.1 Independent variables

In this chapter, I use sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression as independent variables to analyze how they correlate with one another and certain outcome measures. The portion of the Supporting Pastors Survey addressing workplace harm centered on a checklist of behaviors in these three categories drawn from in-depth interviews with clergywomen, pretesting with men and women in ministry, and the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire (SEQ). Prior research has suggested that such behavioral checklists are a more

effective way of measuring harassment than self-labeling, which was also included on my survey (Magley et al. 1999; Munson et al. 2001). I organized specific behaviors into the categories of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression after data collection based on prior literature and the correlation between behaviors in each category. The number of behaviors in each categories differs because the Supporting Pastors Survey was designed to represent the most common clergy experiences that emerged during interviews and pretesting, not to include an equal number of questions about each facet of sex-based harassment and workplace aggression.

I then constructed a composite measure for each category using the process described in Chapter 2. The composite measure for each category ranges from around 0-100 and centers on 50, with an increase or decrease of 10 indicating a one standard deviation change. A higher score on this measure suggests greater frequency and variety of experiences in the category over the course of one's career. I also made composite measures of experiences within the past twelve months based on responses to a follow-up question about incident timing; the past-year composite measures only indicate the number of different recent experiences in a category, not their frequency nor whether one labels oneself as having been sexually harassed within the past year, as these questions were not asked as part of the follow-up timing question.

In addition to the composite measures, in certain places in this chapter, I discuss the incidence and frequency of each category of workplace experience. The incidence of each category describes the proportion of respondents who reported having experienced at least one behavior in this category; this extends the comparisons of the prevalence of individual items I included in Chapter 3, and I follow Lim and Cortina (2005) by defining incidence in this way. The self-labeling sexual harassment measure is not included in sexual harassment incidence rates. I calculated the average frequency for each category by taking the mean of the four-point frequency scale ranging from "never" (0) to "many times in my career" (3) for all behaviors in that category.

4.4.1.1 Sexual harassment

I determined which items to include in the sexual harassment category by testing which combination of theoretically linked items had the highest Cronbach's alpha. Based on this testing, the sexual harassment measure presented here has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.741, which is above the cutoff of 0.7 that is generally viewed as acceptable (Cortina 1993). This quantitative result was a confirmation of my understanding of sexual harassment targeting clergy drawn from the in-depth interviews.

The six behavioral measures included in the sexual harassment category are whether someone has (a) made unwanted attempts to draw you into discussion of sexual matters, including attempting to discuss or comment on your sex life; (b) made crude or offensive sexual remarks, either in front of other people or to you privately; (c) continued to ask you for a date, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you had previously said "no"; (d) made unwanted or uncomfortable attempts to touch, stroke, or fondle you, for example touching your arm or hand or stroking your leg or neck; (e) made it seem necessary for you to respond positively to sexual or romantic invitations in order to be well-treated on the job; and (f) made unwanted physical attempts to have sex with you. For each item, respondents could select how often they had had this experience on a scale ranging from "never" to "many times in my career." The seventh individual item is whether a respondent answered "yes" to the following question: "We've asked you about a variety of experiences that carry different labels for different people. Based on your own understanding of the term 'sexual harassment,' have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a pastor (priest or deacon) in MC USA (the Episcopal Church)?"

4.4.1.2 Gender harassment

The gender harassment category includes three behaviors with an alpha value of 0.729. These items are whether someone has (a) made inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about your appearance or voice; (b) mistaken you for a pastor's spouse, secretary, or other nonclergy

role; (c) overtly criticized you for not conforming to stereotypes about how your gender should behave. For Episcopalians only, a fourth item falls into this category: whether someone has refused to call you by a title you have requested they use. Including this item raises the alpha score to 0.772. I do not include this item in the gender harassment composite measure because it was not asked of Mennonites. However, I include it for Episcopalians when assessing the incidence and frequency of gender harassment.

4.4.1.3 Workplace aggression

Workplace aggression measures were newly created for this study based on common experiences that emerged in interviews with women in ministry. The workplace aggression category includes nine items with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.8. These items are whether someone has (a) put you down, mistreated, slighted, ignored, or been condescending to you; (b) left or threatened to leave the congregation because they did not want you as pastor; (c) used money, such as your salary or their tithes, as a way to control your actions or punish you; (d) used committees or other bureaucratic means to hold up or sabotage your work; (e) sent you emails, notes, letters, texts, calls, or social media posts meant to harm or intimidate you; (f) impeded, reviewed, suspended, or revoked your credentials for the purpose of harming you rather than holding you accountable; (g) threatened you with bodily harm; (h) physically attacked or done violence to you; and (i) threatened you with retaliation because you brought attention to sexism, harassment, or the abuse of yourself or someone else.

4.4.2 Dependent variables

I asked survey respondents nine questions assessing their mental wellbeing and attitudes towards work. I then grouped responses to these questions into two composite measures based on their internal consistency: job satisfaction and mental health. These composite measures were created using the same process described above for the composite measures of independent variables. An additional survey question about self-rated health was not included in either

measure because, while it was moderately correlated with mental health (0.37), it lowered the alpha score of this measure when included. I ran the full set of analyses on this individual item as well as the composite measures, but I do not devote space to these analyses in this chapter because self-rated health was not related to workplace experiences on its own. Please see Q36-Q42 in Appendix D and Q59-Q65 in Appendix E for the full text and order of the survey questions used to construct these measures.

4.4.2.1 Job satisfaction

A cleric's job satisfaction score is composed of five items with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.777. First, respondents were asked, "On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do as a pastor (priest or deacon)?" with the response options "very satisfied," "moderately satisfied," "only a little satisfied," and "not satisfied at all." This question was borrowed from the National Survey of Religious Leaders (NSRL), but the wording referring to the respondent's job was changed from "religious leader" to "pastor" and "priest or deacon" to align with wording used elsewhere in the Supporting Pastors Survey.

Second, respondents were asked, "In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you felt overwhelmed with your work as a religious leader?" and given the option of responding "very often," "fairly often," "once in a while," or "never." This question wording was inspired by McDuff (2008), who used feeling overwhelmed as a measure of work stress, and combined with the NSRL-style phrasing used in subsequent questions. Responses to this question were reverse coded before being included in the composite measure.

Finally, drawing once again from the NSRL, I asked respondents how often in the past 12 months they had considered leaving their congregation or congregational work for three possible destinations: to work in another congregation, to do some other sort of religious work, and to do something that does not involve religious work. For each of these three potential destinations, respondents could choose from the same "very often" to "never" response options they were

given in the previous question. The last two questions were borrowed from the NSRL. I added the first one because, given the topic of my research, I suspected that some clergy might wish to leave a congregation where they were experiencing workplace harassment without leaving behind congregational ministry entirely. Responses to these questions were reverse coded before being included in the composite measure of job satisfaction.

4.4.2.2 Mental health

The mental health composite measure includes four items with an alpha score of 0.808. The first two items are responses to the questions that make up the Patient Health Questionnaire-2 (PHQ-2), a self-administered instrument used to screen for depression (Kroenke, Spitzer, and Williams 2003; Löwe, Kroenke, and Gräfe 2005). Respondents were asked how often over the past two weeks they had been bothered by (a) little interest or pleasure in doing things and (b) feeling down, depressed, or hopeless; answer options were “nearly every day,” “more than half the days,” “several days,” and “not at all.” Responses to these questions were reverse coded before being included in the composite measure of mental health.

The other two questions included in this composite measure asked respondents how often during the past month they had felt (a) happy and (b) satisfied with life, and answer choices included “every day,” “almost every day,” “two or three times a week,” “about once a week,” “once or twice,” and “never.” I borrowed these questions and the PHQ-2 questions listed above from the NSRL so that I can eventually compare the mental wellbeing of Mennonite and Episcopal clergy with the wellbeing of clergy in other denominations.

4.4.3 Covariates, controls, and weights

I control for gender and denomination in certain analyses. Gender was determined based on responses to the question, “Which of the following best describes your gender?” with the response options “man”, “woman,” and “not listed (please specify):” for Mennonites. Episcopalians received the same question wording with an additional response option,

“nonbinary.” Nonbinary respondents are not included in analyses involving gender because the small sample size ($n = 2$) would make it difficult for me to protect their confidentiality.

Denomination was inferred based on which survey a respondent took. Both gender and denomination were included in linear regressions as dummy variables, with women and Episcopalians being represented by 1.

In analyses of how different categories of experience relate to outcomes, I sometimes control for the frequency of experiences, as did Lim and Cortina (2005). Following these authors, I created an experience frequency variable based on the mean of all experiences on the four-point scale from “never” (0) to “many times in my career” (3). I also created a version of this variable for the past 12 months, but as I only have binary data on experiences in this period, the past-year experience frequency variable ranges from 0 to 1 rather than 0 to 3 and represents the number of different recent experiences in a given category that a person reported.

For analyses that compare denominations but combine responses across genders, responses are weighted by gender according to the proportion of total active clergy of each gender in each denomination. This was necessary because Mennonite women were purposefully oversampled relative to men. Additionally, for analyses involving Episcopalians, responses are weighted inversely proportional to how many congregations a cleric currently serves. This is to account for my sampling procedure, which gave clergy who serve multiple congregations a higher chance of being selected. Further details on the weighting process, including gender proportions in my sample and the population, are available in Chapter 2.

4.5 Results

4.5.1 Question 1: Incidence and frequency of workplace experiences

4.5.1.1 Prevalence of specific experiences

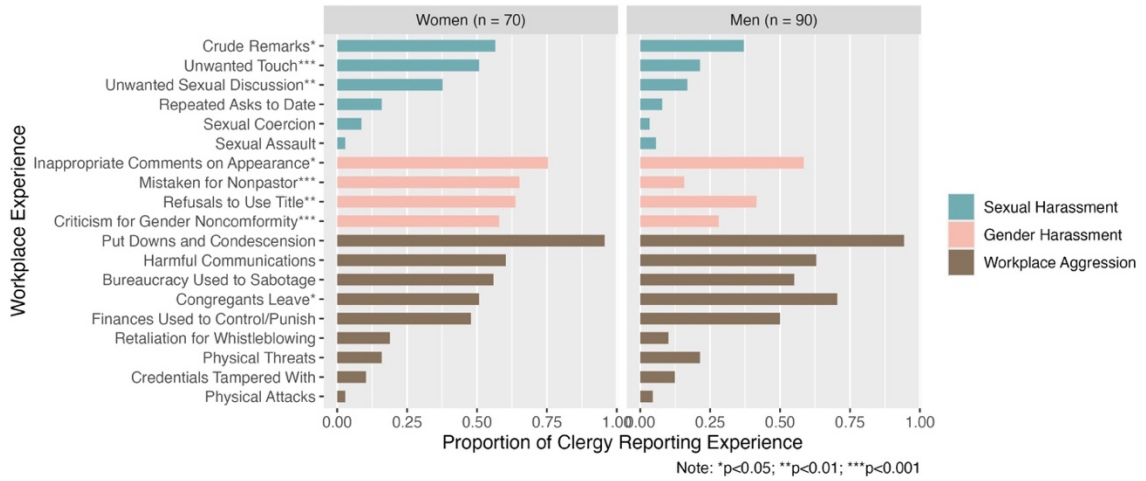


Figure 8: Workplace Experiences of Episcopal Clergy by Gender

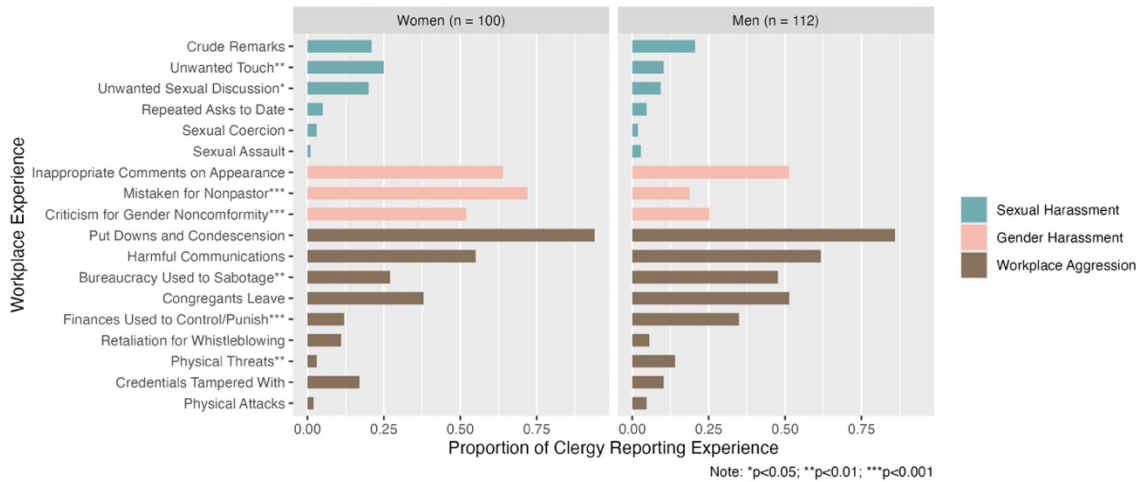


Figure 9: Workplace Experiences of Mennonite Clergy by Gender

Specific experiences of sexual harassment were generally less prevalent than specific experiences of gender harassment and workplace aggression. Figures 8 and 9 show the proportion of men and women in ministry in each denomination who reported having encountered a given experience at least once over the course of their entire ministry careers. As you can see, the blue bars representing sexual harassment experiences are short compared to the pink and brown bars

representing other categories of experience. Across genders and denominations, sexually harassing behaviors were not in the top one-third of experiences reported by clergy. For women, all gender harassment behaviors and 2-4 workplace aggression behaviors were reported more often than even the most prevalent sexual harassment experience. For men, five of the nine workplace aggression experiences and two of the 3-4 gender harassment experiences were more prevalent than the most common form of sexual harassment. The specific sexual harassment behaviors included in this survey were simply not as prevalent as experiences in other categories.

4.5.1.2 Incidence of categories

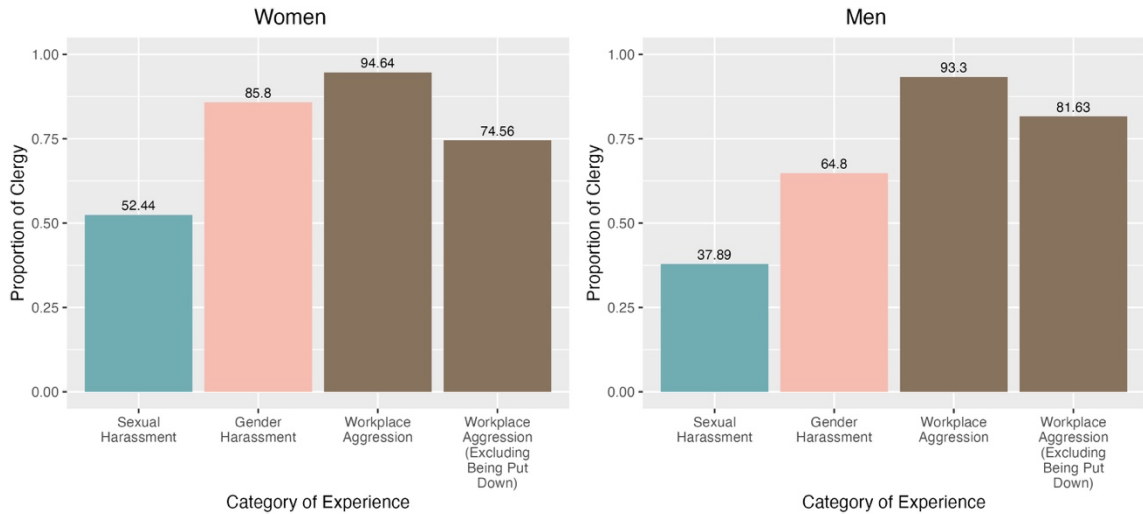


Figure 10: Incidence of Categories Over Whole Career

Sexual harassment was also the least commonly reported type of experience as a category. The incidence rates depicted in Figure 10 represent the proportion of survey respondents by gender, combining Mennonites and Episcopalians, who reported one or more experiences in each category over the course of their entire careers. As this graph shows, 52.44% of clergywomen reported at least one experience of sexual harassment. While the fact that over half of clergywomen who responded to my survey have experienced a behavior in the sexual harassment category may seem shockingly high, this is small in comparison with the other categories: 85.8% of clergywomen reported having experienced gender harassment, and 94.64%

reported an experience of workplace aggression. These differences are statistically significant¹ ($p < 0.001$). Even if we remove the most common item from the workplace aggression category (being put down, mistreated, slighted, ignored, or condescended to) because it was almost ubiquitous, this category of experience remains significantly more common than sexual harassment ($p < 0.001$), with 74.56% of women in ministry still reporting an experience of workplace aggression. The same pattern can be observed for men in ministry.

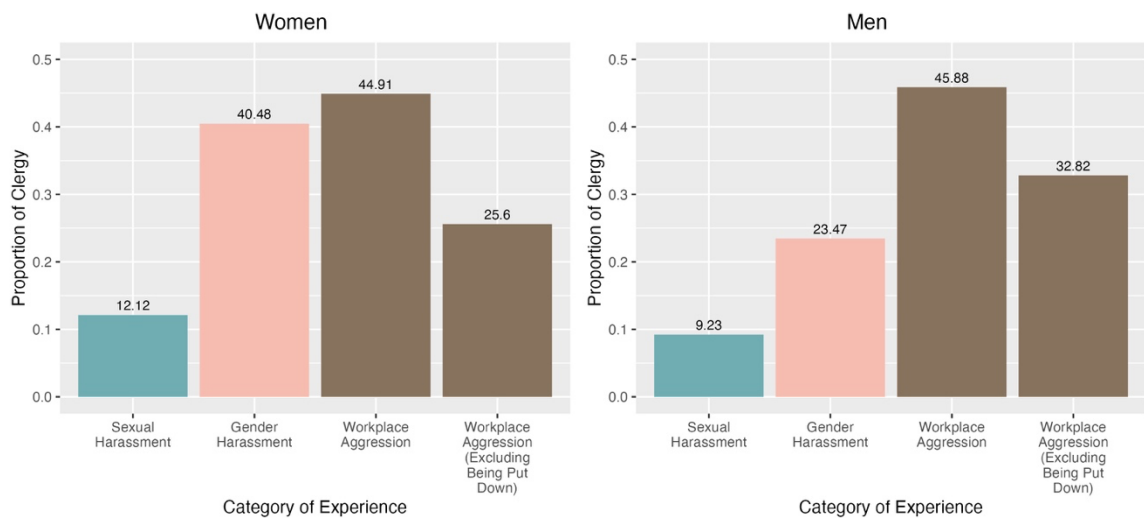


Figure 11: Incidence of Categories Over Past 12 Months

Figure 11 shows the same comparison but restricted to only the past year. Once again, we can see that sexual harassment was the least commonly reported category of experience, with only 12.12% of women in ministry reporting a recent experience in this category. By contrast, 40.48% of clergywomen reported a recent experience of gender harassment and 44.91% a recent experience of workplace aggression (or 25.60% if the most common experience of workplace aggression, being put down or condescended to, is removed). These results do not support the idea that research and denominational policy focus on sexual harassment over other potentially harmful workplace experiences because it is more common among clergy. The opposite is true:

¹ To assess statistical significance, I used McNemar’s test, which allowed me to compare two non-exclusive proportions (e.g., the incidence of sexual harassment and gender harassment) within the same group (i.e., my respondents).

Recent experiences of sexual harassment were both substantially and significantly less common than recent experiences in the other categories for both women and men ($p < 0.001$).

4.5.1.3 Frequency of categories

Finally, sexual harassment experiences were not only less likely to have occurred at least once than other types of experiences; they also occurred less frequently. As a reminder, I calculated the average frequency of experiences in each category based on the four-point frequency scale from “never” (0) to “many times in my career” (3). Figure 12 shows the overall average frequency of all experiences in each category, including responses of “never” (0), over the course of a pastor’s entire career. Both men and women reported that sexual harassment experiences occurred significantly less frequently than gender harassment or workplace aggression experiences ($p < 0.001$ based on paired samples t -tests).

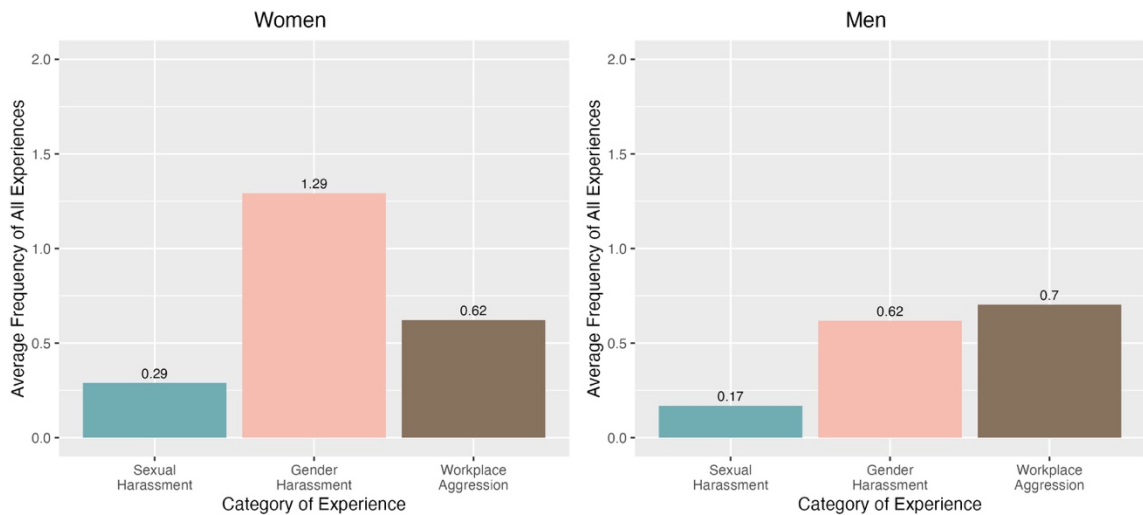


Figure 12: Average Frequency of All Experiences by Category

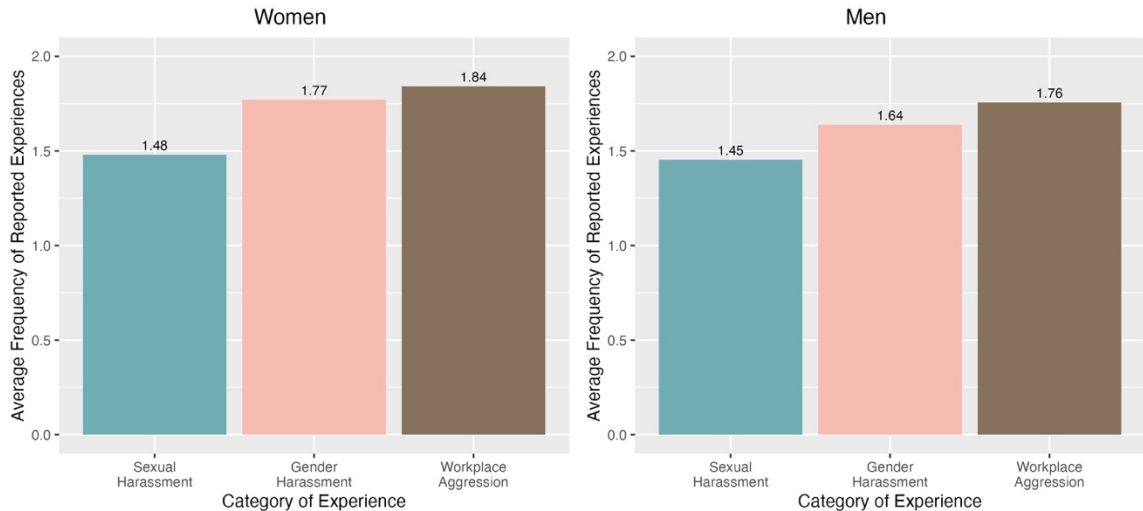


Figure 13: Average Frequency of Reported Experiences by Category

Figure 13 shows the same measure, but this time, I only included experiences that had happened at least once during a pastor’s career in the averaging process. Once again, clergywomen reported that sexual harassment experiences were substantially and significantly less frequent than experiences in other categories ($p < 0.001$). The same pattern is true for men, though the difference in frequency between sexual and gender harassment is slightly less significant ($p < 0.05$; $p < 0.001$ for sexual harassment vs. workplace aggression). This means that even when we control for the fact that sexual harassment is less likely to have occurred at all by considering only cases where it happened, the sexually harassing behaviors that took place were still less frequent in nature than behaviors that occurred in other categories.

4.5.1.4 Summary

Sexual harassment was, by multiple measures, the least common type of experience clergy encountered in the workplace. Specific experiences of sexual harassment were generally less prevalent than experiences of gender harassment and workplace aggression; they did not appear in the most common one-third of experiences from the behavioral checklist for any group that participated in this study (see Figures 8-9). The incidence of sexual harassment was significantly lower than the incidence of other categories of experience for both women and men

regardless of whether we focus on recent experiences or appearances from across pastors' entire careers (see Figures 10-11). Finally, even when we move beyond whether or not an incident occurred and incorporate the reported frequency of an experience, sexual harassment remains the least frequent category of experience for both women and men in ministry, both overall and when considering only behaviors that happened at least once (see Figures 12-13). While clergywomen generally reported higher incidence and frequency of sexual harassment, these patterns were strikingly similar for men and women, which builds confidence in these findings. Despite the emphasis on sexual harassment in research and policy concerning clergy, sexual harassment is a less prevalent and frequent experience for clergy than gender harassment and workplace aggression.

4.5.2 Question 2: Co-occurrence of experiences

4.5.2.1 Correlations between categories

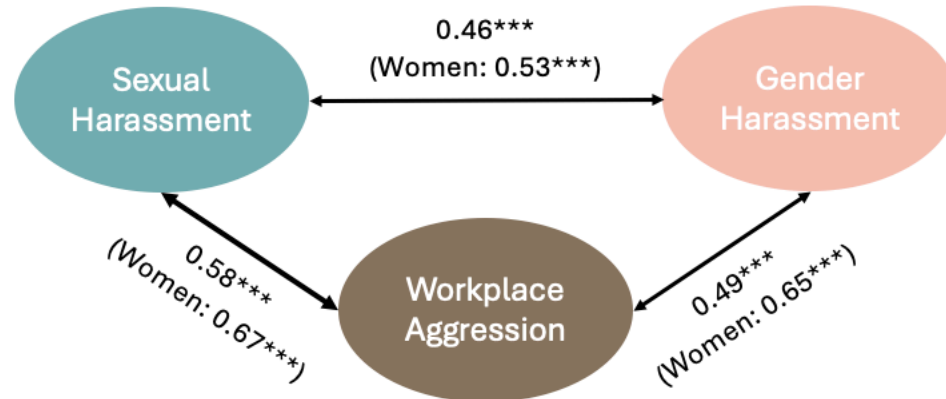


Figure 14: Correlations Between Categories of Experiences

If acts of sexual harassment are occurring in isolation, we would expect the composite measure of sexual harassment to be at most weakly correlated with the composite measures of gender harassment and workplace aggression. However, as the Pearson correlation coefficients in Figure 14 show, all three composite measures were significantly and positively correlated. This means that as a pastor's score (which represented both the variety and frequency of their

experiences) in one category increased, their score in the other two categories tended to increase as well. There were statistically significant ($p < 0.001$) and moderately strong relationships between sexual harassment and gender harassment (0.46), gender harassment and workplace aggression (0.49), and sexual harassment and workplace aggression (0.58).

Interestingly, if we consider women only, these relationships were even more pronounced. For women, workplace aggression was significantly and strongly correlated with both gender harassment (0.65) and sexual harassment (0.67), which were somewhat less strongly correlated with each other (0.53) (see Figure 14). It is surprising that gender and sexual harassment, both considered forms of sex-based harassment, were more strongly related with non-sex-based workplace aggression than with one another. Overall, these correlation coefficients suggest that sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression tend to occur alongside one another rather than in isolation.

4.5.2.2 Combinations of experiences

While these categories of experiences were all at least moderately correlated with one another, they were not all equally likely to co-occur. Like Lim and Cortina (2005), I identified eight possible combinations of experiences and used the incidence rates I had calculated earlier to find the number of clergy reporting each combination. Out of the eight possible combinations of experience that clergy could encounter, over 90% of respondents reported one of four main patterns.

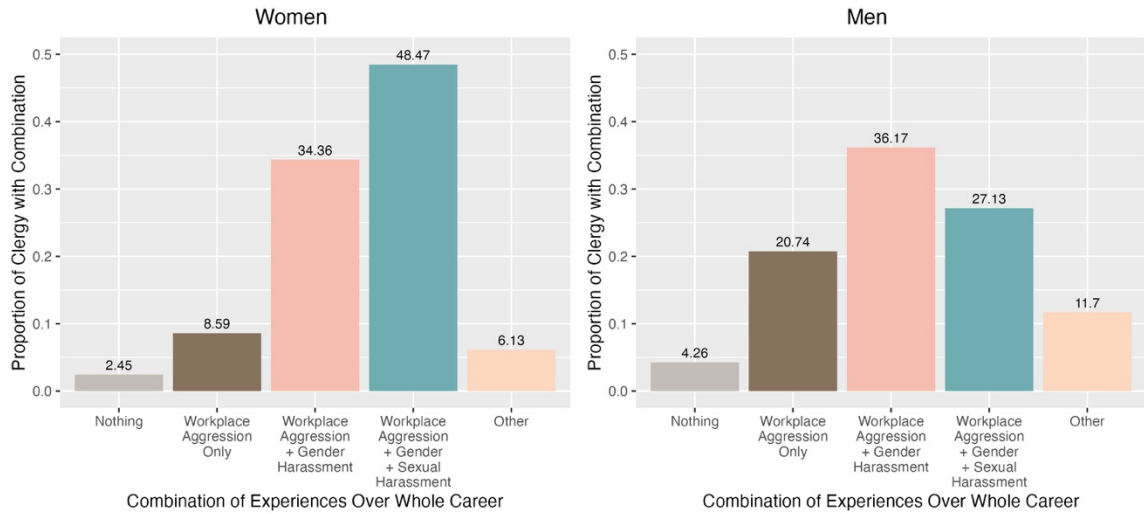


Figure 15: Co-Occurring Experiences Over Whole Career

As Figure 15 shows, over 93% of clergywomen reported having encountered one of four combinations of experiences over the course of their careers: no experiences at all; only workplace aggression; workplace aggression and gender harassment; or workplace aggression, gender harassment, and sexual harassment in combination. Over 88% of men in ministry who responded to my survey reported the same. There are visible gender differences in these patterns; almost half of clergywomen reported at least one experience from each category, whereas the most common combination for men did not include sexual harassment. However, the important thing to note is how rarely respondents fell outside of these four patterns. Of the 262 total respondents who'd experienced gender harassment, 97.33% also reported workplace aggression. Of the 157 clergy who'd experienced at least one form of sexual harassment, 83.44% had experienced both gender harassment and workplace aggression as well. If patterns of harassment were random, we would expect to see many more people in the "other" category of this graph, which contains four of eight possible combinations of experiences. Instead, these categories of experience seem to build on one another.

This parallels Lim and Cortina's (2005) finding that these experiences co-occur for court employees and attorneys, with most women in these professions having experienced either

nothing, workplace incivility (their word for what is here termed workplace aggression), workplace incivility and gender harassment, or both these experiences and sexualized harassment (here called sexual harassment). Exceedingly few people in their study, as in mine, reported a different combination of experiences. This suggests that not only does sexual harassment not occur alone; it almost always occurs in combination with both gender harassment and workplace aggression. Workplace aggression is the only category of experiences that seems likely to appear in the absence of other potentially harmful behaviors.

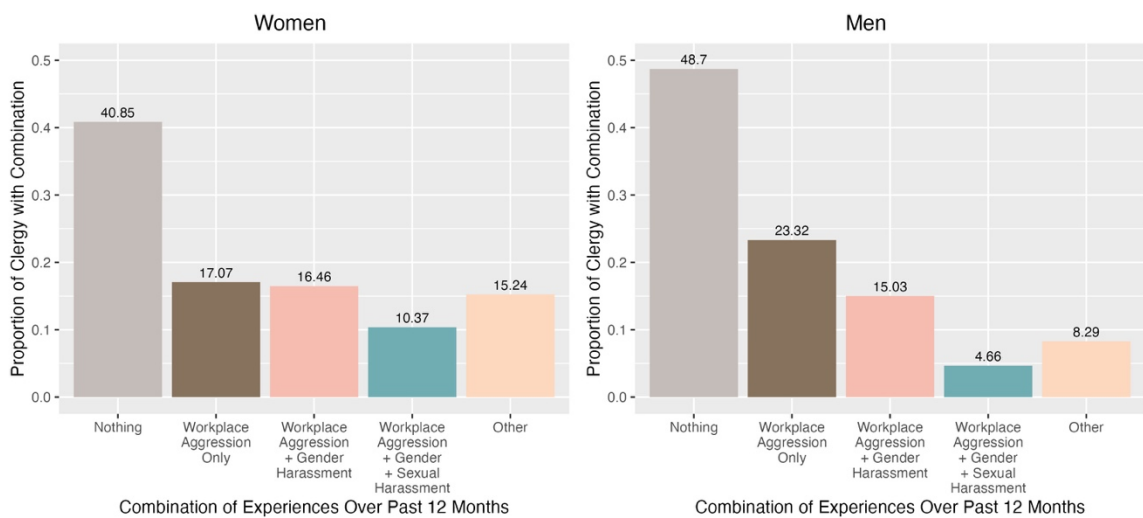


Figure 16: Co-Occurring Experiences Over Past 12 Months

If we restrict our analysis to experiences within the past year only, 84.76% of women and 91.71% of men still fall into one of the four expected categories (see Figure 16). As we would anticipate, a greater number of respondents reported having encountered none of these behaviors in the past year than over their entire career. The patterns between women and men look more similar here; while men reported the combination including sexual harassment less often than women in Figure 15, in Figure 16, the proportion of people in each of the four main patterns falls each time another category of experience is added for clergy of both genders. Once again, these experiences seem to build on one another. Workplace aggression was the most likely type of experience to be reported on its own, though by a narrower margin for women than for men. Of

the 112 total respondents who had experienced gender harassment within the past year, 73.2% had also experienced workplace aggression within the same period. Of the 38 respondents who reported a recent incident of sexual harassment, 68% of them had experienced both gender harassment and workplace aggression recently as well. These numbers are slightly lower than the corresponding numbers from over one's entire career (97.33% and 83.44%, respectively), but they reflect the same underlying pattern. These categories of experience not only co-occur but do so in predictable combinations for both men and women in both time periods under study.

4.5.2.3 Summary

Based on the correlations between the three composite measures and the combinations of experiences clergy tended to report, it appears that sexual harassment does not occur in isolation. The composite measure of sexual harassment, which included measures of the variety and frequency of experiences in this category, was significantly correlated with the composite measures of both gender harassment and workplace aggression (see Figure 14). Additionally, when sexual harassment was present, both workplace aggression and gender harassment were typically present as well (see Figures 15-16). This pattern was true for both men and women regardless of whether we considered only recent experiences or incidents over the course of pastors' entire careers. The frequency with which these categories of experiences co-occur underscores the urgent need for research that considers all three simultaneously. By focusing primarily on sexual harassment in isolation, existing research and policy has failed to capture the full set of experiences that typically accompany this form of harm.

4.5.3 Question 3: Relationships Between Experiences and Outcomes

I conducted linear regressions to assess the relationship between each outcome measure (job satisfaction and mental health) and the composite measures representing each category of experiences (sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression). As a reminder, all these measures are on a scale of roughly 0-100 with a mean of 50 and standard deviation of

10. In addition to the linear regressions, I also calculated mean scores for job satisfaction and mental health based on which combination of experiences a pastor had reported.

4.5.3.1 Job satisfaction

Tables 7-9 indicate that increased sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression were associated with poorer job satisfaction. As a reminder, job satisfaction is a composite measure including feelings of satisfaction with one's work, reverse-coded feelings of overwhelm at work with one's work, and reverse-coded thoughts of leaving one's job. This measure was related with each of the three categories of experience both over pastors' entire careers and within the past twelve months.

The coefficients here may seem small, but keep in mind that an increase or decrease of 10 in the composite measures of workplace experiences and job satisfaction represents a change of one standard deviation. So while, for example, the effect of an increase of one in recent gender harassment on job satisfaction is only -0.510 (see Model 7 in Table 8), this means that an increase of 10 in recent gender harassment (representing one standard deviation) is associated with a decrease of 5.1 in the job satisfaction composite measure. Furthermore, an increase of two standard deviations in recent gender harassment (20) is linked with a decrease of around one standard deviation in job satisfaction (10.2). The relationships between experiences and job satisfaction are thus more substantial than they might initially appear.

The effect of sexual harassment on job satisfaction was stronger for women than for men. As Models 6 and 8 in Table 7 show, the interaction between gender and sexual harassment was statistically significant in both periods under study. Sexual harassment on its own was no longer significant after including these interaction terms, suggesting that these experiences primarily impact women's job satisfaction rather than men's. Furthermore, being a woman was significantly associated with a large increase in job satisfaction (two standard deviations) after the interaction between gender and recent sexual harassment experiences was introduced to the

model. This suggests that recent sexual harassment may moderate the otherwise positive effect of being a woman on job satisfaction. The negative relationship between sexual harassment and clergywomen's job satisfaction, a composite measure which includes their thoughts of leaving for another congregation or leaving congregational ministry entirely, aligns with sociological theory emphasizing the role of sexual harassment as a tool to exclude women from the workplace.

The relationship between experiences and job satisfaction appears to be similar for men and women when it comes to gender harassment and workplace aggression (see Tables 8-9). As we can see in Models 5 and 7 in both tables, gender harassment and workplace aggression had significant negative associations with job satisfaction; however, the joint effect of these experiences with gender was not statistically significant. This is different from sexual harassment, which had a different effect on women's job satisfaction than men's. However, being a woman was associated with increased job satisfaction when whole-career gender harassment was included in the model (see Model 5 in Table 8). This suggests that, just as we saw for recent sexual harassment, career-spanning gender harassment may moderate the positive relationship between being a woman in ministry and job satisfaction even though gender harassment does not have different effects on job satisfaction for men and women.

Finally, serving in the Episcopal Church was positively correlated with job satisfaction. Episcopal clergy tended to score about one standard deviation higher than Mennonite pastors on this measure across models, a statistically significant difference (see Tables 7-9). Furthermore, the size of this effect increased after controlling for workplace experiences. This suggests that the positive effect of being an Episcopal priest or deacon rather than a Mennonite pastor on one's feelings about work would have been even stronger if not for the fact that Episcopal clergy also tended to encounter more potentially harmful experiences in the workplace.

Table 7: Job Satisfaction by Sexual Harassment

	<i>Dependent Variable: Job Satisfaction</i>							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Whole-Career Sexual Harassment	-0.089*				-0.140**	-0.032		
	(0.044)				(0.046)	(0.071)		
Past-Year Sexual Harassment		-0.168*					-0.207*	0.024
		(0.083)					(0.086)	(0.125)
Woman			0.480		2.236	10.900	1.749	22.863*
			(3.838)		(3.932)	(5.836)	(3.852)	(9.235)
Episcopalian				7.681*	10.481**	10.961**	9.020*	10.093*
				(3.844)	(4.009)	(3.999)	(3.905)	(3.899)
Whole-Career Sexual Harassment:Woman						-0.182*		
						(0.091)		
92 Past-Year Sexual Harassment:Woman								-0.428*
								(0.170)
Constant	54.132***	57.711***	49.484***	46.169***	51.294***	46.617***	55.139***	43.623***
	(2.865)	(4.537)	(2.599)	(2.525)	(3.479)	(4.178)	(4.957)	(6.725)
Observations	354	360	367	367	354	354	360	360
R ²	0.011	0.011	0.00004	0.011	0.036	0.047	0.027	0.044
Adjusted R ²	0.009	0.009	-0.003	0.008	0.028	0.036	0.019	0.033
Residual Std. Error	36.560 (df = 352)	36.507 (df = 358)	36.627 (df = 365)	36.499 (df = 365)	36.162 (df = 350)	36.007 (df = 349)	36.248 (df = 356)	35.981 (df = 355)
F Statistic	4.077* (df = 1; 352)	4.080* (df = 1; 358)	0.016 (df = 1; 365)	3.992* (df = 1; 365)	4.352** (df = 3; 350)	4.294** (df = 4; 349)	3.276* (df = 3; 356)	4.071** (df = 4; 355)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 8: Job Satisfaction by Gender Harassment

	<i>Dependent Variable: Job Satisfaction</i>							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Whole-Career Gender Harassment	-0.407*** (0.078)				-0.554*** (0.082)	-0.568*** (0.130)		
Past-Year Gender Harassment		-0.480*** (0.086)					-0.510*** (0.084)	-0.675*** (0.144)
Woman			0.480 (3.838)		11.841** (3.979)	10.708 (9.111)	5.073 (3.745)	-7.110 (9.421)
Episcopalian				7.681* (3.844)	10.379** (3.678)	10.381** (3.683)	10.579** (3.726)	10.788** (3.724)
Whole-Career Gender Harassment:Woman						0.023 (0.167)		
93 Past-Year Gender Harassment:Woman								0.249 (0.177)
Constant	69.293*** (4.207)	73.117*** (4.621)	49.484*** (2.599)	46.169*** (2.525)	67.556*** (4.359)	68.123*** (5.991)	68.192*** (4.741)	75.717*** (7.137)
Observations	365	364	367	367	365	365	364	364
R ²	0.070	0.080	0.00004	0.011	0.120	0.120	0.102	0.106
Adjusted R ²	0.068	0.077	-0.003	0.008	0.113	0.110	0.094	0.096
Residual Std. Error	35.418 (df = 363)	35.255 (df = 362)	36.627 (df = 365)	36.499 (df = 365)	34.503 (df = 361)	34.550 (df = 360)	34.861 (df = 360)	34.814 (df = 359)
F Statistic	27.528*** (df = 1; 363)	31.335*** (df = 1; 362)	0.016 (df = 1; 365)	3.992* (df = 1; 365)	16.414*** (df = 3; 361)	12.282*** (df = 4; 360)	13.557*** (df = 3; 360)	10.692*** (df = 4; 359)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 9: Job Satisfaction by Workplace Aggression

	<i>Dependent Variable: Job Satisfaction</i>							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Whole-Career Workplace Aggression	-0.168*** (0.033)				-0.198*** (0.034)	-0.147*** (0.043)		
Past-Year Workplace Aggression		-0.328*** (0.034)					-0.344*** (0.035)	-0.295*** (0.047)
Woman			0.480 (3.838)		-0.191 (3.701)	5.899 (4.950)	-0.324 (3.442)	5.255 (4.901)
Episcopalian				7.681* (3.844)	11.310** (3.779)	11.794** (3.775)	11.146** (3.481)	11.579*** (3.484)
Whole-Career Workplace Aggression:Woman						-0.124 (0.067)		
† ₉₄ Past-Year Workplace Aggression:Woman								-0.113 (0.071)
Constant	58.149*** (2.507)	66.080*** (2.454)	49.484*** (2.599)	46.169*** (2.525)	54.894*** (3.379)	51.924*** (3.733)	62.119*** (3.265)	59.362*** (3.688)
Observations	362	361	367	367	362	362	361	361
R ²	0.068	0.202	0.00004	0.011	0.097	0.106	0.219	0.225
Adjusted R ²	0.066	0.200	-0.003	0.008	0.090	0.096	0.213	0.216
Residual Std. Error	35.476 (df = 360)	32.844 (df = 359)	36.627 (df = 365)	36.499 (df = 365)	34.967 (df = 358)	34.850 (df = 357)	32.520 (df = 357)	32.450 (df = 356)
F Statistic	26.396*** (df = 1; 360)	90.878*** (df = 1; 359)	0.016 (df = 1; 365)	3.992* (df = 1; 365)	12.872*** (df = 3; 358)	10.569*** (df = 4; 357)	33.394*** (df = 3; 357)	25.790*** (df = 4; 356)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

4.5.3.2 Mental health

Just as we saw with job satisfaction, experiences in all three categories were significantly associated with poorer mental health (see Tables 10-12). As a reminder, the mental health composite measure includes the PHQ-2, a two-question depression screener which was reverse coded for inclusion in this measure, and two questions about happiness and life satisfaction. It was correlated with experiences of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression that had occurred both over pastors' entire careers and within the past twelve months.

All three categories of experience were significantly related to poorer mental health after controlling for gender and denomination (see Models 5 and 7 in Tables 10-12), but the interaction between gender and experiences was not significant (see Models 6 and 8). This suggests that sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression had similar mental health impacts for both men and women in my sample. Gender harassment had the most sizable effect on this outcome (see Models 5 and 7 in Table 11). Additionally, just as we saw for job satisfaction, being a woman in ministry was correlated with better mental health after controlling for gender harassment over the course of one's career in Model 5. This suggests that women in ministry would report significantly better job satisfaction and mental health than men if not for the increased gender harassment they also encounter during their careers.

Finally, serving in the Episcopal Church was correlated with better mental health, but only after controlling for the three categories of experience. This relationship was not significant on its own. This suggests that, while Episcopal and Mennonite clergy appear to report similar scores on measures of depression, happiness, and life satisfaction, this is shaped by the increased levels of harmful workplace experiences Episcopal clergy face. In the absence of the denominational inequalities in experiences I described in Chapter 3, Episcopal priests and deacons would likely report better mental health than Mennonite pastors.

Table 10: Mental Health by Sexual Harassment

	<i>Dependent Variable: Mental Health</i>							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Whole-Career Sexual Harassment	-0.072 (0.039)				-0.106** (0.040)	-0.111 (0.062)		
Past-Year Sexual Harassment		-0.123 (0.073)					-0.152* (0.075)	-0.081 (0.110)
Woman			0.335 (3.361)		2.712 (3.444)	2.329 (5.134)	1.609 (3.375)	8.053 (8.128)
Episcopalian				6.215 (3.418)	9.088* (3.511)	9.066* (3.523)	7.278* (3.420)	7.617* (3.443)
Whole-Career Sexual Harassment:Woman						0.008 (0.080)		
96 Past-Year Sexual Harassment:Woman								-0.130 (0.149)
Constant	54.205*** (2.535)	56.420*** (4.006)	50.273*** (2.268)	47.508*** (2.243)	51.006*** (3.042)	51.212*** (3.672)	54.190*** (4.321)	50.682*** (5.907)
Observations	350	356	363	363	350	350	356	356
R ²	0.010	0.008	0.00003	0.009	0.031	0.031	0.021	0.023
Adjusted R ²	0.007	0.005	-0.003	0.006	0.023	0.020	0.013	0.012
Residual Std. Error	32.209 (df = 348)	32.144 (df = 354)	31.880 (df = 361)	32.262 (df = 361)	31.463 (df = 346)	31.508 (df = 345)	31.532 (df = 352)	31.542 (df = 351)
F Statistic	3.415 (df = 1; 348)	2.812 (df = 1; 354)	0.010 (df = 1; 361)	3.307 (df = 1; 361)	3.708* (df = 3; 346)	2.776* (df = 4; 345)	2.537 (df = 3; 352)	2.091 (df = 4; 351)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 11: Mental Health by Gender Harassment

	<i>Dependent Variable: Mental Health</i>							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Whole-Career Gender Harassment	-0.312*** (0.070)				-0.405*** (0.074)	-0.488*** (0.117)		
Past-Year Gender Harassment		-0.286*** (0.078)					-0.291*** (0.076)	-0.463*** (0.129)
Woman			0.335 (3.361)		8.769* (3.555)	2.101 (8.122)	3.061 (3.369)	-9.673 (8.444)
Episcopalian				6.215 (3.418)	8.221* (3.276)	8.241* (3.277)	7.750* (3.355)	7.947* (3.350)
Whole-Career Gender Harassment:Woman						0.137 (0.150)		
97 Past-Year Gender Harassment:Woman								0.260 (0.158)
Constant	65.331*** (3.752)	64.313*** (4.174)	50.273*** (2.268)	47.508*** (2.243)	63.158*** (3.862)	66.511*** (5.329)	60.183*** (4.244)	68.015*** (6.374)
Observations	361	360	363	363	361	361	360	360
R ²	0.053	0.037	0.00003	0.009	0.085	0.087	0.047	0.055
Adjusted R ²	0.050	0.034	-0.003	0.006	0.077	0.077	0.039	0.044
Residual Std. Error	31.395 (df = 359)	31.702 (df = 358)	31.880 (df = 361)	32.262 (df = 361)	30.483 (df = 357)	30.490 (df = 356)	31.138 (df = 356)	31.064 (df = 355)
F Statistic	20.084*** (df = 1; 359)	13.600*** (df = 1; 358)	0.010 (df = 1; 361)	3.307 (df = 1; 361)	11.067*** (df = 3; 357)	8.505*** (df = 4; 356)	5.898*** (df = 3; 356)	5.120*** (df = 4; 355)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 12: Mental Health by Workplace Aggression

	<i>Dependent Variable: Mental Health</i>							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Whole-Career Workplace Aggression	-0.083** (0.030)				-0.097** (0.030)	-0.084* (0.039)		
Past-Year Workplace Aggression		-0.170*** (0.033)					-0.175*** (0.033)	-0.174*** (0.044)
Woman			0.335 (3.361)		-0.023 (3.333)	1.574 (4.493)	-0.072 (3.260)	-0.001 (4.661)
Episcopalian				6.215 (3.418)	7.525* (3.404)	7.666* (3.418)	7.482* (3.296)	7.487* (3.311)
Whole-Career Workplace Aggression:Woman						-0.032 (0.061)		
86 Past-Year Workplace Aggression:Woman								-0.001 (0.067)
Constant	54.486*** (2.275)	58.834*** (2.340)	50.273*** (2.268)	47.508*** (2.243)	52.088*** (3.043)	51.309*** (3.382)	55.903*** (3.089)	55.868*** (3.500)
Observations	359	358	363	363	359	359	358	358
R ²	0.022	0.071	0.00003	0.009	0.035	0.036	0.079	0.079
Adjusted R ²	0.019	0.068	-0.003	0.006	0.027	0.025	0.072	0.069
Residual Std. Error	31.956 (df = 357)	31.176 (df = 356)	31.880 (df = 361)	32.262 (df = 361)	31.345 (df = 355)	31.377 (df = 354)	30.655 (df = 354)	30.698 (df = 353)
F Statistic	7.848** (df = 1; 357)	27.152*** (df = 1; 356)	0.010 (df = 1; 361)	3.307 (df = 1; 361)	4.337** (df = 3; 355)	3.316* (df = 4; 354)	10.167*** (df = 3; 354)	7.604*** (df = 4; 353)

Note:

* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

4.5.3.4 Outcomes after controlling for other experiences

Table 13: Effect of Experiences on Job Satisfaction and Mental Health When Controlling for Other Experience Categories

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>			
	Job Satisfaction		Mental Health	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Whole-Career Sexual Harassment	0.074 (0.054)		-0.004 (0.049)	
Whole-Career Gender Harassment	-0.337*** (0.092)		-0.293*** (0.085)	
Whole-Career Workplace Aggression	-0.144*** (0.042)		-0.028 (0.038)	
Past-Year Sexual Harassment		0.117 (0.081)		0.024 (0.078)
Past-Year Gender Harassment		-0.260** (0.092)		-0.178* (0.089)
Past-Year Workplace Aggression		-0.304*** (0.039)		-0.145*** (0.037)
Episcopalian	11.242** (3.854)	11.919*** (3.491)	9.741** (3.511)	8.928** (3.372)
Constant	65.134*** (4.349)	66.868*** (4.925)	62.300*** (3.955)	61.463*** (4.738)
Observations	351	357	348	354
R ²	0.121	0.241	0.070	0.095
Adjusted R ²	0.111	0.233	0.059	0.085
Residual Std. Error	34.641 (df = 346)	32.131 (df = 352)	31.397 (df = 343)	30.874 (df = 349)
F Statistic	11.906*** (df = 4; 346)	27.987*** (df = 4; 352)	6.440*** (df = 4; 343)	9.162*** (df = 4; 349)

Note: * p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001

Table 13 displays the relationship between each type of potentially harmful experience and each outcome after controlling for the other two categories of experience. Based on this analysis, gender harassment and workplace aggression appear to be associated with job satisfaction and mental health even after controlling for other experiences (minus the association

between workplace aggression over one's whole career and mental health, which was not significant). However, sexual harassment would appear to be a poor predictor of these outcomes; it was not significantly related with either of them in either period under study after controlling for other experience categories. However, this is hardly surprising given that sexual harassment almost never happened without gender harassment and workplace aggression happening as well (see Figures 15-16). It is thus unrealistic to assess the impact of sexual harassment while holding constant the experiences that nearly always accompanied it, and analyses that did not do that found that sexual harassment was significantly associated with job satisfaction and mental health (see Tables 7 and 10). To more realistically assess how these experiences interact to affect job satisfaction and mental health, I will next compare these outcomes by the combinations of experiences clergy reported encountering.

4.5.3.5 Outcomes by combination of experiences

I will now investigate how job satisfaction and mental health differ between clergy who reported each of the four main combinations of experiences described before: nothing; workplace aggression only; workplace aggression and gender harassment; and workplace aggression, gender harassment, and sexual harassment. Like Lim and Cortina (2005), whose paper inspired this method, I used a multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) to compare the means of these groups while controlling for average experience frequency. This allowed me to feel confident that the differences displayed in Figures 17-18 are related to the *combination* of experiences clergy reported and not simply *how frequently* clergy encountered potentially harmful experiences overall. The combination of experiences reported within the past year was significantly associated with these outcomes for both women and men in ministry (Wilks' Lambda = .87, $F = 2.82$, $p < 0.01$ and Wilks' Lambda = .79, $F = 5.66$ $p < 0.001$, respectively). The combination of experiences reported over one's entire career was not statistically significant when clergy were split by gender but was significant when men and women were combined

(Wilks' Lambda = .95, $F = 2.93$, $p < 0.01$). Given that Figures 17-18 reflect similar patterns in both periods, these initial non-significant results may reflect an insufficient number of respondents in each category when split by gender; it was very rare for clergy to report having encountered no potentially harmful workplace experiences over the course of their full ministry careers, with only 2.45% of women and 4.26% of men falling into this “nothing” category.

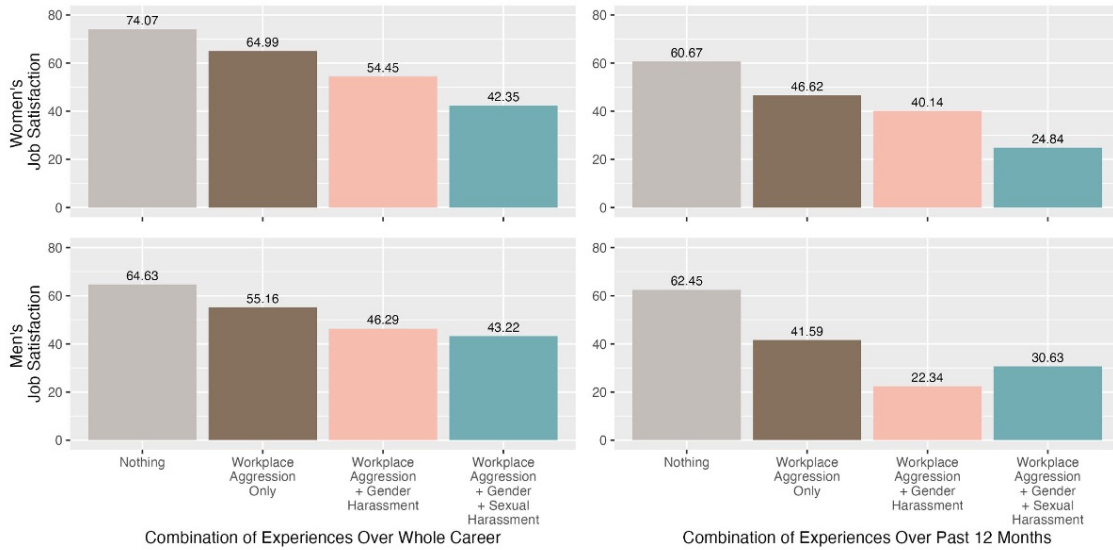


Figure 17: Job Satisfaction by Co-Occurring Experiences

As Figure 17 shows, clergy who reported a greater variety of experiences also tended to report lower job satisfaction, with this outcome appearing to decrease more with each additional type of experience clergy were exposed to. (The anomaly in the lower right corner, which indicates that men who had recently experienced sexual harassment reported higher job satisfaction than men who were otherwise similar but had not been sexually harassed, may be the result of random chance because only a very small percentage of men – 4.66% – reported recent sexual harassment.) Job satisfaction was significantly correlated with the combination of experiences clergy had encountered in the past year for both women and men in ministry ($p < 0.001$ for both) and with experiences over the whole career for clergy of both genders combined ($p < 0.01$) even after controlling for overall frequency of experiences.

It is notable that clergy who reported experiencing only workplace aggression reported lower job satisfaction than clergy who had experienced nothing; this suggests that workplace aggression alone, even in the absence of gender and sexual harassment, is associated with worsening feelings about one’s job. While sexual harassment was not correlated with job satisfaction when artificially controlling for the other types of experiences (see Table 13), clergy who reported sexual harassment in addition to the other two categories of experience had the lowest job satisfaction of any group (minus the anomaly described above) (see Figure 17). This suggests that the addition of sexual harassment to these other experiences was associated with worse outcomes than what sexual harassment in isolation might produce.

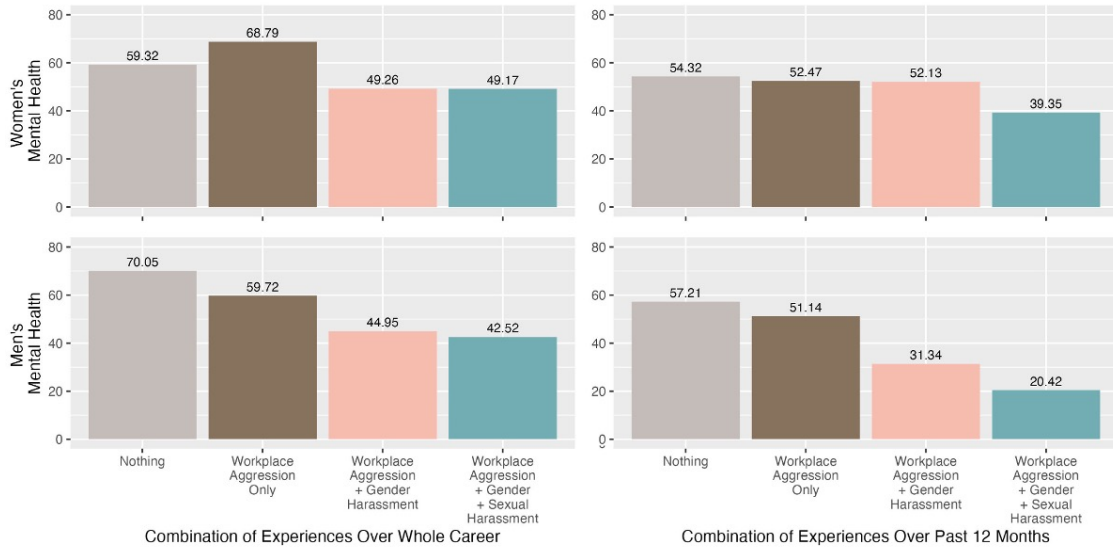


Figure 18: Mental Health by Co-Occurring Experiences

Similarly, clergy who reported having encountered more types of experiences also tended to report worse mental health (see Figure 18). This relationship was statistically significant for men and women combined over their full careers ($p < 0.01$) and men within the past twelve months ($p < 0.001$), even after accounting for the frequency of experiences clergy reported. Combinations of recent experiences were not significantly associated with mental health for women; however, it is worth noting the substantial drop in women’s mental health with the introduction of recent sexual harassment (a decrease of 12.18, which is over one standard

deviation) depicted in the upper right corner of Figure 18. In general, each additional type of experience reported appears to be associated with at least a small reduction in mental health. (The exception in the upper left corner, which suggests that women who reported workplace aggression had better mental health than women who reported no experiences, is likely the result of random chance because only 2.45% of women had never experienced any of these behaviors over the course of their entire career.) Mental health, like job satisfaction, seems to be affected by workplace experiences in combination.

4.5.3.6 Summary

My results suggest that sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression were linked with worsening mental health and feelings about one's job, both individually and in combination with other harmful workplace experiences. In my regression analyses, each category of experience was significantly associated with each outcome measure in both periods studied (see Tables 7-12). Recent sexual harassment was more strongly associated with negative feelings about one's job for women than for men, suggesting that these experiences may play a role in pushing women specifically to consider leaving congregational ministry (see Table 7). Women reported better mental health and job satisfaction than men after controlling for their experiences of gender harassment throughout their career; however, the higher rates of gender harassment they encounter make women's scores on these outcomes comparable to men's in practice (see Tables 8 and 11). Episcopal clergy tended to report higher job satisfaction and mental health than Mennonites, and the magnitude and significance of this effect increased after controlling for workplace experiences, which were reported at higher rates by Episcopal than Mennonite clergy (see Chapter 3 and Tables 7-12).

Clergy who reported having encountered more categories of experience in either period tended to report poorer job satisfaction and mental health as well, even after I controlled for the frequency of harmful experiences (see Figures 17-18). Furthermore, each additional category of

experience a pastor reported was, in general, associated with an additional reduction in job satisfaction and mental health. Even clergy who had experienced only workplace aggression, which is underemphasized in research and policy, reported worse outcomes than clergy who did not report any experiences. This suggests that all forms of harassment, even workplace aggression and gender harassment, may have compounding negative effects on clergy wellbeing.

4.6 Conclusion

Despite the prevailing emphasis on it in research and policy, sexual harassment targeting clergy was significantly less common than gender harassment or workplace aggression. Fewer clergy reported specific sexual harassment experiences or having experienced at least one sexual harassment incident overall compared with experiences in other categories. Even when sexual harassment did take place, these events occurred less frequently than gender harassment and workplace aggression experiences. While clergywomen typically reported higher incidence and frequency of sexual harassment than men, the pattern of sexual harassment being less common was similar for both men and women in ministry. This is consistent with prior research in other populations that found that gender harassment or workplace aggression is more commonly experienced than sexual harassment (Richman et al. 1999; Lim and Cortina 2005; Leskinen et al. 2011; Sojo et al. 2016). This chapter provides the first evidence of the relative incidence and frequency of these categories of experiences among clergy.

Furthermore, sexual harassment did not occur in isolation. The variety and frequency of sexual harassment experiences were significantly correlated with those of gender harassment and workplace aggression experiences. Sexual harassment almost always occurred alongside both other categories; workplace aggression was the only type of experience that was likely to occur on its own. This pattern was true for both men and women and whether we considered only recent experiences or experiences from across a pastor's entire career. This chapter adds to the limited body of research that has simultaneously considered multiple categories of harm, and my findings

are consistent with other researchers who have found that forms of harassment often co-occur (Richman et al. 1999; Lim and Cortina 2005; Lopez et al. 2009; Leskinen et al. 2011).

Finally, experiences in each category were associated with poorer mental health and more negative feelings toward one's work. This is consistent with the limited prior work that exists on the relative impact of different types of harmful experiences (Richman et al. 1999; Lapierre et al. 2005; Lim and Cortina 2005; Leskinen et al. 2011; Sojo et al. 2016). Experiences of sexual harassment were more strongly associated with job satisfaction for women than men, suggesting that these behaviors may play a role in driving women specifically out of ministry. Certain experiences (gender harassment over one's career and all categories of harm, respectively) moderated the otherwise positive relationship that being a woman and serving in the Episcopal Church had with job satisfaction and mental health, but the higher prevalence of these experiences in these groups made their outcomes more comparable to others in practice. The combination of harmful experiences a pastor faced mattered as well; in general, each additional category a pastor reported an experience in was associated with worsening job satisfaction and mental health, even after I controlled for the frequency of experiences. This finding parallels that of Lim and Cortina (2005), which builds my confidence in my data. By conducting similar analyses to their work, I was able to replicate their results in a new population that is very different from the attorneys and court employees in their original study, contributing to this literature.

My findings carry practical and troubling implications for future research and policy. Given the frequent co-occurrence of these experiences and the compounding nature of the negative outcomes associated with them, continuing to study them primarily in separate bodies of literature will limit the ability of researchers to accurately and fully understand these phenomena. Future research projects comparing multiple categories of experience using longitudinal data are particularly needed; such a study could determine whether workplace aggression and gender

harassment precede sexual harassment or appear simultaneously, which would have important implications for best practices in intervening to prevent sexual harassment. Finally, the disproportionate focus on sexual harassment over other harmful experiences in research and denominational training and policy is, in my opinion, not justifiable considering the evidence presented in this chapter. The relatively low incidence and frequency of sexual harassment, in combination with the fact that more common experiences were also associated with negative outcomes, suggest that a broader understanding of the harmful experiences clergy face would enable denominations to more effectively intervene to support clergy wellbeing.

5. Targets, Guardians, and Perpetrators: Understanding the Context of the Workplace Harassment of Clergywomen

In this chapter, I begin to investigate the circumstances that inhibit or promote the workplace harassment of clergy. In previous chapters, I have demonstrated that clergy experience sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression at differing rates depending on their gender and denomination, and I have shown that these experiences are correlated with undesirable outcomes. While most research and policy has focused on sexual harassment, gender harassment and workplace aggression are more common, typically occur alongside sexual harassment when it does occur, and also are related to mental health and feelings toward one's job. Identifying the challenges pastors face and the outcomes associated with these challenges, as I have done in these chapters, are important steps in deepening our understanding of women's experiences in ministry and motivating practitioners to work toward solutions. Specific knowledge of who is perpetrating these experiences and what structural factors enable or inhibit them is also helpful to understanding fully and intervening effectively. In this chapter, I will explore three aspects of how incidents of harassment unfold: who is perpetrating these behaviors, which clergy are most targeted by them, and how guardians can intervene to reduce the likelihood of harassment occurring.

5.1 The routine activities perspective

The three-part structure of this chapter is based on a model from criminology: the routine activities perspective. This model emphasizes how everyday activities create opportunities for crime to occur by moving *suitable targets* into the proximity of *motivated perpetrators* and away from *capable guardians* who could prevent crime (Cohen and Felson 1979). This perspective has previously been applied to sexual harassment by De Coster and colleagues (1999), and to the comparison between sex-based harassment and workplace aggression by Lopez and colleagues (2009). It represents a new perspective on clergywomen's experiences, as even the most detailed

recent work on clergy has focused on the incidence and aftermath of sexual harassment rather than the structural factors that create opportunities for it to occur (e.g., Wiggins Hare et al. 2017; Murphy-Geiss 2020).¹

5.1.1 Perpetrators

The routine activities model has relatively little to say about the characteristics and motivations of perpetrators, since it focuses on the circumstances surrounding crime (Cohen and Felson 1979; Lopez et al. 2009). I discuss perpetrators in this chapter anyway because of the relative dearth of knowledge about who is engaging in behaviors that harm clergy, particularly for behaviors besides sexual harassment. Additionally, perpetrator motivation matters because it shapes which targets are deemed suitable (De Coster et al. 1999). One perspective on sexual harassment suggests that perpetrators target those with the least power to fight back because they are motivated by a desire to express their structural power over others (MacKinnon 1979; De Coster et al. 1999). However, other literature suggests that harassers target those whom they view as a threat to their power (Berdahl 2007a; McLaughlin et al. 2012). These competing perspectives, the *vulnerable-victims* model versus the *power-threat* model, offer different predictions for who is most likely to be targeted (De Coster et al. 1999; McLaughlin et al. 2012).

5.1.2 Targets

A target's suitability depends on their proximity to motivated perpetrators and their attractiveness as a target, which, as discussed above, depends in part on perpetrator motivation (De Coster et al. 1999). Proximity to perpetrators creates opportunities for harassment to occur. Working in male-dominated fields involving more contact with men, in highly populated locations, and in large organizations have been found to have a positive association with sexual harassment (De Coster et al. 1999; Chamberlain et al. 2008; McLaughlin et al. 2012). Less is

¹ See the work of McDuff (2008) for an exception that considers the role of organizational context; however, this research does not take a routine activities perspective.

known about how this relates to potentially harmful workplace experiences besides sexual harassment.

As for target attractiveness, the vulnerable-victims model suggests that harassers will target the most vulnerable workers (MacKinnon 1979; De Coster et al. 1999; McLaughlin et al. 2012). Thus, individuals who lack structural power because of their race, gender, and occupational position are more likely to experience harassment. Some prior research has indeed suggested that such individuals are more likely to be targeted by bullying and sexual harassment (Rogers and Henson 1997; Uggen and Blackstone 2004; Gettman and Gelfand 2007; Roscigno et al. 2009).

However, support has also been found for the power-threat model, which predicts that, paradoxically, harassers target women in positions of structural power because they threaten male dominance (McLaughlin et al. 2012). Prior literature has found that women who threaten patriarchal power structures by holding organizational power, violating gender norms, and entering male-dominated organizations are also more frequently targeted for sexual harassment (Rospenda et al. 1998; De Coster, Estes, and Mueller 1999; Berdahl 2007b; Das 2009; McLaughlin, Uggen, and Blackstone 2012). In these cases, sexual harassment functions as a tool to protect threatened hierarchies by punishing the target and returning her to subordinate status (Rospenda et al. 1998; Berdahl 2007a; Mansbridge and Shames 2008; Rudman and Phelan 2008; Hoover et al. 2019; Minnotte and Legerski 2019).

5.1.3 Guardians

The phrase “capable guardians” refers to the people and structures that can inhibit criminal activity (De Coster et al. 1999; Lopez et al. 2009). This includes whether guardians are protective enough to prevent harm and whether targets are willing and able to utilize the available structures, such as grievance procedures (Cohen et al. 1981; Lopez et al. 2009). Prior research has found that supportive supervisors and coworkers are associated with reduced sexual harassment

(De Coster et al. 1999; Mueller et al. 2001; Chamberlain et al. 2008; Lopez et al. 2009). Less is known about the relationship between these sources of support and other categories of experience, though Lopez and colleagues (2009) found that working in teams was related to lower sexual harassment but did not impact workplace aggression.

5.2 Research questions

I address three questions in this chapter. First, who is most commonly perpetrating potentially harmful experiences targeting clergy? Prior research has suggested that laypeople (i.e., people who are not members of the clergy) – not clergy peers or superiors – are the most common source of sexual and gender harassment for clergy (Murphy-Geiss 2007; Nath 2007; Wiggins Hare et al. 2017; Murphy-Geiss 2020). However, this research has not distinguished lay leaders from other laypeople, nor has it included the workplace aggression incidents that, while not explicitly gendered, are nonetheless experienced by women as a subtle form of gendered harm (Cortina et al. 2002). It is plausible that laypeople are a primary source of harm here as well, given the number of books on the topic of antagonistic congregations that have been authored by clergy themselves (e.g., Haugk 1988; Rediger 1997; Maynard 2010; Fowler 2020). However, this is difficult to state with confidence in the absence of systematic quantitative analysis, and other surveys on negative acts that potentially fall into this category have not included questions about perpetrators (Turner 2016). Because my data are from two nationally representative random samples and include perpetrator data for nearly a thousand incidents across all three categories, this project is uniquely positioned to deepen our knowledge about the perpetrators of sexual and gender harassment targeting clergy, introduce new findings about the perpetrators of workplace aggression targeting clergy, and compare this information across categories of experience and denomination.

The second question I address in this chapter is this: among clergy, who is most commonly targeted by these experiences? The vulnerable-victims model and power- threat model

offer contrasting hypotheses. As De Coster and colleagues (1999) explain, the former model would suggest that the most likely targets for sexual harassment are minority women, women with less education and job tenure, and women in primarily female occupations and in positions with less authority. The power-threat model, on the other hand, would predict that the women viewed as most threatening would be the most likely targets: nonminority women, women with more education and greater tenure, and women serving in primarily male occupations and authority roles. Both perspectives predict that, whatever the job characteristics and setting, young and single women are at greater risk of sexual harassment (De Coster et al. 1999). Additionally, working in large organizations or highly populated locations create more opportunities for encounters with perpetrators and increase perpetrators' sense of anonymity, raising harassment rates (De Coster et al. 1999; Chamberlain et al. 2008).

Based on the vulnerable-victims model, we might expect to see greater rates of workplace harassment for racial/ethnic minority women with low education, who are new in their roles, and who serve in lower-authority positions (e.g., an associate pastor rather than a lead pastor). However, if the power-threat model applies to clergy, we would expect to see greater targeting of White women who are highly educated, have been in their roles for a while, and serve in higher-authority positions (such as lead pastor). Both models would predict that young, unmarried women in large congregations will report higher rates of workplace harassment. I established in Chapter 3 that Episcopal clergywomen reported higher rates of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression than Mennonite clergywomen. This finding could be related to the fact that the Episcopal Church, as a relatively hierarchical and high church denomination, allocates greater and more visible clerical authority to its ministers than MC USA. This potential explanation is aligned with the power-threat model, and further empirical support for this model among clergy would bolster this explanation. While there is generally greater support for the power-threat model in other populations (see McLaughlin et al. 2012), which

model best applies to clergy is not yet known, as most of these factors have not been examined in relation to the sexual harassment of clergy.

Finally, what is the role of capable guardians in reducing negative behaviors targeting clergy? Prior research in other populations, which has most often focused on sexual harassment, has found that supportive supervisors and colleagues are associated with a decrease in this form of harm (De Coster et al. 1999; Mueller et al. 2001; Chamberlain et al. 2008; Lopez et al. 2009). McDuff (2008) found that support from one's congregation, though not from denominational executives or one's pastoral colleagues, was associated with decreased sexual harassment for women in ministry in the United Church of Christ and Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Less is known about how these sources of support may influence rates of gender harassment and workplace aggression for women in ministry. The mixed-methods nature of this research allows me to use survey data to assess which guardians are most correlated with reductions in harm and use interview data to understand how clergywomen experience the efficacy of these guardians in practice.

5.3 Methods and measures

As in previous chapters, the analyses that follow will be based on findings from the Supporting Pastors Survey. I designed this questionnaire to assess the prevalence, predictors, and outcomes of potentially harmful workplace experiences targeting clergy. I gathered data from nationally representative random samples of clergy in Mennonite Church USA (with a response rate of 52.24%) and the Episcopal Church (with a response rate of 40.60%); these denominations were chosen because of differences in polity, practice, and clerical authority that I believed would impact the outcomes under study, which are described in greater detail in Chapter 1. Quantitative data were analyzed using R. Please see Chapter 2 for more details on sampling, recruitment, questionnaire design, and data collection.

Compared to prior chapters, I here make greater use of semi-structured qualitative interviews with 27 Mennonite pastors and 3 Episcopal priests. Mennonite clergywomen were recruited via snowball sampling, represent every MC USA conference, and overrepresent LGBT+ and BIPOC clergy. Episcopal priests were recruited from the Young Clergy Women International Facebook group. My colleague Amy Zimbelman, a Mennonite conference minister conducting similar research with whom I established a data-sharing agreement, conducted 24 of the 27 Mennonite interviews. I analyzed interview transcripts independently from Amy in two rounds using NVivo. This chapter includes findings from both the first round of coding, which involved a broad set of codes and was completed prior to designing the survey questionnaire, and the second round of coding, which focused more narrowly on instances of harm or harassment. I strove to ensure that the interview passages included in this chapter are representative of themes in the larger set of interviews by reviewing transcripts manually after selecting the passages and using NVivo's text search query feature to double-check that I had not overlooked relevant passages. Further details on sampling, recruitment, interview procedures, and analysis are available in Chapter 2.

5.3.1 Perpetrator analyses

To explore who was perpetrating potentially harmful experiences targeting clergy, I created a dataset with incidents (rather than clergy respondents) as the unit of analysis. I use the term *incidents* to refer to all experiences reported by survey respondents about which I asked follow-up questions. For most experiences, follow-up questions were asked only if the respondent reported that the experience had most recently occurred within the past year. For several rare and potentially serious experiences, however, follow-up questions were asked if the respondent reported the experience at any point in their career; otherwise, I would have very little data on these uncommon experiences. The incidents I am analyzing therefore include a mix of recent experiences and rarer, potentially more severe experiences from earlier in a pastor's career. The

follow-up questions can be viewed in Appendix D (Q47-Q50) and Appendix E (Q71-Q74). In both versions of the questionnaire, a box above the follow-up questions displays the criteria for them being asked.

A total of 971 incidents were reported by my survey participants across both denominations. Each incident was weighted based on the gender and number of congregations served by the target; as before, responses from Episcopal clergy who serve more than one congregation were weighted down because they were more likely to be sampled, and responses of both Episcopal and Mennonite clergy were weighted according to gender to match the gender distribution in the population. Thus, the proportions depicted in graphs below do not represent the raw proportions of all incidents reported by survey respondents, but my best estimate of the actual proportions in the population given gender disparities in clergy hiring.

Statistically comparing data on perpetration was difficult because respondents could report multiple perpetrators for each incident. These answers were not mutually exclusive; further complicating things, I wished to include survey weights and, for certain analyses, relevant covariates. To identify which differences between groups were significant, I ran a series of weighted binomial logistic regressions for each perpetrator type. Doing so allowed me to analyze all perpetrators named in association with a specific incident rather than combining them, excluding incidents with multiple reported perpetrators, or arbitrarily selecting a main perpetrator for each incident. In graphs below that depict some aspect of perpetrator identity, bars may add up to more than 100% because of incidents involving more than one perpetrator. After running the logistic regressions, I adjusted the significance threshold using the Bonferroni correction to account for multiple comparisons. The results reported below are deemed significant if they meet the adjusted $p < 0.05$ threshold.

5.3.1.1 Independent variables

The independent variables used in these analyses were (a) target gender and denomination and (b) incident category. Target gender was determined from the respondent's answer to the question at the beginning of the survey, "Which of the following best describes your gender?" Answer options included "man," "woman," and "not listed (please specify)" for Mennonites. Episcopalians had the same options and an additional "nonbinary" option. Only answers of "man" or "woman" were included in the following analyses because the small number of nonbinary respondents ($n = 2$) would lead me to risk violating their confidentiality were I to report on their answers separately.

Incident category was based on the three categories that have been in use throughout this dissertation. Full details of how incidents were grouped, which involved both prior literature and assessing the internal consistency within each category, are available in Chapter 2. The sexual harassment category included the following incidents: whether someone has (a) made unwanted attempts to draw you into discussion of sexual matters, including attempting to discuss or comment on your sex life; (b) made crude or offensive sexual remarks, either in front of other people or to you privately; (c) continued to ask you for a date, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you had previously said "no"; (d) made unwanted or uncomfortable attempts to touch, stroke, or fondle you, for example touching your arm or hand or stroking your leg or neck; (e) made it seem necessary for you to respond positively to sexual or romantic invitations in order to be well-treated on the job; and (f) made unwanted physical attempts to have sex with you. The gender harassment category included three items: whether someone has (a) made inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about your appearance or voice; (b) mistaken you for a pastor's spouse, secretary, or other nonclergy role; and (c) overtly criticized you for not conforming to stereotypes about how your gender should behave. A fourth experience in this category, whether someone has (d) refused to call you by a title you have requested they use, was asked only of Episcopalians

because of differences in the use of titles between these denominations. Finally, the workplace aggression category includes nine experiences: whether someone has (a) put you down, mistreated, slighted, ignored, or been condescending to you; (b) left or threatened to leave the congregation because they did not want you as pastor; (c) used money, such as your salary or their tithes, as a way to control your actions or punish you; (d) used committees or other bureaucratic means to hold up or sabotage your work; (e) sent you emails, notes, letters, texts, calls, or social media posts meant to harm or intimidate you; (f) impeded, reviewed, suspended, or revoked your credentials for the purpose of harming you rather than holding you accountable; (g) threatened you with bodily harm; (h) physically attacked or done violence to you; and (i) threatened you with retaliation because you brought attention to sexism, harassment, or the abuse of yourself or someone else.

5.3.1.2 Dependent variables

The dependent variables in these analyses were (a) the genders of the perpetrator and target and (b) the perpetrator's role. Target gender was assessed in the same way described above. Perpetrator gender was assessed based on the prompt, "Think about the *most recent time* that someone has [BEHAVIOR]. Was the person or people who initiated this situation:" followed by a list of potential perpetrators. Characteristics on this list included perpetrator gender ("a man" and "a woman"), hierarchical relationship to oneself ("someone who supervised your work" and "someone whose work you supervised"), role (described below), and a "not listed (please specify):" option (which respondents generally used to write a perpetrator role that was not on the list). Respondents were asked to answer "yes" or "no" for each potential perpetrator in alignment with best practices in survey design, which support this method over "check all that apply" questions (Schaeffer and Dykema 2020). As described above, comparisons were conducted in a manner that allowed me to analyze more than one named perpetrator per incident.

The list of perpetrator roles differed for Episcopalians and Mennonites, so I collapsed these responses into five categories for analysis. (Please see Q47 in Appendix D and Q71 in Appendix E for the full wording and order of these answer responses.) The category “regional or denominational figure” included Mennonite responses of “a conference minister or associate conference minister” and “a denominational leader (besides conference minister)” and Episcopal responses of “a bishop” and “a diocesan employee (besides bishop).” The category “pastor or church employee” included perpetrators reported as “a pastor” or “a church employee (besides pastor)” for Mennonites and “a priest,” “a deacon,” or “a church employee (besides priest or deacon)” for Episcopalians. The “lay leader” and “layperson without a leadership role” categories match those exact responses, which were identical on both surveys. Finally, the “anonymous, unknown, or community member” category contains responses of “unknown or anonymous” as well as responses from “not listed (please specify)” that identified the perpetrator as an individual with no affiliation with the respondent’s congregation or denomination. It was clear from the number of clergy who wrote in a response along these lines that, while these perpetrators were likely laypeople in the sense of not being ordained, clergy did not mentally place them in the same “layperson” category as members of their congregations. Other responses under “not listed (please specify)” were recoded to match the appropriate category on a case-by-case basis.

5.3.1.3 Covariates and controls

In statistical comparisons based on gender and denomination, I controlled for congregation size and denominational differences in experience categories. Congregation size was assessed based on how the individual who reported the incident responded to the question, “About how many people total attend worship service(s) *in person* on a regular Sunday?” Response options began with “1-99,” “100-199,” “200-299,” “300-399,” and “400-499” for both denominations. Mennonite response options ended with “500 or more,” whereas Episcopal options continued to “500-999” and “1000 or more” because of larger congregation sizes in the

Episcopal Church. Because of the small number of responses at the upper end of this spectrum, responses were grouped into three levels: 1-99 attenders, 100-199 attenders, and 200 or more attenders.

To control for denominational differences in the frequency of different experiences, I controlled for the number of incidents in each of the three categories that the individual who reported the incident disclosed. This did not substantively alter results, but it was necessary because of the finding that perpetrator role varied across different categories of incident. By including this in the analysis, I can be confident that denominational differences in perpetrator identity are not solely driven by denominational differences in which experiences clergy report.

5.3.2 Target and guardian analyses

To analyze target characteristics and the role of guardians, I used linear regressions to assess relationships between organizational-level indicators of target suitability, individual-level indicators of target suitability, and the presence of supportive guardians (independent variables) and the likelihood of experiencing sexual harassment, gender harassment, or workplace aggression (dependent variables). My modeling strategy, which I will describe in more detail below, was inspired by De Coster and colleagues (1999).

5.3.2.1 Independent variables

<i>5.3.2.1.1 Organization-level indicators of target suitability</i>
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The two target suitability variables at the organizational level were congregation size and denomination. Congregation size matters because interacting with more people may foster a sense of anonymity that encourages inappropriate behavior and creates more opportunities for harassment to occur (De Coster et al. 1999; Chamberlain et al. 2008). Denominational practices similarly create different opportunities for harm towards clergy to occur. For example, one Episcopal participant shared her experiences of “people just grabbing you inappropriately at the Peace.” The opportunity for this inappropriate touch was created by the liturgical practice of the

passing of the Peace, which involves greeting one another, often with physical touch (Armentrout and Slocum 1999). This practice is common in Episcopal worship but less frequent in Mennonite worship.

5.3.2.1.2 Individual-level indicators of target suitability

I used nine variables related to target suitability on the individual level for these analyses.

Four of these measured job-related characteristics, and five measured demographic characteristics. The four job-related variables were position type, number of hours worked per week, number of years spent working in one's current congregation, and number of years spent working in one's denomination. The demographic variables were age in years, highest level of education achieved, marital status, race, and sexual orientation.

Position type was based on clergy responses to the question "What is your current job title? Please select all that apply for your current position as pastor [current clergy position(s)]." Answer options differed for Mennonites and Episcopalians, so I compressed these into three categories for the analyses that follow. Clergy were considered an "assisting pastor" if they answered "co-pastor," "associate or assistant pastor," or "area-specific pastor (children's, youth, worship, outreach, etc.);" for Mennonites or "assisting clergy (curate, assistant, associate)," "deacon (transitional, vocational)," "canon," or "area-specific pastor (children's, youth, worship, outreach, etc.);" for Episcopalians. They were considered a "solo lead pastor" if they answered that they were "lead, head, or solo pastor" for Mennonites or "rector or dean" or "vicar or priest-in-charge" for Episcopalians and also said no to the question, "Does your congregation currently employ other pastors besides yourself (have other priests or deacons on staff besides yourself)?" Clergy who selected the same answer options for the job title question but said "yes" to the question about serving on a multi-pastor staff were considered "supervisory pastors." I made this distinction between solo lead pastors and supervisory pastors because I suspected that the working conditions of clergy who were the sole ordained minister in their congregation likely differed from those of clergy who were leaders of a multi-pastor staff. Additionally, women in

supervisory roles may be considered a greater threat to the gender hierarchy than women who do not supervise other workers, creating differences in the amount and nature of harassment targeting them (Uggen and Blackstone 2004; McLaughlin et al. 2012; Wynen 2016). “Not listed (please specify)” answers were categorized on a case-by-case basis.

The wording of the question about number of hours worked varied depending on whether the respondent had a formal contract for their position; if they did, it was “In your contract or covenant [contract or letter of agreement], how are the hours for your position described?” If not, it was phrased as “In your job description, how are the hours for your position described?” Answer options for Mennonites included “1.0 FTE or full-time,” “0.75 FTE or three-quarter-time,” “0.5 FTE or half-time,” “0.25 FTE or quarter-time,” “hours are not described in my contract or covenant” (or “job description” if appropriate), “I do not have a job description” (if appropriate), and “not listed (please specify).” For Episcopalians, answer options were substantively the same, but removed the FTE phrasing (e.g., “full-time” rather than “1.0 FTE or full-time”) to better reflect language used in the Episcopal Church. To accommodate the variety of write-in answers given under “not listed (please specify),” I converted each answer into a number of hours worked per week based on the assumption that a full-time position equated to 40 hours per week. Including hours per week as a variable ensures that differences in outcomes based on position type are not the result of solo lead or supervisory pastors working a greater number of hours than assisting pastors, which could put them in proximity of motivated offenders more frequently.

Age, tenure in the denomination, and tenure in one’s congregation were determined by subtracting the year given as a drop-down response to the following questions from the year in which the survey was administered. These questions were, “In what year were you born?” (age), “In what year did you begin serving in your current position in your congregation?” (congregation tenure), and, for pastors who indicated that this was not their first pastoral role in

their denomination, “In what year did you begin serving in your first official pastoral role in any MC USA congregation (on staff in your first ordained, non-supply clergy role in any Episcopal congregation)?” (denomination tenure).

Education was measured by the question, “What is the highest level of education you have completed?” The answer options in both surveys were “doctorate,” “master’s degree,” “four-year college degree,” “some college, but no four-year degree,” “high school diploma,” and “less than high school.” Because of limited variation at the lower end of this scale, I compressed responses into three categories: “doctorate,” “master’s degree,” and “four-year degree or less.”

The three remaining demographic variables were made dichotomous because of the small number of observations in all but one category. Marital status was measured based on responses to the question, “What is your current marital status?” Responses of “married” were retained as “married;” responses of “never married,” “divorced or separated,” and “widowed” were combined into one “unmarried” category, as these responses were much less common ($n = 63$). Race and ethnicity was measured by the question, “What race/ethnicity are you? Please select all that apply.” Answers of “White” were classified as “White,” while answers of “Black or African American,” “Hispanic/Latino,” “American Indian or Alaska Native,” “Asian,” “Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander,” or some combination of categories were combined into one “people of color” category. “Not listed (please specify)” answers were categorized on a case-by-case basis. While grouping people of color in this way is not ideal, given the variety of racialized experiences that target different racial groups, I do so to protect the confidentiality of the relatively few survey respondents of color ($n = 54$, with no more than 8 belonging to any one minority racial group in one denomination)². Finally, sexual orientation was measured by the question, “Do you identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer?” Answers of “no” and

² That only 183 out of 213 Mennonite respondents were white (85.9%) represents a notable decrease from the 2005 survey of Mennonite clergy, in which 97.5% of respondents were white (Nath 2007). This may reflect increasing diversity within the Mennonite Church USA pastorate or greater success at reaching respondents of color.

“prefer not to say” were considered “heterosexual or prefer not to say,” while answers of “yes” were considered “LGBT” ($n = 30$).

5.3.2.1.3 Presence of supportive guardians

The supportiveness of three potential guardians is included in this analysis: one’s conference minister or bishop, other clergy, and one’s congregants. Respondents were asked, “To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements about your current role as a pastor (priest or deacon)” and given a series of statements. They could rate their agreement with each statement on a seven-point scale with the answer options “completely agree,” “mainly agree,” “slightly agree,” “neither agree nor disagree,” “slightly disagree,” “mainly disagree,” and “completely disagree.” The supportiveness of one’s regional leader was measured by one’s level of agreement with the statement, “The conference minister(s) (bishop(s)) who know(s) my work best can be relied upon when things get tough in my job.” Clergy peer support was assessed by the statement, “The pastors (priests and deacons) I work with are willing to listen to my job-related problems.” Rather than specifically asking about other pastors “in your congregation” or “in your conference,” I intentionally left the interpretation of “pastors I work with” open-ended in order to capture the most salient peer relationships for each respondent. Finally, congregant support was measured by the statement, “In general, my congregation members are helpful to me in getting my job done.” The wording of these three questions was inspired by questions used by McDuff (2008) in her survey of United Church of Christ and Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) clergy. Responses were converted into a seven-point scale with “completely disagree” being 1 and “completely agree” being 7 for ease of analysis.

5.3.2.2 Dependent variables

The six dependent variables in these analyses are the three composite measures of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression that have been used elsewhere in this dissertation, both over a respondent’s whole career and within the past 12 months. I list the experiences that went into each category above in the section describing the independent

variables used in perpetrator analyses. In addition to these behaviors, the whole-career sexual harassment composite measure also includes whether an individual answered “yes” to the question, “We’ve asked you about a variety of experiences that carry different labels for different people. Based on your own understanding of the term ‘sexual harassment,’ have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a pastor (priest or deacon) in MC USA (the Episcopal Church)?”

Items in each category were combined into a single composite measure using a process I describe in detail in Chapter 2. The whole-career composite measures represent both the number and frequency of experiences in each category, since the frequency respondents reported for each experience (“many times in my career,” “a few times in my career,” “one time in my career,” and “never”) was included in creating this measure. The past-year composite measures indicate only the number of experiences in each category a respondent reported, not the frequency with which any given experience occurred, because this was not asked in the follow-up question about timing. Additionally, the composite measure of sexual harassment within the past 12 months does not include the labeling question described in the previous paragraph, as this was only asked over the whole career. For ease of interpretation, the composite measures center on an average of 50, and an increase or decrease of 10 represents a one standard deviation change.

5.3.2.3 Weights

Responses were weighted based on their likelihood of being sampled; thus, responses from Episcopal clergy serving more than one congregation were weighted lower. Because I analyzed men and women separately, I did not need to weight their responses to match population gender proportions in this instance. Please see Chapter 2 for more details on sampling and why Episcopal respondents were weighted in this way.

5.3.2.4 Modeling strategy

I regress sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression on the independent variables related to target suitability and supportive guardians described above. The three models include the presence of supportive guardians (model 1); the presence of guardians plus organization-level target characteristics (model 2); and guardians, organizational characteristics, plus individual-level target characteristics (model 3). The use of regressions and the layout of these specific models is based on the work of De Coster and colleagues (1999).

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Question 1: Perpetrators

In this section, I address the question: Who is most commonly perpetrating sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression targeting clergy? Prior research has suggested that laypeople are the most common source of sexual and gender harassment for clergy, but this research has not differentiated lay leaders from other laypeople nor systematically investigated who is perpetrating workplace aggression. My analyses address these gaps and investigate how the characteristics of perpetrators relate to the category of the incident and the characteristics of the target. I present qualitative data alongside quantitative findings to provide additional context on the trends described here.

5.4.1.1 Perpetrator and target gender by category of incident

Figure 19, below, displays perpetrator and target gender by category of incident. All incidents for which a gender of either man or woman was reported for both target and perpetrator are included in this graph. Perpetrator gender was not indicated for 90 incidents, and 14 incidents were reported by nonbinary respondents; this left 867 incidents from the initial 971. The bars in Figure 19 add up to more than 100% for each category because some incidents were perpetrated by a combination of men and women, so the same incident could be represented in as many as two columns.

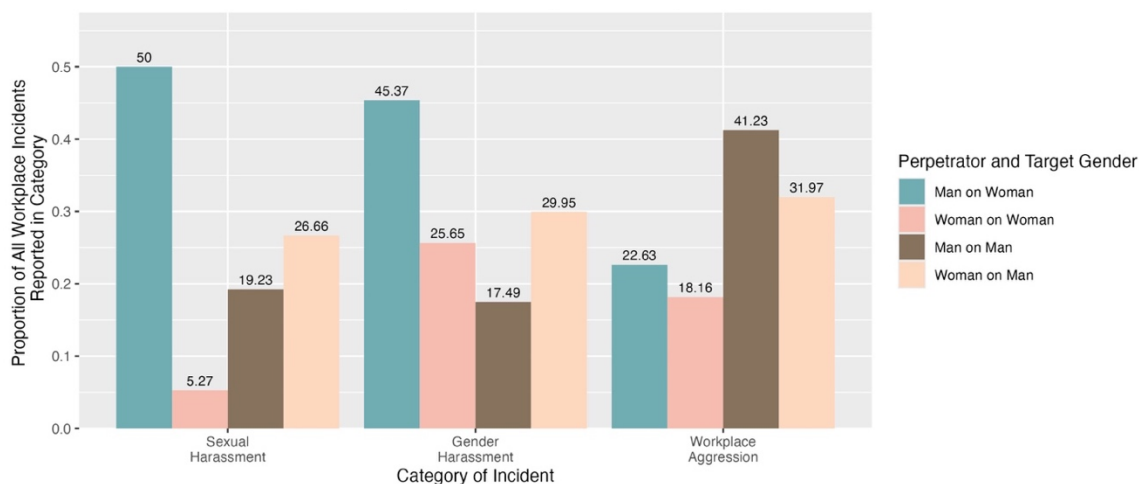


Figure 19: Perpetrator and Target Gender by Category of Incident

As Figure 19 shows, most perpetrators across all incident categories were men. For sexual and gender harassment behaviors, men typically targeted women; around half of the incidents in these categories fell into this pattern, which was significantly more common for these categories than for workplace aggression. Incidents in the workplace aggression category, on the other hand, were typically perpetrated by men targeting men. A plurality of incidents in this category fell into this pattern, which was significantly more common for workplace aggression.

The least common pattern was women targeting women with sexual harassment, which was significantly less common than women targeting women in other categories. The increased presence of women as perpetrators of gender and workplace harassment relative to sexual harassment would likely not be surprising to my interview participants. In multiple interviews, clergywomen from both denominations shared that while sexually harassing behaviors were largely coming from men, other potentially harmful behaviors were often coming from other women – specifically, older women. As one Mennonite pastor put it:

A lot of women will say it is older adult women who are their greatest adversaries in church. There is maybe a generational sort of sense of the role that women should be playing in church. Maybe something about like, I had to live through this and so do you... The most comments I got about my physical appearance were from older women.

Something about respectability and the way things ought to be was very strong with this generation of women over 70.

Episcopal priests similarly identified older women, both clergy and laypeople, as a source of sexism and hostility. One priest labeled several older women in her diocese as “more aggressive” and “more intentional” than men when perpetrating workplace aggression. While clergywomen in both denominations also had plenty of stories about male perpetrators, it was clear that these stories about older women stuck out in their memories. They may have emphasized these encounters to me or remembered them clearly themselves because it is surprising that other women would be a source of harm rather than support for women in ministry.

5.4.1.2 Perpetrator role by category of incident

Figure 20 depicts perpetrator role by category of incident. Perpetrator role was not reported for 121 incidents, leaving 850 incidents for inclusion in this figure. As in Figure 19, the same incident could be represented in more than one column if it was perpetrated by an individual holding multiple roles or more than one individual. Around one-third of incidents ($n = 286$) involved more than one perpetrator role.

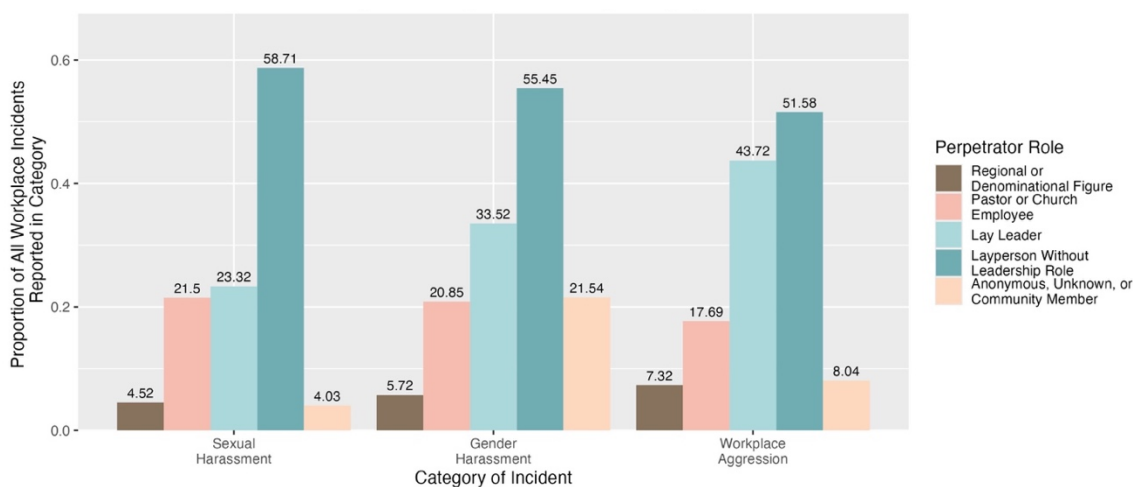


Figure 20: Perpetrator Role by Category of Incident

Across all incident categories, the most common perpetrators were laypeople (see Figure 20). Nearly four in five incidents ($n = 672$) involved a layperson or lay leader as a perpetrator,

either alone or in combination with other actors. On one hand, this is what we would expect to see, since prior research has identified laypeople (not differentiating laypeople without a leadership role from lay leaders) as the most common source of sexual harassment for clergy (Murphy-Geiss 2007; Nath 2007; Wiggins Hare et al. 2017; Murphy-Geiss 2020). That the same is true for other incidents is therefore unsurprising. Additionally, pastors likely encounter laypeople more frequently and in greater numbers than they encounter other clergy and regional or denominational leaders. The larger number of interactions between clergy and laity create a larger number of opportunities for negative experiences to occur. Holding laypeople accountable for bad behavior is difficult; because laypeople represent a mix of paid and volunteer laborers, they typically cannot be fired as employees can (Monahan 1999; Anderson 2002). Particularly influential church members, such as generous donors, may be perceived by clergy as valuable customers who cannot be held accountable for harassment lest they “take their business elsewhere” (Wiggins Hare et al. 2017, p. 7). Laypeople also are not required to receive training on preventing harassment, as clergy often are (Murphy-Geiss 2020). All of this means that laypeople have frequent opportunities to perpetrate, are difficult to hold accountable, and receive no formal guidance on how to avoid committing harm, which makes their presence as perpetrators unsurprising.

On the other hand, the frequency of lay perpetration is surprising because laypeople often are characterized as potential victims rather than potential perpetrators of abuse. The mainstream theological perspective on the clergy-lay relationship has emphasized the power of the pastoral role; indeed, numerous theologians and pastoral ethicists have maintained that the power difference between clergy and laity places clergy at an inescapable advantage, which renders any sexual contact or even friendship with laypeople suspect (Fortune 1989, 1994a, 1994b, 1995; Lebacqz and Barton 1991; Cooper-White 1995; Steinhoff Smith 1998; Sawchuk et al. 2007; Berry 2014; Traina 2014). Because the pastor is assumed to be the more powerful party, the

responsibility for maintaining appropriate boundaries rests with them (Lebacqz and Barton 1991, 1996; Fortune 1994b; Cooper-White 1995; Berry 2014).

The policies and practices that clergy encounter are shaped by this view of the clergy-lay relationship. My interview participants were often aware of formal systems for laypeople to address harm perpetrated by pastors, but in neither denomination were interview participants aware of a readily available system for clergy to report harms done to them by laypeople. In both denominations, clergywomen I spoke with tended to frame boundaries with congregants as their responsibility to create and maintain. Contemporary clergy training also generally is rooted in this mainstream perspective. When Sawchuk and colleagues (2007) observed a boundaries workshop for clergy sponsored by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada and interviewed its participants, they found that the workshop emphasized the power of the pastoral role over the power associated with other characteristics, such as gender. One interview participant described her takeaway from the workshop in dramatic terms: “[The congregants] ... are not aware of their power, they are not given any power. We have it all” (Sawchuk et al. 2007, p. 504).

My interview participants corroborated this. All three Episcopal priests said that their formal training did not prepare them for what to do if they were harassed. As one priest put it, “We got training about how clergy are not supposed to harass or assault parishioners. We did not get anything about the possibility that we might be the ones who need to protect ourselves.” Several Mennonite pastors offered similar complaints. One Mennonite lead pastor, who described her training as “totally unhelpful,” shared that she was permitted to take any approved boundaries training (not just ones designed by MC USA) but could not find one in any denomination that fit her needs:

The idea is you don't want to be accused of, you know, and you don't want to develop emotional intimacy. And like, how do we stop men from touching us? Like (*laugh*), that's what I want to know... I literally cannot find [a boundaries training] that is for women

pastors. I have looked and looked, and the assumption is masculine, masculinity, that men are pastors.

The training workshops these women had encountered focused on not perpetrating harm and avoiding false accusations, which are primarily a concern of male pastors (Sawchuk et al. 2007). The main concern of female pastors, protecting oneself from abuse, was simply not addressed. The resources available to my interview participants assumed that pastoral authority would position one to be the perpetrator rather than the recipient of sexual misconduct. This overwhelming focus on clergy as perpetrators and parishioners as victims of harm represents a shocking mismatch with the reality faced by female clergy, if not by male clergy.

Lay leaders were particularly overrepresented as perpetrators given that congregants without leadership roles are more numerous. Ferguson (2020) estimated that 16% of church attenders are lay leaders, though this varies by denomination; by comparison, 36% of the incidents my survey respondents reported involved lay leaders as perpetrators. Lay leaders were named as perpetrators in a significantly higher proportion of workplace aggression incidents than sexual harassment incidents (see Figure 20). The high rates of lay leader perpetration for workplace aggression could reflect the fact that lay leaders may be able to perpetrate certain behaviors in this category with more ease than the average layperson. For example, withholding a pastor's salary or using bureaucracy to sabotage a pastor's work are likely easier for lay leaders who have access to church finances and committee dealings because of their leadership roles. Additionally, lay leaders may have more interactions with the pastor than other laypeople, increasing their opportunities to perpetrate all kinds of harm. Finally, while most Christian congregants are women, lay leaders are more likely to be men (Ferguson 2020; Levitt 2003; Pew Research Center 2016, 2019; Schwadel and Shadoan 2024). Their overrepresentation as perpetrators is therefore aligned with the predominance of men as perpetrators for all three categories of incident.

Sometimes, a mismatch between formal leadership roles and informal sources of power made the line between lay leaders and laypeople difficult for clergy to define. Several Mennonite survey respondents struggled to categorize the role of the person who had harmed them: Open-ended answers to the perpetrator question included “a powerful person in the church (unacknowledged power)” and “not current leader but previous leader with lots of power.” It is telling that these two pastors felt the need to describe this mismatch between power and formal position and that they used the language of power at all, given that it was not included in this survey question. A former Episcopal priest’s words revealed a similar dynamic (emphasis added):

I heard so many horrible stories from other women about being sexually harassed and assaulted by men, *by laymen who have a lot of power in their congregations, either because they're wealthy donors or they're the head of the vestry*, whereas a lot of the women would be junior staff, right? They wouldn't be the rector. They wouldn't have any tenure... A lot of women in very precarious and dangerous situations.

This priest highlighted how structurally vulnerable clergywomen were often sexually harassed by laymen who either held a formal position of power (“the head of the vestry”) or drew power from an informal source (“wealthy donors”). Other informal sources of power, like being a long-term church member, were named by both Episcopal and Mennonite interview participants. In contrast to theological perspectives and training that flatten congregants (lay leaders and non-leaders alike) by emphasizing their lack of agency in the pastoral relationship, my respondents and participants saw real differences in the level of influence held by individual congregants that did not always align with formally held leadership roles.

5.4.1.3 Perpetrator role by target gender and denomination

Figure 21 presents perpetrator role by the gender and denomination of the incident’s target. This graph includes the 837 incidents that targeted a man or woman for which the respondent selected at least one perpetrator role. As in prior figures, the same incident could be

attributed to multiple perpetrators. Around one-third of incidents ($n = 255$) were perpetrated by an individual holding multiple roles or multiple people with different roles.

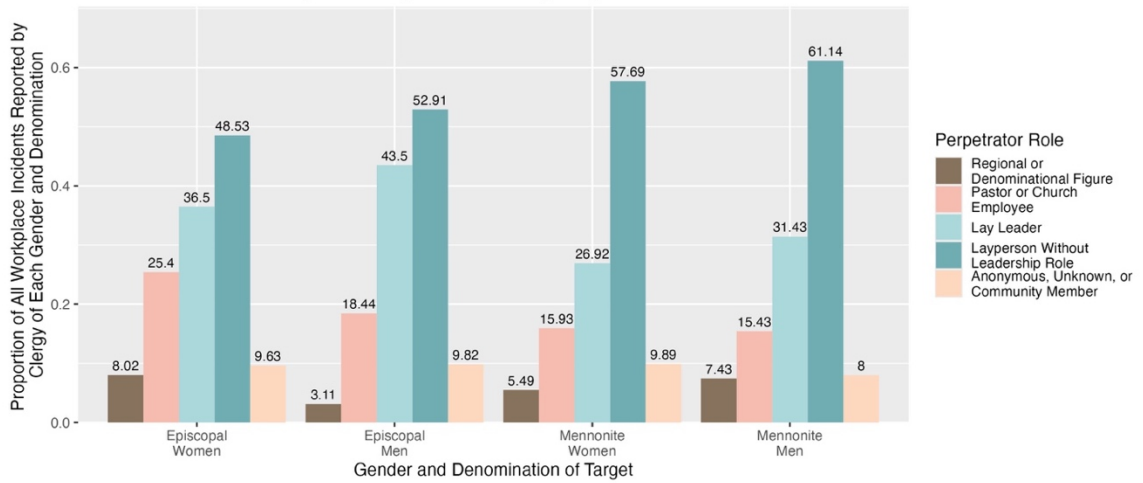


Figure 21: Perpetrator Role by Target Gender and Denomination

There were clear denominational differences in lay leader perpetration. Compared to Mennonite men, Episcopal men and women reported that a significantly greater proportion of incidents targeting them were perpetrated by lay leaders (see Figure 21). This was true even after I controlled for congregation size, which may be associated with the ratio of lay leaders to laypeople without leadership roles, and the number of incidents in each category a respondent reported, which I did to ensure that these differences were not merely a reflection of the differences depicted in Figure 20. (Please see Appendix H, which contains supplementary analyses for this chapter, for this regression table.) Mennonite women also reported lower lay leader perpetration than Episcopalians, but this relationship did not meet the adjusted threshold for statistical significance, which was more conservative to balance the fact that I made multiple comparisons. There were not significant differences between Episcopalians and Mennonites in the proportion of incidents perpetrated by laypeople without a leadership role.

There are several potential reasons for this difference. First, prior research has indicated that some denominations have a higher percentage of lay leaders relative to laypeople without a leadership role than others (Ferguson 2020). It is thus possible that, even after controlling for

congregation size, a greater proportion of Episcopal congregants hold formal leadership positions, which would then be reflected by a greater proportion of perpetrators falling into this category. Alternatively, this may reflect differences in the way authority is structured in Mennonite and Episcopal congregations. Power and authority matter in discussions of perpetration because, for some behaviors (particularly in the workplace aggression category), a formal authority position could grant congregants greater access to the resources necessary to perpetrate harm. Additionally, prior literature has framed harassment as a tool for enforcing and maintaining hierarchies (McKinney 1990; Lopez et al. 2009; Roscigno et al. 2009; McLaughlin et al. 2012). Individuals with some degree of power, formal or informal, may therefore not only be more capable of enacting potentially harmful behaviors, but also more incentivized to do so to perpetuate a hierarchy in which they have a personal stake.

In Episcopal parishes, power is more strongly formalized and concentrated into clergy and lay leaders. The vestry, an elected board of lay leaders which plays a significant role in decision-making in Episcopal parishes, clearly defines the responsibilities of its members and is relatively consistent across parishes and dioceses because of the hierarchical nature of the Episcopal Church, as described in Chapter 1. There are certain decisions that it is possible for clergy to make unilaterally, though it is not always politically wise for them to do so. Power structures in Episcopal parishes are sufficiently formalized that, while pretesting my survey, Episcopal participants were somewhat surprised when asked to rate their agreement with the statement “decision-making power is shared fairly in my congregation.” The structure of decision-making was firmly established, which made questions about its fairness unexpected. Parishioners who were savvy about the hierarchy were sometimes able to use this to punish clergy. For example, an Episcopal priest told me about two women in her parish who “got themselves on the vestry” because they were “really, really angry” at the rector. One of those women later bullied the interview participant by filing a series of formal complaints about her to

the senior warden, rector, and bishop, initiating an investigation that disrupted her ministry during a personal crisis.

In Mennonite congregations, on the other hand, lay leaders and non-leaders alike hold power in less formal and more diffuse ways. While Mennonite interview participants often named certain committees or lay leader roles when asked how decisions in their congregation were made or who held the power, which committee or leader was named was not consistent across interviews, reflecting greater congregational variation. Unlike Episcopal priests, who can make executive decisions about certain topics, Mennonite clergy typically must seek approval from as many as dozens of congregants – a difference that can be a source of confusion or frustration for their colleagues in other denominations (A. Zimelman, personal communication, October 30, 2024). At its most extreme, this takes the form of the consensus model, where decisions must be approved by the consensus of the entire congregation (sometimes minus one to three members to prevent extremists from derailing church life).³ The most visceral example of the pitfalls of this system came from a bivocational pastor. When a fellow Mennonite pastor wanted to switch his congregation’s confessional affiliation to an LGBT-affirming conference, “there was one member who blocked consensus around that. And she later regretted [that] after [her pastor] had his credentials suspended. But she had the power to do it and she did it.” In this instance, a single congregant with no formal leadership role was able to veto a decision agreed upon by the pastor and every single church member besides herself, leading to serious consequences for her pastor’s authorization to perform ministry.

The higher rate of lay leader perpetration in the Episcopal Church thus makes sense in the context of how authority is structured in these denominations. In Episcopal congregations, lay

³ The use of consensus, voting, or committees as a primary decision-making system varied among Mennonite interview participants. Interestingly, one Episcopal priest I interviewed utilized the consensus model in her parish, though this was consensus of only the vestry or staff rather than the entire congregation. She identified similar pitfalls as Mennonite participants and, unlike the Mennonites (for whom this model of communal decision-making was culturally normative, even if not practiced in every congregation), considered it a uniquely feminine form of leadership.

leaders hold power exceeding that of other laypeople, granting them both opportunities to enact harm and a position of authority that may motivate the use of workplace harassment as a tool to preserve the existing hierarchy. In Mennonite congregations, decision-making power – even the power to veto pastors’ decisions – is relatively diffuse and nonhierarchical. Laypeople, lay leaders, and even clergy have the same voice in the final stage of decision-making using the consensus model, which is the logical endpoint of the Mennonite emphasis on communal decision-making. The difference between lay leaders and other laypeople in their ability to use their power to inflict harm on pastors is smaller than in other denominations, so the ratio of lay leader to lay perpetration is more similar to the ratio of lay leaders to other church attenders.

5.4.1.4 Summary

Perpetrators of workplace incidents targeting clergy were mostly men and laypeople. Across all three categories of incident, men were the most common perpetrators, most often targeting women with sexual and gender harassment and other men with workplace aggression. Almost four in five incidents involved a layperson or lay leader as a perpetrator. On one level, this is unsurprising given laypeople’s proximity to clergy and the difficulty of holding them accountable for harm. On the other hand, theology and clerical training has long emphasized the power of the pastoral role and framed laypeople as powerless potential victims of abuse rather than agents with the capacity to perpetrate harm, which my findings suggest is a poor reflection of reality. Laypeople hold power from both informal sources (such as gender and wealth) and formal sources (such as leadership positions). Lay leaders were overrepresented as perpetrators, especially for workplace aggression and harms targeting Episcopal clergy. This may reflect differences in decision-making procedures in the Episcopal Church and MC USA. Both denominations’ processes can be hijacked in ways that result in harm towards clergy, as the stories of the vestry member who used formal complaints as a bullying tactic and the congregant whose decision to withhold consensus resulted in her pastor being defrocked illustrate. However,

the nonhierarchical and often consensus-based model used by Mennonites makes these opportunities more accessible to all congregants, not just lay leaders.

5.4.2 Question 2: Targets

Which clergy are most targeted by sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression? On one hand, the vulnerable-victims model would predict greater rates of workplace harassment for minority women with less education who are new in their roles and serve in positions with lower authority (like associate pastor). However, the power-threat model suggests that White women who are highly educated, have been in their roles for longer, and serve in positions of higher authority (like lead pastor) may report greater rates of workplace harassment. Women who are young, unmarried, and serving in larger congregations are predicted to experience more workplace harassment under both models. Which of these models best applies to clergy is not yet known.

The following six tables depict the results of regressing women's experiences in each of the three categories on variables related to target suitability on the individual level, target suitability on the organizational level, and the presence of supportive guardians. The layout of these models is based on a paper by De Coster and colleagues (1999) applying the routine activities perspective to sexual harassment. Because of the large number of tables and large size of each table, I primarily will discuss clergywomen's experiences here, since these are the pastors for whom I have interview data. Corresponding tables for men in ministry can be viewed in Appendix H.

Table 14: Regressing Whole-Career Sexual Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Women in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Whole-Career Sexual Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-4.335	(2.202)	-3.260	(2.067)	-3.114	(2.200)
Pastoral colleagues	3.872	(3.585)	5.619	(3.381)	6.983	(3.849)
Congregants	-11.460***	(3.107)	-11.957***	(2.873)	-13.054***	(3.124)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
<i>Congregation size^a</i>						
100-199 attenders			20.575*	(8.240)	17.049	(9.495)
>=200 attenders			-2.428	(11.471)	3.322	(14.782)
Episcopalian ^b			33.944***	(7.344)	25.902*	(9.952)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
<i>Position type^c</i>						
Solo lead pastor					9.646	(10.862)
Supervisory pastor					27.900*	(11.678)
Hours worked per week					-0.149	(0.430)
Age					-0.757	(0.409)
<i>Education^d</i>						
Master's degree					6.394	(14.105)
Doctorate					0.284	(19.796)
Denomination tenure					1.716**	(0.515)
Congregation tenure					-0.938	(0.728)
Married ^e					-17.566	(9.699)
White ^f					-11.426	(16.339)
LGBT ^g					-4.052	(13.708)
Constant	125.252***	(25.987)	93.729***	(24.573)	133.985***	(38.663)
Observations	155		155		133	
R ²	0.123		0.273		0.418	
Adjusted R ²	0.105		0.243		0.332	
Residual Std. Error	46.891 (df = 151)		43.121 (df = 148)		42.159 (df = 115)	
F Statistic	7.047*** (df = 3; 151)		9.259*** (df = 6; 148)		4.858*** (df = 17; 115)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a.	1-99 attenders		e. Unmarried			
b.	Mennonite		f. Nonwhite			
c.	Assisting pastor		g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

Table 15: Regressing Past-Year Sexual Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Women in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Past-Year Sexual Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-3.823***	(1.090)	-3.324**	(1.086)	-2.791*	(1.196)
Pastoral colleagues	0.490	(1.821)	1.130	(1.824)	0.434	(2.124)
Congregants	-1.880	(1.571)	-2.029	(1.537)	-1.047	(1.728)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
<i>Congregation size^a</i>						
100-199 attenders			4.356	(4.453)	-0.572	(5.220)
>=200 attenders			-0.677	(6.209)	-4.386	(8.165)
Episcopalian ^b			12.563**	(4.029)	13.317*	(5.638)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
<i>Position type^c</i>						
Solo lead pastor					-8.702	(6.031)
Supervisory pastor					11.970	(6.378)
Hours worked per week					-0.094	(0.237)
Age					-0.368	(0.234)
<i>Education^d</i>						
Master's degree					5.564	(7.801)
Doctorate					-5.744	(10.999)
Denomination tenure					-0.242	(0.286)
Congregation tenure					0.100	(0.403)
Married ^e					-6.283	(5.440)
White ^f					-1.206	(9.074)
LGBT ^g					-10.831	(7.376)
Constant	80.504***	(13.098)	68.869***	(13.177)	94.058***	(21.314)
Observations	157		157		133	
R ²	0.098		0.165		0.285	
Adjusted R ²	0.080		0.131		0.180	
Residual Std. Error	24.221 (df = 153)		23.542 (df = 150)		23.322 (df = 115)	
F Statistic	5.544** (df = 3; 153)		4.927*** (df = 6; 150)		2.701*** (df = 17; 115)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a.	1-99 attenders		e. Unmarried			
b.	Mennonite		f. Nonwhite			
c.	Assisting pastor		g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

Table 16: Regressing Whole-Career Gender Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Women in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Whole-Career Gender Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-2.212*	(1.055)	-1.954	(1.075)	-1.245	(1.071)
Pastoral colleagues	1.140	(1.761)	1.493	(1.801)	1.756	(1.887)
Congregants	-6.616***	(1.522)	-6.633***	(1.523)	-6.778***	(1.553)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
<i>Congregation size^a</i>						
100-199 attenders			5.212	(4.393)	1.902	(4.675)
>=200 attenders			-0.787	(6.130)	-0.042	(7.299)
Episcopalian ^b			6.475	(3.928)	11.028*	(4.881)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
<i>Position type^c</i>						
Solo lead pastor					6.211	(5.381)
Supervisory pastor					14.648*	(5.720)
Hours worked per week					0.195	(0.213)
Age					-0.738***	(0.202)
<i>Education^d</i>						
Master's degree					-11.952	(7.011)
Doctorate					-24.201*	(9.849)
Denomination tenure					1.060***	(0.255)
Congregation tenure					-0.262	(0.362)
Married ^e					1.568	(4.808)
White ^f					18.064*	(8.130)
LGBT ^g					-2.116	(6.596)
Constant	105.624***	(12.673)	98.398***	(13.047)	103.929***	(19.150)
Observations	160		160		135	
R ²	0.157		0.182		0.398	
Adjusted R ²	0.141		0.150		0.310	
Residual Std. Error	23.497 (df = 156)		23.366 (df = 153)		20.978 (df = 117)	
F Statistic	9.682*** (df = 3; 156)		5.688*** (df = 6; 153)		4.545*** (df = 17; 117)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d.	Four-year degree or less		
a.	1-99 attenders		e.	Unmarried		
b.	Mennonite		f.	Nonwhite		
c.	Assisting pastor		g.	Heterosexual or prefer not to say		

Table 17: Regressing Past-Year Gender Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Women in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Past-Year Gender Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-3.807***	(1.084)	-3.448**	(1.107)	-3.302**	(1.257)
Pastoral colleagues	-1.418	(1.812)	-1.471	(1.856)	-0.679	(2.214)
Congregants	-5.194**	(1.566)	-5.065**	(1.569)	-4.589*	(1.823)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
Congregation size ^a						
100-199 attenders			7.234	(4.526)	1.596	(5.487)
>=200 attenders			4.193	(6.314)	1.996	(8.566)
Episcopalian ^b			3.978	(4.048)	7.199	(5.728)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
Position type ^c						
Solo lead pastor					-3.345	(6.316)
Supervisory pastor					9.245	(6.713)
Hours worked per week					-0.022	(0.250)
Age					-0.558*	(0.238)
Education ^d						
Master's degree					-9.657	(8.228)
Doctorate					-16.552	(11.560)
Denomination tenure					-0.024	(0.300)
Congregation tenure					-0.343	(0.425)
Married ^e					-5.473	(5.643)
White ^f					4.764	(9.542)
LGBT ^g					-10.589	(7.741)
Constant	115.568***	(13.053)	109.253***	(13.444)	144.019***	(22.476)
Observations	159		159		135	
R ²	0.182		0.205		0.301	
Adjusted R ²	0.167		0.173		0.200	
Residual Std. Error	24.153 (df = 155)		24.054 (df = 152)		24.621 (df = 117)	
F Statistic	11.525*** (df = 3; 155)		6.522*** (df = 6; 152)		2.969*** (df = 17; 117)	
<i>Note:</i>			* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001			
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a. 1-99 attenders			e. Unmarried			
b. Mennonite			f. Nonwhite			
c. Assisting pastor			g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

Table 18: Regressing Whole-Career Workplace Aggression on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Women in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Whole-Career Workplace Aggression</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-5.337*	(2.275)	-4.799*	(2.248)	-5.133*	(2.350)
Pastoral colleagues	-0.152	(3.779)	2.205	(3.751)	2.763	(4.150)
Congregants	-11.418***	(3.301)	-12.169***	(3.210)	-12.132***	(3.462)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
<i>Congregation size^a</i>						
100-199 attenders			9.004	(9.170)	7.524	(10.269)
>=200 attenders			-18.582	(12.789)	-14.041	(16.007)
Episcopalian ^b			27.741***	(8.251)	16.508	(10.719)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
<i>Position type^c</i>						
Solo lead pastor					12.788	(11.807)
Supervisory pastor					30.547*	(12.560)
Hours worked per week					0.472	(0.468)
Age					-0.323	(0.444)
<i>Education^d</i>						
Master's degree					0.993	(15.375)
Doctorate					-14.696	(21.637)
Denomination tenure					1.745**	(0.560)
Congregation tenure					-0.657	(0.796)
Married ^e					-19.308	(10.624)
White ^f					5.989	(18.873)
LGBT ^g					32.146*	(14.464)
Constant	144.627***	(27.261)	120.938***	(27.186)	106.526*	(42.840)
Observations	159		159		134	
R ²	0.134		0.210		0.390	
Adjusted R ²	0.117		0.179		0.300	
Residual Std. Error	50.435 (df = 155)		48.637 (df = 152)		45.986 (df = 116)	
F Statistic	7.977*** (df = 3; 155)		6.734*** (df = 6; 152)		4.361*** (df = 17; 116)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a. 1-99 attenders			e. Unmarried			
b. Mennonite			f. Nonwhite			
c. Assisting pastor			g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

Table 19: Regressing Past-Year Workplace Aggression on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Women in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Past-Year Workplace Aggression</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-9.433***	(1.975)	-8.952***	(1.988)	-10.256***	(2.304)
Pastoral colleagues	0.391	(3.283)	1.389	(3.320)	3.094	(4.069)
Congregants	-6.636*	(2.868)	-6.785*	(2.842)	-7.732*	(3.395)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
<i>Congregation size^a</i>						
100-199 attenders			14.483	(8.116)	11.221	(10.070)
>=200 attenders			-6.139	(11.314)	2.666	(15.697)
Episcopalian ^b			14.235	(7.303)	6.825	(10.511)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
<i>Position type^c</i>						
Solo lead pastor					1.211	(11.578)
Supervisory pastor					21.617	(12.316)
Hours worked per week					-0.157	(0.458)
Age					-0.110	(0.435)
<i>Education^d</i>						
Master's degree					7.882	(15.077)
Doctorate					9.012	(21.217)
Denomination tenure					-0.851	(0.549)
Congregation tenure					-0.121	(0.781)
Married ^e					-9.445	(10.418)
White ^f					-28.098	(18.507)
LGBT ^g					-9.494	(14.184)
Constant	136.712***	(23.706)	120.372***	(24.061)	172.737***	(42.009)
Observations	158		158		134	
R ²	0.191		0.235		0.327	
Adjusted R ²	0.176		0.204		0.228	
Residual Std. Error	43.771 (df = 154)		43.007 (df = 151)		45.094 (df = 116)	
F Statistic	12.153*** (df = 3; 154)		7.714*** (df = 6; 151)		3.311*** (df = 17; 116)	
<i>Note:</i>						* p<0.05; ** p<0.01; *** p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a. 1-99 attenders			e. Unmarried			
b. Mennonite			f. Nonwhite			
c. Assisting pastor			g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

5.4.2.1 Organization-level target suitability

Two organization-level measures of target suitability were included in these analyses: congregation size and denomination. Both congregation size and denomination may impact the number of people clergywomen encounter and the ways in which they encounter them, putting them in proximity to motivated offenders. For example, as I shared in the methods section of this chapter, one Episcopal interview participant reported multiple experiences of being touched inappropriately during the passing of the Peace. The opportunity for these incidents to occur was created by the liturgical practice of the passing of the Peace, which is more common in Episcopal than Mennonite worship.

Episcopal clergywomen tended to report more potentially harmful experiences than Mennonite clergywomen, which is consistent with the results I described in Chapter 3. Women in ministry in the Episcopal Church reported significantly higher amounts of sexual harassment than Mennonite women over the course of their entire careers and within the past 12 months, even after controlling for other factors (see Tables 14-15). They also reported significantly higher rates of gender harassment over their entire careers (see Table 16). These relationships were substantial as well as significant: Episcopal clergywomen reported an average whole-career sexual harassment score over 25 points higher than that of Mennonite clergywomen after controlling for other factors, which represents an increase of two and a half standard deviations on this composite measure (see Table 14). The denominational difference in past-year sexual harassment and whole-career gender harassment exceeded 10 points, which represents one standard deviation (see Tables 15-16). The same pattern was present for other categories of workplace experience, but denominational differences were not statistically significant for these (see Tables 17-19). While Episcopal men reported higher scores on four of the six workplace experience measures than Mennonite men, these associations were not statistically significant for men in ministry after controlling for other factors (see Appendix H).

The association between congregation size and workplace experiences was not significant after controlling for other factors. However, before controlling for individual-level variables, congregation size was significantly associated with women's experiences of sexual harassment over the course of their careers (see Model 2 in Table 14). Interestingly, the highest reports of sexual harassment came from clergywomen serving mid-sized congregations with 100-199 attenders. While it was not statistically significant, the same pattern appeared in women's overall experiences of gender harassment and their recent and overall experiences of workplace aggression (see Tables 16 and 18-19). Men who served in mid-sized congregations similarly reported all recent workplace experiences and overall gender harassment at higher rates than men in other settings, though congregation size was not significantly associated with these dependent variables (see Appendix H). These results suggest that there is not a linear relationship between serving in a larger congregation and reporting more potentially harmful experiences; instead, there may be something about serving in a mid-sized congregation that is especially risky. Prior literature on sexual harassment has recognized that larger organizations, while providing anonymity and more opportunities for incidents to occur, may also provide protective policies and bureaucratic structures that inhibit the most serious forms of harm (Dobbin and Kelly 2007; Chamberlain et al. 2008). In alignment with this research, women in the smallest congregations reported the highest scores in recent sexual harassment, which was not the case for any other measure (see Table 15). While these relationships were not statistically significant, future researchers working with greater statistical power may wish to follow up on this hint of a pattern.

5.4.2.2 Individual-level target suitability

The strongest and most compelling relationship between individual characteristics and being targeted by harmful behaviors was the type of position a woman occupied. Even after controlling for other factors, women in supervisory positions reported significantly greater experiences of all categories of harm over the course of their careers, which was not true for men

(see Tables 14, 16, and 18, and Appendix H). Additionally, certain demographic characteristics (age, education, race, and sexual orientation) were significantly associated with women's experiences of gender harassment and workplace aggression (see Tables 16-18).

For women, being the lead pastor on a multi-pastor staff was significantly and substantially associated with more experiences of overall sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression even after controlling for factors like age, education, career length, and hours worked per week (see Tables 14, 16, and 18). Compared to non-lead pastors, women in these supervisory pastoral roles tended to score about 25.9 points higher on the sexual harassment composite measure, 14.7 points higher on the gender harassment measure, and 30.5 points higher on the workplace aggression measure, holding other factors equal. Given that each 10-point change represents one standard deviation, these are substantial differences. While noticeable differences along the same lines of around one to two standard deviations were present for past-year experiences, these relationships were no longer statistically significant after I controlled for the number of hours per week a pastor worked (see Tables 15, 17, and 19). Being a solo lead pastor was not significantly related with workplace experiences (see Tables 14-19). The strong and significant relationship between holding a supervisory role as a woman and reporting negative workplace experiences provides support for the power-threat model.

The high rates of harmful workplace experiences reported by women leading multi-pastor staffs are better explained by symbolic than practical factors. One might think that, on the practical side, being in a supervisory role might expose women to more opportunities to encounter negative experiences. My analyses already controlled for work hours per week, meaning that this relationship was not driven by supervisors being present in the workplace more frequently, but perhaps other aspects of supervisors' work situations put them in proximity of potential perpetrators more often. If this were the case, we would expect male supervisory pastors to also report higher levels of harm than other male pastors. However, men in supervisory

pastoral positions did not report significantly higher scores on any of the workplace harassment measures (see Appendix H). Setting significance aside, male supervisors reported *lower* scores than other types of male pastors for four of the six categories of harm; in contrast, women in supervisory positions reported all six workplace experiences at the highest rates compared to clergywomen in other roles (see Tables 14-19 and Appendix H). These findings support the idea that clergywomen in supervisory roles may be targeted for symbolic reasons. Prior research has noted that women supervisors, especially those with authority over men, pose a threat to male power and are thus more likely to be targeted by harassment (Uggen and Blackstone 2004; McLaughlin et al. 2012; Wynen 2016). My quantitative findings align with these prior studies and the predictions of the power-threat model, which suggests that these workplace experiences may function as backlash against women in the positions of greatest authority.

When it comes to demographic characteristics, both the vulnerable-victims model and power-threat model suggest that young, single women will face higher levels of sexual harassment. In my data, marital status was not significantly associated with any workplace experiences for women when controlling for other factors (see Tables 14-19). Age, however, was consistent with the predictions of these models, when controlling for career length, older women reported significantly lower gender harassment in the past year and over their entire careers compared with younger women (see Tables 16-17). In interviews, clergywomen described youth, femininity, and singleness as playing overlapping roles in their experiences of sexual and gender harassment. When asked about how being a woman had impacted her ministry, one Mennonite pastor replied, “I’m young and I looked young for my age, so it’s like, what’s because I’m young and what’s because I’m female? Sometimes that’s kinda hard to figure out.” For this pastor, the dismissive comments she went on to describe were difficult to attribute solely to gender or age, as she saw these characteristics as jointly shaping how congregants and fellow clergy responded to her ministry.

The vulnerable-victims model and power-threat model offer opposite predictions for the effect of tenure. While women with longer careers in their denominations reported significantly more experiences over their careers, this is hardly surprising, given that longer careers provide more time for experiences to accumulate (see Tables 14, 16, and 18). Tenure was not significantly associated with workplace experiences within the past year (see Tables 15, 17, and 19). However, setting statistical significance aside for a moment, women who were earlier in their careers tended to report greater recent experiences of harm than women who were later in their careers, even after controlling for age. This is aligned with what the vulnerable-victims model would predict. The number of years spent in one's current congregation was negatively but not significantly related to all experiences besides recent sexual harassment (see Tables 14-19). Given that these findings are not statistically significant, the relationship between tenure and harm in my data does not provide strong evidence for one model over the other.

Similarly, the vulnerable-victims model and power-threat model offer different predictions for the effect of education: the former predicts that women with lower education will report higher rates of harassment, whereas the latter suggests the opposite. In my data, education was significantly associated with overall gender harassment (see Table 16). Women with a doctorate reported having experienced almost two and a half standard deviations less gender harassment over the duration of their careers than women with a four-year degree or less, and women with a master's degree fell between these two extremes. While education was not significantly associated with other workplace experiences, the general pattern was that women with doctorates reported less harm than women with master's degrees; recent workplace aggression was the only exception (see Tables 14-19). This is interesting because for men, the opposite was true. Across the board, men with doctorates reported higher rates of harm than other men, including significantly and substantially higher rates of workplace aggression in both periods (see Appendix H). One Episcopal priest I interviewed named pursuing a degree beyond

one's MDiv as an important step for women to gain access to bishop positions that were available to men without an advanced degree. That is aligned with this quantitative finding, which suggests that advanced degrees such as a doctorate may play a different role for women and men in ministry.

Finally, the direction of the effects of race and sexual orientation was inconsistent across different workplace experiences and therefore does not provide strong support for either model (see Tables 14-19). However, interview findings suggested that these personal characteristics might influence pastors' experiences even though my survey data did not find those relationships. For example, queer interview participants shared painful experiences of having credentials withheld because of their orientation, needing to work alongside non-affirming clergy, and having congregants leave because of their queerness. These accounts are consistent with the survey finding that, for women, being LGBT was strongly and significantly related with increased overall experiences of workplace aggression (see Table 18). While women's minority racial status was significantly associated with only lower reports of gender harassment (see Table 16), interview participants of color reported racialized experiences beyond the scope of this gender-focused survey and specific strategies for addressing mistreatment (Zimbelman 2023). Despite their inconsistent associations with the workplace experiences I inquired about on this survey, several interview participants believed that these factors played a notable role in shaping their experiences in practice.

5.4.2.3 Summary

Overall, my strongest results are aligned with the predictions of the power-threat model, which suggests that workplace harassment functions as backlash against the women who represent the greatest threat to male power. After controlling for a variety of factors, Episcopal women reported significantly higher levels of overall gender harassment and both recent and overall sexual harassment than Mennonite women; this is consistent with the results presented in

Chapter 3, which suggested that Episcopal clergy encounter more potentially harmful workplace experiences. Additionally, women who led multi-pastor staffs reported significantly more experiences in all three categories throughout their careers than women in other kinds of pastoral roles, even after controlling for factors like career length and hours worked per week. This was not the case for men in similar positions, which suggests that the higher targeting of women in these positions may be for symbolic reasons rather than increased opportunity. Education was associated with workplace experiences in a way that better aligned with the predictions of the vulnerable-victims model, as holding a doctorate was associated with significantly lower overall gender harassment for women (though not for men). My findings related to other independent variables did not provide strong support for either model because they were not statistically significant after controlling for other variables (congregation size, marital status, and tenure), the direction of the relationship was inconsistent (race and sexual orientation), or both models offered the same prediction about the relationship (congregation size, marital status, and age).

There may be a theoretical connection between denomination and supervisory authority, which were the two target characteristics that were most consistently, significantly, and substantially associated with workplace experiences for women. Prior work has suggested that women supervisors are more likely to be targeted by harassment because they pose a threat to male power, especially when they hold authority over men (Uggen and Blackstone 2004; McLaughlin et al. 2012; Wynen 2016). Similarly, the greater clerical authority accorded to Episcopal priests (such as the ability to administer sacraments and wear vestments as a tangible symbol of authority) may make women in these positions appear more threatening to male power than Mennonite clergywomen, who are less set apart and more subject to the will of their congregations. This notion is supported by my finding that, after controlling for other variables, Episcopal men did not report significantly higher harmful workplace experiences than Mennonite men. The relationship between denomination and experiences was significant only for women,

and only for experiences that were blatantly gendered (overall gender harassment and sexual harassment in both periods) rather than workplace aggression. These parallel findings on how positions of perceived authority were related to gender and sexual harassment for women, but not for men, may suggest that the increased clerical authority accorded to women priests could make them more frequent targets for harassment in much the same way supervisory authority does.

5.4.3 Question 3: Guardians

I now turn to my final question: What is the role of supportive guardians in reducing negative behaviors targeting clergy? While prior research has suggested that perceived support from one's congregation is associated with reduced sexual harassment for women in ministry, less is known about how support from congregants, supervisors, and pastoral colleagues relates to gender harassment and workplace aggression for clergywomen (McDuff 2008). For this section, it is especially important to note that my survey data are cross-sectional. We therefore cannot assume that, for example, support from one's regional leader causes or even precedes lower rates of workplace harassment. It could be the case that experiencing harm reduces trust in one's regional leader, or the relationship may not be causal at all. In the following discussion of results, I follow analyses of survey data with discussion of interview findings, which paint a clearer picture of what the interplay between these sources of support and women's experiences with workplace harassment looks like in practice.

5.4.3.1 Support from regional leaders

After controlling for other factors, perceived support from their regional leaders was significantly linked with lower experiences of harm for women in ministry. Clergywomen who more completely agreed that the conference minister or bishop who knew their work best could be relied upon when things got tough reported fewer incidents of sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression within the past year and of workplace aggression over their entire careers (see Tables 15 and 17-19). Each increase in a clergywoman's level of

agreement with this statement was associated with a small but significant decrease in the likelihood of recent sexual harassment, recent gender harassment, and overall workplace aggression (-2.8, -3.30 and -5.1, respectively) and a moderate and significant decrease in recent workplace aggression (-10.3, which represents about one standard deviation). Put another way, a pastor who completely agreed that her regional leader could be relied upon would report average scores of around 8 to 31 points lower than those of a pastor who neither agreed nor disagreed with that sentiment, other factors being held constant. A sizeable minority of women in ministry – 21% of Mennonite clergywomen and 29.5% of Episcopal clergywomen – did not agree with this statement. This relationship was significant for only one outcome (lowered whole-career workplace aggression) for men in ministry after controlling for other factors (see Appendix H).

Interview participants typically mentioned their regional leader in the context of their inadequate responses to harm, but the nature of these inadequacies varied by denomination: Mennonite conference ministers tended to be considered ineffectual and unwilling to respond, while Episcopal bishops were more often considered actively harmful. The following candid exchange between my colleague Amy and a former Mennonite pastor illustrates how frustrating conference ministers' unwillingness to respond could be for MC USA clergy.

Participant: Oh, [conference minister]. He tried so hard to be supportive.

Amy: I know.

P: He heard all of my angry ranting. I just wish he would have done something.

A: I know. That's one of my big picture questions that I have now: What would have been more helpful in your career?

P: A conference minister.

This pastor acknowledged the efforts of her conference minister to listen and be supportive, but his failure to act on her concerns left her feeling like she had no conference minister at all. In her view, conference ministers needed to step in when churches harmed pastors “because nobody else

is gonna be able to do it.” On the other hand, conference ministers themselves felt that the lack of a policy protecting pastors left them unable to intervene in harmful situations. As one conference minister who had formerly served in congregational ministry put it:

What I dislike about the way the system is currently set up is that a lot of it is: the pastor is abusing others. We have very clear policies about that. Now when a lay leader’s abusing a pastor there’s nothing.... That sort of thing is not in my job description.... I feel a little powerless, quite honestly.

There is a sharp contrast between this conference minister, who felt incapable of intervening in situations where clergy were being abused, and the expectations of this former pastor, who believed that no one other than a conference minister would be able to intervene effectively.

Neither perspective is entirely unwarranted. Conference ministers’ powers are largely relational and very limited compared to regional leaders in some other denominations, and conferences vary in their ability to intervene in congregational affairs. For example, seven of sixteen MC USA conferences do not require pastors to be credentialed to lead congregations, limiting their power to control clergy qualifications and respond to clergy misconduct. On the other hand, conference ministers also are an important last resort for clergy whose peers and congregants are not responding appropriately to a damaging situation. There is hope for growth here. At a workshop for MC USA and MC Canada conference ministers Amy and I led in November 2023, we presented conference ministers with case studies of harmful workplace experiences targeting clergy that were based on real stories from our in-depth interviews with women in ministry. Conference ministers initially felt unsure of whether they could intervene, but after brainstorming together in small groups, they identified creative solutions like meeting with lay leaders to more closely oversee a resolution or even threatening a congregation with removal from the conference if its lay leaders did not respond adequately to a pastor’s reports of abuse. It

is my hope that the ideas and empowerment conference ministers gained from this workshop may help them respond more proactively to reports of clergy mistreatment in the future.

When it came to bishops, however, the problem could be an inappropriate response rather than a lack of willingness to intervene. Bishops' power over Episcopal clergy begins early, starting during the process of discerning a call to ministry, and continues throughout their careers. The most startling example of a bishop's power came from a priest who had faced threats of physical violence from a congregant:

I had a parishioner a few years ago, it is the only time in my life when I had been physically scared of what could happen.... She issued a lot of threats, she did them publicly, she would do things on Facebook, a lot of them were specifically directed at me.... So it got really bad, really bad. And I wanted to tell her she could not come back to the church. We blocked her from all the social media and blah, blah, blah but I wanted to say, "You are not allowed." And the bishop would not let me. He said, "Until you are physically harmed, I will not do that."

This rector had already gone to the chancellor (the legal advisor to the diocese), who had helped write up a paper trail of this parishioner's threats toward her. It was the opinion of the chancellor that she needed to go to the police, but her bishop overruled her fears and the opinions of a legal professional to keep this priest in harm's way. As the priest bluntly put it, "he [the bishop] has the power."

A rare positive example of a regional leader intervening effectively was the resolution of a story shared earlier in this chapter. When a vestry member filed formal complaints against a priest who was enduring a personal crisis in what the priest perceived as a bullying tactic, the priest's bishop was sympathetic, supportive, and confirmed that the priest had done nothing wrong. When I asked her if this was typical of how these cases unfolded, she said that it varied:

If you don't have a bishop who has your back, which they're supposed to, it can go very bad.... Depending on the denomination that you have and the types of hierarchical support you can have, and the personalities in that support, it can either be very supportive or it can be really, really awful. And what I mostly hear is it's really, really awful.

Even while sharing a positive story of a successful resolution to workplace aggression, this priest was aware of the potential for things to go awry. She named the importance of both the structural resources for support available in one's denomination and the personalities of the individuals in guardian roles. And, finally, she concluded that, despite her own positive experience, the support pastors received was typically "really, really awful." As we have seen in this section, the support available to Mennonite and Episcopal clergy is "really awful" in different ways and related not only to the resolution of potentially harmful experiences, but to the rates at which those experiences occur.

5.4.3.2 Support from congregants

Perceived support from congregants was significantly related to five of the six workplace experience measures for women in ministry. Women who agreed more completely that their congregation members were helpful to them in getting their jobs done also reported significantly less sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression across their entire career, as well as less gender harassment and workplace aggression within the past year (see Tables 14 and 16-19). Each level of increasing agreement with this statement was associated with a significant decrease of more than one standard deviation in overall sexual harassment and workplace aggression (-13.1 points and -12.1 points respectively) and a smaller but still significant decrease in overall gender harassment, recent workplace aggression, and recent gender harassment (-6.8 points, -7.7 points, and -4.6 points respectively). This is consistent with prior literature that found that congregant support was negatively associated with sexual harassment for

women in ministry (McDuff 2008). Only 9% of Mennonite clergywomen and 11.7% of Episcopal clergywomen did not agree with this statement. For men, only recent workplace aggression was significantly linked with perceived support from congregants (see Appendix H).

While my few Episcopal interview participants did not mention laypeople as a source of support, contrasting stories illustrating the impact of lay support emerged in Mennonite interviews. During her last year of seminary, one pastor was part of a congregational leadership team that dealt effectively with a challenging situation of gray-area sexual harassment that caused “immense agony” to the pastor. Reflecting on the experience, she shared,

I think it was really helpful to be on such a strong leadership team who so quickly came around and was like, “No, we are stopping this and taking the pastor out of the situation, and we are going to respond to [the offender]” ... It really matters to have good, strong support people in your congregation, and if you don’t have that and something like that happens, that’s where it can go badly.

Later in her own ministry career, this pastor dealt with an uncomfortable sexist comment about her appearance. She was quick to stand up for herself, discuss it with her mentors and lay leadership team, and have lay leaders intervene to inform the congregant who made the remark that she wouldn’t be meeting with him alone anymore. She attributed her confidence in dealing with this situation to her positive earlier experience of lay leaders supporting their pastor: “I think that was in part why I was so quick when it happened here to me, to just be like, ‘Nope. This is stopping right now.’” The early example of congregant support empowered her to be confident, resilient, and decisive when facing her own challenges in ministry.

Another pastor similarly went to her lay leadership team (here referred to as a pastor-congregation relations team, a common term used in Mennonite congregations) after an uncomfortable situation with a layperson. Rather than being met with help like the previous pastor, she was met with dismissal:

When I got sexually harassed by a congregant – which is something I can say now, but I couldn't then because I didn't know, I didn't have enough information about if this was okay or not – ... I ended up telling both the conference minister about that and my spiritual counsel, which is sort of like a pastoral-congregation relations team, but let's use vague language so we don't have to be accountable to it.... And both of them were like, "Wow, he's a creep. That sucks. Maybe you should wear more modest clothing."

Several aspects of this pastor's story are important to note. First, at the time when the sexual harassment occurred, she felt uninformed about whether "this was okay or not." This is in sharp contrast to the first pastor, who was quick to identify and address what had happened to her because of her earlier experience witnessing another woman in ministry receive support during a harmful situation. Second, in contrast to the strong leadership team that the first pastor encountered, her team was labeled using "vague language" that this pastor viewed as aimed at avoiding accountability. Finally, and most obviously, she considered the response of her team to be inappropriate and unsupportive. Her conference minister and congregants not only minimized her distress, but implied that she was to blame by suggesting she dress more modestly. This pastor ended up leaving ministry.

While a smaller proportion of clergywomen felt unsupported by their congregants than felt unsupported by their regional leaders, those reporting more congregant support also reported significantly fewer potentially harmful workplace experiences than those who perceived less support from congregants. These parallel interview stories of congregant support (or lack thereof) illustrate the importance of feeling supported by the people in one's congregation. Receiving appropriate support from a strong congregational leadership team can empower women moments of harm and as they move forward in ministry, while the absence of that support can contribute to a shortened ministry career.

5.4.3.3 Support from pastoral colleagues

Finally, clergywomen's perceived support from pastoral colleagues, as measured by the extent to which respondents thought that other pastors were willing to listen to their job-related problems, was not significantly related to any of the six measures of workplace experiences (see Tables 14-19). This is surprising given that having supportive coworkers was associated with reduced sexual harassment in other populations, albeit not for clergywomen in a previous study of their experiences that considered this (De Coster et al. 1999; Mueller et al. 2001; Chamberlain et al. 2008; McDuff 2008; Lopez et al. 2009). There are several reasons why this may be the case. First, pastors may have interpreted the phrase "pastors (priests and deacons) I work with" in different ways that complicate analysis. This question was intentionally left open-ended to capture respondents' most salient peer relationships, since not every pastor works on a multi-pastor staff. Alternatively, women in ministry may be especially likely to turn to other clergy and feel supported by them in times of need, such as the aftermath of an incident of workplace harassment; this could explain why these relationships do not correlate with lower levels of potentially harmful experiences like other sources of support do. Finally, perhaps limits to the peer support available to clergywomen mitigate its effectiveness.

Lacking and needing to self-create peer support networks were common themes in interviews. Many Mennonite clergywomen shared sentiments such as, "the support I got was what I put into place," "there has never been a lot of support," and "I formed my own [support systems]." This lack of formal support may be a growing problem for Mennonite women in ministry. In 2005, only 3% of Mennonite clergywomen listed the need for supportive relationships as one of the top three challenges facing women in ministry (Nath 2007). When presented with the same survey question in 2023, 17.6% of Mennonite clergywomen listed supportive relationships as a top three challenge, making it the third most common challenge named by women in my sample. The Episcopal priests I interviewed were somewhat more

positive about the peer support available to them, perhaps because they were recruited via a support group for young clergywomen. They still noted problems with clergy support groups, such as the frequent absence of childcare, and they also emphasized the self-created nature of their support networks.

Even when women successfully connected with other clergywomen, their responses to shared problems could be less than encouraging. One theme that emerged in Mennonite interviews was a culture of permissiveness towards harms targeting women in ministry. Pastors felt that they were expected to endure harassment and abuse. This dynamic was especially pronounced across generations, as this church planter's story of sharing her mistreatment experiences with other clergy illustrates:

The response I got from other women in ministry was, "Yes, I've been through something like that."... There were a few older women whose response was just like, "Well that's just part of it, that's just the dues we pay, that's just being a woman in ministry." I wouldn't say that they were dismissive of me per se. But they were just like, "Yeah it happens, and now it happened to you"... as though I were a rugby player and had broken my leg for the first time. It's not that they were insensitive to the fact that my leg was broken.... They were just like, "Well yeah, you play rugby, your leg's gonna get broken.... You have gone through this rite of passage, as have we all."

This commonly mentioned unsupportive reaction may present an additional barrier to beneficial peer support for clergy. As this quote illustrates, even in cases where women successfully connected with other women in ministry with whom they could discuss their job-related problems (which was not a given, since 17.6% of Mennonite clergywomen listed forming supportive relationships as one of the primary challenges facing women in ministry), a culture of permissiveness towards harm and abuse meant that peer responses were not always experienced

as supportive. This is troubling given prior research suggesting that organizational permissiveness towards harassment is correlated with higher harassment rates (Willness et al., 2007).

5.4.3.4 Summary

Support from regional leaders and congregants, but not clergy peers, was correlated with lower reports of workplace harassment for women in ministry even after controlling for other factors. While about one quarter of clergywomen (21% of Mennonites and 29.5% of Episcopalians) did not see their regional leaders as reliable, the qualitative interviews suggested that this was for different reasons in different denominations: Mennonite conference ministers were perceived as ineffectual or unwilling to help, whereas Episcopal bishops' interventions could sometimes worsen harmful situations. In-depth interviews with Mennonite clergy revealed how congregant support in challenging times could either empower a clergywoman's ministry or contribute to the premature end of her career. Finally, the effect of peer support may be limited by both the difficulty of finding supportive relationships and a culture of permissiveness toward harm and abuse targeting clergy in MC USA. For women, perceived support from regional leaders and congregants was significantly associated with decreases in four and five of the six workplace harm measures, respectively. However, for men, each of these relationships was significant for only one of the same six measures after controlling for other variables. This suggests that these sources of support may be especially related to workplace experiences for women in ministry compared to their male peers.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I extend our knowledge of clergywomen's workplace experiences by applying the routine activities perspective to this issue in this population for the first time. Because this perspective emphasizes how circumstances create opportunities for crime to occur, it is a good fit for understanding the context surrounding incidents of workplace harassment

targeting clergy. Neglecting the organizational context of these incidents in the past has limited our ability to fully understand and work to prevent them (see McDuff 2008 for an exception).

My results indicate that laypeople are the most common perpetrators for all forms of harm. While this was previously known about sexual harassment, perpetrator role had not been systematically, quantitatively analyzed in relation to workplace aggression targeting clergy (Murphy-Geiss 2007; Nath 2007; Wiggins Hare et al. 2017; Murphy-Geiss 2020). The predominance of lay perpetrators across all categories of incident has implications for clergy training, which has tended to emphasize the power of the pastoral role over informal sources of power held by laypeople (Sawchuk et al. 2007). I join other scholars, such as Dr. Murphy-Geiss (2007, 2020), in calling on denominations to adjust training and policy to reflect the reality of lay perpetration and hold offending laypeople accountable. Denominations may wish to pay special attention to lay leaders in these efforts; they were disproportionately represented as perpetrators, and it may be more possible to train lay leaders in appropriate behavior than lay people without a leadership role, paralleling the training clergy receive. Perpetrator identity varied by category of incident and denomination, and lay leaders were particularly overrepresented as perpetrators of workplace aggression and harms targeting Episcopal clergy. This denominational difference may reflect differences in the ratio of lay leaders to other laypeople across denominations (Ferguson 2020). Alternatively, it may reflect differences in how power is allocated in these spaces, which could offer greater opportunities for perpetration to lay leaders than other laypeople in Episcopal settings.

Among women in ministry, Episcopal clergy and supervisory pastors (i.e., lead pastors on multi-pastor staffs) reported especially high levels of harmful workplace experiences. The same relationships were not significant for male clergy, suggesting that this was not simply a difference in the number of opportunities perpetrators had to target supervisory pastors and Episcopal clergy compared to individuals in other pastoral roles. Narrowly, these results are consistent with prior

work indicating that women supervisors are more likely to be targeted by sexual harassment, and they extend this conversation by demonstrating similar patterns for gender harassment and workplace aggression (Uggen and Blackstone 2004; McLaughlin et al. 2012; Wynen 2016). Broadly, these findings are aligned with the power-threat model, which predicts that harassers will target women who threaten male power rather than women who are especially vulnerable to victimization (De Coster et al. 2011; McLaughlin et al. 2012). Based on this model, the greater authority accorded to Episcopal clergy relative to Mennonite pastors may, paradoxically, make them more frequent targets for harassment because of the more visible threat women in the priesthood pose to patriarchal power structures.

Finally, clergywomen who reported higher levels of perceived support from their regional leaders and congregants also reported significantly lower levels of harmful workplace experiences. These relationships were significant for most categories of experience for women, but only one of six categories of experience for men. The cross-sectional nature of my data prevents me from making any causal claims about this correlation, but perhaps future longitudinal research can address time order and help us understand the direction of this relationship. Interviews with women in ministry revealed that, while more than one in five clergywomen did not agree that they can rely on their regional leader, the nature of this tension was different across denominations – Mennonite clergywomen tended to wish their conference minister would be more proactive and involved when harm occurred, whereas Episcopal clergywomen sometimes reported a bishop’s involvement making a harmful situation more dangerous. The impact of supportive congregants could be far-reaching and create resilience later in pastors’ careers or contribute to their premature departure from ministry. While support from clergy peers was not significantly related to workplace experiences, many women expressed a desire for more supportive peer relationships or shared their experiences crafting these relationships in the absence of formal sources of support, despite an organizational culture of permissiveness towards

harm within MC USA that made connecting with other women in ministry over shared experiences more challenging.

While few would say that the picture I have painted in this dissertation is cheerful, I find these results hopeful rather than dispiriting. Knowing that lay people, and especially lay leaders, are perpetrating harmful experiences targeting clergy better equips congregations and denominations to respond. Being aware that women in positions with greater authority (even among clergywomen, who are by definition women in positions of authority) are most often targeted suggests something about the motivations of perpetrators that likewise equips groups to respond proactively by addressing the fears of losing power and structures of inequality that underlie these dynamics. Most hopeful of all is the finding that support from regional leaders and congregants appears to matter in relation to these outcomes. These results suggest that minimizing workplace harassment in the pastorate need not involve banishing women from ministry or from supervisory positions; instead, promoting the supportive structures that are correlated with reduced experiences of harm for clergywomen could well make a difference. My goals in this research are to contribute to the academic literature and benefit the lives of the women who have entrusted me with their stories. I hope that this chapter advances both of these goals.

6. Conclusion

In this dissertation, I compared Mennonite and Episcopal clergywomen's experiences with sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression in order to better understand how organizational context influences these experiences. Clergywomen represent a uniquely good case study for this topic given their role as authority figures in a male-dominated profession and the substantial variation that exists between denominations. Prior research on clergy has emphasized sexual harassment over other experiences and has often neglected the role of organizational context, so my research adds something new to this literature. Even outside of the research on pastors, work on sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression has often been siloed; this dissertation thus adds to a small body of research addressing these overlapping experiences simultaneously. I collected original data using in-depth interviews and a systematic, nationally representative survey with a new questionnaire I developed. This combination of methods allowed me to draw generalizable conclusions about the prevalence, antecedents, and consequences of workplace harassment and to more deeply explore the mechanisms at play in these experiences.

In Chapter 3, I presented the first comparison of sexual harassment rates across denominations and the first prevalence estimates of gender harassment and workplace aggression targeting clergy. Sexual harassment was reported at particularly high rates by Episcopal clergywomen. Women and Episcopal clergy also tended to report higher rates of gender harassment, but there was not a significant joint effect of gender and denomination on these experiences. Finally, Episcopal clergy reported more workplace aggression than Mennonite clergy, and gender did not significantly relate to these experiences. Qualitative findings suggested that, while men and women reported comparable levels of certain experiences on the survey, there may be gender differences in the specific content of these experiences or the causal

narratives that clergy develop about them. Future research including interviews with men in ministry would further illuminate these potential differences.

In Chapter 4, I found that despite the prevailing emphasis on sexual harassment in research, training, and policy, other experiences were more common and similarly harmful for clergywomen. Gender harassment and workplace aggression were each more prevalent and more frequent than sexual harassment for women and men in ministry. Furthermore, sexual harassment was seldom reported by clergy of either gender without gender harassment and workplace aggression being reported as well. All three types of experience were associated with poorer mental health for men and women. Job satisfaction was similarly negatively associated with gender harassment and workplace aggression for men and women, whereas the relationship between sexual harassment and job satisfaction was stronger for women than for men. Furthermore, the combinations of experiences clergy encountered were also linked to outcomes; in general, each additional category of experience a cleric reported was linked to worsening mental health and job satisfaction. These results highlight the importance of studying harmful workplace experiences in combination, which is not commonly done, and suggest that denominations should address workplace aggression and gender harassment as well as sexual harassment to accurately reflect clergy experiences and promote clergy wellbeing.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I extended the denominational comparisons from Chapter 3 and investigated the power dynamics involved in incidents of workplace harm. While theology and pastoral training often emphasize the power of pastors over laypeople, the reality is that laypeople are the most common perpetrators of all categories of harm targeting clergy. Lay leaders were disproportionately represented as perpetrators, particularly for workplace aggression incidents, which they may be better positioned to perpetrate, and incidents targeting Episcopal clergy, which may reflect differences in the organization of power in the two denominations I studied. For clergywomen, but not for men, serving in the Episcopal Church and leading a multi-pastor

staff were associated with higher reports of workplace harm after controlling for other factors. Given denominational differences in clerical authority and the authority that lead pastors have over other pastors in their congregations, these findings are consistent with the predictions of the power-threat model described in Chapters 1 and 5, which suggests that perpetrators of harassment target powerful women whose presence in authority positions threatens male dominance. Perceived support from regional leaders and congregants was significantly associated with lower reports of harmful workplace experiences among clergywomen, and interview findings suggested that support from these individuals can play a significant role in how situations of harm resolve in addition to the rate at which they occur.

I will close by offering several suggestions for researchers and religious leaders based on this research. First, I suggest that researchers should move toward studying diverse forms of workplace harm simultaneously rather than examining sexual harassment, gender harassment, and workplace aggression in isolation as is typical. My results suggest that these experiences co-occur, compound, and reflect similar underlying mechanisms, so studying them in separate bodies of literature limits our ability to obtain a complete picture of the challenges people encounter in the workplace. Additional comparative research would likewise be helpful in building our understanding of how organizational context shapes these experiences. Denominational leaders may wish to reconsider policies and training curricula that focus solely on sexual harassment and consider pastors only as potential perpetrators, rather than potential targets, of harassment and abuse. My findings indicate that sexual harassment is the least common type of experience clergy encounter, especially on its own, and that other forms of workplace harm are also associated with clergy wellbeing and job satisfaction. Clergy report high rates of harmful experiences in the workplace, and these experiences are most often perpetrated by laypeople, who are difficult to hold accountable with the policies and training that currently exist in most denominations. Finally, church leaders should be aware of how seemingly neutral aspects of church life, like

polity and liturgy, can create different opportunities for harmful experiences to occur and of the important role that regional leaders and congregants can play in addressing or preventing these situations. I believe that these suggestions can help scholarship, training, and policy more accurately reflect reality, thereby moving research forward and creating the circumstances that equip women in ministry to thrive.

Appendix A: Interview Guide

1. Introduction

In a conversation at the beginning of each interview, I review key points from the informed consent – such as participants’ right to stop the interview at any point, to decline to answer any question, to choose whether to share the transcript with Amy, etc. – and give participants a chance to ask me any questions they have about it. I check whether they have a hard stop at a certain time, ask if they’re alright with being recorded, and then begin the interview.

2. Path to the pastorate

To start off, I’d like to talk a little bit about your current position and how you became a PASTOR / PRIEST.

1. Could you tell me about your background with the MENNONITE / EPISCOPAL church before you became a PASTOR / PRIEST?
2. How did you decide that you wanted to become a PASTOR / PRIEST? (PROBE: Did any role models influence your decision? What challenges did you face in discerning your call?)
3. What was your training like for becoming a PASTOR / PRIEST?
4. What ministry jobs have you held during your career?

3. Current clergy role (asked only of those currently serving in ministry)

5. Tell me about your current leadership role. (PROBE: What is your position title? How long have you been in this role at your current CHURCH / PARISH?)
6. What was it like to transition into this role? (PROBE: What challenges did you face? How did people in the congregation react to your arrival?)

7. What have your experiences at your CONFERENCE / DIOCESE been like? (PROBE: Are there other women in leadership there? *If Mennonite*: Has your church ever changed conferences? If so, why?)

4. Leaving ministry (asked only of those who have left ministry)

8. Tell me about your transition out of ministry. What factors led you to leave ministry? (PROBE: How did you make the decision to leave? What was the impact on you? Do you plan to return to ministry? What work have you had since then?)

5. Church hierarchy

9. How would you describe your interactions with congregants? (PROBE: How does being a PASTOR / PRIEST impact how you interact with congregants? How do you think about setting boundaries, if you do think about that, when you interact with congregants? What strategies do you use to maintain these boundaries?)
10. Could you tell me about how your congregation makes decisions? (PROBE: Who holds the power? How much power and influence do you have over important decisions?)
11. How does your CONFERENCE / DIOCESE make decisions? (PROBE: How do those decisions impact you as PASTOR / PRIEST?)
12. What systems are there in your CONGREGATION OR CONFERENCE / PARISH OR DIOCESE to support you as a pastor? (PROBE: Does your church have a formal support team/committee? Are there any congregation members trained to support you?)
13. What systems are there in your CONGREGATION OR CONFERENCE / PARISH OR DIOCESE to help address people (clergy or congregation members) harming others?

6. Belonging and sexism

I'd like to ask some more in-depth questions about your experiences as a PASTOR / PRIEST.

14. Thinking about your experiences in ministry, where or with whom have you most felt that you belong? (PROBE: Can you describe a moment you felt confident in leadership? Does that happen often?)
15. If it has, how would you say that being a woman has impacted your ministry? (PROBE: Have you ever felt like colleagues or members of your congregation have viewed or treated you differently because of your gender? What are the advantages of being a woman in the pastorate?)
16. Are there other aspects of your identity that impact how you're treated? (PROBE: Do you have specific experiences you'd like to share? How frequently and to what degree would you say these other identities impact your ministry?)

7. Sexual harassment

17. Have you ever had experiences as a pastor where someone has crossed a boundary and made you uncomfortable? *If yes:* If you feel comfortable doing so, could you share more about what happened? (PROBE: Where did this happen? What church/position were you in when this happened? What was that congregation like? Was this sort of thing common in that congregation? How many people attended that church? How would you describe the person who did this? How did others respond? How did you respond when this happened? How did you decide to respond in this way? Did anything happen to address this incident? How did this impact you personally and/or professionally?)
18. Some pastors report that they've received training about sexual harassment. Have you gotten any training in this area? (PROBE: What was your training like? How well do you feel it prepared you for working as a PASTOR / PRIEST? Has anyone else in your congregation received this training?)

19. I was wondering if you could tell me - how do you think of or define sexual harassment?
(PROBE: Could you give an example of an incident that you would label as sexual harassment?)
20. Have you ever been sexually harassed in your role as a PASTOR / PRIEST? *If yes:* If you feel comfortable doing so, could you share more about what happened? (PROBE: same as Q17 probes, plus – Can you tell me how your thoughts about this incident have changed over time, if they have?)
21. Have you heard stories from colleagues in your denomination who have been harassed? *If yes:* Could you tell me more about those? (PROBE: How did it turn out in the end?)
22. If an incident of sexual harassment occurred and you wanted to respond to it, what would you do? (PROBE: Under what circumstances would you want to make a report? Who would a report go to? What might they do?)
23. Are there any formal policies in place in your congregation, CONFERENCE / DIOCESE, or denomination for dealing with sexual harassment? (PROBE: Who do these policies apply to? How were they put into place? Do you trust these formal channels to resolve situations?)

8. Other abuse

24. Are there any formal policies in place in your congregation, CONFERENCE / DIOCESE, or denomination for dealing with non-sexual harassment or abuse? This could include things like bullying, physical harm, spiritual abuse, and financial abuse, but it's not limited to those things. (PROBE: Who do these policies apply to? If you wanted to respond to an incident like this, what would you do?)
25. Have you received any training about non-sexual abuse or harassment? (PROBE: What was this training like? Has anyone else in your congregation received this training?)

26. Has anyone tried to cause you harm in this way during your ministry? *If yes:* Could you share more about what happened? (PROBE: same as Q17 probes)
27. Have you heard stories from colleagues in your denomination who have been harmed in this way? *(If yes:* Could you tell me more about those? How did they turn out in the end?)

9. Closing questions

28. If you could talk to your past self before you went into ministry, what would you say to her?
29. What do you think would make the most significant impact in supporting women leaders in the church?
30. What resources have been most helpful to you in your career as a pastor?
31. What are your hopes for the future of women in church leadership?
32. Is there anything that is important to you about being a female PASTOR / PRIEST that we haven't talked about?

10. Demographic questions

33. In what year were you born?
34. How would you describe your race?
35. Are you part of the LGBT community?
36. Are you married?
37. Could you recommend two or three other clergywomen I might reach out to about being part of this study? It'd be most helpful if these were more distant acquaintances rather than close friends.
38. What is your address so I can mail you a check?

Appendix B: Data-Sharing Agreement

1. Data use documentation

From: Amy Zimbelman <amyz@mountainstatesmc.org>

Date: Friday, June 3, 2022 at 2:53 PM

To: Elizabeth Johnson <elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu>

Subject: Sharing of documents

Hi Elizabeth,

Regarding sharing documents, I plan to upload my transcripts (with direct identifiers removed) into the DukeBox folder that you'll give me a link to once we get started.

Thanks,

Rev. Amy S. Zimbelman

Conference Minister

www.mountainstatesmc.org

2. Amy's confidentiality agreement

By signing this confidentiality form, I affirm that I will make no attempt to identify or contact specific individuals or congregations based on the redacted transcripts. I will not share the full redacted transcripts with anyone else and will not knowingly divulge any information (including but not limited to any quotes, stories, or demographic characteristics which would clearly point to one specific individual) that would enable someone to identify an individual who participated in this study. I will adhere to best practices in data security, including but not limited to remaining up-to-date on anti-malware software and not accessing the transcripts in a public place where others can view them.

Signature:



Date: 6/28/22

3. Amy's informed consent form

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research study. As you know, my name is Amy Zimbelman, and I am the Conference Minister of Mountain States Mennonite Conference, and I have received funding from the Louisville Institute for this study. The purpose of this study is to better understand the experiences of women in ministry. You are being invited to participate because of your current or former role as a pastor. Please carefully read this consent document for key information about your participation.

If you agree to be in this study, I will ask you to talk with me about your path to ministry and your experiences as a minister, including challenges or obstacles that have arisen. I am interested in learning about how your experiences have affected you and your choice to remain in or leave ministry. How long we talk is up to you, but I expect our conversation will take around two hours. I would like your permission to audio/video record our conversation so that I can transcribe and analyze it afterwards.

By participating in this study, you will be helping to expand knowledge about women in ministry, enabling people to better support clergywomen like yourself and others. I hope that you will enjoy the opportunity to reflect on your ministry and share your experiences with an interested listener.

I understand that some experiences may be sensitive to talk about with another person. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If any question is uncomfortable for you, please tell me or just say "skip." You can take a break or stop at any time, and you are free to skip any question for any reason.

Your participation in this study is confidential. A possible risk of participating in this study is a breach of confidentiality, such as someone hacking into my computer or guessing who you are from a quote in a research paper. I will mitigate this risk by storing all recordings and transcripts on a secure server. You can request that any or all portions of the recording be

destroyed. In the transcript of our conversation, I will replace your name and your congregation's name with fake names and will never use real names in any reports I write. To protect your confidentiality, I will never knowingly publicly share a quote or story that would point back to one specific person.

I will use Zoom's auto-transcribe function to transcribe our conversation. If the transcription is inaccurate, I may send an audio file to a third-party transcription service, but only the transcriptionist and I will be able to access it. To mitigate the risk of a breach in confidentiality, I will use a professional via signed confidentiality agreement. The recording and transcript will not be available for public use.

With your permission, I would like to share the redacted transcript with your name removed with Elizabeth Johnson, a PhD candidate at Duke University researching clergywomen's experiences. To protect your confidentiality, Elizabeth will not attempt to identify or contact any person or congregation based on transcripts and will not share transcripts with others. Like me, she will not knowingly share any quotes or stories that would give away your identity or others' identities. She will primarily share her findings with an academic audience through her dissertation, academic presentations, and journal articles.

To show my appreciation for your time, I would like to compensate you \$45 for your participation in this interview. This money is contingent on making a good-faith effort, which means answering the questions or simply telling me that you cannot or are uncomfortable with answering the questions.

Please let me know if you have any questions for me at this time. You can email me at amyz@mountainstatesmc.org or call me at (719) 985-7649.

Appendix C: Interview Recruitment Materials

1. Recruitment email

Dear NAME,

I am writing to invite you to participate in a research study of the experiences of clergywomen. My name is Elizabeth Johnson, and I am a PhD candidate at Duke University who is interested in learning more about the views and stories of women PASTORS / PRIESTS in MENNONITE CHURCH USA / THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH. As an expression of my appreciation, I am happy to offer you \$45 for your help.

The interview will be conducted on Zoom, be audio recorded, and touch on a variety of topics, including your path to ministry, your congregation and CONFERENCE / DIOCESE, and your views and experiences with issues that are particularly likely to affect female clergy. Your perspective as A MENNONITE / AN EPISCOPAL clergywoman is very important in gaining an accurate understanding of the experiences of PASTORS / PRIESTS in your denomination. It is my hope that the final product of this research will be helpful to women in ministry.

Your participation is entirely voluntary and strictly confidential. The interview will take place virtually at the time that is most convenient for you. Most of my interviews last about two hours, but the time allotted is also entirely up to you. Many people find it enjoyable to share about their experiences, and I hope you will as well!

[For Mennonite participants] Although this is for my dissertation research, I will also ask for your permission to share a transcript of your interview, with your name removed, with Amy Zimbelman. Amy is a conference minister with MC USA who is also doing research on women in church leadership to learn how to create institutions where leaders of all genders thrive. You do not have to agree to share your transcript with Amy to participate in an interview with me. If you have already participated in an interview with Amy, please disregard this email.

If you have any questions or are open to learning more or participating, please contact me via phone call (678-644-1382) or via email at eaj12@duke.edu. Thank you so much, and I look forward to speaking with you soon!

Best wishes,

Elizabeth Johnson

Duke University Department of Sociology

2. Informed consent

Thank you for your interest in participating in this research study. As you know, my name is Elizabeth Johnson, and I am a PhD candidate at Duke University. The purpose of this study is to understand the experiences of women in ministry. You are being invited to participate because of your current or former role as a clergywoman. Please carefully read this consent document for key information about your participation.

Key Information

If you agree to be in this study, I will ask you to talk with me about your path to ministry and your experiences as a clergywoman, including challenges or obstacles that have arisen. I am interested in learning about how your experiences have affected you and your choice to remain in or leave ministry. How long we talk is up to you, but I expect our conversation will take around two hours. I would like your permission to audio record our conversation so that I can transcribe and analyze it afterwards.

By participating in this study, you will be helping to expand knowledge about women in ministry, enabling people to better support clergywomen like yourself and others. I hope that you will enjoy the opportunity to reflect on your ministry and share your experiences with an interested listener.

I understand that some experiences may be sensitive to talk about with another person. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. If any question is uncomfortable for you,

please tell me or just say “skip”. You can take a break or stop at any time, and you are free to skip any question for any reason.

Your participation in this study is confidential. A possible risk of participating in this study is a breach of confidentiality, such as someone hacking into my computer or guessing who you are from a quote in a research paper. I will mitigate this risk by storing all recordings and transcripts on a secure server. You can request that any or all portions of the recording be destroyed, otherwise recordings will be deleted one year after they are transcribed. In the transcript of our conversation, I will replace your name and your congregation’s name with fake names and will never use real names in any reports I write. To protect your confidentiality, quotes or stories that I publish will be described in such a way that will not point back to one specific person.

I will use Zoom’s auto-transcribe function to transcribe our conversation. If the transcription is inaccurate, I may send an audio file to a third-party transcription service, but only the transcriptionist and I will be able to access it. To mitigate the risk of a breach in confidentiality, I will use a transcription service approved by Duke’s IRB, or with a professional via signed confidentiality agreement. The recording and transcript will not be available for public use.

[For Mennonite participants] With your permission, I would like to share the redacted transcript with Amy Zimbelman, a conference minister in MC USA who has received a research grant to study clergywomen’s experiences. Please note that though the transcripts I share with Amy will have your name removed, demographic information (age, sexual orientation, race, etc.) will be included in the information I share. It is possible that participants with unique demographic characteristics may be identifiable to Amy. To protect your confidentiality, Amy has signed an agreement stating that she will not attempt to identify or contact any person or congregation based on transcripts and will not share transcripts with others. Like me, she will not

knowingly share any quotes or stories that would give away your identity or others' identities. She will primarily share her aggregated findings with an MC USA audience through, for example, published articles in *Anabaptist World* and presentations to MC USA staff who are working on revamping policies to better support clergywomen. You do not have to agree to share your transcript with Amy to participate in an interview with me.

To show my appreciation for your time, I would like to compensate you \$45 for your participation in this interview. This money is contingent on making a good-faith effort, which means answering the questions or simply telling me that you cannot or are uncomfortable with answering the questions.

Please let me know if you have any questions for me at this time. You can email me at eaj12@duke.edu or call me at 678-644-1382. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you can contact the Duke University Campus Institutional Review Board at 919-684-3030 or campusirb@duke.edu and reference my protocol #2022-0516.

3. Reconsent email

Hi NAME,

I hope you're well! I don't know if you remember me, but I'm a graduate student at Duke, and you participated in an interview with me about your experiences as a clergywoman last fall. I really appreciate you taking the time to do that. I learned a lot from conducting these interviews - so much that this has now become my dissertation, which I hope will be helpful to women in ministry.

You initially agreed to participate in an interview with me for a class assignment I was doing. Given that I'm now moving forward with this research, I was wondering if it would be alright for me to analyze the transcript of our conversation for my dissertation research too. The transcript already has all names and locations that might be used to identify you removed. I won't share the entire transcript with anyone else, but I might present or write about quotes, stories, or

trends I've heard in interviews (including yours). To minimize the risk of any readers guessing the identities of people whom I've interviewed, I won't publicly share quotes, stories, or descriptions that would point back to one specific individual.

It would be really helpful for me to be able to use your interview transcript as I continue this project, but it is 100% your choice. I appreciate our initial conversation a lot, regardless of whether you are comfortable with me using it outside of the classes I was taking or not.

Please let me know what you think and if you have any questions about this! You can email me at eaj12@duke.edu or call me at 678-644-1382. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you're also welcome to contact the Duke University Campus Institutional Review Board at 919-684-3030 or campusirb@duke.edu and reference my protocol #2022-0516.

Best wishes,

Elizabeth Johnson

Duke University Department of Sociology

4. Interview recruitment question after Episcopal survey

1. Would you like to be entered into the drawing for one of four \$50 gift cards?
Yes..... 1
No 2

2. Would you be open to participating in a follow-up interview? (You do not have to answer “yes” to be entered into the drawing for a gift card.)
Yes..... 1
No 2
Not sure 3

3. In order to be entered into the drawing for one of four \$50 gift cards or receive more information about participating in a follow-up interview, please enter your first name, last

name, and email address below. The information you enter here will not be connected to the information you provided on the previous survey. It will only be used to contact you in the event that you win a gift card or are randomly selected to participate in a follow-up interview.

- a. First name:
- b. Last name:
- c. Email address:

CLOSING

Thank you so much for participating in this survey. If you have any questions about this research, please feel free to contact Elizabeth Johnson at 678-644-1382 or elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu.

Thanks again for your time.

Appendix D: MC USA Survey Questionnaire

Consent to Participate in Research: Key Information

Thank you for participating in this survey. Mennonite pastors play a vital role in the lives of their congregations and communities, and it is important to understand the challenges that pastors face in their ministry careers. The purpose of this study is to learn about some of these challenges. Findings from this survey research will be shared at events like MennoCon to help MC USA better support clergy like yourself and also in academic publications, thereby having an impact that extends beyond the Mennonite world.

In this survey, we will ask you questions about your work and congregation, the experiences and challenges you've had, your attitudes and opinions about important topics, and your demographic information. This research may or may not benefit you personally through leading to positive change within the denomination. The primary risk of participating is discomfort if any questions are sensitive for you. Your participation is voluntary. You may stop participating at any time or refuse to answer any or all questions.

It is important to us to protect your confidentiality. This survey does not collect your name, contact information, or IP address, so we have no way of associating you directly with your responses. Additionally, any information that could be potentially used to identify you (such as demographic characteristics, work history, etc.) will be redacted before data or findings are shared with other researchers or MC USA. To mitigate the risk of a breach of confidentiality, data will be stored in a secure server at Duke accessible only to authorized researchers. Aggregated data, that is, data grouped together to avoid possible deductive disclosure, may be published or used for future research purposes.

If you have questions or concerns about this research, please feel free to contact Duke University graduate researcher Elizabeth Johnson at 678-644-1382 or elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant,

you can contact the Duke University Office of Research Support at 919-684-3030 or campusirb@duke.edu and reference protocol #2022-0516. This research is made possible by funding from the MC USA Women in Leadership ministry, the Louisville Institute, the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, and Duke University.

The success of this study depends on your cooperation. We appreciate your time very much. We expect the survey to take 15-30 minutes to complete.

Please click the “Start Survey” button if you are ready to proceed.

I. Filtering

- 1. Do you currently serve as a pastor in a Mennonite Church USA congregation? This includes any official pastoral job in a congregation for which you could seek licensing by your conference, regardless of whether or not you are ordained, credentialed, paid, or full-time. It includes area-specific roles like youth pastor but does not include non-congregational roles like chaplain or seminary professor.

Yes, I currently serve as a pastor in a congregation in MC USA. (GO TO Q2)
..... 1

No, I do not currently serve as a pastor in a congregation in MC USA but have in the past. (GO TO Q70).....2

No, I have never served as a pastor in a congregation in MC USA. (GO TO END SURVEY 1)3

II. Gender

- 2. Which of the following best describes your gender?

Man..... 1

Woman2

Not listed (please specify):3

III. Clergy Role

The next few questions are about your current position as pastor of your congregation.

3. What is your current job title? Please select all that apply for your current position as pastor.

- Lead, head, or solo pastor (GO TO Q5) 1
- Co-pastor (GO TO Q5)..... 2
- Associate or assistant pastor (GO TO Q5) 3
- Area-specific pastor (children's, youth, worship, outreach, etc.) 4
- Not listed (please specify): (GO TO Q5) 5

4. What specific area or areas do you focus on? Please select all that apply.

- Administration
- Children's ministry
- Community engagement
- Family ministry
- Media or communications
- Music
- Outreach
- Pastoral care
- Preaching
- Psychological counseling
- Religious education/Teaching
- Spiritual growth
- Technology other than worship-related technology
- Volunteer coordinator
- Worship leader
- Worship-related technology

Young adult ministry

Youth ministry

Not listed (please specify):

Not listed (please specify):

Not listed (please specify):

5. Are you ordained by your conference for your work in your congregation?
- Yes (GO TO Q9) 1
- No 2
6. Are you licensed by your conference for your work in your congregation?
- Yes 1
- No (GO TO Q8) 2
7. Are you currently seeking ordination by your conference?
- Yes (GO TO Q9) 1
- No (GO TO Q9) 2
8. Are you currently seeking licensure by your conference?
- Yes 1
- No 2
9. Do you have a complete written contract or covenant (not job description) for your employment as pastor of your congregation?
- Yes 1
- No (GO TO Q12) 2
10. In your contract or covenant, how are the hours for your position described?
- 1.0 FTE or full-time 1
- 0.75 FTE or three-quarter-time 2
- 0.5 FTE or half-time 3

0.25 FTE or quarter-time.....	4
Hours are not described in my contract or covenant (GO TO Q12)	5
Not listed (please specify):	6
11. Compared to what is in your contract or covenant, how many hours do you actually work as a pastor in a typical week?	
More hours than specified in my contract or covenant (GO TO Q14).....	1
About the same number of hours specified in my contract or covenant (GO TO Q14).....	2
Fewer hours than specified in my contract or covenant (GO TO Q14)	3
12. In your job description, how are the hours for your position described?	
1.0 FTE or full-time.....	1
0.75 FTE or three-quarter-time.....	2
0.5 FTE or half-time	3
0.25 FTE or quarter-time.....	4
Hours are not described in my job description (GO TO Q14).....	5
I do not have a job description (GO TO Q14).....	7
Not listed (please specify):	6
13. Compared to what is in your job description, how many hours do you actually work as a pastor in a typical week?	
More hours than specified in my job description	1
About the same number of hours specified in my job description.....	2
Fewer hours than specified in my job description.....	3
14. Do you have any other job (full- or part-time) besides serving as pastor in your congregation?	
Yes.....	1

- No2
15. Do you consider yourself bivocational?
- Yes.....1
- No2

IV. Background

The next few questions are about your background with your congregation and MC USA.

16. In what year did you begin serving in your current position in your congregation? [DROP DOWN LIST OF YEARS, “2023” at top, down to “1950 or earlier” at the bottom]

17. Is this position your first official pastoral role in any MC USA congregation?
- Yes (GO TO Q19)1
- No2

18. In what year did you begin serving in your first official pastoral role in any MC USA congregation? [DROP DOWN LIST OF YEARS, “2023” at top, down to “1950 or earlier” at the bottom]

19. We’d like to ask about your background with any Mennonite tradition, not just MC USA.

Did you:

- a. Grow up attending a Mennonite congregation?
- b. Grow up in an area with a large population of Mennonites?
- c. Get baptized at a Mennonite congregation?
- d. Attend a Mennonite college or seminary?

Response options: Yes

No

V. Congregation Characteristics

The next few questions are about the congregation you currently serve.

20. When you were first called/appointed, which best describes attendance at your

congregation?	
Growing	1
Remaining stable	2
Decreasing	3
New church plant by you.....	4

21. These days, which best describes the location where your congregation meets to worship?

Rural	1
Urban	2
Suburban.....	3

22. Does your church offer a synchronous virtual worship option, such as a livestream or Zoom?

Yes.....	1
No (GO TO Q24)	2

23. About how many devices total join your worship service(s) *virtually* on a regular Sunday?

1-19.....	1
20-39	2
40-59	3
60-79.....	4
80-99.....	5
100 or more	6
Don't know	7

24. About how many people total attend worship service(s) *in person* on a regular Sunday?

1-99.....	1
100-199 (GO TO Q26).....	2

200-299 (GO TO Q26).....	3
300-399 (GO TO Q26).....	4
400-499 (GO TO Q26).....	5
500 or more (GO TO Q26).....	6
Don't know (GO TO Q26).....	7

25. You said that 1-99 people attend worship services in person on a regular Sunday. We're hoping you can be a bit more specific.

About how many people total attend worship service(s) *in person* on a regular Sunday?

1-19.....	1
20-39.....	2
40-59.....	3
60-79.....	4
80-99.....	5
Don't know	6

26. Does your congregation currently employ other pastors besides yourself?

Yes.....	1
No (GO TO Q29)	2

27. Are you the only woman currently employed as a pastor by your congregation?

Yes.....	1
No	2

Note: Q27: This question is only displayed if Q2 = "Woman".

28. Are any women currently employed as pastors by your congregation?

Yes.....	1
No	2

Note: Q28: This question is only displayed if Q2 != "Woman".

29. Are you the first woman employed as a pastor by your congregation?
- Yes (GO TO Q31) 1
 - No 2
 - Not sure 3

Note: Q29: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman”.

30. Are you the first woman employed as a *lead* pastor by your congregation?
- Yes..... 1
 - No 2
 - Not sure 3

Note: Q30: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q3 = “Lead, head, or solo pastor”.

31. Does your congregation assign one or more laypeople to support you? This might be called a liaison, pastor-congregation relations team (PCRT), or something else.
- Yes..... 1
 - No 2

32. Below is a seven-point scale of the political views that people might hold. Where would you place yourself on this scale?
- Extremely liberal 1
 - Liberal 2
 - Slightly liberal 3
 - Moderate, middle of the road 4
 - Slightly conservative 5
 - Conservative 6
 - Extremely conservative 7

33. When it comes to politics, how would you compare your own political views to those

held by most people in your *congregation*?

- I am much more politically conservative 1
- I am somewhat more politically conservative 2
- I am about the same as most people in my congregation 3
- I am somewhat more politically liberal 4
- I am much more politically liberal 5

34. When it comes to politics, how would you compare your own political views to those held by most people in your *conference*?

- I am much more politically conservative 1
- I am somewhat more politically conservative 2
- I am about the same as most people in my conference 3
- I am somewhat more politically liberal 4
- I am much more politically liberal 5

VI. Health & Well-being

The next few questions are about your health. We realize that these questions might be sensitive, but your answers will help us paint the most accurate possible picture of MC USA pastors' well-being.

35. In general, would you say that your health is:

- Excellent 1
- Very good 2
- Good 3
- Fair 4
- Poor 5

36. Over the past *two weeks*, how often have you been bothered by either of the following problems?

- a. Little interest or pleasure in doing things
- b. Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless

Response options: Nearly every day
 More than half the days
 Several days
 Not at all

37. During the past *month*, how often did you feel...

- a. Happy?
- b. Satisfied with life?

Response options: Every day
 Almost every day
 Two or three times a week
 About once a week
 Once or twice
 Never

VII. Job Satisfaction & Organizational Context

The next few questions are about how you feel about your job as a pastor for your congregation.

38. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do as a pastor?

- Very satisfied..... 1
- Moderately satisfied 2
- Only a little satisfied..... 3
- Not satisfied at all..... 4

39. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you felt overwhelmed with your work as a pastor?

- Very often..... 1

- Fairly often2
- Once in a while.....3
- Never4

40. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you considered leaving your congregation to work in another congregation?

- Very often..... 1
- Fairly often2
- Once in a while.....3
- Never4

41. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you considered leaving congregational work to do some other sort of religious work?

- Very often..... 1
- Fairly often2
- Once in a while.....3
- Never4

42. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you considered leaving congregational work to do something that does not involve religious work?

- Very often..... 1
- Fairly often2
- Once in a while.....3
- Never4

43. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements about your current role as a pastor:

- a. I have a considerable amount of freedom in how I do my job.
- b. I will be able to keep my present job as long as I wish.

- c. The conference minister(s) who know(s) my work best can be relied upon when things get tough in my job.
- d. Women are adequately represented in leadership in my conference.
- e. The pastors I work with are willing to listen to my job-related problems.
- f. I can implement my plans for the congregation even when some people disagree with me.
- g. In general, my congregation members are helpful to me in getting my job done.
- h. Decision-making power is shared fairly in my congregation.
- i. People in my congregation generally get along with one another.

Response options: Completely agree

Mainly agree

Slightly agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Slightly disagree

Mainly disagree

Completely disagree

VIII. Harmful Experiences

The next few questions ask about difficult situations that some clergy have reported experiencing. Some of these questions may be sensitive, but they are important in helping us paint the most accurate possible picture of some types of challenges that pastors face in their ministry.

44. Please read each of the situations below and then select the option that best indicates how many times you have had this experience when serving as a pastor in an MC USA congregation.

In your capacity as a pastor, how many times in your career have you been in a situation where someone has:

- a. Put you down, mistreated, slighted, ignored, or been condescending to you?
- b. Made inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about your appearance or voice?
- c. Mistaken you for a pastor's spouse, secretary, or other nonclergy role?
- d. Overtly criticized you for not conforming to stereotypes about how your gender should behave?
- e. Left or threatened to leave the congregation because they did not want you as pastor?
- f. Used money, such as your salary or their tithes, as a way to control your actions or punish you?
- g. Used committees or other bureaucratic means to hold up or sabotage your work?
- h. Sent you emails, notes, letters, texts, calls, or social media posts that you experienced as harmful or intimidating?
- i. Impeded, reviewed, suspended, or revoked your credentials for reasons you considered unfair?
- j. Made unwanted attempts to draw you into discussion of sexual matters, including attempting to discuss or comment on your sex life?
- k. Made crude and offensive sexual remarks, either in front of other people or to you privately?
- l. Continued to ask you for a date, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you had previously said "no"?
- m. Made unwanted or uncomfortable attempts to touch, stroke, or fondle you, for example touching your arm or hand or stroking your leg or neck?
- n. Made it seem necessary for you to respond positively to sexual or romantic invitations in order to be well-treated on the job?
- o. Made unwanted physical attempts to have sex with you?

- p. Threatened you with bodily harm?
- q. Physically attacked or done violence to you?
- r. Threatened you with retaliation because you brought attention to sexism, harassment, or the abuse of yourself or someone else?

Response options: Many times in my career

A few times in my career

One time in my career

Never

45. If you've had difficult experiences in your role as a MC USA pastor that you feel weren't captured by the above questions, please feel free to share them here. Otherwise, please leave this box empty.

In order to better understand the state of affairs in the denomination today, we'd like to know how recently some of these experiences occurred.

46. Within the past 12 months, in your capacity as a pastor, has someone:

- a. [LIST OF ITEMS FOR WHICH Q44 != "Never"]

Response options: Yes, within the past 12 months

No, not within the past 12 months

IX. Follow-Up Questions

Next, we have just a few follow-up questions about some recent or serious difficult experiences you shared. We understand that these may be sensitive, but these questions are important in helping us understand how these situations happen and how to best support clergy facing these challenges.

THESE FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS ARE ONLY ASKED ABOUT CERTAIN ITEMS. Q47-Q49 ARE ASKED IN A ROW ABOUT A GIVEN ITEM, THEN Q47-Q49 RESTART FOR

THE NEXT RELEVANT ITEM UNTIL ALL RELEVANT ITEMS HAVE BEEN ASKED ABOUT, AT WHICH POINT THE SURVEY PROGRESSES TO Q50.

Q47 IS ASKED IF: Q46 = “Yes, within the past 12 months” for items a-i

Q44 != “Never” for items j-r

Q48 IS ASKED IF: Q46 = “Yes, within the past 12 months” for items a-b

Q44 != “Never” for items k and p

Q49 IS ASKED IF: Q44 != “Never” for items m, o, and q

47. Think about the *most recent time* that someone has [ITEM]. Was the person or people

who initiated this situation:

- a. A man?
- b. A woman?
- c. Someone who supervised your work?
- d. Someone whose work you supervised?
- e. A conference minister or associate conference minister?
- f. A denominational leader (besides conference minister)?
- g. A pastor?
- h. A church employee (besides pastor)?
- i. A lay leader?
- j. A layperson without a leadership role?
- k. Unknown or anonymous?
- l. Not listed (please specify):

Response options: Yes

No

48. Still thinking about the *most recent time* that someone has [ITEM], did this take place in

a(n):

- a. One-on-one meeting?
- b. Meeting with multiple people?
- c. Worship service?
- d. Local church event (besides worship service)?
- e. Conference or denominational event?
- f. Online or virtual setting, such as email, social media, or Zoom?
- g. Not listed (please specify):

Response options: Yes

No

49. Still thinking about the *most recent time* that someone has [ITEM], did this take place in

a(n):

- a. One-on-one meeting?
- b. Meeting with multiple people?
- c. Worship service?
- d. Local church event (besides worship service)?
- e. Conference or denominational event?
- f. Not listed (please specify):

Response options: Yes

No

50. You shared about another difficult experience you had, describing it as follows: [Q45 ANSWER]

If you'd like to provide any additional information about the most recent time that this happened, such as who initiated this situation, how recently it happened, and where it occurred, please feel free to do so here.

Note: Q50: This question is only displayed if Q45 is not left empty.

X. Last Harassment Questions

51. We've asked you about a variety of experiences that carry different labels for different people. Based on your own understanding of the term "sexual harassment," have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a pastor in MC USA?

- Yes..... 1
- No 2
- Not sure 3
- Prefer not to say..... 4

52. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements:

- a. I would feel comfortable formally reporting it if someone were to sexually harass me.
- b. I trust MC USA not to downplay or ignore it if pastors are sexually harassed.
- c. I trust that formal reports of sexual harassment will remain confidential.

Response options: Completely agree

Mainly agree

Slightly agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Slightly disagree

Mainly disagree

Completely disagree

XI. Finances

The next few questions are about your finances. Again, we realize that this is a sensitive subject, but we want to paint the most accurate possible picture of MC USA leaders' financial situation.

Your responses will help us do that.

53. Are you paid for your work in your congregation?

- Yes..... 1
- No 2

54. Because of your position with your congregation, do you receive:

- a. Paid parental leave?
- b. Health insurance?
- c. A sabbatical?

Response options: Yes
 No

55. So far as you and your family are concerned, how satisfied would you say that you are with your present financial situation?

- Pretty well satisfied 1
- More or less satisfied..... 2
- Not satisfied at all..... 3

XII. Demographics

We are almost done! Here are a few basic questions about your demographic characteristics, education, and marital status. To protect your confidentiality, any answers that might allow someone to identify you will be deleted from the data file before the findings of this survey are shared with MC USA leaders and the public.

56. What race/ethnicity are you? Please select all that apply.

- White 1
- Black or African American 2
- Hispanic/Latino 3
- American Indian or Alaska Native 4
- Asian..... 5
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander..... 6

Not listed, please specify:	7
57. In what year were you born? [DROP DOWN LIST OF YEARS, “2005” at top, down to “1907” at the bottom]	
58. Do you identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer?	
Yes.....	1
No	2
Prefer not to say.....	3
59. What is the highest level of education you have completed?	
Doctorate	1
Master’s degree	2
Four-year college degree	3
Some college, but no four-year degree.....	4
High school diploma	5
Less than high school	6
60. What is your current marital status?	
Never married.....	1
Married (GO TO Q62).....	2
Divorced or separated.....	3
Widowed	4
61. Are you currently in a committed romantic relationship?	
Yes (GO TO Q63)	1
No (GO TO Q63)	2
62. Is your spouse also employed as a pastor by your congregation?	
Yes.....	1
No	2

63. Which best describes your family structure? Please select all that apply.

- I do not have children. 1
- I have children aged 17 or younger.2
- I have children aged 18 or older.3

XIII. Closing Questions

Our last two questions ask for information that will help MC USA identify areas for improvement that might be useful to you and to other clergy. Having come this far, we hope you will take another few minutes to answer these last questions. Most participants will, and we would greatly appreciate it if you would too!

64. What do you see as three major challenges facing men in congregational ministry in MC USA today?

Note: Q64: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Man”.

65. What do you see as three major challenges facing women in congregational ministry in MC USA today?

Note: Q65: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman”.

66. What do you see as three major challenges facing people of your gender in congregational ministry in MC USA today?

Note: Q66: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Not listed (please specify)”.

67. What are a few changes that you think would make a significant impact for supporting leaders like yourself in MC USA?

68. Please feel free to use this space to tell us anything else you’d like to share that this survey did not adequately inquire about.

69. Finally, would you like to enter a drawing to win one of four \$50 gift cards? If you answer "yes" to this question, you will be redirected to a separate survey and asked for your name and email address. The information you enter there will not be connected to

your responses on this survey.

- Yes (REDIRECT TO SEPARATE DRAWING SURVEY)..... 1
- No (GO TO CLOSING)2

XIV. Leaving Ministry

70. Which of the following best describes your gender?

- Man..... 1
- Woman2
- Not listed (please specify):3

71. Which of these best describes the reason you are no longer in congregational ministry with MC USA? Please select all that apply.

- Retired (GO TO Q76)..... 1
- Forced to resign (GO TO Q76)2
- Left to serve in another role in MC USA (GO TO Q76).....3
- Left to serve in a different denomination (GO TO Q72).....4
- Left to work in another field (GO TO Q73).....5
- Leave of absence (GO TO Q74).....6
- Not listed (please specify): (GO TO Q75)7

72. What factors motivated your decision to serve in a different denomination? (GO TO Q76)

73. What factors motivated your decision to leave to work in another field? (GO TO Q76)

74. What factors motivated your decision to take a leave of absence? (GO TO Q76)

75. What factors motivated your decision to step away from congregational ministry in MC USA?

76. What were the main challenges you faced while in congregational ministry in MC USA?

77. What are a few changes that you think would make a significant impact for supporting leaders like yourself in MC USA? (GO TO CLOSING)

CLOSING

That's it! Thank you so much for participating in this survey. Early results from this study will be presented at MennoCon this July. In the meantime, if you have any questions about the progress of this research, please feel free to contact Elizabeth Johnson at 678-644-1382 or elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu. Thanks again for your time.

END SURVEY 1

We greatly appreciate your willingness to participate in this study. At this time, however, we are gathering information only from those who are or have been congregational pastors in MC USA. We apologize for any inconvenience. Thank you again for your willingness to participate!

Appendix E: Episcopal Church Survey Questionnaire

Consent to Participate in Research: Key Information

Thank you for participating in this research survey. Episcopal priests and deacons play a vital role in the lives of their parishes and communities, and it is important to understand the challenges that clergy face in their ministry careers. The purpose of this study is to learn about some of these challenges. Findings from this survey research will be shared with Episcopal leaders and those working at the grassroots level to help them better support clergy like yourself as well as in academic publications, thereby having an impact that extends beyond the Episcopal world.

In this 15-30 minute survey, we will ask you questions about your work and congregation, the experiences and challenges you've had, your attitudes and opinions about important topics, and your demographic information. This research may or may not benefit you personally through leading to positive change within the denomination. The primary risk of participating is discomfort if any questions are sensitive for you. Your participation is voluntary. You may stop participating at any time or refuse to answer any or all questions.

It is important to us to protect your confidentiality. This survey does not collect your name, contact information, or IP address, so we have no way of associating you directly with your responses. Additionally, any information that could be potentially used to identify you (such as demographic characteristics, work history, etc.) will be redacted before data or findings are shared with other researchers or the Episcopal Church. To mitigate the risk of a breach of confidentiality, data will be stored in a secure server at Duke accessible only to authorized researchers. Aggregated data, that is, data grouped together to avoid possible deductive disclosure, may be published or used for future research purposes.

After the survey, you will have the opportunity to leave your contact information at the end of the survey to be entered into a drawing for a \$50 Amazon gift card. You will also be asked

for permission to be contacted for a possible follow up interview. Your information will not be linked to survey data, and leaving your contact information will not obligate you to participate in a future interview.

If you have questions or concerns about this research, please feel free to contact Duke University graduate researcher Elizabeth Johnson at 678-644-1382 or elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you can contact the Duke University Human Subjects Protection Committee at 919-684-3030 or campusirb@duke.edu and reference protocol #2022-0516. This research is made possible by funding from the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and Duke University.

The success of this study depends on your cooperation. We appreciate your time very much. We expect the survey to take 15-30 minutes to complete.

Please click the “Start Survey” button if you are ready to proceed.

I. Filtering

1. Do you currently serve on staff as a priest or deacon in an Episcopal congregation? This includes people who are in ordained, non-supply roles, including non-stipendiary and part-time roles. It includes area-specific roles like youth pastor but does not include non-congregational roles like chaplain or seminary professor.

Yes, I currently serve on staff as a priest or deacon in an Episcopal congregation.

(GO TO Q2) 1

No, I do not currently serve on staff as a priest or deacon in an Episcopal

congregation. (GO TO END SURVEY 1) 2

II. Gender

2. Which of the following best describes your gender?

Man 1

Woman 2

Nonbinary	3
Not listed (please specify):	4

III. Clergy Role

The next few questions are about your current position(s) as priest or deacon of your congregation(s).

3. Currently, do you serve on staff as a priest or deacon in more than one Episcopal congregation at the same time? By "congregation" we mean a parish, cathedral, mission, or similar institution.

Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations. (GO TO Q4) 1

No, I serve on staff in only one congregation. (GO TO Q5).....2

4. Currently, in how many Episcopal congregations do you serve on staff as a priest or deacon? [DROP DOWN LIST OF OPTIONS, "2" at top, down to "10 or more" at the bottom]

5. What is your current job title? Please select all that apply for your current clergy position.

Rector or dean (GO TO Q8) 1

Vicar or priest-in-charge (GO TO Q8).....2

Assisting clergy (curate, assistant, associate) (GO TO Q8)3

Deacon (transitional, vocational) (GO TO Q8).....4

Canon (GO TO Q8).....5

Area-specific pastor (children's, youth, worship, outreach, etc.)6

Not listed (please specify): (GO TO Q8)7

Note: Q5: This question is only displayed if Q3 = "No, I serve on staff in only one congregation."

6. What is your current job title? Please select all that apply for your current clergy positions.

Rector or dean (GO TO Q8) 1

Vicar or priest-in-charge (GO TO Q8).....	2
Assisting clergy (curate, assistant, associate) (GO TO Q8)	3
Deacon (transitional, vocational) (GO TO Q8).....	4
Canon (GO TO Q8).....	5
Area-specific pastor (children's, youth, worship, outreach, etc.)	6
Not listed (please specify): (GO TO Q8)	7

Note: Q6: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

7. What specific area or areas do you focus on? Please select all that apply.

- Administration
- Children’s ministry
- Community engagement
- Family ministry
- Media or communications
- Music
- Outreach
- Pastoral care
- Preaching
- Psychological counseling
- Religious education/Teaching
- Spiritual growth
- Technology other than worship-related technology
- Volunteer coordinator
- Worship leader
- Worship-related technology

Young adult ministry

Youth ministry

Not listed (please specify):

Not listed (please specify):

Not listed (please specify):

8. Are you a vocational or transitional deacon?

Vocational 1

Transitional..... 2

Not listed (please specify): 3

Note: Q8: This question is only displayed if Q5 or Q6 = “Deacon (transitional, vocational)”.

9. Do you have a complete written contract or letter of agreement (not job description) for your position as priest or deacon of your congregation?

Yes 1

No..... 2

Note: Q9: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

10. Do you have complete written contracts or letters of agreement (not job descriptions) for your positions as priest or deacon of your congregations?

Yes..... 1

No 2

Only for some positions 3

Note: Q10: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

11. In your contract or letter of agreement, how are the hours for your position described?

Full-time 1

Three-quarter-time..... 2

Half-time	3
Quarter-time	4
Hours are not described in my contract or letter of agreement (GO TO Q15)	5
Not listed (please specify):	6

Note: Q11: This question is only displayed if Q9 = “Yes”.

12. Compared to what is in your contract or letter of agreement, how many hours do you actually work as a priest or deacon in a typical week?

More hours than specified in my contract or letter of agreement.....	1
About the same number of hours specified in my contract or letter of agreement	2
Fewer hours than specified in my contract or letter of agreement	3

Note: Q12: This question is only displayed if Q9 = “Yes” and Q11 != “Hours are not described in my contract or letter of agreement”.

13. In your contracts, letters of agreements, or job descriptions, how are the hours for your clergy positions described? Please select all that apply.

Full-time	1
Three-quarter-time.....	2
Half-time	3
Quarter-time	4
Hours are not described in my contracts, letters of agreement, and job descriptions for each position.....	5
I do not have written documents for each position.....	6
Not listed (please specify):	7

Note: Q13: This question is only displayed if Q10 = “Yes” or “Only for some positions”.

14. Compared to what is in your contracts, letters of agreement, or job descriptions, how many hours do you actually work as a priest or deacon in a typical week?

- More hours than specified in my contracts, letters of agreement, and job descriptions..... 1
- About the same number of hours specified in my contracts, letters of agreement, and job descriptions.....2
- Fewer hours than specified in my contracts, letters of agreement, and job descriptions.....3

Note: Q14: This question is only displayed if Q13 = “Full-time”, “Three-quarter-time”, “Half-time”, “Quarter-time”, or “Not listed (please specify):”.

15. In your job description, how are the hours for your position described?

- Full-time 1
- Three-quarter-time.....2
- Half-time 3
- Quarter-time 4
- Hours are not described in my job description.....5
- I do not have a job description6
- Not listed (please specify): 7

Note: Q15: This question is only displayed if Q9 = “No” or Q11 = “Hours are not described in my contract or letter of agreement”.

16. In your job descriptions, how are the hours for your clergy positions described? Please select all that apply.

- Full-time 1
- Three-quarter-time.....2
- Half-time 3

Quarter-time	4
Hours are not described in my job descriptions for each position	5
I do not have a job description for each position.....	6
Not listed (please specify):	7

Note: Q16: This question is only displayed if Q10 = “No”.

17. Compared to what is in your job description, how many hours do you actually work as a priest or deacon in a typical week?

More hours than specified in my job description	1
About the same number of hours specified in my job description	2
Fewer hours than specified in my job description.....	3

Note: Q17: This question is only displayed if Q15 is displayed and Q15 != “Hours are not described in my job description” or “I do not have a job description”.

18. Compared to what is in your job descriptions, how many hours do you actually work as a priest or deacon in a typical week?

More hours than specified in my job descriptions.....	1
About the same number of hours specified in my job descriptions	2
Fewer hours than specified in my job descriptions	3

Note: Q18: This question is only displayed if Q16 = “Full-time”, “Three-quarter-time”, “Half-time”, “Quarter-time”, or “Not listed (please specify):”.

19. Do you have any other job (full- or part-time) besides serving as a priest or deacon in your congregation?

Yes.....	1
No	2

Note: Q19: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

20. Do you have any other job (full- or part-time) besides serving as a priest or deacon in your congregations?

Yes..... 1

No2

Note: Q20: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

21. Do you consider yourself bivocational?

Yes..... 1

No2

IV. Background

The next few questions are about your background with your congregation and the Episcopal Church.

22. In what year did you begin serving in your current position in your congregation? [DROP DOWN LIST OF YEARS, “2024” at top, down to “1950 or earlier” at the bottom]

Note: Q22: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

23. In what year did you begin serving in your current position in your congregation? Please select the year for the congregation you most recently began serving. [DROP DOWN LIST OF YEARS, “2024” at top, down to “1950 or earlier” at the bottom]

Note: Q23: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

24. In total, how many Episcopal congregations have you served on staff in an ordained, non-supply clergy role over the course of your career? Please include the congregation you serve today. [DROP DOWN LIST OF OPTIONS, “1” at top, down to “20 or more” at the bottom]

Note: Q24: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

25. In total, how many Episcopal congregations have you served on staff in an ordained, non-supply clergy role over the course of your career? Please include the congregations you serve today. [DROP DOWN LIST OF OPTIONS, “1” at top, down to “20 or more” at the bottom]

Note: Q25: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

26. In what year did you begin serving on staff in your first ordained, non-supply clergy role in any Episcopal congregation? [DROP DOWN LIST OF YEARS, “2024” at top, down to “1950 or earlier” at the bottom]

Note: Q26: This question is only displayed if Q24 != 1 or Q25 != 1.

27. We’d like to ask about your background with the Episcopal Church. Did you:
- a. Grow up attending an Episcopal congregation?
 - b. Get baptized in an Episcopal congregation?
 - c. Attend an Episcopal seminary?

Response options: Yes

No

V. Congregation Characteristics

The next few questions are about the congregation you currently serve.

Note: The above text is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

The next few questions are about the congregations you currently serve.

Note: The above text is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

28. When you were first called/appointed, which best describes attendance at your congregation?

- Growing..... 1
- Remaining stable2
- Decreasing3
- New church plant by you.....4

Note: Q28: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

29. When you were first called/appointed, which best describes attendance at your congregations? Please select all that apply for each congregation you serve.

- Growing..... 1
- Remaining stable2
- Decreasing3
- New church plant by you.....4

Note: Q29: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

30. These days, which best describes the location where your congregation meets to worship?

- Rural 1
- Urban2
- Suburban.....3

Note: Q30: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

31. These days, which best describes the location where your congregations meet to worship?

Please select all that apply for each congregation you serve.

- Rural 1
- Urban2
- Suburban.....3

Note: Q31: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

32. Does your congregation offer a synchronous virtual worship option, such as a livestream or Zoom?

- Yes (GO TO Q34) 1
- No (GO TO Q36) 2

Note: Q32: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

33. Do any of your congregations offer a synchronous virtual worship option, such as a livestream or Zoom?

- Yes (GO TO Q35) 1
- No (GO TO Q37) 2

Note: Q33: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

34. About how many devices total join your worship service(s) *virtually* on a regular Sunday?

- 1-19 1
- 20-39 2
- 40-59 3
- 60-79 4
- 80-99 5
- 100 or more 6
- Don't know 7

Note: Q34: This question is only displayed if Q32 = “Yes”.

35. About how many devices total join your worship service(s) *virtually* on a regular

Sunday? Please select all that apply for each congregation you serve.

1-19.....	1
20-39.....	2
40-59.....	3
60-79.....	4
80-99.....	5
100 or more	6
Don't know	7

Note: Q35: This question is only displayed if Q33 = “Yes”.

36. About how many people total attend worship service(s) *in person* on a regular Sunday?

1-99 (GO TO Q38).....	1
100-199 (GO TO Q40).....	2
200-299 (GO TO Q40).....	3
300-399 (GO TO Q40).....	4
400-499 (GO TO Q40).....	5
500-999 (GO TO Q40).....	6
1000 or more (GO TO Q40).....	7
Don't know (GO TO Q40).....	8

Note: Q36: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

37. About how many people total attend worship service(s) *in person* on a regular Sunday at each of your congregations? Please select all that apply for each congregation you serve.

1-99 (GO TO Q39).....	1
100-199 (GO TO Q41).....	2
200-299 (GO TO Q41).....	3

300-399 (GO TO Q41).....	4
400-499 (GO TO Q41).....	5
500-999 (GO TO Q41).....	6
1000 or more (GO TO Q41).....	7
Don't know (GO TO Q41).....	8

Note: Q37: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

38. You said that 1-99 people attend worship services in person on a regular Sunday. We’re hoping you can be a bit more specific.

About how many people total attend worship service(s) *in person* on a regular Sunday?

1-19.....	1
20-39.....	2
40-59.....	3
60-79.....	4
80-99.....	5
Don't know	6

Note: Q38: This question is only displayed if Q36 = “1-99”.

39. You said that 1-99 people attend worship services in person on a regular Sunday. We’re hoping you can be a bit more specific.

About how many people total attend worship service(s) *in person* on a regular Sunday?

Please select all that apply for each congregation you serve.

1-19.....	1
20-39.....	2
40-59.....	3
60-79.....	4

80-99.....	5
Don't know	6

Note: Q39: This question is only displayed if Q37 = “1-99”.

40. Does your congregation currently have other priests or deacons on staff besides yourself?

Yes.....	1
No (GO TO Q46)	2

Note: Q40: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

41. Do your congregations currently have other priests or deacons on staff besides yourself?

Yes.....	1
No (GO TO Q47)	2
Some but not all do.....	3

Note: Q41: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

42. Are you the only woman currently on staff as a priest or deacon in your congregation?

Yes.....	1
No	2

Note: Q42: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q40 = “Yes”.

43. Think of the congregation(s) you serve where there are multiple priests and deacons on staff. Are you the only woman currently on staff as a priest or deacon in one or more of them?

Yes.....	1
No	2

Note: Q43: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q41 = “Yes” or “Some but not all do”.

44. Are any women currently on staff as priests or deacons in your congregation?

Yes..... 1

No2

Note: Q44: This question is only displayed if Q2 != "Woman" and Q40 = "Yes".

45. Think of the congregation(s) you serve where there are multiple priests and deacons on staff. Are there women currently on staff as priests or deacons in one or more of them?

Yes..... 1

No2

Note: Q45: This question is only displayed if Q2 != "Woman" and Q41 = "Yes" or "Some but not all do".

46. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a priest in your congregation?

Yes..... 1

No2

Not sure3

Note: Q46: This question is only displayed if Q2 = "Woman" and Q5 != "Deacon (transitional, vocational)".

47. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a priest in one or more of your congregations?

Yes..... 1

No2

Not sure3

Note: Q47: This question is only displayed if Q2 = "Woman" and Q6 != "Deacon (transitional, vocational)".

48. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a deacon in your congregation?

Yes..... 1

- No2
- Not sure3

Note: Q48: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q5 = “Deacon (transitional, vocational)”.

49. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a deacon in one or more of your congregations?

- Yes..... 1
- No2
- Not sure3

Note: Q49: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q6 = “Deacon (transitional, vocational)”.

50. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a rector or dean in your congregation?

- Yes..... 1
- No2
- Not sure3

Note: Q50: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q5 = “Rector or dean”.

51. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a rector or dean in one or more of your congregations?

- Yes..... 1
- No2
- Not sure3

Note: Q51: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q6 = “Rector or dean”.

52. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a vicar or priest-in-charge in your congregation?

- Yes..... 1

- No2
- Not sure3

Note: Q52: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q5 = “Vicar or priest-in-charge”.

53. Are you the first woman to serve on staff as a vicar or priest-in-charge in one or more of your congregations?

- Yes.....1
- No2
- Not sure3

Note: Q53: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman” and Q6 = “Vicar or priest-in-charge”.

54. Below is a seven-point scale of the political views that people might hold. Where would you place yourself on this scale?

- Extremely liberal1
- Liberal2
- Slightly liberal3
- Moderate, middle of the road4
- Slightly conservative5
- Conservative6
- Extremely conservative7

55. When it comes to politics, how would you compare your own political views to those held by most people in your *congregation*?

- I am much more politically conservative1
- I am somewhat more politically conservative2
- I am about the same as most people in my congregation3

- I am somewhat more politically liberal4
- I am much more politically liberal5

Note: Q55: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

56. When it comes to politics, how would you compare your own political views to those held by most people in your *congregations*? Please select all that apply for each congregation you serve.

- I am much more politically conservative 1
- I am somewhat more politically conservative2
- I am about the same as most people in my congregation3
- I am somewhat more politically liberal4
- I am much more politically liberal5

Note: Q56: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

57. When it comes to politics, how would you compare your own political views to those held by most people in your *diocese*?

- I am much more politically conservative 1
- I am somewhat more politically conservative2
- I am about the same as most people in my conference3
- I am somewhat more politically liberal4
- I am much more politically liberal5

VI. Health & Well-being

The next few questions are about your health. We realize that these questions might be sensitive, but your answers will help us paint the most accurate possible picture of Episcopal clergy well-being.

58. In general, would you say that your health is:

- Excellent..... 1
- Very good.....2
- Good3
- Fair.....4
- Poor5

59. Over the past *two weeks*, how often have you been bothered by either of the following problems?

- a. Little interest or pleasure in doing things
- b. Feeling down, depressed, or hopeless

Response options: Nearly every day

More than half the days

Several days

Not at all

60. During the past *month*, how often did you feel...

- c. Happy?
- d. Satisfied with life?

Response options: Every day

Almost every day

Two or three times a week

About once a week

Once or twice

Never

VII. Job Satisfaction & Organizational Context

The next few questions are about how you feel about your job as a priest or deacon in your

congregation.

Note: The above text is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

The next few questions are about how you feel about your job as a priest or deacon in your congregations.

Note: The above text is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

61. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the work you do as a priest or deacon?

- Very satisfied..... 1
- Moderately satisfied 2
- Only a little satisfied..... 3
- Not satisfied at all..... 4

62. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you felt overwhelmed with your work as a priest or deacon?

- Very often..... 1
- Fairly often 2
- Once in a while..... 3
- Never 4

63. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you considered leaving your congregation to work in another congregation?

- Very often..... 1
- Fairly often 2
- Once in a while..... 3
- Never 4

64. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you considered leaving congregational work to do some other sort of religious work?

- Very often..... 1

- Fairly often2
- Once in a while.....3
- Never4

65. In the past 12 months, how often, if ever, have you considered leaving congregational work to do something that does not involve religious work?

- Very often..... 1
- Fairly often2
- Once in a while.....3
- Never4

66. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements about your current role as a priest or deacon:

- a. I have a considerable amount of freedom in how I do my job.
- b. I will be able to keep my present job as long as I wish.
- c. The bishop(s) who know(s) my work best can be relied upon when things get tough in my job.
- d. Women are adequately represented in leadership in my diocese.
- e. The priests and deacons I work with are willing to listen to my job-related problems.
- f. I can implement my plans for the congregation even when some people disagree with me.
- g. In general, my congregation members are helpful to me in getting my job done.
- h. Decision-making power is shared fairly in my congregation.
- i. People in my congregation generally get along with one another.

Response options: Completely agree

Mainly agree

Slightly agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Slightly disagree

Mainly disagree

Completely disagree

Note: Q66: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “No, I serve on staff in only one congregation.”

67. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements about your current roles as a priest or deacon:

- a. I have a considerable amount of freedom in how I do my job.
- b. I will be able to keep my present job as long as I wish.
- c. The bishop(s) who know(s) my work best can be relied upon when things get tough in my job.
- d. Women are adequately represented in leadership in my diocese.
- e. The priests and deacons I work with are willing to listen to my job-related problems.
- f. I can implement my plans for the congregation even when some people disagree with me.
- g. In general, my congregation members are helpful to me in getting my job done.
- h. Decision-making power is shared fairly in my congregation.
- i. People in my congregation generally get along with one another.

Response options: Completely agree

Mainly agree

Slightly agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Slightly disagree

Mainly disagree

Completely disagree

Note: Q67: This question is only displayed if Q3 = “Yes, I serve on staff in multiple congregations.”

VIII. Harmful Experiences

The next few questions ask about difficult situations that some clergy have reported experiencing. Some of these questions may be sensitive, but they are important in helping us paint the most accurate possible picture of some types of challenges that clergy face in their ministry.

68. Please read each of the situations below and then select the option that best indicates how many times you have had this experience when serving as a priest or deacon in an Episcopal congregation.

In your capacity as a priest or deacon, how many times in your career have you been in a situation where someone has:

- a. Put you down, mistreated, slighted, ignored, or been condescending to you?
- b. Refused to call you by a title you have requested they use?
- c. Made inappropriate or uncomfortable remarks about your appearance or voice?
- d. Mistaken you for a pastor’s spouse, secretary, or other nonclergy role?
- e. Overtly criticized you for not conforming to stereotypes about how your gender should behave?
- f. Left or threatened to leave the congregation because they did not want you as pastor?
- g. Used money, such as your salary or their tithes, as a way to control your actions or punish you?
- h. Used committees or other bureaucratic means to hold up or sabotage your work?

- i. Sent you emails, notes, letters, texts, calls, or social media posts that you experienced as harmful or intimidating?
- j. Impeded, reviewed, suspended, or revoked your credentials for reasons you considered unfair?
- k. Made unwanted attempts to draw you into discussion of sexual matters, including attempting to discuss or comment on your sex life?
- l. Made crude and offensive sexual remarks, either in front of other people or to you privately?
- m. Continued to ask you for a date, drinks, dinner, etc., even though you had previously said “no”?
- n. Made unwanted or uncomfortable attempts to touch, stroke, or fondle you, for example touching your arm or hand or stroking your leg or neck?
- o. Made it seem necessary for you to respond positively to sexual or romantic invitations in order to be well-treated on the job?
- p. Made unwanted physical attempts to have sex with you?
- q. Threatened you with bodily harm?
- r. Physically attacked or done violence to you?
- s. Threatened you with retaliation because you brought attention to sexism, harassment, or the abuse of yourself or someone else?

Response options: Many times in my career

A few times in my career

One time in my career

Never

69. If you've had difficult experiences in your role as an Episcopal priest or deacon that you feel weren't captured by the above questions, please feel free to share them here.

Otherwise, please leave this box empty.

In order to better understand the state of affairs in the denomination today, we'd like to know how recently some of these experiences occurred.

70. Within the past 12 months, in your capacity as a priest or deacon, has someone:

- a. [LIST OF ITEMS FOR WHICH Q68 != "Never"]

Response options: Yes, within the past 12 months

No, not within the past 12 months

IX. Follow-Up Questions

Next, we have just a few follow-up questions about some recent or serious difficult experiences you shared. We understand that these may be sensitive, but these questions are important in helping us understand how these situations happen and how to best support clergy facing these challenges.

THESE FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONS ARE ONLY ASKED ABOUT CERTAIN ITEMS. Q71-Q73 ARE ASKED IN A ROW ABOUT A GIVEN ITEM, THEN Q71-Q73 RESTART FOR THE NEXT RELEVANT ITEM UNTIL ALL RELEVANT ITEMS HAVE BEEN ASKED ABOUT, AT WHICH POINT THE SURVEY PROGRESSES TO Q74.

Q71 IS ASKED IF: Q70 = "Yes, within the past 12 months" for items a-j

Q68 != "Never" for items k-s

Q72 IS ASKED IF: Q70 = "Yes, within the past 12 months" for items a and c

Q68 != "Never" for items l and q

Q73 IS ASKED IF: Q68 != "Never" for items n, p, and r

71. Think about the *most recent time* that someone has [ITEM]. Was the person or people who initiated this situation:

- a. A man?
b. A woman?

- c. Someone who supervised your work?
- d. Someone whose work you supervised?
- e. A bishop?
- f. A diocesan employee (besides bishop)?
- g. A priest?
- h. A deacon?
- i. A church employee (besides priest or deacon)?
- j. A lay leader?
- k. A layperson without a leadership role?
- l. Unknown or anonymous?
- m. Not listed (please specify):

Response options: Yes

No

72. Still thinking about the *most recent time* that someone has [ITEM], did this take place in

a(n):

- a. One-on-one meeting?
- b. Meeting with multiple people?
- c. Worship service?
- d. Local church event (besides worship service)?
- e. Diocesan or denominational event?
- f. Online or virtual setting, such as email, social media, or Zoom?
- g. Not listed (please specify):

Response options: Yes

No

73. Still thinking about the *most recent time* that someone has [ITEM], did this take place in

a(n):

- a. One-on-one meeting?
- b. Meeting with multiple people?
- c. Worship service?
- d. Local church event (besides worship service)?
- e. Diocesan or denominational event?
- f. Not listed (please specify):

Response options: Yes

No

74. You shared about another difficult experience you had, describing it as follows: [Q69 ANSWER]

If you'd like to provide any additional information about the most recent time that this happened, such as who initiated this situation, how recently it happened, and where it occurred, please feel free to do so here.

Note: Q74: This question is only displayed if Q69 is not left empty.

X. Last Harassment Questions

75. We've asked you about a variety of experiences that carry different labels for different people. Based on your own understanding of the term "sexual harassment," have you ever been sexually harassed in your career as a priest or deacon in the Episcopal Church?

- Yes..... 1
- No2
- Not sure3
- Prefer not to say.....4

76. To what extent do you agree or disagree with these statements:

- a. I know what the options are for addressing it if someone were to sexually harass

- me.
- b. I would feel comfortable formally reporting it if someone were to sexually harass me.
- c. I trust the Episcopal Church not to downplay or ignore it if pastors are sexually harassed.
- d. I trust that formal reports of sexual harassment will remain confidential.

Response options: Completely agree

Mainly agree

Slightly agree

Neither agree nor disagree

Slightly disagree

Mainly disagree

Completely disagree

XI. Finances

The next few questions are about your finances. Again, we realize that this is a sensitive subject, but we want to paint the most accurate possible picture of Episcopal leaders' financial situation.

Your responses will help us do that.

77. Are you paid for your work in your congregation?

Yes..... 1

No 2

78. Because of your position with your congregation, do you receive:

e. Paid parental leave?

f. Health insurance?

g. A sabbatical?

Response options: Yes

No

79. So far as you and your family are concerned, how satisfied would you say that you are with your present financial situation?

- Pretty well satisfied 1
- More or less satisfied..... 2
- Not satisfied at all..... 3

XII. Demographics

We are almost done! Here are a few basic questions about your demographic characteristics, education, and marital status. To protect your confidentiality, any answers that might allow someone to identify you will be deleted from the data file before the findings of this survey are shared with Episcopal leaders and the public.

80. What race/ethnicity are you? Please select all that apply.

- White 1
- Black or African American 2
- Hispanic/Latino 3
- American Indian or Alaska Native..... 4
- Asian 5
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander 6
- Not listed, please specify: 7

81. In what year were you born? [DROP DOWN LIST OF YEARS, “2005” at top, down to “1907” at the bottom]

82. Do you identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer?

- Yes..... 1
- No 2
- Prefer not to say..... 3

83. Which of these labels do you identify with? Please select all that apply.

- Lesbian 1
- Gay 2
- Bisexual 3
- Transgender 4
- Queer 5
- Not listed (please specify): 6
- Prefer not to say 7

Note: Q83: This question is only displayed if Q82 = “Yes”.

84. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- Doctorate 1
- Master’s degree 2
- Four-year college degree 3
- Some college, but no four-year degree 4
- High school diploma 5
- Less than high school 6

85. What is your current marital status?

- Never married 1
- Married (GO TO Q87) 2
- Divorced or separated 3
- Widowed 4

86. Are you currently in a committed romantic relationship?

- Yes 1
- No 2

87. Which best describes your family structure? Please select all that apply.

I do not have children.	1
I have children aged 17 or younger.	2
I have children aged 18 or older.	3

XIII. Closing Questions

Our last two questions ask for information that may help the Episcopal Church identify areas for improvement that might be useful to you and to other clergy. Having come this far, we hope you will take another few minutes to answer these last questions. Most participants will, and we would greatly appreciate it if you would too!

88. What do you see as three major challenges facing men in congregational ministry in the Episcopal Church today?

Note: Q88: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Man”.

89. What do you see as three major challenges facing women in congregational ministry in the Episcopal Church today?

Note: Q89: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Woman”.

90. What do you see as three major challenges facing nonbinary people in congregational ministry in the Episcopal Church today?

Note: Q90: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Nonbinary”.

91. What do you see as three major challenges facing people of your gender in congregational ministry in the Episcopal Church today?

Note: Q91: This question is only displayed if Q2 = “Not listed (please specify):”.

92. What are a few changes that you think would make a significant impact for supporting leaders like yourself in the Episcopal Church?

93. Please feel free to use this space to tell us anything else you’d like to share that this survey did not adequately inquire about.

94. Finally, would you like to enter a drawing to win one of four \$50 gift cards or indicate

interest in participating in a follow-up interview? If you answer "yes" to this question, you will be redirected to a separate survey and asked for your name and email address.

The information you enter there will not be connected to your responses on this survey.

Yes (REDIRECT TO SEPARATE DRAWING SURVEY)..... 1

No (GO TO CLOSING).....2

CLOSING

That's it! Thank you so much for participating in this survey. If you have any questions about the progress of this research, please feel free to contact Elizabeth Johnson at 678-644-1382 or elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu. Thanks again for your time.

END SURVEY 1

We greatly appreciate your willingness to participate in this study. At this time, however, we are gathering information only from those who are currently congregational clergy in the Episcopal Church. We apologize for any inconvenience. Thank you again for your willingness to participate!

Appendix F: Survey Recruitment Materials

1. Mennonite Recruitment Email

Subject: Survey of MC USA clergy – tell us what you think!

Dear [NAME],

I am writing to invite you to participate in an online survey about the experiences of Mennonite Church USA clergy. This survey aims to understand some of the challenges that pastors in congregational ministry face today. This study is part of my dissertation research, and I am sharing key findings with MC USA leaders to help the denomination better support clergy such as yourself.

You have been specially chosen to participate in this study from a list of all MC USA clergy. In order for the results of this study to be representative, I need responses from every pastor I contact. No one else's answer can replace yours!

Your answers are confidential and your participation voluntary. Your name will not be attached to your responses, and no information that could be used to identify you will be shared with the denomination. As a token of my appreciation, if you participate, you can choose to be entered into a drawing to win one of four \$50 gift cards.

This survey takes 15-30 minutes to complete. To begin, click this link: [LINK]

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me, Duke University graduate researcher Elizabeth Johnson (elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu). You can also contact conference minister Amy Zimbelman (amyz@mountainstatesmc.org) for more information about how the results of this work are being used to help MC USA better support clergy like yourself.

Thank you in advance for your time and expertise! I truly appreciate your valuable insights.

Peace to you,

Elizabeth Johnson

PhD Candidate, Duke University Department of Sociology

2. Episcopal Recruitment Email

Subject: Survey of Episcopal clergy – tell us what you think!

Dear [NAME],

My name is Elizabeth Johnson, and I am writing to invite you to participate in an online research survey about the experiences of priests and deacons in the Episcopal Church. This survey aims to understand some of the challenges that ordained clergy serving Episcopal parishes face today. This study is part of my dissertation research at Duke University, and I am sharing key findings with denominational leaders and grassroots activists to help the denomination better support clergy such as yourself.

You have been specially chosen to participate in this study from a list of clergy at parishes all over the United States. In order for the results of this study to be representative, I need responses from every pastor I contact. No one else's answer can replace yours!

Your answers are confidential and your participation voluntary. Your name will not be attached to your responses, and no information that could be used to identify you will be shared publicly or with the denomination. As a token of my appreciation, if you participate, you can choose to be entered into a drawing to win one of four \$50 gift cards.

This survey takes 15-30 minutes to complete. To begin, click this link: [LINK]

If you have any questions about this study, please contact me at (elizabeth.a.johnson@duke.edu).

Thank you in advance for your time and expertise! I truly appreciate your valuable insights.

Peace to you,

Elizabeth Johnson

PhD Candidate, Duke University Department of Sociology

Appendix G: Harassment Questions from Prior Survey Research on Clergy

From the 2005 survey of MC USA clergy reported on by Nath (2007); survey instrument obtained by communication with author

Have you ever experienced sexual harassment in the congregation(s) where you have served as pastor?

1. Yes
2. No

From the 2020 survey involving Episcopal clergy reported on by Murphy-Geiss (2020); survey instrument included in Appendix A of published report

The next section asks about your experiences with sexual or gender-based misconduct in TEC.

17a. Have you ever received any of the following types of unwanted sexual attention or gender-based aggression/discrimination in an Episcopal Church?

	Church	School	Office	Not in an EC setting
Looks and leers				
Touching or closeness				
Attempt to fondle or kiss				
Gender-based comments, teasing or jokes				
Pressure to engage in gender-based comments, teasing or jokes				
Sexual emails, texts or letters				
Pressure for dates or sexual activities				
Offer to influence in return for sexual favors				
Attempted sexual assault/rape				
Completed sexual assault/rape				

Appendix H: Supplementary Analyses for Chapter 5

Table 20: Lay Leader Perpetration by Gender and Denomination of Target

	<i>Dependent Variable:</i>			
	Lay Leader Perpetration			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
<i>Target gender and denomination</i>				
Episcopal men		-0.027 (0.211)	0.645* (0.226)	0.572 (0.226)
Episcopal women	0.027 (0.211)		0.673* (0.250)	0.599 (0.230)
Mennonite men	-0.645* (0.226)	-0.673* (0.250)		-0.074 (0.251)
Mennonite women	-0.572 (0.226)	-0.599 (0.230)	0.074 (0.251)	
<i>Congregation size^a</i>				
100-199 attenders	-0.483* (0.177)	-0.483* (0.177)	-0.483* (0.177)	-0.483* (0.177)
200 or more attenders	-0.576 (0.229)	-0.576 (0.229)	-0.576 (0.229)	-0.576 (0.229)
<i>Experience counts</i>				
Number of sexual harassment experiences	-0.133 (0.052)	-0.133 (0.052)	-0.133 (0.052)	-0.133 (0.052)
Number of gender harassment experiences	-0.057 (0.071)	-0.057 (0.071)	-0.057 (0.071)	-0.057 (0.071)
Number of workplace aggression experiences	0.242*** (0.045)	0.242*** (0.045)	0.242*** (0.045)	0.242*** (0.045)
Constant	-0.544* (0.201)	-0.517 (0.222)	-1.190*** (0.219)	-1.116*** (0.202)
Observations	832	832	832	832
Log Likelihood	-507.167	-507.167	-507.167	-507.167
Akaike Inf. Crit.	1,032.334	1,032.334	1,032.334	1,032.334

Note: *p<0.008333333333; **p<0.001666666666; ***p<0.000166666666

Omitted reference categories are:

- a. 1-99 attenders

Table 21: Regressing Whole-Career Sexual Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Men in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Whole-Career Sexual Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-2.382	(1.647)	-2.036	(1.686)	-2.722	(2.010)
Pastoral colleagues	-8.782***	(2.187)	-8.958***	(2.216)	-8.677**	(2.650)
Congregants	-1.161	(2.576)	-1.080	(2.606)	-1.901	(2.895)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
<i>Congregation size^a</i>						
100-199 attenders			0.639	(6.144)	4.294	(7.952)
>=200 attenders			6.631	(9.274)	11.454	(11.611)
Episcopalian ^b			10.139	(5.415)	10.697	(6.708)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
<i>Position type^c</i>						
Solo lead pastor					6.438	(9.151)
Supervisory pastor					2.970	(9.517)
Hours worked per week					-0.098	(0.364)
Age					-0.020	(0.324)
<i>Education^d</i>						
Master's degree					-3.887	(9.949)
Doctorate					-2.691	(11.760)
Denomination tenure					0.501	(0.347)
Congregation tenure					0.003	(0.509)
Married ^e					-15.482	(9.539)
White ^f					10.893	(9.622)
LGBT ^g					17.503	(12.281)
Constant	113.342***	(18.958)	106.654***	(19.222)	111.310***	(31.961)
Observations	183		183		164	
R ²	0.115		0.138		0.214	
Adjusted R ²	0.100		0.109		0.123	
Residual Std. Error	35.898 (df = 179)		35.726 (df = 176)		36.917 (df = 146)	
F Statistic	7.738*** (df = 3; 179)		4.694*** (df = 6; 176)		2.341** (df = 17; 146)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d.	Four-year degree or less		
a.	1-99 attenders		e.	Unmarried		
b.	Mennonite		f.	Nonwhite		
c.	Assisting pastor		g.	Heterosexual or prefer not to say		

Table 22: Regressing Past-Year Sexual Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Men in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Past-Year Sexual Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	0.689	(0.939)	0.616	(0.972)	0.942	(1.203)
Pastoral colleagues	-0.860	(1.278)	-0.804	(1.309)	-1.405	(1.592)
Congregants	-0.687	(1.500)	-0.955	(1.529)	-0.681	(1.727)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
Congregation size ^a						
100-199 attenders			3.295	(3.558)	3.266	(4.707)
>=200 attenders			-2.233	(5.605)	-1.305	(7.032)
Episcopalian ^b			0.874	(3.148)	-0.189	(3.990)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
Position type ^c						
Solo lead pastor					-0.491	(5.475)
Supervisory pastor					2.478	(5.714)
Hours worked per week					0.263	(0.211)
Age					-0.016	(0.193)
Education ^d						
Master's degree					-7.537	(5.791)
Doctorate					-4.471	(6.932)
Denomination tenure					-0.424*	(0.206)
Congregation tenure					-0.102	(0.303)
Married ^e					3.977	(5.702)
White ^f					7.847	(5.672)
LGBT ^g					3.269	(7.346)
Constant	53.174***	(11.068)	53.760***	(11.291)	49.949**	(18.694)
Observations	188		188		165	
R ²	0.006		0.013		0.121	
Adjusted R ²	-0.011		-0.020		0.019	
Residual Std. Error	21.100 (df = 184)		21.194 (df = 181)		22.087 (df = 147)	
F Statistic	0.347 (df = 3; 184)		0.400 (df = 6; 181)		1.191 (df = 17; 147)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d.	Four-year degree or less		
a.	1-99 attenders		e.	Unmarried		
b.	Mennonite		f.	Nonwhite		
c.	Assisting pastor		g.	Heterosexual or prefer not to say		

Table 23: Regressing Whole-Career Gender Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Men in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Whole-Career Gender Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-2.142*	(0.851)	-2.121*	(0.875)	-1.763	(1.017)
Pastoral colleagues	0.018	(1.158)	0.068	(1.179)	-0.018	(1.344)
Congregants	-1.124	(1.358)	-1.288	(1.381)	-1.507	(1.469)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
Congregation size ^a						
100-199 attenders			0.924	(3.216)	4.171	(4.004)
>=200 attenders			-0.592	(4.943)	2.677	(5.899)
Episcopalian ^b			4.334	(2.842)	3.702	(3.388)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
Position type ^c						
Solo lead pastor					6.379	(4.619)
Supervisory pastor					0.275	(4.778)
Hours worked per week					0.082	(0.178)
Age					-0.417*	(0.164)
Education ^d						
Master's degree					1.148	(4.925)
Doctorate					4.653	(5.866)
Denomination tenure					0.351*	(0.175)
Congregation tenure					-0.041	(0.258)
Married ^e					0.426	(4.849)
White ^f					0.816	(4.820)
LGBT ^g					12.496*	(6.245)
Constant	59.734***	(10.009)	58.170***	(10.201)	64.295***	(15.898)
Observations	189		189		166	
R ²	0.042		0.055		0.151	
Adjusted R ²	0.026		0.024		0.053	
Residual Std. Error	19.140 (df = 185)		19.160 (df = 182)		18.794 (df = 148)	
F Statistic	2.687* (df = 3; 185)		1.777 (df = 6; 182)		1.544 (df = 17; 148)	
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001			
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a. 1-99 attenders			e. Unmarried			
b. Mennonite			f. Nonwhite			
c. Assisting pastor			g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

Table 24: Regressing Past-Year Gender Harassment on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Men in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Past-Year Gender Harassment</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-0.431	(0.788)	-0.104	(0.796)	0.420	(0.926)
Pastoral colleagues	-0.050	(1.071)	-0.336	(1.073)	-1.126	(1.223)
Congregants	-1.621	(1.256)	-1.661	(1.256)	-1.378	(1.337)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
Congregation size ^a						
100-199 attenders			4.629	(2.925)	4.631	(3.643)
>=200 attenders			6.707	(4.496)	3.164	(5.368)
Episcopalian ^b			4.604	(2.585)	5.514	(3.083)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
Position type ^c						
Solo lead pastor					-1.005	(4.203)
Supervisory pastor					-5.758	(4.348)
Hours worked per week					0.352*	(0.162)
Age					-0.319*	(0.149)
Education ^d						
Master's degree					1.008	(4.482)
Doctorate					6.277	(5.338)
Denomination tenure					-0.061	(0.159)
Congregation tenure					0.223	(0.235)
Married ^e					1.455	(4.413)
White ^f					6.870	(4.386)
LGBT ^g					1.510	(5.683)
Constant	58.639***	(9.258)	54.728***	(9.279)	52.242***	(14.468)
Observations	189		189		166	
R ²	0.012		0.058		0.190	
Adjusted R ²	-0.004		0.027		0.097	
Residual Std. Error	17.704 (df = 185)		17.427 (df = 182)		17.103 (df = 148)	
F Statistic	0.767 (df = 3; 185)		1.883 (df = 6; 182)		2.038* (df = 17; 148)	
<i>Note:</i>			*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001			
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a. 1-99 attenders			e. Unmarried			
b. Mennonite			f. Nonwhite			
c. Assisting pastor			g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

Table 25: Regressing Whole-Career Workplace Aggression on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Men in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Whole-Career Workplace Aggression</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-4.596	(2.538)	-4.659	(2.602)	-6.170*	(2.803)
Pastoral colleagues	-9.396**	(3.446)	-8.990*	(3.502)	-5.344	(3.702)
Congregants	-2.541	(4.050)	-2.787	(4.104)	-5.034	(4.053)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
<i>Congregation size^a</i>						
100-199 attenders			-5.631	(9.635)	2.684	(11.038)
>=200 attenders			-4.073	(14.648)	4.726	(16.254)
Episcopalian ^b			15.375	(8.467)	8.521	(9.371)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
<i>Position type^c</i>						
Solo lead pastor					28.542*	(12.822)
Supervisory pastor					16.498	(13.331)
Hours worked per week					0.387	(0.500)
Age					-0.096	(0.452)
<i>Education^d</i>						
Master's degree					13.723	(13.568)
Doctorate					36.569*	(16.154)
Denomination tenure					1.842***	(0.493)
Congregation tenure					0.177	(0.725)
Married ^e					-10.487	(13.384)
White ^f					12.324	(13.275)
LGBT ^g					19.379	(17.203)
Constant	149.829***	(29.782)	144.335***	(30.278)	68.915	(44.101)
Observations	187		187		165	
R ²	0.076		0.093		0.309	
Adjusted R ²	0.061		0.063		0.230	
Residual Std. Error	56.791 (df = 183)		56.730 (df = 180)		51.758 (df = 147)	
F Statistic	5.019** (df = 3; 183)		3.081** (df = 6; 180)		3.874*** (df = 17; 147)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a. 1-99 attenders			e. Unmarried			
b. Mennonite			f. Nonwhite			
c. Assisting pastor			g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

Table 26: Regressing Past-Year Workplace Aggression on Presence of Supportive Guardians and Target Suitability for Men in Ministry

	<i>Dependent Variable: Past-Year Workplace Aggression</i>					
	<u>Model 1</u>		<u>Model 2</u>		<u>Model 3</u>	
	b	SE	b	SE	b	SE
<i>Supportive guardians</i>						
Regional leader	-0.354	(2.214)	-0.059	(2.283)	0.396	(2.181)
Pastoral colleagues	-3.025	(3.007)	-3.337	(3.073)	-2.692	(2.880)
Congregants	-10.252**	(3.534)	-10.386**	(3.601)	-9.084**	(3.153)
<i>Suitable target (organizational level)</i>						
Congregation size ^a						
100-199 attenders			7.960	(8.453)	8.437	(8.589)
>=200 attenders			6.549	(12.851)	3.857	(12.647)
Episcopalian ^b			3.221	(7.428)	0.194	(7.291)
<i>Suitable target (individual level)</i>						
Position type ^c						
Solo lead pastor					8.123	(9.976)
Supervisory pastor					8.239	(10.372)
Hours worked per week					0.827*	(0.389)
Age					-0.554	(0.352)
Education ^d						
Master's degree					4.279	(10.557)
Doctorate					42.477***	(12.569)
Denomination tenure					0.098	(0.384)
Congregation tenure					0.269	(0.564)
Married ^e					-15.503	(10.414)
White ^f					17.889	(10.329)
LGBT ^g					7.800	(13.385)
Constant	132.569***	(25.986)	129.308***	(26.564)	96.017**	(34.313)
Observations	187		187		165	
R ²	0.057		0.064		0.282	
Adjusted R ²	0.041		0.033		0.199	
Residual Std. Error	49.552 (df = 183)		49.770 (df = 180)		40.271 (df = 147)	
F Statistic	3.668* (df = 3; 183)		2.051 (df = 6; 180)		3.390*** (df = 17; 147)	
<i>Note:</i>						*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.001
<i>Omitted reference categories are:</i>			d. Four-year degree or less			
a. 1-99 attenders			e. Unmarried			
b. Mennonite			f. Nonwhite			
c. Assisting pastor			g. Heterosexual or prefer not to say			

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