

Gender and Leadership in the PC(USA)

Summer 2016



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About This Report

This study is part of a larger research project assessing the status of women at all levels of the church and conducted in two main research areas: theological and sociological. This study is the sociological portion of the research, and contains two nearly-identical surveys: one representative sample of Presbyterians (Presbyterian Panel) and one convenience sample of leaders within the denomination. In total, 2,871 Presbyterians were surveyed (345 male members, 823 female members, 741 male teaching elders, and 804 female teaching elders). Findings from the resulting convenience sample will not be as generalizable as findings would be if they had been taken from a (random) probability sample. However, the results from the convenience sample do not often significantly differ from the representative sample of panelists. For more information on the sampling and methodology, see Appendix A.

This research was conducted in partnership with Racial Ethnic & Women's Ministries of the Presbyterian Mission Agency and the Study on the Status of Women Team, created by the Advocacy Committee for Women's Concerns (ACWC). The goals of this broader study are to (1) learn more about how women participate in leadership within the PC(USA); (2) gain a keener grasp of what factors support or constrain women's ministry; and (3) gain deeper insight into the varying experiences of men and women in ministry, including similarities and differences in compensation, career trajectories, and decisions to leave ministry.

Research Services helps the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) make data-informed decisions through the use of surveys, focus groups and interviews, demographic analysis, and program evaluations. We are social scientists with backgrounds in sociology, public policy, economics, and Christian education. We serve congregations, presbyteries and synods, PC(USA) national agencies, and other denominations. Research Services is a division of the Presbyterian Mission Agency.

Principle Investigators

Angie Andriot, PhD
Deborah Coe, PhD

Co-Investigator

Perry Chang, PhD

Client

Sera Chung, Associate for Gender & Racial Justice
Racial Ethnic & Women's Ministries
Presbyterian Mission Agency
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

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Overview

There are two main findings from this research. First, gender discrimination is still pervasive within the PC(USA). And second, almost half of members are not particularly aware of it.

Eight out of ten female teaching elders have experienced discrimination, harassment, and/or prejudicial comments due to their gender, and four out of ten feel that they have experienced gender bias in hiring, promotion, or selection for an official position within the PC(USA).



report experiencing discrimination, prejudice, or harassment based on their **GENDER**

HOWEVER,
among members only



think gender inequality is still a **PROBLEM** in the PC(USA)

However, almost half of members disagree with the statement that “gender inequality is still a problem in the PC(USA).” This is likely because, among members, the problem is less pervasive: only 30% of women and 13% of men report experiencing gender discrimination, harassment, or prejudice.

Gender inequality does still exist among members, and can be seen in the fact that female members are less likely than male members to hold official leadership positions. Gender parity in leadership is only evident once unofficial leadership positions held in a volunteer capacity are entered into the equation. And then once that leadership position is attained, women tend to struggle more than men with various issues related to being in leadership.

Where are women doing the work of leadership?

- Although male and female members are equally likely to be asked to serve in a leadership role, the nature of that role varies by gender. Men are more likely to hold an **official** leadership role, in which they have an official title and/or receive a paycheck, and women are more likely to be heavily involved in a **voluntary** capacity.
- Women still comprise only about **38%** of all active PC(USA) teaching elders, and only **29%** of teaching elders overall. These percentages are slowly increasing. If the rate remains the same, we won't achieve gender parity among active teaching elders until **2027**.
- More is expected of women than of men in similar roles. For example, female teaching elders are asked more often than male teaching elders to lead workshops, programs, or other activities, and are more often asked to serve in childcare and kitchen roles.

To what extent are women accepted as leaders in the PC(USA)?

- Although **89%** of men and **93%** of women agree that men and women should have equal opportunities to be a pastor, only **73%** also feel that same way about *their* pastor. Those with a preference tend to prefer a pastor who matches their own gender identity.
- Most Presbyterians feel that men still have a better chance than women of being called to the position of head pastor, which suggests that while most Presbyterians think women and men *should* have equal opportunities for leadership, they recognize that this is not the reality.
- When presented with a list of essential pastoral traits and asked if they are a greater strength of men or women, slightly less than half decline to apply a gender stereotype. Of the small majority who feel that these pastoral traits are gendered, women tended to think of the traits as greater strengths of women, and men tended to think of them as greater strengths of men.

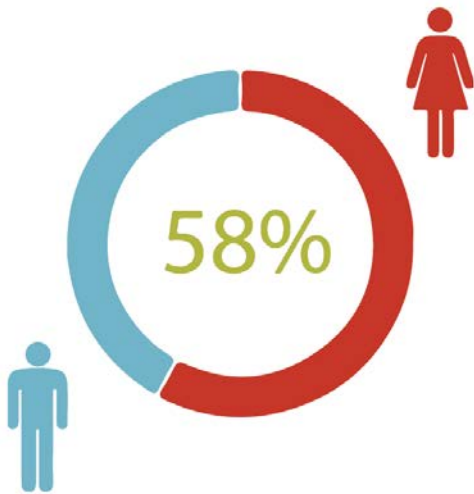
How are women in leadership positions treated compared to men?

- Eight out of ten female teaching elders in the denomination have experienced gender bias in the form of discrimination, sexual harassment, and/or prejudicial statements.
- Almost three out of four female teaching elders have had a harder time in being accepted in leadership roles within the denomination due to their gender.
- Four out of ten female teaching elders feel that their gender has contributed to their being overlooked for a promotion to a higher-status position within the PC(USA).
- Men are not completely free from experiences of gender bias: 32% of male teaching elders and 13% of male members report experiencing some form of gender bias against them.

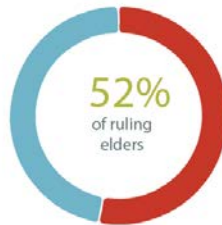
Gender and Leadership in the PC(USA)

WOMEN

make up 58% of the PC(USA)



but only...



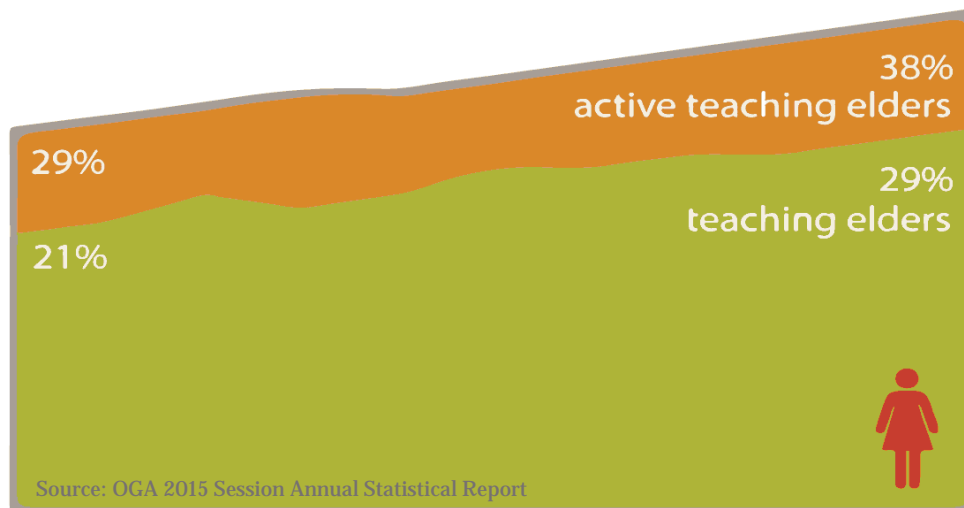
Even though most Presbyterians are women, most teaching elders are men. In addition, although slightly more than half of ruling elders are women, they still are not representative of the percentage of women in the denomination.

In 2015, women made up 38% of all active teaching elders in the PC(USA), and 29% of teaching elders overall (including those who are retired or otherwise inactive).

Source: OGA 2015 Session Annual Statistical Report

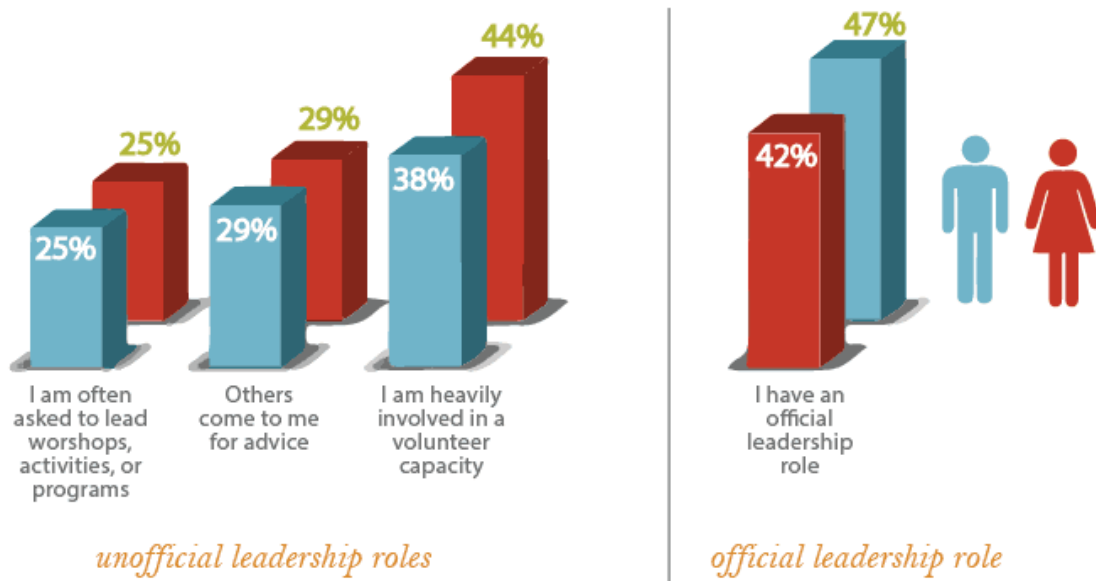
This is an increase from ten years before, when women made up 29% of active teaching elders and 21% of teaching elders overall. The rate of increase has been fairly steady in the last ten years; if the percentage increase in female teaching elders continues at this rate, the PC(USA) will reach gender parity among active teaching elders (i.e., 50% male and 50% female) in about 11 years (2027).

2005 —————→ 2015



Source: OGA 2015 Session Annual Statistical Report

Overall, **76%** of members in this study state that they act as a leader within the denomination *Men are more likely than women to have an official leadership role*



Although there is not gender parity among teaching elders, there is gender parity within lay leadership; when asked in what ways they act as a leader in the PC(USA), an equal percentage of men and women (76%) answer that they act as a leader in the PC(USA).¹

However, there are differences in the type of leadership roles men and women report performing. Male members are more likely to state that they have an *official* leadership role, whereas female members are more likely to state that they are heavily involved in a *volunteer* capacity.

When we look specifically at teaching elders, the only gender difference is that female teaching elders are more likely than male teaching elders to be asked to lead workshops, activities, or programs.

AMONG TEACHING ELDERS



36% of women **31%** of men

are often asked to lead workshops, activities, or programs

¹ We limited analysis on items regarding who acts as a leader only to the Presbyterian Panel data (n=1,752). Panelists are representative of the Presbyterian population, and the other survey was specifically a convenience sample of leaders, so it follows that only leaders answered the survey. Regardless, it is interesting to note that most panelists also consider themselves leaders in the PC(USA). It's quite possible that leaders in the denomination are more likely to agree to be panelists.

Why do members turn down leadership opportunities?

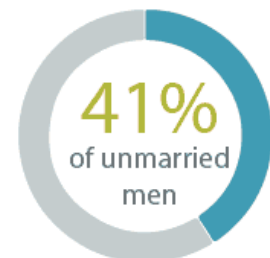


The most common reason members turn down a leadership role is that it would require too much of their time. There is no gender difference in either the likelihood of being asked to serve in a leadership capacity, in the likelihood a person will turn it down, or in the reasons offered for turning down such an offer.

However, with 46% of members turning down leadership roles because it would require too much of their time, it made us wonder, what are people doing with their time instead? As it turns out, there are some interesting gender differences in how other life roles affect church leadership roles.

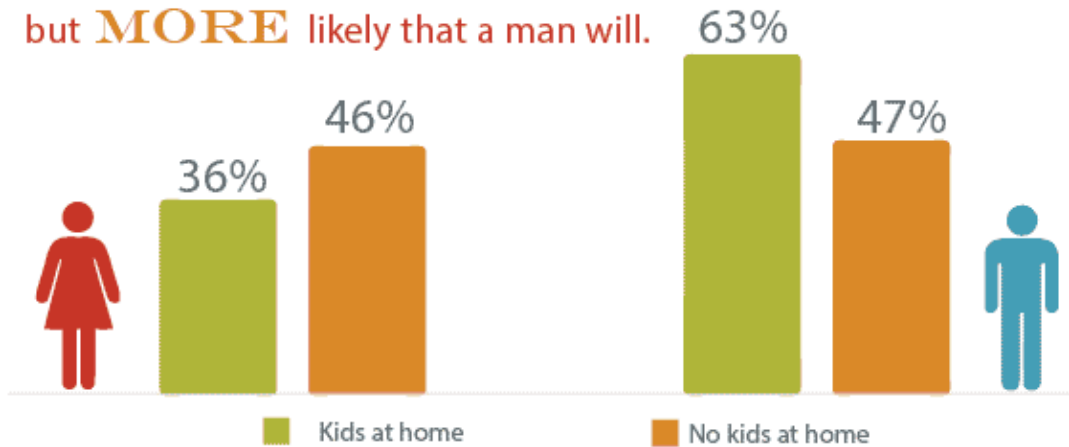
We know from past research that women often bear greater familial responsibilities, so we examined whether being married or having kids affects men and women differently in terms of their tendency to fill official lay leader roles within the church. We found that it does, on both counts.

AMONG MALE CHURCH MEMBERS



have official leadership roles in the Church

Having at least one child living at home makes it **LESS** likely that a woman will have an official leadership role in the church, but **MORE** likely that a man will.



Women with children at home are less likely to have an official leadership role; for men, it is the opposite. Also, married men are more likely than unmarried men to have an official leadership role in the church. For women, no connection is found between marital status and leadership status.

What we cannot know from these data is whether having children and a spouse causes the men to take on or be offered official leadership roles, or if men with official leadership roles are more likely to get married and have children. Likely, it's a little bit of both.

There is also a gender difference in hours spent volunteering. Among members, women spend more hours volunteering each month than men; women average 21.5 hours per month, whereas men average 19.5 hours per month.

Women spend more hours volunteering per month



Opinions and Beliefs about Gender

Beliefs about Gender

Does sexism still exist within our denomination? This question is difficult to answer with a survey. We cannot simply ask people “How sexist are you?” because most people holding sexist beliefs do not think of themselves as sexist. Psychologists have addressed this problem by developing sets of questions that research shows are indicative of sexism without necessarily being sexist on their own. One of the most well-respected of these inventories is Glick & Fisk’s (1996) Ambivalent Sexism Inventory.² Our survey included items from their benevolent sexism scale.

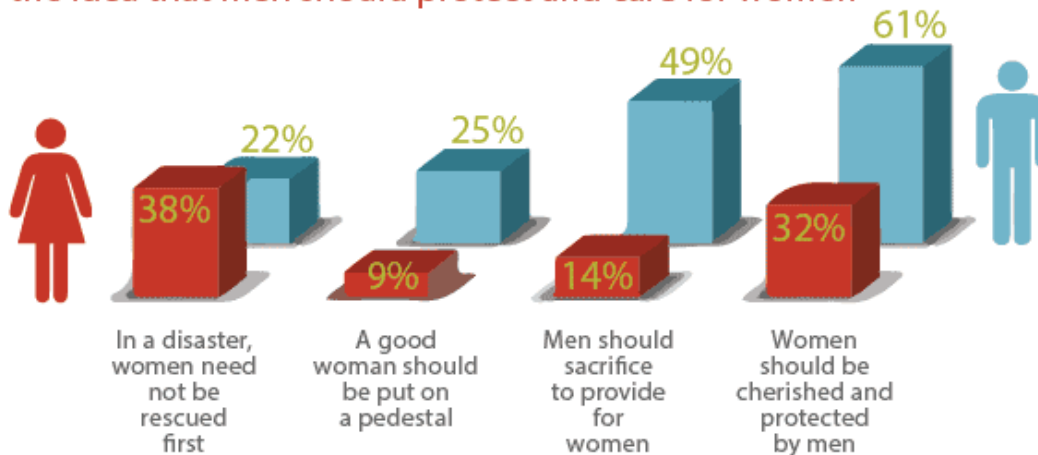
Benevolent sexism refers to beliefs about gender that may *appear* positive, but actually have damaging societal outcomes in terms of gender equality.

Even though benevolent sexism suggests a subjectively positive view of women, it shares common assumptions with hostile sexist beliefs: that women inhabit restricted domestic roles and are the “weaker” sex...benevolent sexism provides a comfortable rationalization for confining women to domestic roles... (“I am not exploiting women; I love, protect, and provide for them”) (Glick & Fisk 1009).

We focus on two forms of benevolent sexism: protective paternalism and complementary gender differentiation.

PROTECTIVE PATERNALISM

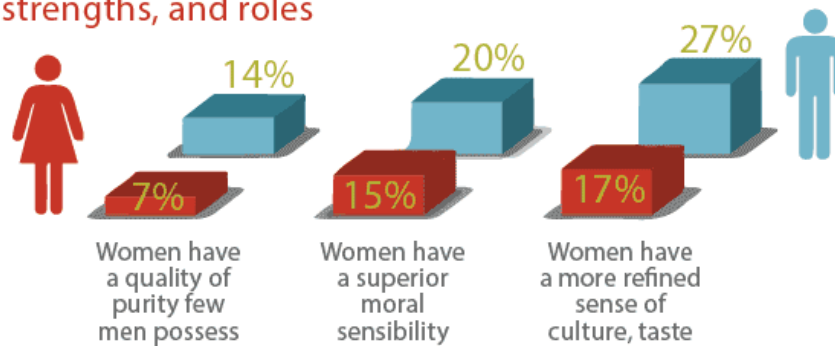
Men are **2.3x** more likely than women to agree with the idea that men should protect and care for women



² Glick, Peter, and Susan T. Fiske. "The ambivalent sexism inventory: differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 70.3 (1996): 491.

COMPLEMENTARY GENDER DIFFERENTIATION

Men are **1.6x** more likely than women to agree that men and women have different personalities, strengths, and roles



To the extent that these measures do indicate sexism, we can conclude that sexism is still somewhat of a problem in the denomination, and that it is more prevalent among men than women. Men more often engage in protective paternalism, and slightly more often in complementary gender differentiation, than do women.³ Also, for both genders, protective paternalism is more prevalent than is complementary gender differentiation.

In comparing teaching elders to members, we found that teaching elders tend to exhibit fewer sexist beliefs, according to these measures. Although overall benevolent sexism scores are lower for teaching elders, male teaching elders are still more likely than their female counterparts to agree with all of these measures except the following: “Women have a superior moral sensibility.”

Teaching elders are less likely than members to agree with the following:

- A good woman should be put on a pedestal
- Women should be cherished and protected by men
- Women have a superior moral sensibility
- Women have a quality of purity few men possess
- Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste

³ However, one potential issue with the protective paternalism questions is that some respondents may answer affirmatively to statements such as “women should be cherished and protected by men,” but not actually agree with the gendered nature of the statement; rather, they selected “agree” because they feel that *people* should protect and cherish each other. To the extent that men and women were equally likely to have this interpretation of the question, the gender differences in responses still carry meaning, even if the overall percentages of respondents agreeing with the statement are slightly elevated.

Beliefs about Female Pastors

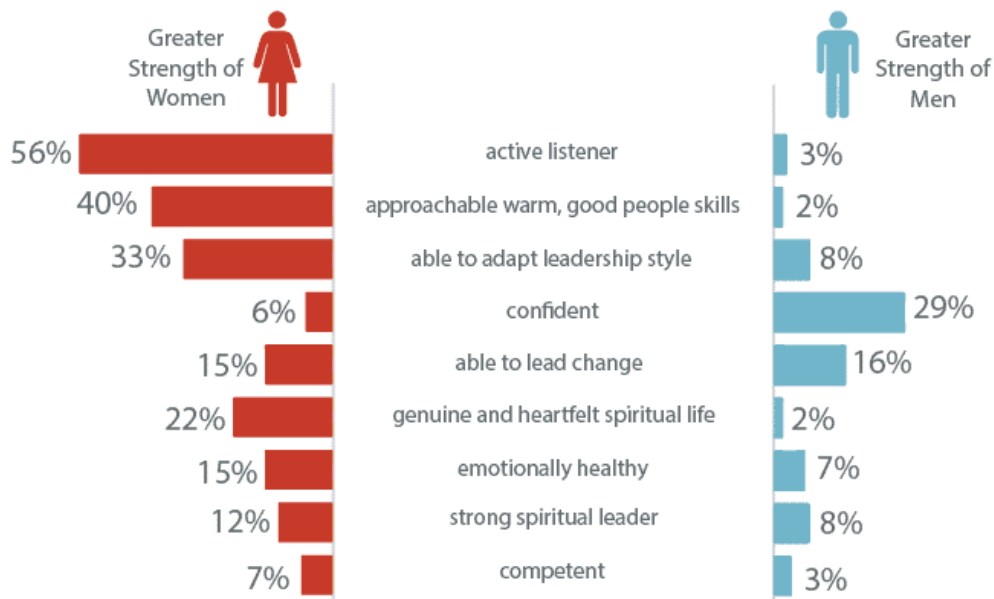
Another goal of this study was to examine beliefs about women as pastors. The first thing we wanted to know was whether preferences for male or female pastors can be explained by beliefs about whether men or women are better equipped for such a call.

Much like with measuring sexism, social desirability bias may lead people to be less than forthright about their thoughts on this issue. As such, we started by presenting a basic list of traits, and asking people whether they think these traits are generally a greater strength of women or of men, or if there’s no difference. What respondents were not told is that these are the traits that a past group of Presbyterians rated as “essential” for pastors to have or demonstrate.⁴

Most Presbyterians (58%) feel active listening is a greater strength of women. With that exception, most Presbyterians do not believe that these traits are gender-specific. However, among those who believe that a particular trait is gendered, they more often think it is a greater strength of women. The biggest exception to this is confidence, which 29% of respondents feel is a greater strength of men, compared to 6% who feel it is a greater strength of women.

Many Presbyterians do not feel that the traits of a good pastor are gendered. Of those who do...

active listening is most likely to be considered a greater strength of women, whereas confidence is more likely to be attributed to men

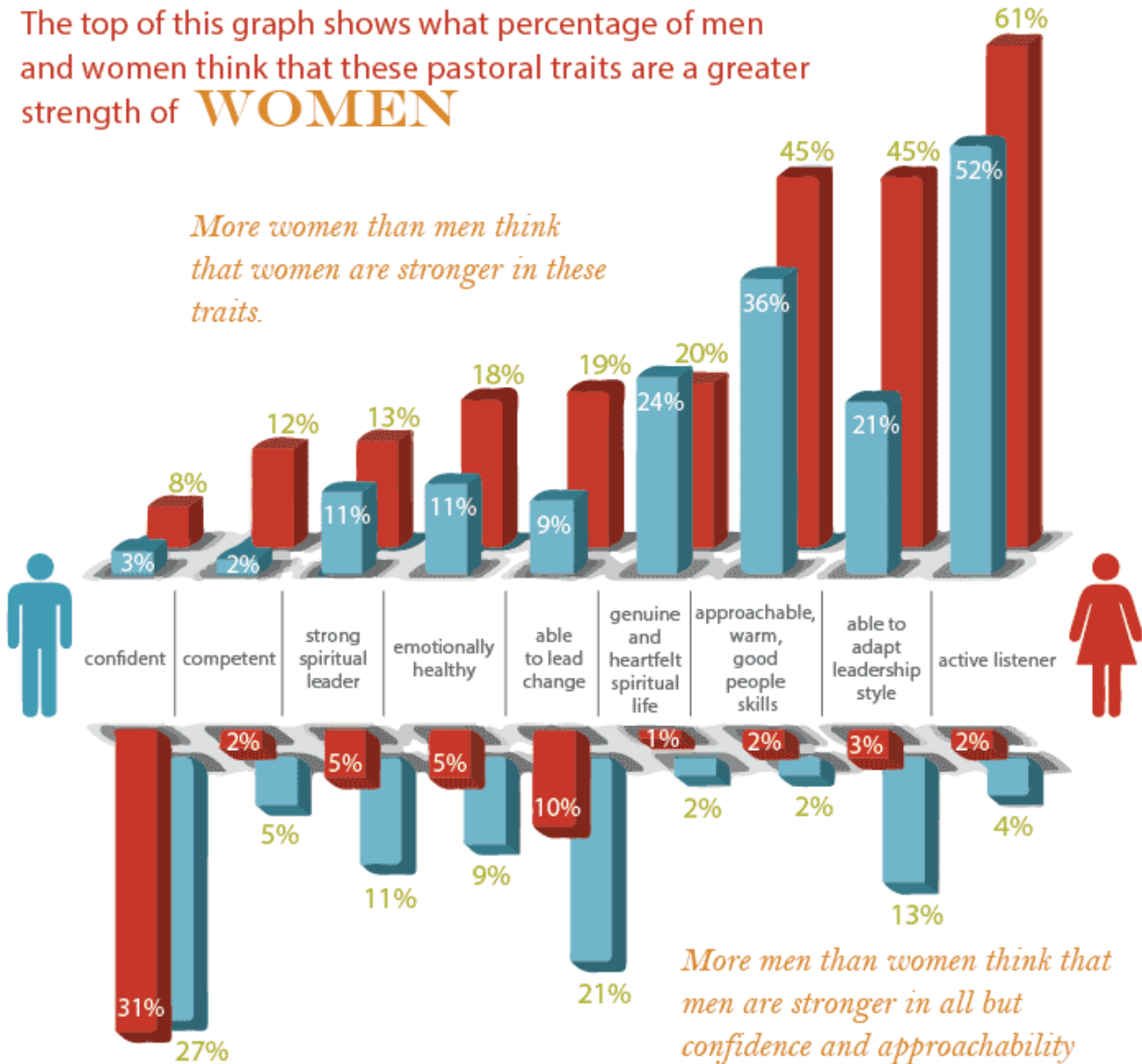


NOTE: respondents answering “no difference” not shown

⁴ Research Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). *Congregational Leadership: The Report of the November 2010 Presbyterian Panel Survey*. Louisville, 2012.

We also broke down responses by gender, and found that whereas women are more likely to think they are stronger in most of these traits, men are more likely to think that *they* are stronger in most of these traits. It is also noteworthy that men are *less* likely than women to believe that any of these traits are gendered; more men than women selected “no difference” on six of the nine traits. The three traits women were less likely to consider gendered are the ability to lead change, having a genuine and heartfelt spiritual life, and being a strong spiritual leader.

The top of this graph shows what percentage of men and women think that these pastoral traits are a greater strength of **WOMEN**



The bottom of this graph shows what percentage of men and women think that these pastoral traits are a greater strength of **MEN**

NOTE: respondents answering “no difference” not shown

We also compared teaching elders to members on their beliefs about whether these essential pastor traits are a greater strength of men or women.

Teaching elders are less likely than members to think that the following traits are gender-specific:

- able to adapt leadership style
- able to lead change
- active listener
- strong spiritual leader

However, teaching elders are *more* likely than members to believe that:

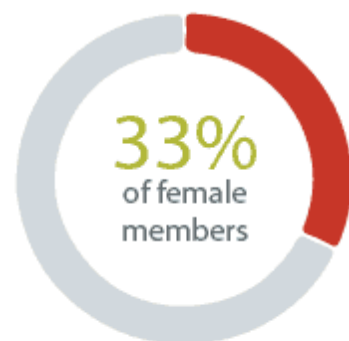
- men have more confidence
- women are more emotionally healthy

Next we ask whether men and women should have an equal opportunity to be a pastor. Since Presbyterians tend to be justice-oriented, it is not surprising that the vast majority of Presbyterians do, in fact, believe women and men should have an equal opportunity to be a pastor.

There is, however, a small gender difference among members, wherein women are 4% more likely than men to agree with this sentiment. Among teaching elders, on the other hand, there is no gender difference in response – 94% believe there should be equal opportunity by gender.



ONLY



believe we need more
female pastors in the
PC(USA)

Although about 9 in 10 members think men and women should have an equal opportunity to be a pastor, only about 3 in 10 think that we need more female pastors. This is despite the fact that women are underrepresented as pastors as it is.

What this indicates is that while members believe there should be equal *opportunity*, they either are not as concerned about equal *representation*, or they just don't realize the extent of the current gender discrepancy.

There is no statistically significant gender difference among members in the belief that we need more female pastors, but there is among teaching elders. Female teaching elders are more likely than male teaching elders to think we need more female teaching elders in the PC(USA).

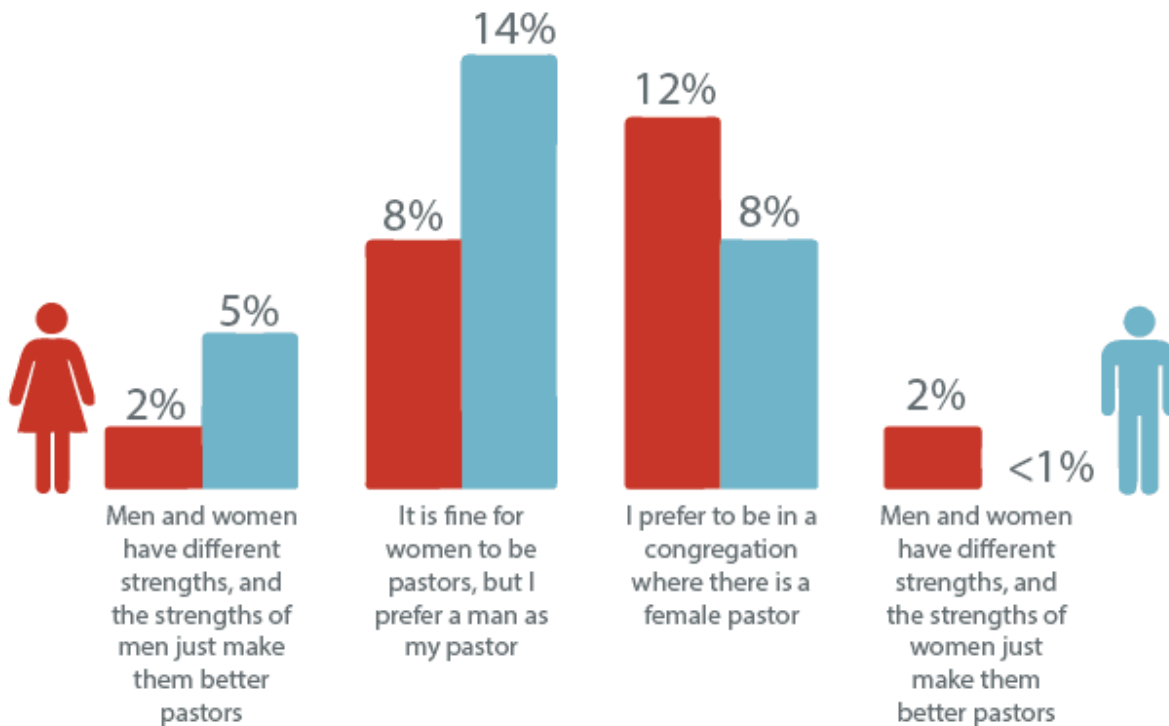
Even among female teaching elders, only about 4 in 10 state that we need more female pastors in the PC(USA), whereas more than twice that amount agree that there should be equal opportunity by gender.

This indicates that teaching elders, like members, may feel it is more important that there is equality of opportunity than equality of outcome, or teaching elders are also unaware of the gender imbalance within their call. Further research would be needed in order to know which is true, or if something else underlies the difference in how these questions are answered.

But what about personal pastor preference? Since women are more likely to think *they* are stronger in the traits of a good pastor, and men are more likely to think *they* are stronger in these same traits, we could expect that women will generally prefer a female pastor and men will generally prefer a male pastor. And this is exactly what we found.

27% of Presbyterians state that they care about their pastor's gender

Although most Presbyterians feel men and women should have an equal chance at being a pastor, there is also a tendency for men to prefer male pastors and women to prefer female pastors



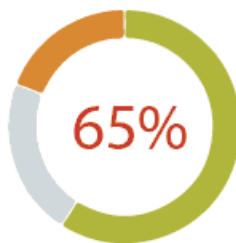
We dug a bit deeper and examined how member preferences about the gender of their own pastor compared to their statement about whether we need more female pastors in the PC(USA).

- Of the 31 individuals who stated that men are better pastors, **none** of them believe we need more female pastors
- **6%** of those who prefer a man to be their pastor do feel we need more female pastors—just not in their congregation
- **33%** of those who said men and women should have an equal opportunity to be a pastor also agreed that we need more female pastors
- **70%** of those who prefer a female pastor also feel we need more female pastors
- Of the 22 individuals who stated that women make better pastors, **59%** also believe we need more female pastors

*Beliefs about Existing Gender Equality**Overall,*

feel that discrimination against women is still at least somewhat of a problem in the **UNITED STATES**

while 10% feel that the country has reached gender equality

However, only

feel that discrimination against women is still at least somewhat of a problem in the **PC(USA)**

while 21% feel that the denomination has reached gender equality

Now we are going to turn to general beliefs about the state of gender equality both in the United States and in the PC(USA), and compare the two.

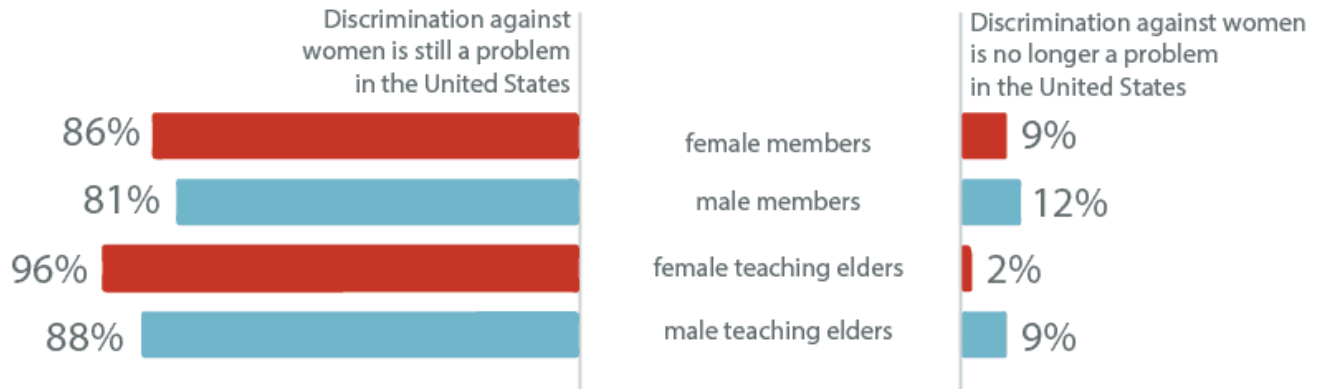
Presbyterians generally feel that discrimination against women is a greater problem in the United States than it is in the PC(USA). This indicates that those within the PC(USA) feel that the denomination is more favorable toward women than the country is.

In comparison, an August 2016 Pew report found that about half (53%) of Americans say there are “still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than men,” while somewhat fewer (45%) say “the obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now largely gone.”⁵ So, Presbyterians are less convinced than Americans as a whole that the United States has achieved gender equality.

We then compared men to women, and teaching elders to members.

⁵ Fingerhut, Hannah. 2016. “In both parties, men and women differ over whether women still face obstacles to progress.” *Fact Tank: News in the Numbers*, Pew Research Center. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/08/16/in-both-parties-men-and-women-differ-over-whether-women-still-face-obstacles-to-progress/>

Out of the four groups, male members are least likely to feel there is still gender discrimination in the **UNITED STATES**



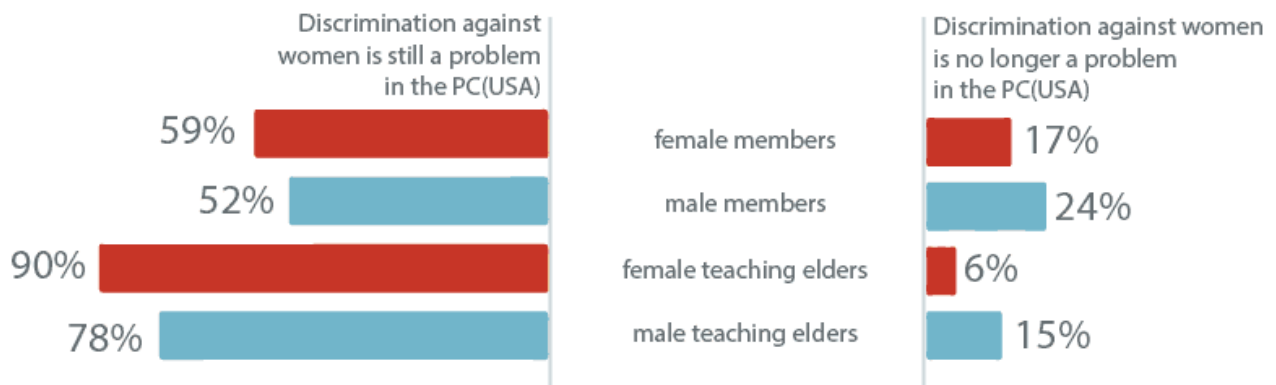
NOTE: respondents answering "no difference" not shown

There are differences in the beliefs about discrimination against women within each of these four groups:

- For both members and teaching elders, women are more likely than men to feel there is still gender discrimination, both in the United States and in the PC(USA).
- Teaching elders are more likely than members to feel there is still gender discrimination in the United States and in the PC(USA).
- Members are more likely than teaching elders to remain neutral on questions of gender discrimination in the PC(USA).

Out of the four groups, male members are also least likely to feel there is still gender discrimination in the **PC(USA)**

However, among each of the four groups, fewer people think it is a problem in the denomination than in the country as a whole.

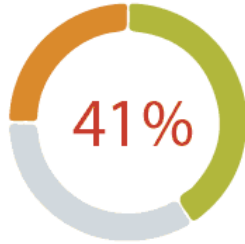


NOTE: respondents answering "no difference" not shown



Overall,

of members feel that women often miss out on good jobs in the PC(USA) due to gender discrimination
while 29% disagree with this statement



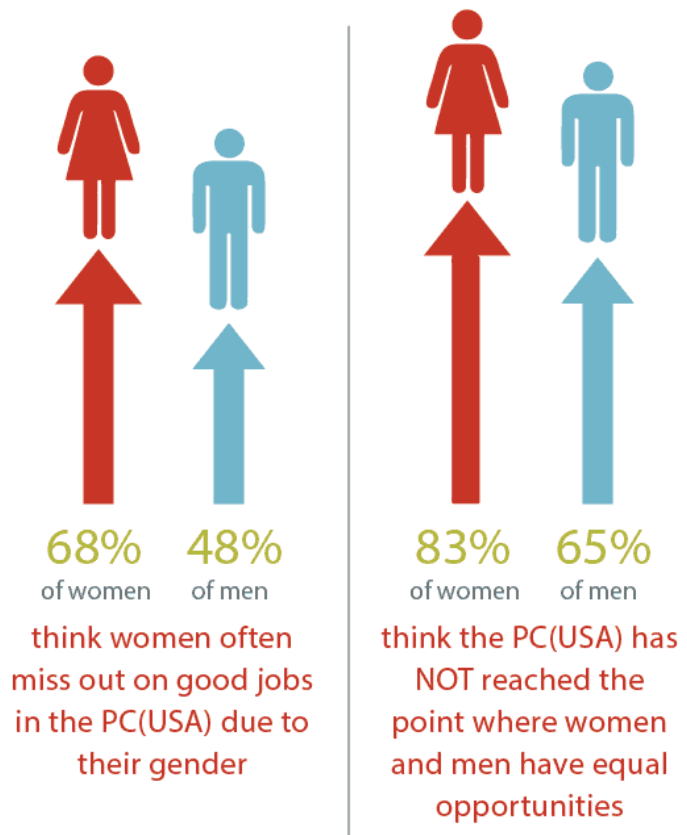
of members feel that the PC(USA) has not reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement
while 25% feel that we have reached this level of equality

There is no gender difference in whether *members* think that women often miss out on good jobs in the PC(USA) due to discrimination, or whether the PC(USA) has reached the point where men and women have equal opportunities for achievement.

However, there is a gender difference among *teaching elders* regarding these beliefs.

Teaching elders are generally more likely than members to think that the PC(USA) still has some work to do regarding gender equality. Additionally, among teaching elders, women are more likely to think so than men.

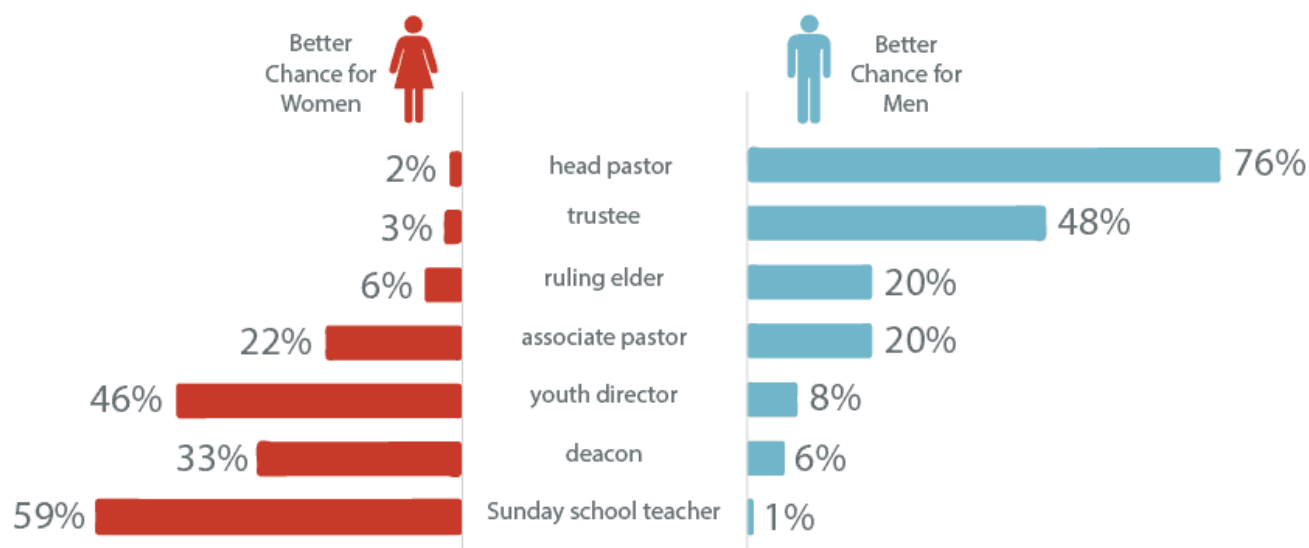
AMONG TEACHING ELDERS



Specific Positions within the PC(USA)

Next we asked people more specifically about what they think the relative chances are of men or women getting or being elected to a position within the PC(USA) for which they are qualified.

Most members feel that **MEN** have a better chance of being called as head pastor, whereas **WOMEN** have a better chance of being called as Sunday school teacher



NOTE: respondents answering "no difference" not shown

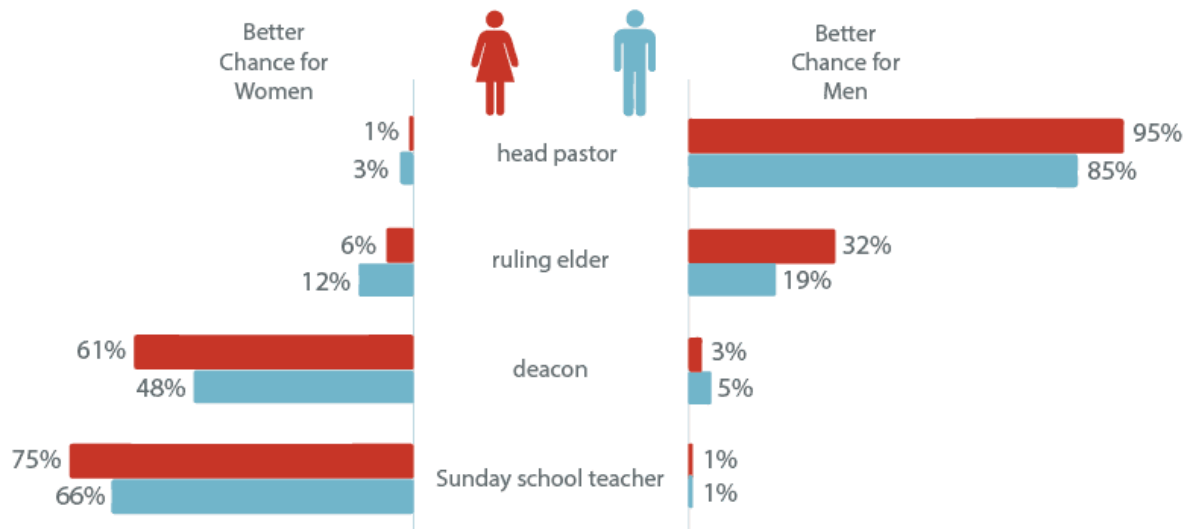
For all but two positions, about half or more of members believe that there is equal access for men and women. There are two positions for which members feel a particular gender is favored: Members feel men have a better chance than women of being called to the position of head pastor and that women have a better chance of being called to a position of Sunday school teacher.

Interestingly, about an equal percentage of members feel that *women* have a better chance than men at getting hired as an associate pastor as do feel that *men* have a better chance than *women*.

We also compared teaching elders to members. Teaching elders are more likely than members to feel that men are favored for head pastor (90% of teaching elders and 76% of members) and trustee (54% of teaching elders and 48% of members), and they are more likely than members to feel that women are favored for deacon (54% of teaching elders and 33% of members), Sunday school teacher (70% of teaching elders and 59% of members), and associate pastor (30% of teaching elders and 22% of members).

Next we looked at gender differences in responses. There is no gender difference among members in beliefs about the extent to which men and women have equal access to positions within the PC(USA); however, there is a gender difference among teaching elders regarding beliefs about the extent to which there is equal access to four of the seven positions.

Among teaching elders, women are more likely than men to think that men have a better chance at being head pastor or ruling elder, and that women have a better chance being deacon or Sunday school teacher



So we've established that there is some perception of gender inequality in opportunities to achieve certain leadership positions within the PC(USA). The perception is that men are favored for some roles, but women are favored for others. This brings us to our next question: once in a position of leadership, do women have a harder time being accepted?

Overall, 91% of members and 94% of teaching elders think it is at least somewhat harder for women than men in the PC(USA) to be accepted in leadership roles. There is no gender difference in response among members; however, there is among teaching elders.

Among teaching elders,

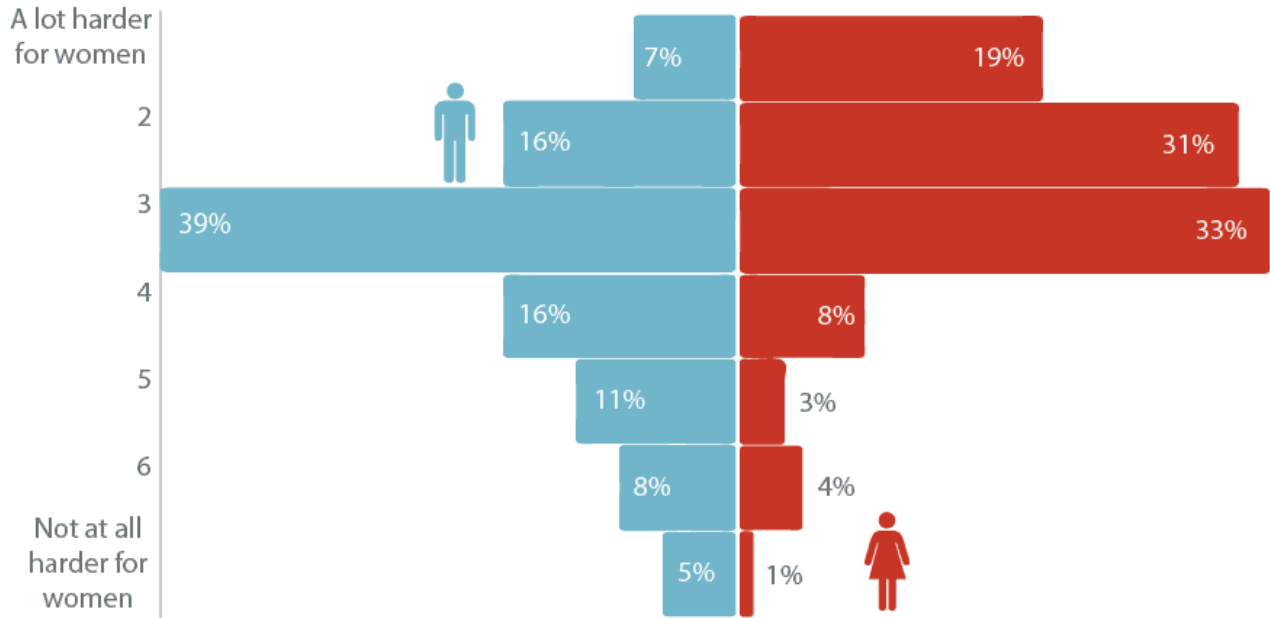
women are **2.7 times**

more likely than men to state that it is a lot harder for

women in the PC(USA) to be accepted in leadership roles

Most **TEACHING ELDERS** think it is at least somewhat harder for women than for men in the PC(USA) to be accepted in leadership roles.

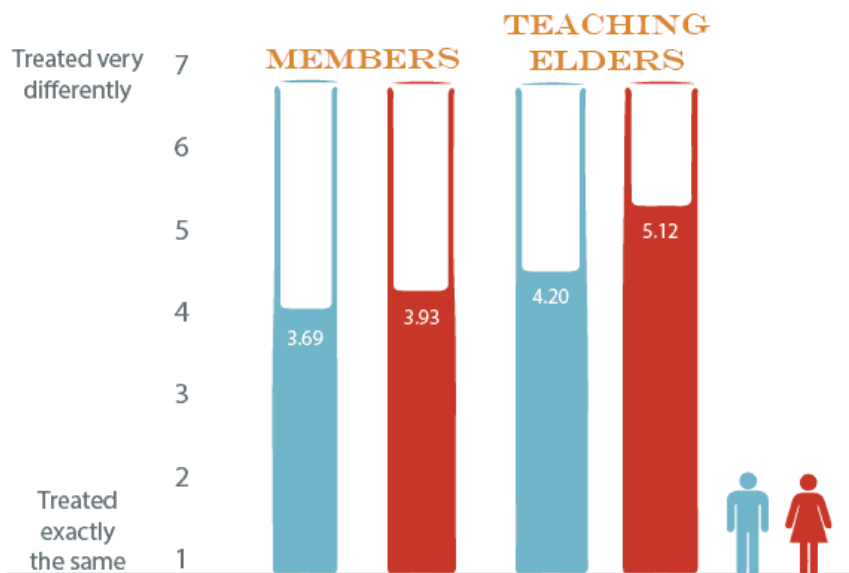
Also, female teaching elders are more likely than male teaching elders to think it is a lot harder for women



NOTE: Responses were provided on a 7-point scale with 1 being “not at all harder for women and 7 being “a lot harder for women.” Answers from 2-7 were coded as “at least somewhat harder.”

In addition to the general perception that women have a harder time obtaining leadership positions, and—once obtained—being accepted in their leadership positions, there is also a general belief that people in leadership positions within the PC(USA) are treated at least somewhat differently based on gender.

Female teaching elders feel the most strongly that people in leadership positions in the PC(USA) are treated differently based on their gender

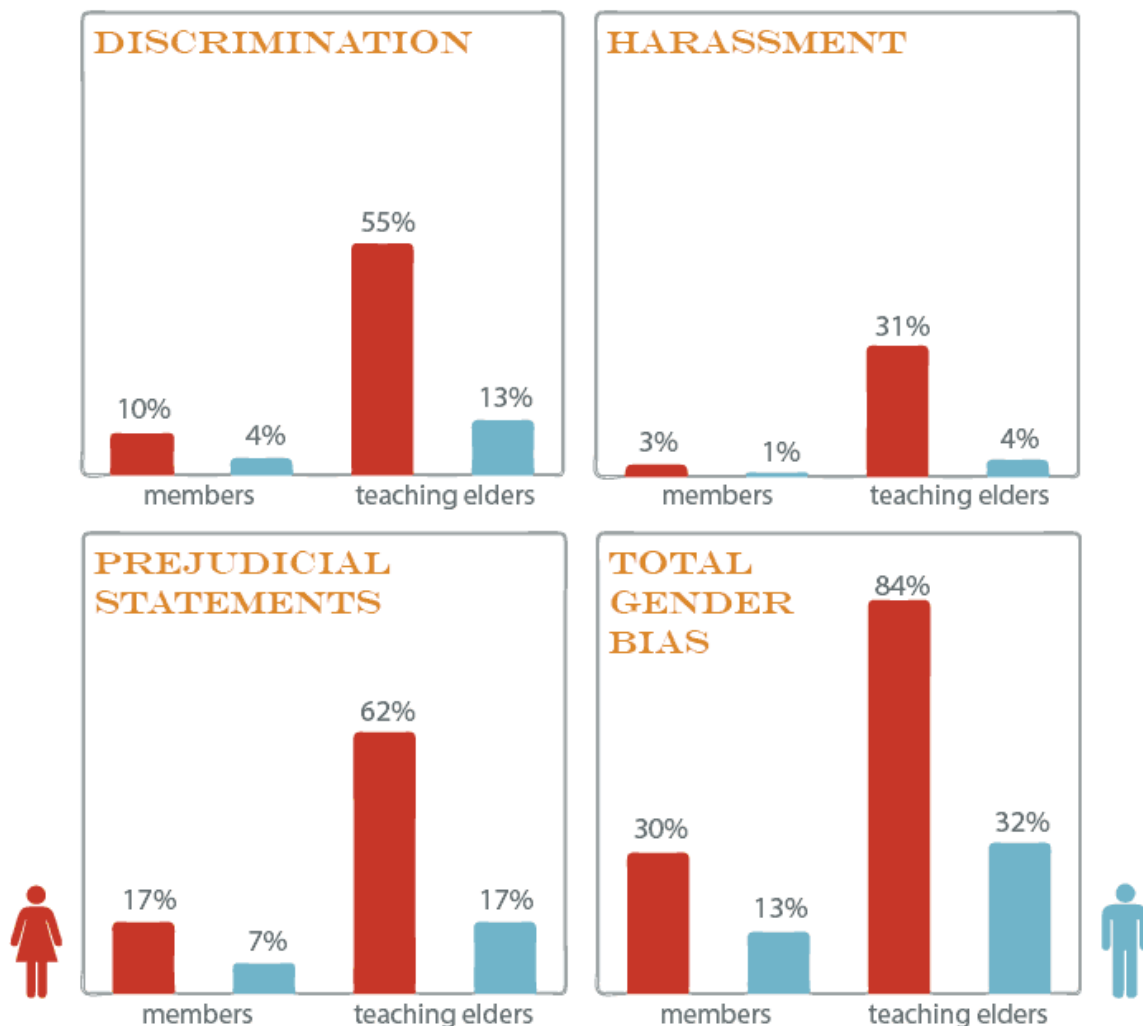


NOTE: Responses were provided on a 7-point scale. The numbers above are average responses.

Personal Experiences with Gender Discrimination

In the previous section, we covered *general* perceptions of gender bias within the PC(USA). In this section, we explore *personal* experiences of gender bias within the PC(USA). We start by asking respondents whether they have ever experienced discrimination, harassment, or prejudicial statements within the PC(USA) because of their gender.

Overall, experiencing gender bias is much more common among women than men, and is particularly common for female teaching elders



NOTE: Total gender bias indicates the percentage of people who state they have experienced at least one of these forms of gender bias.



of female teaching elders have experienced some form of gender-based bias in the PC(USA)

Prejudicial statements are the most common form of gender bias, and harassment is the least common. When given the opportunity to share their experiences, many did. In total, there were 635 write-in comments; 74% of these comments are from women, and 77% are from teaching elders. Some comments are about women being treated sexually:

As a seminary student interviewing at a church where members were permitted to give anonymous sermon feedback, I would get written comments like, "Nice legs" and "How do you keep such a nice figure?"

Male church members and staff staring at my chest; creepy comments about my personal life (which I keep very private); statements about my clothing ("what do you have on under your robe -- a bikini?"; inappropriate touching (lingering hugs, kisses, pats on the behind); requests for dates; notes citing scripture that say women should not speak in church... especially in the six years since I became a head of staff.

However, many are about women having a hard time breaking out of stereotypes:

My husband receives all the information [from the church] for finances and I receive all the information for children's ministry addressed to me. Also, little things like asking the men if they will volunteer in the nursery, while expecting the women to volunteer.

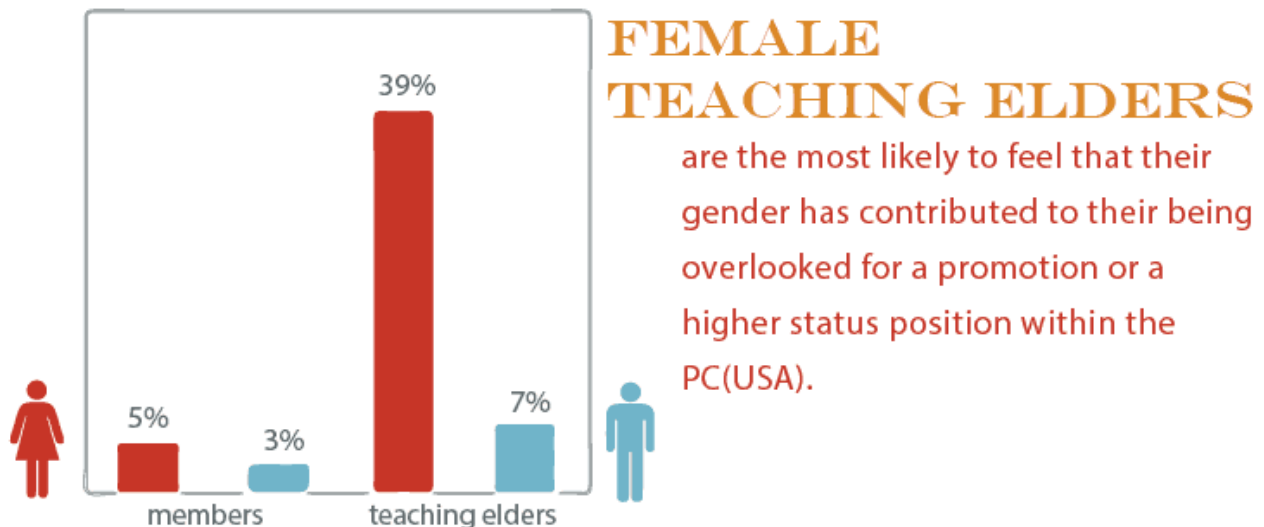
Many respondents also note that it is sometimes difficult to pinpoint the reason they are discriminated against, due to intersecting categories like gender, age, race, and sexual orientation. For example, one female member shares:

Though my ideas are not always taken seriously as a ruling elder or deacon I cannot tell if that is bias against women or just bias against young people in general.

Such mentions of intersecting categories are especially prevalent among the men who describe their experiences with gender bias. In particular, many focus on their status as a white male:

Being a white male, you are last for everything. Women of all races and non-white men always get chosen first.

We followed up by asking about specific types of discrimination people within the PC(USA) have faced, starting with being overlooked for a promotion or a higher status position within the PC(USA). Overall, 4% of members and 24% of teaching elders feel that their gender has contributed to their being overlooked for a promotion or a higher status position within the PC(USA).





We asked those who self-identified in the survey as leaders within the PC(USA) whether they have ever *personally* had a harder time being accepted in their leadership role because of their gender. Most female teaching elders state that they have. However, 14% or less of any other group has experienced similar challenges.

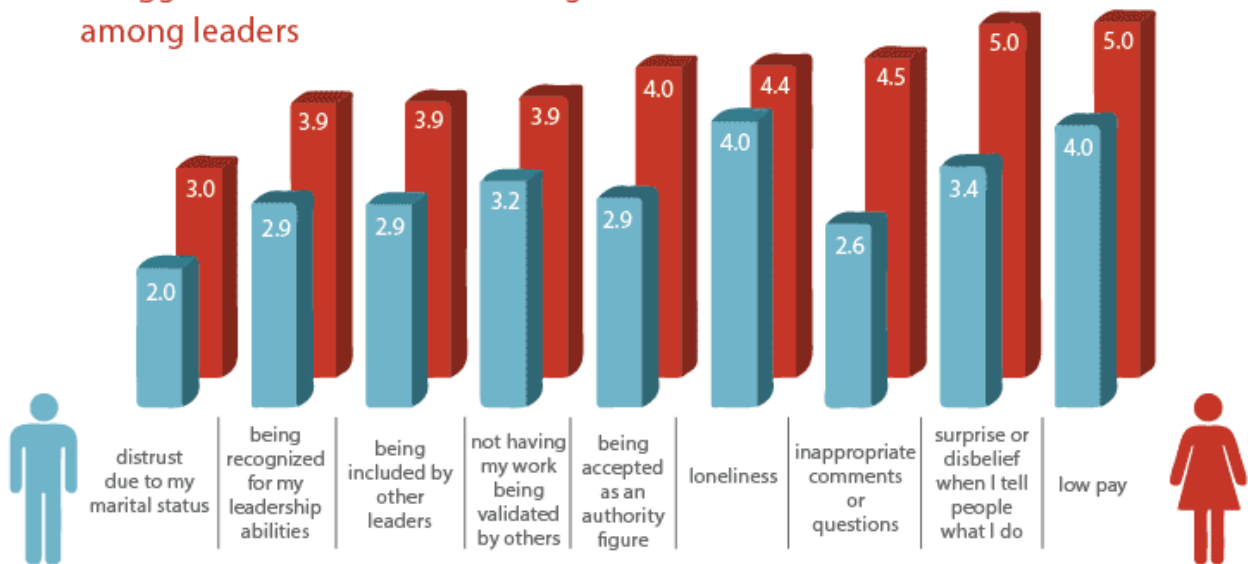
have had a harder time being accepted in a leadership role in the PC(USA) due to their **GENDER**

Those who identified themselves as leaders within the PC(USA) were also asked to what extent they have personally struggled, as

a leader in the PC(USA), with nine issues. For members, the only issue for which there is a gender difference is low pay; women are more likely than men to say they have to deal with low pay. Among teaching elders, there is a gender difference for all nine issues.

FEMALE TEACHING ELDERS

struggle more than male teaching elders with issues common among leaders



NOTE: Responses were provided on a 7-point scale. The numbers above are average responses.

Each gender has some similarities and differences in which issues they struggle with the most. For female teaching elders, the top three are:

1. Low pay
2. Surprise or disbelief when telling people what they do
3. Inappropriate comments or questions

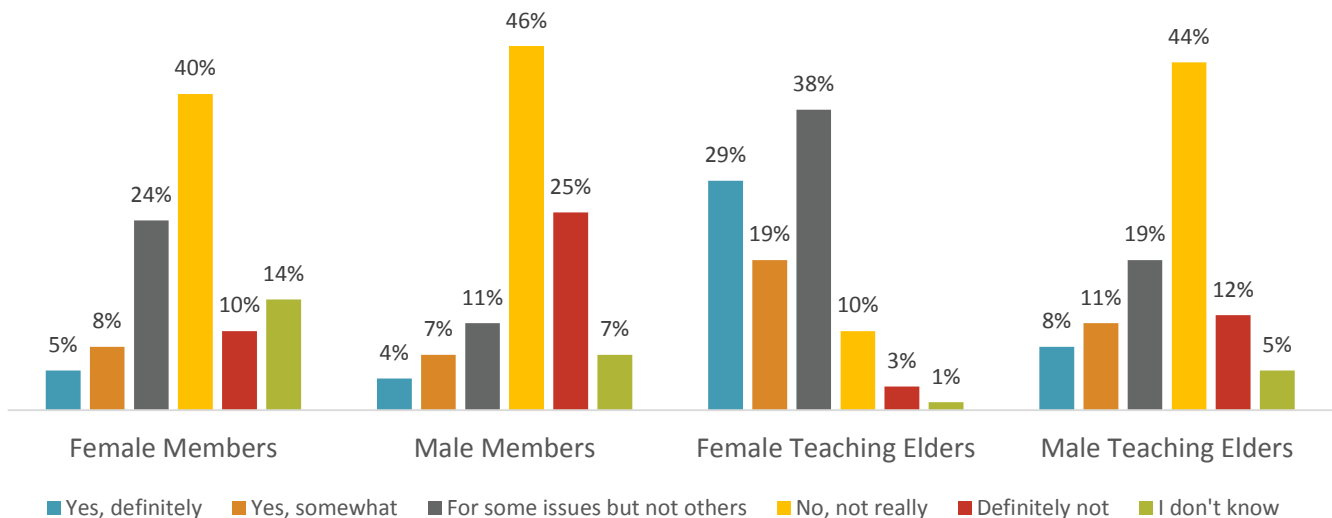
For male teaching elders, the top three issues are:

1. Loneliness
2. Low pay
3. Surprise or disbelief when they tell people what they do

Although these are the top three issues male teaching elders struggle with, it is important to keep in mind that female teaching elders still struggle with each of these issues more. In fact, men do not struggle with any of these nine issues more than women.

When asked if they feel these issues (or lack thereof) have anything to do with their gender, female teaching elders are more likely than the other groups to answer “Yes, definitely” and “Yes, somewhat.” Also, female members are more likely than male members to say “for some issues but not others.”

86% of female teaching elders feel that their gender contributes to at least some of the issues they face as leaders



Responses to Open-Ended Questions

After asking respondents whether they have ever experienced discrimination, harassment, or prejudicial statements based on their gender, and whether they had a harder time being accepted in a leadership role in the PC(USA) because of their gender, we asked respondents to *explain* their responses. We did the same after asking respondents whether they think any issues they face as leaders within the PC(USA) have anything to do with their gender. A final open-ended question asked respondents for any additional comments.

An examination of responses to these four questions showed that themes in the responses overlap, with the exception of comments in response to Panel survey questions about the suitability of a fictional candidate for pastor, based on the gender of the fictional candidate. For this reason, the responses to these four questions were pooled, except for the comments about the fictional candidate, which were analyzed separately.

A team of four researchers (Angie Andriot, Perry Chang, Deb Coe, and Bethany Simon) developed a list of the themes that emerged in the pooled data, and then identified how many responses contain each of those themes (researchers call this “coding”).

These themes appear in at least 2% of written responses



Discrimination Against Women

The theme that respondents communicate the most is that they as women, their wives, or (other) women they know have faced discrimination (both in general and in their pay) in the church because of their gender.

A number of women decry discrimination that they have faced, including as teaching elders seeking calls as pastors:

I'm a female solo pastor, but I have been turned down for interviews for jobs before because the congregation prefers a male pastor. I find this is particularly common in smaller churches. I have members of my congregation who openly say they would prefer a man. I have been heavily recruited for children's ministry positions even though I do not have the necessary experience. This is often because a well-meaning male head of staff wants to balance their staff with a female perspective instead of picking the best person for the job.

I was turned down by a PNC [pastor nominating committee] because "we don't think it's possible to be both a pastor and a mother." I regularly encounter people who imply that as a woman I am more emotional/less capable of rational thinking. Plus there are countless "micro-aggressions" within our system. Small ways women are slighted all the time. Additionally, I'm tired of seeing the young-ish, white, male pastor with the stay at home wife and two kids get the tall steeple jobs. It's crushing to me as a pastor. I really do think about leaving the church because I'm tired of having to fight an uphill battle because of my gender.

The hierarchy of leadership within my presbytery and, most particularly, within my congregation is dominated by men in nearly all of the upper tiers of leadership church-wide. Even our professional male soloists in our choir are paid significantly more than our professional female soloists (of course their job descriptions vary slightly in order to justify the discrepancy but it is nonetheless appalling). Women lead in the Sunday school and youth group realm, of course but, even there, male volunteer voices are dominant. The message is clear.

An EP [Executive Presbyter] tried to steer me into a part-time position that had always been filled by a woman (and for which I was significantly over-qualified) and away from applying for a full-time ministry position. Also declined to help me make connections to lead a retreat on a topic I had recently published a book on, but jumped at the chance to create such opportunities for a new male pastor moving into the presbytery.

I think the church has tried to pretend that the gender issue is no longer an issue when in reality I think it is more of an issue today than ever before. Churches don't want the female head of staff, or the married woman; they want a male with a wife and 2.5 kids and a white picket fence and instead of exposing this lie and helping equip churches to openly deal with the fact that the gender issue isn't solved—we simply pretend. Seminaries do nothing to prepare pastors to navigate these issues, nor do they do anything to help pastors with understanding and negotiating the terms of call and so women automatically are at a disadvantage as statistics show time and again women find it hard to advocate for themselves. Also the hierarchy of Senior Pastor/Associate Pastor for some churches sets up a dichotomy that makes the associate pastor lesser of a pastor and then if that person is a woman it creates another layer of complication and hurt.

"How do you expect to lead a congregation and raise children? Do you really think you can pull that off?" "Wow! You sound really talented but we have a lot of people who aren't used to women in leadership. What will you do with them? They'll be more content with a male pastor." - actual statement from a PNC. "This is a 24/7 job. I'm really sorry you can't get it all done in the 50 hours a week you say you're willing to give.... What part of your job should I take away and give to someone else?" - from head of staff to me in an associate pastor role (after I tried to advocate for a little family time and a shift from 80-hour weeks as the norm). "I get that your kids are unhappy about your work hours and the demands of the church ... but if they're not happy in youth group it reflects poorly on you."

Among the concerns raised by female church leaders are discrepancies in pay between female and male pastors.

In seeking a call to ministry churches always hope to find a man. They will accept a woman if qualified men don't apply. Women are forced to work for less money in small churches.

Every pastorate I have had, the church said they could not pay me any more than the presbytery minimum and that I did not need more money because "You aren't the breadwinner of your family." Funny thing, my husband is disabled and has been since 1999. My successor in each church was a man and the church paid them much more than the presbytery minimum. In addition, at every church I have served I have been bullied by a male leader. In two churches the bullying began on my first day. Not one person stood up to the bully and I became so unhappy that I had to leave. My children were raised in all those churches and neither of them want anything to do with any church of any denomination. They will only attend church for special occasions.

Male respondents, too, argue that the deck is stacked in their favor:

As a man, I have unjustly received promotions, trust, and privileges merely for my gender.

Prejudicial Statements Against Women

In addition to experiencing discrimination, many women also report having to listen to prejudicial statements against them as women.

I am a woman pastor and have heard comments like "people prefer a penis in the pulpit" or "I thought our church was on its last legs when we hired a woman pastor, but you have done a great job."

I have been solo presiding in my robe at a funeral and called the pastor's wife. In committees a male who says the same thing as I 10 minutes later will be considered innovative and brilliant. I have been dismissed at an all-women's retreat in preference for a male pastor because "the women are just more used to a male."

I have been told by a personnel committee chair that my clothing is embarrassing (a hat). I have been told by congregation members that I look prettier when I wear make-up.

My name was suggested for ruling elder. The pastor said, "No, she has small children. Let's ask her husband." The first time I preached, I was called a whore. I have had comments from people when I have served as pastor and when I have been the pastor's wife.

I have been looked down upon as being "less of a pastor" because I am a woman. My head of staff who is a male calls me "honey" and other unprofessional words. I am seen as being "too emotional and irrational" at meetings when I have expressed myself and my male head of staff who cusses in meetings is never seen as being emotional or irrational. I have been accused of being a "bitch" when I get passionate about things. My clothes and style of hair have been critiqued constantly instead of the content of my sermon and if there is any change that needs to happen, unless the male head of staff says it needs to change, people refuse to listen to me.

Discrimination on the Basis of Traits Other Than Gender

Respondents report that they have been discriminated against for traits other than gender (or for other traits in conjunction with gender) or have witnessed others experiencing this. Age, race, theological orientation, parental status, and even height are among those traits that respondents mention.

Gender issues are compounded by race and physical presence. I was once told at GA that I had 3 strikes against me: 1. A woman, 2. An African American, and 3. Too short.

This is intersectional, right? It's happening because of a ton of factors, but one of those factors is my gender. Even though the PC(USA) talks a good game, it's still based into our system to discriminate against women in leadership. It's something I face constantly, especially because my gifts and interests (stewardship, executive leadership, lay leader development) don't align with the typical "female" job in the PC(USA) (e.g., youth, children, deacons, pastoral care).

Female Leaders' Authority Not Being Accepted

Some women have faced difficulties with people in churches accepting their authority.

I don't like to sit at the head of the table when I lead a meeting. Twice, I have not only had to move to the head of the table but also stand while I lead. I doubt seriously that a male would have needed to do that.

I feel that male pastors are granted a level of authority, somewhat regardless of age, by them assuming the position. As a young female, I both have had to internally do a better job claiming my authority, but feel I am not granted it automatically either.

Especially when I was younger, it was more difficult to be taken seriously. Additionally, going to lunch with male colleagues has been frustrating. After a number of attempts and no one talking to me, I stopped going.

Some men acknowledge this advantage.

I am 6'5' white and male, intelligent and articulate. I have been given credibility when I shouldn't have and in places where my sisters have not been given it.

Discrimination Against Men

In other cases, male respondents cite cases in which they suffered from gender discrimination or harassment.

I believe on multiple occasions pastoral nominating committees chose female candidates because they felt it was "time for a woman pastor." (This was mentioned in the interviewing process.)

I was a member of the Committee on Women and the Church in [my presbytery] and was told by one of the members that I shouldn't be there because I was a man.

Harassment Against Women

In some of the most disturbing comments, respondents describe specific kinds of mistreatment they as women (or women they know) have faced. For example, some female respondents discuss the number of times they or others have had to deal with expressions of sexual interest or a lot of unwanted physical touching.

Demands for physical greetings, i.e. "hugs from a pretty girl"; clothing/hair cut/nail polish commented and/or criticized.

Nothing illegal or heinous, but I'm a middle-aged associate pastor and men (and older women!) seem to think it's appropriate to comment on my smile/figure/physical appearance, etc. when I preach. And when I was pregnant people seemed to think it was okay to touch my belly while I greeted people after worship.

I have not been considered for pastorate because of my age and gender, have been told countless tasteless jokes by "well-meaning" men and I was sexually assaulted by a youth leader in a church kitchen.

No Gender Discrimination

Some respondents (including the four women quoted below) argue that neither women nor men face discrimination in the church because of their gender.

I have been an elder for over 50 years, an administrative assistant for 15 years in a presbytery and was privileged to be a Presbytery Moderator and never felt any sense of discrimination or harassment.

My head pastor at my home church is a woman and most of the staff are female so my congregation is used to women in leadership positions.

Having worshipped in many different contexts, the PC(USA) is the one place I haven't experienced the prejudice. As a matter of fact, in many churches most of the leadership is women. We could use a few more men.

Our congregation is very open to either gender for pretty much any role. I am female and have served as Building Committee Chair, as well as more traditionally female positions. Our current pastor is a young female.

Other respondents recognize past discrimination but say it has ebbed.

The key is "ever"—when I was younger—35+ years ago, it was harder—now, lots better.

Others (including the female teaching elder quoted below) suggest that female church leaders do **not** face discrimination because many challenges that they face are also challenges that male leaders face.

Loneliness, singleness are factors regardless of gender; pay can be a factor in small churches regardless of gender - those are issues related to being a pastor not being a female or male pastor.

Appendix A: Methodology

This study was commissioned by the Racial Ethnic & Women's Ministries office of the Presbyterian Mission Agency. This study is part of a larger research project assessing the status of women at all levels of the church and conducted in two main research areas: theological and sociological. The goals of this broader study are to (1) learn more about how women participate in leadership within the PC(USA); (2) gain a keener grasp of what factors support or constrain women's ministry; and (3) gain deeper insight into the varying experiences of men and women in ministry, including similarities and differences in compensation, career trajectories, and decisions to leave ministry. This study addresses all three of these goals.

Methods

This is a quantitative study supported with qualitative responses. That is, the surveys included mostly closed-ended questions which were assigned numeric response values, but also included a few open-ended questions to which respondents provided answers in their own words. See Appendix B for exact question wording and detailed survey results.

Study Design and Implementation

Angie Andriot and Deb Coe, in collaboration with other Research Services staff and the clients, designed the study as the Principal Investigators. Quantitative data analysis was completed by Angie Andriot, and qualitative data analysis was completed by Perry Chang, Bethany Simon, Angie Andriot, and Deb Coe. The final report was written by Angie Andriot and Perry Chang.

This report combines data from a Presbyterian Panel survey with data from a convenience sample survey of Presbyterians in the PC(USA) who consider themselves to be leaders within the denomination.

Leader Survey: The survey which was sent to the convenience sample of leaders was delivered through multiple methods, including an email invitation to a selection of individuals known to be leaders in the denomination. This list of leaders was given to Research Services by the Racial Ethnic & Women's Ministries office. Research Services then used *BrightVerify* to clean the list; the resulting 4,156 clean emails were sent one invitation and two reminders in September of 2015. The survey was closed on April 6,

2016, after being held open a few extra months so that Racial Ethnic & Women's Ministries could make efforts to elicit more responses from people of color, especially women.

Presbyterian Panel: A total of 6,134 panelists (sampled and volunteer) were invited to participate in this survey. Surveys were written in English and Spanish, and were distributed via both web-based and paper questionnaires (however, the Spanish version was only available as a web-based survey). The paper questionnaire was mailed on August 22, 2015 to 4,563 individuals who were sampled to become panelists. The web survey was distributed on September 8, 2015 via email invitation to 1,571 panel volunteers and sampled panelists who have requested web-based surveys. All web non-respondents were sent email reminders on September 13, 2015 and September 22, 2015. Returns for both versions of the survey were accepted through January 4, 2016.

Sample Definition

The Presbyterian Panel survey consists of two nationally representative groups of respondents affiliated with the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.): members and teaching elders. This particular panel consists of 58% sampled and 42% volunteer respondents. The sample for the second survey is a convenience sample, meaning that any Presbyterian who considers themselves to be a leader within the denomination was able to participate. Because this report includes a convenience sample, a response rate cannot be calculated.

Demographics:

- **Gender:** 71% of the members and 52% of the teaching elders who completed the survey are women. Female teaching elders are slightly over-represented here, as women currently make up 38% of all active teaching elders in the PC(USA), and 29% of PC(USA) teaching elders overall (including those who are retired or otherwise inactive). The gender distribution of members in this sample also over-represents women compared to the population of PC(USA) members, which is 58% female. (Data about the population demographics are obtained from the Office of General Assembly's 2015 Session Annual Statistical Report.)
- **Age:** The average age of respondents is 57, and their median age is 59. The ages of respondents range from 16 to 94. Because the Office of the General Assembly data only provide membership age in ranges, we cannot make a direct

comparison to the average age of Presbyterians as a whole; however, the median age range of Presbyterian members is 56-65, and the median age of Presbyterian Panelists is 63.

- **Race:** 90% of respondents identify themselves as White. The second largest groups of respondents identify as Black or African American (3%), followed by Hispanic (2%), Asian (2%), or multiracial (1%). Very few respondents identify with other racial-ethnic groups (Middle Eastern, 0.3%; Native American, 0.2%). This is similar to the overall Presbyterian population, which is 91% White.
- **Role:** 43% of the respondents are members and 57% are teaching elders. In addition, 1% did not provide their role designation. (These percentages do not add up to 100% due to rounding.)

Weighting: These data are weighted in two ways: gender and role. For gender, the data are weighted to reflect the gender distribution of the United States population. For role, the data are weighted to represent the proportion of the PC(USA) population that are teaching elders. In the general Presbyterian population of approximately 1.6 million, only 1.2% are teaching elders. Because 57% of the respondents are teaching elders in this Panel, when results are shared for “Presbyterians” or for respondents as a whole, the data from the two roles (member and teaching elder) have been combined and then weighted to reflect the results that would be anticipated if 1.2% of respondents were teaching elders and 98.8% were members. The weights are based on demographic information from the 2015 Session Annual Statistical Report for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), which is denomination-wide data collected every year from congregations by the Office of the General Assembly (a separate entity from the Presbyterian Mission Agency, in which Research Services is housed). The weight adjustment variable is a simple proportion based on percentage of the PC(USA) population divided by gender.

Sampling Error:

Determining precision of findings/margin of error is complicated by the fact that this study is comprised partially of a convenience sample. The “Demographics” section above notes where respondents are over-represented or under-represented, when compared to known estimates of population demographics based on annual congregational data collected in the Session Annual Statistical Report by the Office of the General Assembly in 2015.

If this study had been composed of a simple random sample, the margin of error for this survey as a whole (using a 95% confidence interval) would be 3.8%. If we were to compute a margin of error for each sample within the survey, this margin would be 5.2% for members and 5.9% for teaching elders. We cannot compute a margin of error for the leader study, since it was a convenience sample.

Data Analysis

Survey results have been analyzed for demographic differences in respondents' role (member vs. teaching elder) and gender. This analysis helps to identify patterns in responses. Results are presented as descriptive statistics, and are at times accompanied by illustrative comments.

When differences between groups of respondents are noted in results, significance tests have indicated that these differences are statistically significant at the $p \leq .05$ -level, meaning that there is a 5% or lower chance that the groups are actually statistically equivalent in the area discussed. Qualitative data are analyzed using content analysis (See page 27 for additional details).

Appendix B: Survey Questions and Responses

Gender and Leadership in the PC(USA)

Number of surveys completed	2,871
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Leadership in the PC(USA)	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
1. In which of the following ways do you act as a leader in the PC(USA)? <i>(Select all that apply.)</i>	n=1,224	n=1,611
I have an official leadership role (pastor, stated clerk, ruling elder, etc.)	55%	91%
Others often come to me for advice	31%	44%
I am often asked to lead workshops, activities, or programs	27%	33%
I am heavily involved in a volunteer capacity	44%	14%
Other	18%	8%
I do not act as a leader in the PC(USA)	16%	2%
2. Have you ever been asked to serve in a leadership role in the church and turned it down?	n=1,224	n=1,603
Yes	49%	64%
No, I've never been asked to serve in a leadership role in the church.....	8%	2%
No, I've always said yes to serve in a leadership role in the church.....	41%	33%
I don't know	2%	2%
3. If yes to Q2, why did you turn down the leadership role(s)? <i>(Select all that apply.)</i>	n=784	n=976
I didn't feel qualified	15%	10%
I didn't want the responsibility	12%	12%
It would require too much of my time.....	46%	54%
Other	51%	53%
4. How many hours have you spent doing the following activities within the past month? If none, write "0."	n=1,027	n=1,214
	<u>mean</u>	<u>mean</u>
Hours volunteering time at your church in a leadership position	6.43	8.43
Hours volunteering time at your church in a non-leadership position.....	6.26	3.08
Hours volunteering time outside your church in a leadership position.....	6.57	7.71
Hours volunteering time outside your church in a non-leadership position.....	5.47	4.83
5. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?		
<i>A good woman should be set on a pedestal</i>	n=1,164	n=1,533
1 (completely disagree)	42%	51%
2.....	10%	11%
3.....	7%	5%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	27%	22%
5.....	6%	4%
6.....	4%	3%
7 (completely agree)	5%	3%
Mean	2.75	2.39

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Women should be cherished and protected by men</i>		
	n=1,161	n=1,527
1 (completely disagree)	18%	23%
2.....	9%	13%
3.....	9%	7%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	24%	24%
5.....	15%	16%
6.....	11%	8%
7 (completely agree)	15%	10%
Mean	4.03	3.60
<i>Men should sacrifice to provide for women</i>		
	n=1,161	n=1,528
1 (completely disagree)	27%	27%
2.....	11%	12%
3.....	11%	7%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	28%	27%
5.....	11%	13%
6.....	7%	7%
7 (completely agree)	6%	7%
Mean	3.30	3.36
<i>In a disaster, women need not be rescued first</i>		
	n=1,160	n=1,529
1 (completely disagree)	16%	15%
2.....	11%	11%
3.....	12%	12%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	28%	30%
5.....	10%	9%
6.....	9%	9%
7 (completely agree)	14%	14%
Mean	3.90	3.90
<i>Women have a superior moral sensibility</i>		
	n=1,152	n=1,535
1 (completely disagree)	35%	39%
2.....	13%	16%
3.....	9%	8%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	27%	26%
5.....	10%	7%
6.....	4%	3%
7 (completely agree)	1%	1%
Mean	2.85	2.58
<i>Women have a quality of purity few men possess</i>		
	n=1,155	n=1,532
1 (completely disagree)	42%	49%
2.....	14%	17%
3.....	9%	6%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	26%	22%
5.....	6%	4%
6.....	2%	1%
7 (completely agree)	1%	1%
Mean	2.49	2.21

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Women have a more refined sense of culture, taste</i>	n=1,155	n=1,529
1 (completely disagree)	32%	41%
2.....	12%	16%
3.....	11%	7%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	25%	24%
5.....	13%	8%
6.....	6%	3%
7 (completely agree)	2%	1%
Mean.....	2.98	2.57

6. Do you think the following traits are generally a greater strength of women or of men?

<i>Able to adapt leadership style for different people and situations</i>	n=1,161	n=1,530
1 (greater strength of women)	10%	7%
2.....	12%	11%
3.....	17%	19%
4 (no difference)	55%	59%
5.....	4%	2%
6.....	1%	1%
7 (greater strength of men)	1%	1%
Mean	3.41	3.43

<i>Able to lead change</i>	n=1,161	n=1,531
1 (greater strength of women)	5%	2%
2.....	5%	3%
3.....	7%	8%
4 (no difference)	70%	76%
5.....	9%	8%
6.....	2%	2%
7 (greater strength of men)	2%	1%
Mean	3.88	3.94

<i>Active listener</i>	n=1,154	n=1,529
1 (greater strength of women)	13%	7%
2.....	17%	17%
3.....	28%	29%
4 (no difference)	40%	45%
5.....	1%	1%
6.....	1%	<1%
7 (greater strength of men)	1%	<1%
Mean	3.02	3.18

<i>Available, approachable, and warm person with good "people skills"</i>	n=1,161	n=1,527
1 (greater strength of women)	9%	4%
2.....	12%	9%
3.....	21%	24%
4 (no difference)	56%	62%
5.....	2%	1%
6.....	<1%	<1%
7 (greater strength of men)	<1%	<1%
Mean	3.31	3.49

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Competent</i>		
	n=1,160	n=1,531
1 (greater strength of women)	3%	1%
2.....	3%	2%
3.....	3%	4%
4 (no difference)	88%	91%
5.....	2%	1%
6.....	1%	1%
7 (greater strength of men)	<1%	<1%
Mean	3.86	3.91
<i>Confident</i>		
	n=1,161	n=1,527
1 (greater strength of women)	2%	1%
2.....	2%	1%
3.....	3%	2%
4 (no difference)	65%	62%
5.....	20%	24%
6.....	6%	8%
7 (greater strength of men)	3%	1%
Mean	4.26	4.39
<i>Emotionally healthy</i>		
	n=1,158	n=1,526
1 (greater strength of women)	3%	2%
2.....	4%	4%
3.....	9%	15%
4 (no difference)	78%	77%
5.....	4%	3%
6.....	2%	1%
7 (greater strength of men)	1%	<1%
Mean	3.82	3.77
<i>Genuine and heartfelt spiritual life</i>		
	n=1,157	n=1,528
1 (greater strength of women)	4%	2%
2.....	6%	5%
3.....	12%	12%
4 (no difference)	77%	80%
5.....	1%	1%
6.....	<1%	<1%
7 (greater strength of men)	<1%	<1%
Mean	3.68	3.74
<i>Strong spiritual leader</i>		
	n=1,154	n=1,528
1 (greater strength of women)	3%	2%
2.....	4%	2%
3.....	6%	7%
4 (no difference)	81%	85%
5.....	5%	3%
6.....	1%	1%
7 (greater strength of men)	1%	<1%
Mean	3.87	3.90

7. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

members

Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States

	n=1,163	n=1,549
1 (completely disagree)	41%	53%
2.....	25%	28%
3.....	18%	12%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	5%	2%
5.....	5%	3%
6.....	3%	1%
7 (completely agree)	2%	1%
Mean	2.25	1.83

Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the PC(USA)

	n=1,156	n=1,544
1 (completely disagree)	19%	37%
2.....	17%	27%
3.....	22%	20%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	24%	5%
5.....	8%	5%
6.....	7%	4%
7 (completely agree)	5%	2%
Mean	3.24	2.33

Women often miss out on good jobs in the PC(USA) due to gender discrimination

	n=1,147	n=1,537
1 (completely disagree)	9%	6%
2.....	10%	9%
3.....	10%	12%
4 (neither agree nor disagree)	44%	15%
5.....	12%	17%
6.....	8%	18%
7 (completely agree)	7%	23%
Mean	3.92	4.74

The PC(USA) has not reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement

	n=1,148	n=1,543
1 (completely disagree)	8%	4%
2.....	8%	5%
3.....	9%	6%
4.....	33%	11%
5.....	18%	20%
6.....	11%	19%
7 (completely agree)	13%	35%
Mean	4.29	5.34

8. Which of the following statements represent your beliefs about women as pastors? (*Select all that apply.*)

	n=1,173	n=1,553
Women should not be pastors because it is spoken against in the Bible	1%	<1%
Men and women have different strengths, and the strengths of men just make them better pastor	3%	1%
It is fine for women to be pastors, but I prefer to have a man as my pastor.....	10%	4%
Men and women should have an equal opportunity to be a pastor.....	91%	93%
We need more female pastors in the PC(USA)	32%	34%
I prefer to be in a congregation where there is a female pastor	11%	11%
Women and men have different strengths, and the strengths of <i>women</i> just make them better pastors.....	2%	3%
Other statement	9%	12%

9. In general, when it comes to getting, or being elected to, a position in the PC(USA) for which they are qualified, how do you think the chances of women and men compare?

Head pastor

	n=1,152	n=1,537
1 (better chance for women)	<1%	<1%
2.....	<1%	<1%
3.....	1%	1%
4 (equal chance for both)	21%	8%
5.....	22%	16%
6.....	20%	26%
7 (better chance for men).....	31%	48%
I don't know	4%	1%
Mean	5.69	6.12

Associate pastor

	n=1,147	n=1,534
1 (better chance for women)	6%	7%
2.....	5%	8%
3.....	9%	14%
4 (equal chance for both)	55%	49%
5.....	10%	13%
6.....	4%	4%
7 (better chance for men).....	5%	4%
I don't know	5%	1%
Mean	4.15	3.85

Youth director and/or Christian educator

	n=1,150	n=1,537
1 (better chance for women)	12%	13%
2.....	12%	14%
3.....	20%	21%
4 (equal chance for both)	44%	42%
5.....	4%	6%
6.....	2%	1%
7 (better chance for men).....	2%	2%
I don't know	3%	1%
Mean	3.44	3.32

Ruling elder

	n=1,155	n=1,536
1 (better chance for women)	1%	1%
2.....	1%	3%
3.....	3%	5%
4 (equal chance for both)	72%	66%
5.....	10%	17%
6.....	5%	5%
7 (better chance for men).....	6%	4%
I don't know	3%	1%
Mean	4.37	4.26

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Deacon</i>		
	n=1,149	n=1,537
1 (better chance for women)	8%	11%
2.....	9%	17%
3.....	15%	26%
4 (equal chance for both)	59%	41%
5.....	3%	3%
6.....	2%	1%
7 (better chance for men).....	1%	1%
I don't know	2%	1%
Mean	3.59	3.18
<i>Trustee</i>		
	n=1,140	n=1,529
1 (better chance for women)	1%	<1%
2.....	1%	1%
3.....	1%	1%
4 (equal chance for both)	46%	28%
5.....	20%	32%
6.....	14%	21%
7 (better chance for men).....	11%	15%
I don't know	6%	3%
Mean	5.01	5.26
<i>Sunday school teacher</i>		
	n=1,152	n=1,535
1 (better chance for women)	20%	20%
2.....	20%	26%
3.....	18%	24%
4 (equal chance for both)	39%	28%
5.....	<1%	1%
6.....	<1%	<1%
7 (better chance for men).....	<1%	1%
I don't know	2%	1%
Mean	2.92	2.69
10. In general, do you think it is harder for women than men in the PC(USA) to be accepted in leadership roles?		
	n=1,127	n=1,501
1 (a lot harder for women)	8%	13%
2.....	12%	24%
3.....	30%	36%
4 (equal chance for both)	23%	12%
5.....	8%	7%
6.....	10%	6%
7 (not at all harder for women)	8%	3%
Mean	3.74	3.03
11. In general, do you think people in leadership positions in the PC(USA) are treated differently based on their gender?		
	n=1,133	n=1,507
1 (treated very differently)	5%	10%
2.....	8%	20%
3.....	25%	33%
4.....	28%	17%
5.....	10%	9%
6.....	15%	9%
7 (treated exactly the same)	10%	3%
Mean	4.13	3.32

12. Do you think people in leadership positions in the PC(USA) should be treated differently based on their gender?		
	n=1,153	n=1,537
Yes	<1%	1%
No.....	87%	84%
Sometimes/It depends.....	11%	15%
I don't know	2%	1%
13. Have you ever experienced discrimination, harassment, or prejudicial statements within the PC(USA) because of your gender? (<i>Select all that apply.</i>)		
	n=1,171	n=1,555
Yes, discrimination.....	8%	35%
Yes, harassment.....	2%	18%
Yes, prejudicial statements.....	14%	40%
No.....	74%	40%
Not sure	7%	5%
14. Have you ever personally had a harder time being accepted in a leadership role in the PC(USA) due to your gender?		
	n=1,158	n=1,539
Yes	11%	38%
No.....	73%	50%
I don't know	8%	11%
Not applicable	9%	1%
15. Do you feel like your gender has contributed to your being overlooked for a promotion or higher status position within the PC(USA)?		
	n=1,151	n=1,536
Yes	4%	24%
No.....	62%	54%
I don't know	8%	16%
Not applicable	26%	6%
16. To what extent have you personally struggled with the following as a leader in the PC(USA)?		
<i>Being accepted as an authority figure</i>		
	n=911	n=1,486
1 (not at all)	38%	18%
2.....	16%	16%
3.....	9%	13%
4.....	11%	12%
5.....	12%	23%
6.....	5%	12%
7 (a great deal)	3%	6%
Not applicable	6%	1%
Mean	3.01	3.67
<i>Being included by other leaders</i>		
	n=915	n=1,488
1 (not at all)	40%	20%
2.....	16%	22%
3.....	10%	14%
4.....	10%	11%
5.....	11%	19%
6.....	5%	10%
7 (a great deal)	3%	5%
Not applicable	6%	1%
Mean	2.87	3.38

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Being recognized for my leadership abilities</i>		
	n=917	n=1,488
1 (not at all)	41%	20%
2.....	16%	22%
3.....	10%	13%
4.....	12%	13%
5.....	9%	18%
6.....	4%	10%
7 (a great deal)	3%	5%
Not applicable	4%	<1%
Mean	2.78	3.38
<i>Distrust due to my marital status</i>		
	n=913	n=1,490
1 (not at all)	67%	55%
2.....	6%	11%
3.....	3%	5%
4.....	7%	8%
5.....	3%	9%
6.....	3%	6%
7 (a great deal)	2%	5%
Not applicable	9%	2%
Mean	2.35	2.48
<i>Inappropriate comments or questions</i>		
	n=914	n=1,484
1 (not at all)	54%	26%
2.....	12%	15%
3.....	7%	8%
4.....	7%	11%
5.....	7%	20%
6.....	5%	12%
7 (a great deal)	2%	8%
Not applicable	6%	1%
Mean	2.53	3.57
<i>Loneliness</i>		
	n=910	n=1,488
1 (not at all)	52%	16%
2.....	10%	10%
3.....	7%	9%
4.....	10%	14%
5.....	7%	20%
6.....	3%	17%
7 (a great deal)	4%	14%
Not applicable	8%	1%
Mean	2.71	4.20
<i>Low pay</i>		
	n=856	n=1,486
1 (not at all)	37%	11%
2.....	4%	10%
3.....	3%	9%
4.....	7%	15%
5.....	5%	18%
6.....	4%	19%
7 (a great deal)	5%	17%
Not applicable	37%	2%
Mean	4.57	4.50

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Not having my work be validated by others</i>	n=907	n=1,483
1 (not at all)	44%	17%
2.....	14%	20%
3.....	9%	12%
4.....	11%	16%
5.....	6%	18%
6.....	5%	10%
7 (a great deal)	3%	7%
Not applicable	9%	1%
Mean	2.89	3.59
 <i>Work/life balance</i>	 n=376	 n=560
1 (not at all)	36%	7%
2.....	11%	6%
3.....	10%	6%
4.....	17%	17%
5.....	11%	23%
6.....	7%	24%
7 (a great deal)	8%	18%
Not applicable	0%	0%
Mean	3.09	4.87
 <i>Surprise or disbelief when I tell people what I do</i>	 n=897	 n=1,476
1 (not at all)	45%	14%
2.....	11%	14%
3.....	6%	9%
4.....	10%	14%
5.....	7%	17%
6.....	4%	18%
7 (a great deal)	4%	15%
Not applicable	15%	1%
Mean	3.22	4.21
 17. Do you feel like these issues (or lack thereof) have anything to do with your gender? That is, do you feel you would have similar problems (or the absence of similar problems) as a leader in the PC(USA) if you were not your gender?		
	n=539	n=917
Yes, definitely.....	4%	17%
Yes, somewhat	8%	14%
For some issues but not others.....	18%	27%
No, not really.....	42%	30%
Definitely not	17%	9%
I don't know	11%	4%

Demographics	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
Which of the following best describes your gender?		
	n=1,169	n=1,545
Male	30%	48%
Female	70%	52%
What is your current age?		
	n=1,091	n=1,460
Mean	61	54
What is your race and/or ethnicity? <i>(Select all that apply.)</i>		
	n=1,100	n=1,473
Hispanic, Latino/a, or Spanish Origin	3%	2%
White.....	90%	91%
Black or African American.....	5%	2%
African immigrant	<1%	<1%
Korean	1%	2%
Asian but not Korean	1%	1%
Native American	<1%	<1%
Middle Eastern.....	<1%	<1%
Multiracial (recoded from those who selected more than one race-ethnicity).....	1%	2%
What is your current relationship status?		
	n=1,063	n=1,382
Single	12%	10%
Married.....	72%	80%
Living in a committed relationship.....	2%	1%
Divorced	5%	7%
Widowed.....	9%	2%
Separated.....	<1%	<1%
How many dependents and/or children do you have?		
<i>Number of children living with me</i>		
	n=971	n=1,305
0.....	73%	60%
1.....	15%	18%
2.....	9%	15%
3.....	3%	6%
4.....	1%	2%
5.....	<1%	<1%
6.....	<1%	0%
<i>Number of children living elsewhere</i>		
	n=1,016	n=1,286
0.....	37%	46%
1.....	14%	14%
2.....	29%	23%
3.....	14%	11%
4.....	5%	4%
5.....	1%	1%
6.....	1%	1%
7.....	1%	<1%

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Number of dependents that are NOT my children</i>	n=928	n=1,178
0.....	94%	93%
1.....	5%	6%
2.....	1%	1%
3.....	<1%	<1%
4 or more.....	<1%	<1%
 What is the highest level of education you have?	 n=1,062	 n=578
Some high school or less.....	<1%	0%
High school diploma.....	3%	0%
Some college, but no degree.....	10%	<1%
Trade school certificate.....	1%	0%
Associate degree.....	4%	<1%
Bachelor's degree.....	27%	1%
Some graduate work.....	12%	1%
Master's degree.....	33%	74%
Doctorate.....	11%	24%
 Which seminary degrees do you currently have?	 n=431	 n=1,389
BD.....	1%	2%
MDiv.....	6%	90%
ThM.....	0%	5%
MA.....	4%	6%
MATS.....	0%	1%
DMin.....	1%	20%
DD.....	0%	1%
PhD.....	0%	5%
Other.....	8%	3%
None.....	71%	2%
 Are you ordained as any of the following?	 n=1,228	 n=1,612
teaching elder.....	0%	100%
commissioned ruling elder.....	7%	1%
ruling elder.....	56%	6%
deacon.....	28%	3%
none of the above.....	32%	0%
 Please indicate your employment status (<i>Select all that apply.</i>)	 n=1,118	 n=633
Employed full-time.....	29%	63%
Employed part-time.....	13%	20%
Self-employed.....	8%	4%
Unemployed.....	2%	3%
Retired.....	47%	10%
Full-time homemaker.....	6%	2%
Student.....	3%	1%
Other.....	2%	5%
 About how many hours per week do you work in total paid employment?	 n=526	 n=1,125
Mean.....	36.65	45.12

Which of the following categories describe your current paid employment? *(Select all that apply.)*

	n=197	n=1,329
Pastoral leader of a congregation.....	13%	73%
A non-pastoral position in a congregation.....	15%	2%
Faculty or staff at a seminary or theological school	3%	3%
Faculty or staff at another educational institution	8%	3%
Chaplain in the military	0%	1%
Chaplain in a hospital or other health-care facility	1%	5%
Other chaplain	3%	2%
PC(USA) national, synod, or presbytery staff.....	13%	8%
Staff of an ecumenical or non-denominational agency	3%	1%
Professional pastoral counselor	0%	1%
Other employment with a religious organization.....	9%	5%
All other (including secular) employment	49%	7%

IF PASTORAL LEADER OF A CONGREGATION: Is your position in a PC(USA) congregation?

	n=197	n=1,329
Yes.....	98%	97%
No.....	2%	3%

IF PASTORAL LEADER OF A CONGREGATION OR A NON-PASTORAL POSITION IN A CONGREGATION:
Is your position in a PC(USA) congregation?

	n=28	n=1,179
Pastor.....	29%	52%
Associate pastor	4%	12%
Worshiping community leader.....	0%	2%
Co-pastor	0%	3%
Commissioned ruling elder	65%	0%
Stated or temporary supply pastor	7%	7%
Interim pastor	4%	8%
Designated pastor.....	0%	1%
Parish Associate.....	4%	2%
Other	7%	2%

Do you currently hold any of the following positions in your congregation? *(Select all that apply.)*

n=1,126 n=638

Christian education and/or youth director

Yes, paid	4%	8%
Yes, unpaid.....	7%	5%

Mid council executive or stated clerk

Yes, paid	2%	7%
Yes, unpaid.....	2%	2%

Clerk of session

Yes, paid	1%	0%
Yes, unpaid.....	8%	2%

	<u>members</u>	<u>teaching elders</u>
<i>Elder commissioner to presbytery, synod, or GA</i>		
Yes, paid	1%	2%
Yes, unpaid	17%	5%
 <i>Music director, choir director, or praise team leader</i>		
Yes, paid	2%	1%
Yes, unpaid	2%	2%
 <i>Organist or other musician</i>		
Yes, paid	2%	1%
Yes, unpaid	5%	3%
 <i>Sunday school teacher or leader</i>		
Yes, paid	2%	8%
Yes, unpaid	23%	10%

Appendix C: Themes that Appeared in Comments about Respondents' Experiences in the PC(USA)

Theme	Number of Times
Discrimination against women: I, my wife, or (other) women have faced discrimination (in general) or pay discrimination because of their/our gender	556
Prejudicial statements against women: I, my wife, or (other) women I know have faced prejudicial statements because of their gender/our gender	367
Discrimination on the basis of traits other than gender: I, my spouse, or (other) people I know have faced discrimination on the basis of traits other than gender (or in conjunction with gender).....	253
Female leaders' authority not being accepted: I, my wife, or (other) women I know have had trouble with their/our authority being accepted because of their/our gender	149
Discrimination against men: I, my husband, or (other) men I know have faced discrimination, prejudicial statements, or harassment because of their/our gender	122
Harassment against women: I, my wife, or (other) women I know have faced harassment because of their/our gender	111
No gender discrimination: I, my spouse, or other people I know have not faced discrimination because of their/our gender	70
Other	211