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Structural Correlates of Conflict in the Clerical Role-Set.

Charles W. Glasgow
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Ph.D., 1967
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STRUCTURAL CORRELATES OF CONFLICT IN
THE CLERICAL ROLE-SET

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Sociology

by
Charles W. Glasgow
B.A., Southwest Missouri State College, 1959
M.A., Louisiana State University, 1963
May, 1967
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ABSTRACT

The findings of several important studies indicate that modern clerical roles are characterized frequently by conflict and ambiguity. An awareness exists among many clergymen that traditional religious concepts and clerical practices may not be relevant for a dynamic urban and industrial society. However, a new consensus concerning the proper functions of the clergy has not developed.

This research was designed to study aspects of the phenomenon of clerical role conflict. It was guided by Merton's theory of the role-set which focuses upon the relationship between role conflict and associated structural characteristics. A paramount assumption underlying this theory is that variation in conflict perceived by the incumbent of a given status position can be explained, in part, by a study of structural characteristics of the role-set.

It was hypothesized that clerical role conflict varies with (1) the minister's perceived status incongruity; (2) the theological orientation of the clergymen; (3) the tenure of the clergymen at the local church; and (4) the type of church organization. Additional variables were incorporated into the analysis as test factors to determine in greater detail the nature of the relationships between these structural
conditions and the measures of role conflict.

Three measures of role conflict were included in the study, and each indicates the conflict which clergymen perceived concerning their allocation of time for the traditional or contemporary responsibilities. The M-S role conflict was measured by the disparity between expectations which are held by the clergymen and his parishioners concerning the allocation of clerical time. The P-S role conflict was indicated by the disparity of expectations which are held by the clergymen and his professional colleagues concerning the allocation of clerical time. The M-P role conflict was seen in the disparity between expectations which are held by the parishioners of a given church and the colleagues of the minister concerning the allocation of clerical time.

The research findings indicate that the factor of type of church organization was associated very closely with the M-S role conflict. The factors of clerical tenure and clerical theological orientation were considerably less important correlates of this type of role conflict. Status incongruity was hardly related to M-S role conflict.

The most important correlate of P-S role conflict was clerical tenure at the local church. The association of clerical theological orientation and type of church organization to P-S role conflict was dubious. The relationship between status incongruity and this type of role conflict
was negligible. None of the structural characteristics appeared to be related to M-P role conflict in any important way.
CHAPTER I

CLERICAL ROLE CONFLICT: AN INTRODUCTION

Prevented by social pressures from living as they believe men ought to live, frustrated by an unfulfillable self-image of the minister as one ordained to a holy calling, filled with vocational guilt for spending major portions of time on pointless parish piddling, disillusioned by the politics of professional advancement, embittered by the bureaucracy that makes them office managers . . . and publicity directors . . . sensing the double ethical standard applied to clergymen and their families . . . sensing cleavages between their beliefs and what they are expected to preach, many ministers resolve their inner struggles by entering other vocations. The problems and frustrations of the clergy are not all unique; they reflect a culture with increasing vocational specialization . . . and dominated by secular values.1

The minister is a "man in the middle" of the currents and cross-currents of religious thought, value, and belief in modern society. His role conflicts are indicative in large measure of the underlying tension between the church and the larger society. American culture has influenced the forms of American religion dramatically, and it is probable that the minister's role will be characterized by indecision and confusion so long as the social and cultural changes are revolutionary in character.2 This chapter is based on sociological literature dealing with the clergy and indicates the conflict which is characteristic of the modern clerical
role. It serves as the background essential to an understanding of the research problem presented in Chapter II. The following topics are examined: (1) the modern clergy: a confused profession; (2) status contradictions of the modern clergy; (3) impression management and the clergy; (4) the importance of congregational and situational influences; and (5) traditional and contemporary roles.

The Modern Clergy: A Confused Profession

Background. During the Middle Ages, a rather well-defined conception of the ministry gave rise to a standard by which the work of clergymen could be evaluated. The Christian religious leader of that period was essentially a pastor, a ruling pastor. Members of the church hierarchy and parishioners alike were in general agreement concerning the proper functions and responsibilities of the pastor. His primary objective was that of "saving souls" in an attempt to prepare individuals for life after death. This did not preclude his attention to other activities such as administration of sacraments and supervision of church activities, but the pastoral role was dominant. This pattern was not imposed on the churches by an external authority necessarily; it grew out of tradition, practice, experience, and the needs of the time.³

The Reformation clergy also had relatively little role ambiguity. Their function was essentially that of preaching the biblical message in an attempt to convince parishioners
of its validity. They, too, necessarily performed various clerical functions such as administration of sacraments and supervision of church activities, but the paramount emphasis was on the task of preaching.\textsuperscript{4}

The position and functions of the modern clergyman, by contrast, are rather ill defined. His roles appear to be characterized by conflict and ambiguity. That contemporary Protestant churches are confused about the nature of the ministry is evidenced by the fact that neither ministers nor the schools that train them are guided by a clear-cut and generally accepted conception of that office.\textsuperscript{5}

Schroeder and Obenhaus, in their study of religion in a midwestern community, suggest that everyone had a judgment about the qualities he expected in a minister. That some of them were vague, a few were specific, many were ambiguous, and others were mutually exclusive underscores the fact of a varied layman's understanding of the clerical responsibilities. Also, there is an ambivalence and diversity of opinion among clergymen themselves, as will be noted throughout this first chapter. Modern society has undergone rapid and sweeping changes that have complicated and confused the functions of the clergy. As a result, an awareness exists that traditional concepts and techniques may be inadequate in a dynamic urban and industrial society, but a new consensus concerning the proper functions of the clergy has not developed.\textsuperscript{6}

Niebuhr has pointed out that, historically, an
intelligible theory of the ministry has included at least four interrelated concepts: (1) an understanding concerning the objectives and activities of clergymen; (2) a general consensus of the meaning of a "call" to the ministry; (3) an explanation of the nature and source of the minister's authority; (4) a doctrine concerning the nature of man, including his salient needs. He also has argued that each of these concepts is characterized by ambiguity in the modern church.

Gustafson has studied the problems of the modern clergy and concludes that a sociological and theological understanding of the minister's work is needed. He points out that the minister is expected to interpret the meaning of life within a theological perspective. To do this effectively, he must have an understanding of the nature of the social and cultural context within which people live their lives. This means that knowledge about the institutional and sociological consequences of his theological convictions is as important as perception of the theological implications of his various responsibilities. He argues also that clergymen often are unable to determine their identity or proper function in the modern world, that is, "who they are" or "what they are doing." No central focus has been institutionalized around which the various activities of modern clergymen can be integrated meaningfully. He says that theological seminaries customarily do not give a theological doctrine of the ministry which is coupled with a sociological
definition of their tasks. For this reason, the individual minister is forced to develop his own justification or legitimation for his activities. He often encounters difficulty because he possesses some understanding of the tradition and theology of the ministry but little knowledge of the complex social structures within which he must work. In many cases, he may be confused concerning the theological justification for his work as well as the sociological implications of the work. In short, Gustafson underscores the current need for both a sociological and theological explanation of the ministry. One without the other provides an inadequate basis for legitimation of the clergyman's activities and leaves his profession very much confused in the modern world.9

**Sociological understanding.** One astute observer of the religious scene commented on the ambiguity of the clerical role three decades ago.

What is the function of the minister in the modern community? The answer is that it is undefined; there is no agreement among denominational authorities, local officials, seminary professors, prominent laymen, ministers, or educators, as to what it is or should be. This lack of agreement even along the most general lines is a characteristic feature of the situation today. . . . The work of the lawyer, the physician, the teacher, the artist, the writer, and the engineer is clear-cut and sharply defined, at least in the mind of the average man, so that when a young man chooses one of these professions he has at least some idea of what he is getting into. But not so with the ministry.10

During World War II, an excellent study of ministers in the American Baptist Convention was conducted by Hartshorne and Froyd. The findings of this study indicated the extent
of confusion in 1944 within a single denomination concerning the proper functions of the minister. It was noted that a large proportion of the clergymen find conventional patterns ineffective in meeting the actual needs of their parishioners, especially in the light of increasing knowledge concerning human needs. The authors pointed out also that for many other clergymen, the ministry drops to the level of a trade. Each man is sent to a church with a set of routine procedures which are to be applied indiscriminately in all situations, although a more professional approach would be guided by a set of principles which are adaptable to a variety of situations.11

A meaningful conception of the ministry would include not only a specification of the most important work a clergyman may do but also the recognition that he plays many roles, all of which can be ordered in a scale of importance. This means that the various roles are directed toward a central focus or end. Confusion in the conception of the ministry today appears precisely at these two points: an inability to define the most important clerical responsibilities and uncertainty about the ends toward which they should be directed.12 Niebuhr points out that if a new conception of the ministry is emerging, it will be characterized by a sense of the relative importance of the various clerical activities and a definite idea of the central objective to be sought by the minister in each of them.13

Individual clergymen who have worked out a clear-cut
definition of their task and office generally say that they have received little help from their church or seminary and that the maintenance of a sense of specific vocation is a very personal responsibility. Niebuhr says that "... uncertainty about the meaning of the ministry may be indicated by the silence of many seminary faculties when they are asked to speak of their precise objectives or by the great generality of the phrases employed when they answer." A dysfunction resulting from the failure to define what is important and unimportant in a minister's work may well be the burdensome pressure under which many ministers work. Hagstrom includes consideration of this subject in his treatment of the Protestant clerical role. He has noted that the clergy differs from other professions in the extent to which its members perform a functionally specific role. He argues that the clerical roles are not characterized by functional specificity and that norms which are functional in some of them are seriously dysfunctional in others. Ministers often find that emphasis upon one role leads inevitably to a distortion of other important roles which they are required to play.

Although other professionals are expected to treat their clients or patients according to objective standards, the minister is dealing with "eternal souls." Hagstrom says that a conflict often exists for him between the values of particularism and universalism in that he must interact with his parishioners on a particularistic rather than a
universalistic basis. However, he often is not free to establish genuinely personal relationships with his clients or parishioners because to do so would create dissension and jealousy among factions within the church. Affectively, then, he is expected to offer sympathy and consolation, but normatively his interaction with parishioners should be characterized by a lack of permissiveness, a somewhat cautious establishment of personal ties. To complicate the problem further, pressures for affective involvement and particularistic interaction are seen in the desire of parishioners for a friendly clergy, and this desire is reflected in the church leaders' hiring practices.\(^\text{18}\)

The conflict which often exists between the prophetic and administrative roles of the clergyman may be explained as follows. A major responsibility of the minister lies in the area of church finance. He is expected to provide leadership in raising the church budget each year, and much of his professional success is contingent upon effectiveness in this aspect of church administration. Consequently, a premium is placed on the recruitment of people and leadership to voluntary associations of the church, particularly potentially important contributors. To succeed in this endeavor, he must be friendly and charming; an unpopular clergyman has difficulty in raising the budget. Role conflict occurs because it is difficult for him to be on very warm terms with parishioners and, at the same time, to show them moral seriousness and to be accepted as the interpreter of the
deity. It is difficult for the minister who is socially equal to play the role of a moral and religious authority.\textsuperscript{19}

Hagstrom points out that the trend is toward a secular and more professionalized clergy. He notes, however, that a secular clergy does not meet the requirements of traditional expectations and that professionalization is difficult because the principal techniques required for success in the ministry are not based upon a complex and abstract body of knowledge, as in the professions generally. In fact, the techniques are often considered to be unimportant by the community at large. To sustain membership, religious groups often take on many nonreligious functions and, in the process, become recreational and social centers. One result of this development, Hagstrom argues, is that the minister loses many of his strictly religious functions and his religious prestige. He becomes an administrator, recreation leader, and a social group worker. This is an array of responsibilities that makes for ambiguous professional identification.\textsuperscript{20}

\textbf{Theological understanding.} According to Lawson, much of the minister's role confusion can be explained by the fact that his social and ethical understanding differs from that of his congregation. His attitudes are derived largely from seminary training and from denominational leaders, but those of his parishioners are influenced to a far greater extent by business, economic, and technological disciplines. The clergyman may begin to suspect that what the ordinary man
understands by religion is "... that system of doctrines and pledges which explains the riddle of this world to him with an enviable completeness" and assures him that "... a solicitous Providence is watching over him and will make up to him in a future experience for any shortcomings in this life." It may appear to him, according to Lawson, that the average parishioner cannot imagine this Providence in any form other than that of a greatly exalted father. If that be the case, a cleavage may exist between the beliefs of the average church member and the minister, and this divergence gives rise to two religions—a clerical religion and a lay religion. In such a situation, the minister may no longer believe the Gospel as he is expected to preach it, and continuation in the ministry leads only to greater frustration. Lawson observed that Chicago ministers in this kind of dilemma considered their congregations to be suspicious of "intelligent preaching" and looked upon parishioner expectations in this area as dehumanizing.

In his consideration of seminary preparation for the ministry, Kirkland found a lack of integration between the biblical and theological studies on the one hand and the practical courses on the other. The student is not presented a theological explanation for many of the responsibilities that he will later assume as a clergyman, and the result is often that he looks upon administrative tasks as irrelevant to his ministry. He flounders in them, or perhaps attempts to borrow the organizational techniques and practices of
the successful businessman.25

Related closely to the confusion that surrounds the clerical role is the serious diversity of opinion in religious circles concerning (1) the phenomenon of a "call" to the ministry, and (2) the question of the nature of man. Both are theological subjects that have been confused by intellectual developments of the last several decades. Niebuhr has pointed out that a theory of the call which was developed in the age of revivalism and evangelicalism could hardly be considered applicable to the religious experience of young people today and that a new concept is emerging among Protestant churches.26 Divine action involved in the selection of ministers appears to be interpreted less spiritually than in the past. More emphasis is being placed on the responsibility of the church to recognize potential leadership and to extend the call to prospective ministerial students.27

As noted above, the concept of the nature of man is very much related to the role of the clergy. In fact, one prerequisite to a well-defined concept of the ministry is an understanding of the nature of man and human society. In this regard, social change and developments in the behavioral sciences concerning the nature of man have influenced the ministry a great deal. The understanding of man characteristic of the Reformers was that of a sublime but perverted creation.28 Since the Reformation, however, and especially during the present century, a variety of explanations
concerning the nature of man have been entertained by the Protestant clergy. The scientific study of human behavior has called into question many assumptions made by traditional theologians. As the conception of the nature of man has changed, many churches and ministers, particularly the liberal religionists, have modified their theological propositions.29 Also, as the significance of the individual's relation to society has been explored, the needs of the social man have received a primary emphasis in many theological quarters, the best example of which was the rise of the social gospel three to four decades ago.30 The social gospel left many religionists puzzled concerning the proper objectives of the church and the ministry. The reason is that a theological view of man is always related to natural and social views of man and, consequently, will be confused when the latter are in a state of flux. As might be expected, however, there was reaction to the social gospel as serious as that toward any other type of religious innovation.31 As Niebuhr has pointed out, the ministry often seems to be divided between those who seek to make Christianity relevant by allegorizing it and those who look upon traditional procedures as sacred and sufficient.32

Whitley describes the role confusion of the modern clergy somewhat figuratively:

The characteristics of the stage on which this actor is to play his role are in a perpetual state of flux. The play in which he finally appears may turn out not to be the one for which he has been rehearsing. And even if he has managed to select
the right play, it has not yet been decided which of the several parts for which he has been learning the lines he is actually to present. Too, some members of the audience want him to interpret the part in one way, and some of it in another. There was a time when many people in American society would have agreed that the author of the play was divinely inspired, and that the producer-director was God himself. Now many of the season-ticket holders are not so sure.33

**Status Contradictions of the Modern Clergy**

The problem of a confused clerical role would be considerably less formidable if clergymen themselves were free to determine their proper functions and responsibilities. An impediment for them consists of status contradictions inherent in the position of Protestant ministers. In effect, they are not granted the occupational autonomy generally held by professional people. Two rather serious inconsistencies of their status attributes will be noted here: (1) the relatively high prestige and relatively low salaries, and (2) the rather prestigeful position of leadership which includes relatively little authority.

Stanley Chapman reported that ministers, particularly in the eastern part of the United States, occupy a social position of power. In "the nonpolitical life," according to him, "the great preachers are among the more influential people of the day."34 Salisbury agrees with Chapman and argues that clergymen have always enjoyed relatively high status in the United States, as indicated by the considerable public respect shown for their office.35

Clergymen in this country have consistently ranked
high in occupational prestige studies and public opinion polls. Hodge, Siegel, and Rossi have reported that the ministry occupied the seventeenth most prestigeful position among occupations and professions in the United States, according to their 1963 study. It was surpassed only by United States Supreme Court justices, physicians, nuclear physicists, scientists, state governors, cabinet members in the federal government, college professors, United States representatives in Congress, chemists, lawyers, diplomats in the United States foreign service, dentists, architects, county judges, and psychologists. It occupied a more prestigeful position than members of the board of directors of a large corporation, mayors of large cities, priests, civil engineers, bankers, biologists, sociologists, economists, accountants for a large business, and many others. This is particularly noteworthy because of the extraordinary emphasis placed by contemporary society upon the scientific enterprise and occupations contributing directly to it.

One additional indicator of clerical status will be given. Roper took a national poll in 1953 in which 40 percent of the population picked religious leaders as the group doing the most good for the country. Roper reported that "... no other group—whether government, congressional, business, or labor—came anywhere near matching the prestige and pulling power of the men who are ministers of God." An inconsistency in the status of clergymen is that salaries are seldom commensurate with their relatively high
prestige. One author has argued, in fact, that most ministers are forced to live as proletarians. "They live from hand to mouth on their wages like other wage earners and have no share in the wealth-producing capital of the nation." They may not share the class consciousness of the wage earners, he said, but they do share their sufferings. Their tenure is insecure, and church committees tend to use the same methods in hiring or dismissing a minister which are used in hiring or dismissing any other employee. Ministers, too, find that older men are in less demand and that inadequate provisions are made for their retirement.

Lawson has pointed out more recently that clergymen are usually very much underpaid. Their style of life is limited by the financial means of their congregation as evidenced by the fact that most of them live in the same neighborhood with their parishioners. For the seminary-trained pastor who serves lower middle- or upper lower-class people, this fact alone can produce frustration. On the other end of the socioeconomic continuum, the minister may experience frustration because he is expected to interact with persons whose financial status exceeds his own considerably. In such a situation, he is often paid less than enough money to live comfortably. Lawson's description of the style of life of Chicago ministers should be read with the knowledge that the "very most successful" ministers include few clergymen and that the "less successful group" includes the majority of clergymen.
If the minister is among the very most successful, he drives a four year old car in the middle-priced range, often a Buick. He lives with his wife and two children in a six or seven room apartment or house, furnished with bedroom, dining room, and living room 'suites' of the next-to-the-latest fashion, interspersed with a few older pieces which may be family heirlooms, or give that impression.

He has an office and a full-time secretary at the church, and a small study at home which contains his books, a desk, chairs, and framed copies of the various degrees he has received. Here he writes his sermons and sometimes receives troubled parishioners.

His wife buys her own and the children's clothes from the larger department stores. A maid helps her to keep the home orderly; between them, they give it an institutional air so that visitors have little inclination to relax, let alone sprawl. The color schemes of the living room, in which church members are given weekly tea, are tan or brown and red. It is furnished with plush covered chairs, a broadloom, a carpet, a sham fireplace, framed prints of pictures by Van Gogh and Utrillo. Unless he is an Episcopalian, no ash trays are in sight.

The minister of the less 'successful' group lives in much the same way, but drives an older, lower-priced car, and he has a six or seven room house. The hall has been partitioned off to make a small office, for he has no secretary and works much at home. His wife does her own housekeeping, and the living room often is littered with toys and school books. The furniture is worn but not threadbare, and the clothes she and her children wear at times are the hand-me-downs of more affluent church families.42

The second status contradiction to be treated herein concerns the irony of a respected profession that has relatively little authority or autonomy. The ambiguity surrounding the concept of the ministry is evidenced by the uncertainty about pastoral authority as well as by the confusion concerning pastoral functions. This is probably the more serious contradiction of the two, if the ramifications for role conflict are the criteria for comparison. It is agreed
generally that outside the Roman Catholic Church, institutional authority of the clergy is weak. Niebuhr points out that in those periods for which rather clear-cut ideas of the ministry prevailed, the clergyman and his parishioners were in relative agreement on the question of clerical authority. Legitimation for his various roles was institutionalized, and questions concerning the authority with which he performed the sundry clerical tasks were easy to answer. Today, however, answers to these questions are usually vague.43

Lee Braude has employed in his research on the role of the American rabbi a conceptual scheme which would facilitate analysis of the Protestant clergy. Of primary interest is his use of the concepts of "license" and "mandate" which he takes from Hughes. License includes the right to perform specific tasks which others may not perform. Mandate, however, implies the right of a profession to structure its role performance and the reciprocal performance of the layman. Braude found that role conflict for the rabbi was related directly to confusion about his mandate; the laity felt as qualified as the professional to structure lay-professional relationships.44

The performance of professional people is necessarily limited to the extent that those whom they serve accept their mandate. Some professional groups are more successful than others because the values which underlie their mandate are legitimized within the lay groups and less subject to disagreement; the medical and legal professions provide the
best examples.

The problem of the Protestant clergyman is that he lacks a clear mandate to function in most of his roles. Hagstrom agrees strongly with this observation. He says that clergymen differ from other professionals in the degree to which they are in fact entrusted with the performance of their functions—that is, in the relative autonomy accorded them. Professional autonomy means that the professional may determine what actions are necessary in the performance of his functions, when errors are made, and what should be the routine of his work. In the episcopal type of church organization, the clergy, theoretically, are subject only to church superiors and not to the parishioners. In the congregational polity, the clergy are employees of a particular association of lay people. In practice, however, the minister is constrained by the doctrines of his church and the norms of his congregation, regardless of the type of church organization in question. Hagstrom feels that both the professional and personal behavior of the clergyman are sharply restricted. Whitley concurs with this notion but proceeds to point out the ambiguity involved in the restriction. He says that no criteria are available for judging the relevance and rightness of the minister's position on a given issue. Consequently, the minister is without a clear mandate to function as a prophet although he will receive negative sanctions for most developments that disrupt the organizational equilibrium of the church.
On the subject of clerical authority, Glock and Stark have demonstrated rather effectively the institutional restraint upon the minister. He is bound by the tradition of his church and the prevailing attitudes of his parishioners. Although he is a part of this tradition and may influence these attitudes, his own testimony that he is unable to do the things that he feels should be done is an indication of this restraint. This limited autonomy is especially dysfunctional for the performance of clergymen in a very dynamic society. Here the freedom to break with tradition is almost a prerequisite to serving communities which have been disrupted by urban redevelopment or in which drastic changes in the racial, religious, and social composition have occurred. When the potential social relevance of the clerical role is considered, the degree of freedom that parishioners and the church at large are willing to grant their clergy in meeting the challenge of social change is of considerably more than academic importance. Judging from several empirical studies which touch on this issue, however, it does not appear that the position of the church will change significantly in the near future.49

In one study done by the sociologist, Frank Santopolo, a sample of Roman Catholic laymen were presented with a series of drawings depicting a priest in different settings. Some were traditional settings—the priest was shown offering Mass, for example—while others were quite nontraditional—the priest was shown playing ball or helping somebody dig a
hole, for example. Laymen were asked to interpret what they thought the priest might be doing in each of the drawings and to express their reaction to it. Generally speaking, there was little tolerance for any but the traditional roles. It is significant that Santopolo found the clergymen to be considerably more tolerant of nontraditional behavior than the laity.50

For Protestants, however, there is an even greater divergence of values and attitudes because of the tradition and structure of Protestant churches. Contrary to the policy of the Roman Catholic Church, Protestants have been allowed full participation in the life of their churches. Laymen may have a different function from the minister but no less an important position by virtue of the office; this is part of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Also, according to Smilie and Wagoner, American Protestants have traditionally been suspicious of institutional absolutism and have provided checks upon the church elite.51

Several empirical studies have indicated that the way in which a minister functions as a religious specialist will depend largely on the nature of his authority and that generally his authority is limited. Liston Pope, for example, studied churches in Gaston County, North Carolina with attention to labor-management relations. The cotton mills supported the local churches, and for that reason clergymen neither opposed the mill owners nor stressed a "social gospel." When the ministers spoke of social policy, they
took the owners' positions. They did not support unions, and one mill church preacher was relieved of his pulpit after publicly suggesting collective bargaining in a favorable manner. Despite this reality, however, most of the ministers would not admit to being dominated, and to some extent, the situation was less a result of direct pressure than the result of social selection of the clergy and the social and economic structuring of their roles. Niebuhr has also pointed out that hiring procedures and economic structuring of the clerical role require the minister to be cautious about his moral pronouncements and his relationships with influential persons. Ministers have now even lost their ability to withhold sacraments from individual parishioners and in the event of serious conflict with the laity, they have little formal support.

Braude concluded from his Chicago study that rabbis are forced to specialize to surmount the effect of inherent status contradictions, specifically an ambiguous mandate. He noted that many rabbis emerge from seminaries believing that their primary task is educational activity for the transmission of the Jewish heritage. The congregations, however, generally prefer that they immerse themselves in each of the congregational activities. At his first rabbinate, the rabbi often finds himself at odds with the members. The pattern is that the conflict cannot be reconciled, and he leaves eventually for his second rabbinate. Here he often begins to view himself as a counselor, believing that the
members have emotional problems in accepting Judaism. This role appears to gain the confidence of the members. Since the layman may obtain, theoretically at least, the professional competence of the rabbi—including a knowledge of Hebrew, theological literature, and so forth—he cannot so easily become proficient in the role of pastor-counselor, with therapy as the central part of the ministry. These limits on the laymen reduce the role conflict of the rabbi.

Hagstrom offers a less-than-positive disclaimer to this thesis concerning the limitations upon clerical freedom and authority. He says that clerical autonomy has increased with the growth of professionalization and institutionalization of the church—and that clergymen undoubtedly enjoy greater freedom of speech today than at any previous time. However, he argues that this is due largely to the spread of religious indifference and the fact that nobody takes the utterances of clergymen on purely religious issues as seriously as was done in the past. Students of the religious scene generally concur that the authority of the ministry has declined in the modern world.

A variety of explanations have been presented for the decline of clerical authority. An obviously important factor has been the increasing division of labor in contemporary society which has removed almost exclusive ownership of the professional field from the clergy. For a long time in Western history, clergymen were the only learned group and represented, because of this, the mystery and power of
learning.\textsuperscript{56} Even in colonial America, the ministry was one of seven professional occupations.\textsuperscript{57} The advancement of science gave rise, however, to large groups of learned men in many other professions. Niebuhr points out that the loss of social power by the ministry as a result of the spread of education and the transference to scientists of the representative authority of learning is comparable to the loss ministers suffered when the church and state were separated.\textsuperscript{58} At any rate, most of the extrareligious functions have long since been removed from the clergy, and Chapman argues that by 1790 the declining prestige of the profession was evident.\textsuperscript{59}

As another explanation for the decline in clerical authority, it is sometimes charged that the quality of ministerial leadership is selectively less promising than in many other professions.\textsuperscript{60} Ministers, it is said, are often unaccustomed to the life patterns of the communities in which they expect to serve as leaders since they may not have been socialized in an urban, middle-class setting or in a professional setting. This fact has led Chapman to conclude that the ministry does not attract the same caliber of men as medicine and law. Interestingly, he has observed also that the attrition rate from the ministry takes a heavier toll among the well qualified men than among the least well prepared.\textsuperscript{61}

Given the generally confused role and the ambiguous institutional basis for authority, there remains for many
Impression Management and the Clergy

The role of the Protestant minister has been described as characterized by status contradictions which include a very precarious basis for legitimation and authority. A result of the clergyman's rather ambiguous institutional authority is that he is forced to exploit and maximize whatever gifts of personality he may have in the management of the church organization. He must have some self-conscious ordering of the functions of the ministry to prevent susceptibility to the idiosyncracies of all the groups within his church, and he is most likely to succeed in structuring his role satisfactorily through his own personal influence.\(^{63}\)

Since the minister is granted influential power primarily, and since he rarely possesses genuine charisma, Whitley notes figuratively that he has been forced to become a "practitioner of the art of dramaturgy."\(^{64}\) This could be described as an unanticipated consequence of the development of Protestantism, since clergymen are encouraged by the structural context of their work to concern themselves excessively with what Erving Goffman calls "the presentation of self."\(^{65}\) The art of impression management has become one of the most valuable skills of the minister because the basis of the Protestant minister's authority has changed. He is
not entirely free to be the kind of minister he might prefer to be unless, by chance, his orientation coincides with the dominant expectations of his congregation. In terms of the minister's concern with his own image, Gustafson feels that he is subject to self-deception in that he tends to equate the proper criteria for ordering his functions with what will create the least tension in his congregation and, at the same time, what will bring the most adulation to himself.66

It is highly probable that not all ministers are sensitized to the organizational need for impression management on their part. It is also likely that many clergymen lack useful skills in this area, but the important question is what happens professionally to those men who fail to realize the nature of their position or who refuse to adapt to the role requirements.

Whitley argues that the successful religious leader will definitely employ some of the techniques and devices of "human relations." He will endeavor to ingratiate himself with his parishioners, whether consciously or not, and he will engage in impression management, using dramaturgical strategy in the effort to put his best foot forward.67 Underwood found this to be true in his analysis of religious organizations in a Massachusetts community. With little reservation, he concluded that "... when real authority is not forthcoming, the pastor in a Protestant church is under institutional pressure to effect personal conviction and piety, to provide in some way a pseudo-personal or
Some evidence suggests that many ministers resent being granted influential authority primarily, and it is likely that the ambiguous structural authority is a factor in the attrition rate from the ministry—primarily for men who could not or would not cultivate a satisfactory "image." James Moore's treatment of former clergymen includes an interesting quotation which summarizes this point very well:

Having to play the role of a politician was an important factor in my leaving the ministry. The bootlicking, backslapping, and apple-polishing which is fostered and expected by laymen is dis-tasteful. 69

The Importance of Congregational and Situational Influences

As numerous authors have suggested, confusion about the proper functions of Protestant clergymen is related to the generally ambiguous position which they occupy in modern society. This position involves serious status contradictions which include, for example, relatively high prestige and somewhat tenuous institutional authority. Compared to Roman Catholic clergy who operate within a rigid church hierarchy, who possess rather clear-cut role definitions, and are supported with strong church authority, the Protestant minister is considerably more dependent upon the power of his own personal influence. The lack of a meaningful institutional authority for the Protestant clergyman makes it necessary for him to cultivate an "influential authority," based largely
upon his own personable and friendly demeanor. For this reason, the congregation or situation in which he works becomes a paramount influence upon his orientation and behavior. Several scholars have indicated that congregational influences may create role conflict for the clergyman and, further, that this type of social control is sufficiently strong to override the personal inclination of the clergyman.

Swift says that the most effective control over typical Protestant clergymen is the church congregation and that clerical striving for status is reflected in many relationships with members. Ministers who wish to maintain influence over their congregations almost invariably are forced to compromise or silence their convictions on issues tinged with social, political, or economic implications, and "... many have surrendered all they have to preach about in order to keep the privilege of preaching." Soon after entering the ministry, most clergymen who once thought of the church as an instrument of social reform become adjusted to their members' standards and focus attention upon personal sins and religious consolation for human problems. Those who do not adjust often are forced out of the church or even out of the ministry. The majority try to cure societal problems by converting individuals, and these efforts are usually sufficiently innocuous to disturb the status quo relatively little.

Church members' images of the clergy contribute to ministers' self conceptions and to the structuring of their activities. Smith has found that deliberate selection
policies and subtle social controls after a pastor is installed in a church tend to make him emphasize the roles most expected from him.\textsuperscript{72}

The successful minister has usually cultivated the ability to anticipate his congregation's reactions.\textsuperscript{73} This facilitates his planning strategy and keeps dissension to a minimum. Certain Chicago ministers were able to keep harmony in their congregations by observing the following principles: (1) conformity to the traditions of the church and toleration; (2) conscious attempt to provide emotional security rather than increasing knowledge; (3) refusal to attack the beliefs of others; and (4) the calculated development of rhetorical skill.\textsuperscript{74} Except in unique situations, the minister can avoid censure by meeting the undefined responsibilities of his office and by following the traditional practices of his church. It is necessary to do this, and the minister can do so without sacrificing his own convictions only if he finds a congregation in which the theological and social sentiments approximate his own.

An example of the way in which the needs of a congregation or denomination create role conflict for clergymen is illustrated by the findings of Wilson's study of Pentecostal ministers. The Pentecostal religious ideology is still sectarian in nature although it is becoming denomination- alized. The marginality of this group to denominational status has serious implications for its clergymen. They constitute the most denominational element but are marginal
to the profession of the ministry because of their religious
group affiliation. This is consequently a primary source of
status contradiction for them. The spiritual needs of their
parishioners require a type of preparation and behavior that
almost precludes acceptance of them by the broader clerical
profession. Most of them lack formal theological training,
having completed a year or two of college or Bible school
work. 75

Related closely to the influence of congregational and
denominational needs is that of class ideology. Gustafson
points out that the class ideology of the community in which
he works is a pervasive influence on the minister's orienta-
tion, and this principle was illustrated also by the findings
of Wilson's study of Pentecostal ministers. 76 It has been
shown that clergymen adopt, to a large extent, the habits,
values, and attitudes of the people in the communities where
they serve, particularly if these communities tend to be
singleclass in nature. 77

Glock and Ringer reported that attitudes of Protestant
Episcopal ministers tend to reflect those of their congrega-
tions. More important, however, Episcopal ministers comprise
their own feelings and opinions on issues when their churches
elect to do so and take partisan positions when their
parishioners are oriented in a particular direction. Their
position exposes them at times to cross-pressures between
church policy and parishioners' attitudes on a subject. 78

In his study of Holyoke, Massachusetts, Underwood
found that the behavior of a clergyman may incite members of other religious groups who can exert pressure upon him through social and economic discrimination against his parishioners. In that town, the businessmen and economically independent members of the Catholic Church placed pressures upon the Protestants to prevent a series of lectures on the subject of birth control. This pressure, exerted on parishioners outside the strictly religious domain, was felt by the Protestant clergy who made accommodation to the requests of their parishioners. This finding bears significantly upon the so-called power of the clergy and indicates that the relationship between ministers and their congregations becomes more complex than a simple reciprocal influence. Parishioners are dependent socially and economically on persons outside their particular denomination. Consequently, pressure brought to bear upon any religious leader may be the result of pressure upon his parishioners from outside sources.79

Campbell and Pettigrew conducted an excellent study of Little Rock, Arkansas clergymen in a situation of role conflict—the racial crises of 1957. They analyzed the clerical role in a rather unusual way by interpreting the behavior of these ministers in terms of three reference systems: the self reference system, the professional reference system, and the membership reference system. Ordinarily, they indicate, self expectations are regarded as analytically important only because the individual is caught in the cross fire of conflicting external expectations. In this study, however, the
self reference system was treated as an independent variable and was defined as the demands, expectations, and images which one entertains with respect to himself. His professional reference system included both national and regional church bodies, local ecclesiastical officials, the ministerial association of the community, and his ministerial peers. The membership reference system, as the term implies, consisted of the congregational influences.\textsuperscript{80}

Of most interest in terms of role conflict were those ministers whose self reference system called for them to favor integration. These men had adopted forceful declarations commending the 1954 Supreme Court decision, and some issued similar pronouncements, especially at church conferences. But they found it difficult to express their ideas before the local community. They received support from the professional reference system, but less than one might expect. The national organizations of many denominations hold a liberal policy on the race issue, but there are few structural mechanisms with which the professional reference system may impose sanctions. The minister who does not conform to the expectations emanating from this source is not subject to an effective reward or punishment.\textsuperscript{81}

For both personal and professional reasons, the Little Rock ministers did not want to lose their congregations, and Campbell and Pettigrew noted that the influence of the membership reference system neutralized the professional reference system and confused the self reference system. The
result was inactivity. These clergymen simply did not take a strong stand on either side of the racial issue, precisely because of the influence of the membership reference system.82

The minister's role as a reformer is not as institutionalized as are other roles; he is responsible for the conduct of church affairs and is judged successful or unsuccessful according to how they prosper. He must reconcile differences, bring people together, and encourage high morale which is reflected by increasing financial support. The church has established criteria by which the minister can assess his management of the religious organization, but criteria by which to evaluate his prophetic responsibility are nonexistent. His basic sense of worth or success is in managing the church, and Campbell and Pettigrew observed three types of institutionalized responsibilities that restrain his reform activities if members do not share his goals: (1) the minister is to maintain peace and harmony, not promote dissension; (2) he is expected to show an increase in church membership; (3) he must encourage maximum annual giving and plan for plant improvement.83

Davis studied the Protestant religious leaders' social action patterns in connection with the following subjects of social legislation: (1) civil liberties; (2) cooperation with labor leaders; (3) industrial disputes; (4) rights of labor to organize; (5) aid to underprivileged groups; (6) political activity; (7) rural cooperation; (8) jail service; and (9) membership in national organizations for social justice. His
conclusions illustrate the way in which the congregational or situational influences may create role conflict for clergymen. They are influenced profoundly by the social milieu in which they are immersed. Conflict is created for them because their intentions for social justice are higher than average for their communities, but they do not take much more radical action than the respectable majority of a community. Tension is created, then, between their ideology and their practical application of ideals.\textsuperscript{84}

The occurrence of war generally creates role conflict for clergymen. It is necessary in these periods of time for them to assume a position that is not in accord with their religious ethics. Certain ideals which they would emphasize at other periods of time are difficult to hold during the catastrophe of military conflict. Investigators have reported that ministers developed a war mentality very slowly during World War I, most of them being pacifists initially. However, they exhibited the influence of strong social pressures by their willingness to pledge loyalty to a cause which they considered to be deleterious--the entrance of the United States into war. The official heads of all major denominations declared that their churches supported the government when the United States finally entered the war. This was, in effect, a necessary accommodation to the social reality.\textsuperscript{85}

Waldo Burchard conducted a study of the chaplaincy and found that entrance into this military position leads to role conflict for clergymen. He looked for conflict
concerning the following: (1) military regulations versus religious ideology; (2) the matter of military rank; and (3) the question of whether the Christian ethic precludes participation in war. He assumed that the role providing the minister his primary identification takes first place in his hierarchy of role obligations and found that the military role takes precedence over the role of the minister of the gospel for military chaplains. The expectations placed upon the chaplain's office are dissimilar to those of the civilian minister, and he is forced to adjust to the military structure to resolve the conflict. Rationalization or compartmentalization of role behavior are usually employed in this adaptation to role expectations. 86

**Traditional and Contemporary Roles**

Samuel Blizzard made a sociological analysis of the work of clergymen, beginning with a systematic delineation of their various roles. He classified six such roles, or aspects of their work, as traditional, neo-traditional, and contemporary elements of the parish ministers' activity. The traditional roles are those of preacher, priest, and teacher, and they are based on a biblical and theological concept of the ministry. The neo-traditional role is that of pastor, for which biblical and theological definitions also exist. The contemporary roles are those of administrator and organizer and constitute relatively recent additions to church organization. Blizzard notes that the contemporary roles pose
problems for many ministers because an image of their responsibilities therein has not yet developed. So that terminology used by Blizzard may be understood, definitions of the various roles under discussion are presented. The preacher role includes all ministerial activities related to the preparation and delivery of sermons, and Protestant clergymen almost universally consider this role to be of central importance to the work of a minister. The priest role involves the leadership of worship services and the ritual aspects of worship. The teacher role includes any type of instruction the minister might give. The pastor role includes all the interpersonal relations of the minister such as visiting the sick, attending the parishioners, counseling the disturbed, advising prospective members, and others. The administrator role involves the arrangement and management of business activities of the church. This consists of all the responsibilities incumbent upon the clergyman as the manager of an organization, such as direction of the stenographic and financial staff, recruitment and training of personnel and group leadership, and attention to the needs of the physical plant. Where he does not have a staff to assist him in these functions, the responsibility for maintaining the church as an ongoing organization generally falls primarily upon him. The organizer role includes the planning and arranging for other church activities and community associations. Given his various functions, deciding how to divide
his time among them becomes a formidable task for the minister. The decision reached, as well as the reasons behind it, are likely to have significant influence upon the character of the local church. Blizzard found that the average minister spends most of his time, about 40 per cent of it, in performing the administrative duties of the local church. Approximately 25 per cent of his time is devoted to pastoral duties, and the functions of preacher and priest occupy about 20 per cent of his work schedule, including the time spent in sermon preparation. The remaining 15 per cent is divided between organizational work and parish education. This means that organization and administrative responsibilities typically require from 50 per cent to 60 per cent of the minister's time. Role conflict develops because clergymen seldom prefer to spend their time this way. They generally prefer the traditional roles over the contemporary roles, and many of them resent being unable to allocate their time as they feel it should be distributed. By and large, their roles are structured by the functional demands of the local church organization.89

Glock and Stark have pointed out that the burden of responsibility for the church falls primarily upon the minister since he is usually the only full-time, professionally trained man on the staff. His many roles pose a number of problems to him, one of which is that of acquiring the competence to perform a variety of complex functions. Another is that of judging the relative importance of each
function and dividing his time accordingly, and a third problem would be that of resolving the cross-pressures which result from excessive and divergent expectations.  

The background, training, and skills required of contemporary clergymen contrast significantly to the demands placed upon them only two or three decades ago. The significant changes have come primarily in the pastoral, administrator, and organizer roles. It is now incumbent upon the minister to bring an understanding of psychology and psychiatry to his role as a pastoral counselor. He also needs an understanding of sociology to organize a church program which meets the problems of rapid urban change and suburban development. In addition, the administration of an organization is becoming more scientific, and the philosophy and techniques of education are always changing. A problem for the modern church concerns the extent to which the minister should be expected to prepare himself in all of these areas. The implicit premise of the contemporary church seems to be that he can function satisfactorily in each of the modern clerical roles—regardless of their diversity. However, given the limitations upon any generalist in the modern occupational world, this premise is open to serious question.  

In addition to the fact that administrative and organizational demands upon the clergymen are increasing, the national church bodies appear not to be offering these men an adequate theological understanding of their office.
Blizzard points out that ministers should be provided a theological explanation for the contemporary roles, similar in nature to that which exists for the traditional roles, and that a result of failure to do so could make clergymen easy prey for the dynamic forces of our culture which are shaping more and more "organization men." Without a theological frame of reference for his contemporary responsibilities, the minister can easily become another organization man.

It is significant that when ministers reflect on their theological education, they are likely to regret more than any other deficiency in it the failure of the school to prepare them for the administration of a church. What these men have in mind was expressed by one of them who said:

Seminary prepared me for preaching and taught me the difference between preaching and public speaking. It helped me to become a pastoral counselor, and not simply a counselor. It prepared me for the work of Christian education, but it gave me no preparation to administer a church as a church. What I learned about church administration was a nontheological smattering of successful business practices.

The primary distinction to be made in this research is between traditional, including neo-traditional, and contemporary clerical roles. It should be noted that the traditional roles are related rather directly to the "spiritual" functions of the ministers' work. These roles lend themselves very well to the idealistic facet of their orientation. The contemporary roles, on the other hand, concern the very practical matter of managing an organization.
appear to be training ministers to play the traditional roles, but the structure of the churches in which they work often requires them to emphasize the contemporary roles. In addition, the "technique" required in the contemporary roles is not always in accord with the more idealistic and sometimes innovative bent of the traditional roles. Moberg has noted that

"... being a spokesman for God is not always compatible with caring for the church as an institution. Upholding the church interests tends to silence God's judgment on man's institutional behavior. Inroads of time and worrisome concern with administration encroach upon spiritual work. ... The need to uphold tradition hinders the intellectual freedom necessary to cultivate prophetic insights."96

Niebuhr points out that when there has been a clear conception of the office of the ministry, one of the several functions of the minister has been regarded as central, and the other functions have been ordered so as to serve the chief purpose that it served directly. He says that in the case of the medieval pastor ruler and the Reformation preacher, the minister was expected to perform a variety of other functions such as administration, liturgy, pastoral care, and others. However, the primary function was understood rather clearly by parishioners as well as by the clergy, and the latter were free to allocate their time according to the priorities set up in the clerical role.97 For the modern clergy, however, there is no consensus on the proper role priorities. The demands of the local church often call for emphasis upon the contemporary roles, but the clergymen appear
to prefer the traditional roles, perhaps because of the nature of the socialization process into the ministry and the seminary curriculum which typically lags behind the needs of the contemporary churches. 98
FOOTNOTES


6Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, op. cit., pp. 79-94.

7Ibid., p. 58.

8Ibid.

9Gustafson, loc. cit.


41

Ibid.


Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.


Ibid., p. 50.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 128.

Kirkland, *loc. cit.*


Ibid., p. 84.

Ibid., p. 89.

Ibid., p. 93.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., p. 95.

Whitley, *op. cit.*, p. 166.


39 Ibid.


42 Ibid.

43 Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, *op. cit.*, p. 58.


45 Hagstrom, *loc. cit.*

46 Ibid., pp. 55-68.

47 Ibid.


50 Ibid.


53 Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
54 Hagstrom, *loc. cit.*
55 Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
56 Chapman, *loc. cit.*
58 Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, *op. cit.*, p. 69.
62 Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.
63 Gustafson, *loc. cit.*
64 Whitley, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
67 Whitley, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
69 Salisbury, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
73 Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
75 Bryan R. Wilson, "The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (March, 1959), 494-504.

Underwood, op. cit., Chapter I.


Blizzard, loc. cit.

Ibid. For an interesting classification of clerical roles, see Marie Augusta Neal, Values and Interests in Social Change (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965). In her study of the differential receptivity to cultural and social innovation within the Roman Catholic Church, Marie Augusta Neal hypothesized that the way role incumbents respond to pressures to change that which is currently institutionalized in the community is characterized by an orientation to change or nonchange and to values or interests as determinants of choices in social situations. To test her general hypothesis, she studied the roles of the Roman Catholic clergy. Her test model consisted of a delineation of four types of religious roles: (1) the prophet; (2) the cosmopolitan organization man; (3) the priest; and (4) the local organization man. The first two role types are said to be change oriented, the latter two nonchange oriented. The implication is that inherent conflict exists which effects change within the social system of the Church. The assumption
is made that clergymen tend to specialize in the performance of some functions, and the system changes direction through time as these functional specialists interact with each other, and, through their decisions, determine the style of the system.

89 Ibid.

90 Glock and Stark, op. cit., p. 124.

91 Ibid.

92 Ibid., pp. 124-125.

93 Blizzard, loc. cit.


95 Ibid.

96 Moberg, op. cit., p. 496.


98 Kirkland, loc. cit.
CHAPTER II

A DESIGN FOR THE ANALYSIS OF CLERICAL ROLE CONFLICT

I. THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

Delineation of Concepts

Concepts selected principally from the work of Merton and Gross have been combined to provide the basis for the analytical frame of reference. To facilitate the delineation of the frame of reference, those concepts incorporated within it are here defined.

Behavior expectation. A behavior expectation is an evaluative standard applied to an incumbent of a particular status-position. This consists of the behavior considered appropriate for and expected of the incumbent in such a position. It includes the rights and duties, privileges and obligations associated with a status-position.¹

Role. A role is a set of behavior expectations, or evaluative standards, applied to an incumbent of a particular status-position. That is, a set of behavior expectations held for the incumbent of a status-position which consists of a more or less integrated or related sub-set of social expectations which is distinguishable from other sets of
expectations, or roles, related to the same position.2

**Status-position.** Status-position refers to the location of an actor or class of actors in a system of social relationships. Associated with a position are one or more roles, each of which is composed of a relatively integrated and patterned set of behavior expectations; that is, expectations held by incumbents of counter positions for the incumbent of a focal position.3

**Focal position.** A focal position is the position in the group or system of social relationships upon which analysis is centered, or focused.4

**Counter position.** The counter position or positions are related to the focal position within a system of relationships. Since a position is a part of a network or system of positions, it has meaning only in terms of the other positions to which it is related, the counter positions.5

**Role conflict.** Role conflict will be considered any situation in which the incumbent of a focal position perceives that he is confronted with incompatible expectations concerning behavior appropriate for that position.6

**Role-set.** Role-set consists of the complement of role relationships in which persons are involved by virtue of occupying a particular status-position. That is, the complex of roles associated with a single status-position.7
Elaboration of the Concepts

The conceptual frame of reference for this research consists of middle-range theory concerning the structural problem of conflict in the role-set. It is used to facilitate analysis of the clerical role-set.

The concepts of social status-position and social roles are basic analytical tools for the study of social structure. A social position consists of the location of an actor or class of actors in a group, or system of social relationships. Merton and others have pointed out that an array of roles is associated with each position. As noted above, each role consists of behavior expectations held for the incumbent of a focal position by the incumbents of counter positions. Since roles are by no means a random collection of expectations, they may be described as having an internal structure, organization, or consistency. The analysis of this internal organization and the structural factors associated with it is the subject of this research. It is noted later that some degree of congruence within the role-set is a functional requirement for the continued operation of that structure—and for the entire social system, when the myriad role-sets are taken collectively.8

The existence of a given role, associated, of course, with a focal position, assumes the existence of a reciprocal role which is associated with a counter position. That is to say, focal positions and counter positions are interrelated because each includes at least one role which is
reciprocal to at least one role associated with the other position. It must be noted here that each position contains many additional roles that connect the incumbents of such positions with a variety of other positions in the group or system.

The distinction sometimes made between role behavior and role attribute expectations should be noted. Role is here conceptualized as expectations concerning appropriate behavior for the incumbent of a focal position. Role does not here include expectations concerning appropriate attributes for the incumbent of a focal position. Also, a role is here conceptualized to include either rights or obligations associated with a particular focal position. The distinction is that rights of the incumbent of a focal position are expectations which are applied to the incumbent(s) of a counter position(s) whereas obligations of the incumbent of a focal position are expectations which are applied to the incumbent of the focal position.

Theory of the Role-Set

Merton refers to the idea of role-set as a middle-range theory which suggests several important problems with theoretical implications concerning the structure of human relationships. He notes that

... all societies face the functional problem of articulating the components of the numerous role-sets, the functional problem of organizing these role-sets so that an appreciable degree of social regularity obtains, sufficient to enable most people most of the time to go about their business
in social life, without encountering extreme conflict in their role-sets as the normal, rather than the exceptional, state of affairs.9

The role-set is not equated with the phenomena of multiple roles that have long been associated with multiple and divergent status-positions. It includes, rather, the complex of roles associated with a single position. It consists of both the roles associated with a given focal position and the incumbents of counter positions whose expectations constitute the roles of the focal position. Thus, the clerical role-set includes the incumbent of the focal position as well as the incumbents of all counter positions to the focal position. The expectations held by incumbents of such counter positions constitute, collectively, the roles associated with the focal position.

The conceptualization of the role-set provides a good framework for the structural analysis of role conflict. Conflict occurs between or among the roles of a focal position as a result of divergent expectations held by incumbents of counter positions in the role-set. It is the incumbents of counter positions, or role partners, within the role-set whose expectations constitute the normative content of a given role or roles. So role conflict is conceptualized for this research as incompatible roles which are composed of incompatible expectations held by role partners in the role-set. The roles which the incumbent of a focal position is expected to play are incongruous because the behavior expectations applied by incumbents of counter positions to the focal
Merton is concerned with the theoretical problem of the relationship between role conflict and the structural characteristics of the role-set. He suggests that it may be possible to identify the social mechanisms that serve to articulate the expectations of incumbents in counter positions in the role-set so that the occupant of a given focal position is confronted with less conflict than would obtain if these mechanisms did not operate. That is, what are the structural correlates of conflict within the role-set? This type of analysis emphasizes the structural characteristics of the role-set. It is not concerned with the way in which a given individual adapts to conditions of the role-set, but with the structural conditions associated with the relative integration of expectations applied to the incumbent of a focal position.

Merton makes a basic sociological assumption in his explanation of role conflict. He says that social differentiation generates diversity within the role-set since it promotes distinct interests among individuals who are variously located in the structure of the society at large. It may be expected that conflict exists to the extent that values and role expectations vary within the role-set. Also, this variation may be expected to obtain to the extent that incumbents of a focal position have role partners who are differently located in the social structure, who are drawn from diverse social status-positions.
If all role partners have the same values and role expectations, no conflict would be evident in the role-set. Obviously, however, in a highly differentiated society, the positions of a given role-set are likely to be occupied by incumbents who hold other and diverse positions. This factor of diversity increases the potential for conflict by increasing the probability that values and role expectations held by members of a role-set will differ from those held by the incumbent of a focal position.

Given the phenomenon of diversity in the clerical role-set and the potential for conflict, the relationship between the actual occurrence of conflict and selected structural characteristics should be shown. Several structural characteristics, suggested by research in the sociology of religion, will be taken as independent variables and explored within this frame of reference. They include measures on the status incongruity, peer group interaction, and theological orientation of the focal position incumbent. Also included are the variables of type of church organization, tenure at the local church, church size, age of the minister, and salary of the minister. Questions exist concerning the relationship of these variables to clerical role conflict, and the interrelationships among these independent variables have not been explored in a study of clerical role conflict.

This research is concerned with the factors which serve to integrate the expectations of persons in the role-set.
It is not addressed to the problem of the way in which an incumbent of a given status-position manages to cope with the conflicting demands made of him.11

II. THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

This research was designed to analyze aspects of the problem of conflict in the clerical role-set. The research objective was to examine the relationships between the four major independent variables listed below and three measures of role conflict, the dependent variables, in an attempt to specify structural correlates of conflict in the clerical role-set.

That the modern clerical roles are characterized by conflict has been established. It also has been shown that clergymen perceive this conflict. However, the relationships between such conflict and structural conditions that are conducive to it have not been established. Current research suggests only in very general terms the variables which should be explored in a study of clerical role conflict. The major independent variables selected for this study are the following.

1. A measure of clerical status incongruity.
3. The type of church organization.
4. Tenure of the clergyman at the local church.

Four additional variables were incorporated in the analysis
as test factors for the relationship between each major independent variable and the measures of role conflict. They include (1) a measure of clerical peer group interaction; (2) age of the clergyman; (3) salary of the clergyman; and (4) size of the local church.

**Hypotheses**

The following hypotheses guided the research. They are consistent with the general theoretical assumption that role conflict is dependent upon structural characteristics of the role-set.

1. Role conflict is dependent upon perceived clerical status incongruity.

2. Role conflict is dependent upon the theological orientation of the clergyman.

3. Role conflict is dependent upon the tenure of the clergyman at the local church.

4. Role conflict is dependent upon the type of church organization.

**The Dependent Variables**

Three measures of role conflict are employed in this research, and each indicates the conflict which clergymen perceive concerning their allocation of time for traditional or contemporary responsibilities. As noted earlier, the traditional roles include those of preacher, priest, teacher, and pastor. The contemporary roles are those of organizer and administrator. Also noted earlier was the theoretical proposition that expectations held by incumbents of counter positions within the role-set concerning behavior appropriate
for the focal position incumbent constitute the roles associated with the focal position. Therefore, conflict between traditional and contemporary roles of the focal position incumbent consists of divergent expectations emanating from incumbents of counter positions within the role-set.

Blizzard and others have pointed out that the clerical roles are in conflict. Specifically, the traditional and contemporary roles are mutually incompatible in many important ways. Clergymen generally prefer the traditional roles and feel more comfortable and qualified in the performance of these responsibilities. They generally dislike the contemporary roles, consider them less relevant to appropriate clerical objectives, and do not feel qualified to play them. However, clergymen are forced to devote their greatest amount of time and energy to the contemporary roles and the least amount of time and energy to the traditional roles. That is, the greatest amount of time is required in the roles which they least prefer and feel least qualified to perform. The roles which they prefer, feel more qualified to perform, and consider as central to their responsibilities are precisely the roles to which they are forced to devote less time than any others.

In terms of the frame of reference for this research, expectations held by counter position incumbents within the local church typically emphasize the contemporary roles over the traditional roles. At the same time, however, the clergyman experiences expectations from his professional
colleagues that emphasize the traditional roles over the contemporary responsibilities. Obviously, variation in perceived expectations will be observed. For some clergymen, the conflict between traditional and contemporary roles will be great; for others, it may be relatively small. It is precisely the relative degree of role conflict, however, that analysis of the dependent variables should provide.

The Independent Variables

A paramount assumption underlying the theory of the role-set is that variation in conflict perceived by the incumbent of a focal position can be explained, in part, by a study of structural variables. That is, some structural aspects of the role-set function to minimize the occurrence of conflict while other aspects serve to increase it. It is within this frame of reference that the independent variables were selected for intensive examination. A discussion of each will be presented.

The type of church organization. Several studies have been conducted concerning the implications of the variable of type of church organization. However, the consequences of the type of church organization have not yet been established, especially for clerical role conflict. Within American Protestantism, three forms of church government may be distinguished: the episcopal, the presbyterian, and the congregational. Theoretically, each of the traditional structures contains a different form of church government at
the parish level, the basic distinction being the amount of authority vested in the congregation. In terms of the formal structures, it is logical to assume that clerical role conflict is more likely to develop in the congregational than in the episcopal or presbyterian types of church organization.

In the episcopal structure, authority is hierarchically ordered, with final control over activities of both priests and laymen vested in a single supreme figure. The priest or minister is appointed by his superiors in the church hierarchy and is therefore free to some extent from constraints imposed by his congregation. He is, of course, subordinate to the policies and dictates of the church hierarchy. A number of authors assume that he is able to exercise greater authority over his congregation than can the religious leader in more democratically organized churches.

The presbyterian type of church organization is dominated by a group of ministers or preachers who form a governing and controlling body. The leaders of the presbytery, the group of preachers, possess some power, but there is no supreme or final authority comparable to that in the episcopal system. Local congregations also possess more power than in the episcopal type of church; for example, they can request a particular clergyman or can choose from among available candidates. The religious leader is therefore subordinate in some ways to the elders of his own congregation as well as to the presbytery in which he holds membership.
Theoretically, however, the power of the congregation over the minister is less extensive than for the congregational type of structure.

In the congregational type of organization, authority rests in the local group, which chooses its own minister and plays an active role in church government. The religious leader here is very much at the mercy of his own congregation, which can discharge him at will--limited only by a contract that may be involved. Since the power of the central organization is at best minimal, and perhaps nonexistent, the dependence of the clergyman, both financial and otherwise, on the members of the immediate congregation is great. Theoretically, this type of church government is organized democratically and extends the power of initiative to all members.

Luke Smith is one of several scholars who has studied the implications of church organization. He examined the phenomenon of migration among clergymen, focusing upon the conflict which they experience as the result of peculiarities of church organization. He found that clergymen in the episcopal type of structure are more secure than their colleagues in the congregationally organized churches. Also, he found relatively little evidence of organized opposition or factionalism in the episcopal types of church organization; strains which did arise were primarily between the rector and the individual. He attributed this functioning of the local parish to the fact that clerical rights are
protected by canon law and church organization. The clergyman by canon law is actually rector or ruler of the parish and has full control over those who officiate in the parish. Smith found, on the other hand, that the congregational organization was characterized by many strains between the minister and factions within his congregation, primarily because the minister has no official backing from his denomination. His authority in the local setting must be shared with a variety of church committees, and perhaps with the entire church congregation.

Although other scholars, including Lawson, Nottingham, and Moberg concur with Smith concerning the differential impact upon clergymen of the type of church organization, informed opinion is not at all unanimous. Glock and Stark have argued recently that the actual functioning or operation of the local church does not correspond to the formal organizational design. They say that distinctions in the type of church organization are not so sharply drawn now as in the past and that the average church congregation has tended to move toward the congregational model—regardless of the type of formal structure. Differences continue, but the similarities of church government at the local level far outweigh them.

Several empirical studies appear to support the thesis proposed by Glock and Stark. Among them would be the study of Little Rock, Arkansas ministers made by Campbell and Pettigrew during the racial crisis during 1957 in that city.
These researchers found that ministers of churches organized by the episcopal system had no more liberty to assume positions of liberal leadership than clergymen from congregationally structured churches. That is, the impact upon clerical behavior of the type of church organization was insignificant. Most of the liberal clergymen remained inactive because to involve themselves in the racial dispute would bring serious negative sanction from their congregations. The protection which clergymen in the episcopally organized churches are assumed to have was unimpressive, primarily because there are few, if any, structural mechanisms with which the larger church can impose effective sanctions upon a local congregation. The church members, however, have an extremely effective sanction to use for the clergyman who disregards their expectations—withdrawal of financial support.

The relationship between the type of church organization and clerical role conflict has not been established, and more critical analysis of the role structure is needed. It should be noted that for this research, type of church organization is only one of several independent variables and that the relationship of each to the dependent variables will be examined by first-order and second-order correlation techniques as well as by zero-order correlation analysis.

Status incongruity. It is expected that role conflict is associated with contradictions inherent to the status-
position of clergymen. Role conflict should vary, therefore, with clerical status incongruity. Several research studies have revealed that clerical role confusion and role conflict result partially from incongruities inherent to the status-position itself. An example of such studies is Bryan Wilson's analysis of the Pentecostal clergy. A logical inference which may be drawn from his study is that status congruity and role conflict are related inversely. However, neither Wilson nor other students of the problem of clerical status contradictions have introduced multiple variables into the analysis of role conflict in an attempt to ascertain the influence of other variables upon the relationship in question. For this reason, important questions remain concerning the relative importance of the variable of status congruity.

Theological orientation. Since early in this century, it has been well established by empirical studies that a considerable variation in theological orientation is found among clergymen. Theological differences have been related to age of the clergymen, denominational affiliation, region of the country, and other variables. However, a relationship between theological orientation and role conflict remains to be established; it is not yet known whether variation in role conflict is associated with patterns of theological orientation.

Role conflict is expected to be less acute among liberal clergymen than among their relatively conservative
counterparts. As noted above, the measure of conflict utilized in this research regards the problem of allocation of time between the traditional and contemporary roles. Liberal clergymen are less likely to experience this type of conflict because their view of the proper function of the church is expected to coincide with the contemporary roles demanded of them more nearly than the point of view held by their conservative counterparts corresponds to these roles. This means that their occupational objectives can be realized within the framework of the contemporary roles much more easily than can those of the conservative clergymen. If this be the case, the theologically liberal clergymen would not experience the structure of the modern church, especially the contemporary roles, as an impediment to his most important occupational objectives to the extent that appears to typify the conservative clergyman.

Tenure at the local church. Role conflict is expected to vary with the length of time a clergyman has served the local church for which he was pastor at the time of the interview. A number of factors are likely to account for this. In the early years of a pastorate, a minister is necessarily influenced very much by the role performance of the former minister. If the role performance of the former clergyman were satisfactory, congregational expectations may dictate a continuation of similar performance of clerical responsibilities. If the role performance of the former clergyman were
unsatisfactory, the congregation may prefer a new definition of clerical responsibilities. In either case, the prerogative of the minister to allocate his time according to his own value priorities is limited by the congregational image of the role of the minister, which is influenced significantly by its relationship to the former pastor.

Over a period of years, the minister's position in the church structure is stabilized, and his latitude in organizing his own role is expected to increase. Dissident members often withdraw from the church if they are unable to rally sufficient support to remove the clergyman. Also, the length of a minister's tenure in the local church is associated necessarily with the proportion of the congregation who have affiliated with the church under his ministry and the number of members who have received valued services from him in the form of baptisms, weddings, funerals, and others. The result may be that a clergyman's freedom to organize his own role increases with the length of tenure in the local church.

III. THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The Population Studied

The population for this study included 60 pastors of local churches representing the Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Southern Baptist denominations in the city of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Interviews which lasted a minimum of 40 minutes were conducted with each clergyman during the
month of August, 1966. In many cases, the clergymen were particularly interested in the study, and the interviews continued for a longer period of time, the record of which was two and one-half hours.

The congregational type of organization was represented by 31 Southern Baptist ministers. The remaining 29 interviews were held with Episcopal, Methodist, and Presbyterian ministers, who represented the episcopal and presbyterian types of church organization. This means that approximately one-half of the interviewees represented the congregational type of organization and the remainder represented the other types of church organization.

The exclusion of sect groups from the study facilitated a control for the variable of formal education. All except four of the interviewees held the Bachelor of Divinity degree or its equivalent from an accredited theological seminary. The four were Baptist ministers and had completed only a few semester hours of seminary work. They did, however, hold college degrees, which are prerequisites for entrance into theological seminary. Of the 56 seminary graduates, the overwhelming majority had not pursued graduate work in theology. Such work includes the prerequisite of a Bachelor of Divinity degree from an accredited theological seminary, but it is not designed primarily for men in the pastorate. Only two clergymen in the city of Baton Rouge held the earned doctorate in theology—the Th.D. degree—at the time the field work was conducted. Both were pastors of
Baptist churches. Several clergymen, including most of the senior pastors of the largest churches in the city, were holders of the honorary doctorate in religion, the D.D. degree.

Several additional variables are important for a description of the population. The median age of clergymen included in the study was 41 years, and the range extended from 61 years to 28 years. The median salary, excluding an allowance for a parsonage or manse, was $7,500 per year, and the salary range extended from $13,000 to $385 per year. The median church size was 698 members, and the range in church size extended from 5,288 to 138. The median number of years the pastors had served the churches where they were located at the time of the field work was three years, nine months. The range in tenure at the local church extended from 29 years to three weeks.

Only four refusals were received for interviews with clergymen, and investigation revealed that each came from pastors of small, marginal churches. Only one of these men had finished theological seminary, and two of them had not completed undergraduate work for a baccalaureate degree. Their churches included fewer than 170 members, without exception, and were of the congregational type of organization.

**Definition of the Role-Set**

It was noted earlier that the role-set consists of the incumbent of the focal position and the incumbents of
all positions counter to the focal position. The expectations held by incumbents of the counter positions concerning appropriate behavior for the incumbent of the focal position constitute the roles associated with the focal position. Conflict exists within the role-set to the extent that expectations concerning behavior appropriate for the focal position incumbent are incongruous.

For purposes of analysis, the clerical role-set may be grouped into three separate categories, consisting of the professional, membership, and self expectations. Incumbents of the important counter positions can be grouped into the first two categories; empirical research has shown that expectations emanating from local church members and professional colleagues in the ministry influence the behavior of clergymen more than any others. An important problem for the study of role conflict would be to determine the disparity of expectations between incumbents of positions in these two categories.

The three categories of positions may be looked upon as three rather distinct reference systems: the membership reference system, the professional reference system, and the self reference system. The membership reference system would include the expectations of all incumbents of counter positions who are members of the minister's local church. The professional reference system includes the behavior expectations of all incumbents of counter positions who are clerical colleagues of the minister. The self reference
system would include expectations the clergyman holds concerning appropriate behavior in the performance of his own role as leader of a local church.

Within this frame of reference, conflict in the clerical role-set would exist to the extent that disparity is observed among the expectations which constitute these three reference systems. Accordingly, three measures of role conflict have been utilized in the current research. They are presented in the discussion of measurement of the dependent variables.

Measurement of the Dependent Variables

Expectations applied to the focal position by incumbents of the counter positions will be defined in terms of the perception of focal position incumbents. That is, the clergyman's perception of divergent expectations held by incumbents of important counter positions concerning behavior appropriate for an incumbent of his position will constitute the indices for role conflict, or the dependent variables.

It is recognized that expectations applied to a focal position are variable in terms of intensity as well as content. Therefore, the dependent variable is designed to measure ministers' perceptions of both the expectations held for them by incumbents of important counter positions and the intensity with which these expectations are held. An ordinal scale reflecting both the expectations and the intensity with which they are held is built into the dependent variables.
The problem of allocation of time was used as the basis for the dependent variables. As indicated earlier, this is a problem that may require clerical decision-making in the face of incompatible expectations. Respondents were asked to indicate what expectations were held by a number of specific groups and individuals concerning the way in which they should allocate their time. Alternative responses were designed to indicate whether the expectations placed upon the clerical position emphasized the traditional or contemporary clerical roles—and the intensity of those expectations. Respondents also were asked for their own expectations concerning the proper allocation of time. Obviously, no perceived role conflict obtained if the clergyman indicated that he, the focal position incumbent, and the incumbents of all counter positions expected the same clerical behavior. To the extent, however, that perceived expectations varied among the role partners, conflict existed.

Based upon the definition of the role-set presented above, three indices of role conflict are utilized in this research. They include (1) an index of the disparity between membership and professional expectations; (2) an index of the disparity between membership and self expectations; and (3) an index of the disparity between professional and self expectations. An average score for the individuals and groups included in the membership reference system was drawn to provide an MRS score of expectations concerning the clerical allocation of time. The same was done for
individuals and groups included in the professional reference system to establish a PRS score of expectations concerning the clerical allocation of time. To establish the degree of conflict for each dependent variable, the following formulas were used: (1) \( \frac{M - P}{P} \) for index one; (2) \( \frac{M - S}{S} \) for index two; and (3) \( \frac{P - S}{S} \) for index three. The use of these formulas facilitated a ranking of the 60 cases in an ordinal scale on the basis of the degree of disparity between the variables involved for each index.

Measurement of the Independent Variables

Six of the eight independent variables consist of ordinal data. The two exceptions are the type of church organization and the measure of theological orientation, both of which involve nominal data.

Information concerning the type of church organization did not require a question in the interview schedule. Churches affiliated with the Southern Baptist Convention represented the congregational type of church organization, and those affiliated with the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist denominations represented the other types of church organization. Four of the variables required only one question each to provide the ordinal data necessary for ranking the 60 interviewees. They are the variables of (1) tenure of the clergyman at the local church; (2) age of the clergyman; (3) salary of the clergyman; and (4) size of the local church. The three remaining independent variables required
either multiple questions or a more elaborate procedure for establishing an index, as explained for each below.

**Theological orientation.** A panel of six Baton Rouge clergymen representing the four denominations included in the study was given the responsibility of ranking the interviewees according to theological orientation. The panel members were asked to rank each of the interviewees as relatively liberal, moderate, or relatively conservative. Their judgments were based upon the following data: (1) personal knowledge of the theological inclinations of the clergymen included in this study; (2) information concerning the seminary attended by each interviewee, the year of his graduation, and the highest degree earned. It is well known that products of some seminaries are more likely to be oriented in a given theological direction than graduates of other seminaries.

**Status incongruity.** The measure of status incongruity was based on questions designed to elicit the interviewees' opinions on the following subjects: (1) whether the influence of the church has declined over the past twenty years in our society at large; (2) the trend over the last twenty years concerning the influence of the church upon its own members; (3) the freedom clergymen feel to express from the pulpit their honest convictions on very controversial issues; (4) the prestige of the local Protestant clergy, compared to other professional people in Baton Rouge; (5) the adequacy
of clerical salaries, considering their educational preparation; and (6) the adequacy of clerical salaries, considering the financial demands placed upon them. Alternatives for each question were structured in an ordinal scale, and interviewees were ranked on the basis of their mean score for the six questions concerning status incongruity.

Peer group interaction. The measure of peer group interaction was based upon questions designed to provide the following information: (1) the number of clerical colleagues with whom the interviewee feels free to discuss any problem of his church; (2) the number of clerical colleagues living in Baton Rouge with whom the interviewee feels free to discuss any problem of his church; (3) the frequency with which each interviewee engages in recreation such as hunting, camping, fishing, golf, spectator sports, and so forth, with other clergymen; (4) the frequency with which each interviewee has serious discussions with other ministers about specifically church problems; (5) the frequency with which the family of the interviewee visits or entertains the family of another minister socially; and (6) the extent to which the interviewee was active in the local ministerial alliance, or comparable organization. Alternative responses for each question were structured in an ordinal scale, and interviewees were ranked on the basis of their mean scores for the six questions concerning status incongruity.
The Analysis Employed

The data were analyzed with the statistical techniques of Kendall's tau and partial rank-order correlations. The Kendall's tau technique provided the zero-order correlations between the independent variables and each of the dependent variables. It facilitated the use of all cases in the analysis of a given variable in that it did not require cross-tabulation procedures. With an N of 60, cross-tabulation would have been inadvisable. The primary advantage of the Kendall tau over a measure such as the Spearman rank correlation is that it can be generated into a multivariate analysis in the form of partial correlations. The first-order and second-order correlations were provided by the partial rank-order correlations, the formula for which is identical to that of the parametric partial correlation technique.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., pp. 60-64; Bates, loc. cit.

3 Ibid., pp. 48-58; Bates, loc. cit.

4 Ibid., p. 51.

5 Ibid.


8 Ibid., pp. 368-379.


10 Ibid., p. 112.

11 Ibid.


Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Smith, *loc. cit.*

Ibid.


Campbell and Pettigrew, *loc. cit.*

Bryan R. Wilson, "The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (March, 1959), 494-504.


Ibid.


CHAPTER III

STATUS INCONGRUITY AND ROLE CONFLICT

The major objective of this study was to isolate and describe certain correlates of conflict in the clerical role-set. The analysis was guided by Merton's theory which assumes that role conflict is variable with the structural characteristics of the role-set. It was expected that some structural characteristics would be associated more closely with role conflict than others. Therefore, an attempt was made to ascertain the way in which the major structural conditions, taken as independent variables, were related to role conflict. The relationship between role conflict and each major independent variable used was examined, and multiple variables were incorporated in the analysis as test factors to determine more specifically the conditions associated with role conflict.

Role conflict was expected to vary with the perceived status incongruity of clergymen. Therefore, clergymen who scored relatively high on the status incongruity index were expected to experience relatively great role conflict. In addition, it was expected that the relationship between status incongruity and role conflict would be influenced by: (1) type of church organization; (2) clerical tenure at the
local church; (3) clerical theological orientation; (4) peer group interaction; and (5) clerical salary.

It was noted in Chapter II that three measures of role conflict were used as the dependent variables for this study. To establish these three measures of role conflict, the role-set was divided analytically into three categories: (1) the membership reference system; (2) the professional reference system; and (3) the self reference system. Based upon these categories, the following types of dependent variables were utilized:

1. **M-S Role Conflict.** This type of conflict was measured by the disparity between expectations which are held by the membership reference system and the clergyman concerning the allocation of clerical time.

2. **P-S Role Conflict.** This conflict was indicated by the disparity between expectations which are held by members of the professional reference system and the clergymen concerning the allocation of clerical time.

3. **M-P Role Conflict.** This type of conflict was seen in the disparity between expectations which are held by the membership reference system and the professional reference system concerning the allocation of the clergyman's professional time.

The above three measures of role conflict formed the basis for the organization of this chapter. The relationship between status incongruity and each type of role conflict is examined and described. The results of partial correlations are discussed in connection with each type of role conflict to illustrate the effect of test factors upon the zero-order correlations.

The zero-order correlations for status incongruity
and role conflict are as follows:

A. Status Incongruity, M-S Role Conflict .335
B. Status Incongruity, P-S Role Conflict .105
C. Status Incongruity, M-P Role Conflict .150

A moderate, positive relationship appears to exist between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. To some degree, clergymen who perceived incongruity of status attributes also perceived role conflict with their congregations. It is important to remember that this coefficient was provided by the Kendall tau, a statistical technique which invariably yields a lower numerical coefficient than either the Pearsonian r or additional nonparametric measures. The correlation between status incongruity and the two remaining types of role conflict was very slight. Therefore, analysis of these role conflict relationships was focused upon the way in which structural factors, taken as independent variables, influenced the relationships between (1) status incongruity and P-S role conflict, and (2) status incongruity and M-P role conflict.

The low correlation between status incongruity and P-S role conflict was expected because of the small degree of P-S role conflict observed among the clergymen studied. Most clergymen whose status incongruity was high perceived relatively little P-S role conflict, and many of them perceived no conflict whatsoever. In the latter case, both the clergymen and their colleagues favored the traditional roles whereas their congregations usually emphasized the
contemporary roles. This means that the incidence of P-S role conflict was distributed rather symmetrically through the population so far as status incongruity was concerned. It is possible that an inference concerning the influence of peer group relationships in general can be drawn from these data concerning status incongruity and P-S role conflict.

The relationship between status incongruity and M-P role conflict was approximately the same as that for status incongruity and P-S role conflict. It was expected, however, to correspond more closely to the correlation between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. If the expectations of clergymen concerning their allocation of time differ considerably from those of parishioners but correspond closely to expectations held by professional colleagues, the M-P and M-S measures should be more or less similar. This assumption appears to be corroborated by the strong relationship between M-P and M-S role conflict (.792). The data indicate, however, that status incongruity does not correspond as closely to M-P role conflict as to M-S role conflict.

I. STATUS INCONGRUITY AND M-S ROLE CONFLICT

M-S role conflict includes the segment of the role-set in which clergymen perceive their greatest disparity of expectations, and thus their greatest role conflict. Status incongruity was related more strongly to M-S role conflict than to either of the remaining types of role conflict. Elaboration of this relationship helps to ascertain the
conditions under which it would be modified. With the exception of type of church organization, each of the test factors is considered to be an intervening variable. The type of church organization may be regarded as either an antecedent or an intervening variable. This differentiation is important because the interpretation of a partial correlation coefficient is contingent precisely upon it. Analysis involving antecedent variables makes possible an explanation of the relationship under examination. Analysis including intervening variables, on the other hand, increases information about the relationship in question.

First-Order Partial Correlations for Status Incongruity and M-S Role Conflict

Status incongruity and M-S role conflict were related to some extent (.335), but four of the structural conditions appear to have contributed to this relationship in important ways. These factors are, in order of their importance (1) type of church organization; (2) salary of the clergyman; (3) tenure of the clergyman at the local church; and (4) theological orientation of the clergyman. It was expected that peer group interaction would be associated with the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict, but the data did not support this expectation.

Type of church organization. The factor of church organization was the most important single influence upon the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role
conflict, as indicated by the first-order correlation coefficient of -.694. The significance of this factor resulted from its strong relationship to both M-S role conflict (.931) and status incongruity (.581). According to these measures, the occurrence of M-S role conflict was overwhelmingly greater in congregational churches than in other types of church organization. Also, status incongruity was more pronounced in the congregational type of church organization than in the other types of church organization.

If the type of church organization is considered to be an antecedent variable, a spurious relationship exists between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. However, if type of church organization is considered to be an intervening variable, as it might legitimately be considered, it constitutes an invaluable piece of interpretative data. In this case, knowledge concerning the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict is increased. Although type of church organization was an important factor in the relationship between status incongruity and the other types of role conflict, it was a decisive influence on the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict.

Salary of the clergyman. It was expected that the clergymen's salary is associated with the relationship of status incongruity to M-S role conflict, and the first-order coefficient of -.289 appears to bear out the validity of this expectation. In fact, the influence of clerical salary was
surpassed only by type of church organization. It was more important than either clerical tenure in the local church or clerical theological orientation. The strong influence of clerical salary resulted primarily from its association with status incongruity (.546). According to this measure, status incongruity is relatively high among clergymen with low salaries. The relationship between salary and M-S role conflict was considerably lower (.178), however.

Clerical tenure at local church. The factor of clerical tenure also contributed to the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. The first-order coefficient for this factor was .0007, a considerable reduction from the coefficient for status incongruity and M-S role conflict. If clerical tenure is regarded as an antecedent influence upon the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship, this finding would explain that relationship very adequately. That is, a spurious relationship was observed because of the way in which the factor of clerical tenure reduced it. If, however, tenure at the local church is considered to be an intervening variable, the finding provides invaluable additional information concerning the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. The strong effect of clerical tenure resulted from its relative strong relationship to both M-S role conflict (.552) and status incongruity (.606). According to these measures, M-S role conflict was relatively greater for men who had
served their churches the shortest periods of time. Also, status incongruity appeared to be more pronounced for clergymen whose tenure at the local church had been relatively short.

- **Theological orientation of the clergymen.** Clerical theological orientation had a bearing on the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .086. This was a less noticeable effect than that observed for type of church organization, clerical salary, or clerical tenure. However, it was clearly more important than the influence of peer group interaction. The importance of this factor can be traced to its association with both M-S role conflict and status incongruity. The relationship between M-S role conflict and clerical theological orientation (.452) indicates that to some degree M-S role conflict was greater among theological conservatives than among their relatively liberal counterparts. This finding was consistent with expectations. The relationship between status incongruity and clerical theological orientation (.606) indicates that perceived status incongruity was relatively higher among theologically conservative clergymen than among liberal clergymen. Clerical theological orientation is treated as an intervening variable which elucidates the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict in a meaningful way.

*Peer group interaction.** The factor of peer group
interaction was not related to the correlation between M-S role conflict and status incongruity. The coefficient of correlation for this factor was only slightly higher (.351) than that for the original relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict (.335). It can be concluded from these data that peer group interaction influenced the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship hardly any. This is especially noteworthy since each of the four remaining test factors was associated with the relationship. Peer group interaction was somewhat related to status incongruity (.495) but not at all to M-S role conflict (.063). Since the level of the first-order correlation for peer group interaction was unexpected, this test factor was a primary focus for the second-order correlation analysis.

Second-Order Partial Correlations for Status Incongruity and M-S Role Conflict

It has been shown that the factors of type of church organization and clerical salary affected the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict in important ways. Also, clerical tenure and clerical theological orientation appeared to be related to the degree of association between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. Only the factor of peer group interaction was not associated with the relationship under examination. This finding was unexpected, and for that reason, peer group interaction was combined with other variables in the second-order analysis.
Clerical theological orientation and peer group interaction. The combined effect of clerical theological orientation and peer group interaction upon the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship was studied. The decision to combine these factors was based on the close association between status incongruity and clerical theological orientation (.606), the smaller but very important correlation between peer group interaction and clerical theological orientation (.506), and the moderate relationship between M-S role conflict and clerical theological orientation (.452).

The factors of clerical theological orientation and peer group interaction contributed to the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict more significantly (.156) than peer group interaction (.351). However, the effect of these two factors upon that relationship was less important than that of clerical theological orientation (.086). This second-order correlation was based upon the following first-order partial relationships.

A. M-S, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .351
B. M-S, Status Incongruity . Theology .086
C. M-S, Theology . Peer Group .487
D. Status Incongruity, Theology . Peer Group .475

Therefore, peer group contributed to the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict when combined with clerical theological orientation. Only with this qualification would the expectations concerning the influence of peer
Clerical tenure and peer group interaction. The factors of clerical tenure and peer group interaction were used for an elaboration of the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. The rationale for combining these variables lay in the rather strong correlation between clerical tenure and status incongruity (.606), the smaller but very important correlation between clerical tenure and peer group interaction (.506), and the sizeable relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict (.552).

The effect of peer group interaction and clerical tenure upon the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship was noteworthy. This is indicated by the second-order coefficient of .092. The two factors were associated more closely with the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict than peer group interaction, as an independent factor. This was not true for clerical tenure, however. Clerical tenure was associated more closely with the relationship than the combined variables. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order analysis was based include the following.

A. M-S, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .351
B. M-S, Status Incongruity . Tenure .0007
C. M-S, Tenure . Peer Group .604
D. Status Incongruity, Tenure . Peer Group .475
Therefore, peer group interaction did not affect the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship in an important way independently. It was a noteworthy influence upon the relationship when combined with clerical tenure, however.

**Type of church organization and peer group interaction.** The factors of type of church organization and peer group interaction were held constant for an examination of the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. The justification for this combination can be seen, in part, in the moderately strong relationship between type of church organization and peer group interaction (.443). More important, however, was the relationship of type of church organization to status incongruity (.581) and to M-S role conflict (.931).

Peer group interaction and type of church organization modified the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship more dramatically than either combination of factors discussed above. The coefficient for these factors was -.991. The especially important finding is that the combined effect of peer group interaction and type of church organization exceeded the influence upon the relationship of either factor taken independently. This very important second-order correlation was based upon the following first-order partial relationships.

A. M-S, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .351
B. M-S, Status Incongruity . Organization - .694
Peer group interaction was not a factor in the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict, but it was associated very closely with that relationship when combined with type of church organization. These factors are especially important because their association with the relationship of status incongruity to M-S role conflict was greater than that of either variable taken independently. This was not true for the factors of peer group interaction and clerical theological orientation or for the factors of peer group interaction and clerical tenure. In each of these latter cases, the combined influence was smaller than that of clerical theological orientation or clerical tenure, taken independently.

II. STATUS INCONGRUITY AND P-S ROLE CONFLICT

The relationship between status incongruity and P-S role conflict was not close (.105). However, three of the five structural conditions tested clearly had an influence on this relationship. They were, in order of their importance, (1) clerical tenure at the local church; (2) clerical theological orientation; and (3) type of church organization. The contribution of clerical salary and peer group interaction to this relationship was negligible. Second-order correlations were not tabulated for the status incongruity
and P-S role conflict relationship because of the very low zero-order correlation involved.

The effect of structural conditions upon the status incongruity and P-S role conflict relationship may be compared to the influence of the same factors upon the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship. It was reported above that the latter relationship was reduced by the following, in order of their importance: (1) type of church organization; (2) clerical salary; (3) clerical tenure at the local church; and (4) clerical theological orientation. Noteworthy is the fact that clerical salary was an important factor in the M-S role conflict relationship but that it was relatively unimportant for the P-S role conflict relationship. Also significant is the fact that peer group interaction was clearly not related to either type of role conflict. This finding was particularly unexpected for the P-S role conflict relationship because this type of conflict consists of the disparity of expectations between the clergyman and his professional colleagues concerning the proper allocation of clerical time.

First-Order Partial Correlations for Status Incongruity and P-S Role Conflict

Clerical tenure at local church. Clerical tenure was the factor most closely associated with the status incongruity and P-S role conflict relationship. The first-order coefficient was -.252. Clerical tenure was related rather
strongly to status incongruity (.606) and moderately to P-S role conflict (.466). The influence of this factor upon the M-S role conflict relationship, by contrast, was less important than either type of church organization or clerical salary.

Theological orientation of the clergyman. Clerical theological orientation was another important factor in the status incongruity and P-S role conflict relationship, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of -.158. It was related impressively to status incongruity (.606) but only moderately to P-S role conflict (.366). The influence of this factor upon the M-S role conflict relationship, by contrast, was less important than type of church organization, clerical salary, or clerical tenure.

Type of church organization. Type of church was the third factor related to the status incongruity and P-S role conflict correlation, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of -.128. It was related more strongly to status incongruity (.581) than to P-S role conflict (.350). This was an important influence upon the P-S role conflict relationship but clearly less significant than the effect of the same factor upon the M-S role conflict relationship. For the M-S type of role conflict, the contribution of church organization was greater than that of any other factor.

Salary of the clergyman. The factor of clerical salary contributed considerably less to the status
incongruity and P-S role conflict relationship than to the M-S role conflict relationship. The first-order coefficient was .086. Clerical salary was related to status incongruity (.546) but not to P-S role conflict (.060).

Peer group interaction. It was expected that the factor of peer group interaction was involved in the relationship between status incongruity and P-S role conflict. However, the first-order coefficient (.097) indicates that it had relatively little effect upon the relationship. This is true despite the fact that peer group interaction and status incongruity are somewhat related (.495). Surprisingly, however, peer group interaction is unrelated to P-S role conflict (.047).

III. STATUS INCONGRUITY AND M-P ROLE CONFLICT

The relationship between status incongruity and M-P role conflict was slight (.150). However, the factor of clerical tenure at the local church appeared to be associated with that relationship. Peer group interaction and type of church organization were less important influences upon the relationship. The effect of both clerical theological orientation and clerical salary was negligible.

First-Order Partial Correlations for Status Incongruity and M-P Role Conflict

Clerical tenure at local church. Clerical tenure was the most important factor in the status incongruity and M-P.
role conflict relationship, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .065. It was related much more closely to status incongruity (.606) than to M-P role conflict (.163). As noted above, clerical tenure was also the most important influence upon the status incongruity and P-S role conflict relationship. In addition, it contributed significantly to the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship.

**Peer group interaction.** The factor of peer group interaction had less bearing on the status incongruity and M-P role conflict relationship than clerical tenure. The first-order coefficient was .086. Peer group interaction was related moderately to status incongruity (.495) but only slightly to M-P role conflict (.149). The finding was significant primarily because peer group interaction was related only to this type of role conflict relationship. It appeared to be unrelated to either of the other types of role conflict relationship.

**Type of church organization.** The effect of type of church organization upon the relationship between status incongruity and M-P role conflict was comparable to that of peer group interaction, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .090. The factor of type of church organization was related much more strongly to status incongruity (.581) than to M-P role conflict (.132). It was, in addition, a relatively important influence for each type of role conflict examined, particularly the M-S type of role conflict.
Remaining variables. Neither the factors of clerical theological orientation nor clerical salary had a bearing on the status incongruity and M-P role conflict relationship. This finding is important for the contrast which it provides with the influence of these factors upon other types of role conflict relationship. Clerical theological orientation modified the relationship between status incongruity and each of the other measures of role conflict in important ways. Clerical salary was unimportant for both the M-P role conflict and P-S role conflict relationships with status incongruity. However, it was a very significant influence upon the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship.

IV. SUMMARY

The relationship between status incongruity and role conflict appears to be tenuous. Status incongruity was related in a moderate way to M-S role conflict, but four of the five test factors contributed to the relationship significantly. This means that the status incongruity to M-S role conflict relationship was dependent on other factors. To the extent that this is true, the original relationship is necessarily weak. Status incongruity was related only slightly to both P-S and M-P role conflict.

Four structural characteristics appeared to be associated closely with the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. In the order of their importance, the four factors were (1) type of church
organization; (2) clerical salary; (3) clerical tenure at the local church; and (4) clerical theological orientation. This means, according to the measurements utilized in this study, that any statement about the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict must be qualified extensively. It must include consideration of the several additional influences which appear to be associated with the relationship of status incongruity to M-S role conflict. Only the factor of peer group interaction provided a negligible modification of the relationship in question. The influence of peer group interaction was important, however, when it was combined with additional variables in the second-order correlation analysis. These additional factors, in the order of their importance, were (1) type of church organization; (2) clerical tenure at the local church; and (3) clerical theological orientation.

Peer group interaction and type of church organization affected the status incongruity and M-S role conflict relationship more significantly than either factor taken independently. This was perhaps the most important finding observed in the second-order correlation analysis. The combined influence of peer group interaction and clerical tenure at the local church was also important to the relationship in question. However, clerical tenure as an independent factor was a more important influence upon the relationship than both factors taken collectively. The last second-order examination of the status incongruity to M-S role conflict
relationship was focused upon the combined effect of peer group interaction and clerical theological orientation. These factors were associated with the relationship but in a less significant way than clerical theological orientation, as an independent factor.

The factor of clerical tenure was associated with the relationship between status incongruity and P-S role conflict. Clerical theological orientation and type of church organization were slightly less important factors in the relationship. The effect of clerical salary and peer group interaction was negligible. The relationship between status incongruity and M-P role conflict was modified primarily by clerical tenure at the local church. Peer group interaction and type of church organization were less obvious factors in this relationship, and clerical theological orientation and clerical salary influenced it hardly any.

The remainder of this summary includes a discussion of the relative importance of each structural condition for each type of role conflict examined. Obviously, some factors were consistently more important influences upon the role conflict relationship than other factors. Clerical tenure at the local church was the most important single influence upon the status incongruity to role conflict relationships. Its significance for the M-S role conflict relationship was surpassed only by type of church organization and clerical salary. Three factors were associated with the P-S role conflict relationship, and clerical tenure was clearly the
most important. For the M-P type of role conflict relationship, clerical tenure was the only clearly important influence.

Church organization was also important in the analysis of the relationship between status incongruity and role conflict. It affected the M-S role conflict relationship more significantly than any of the other important factors. It was one of the three important factors in the P-S role conflict relationship. Only in the case of the M-P role conflict relationship was the factor of church organization obviously unimportant.

Clerical theological orientation was one of the four factors associated closely with the M-S role conflict relationship. Only the effect of clerical tenure on this relationship was more important. Clerical theological orientation appeared also to be a factor in the status incongruity and P-S role conflict relationship. For the M-P role conflict relationship, however, the influence of clerical theological orientation was negligible.

Clerical salary was one of the least important factors in the relationship between status incongruity and role conflict. Only for the M-S role conflict relationship was this factor clearly significant. Its association with the P-S and M-P role conflict relationships was negligible.

Peer group interaction was the least important influence upon the status incongruity to role conflict relationships. Although it was expected to be related closely
to both the M-S and P-S role conflict relationships, the
effect on each was negligible. Only in the case of the M-P
role conflict relationship was a slight influence observed
for this factor.
CHAPTER IV

CLERICAL THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION AND ROLE CONFLICT

The relationship between clerical theological orientation and role conflict was explored in considerable detail. The findings indicate that clerical theological orientation is a much stronger correlate of role conflict than status incongruity. Structural conditions used as test factors consistently contributed less to the relationship between theological orientation and role conflict than to the status incongruity and role conflict relationship. The relationship between theological orientation and role conflict is much more substantial, therefore, because the influence of test factors upon it was less dramatic.

It was expected that the theologically conservative clergymen would perceive greater role conflict than their relatively liberal counterparts. The validity of this hypothesis is dependent, of course, upon the type of role conflict under examination. This study was focused specifically upon the role conflict associated with clerical allocation of time for contemporary and traditional responsibilities. The rationale for this general hypothesis was based on a number of factors. First, it was indicated in Chapter I that present-day clergymen are required to devote
a considerable portion of their time to contemporary responsibilities. The exigencies of the situation in which they work require them to attend to matters of organization and administration even though they were trained in the seminary primarily to perform the traditional roles of preacher, priest, teacher, and pastor. For clergymen who regard the traditional functions as their primary responsibility, role conflict may be a consequence of the work situation. Second, it was assumed that theologically conservative clergymen would be more inclined than their relatively liberal counterparts to emphasize the traditional roles over the contemporary roles. Therefore, the conclusion logically follows that these men would perceive more conflict in a situation which demanded relatively great concentration of time upon the contemporary roles.

Clerical theological orientation appears to have been somewhat related to both M-S role conflict and P-S role conflict. It was not at all related, however, to M-P role conflict, as indicated by the following zero-order correlation coefficients.

A. Theological Orientation, M-S Role Conflict .452
B. Theological Orientation, P-S Role Conflict .366
C. Theological Orientation, M-P Role Conflict .063

To a large degree, the theologically conservative clergymen perceived the greatest M-S role conflict. This is a disparity between their expectations and the expectations
of their parishioners concerning the allocation of time. This finding was entirely consistent with expectations since it was assumed that conservative clergymen would emphasize the traditional roles primarily. To some degree, the conservative clergymen also perceived the greatest P-S role conflict. This was indicated by the disparity between their expectations and those of their professional colleagues concerning the proper allocation of time. In this instance, the most conservative clergymen emphasized the traditional roles even more strongly than their professional colleagues emphasized these roles. This was the case for a sizeable proportion of the population studied and probably explains the moderate correlation which exists between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict.

I. CLERICAL THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION AND M-S ROLE CONFLICT

Clerical theological orientation was related to M-S role conflict more strongly than to either of the other types of role conflict examined. This finding is indicated by the fact that the relationship remained generally strong when certain factors were held constant to check it. Only the type of church organization and status incongruity appeared to influence the relationship in important ways. The factor of clerical tenure at the local church affected the relationship only slightly.
First-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical
Theological Orientation and M-S Role Conflict

Type of church organization. The type of church organization was clearly the most important factor associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. The first-order coefficient was -.244. It resulted from the fact that type of church organization was related strongly to both M-S role conflict (.931) and clerical theological orientation (.901).

The factor of church organization may be regarded as an antecedent or an intervening variable. Interpretation of the data regarding type of church organization, however, is contingent upon whether it is an antecedent or an intervening influence. The rationale for considering it to be an antecedent factor is based on a peculiarity of the population studied. The congregational type of church organization was represented exclusively by Southern Baptist clergymen. These men also represented the majority of the theologically conservative clergymen in the population. The congregational type of church organization would not necessarily include theologically conservative clergymen, although this was true for the population studied. If type of church organization is considered to be an antecedent influence this factor alone would indicate that a spurious relationship existed between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. That is, this factor alone would explain the relationship.
The reason may be found in the negative first-order correlation coefficient.

It may be argued also that the type of church organization is an intervening influence upon the relationship. One reason is that even in the population studied, the correspondence between type of church organization and clerical theological orientation was far from perfect. Not all the conservative clergymen were included among the congregational type of church organization; also the congregational type of church organization included several relatively liberal clergymen. Another reason is that type of church organization in no way determines clerical theological orientation. If theological orientation is regarded as an intervening influence, it does not explain away the relationship but provides important interpretative information for the relationship.

Status incongruity. Status incongruity was the second important factor associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. The coefficient for this factor was .271. Status incongruity is considered to be an intervening factor between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. That is, the influence of clerical theological orientation upon M-S role conflict is contingent to some degree on status incongruity. Status incongruity was related more closely to clerical theological orientation (.606) than to M-S role conflict (.335).
Clerical tenure at local church. The effect of clerical tenure upon the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict was very slight, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .348. Clerical tenure was related more closely to M-S role conflict (.552) than to clerical theological orientation (.321). It was an extremely important influence upon the relationship between status incongruity and role conflict, but it was unimportant in the elaboration of the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict.

Peer group interaction. It was expected that peer group interaction would affect the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. However, the influence was negligible, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .488. Peer group interaction was related impressively to clerical theological orientation (.506) but hardly at all to M-S role conflict (.063).

Remaining variables. Clerical salary, size of the local church, and age of the clergyman were not associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. The first-order coefficient for clerical salary was .425. This factor was related more strongly to clerical theological orientation (.310) than to M-S role conflict (.178).

Size of the local church had no bearing upon the relationship, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of
This factor was related only slightly to M-S role conflict (.173) but hardly at all to clerical theological orientation (.042).

The age of the clergymen contributed nothing to the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict, as indicated by the first-order correlation coefficient of .451. This coefficient is almost identical to the zero-order coefficient for clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. It is based upon the very dubious relationship of age of the clergyman to M-S role conflict (.039) and to clerical theological orientation (−.142).

Second-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical Theological Orientation and M-S Role Conflict

Examination of the first-order relationships indicated that clerical theological orientation was associated in a substantial way with M-S role conflict. However, the second-order correlation analysis involved further exploration of the effect of status incongruity and clerical tenure upon that relationship.

Status incongruity and clerical salary. The factors of status incongruity and clerical salary were held constant for an examination of the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. The rationale for this combination can be seen in the relationship between status incongruity and clerical theological orientation (.606).
as well as in the relationship between status incongruity and clerical salary (.546). Status incongruity was related to M-S role conflict only moderately (.335), however.

The combined influence of status incongruity and clerical salary was greater than that of either factor taken independently. The second-order coefficient was .765. The combined effect of these factors was especially noteworthy when compared with that of clerical salary, which was very slight. This second-order partial relationship was more significant than any of the other second-order correlations involving status incongruity. That is, status incongruity and clerical salary influenced the relationship in a more important way than status incongruity and any other factor influenced it. The basis for this very important second-order correlation was the following first-order partial relationships.

A. M-S, Theology Salary .425
B. M-S, Theology Status Congruity .271
C. M-S, Status Incongruity Salary -.289
D. Theology, Status Incongruity Salary .548

The remaining second-order partial correlations in which the variable of status incongruity was combined with additional factors indicate only a negligible influence upon the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict.
Status incongruity and peer group interaction. The factors of status incongruity and peer group interaction were also held constant in an elaboration of the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict. The justification for such a combination may be seen in the relationships between status incongruity and peer group interaction (.495), status incongruity and theological orientation (.606), and peer group interaction and clerical theological orientation (.506).

The factors of peer group interaction and status incongruity were associated with the relationship more closely than that of peer group interaction, taken independently, but less than that of status incongruity. The second-order coefficient was .390. This is another indication of the strength of the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation was based include the following.

A. M-S, Theology . Peer Group .488
B. M-S, Theology . Status Incongruity .271
C. M-S, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .351
D. Theology, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .475

Status incongruity and size of local church. The effect of size of the local church and status incongruity upon the clerical theological orientation to M-S role
conflict relationship was examined. The rationale for this combination of factors may be seen in the zero-order correlation between them (.549). Also important is the relationship noted above between status incongruity and clerical theological orientation (.606). Size of the local church was unrelated to clerical theological orientation (.042) but was associated slightly with M-S role conflict (.173).

The influence of these factors upon the relationship was greater than that of size of the local church, taken independently. The second-order coefficient was .358. However, status incongruity was associated more closely with the relationship than the combined factors. Therefore, the influence of status incongruity upon the clerical theological orientation to M-S role conflict relationship was unrelated to the size of the local church. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based are the following.

A. M-S, Theology . Size of Church .449
B. M-S, Theology . Status Incongruity .271
C. M-S, Status Incongruity . Size .292
D. Theology, Status Incongruity . Size of Church .698

Status incongruity and clerical tenure. The last factor with which status incongruity was combined for an examination of the clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict relationship was clerical tenure. Status incongruity and clerical tenure were related strongly (.606).
Also supporting this second-order correlation was a moderately strong relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict (.552). The relationship between clerical tenure and clerical theological orientation was less important, however (.321).

The effect of status incongruity and clerical tenure upon the relationship was comparable to the influence of clerical tenure, as indicated by the coefficient of .346. Again, the factor of status incongruity had a greater bearing on the relationship than the combined factors. The first-order partial relationships upon which the second-order analysis was based are the following.

A. M-S, Theology . Status Incongruity .271
B. M-S, Theology . Clerical Tenure .348
C. M-S, Clerical Tenure . Status Incongruity .466
D. Theology, Clerical Tenure . Status Incongruity -.073

This second-order analysis was based on the combination of two factors which influenced the clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict relationship individually. Clerical tenure, as noted above, was only a slight influence, but status incongruity was a relatively important one. This second-order finding may be interpreted as an additional indication of the substantial relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict.
Clerical tenure at local church and peer group interaction. The factors of clerical tenure and peer group interaction were held constant in the final elaboration of the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. The justification for this combination lay in the relationship between peer group interaction and clerical tenure (.506) as well as that for clerical theological orientation and peer group interaction (.506). As noted above, clerical tenure and M-S role conflict were associated closely (.552). Peer group interaction and M-S role conflict, however, were not related (.063).

The coefficient for the combined factors was .548. This was a noteworthy influence which may be illustrated by comparing it to the first-order coefficient for clerical tenure (.348) and peer group interaction (.488). The first-order relationships upon which this second-order analysis was based include the following.

A. M-S, Theology . Peer Group .488
B. M-S, Theology . Tenure .348
C. M-S, Tenure . Peer Group .604
D. Theology, Tenure . Peer Group .087

II. CLERICAL THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION AND P-S ROLE CONFLICT

P-S role conflict is indicated by the disparity between the clergyman's expectations and those of his professional
colleagues concerning the proper allocation of clerical time. According to the measures used in this study, clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict were related in a moderate way (.366). Even more important than the degree of association, however, was the fact that other factors generally influenced the relationship very little. Only the type of church organization modified the relationship in a clearly important way. Clerical tenure at the local church affected it slightly, and the remaining factors had almost no bearing upon it. This is particularly noteworthy since it was expected that peer group interaction and status incongruity were associated with the clerical theological orientation to M-S role conflict relationship. The findings indicate that the relationship is contingent only on the type of church organization.

First-Order Partial Correlation for Clerical Theological Orientation and P-S Role Conflict

Type of church organization. The factor of church organization was associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict, as indicated by the coefficient of .125. It was related much more significantly to clerical theological orientation (.901) than to P-S role conflict (.350). The effect of church organization was greater for the M-S role conflict relationship than for the P-S role conflict relationship; nevertheless, it was the most important influence upon the latter relationship.
Interpretation of the first-order relationship is again dependent upon the meaning of the factor itself. If the type of church organization is considered to be an antecedent influence, as it might legitimately be regarded, the finding makes possible an important explanation of the relationship. It does not explain away the relationship, however, because the effect was not sufficiently great. If, on the other hand, the type of church organization is viewed as an intervening influence, as it well may be considered, the finding provides very important additional information concerning the relationship. For this relationship, type of church organization is regarded as an intervening influence.

Clerical tenure at local church. The factor of clerical tenure at the local church was associated very little with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict. This is indicated by the first-order coefficient of .259, only slightly smaller than the zero-order correlation. Clerical tenure was related more closely to P-S role conflict (.466) than to clerical theological orientation (.321). Noted above was the fact that clerical tenure also had little bearing upon the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. According to this measure, therefore, the influence of clerical theological orientation upon both types of role conflict is relatively independent of clerical tenure at the local church.
Peer group interaction. The factor of peer group interaction was hardly associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict. The first-order coefficient was .397, only slightly higher than that for the relationship in question. Peer group interaction was related closely to clerical theological orientation (.506) but not at all to P-S role conflict (.047). Peer group interaction was expected to be related closely to the influence of clerical theological orientation upon P-S role conflict. The reason is that P-S role conflict involves specifically the disparity between expectations held by the clergymen and their professional colleagues. Also, clerical theological orientation and peer group interaction are associated to some extent. Peer group interaction is greater among the relatively liberal clergymen and tends to diminish among the relatively conservative clergymen. However, the factor of peer group interaction modified the relationship only slightly.

Status incongruity. It was expected that clerical status incongruity would be associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict. One reason is that status incongruity was an important factor in other relationships examined, including that of clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict. However, status incongruity contributed very little to the clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict relationship, as indicated by the coefficient of .382. It was
related much more closely to clerical theological orientation (.606) than to P-S role conflict (.105). This finding is a further indication of the importance of the basic relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict.

**Remaining variables.** The relationship of clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict was not dependent on the factors of age of the clergyman, clerical salary, or size of the local church. That is, the relationship remained when these factors were held constant in an examination of it. The first-order coefficient for age of the clergyman was .390, only very slightly higher than the coefficient for the relationship under examination. The first-order coefficient for clerical salary was .355, and the coefficient for church size (.365) was almost the same as that for the relationship being examined. According to these data, clerical salary and church size had absolutely no bearing upon the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict.

**Second-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical Theological Orientation and P-S Role Conflict**

The second-order correlation analysis involved further elaboration of the way in which the factors of church organization and clerical tenure were associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict.
Type of church organization and peer group interaction. The factors of peer group interaction and type of church organization were held constant for an elaboration of the clerical theological orientation to P-S role conflict relationship. The rationale for using these factors can be seen primarily in the magnitude of the relationships between peer group interaction and type of church organization (.443), clerical theological orientation and type of church organization (.901), and peer group interaction and theological orientation (.506). The relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was less important (.350), however, but larger than that between P-S role conflict and peer group interaction (.047).

The effect of the combined factors exceeded that of peer group interaction but was not as strong as that of type of church organization. That is, the factor of type of church organization was associated more closely with the relationship than the combined factors. The second-order coefficient was .167. This finding indicates, further, the substantial nature of the correlation between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict. It also indicates that the effect of type of church organization upon that relationship was not dependent on peer group interaction. The first-order relationships upon which the second-order correlation analysis was based are the following.
Type of church organization and status incongruity.

The factors of church organization and status incongruity were held constant for an elaboration of the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict. In addition to the zero-order correlations noted above, justification for combining these factors may be seen in the relationship between type of church organization and status incongruity (.581) and between status incongruity and clerical theological orientation (.606). However, status incongruity and P-S role conflict were hardly related (.105).

The two factors were associated with the relationship more closely than the independent factor of status incongruity was associated with it. However, the effect of type of church organization upon the relationship was greater than the influence of the combined factors. Therefore, status incongruity contributed nothing to the influence of the factor of church organization upon the relationship under examination. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based are the following.

A. P-S, Theology . Organization .397
B. P-S, Theology . Status Incongruity .382
Type of church organization and clerical tenure. The relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict was examined also by holding the factors of clerical tenure and type of church organization constant. These factors were related very strongly (.601). However, clerical tenure was related less impressively to P-S role conflict (.466) and to clerical theological orientation (.321).

The influence of these factors was not important, as indicated by the second-order coefficient of .473. The factor of type of church organization contributed more significantly to the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict than the combined factors. Therefore, the effect of the factor of church organization upon the relationship under study was independent of the influence of clerical tenure. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based are the following.

A. P-S, Theology . Clerical Tenure .259
B. P-S, Theology . Organization .125
C. P-S, Organization . Clerical Tenure .099
D. Theology, Organization . Clerical Tenure .936

Two additional second-order tabulations were made in an
effort to examine more thoroughly the influence of clerical tenure upon the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict.

Clerical tenure at local church and status incongruity.
The factors of clerical tenure and status incongruity were combined in a second-order elaboration of the relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict. The rationale for this combination is indicated by the relationship of status incongruity to clerical tenure (.606) and to clerical theological orientation (.606). The relationship between status incongruity and P-S role conflict was very slight (.105), however.

The factors of clerical tenure and status incongruity had very little bearing upon the relationship under examination. The second-order coefficient was .488. As individual factors, both clerical tenure and status incongruity were associated only slightly with the relationship. The combined effect of these factors, likewise, was of little consequence. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation was based are the following.

A. P-S, Theology . Status Incongruity .382
B. P-S, Theology . Clerical Tenure .259
C. P-S, Tenure . Status Incongruity .509
D. Theology, Tenure . Status Incongruity -.073
Clerical tenure at local church and peer group interaction. The final second-order examination of the influence of clerical theological orientation on P-S role conflict was based on the factors of peer group interaction and clerical tenure. These factors were used because of the relationships of peer group interaction to clerical tenure (.506) and to clerical theological orientation (.506). The relationship between peer group interaction and P-S role conflict was nil (.047), however.

The contribution of these factors to the relationship was unimportant. The relationship remained relatively stable even when the influence of these factors was held constant. The coefficient for this second-order correlation was .412. The first-order partial relationships on which this second-order correlation analysis was based are the following.

A. P-S, Theology . Peer Group .397
B. P-S, Theology . Clerical Tenure .259
C. P-S, Clerical Tenure . Peer Group .513
D. Theology, Clerical Tenure . Peer Group .087

III. CLERICAL THEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION AND M-P ROLE CONFLICT

The relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-P role conflict was altogether tenuous, as indicated by the coefficient of .063. A first-order elaboration of this relationship is reported, however, to facilitate
comparison of the important influences upon the three types of role conflict relationships. Only the factor of church organization affected this M-P role conflict relationship in any important way. Status incongruity and peer group interaction were associated only slightly with it, and the influence of the remaining factors was nil. A second-order elaboration of this relationship was not made because of the very low zero-order correlation coefficient.

**Type of church organization.** Only the factor of church organization contributed in a clearly important way to the clerical theological orientation and M-P role conflict relationship. Therefore, the influence of clerical theological orientation is dependent, in part, upon the factor of church organization. The first-order coefficient was -.130. Type of church organization was related strongly to clerical theological orientation (.901) but only slightly to M-P role conflict (.132).

**Status incongruity.** Status incongruity was related slightly to the influence of clerical theological orientation upon M-P role conflict, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of -.034. Underlying this small reduction was a strong relationship between status incongruity and clerical theological orientation (.606) but a weak correlation between status incongruity and M-P role conflict (.105).

**Peer group interaction.** Peer group interaction was
also associated slightly with the relationship under examination, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of -.014. The influence of this factor resulted from the moderately strong relationship between peer group interaction and clerical theological orientation (.506). Combined with that was a slight relationship between peer group interaction and M-P role conflict (.149).

Remaining variables. The association of the remaining factors with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-P role conflict was negligible. The first-order coefficient for clerical tenure at the local church was .011. Clerical tenure was related moderately to clerical theological orientation (.321) but only slightly to M-P role conflict (.163).

The first-order coefficient for clerical salary was .053. This factor was related moderately to clerical theological orientation (.310) but not at all to M-P role conflict (.042).

The first-order coefficient for age of the clergyman was .056. This factor was related to M-P role conflict (-.051) and to clerical theological orientation (-.142) in a negative way.

The first-order coefficient for size of the local church was .058. This coefficient was based upon the relationships of size of the local church to M-P role conflict (.135) and to clerical theological orientation (.042).
IV. SUMMARY

Clerical theological orientation was associated more closely with the various types of role conflict than status incongruity. The zero-order correlations between clerical theological orientation and role conflict were consistently stronger than the basic correlations between status incongruity and role conflict. Even more important, however, is the fact that the influence of test factors on the status incongruity and role conflict relationships was consistently greater than the influence of such factors on the clerical theological orientation and role conflict relationships. This means that the relationship of status incongruity to role conflict was dependent very much upon other factors than status incongruity itself. The relationship of clerical theological orientation to role conflict, on the other hand, was less dependent on outside factors—and therefore stronger.

The relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict was relatively strong. When multiple factors were held constant to check the strength of the relationship, it was generally modified very little. The influence of clerical theological orientation upon M-S role conflict was dependent most of all upon the factor of church organization. The effect of this factor upon the relationship under examination was greater than the influence of any other factor. The factor of status incongruity was associated with the M-S role conflict relationship somewhat. The
influence of clerical tenure, on the other hand, was slight. The influence of the remaining factors was negligible. The second-order elaboration of the relationship facilitated a more specific statement concerning the factors of status incongruity and clerical tenure. For example, the combined effect of status incongruity and clerical salary was greater than the influence of either factor taken independently. Also, the combined influence of clerical tenure and peer group interaction was greater than that of either factor taken independently. Even with these qualifications, however, the original relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict remained substantial.

The relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict was very substantial. Only the factor of church organization was associated with the reduction of that relationship. Clerical tenure influenced it only slightly, and the effect of the remaining factors upon the relationship was negligible. The second-order analysis facilitated a more detailed inspection of the influence of type of church organization. The combined effect of type of church organization and peer group interaction was greater than the influence of type of church organization. Also, the factors of church organization and status incongruity were associated more closely with the relationship than the independent factor of church organization. Therefore the influence of clerical theological orientation upon P-S role conflict was qualified by the combined factors of
(1) church organization and peer group interaction, and (2) church organization and status incongruity.

The relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-P role conflict was negligible. However, first-order correlations were reported so that comparison of the influences upon all three types of role conflict could be made. Only the type of church organization influenced the original relationship in an important way. The influence of the remaining factors was negligible.

The relationship between clerical theological orientation and role conflict was modified very little by most of the factors which were held constant to check it. Only the factor of type of church organization was clearly associated with the relationship between clerical theological orientation and each type of role conflict. Clerical tenure was associated slightly with the M-S and P-S role conflict relationships, but not at all with the M-P role conflict relationship.
Clerical role conflict was expected to vary with the length of time the minister had served his congregation. It was reasoned that the clergyman who served the same congregation over a period of time would find his position within the church structure stabilized and his freedom to organize his role increased. Such a development could result from (1) the fact that many dissident members leave the church over a period of time; (2) the association between the length of a minister's tenure in the local church and the proportion of the congregation who have affiliated with it under his leadership; and (3) the relationship between the length of a minister's tenure and the number of parishioners who have received valued services from him in the form of baptisms, weddings, funerals, and others. It was reasoned also that a clergyman whose tenure in a given locality extends over a number of years would likely be well established in the regional professional associations. This factor was expected to influence the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict.

The hypothesis concerning the relationship between clerical tenure and role conflict appears to have been
supported by the data. In fact, clerical tenure was a more
important correlate of role conflict than either clerical
theological orientation or status incongruity. The following
zero-order correlations indicate the extent to which these
factors were related.

A. Clerical Tenure, M-S Role Conflict .552
B. Clerical Tenure, P-S Role Conflict .466
C. Clerical Tenure, M-P Role Conflict .163

According to these data, clerical tenure was related impres­
sively to both M-S and P-S role conflict but only slightly
to M-P role conflict.

The factor of clerical tenure was associated more
closely to M-S role conflict than to either of the remaining
types of role conflict. This finding was consistent with
expectations. The M-S type of role conflict involved the
disparity of expectations between the congregation and the
clergyman himself concerning the allocation of clerical time.
According to these data, such role conflict declined to some
degree as the length of the minister's tenure in a given
congregation increased.

The factor of clerical tenure was also related in a
noteworthy way to P-S role conflict. This type of role con­
lict was seen in the disparity between expectations held by
the clergyman and his professional colleagues concerning the
allocation of clerical time. According to these data, P-S
role conflict declined to some extent as the length of the
minister's tenure in a given congregation increased. Clerical tenure appeared to be related to M-P role conflict only slightly. This type of role conflict involved the disparity of expectations between the membership reference system and the professional reference system. It appeared to be no more pronounced among newly installed clergymen than among those whose duration of tenure was relatively long.

In addition to the fact that the M-S and P-S role conflict relationships were substantial, they generally remained strong when test factors were held constant to check them.

I. CLERICAL TENURE AT LOCAL CHURCH AND M-S ROLE CONFLICT

The factor of clerical tenure at the local church was associated more closely with M-S role conflict (.552) than with either of the other types of role conflict. More important, however, the relationship was dependent only on the factor of church organization. Several other factors were held constant in efforts to test the relationship, but only the influence of the type of church organization was associated closely with it.

First-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical Tenure at Local Church and M-S Role Conflict

Type of church organization. The factor of church organization was associated with the relationship between
clerical tenure and M-S role conflict very closely, as indicated by the coefficient of .026. This close association resulted from the strong relationship of the factor of church organization to both M-S role conflict (.931) and clerical tenure (.601). If type of church organization were considered to be an antecedent variable, it would explain the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. The influence of this factor almost eliminated the relationship, in that case. However, it is considered to be an intervening factor which adds an extremely important dimension to the findings concerning the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. Therefore, the relationship being studied is dependent very much upon the factor of church organization.

Size of local church. The factor of church size was expected to be associated with the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. The data indicate, however, that the size of the local church had almost no bearing upon this relationship. The first-order coefficient was .541, indicating that the relationship remained strong when the factor of church size was held constant. Size of the local church was related only slightly to both M-S role conflict (.173) and clerical tenure (.142).

Age of the clergyman. Another factor thought to be involved in the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict was that of age of the clergyman. It was
assumed that the relationship would be reduced when the factor of age of the clergyman was held constant. However, the first-order coefficient was .564. According to this measure, the relationship was affected hardly any by the factor of age of the clergyman. This finding was another very important indication of the strength of the relationship being studied. The factor of age of the clergyman was related only slightly to clerical tenure (.278) and not at all to M-S role conflict (.039).

**Clerical salary.** The salary of the clergyman was expected to be associated with the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. However, the first-order coefficient was .531. According to this measure, the factor of clerical salary had virtually no bearing upon the relationship being studied. Clerical salary was related moderately to clerical tenure (.310) but only slightly to M-S role conflict (.178). This finding concerning the lack of association between clerical salary and the relationship being studied is just as important as the information concerning the size of the local church and the age of the clergyman.

**Status incongruity.** Status incongruity was associated more closely with the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict than any of the remaining factors which were held constant. However, the effect of status incongruity upon that relationship was slight, as indicated by the
first-order coefficient of .466. Status incongruity was related strongly to clerical tenure (.606) but only moderately to M-S role conflict (.335). Therefore, the influence of clerical tenure upon M-S role conflict was relatively independent of the factor of status incongruity.

Clerical theological orientation. The factor of clerical theological orientation contributed very little to the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. The first-order coefficient was .482. Clerical theological orientation was related to some degree to both M-S role conflict (.452) and clerical tenure (.321). It may be concluded that the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict was relatively independent of the influence of clerical theological orientation.

Peer group interaction. Peer group interaction was the last single factor held constant for an examination of the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. The effect of this factor was even less important than that of status incongruity and clerical theological orientation, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .604. Peer group interaction was related in an impressive way to clerical tenure (.506) but not at all to M-S role conflict (.063). Therefore, the influence of clerical tenure upon M-S role conflict was hardly contingent upon the factor of peer group interaction.
Second-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical
Tenure at Local Church and M-S Role Conflict

The factor of church organization was associated very closely with the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. The relationship was also affected slightly by the factors of status incongruity, clerical theological orientation, and peer group interaction. The second-order analysis involved further elaboration of the influence of these three factors upon the relationship. It was found that the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict remained when multiple factors were held constant to examine it.

Peer group interaction and clerical theological orientation. The factors of peer group interaction and clerical theological orientation were held constant for an examination of the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. The rationale for holding these factors constant may be seen in the relatively strong relationship between them (.506) as well as the relationship between peer group interaction and clerical tenure (.506). In addition, clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict were related moderately (.452). However, the relationship between clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure was smaller (.321), and that between peer group interaction and M-S role conflict was very questionable (.063).

The effect of these factors upon the relationship
between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict was approxi-
mately the same as that for each factor taken independently. 
The second-order correlation coefficient was .646. According 
to this measure, the relationship under study was relatively 
independent of the factors of peer group interaction and 
clerical theological orientation. This finding was another 
important indicator of the strength of that basic relation-
ship. The first-order partial relationships upon which this 
second-order correlation was based are the following.

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<td>M-S, Tenure</td>
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<td>B</td>
<td>M-S, Tenure</td>
<td>Theology</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>M-S, Theology</td>
<td>Peer Group</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>Tenure, Theology</td>
<td>Peer Group</td>
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Peer group interaction and status incongruity. The relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict 
was examined also by holding constant the factors of peer 
group interaction and status incongruity. These factors were 
related in a moderately strong way (.495). Even more impor-
tant, however, was the relationship between status incon-
gruity and clerical tenure (.606) and that between peer group 
interaction and clerical tenure (.506).

The factors of peer group interaction and status 
incongruity had very little bearing upon the relationship 
between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict. The second-
order correlation coefficient was .531. According to this
measure, the influence of clerical tenure upon M-S role conflict was independent of the factors of peer group interaction and status incongruity. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based are the following.

A. M-S, Tenure . Peer Group .604
B. M-S, Tenure . Status Incongruity .466
C. M-S, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .351
D. Tenure, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .475

Clerical theological orientation and status incongruity. The final elaboration of the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict was made by holding constant the factors of clerical theological orientation and status incongruity. A very good argument for combining these factors can be seen in the important relationship between them (.606). In addition, status incongruity and clerical tenure were related strongly (.606), and clerical theological orientation and tenure were related moderately (.321). Theological orientation was related impressively to M-S role conflict (.452) and, as noted above, status incongruity and M-S role conflict were related moderately (.335).

Examination of the effect of clerical theological orientation and status incongruity upon the relationship being studied provided a further indication of the substantial nature of that relationship. The second-order
correlation coefficient was .521. According to this measure, the influence of clerical tenure upon M-S role conflict was relatively independent of the factors of clerical theological orientation and status incongruity. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation was based are the following.

A. M-S, Tenure . Theology .482
B. M-S, Tenure . Status Incongruity .466
C. M-S, Status Incongruity . Theology .086
D. Tenure, Status Incongruity . Theology .546

II. CLERICAL TENURE AT LOCAL CHURCH
AND P-S ROLE CONFLICT

Clerical tenure was associated with P-S role conflict in an even more remarkable way than with M-S role conflict. The basic relationship was slightly smaller (.466), but it was not dependent on any additional factors incorporated into the study. The relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict, by contrast, was very much contingent upon the factor of church organization.

First-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical Tenure at the Local Church and P-S Role Conflict

Type of church organization. The factor of church organization was held constant in an examination of the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict.
This factor has consistently been an important influence upon other role conflict relationships. However, it was associated relatively little with the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict. The first-order coefficient was .344. Type of church organization was related strongly to tenure at the local church (.601) but only moderately to P-S role conflict (.350). The very slight effect of this factor upon the relationship being studied is another indication of the strength of that relationship.

**Peer group interaction.** It was expected that the factor of peer group interaction would have an important bearing upon the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict. The reason is that P-S role conflict is a measure of the disparity between expectations held by the clergyman and his professional colleagues. The measure of role conflict is related logically to the phenomenon of peer group interaction. However, the first-order correlation coefficient was .513. According to this measure the factor of peer group interaction was associated with the relationship only slightly. This is a particularly important finding because it indicates that the relationship remained when this crucial factor was held constant. Peer group interaction was related strongly to clerical tenure (.506) but not at all to P-S role conflict (.047).
Clerical theological orientation. It was expected also that the factor of clerical theological orientation would contribute significantly to the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict. This factor was associated only very slightly with that relationship, however, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .396. Therefore, the influence of clerical tenure upon P-S role conflict was relatively independent of the factor of clerical theological orientation. Clerical theological orientation was associated moderately with both clerical tenure (.321) and P-S role conflict (.366).

Size of the local church. The relationship between clerical tenure at the local church and P-S role conflict was examined by holding constant the factor of size of the local church. The first-order correlation coefficient was .468. According to this measure, the factor of church size had no bearing upon the relationship being studied. The factor of church size was related very slightly to clerical tenure (.141) and not at all to P-S role conflict (.021). The finding is another indication of the substantial relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict.

Remaining variables. The factors of status incongruity, age of the clergyman, and salary of the clergymen were held constant in an elaboration of the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict. Only the factor of status incongruity was associated in any way with
the original relationship. However, the effect of this factor upon that relationship was so slight as to be unimportant. This is indicated by the first-order coefficient of .509. Status incongruity was related strongly to clerical tenure (.606) but only very slightly to P-S role conflict (.105). The factors of age of the clergyman and salary of the clergyman modified the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict hardly any. The first-order coefficient for age of the clergyman was .453 and that for clerical salary was .474.

Second-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical Tenure at Local Church and P-S Role Conflict

According to the data reported above, the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict was very substantial. None of the factors held constant was associated with that relationship in any important way. Therefore, the relationship was relatively independent of the influence of additional factors incorporated in this study. Nevertheless, three second-order elaborations of this relationship were made to examine in more detail the possible effect of the factor of church organization. This factor was associated only slightly with the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict, but it was an extremely important influence on most of the role conflict relationships.

Type of church organization and clerical theological orientation. The factors of type of church organization and
clerical theological orientation were held constant for an elaboration of the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict. The justification for using these factors in the second-order elaboration may be seen in the overwhelming relationship between them (.901) as well as in the very strong relationship between type of church organization and clerical tenure (.601). However, clerical theological orientation was related only moderately to clerical tenure (.321) and to P-S role conflict (.366). The relationship between the type of church organization and P-S role conflict was also moderate (.350).

The contribution of these factors to the relationship being studied was relatively unimportant. The second-order correlation coefficient was .553. According to this measure, the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict was relatively independent of the factors of church organization and clerical theological orientation. The first-order partial relationship upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based were the following.

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<th>P-S, Tenure</th>
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<td>A</td>
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<td>B</td>
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<td>C</td>
<td>Tenure, Theology</td>
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Type of church organization and peer group interaction. Another elaboration of the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict was made by holding
constant the factors of church organization and peer group interaction. These factors were related to each other moderately (.443). In addition, the relationship of clerical tenure to both peer group interaction (.506) and type of church organization (.601) was relatively strong.

The factors of type of church organization and peer group interaction contributed very little to the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict. The second-order coefficient was .411. According to this measure, the relationship was relatively independent of the factors of church organization and peer group interaction. The first-order partial relationship upon which this second-order analysis was based are the following.

A. P-S, Tenure . Peer Group .513
B. P-S, Tenure . Organization .344
C. P-S, Organization . Peer Group .368
D. Tenure, Organization . Peer Group .487

Type of church organization and status incongruity. The last elaboration of the clerical tenure and P-S role conflict relationship involved an inquiry concerning the contribution of the factors of type of church organization and status incongruity. The rationale for holding these factors constant may be seen in the relationships between type of church organization and status incongruity (.581), type of church organization and clerical tenure (.601), and status incongruity and clerical tenure (.606).
The factors of type of church organization and status incongruity had almost no bearing upon the relationship being studied. The first-order coefficient was .433. This finding also provides further support for the first-order relationships which indicated that the basic correlation between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict was very substantial. The first-order relationships upon which this second-order correlation was based are the following.

A. P-S, Tenure . Organization .344
B. P-S, Tenure . Status Incongruity .509
C. P-S, Status Incongruity . Organization -.128
D. Tenure, Status Incongruity . Organization .395

III. CLERICAL TENURE AT THE LOCAL CHURCH
AND M-P ROLE CONFLICT

The relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict was not close (.163). Clerical tenure was obviously related more significantly to M-S role conflict and P-S role conflict. For the M-P role conflict relationship, only the factor of status incongruity was important. For that reason, the factor of status incongruity was combined with other factors in a second-order elaboration of the relationship.

First-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical Tenure at Local Church and M-P Role Conflict

Status incongruity. The factor of status incongruity
was associated with the relationship being studied more than any of the remaining test factors. The first-order coefficient was .092. According to this measure, the relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict was dependent to some extent upon the factor of status incongruity. Status incongruity was related closely to tenure at the local church (.606) but only slightly to M-P role conflict (.150).

Peer group interaction and type of church organization. The independent factors of peer group interaction and type of church organization were associated very slightly with the relationship being studied. The first-order correlation coefficient for peer group interaction was .103. It was based more upon the relationship of peer group interaction to clerical tenure (.506) than to M-P role conflict (.149). The first-order correlation coefficient for type of church organization was .107. Type of church organization was also related much more strongly to clerical tenure (.601) than to M-P role conflict (.132).

Remaining variables. The factors of clerical theological orientation, salary of the clergyman, size of the local church, and age of the clergyman were not at all associated with the relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict. That is, this relationship was relatively independent of these factors. The first-order coefficient for clerical theological orientation was .151. This factor was related moderately to clerical tenure (.321) but not at
all to M-P role conflict (.063). The first-order coefficient for salary of the clergyman was .158. This factor also was related moderately to clerical tenure (.310) and not at all to M-P role conflict (.042). The coefficient for size of the local church was .148, and this factor was related slightly to both clerical tenure (.142) and M-P role conflict (.135). The first-order coefficient for age of the clergyman was .185. This factor was related slightly to clerical tenure (.278) but hardly at all to M-P role conflict (-.051).

**Second-Order Partial Correlations for Clerical Tenure at Local Church and M-P Role Conflict**

The second-order elaboration of the relationship between clerical tenure at the local church and M-P role conflict facilitated a more detailed analysis of the effect of status incongruity upon that relationship. The factor of status incongruity was associated more closely with the relationship being studied when combined with two additional factors than when taken independently.

**Status incongruity and type of church organization.**
The factors of status incongruity and type of church organization were held constant for an elaboration of the relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict. The justification for using these factors can be seen in the relationships between status incongruity and type of church organization (.581), type of church organization and clerical tenure (.601), and status incongruity and clerical tenure
The factors of status incongruity and type of church organization contributed to the relationship under examination more significantly than either factor taken independently. The second-order correlation coefficient was .077. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based are the following.

A. M-P, Tenure . Status Incongruity .092
B. M-P, Tenure . Organization .107
C. M-P, Organization . Status Incongruity .056
D. Tenure, Organization . Status Incongruity .385

Status incongruity and peer group interaction. The contribution of the factors of status incongruity and peer group interaction to the relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict was also studied. The justification for holding these two factors constant may be seen in the relationships between status incongruity and peer group interaction (.495), peer group interaction and clerical tenure (.506), and status incongruity and clerical tenure (.606). The effect of these factors upon the relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict was also greater than that of either factor taken independently. The second-order correlation coefficient was .071. According to this measure, the relationship being studied was more dependent upon the factors of status incongruity and peer
group interaction than upon any single factor used in this study. The first-order partial relationships upon which the second-order correlation was based are the following.

A. M-P, Tenure . Peer Group .103
B. M-P, Tenure . Status Incongruity .092
C. M-P, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .086
D. Tenure, Status Incongruity . Peer Group .475

IV. SUMMARY

Clerical tenure at their present churches was related strongly to M-S role conflict. This is indicated both by the impressive zero-order correlation coefficient and by the fact that only one of the test factors was associated with the relationship in an important way. The relationship between clerical tenure at the local church and M-S role conflict was dependent in a very significant way upon the factor of church organization. It was relatively independent, however, of the influence of all other factors incorporated in this study. Second-order elaborations were made involving the factors of peer group interaction, clerical theological orientation, and status incongruity. None of these more detailed inquiries provided indication of any important influence upon that original relationship.

The factor of clerical tenure at the local church was associated with P-S role conflict in an even more important way than with M-S role conflict. The reason is primarily
that the P-S role conflict relationship was not dependent on any additional factors incorporated in this study. The M-S role conflict relationship, by contrast, was very much dependent upon the factor of church organization. The second-order analysis of the P-S role conflict relationship involved further inquiry concerning the possible association of the factor of church organization with the relationship being studied. The findings indicate that even this factor affected the relationships very little.

The relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict was weak. In addition, the influence of test factors incorporated in this study did not increase it in any important way. Status incongruity appeared to be associated slightly with the relationship, as an independent factor but even more when it was combined with the factors of church organization or peer group interaction.
CHAPTER VI

TYPE OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND ROLE CONFLICT

This study included analysis of the relationship between type of church organization and clerical role conflict. It was noted in Chapter II that important questions exist concerning the consequences of the type of church organization, particularly for clerical role conflict.

Within American Protestantism, three forms of church government may be distinguished: (1) the episcopal; (2) the presbyterian; and (3) the congregational. Theoretically, each of the traditional structures contains a different form of church government at the local level, the basic distinction being the amount of authority vested in the congregation. In both the episcopal and presbyterian types of church organization, the final, formal authority rests with individuals or groups other than the local congregation. In the congregational type of organization, however, the final authority rests in the local group. Theoretically, this type of church government is organized democratically, and the group functions as an autonomous unit. If the actual operation of the organization corresponds to the formal design, one should expect a greater incidence of role conflict in the congregational type of church structure. The
reason is primarily that the minister has no formal protection outside his local congregation. Several studies, noted earlier, appear to indicate that this type of church organization results in greater conflict for the clergyman.

Some students of religion have argued, however, that the actual functioning of the local church does not correspond to the formal organizational design. They point out that distinctions in the type of church organization have been exaggerated and that the average church congregation has tended to move toward the congregational model--regardless of the type of formal structure involved. Differences continue, they say, but the similarities of church government at the local level far outweigh them. Therefore, the consequences of the type of church organization for clerical role conflict have not at all been established.

Findings provided by this study indicate that the factor of church organization was in some respects the most important correlate of role conflict among clergymen. The following zero-order correlations were observed.

A. Church Organization, M-S Role Conflict  .931
B. Church Organization, P-S Role Conflict  .350
C. Church Organization, M-P Role Conflict  .132

The very strong relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict (.931) indicates that type of church organization was clearly the most important correlate of M-S role conflict included in this study. The
relationship was stronger than that observed between M-S role conflict and any other independent variable. In addition, it was relatively independent of the influence of other factors examined in this study. This is the only correlate of M-S role conflict for which such a statement can be made. It was hypothesized that the factor of church organization would influence role conflict, but this overwhelming relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict was hardly anticipated.

The factor of church organization was related only moderately to P-S role conflict. Other correlates of P-S role conflict, including clerical tenure and clerical theological orientation, were at least as important as type of church organization. In addition to the fact that the influence of church organization on P-S role conflict was only moderate, the relationship itself appeared to be dependent in a very important way upon at least two additional factors--clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure. That is, these factors contributed in significant ways to the influence of church organization upon P-S role conflict. The relationship between the factors of church organization and M-P role conflict was slight. However, this type of role conflict was not related closely to any of the independent variables included in the study.
I. TYPE OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND M-S ROLE CONFLICT

The association between the factors of church organization and M-S role conflict could hardly have been greater (.931). This type of role conflict was related to the other major independent variables in a moderate to somewhat strong fashion. For example, the relationship between status incongruity and M-S role conflict was moderate (.335). Clerical theological orientation was related to M-S role conflict in a more impressive way (.452), and the relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict was definitely noteworthy (.552). In no instance, however, did the basic correlation between an independent variable and M-S role conflict approach that of the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict. Even more important, perhaps, is the fact that the association between church organization and P-S role conflict was relatively independent of the influence of other factors. The relationship was modified very little when additional factors were held constant to check it. For each of the other M-S role conflict relationships examined, by contrast, the influence of additional factors was very important.

Clerical theological orientation. The factor of clerical theological orientation was held constant for an examination of the relationship between church organization and M-S role conflict. This factor was related very closely
to that of church organization (.901) and in an impressive way to M-S role conflict (.452). For this reason, it was expected that the relationship between church organization and M-S role conflict was dependent to some degree upon clerical theological orientation. However, this factor had very little bearing upon the relationship under examination. The effect was to increase the correlation to unity (1.003), indicating that the factors of church organization and clerical theological orientation were correlated almost perfectly with M-S role conflict. Since the original relationship between church organization and M-S role conflict was so extremely high, however, the influence of clerical theological orientation remained relatively slight.

Peer group interaction. It was anticipated that the factor of peer group interaction was associated with the relationship between church organization and M-S role conflict. This factor was related moderately to type of church organization (.443) but not at all to M-S role conflict (.063). The effect of peer group interaction upon the relationship being studied was comparable to that of clerical theological orientation, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of 1.009. According to this measure, the factors of church organization and peer group interaction also were correlated almost perfectly with M-S role conflict. Again, however, the original relationship between church organization and M-S role conflict was so strong that the influence
of peer group interaction, by comparison, was relatively slight.

**Size of local church.** A very critical examination of the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict was employed when the factor of church size was held constant. It was expected that the very strong basic relationship would be reduced as a result of the influence of this factor. However, size of the local church was related only slightly to both church organization (.134) and M-S role conflict (.173). As a consequence, this factor had no bearing upon the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict. The first-order coefficient was .930, indicating that the relationship was strong, regardless of the size of church involved. This unexpected finding indicates even further the importance of the relationship being studied.

**Tenure at local church.** Another important relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was discovered by holding constant the factor of clerical tenure. This factor was related strongly to both type of church organization (.601) and to M-S role conflict (.552). However, the first-order coefficient (.899) indicates that the effect of clerical tenure was very small. It may be concluded that the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict was not dependent in any significant way upon the factor of clerical tenure at the local church.
Salary of the clergymen. Another potentially very critical factor, salary of the clergymen, was held constant for an examination of the relationship being studied. Clerical salary was related moderately to type of church organization (.328) but only slightly to M-S role conflict (.178). It was expected that the influence of church organization upon M-S role conflict would be tempered somewhat by the factor of clerical salary. However, on the basis of the first-order correlation coefficient (.939), it may be concluded that the relationship was not at all dependent upon the factor of clerical salary. It remained strong regardless of salary of the clergymen.

Status incongruity. The contribution of the factor of status incongruity to the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict was examined. Status incongruity was related strongly to type of church organization (.581) and moderately to M-S role conflict (.335). As indicated by the first-order coefficient (.960), however, the effect of this factor upon the relationship being studied was negligible. That is, the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict was relatively independent of the influence of the factor of status incongruity.

Age of the clergymen. The last factor held constant in an examination of the relationship between church organization and M-S role conflict was that of age of the clergymen.
This factor was not related to either type of church organization (.070) or M-S role conflict (.039). For this reason, it was not at all associated with the relationship being studied, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of (.931).

II. TYPE OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND
P-S ROLE CONFLICT

The factor of church organization was not associated as closely with P-S role conflict (.350) as with M-S role conflict (.931). Compared with other P-S role conflict relationships, the influence of type of church organization upon P-S role conflict was the same as that of clerical theological orientation but slightly less than that of clerical tenure. In addition to the fact that this relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was only moderate, two additional factors appeared to be associated very closely with it. They were clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure at the local church. However, the relationship appeared to be dependent on none of the remaining factors.

First-Order Partial Correlations for Type of
Church Organization and P-S Role Conflict

Clerical theological orientation. The factor of clerical theological orientation was associated very closely with the relationship between type of church organization
and P-S role conflict, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .050. This factor was related strongly to type of church organization (.901) and moderately to P-S role conflict (.366). It was expected that clerical theological orientation was an important factor, but the very strong dependence of the relationship upon it was not anticipated.

**Clerical tenure at local church.** The factor of clerical tenure contributed to the relationship between church organization and P-S role conflict in a very meaningful way. It was related to both type of church organization (.601) and to P-S role conflict (.466). The first-order coefficient was .099. According to this measure, the relationship was very much dependent on the influence of clerical tenure.

**Peer group interaction.** The factor of peer group interaction was expected to be associated with the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict. This type of role conflict was a measure of the disparity between expectations held by the clergyman and his professional colleagues. It was expected to be related, therefore, to the phenomenon of peer group interaction. This factor was related somewhat to that of church organization (.443) but hardly at all to P-S role conflict (.047). The first-order coefficient was .368. According to this measure, the effect of peer group interaction upon the relationship being studied was altogether negligible. That is, the relationship between type of church organization and
P-S role conflict was hardly dependent upon the factor of peer group interaction.

**Size of local church.** The factor of church size also was held constant for an examination of the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict. This was an extremely critical factor in the analysis because the independent variable was that of church organization. However, the factor of church size was related only slightly to that of church organization (.134) and not at all to P-S role conflict (.021). The first-order coefficient was .350. According to this measure, the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was in no way dependent on the factor of church size. That the relationship being studied remained constant regardless of the size of the church was an extremely important finding.

**Age of the clergyman.** The factor of age of the clergyman was held constant for an elaboration of the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict. However, this factor was related only very slightly to P-S role conflict (.123) and not at all to type of church organization (.070). As a result, the contribution of age of the clergyman to the relationship being studied was altogether negligible, as indicated by the first-order coefficient of .345.

**Status incongruity.** It was expected that the factor of status incongruity would contribute to the relationship
between type of church organization and P-S role conflict. The reason was primarily that status incongruity was an important test factor for other relationships. Also, a strong correlation was observed between status incongruity and type of church organization (.581). However, the relationship between status incongruity and P-S role conflict was very weak (.105). The first-order coefficient was .357. According to this measure, the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was not at all affected by the factor of status incongruity.

Salary of the clergyman. The last single factor used in an examination of the relationship between church organization and P-S role conflict was that of clerical salary. This factor was related moderately to type of church organization (.328) but not at all to P-S role conflict (.060). The first-order coefficient was .350. According to this measure, the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was not at all dependent on the influence of clerical salary.

Second-Order Partial Correlations for Type of Church Organization and P-S Role Conflict

It was noted above that the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was dependent only upon the factors of clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure. The purpose for the second-order correlation analysis was primarily to explore in more detail the
nature of the influence of these factors upon the relationship. It is significant that the influence of these factors, taken in combination, exceeds that of either factor taken individually. This finding was important primarily because it extends knowledge of the relationships beyond the level made possible by the first-order analysis.

**Clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure.** The factors of clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure were held constant for an examination of the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict. The correlation between these two factors was only moderate (.321), but the relationship between clerical theological orientation and type of organization was very strong (.901). Clerical tenure was also related strongly to type of church organization (.601). In addition, the relationships between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict (.466) and between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict (.366) were moderately strong.

The factors of clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure were associated more closely with the relationship being studied than either factor taken independently. The second-order coefficient was -.419. Therefore, the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was dependent upon the combined influence of clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure. The first-order partial relationship upon which this second-order
correlation analysis was based include the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A.</th>
<th>P-S, Organization</th>
<th>Theology</th>
<th>.050</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.</td>
<td>P-S, Organization</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.</td>
<td>P-S, Tenure</td>
<td>Theology</td>
<td>.396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D.</td>
<td>Organization, Tenure</td>
<td>Theology</td>
<td>.759</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clerical theological orientation and status incongruity. The contribution of the factors of clerical theological orientation and status incongruity to the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was examined by holding these factors constant. The relationship between these factors was strong (.606). Also important was the relationship between status incongruity and type of church organization (.581). Even more important, however, was the relationship between clerical theological orientation and type of church organization (.901).

The contribution of the factors of clerical theological orientation and status incongruity to the relationship being studied was not important. The second-order correlation coefficient was .067. According to this measure, the combined influence was considerably greater than that of status incongruity, as an independent factor. However, the combined effect was hardly as great as that of clerical theological orientation in itself. Therefore, this finding indicates even further the extent to which status incongruity was unrelated to the original relationship and the
extent to which the influence of clerical theological orientation upon that relationship was independent of status incongruity factors. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based include the following.

A. P-S, Organization . Theology .050
B. P-S, Organization . Status Incongruity .357
C. P-S, Status Incongruity . Theology -.158
D. Organization, Status Incongruity . Theology .101

Clerical tenure and status incongruity. The last second-order elaboration for the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was made by holding constant the factors of clerical tenure and status incongruity. Justification for this combination may be seen in the relationships among several variables. Those relationships were relatively strong between clerical tenure and status incongruity (.606), clerical tenure and type of church organization (.601), and status incongruity and type of church organization (.581). In addition, the relationship between clerical tenure and P-S role conflict was moderate (.466).

The relationship under examination was not dependent upon the factors of clerical tenure and status incongruity. The second-order correlation coefficient was .203. According to this measure, the effect of these factors upon the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role
conflict exceeded that of status incongruity but was less important than the influence of clerical tenure. Therefore, it may be concluded that the association of clerical tenure with the relationship being studied was relatively independent of any status incongruity factors. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order analysis was based include the following.

A. P-S, Organization . Tenure .099
B. P-S, Organization . Status Incongruity .357
C. P-S, Status Incongruity . Tenure -.252
D. Organization, Status Incongruity . Tenure .341

III. TYPE OF CHURCH ORGANIZATION AND M-P ROLE CONFLICT

The relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict was not close (.132). In addition, three of the seven factors held constant for an examination of that relationship appeared to some degree to be associated with it.

First-Order Partial Correlation for Type of Church Organization and M-P Role Conflict

Tenure at local church. The factor of clerical tenure appeared to be associated at least slightly with the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict. The first-order coefficient was .043, a noteworthy reduction from the original, slight relationship. Clerical tenure was related strongly to type of church organization
(.601) but only very slightly to M-P role conflict.

**Status incongruity.** The factor of status incongruity also was held constant for an examination of the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict. This factor appeared to be associated slightly with the relationship being studied. The first-order coefficient was .056. Status incongruity was related much more significantly to type of church organization (.581) than to M-P role conflict (.150).

**Peer group interaction.** The next factor which appeared to be associated slightly with the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict was peer group interaction. It was associated moderately with type of church organization (.443) but considerably less with M-P role conflict (.149). The first-order coefficient of .074 indicates that to some extent the relationship being studied was dependent upon the factor of peer group interaction.

**Clerical theological orientation.** The factor of clerical theological orientation was associated very little with the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict. This was true despite the fact that clerical theological orientation and type of church organization were related strongly (.901). Clerical theological orientation was not at all related to M-P role conflict.
(.063). The first-order coefficient of .174 represents a very nominal increase of the relationship under examination.

**Remaining variables.** The factors of church size, clerical salary, and age of the clergyman were held constant for an examination of the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict. The relationship appeared not to be dependent upon any of these factors. The first-order coefficient for size of the local church was .116. This factor was related only slightly to both type of church organization (.134) and to M-P role conflict (.135). Therefore, size of the local church contributed nothing to the relationship being studied. The first-order coefficient for salary of the clergyman was .125. This factor was related moderately to type of church organization (.328) but not at all to M-P role conflict (.042). The factor of clerical salary contributed nothing to the relationship under examination. The first-order coefficient for age of the clergyman was .136. This factor was hardly related to either type of church organization (.070) or to M-P role conflict (-.051). Without question, the relationship being studied remained when this factor was held constant.

**Second-Order Partial Correlation for Type of Church Organization and M-P Role Conflict**

The second-order analysis concerning the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict was designed to provide more detailed information concerning the
influence of the factors of peer group interaction, status incongruity, and tenure at the local church. It was noted above that these three factors affected the original relationship slightly.

**Peer group interaction and status incongruity.** The factors of peer group interaction and status incongruity were held constant for an examination of the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict. The interrelationships involved among several of the variables were moderately strong. This can be seen in the relationships between peer group interaction and status incongruity (.495), status incongruity and type of church organization (.581), and type of church organization and peer group interaction (.443).

The factors of peer group interaction and status incongruity were associated a bit more closely with the relationship being studied than either factor taken independently. The first-order coefficient was .039. According to this measure, the influence of these factors was greater than that of either peer group or status incongruity. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order correlation analysis was based include the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Correlation Coefficient</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. M-P, Organization . Peer Group</td>
<td>.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. M-P, Organization . Status Incongruity</td>
<td>.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. M-P, Status Incongruity . Peer Group</td>
<td>.086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Organization, Status Incongruity . Peer Group</td>
<td>.465</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Peer group interaction and clerical tenure. The contribution of the factors of peer group interaction and clerical tenure to the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict was examined by holding them constant. Justification for combining these factors in a second-order elaboration may be seen in the moderate to strong interrelationships among them. Examples include the relationships between peer group interaction and clerical tenure (.506), peer group interaction and church organization (.443), and clerical tenure and church organization (.601).

Again, the effect of the two factors upon the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict was greater than that of either factor taken individually. This is indicated by the first-order coefficient of .028. According to this measure, the very slight original relationship was almost eliminated when these test factors were held constant. This is a further indication of the tenuous nature of that relationship. The first-order partial relationships upon which this second-order analysis was based are the following.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. M-P, Organization</th>
<th>.</th>
<th>Peer Group</th>
<th>.074</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. M-P, Organization</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Tenure</td>
<td>.043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. M-P, Tenure</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Peer Group</td>
<td>.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. Organization, Tenure</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>Peer Group</td>
<td>.487</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Status incongruity and clerical tenure. The last second-order examination of the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict was made by holding constant the factors of status incongruity and clerical tenure. The interrelationships among these factors provide the justification for combining them in this analysis. They include the relationships between status incongruity and clerical tenure (.606), clerical tenure and type of church organization (.601), and status incongruity and type of church organization (.581).

These factors also appeared to be associated closely with the relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict. The first-order coefficient was .022, indicating that the relationship was very much dependent upon these factors. This finding was another indication of the tenuous quality of the relationship under examination. It was slight to begin with, and several additional factors appeared to be very much associated with it.

IV. SUMMARY

The factor of church organization was clearly the most important correlate of M-S role conflict uncovered in this analysis. It was related overwhelmingly to M-S role conflict, as indicated by (1) the very strong zero-order correlation coefficient, and (2) the fact that the relationship was not modified significantly by test factors. That is, the very strong basic relationship was relatively
independent of the influence of additional factors.

The importance of this relationship can be illustrated by a comparison of it with the relationships between M-S role conflict and other independent variables. Status incongruity was related moderately to M-S role conflict, and clerical theological orientation was related more significantly to it. Clerical tenure, however, appeared to be related even more strongly to this type of role conflict. The major qualification is that each of these basic relationships was dependent on the influence of additional factors. That is, other factors contributed in very important ways to these relationships. Only the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict was relatively independent of the influence of additional factors.

The relationship between the factors of church organization and P-S role conflict was only moderate. The factor of church organization was related to P-S role conflict in approximately the same way that clerical theological orientation was related to this type of role conflict. Clerical tenure, by contrast, was a slightly more important correlate of P-S role conflict than either the type of church organization or clerical theological orientation. In addition to the fact that the relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was only moderate, two additional factors appeared to be associated closely with it. The contribution of both clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure to the relationship was important.
Moreover, when these factors were combined for a second-order elaboration of the relationship, the influence appeared to be extremely significant. Therefore, the moderate relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was contingent primarily upon the influence of the combined factors of clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure at the local church.

The relationship between type of church organization and M-P role conflict was not at all close. In addition, three factors appeared to be associated closely with that relationship. They were peer group interaction, status incongruity, and tenure at the local church. For purposes of comparison, all of the M-P role conflict relationships were weak.
CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

The findings of several important studies indicate that modern clerical roles are characterized generally by conflict and ambiguity. An awareness exists among many clergymen that traditional religious concepts and clerical practices may not be relevant for a dynamic urbanizing and industrializing society. However, a new consensus concerning the proper functions of the clergy has not developed.

An important type of role conflict involves the mutual incompatibility of the so-called traditional and contemporary clerical responsibilities. The traditional roles include those of preacher, priest, teacher, and pastor. The contemporary roles are those of administrator and organizer. Clergymen generally prefer the traditional roles and feel more qualified to perform these responsibilities. Many of them consider the contemporary roles to be less relevant to appropriate clerical objectives and feel less qualified to play these roles. Conflict develops, therefore, when the clergyman is forced by the exigency of his work situation to devote proportionately more time and energy to the contemporary roles than to the traditional roles. This appears to be the situation which exists for many clergymen.
A relatively great amount of time is required in the roles which they least prefer and feel least qualified to perform. The result is that relatively little time remains for the roles which they consider to be of primary importance.

This study was designed to provide insight on certain aspects of the phenomenon of clerical role conflict. It was guided by Merton's theory of the role-set which focuses upon the relationship between role conflict and associated structural characteristics. A paramount assumption underlying this theory is that variation in conflict perceived by the incumbent of a given status-position can be explained, in part, by a study of structural characteristics of the role-set. That is, some structural aspects of the role-set function to minimize the occurrence of conflict while other aspects serve to increase conflict.

The relationships between clerical role conflict and associated structural conditions have not been established by previous research. Even more important, reports based on these research efforts provide only a general indication of the variables that should be included in a study designed to specify correlates of conflict in the clerical role-set.

Four major independent variables were selected and included in the analyses on this study. They were: (1) a measure of clerical status incongruity; (2) a measure of clerical theological orientation; (3) the type of church organization; and (4) clerical tenure at the local church. Four additional variables were incorporated as test factors
to enhance the analysis for the relationships between the major independent variables and the measures of role conflict. They were: (1) a measure of clerical peer group interaction; (2) age of the clergyman; (3) salary of the clergyman; and (4) size of the local church.

The following hypotheses guided the research. They are consistent with the general theoretical assumption that role conflict is dependent on the structural characteristics of the role-set.

1. Role conflict is dependent upon perceived clerical status incongruity.

2. Role conflict is dependent upon the theological orientation of the clergyman.

3. Role conflict is dependent upon the tenure of the clergyman at the local church.

4. Role conflict is dependent upon the type of church organization.

Three measures of role conflict were used, each designed to indicate the conflict which clergymen perceive concerning their allocation of time for traditional or contemporary responsibilities. To establish these dependent variables, the role-set was divided analytically into three categories: (1) the membership reference system; (2) the professional reference system; and (3) the self reference system. Based upon these categories, the following types of dependent variables were derived and utilized. (1) M-S Role Conflict. This type of conflict was measured by the disparity between expectations which are held by the membership reference system and the clergyman concerning the allocation
of clerical time. (2) **P-S Role Conflict.** This conflict was indicated by the disparity between expectations which are held by members of the professional reference system and the clergymen concerning the allocation of clerical time. (3) **M-P Role Conflict.** This type of conflict was seen in the disparity between expectations which are held by the membership reference system and the professional reference system concerning the allocation of the clergymen's professional time.

The findings concerning M-S role conflict are as follows. The factor of church organization was associated very closely with this type of role conflict. That is, conflict between the clergyman and his parishioners concerning the allocation of professional time was clearly more pronounced in the congregational-type churches than in those organized according to the episcopal or presbyterian model. This finding is indicated first by the almost incredibly close correlation between type of church organization and M-S role conflict. Equally as important, however, is the fact that this strong relationship remained when other factors were held constant to check it. None of the other structural factors included in the study appeared to be associated with the relationship between type of church organization and M-S role conflict.

The independent variables of clerical tenure and clerical theological orientation were noteworthy correlates of M-S role conflict—but considerably less important than
type of church organization. The basic relationship between clerical tenure and M-S role conflict was moderately close. That is, to some degree, conflict between the clergyman and his parishioners decreased as the length of the clergyman's tenure in the local church increased. This relationship was influenced very significantly, however, by the factor of type of church organization. When the type of church organization was held constant, it was removed. It should be noted that the relationship was contingent on none of the other six structural characteristics included in this study. The basic relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict was also moderately close. That is, to some degree, conflict between the clergyman and his parishioners concerning the clerical allocation of time was greater for theologically conservative ministers than for their relatively liberal counterparts. However, this relationship was also very dependent upon the factor of church organization. When church organization was held constant, it was inconsequential. The relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-S role conflict was also somewhat dependent on the factor of status incongruity. The last relationship examined was that between status incongruity and M-S role conflict. It was not at all close or important; the basic correlation was only moderate. Moreover, this relationship was contingent on the influence of four additional factors. They include, in order of their importance, type of church organization, clerical salary,
clerical tenure, and clerical theological orientation.

It may be concluded on the basis of the findings presented thus far that the hypothesis concerning the structural factor of type of church organization was clearly supported for the M-S type of role conflict. The hypothesis concerning the structural factors of clerical tenure and clerical theological orientation are supported to some degree, only if qualification is made for the influence of type of church organization. Status incongruity, however, was found to bear little relation to M-S role conflict.

The findings concerning the P-S role conflict relationships differed considerably from those pertaining to the M-S role conflict relationships. For example, the most important P-S role conflict relationship was only moderately close. Also, the structural characteristics were associated with P-S role conflict in a noticeably different way than with M-S role conflict. The factor of clerical tenure was associated more closely than any other variable with this type of role conflict. To some degree, conflicting expectations between the clergyman and his professional colleagues concerning the allocation of clerical time decreased as the length of the minister's tenure in a local church increased. This finding was indicated by the moderately strong basic correlation and by the fact that the relationship was not dependent on the influence of any other structural characteristic.

Both the factors of clerical theological orientation
and type of church organization were associated with P-S role conflict in a dubious way. The basic correlations between these factors were moderate, and therefore noteworthy, but the relationships were influenced very significantly by additional structural characteristics. That is, the relationships were contingent upon the influence of additional factors. The relationship between clerical theological orientation and P-S role conflict was contingent upon the influence of type of church organization, peer group interaction, and status incongruity. The relationship between type of church organization and P-S role conflict was influenced very significantly by the factors of clerical theological orientation and clerical tenure. The basic relationship between status incongruity and P-S role conflict was inconsequential.

None of the structural conditions was related significantly to the M-P role conflict. The influence of clerical tenure, status incongruity, and type of church organization upon this type of conflict was very slight. Moreover, each of these relationships was dependent upon the influence of additional factors. For example, the relationship between status incongruity and M-P role conflict was very much contingent upon the influence of clerical tenure. The relationship between clerical tenure and M-P role conflict was very much dependent upon the factors of status incongruity, type of church organization, and peer group interaction. Finally, the relationship between type of church organization
and M-P role conflict was clearly dependent upon the factors of peer group interaction, status incongruity, and clerical tenure. The relationship between clerical theological orientation and M-P role conflict was negligible.
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APPENDIX
APPENDIX

ITEMS INCLUDED IN THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Total church membership
2. Number of ordained ministers serving the church
3. Number of professionally trained assistants to the clergyman, including music director, educational director, youth director, etc.
4. Number of secretaries, custodians, and other employees of the church
5. Type of church organization:
   A - congregational
   B - presbyterian
   C - episcopal
6. Annual salary of clergyman
7. Theological score by panel
   Code:  0 - no information
   1 - relatively conservative
   2 - moderate
   3 - relatively liberal
8. What proportion of your work week is devoted to study, sermon preparation, counseling, and visitation?
9. What proportion of your work week is devoted to administration of the church program? (Use the above code)

10. Among the clergymen whom you consider to be your closest friends, would it be possible to select three persons with whom you feel free to discuss any problem in your church?

11. (Specify the number of close friends in the ministry with whom respondent feels free to discuss any problem of his church)

12. How many of the clergymen listed in (11) reside in the Baton Rouge area? (Use above code)

13. How often do you visit socially with your very close colleagues who reside outside the Baton Rouge area?
14. How often do you engage in recreation such as hunting, camping, fishing, golf, spectator sports, etc., with other ministers?

15. How many times a month do you have serious discussions with other ministers about specifically church problems?

16. How often does your family visit or entertain the family of another minister socially?

17. How active are you in the local ministerial alliance, or pastors' conference?

Code: 0 - no information
1 - attend very rarely
2 - attend fewer than half the meetings
3 - attend about half the meetings
4 - attend more than half the meetings
5 - very active (officer, committee chairman, etc.)

18. One minister commented to me that "the world is passing us by." He implied by this statement that the influence of the church and clergymen is declining in modern society. What is your feeling on this subject?

(Note: this is a general question designed to introduce a discussion which will incorporate the following eight questions)
19. Has the influence of the church declined over the past twenty years in our society at large?
Code: 0 - no information
1 - definitely not
2 - probably not
3 - perhaps
4 - probably
5 - definitely

20. Given the same period of time, what has been the trend in influence which the church exerts over its members?
Code: 0 - no information
1 - declined seriously
2 - declined somewhat
3 - remained rather constant
4 - increased somewhat
5 - increased very significantly

21. How free do you feel to express your honest convictions from the pulpit on very controversial subjects? (Example: the race issue)

22. Compared to other professional people in Baton Rouge, what is the prestige of the local protestant clergy?
Code: 0 - no information
1 - very low
2 - below average
3 - about average
23. What should be the prestige of the local protestant clergymen in comparison to other professional people in Baton Rouge?

(Use the above code)

24. How would you describe your present salary, considering your educational background?

Code: 0 - no information

1 - poor

2 - less than adequate

3 - adequate

4 - more than adequate

5 - very good

25. In terms of the economic demands placed upon you, how would you describe your present salary?

(Use above code)

26. Every minister is faced with the problem of how to allocate his time. How do the groups and individuals listed on the next page expect you to divide your work week between the following responsibilities?

A. preaching and pastoral responsibilities

B. administration of the church organization

Code: 0 - no information

1 - feel strongly that most of my work week should be devoted to (A)
2 - feel that most of my work week should be devoted to (A)
3 - feel strongly that somewhat more time be devoted to (A) than (B)
4 - feel that somewhat more time should be devoted to (A) than (B)
5 - feel that somewhat more time should be devoted to (B) than (A)
6 - feel strongly that somewhat more time should be devoted to (B) than (A)
7 - feel that most of my work week should be devoted to (B)
8 - feel strongly that most of my work week should be devoted to (B)

Groups and individuals
_1. Chairman of the church board
_2. The church session, or comparable group
_3. Women's groups in the church
_4. Church members at large

_5. Close personal friends in the ministry
_6. Members of the local ministerial alliance or pastors' conference
_7. The profession, as represented by ministers of your denomination

_8. Wife
_9. Other family members; specify__________________
10. Now, give your own expectations concerning the way your work week should be divided between the responsibilities mentioned above.

27. Age of clergyman
28. Degrees held
   Code: 0 - no information
         1 - no earned degrees
         2 - B.A. or equivalent
         3 - B.D. or equivalent
         4 - M.A. or equivalent
         5 - Th.M
         6 - Th.D or equivalent
         7 - Honorary doctorate
         8 - other

29. Seminary attended
30. Year of graduation from seminary
31. Number of years served in the ministry
32. Number of years served the local church
VITA

The author was born March 26, 1938, in St. Louis, Missouri and attended elementary school there. He was graduated from Springfield, Missouri Central High School in 1955.

He enrolled in Southwest Missouri State College in September, 1955. There he majored in English and minored in history. He was listed in Who's Who Among Students in American Universities and Colleges in 1958 and received the Bachelor of Arts degree in 1959. He spent the next year as a student at Midwestern Theological Seminary. During the 1960-61 academic year, he returned to his Alma Mater to study sociology and anthropology in preparation for graduate work in these areas.

The author began his graduate studies at Louisiana State University in September, 1961. He majored in sociology and minored in anthropology. In 1963, he was awarded the M.A. degree and was initiated into the national academic, honorary society of Phi Kappa Phi. During the 1963-64 academic year, he served on the faculty of North Texas State University as an instructor in sociology. He was married in January, 1964, to the former Bonnie Jean Loyd. During the following academic year, 1964-65, he was an instructor in
sociology at Tulane University. In June, 1965, he returned to Louisiana State University to continue graduate studies leading to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Since that time, he has also served as a Special Lecturer in the Department of Sociology.
Candidate: Charles W. Glasgow

Major Field: Sociology

Title of Thesis: Structural Correlates of Conflict in the Clerical Role-Set

EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination: