ABSTRACT

Gender and Status in the Religious Congregation

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Ever since Max Weber distinguished differences in "social esteem" between categories of people, status has been a fundamental concept in the sociological analysis of inequality. Gender is a status system that creates a hierarchy between men and women, and men have historically held higher status. The goal of this dissertation is to explore how gendered status hierarchies affect religious congregations. As organizations guided by normative beliefs, congregations have the power to create and maintain status differences between men and women through their structure, culture, and rituals.

Through three quantitative analyses using multilevel modeling with the United States Congregational Life Survey, I explore how gendered status hierarchies affect different levels of religious congregations: the head clergy, volunteer lay leadership, and subjective ritual experiences. In Chapter Two, I use role congruity theory to illustrate how gender impacts congregants' perceptions of their clergy, especially in light of their leadership style. Congregants view female clergy similarly than male clergy, except for when they breach gender norms and lead with a more masculine style. Chapter Three addresses the relationship between the gender gap in congregational lay leadership and

the organization's resources by using the micro-level expectation states theory at the meso-level. Women are more likely to be volunteer leaders when they are in resource-rich congregations. Chapter Four extends interaction ritual chain theory to show that gender has a powerful influence on ritual outcomes. I demonstrate that men have lower levels of emotional expression in worship services and that the surrounding gender ratio within the ritual has the power to impact males' subjective ritual experiences.

The findings within this dissertation ultimately show gender's power as a status system within religious congregations. These are deeply gendered organizations, and their leadership, structure, and rituals continue to be affected by status hierarchies between women and men. Yet, gender's power within religious congregations is not absolute. Dynamics within congregations, such as the clergy's leadership style or the organization's resources, can mitigate the gender system.

Gender and Status in the Religious Congregation

by

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A Dissertation

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To Emma and the child she is carrying

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

In her presidential address to the American Sociological Association, Cecilia

Ridgeway (2014) called for social scientists to reexamine the relationship between status

and inequality. Status, or the honor and respect people receive, has been a foundational

concept in the sociological analysis of stratification since Weber (1978:305) noted

differences in "social esteem" between categories of people. In this dissertation, I take up

this call to further advance the scholarly understanding of status and its effects on

replicating inequality. Specifically, I examine how status differentials between the

genders play a role in organizational dynamics within religious congregations.

Status and Gender

Weber (1978) first outlined the concept of status as characteristic of a person or

group which gives them positive or negative privileges based on their social esteem.

Status, while influenced by wealth and power, has distinct and independent effects on

individuals. Since Weber, scholars have shown that people continue to use status as a

marker of division and rank. For example, in small groups, higher status individuals not

only participate more, but they are also more able to influence group processes (Berger et

al. 1977; Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch 1972). People determine status through "status

characteristics," which are markers for a person's prestige and social esteem (Berger et

al. 1977). Some status characteristics are specific, like being an Air Force pilot, and give

higher statuses in specific situations. Other status characteristics are "diffuse," like race

and gender, which means they signify status across multiple social situations (Berger et al. 1977; Pugh and Wahrman 1983).

Status characteristics develop through the interaction of people and resources (Ridgeway et al. 1998). As individuals with different nominal qualities (e.g. race or gender) and different levels of resources (e.g. wealth or education) interact together, those with the greater number of resources have abilities like competency and agency attributed to *their nominal characteristics*. These status attributions between nominal groups transform into status characteristics, so that membership in a nominal group becomes a marker of status, even in the absence of high levels of resources.

Gender is one of the most powerful status characteristics. It is a status system that creates inequality between males and females (Conway and Vartanian 2000; Eagly and Wood 1982; Ridgeway 1982, 2001, 2011, 2014; Ridgeway et al. 1998; Ridgeway, Johnson, and Diekema 1994; Ridgeway and Correll 2004). More than a categorization of people into two groups based on their sex, gender is a "system of social practices" that both *divides* and *stratifies* (Ridgeway 2011:9). Gender divides by classifying people as either male or female. Deeply imbedded into this system are gender stereotypes about who males and female should be and how they should act (Eagly and Karau 2002; Prentice and Carranza 2002). Males are stereotyped to be more agentic, that is assertive, competent, and confident, while females are stereotyped as the communal and expressive gender who are expected to be more nurturing, kind, and responsive (Conway, Teresa, and Mount 1996; Conway and Vartanian 2000; Eagly 1987; Jackman 1996; Wagner and Berger 1997).

The status differential between females and males has profound effects on social life (Ridgeway 2009). Women experience discrimination in employment opportunities (Maume 1999; U.S. Glass Ceiling Commission 1995), have lower levels of income (Hegewisch, Williams, and Henderson 2011), and suffer barriers to leadership within organizations and groups (Eagly and Carli 2007; Koenig et al. 2011; Prime, Carter, and Welbourne 2009; Rudman and Kilianski 2000; Schein 1973).

Status, Gender Inequality, and Religion

Status and gender inequality are especially important within religion because of how Weber's concept of status is connected to Durkheim's understanding of "the sacred" (Durkheim 1995). To be sacred—that is, to be special and set apart—is to have a form of status. As Milner (1994) shows, things with status and things that are sacred are often coterminous in many cultures, like India. Within the Indian context, an entire social category—*Brahman*—is considered of high status because of its relationship to the holy.

 In American religious organizations, the concepts of status and sacred often meet together within a traditionalist understanding of gender. While the family has been called the "gender factory" (Berk 1985), religious organizations are "key material suppliers supporting the factory-like production of gender" (Bartkowski and Shah 2014:174). These organizations, especially in the conservative wings of religious traditions, provide the cultural tools necessary to construct inequality between men and women through its theology (Gallagher 2003). They accomplish this mainly in three ways.

First, the category male has higher status because it is perceived to be more representative of the divine. Many religious traditions regularly use exclusively male language to refer to the divine. In the Christian tradition, God the Father is at the top of

the Trinitarian hierarchy, with Jesus as God the Son—also male—saving humanity. Language in both scripture and sacred music frequently refers to God as "he" and not "she."

Second, scriptural interpretations often locate males closer than females to the divine within a hierarchy of being. The Christian New Testament says, "But I want you to understand that Christ is the head of every man, and the husband is the head of his wife, and God is the head of Christ" (1 Corinthians 11:3-4 New Revised Standard Version). Many congregations and traditions vary in how they interpret this verse and others like it, but it does lead some conservative organizations to think there is a chain of command that extends from God to males to females (Wilcox 2004). This sacredly sanctioned understanding of gender affirms essential differences between men and women (Bartkowski 2001). Men and women occupy separate spheres in life, where the home is the domain of women and the labor force is for men (Bartkowski and Shah 2014; Bartkowski and Xu 2010).

Third, the idea that men have higher statuses than women affects the structures of religious groups so that leadership opportunities are frequently only open to men. (Carroll, Hargrove, and Lummis 1983; Chaves 1999; Lehman 1993b; Sullins 2000; Zikmund, Lummis, and Chang 1998). For example, the Roman Catholic Church only admits males into the priesthood (Ecklund 2006; Schoenherr and Yamane 2002; Schoenherr and Young 1993), and the Southern Baptist Convention's guiding theological document states, "While both men and women are gifted for service in the church, the office of the pastor is limited to men as qualified by Scripture" (Southern Baptist

Convention 2000). Therefore, only about 15 percent of all congregations are led by a female, a number that rises to 30 percent in the liberal traditions (Chaves 2011).

Outside of religious organizations, a traditionalist gender ideology ranks males as superior to females in family life (Bartkowski 2001). However, this ideology is loosely coupled with actual practice within families (Bartkowski and Shah 2014; Wilcox 2004). For example, Evangelical Protestant families often use "symbolic traditionalism" as a boundary marker for identity, but in actual practice, they enact a "pragmatic essentialism" where both men and women make family decisions (Gallagher and Smith 1999).

Thus, gender inequality within religion is rooted in gender ideologies, which are themselves created and maintained by gendered religious institutions (Bartkowski and Shah 2014; Edgell and Docka 2007). Yet throughout the research on the impact of gender within religious congregations, there is a gap in our understanding. No one accounts for the status-based nature of gender inequality. Only Maybury and Chickering (2001) study status alongside gender. In their study, they show that people rate a clergyperson's sermon differently based on her or his high *occupational* status and gender. However, they only briefly mention that gender might itself be a powerful status characteristic.

Therefore, the main objective for this dissertation is to fill in this gap by providing three quantitative studies that examine how gender *as a status characteristic* impacts religious congregations. I specifically study status differentials between the genders in terms of 1) clergy leadership, 2) non-clergy lay leadership, and 3) subjective ritual experiences. To do this, I use the United States Congregational Life Survey (USCLS), a nationally representative sample of congregations, leaders, and their attendees. The USCLS survey is useful because it has three layers of information instead of only relying

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on an informed respondent, which has shown to be methodologically problematic (Schwadel and Dougherty 2010). These three studies offer a multidimensional view for how one of the most powerful status characteristics shapes these complex social organizations.

Three Studies

Study 1: Female Clergy and Role Congruity

In the first study, I examine if female religious leaders are evaluated differently than their male counterparts. Gender and leadership are often tied together through the concept of status. The stereotyped male gender role and the leader role are perceived as being more closely related than the stereotyped female gender role and leadership, a concept known as role congruity (Eagly 2007; Eagly and Johnson 1990; Eagly and Karau 2002; Koenig et al. 2011). As a result, female leaders often receive lower evaluations from others because the stereotyped role of being female is seen as incongruous with the role of being a leader. However, role congruity theory states that the context of leadership matters. Women in settings that more closely align with the female gender role, such as being a principal in an elementary school, receive higher evaluations.

This study continues the research into role congruity theory and the importance of context by examining women who lead religious congregations. The congregation proves to be an interesting context for female leadership because there are two opposing forces at work. The clergy is a historically male-dominated profession, and so the cultural image of the pastor is a male image. Female clergy may experience prejudice because they do not reflect the cultural image of pastor. Yet, much of the pastoral role, such as community building and nurturing, closely aligns with the stereotyped female gender role. Female

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clergy may therefore experience selective *role congruity*, just as men do in other leadership situations.

To accomplish this study, I use data from Wave 2 of the USCLS and multilevel modeling that allow me to separate congregational characteristics, such as religious tradition, from individual traits, such as one's level of education, to see if the leader's gender has any relationship to how a congregant rates her or him. I demonstrate that female leaders do experience role congruity, although there is one exception. A female clergy's congregants do not view them more negatively than male leaders, except for when they are perceived to have a masculine "take charge" leadership style. Thus, gender continues to be a status characteristic because women are restricted in the ways they can lead.

Study 2: Organizational Resources and the Gender Gap in Congregational Lay Leadership

Gender status disparities may also affect the lay person (non-clergy) in the congregation. In the second study, I examine how organizational resources affect a female's access to lay leadership positions. Lay leadership positions are those undertaken by non-clergy, such as helping to lead in a worship service and being a member of a governing board. Just as there is a "stained-glass ceiling" for female clergy, there also may be invisible barriers present for lay women within religious organizations (Sullins 2000). Conversely, even though males are often numerical minorities within congregations, their higher status may afford them the privilege of a "glass escalator," which encourages them to take leadership responsibilities (Maume 1999; Williams 1992).

Yet, social psychologists show through "expectation states theory" that the connection between gender, status, and leadership can be offset by introducing new status characteristics (Berger et al. 1977; Correll and Ridgeway 2006; Pugh and Wahrman 1983; Wagner and Berger 1997). I use this micro-level theory at the meso-level by tying it with a "resourced-based view" of organizations (Wernerfelt 1984). The most important resources for congregations are money and people (Chaves 2004). Organizations that have more people, wealthier people, or members with more education are organizations that have more resources, and therefore more status. Gender may be a weaker status characteristic in these resource-rich organizations, and women may have greater access to leadership in this context. To test the hypothesis, I use data from Wave 1 of the USCLS to show that this relationship is supported. Religious congregations with more members, better educated members, and wealthier members have smaller gender gaps in lay leadership positions.

Study 3: Whose Bodies? Bringing Gender Into Interactional Ritual Chain Theory

Gender affects more than leadership opportunities for the laity and clergy. It also influences its rituals. The key way religions transmit their culture and understanding of the world is through their rituals in worship (Chaves 2004). Yet, men and women may have different experiences in worship rituals. In order to examine the gendered nature of ritual experiences, I use Collins' (2005) and Durkheim's (1995) understanding that rituals are thoroughly embodied events. Human bodies gather together in rituals to create powerful emotional energy and social structures. Yet, Collins' theory of interaction ritual chains and emotional energy is gender-neutral and does not account for the fact that the

bodies within rituals are sexed. These sexed bodies have powerful gender norms that control behavior and emotion.

The purpose of this study is to remedy the absence of gender within interaction ritual chains. In order to do this, I use Hochschild's understanding of "feeling rules" that demonstrates that gender affects how individuals express their emotions (Hochschild 1979, 1983). Women's and men's feeling rules mirror commonly-held stereotypes that women are communal and men are agentic. Women have a wider range of emotional expression when their emotions align with the communal, other-focused stereotype (Alexander and Wood 2000; Fischer and Manstead 2000). Men, on the other hand, have feeling rules that allow them a freer expression of anger but restrict any emotional display that might be contrary to an agentic person (Jansz 2000; Zammuner 2000).

The gendered feeling rules parallel the status differences between men and women (Brody 1999; Fischer and Manstead 2000). Because women are more likely to have lower status than men, their feeling rules guide them to express emotions that are communal, prosocial and deferential (Chodorow 1978). Feeling rules for men, however, reflect their higher status and discourage any emotion that might suggest weakness or dependency.

These powerful, status-infused feeling rules will affect how men and women experience rituals within religious congregations. Additionally, the gender ratio within a congregation will impact others' experiences because religious rituals are collective enterprises. Thus, I hypothesize in this study that men will have lower levels of emotional energy in religious worship services and that a higher percentage of men in a congregation will decrease everyone's emotional energy. In order to test these

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hypotheses, I use Wave 1 of the USCLS to analyze 50,311 congregants in 324 congregations. I demonstrate that men do have lower levels of emotional energy, but the percentage male in a congregation only negatively affects other males. I interpret these findings by suggesting that the gendered nature of bodies within rituals is important and that American religious congregations are sites where people "do gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987).

Conclusion

The goal of this dissertation is to show that religious congregations are gendered organizations that reproduce gender inequality. Previous research on how gender impacts religion has failed to fully account for the status-based nature of gender inequality. Through these three studies, I hope to remedy this deficiency and underscore that status is important concept in understanding inequality between women and men. The difference in Weberian "social esteem" is a powerful influence on how men and women experience the most popular organization in the United States: the religious congregation.

CHAPTER TWO

Role Congruity and Female Clergy

Introduction

Gender roles and leadership are often tied together. The role of leader is more often associated with roles males play in society than with female roles, a concept known as role congruity (Eagly 2007; Eagly and Johnson 1990; Eagly and Karau 2002). Female leaders often experience barriers to leadership and lower evaluations once they are leaders (Eagly and Karau 2002). However, the context of leadership matters, as women in settings that more closely align with the female gender role experience fewer barriers and higher evaluations (Ridgeway 2001; Swim et al. 1989).

This chapter continues the research into role congruity theory and the importance of context by examining women who lead the most popular voluntary organization in the United States: religious congregations (Chaves 2004; Putnam and Campbell 2010). The congregation is the basic form of religious organization in the United States. These groups, found in every community, are often led by professional clergy, around 10 percent of whom are female (Carroll 2006; Chaves 2004).

The congregation proves to be an interesting context for female leadership because there are two opposing forces at work. The clergy is a historically male-dominated profession, and so the cultural image of the pastor[1] is a male image. Female

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[1] In this study, I use the words "clergy," "religious leader," "pastor," and "pastoral" to indicate any leader of a congregation, whether it is a priest, imam, rabbi, minister, or pastor.

clergy may experience prejudice because they do not line up with the cultural image of pastor. Yet, much of the pastoral role, such as community building and nurturing, may be viewed as closely aligning to the female gender role. Female clergy may therefore experience role congruity, just as men do in other leadership situations.

Role Congruity Theory

Role congruity theory, first advanced by Eagly and Karau (2002), examines the relationship between gender roles and the other social roles people enact. Social roles are the shared expectations that people hold for individuals in certain social groups. Individuals perform many social roles, often at the same time. These social roles can line up with each other, that is, there can be congruity between the two. Roles can also be mismatched, and an individual can perform two disparate social roles at the same time.

The principal role an individual enacts is that of being male or female. Gender is the primary frame that people use in order to understand and perform social behavior (Ridgeway 2011). Powerful, socially-shared, yet stereotypic, gender roles surround the two sexes. These gender roles for males and females may be thought of on two dimensions: the communal and the agentic (Eagly 1987; Eagly and Carli 2007). Women are perceived to be higher on the communal dimension, which means they are thought to be more caring, nurturing, and focused on others. Men, on the other hand, are perceived to be higher on the agentic dimension, which focuses on self-assertion, independence, and control (Conway et al. 1996; Conway and Vartanian 2000).

These gender stereotypes contain implicit status beliefs (Eagly and Wood 1982; Jackman 1996; Ridgeway 1991). Status beliefs are

widely held cultural beliefs that link greater social significance and
general competence, as well as specific positive and negative skills, with
one category of a social distinction (e.g. men) compared to another (e.g.
women) (Ridgeway 2001:368; see also Berger et al. 1977).

People often perceive agentic individuals as having higher status (Conway et al. 1996).

Thus males, stereotyped as being more agentic, have higher status than women and are

often associated with higher levels of competence (Fiske et al. 2002a), influence (Eagly

and Wood 1982), and social significance (Ridgeway 2001). Women, as the communal

gender, are stereotyped to have "vulnerability, submissiveness, deference, dependence,

and loyalty" (Jackman 1996:79). While stereotypes about women are changing, a status

hierarchy still exists. Men continue to be evaluated more favorably in social situations

(Eagly, Karau, and Makhijani 1995; Eagly and Wood 1982; Heilman, Block, and Martell

1995; Swim et al. 1989).

These status-filled, stereotyped gender roles contain both *descriptive norms* and

prescriptive norms for gendered behavior (Eagly and Carli 2007; Eagly and Karau 2002;

Ridgeway 2011). They are the expectations about who men and women *are* and who they

should be. Descriptive norms are the shared beliefs about what men and women actually

do, while prescriptive norms are the shared understandings of what men and women

ought to do. Thus, the agentic gender role both *describes* and *prescribes* that men are to

be more independent, self-sufficient, and assertive, while the communal gender role

describes and *prescribes* that women are to be expressive, helpful, and sympathetic.

Role congruity occurs when a female or male performs other social roles that line

up with the stereotyped descriptive and prescriptive norms for their gender. Thus, when a

woman is in a social role that focuses on nurturing or caring, it is congruent with her

stereotyped gender role as a female. On the other hand, role incongruity occurs when two

social roles do not line up. For instance, if a male is performing the social role of childcare worker, his two roles conflict. The agentic norms for the gender role of male are perceived as incompatible with the nurturing and caring social role of childcare worker.

Role congruity has powerful effects on prejudice and discrimination. If the roles a person inhabits line up, people perceive that person as legitimate and evaluate her or him positively. However, role incongruity leads to two forms of prejudice and discrimination (Eagly and Karau 2002). First, based on the descriptive gender norms, people have *a priori* beliefs about the two sexes based on stereotyped gender roles. Women are expected to have fewer agentic qualities, and men are to have fewer communal. When women try to enact a social role that is more agentic or men enact a social role that is communal, they are more likely to experience barriers to access these roles. The second type of prejudice and discrimination occurs when men and women are already performing social roles that deviate from their gender roles. These violate the prescriptive gender norms about what males and females *ought* to do. Agentic performances by women or communal performances by men are evaluated less favorably and seen as less legitimate than if the other gender enacted the social role.

Women and Leadership

Role congruity theory is especially pertinent to women in leadership (Eagly and Carli 2007; Eagly and Johnson 1990; Eagly and Karau 2002; Eagly et al. 1995; Garcia-Retamero and López-Zafra 2006; Koenig et al. 2011). Gender is a cue for legitimacy in authority (Collinson and Hearn 1996; Rudman and Kilianski 2000). The leadership role is perceived as an agentic role of high status and most closely connected to the stereotypic

male role (Ritter and Yoder 2004). When people are asked to picture what a leader looks like, they most often visualize a male, a practice commonly known as "think manager – think male" (Koenig et al. 2011; Schein 1973, 2001, 2007). Therefore, male leaders experience role congruity because their descriptive and prescriptive gender norms state they are and ought to be suited for leadership. For females, there is role incongruity, and they experience the two types of prejudice against them. First, women are seen as less capable for leadership positions because the descriptive gender norms for women state that they are not as agentic as men. This leads to fewer women having access to leadership. Second, women already in leadership positions are evaluated less favorably than men because female leaders violate the prescriptive gender norm that agentic behavior is less suited for females (Garcia-Retamero and López-Zafra 2006). Therefore, women have difficulty both entering into leadership positions and maintaining legitimate authority once there.

The Context of Leadership

Yet, the *context* of leadership matters (Eagly and Karau 2002; Eagly et al. 1995; Ridgeway 2001; Wagner and Berger 1997). In Eagly and her colleagues' studies, men and women do not differ in their leadership effectiveness in the aggregate (Eagly and Carli 2007; Eagly and Karau 2002; Eagly et al. 1995). The difference lies in the context. Male leaders are perceived as more effective in agentic situations where leading means directing and controlling behavior, and female leaders are thought to be more effective in communal contexts where the goal is cooperation and agreement. Prime, Carter, and Welbourne (2009) call this model of gendered leadership "women take care and men take charge." People generally perceive women as effective leaders when they are in

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caretaking leadership roles. These roles involve behaviors such as supporting, rewarding, mentoring, networking, consulting, team-building, and inspiring (Prime et al. 2009:32). People perceive males as effective leaders when they are in action-oriented roles, which include problem-solving, influencing, and delegating behaviors.

Different contexts also activate gender status beliefs. When gender is culturally linked to the context, the status differences between males and females becomes a salient element in evaluating performance (Boldry, Wood, and Kashy 2001; Eagly et al. 1995; Ridgeway 2001; Swim et al. 1989; Wagner and Berger 1997). In situations that are not stereotypically feminine, female leaders are more likely to receive negative evaluations because "they violate the essential hierarchical element of gender status beliefs" (Ridgeway 2001:648). Thus, Garcia-Retamero and López-Zafra (2006) find that people perceive that women applying for leadership positions in a male-dominated field would not be promoted, would perform worse if promoted, and would earn less money over her career. Individuals did not perceive the same when a woman applied for leadership in a female-dominated field.

Furthermore, role congruity theory predicts that leadership style matters for how people perceive female and male leaders. Males and females have differing leadership styles. Meta analyses have shown that women in leadership more often use a democratic style where subordinates have some authority over decisions (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001; Eagly and Johnson 1990). The democratic style of women, of course, could be the result of having to placate subordinates "so that they accept a woman's leadership" (Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt 2001:790). Men are more likely to use a task-oriented, or agentic, leadership style. However, when a woman uses an agentic

leadership style that is more directive or autocratic, she is more likely to receive negative

evaluation from others (Eagly et al. 1995; Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky 1992;

Ridgeway 2001). Yet it is only when a woman is described as "successful" (Heilman et

al. 1995) or *both* agentic *and* communal (Rudman and Glick 2001) that her evaluation

equals that of a man.

The Congregational Context: Two Competing Forces

The profession of the clergy within religious congregations provides an

interesting context in order to further examine role congruity theory and female

leadership because there are two competing forces within this setting. First, the clergy is

very much a male-dominated and male-oriented profession, so much so that it has been

called "sacredly male" (Carroll 1992:292). The preference for male leaders is driven by

deeply held theological beliefs about the roles of men and women in many traditions,

especially in religious traditions' conservative wings (Gallagher 2003; Wilcox 2004).

This theology maintains that men, reflecting God, are to be initiators and leaders, while

women, reflecting humanity, are to be submissive and obedient. As Wilcox (2004:53)

states, "The right ordering of church and society has, in turn, been linked to the proper

ordering of social relations between men and women." Therefore, many religious

traditions restrict the top level of leadership, the ordained clergy, to only males.

Around the mid-twentieth century, many American Protestant denominations

began to allow women's ordination and full acceptance into the clergy (Chaves 1999;

Paula D Nesbitt 1997). Currently, the percentage is not large, but around 15% of US

congregations are led by a female (Chaves 2011; Chaves and Anderson 2008). The vast

majority of these congregations are within the Mainline Protestant tradition, which

includes denominations such as The United Church of Christ, The United Methodist Church, American Baptist Churches USA, The Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). The percentage of female clergy has the potential to grow in future years because around 31% of all seminarians are female (The Association of Theological Schools 2013). Nevertheless, the profession of the clergy is primarily the dominion of males, and so the cultural image of "pastor" is that of a male. Adapting Schein's (1973, 2007) phrase, this could be "think pastor-think male." Because the role of clergy is salient to gender, it has the power to activate gender stereotypes and status beliefs (Ridgeway 2001). Therefore, when people see a female performing the pastoral role, there is the possibility that role *incongruity* occurs, as the images of female and pastor do not line up for many. Indeed, Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001:790) state, "Prejudice against female leaders should especially emerge in leadership roles that are male-dominated." The male dominance of the clergy may therefore create lower evaluations for female clergy.

However, there is a second force within American congregations that contrasts with the sacredly male vision of clergy. The nature of pastoral work is both agentic and communal. American clergypersons spend on average around 10 hours *each* on sermon preparation, pastoral care, and administration per week (Carroll 2006:102). This highlights the dual nature of the pastoral role. Administration may be seen as stereotypically agentic activities, as it involves directing a social organization, managing a staff, and influencing others. However, pastoral care is profoundly communal work. The clergy social role is one that nurtures people's faiths, which involves ministers in some of the most intimate aspects of people's lives. Clergy counsel people in difficult

situations, help others grieve and celebrate, and are present for births, marriages, and deaths. Much of this work is encouraging, team-building, and inspiring others. It is fostering a community and strengthening social bonds. Stated simply, clergy work is communal work.

This dual nature within the clergy profession is evidenced by the fact that male and female clergypersons often approach their work differently according to these agentic and communal sides (Lehman 1993a, 1993b). The agentic-masculine approach is concerned with "impersonal hierarchies, segmental relationships, hypercompetitiveness, power over lay people, [and] authoritarian decision making," while the communal-feminine stance incorporates "personal communities, holistic relationships, egalitarianism, empowerment of lay people, [and] democratic decision making" (Lehman 1993b:5). Thus, it may be that the role of clergy and the role of female might be *congruous* because female clergy may be able to lead through a communal approach. Therefore, female clergy might actually experience *less or no* prejudice.

Yet as with other roles of authority, leadership style may affect how people perceive female clergy (Zikmund et al. 1998). A female clergyperson who approaches her position with an agentic style may experience role incongruity because the more stereotypical masculine style of leadership would not line up with her stereotyped role as female. Therefore, she may experience more prejudice. In their interviews with clergy, Zikmund, Lummis, and Chang (1998:62–63) report one female Unitarian-Universalist minister saying:

> The stereotypes about women and men play out in subtle and insidious
> ways. When a man is assertive, he is a strong leader to be reported and
> honorably reckoned with. An assertive woman is bitchy, controlling, and
> power hungry, a force to be managed and curtailed. … People expect

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women to be empathetic and men to be critical. When the reverse occurs, men are considered sensitive, to be protected/supported, and women are considered cold.

As this quote demonstrates, leadership style often interacts with a clergyperson's gender, so that a female leading in an agentic manner is viewed negatively, while a male is not. So regardless of whether the profession of clergy aligns well with the stereotypical female gender role because of its communal nature, a female clergyperson may still have limitations based on her leadership style. She may be unable to lead in an agentic manner without repercussions.

Therefore, there are two competing forces within the context of the religious congregation: the sacredly male view of the clergy and the communal nature of pastoral work. These provide an interesting study of female leaders and their effectiveness in the most popular voluntary organization in the United States. Congregants may rate female clergy lower than male clergy because the powerful historical forces that have shaped a "sacredly male" cultural image of the clergy create role incongruity. Congregants under female clergy may have difficulty reconciling their leader's social role with her gender role. Yet, the profoundly communal work of the clergy may line up well with a female leader's gender role, so that congregants do not perceive female clergy any less negatively than male clergy. Yet regardless of how well the clergy role lines up with the stereotypical female gender role, leadership style has the power to affect how congregants perceive their clergy.

Based on the theory of role congruity, I offer two competing hypotheses about female clergy and a third hypothesis about how leadership style affects perceptions of female clergy. Hypothesis 1a is about role incongruity that is in line with much of the

previous research on gender and leadership. Hypothesis 1b is that the role of clergy may

be congruous with the female gender role. Hypothesis 2 is an interactive leadership style

hypothesis.

> H_{1a}: *Because the roles of female and clergy are perceived as incongruous, female clergy will receive lower ratings from their congregants than male clergy.*

> H_{1b}: *Because the roles of female and clergy are perceived as congruous, female clergy will receive equal or higher ratings from their congregants than male clergy.*

> H_2: *Female clergy who use a more agentic leadership style will receive lower ratings from their congregants than male clergy who use agentic leadership styles.*

Data and Methods

In order to test these hypotheses, I use three data sets from the second wave of the

United States Congregational Life Survey (USCLS). The USCLS was administered to a

national random sample of congregations in the fall of 2008 and spring of 2009 by Harris

Interactive and directed by the Research Services office of the Presbyterian Church

(U.S.A.). The Lilly Endowment, Louisville Institute, and the Presbyterian Church

(U.S.A.) funded the survey. The USCLS surveyed congregations by asking every

attendee 15 years or older to fill out a questionnaire during a single worship service. Head

clergy also filled out a leader questionnaire, and an informed respondent completed an

organizational profile with the characteristics of the congregation. Of the 1,741

congregations in the sample, 346 or 20% agreed to participate in the study. Out of these

346 congregations, 251 returned congregational profiles (73% of those agreeing to the

study). In total, 64,674 total attendees filled out surveys from 251 congregations.

I use data from the random sample attender survey, random leader survey, and random congregation profile survey to create a nested data set. I merged these three sets together by each congregation's identification number, which allows me to connect congregational characteristics to congregants' responses. After removing participants whose ages were younger than 15, older than 100, or who had missing values, I had 39,979 attenders (62% of total respondents) from 231 congregations (92% of total congregations).

These data were downloaded from the Association of Religion Data Archives at www.thearda.com. The USCLS is a useful survey because it connects congregational and leader characteristics to attenders' responses. Unlike other congregational surveys, which only use informed respondents, USCLS data contain information from all attendees, the clergyperson, and the congregation (Schwadel and Dougherty 2010).

Dependent Variable: Leader-Congregation Match

The dependent variable for this study is an attender's rating of her or his congregation's leader, a measure that has been used in other clergy studies (Woolever and Bruce 2012). The USCLS asks each attender to agree or disagree with the following statement: "In general, there is a good match between our congregation and our minister, pastor, priest, or rabbi." Attenders could respond using a five-point Likert scale (1) "Strongly agree," (2) "Agree," (3) "Neutral or unsure," (4) "Disagree," and (5) "Strongly disagree." As Figure 2.1 shows, the distribution of the responses is highly skewed. Therefore, I create a binary variable where (1) equals a positive rating of the congregation's leader ("Agree" and "Strongly Agree") and (0) equals a neutral, unsure, or negative rating.

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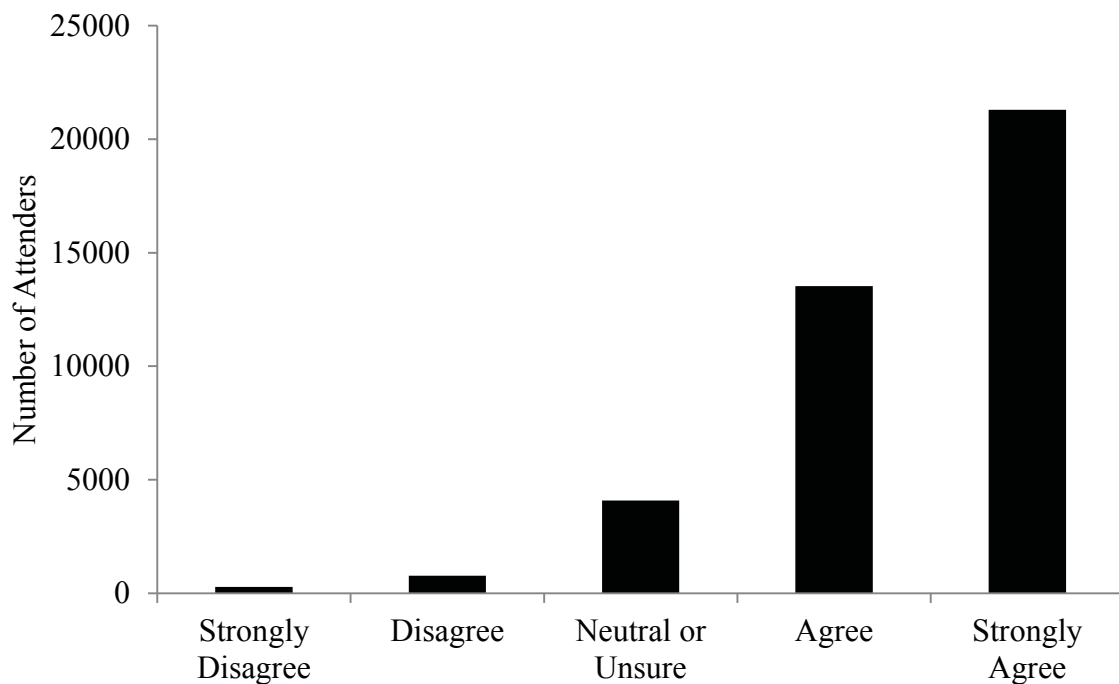
Figure 2.1: Do you agree or disagree: 'In general, there is a good match between our congregation and our minister, pastor, priest, or rabbi'? (N=39,979)

Independent Variables

The main independent variable is the gender of the head leader of the congregation (Female=1). My hypotheses also posit that leadership style may interact with gender to affect a congregant's rating of his or her leader. The USCLS asks each attendee, "Which of the following is the best description of the style of leadership of your pastor, minister, or priest?" Responses are:

Leadership that tends to take charge.

Leadership that inspires people to take action.

Leadership that acts on goals that people here have been involved in setting.

Leadership where the people start most things.

Don't Know

These responses indicate how each attender perceives the style of her or his leader. I create a three-part dummy variable system for leaders who have an agentic leadership style ("Leadership that tends to take charge"), inspiring leadership style ("Leadership that inspires people to take action."), and a combined group for the most democratic styles ("Leadership that acts on goals that people here have been involved in setting" and "Leadership where the people start most things") with those attenders who do not know their leader's style. I classify the category "Leadership that tends to take charge" as representing an agentic leadership style because it most closely reflects the agentic qualities of independence, dominance, and assertiveness (Ridgeway 2011).

Congregational-Level Control Variables

I control for how long a leader has been at the congregation, or tenure, by subtracting the year the leader began her or his position from 2009. The leader's age is a continuous variable created by the year he or she was born taken from the survey year. I square it to test for a curvilinear relationship. A leader's marital status is a dichotomous variable (1=Presently married and 0=Not currently married). Congregational size is the reported number of attenders. I log transformed it to correct for skewness. I create dichotomous variable that indicates if (1) a congregation that has experienced a conflict that split the congregation, led some people to leave, or led to a leader leaving and (0) a congregation had no conflict. I control for the congregation's religious tradition based off of Steensland et al.'s (2000) categorization of Catholics, Mainline Protestants, Evangelical Protestants, Black Protestants, Jews, and other religions.

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Attender-level Control Variables

The USCLS asks each person how often she or he attends the congregation. The responses range from "This is my first time" to "More than once a week." I code attendance by how many times per year the individual attends to create an interval variable (e.g. "My first time" = 1 or "Usually every week" = 52 or "More than once a week." = 104). The attender's tenure at the congregation is measured in years. I take the attender's tenure categorical responses reported by the USCLS and transform them to an interval variable, where: (.5) is "Less than 1 year"; (1.5) is "1-2 years"; (4) is "3-5 years"; (8) is "6-10 years"; (15.5) is "11-20 years"; and (20) is "More than 20 years."

I take into account an attender's theology because conservative theology has profound effects on gender ideology (Bartkowski 2001; Gallagher 2003; Wilcox 2004). The USCLS asks how each attendee views the Bible. Responses range from the most literalist ("The Bible is the word of God, to be taken literally word for word.") to one where the Bible is no different from other texts ("The Bible is an ancient book with little value today."). I create a dichotomous biblical literalism variable where (1) is the literalist view and (0) is all other responses.

The sociodemographic controls for attenders are age, gender, education, and race. Age is the survey year (2008 or 2009) minus the attender's birth year. I square it to test for a curvilinear relationship. Gender is a dichotomous variable where (1) is female. Education is an interval variable measuring the number of years of schooling. This ranges from (0) "No formal schooling" to (18) "Master's Doctorate, or other graduate degree." Race is measured as (1) white and (0) other races and ethnicities.

Analytical Method

The USCLS is composed of two levels of data: attenders and congregations/leaders. The data are therefore nested, and a multilevel binary logistic regression is the most appropriate design (Hofmann 1997; Raudenbush and Bryk 2002; Wang, Xie, and Fischer 2012). The multilevel design allows me to simultaneously estimate both the congregational effects and the attender's effects on the attender's rating of his or her leader. This design is superior to a contextual effects model (i.e. the congregational variables are disaggregated to the attender level) because traditional statistical approaches would have biased standard errors and would violate the assumption that the observations are independent from one another (Hofmann 1997).

I first estimate the bivariate relationship between a leader's gender and her or his congregants' perceptions of whether there is a good match between the congregation and clergy. Next, I estimate three multilevel regressions. The first is the null model, which indicates that there is significant variation *between congregations* in an attender's rating of his or her leader. This model includes only the intercept and is essentially a one-way ANOVA test. The equation for the null model is:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1 - p_{ij}}\right) = \gamma_{00} + u_{0j} \tag{2.1}$$

Where: p_{ij} = probability of an attender i rating a leader as a good fit in
                congregation j.
         γ_{00} = overall average log-odds (or *logit*) of rating a leader as a good fit.
         u_{0j} = the deviation of the jth congregation's mean *logit* from the overall
                mean *logit* of rating a leader as a good fit.

From this model, I am able to calculate an intra-class correlation (ICC) score, which indicates the proportion of congregational-level variance in the total variance (Wang et

al. 2012:125). For multilevel logistic regressions, the ICC is calculated by using the formula:

$$ICC = \frac{\hat{\sigma}_{u0}^2}{\hat{\sigma}_{u0}^2 + \frac{\pi^2}{3}}$$

(2.2)

Where: σ_{u0}^2 = estimated variance of the random intercept.
π = 3.14

The second regression estimated is a random intercepts binary logistic regression specifying both congregation and attender-level variables. The intercepts are random and are allowed to vary between the congregations. The full model with both levels of variables is estimated by the equation:

$$\log\left(\frac{p_{ij}}{1-p_{ij}}\right) = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{01}Female\ Leader_j + \gamma_{02}Leader'sTenure_j +$$

$$\gamma_{03}Leader's\ Age_j + \gamma_{04}Leader'sAge^2{}_j + \gamma_{05}Married\ Leader_j +$$

$$\gamma_{06}Congregational\ Size_j + \gamma_{07}Congregational\ Conflict_j +$$

$$\gamma_{08}Evangelical\ Protestant_j + \gamma_{09}Black\ Protestant_j +$$

$$\gamma_{10}Catholic_j + \gamma_{11}Jewish_j + \gamma_{12}Other\ Tradition_j +$$

$$\beta_{1j}Agentic\ Leadership\ Style_{ij} +$$

$$\beta_{2j}Inspiring\ Leadership\ Style_{ij} +$$ (2.3)

$$\beta_{3j}Democratic\ Leadership\ Style_{ij} + \beta_{4j}Attendance_{ij} +$$

$$\beta_{5j}Attender's\ Tenure_{ij} + \beta_{6j}Biblical\ Literalism_{ij} +$$

$$\beta_{7j}Attender's\ Age_{ij} + \beta_{8j}Attender's\ Age^2{}_{ij} +$$

$$\beta_{9j}Female\ Attender_{ij} + \beta_{10j}Education_{ij} +$$

$$\beta_{11j}White\ Attender_{ij} + u_{0j}$$

Where: p_{ij} = probability of an attender i rating a leader as a good fit for
           congregation j.
           γ_{00} = overall average *logit* of rating a leader as a good fit.
           γ_{0x} = congregational-level slopes
           β_{xj} = attender-level slopes
           u_{0j} = the deviation of the jth congregation's mean *logit* from the overall
           mean *logit* of rating a leader as a good fit.

The third model tests hypothesis 3, that leadership style will have an effect on

how attenders rate female leaders. I estimate a random intercept model with an

interaction between the leader's gender and the attender's perception of his or her

leadership style.

All models are estimated using the PROC GLIMMIX procedure in SAS 9.3 with

weighted data to account for congregational size. For the null model, I employ the

restricted/residual pseudo likelihood method for parameter estimation. For all three

models, I use a "between-within" method for computing denominator degrees of freedom

and a ridge-stabilized Newton Raphson algorithm for optimization in binary outcomes.

Specifically for the two full models, I request a Cholesky decomposition for unstructured

variance-component matrices in the model estimations. Each of these is recommended by

Wang et al (2012).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2.1 reports the descriptive statistics for the sample. Fifteen percent of the

sample congregations are headed by a female leader. Leaders have been at their

congregations on average 8.85 years, and their average age is a little over 54 years old.

Sixty-nine percent are currently married. The average congregation in the sample

contains around 470 attenders, and 31 percent have experienced major conflict. Fifty-seven percent of the congregations are in the Mainline Protestant tradition, 18 percent are Evangelical Protestant, 1 percent is Black Protestant, 20 percent are Catholic, 0.4 percent is Jewish, and 3 percent are in other religious traditions. Mainline Protestants are overrepresented in this sample because of the survey's connection to the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), a Mainline denomination. This bias could mean that this survey does not fully capture the variance of pastor-congregation matching within other religious traditions. On the other hand, this creates an oversampling of congregations most likely to have female clergy.

At the attender level, 87 percent report that their leader is a good match with their congregation. Sixteen percent view their leader as having an agentic leadership style, 51 percent perceive an inspiring style, and 33 percent think their leader has a democratic style. The attenders in the sample attend often. They report just over 52 times per year, which is about once a week. The average tenure for the attender is 10.89 years. Twenty-four percent are Biblical literalists, and the average age for attenders is 51.20. Sixty percent are female, and 82 percent are white. The average attender has over 14 years of education, equivalent to two years of schooling past high school.

Multivariate Results

Table 2.2 reports the bivariate relationship between an attender' perception of congregational match and the leader's gender. Members are less likely to think of their leader as being a good fit with the congregation when their leader is female, without controlling for any other variables (Chi-Square=63.84, DF=1, P<.0001). This offers support for Hypothesis 1a and against Hypothesis 1b.

Table 2.1: Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Mean	St. Dev.	Min.	Max.
Congregation Variables (N=231)				
Female Leader	0.15		0	1
Leader's Tenure (Years)	8.85	8.12	0	46
Leader's Age	54.42	9.71	27	79
Married Leader	0.69		0	1
Congregation Size	470.16	879.01	15	10000
Congregational Conflict	0.31		0.0	1
Religious Tradition				
Mainline Protestant	0.57		0	1
Evangelical Protestant	0.18		0	1
Black Protestant	0.01		0	1
Catholic	0.20		0	1
Jewish	0.00		0	1
Other Tradition	0.03		0	1
Attender Variables (N=39,979)				
Leader-Congregation Match	0.87		0	1
Perceived Leadership Style				
Agentic Leadership Style	0.16		0	1
Inspiring Leadership Style	0.51		0	1
Democratic Leadership Style	0.33		0	1
Attender's Attendance (Times per Year)	52.47	26.27	1	104
Attender's Tenure (Years)	10.89	8.46	1	20
Biblical Literalism	0.24		0	1
Attender's Age	51.20	20.40	15	100
Female Attender	0.60		0	1
Education (Years)	14.26	2.96	0	18
White	0.82		0	1

Source: US Congregational Life Survey, 2008/9
Note: Weighted Values

    The null model (not shown) indicates that a multilevel analysis is warranted. The

test of covariance parameters based on the residual pseudo-likelihood reveals a

significant amount of variation between congregations in an attender's rating of her or his

leader (Chi-Square=2500.68; DF=1; P<.0001). The null model's ICC shows that 43.5 percent of the total variation is between congregations.

Table 2.2: Attender's Perception of Congregational Match by Leader's Gender

Good Congregational Match	Male Leader	% Male	Female Leader	% Female	Total
No	4701	13%	451	18%	*5152*
Yes	32783	87%	2044	82%	*34827*
Total	*37484*	*100%*	*2495*	*100%*	*39979*

Chi-Square (DF=1) = 63.84; P<.0001
Source: US Congregational Life Survey, 2008/9

Model 1 in Table 2.3 is the full random intercepts model, which reports estimates and standard errors.[2] Unlike the bivariate relationship, these models show that having a female leader is *not* associated with lower or higher ratings from the attenders, although the coefficient is negative. This model offers support for Hypothesis 1b and for rejecting Hypothesis 1a. Being female does not impact how an attender rates a congregational leader.[3]

These results also show that attenders who perceive their leaders are agentic have significantly different odds of thinking their leader is a good match with the congregation when compared to the other two leadership styles. Attenders who see their leaders as

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[2] The tables do not show odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals, as is often used to report logistic regressions, because SAS 9.3 does not report these for multilevel logistic regression with interactions. Therefore, I offer odds ratios in the text when possible.

[3] In subsequent models (not shown), I estimated this relationship by including only congregational, attender, and leader characteristics or religious tradition separately. Similarly, I reduced the model to only include Mainline Protestants, as this is the tradition where female pastors are most likely to work. No models ever showed that attenders view female leaders differently than males.

inspiring are 256 percent more likely to think there is a good match than those who see their leaders as agentic (odds ratio = 3.56). On the other hand, attenders who perceive a democratic leadership style are 45 percent less likely to see a good match than those who think their leader uses an agentic style (odds ratio = .55).

Leaders who have been in their congregations longer experience higher likelihoods of receiving good ratings (odds ratio = 1.03). Leaders within congregations that have experienced conflict have 34 percent lower odds of receiving a positive rating (odds ratio = .66). People within Jewish congregations are less likely to say their leader is a good match with the congregation than those within Mainline Protestant congregations. Attenders who hold a literalist view of the Bible are thirteen percent more likely to rate their leader positively (odds ratio = 1.13).

Model 2 in Table 2.3 reports the interaction between the leader's gender and the attender's perception of leadership style and offers support for both Hypotheses 1b and 2. All lower ordered female leader and leadership style variables are significant, as are the higher ordered interactions. Because agentic leadership style is the reference group, the coefficient for being female (-.70) indicates the effects for females using this style. To make these relationships clearer, Figure 2.2 visually displays the interactions between a leader's gender and her or his perceived leadership style. As Figure 2.2 demonstrates, a leader's gender barely affects his or hers attenders' views of whether there is a good match with the congregation when the leader is perceived to be either inspiring or democratic. Inspiring and democratic leaders of both genders have predicted probabilities within .01 of each other. However, gender has a profound impact on how a congregant

rates a leader with an agentic style. think there is a good match between the organization and the leader *when the leader is male* (predicted probability = .87).

There is a .11 difference in predicted probabilities between men and women. Congregants who think their leader has an agentic leadership style are more likely to However, female leaders who are perceived to be agentic are penalized (predicted probability = .76). They are less likely to be viewed as a good fit by their congregants. Furthermore, agentic male leaders have a predicted probability of being seen as a good fit that is higher than both female agentic leaders and both male and female democratic leaders. Yet, females who are agentic leaders have the *lowest* predicted probabilities of being rated as a good fit.

Discussion

The purpose of this research is use the context of the religious congregation to see how members perceive female clergy based on the expectations from role congruity theory. I offer two competing hypotheses. One that congregants will rate female clergy lower than male clergy, agrees with much of the literature on female leaders. The other conflicts previous theory and hypothesizes that female clergy will receive higher or equal ratings from their congregants because the role of clergy is congruous to the role of female. I also hypothesize that female clergy who use a more agentic leadership style will experience more prejudice (as measured through congregants' low ratings) than their male counterparts because this style is more incongruous with the stereotypical female role.

I show somewhat mixed results for the competing hypotheses. First, I find support for Hypothesis 1a—the role incongruity hypothesis—in the bivariate relationship

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between congregational fit and clergy gender. Without controlling for other factors, congregants are less likely to see their clergy as a good fit with the congregation when the leader is female.

Yet, when I control for other things that can affect perceptions of leadership, like the leader's tenure, congregation size, religious tradition, and the attender's own characteristics, gender no longer plays a role. The multivariate results in Table 3 indicate that female clergy *do not* experience lower ratings than male clergy, offering support for Hypothesis 1b. Gender does not seem to significantly impact how a congregant rates a religious leader.

This has a profound social significance. Outside of religious organizations, women in leadership experience prejudice because the stereotypical role of female is seen as at odds with the stereotypical role of being a leader (Conway et al. 1996; Conway and Vartanian 2000; Eagly et al. 1995, 1992; Garcia-Retamero and López-Zafra 2006; Koenig et al. 2011; Ridgeway 2001; Ritter and Yoder 2004). However, according to this sample, female clergy do not experience this gender penalty. They are just as likely as male clergy to be considered a good match for their congregations. The religious congregation, it seems, provides a hospitable context for female leaders.

This has implications about the nature of the profession. I suggest that the clergy role *is congruent* with the stereotyped female role. Rabbis, priests, and pastors are part of the most intimate aspects in people's lives. They cultivate the religious faith in their congregants, counsel people during difficult times, and are a major presence during significant life events, such as births, deaths, and milestone rituals (baptisms, britot, or weddings).

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Table 2.3: Multilevel Binary Logistic Regression Predicting an Attender Viewing the Leader as a Good Match for the Congregation (Congregations N = 231, Attenders N = 39,979)

Variables	Model 1: Random Intercept Model			Model 2: Random Intercept Model with Interaction		
	Estimate	S.E.	P-Value	Estimate	S.E.	P-Value
Intercept	1.58	0.23	***	1.61	0.23	***
Variables of Interest						
Female Leader	-0.10	0.19		-0.70	0.23	**
Agentic Leadership Style	*Reference Group*			*Reference Group*		
Inspiring Leadership Style	1.27	0.04	***	1.22	0.05	***
Democratic Leadership Style	-0.60	0.04	***	-0.63	0.04	***
Female Leader * Inspiring	-	-		1.00	0.22	***
Female Leader * Democratic	-	-		0.68	0.16	***
Congregation Variables (Level-2)						
Leader's Tenure[a]	0.03	0.01	***	0.03	0.01	***
Leader's Age[a]	-0.01	0.01		-0.01	0.01	
Leader's Age Squared [a]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Married Leader	0.38	0.20		0.39	0.20	
Congregation Size (LN)[a]	0.11	0.07		0.10	0.07	
Congregational Conflict	-0.41	0.12	**	-0.42	0.12	***
Religious Tradition						
Mainline Protestant	*Reference Group*			*Reference Group*		
Evangelical Protestant	-0.13	0.16		-0.13	0.16	
Black Protestant	-0.83	0.45		-0.83	0.45	
Catholic	0.02	0.25		0.02	0.25	
Jewish	-2.21	0.76	**	-2.20	0.76	**
Other Tradition	-0.23	0.38		-0.29	0.38	
Attender Variables (Level-1)						
Attender's Attendance[b]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Attender's Tenure[b]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Biblical Literalism	0.12	0.04	**	0.12	0.04	**
Age[b]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Age Squared[b]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Female Attender	0.00	0.03		0.00	0.03	
Education (Years)[b]	-0.01	0.01		-0.01	0.01	
White	0.27	0.04	***	0.27	0.04	***
-2 Res Log Pseudo-Likelihood	225918.1			226056.4		
σ^2_{u0} (Intercept Variance)	0.67	0.05		0.67	0.05	
Intra-Class Correlation	0.39			0.39		

[a] Centered on the Grand Mean

[b] Centered on the Group Mean

Source: US Congregational Life Survey, 2008/9

Note: Weighted Values
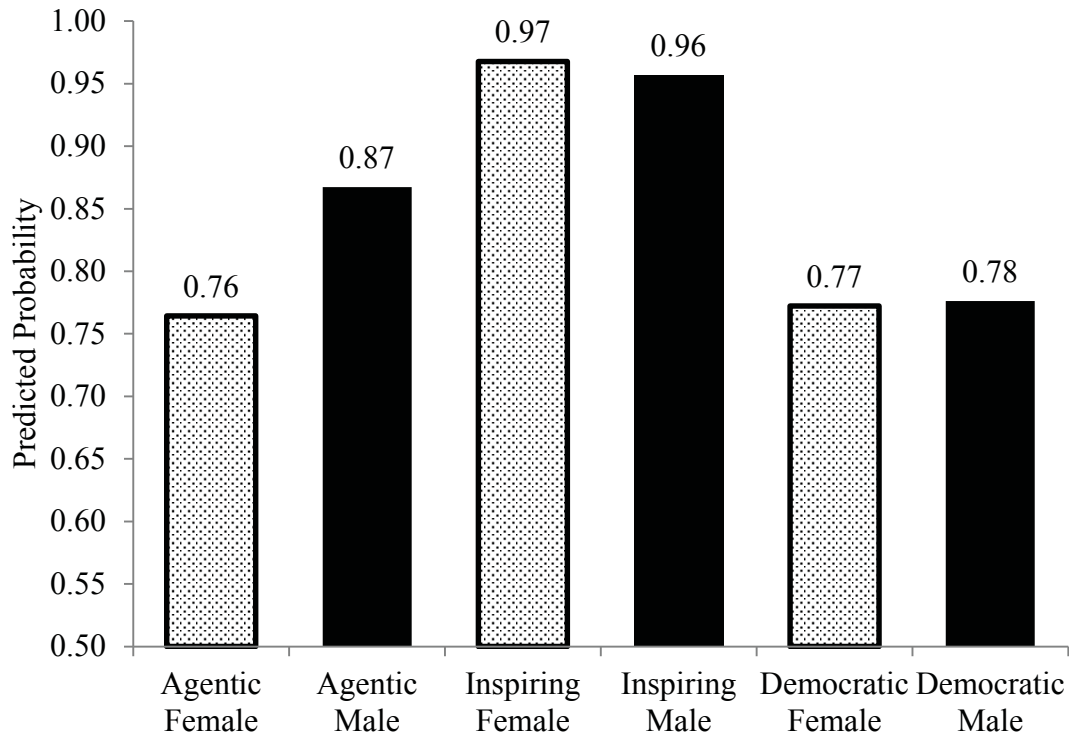
Figure 2.2: Predicted Probabilities For An Attender Viewing the Leader as a Good Match for the Congregation (by Leader's Gender and Leadership Style)

Thus, when a woman performs these communal tasks, she is not seen as stereotypically "unfeminine." Leading a religious organization requires skills that easily line up with stereotypic feminine qualities, such as being focused on others, communal and nurturing. Therefore, they do not experience prejudice from their congregants.

However, this research also supports the hypothesis that female clergy who lead in a more agentic (i.e. masculine) way *do* experience role incongruity and consequently are more likely to be thought of as a bad fit for the congregation. Being a leader who "takes charge" is congruent with the stereotypic role of being male, and therefore congregants view agentic males more positively. Yet this leadership style is incongruous with the stereotypic female role, and agentic female clergy are penalized the most out of

all groups. They have the lowest predicted probability for being seen as a "good fit" with the congregation.

According to this sample, women are constrained in their behavioral approaches to leadership. Leading a congregation requires both agentic and communal qualities. Males are free to operate within both the communal and agentic modes. Whether they "take charge," "inspire others," or use a democratic style of leadership, men do not receive a penalty from their congregants. They are perceived as legitimate clergypersons regardless of their styles. This is not the case for women religious leaders. Female clergy are penalized for "taking charge" in their leadership, and their congregants rate them as less of a good fit with the congregation.

This study opens up avenues for future research. The scope of the USCLS offers a broad view of the relationship between a leader's gender and how a congregant views her or him. However, future research on this subject would greatly benefit from qualitative interviews from the congregants to see how they perceive their religious leader. This would allow scholars to see how the people in the pews process and negotiate the relationship between a leader's gender and his or her actions as a pastor, priest, or rabbi. Because Mainline Protestants are overrepresented in this sample, there is a possible bias towards traditions that are more open to female leaders. Therefore, more research is needed to study how female clergy are perceived in religious traditions that are not as open to female leaders, like Evangelical Protestantism. Furthermore, future research needs to see if the various polities within the religious traditions affect congregant views on clergy. For example, are clergy viewed differently in organizations that choose their own leaders versus those whose denomination chooses for them? These findings also

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pave the way for studies on role congruity in professions other than the clergy. As this study shows, the context of leadership is vitally important, and women in professions that are culturally linked to the male gender role but still have communal aspects may experience reduced levels of prejudice. Future studies need to examine the different contexts that offer hospitable environments for females who lead in culturally masculine professions.

This research explores clergy who are already leading congregations, and so it offers a different perspective to other research showing that females have more difficulty entering into religious leadership and are more likely to have lower paying status jobs upon becoming a clergyperson (Chang 1997; Ferguson 2015; Lehman 1980; Sullins 2000). Once females gain access into leadership, their congregants do not penalize them for being female, unless their leadership style is more masculine. These findings clarify the nature of the relationship between gender and leadership. Context matters, and the context of the religious organization is amenable to female leadership. The attributes needed to be a skillful clergyperson easily align with socially-constructed attributes of being female. Yet, this study also points out that female leaders continue to experience prejudice when they act in ways that are perceived as being stereotypically masculine.

CHAPTER THREE

Organizational Resources and the Gender Gap in Congregational Lay Leadership

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between organizational resources and the gender gap within leadership. Organizations of all types are profoundly gendered entities (Acker 1990; Kanter 1993). The ways in which they are structured are not gender neutral, and so organizations often perpetuate gender inequality. This is especially clear in the case of organizational leadership, where men are more likely to be leaders and managers (Collinson and Hearn 1996; Kanter 1993).

Micro-interactionist theories offer ways to mitigate gender inequality in leadership (Pugh and Wahrman 1983). Specifically, expectations states theory suggests that because gender is a status system, other markers of status can be introduced into social situations that can reduce gender's impact as a cue for legitimate leadership. My goal in this study is to broaden expectation states theory to the meso-level to see how the gender gap in leadership is affected by the organizational environment. I do this by using a resourced-base view of the organization. Organizations with higher levels of resources—such as those with large memberships, wealthy members, or highly educated members—are more likely to have pools of potential leaders with status characteristics other than gender by which to determine leadership. Therefore, gender's effect as a status characteristic for leadership is diluted, and females are more likely to be leaders.

I examine the relationship between organizational resources and gender inequality in the context of lay (non-clergy) leadership positions within religious congregations. The congregational context is important because they are the most popular voluntary organizations in the United States (Chaves 2004). Furthermore, these organizations are less bureaucratized and rely on traditional authority legitimated through the sacred (Harris 1998). The selection of leaders within religious congregations is based more on status characteristics and less on formal policy. I find support for three hypotheses about how resource-rich congregations have smaller gender gaps in leadership than those that are resource-deficient. Thus, this study contributes to the literature on gendered organizations, leadership, and status by being the first to use expectation states theory at the meso-level.

Expectation States Theory and Status

Ever since Weber (1978) began to separate the different effects of status from wealth and power, status has been an important concept in sociology. Status is the "respect, social esteem, and honor" afforded to someone (Ridgeway 2001:11), and it has been used by "expectation states theory" to help explain social inequality (Berger et al. 1977; Correll and Ridgeway 2006). Differences in status between individuals affect both expectations and behavior. First, people expect higher status individuals to be more competent and more capable at tasks than those of lower status. Second, individuals with higher social status are more assertive, vocal, and influential in small groups. Those who are of lower status in the interaction maintain a role that is passive, less vocal, and easily influenced by the higher status person. Because of these differences in expectations and behavior, status differentials create social inequality.

Individuals determine status through "status characteristics," which are markers

for someone's prestige and social esteem (Berger et al. 1977). Some status characteristics

are specific, like mathematical ability, and give higher status in specific situations. Other

status characteristics are "diffuse," and they connote status differentials across social

situations (Berger et al. 1977; Pugh and Wahrman 1983). Race, education, physical

beauty, and, for the purposes of this study, gender, are diffuse status characteristics that

imply differing levels of social prestige among a wide number of contexts.

Gender and Status

Gender is one of the most powerful status characteristics. It is a status system that

creates inequality between males and females (Conway and Vartanian 2000; Eagly and

Wood 1982; Ridgeway 1982, 2001, 2011, 2014; Ridgeway et al. 1998, 1994; Ridgeway

and Correll 2004). More than a categorization of people into two groups based off their

sex, gender is a "system of social practices" that both *divides* and *stratifies* (Ridgeway

2011:9). Gender divides by classifying people as either male or female. Deeply imbedded

into this system are gender stereotypes about who males and female should be and how

they should act (Eagly and Karau 2002; Prentice and Carranza 2002). Males are

stereotyped to be more agentic, that is assertive, competent, and confident, while females

are stereotyped as the communal and expressive gender who are expected to be more

nurturing, kind, and responsive (Conway et al. 1996; Conway and Vartanian 2000; Eagly

1987; Jackman 1996; Wagner and Berger 1997).

These stereotypes contain an implicit status hierarchy within them, thus creating

inequality between men and women. As expectation states theory suggests, people

perceive agentic individuals as having higher status than more communally-oriented

individuals (Berger et al. 1977; Conway et al. 1996; Correll and Ridgeway 2006).

Therefore males, because they are stereotyped as being more agentic, have higher status

than females (Conway et al. 1996; Eagly 1987; Fiske et al. 2002b; Glick et al. 2004)[1].

Males are seen as having higher levels of competence (Fiske et al. 2002b), influence

(Eagly and Wood 1982), and social significance (Ridgeway 2001). These hierarchical

stereotypes create "gender status beliefs," which lead individuals to perceive males as

being more deserving of positions of power, respect, and esteem (Ridgeway 2011).

Gender and Leadership

Gender status beliefs link the gender system to leadership (Ridgeway 2001).

Leadership is a social role characterized by high status, agency, and competence,

qualities that are more in line with the stereotyped male gender role (Ritter and Yoder

2004). Thus, gender becomes a cue for legitimacy in authority, and people are more

likely to consider males as legitimate candidates for leadership positions (Collinson and

Hearn 1996; Eagly and Karau 2002; Koenig et al. 2011; Ridgeway 2001; Rudman and

Kilianski 2000; Schein 1973, 2001, 2007). This creates a gender gap in leadership.

Females encounter the "glass ceiling" and are less likely to be leaders in businesses,

organizations, and government (Maume 1999; Reynolds 1999; Wright and Baxter 2000).

Furthermore, because being male is a status characteristic that signals legitimate

leadership, males experience the "glass escalator" and are promoted to leadership

positions at quicker rates (Williams 1992).

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[1] Though scholars have found that females are evaluated more positively than
males, what Eagly and Mladinic (1989, 1994) call the "women are wonderful" effect,
male stereotypic traits consistently have higher status than female traits (Fiske et al.
2002b; Glick et al. 2004).

However, gender is not always a salient status characteristic for leadership in all situations (Pugh and Wahrman 1983; Wagner and Berger 1997; Wagner, Ford, and Ford 1986). When other statuses, like education, wealth, or technical expertise, are relevant to a situation, the differences in status between males and females are minimized. Both Pugh and Wahrman (1983) and Wagner, Ford, and Ford (1986) found that in groups focused on specific tasks, females were more likely to take subordinate positions relative to males. However, groups reduced the gender bias by introducing additional status characteristics for the females. When females had other status characteristics that were specific for the situation, they were perceived as equally competent and likely to take on a leadership role.

Organizations, Resources, and Gender

Expectation states theory, with its understanding of gender status characteristics, is a micro-interactionist theory that explains the gender gap in leadership for small, task-oriented groups in laboratory settings. An individual's status characteristics affect her or his level of leadership. In these small groups composed of two to four individuals, males are more likely to be leaders unless other information relevant to an individual is provided that reduces the salience of gender for the task. My goal is to broaden this theory to the meso-level to see if organizational characteristics create social environments where gender is more or less salient as a marker for legitimate authority. *Individual* status characteristics can mitigate the power of gender as a signal for leadership, but it may also be the case that the status characteristics of the *organization* may also have influence.

Brashears (2008) is one of the few who uses expectation states theory outside the laboratory. In a macro-level study, he finds outcomes that are in line with the predictions

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of expectations states theory: gender is less salient as a status characteristic in societies where women possess more authority. It is possible that similar forces are at play in organizations, as well. Males may be more likely to be chosen as legitimate leaders, but other status characteristics within an organization may have the power to mitigate gender's power as a marker for leadership.

One of the main theoretical orientations for understanding organizations is the resource-based view. As outlined by Wernerfelt (1984), a resource-based view of an organization proposes that an organization with higher quality resources has a competitive advantage over its rivals. Resources are defined as "assets, capabilities, organizational procedures, firm attributes, information, knowledge, etc. controlled by a firm that enable the firm to conceive of and implement strategies that improve its efficiency and effectiveness" (Barney 1991:101). Much of the research using this theoretical framework focuses on how resources give a competitive advantage in the marketplace (Peteraf 1993). However, a resourced-based view of organizations may also be helpful to understand internal structures, like gender inequality within leadership.

The link between gender equality and organizational resources is status. Status is intimately tied to resources because of a reciprocal relationship between resources and the Weberian tripartite of wealth, power, and status (Berger et al. 1977; Ridgeway et al. 1998). Individuals and organizations with more resources have more wealth, power, and status. Yet these three things are resources in and of themselves that may be used to accomplish social action (Weber 1978; cf. Bourdieu 1985).

Resources affect an organization's status in two ways. First, organizations that have more members, highly educated members, or wealthy members are more likely to

be higher status organizations compared with other similar organizations. Second, an organization with more resources has additional status characteristics other than gender *within its population*. Groups with large or well-educated memberships have pools of potential leaders with other non-gender statuses that could serve as cues for leadership ability. Thus, gender is not the only status system which influences who becomes a leader in resource-rich organizations, which reduces biases against female leaders. Conversely, in resource-deficient organizations, gender status is amplified because there are fewer indicators of status. Within these organizations, women are less likely to be chosen for leadership because gender status beliefs are one of the few significant markers of who should and should not be a leader.

To this effect, studies show that larger businesses (that is, those with access to greater amounts of human and financial resources) have better gender equality practices in their human resource departments than smaller firms (Woodhams and Lupton 2006) and universities with larger enrollments are more likely to have higher percentages of female professors (Kulis and Miller-Loessi 1992). Therefore, based on the above theory about organizations, gender, and status, I offer the following proposition:

> *Females in resource-rich organizations will have greater access to leadership than females in resource-deficient organizations.*

The Context of the Religious Congregation

I am going to test this proposition within the context of the religious congregation. The setting of the religious congregation has advantages over for-profit firms for studying gender, status, and leadership for three reasons. First, congregations are less likely to be bureaucratized and rationalized in their leadership selection practices than for-profit

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firms. Therefore, status characteristics are more likely to be a deciding factor in who becomes a leader in a congregation than in a firm with a bureaucratized human resource department (Baron et al. 2007). Secondly, religious congregations are "normative organizations" (Etzioni 1975). Cultural values and norms found within the religious tradition profoundly shape its structure and practice. To this end, many religious traditions have explicit statements for or against female leadership within congregations (Chaves 1999). Third, congregations are a special type of voluntary association (Harris 1998). While most are headed by a paid clergy person, much of the work within a congregation is accomplished by non-clergy volunteers, or lay leaders. Thus, the choice of who becomes a lay leader within a congregation is not about professional qualifications. Other status characteristics, like gender, will be important.

Religious congregations are no different from other organizations in that they, too, are deeply gendered (Cadge 2004; Stewart-Thomas 2010). Both congregational structure and culture are important ways religion perpetuates inequality between men and women (Bartkowski and Shah 2014; Ecklund 2006). Structurally, congregations often explicitly prohibit females from assuming leadership, either as an ordained clergyperson or as a leader among the non-ordained laity (Chaves 1999; Sullins 2000). Culturally, congregations are sites where gender ideologies are created and maintained through their theology, liturgy, and practices (Ecklund 2006; Edgell 2006; Edgell and Docka 2007; Wilcox 2004). If the culture and structure of organizations influence gender inequality within religious congregations, it may be that resources, such as members and money, play a role as well.

Within the context of religious congregations, the most important resources are people and money (Chaves 2004). Whereas money can only vary in terms of quantity, human resources vary in both quantity and quality. Religious congregations can have more people, but they can also have members with higher amounts of human, cultural, and financial capital. Consequently, congregations whose members have higher levels of education and income have greater amounts of human and financial capitals to utilize. These additional *organizational* resources could mitigate gender's power as a status system, independent of the effects of an *individual's* status characteristics. The resources within the surrounding organizational context could influence who becomes a leader.

Although never the focus of empirical research, there is some evidence that there might be a relationship between congregational resources and gender equality. Ammerman (1990) shows in her account of the intra-denominational struggle among Southern Baptists that social status is related to theological and ideological views on gender equality. In her study, people who were professionals and congregations that were larger were the most likely to be "moderate" Baptists, that is, those who supported women in religious leadership. Conversely, the congregations that were most opposed to female leadership were those of lower status: small congregations whose members were not educated professionals. Ebaugh and Chafetz (1999), too, show that status impacts females' access to leadership within immigrant congregations. Females were most likely to be lay leaders within their congregations when the organization's males had high status before and after immigration. However, females had little access to leadership in congregations where the majority of males were forced to take lower status jobs than they held in their home country upon immigration. These two examples give evidence that

organizational resources, such as members with higher status jobs, well-educated members, or larger congregational sizes, may be important in gender inequality. When other status markers are at play in the organization, gender becomes less important as a signifier of status, and therefore, leadership.

Thus, I will examine how organizational resources impact gender inequality within religious congregations. Specifically, I will look at how a congregation's level of resources affects the gender gap in lay leadership positions. To this end, I offer three hypotheses to test the general proposition:

> *H1: The gender gap in lay leadership will decrease as the average level of education within a congregation's membership increases.*

> *H2: The gender gap in lay leadership will decrease as the average level of income within a congregation's membership increases.*

> *H3: The gender gap in lay leadership will decrease as congregational size increases.*

Data and Methods

In order to test these hypotheses, I use two data sets from the first wave of the United States Congregational Life Survey (USCLS). Collected in 2001 by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) at the University of Chicago and funded by the Lilly Endowment, the Louisville Institute, and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the USCLS is a nationally random sample of congregations in the United States. NORC invited congregations identified by individuals answering the 2000 General Social Survey to participate in the USCLS. Because the General Social Survey is a random sample of individuals, the organizations they identified create a random sample of congregations (Woolever and Bruce 2002). Sixty-one percent of invited congregations agreed to

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participate in the survey, and of those participating, 53.76 percent returned completed forms (33 percent of the total invited).

Participating congregations collected three levels of surveys: one from every individual attending a worship service who was 15 years and older, a questionnaire from the clergy or religious leader, and a survey about the organization's characteristics filled out by an informed respondent. This present study uses the individual attenders' surveys linked to the congregation's information. In total, the USCLS has information on 122,404 individual attenders within 424 congregations.

The data were downloaded from the Association of Religious Data Archives at www.thearda.com. The USCLS is a useful survey to study lay leadership because it contains more than organizational information. It contains data on how each respondent is involved within the congregation.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for this study is whether or not an attender is a lay leader within the congregation. The USCLS asks each respondent how she or he is involved within the organization. The options range from teaching religious education classes, leading worship, being an officer of a men's, women's, or youth group, singing in the choir, or being on a governing board. My goal is to study lay attenders who lead the congregation and not just those who volunteer in other forms of service. For this reason, I measure leadership at the highest levels: the governing board and worship leadership. Governing boards of congregations often help run the organization along with the clergy (Stewart-Thomas 2010). They guide the vision of the group, and they frequently even oversee the pastor, minister, or rabbi. Individuals in these groups lead at the highest level

for the laity within the congregation. Similarly, individuals leading worship services are involved in the most central practice that congregations enact (Chaves 2004). Whether it is directing music, reading sacred texts, or offering prayers, lay worship leaders are visibly and publicly performing in front of the entire congregation. In order to measure the highest level of lay leadership, I create a binary variable where 1 is an individual who indicates that he or she is on a governing board or helps to lead worship.[2] I code individuals who are in other roles or without any roles as 0.

Independent Variables

Gender is a binary variable where 1=female and 0=male. I measure congregational resources three ways. People are the most important resource for voluntary associations, and so I account for both their *quality* and *quantity* (Chaves 2004). First, I measure the average level of education attenders have in each congregation. Education is a key correlate to an individual's gender ideology (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Brooks and Bolzendahl 2004; Davis and Greenstein 2009; Davis and Robinson 1991), and so being in an organization with highly educated members may increase a female's chances of being a leader. Individual responses for education level could range from "No formal schooling" to "Master's, Doctorate, or other graduate degree." I make an interval variable from these responses to indicate the number of years of schooling, which ranges from 0 ("No formal schooling") to 18 (graduate degree). I

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[2] Catholic and non-Catholic congregations received different survey forms about lay leadership in order to best reflect their religious cultures. Catholic lay leaders indicated they were a "member of a leadership group," while non-Catholic lay leaders stated they were a "member of the governing board." Both groups answered the same question about their roles "leading or assisting in worship."

take the average years of schooling from each congregation and center it on the grand mean.

Second, I measure the average income attenders make for each congregation. The response categories range from "Less than $10,000" to "$100,000 or more." I quantify these responses by taking the midpoint for each category. For the highest category, I estimate the midpoint using a Pareto curve equation (Shryock, Siegel, and Larmon 1980). The final total income for individual attenders ranges from $5,000 to $202,685. I take the average level income for each congregation, log transform it, and center it on the grand mean.

Third, I account for congregational size. To measure size, I use the congregation's reported number for "people—counting both adults and children—[who] regularly participate in the religious life of [the] congregation—whether or not they are officially members." I log transform the variable for congregational size because of its skewness and center it on the grand mean.[3]

Attender Control Variables

I control for an individual's rate of attendance. The USCLS asks how often a person goes to worship services at the congregation. The responses range from "First Time" (1) to "More than Weekly" (7). I recode this range to create an interval variable that measures how many days per year an individual attends (e.g. More than

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[3] Another measure of organizational resources could be the total amount of income a congregation receives. However, this measure is highly correlated with the organization's size (r=0.58, p<.001). Therefore, a congregation's size is a proxy for its corporate financial resources.

Weekly=104, Weekly=52, Monthly=12, etc.). I center attendance on the individual's congregational mean.

I measure an attender's tenure, or how long she or he has been a part of the congregation, in years. The USCLS reports tenure in categorical ranges (e.g. 3-5 years or 11-20 years), and I create an interval variable by taking each range's mid-point. Tenure is centered on the group mean.

Religious ideology, especially Biblical literalism, is an important cultural force that shapes gender ideology (Bartkowski 2001; Bartkowski and Shah 2014; Gallagher 2003; Gallagher and Smith 1999; Hoffmann and Bartkowski 2008; Wilcox 2004). The USCLS asks each attender how they view the Bible. The responses range from "The Bible is the word of God, to be taken literally word for word" to "The Bible is an ancient book with little value today." I create a binary variable where 1=the Bible is to be "taken literally word for word" and 0=all other responses.

I measure age by subtracting an attender's year of birth from 2001, and I remove all persons younger than 18 and older than 100. In order to see if age has a curvilinear relationship, I also include age squared. Education is quantified as the individual's number of years of schooling. This range includes 0="No schooling," 12="High School diploma," and 18="Graduate degree." I center both age and education on the congregational mean. I measure both an attender's race and marital status through binary variables where 1=white and 1=currently married.

Congregational Control Variables

To measure a congregation's age, I subtract its founding date from the year 2001. Because the likelihood that a female is chosen to be a lay leader partly depends on how

many females are in the congregation, I control for each organization's proportion female respondents. I center both the proportion female and the congregation's age on the grand mean.

To measure congregational growth or decline, I create a variable indicating the percentage change by dividing the congregation's attendance for 2001 by the attendance for 1996 and multiplying by 100. However, some congregations skipped reporting attendance numbers for either 2001 or 1996. For these organizations, I create a four year change pattern (either 2001/1997 or 2000/1996). The change variable is skewed to the right, so I square root transform it.

I control for where a congregation is located and its religious tradition. Region is the US Census category, and South is the reference category. Religious tradition is measured using the RELTRAD typology by Steensland et al. (2000). Mainline Protestant is the reference category.

Analytical Method

Because the USCLS instrument contains two levels of data linked together, a multilevel analysis is most appropriate (Hofmann 1997; Raudenbush and Bryk 2002; Wang, Xie, and Fischer 2012). The multilevel design permits me to simultaneously estimate both the congregational effects and the attender's effects on the likelihood of an attender being a lay leader. This design is an improved method over a contextual effects model (where the organization's variables are disaggregated to the individual attender) because traditional approaches would have biased standard errors and would violate the assumption that the observations are independent from one another (Hofmann 1997).

I first estimate a bivariate model to determine the overall relationship between gender and lay leadership followed by six multilevel logistic regressions to assess the relationship with other variables held constant. The first is the null model, which indicates that there is a significant variation between congregations in an attender's likelihood of being a lay leader (results not shown). From this model, I am able to calculate an intra-class correlation (ICC) score, which indicates the proportion of congregational-level variance in the total variance (Wang et al. 2012:125). For multilevel logistic regressions, the ICC is calculated by using the formula:

$$ICC = \frac{\hat{\sigma}_{u0}^2}{\hat{\sigma}_{u0}^2 + \frac{\pi^2}{3}} \tag{3.1}$$

Where: σ^2_{u0} = estimated variance of the random intercept.
           π = 3.14

The null model's ICC score indicates that 20 percent of the variance in an attender being a lay leader is due to congregational characteristics.

Next, I estimate the likelihood an attender is a lay leader using a multilevel random intercepts logistic regression with both attender and congregational-level variables. I regress two models with average education and average income separately because of high correlations between these two variables. The final set of models tests how the congregational resources of average education, average income, and congregational size interact with an attender's gender. To avoid multicollinearity and aid interpretation, each model contains only one interaction.

All models are estimated using the PROC GLIMMIX procedure in SAS 9.4 with weighted data to account for the greater likelihood that large congregations will be selected using individuals from the GSS. For the null model, I use the restricted/residual

pseudo likelihood method for parameter estimation. For all the models, I use a "between-within" method for computing denominator degrees of freedom and a ridge-stabilized Newton Raphson algorithm for optimization in binary outcomes. Each of these is recommended by Wang et al. (2012).

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 3.1 reports the descriptive statistics for the sample. Sixteen percent of attenders are lay leaders, that is, they are either worship leaders or on the governing board. This sample, like previous research has shown on religion and gender, is majority female (61 percent) (Bradshaw and Ellison 2009; Collett and Lizardo 2009; Miller and Hoffmann 1995; Miller and Stark 2002; Roth and Kroll 2007; Stark 2002; Sullins 2006). People within these congregations attend quite often, with an average of 56 times per year, which is just over one time per week. The average attender has been with the congregation for 10.49 years, and 30 percent hold a literalist view of the Bible. Attenders are just over 51 years old on average, with 14.12 years of schooling. This is indicates that the average attender has around two years of college education. The sample is 80 percent white and 70 percent married. The average size congregational size is 779 people, and on average, congregations have seen a 29 percent increase in attendance over the past four or five years. Within congregations, the average level of education for attenders is 13.71 years of schooling, and the average attender income is just over $61,000. The average

Table 3.1: Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Mean	Std Dev	Min.	Max.
Attender Level (N=73,118)				
Lay Leader	0.16		0	1
Female	0.61		0	1
Attendance	56.00	24.93	1	104
Tenure	10.49	7.59	0.5	20
Biblical Literalist	0.30		0	1
Age	51.04	16.65	18	100
Education (Years)	14.12	2.67	0	18
White	0.80		0	1
Married	0.70		0	1
Congregation Level (N=344)				
Size	779.17	1071.66	15	6000
Percent Change in Attendance	1.29	1.02	0.34	15
Average Level of Education (Years)	13.71	1.22	6.18	16.81
Average Level of Income	$61,495.39	$24,193.17	$17,501.89	$145,868.92
Congregation Age (Years)	89.02	57.24	4	301
Proportion Female	0.63	0.07	0.31	1
Region				
East	0.18		0	1
Midwest	0.26		0	1
West	0.21		0	1
South	0.35		0	1
Religious Tradition				
Mainline Protestant	0.40		0	1
Evangelical Protestant	0.30		0	1
Black Protestant	0.03		0	1
Catholic	0.22		0	1
Jewish	0.01		0	1
Other Religion	0.03		0	1

Source: 2001 US Congregational Life Survey
Note: Weighted Values

congregation has been in existence for 89.02 years and is 63 percent female. Eighteen

percent of congregations are in the East, 26 percent in the Midwest, 21 percent in the

West, and 35 percent in the South. Forty percent are from the Mainline Protestant

tradition, 30 percent are Evangelical Protestant, three percent Black Protestant, 22 percent

Catholic, 1 percent Jewish, and 3 percent are of another religious tradition. This sample has greater proportions of larger-sized and Mainline Protestant congregations than in the general population of congregations in the United States, which could bias the findings because Mainline Protestants are more likely to have egalitarian gender ideologies (Chaves 1999, 2004).

Multivariate Results

Table 3.2 reports the bivariate relationship between being female and being a lay leader. Females are less likely to be lay leaders than males, even though they are the majority within congregations. While 18 percent of males are lay leaders, this percentage drops to 16 percent for females. A chi-square test shows this relationship is significantly different below the .001 level (Chi-square=96.61 with 1 degree of freedom).[4]

Table 3.3 confirms this relationship between gender and lay leadership. Models 1 and 2 separately control for a congregation's average education and income levels, respectively. In both, females are less likely to be lay leaders within religious congregations, even while holding other variables constant (odds ratio=0.77).[5]

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[4] In order to see if there was a difference between being on the governing board and being in worship leadership, I estimated two separate Chi-Square tests: 1) gender by being on the governing board and 2) gender by being in worship leadership. Both models indicate that males are more likely than females to be in the leadership role (results not shown).

[5] The tables do not show odds ratios and 95% confidence intervals, as is often used to report logistic regressions, because SAS 9.4 does not fully report these for multilevel logistic regression with interactions. Therefore, I offer odds ratios in the text when possible.

Table 3.2: Lay Leadership and Gender

Variables	Female	Male	*Total*
Lay Leader	6973	5221	*12194*
Column Percentage	16%	18%	
Not Lay Leader	37863	23270	*61133*
Column Percentage	84%	82%	
Total	*44836*	*28491*	*73327*

Chi Square (DF=1) = 96.61; P<.001
Source: 2001 US Congregational Life Survey

Those holding a literalist view of the Bible are less likely to be a lay leader (odds ratio=0.83). Age has a curvilinear relationship, where a negative relationship between the odds of being a lay leader and age becomes less pronounced as age increases. Education is positively associated with the likelihood of being a lay leader. For each additional year of schooling, the odds of being a lay leader increase by 11 percent (odds ratio=1.11). White attenders are more likely to be a lay leader than attenders from other racial and ethnic groups (odds ratio=1.19), as are married attenders (odds ratio=1.21).

Organizational-level variables are also associated with the odds of being a lay leader. Congregational size is negatively associated. With each additional percentage increase in congregational size, the odds of being a lay leader decrease by 31 percent (odds ratio=0.69). Similarly, a congregation's gender makeup is associated with the odds of being a lay leader. For each additional unit increase in the proportion female within a congregation, the odds of being a lay leader increase (odds ratio=3.85). Attenders within Evangelical congregations are 21 percent less likely to be a lay leader (odds ratio=0.79) than those within Mainline Protestant congregations, while those in Catholic congregations are 37 percent more likely (odds ratio=1.37).

These models have an ICC score of 0.30, which indicates that 30 percent of the variance in the likelihood of being a lay leader is at the congregational level. This is a 50 percent increase over the null model [(0.30-0.20)/0.20=.50).

Table 3.4 presents three models that show how organizational resources affect a female's likelihood of being a lay leader. As Model 1 indicates, female attenders are less likely to be lay leaders than males (odds ratio=0.76). However, this relationship is moderated by having an organizational context in which members are better educated, which offers support for Hypothesis 1. Females in organizations with educated members experience an increased likelihood of being a lay leader, independent of the individual's own level of education. For each percentage increase in the average level of education, females experience a five percent increase in the odds of being a lay leader (odds ratio=1.05). The organization's average level of education does not have this effect for males. Figure 3.1 presents this relationship graphically. The gender gap in lay leadership is most pronounced in organizations with low levels of education. As members' education levels rise, females—but not males—are more likely to say they are leaders within the congregation. Yet, the gender gap never completely goes away. Even within the most highly educated organizations, female members continue to have lower probabilities of being a leader.

Model 2 in Table 3.4 shows the relationship between a congregation's average level of attender income and a female being a lay leader, and offers support for Hypothesis 2. As with previous models, females are less likely to be lay leaders (odds ratio=0.76), and this relationship is moderated by the presence of wealthier attendees.

Table 3.3: Multilevel Binary Logistic Regression Predicting an Attender Being a Lay Leader

Variables	Model 1			Model 2		
	Coefficient	S.E.	P	Coefficient	S.E.	P
Attender Variables (N=70,942)						
Female Attender	-0.26	0.02	***	-0.26	0.02	***
Attendance[a]	0.03	0.00	***	0.03	0.00	***
Tenure[a]	0.05	0.00	***	0.05	0.00	***
Biblical Literalist	-0.18	0.03	***	-0.19	0.03	***
Age[a]	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.01	0.00	***
Age Squared	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	***
Education[a]	0.10	0.00	***	0.10	0.00	***
White	0.18	0.04	***	0.18	0.04	***
Married	0.19	0.03	***	0.19	0.03	***
Congregation Variables(N=344)						
Congregation Size (ln)[b]	-0.36	0.03	***	-0.35	0.03	***
Percent Change in Attendance[bc]	-0.07	0.11		-0.07	0.11	
Average Attender Education (Years)	0.00	0.03		-	-	
Average Attender Income (ln) [b]	-	-		-0.09	0.10	
Congregation Age (Years)[b]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Proportion Female[b]	1.35	0.58	*	1.21	0.59	*
Region						
South		*Reference*			*Reference*	
East	-0.12	0.09		-0.13	0.09	
Midwest	-0.05	0.08		-0.07	0.08	
West	0.02	0.08		0.01	0.08	
Religious Tradition						
Mainline Protestant		*Reference*			*Reference*	
Evangelical Protestant	-0.23	0.09	**	-0.25	0.08	**
Black Protestant	0.18	0.19		0.15	0.19	
Catholic	0.31	0.10	**	0.28	0.10	**
Jewish	0.16	0.29		0.22	0.29	
Other Religion	-0.35	0.19		-0.33	0.18	
Intercept	-1.98	0.09	***	-1.93	0.10	***
-2 Res Log Pseudo-Likelihood	372763.7			372769.7		
σ^2_{u0} (Intercept Variance)	0.45	0.02		0.45	0.02	
Intra-Class Correlation	0.30			0.30		

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

[a] Group Mean Centered

[b] Grand Mean Centered

[c] Square Root Transformed

Source: 2001 US Congregational Life Survey

For each percentage increase in the average level of attender income, the odds a female is a lay leader increases by 13 percent (odds ratio=1.13). Figure 3.2 visually displays this relationship, and like Figure 3.1, the odds of a female being a lay leader never match a male's odds. The gender gap is reduced but not eliminated within congregations with wealthier attenders.

Model 3 in Table 3.4 presents how congregational size affects a female's odds of being a lay leader. Females are less likely to be leaders (odds ratio=.62). Congregational size negatively affects both males' and females' odds that they are lay leaders, which is logical given that as more people are in an organization, the probability that any one member is a leader decreases. However, the impact of congregational size on the likelihood of being a leader is greater for males than it is for females.

Figure 3.3 illustrates this relationship. In small congregations, there is a gender gap in the probability of being a lay leader. As size increases, both males' and females' probabilities decrease, but the gender gap also decreases. The two probabilities intersect at 1.2 for the log transformed and grand mean centered congregational size. Calculated out, this means that at around 4,006 attenders, females and males have the same probability of being a lay leader. These findings offer support for Hypothesis 3. In large organizations, females are just as likely as males to be lay leaders. Conversely, females are less likely to lead in small congregations.

Table 3.4: Multilevel Binary Logistic Regression Predicting an Attender Being a Lay Leader, with Interactions (Congregations N=344, Attenders N=70,942)

Variables	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	Coefficient	S.E.	P	Coefficient	S.E.	P	Coefficient	S.E.	P
Resource									
Average Attender Education (ln)[a]	-0.03	0.03		-	-		-	-	
Average Attender Income (ln)[a]	-	-		-0.17	0.10		-	-	
Congregation Size (ln)[a]	-	-		-	-		-0.48	0.03	***
Female Attender	-0.27	0.02	***	-0.28	0.02	***	-0.24	0.02	***
Resource * Female	0.05	0.02	**	0.13	0.05	*	0.20	0.02	***
Intercept	-1.97	0.09	***	-1.92	0.10	***	-1.98	0.10	***
-2 Res Log Pseudo-Likelihood	372784.1			372813.9			372662.0		
σ^2_{u0} (Intercept Variance)	0.45	0.02		0.45	0.02		0.45	0.02	
Intra-Class Correlation	0.30			0.30			0.30		

***$p<.001$, **$p<.01$, *$p<.05$

[a] Grandmean centered

Source: 2001 US Congregational Life Survey

Note: The effects of an attender's *attendance, tenure, Biblical literalist, age, education, race, marital status*, and a congregation's *size, percentage change, average income, average education, age, proportion female, region, and religious tradition* are in the models but not shown. M1 does not control for average income, and M2 does not control for average education because of issues with multicollinearity.
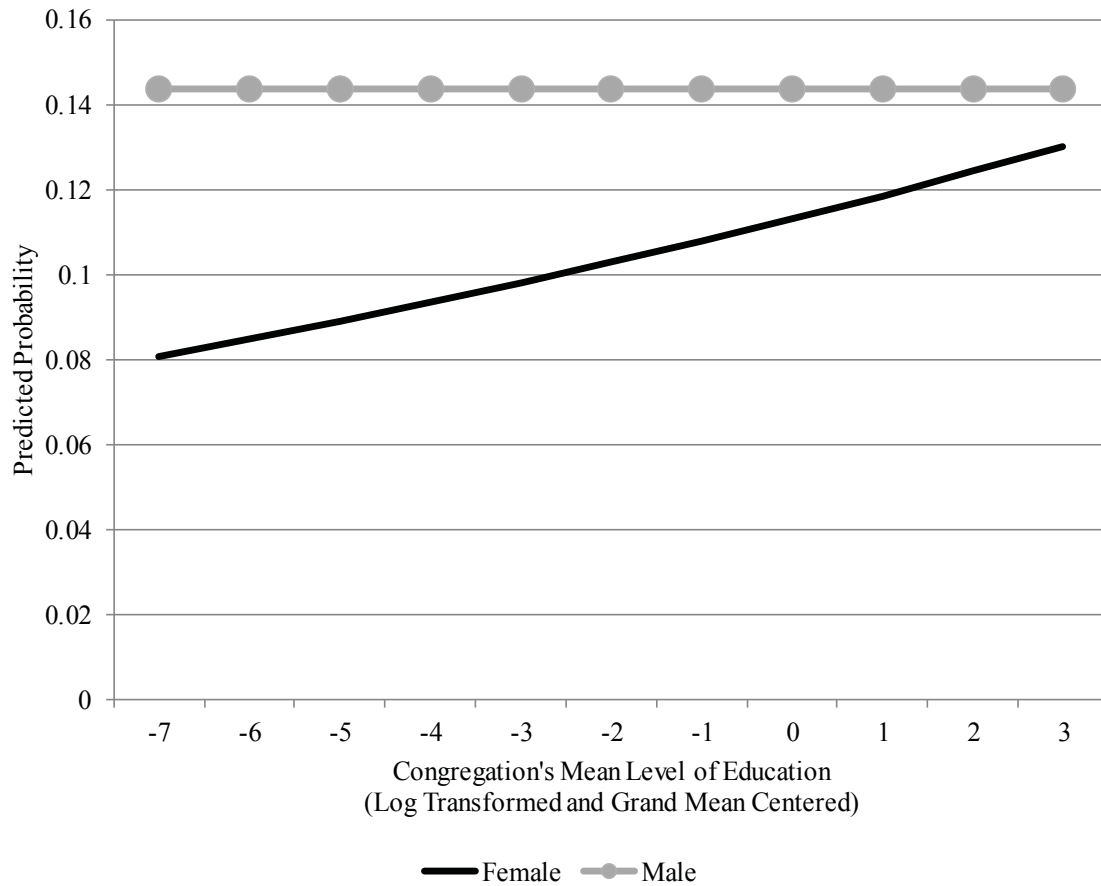
Figure 3.1: Predicted Probabilities of Lay Leadership as the Average Level of Education within a Congregation Increases (for a white, married, Biblical non-literalist with average attendance, tenure, age, education in an average-sized, average-aged, Mainline Protestant Congregation)

Discussion

The purpose of this research is to explore how organizational resources affect gender inequality. I hypothesize that females have greater access to leadership in resource-rich organizations than in ones that are resource-deficient. I find support for the three hypotheses about the gender gap in lay leadership positions within religious congregations. Large congregations or those with well-educated or wealthy attenders have smaller gender gaps in leadership than organizations that are small or have poorly-educated or poor memberships.
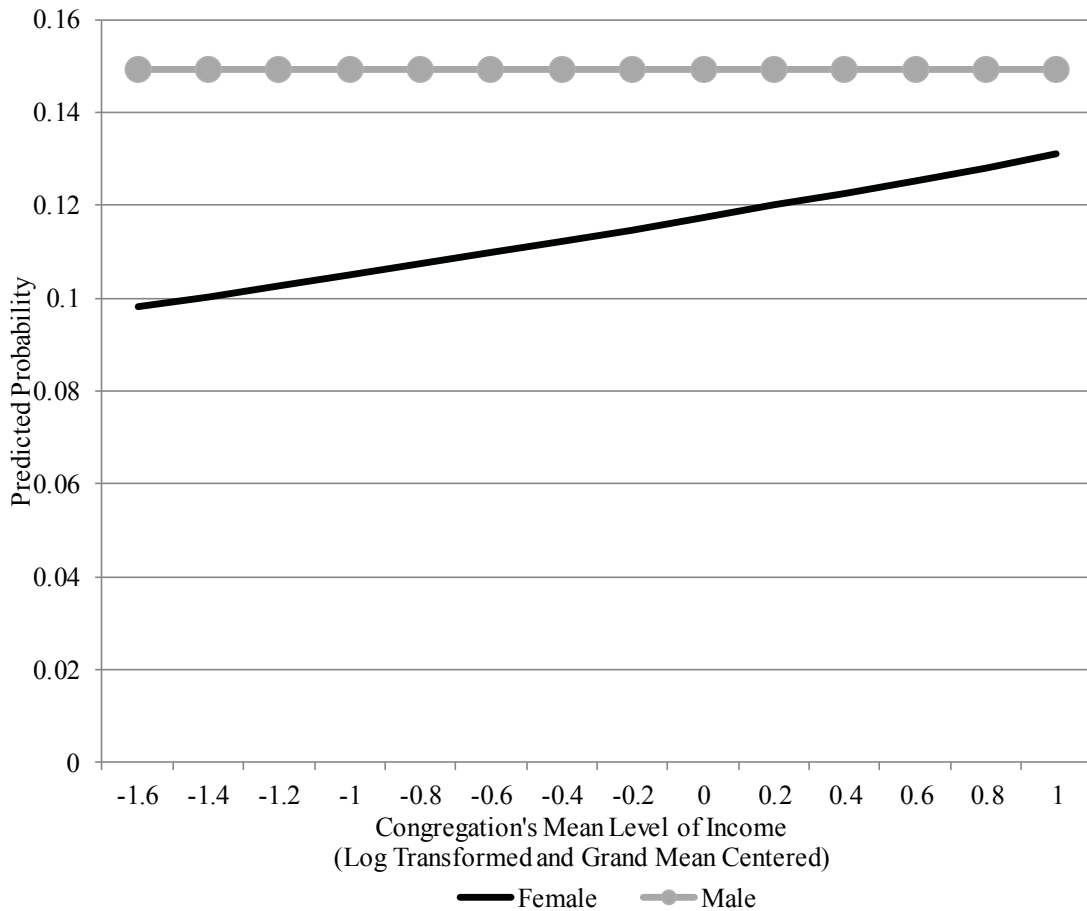
Figure 3.2: Predicted Probabilities of Lay Leadership as the Average Level of Income within a Congregation Increases (for a white, married, Biblical non-literalist with average attendance, tenure, age, education in an average-sized, average-aged, Mainline Protestant Congregation)

To explain these findings, I use the micro-level expectation states theory at the meso-level. As expectation states theory suggests, gender is a powerful status system that often serves as a cue for who is a legitimate leader. Yet, other status characteristics have the power to reduce gender's impact. Resource-rich organizations have pools of potential leaders with status characteristics other than gender to use as signals for leadership. Therefore, individuals within these organizations are less likely to be judged as a candidate for leadership solely based upon their gender.
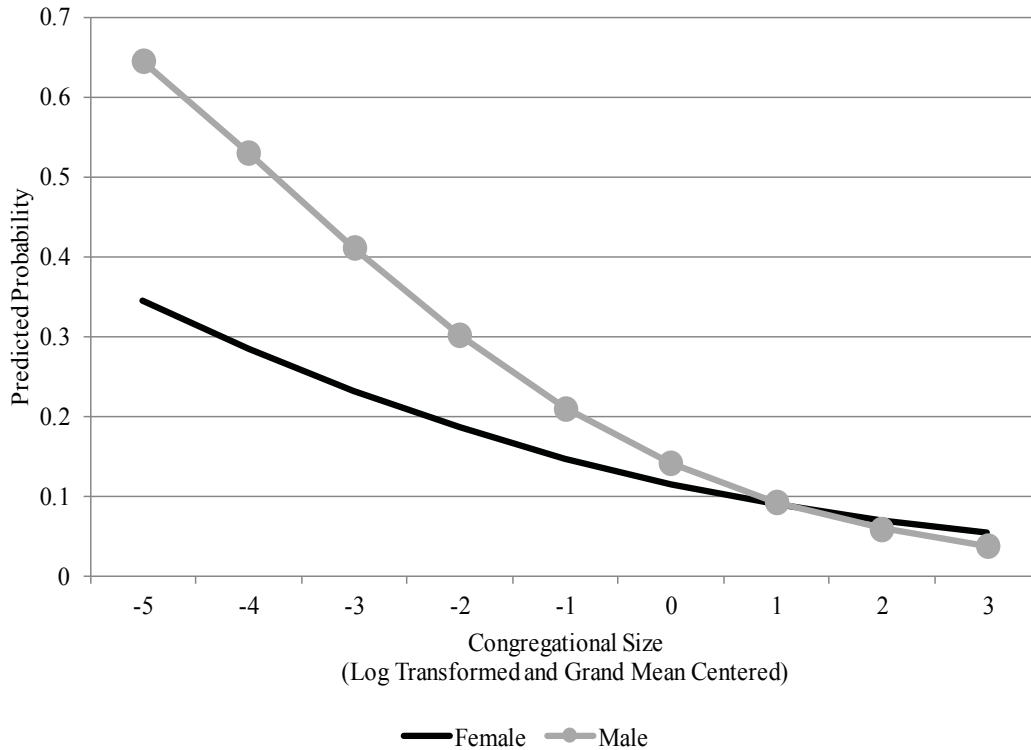
Figure 3.3: Predicted Probabilities of Lay Leadership as Congregational Size Increases (for a white, married, Biblical non-literalist with average attendance, tenure, age, education in an average-sized, average-aged, Mainline Protestant Congregation)

This research is the first that moves expectation states theory beyond the laboratory and into the organizational setting. Individual status characteristics matter in determining legitimate leadership, but these findings also suggest that status characteristics within the larger social environment have an impact on who becomes a leader. Therefore, context is vitally important for gender equality. The gender gap in leadership among organizations is not randomly distributed. According to this study, there is a pattern. Females fare worse in contexts where there are lower status levels, independent of their own status characteristics. Organizations that are small, poor, or uneducated have the largest gender gaps. In these contexts, there are fewer status characteristics to dilute gender's power as a signal for leadership, and so the gender gap

in leadership is greater. Females have better chances of leadership when situated in higher status contexts. Larger groups have a greater pool of potential leaders from which to choose. Similarly, females are more likely to be leaders when they are members of well-educated or wealthy organizations. This is in line with other research that states an individual's education increases the likelihood of holding an egalitarian gender ideology (Bolzendahl and Myers 2004; Brooks and Bolzendahl 2004; Davis and Greenstein 2009; Davis and Robinson 1991). Furthermore, it shows that status characteristics other than the individual's own status influence the opportunities for leadership. The surrounding socioeconomic context matters, as women are more likely to gain access to leadership when they are surrounded by more people or people with high levels of education and incomes.

In addition to extending the boundaries of expectation states theory, this study also further develops the resource-based view of organizations. Organizations, especially those that are voluntary, depend on people and money as the most important resources for survival. As this research shows, these resources are also vitally important to the internal social structure within the organization. Gender equality is partially dependent upon the quality and quantity of human and financial capital within organizations. Females have greater access to leadership when the power of gender as a status system is muted by the presence of other resources that connote status. Therefore, future studies employing a resourced-based view of organizations should examine not only how resources affect an organization's competitive advantage, but how resources can impact internal structures.

This study opens up new avenues for future research. These findings echo what Inglehart and Norris (2003) discover at the societal level: greater amounts of resources

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within a nation lead to more existential security for its residents, which provides a context where egalitarian views of gender can thrive. Yet, Inglehart and Norris also focus on how societal *culture* is a vitally important factor in gender equality. While this present study accounts for personal beliefs (biblical literalism) and an organization's religious tradition, it does not focus on culture. Therefore, these findings serve as a launching point for future research that looks at how culture, in addition to resources, affects an organization's gender practices. There could be a relationship between an organization's resources and its culture. Those with higher levels of resources may have distinct cultures within them. Their values and norms may be qualitatively different so that they are more open to females in leadership positions. Similarly, research needs to be done on the culture within low status organizations. Just as Ebaugh and Chafetz (1999) discovered in their study on immigrant congregations that have experienced a loss of status, females in low status groups have fewer opportunities for leadership. It is possible that within a resource-deficient organizational context, members have different cultural values, norms, and practices about gender.

Future research should also explore how gender ideology is changing within congregations. One of the weaknesses to this present study is its cross-sectional nature, and so future work needs to examine if religious organizations are becoming more open to female lay leaders. This longitudinal question is especially interesting because religious congregations are experiencing a concentration effect. While most congregations are small (less than 100 people), most individuals attend a large congregation (Chaves 2011). This pattern is only increasing, so that relatively fewer congregations are containing more members. Thus, most *organizations* may experience a

gender gap within leadership because they have fewer resources, but most *attenders* will be in congregations with more resources and thus, more gender equality. Furthermore, fewer people in newer cohorts attend religious congregations often (Chaves 2011; Putnam and Campbell 2010). Therefore, religious congregations are facing a smaller supply of human resources in the future, which could exacerbate the gender gap in leadership.

Additionally, this study is limited by a restricted operationalization of lay leadership and an overrepresentation of Mainline Protestants. By including only those on the governing board and worship leadership, I am able to examine females at the highest and most visible levels of non-clergy leadership. However, voluntary organizations, like congregations, have many positions of leadership. This sample included an overrepresentation of Mainline Protestant congregations, which could introduce a bias towards those organizations that are more open to female leadership. These results, then, could be overstating a female's likelihood of being a volunteer leader because congregations that are agreeable to female leadership are more likely to be in the sample. Future research should address these two drawbacks and examine how gender impacts access to all levels of authority and in all religious traditions.

One could interpret these findings outside expectation states theory and status characteristics by using neo-institutionalism's concept of isomorphic pressure (DiMaggio and Powell 1983). It is possible that well-resourced congregations experience normative isomorphic pressures to have females in leadership. Larger and well-educated congregations are more likely to have members who work within firms that have gender equality policies in place within their businesses. These members would bring egalitarian

practices with them into their congregations. The attender who works under a female CEO during the week will be more open to a female member on the congregation's governing board. Future research would need to explore if well-resourced congregations have better gender practices because gender ideology is imported from other organizations or if this relationship occurs because of status differentials.

Above all, this research underscores the power of gender as a status system within organizations. Being male continues to be a dominant status characteristic connected to leadership. In every model, males were more likely overall to be lay leaders than females, even though females constitute the majority of members within religious organizations. Yet, the power of gender is not immutable. Organizations with more resources, such as those with more members, wealthy members, or educated members, can create a social environment where females have more access to positions of authority.

CHAPTER FOUR

Whose Bodies? Bringing Gender Into Interaction Ritual Chain Theory

Introduction

Collins' (2005) theory of Interaction Ritual Chains (IRC) offers a compelling

theoretical framework for how micro-interactions have the power to create large, durable

social structures. Individuals gather together through embodied rituals to generate

emotional energy and social solidarity. The power of this theory comes from its ability to

connect biological human bodies filled with emotions to the socio-cultural structures that

impact people's lives. However, there is a major shortcoming to IRC because the theory

fails to account for one of the most important ways human lives are structured: gender.

As a theoretical framework that has the interaction between human bodies as one of its

foundations, IRC must consider that human bodies are not neutered. They are sexed as

male and female, which have gendered norms surrounding them.

The purpose of this paper is to bring gender into the theoretical framework of

IRC. By first establishing that a human body feeling emotion is foundational to the

Durkheim-Collins tradition, I will then use Hochschild's understanding of gendered

feeling rules to show that when examining interaction rituals, scholars must ask the

question, "Whose bodies?" I explore how gender is indeed important in IRCs by using

the specific context of the American religious congregation to show that men and women

have different ritual experiences that are affected by both the individual's gender and the

organization's gender composition. This research further develops IRC's theoretical

framework by acknowledging that the sexed body is an essential component to the interaction ritual.

The Body, Emotions, and Ritual

In his quest to understand how society holds together, Durkheim (1995) focuses on how rituals create communities. These rituals are embodied. Real, physical bodies come together to dance, sing, and act out their sacred stories. The power he spoke of—"collective effervescence"—is created because bodies gather together and create a force that is greater than the individual. Durkheim (1995:217) writes: "The very act of congregating is an exceptionally powerful stimulant. Once the individuals are gathered together, a sort of electricity is generated from their closeness and quickly launches them to an extraordinary height of exultation." Collective effervescence continues to build as people's bodies match their rhythm and movements with one another. Durkheim (1995:218) describes how bodies come into sync with each other within tribal rituals: "Probably because a collective emotion cannot be expressed collectively without some order that permits harmony and unison of movement, these gestures and cries tend to fall into rhythm and regularity, and from there into songs and dances." Therefore, bodily and vocal synchronization create the social forces within collective effervescence that bind a community together into a single unit.

As a successor to Durkheim, Randal Collins (1990, 2005) also has an embodied sociology. In his theory of interaction ritual chains, long lasting social structures are created in situations between two or more people that produce powerful emotional energy. He, too, does not ignore the fact that IRCs employ bodies to generate this energy. Simply put, Collins (2005:34) writes, "Society is above all an embodied activity." IRCs

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begin when bodies join together in the same place and focus on the same object. Like

Durkheim posited, the emotional energy created by the interaction is enhanced if

participants' bodies are mutually synchronized together. Collins labels bodily synchrony

"entrainment," and when bodies are coordinated, the ritual's impact is stronger and

longer lasting.

Bodies are important in rituals because rituals produce emotion. Hochschild

(1990) provides a compelling understanding of emotion that includes both biologically-

produced sensations of the body and culturally-regulated norms about what is and is not

appropriate to feel. She defines emotions as an,

> awareness of four elements that we usually experience at the same time:
> (*a*) appraisals of a situation, (*b*) changes in bodily sensations, (*c*) the free
> or inhibited display of expressive gestures, and (*d*) a cultural label applied
> to specific constellations of the first three elements. (Hochschild
> 1990:118–119)

Although never explicitly stated, emotions are at the core of Durkheim's understanding

of how rituals create social solidarity (Collins 1990). When Durkheim (1995:217) writes

of an "electricity" racing through a tribal ritual creating "an extraordinary height of

exaltation," he is addressing the emotional state of the tribe. The heightened emotions

within the group bind the group together into one cohesive unit. Durkheim (1995:211–

212) writes, "In the midst of an assembly that becomes worked up, we become capable of

feelings and conduct of which we are incapable when left to our own resources."

What Durkheim implies about emotions, Collins (2005) makes explicit in his

theory of IRC. He gives Durkheim's effervescence and electricity the term "emotional

energy." Emotional energy is the heightened, positive feeling that motivates a ritual

participant toward action. Bodies grouped together create this energy. When a crowd of

fans gather at a football game, a small cluster of teenagers huddle together to share a

forbidden cigarette, or two lovers embrace for a romantic kiss, emotional energy is generated. Participants leave the interaction feeling positive and exhilarated. The act of gathering bodies together does not guarantee emotional energy, though. Rituals can fail, and those who participate in unsuccessful interactions walk away with deflated and depressed emotions.

Sociologists of religion have noted how rituals are powerful forces because they bring bodies together to generate energy. Heider and Warner (2010) show that participants in "Sacred Harp" singing build collective effervescence by synchronizing their bodies together in song. These rituals create emotional energy and a strong sense of community among a diverse crowd of individuals. Pagis (2012) suggests that religion is more than a cognitive set of beliefs. It is an embodied, relational experience. She shows that to best understand Buddhist meditation rituals and the emotions they generate, one must examine the body and not words. "In meditation, to know oneself, one does not speak either with another or with oneself. Instead, self-knowledge is anchored in bodily sensations" (Pagis 2012:103). It is the body, and not a set of beliefs, that create the emotional state sought within Buddhist meditation rituals.

Gendered Bodies

Yet once the body is established as a foundational ingredient to ritual, one must ask the question, "Whose bodies?" Human bodies are not all the same, and societies have powerful cultural rules surrounding bodies that govern how we think, act, and interpret them. The most important cultural rules are those of the sex-gender system (Ridgeway 2011). Human bodies are sexed. Surrounding the sex categories of male and female, society constructs a powerful gender system that governs how bodies act and how these

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actions are interpreted. Although scholars are bringing the body back into sociology (e.g.

Mellor and Shilling 1997; Shilling 1993; Witz 2000), previous research in IRC does not

account for gendered bodies within its theory. The bodies gathering collectively to create

emotional energy are not neutered, and so our understanding of how bodies produce this

energy through rituals must contend with the gender system.[1]

Gender and Feeling Rules

The gender system powerfully influences emotional culture (Fischer and

Manstead 2000). Hochschild (1979, 1983) proposes that there are "feeling rules" that

guide which emotions are appropriate for different social situations. Moreover, these

feeling rules differ for women and men and are based on commonly-held stereotypes.

Gender stereotypes in the United States both *describe* and *prescribe* that women are

communal and men are agentic (Conway et al. 1996; Conway and Vartanian 2000; Eagly

1987; Eagly, Wood, and Diekman 2000; Fiske et al. 2002b; Jackman 1996; Ridgeway

2011; Wagner and Berger 1997). Women, as the communal gender, are rated more highly

on qualities that build and maintain relationships, such as nurturance, sensitivity,

kindness, and responsiveness (Eagly 1987; Ridgeway 2011). Men, as the agentic gender,

are stereotyped to be more instrumental, assertive, and controlling (Eagly 1987; Eagly

and Mladinic 1989; Glick et al. 2004).

The feeling rules for women and men mirror these commonly-held gender

stereotypes. Women have a wider range of emotional expression when the emotion aligns

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[1] Though Goffman (2009), as a forebear to IRC, does note that gender displays affect interactions between men and women, especially in terms of women's subordination.

with the communal stereotype (Alexander and Wood 2000; Fischer and Manstead 2000). Women are more likely than men to express prosocial emotions, like joy, enthusiasm, and empathy, and emotions that signify powerlessness, like fear and sadness (Fischer and Manstead 2000). Furthermore, women experience more negative social sanctions when they do not express prosocial, positive emotions (Shields 2000; Stoppard and Gruchy 1993). Men, in contrast, have feeling rules that allow them freer expression of anger but restrict any emotional display that goes against the agentic gender stereotype (Jansz 2000; Zammuner 2000). The gendered nature of feeling rules, of course, does not imply that women *experience* more emotions than men, or that men do not feel emotions. Men and women do not differ on the amounts of overall emotions they feel (Simon and Nath 2004; Zammuner 2000). Instead, gendered feeling rules govern the *expression* of emotions for women and men.

Underlying these gendered feeling rules is the concept of status. Since Weber (1978) began to differentiate the effects of status from wealth and power, status has been a significant concept in social theory. Status is the "respect, social esteem, and honor" afforded to someone (Ridgeway 2011:11). People perceive agentic individuals as having higher status than more communally-oriented individuals (Berger et al. 1977; Conway et al. 1996; Correll and Ridgeway 2006). Gender is one of the most powerful status characteristics because it ascribes men as agentic and women as communal (Ridgeway 2011). Thus, the gender system stratifies women and men by affording men more status than women (Conway and Vartanian 2000; Eagly and Wood 1982; Ridgeway 1982, 2001, 2011, 2014; Ridgeway et al. 1998, 1994; Ridgeway and Correll 2004).

The gendered feeling rules parallel the status differences between men and women (Brody 1999; Fischer and Manstead 2000). Because women are more likely to have lower status than men, their feeling rules guide them to express emotions that are communal, prosocial and deferential (Chodorow 1978). Therefore in mixed-sex settings, women are more likely to display emotions of weakness, vulnerability, and dependency, and they are less likely to exhibit anger and aggression (Brody 2000).

Feeling rules for men, however, reflect their higher status and discourage any emotion that might suggest weakness or dependency. Contemporary masculinity has four major components: autonomy, achievement, aggression, and *stoicism* (Jansz 2000). The stoicism component is essentially the masculine feeling rule. This feeling rule of "restrictive emotionality" states that a man "does not share his pain, does not grieve openly, and avoids strong, dependent and warm feelings" (Jansz 2000:168). Restrictive emotionality is one of the main features of all-male, homosocial interactions. Men are less likely to disclose emotional expression when around other men in a way that maintains the dominant, "hegemonic masculinity" (Bird 1996; Connell 1987, 1995). Therefore, male feeling rules preserves men's higher status because they inhibit dependency on another person and creates a sense of self that is autonomous and agentic (Chodorow 1978). Consequently, while men are just as likely as women to have deep, rich emotional experiences, their feeling rules state that they are not as free as women to express them.

Gender and Interaction Rituals

The differences in feeling rules between men and women will have an impact on the generation of emotional energy within interaction ritual chains. As bodies gather

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together in rituals, they have gendered feeling rules guiding the intensity and expression of their emotional experiences because the bodies themselves are gendered. The feeling rules for women allow for greater expression of pro-social emotions, which should alter the ritual's outcome. Similarly, men's rule of restrictive emotionality should have profound implications for a ritual's success.

Yet rituals involve more than individual bodies experiencing private emotions. They are shared, communal experiences. This is why Durkheim calls the outcome of successful rituals *collective* effervescence. A ritual's success depends upon the inputs from other participants (Iannaccone 1994). Therefore, the composition of gendered bodies within the interaction ritual should also influence its outcome. Interaction rituals will be qualitatively different as the participants' bodies range from being all male to all female.

All of this means that the relationship between interaction rituals and gender does not lead to a universal, generalizable social theory about how male and female bodies change the nature these rituals. Instead, as Shields (2000:9) astutely points out, theorists examining gender and emotional outcomes need to ask, "Under what conditions does gender matter?" *Context* is vitally important for how sexed bodies and gendered feeling rules impact interaction rituals. For example, the ritual outcomes within the masculine context of a football game may be qualitatively different for a group of all-male fans, all-female fans, or a mixed-gender group. Similarly, interaction rituals within the micro-context of a conversation between friends may have different results depending on the gender makeup of the dyad, triad, or group (Bird 1996; cf. Simmel 1902:159). In each

context, sexed bodies and gendered feeling rules will play a part in the success or failure of the interaction ritual.

The Context of the Religious Congregation

In order to see how gender impacts interaction rituals, I will explore one specific context: the American religious congregation. Religious congregations are the most common, most regularly-attended, voluntary and cultural institution in the United States (Chaves 2004). Within these organizations, interaction rituals occur frequently during worship services, which produce collective effervescence and social solidarity (Draper 2014).

Collins (2005:48) outlines the essential elements that create successful interaction rituals: bodily co-presence, barriers to outsiders, mutual focus, and a shared mood. Religious congregations have all these elements to generate interaction rituals. Congregational worship services are decidedly "embodied" experiences. Bodies physically gather together. Their voices resonate with each other through communal singing and chants, and they bow, kneel, or raise their hands together (Pagis 2012). Congregations also have "barriers to outsiders" not only in the through the building's physical walls and membership processes, but also in the form of behavioral proscriptions (Draper 2014; Iannaccone 1994). Worship services within religious organizations focus participants' attentions, whether it is through a common prayer that is chanted, a musician leading singing, or a speaker offering a sermon. Finally, religious congregations, if they are successful at their rituals, create a shared mood for its participants.

Religious congregations prove to be an interesting context in which to study gender and interaction rituals because they are highly gendered organizations (Acker 1990; Bartkowski and Shah 2014; Cadge 2004; Stewart-Thomas 2010). First, more women than men in the United States exhibit religious behavior, such as worship service attendance (Miller and Hoffmann 1995; Sullins 2006), and so most congregations are majority female (Woolever et al. 2006). Second, although there are more women than men within congregations, the organization's leadership is most likely male (Chaves 1999, 2004; Sullins 2000). Third, religious congregations are sites that generate and maintain gender ideologies through their theology, liturgy, and practices (Edgell and Docka 2007; Gallagher 2003; Wilcox 2004).

Previous scholarship on gender and ritual outcomes within religious congregations has been limited and demonstrates that males and females report different ritual experiences, but the consequences of these differences are varied. Woolever and her colleagues (2006) report that women express more positive emotions than men within religious services. Men, on the other hand, state more frustration and boredom. However, these findings are zero-order chi-squares and do not control for other dynamics, such as demographic factors, congregational variables, or religious tradition. In multivariate regressions at the organizational level, Woolever and her colleagues (2006) also show that the percentage female within a congregation is not statistically related to a congregation's numerical growth in size. Draper (2014) specifically examines interaction rituals at the aggregated level of the congregation. He finds that the percentage female within a congregation is not significantly related to the overall level of collective effervescence, but it is positively related to an overall, aggregated sense of belonging.

These studies pave the way for a more detailed, nuanced examination of how gender impacts ritual experiences within the context of religious congregations. Like Woolever et al. (2006) suggest, men and women may express different levels of emotional energy within ritual services. The masculine feeling rule of restrictive emotionality may minimize how intensely men communicate their emotions within a religious service. Similarly, the proportion men within a congregation may also impact an individual's emotional energy. Although Draper (2014) finds no connection between the percentage female and *overall* emotional energy at the aggregate level, the gender composition within a religious organization may still affect an *individual's* emotional energy. As a group becomes more male, the gendered feeling rules guiding emotional expression may impact the collective production of emotional energy in such a way that individuals express lower levels because a larger proportion of people within the congregation are themselves expressing a lower level. Furthermore, the effect of the proportion men within a congregation may impact men more than women. As both Bird (1996) and Jansz (2000) demonstrate, the presence of other men powerfully reinforces the restrictive emotionality rule within hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, in order to bring gender into the theory of interaction rituals, I offer these three hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: Because of the restrictive emotionality feeling rule, men will have lower levels of emotional energy than women in religious worship services.

Hypothesis 2: Because rituals are collective enterprises, individuals will experience lower levels of emotional energy as the percentage men increases within worship services.

Hypothesis 3: The negative effect of the percentage men on emotional energy will be greater on males than on females.

Data and Methods

To test these hypotheses, I use the first wave of the United States Congregational Life Survey (USCLS). Collected in 2001 by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) and funded by the Lilly Endowment, the Louisville Institute, and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the USCLS is a nationally random sample of congregations within the United States. NORC invited congregations through individuals answering questions about religious service attendance in the 2000 General Social Survey. Because the General Social Survey is a random sample of individuals, the congregations they identified also constitute a random sample (Woolever and Bruce 2002). Sixty-one percent of invited congregations agreed to participate in the USCLS, and of those participating, 53.76 percent completed surveys, which is 33 percent of the total invited.

Congregations participating in the USCLS collected three levels of surveys: one from every individual attending a worship service who was 15 years and older, a survey from the head clergy person or religious leader, and an organizational-level survey about the congregation's characteristics filled out by an informed respondent. This study uses the individual attenders' surveys linked to the congregation's information.

In total, the USCLS has data on 122,404 individual attenders within 424 congregations. However, multiple forms of the survey were passed throughout the congregation, and not all participants received a survey with questions about their emotional experiences within worship services (Woolever and Bruce 2002). Thus, this present study uses the random subsample of 73,196 attenders who answered the worship experience items. After employing listwise deletion, I use the 50,311 attenders within 324

congregations who had complete information on all variables. Individuals who had missing data were more likely to be white and come from congregations in the West, with shorter worship service durations, fewer behavioral proscriptions, and smaller sizes.

The following analysis uses congregational weights, which NORC created to account for the unequal probabilities of selection due to congregational size. The data were downloaded from the Association of Religious Data Archives at www.thearda.com. The USCLS is a useful survey to study IRC and gender because it not only contains information on emotional experiences for each attender but it also has the individual's gender and the congregation's gender composition as well.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable is *emotional energy* (EE) that each attender experiences within the worship service. The USCLS asks, "How often do you experience the following during worship services at this congregation?" for the following: "A sense of God's presence," "Inspiration," "Awe or mystery," and "Joy." Attenders could respond (1) "Always," (2) "Usually," (3) "Sometimes," and (4) "Rarely." The items are reverse coded so that higher scores indicate a heightened emotional response. These responses load onto a single factor pattern using principal components factor analysis with varimax rotation, and all loadings are greater than 0.71. I add the responses together to create an emotional energy index, which has a Cronbach's alpha of 0.77 and a range from 4 to 16. Draper (2014) first utilized this EE index at the aggregated, congregational level to show how religious congregations are useful to test Collins' (2005) IRC theoretical framework.

Independent Variables

I measure an individual *attender's gender* through a binary variable where 1=male and 0=female. I measure the gender composition of the congregation through the *proportion male*. I choose to focus on males in this study for three reasons. First, they are the numerical minority within most congregations, yet second, they often have more structural power within leadership positions. Third, men's feeling rules guide them to have a restrictive emotionality. These three create a context within religious congregations that proves to be an interesting setting in which to test IRC.

Attender Control Variables

I measure religious service *attendance* by indicating the number of days in a given year an individual goes to worship services. The USCLS asks how often a person goes to worship services at the congregation. The responses range from "First Time" (1) to "More than Weekly" (7). I recode this to create an interval variable that measures how many days per year an individual attends: "more than once a week" (104), "weekly" (52), "monthly" (12) all the way to "hardly ever" (2) and "This is my first time" (1). *Tenure* is the length of time an attender has been going to the religious congregation. The USCLS reports tenure in categorical ranges (e.g. 3-5 years or 11-20 years), and I create an interval variable by taking each range's mid-point. This interval variable measures the number of years and ranges from "20 plus" (20) and "11-20 years" (15.5) down to "1-2 years" (1.5) and "Less than 1 year" (0.5). If the attender indicated she or he was a visitor for the first time, I excluded them from the analysis.

Age is the year 2001 minus their birth year. I measure socioeconomic status through *education*. The USCLS asks what the highest educational level an attender has

completed. Responses range from (1) "No formal education" to (8) "Graduate degree." I recode these categorical variables into interval variables that indicate an attender's number of years of schooling. This ranges from "No formal education" (0) and "K-8" (8) to "Bachelor's degree" (16) and "Graduate degree" (18). Because an attender's income and education are highly correlated and likely to cause issues of multicollinearity, I choose to use education instead of income. Attenders were more likely to answer the education item, and so there were fewer missing cases. Race is a dichotomous variable where *white*=1 and non-white=0. Marital status is currently *married*=1 and non-married=0.

Congregational Control Variables

Following Draper (2014), I control for organizational conditions that influence the emotional energy within a religious congregation. *Density* is a measure indicating how tightly packed the bodies are within worship services. To create this variable, I divide the congregation's total attendance in all worship services by the number of services offered to get a number representing the average attendance per service. Then, I divide this number by the worship space's seating capacity to get a proportion of the worship space that is filled. I log transform this to correct for skewness. *Duration* is length of time a typical worship service lasts, measured in hours. The USCLS responses are (1) "Up to 1 hour," (2) "1-1.5 hours," (3) "1.5-2 hours," and (4) "2 or more hours." I recode these responses to an interval variable measured in hours that ranges from (1) "up to 1 hour" to (2.5) "more than 2 hours". The variable *barriers* indicates the behavioral proscriptions a congregation has. The USCLS asks each congregation, "Does your congregation or denomination have any special rules or prohibitions regarding the following?"

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Prohibitions include "Smoking," "Drinking," "Dancing," and "Gambling." Responses are a binary yes=1 and no=0. These four items load together with factors above 0.78. I create an additive index with a range of 0 to 4 and a Cronbach's alpha of 0.87.

Congregational size is the number of people—including both adults and children—who regularly participate in the religious life of the congregation, whether or not they are officially members. I log transform this variable to account for its skewness. I create *congregational age* by subtracting the organization's founding date from 2001. *Region* is the category from the U.S. Census, and South is the reference category. *Religious Tradition* follows the typology created by Steensland et al. (2000). Mainline Protestants are the reference category.

Analytic Strategy

The USCLS surveys contain two levels of data linked together, and so a multilevel analysis is most appropriate (Hofmann 1997; Raudenbush and Bryk 2002; Wang et al. 2012). A multilevel design allows me to simultaneously estimate both the congregational effects and the attender's effects on the attender's level of emotional energy. This design is an improved method over a contextual effects model (where the organization's variables are disaggregated down to the individual level) because traditional OLS methods would have biased standard errors and would violate the assumption that the observations are independent from one another (Hofmann 1997).

I first estimate a null model, which indicates that there is significant variation between congregations in an attender's level of emotional energy (results not shown). From this model, I am able to calculate an intra-class correlation (ICC) score, which indicates the proportion of congregational-level variance in the total variance in

emotional energy (Wang et al. 2012:13). For multilevel OLS regressions, the ICC is

calculated using the formula:

$$ICC = \frac{\sigma_b^2}{\sigma_b^2 + \sigma_w^2}$$ (4.1)

Where: σ^2_w = within-group variance (attender level)
           σ^2_b = between-group variance (congregation level)

The null model's ICC score indicates that nine percent of the variance in an attender's

emotional energy is due to congregational characteristics.

In order to test hypothesis 1, I then estimate a full multilevel random intercepts

OLS regression model examining if men have lower levels of emotional energy,

controlling for both the attender-level and congregational-level controls. Next, I estimate

a model including the proportion male to test hypothesis 2 and see how the gender

composition of a congregation affects emotional energy. Finally, I split my sample by

gender and estimate two separate models for males and females so that I can examine

how the gender composition within a congregation impacts men and women differently. I

estimate all models using the PROC MIXED in SAS 9.4 with weighted data to account

for the greater likelihood that larger congregations will be selected using individuals from

the GSS. For each model, I use a "between-within" method for computing denominator

degrees of freedom, as recommended by Wang et al. (2012) .

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 4.1 reports the descriptive statistics for the sample. The average level of

emotional energy an attender reports is 11.40 out of a total 16. Thirty-nine percent of

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attenders are male. On average, individuals in this sample attend their religious

congregation more than once a week (54.87 times a year), and the average attender has

been a part of the organization for over ten years. Attenders have a mean age of 49.19

years, with 14.50 years of schooling (two and a half years of college). Eighty-two percent

of attenders are white, and 70 percent are married.

The average congregation is 38 percent male. The mean density is 0.33, which

indicates that one-third of available space within a worship service is filled with

attenders. The average worship service lasts 1.36 hours. Congregations have a mean of

0.78 barriers or behavioral proscriptions. The average congregation has just over 797

people participating. This congregational size is larger than what the National

Congregations Study finds, and so this sample may introduce bias towards larger

congregations (Chaves et al. 1999).

The average congregation is 86.09 years old. Thirty-four percent of the

congregations in this sample are from the South, 18 percent from the East, 26 percent

from the Midwest, and 20 percent from the West. The congregations come from a variety

of religious traditions. Thirty-eight percent are Mainline Protestant, while 31 percent are

Evangelical and three percent are Black Protestant. Twenty-one percent of the

congregations are Catholic parishes, 2 percent are Jewish synagogues, and 4 percent are

other religious traditions.

Multivariate Results

Table 4.2 presents the multivariate analyses, and model 1 offers support for

hypothesis 1. When controlling for demographic factors and other variables that can

Table 4.1: Descriptive Statistics

Variables	Mean	S.D.	Min.	Max.
Attender Variables (N=50,311)				
Emotional Energy	11.40	2.54	4	16
Male Attender	0.39		0	1
Attendance	54.87	23.77	1	104
Tenure	10.25	7.51	0.5	20
Age	49.19	15.61	18	100
Education	14.50	2.44	0	18
White	0.82		0	1
Married	0.70		0	1
Congregation Variables (N=324)				
Proportion Male	0.38	0.06	0.21	0.60
Density	0.33	0.19	0	1
Duration	1.36	0.37	1	3
Barriers	0.78	1.30	0	4
Congregational Size	797.45	1102.96	19	7200
Congregational Age	86.09	55.76	3	267
Region				
South	0.34		0	1
East	0.18		0	1
Midwest	0.26		0	1
West	0.20		0	1
Religious Tradition				
Mainline Protestant	0.38		0	1
Evangelical Protestant	0.31		0	1
Black Protestant	0.03		0	1
Catholic	0.21		0	1
Jewish	0.02		0	1
Other Religion	0.04		0	1

Source: United States Congregational Life Survey (2001)

influence emotional energy, men report lower emotional energy than women. Other dynamics influence an attender's level of EE. Those who attend more often have higher levels of EE, while those who have been members of the congregation longer have lower levels. Age has a curvilinear relationship to EE, where EE increases with age (age =

.00914) but then begins to decrease (age squared = -.00031). Higher levels of education are associated with lower levels of EE, a finding consistent with Weber (1978), Niebuhr (1929), and Chaves (2004) who theorize that people with higher socioeconomic status have more restrained worship experiences. White individuals have lower levels of EE than non-whites. Congregational characteristics also impact an individual attender's EE. Longer rituals have participants with higher levels of EE, as do larger congregations. Evangelical Protestants and Black Protestants report higher levels of EE than Mainline Protestants, while Jewish and congregations in other religious traditions have lower levels.

This model has an ICC score of 0.20, which indicates that 20 percent of the variance in emotional energy is at the congregational level. This is a 122 percent increase over the null model [(0.20-0.09)/0.09=1.50].

Model 2 in Table 4.2 presents how the proportion male impacts an attender's level of EE. The proportion male is not significant, although the coefficient is in a negative direction. Thus, hypothesis 2 is unsupported; the proportion male does not impact emotional energy.

Next, I split the sample by gender to see how the gender composition impacts men and women differently (Table 4.3). In support of hypothesis 3, the proportion of other men within a worship service negatively affects an individual man's level of EE. This relationship does not occur for women, and the gender composition within an organization does not affect a woman's level of EE. Figure 4.1 visually displays this relationship for a white individual, of average attendance, tenure, age, and education in a Mainline Protestant congregation with an average service duration and size. Men within

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congregations of all levels of gender composition have lower levels of EE than women, but as the proportion of men increases, a man's EE decreases.

Discussion

The purpose of this research is to demonstrate that gender is profoundly important for interaction rituals because these events are embodied experiences. Human bodies come together within rituals to produce emotional energy and social solidarity, but these bodies are not neutered. They are sexed as male and female. Regulating these sexed bodies are gendered feeling rules that govern how emotions are supposed to be expressed. Women's feeling rules allow them freer expression of emotional experiences, while a restrictive emotionality constrains the range for men's emotions. Therefore, the actors' bodies and the cultural norms surrounding these bodies affect the emotional energy an interaction ritual generates.

I have shown the importance of gender within interaction rituals by examining the specific context of the religious congregation. As I demonstrate, women have higher levels of EE than men, and the gender composition of the organization does not affect this level. The experience men have, however, is quite different. Not only do men express lower levels of EE than women, but the presence of other men also impacts a man's emotional expression within the interaction ritual. As a greater proportion of men worship alongside a man, his emotional expression becomes more muted.

These findings reaffirm the idea that interaction rituals are arenas where individuals "do gender" (West and Zimmerman 1987). Paralleling what Johnson (2009) finds within family life, I show that women and men perform gender through rituals within religious congregations. These organizations are sites where hegemonic

masculinity is generated and maintained. Similar to what Bird (1996) finds in her field studies of male homosocial interactions, men within the ritual setting of religious congregations are held accountable to the gender norms of hegemonic masculinity when they interact together, regardless of their individual deviations from this hegemony. An important component to the socially-shared understanding of masculinity is restrictive emotionality. Consequently, men dampen their emotional expression within rituals when they are in the presence of other men within the congregation in order to maintain this component.

This research could be a first step in helping to explain men's lower levels of religious participation that does not use an understanding of risk preference (see Miller and Hoffmann 1995; Miller and Stark 2002). The link between risk-taking and irreligion is already on shaky ground empirically (Collett and Lizardo 2009; Roth and Kroll 2007), and so the gender gap in religiosity may be based more in Durkheimian theory than rational choice. As these findings suggest, men may be less religious, not because they take more existential risks, but because their ritual experiences are more muted when compared to women. Conversely, women exhibit higher religiosity because rituals are more effective for them. They report greater levels of EE, which means that religious rituals are more likely to generate interaction ritual chains linking positive experiences within religious congregations to other religious experiences. Men, on the other hand, have less successful rituals within religious congregations, which decrease the likelihood that they will seek out future rituals within these organizations. Thus, future research should examine if the gender gap in religiosity is smaller in societies where men have a fuller range of emotional expression.

Table 4.2: Multilevel OLS Regression Predicting An Attender's Emotional Energy
(Congregations N=324, Attenders N=50,311)

Variables	M1			M2		
	Estimate	S.E.	P	Estimate	S.E.	P
Male Attender	-0.58	0.02	***	-0.58	0.02	***
Proportion Male	-	-		-1.37	0.76	
Attender Level Controls						
Attendance[a]	0.01	0.00	***	0.01	0.00	***
Tenure[a]	-0.02	0.00	***	-0.02	0.00	***
Age[a]	0.01	0.00	***	0.01	0.00	***
Age Squared[a]	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	***
Education[a]	-0.09	0.00	***	-0.09	0.00	***
White	-0.49	0.04	***	-0.48	0.04	***
Married	-0.02	0.02		-0.02	0.02	
Congregation Level Controls						
Density (LN)[b]	-0.04	0.06		-0.03	0.06	
Duration[b]	0.47	0.13	***	0.45	0.13	***
Barriers	0.07	0.04		0.06	0.04	
Congregational Size (LN)[b]	0.12	0.04	**	0.13	0.04	**
Congregational Age[b]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Region						
South	*Reference Group*			*Reference Group*		
East	-0.17	0.12		-0.19	0.12	
Midwest	-0.07	0.10		-0.07	0.10	
West	-0.16	0.12		-0.15	0.12	
Religious Tradition						
Mainline Protestant	*Reference Group*			*Reference Group*		
Evangelical Protestant	0.40	0.12	***	0.45	0.12	***
Black Protestant	0.54	0.26	*	0.44	0.26	
Catholic	0.25	0.14		0.25	0.14	
Jewish	-1.40	0.45	**	-1.39	0.45	**
Other Religion	-0.69	0.22	**	-0.70	0.22	**
Intercept	11.98	0.12	***	12.50	0.31	***
AIC	254729.6			254725.0		
σ^2_{u0} (Between Group Variance)	0.47	0.04		0.47	0.04	***
σ^2 (Within Group Variance)	1.87			1.87	0.01	***
Intra-Class Correlation	0.20			0.20		

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

[a] Centered on the group mean

[b] Centered on the grand mean

Source: United States Congregational Life Survey (2001)

Table 4.3: Multilevel OLS Regression Predicting An Attender's Emotional Energy, by Gender

Variables	M1: Males			M2: Females		
	Estimate	S.E.	P	Estimate	S.E.	P
Proportion Male	-2.56	0.89	**	-0.77	0.79	
Attender Level Controls						
Attendance[a]	0.02	0.00	***	0.01	0.00	***
Tenure[a]	-0.01	0.00	***	-0.02	0.00	***
Age[a]	0.01	0.00	***	0.01	0.00	***
Age Squared[a]	0.00	0.00	***	0.00	0.00	***
Education[a]	-0.10	0.01	***	-0.08	0.01	***
White	-0.62	0.07	***	-0.46	0.05	***
Married	-0.07	0.05		-0.03	0.03	
Congregation Level Controls						
Density (LN)[b]	-0.12	0.07		0.02	0.06	
Duration[b]	0.56	0.15	***	0.45	0.14	**
Barriers	0.03	0.04		0.07	0.04	
Congregational Size (LN)[b]	0.09	0.05		0.13	0.04	**
Congregational Age[b]	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	
Region						
South	*Reference Group*			*Reference Group*		
East	-0.32	0.14	*	-0.20	0.13	
Midwest	0.02	0.12		-0.16	0.11	
West	-0.20	0.13		-0.19	0.12	
Religious Tradition						
Mainline Protestant	*Reference Group*			*Reference Group*		
Evangelical Protestant	0.54	0.13	***	0.37	0.12	**
Black Protestant	0.70	0.31	*	0.28	0.27	
Catholic	0.23	0.15		0.27	0.14	
Jewish	-1.66	0.59	**	-1.33	0.52	*
Other Religion	-0.87	0.24	***	-0.52	0.23	*
Intercept	12.52	0.37	***	12.31	0.33	***
AIC	99994.5			154805.7		
σ^2_{u0} (Between Group Variance)	0.54	0.06	***	0.48	0.05	***
σ^2 (Within Group Variance)	1.92	0.02	***	1.82	0.01	***
Intra-Class Correlation	0.22			0.21		
N Congregations	324			324		
N Attenders	19633			30678		

***p<.001, **p<.01, *p<.05

[a] Centered on the group mean

[b] Centered on the grand mean

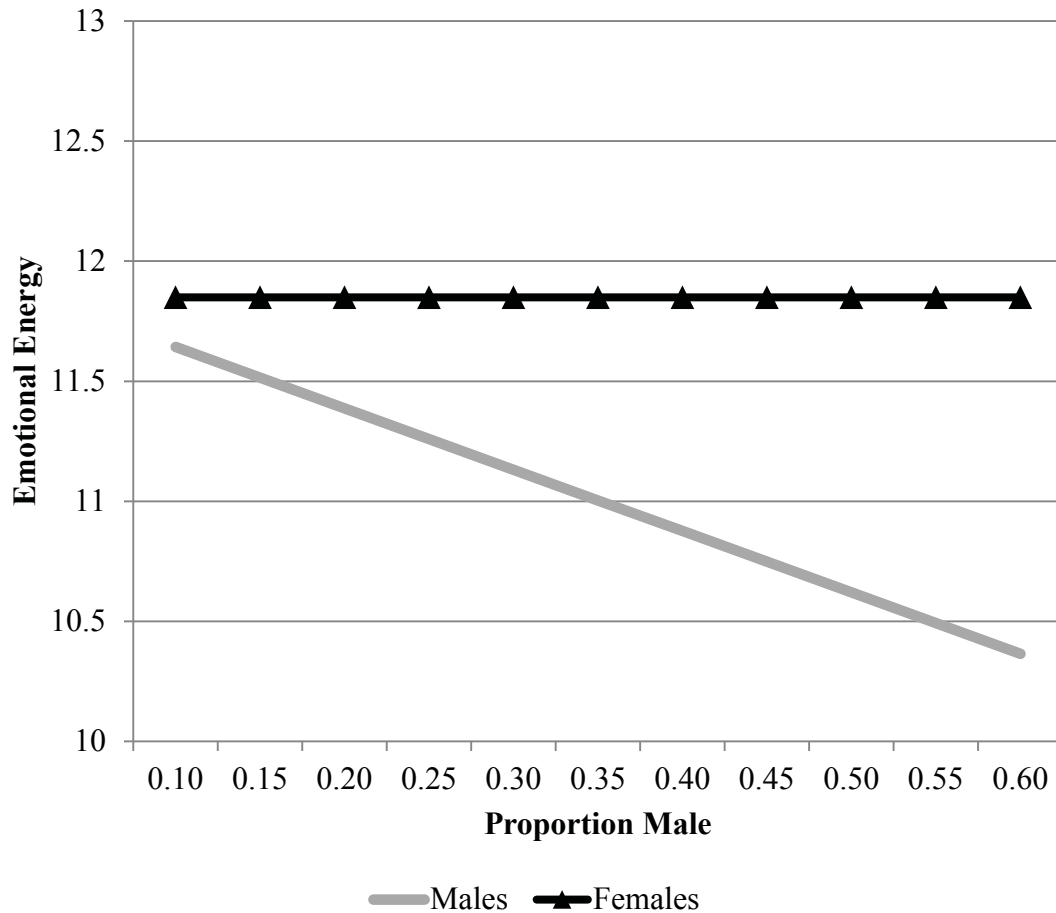Source: United States Congregational Life Survey (2001)

Figure 4.1: The Effects of a Congregation's Proportion Male on Emotional Energy, By Gender

This research does have one major limitation. The emotional energy index is not exactly a measure of what individuals experience emotionally. While the wording in the USCLS asks, "How often do you experience…" the index is really a self-report of what an attender thinks she or he experiences over time within the organization. Self-reported emotions are prone to gender stereotyping (Fischer and LaFrance 2015). Thus, there is the possibility that men do have the same ritual experiences as women within religious congregations but they report lower levels on survey questions because they are acting in line with the requirements of hegemonic masculinity.

This study opens up avenues for new research. First and foremost, the goal of this article was not to set forth a universal theory for gender and interaction rituals. Context is extremely important, and so this paper should be the first of many to examine how the relationships between women and men impact the outcomes of interaction rituals. Gendered feeling rules and sexed bodies may shape an interaction ritual differently depending on whether the context is an intimate conversation between two friends or a large political rally. Second, this research shows that the gender composition of an organization is significant. Future research is needed to see how variations within gender composition affect ritual outcomes. Single-sex organizations with no variations in gender—like Greek fraternities or sororities, the Freemasons, or Junior League—may be especially interesting and have different mechanisms for how gender influences EE.

Conclusion

The theory of interaction rituals offers a compelling framework for thinking about social life. One of this theoretical tradition's greatest strengths is that it sees society as embodied. Just as Durkheim and Collins suggest, human bodies gather together in powerful rituals which essentially create society. Yet unfortunately, this theoretical tradition has neglected the main construction surrounding the human body: gender. The social differences between men and women shape how bodies respond in rituals. By using the specific context of the American religious congregation, I have shown that individually, women and men have different ritual expressions and that organizationally, the gender composition of a group affects how a man's level of emotional energy. Above all, I have demonstrated that the question of "Whose bodies?" is a critical issue within interaction rituals.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation is to show that status is a key concept when examining gender inequality within religious congregations. Churches, mosques, temples, and synagogues are normative organizations (Etzioni 1975). This means that status is more likely to be influential within the congregation than in an organization with bureaucratic structures. In bureaucracies, formal regulations are more likely to guide organizational outcomes, like gender relations. In normative organizations, cultural forces are more influential in shaping the structure. Thus, the religious congregation offers a compelling context in which to study how gender, as a status characteristic, impacts organizational outcomes.

The Power of Gender as a Status System

This dissertation shows that gender continues to be a powerful status system that stratifies women and men. The gender system impacts how people relate to one another, how the organization is structured, and how powerful the ritual experiences are. Males have higher statuses than females within congregations, and I show how this status differential affects these congregations through my three empirical studies. First, female clergy are restricted in their approaches to leadership. A male clergyperson can have an "inspirational," "democratic," or "agentic" leadership style, and his congregants will not think less of him. Females, however, can only use the inspirational and democratic styles without penalty. These two styles more closely reflect a communal, others-focused

orientation. However, if congregants perceive their female leader as having an agentic (that is, masculine) style, they are more likely to think negatively of her. This is especially noticeable given that male clergy receive a *bonus* when they are perceived as being agentic. Male clergy experience role congruity. For them, their role as male and their role as leader are compatible. Yet, females, as the gender with the lower status, do not experience this. Their role congruity is based off of their leadership style, and their roles as females and leaders only align when they employ more communal approaches.

Second, I demonstrate that, although females are the numerical majority within congregations, they are in a disadvantaged position in regards to lay leadership positions. Across all models, females are less likely to occupy an important volunteer leadership position within congregations (i.e. member of a governing board or worship leader), even when I account for other status markers, like education or membership duration. Thus, gender consists of more than nominal categories delineating males from females. Gender, as a status characteristic, persists as a signifier of leadership potential. It creates a hierarchy that presupposes the higher status of men over women.

Third, status has a powerful effect on how males and females experience rituals within religious organizations. Rituals are embodied, emotional experiences, and so the gendered nature of bodies has an impact on the outcomes. Variations between men and women within rituals are hierarchical. They replicate the status differentials within the gender system. Men express lower levels of emotional energy than women. This reflects men's higher status, as higher status individuals are less likely to display any sign of dependency or vulnerability. Women, on the other hand, are freer to express a wider

range of emotions because emotional expression does not contradict their perceived lower status.

Gender is such a powerful status characteristic that the gender ratio within a congregation can affect a man's ritual experience. As I show in Chapter Four, not only do individual men express lower levels of emotional energy, but the organization's gender composition also affects them. A man who is surrounded by a higher percentage of other men expresses less emotional energy. This demonstrates gender's power as a status system and its effects on perpetuating the gender hierarchy. Within religious rituals, men replicate the norm of restrictive emotionality associated with "hegemonic masculinity," the dominant position within the gender system (Bird 1996; Connell 1987, 1995; Jansz 2000). As embodied practices, the interaction rituals within religious services are meant to evoke emotional energy; yet as I show, the rules associated with masculinity diminish the ritual's effectiveness.

Religious Organizations and Leadership

This dissertation also expands our understanding of religious organizations and leadership. The first study shows that the profession of the clergy is an amenable role for females. I offer an alternative view, unlike much of the other research (including my own) that expresses the overall difficulty for females within the religious field (Carroll et al. 1983; Ferguson 2015; Nesbitt 1993; Paula D. Nesbitt 1997; Sullins 2000; Zikmund et al. 1998). I propose role congruity as an explanation. The female gender role aligns with the clergy role because of their shared communal characteristics. Congregants do not view their female clergy any lower than male clergy (except in the instance of perceived masculine leadership style) because much of the work of leading a religious congregation

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is relationship building, nurturing a community, or connecting with others. These characteristics relate well with the stereotypical female gender role. While females may have more difficulty entering into the clergy profession and experience lower status jobs or lower pay within it, the actual work of clergy is compatible with society's view of the female gender role.

Second, I demonstrate that organizational resources are important to gender equality within congregations because they can mitigate the gender gap in volunteer leadership. Members are the most important resource for religious congregations. Organizations with more members, wealthier members, or better educated members have an abundance of resources. In this context, females are more likely to occupy key voluntary leadership positions, such as members of governing boards or worship leaders.

I offer a mechanism for why this occurs. Gender, as a status system, can be a signifier of leadership potential, yet other status characteristics diminish the influence of gender. Organizational resources connote status. Therefore, as the surrounding context within the congregation has more resources, gender as a signifier for leadership is muted. In other situations, resource-deficient congregations have more gender inequality. These congregations lack status characteristics that can lessen gender's power as a hierarchical system.

Contributions to Sociological Theory

I also further develop existing sociological theories, especially our understanding of 1) status and expectation states, 2) resource-based organizational views, and 3) interaction ritual chains. As Chapter Three demonstrates, expectation states theory can be useful to examine situations outside experimental small group interactions within the

laboratory. Status characteristics impact organizational dynamics at the meso-level as well. Organizational and contextual factors can mitigate an individual's status characteristics. This is why the surrounding status composition of congregants affected an individual's relationship between gender and leadership. Status is more than an individual trait. It can be an aggregated group property.

Organizational resources impact more than competitive advantage. Resources also signify status. Because status is inherently hierarchical, resources—as status characteristics—have the power to influence social inequality. Chapter Three offers scholars using the resource-based view of organizations a conceptual foundation to look at disparity *within* organizations and not just competition between them.

Chapter Four significantly strengthens Collins' (2005) interaction ritual chain theory. Whereas his initial theory presupposes genderless actors engaging in ritual, I offer a fully-embodied understanding of what occurs within interaction rituals. Bodies are never genderless; they are always "doing gender" within interactions (West and Zimmerman 1987). If rituals create emotions through bodies, a sociological view of ritual must contend with the sexed nature of bodies and the gendered rules surrounding emotions. Hochschild (1979, 1983) offers the necessary connection in order to correct interaction ritual's neutered stance. Gendered "feeling rules" govern how women and men express emotional displays, which means that gender has the power to impact ritual interactions. The feeling rules associated with hegemonic masculinity impact a man's emotional expression within religious rituals. Consequently, the theory of interaction ritual becomes a stronger, more robust theoretical viewpoint because it now has the

ability to address the most fundamental way individuals engage with each other: gender (Ridgeway 2011).

Future Directions

I open up pathways for new research, especially qualitative work that delves into the culture and identity of religious groups. More research is needed on how status affects other aspects of female clergy lives. For instance, while I show that congregants do not view female clergy more negatively than male clergy (with one exception), I do not know how congregants actually *think* and *feel* about them. This study, then, offers a foundation for qualitative research that explores the words and narratives that congregants use about their female clergy. Do the people within religious organizations interact differently with female clergy than male? In other words, how do lay people "do gender" with their religious leaders?

The research on organizational resources also stimulates more questions than solely quantitative analyses can answer. I show that resource-deficient religious organizations have a greater gender gap in volunteer leadership. Yet, we do not know what the culture is like within resource-deficient groups. What narratives do these organizations have about their identity and about gender? What are the norms governing who is and who is not a lay leader? It might be that people "do gender" differently within organizations that lack many members or high SES members.

Finally, interaction ritual theory can be expanded even further by researching what men and women are *thinking* and *feeling* within religious rituals. It may be that men and women have different internal experiences during religious services. If they do, this research could offer a Durkheimian approach for the gender gap in religiosity.

Furthermore, comparative research is needed to examine gendered experiences where the gender gap in religiosity is opposite, like Islam and Orthodox Judaism. How do status differentials and gendered feeling rules affect their ritual experiences, and is this situation different from a predominately Christian context?

Conclusion

The overall goal for this dissertation is to demonstrate how gender continues to be a powerful status characteristic that shapes inequality between men and women within religious congregations. Because the gender system is also a status system, the status differentials between women and men affect these groups. These three studies show how the gendered nature of status has an influence on a congregation's leadership structure and on individual attenders' subjective ritual experiences. Female clergy are hindered from leading beyond the boundaries of what is congruent with the communal stereotype of the female gender role. Male clergy, however, can use any style with impunity. Females also have lower chances of being selected as volunteer leadership positions, even in resource-abundant contexts. Men's experiences within rituals reinforce the gender norms of hegemonic masculinity. Men experience religious services in ways that reflect their perceived higher status.

Yet the power of status on gender inequality is not immutable. It can be mitigated by the communal nature of pastoral work within the profession of the clergy. Female clergy are being congruent with their gender stereotypes when they nurture and sustain a religious community. Organizational resources also have the power to mute gender's power. When organizations have more human resources, gender's influence as a signal for leadership potential diminishes.

Above all, I demonstrate that religious organizations are profoundly gendered. The relationship between gender and religion is more than religious culture offering a "toolkit" to help build gender ideology (Swidler 1986). It is a reflexive relationship. As a system of social practices, gender has the power to structure religious organizations. The differences in status between women and men shape not only the configurations of an organization's leadership but also the outcomes of its rituals.

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