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ORDAINED MINISTRY AS A SECOND CAREER:

A STUDY OF ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES WITHIN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN VICTORIA AND TASMANIA

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SUMMARY

Mid-life career change has become an established feature of occupational life, in the churches as much as in other areas of work. In recent years, approximately half of all ordinands in the Anglican Church of Australia have been aged forty or more. Although the advent of 'second-career clergy' is the subject of much comment, little formal enquiry has been made into the effects of this phenomenon on the churches or on the clergy themselves.

This study investigates the issue of mature-age ordination in the six Anglican dioceses of Victoria and Tasmania. Clergy from these dioceses make up 27 per cent of the total for Australia and so constitute a significant proportion for the purpose of extrapolation into the national Anglican context. The findings may also have relevance for other denominations in Australia and overseas. Data are gathered from one hundred second-career clergy, twenty-five of whom were individually interviewed. Some results are set out in statistical form, although the research is principally along qualitative lines. Case studies form an integral part of the presentation.

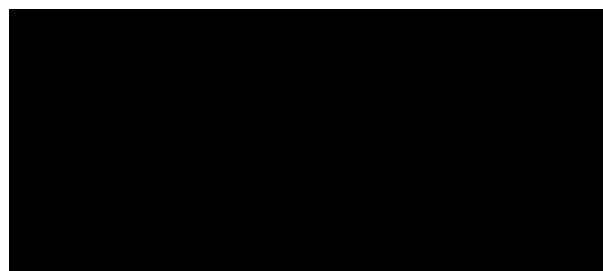
The thesis consists of a series of research questions rather than the testing of a hypothesis. Enquiry centres on four principal areas: professional aspects of ordained ministry; the relationship between the Anglican Church and its clergy; the personal experience of mature-age ordinands (the 'inside story'); and gender issues related to late ordination.

Second-career clergy are shown to be enthusiastic, resourceful and pragmatic. They enter ordained ministry for idealistic reasons and are impatient with many aspects of the church's system of management. Many report dealings with the church that have offended their sense of personal dignity. Women meet various forms of discrimination and tend to have been disadvantaged in the course of their employment. Yet they, like second-career clergy in general, remain committed to their work and loyal to the church. The professionalism of the church is questioned at many points of the thesis. The church has come to rely on the services of clergy ordained in mature age, yet the church has not adapted to allow for their as-of-right inclusion in the professional culture of the organisation.

STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution.

To the best of my knowledge the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.



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The work of completing this thesis has been made much easier by the support of many people. The concept grew from my experience as a clergyman in the Anglican Diocese of Gippsland, and I am grateful for the fellowship and opportunities given to me as a 'latecomer' by my past and present colleagues in Gippsland and by the members of the parishes in which I served. They have shaped much of my intellectual and emotional approach to the question of mature-age ordination.

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I am greatly indebted to the century of second-career clergy who responded to my invitation to provide the source material for the thesis. To have had exactly one hundred respondents is one of the many serendipitous aspects of this work! I am particularly grateful to those who agreed to be interviewed, often in the midst of very busy schedules, and for the interest they took in the project.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At the mid-point of the twentieth century the path to ordained ministry in the Anglican Church was clearly drawn. Typically, young men committed their lives to the service of the church, and could look forward to a well-defined future - early acceptance by diocesan authorities, admission to training colleges, and a regular progression through ordination, curacies, and a succession of appointments, principally in parish ministry, of increasing responsibility.

By the turn of the new century the situation was very different, both in the church and in the community. The church was less sure of its place in society. In particular, the Anglican Church attracted many fewer followers and had lost its position as the largest Christian denomination in the land. Alongside parish ministry there were now opportunities for service in sector ministry, in schools, prisons, hospitals, and industry. Some clergy were in part-time employment; others held two or more part-time appointments simultaneously. A re-thinking of mission strategies, together with financial stringencies, led to amalgamations of parishes, the development of team ministries, and, in rural dioceses, a reduction in the number of clergy who could be employed. The role of clergy had changed markedly over more recent decades, and there was wide acceptance of lay involvement in ministry. As well, most dioceses of the Australian church were now open to the ordination of women.

The society in which the church operated had itself changed enormously over the previous half-century. Mackay (1993:22-3) identifies some of the more significant of these changes: the re-definition of gender roles; the diverse groupings that have taken the place of the traditional family; changing work practices; the radical re-organisation of the financial system; a contraction of the traditional middle class and an increase of those making up the new rich and the new poor; the re-shaping of national identity as a result of

immigration and official policies of multiculturalism; and a growth of cynicism in the political process. By the end of the century, Mackay argues, such developments had obscured previously clear-cut concepts of personal identity and sense of community, and led to widespread anxiety and insecurity in Australian society.

Offering for ordination in 1950 was to begin an orderly process into an ordered world. By 2000, changes in church and society had unsettled the old sureties. The world of work for the would-be ordinand had lost its comfortable contours, and the pathways to ordination had become considerably more varied. In the Anglican Church, the two most obvious developments in this regard were the availability of women ordinands and a significant increase in the average age at which people came to ordination. The Australian Anglican Church allowed the ordination of women as deacons from 1986 and as priests from 1992. Within a few years most dioceses had implemented these decisions. A significant proportion of men and women were now seeking ordination after lengthy careers in other occupations. It is this phenomenon – ordination as a second career – that is the subject of this thesis.

The Extent of Mature-Age Ordination

This work grows out of my personal interest and experience. I was ordained deacon in February, 1982, and priest in December of the same year. Previously I had been a teacher of history in state and independent secondary schools and a headmaster for the final five years of that first career. I was deaconed at the age of forty-eight, priested at forty-nine, and worked in parish ministry in the Diocese of Gippsland, Victoria, until my retirement fifteen years later.

My experience of mature-age ordination is shared by many others. In 2001, one in four of all Australian Anglican clergy, including both active and retired, were ordained at age forty or above. Of all males, 19.4 per cent were aged forty or more when ordained, while 77.4 per cent of all females were forty or more at ordination. The rate of mature-age

ordination in the Anglican Church is increasing. Of clergy ordained in the period 1970-85 (all males), 20.0 per cent were aged forty or more at the time of their ordination. In the period 1986-2001, the proportion rose to 51.1 per cent (*The Australian Anglican Directory, 2001*). The increase coincides with the first ordination of women in 1986, many of whom were of mature age. However, the proportion of older men presenting for ordination also increased. The proportion of male ordinands aged forty or more doubled, from 20 per cent to 40 per cent, over the same period. The trend continues. In the Diocese of Melbourne in the three-year period 2001-03, thirteen of the twenty-nine male ordinands were aged forty or more, while twenty of the twenty-three female ordinands were in that older age bracket. The trend to older ordination in the Anglican Church is paralleled in Australia and overseas. Ordinands in the Victorian Uniting Church have been of average age 45.5 years for the ten-year period, 1994-2004 (Private communication from the Uniting Church Victoria, Commission for Ministry, 5 February, 2004). Nesbitt (1995:152, 159) notes that in the Episcopal Church of the United States the median age for male ordinands rose steadily from age 30 to age 37 from 1975 to 1990, while the median age for female ordinands rose from age 32 to age 44.5 in the same period.

The question of mature-age ordination has been the subject of much informal discussion in the Australian church. In the 1990s the trend was questioned at various levels within the Anglican Diocese of Melbourne. In 2002 the matter was debated at length in the Uniting Church. Yet there has been little critical analysis of the phenomenon in Australia or overseas. The lack of research in this area provides the intellectual challenge for the present study. This thesis attempts to investigate the whole process of mature-age ordination from the starting point of the ordinands themselves, and to consider the ramifications for the Anglican Church and, by implication, for other churches as well.

The Field of Study

The study has been confined to the Anglican Church and to the Province of Victoria, together with Tasmania. The Province of Victoria contains five dioceses - the metropolitan Diocese of Melbourne and the regional dioceses of Ballarat, Bendigo, Gippsland, and Wangaratta. Tasmania is an extra-provincial diocese, but is closely connected with the Province of Victoria, which it adjoins. The inclusion of Tasmania helps to broaden the area of study, particularly providing greater representation at the rural end of the spectrum.

Tasmania has had its own bishop since 1842, and its own individual diocesan identity since 1858. The five Victorian dioceses were at one time all part of the Diocese of Melbourne, which was established in 1847, but as the rural population of Victoria increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the one huge diocese was divided into smaller units. Ballarat separated in 1875, and the other three - Bendigo, Gippsland, and Wangaratta - in 1902. Despite their common beginnings, these dioceses have developed in markedly different ways. In the matter of churchmanship, Melbourne has modified the original evangelicalism of its early years and is now widely regarded as "the most comprehensive in the Australian Church" (Grant 1997:1). Ballarat, on the other hand has become the most staunchly Anglo-Catholic diocese amongst the twenty-three dioceses of the national Church. Bendigo is moderate and comprehensive, Gippsland leans towards the evangelical quarter, while Wangaratta, despite forming an alliance with Ballarat in some regards, is broad-church in its overall sympathies. Over time, these trends have been shifting ones within each diocese. Where there are divergent views and practices within any one diocese, divisions are to a large extent contained within an easy mood of acceptance and tolerance. The General Secretary of the National Synod of the Church claims that "the great bulk of Anglicans in Australia have been in the middle church tradition, or they have adhered to moderate forms of the two main traditions, Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic" (Kaye 1995:112). That claim may be applied to the people of the dioceses now under study.

The six dioceses range in numerical strength from Melbourne, which has more clergy than all the other dioceses put together, to the regional Victorian dioceses, each approximately one-tenth the size of Melbourne. The number of clergy in the various dioceses in 2001 – including both active and retired clergy – is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1
Clergy Numbers in the Dioceses of Victoria and Tasmania, 2001

Diocese	Deacons (m)	Deacons (f)	Priests (m)	Priests (f)	Total
Ballarat	1	0	56	0	57
Bendigo	1	1	68	3	73
Gippsland	1	3	50	6	60
Melbourne	11	27	511	60	609
Tasmania	4	4	104	10	122
Wangaratta	2	2	52	0	56

Source: *The Australian Anglican Directory*, 2001:18

In relation to the national scene, the dioceses included in this study represent a statistically significant proportion. They include 977 or 26.7 per cent of the nation's 3661 Anglican clergy, active and retired (*The Australian Anglican Directory*, 2001:18). To have broadened the survey would have added complexities of scale and of interpretation. For instance the inclusion of neighbouring New South Wales would have brought in the huge Diocese of Sydney, a diocese not broadly typical of the Australian scene. Nevertheless, the context of this thesis is always the wider Australian Anglican Church, and reference is frequently made, explicitly and implicitly, to the national church. Although the area of scrutiny is primarily the Anglican Church, the reach of the enquiry has been broadened at some points by appropriate reference to other mainline denominations in Australia.

The Scope of the Thesis

The thesis engages many disciplines, the most prominent being sociology, history, and ecclesiology. The thesis is, however, basically sociological because it seeks to ascertain

patterns in the way in which a sizeable group of people has been dealt with by a significant organisation, the church. It is concerned with the impact of the church on second-career clergy, and is concerned with the impact of those clergy on the church. It locates individual response within the locus of wider social determinants. Hence the 'plot' is sociological though the 'characters' remain as individuals. Indeed a psycho-sociological sub-plot runs through the study, because the 'action' comes from the motivations and career decisions of the men and women who make up the sample group.

There are also issues of personal faith to be taken into account. This element is elusive, but real. Ordained ministry is often regarded not merely as a profession but as a calling. Most clergy acknowledge that they have taken up their work in response to a call from God, no matter how variously they and others might define that call. In examining the issues involved in clergy coming to ordained ministry as a second career, the element of faith experience infuses and informs the sociological, historical and ecclesiological issues.

The faith aspect of clergy careers is necessarily personal and imprecise. It has been used defensively by some clergy who have viewed their profession as being beyond the rigours of sociological examination. In the church itself, ordination is defined in spiritual rather than functional terms. The Articles of Religion describe ordained ministry in terms of working in "the Lord's Vineyard." In the ordination service for priests, those to be ordained are enjoined to "fashion your life and ministry in accordance with Christ's example" (*A Prayer Book for Australia*, 1995:794). The language is not that of vocational choice, nor of professional principle! A recent Archbishop of Melbourne has written that to be called by God is "a mystery but a very comforting mystery. It means for the ordained who know themselves to be sinners and insufficient for the task, that their insufficiencies will not invalidate their ministry" (Woods 1987:105). Woods may have been thinking of invalidation of ministry in a technical sense, but such statements are hardly consonant with modern approaches to the study of professions. Indeed, by referring to ordained ministry in words that speak of mystification and of an elect group with esoteric knowledge, Woods appears more to represent early nineteenth century

thinking about professions. In this thesis, personal motivations, including matters of individual faith, are given due credence. However, ordained ministry is regarded as a field for standard sociological investigation in the same way that professions such as law or medicine might be examined.

The Meaning of Ordination

Attitudes towards ordination within the Anglican Church of Australia constitute an underlying theme of the thesis. Why should ministers be ordained? Who should be ordained? To what work are they to be ordained? It is difficult to establish a consensus on such questions within the church. These are both theological and ecclesiological questions, and it is easier to describe the approaches taken than to point to agreements reached. Various positions may be held: whether ordination is basically hierarchical or stemming from the "priesthood of all believers"; whether the priestly office is fundamentally sacerdotal or utilitarian; whether ordination is to a spiritual ministry or to a ministry of service; whether ordination is a recognition of abilities or an unmerited gift from God; whether or not ordination can be regarded as a sacrament; to what extent the orders of ordained ministry should follow scriptural prescriptions; whether ordination is to a function or to an office; whether the authority of the ordained is derived from their official status or from the possession of spiritual gifts. To such complicated and overlapping questions may be added further complications, for instance, the occupational title to be used by the ordained, such as "priest" or "minister," the place of permanent deacons in the structure of the church, and the issue of whether or not women should be ordained as deacons or priests or even as bishops. The dynamism contained in the discussion of these issues serves as a background to the discussion that follows.

Definitions and Explanations

For the purposes of this study some arbitrary points of delimitation and definition have been assumed. The principal one is that for statistical purposes a lower limit of age forty has been taken as a critical age in defining "mature-age ordination." Ordination unless otherwise indicated is to be understood as ordination as deacon. To include only those ordained to the priesthood would be to leave a significant group of clergy out of consideration, particularly those who seek ordination to the Permanent Diaconate, many of whom are women. In that way, important trends in the Church in more recent times would be less than adequately dealt with. Further, the term, "second career" has been chosen because of its use in the literature of the sociology of the professions, but, as there, it is to be interpreted generously with regard to the previous occupational patterns of individual clergy.

The names of respondents have been changed, and some circumstances altered where they do not materially affect the argument being followed. Individual respondents are identified in the text according to a notation system which shows file number, gender, whether priest or deacon, and decade of age at ordination, e.g. '31,m,p,50.' If material is sourced from an interview, the letter, 'I' is added to the notation.

The word, 'clergy,' is used in two different senses according to the context - to denote 'the clerical order' as well as the plural form of 'clergyman' and/or 'clergywoman.'

The word, 'Anglican,' is used to describe people and churches that have or have had a constitutional affinity with the original Church of England.

The term, 'sector ministry,' refers to chaplaincy in schools, hospitals, prisons, industry, the armed services, and organisations such as the police force and the Country Fire Authority.

Overview

To be ordained in middle age was not a new phenomenon in the latter part of the twentieth century, despite the distinct trend towards older ordination that developed at that time. Chapter 2 explores the development of the clerical profession in the Anglican Church, with particular reference to the ordination of older clergy. Significant developments in the church in recent centuries, in England and in Australia are examined. Developments in society are governed and limited by the circumstances they grow out of. The present is better understood if set in its historical context. Clergy moving into their second careers in the late twentieth century were entering, consciously or not, a profession shaped by the attitudes, practices, and experience of the past.

The place of ordained ministry within the sociology of professions and of work is explored at length in Chapter 3. Mid-life career change is discussed. The argument follows the broad lines of Super's "life-span, life-space" approach to career development (1980:282-98), emphasising the dynamic nature of the relationship between individual and society, each of which is also constantly in process of change. The intellectual locus of the whole thesis lies in the interaction between the individual mature-age men and women who make up the raw material of the study and the organisation they became part of, itself governed by emerging societal factors as well as by a collective mind-set inherited from the past.

Chapter 4 describes and argues for the validity of the methodology employed in the thesis – the priority of qualitative research methods, the use of a questionnaire as a data-gathering instrument, the place of in-depth interviews, and the use of case studies.

Then follow five chapters forming the main substance of the thesis. In these chapters the data gathered from respondents are presented and analysed. The findings are related to four particular areas of interest – the profession of ordained ministry; the standing of the church as an organisation; the experience of second-career clergy from the time of offering for ordination to the point of establishing themselves in their new work; and the

gender differences that can be discerned in the experience of those clergy. The data, as they unfold, are also placed within a sociological context.

Chapter 5 explores issues surrounding the decision of respondents to offer for ordination – the call to ministry, the degree of rationality in the decision, the effects on family, the personal wellbeing of the participants. As in later chapters, case studies are given to illustrate and personalise these issues. The principal sociological context is that of occupational mid-life transition.

Chapter 6 deals with the selection and training of mature-age ordinands. The overarching sociological principle here is that of the discontinuity of experience. The matters dealt with include the adequacy of selection procedures and of training, the attitudes towards later ordination held by church officials, the stress engendered in this phase of the career change process, and the differential treatment of men and women.

In Chapter 7, the focus moves to the respondents' first appointment after ordination. Here, issues such as the quality of supervision, curacy, the reception given to new clergy by colleagues and laity, and honorary ministry, are worked through. The sociological theme underpinning this chapter is that of the socialisation into a particular occupational role of a disparate group of new entrants into a profession.

Chapter 8 deals with professional aspects of clergy careers. Again, case studies are used to give verisimilitude to the discussion. The underlying theme of the chapter is that of membership of organisations – socialisation into the clerical profession, the freedom of individuals to act independently within their organisational structure, preferment, relations between individuals and the hierarchy, and equity and justice issues.

The final chapter in the main body of the thesis - Chapter 9 – reflects on issues covering the whole of respondents' experience in their second career. The question of overall job satisfaction is examined. Respondents' views on how their careers in the church have affected their private lives and to what extent they have contributed to the work of the church are presented and analysed. Their achievements are measured against their

original aspirations. There is a discussion of how respondents' personal faith has been affected by working in ordained ministry. The chapter concludes with a discussion of what mature-age clergy have brought to the Anglican Church. The material presented in this chapter demonstrates the importance of the attitudes and actions of individual clergy in establishing their place in their new work world. The primacy of agency over structure is the key sociological element.

The concluding chapter – Chapter 10 – draws out the major findings of the thesis, in relation particularly to the four issues of ordained ministry as a profession, the church as an employer, the experience of second-career clergy individually and as a group, and the gender discrimination that is found at many points during the course of the thesis.

Dramatis Personae

The thesis is constructed around the experiences of one hundred second-career clergy. They played out in human terms the sociological, ecclesiological and psychological themes that run through this work. We begin by meeting three of them who make up a representative sample of the whole group. Their stories are unremarkable in the context of the experience of second-career clergy. The emphasis is on how the three were drawn to ordained ministry and what the process involved for them. Like all other respondents who are given a name throughout the thesis, their real names have been changed and identifiable circumstances camouflaged.

John Daws believes he was first called to ordination at the age of sixteen. At that time he was very involved in the Anglican Church – a server, choirboy, “a very nice young chap,” as others saw him. “I loved the Vicar of the time and I thought it would be a very nice job,” he says. Looking back he can see that he was merely in love with the church. He reflects, “Others modelled this idea [of ordination] for me, and I just went along with it.” He soon dropped the notion.

However, the idea of service in the church remained. When twenty-one, he applied to join an Order of Bush Brothers, and was shocked at being rejected. He was told at his interview, "You haven't really hurt much, have you. You've never slept on a park bench." He understands now the wisdom of his rejection. "I must have been perfectly obnoxious," he says. He went off to work on a farm. After some years, however, he made another attempt to enter the church. He spent two years at a residential Anglo-Catholic theological college, but felt unable to commit himself to ordination:

The real me was sort of hiding. ... It's like I had one foot on the quayside and one foot on the ship. I realised I had to cut the strings. ... It wasn't my time! Now I can say that with confidence. ... So I backed off and went on with a career and got married and made babies and so forth.

Daws's career was in advertising. He held down a steady job which he enjoyed immensely. He raised a family. He remained in sympathy with the church, but drifted away from active involvement. He recalls, "I had it all together in my life. We had our own home. Enough [money] to get by on." But out of that comfortable situation he was "called back." He received a sudden and irresistible call to ordination. He describes the moment:

I was listening to the monks of Clairvaux, on my own. It was very quiet. I had a surge of knowledge that it had to be -- incredible -- and that was it, exactly. It was a conscious sort of thing. What convinced me that it was a calling -- there was nothing that led me. I wasn't doing anything with the church. That made it even more real. ... You can't express these things or you trivialise the things of the Spirit.

Almost immediately Daws applied for ordination. He attended a Selection Conference and was accepted. Before entering theological college, he worked as a lay minister at a famously low-church parish. Despite his Catholic upbringing, he felt "liberated" there. "We just loved it," he says. "It was charismatic, very low church. It didn't bother me. After all those years of formation [in the Catholic tradition]!" Daws rejects the notion that he belongs to a particular mould of clergy. "I wouldn't want to put a label on myself," he says.

At theological college – one in the evangelical tradition this time – Daws became “hooked” with the idea of study, and completed a Diploma in theology. The memory of his ordination remains a powerful inspiration. He reflects on the occasion:

That entrance into the Cathedral that day, with the little kids standing there, and I looked up, and my wife was so proud, and lots of friends and family ... all lifting me up. And now I think back – after all the tripe I’ve had to put up with for twenty-odd years. It’s amazing. It’s like going out – and you just don’t know where it’s going to take you. ... But I’ve since learnt that once – and I don’t say this lightly – once God has called you, that’s it! You’re never off the hook.

Daws was then in his early forties. Since then, over twenty years, he has been priest-in-charge of parishes in several dioceses, with varying degrees of success and satisfaction. It’s been, he says, “challenging, exciting and often maddening.” He retains a distinct sense of individuality, of avoiding being cast as a church careerist, of “being his own man.” He refuses to become involved in church politics and maintains a clear space between himself and the church as an organisation.

Laura Friend entered Anglican ministry by an unconventional route. She had an orthodox Anglican upbringing, was baptised and confirmed, sang in her church choir, taught in the Sunday School, and took part in the Youth Fellowship. However she drifted away from church life in her late teens, and when she did re-engage with the church several years later, it was with an ecumenical Christian community. There she preached, celebrated communion, led and wrote liturgies, and ran a Sunday School.

This continued for over fifteen years. During that time Friend graduated in Arts and Education and taught in state and church secondary schools as well as in adult education. For two years she was a part-time tutor in languages at a theological college. In her early forties she completed a post-graduate degree in theology. By this time she was married and had a young family.

Prior to completing her theology degree, Friend had moved to rural Victoria with her family and taken up work as a hospital chaplain. There, she attended the Uniting Church. During her theology studies, she had contemplated the idea of ordination, but dismissed it. Now the idea re-emerged. "As time progressed," she says, "I began to want a wider ministry – to all ages and in more varied areas." Several clergy from different denominations urged her to reconsider the question of ordination "since I was exercising an ordained ministry and it should be recognised and affirmed."

As a result of this encouragement and at the invitation of her parish minister, Friend applied formally to become an ordination candidate for the Uniting Church. However events in the Anglican Church intervened. She describes what happened:

At the Anglican Diocesan Synod [of that year] the vote for women's ordination was defeated by only a handful of votes in the House of Clergy. I heard it announced at an 8 o'clock communion at the Anglican Church I was attending that morning. I felt turned to stone, and deeply, deeply angry. It was with great difficulty that I forced myself to take communion from the male priest officiating. I thought of a woman chaplain I knew who was waiting to be priested, and I felt really angry on her behalf. After the service I drove round in my car for two hours, crying, screaming, asking God why, and how long would she have to wait – and all women in her position. Looking back on it, it was very like some of the psalms of deep grief, anger and lament. Was some of that for me?

As a result of that reaction and on the advice of her minister, Friend terminated her ordination candidacy with the Uniting Church and approached the Anglican Church. She found encouraging support there, and entered fully into the life of her local Anglican parish - as lay reader, liturgical assistant, eucharistic assistant, and preacher. "I was unsure," she says, "that someone like me – so unconventional in traditional Anglican terms – would be acceptable to those who selected and ordained candidates." Despite her fears, she was unanimously approved by both the Diocesan selection panel and the Provincial Selection Conference. The process, however, she found to be personally demeaning:

The local diocesan procedure was all right, but pretty authoritarian and a bit patronising. I had the impression that I was being considered out of the context of my previous life and work experience, as if I was only just beginning my work life. I would have expected my work and life to be part of what they would have considered rendered me suitable or unsuitable for ordination.

Although within sight of ordination, frustration now occurred. Friend's diocesan bishop retired, and his successor withdrew his support for her ordination, despite the promise of his predecessor. "It was the beginning of a rocky relationship with him, and to ordination," she says. After two years the Bishop offered her a stipendiary *lay* position in a nearby parish. Here she found the same undervaluing of her talents that she had encountered previously:

What I was expected to do was really what I had already been doing as a lay reader in my previous parish. I found being expected to fill in a daily log of my hours and kinds of ministry —for two years — quite demeaning and unprofessional, as if, having been a chaplain, where I was obliged to order my own day, and a teacher, where I was obliged to be able to work with other colleagues, structure a year's program, and work independently as well, counted for nothing in my life. I was actually quite insulted about it, feeling I had to justify my every moment and action. ... There was no scope for exploring my own strengths and desires in ministry, nor for creative liturgy and activity — no time for forging anything different.

Friend became despondent about her situation and her prospects of ordination: "I felt sometimes that I would never be able to measure up to this bishop's expectations," she says. However, without explanation, the Bishop changed his mind. Friend was deaconed and, after her diocese accepted women's priesting, ordained as priest. She was then in her late forties. She is now in charge of her own parish, although it cannot support a full-time minister. As a result, she works part-time and for a part-stipend. She divides her time between the parish rectory and her family home, where her husband and children live, some distance away.

Friend still feels "unvalued" by the bishop and most of the senior clergy, and her family is "worse off" than if she had remained in teaching. She declares no interest in "moving

up in the church hierarchy," but believes "there would not be much possibility of advancement in our diocese as a woman – at least at present." She sees her present situation as follows:

I am always reading and trying to move forward in my spiritual journey, and to be open to new ideas, new ways of doing things, and new ways of 'being church,' as well as trying to preserve the dignity and tradition of my denomination. ... I believe that my ordination has, overall, been positive for me and for the church. I believe I bring more to the ministry coming to it as a mature-age person, with a lot of life experience behind me.

Colin Lock was ordained at the age of fifty-nine. He has always been a "true-blue" Anglican. Throughout his secular career the church was his principal "leisure activity," and he has been a member of church councils at a very senior level. He is married with an adult family, and is now close to retirement age.

Lock pursued an academic career. Immediately prior to his ordination he occupied an elite chair at a metropolitan university, and was held in high regard in university circles and in the community. His career was "in full flight" when he felt the call to ordained ministry and resigned his position. Some had sensed the likelihood of that eventuality. Ten years earlier a senior colleague asked whether he "had ever thought of going into the church?" Lock's reply was, "Yes, I have thought about it, but I've never felt called."

The call, when it came, occurred in unusual circumstances:

I was on an aeroplane coming back from England. ... We'd had three or four weeks off. It had been a mixture of work and pleasure, and the pleasure included things like Durham for the first time, which made a huge impression. I had travelled back alone. I don't know where I was – somewhere between London and Singapore - and I suddenly found myself in tears. I recognised what was happening. So I got home – and did nothing. Waited for it to go away. My wife got home a few days later, and I told her what had happened, and her response was, 'Well, I didn't think it would happen so soon!'

The announcement that he was resigning to enter the church polarised his academic colleagues. A large group was supportive and talked to him freely about it. Others thought he was "crazy." They couldn't comprehend it. But for Lock himself the transition was simple – he was just "heading straight down the path." He goes on, "I had this really strong internal feeling that I had to do something about this call. I had to have it tested, and be either accepted or rejected." The major issues were of age and time: "I knew that if I was going to do it, I had to get on with it if I was going to have any useful time as a priest."

The selection process was uncomplicated. Lock had friends in high places. His parish priest, his area archdeacon, and his archbishop were strongly supportive. Of the latter, he comments, "I'm sure the reason I was selected here was that he knew what I was like." Lock progressed rapidly through the training phase. He and his wife lived in at theological college for a year, where he completed the greater part of a theological degree. "I felt," he says, "as if I was on a big adventure in my life."

He was then ordained, and spent some eighteen months attached to his former parish while he completed his degree. The appointment was made by "mutual agreement." Lock was fully occupied in parish duties, visiting hospitals and homes, conducting services, taking baptisms, weddings and funerals. He lived in his own home, and received no remuneration. He comments:

The church assumed I wouldn't want paying. Part of me felt fine about that because I was doing what I wanted to do, and we weren't starving. ... After eighteen months I began to feel a bit used. ... I was expected to work most of the time, although as they weren't paying me they couldn't make huge demands. In the first year, I wasn't as bothered about it as I became later on.

Lock now works in a nearby parish as assistant priest on a half-time, half-stipend basis, combining this with some chaplaincy work in the city. He is grateful that he doesn't work under the same pressure as in his secular career. He loves the work he is doing and finds it very satisfying. He lives, however, with one regret. He is disappointed that his former skills have not been called upon to any extent since he was ordained:

I feel the church hasn't actually used all the gifts I brought – skills in administration, skills in teaching, skills in knowledge of how organisations operate. That's the one unsatisfying thing. ... I remember [my archdeacon] saying to me, 'Well, what are we going to do with you?' The church doesn't cope terribly well with people not in the square.

Lock's transition from university teacher and administrator to pastor has opened a more humane and sympathetic vein in his understanding. He says, "I've become more tolerant, accepting. ... The church as an organisation is less important to me. Now I understand better. And I see that – I've never said this before – but what's happening in the parish and by the parishioners in their life in the world is the real work of the church."

Coda

Charles Handy (1995:193) tells of the fourteenth century founder of the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, Gerard Groote, who decided to change his comfortable life and try to make his small mark on history. A stranger said to him, "Why are you standing here, intent on empty things? You ought to be another man."

What does it mean to be "another man"? For someone of the late twentieth or early twenty-first century? For a man or woman of middle age or older? For a person entering the ordained ministry? To these matters we now turn.

CHAPTER 2

ANGLICAN MINISTRY, PAST AND PRESENT

What has it meant to be an ordained person in the Anglican Church of Australia and its antecedent, the Church of England? This chapter traces the development of a sense of priestly profession in these churches and identifies how modern perceptions of ordained ministry are shaped by the way the clerical profession has evolved in past years.

The chapter begins with the religious settlement achieved by Elizabeth, where the foundations of modern Anglican ministry lie. The nature of ordained ministry was fitfully worked out in the church in England over several centuries. The principal aspects of this process are described briefly. The focus then shifts to the Australian colonies. The principal themes discussed here are the impact of colonial society on the clerical profession and the place of ordained ministry in modern and postmodern Australian society in the later twentieth century. The discussion shows how the past has impacted on recent understandings of ministry in both conscious and subconscious ways.

The early history of the church offers occasional examples of men being ordained in middle life. Ambrose of Milan was a celebrated late ordinand. In 374, aged thirty-five, he responded to popular appeals, was baptised, ordained, and made Bishop of Milan, so beginning a second career in the Church as an administrator, preacher, moralist, and fierce upholder of orthodoxy. Thomas Becket, after a legal and diplomatic career in the household of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was deaconed in 1154 at the age of thirty-six and appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1162. Some of the themes seen in the careers of these two renowned second-career churchmen will be found in their modern counterparts – an external impulse for ordination, the understanding of ordination as a recognition of an individual's gifts, the attempt to hold together secular and religious processes, and the model of 'career trajectories,' so meteoric in these two, and certainly more muted in most recent careers.

The Elizabethan Settlement

Under Elizabeth, the essential nature of Reformed Anglicanism was established, one of "non-papal Catholicism" (Wand 1963:20). Many of the cardinal values that the church has since proclaimed became apparent – continuity and coherence with the "one Catholick and Apostolick Church;" identification with state authority and a concern for its well-being; inclusiveness; moderation; a faith drawn from scripture, but tempered by reason; a practical spirituality holding in balance corporate worship and personal devotion; and services of worship based on the written word – Prayer Book and Bible. Under Elizabeth, the clergy remained for the most part poor, rural, localised, and inept, but over the course of the reign, their conditions and standards improved: they were permitted to marry, their educational standards rose, their preaching skills advanced, and, despite the instability brought about by the growth of factions in the church on both the Catholic and Protestant sides, most clergy began to grow into a way of life that we can now identify as being essentially Anglican.

Several measures affected the clergy profoundly, and gave a basic shape to the profession as it developed over later years and centuries. The Act of Supremacy established the Queen as the "only supreme governor of this realm ... as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal." Clergymen were required to swear an oath of allegiance to the Crown. The Act helped to give unity and a recognition of undisputed headship to the clergy, in that way fostering a sense of common endeavour amongst them, still in a rudimentary form, but nevertheless essential to the greater professionalism that would later develop. The Act of Supremacy was reinforced by the Act of Uniformity which established a common liturgy by means of the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, which provided, in English, "a single, convenient, and comprehensive volume as an authoritative guide for priest and people" (Cross 1958:318). Similarly, the Bible of 1568, a new translation, gave to the nation a unifying foundation for worship. Clergy were made to subscribe to the 39 Articles of Religion, published in 1562 – brief statements of the Anglican position on current matters of disputation, "for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion" (*The Book of Common Prayer*, Preface to the 39 Articles).

The everyday work of Elizabethan clergy, however, was shaped more directly by the Royal Injunctions of 1559, which were intended to regulate their personal and ecclesiastical lives. Marriage was permitted, though not encouraged. A standard of clergy dress was laid down. Uneducated priests could not expect to be admitted to livings, and when in office they were to be of sober conduct, avoiding gaming rooms and ale houses. In their services of worship, clergy were to preach regularly (if licensed to do so), or to read the homilies provided, or else to use the services of a licensed preacher. The service must be said in a slow and distinct manner. The Communion service was to be conducted from a Holy Table placed in the chancel of the church, and music was allowed, including the singing of hymns before and after the service itself. These were rudimentary attempts to develop a uniform standard of clergy competency. The prescriptions constituted a rule book of sorts for Elizabethan clergy.

The low standards that prevailed in church life, however, cannot be glossed over – the calamitous state of church buildings and the hand-to-mouth existence lived by mostly ill-educated and ruinously poor clergy (Tindal Hart 1958:24-52). Many men from the lower orders of society were made priests, many of them of more advanced years. Archbishop Parker wrote of the “sundry artificers and others, not traded and brought up in learning” who were admitted to Holy Orders. The Lincoln *Liber Cleri* for 1585 records some of the “base callings” these men came from – day-labourers, serving men, ostlers, husbandmen, parish-clerks, poor-clerks, monks, carpenters, glovers, drapers, tallow-chandlers, shoemakers, soldiers, fishermen, and clothiers (Tindal Hart 1958:24). These were “second-career clergy” although they did not greatly distinguish the calling. The Elizabethan measures, however, brought a standard of expectation, as well as a greater sense of permanence to the clergy. The church had been firmly established as a national body.

A sense of moderation was also being implanted within the church. The Preface to the Book of Common Prayer claimed that it “hath been the wisdom of the Church of England, ever since the first compiling of her Publick Liturgy, to keep the mean between the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation; from it.” During Elizabeth’s reign, the mean between too much stiffness and too much easiness was kept not only in liturgical matters, but in the enforcement of the regulations governing the church. Elizabeth herself was inclined to steer a middle

course. Her ministers acted wisely in refraining from pushing matters to their statutory extremes. Despite the malpractices revealed in the Visitation books (Tindal Hart 1958:21, 24-5, 31-4), few clergy were deprived of their livings. Moderation has continued to be a mark of the English church and of Anglicanism generally.

In the early years of Elizabeth's reign, many clergy were needed and large numbers of men were ordained. As the reign progressed and Puritan influence grew within the church, the theology of ordination was disputed, as well as the practice. The Puritan faction in the church superimposed their own system on accepted procedures in many places. They held that it was improper for a man to offer for ordination, but that he should come forward only in response to a call – a call from God mediated through the church. The call would be tested by the local committee of presbyters. If it were supported there, the ordinand was sometimes unofficially ordained and then would go forward to his bishop for legal ordination (Moorman 1963:210). It was against such practices that Hooker wrote in *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*. In establishing the standard Anglican position on ordination, he found himself supporting a system which, by default, produced many clergy of inferior standard. In order to have enough men the church must ordain some who were "but slenderly and meanly qualified." This was the lesser of two evils. In opposing "doctrines which tend unto innovation," he acknowledged that there would be many "unpreaching ministers," but, using arguments from scripture for support, he maintained that there was something more important in a clergyman than skill in preaching and learning, and that was the leading of a holy life. He pleaded that a man of slight erudition but of virtuous conduct would be "a better orator than more learning could make others whose conversation was less holy." Thus Hooker provided a theological and practical foundation for the Anglican practice of ordination. The debate about the relative importance of learning as against personal holiness has remained and is still an issue before the church.

A sense of priestly or churchly caste amongst Elizabethan clergy can be seen only in very undeveloped form. Things, however, were not standing still. Several encouraging developments point to rising standards of efficiency. The clergy were becoming better educated. In the large Diocese of Lincoln only 10 per cent of the men in the ordination lists from 1540 to 1570 were shown to have university degrees. By 1585, however, that had increased to 31 per cent, and by 1603 to 55 per cent (Tindal Hart 1958:26). Similar

improvements took place in other dioceses. Efforts were made to improve the learning and preaching ability of the parish clergy. Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln and later of Winchester, ordered his clergy to "bend themselves diligently to the study of the Holy Scriptures" (Neill 1958:127-8), and required them to possess a copy of the Decades of Henry Bullinger, a Swiss writer of reformed persuasion. In 1586, Archbishop Whitgift issued instructions that non-graduates were to have a Bible, Bullinger's Decades, and their own note book. They were to study one chapter of the Bible each day and one of Bullinger's sermons each week. He ordered more learned men to oversee the study of those less learned. By 1600, nearly half the clergy were licensed to preach (Neill 1958:127-8).

At the end of the century, the standard of housing and level of income for most clergy remained distressingly low, but there had been an improvement in their overall circumstances:

It would almost certainly be true to say that the married Elizabethan country parson was better off than his celibate predecessor: his house was larger and more comfortably furnished; he possessed more books, clothes, and plate; his glebe was better stocked, and more hands were available for its cultivation. Despite therefore the economic and social upheavals of the times, the miserable stipends recorded in the official returns, and the voracious greed of lay patrons, the inventories of clerical estates show that the average country Elizabethan parson would leave as much as 120 pounds, as compared with a mere 28 pounds in the reign of Henry VIII. (Tindal Hart 1958:51)

Improved educational and economic circumstances were indeed ground from which a more professional self-understanding could grow. But the rusticity of the mass of the people and of the clergy was a major impediment to this end. The church remained fundamentally rural for the next two centuries, and the typical cleric was a man of the country, not of the town. A significant sense of common priesthood could hardly develop while the intellectual horizon of most clergy remained bounded by their village and their immediate neighbourhood.

Some emerging elements of the sixteenth-century church are recognisably part of the Anglican Church today, and form part of the cultural inheritance of those who have entered ordained ministry in recent years: the governance of the church was fixed and its

practices established: a degree of moderation was observed in matters of church discipline in that practicality took precedence over doctrinal rigour: the church adopted a broad middle position in matters of ceremony: and the church developed an inclusive philosophy of ordination. Nevertheless, standards of clergy education, biblical understanding and preaching remained low.

The Seventeenth Century

Under Elizabeth, the Act of Supremacy, as well as the overall temper of the nation, had ensured that the Church of England would be a national church. With the accession of James I, the state church became even more closely associated with the royal prerogative, and more so still under Charles I. But that part of the church on which James and Charles relied, and which, in turn, gave them whole-hearted support, was becoming an increasingly narrow representation of the whole body. The parties to the right and to the left of the official church had by now hardened and strengthened. The recusants and all those within England who clung to the old ways of the Pope posed no serious threat to the integrity of the church or nation: their stocks were by now too devalued from both a national and a religious point of view. But those to the left – the seekers after liberty, the broad band of "Puritans," those who had been moved by the Protestant theology of the continental reformers – these laid a pressing claim to control of the church itself. Indeed, for a period an extreme faction succeeded in capturing church, king, and nation.

Rather than forming a breakaway faction, the Puritans, certainly until 1640, remained loyal to the state church. Their aim was to achieve reform from within. Many leading figures, clerical and lay, as well as parish clergy, though generally recognised as Puritans, were 'conformists,' raising no objection to the established forms of worship (Hill 1964:7). They held to no single credo, but their attitudes covered a number of broad principles: a strict line on Sabbatarianism; opposition to the taking of oaths; emphasis on the Bible as the source of Christian understanding; the importance of individual conscience; and, above all, the desire to see "a cleaner break with Popery" (Hill 1964:7). For the most part, however, they remained within the enclave of the State church, just as in later times the Evangelical wing of the church stood for similar principles yet was contained within the church family. Even in the extreme circumstances of the seventeenth

century, the church was able to maintain a large measure of comprehensiveness. This has remained an abiding aspect of the church. The men and women who are the subject of this study entered a church that was open to them all, despite their differences of theology and churchmanship.

While the Puritans sought a reformed church, king and archbishop were enforcing a rigid orthodoxy. Charles I and Archbishop Laud endeavoured to hold the church to its old Catholic core. But the Puritan cause became intertwined with economic and political interests, and the result was civil war – war between parliament and king, between new wealth and old prerogatives, between Geneva and Canterbury. The victors were too divided and rootless, however, to take hold of their prize, and power passed to the parties on the other edge of reform, whose authority was so lacking that in 1660 the nation gladly accepted the return to monarchy. With the accession of Charles II came the return of episcopacy and of the (revised) Prayer Book, and, sadly, a return to a vindictive spirit of established supremacy. It was not until after the overthrow of the zealously Roman Catholic James II that a measure of toleration was obtained. The formation of lay “Religious Societies” was a pointer to the future. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701, bore important results in Australia a century later.

During the seventeenth century, the spirituality of the English church and clergy was expressed and developed by many of its priests. In *The Reformed Pastor*, Richard Baxter pleaded with his fellow-clergy to commit themselves to serving their people. A ‘reformed’ pastor was not a Protestant pastor, but one renewed in faithful service. To lay people he wrote that “the known world hath not a more able, faithful, godly ministry than Britain hath at this day” (Baxter 1956 [1656]:23). His vision was extraordinarily reconciliatory. “We have as sad divisions among us in England,” he wrote, “considering the piety of the persons and the smallness of the matter of our discord, as most nations under Heaven have known. ... Is the distance so great that Presbyterian, Episcopal and Independent might not be well agreed?” (Baxter 1956 [1656]:100). Party divisions alongside inclusive intentions: the nature of the church and the shape of clergy consciousness were being formed.

Many others helped to produce in the church a mood of graceful humanism. Lancelot Andrewes' erudition, balance and devotional writing, Nicholas Ferrar's own godliness and his creation of a saintly family community at Little Gidding, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying*, George Herbert's refined spirituality: all these gave a devotional depth to classical Anglicanism and moved it in a literary and scholarly direction. To this list can be added the names of many others – John Donne, Joseph Hall, Herbert Thorndike, John Cosin, Thomas Traherne, Henry Vaughan, Thomas Ken, and, from the Puritan quarter, John Bunyan and John Milton. Donne is of special interest. He was brought up as a Roman Catholic, dabbled in the law, journeyed overseas as an adventurer, and experienced the various pleasures of his times, before marrying, converting to the State church, and eventually being ordained at the age of forty-four. Already well established at court and in the church as a published writer and controversialist, he was, within a few months, preaching before the Queen at Greenwich. There followed a succession of preferments, culminating in his appointment as Dean of St. Paul's, where his sermons brought him an enormous following. His passionate nature and brilliant mind are to be seen equally in his preaching and his poetry. His career illustrates how the church of the seventeenth century could admit a man of experience and achievement, and make full use of his talents.

Despite the upheavals, this was a time of notable achievement in a variety of fields. Besides the spiritual writers referred to above, who were celebrated figures in their own right, this was the century, in part at least, of Shakespeare, Jonson and Dryden, Inigo Jones and Wren, of Purcell and Grinling Gibbons, Francis Bacon, Isaac Newton, Robert Boyle, and John Wilkins. Wilkins acted as a bridge between church and broader cultural advances. As Warden of Wadham College, Oxford, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, he brought together the leading men of science, and was instrumental, with Robert Boyle, in the founding of the Royal Society in 1662. Wilkins was later elected Bishop of Chester, where he upheld the power of human reason in theology and advocated the toleration of dissenters. He represents the continuing strand of humanism and intellectualism in the English church and clergy.

As an incipient middle class began to form, the educational standards of some sections of society grew, especially in the south and east of the country, and most preachers could expect to have some better-informed artisans and yeomen in their congregations.

Although there was a demand for better preaching, arising from Puritan influences, the hierarchy tended to place weight on the sacraments and on prayer rather than on preaching, and the crown agreed for political reasons. Preaching was subject to close official supervision. Not all parish clergy were licensed to preach. There were authorised homilies available that could be read, and visiting licensed preachers were available (Wand 1963:214-5). The pulpit was the fount of political and ecclesiastical information, but also the place from which dangerous sentiments could be expressed. Under Laud, many Puritans were deprived of their livings for this reason, though many of them were able preachers. Elizabeth, James I and Charles I had all instructed the bishops on matters that could be preached from the nation's pulpits. Clergy, then, were greatly restricted in their freedom in preaching. Many were restricted, as well, through feeling beholden to the lay patrons who had granted them their livings. Few would want to say anything from the pulpit that would offend their patrons. From the point of view of a developing sense of professionalism, the seventeenth century saw increasing levels of competence in the clergy, but a limited ability to control their own affairs.

The Eighteenth Century

During the course of the eighteenth century, many features of the church and of the role of clergy became fixed in such a way that they may be clearly recognised from a modern vantage point. Parties within the church assumed a more distinct status, reflecting fundamental differences in the way the faith was to be understood in terms of both theology and practice. Terms such as "High Church" and "Evangelical" were used in much the same sense as today. Several societies were founded, still significant in the modern church, the Church Missionary Society being the best known. The emergence of Wesleyanism, first as a wing of the official church and later as an independent body, meant that a tolerable counterbalance to the Established Church now existed, and this helped Anglicanism to define itself against the 'Methodistical' approach to religious activity. At the same time, the concept took root in society in general that a state might indeed contain more than one 'church', and that these might co-exist in some measure of mutual acceptance.

Towards the end of the century, sweeping changes in the economic structure of the English nation, in agrarian and, especially, in industrial organisation, presented an urgent challenge to the church. New ways were needed for ministering to the working-class families of the 'factory cities' in the often wretched conditions they lived in. For the clergy, it meant they could no longer count on old assumptions of church membership and attendance, and where they failed to take account of the changed circumstances they would become increasingly irrelevant to large sections of the population. In all these ways the church of the eighteenth century took on an aspect more akin to the modern era. For Australians, British settlement of their land from 1788 constitutes a particular bridge between that era and the present time.

The prevailing mood of the church was one of latitudinarianism. Most people adhered to episcopal principles and forms of worship, but regarded them indifferently. A mood of lukewarmness pervaded a large part of the church. As in recent times, theological speculation was widespread. The Deist school of thought captured many leading churchmen. With its leaning towards Unitarianism and its playing down of special revelation, it stood in marked contrast to the Evangelicals. Under that influence, the middle ground of the church tended to become academic and moralistic. "It was not a religion which had much appeal to the men and women living brutal and squalid lives in the disease-ridden slums of the new towns and mining villages," J.H. Plumb has observed. "They needed revelation and salvation" (Plumb 1950:44-5).

Revelation and salvation were distinguishing features of the Evangelical movement. The Evangelicals prospered increasingly as a reaction to the torpid nature of church life at the time, and large numbers of clergy were drawn to evangelical attitudes and practices. Although many were eventually drawn into Methodism, most Evangelicals were content to remain within the structure of the church. Many of the outstanding figures of the day were Evangelicals - William Cowper, John Berridge, Henry Venn, Charles Simeon, John Newton, and members of the remarkable Clapham Sect. Their achievements included the establishment of lay religious organisations, the development of elementary and Sunday Schools, the reform of factory laws and prisons, even the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery in the Empire. They also encouraged overseas missions. A small group including William Wilberforce secured the appointment of the Evangelical, Richard Johnson, as Chaplain to the First Fleet which sailed for Botany Bay in 1787, and the

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel provided him with Bibles, Prayer Books and a copious supply of tracts.

The Evangelicals reminded the eighteenth century church and nation of the need for personal holiness. They were sober and industrious; they opposed the secularisation of the Sabbath; they upheld the primacy of scripture in Christian revelation; many of them wrote memorable hymns; and they preached vigorously for individual conversion. They encouraged lay participation in evangelism and helped to break down the sense of separatism in the clergy. Many leading Evangelical figures had experienced conversion in a more or less dramatic form. John Newton was converted in 1738, after a life of some dissolution spent at sea and in the slave trade. He sought ordination, but was rejected by two bishops before eventually being accepted at the age of thirty-nine by the Bishop of Lincoln. He served in two parishes for a total of forty-three years, becoming renowned as a preacher and hymn writer (Moorman 1963:307).

John Wesley was another whose life was moved by a particular spiritual experience. His life and the movement that sprang from him have been profound influences in the lives of many modern Anglican lay people and clergy. Wesley's Journal records his spiritual awakening at a church meeting in 1738. Many of the distinguishing marks of 'Wesleyanism' may be seen in the Journal – the paramount place given to scripture, the priority of God's grace, the acknowledgement of individual sin, the emphasis on personal conversion, and the freedom gained from the assurance of forgiveness. After Wesley's death in 1791, the 'Methodists' became a separate entity. Today, in the Australian church, they have come back into union – not with the Anglicans, however, but with Presbyterians and Congregationalists. In eighteenth century England, the official church had drifted into Deism, discretion, and dormancy. On the other hand, the Wesleyans brought to large sections of the English people the thrill and challenge of "vital, practical religion" (Cross 1958:1446). This was especially true of the degraded and disoriented thousands of the industrial cities. "The Church ignored them," writes Plumb, "and Wesley won them for Methodism" (Plumb 1955:44).

The Evangelical Revival was located partly in the Methodists, but principally within the Church of England itself. Methodist numbers remained relatively low, estimated at 70,000 in Britain in 1790 (Neill 1958:194), although Methodism was more successful

overseas. The movement flourished in the United States, while the Methodists became a powerful force in nineteenth century Australian Protestantism. There, today, Methodism, submerged as it is within the Uniting Church of Australia, has lost much of its original intensity. But many features originally associated with the Methodists have passed into the life of the mainstream churches. Within the Anglican Church, those lay people or clergy who place special emphasis on the spoken word or who believe that the conversion of souls is of supreme importance, who harbour a deep respect for the individual, or promote the place of lay people in the church, those who see religion primarily in emotional rather than intellectual terms – these people have something of John Wesley and the Methodists in their spiritual inheritance. Such sentiments figured quite strongly in the minds of many of the men and women in our study as they sought ordination in the Anglican Church.

It is difficult to make general statements about the material well-being of the clergy at this time. There were 'two nations' of clergy. One class, favoured by a systematic pattern of patronage and often allowed the luxury of absentee incumbency, lived lives of gentility. Others, often the curates of these men, lived much more meagre existences. One commentator refers to the "large mob of ill-trained, ill-paid priests who were very hard put to it to make a living for themselves and their sometimes very large families" (Moorman 1963:285). Nevertheless, real improvements took place in the living standards of most clergy in the second half of the century as the price of grain rose, land was enclosed, and tithes were increased or commuted for land on generous terms (Russell 1980:31). This was particularly so in the more favoured southern and eastern parts of the country (Kitson Clark 1973:32). With improved incomes came a rise in the social standing of the clergy. Many built fine new parsonages and engaged in the pursuits of the gentry, such as riding to hounds and shooting; they entertained handsomely; and some took up esoteric interests in secular fields. The improved social status of the clergy made the profession more attractive to a better educated and more sophisticated class in society (Plumb 1955:43-4).

By the end of the century, the high ground in the state church was occupied by a more confident and comfortable class of clergy than had been the case a hundred years earlier. But major issues remained unresolved. The lesser clergy continued in their vicissitudes. There was very little episcopal direction, although there were exceptions, such as that of

Thomas Wilson in Sodor and Man. The patronage system held back many talented men. Little concern was shown for the widespread social distress in both the towns and the countryside. More often than not, it was the Evangelical clergy, remaining on the fringes of the church, who were to be seen devotedly attending to the pastoral needs of the common people. Change was inevitable.

The Nineteenth Century in England

The middle years of the nineteenth century were a time of enormous change in the church, radically affecting the life of the clergy. The episcopal office was reformed, largely due to the zeal and example of a small number of men. Charles Blomfield, Bishop successively of Chester and London from 1824 to 1856, did much to reduce non-residence and other irregularities amongst his clergy, and provided nearly 200 churches for the expanding cities of Manchester and London. Edward Stanley, Bishop of Norwich from 1837 to 1849, established the office of Rural Dean to help keep in closer touch with the clergy in his parishes. He, too, raised the standards of his diocesan clergy and took great care in the careful examination of ordinands. Samuel Wilberforce was Bishop successively of Oxford and Winchester from 1845 to 1873. He built churches, founded religious societies, encouraged education, established a theological college – Cuddesdon – and encouraged his clergy to become more proficient in pastoral skills. His reforms spread widely throughout the land (Cross 1958:178, 1458; Moorman 1963:358-9). As travel by rail became more common, bishops were able to visit their parish clergy more often. Regular episcopal visitations gradually replaced the irregular and often chaotic visits that had previously been made for the purposes of Confirmation. From the 1850s the Bishop's Charge, made during the episcopal visitation, became an important tool for developing a common mind amongst the clergy of a diocese. By the end of the century diocesan synods had largely replaced the visitations. These also helped to establish a feeling of cohesiveness amongst clergy (Hammond 1977:175).

During the century there was considerable progress towards the definition of the ideal clerical character and of the clerical profession. Until now the clerical profession had been understood primarily in functional terms. A clergyman was defined by what he did. Nineteenth century reflection, however, turned more and more towards the character of

the clergyman. The point is illustrated particularly well in the many books on pastoral theology which appeared at this time, written by senior churchmen for the guidance of their colleagues. The publication of these works says much about the developing sense of clergy professionalism. A favourite concept was that of the clergyman's 'consecrated character.' Ashton Oxenden drew a distinction between the older utilitarian view of the profession and the idea of clergy as models of faith and religious practice. In 1857, describing the ideal parish priest, he wrote, "He is not merely to go through a certain routine of duties; he is not to put on a little sanctity now and then. He is to be a living pattern to Christians, a living rebuke to sinners ... He is, in short, a man of consecrated character" (Heeney 1976:11). These ideals stand in sharp contrast to the perfunctoriness found in many clergy in earlier years.

The new emphasis meant, however, that a wedge was being driven between clergy and laity. It was widely interpreted, by both Evangelicals and High Churchmen, that if a man were set aside for the work of a priest, then he should turn his back on worldly pursuits and pleasures. In this way the caricature of the joyless, forbidding man of the cloth arose. In Australia in later years such people would be called 'wowsers.' Increasingly, clergy refrained from the pleasures of field sports, entertainments like the theatre and balls, and from games such as cricket. Their distance from the laity was taken further by the adoption of distinctive dress, always black, the length of the coat depending on the churchmanship of the wearer. Towards the end of the century, the dog collar came into fashion as a replacement for the white neck-cloth (Hammond 1977:202). Clergy distinctiveness was commended from both Evangelical and Tractarian quarters. The Evangelical, Oxenden, wrote, "The everyday life of a Christian pastor, instead of being as the life of men in general, should be sacred." For Henry Manning, a Tractarian, "Relaxed habits - blameless in our lay brethren - are not innocent in us" (Heeney 1976:12). The readiness to respond to such a calling to otherness indicates that clergy were seeing themselves as a clearly differentiated fellowship, that is, as a professional class, more unambiguously than ever before.

The biographies of clergy of the first half of the century reveal that almost all were ordained in their early or middle twenties. They were ordained for life. What was possible for the doctor or lawyer or civil servant was not possible for the clergyman. He could not step aside from the work he had committed himself to. Church law forbade the

clergy to give up their orders on pain of excommunication, while Statute law forbade them to engage in commercial activity. It was understood, theologically, that a clergyman's orders were indelible. On all sides the indissoluble bonds of the profession were driven home to its members. "Once set apart for the work of the ministry there is no receding from it," wrote Oxenden. The words said in committing oneself to ordination "cannot be unsaid," wrote Samuel Wilberforce (Heeney 1976:15). Clergy distinctiveness was being steadily reinforced. A small minority believed that these emphases would lead to dismay and hypocrisy in the disillusioned or sensitive clergyman. In 1866 Harry Jones, a man of the middle ground, expressed the view that a cleric's true dedication was to be seen in "a yearning sympathetic regard for his fellow rather than in an air of separation" (Heeney 1976:17). Jones's views were ahead of their time.

Contemporary feeling was also hostile to alternative patterns of ministry. In the 1850s, Convocation – the synodal assembly of the hierarchy of the Church – discussed a proposal for a temporary and part-time diaconal ministry, but the notion was abandoned because of legal difficulties. Besides, the indelibility of the clergy was held to be inviolate. Ordained ministry was not for "those who could give the service of a time, but not the service of a life" to their work (Heeney 1976:16). Not all nineteenth century clergymen were models of piety and pastoral devotion, but the work of all of them was set against a general recognition of the permanency and distinctiveness of ordained ministry.

From the 1830s, the English church was galvanised by the advent of the Oxford Movement. The High Church element had been dispersed for well over a century, but its appeal was now re-asserted, both from a concern to restore a lost sense of holiness to the church and in opposition to the liberal pressures within the nation. The most significant figure was John Keble, whose *The Christian Year*, published in 1827, was extraordinarily successful. In July 1833, Keble's sermon on 'National Apostasy' set the new movement in train. Arising from a small coterie of like-minded men, the aims of the movement were brilliantly publicised throughout the nation. The principal means of promotion were the *Tracts for the Times*, most being written by Keble, Newman and Pusey. These were aimed particularly at the clergy. Tract 1, written by Newman, included a pamphlet, *Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission respectfully addressed to the Clergy*, which disparaged "palpable usefulness, produceable results, acceptableness to your flocks," and

called clergy instead to a high concept of their office as priests, ordained by bishops who were "Representatives of the Apostles" (Cross 1958:1369; Moorman 1963:341). The Tracts urged upon clergy not only a heightened view of their own special status, but also a vision of the church as the Body of Christ. This appeal fell on fertile ground. A large number of clergy numbered themselves with the Tractarians, otherwise known as 'Puseyites' or, later, as 'Anglo-Catholics' (Vidler 1961:52). At a time when the Evangelical Revival was losing some of its vitality (Neill 1958:242-3), and in contrast to the Evangelicals, Anglo-Catholicism at its best brought to the English church liturgical regeneration, a revival of the spirit of communion with God, a balance between biblical and sacramental emphases in worship, a commitment to sacrificial pastoral endeavour, a special concern for clergy training, and, above all, an unequivocal assertion of the glory of the Church of England as in legitimate succession to the Church of the Apostles and part of the 'one Catholick and Apostolick Church' of God.

As the understanding of the clergy as a distinct professional class grew, there developed a concern for specialised preparation for ministry. Until well into the nineteenth century the normal pre-requisite for ordination was simply a degree taken at Oxford or Cambridge. Many men were admitted without any qualification (Kitson Clark 1973:49). The principal means of instruction was in the form of the handbooks previously referred to. These bore such titles as *The Clergyman's Instructor* (1817) or *Pastoralia. A Manual of Helps for the Parochial Clergy* (1830) (Russell 1980:331-6). At the two established universities informal classes for intending clergy were introduced by Charles Simeon at Cambridge and Charles Lloyd at Oxford (Kitson Clark 1973:49). Many cathedrals, beginning with Durham in 1831, established colleges within their precincts for men who were unable to attend Oxford or Cambridge (Russell 1980:46). There was still, however, no comprehensive professional preparation. The main criticisms of clerical formation were summed up at a meeting of the Alcester clerical group in 1863: "absence of accurate theological knowledge"; "want of a complete acquaintance with the technical duties of the pastoral office"; and "neglect of all specific moral or spiritual training for the ministry" (Heeney 1976:98). These are heavy criticisms and were only slowly addressed. Cuddesdon College, founded in 1854 along High Church lines, was the first residential diocesan college to offer a complete preparation for ministry (Russell 1980:46). Evangelicals secured the introduction of theological courses in established institutions such as Durham University and King's College, London. It was not until 1917 that at

least one year of residential training was demanded of all ordinands (Wakeman 1955:507).

Evangelicals set much store on supervised practical training in the field. Such training was likened to the clinical experience ordered for medical students or to law students' articles (Heeney 1976:100). Much was done along these lines informally, by such men as Vaughan, Girdlestone, and Sandford (Heeney 1976:101). Such arrangements were for graduate ordinands only. Increasingly, however, non-graduate 'literate' sought ordination and colleges were established to cater for them. The two largest, both Evangelical foundations, were St. Bees (1816) and St. Aidan's (1846). The latter is of special interest for this study of older ordinands. Under the founder, Joseph Baylee, St. Aidan's put its students into city parishes for nine hours a week, carefully supervised by local clergy, with particular emphasis on house-to-house visiting. Many of its students were of mature age and had had previous experience in secular fields (Heeney 1976:104-7). As the sense of belonging to a clerical fellowship developed, many were drawn into informal gatherings of ordained men for theological and pastoral discussion. One of the foremost, the Curates' Clerical Club in London, remained in existence from 1856 into the next century. An earlier clergy club in London had 219 original members (Heeney 1976:109-10, 14). These were signs that professional awareness was developing significantly by the middle and later years of the nineteenth century.

The specialised spiritual leadership of the clergy was reduced, however, by the broad range of activity that fell to their hand. Much of their work lay in purely secular areas. In the earlier years of the century, about a quarter of county magistrates in England and Wales were clergymen (Heeney 1976:64). In the absence of any systematic career structure, many clergymen would take the opportunity to serve on the Bench as a way of bringing themselves under notice for future preferment (Russell 1980:151-2). However, the number of clerical magistrates declined as the understanding developed that good pastoral relations between clergyman and people could be jeopardised by such an appointment. Perhaps the point was best proved in far-off New South Wales, where the Reverend Samuel Marsden, chaplain and magistrate in the infant settlement until 1827, alienated the church from the lower classes of society, becoming known as 'the flogging parson' (Thompson 1994:4-5).

Many other tasks were undertaken by the clergy – administering poor relief and self-help schemes, medical care, organising recreational leisure activities, arranging and delivering public lectures, providing educational classes for adults, administering parish Sunday Schools, and maintaining nursery, infant, and elementary schools in their parishes. The latter task was the heaviest burden. Many men carried a heavy teaching load as well as their administrative responsibilities. The work of fund raising for the schools was particularly irksome. One parish priest complained that he had “spent more time on this business than on all my parochial and pastoral visitation, though I am quite unable to see why a clergyman should be expected ... to be perpetually responsible for duties which belong to all citizens in common” (Heeney 1976:88). These duties did in fact move increasingly into the public domain after 1870 with the passing of the Elementary Education Act. During the second half of the century, national and local statutory bodies took over many of the functions previously carried out by clergy. This trend was in accordance with the way clerical sentiment was developing; involvement in social and benevolent good works, though entirely noble in itself, nevertheless distracted a clergyman from his basic role of spiritual and pastoral leadership. The role of the clergy approximated more and more the role that was to become familiar in the next century.

The Australian Church and Clergy in the Nineteenth Century

Many aspects of nineteenth-century church life in England were found also in the Australian colonies. A sharp distinction, for instance, was maintained between the Evangelical and High Church wings of the church. A close correspondence is understandable in view of the high proportion of colonial clergy who were English-born and English-trained. Nevertheless, there was a marked distinctiveness to colonial church affairs, particularly with regard to the role of the clergy and the way clergy and church in general were viewed by settlers – both convict and free – in the less refined conditions of colonial society.

The first British settlement at Sydney in 1788 was an armed convict camp. Five of the six colonies that were eventually fashioned out of the Australian territories had convict backgrounds. The first Governor of New South Wales, Arthur Phillip, was instructed to “enforce a due observance of religion and good order among the inhabitants” (Historical

Records of Australia I i:14). A correlation was thus established between the religious and civil aspects of the colony. The first chaplains were regarded as agents of the administration in the management of the convicts. Their work was to make the prisoners more submissive and less wicked.

The chaplains, first Richard Johnson and, later, Samuel Marsden, both Evangelicals, worked tirelessly, but were horrified by the immorality found at all levels of society and by the hostility of the convicts to themselves and to the religious standards they represented. In 1798 Johnson recorded his belief that "by far the major part of the inhabitants are lost to all sense of virtue, and abandoned to every species of wickedness" (H.R.A. I ii:178-82). In the same year Marsden had reason to complain of the "disrespect shown to the sacred office of a clergyman" (H.R.A. I ii:185-6). In the earliest years convicts of all religious persuasions were ordered to attend divine service each Sunday, read from the English Prayer Book. The numerous Irish Catholics had good reason to be disgruntled, while the others were drawn principally from the urban poor of the English industrial cities, men and women mostly of violent and depraved habits, who had been lost to the church through the neglect of the previous half century and more. It may be presumed, however, that the convicts, being creatures of their age, harboured some religious feelings. Their hostility was to the church rather than to religion in general. As for the administrators, they thought in pragmatic terms; their first task was to keep order. The official attitude towards religion was characterised by "caution, not indifference" (Carey 1996:1). These attitudes were to pass into the mainstream of colonial religious sentiment.

It was assumed that the state church of England was the official church of the new colony. A strong Anglican bias permeated the colony. All schools were under the control of the Church (Cleverley 1971:27-45). It was more than thirty years before the first official Roman Catholic chaplains were appointed (Breward 1988:1). In 1818 Governor Macquarie disallowed Non-conformist Sunday Schools because he feared that the colony would be filled with Dissenters, "a consequence much to be deprecated" (H.R.A. I ix:780). The high point of Anglican supremacy, in theory at least, was the establishment of the Church and Schools Corporation in 1826. One-seventh of the land of the colony was set aside for the benefit of the "Established Church" (Burton 1840:Appendix), but the arrangement collapsed due largely to the vigorous protests of denominationalists like

the Presbyterian John Dunmore Lang and the Catholic Father John Joseph Therry (Connelly 1975:12-4). The population of New South Wales was far more diverse than that of the mother country, and the abrasive colonial liberalism that had developed by the late 1820s would not meekly accept such denominational privilege.

By 1830 New South Wales had developed some of the trappings of a free society. A Legislative Council and a Supreme Court were in place, though with very limited powers. There was a vocal free press. Settlement had spread into the interior. Pastoral expansion had extended into both the southern and northern regions of the original colony, later to become Victoria and Queensland respectively. A tide of free settlement had begun, though convicts and those of convict origin still formed a sizeable majority. The first census of New South Wales in 1828 revealed that there were 15 728 convicts, 7 530 emancipists, and 13 400 who had come as free settlers or were native born (Judd and Cable 1987:18).

The year 1830 saw the arrival of William Grant Broughton as Archdeacon of New South Wales, and, from 1836, Bishop of Australia. On his arrival he found in New South Wales eight churches and twelve clergymen. In Tasmania there were four churches and half a dozen clergy (Carey 1996:8-9). Broughton held socially conservative views and was a firm believer in Anglican supremacy. By the 1830s denominational feuding had become an established feature of colonial society. The main issue was education. When the liberal Governor, Richard Bourke, attempted to introduce a schools system along the line of the Irish National schools, with common religious teaching supplemented by specific denominational instruction, Broughton, drawing on anti-Catholic sentiment, secured the withdrawal of the proposed arrangements. It was another twelve years before a modified scheme of a National Schools system running parallel with the Denominational schools was set in place, in 1848.

Bourke, however, did have a victory over lingering Anglican pretensions with the passing of the Church Act in 1836. The Act gave even-handed support to the major denominations - Anglicans, Catholics, Presbyterians and, later, the Wesleyans. Clergy stipends were paid and assistance given to new clergy to migrate to the colony. Funds of up to 1 000 pounds were provided for the building of new churches if an equal sum was raised by local congregations. The result was a dramatic increase in church building and

the provision of clergy. Between 1836 and 1847, while the population of the colony doubled, the number of Anglican clergy increased almost fourfold and there was a corresponding increase in church building (Judd and Cable 1987:27). Broughton had opposed this measure on the old grounds that it made no allowance for Anglican preference and especially that it gave equal access to government funds to the Roman Catholics, but the great majority of colonists, including his own people, saw it as a just solution to an unjust anomaly. The laity showed themselves to be more accommodating than the hierarchy – a reaction in keeping with colonial sentiment as a whole.

Following a House of Commons report showing that the whole of colonial society had been debased by the convict system, the transportation of convicts to New South Wales was ended in 1840, and to Tasmania in 1853 (Clark 1968:344). The convict era, however, had played a large part in fashioning colonial and, eventually, national character. Many characteristic elements in Australian society have been traced to the influence of convictism. First among these is the anti-authoritarian strand in Australian society. For the churches, this spilled over into anti-clericalism and helped to propel the force of lay involvement in church affairs. The Australian character is said to be deeply offended by personal injustice – an element founded in the appalling treatment of most convicts. In local parlance, Australians demand ‘a fair go.’ Church members expect to be treated honestly and respectfully by their bishops and other leaders. The overwhelming preponderance of men in the early decades of settlement gave rise to a male dominance in society and to a characteristic disregard for the place of women. Women still have an under-represented voice in society and in church matters (Porter 1990:8-9). Strong lines of demarcation between masters and servants existed in early colonial society. It has been argued that this has given rise to a “military chaplaincy” style of religious life in which church members expect to have arrangements for religious observance provided for them rather than see themselves as an integral part of their church, in contrast to the situation as it developed in the United States (Bouma 1988:44-85). Manning Clark has pointed to the “melancholy and sardonic humour” of the Australian personality and linked it with the circumstances of the convict era:

It seemed possible that the experience of these convicts planting civilization in a harsh, uncouth continent with only the labour of their hands was one of the reasons why they and their descendants were suspicious and sceptical of anyone who held out hope of better things for mankind. ... Australians

knew from of old that the only glory men know on earth is how they respond to defeat and failure. (Clark 1976:29)

Several other aspects of national character, such as a perceived stoicism in difficult circumstances, a contempt for intellectualism, and a championing of physical prowess over cultural attainment, have been related to the influence of convictism in early New South Wales and Tasmania (Cannon 1971:76). A particular manner of expressing religious sentiment was coming into being, one which was not easy for church leaders brought up under English conditions to understand. Clergy of a more homespun disposition often were more successful. When the Reverend J.C. Symons, the first Wesleyan minister in Gippsland, first appeared there he wore a pair of moleskins in order not to deter his congregation by "the terrors of a black suit," and was warmly accepted as a "right good fellow in fustian, instead of a mere formal parson" (Barrett 1966:188).

In earlier times there were few men from within the colonies available for ordination, and they tended to be held in disfavour by church authorities. Clergy were in short supply. In 1819 Parliament had passed the Colonial Clergy Act, which provided for men to be ordained specifically for colonial service without having the level of qualification needed at home. Eighty-one such men came to the Australian colonies over the next three decades. By the 1840s the number of clergy was increasing as a consequence of Bourke's Church Act, but very few were native born. Of the thirty-eight men ordained by Broughton between 1836 and 1849, thirty-five were English-born, although some had lived previously in the colonies (Judd and Cable 1987:36). By now there was a widespread feeling that those already in the colony could do better than those who came directly from England (Robin 1967:153, 156).

In 1842 the Diocese of Tasmania had been created, and five years later Broughton's vast Diocese of Australia was divided further by the creation of the Dioceses of Adelaide, Newcastle (originally Morpeth), and Melbourne, which corresponded to the present State of Victoria. To balance the appointment of High Church bishops elsewhere, Melbourne was given to the intelligent, articulate and evangelical Charles Perry (Judd and Cable 1987:44-5). On his arrival he found only three clergymen settled in the entire region – at Melbourne, Geelong and Portland (Grant 1997:3). The scattered pastoral settlements had been visited irregularly by other men, often in heroic circumstances. The Reverend E.G.

Pryce, for instance, had visited the far eastern parts of the Diocese twice, in 1845 and 1847, conducting services, baptisms and weddings en route. These visits entailed crossing the Great Dividing Range on horseback from his mission district on the Monaro High Plains, where he worked for four years with neither home nor church (St. Paul's Church, Cooma, Centenary Booklet, 1965:7-8). Pryce was one of a new breed of pioneering clergy who won the respect of settlers in the bush by their commitment and devotion, an attitude to be compared with the greater secularism and anti-clericalism more evident in the towns.

Perry found it difficult to obtain satisfactory pastors for his rapidly growing diocese. Many of the English men, he found, did not have "the qualities essential for an efficient clergyman in this colony," he wrote. "In particular many of them do not possess the energy and intellectual power and talent of dealing with their fellow-men which are peculiarly required here" (in Adam 1997:161). He experimented with a system of training local men, requiring them to spend some years as licensed Readers before proceeding to full time theological training and/or ordination. Some of these men were poorly educated; others lacked sensitivity; one – Andrew George Scott – became a bushranger! Opposition to the system developed, and Perry's practice of sending these men to Moore College, Sydney, for their training was also unpopular. But Perry persisted. In the difficult rural areas of his diocese practical and dedicated men were needed rather than academics. Perry was breaking new ground for the Church of England in requiring candidates for the ministry "to prove by their evangelistic labours their fitness for the work before laying hands on them, and thus turned the necessities of the church into a means of both extending her ministrations and testing the character of her future ministers" (Melbourne Argus, in Robin 1967:180). New patterns of ministry and of ministry training were emerging in the light of the special conditions existing in the colony.

Four years after the establishment of the Diocese of Melbourne, in 1851, the Victorian gold rushes began. Huge amounts of gold were won on fields such as Ballarat, Bendigo, and Mount Alexander, all within easy reach of Melbourne. A flood of fortune seekers arrived, from other colonies and from overseas, mostly of British stock, but including many Europeans and Americans and a significant number of Chinese. Between 1851 and 1861 the population of Victoria grew from 87 000 to 540 000 (Ward 1965:60). By the beginning of the 1860s, Melbourne was becoming one of the world's great cities, with

broad streets, public utilities, a railway service, university, theatres, and splendid public buildings. The new colony was awash with money from gold and there was a mood of expansive optimism on all sides. Society became more complex, but the old colonial characteristics continued to dominate (McNaughtan 1955:99).

The influx of migrants and the spread of settlement due to the gold discoveries exacerbated the shortage of clergy and buildings. However the government granted land for churches and gave generous subsidies to all denominations, thus ensuring that stipends would be paid to clergy and schoolmasters. But it was many years before any kind of satisfactory system of ministry was in place, particularly in the gold districts. Perry was forced to look to England for the extra clergy needed, but many of the newcomers, he felt, were too cultured for the bush and others not sufficiently cultured for the towns! Others who had been influenced by Tractarianism held theological views displeasing to their Evangelical bishop (Grant 1997:5). The relative standing of the Church of England in Victoria declined as a result of the gold rushes. A significant proportion of the immigrants belonged to other Protestant churches (Grant and Serle 1957:82), especially the Methodists, whose greater flexibility and informality were more in tune with people in country districts (Breward 1988:29). For Anglicans, a long-term result of the gold rushes was that the growth of population in the rural districts led eventually to the division of the Diocese. Ballarat was formed in 1875 and Bendigo, Gippsland and Wangaratta in 1902.

In the increasingly liberal period that followed the gold rushes it was inconceivable that state aid could be maintained over the longer term. State secularism was accompanied by the growth of religious scepticism, reinforced by the spread of scientific thinking from Britain where Darwinism had made a large impact, and also by the effects of the new biblical criticism which challenged the convictions of the Evangelicals in particular (Thompson 1994:24). Perry worked hard to combat the inroads of these new approaches, and his successor, James Moorhouse, drew enormous public acclaim for his spirited addresses on these subjects (Breward 1988:34). But Anglicans more than others were susceptible to the influence of emerging attitudes in society. Perhaps the most important outcome of the gold era for the Anglican Church had been the growth of a sturdy, articulate lay membership impatient with the denominationalism of the hierarchy and caught up in the persuasive liberalism that was becoming the spirit of the age. Liberalism

and secularism triumphed in the 1870s when the colonial government, with the support of most Anglicans, withdrew all support from the churches (1870) and from church schools (1872). These were not policies directed against the churches. Rather they were a sign of the times. Gregory's classic study of the forces at work in the hearts and minds of Victorians in the early 1870s concluded with these words:

Agnosticism, with its questioning of long-accepted teachings of the Church and, by implication, of its alliance with the State; voluntarism with its attacks on the contaminating and debilitating influence of State support upon the Church; and sectarianism, with its bitterness and rancour and its distinctions between 'true' and 'false'; all these made their contribution to the movement towards secularism in the State. But at bottom the abolition of State aid to religion and the introduction of a secular system of public education were pieces of liberal reform not inspired by any doctrinaire rejection of the value of religion nor by any desire to persecute the Church, Protestant or Roman Catholic, but rather by a determination to make the State, in action and in law, the symbol of a common citizenship. (Gregory 1960:88)

Colonial liberalism was a powerful force. It was not that the churches and the clergy in particular had merely to contend with liberal forces as an external agency. By and large they were caught up in the movement themselves. Many Anglican clergy as well as laity were prominent in the campaign to establish national schools, even though that led directly to the severe contraction of the denominational system of schools and a diminution of the role of the clergy and of the direct influence of the church in the community. Again, most rank-and-file clergy acquiesced in the withdrawal of state funds to churches and church schools, even though it meant that an entirely new means of voluntary support would now be necessary, and that, in turn, involved a new relationship being established between clergy and laity. It may be argued that in aligning themselves with the liberal sympathies of local society, the Anglican Church was doing no more than fulfilling its historic role of identifying with the spirit of the people. Yet, in doing so, both church and clergy began to lose their traditional place in society, to the extent that a century and more later it may be questioned whether they have re-discovered a legitimate role for themselves.

In the decades following the gold era, bush sentiment became an even more powerful element in Australian culture. The best farming land had been held on long-term lease by pastoralists running sheep and producing fine wool. In Victoria two Selection Acts of the

1860s allowed smallholders to take up of blocks of land in designated areas on favourable terms if improvements were made in ensuing years (Laidlaw 1979:203). There followed many years of intrigue and deception as 'squatters' and 'selectors' battled each other to gain possession of good land. Part of the 'bush legend' is an egalitarian sympathy with the small farmers in their struggle against entrenched power – part of the protest against authority that had entered the national psyche in earlier times. The selectors and their families faced extreme hardships. In the outback – the future dioceses of Ballarat, Bendigo and Wangaratta – drought, rabbit infestations and transportation problems were often overwhelming. In Gippsland forests had to be cleared and swamps drained, survival crops of potatoes planted, and pastures improved for cattle. The short stories and poems of writers like Henry Lawson and George Essex Evans captured the poignancy and wretchedness of these struggles. The call of the bush still tugs powerfully at the hearts of many Australians.

In ministering to people in the bush and in country towns, the clergy to some extent became part of that bush legend. Some were literally pioneers of the faith. Willoughby Bean, an Englishman by birth, migrated to New South Wales and farmed there for twenty years before travelling to England for theological studies. On his return in 1848, when of mature age, he was ordained by Bishop Perry and spent eleven years in Gippsland as the first resident minister. For the first six years he was the sole Church of England clergyman in the whole of Gippsland, an area of tens of thousands of square miles (Clark 1947:24-49). He was one of Perry's successes. Later, in the 1880s, Robert Martin, a Stipendiary Bush Missioner, conducted a heroic horseback ministry amongst the isolated mountain settlements in the huge Croajingalong district beyond Orbost. Martin, a former sea-captain, began his work in Gippsland at the age of forty-eight, and was ordained twenty years later! (Clark 1947:132-6). Such men were respected by country people for their fortitude and down-to-earth approach to the faith. The bishops learnt to follow their lead. Bishop Moorhouse was praised in the country press as being "eloquent, forcible, and practical" (*Gippsland Times*, 23 February, 1882). He wrote to a friend in England, "I suppose my straight hitting from the shoulder suits them. And although I never spare them, I always try to speak with good nature and kindly feeling" (*Gippsland Times*, 21 November, 1877). The "shirt-sleeves" style of ministry, developed in the particular circumstances of the Australian bush, remains an important component of the national religious scene.

Depression and drought ushered in the decade of the 1890s. Victoria, with its greater dependence on manufacturing and with a large concentration of population in Melbourne, was the worst-affected colony. Large-scale strikes, notably in the shearing and maritime industries, ended with the defeat of the workers. The labouring classes of the cities, neglected by the churches as they had been earlier in England, found few friends amongst the church hierarchy. The Archbishop of Melbourne spoke of the unions' tactics as "sheer tyranny" (Thompson 1994:35). The interest of the churches lay in moral reformation rather than social reform – an attitude fostered in the days of convictism. Now the emphasis moved to the family. Much of the churches' energy went on the temperance issue. There were also intense campaigns against gambling. Australian society was still dominated by men, and the churches seemed to many to be attacking the established male-oriented culture of the times. Sabbatarianism was another issue. The churches' campaigns were most successful in Victoria, where severe restrictions on Sunday activities lasted into the 1960s. Those pursuing these policies became known as "wowsers" – a term of considerable abuse! In identifying with these campaigns, church and clergy isolated themselves from public sympathy. A secular philosophy, fostered by the literary upsurge of the 1890s, was more appealing to many – a feeling Henry Lawson captured in his poem *The Shearers* (Kiernan n.d. :272):

No church-bell rings them from the Track,
No pulpit lights their blindness –
'Tis hardship, drought and homelessness
That teach those bushmen kindness.

The marginalisation of the churches, so remarked upon a hundred years later, was well developed in the previous century. Clergy had to win a place if they were to be a natural part of the lives of the people.

By 1891 75 per cent of Australians were native-born (Ward 1965:78). Most had come to think of themselves as Australians rather than expatriates. Some began to dream of creating a new kind of country. For many, the church was seen as part of the old order that needed to be renewed if not swept away. "God bless Australia," wrote Henry Lawson. "... God keep her clear of the old-world shams and social lies and mockery, and callous commercialism, and sordid shame" (in Willis 1982:65). The Anglican Church – still known as the Church of England – was particularly susceptible to being linked with

Lawson's "old world." National sentiment culminated in the Federation of the six colonies under the name of the "Commonwealth of Australia," proclaimed on 1 January, 1901. The churches had played little part in the debates leading up to Federation – a sign of their separation from the political processes of the day.

The new century began in a symphony of self-congratulation regarding the past and of dreaming with regard to the future. There was one tune, however, that had not been heard amongst the strident sounds of European superiority. That was the voice of the aborigines. They had a different Dreaming. Since settlement began the aborigines had been brutally treated, and the churches had shown little understanding of their plight. In the second half of the century mission stations were established with the aim of protecting and civilising the aborigines. The Ramahyuck Mission Station in Gippsland, established in 1863, is a good example (Pryor 1982:390-1). Here, "civilising the aborigines" meant the destruction of tribal culture and the adoption of white customs, including Christianity. In the dispossession of their land aborigines were excluded from the source of their spirituality (Stanner 1969:44). It was not until the latter part of the twentieth century that the significance of aboriginal spirituality was widely recognised.

The century had seen the gradual indigenisation of the clergy, but they remained on the margins of popular culture. Several elements militated against their effectiveness – a general suspicion of authority, a prevailing mood of anti-intellectualism, the growth of rationalism in the wider community, and the hesitancy of church members to take responsibility for church affairs. Clergy could not count on a position of automatic prestige in the general community or within their own churches. If they were to be effective and well-regarded, they had to earn that warrant.

The Australian Church and Clergy in the Twentieth Century

The constitutional and organisational framework of the Church of England throughout the colonies was well established by 1901. The church in Victoria had been recognised in law by the Legislative Council; a network of parishes had been established as the basic units of church life and mission; the principle of voluntarism was universally accepted; and parish clergy and laity had won an important place in the governance of church affairs.

Melbourne had broken new ground in giving representation in Synod to rank-and-file clergy. For executive action the Bishop of Melbourne was now "utterly dependent on the free consent and participation of his laity and the canonical obedience of his clergy" (Minchin 1997:204-5).

A most important institutional development occurred later in the century when the Australian church was established as an autonomous body and a new constitution adopted. The constitution came into force in 1962, when the Australian church became "The Church of England in Australia," and later, in 1981, "The Anglican Church of Australia" (Judd and Cable 1987:285). Under the constitution, ultimate power rests with the dioceses rather than with General Synod (Kaye 1995:45-50). The constitution allows dioceses to adopt only those Canons of General Synod they choose to. Because of this provision, dioceses have differed over some fundamental issues. One difference significant for this thesis is that the Dioceses of Melbourne, Bendigo, Gippsland, and Tasmania have assented to the General Synod canon permitting the ordination of women as priests, while the Dioceses of Ballarat and Wangaratta have not done so.

Many aspects of colonial church and community life were carried through into the new century. The churches were voluntary organisations set in a liberal secular society. Within the Anglican Church, differences of churchmanship remained prominent, while there was a conspicuous sense amongst the laity that they should be partners in the ecclesiastical enterprise. In matters of proclamation, morality and personal conduct were emphasised rather than the faith itself. In the community at large authoritarianism, intellectualism and clericalism remained suspect; there was a cautious approach to overt signs of religious expression (Manning Clark's "sardonic cynicism"); and values stemming from the bush remained powerful in society – stoic resolution, self-restraint, and mutual support (as well as the obverse quality -- a narrowness of mind and spirit). There was little in-built respect for office. Professionals such as clergy would be accepted if they could show themselves to be good at their job and acceptable in their personal style. These characteristics remained in evidence, particularly in rural areas, throughout the century.

The nation was deeply affected by the First World War. Sixty thousand Australians died (Reese 1964:64). Australian troops won international acclaim at Gallipoli, on the Western

Front and in the Middle East. Coming so soon after Federation, the achievements of their troops gave Australians the first thrill of acknowledged nationhood. A legend was created, perpetuating and extending much of the bush legend of the previous century. The 'Anzac Legend' honours the Australian 'digger' – "a bit of a larrikin, not given to emotion or religion, laconic, cheeky to his superiors, and dry of wit ... most of all he was loyal to his mates" (Porter 1990:55). Each year Anzac Day observances grow bigger, as the actual memory of war grows dimmer. Quasi-religious ceremonies are held, with their own liturgies and symbolic use of candles, wreathes, and music. The acting out of the Anzac legend each year produces in increasing numbers of Australians feelings akin to religious experience – personal association with the spirit of the pioneers of the faith, a sense of being part of an encompassing realm of goodness, a bonding with others who share the experience, and a real, though possibly transitory, personal ennoblement. The Anzac creed, however, is a secular one, consisting, in varying degrees, of nationalistic self-identity and liberal humanism (Campbell 1977:180, 182), democracy and social equality (Serle 1965:156), and comradeship and stoic patriotism (Inglis 1965:30). A 'civil religion' has grown up in Australia alongside the religion of the churches.

The First World War also exacerbated denominational differences, nowhere more than in Victoria. In 1916 the Prime Minister, William Morris Hughes, attempted to introduce conscription for overseas service. The matter went to two successive national referenda which were bitterly fought and eventually narrowly defeated. The suppression of the Easter uprising in Dublin by British troops in that year had inflamed anti-British feeling amongst the Irish-Catholic constituency, and this was skilfully exploited by the Catholic Bishop (later Archbishop) of Melbourne, Dr. Daniel Mannix, in vigorously campaigning for a 'No' vote in the referenda debates. Meanwhile the Anglican Archbishop of Melbourne, Henry Lowther Clarke, staunchly advocated a 'Yes' vote, and his Synod gave him unanimous support (Dargaville 1997:185). The tendency for Anglicans to support conscription and Catholics to oppose it was found across the nation. The Anglican-Catholic divide became less volatile in later years as the Catholics withdrew into "a comfortable isolationism" (O'Farrell 1985:370), but anti-Catholic feeling amongst Anglicans remained strong. Anglicans were part of the specifically anti-Catholic Victorian Protestant Federation, formed in the 'twenties, while Catholic attitudes towards mixed marriages helped to keep alive previously-formed prejudices. No real rapprochement was essayed until the 1960s, under the influence of the Second Vatican

Council on one hand and the ecumenical initiative of Melbourne's Archbishop Frank Woods on the other. In 1976 Pope John Paul II visited St. Paul's Anglican Cathedral, Melbourne, prayed with Anglican leaders, and lit a Candle of Unity (Dargaville 1997:185-92). At the end of the century, memories of earlier Anglican-Catholic hostility remained, though the substance had largely disappeared.

The relationship between the Anglican church and the Protestant denominations has been of a different order, though still often laboured. In the earlier years of the century there was some enthusiasm for closer relations, largely as a spin-off from the new Federal spirit abroad in the nation. The various Methodist churches united in 1902, and there followed a visionary proposal emanating from the Presbyterian Church for a degree of union amongst the non-Catholic churches. Dr. A.W. Pain, the first Bishop of Gippsland, was a fervent supporter of the movement, citing the duplication of resources in rural areas as well as the "scandal" of religious rivalry then current. Archbishop Lowther Clarke and the Melbourne Synod expressed agreement with the direction of the proposals, and General Synod appointed delegates to the ensuing discussions. But there was opposition from Anglo-Catholics, and the legal authority of the church to engage in a form of union with other churches was questioned. In the event, the movement proved premature and evaporated amidst the dislocations of the War (Dargaville 1997:184).

Anglicans in Victoria have engaged in ecumenism at a working level with other churches in fields such as the Student Christian Movement, theological education, and the Council for Christian Education in Schools. The primary ecumenical body in Victoria is the Victorian Council of Churches, which, since 1979, has included the Roman Catholic Church (Dargaville 1997:186-7). In some rural districts, co-operating churches have been established, in almost all cases between the Anglican and Uniting Churches. These are driven by staffing and financial constraints, however, rather than from purely ecumenical motives. Ministers' Associations covering the major denominations are found in most rural districts and in many suburbs. In general, enthusiasm for ecumenical efforts is greater amongst clergy than amongst lay members of the churches.

After the Second World War the nation's cultural and religious spectrum broadened appreciably as a result of the Federal government's immigration policy. Table 2.1 shows

changes in the religious profile of the nation since the Second World War. The figures are for stated identification only, and are not a measure of church involvement.

Table 2.1
Proportion of Selected Religious Groups (Australia), 1947 and 2001 Censuses

Religious Identification	1947		2001	
	(000s)	(%)	(000s)	(%)
Christian				
Anglican	2957	39.0	3881	20.7
Baptist	114	1.5	309	1.7
Catholic	1570	20.7	5002	26.7
Lutheran	67	0.9	250	1.3
MPCRU*	1678	22.1	1887	10.1
Orthodox	17	0.2	529	2.8
Pentecostal	-	-	195	1.04
Total Christian	6673	88.0	12764	68.0
Non-Christian				
Buddhists	-	-	358	1.9
Hindus	-	-	95	0.5
Jews	32	0.4	84	0.4
Muslims	-	-	282	1.5
Other	4	0.1	92	0.5
Total Non-Christian	36	0.5	911	4.8
Inadequate descr.	-	-	352	1.9
No Religion	26	0.3	2905	15.5
Not Stated	-	-	1836	9.8
Total Population	7579	-	18769	

*MPCRU combines the data for the Methodist, Presbyterian, Congregational, Reformed, and Uniting Churches. The Uniting Church was formed in 1977 in a merger of Congregational, Methodist, and about half of the Presbyterian Churches.

(Source: Bouma 2003:58).

Churches of Anglo-Celtic origin declined in proportionate strength, while churches drawing from European sources increased. For different reasons, smaller evangelical sects also flourished. In the later years of the century, non-Christian religious groups were bolstered by the arrival of many people of Middle-eastern and Asian origin. Perhaps the most significant shift was the increase in the percentage of those registering a 'No religion' census return.

There are significant regional variations from this broad pattern. Rural dioceses were less affected by ethnic and religious changes. One out of three Tasmanians, for instance, remains Anglican, but Melbourne has a significantly more cosmopolitan pattern,

Anglicans making up only 13.6 per cent of the population as against Catholics 29.2 per cent, Orthodox 6.1 per cent, and 'MPCRU' 7.3 per cent. Sixty-two per cent of Melbourne's people claim to be Christian, while 8 per cent belong to other faiths. The rest belong to the 'No Religion,' 'Not Stated,' or 'Inadequately described' categories (Australian Bureau of Statistics, Census 2001 Tables, A.B.S. Website, 25 May 2004).

The Anglican church in the Diocese of Melbourne has established formal relationships with various non-Christian faiths. For ethnic Christians, several ethnic fellowships have been created, and clergy of similar backgrounds appointed, for instance, Persian, Tamil, and Chinese-speaking clergy (*A Garden of Many Colours* 1985:48-51). The clergy of Melbourne Diocese in particular must now be sensitive to the racial composition of the community and of the congregations and organisations they serve. Clergy also need to take into consideration that there are many in the community who belong to non-Christian faiths, and that one person in six in the wider community declares that they have no religion at all.

Clergy operate, as well, in a climate of declining church attendances and reduced participation in the occasional services of the Church. These trends are well illustrated in the Diocese of Melbourne. The Diocesan Year Books reveal a sharp decline in the number of communicants annually from the end of the 1970s. Table 2.2 reveals the decline in four formal measures of denominational involvement – baptisms, Sunday School attendances, confirmations, and burials – from the high point of the 1960s. These figures should be considered in the light of the growth of Melbourne's population. In the same period, the metropolitan area grew from 2 110 000 to 3 022 000.

Table 2.2
Decline in Some Church Returns, Anglican Diocese of Melbourne,
1960-61 – 1990-91

Year	Baptisms	Sunday School Attendances	Confirmations	Burials
1960-61	10 346	37 486	6 063	5 993
1970-71	8 654	26 987	4 521	5 513
1980-81	5 110	8 299	1 852	4 615
1990-91	3 174	5 652	1 049	4 016

(Source: Holden 1997:84-5).

While identification with the Anglican Church has fallen, the ways in which adherents actually connect with their church have declined much faster. Many reasons for this decline have been postulated, many of them external to the church itself: social changes that reduce the sense of local identity, new work practices, changing patterns of family structure, increased opportunities for Sunday sports and entertainment, the general loss of confidence in institutions of all kinds, the expectation of "instant gratification" of personal needs, the growth of alternative forms of enacting spirituality, the loss of agreed core values in the community, the trend to individualism in general, and the privatisation of religious sentiment. Some observers point to peculiarly Australian causes: the indifference to religion arising from local circumstances of the nineteenth century, the failure of the state to induce a religious culture, and the reduction of religious feeling associated with a sense of "alienation from the landscape" (Jackson, Hugh 1988:9).

The church is often seen as contributing to its own decline, as in its unreadiness to recognise and adapt to structural changes in society, its slowness to ordain women, its unwillingness to introduce new liturgies and styles of worship, the lack of appropriate training for clergy, the conservatism of its membership in general, and the failure of the church to make clear and to act upon its distinctively Anglican heritage of being grounded in community life. The church has lost its former identity, while it struggles to find a place in the modern social context. The General Secretary of General Synod claims that Anglicans until the 1970s were the closest religious group to being a cross section of the population at large (Kaye 1998: not paged). But now, the church is "one of a number of players in ... a game whose centre of gravity has shifted elsewhere ... The real problem for Anglicans is that we do not find it easy to know how we should live Christianly in this society" (Kaye 1999: not paged). So far as this is true for the church as a whole, it applies also to the clergy who seek to understand and carry out the church's mission.

Several other internal factors have helped to change the religious landscape of the late twentieth century. Women have played an increasingly large part in church affairs in all major denominations. In their analysis of the Australian Values Systems Study of 1983, Bouma and Dixon report that Australian women attend church more frequently than men, are more likely to pray, meditate, or contemplate than men, are more likely to identify themselves as religious, and are more likely to consider God important in their lives

(Bouma and Dixon 1986:197-200). In 1947 male and female nominal adherents of the Anglican Church were evenly balanced, but since then men have been lost to the church at a faster rate than women (Carey 1996:119). By the mid-1980s Anglicans had the lowest male-to-female ratio of church attenders of all churches – 35-65 per cent across the whole nation (Kaldor 1987:110).

Despite the strength of rural images in Australian society generally, the nation has always been and remains highly urbanised. Half of Australia's residents live in Sydney or Melbourne or within 160 kilometres of those city centres. Melbourne, population 3.5 million, has 72.4 per cent of the total population of Victoria (Victorian Population Bulletin, Website, 21 May 2004), and has grown partly at the expense of the rural areas of the State. The decline in rural population has adversely affected the smaller towns: many schools and government services have been withdrawn, and shops and banks closed. Outcentres in many parishes have closed, and some parishes in rural dioceses have amalgamated. In Bendigo and Gippsland Dioceses several parishes have become Co-operating parishes – Anglicans, Uniting Church and, in one parish, Church of Christ members worshipping together with one minister serving all. The diocese in this study most affected by rural decline is Tasmania which faces a possible loss of half of its population over the first half of the present century (Australian Bureau of Statistics Website, 10 October, 2001). Many clergy work in parishes which cannot maintain full-time ministry through their own voluntary efforts, and whose future is in question.

Australian studies have generally confirmed overseas findings regarding patterns of church attendance. Thus Kaldor (1987:83-4) reports that in the cities Anglican attendance rates, along with those of the Uniting Church, are highest in the stable, white-collar dormitory suburbs that are predominantly Anglo-Celtic in character, where the age profile is higher, and where family structure patterns are more regular. This pattern is broadly true, also, for Catholics. Kaldor's findings were later substantiated by Bellamy et al. (2002:17-24). Less research has been done in Australia on the pattern of church attendance in rural areas, but what has been done suggests that attendance is higher in the smaller, stable rural communities and lower in the more diverse, more mobile, and larger regional centres. Church attendance rates tend to increase when rural communities are experiencing favourable economic conditions (Kaldor 1987:93). Farmers and agricultural workers have one of the highest rates of all occupations for church attendance (Bellamy

et al. 2002:20). Rural clergy work amongst a more stable and predictable church community than urban clergy.

For Australia as a whole, Anglicans have the lowest rate of church attendance of all denominational groups. The Australian Values Systems Study reveals that across the country 72 per cent of those declaring themselves Anglicans attend church never or rarely (that is less than twice a year), 12 per cent occasionally (on specific holy days or once every two or three months), and 16 per cent regularly (at least once a month). According to the same scale of attendance, 23 per cent of those describing themselves as Presbyterian, Methodist and Uniting Church members attend church regularly, 45.5 per cent of Catholics, and 56 per cent of those belonging to theologically right-wing Protestant groups (Bouma and Dixon:1986:7-8). There is some evidence that loyalty to denomination is declining. In an age when religion is more individualised, when religious experience is prized above other outcomes of religious involvement, and when more immediate spiritual returns are expected for one's religious outlay, "product sampling" is common and "brand loyalty is in free-fall" (Bouma 1999:8), especially in the cities. This brings pressure on local churches, Anglicans no less than others, to offer an "attractive package" as their first objective, at the risk of sacrificing other aspects of their traditional denominational emphasis. In rural areas isolation and a greater degree of social conservatism combine to tie church members more securely to their familiar churches.

Beyond these more immediate considerations stands the broad philosophical and psychological mind-set of contemporary Australians. They carry with them the cultural apparatus of their history as described previously, but overlain with the particular ecology of their 'post-modern' times. Black (1999:25-6) identifies four principal components of this thought-world – the metaphysical, the moral, the pluralistic, and the scientific, each of which is at odds with the traditional outlook of the mainline Christian churches. By the metaphysical he refers to the questioning, not only of aspects of the Christian faith such as the Biblical miracles, but also of the existence of God and the human soul, indeed of the possibility of establishing any degree of truth in human existence. The moral challenge to religion stems from the wide acceptance of aspects of personal behaviour, particularly in the sexual field, that in the past have been condemned by the churches. There is wide acceptance of the value of non-Christian and non-Anglo-Celtic traditions, and a readiness to place them on the same level of scrutiny and acceptance as the Western

Christian tradition. Finally, modern science has provided an explanation of the universe and the laws of human existence that stands over against the historic teachings of the church, and the church is seen as failing to come to terms with the alternative scientific position. It is into – and out of – this world that the ordinand of the present time is called.

The Australian Values Systems Study has attempted to measure the personal values of Australians. In their exhaustive study of the results, Bouma and Dixon (1986:166) conclude that Australia is “not a secular, godless society comprised mostly of irreligious persons who discount the importance of God in their lives,” pointing out that 86 per cent of Australians identified with some religious group, two-thirds prayed, at least occasionally, and over a quarter said they attend church at least once a month. Further, people’s religion was found to influence their behaviour in explicit ways. Religion is still a powerful factor in the lives of most Australians, but is not expressed through the medium of the churches to the extent that it once was. The mainstream churches can no longer arrange the agenda of religious practice. Rather, they are part of a very diverse range of ways through which Australians express their religious sentiment. Not only is there a huge and increasing number of religious groups – forty-one in 1966, over two hundred in 1988 (Carey 1996:174) – but there is an increasing diversity within many of these groups, both Christian and non-Christian. There is also considerable movement from one group to another. To this we might add the individualisation of belief and conscience which leads many to develop a private spirituality (Hughes 1997:3). Hence the fascination evident today with New Age spiritual and semi-spiritual movements and paraphernalia, which Carey (1996:195) describes as “experimenting with the cultural fashions displayed in the world marketplace.” Tacey (2002:239) believes that in relation to things of the spirit, Australia has become two nations:

The national psyche is split between two levels of reality, and the spiritual level is encountered only in individual or private experience; it is never engaged at the social or public level. Privately or personally, Australia is enchanted, haunted, and steeped in religious feeling, and this is the life that our best artists articulate and explore. But publicly and officially, we are postmodern, proud of our social cleanliness.

Clergy of all denominations today face a far different cultural and religious environment than that of fifty years ago. They have inherited a tradition which offers fewer and fewer

bearings for them as they negotiate their way forward in the complexity of twenty-first Australian society.

The situation of the clergy is not, however, hopeless. Porter (1990:100) ends her survey of the Australian religious experience by asking, "How best can the Christian churches make their mark?" She concludes that there are signs that the Australian community will listen seriously to the churches if they meet certain public expectations, principally that they show a genuine concern for the broader community. She points to the former Archbishop of Melbourne, David Penman, as a sign of what might be achieved. He was seen as a man of the people who cared passionately about the concerns of ordinary people; he tackled controversial issues and engaged matters of local, national and international concern; and he drew no distinction between sacred and secular. She concludes, "... the church need be on the sidelines only if that is where it wishes to be."

Summary and Conclusion

An ordinand in the Anglican Church of Australia in recent times would be expected to have developed certain perceptions about the church and about the profession he or she is entering. These perceptions might have been absorbed as part of the informal process of life experience and learning or received as part of the ordinand's training. This chapter has traced what those perceptions might be.

The pattern for future development was established under the Elizabethan Settlement. Elizabeth and her Archbishops fashioned a peculiarly English church relatively free from the extremes of the continental Reformation, with clear lines of authority which flowed from the monarchy yet manifested a desire for inclusiveness and moderation. A clear delineation of parties in the church developed in the seventeenth century. Power remained initially in the hands of the High Church group, but, against them, the Puritans grew to become a continuing power in the church and in the land. At this time, the church was touched by the "gracious humanism" of a number of outstanding churchmen, such as Baxter, Andrewes, Ferrar, Taylor, and Herbert.

During the eighteenth century great changes took place in the fabric of society. Developments in industry and transport led to the growth of industrial towns in which large numbers of industrial workers and their families experienced appalling conditions, both in their homes and at work. It was the Evangelical wing of the church that showed most concern. The Evangelicals won improvements in working conditions and in prisons, and engaged in a range of humanitarian endeavours. The followers of John Wesley brought a militant evangelistic passion to the church, until, eventually, they moved outside the church's jurisdiction. Later, they brought that evangelistic energy to the Australian colonies.

The population of England increased rapidly during the nineteenth century. Large numbers of churches were built and the number of clergy grew equivalently. The advent of the Oxford Movement from the 1830s altered the complexion of the church extensively and led to a renewed emphasis on some neglected features of Anglicanism, such as a high view of the church and of priesthood and the inculcation of a greater sense of reverence in worship, which itself led to a renewal of liturgical and ceremonial practices. These Anglo-Catholic developments influenced the church in the Australian colonies significantly.

As the church was developing in these ways, so the nature of the clerical profession was also changing. Until the nineteenth century, the self-awareness of the clergy as an occupational group grew very slowly. In the sixteenth century, the clergy remained poor, mostly ill-educated, and predominantly rural. This was a considerable barrier to any sense of common endeavour. But some unifying factors did emerge. The clergy shared a bond of loyalty to the monarch and there existed a common liturgy, code of conduct, Prayer Book and Bible, though these were ties that existed often more in theory than practice. From Richard Hooker came a new philosophy of ordination, undemanding and inclusive, emphasising holiness of living rather than soundness of learning. At the end of the sixteenth century clergy standards were improving, but there was as yet little sense of an ecclesiastical community working together for the good of church and people.

The Stuart period saw the rise of the Puritan party opposed to the political and religious hegemony of the monarch. Many clergy were Puritan in outlook to a greater or less degree. They were characterised by such things as their soberness of demeanour,

devotion to the scriptures, belief in the rule of personal conscience, and extreme antipathy to all tendencies to Romanism. The Evangelical element in the modern church inherits much from the Puritans of the seventeenth century. Overall the parish clergy of the late seventeenth century were more competent than a hundred years earlier, but had gained nothing in independence. The crown maintained a surveillance over their activities and lay patrons of parish clergy had a vested concern in their submissiveness.

The eighteenth century is generally seen as a period of inertia and lukewarmness in the church. The stereotype has arisen of the parish clergyman of the time, engrossed in rural pleasures or in eccentric private pursuits, often enjoying lucrative livings, and paying scant attention to his clerical duties. There is a measure of truth in this. Many were merely dilettante clergymen who accepted the status of office without accepting or understanding the responsibilities that might go with it. This was not true of all. There were many devoted priests, often, again, of Evangelical persuasion, and many lesser clergy whose remuneration and living standards remained distressingly low. Nevertheless, the standing of the clergyman in society did gain ground, and more of the middle classes were attracted to clerical ranks. In this way the professionalism of the clergy was advanced.

In nineteenth century England the clerical profession took on many of the characteristics that distinguish it today. The Episcopal office was reformed, and bishops were more likely to supervise and encourage their clergy. The examination of ordinands became common. Theological colleges were established for specific professional training, some of them taking in men of mature age. Pastoral skills were promoted through the publication of handbooks and by discussions at local gatherings of clergy, as well as through the new colleges. Attention was given not merely to the function of the clergyman, but to the development of a distinctive clerical character. Clergymen began to take themselves and their responsibilities more seriously, demonstrating this in many cases by the adoption of more distinctive clerical dress and more measured personal conduct. Many clergy began to see themselves as belonging to a distinct body with a unique mission to fulfil. Under the influence of the Oxford Movement, ordination came to be understood as an indelible life-time commitment. Aspects associated with modern clerical professionalism may be seen emerging: a more principled motivation in seeking ordination, a greater sense of belonging to a clerical community, and enhanced public

respect. However, other attributes of professionalism remained weak: the level of professional knowledge and expertise, the degree of authority accorded the clergy by people at large, the existence of regular systems for training and testing at the point of entry into the profession, and the limited degree of specialisation in core occupational tasks.

At the same time, the life of a clergyman in the Australian colonies was vastly different. The absence of endowments meant that local clergy had to depend on the voluntary support of their congregations, which endangered their security of employment and brought into existence a hitherto unknown relationship with the laity. The peculiarly colonial mixture of outward irreligion, lack of respect for authority and self-reliance in the colonists put paid to pretensions of superiority in the clergy. In Melbourne Diocese colonial clergy were preferred to men imported from England, and more practical systems for training them were devised. A tradition of dedicated bush pastors developed as a result. The widespread dispersion of settlement and the consequent isolation of many clergy were limiting factors in the growth of a sense of profession amongst colonial clergy. Their first priority was to establish a local structure of ministry. But by 1900 a distinctive flavour is recognisable in colonial clergy, characterised by an acceptance of the place the church was given in colonial society, reliance on local rather than English inspiration, and a thorough-going acquiescence in the voluntarist principle of colonial society.

By the end of the twentieth century the work of Australian Anglican clergy was, again, very different. Many were engaged in non-parish sector ministry – in school, prison, health care, and industrial chaplaincy. Women deacons and priests were moving into the profession in larger numbers, although women priests were not universally accepted. The ethnic background of clergy had broadened in keeping with the greatly increased racial mix, especially in Melbourne Diocese. The work of clergy was in the wider context of a diversity of Christian and non-Christian traditions, and in a secularised community. As the proportion of Australians living in cities and large rural centres increased, clergy were more involved in urban ministry. Men and women were being ordained at an older age after having significant careers in other forms of employment. A range of theological colleges and teaching institutions of varying styles of churchmanship existed. Ministry studies could be pursued in residential colleges, as day-students, or by distance education,

and training could be done on an inter-denominational basis. Some of the old features remained: there was no universal standard of acceptance for ordination; differences of churchmanship were still obvious; and ecumenism had made little progress. Society had changed radically throughout the century, and new ordinands were products of their times to the extent of sharing many of the doubts and uncertainties of the community at large. Many clergy were dubious about their role. Few had real expectations of transforming Australian society.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONTEXT OF ORDAINED MINISTRY

In the same way that mature-age ordination in the modern era needs to be viewed in its historical context, so it is also necessary to examine its setting in society. Against the view that ordained ministry is unique amongst professions and so is outside the field of sociological formulations, this thesis argues that ministry can be properly understood only by setting it within the study of the social sciences. The disciplines most useful for interpreting mid-life ordination are those of the sociology of occupations, life cycle studies, gender studies, and the sociology of religion. This chapter places the clerical profession within the spectrum of the professions and of the world of work in general, and describes some normative processes by which individuals move into the professions and between occupations.

Sociology, Work, and the Professions

Sociology consists essentially of observation and interpretation. Its field is the behaviour of human beings, individually and collectively, as they impact on the society in which they live and as they respond to that society, how they come together in groups, formal and informal, and are brought together by the institutions of society, and how they view themselves and their world. Sociological studies attempt to explain these actions and responses with regard to individuals and to successive cohorts of people as they move through their life cycle. Such explanations have a necessary element of contingency because of the dynamic nature of human relationships and patterns of activity. Thus sociological data must continually be re-assembled and re-examined.

In the vast field of human activity that constitutes the domain of sociology, a principal lens through which to view that activity is the world of work. Many observers attest to the significance of work as a tool of social analysis. Work is a set of physical and mental activities that engage the whole personality (Rothman 1987:1). A person's work stands in

a fundamental relationship with every other aspect of his or her life (Sofer 1970:39, 42). Work carries both objective and subjective connotations; it is "the effort or activity of an individual that is undertaken for the purposes of providing goods or services of value to others and that is considered by the individual to be work" (Hall 1994:5). Mackay (1995:86) claims that Australian workers are increasingly likely to consider their work in terms of inter-personal relationships and social satisfactions rather than in terms of the content of the work itself. Work brings rewards. According to Herzberg et al. (1959:44-50) rewards may be mainly extrinsic to the process of work, such as salary, or intrinsic to the process, such as achievement and recognition. The application of such a process in relation to clergy careers is discussed in the following chapters.

Work is a primary source of social analysis as it is a key indicator of a worker's status and social class, and relates to a variety of other personal factors such as a worker's self-esteem and political and social ideologies (Reissman's Foreword in Ritzer 1972:viii). The pioneers of modern sociology – Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and Parsons – were all concerned with work as a "pivotal point in their analyses" (Hall 1986:7). The discussion of the clerical profession that follows owes something to each of these: to Marx, particularly with regard to the relationship between individual clergy and their employing agency, the church; to Durkheim, in the account of the clerical profession as it relates to the professions generally; to Weber, in the allowance made for personal factors in the adoption of ordained ministry as a second career; and to Parsons, in the process of career development in the context of the social and economic circumstances facing individual clergy.

Hughes's work was important in establishing the locus of work in the field of social relationships. Occupational socialisation is both a formal and an informal process. At the professional end of the occupational spectrum the process is more formal; in lower-status occupations the process tends to informality. Hughes championed the understanding of the subjective element in careers and career development as against organisational structures and pressures. Later chapters of this thesis demonstrate the priority of 'agency' as against 'structure' in the career development of second-career clergy. For Hughes (1958:63), one's individual career pattern is "the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him." Hughes applied this dynamic approach to establish a

continuum of occupational stratification which placed the clerical profession (a "mission") at one end and skilled and unskilled work (a "job") at the other (Hughes 1958:23-41). Hughes's work has remained of seminal significance to later observers. Sears (in Patton and McMahon 1999:4), for instance, defines career development as "the total constellation of psychological, sociological, educational, physical, economic and chance factors that combine to shape the career of an individual over the life span."

Ritzer did much to define the position of the professions within the overall sociology of work. He distinguishes between the professionalisation of an occupation and the professionalism of the individual. Both are to be measured as a continuum. He goes beyond earlier writers who had used prestige as an overriding criterion in assessing the degree of professionalisation and posits six structural factors in placing an occupation on the professional continuum: the possession of general, systematic knowledge; a degree of authority over clients; a claim to community rather than self-interest (related to symbolic rather than monetary rewards); self-management through professional associations, training systems, and sponsorship patterns rather than outside control; recognition by the public and in law of the professional nature of the occupation; and the possession of a distinctive culture (Ritzer 1972:54).

Ritzer's six structural factors of professionalisation correspond to six similar attitudinal and experiential characteristics within the individual which place him or her on the continuum of their professionalism. During the 1970s, however, a shift occurred away from the attempt to describe and rank the attributes of professionalisation and professionalism towards a focus on the perspective of power. Freidson (1971) and others turned attention to the acquisition, use, and retention of power by professional groups, and this became the predominant perspective. Both the attribute approach and the power perspective will be found helpful in assessing the place of the clergy as a professional group in Australia.

Ritzer (1972) moves away from his more functional approach towards a conflict-oriented analysis in his description of each profession as consisting of many segments which frequently are in disharmony one with the other. Here he sets up a cohesion-conflict dichotomy, which, again, will be useful in the study of the clerical profession. From the conflict perspective, Ritzer raises another important issue - the situation where a

professional such as a lawyer or a clergy person is employed in a formal organisation such as a government agency or the church, respectively. Basically, the issue here is one of professionalism as against bureaucracy: the professional's instinct to personal and professional freedom set in potential conflict with the organisation's hierarchical and managerial interests (Ritzer 1972:85-7). The position of clergy vis-à-vis the church will become a prominent issue in this study. Ritzer also draws attention to the value of exchange theory as a tool for examining careers. Individuals will be drawn to career choices because the rewards are seen as exceeding the costs. Exchange theory in this sense emphasises the rationality of career choice against the chance element that often operates. The more rational the career choice the more applicable is exchange theory (Ritzer 1972:358-60). Second-career choices would seem to be more deliberate in character than many first-career choices, pointing to the opportunity to apply exchange theory in the examination of the issues surrounding late ordination.

Rothman (1987) is particularly concerned with three aspects of occupational sociology, each bearing on the subject-matter of this study – individual career paths, autonomy and monopoly within professions, and job satisfaction. Regarding careers, he emphasises developmental factors in the selection and maintenance of a career. Interests and choices change with time and previous experiences. At the socio-psychological level he points to the impact of socialisation processes on aspirations, attitudes and accomplishments, and thus plays down the rationality of career choices (Rothman 1987:253). At the same time advancement in a career, in terms of income, prestige, and responsibility carried, is delivered in organisational rather than personal terms. Individuals must accommodate to the structures and demands of their employing organisation and establish good relations with those they work with (Rothman 1987:3-4). These are matters of great moment for clergy. Rothman stresses the importance of self-regulation in the professions. The most truly professional of occupations – Rothman cites architecture, dentistry, law, and medicine – are those which enjoy the highest levels of autonomy and monopoly. By autonomy is meant control over training, the right to practise, licensing procedures, and the discipline of members; monopoly refers to the exclusive right to do certain types of work. Rothman points out, however, that the majority of professionals are employed in organisations. Their expectation of self-regulation is in conflict with the authority and regulatory systems of their employing organisations (Rothman 1987:10). Clergy

frustration with bureaucratic aspects of the church forms an important part of the following discussion. The question of job satisfaction is relevant to that discussion.

Rothman follows Herzberg (1959, 1968) in supporting the "two-factor theory" of job satisfaction: satisfaction and dissatisfaction are not two poles of one continuum. They are to be considered separately. Dissatisfaction is typically caused by extrinsic factors, such as working conditions and salary, while satisfaction stems from intrinsic factors such as the nature of the work done, recognition of personal achievement, and the degree of responsibility given. Thus the alleviation of dissatisfaction does not necessarily lead to satisfaction in the long term (Rothman 1987:239-40). Rothman concludes by returning to the careers theme. He argues that by mid-life workers will have made most of the meaningful career moves they will ever make. Then they must "reassess their careers and work out accommodations that will allow them to function effectively with the reality of limited opportunities for future advancement" (Rothman 1987:348). That position is critically assessed in this study. The career paths and motivations of second-career clergy are inconsistent with Rothman's model which is based more on linear and single-career assumptions.

Grint (1998) offers a sociology of work from a British perspective. He describes the strand in nineteenth-century attitudes that idealised labour and promoted the work ethic, usually in terms of Protestant morality (Grint 1998:16-23). In this regard, he points to such influences as the self-help philosophy of Samuel Smiles, the idealisation of work in Pre-Raphaelite painting, and the writings of Ruskin, Carlyle and others who saw in work the opportunity for personal ennoblement. This was an essentially middle-class line of thought, and carried little reality for those outside the professional and entrepreneurial classes, but is consistent with the greater sense of obligation and responsibility that developed amongst English clergy at that time. William Morris carried this understanding of work into the political arena by condemning work practices that demeaned the worker as well as the social system that allowed them to be maintained. Morris's belief that self-realisation may be achieved through work foreshadows the theory of intrinsic rewards as a motivating factor in career choice, and which is found to be an important consideration in the minds of second-career clergy in Australia in the following century.

Hall (1994) takes a dynamic view of occupational development: the western world has entered a post-industrial era in which "the provision of services is a more important part of the ... economy than the production of goods," and, because work is constantly changing, so occupational change is a concomitant of working life (1994:18). Despite acknowledging the importance of the personal element in a wide range of work issues – ranging from career choice to job satisfaction – organisations, Hall argues, are "the dominant shapers of the form and content of work" (1994:35). These issues form the backdrop to the present study. Hall accepts Abbott's succinct definition of the professions as "exclusive occupational groups applying somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases" (Abbott 1988:8), but stresses the importance of autonomy as a major determinant of professional activity. The professions, he argues, "constantly struggle with other professions over the 'ground' they occupy" (Hall 1994:44). That observation has relevance to the clerical profession in Australia as it has tried to adjust to a narrowing field of authority and recognition.

Hall is interested in the power of the professions and their autonomy. He asks, for instance, why clergy should have more power to explain life and death than do lay people. He finds the answer, generally, in an amalgam of elements: historical factors, public acceptance, legal and legislative recognition, media attitudes, the public face which a profession is able to present, and the knowledge base of a profession. Knowledge and power are inter-related: "An organized occupation that has gained power through public recognition of the value and importance of its knowledge is considered a profession" (Hall 1994:48). But a rider to this is that professional acceptance is not fixed, once achieved. Professional recognition may disintegrate and needs to be constantly reinforced. Hall finds that the way professions gain power at the macro-level, through public recognition of the value and importance of their knowledge, is true also of the way individuals win professional acceptance at the micro-level: "Knowledge is the basis for the power that is the basis for professional status" (Hall 1994:48). This argument is put to the test in the survey that follows, particularly in the areas of the educational background of clergy, their professional training, their perception of their professionalism, and their work profiles.

Hall discusses the contingencies of gender and age in relation to occupation. These factors are considered in detail in this thesis in relation to clergy careers. Hall raises

several gender issues pertinent to this study – the problem for women of geographic mobility where both spouses are involved in careers, the career limitations placed on women by the presence of small children, discrimination against women in the workplace, and gender-differential levels of job satisfaction and stress (Hall 1994:202-25). Another set of issues surrounds women entering traditionally male bastions of employment. In such situations, women commonly encounter career limitations – resistance from clients and lowered expectations of advancement, compounded, typically, by the fact that control is exerted by the attitudes and decisions of men in the organisational hierarchy (Hall 1994:225-7). Hall uses the phrase, “nontraditional work” to describe the situation where men or women are employed in work which is dominated by the other sex. He concludes his discussion:

People in nontraditional work face several problems. When their numbers are small there is likely to be social isolation and even ostracism. Career advancement may be hindered or blocked. For women, work-time demands may be so great that marriage and child care suffer. Their performance may have to be well above average in all spheres of life just to be perceived as adequate. (Hall 1994:227)

These matters have particular application in this study, which includes the experience of women moving as a second career into ordained ministry, until recently the sole domain of males.

Hall's observations regarding the age factor also are applicable to this study. Most of the clergy involved in this research were in their late thirties to middle fifties when they gave up their former careers and entered ordained ministry. Hall places such people at a stage of their life cycle where typically they would be most involved in their work and looking forward to later career achievement. Those in jobs of higher status, with greater opportunities for achievement, are more likely to be committed to their ongoing career (Hall 1994:234). Second-career clergy, however, are atypical in this regard. Another paradigm must be constructed to allow for the ‘call’ factor in ministry and the highly individual motivation that normally accompanies it.

The question of whether Anglican clergy may be regarded as free professionals or as employees in an organisation is examined as this study proceeds. Ference et al. (1971:174-5) make a helpful distinction between a “professional organisation” and a

"profession as organisation," and place the church – the Roman Catholic Church in their study – in the latter category. A professional organisation contains those who relate to their clients as individual professionals, whereas with a profession as organisation, the organisation is more important than either the individual practitioners or any association of practitioners. In effect, the church provides the service, not the individual clergy member. The authors acknowledge (Ference et al. 1971:188-9) that their model holds up better with regard to the sacramental role of the priest than with the pastoral role. Although the Catholic Church may be moving away from a hierarchical pattern towards a more collegial type of authority, this model might well serve as a pattern for a range of professional organisations, including the Anglican Church.

The Life-Span, Life-Space Approach to Career Development

Career development theory has passed through several stages of increasing sophistication since the early twentieth century. Frank Parsons is generally regarded as the pioneer in the field. Parsons' main interest was in vocational guidance. For Parsons, successful career selection should have three basic elements – understanding of one's self, understanding of the world of work, and "true reasoning" about the coming together of these two understandings (Patton and McMahon 1999:13). The influence of Parsons and the development of techniques for measuring individual differences led to the development of 'trait and factor' theory, which views career selection in terms of matching the known individual abilities ('traits') to the known occupational requirements ('factors'). The trait and factor theory is still powerful in vocational thinking, especially on the 'trait' side – the aspect of differential psychology. The limitation of trait and factor theories, especially from the viewpoint of career development theory, is that they tend towards a static understanding of personality and of career choice. Later theories have allowed for the dynamic nature of personality development on one hand and the impact of changing environmental influences on the other.

In this way, the "person-environment fit" approach became popular, with emphasis on "dynamic reciprocity" between an individual's personal characteristics and the requirements of a work situation. This approach "indicates an ongoing process of adjustment as environments are influenced by individuals and individuals are influenced

by environments" (Patton and McMahon 1999:19). Career development came to be viewed as a process occurring over time and responding to changes within the individual and in his or her life circumstances. The application of this approach to the issue of mid-life career change may be readily observed. The best known of the person-environment fit theorists was John L. Holland, who argued from the premiss that "a person's vocational interests flow from his life history and his personality" (Holland 1973:7). Holland posited six basic personality types into which most people may be categorised – realistic, investigative, artistic, social, enterprising, and conventional. Similarly, there are six matching kinds of environment, to which he applied the same descriptive titles. People search for environments where they will be able to "exercise their skills and abilities, express their attitudes and values, and take on agreeable problems and roles" (Holland 1973:4). A United States study found the majority of clergy belonged within the 'social' personality category (Holland 1973:71). The 'social' personality type is characterised by a preference for activities that involve "the manipulation of others to inform, train, develop, cure, or enlighten" and lead to the development of skills such as "interpersonal and educational competencies" (Holland 1973:16). The 'social' environment type stimulates, fosters, encourages, and rewards such characteristics (1973:31). This study may be seen in terms of people searching for compatible environments, and environments "searching for people" (Holland 1973:4).

In revisions of his work, Holland moved towards a more dynamic concept of careers theory. Others were also moving in this direction, giving greater emphasis to the process involved as against the content of career development. Pre-eminent in this regard was D.E. Super, who advocates a "life span, life space" approach to the study of careers. Career development is a concern for the whole of a person's life (life span) and involves all aspects of personality and varying life roles (life space) (Super, 1980, 1984). Others have built on this superstructure. Sonnentag and Kotter draw attention to the "dynamic interaction" between the work and non-work aspects of life and to the individual's prior life history. A career trajectory is a reciprocal and mutually-integrating outcome of the three major aspects of life – work, family and the individual. It is better, they argue, to think in terms of adult vocational behaviour than adult vocational choice (in Vondracek et al. 1986:3). Vondracek et al. (1986:2), in supporting this approach, observe that "[t]he study of vocational and career development must not be isolated from the study of other domains of human functioning and must take place from a multi-disciplinary

perspective." Vondracek et al. pursue the life span concept with some vigour. "Vocational and career development," they argue, "can be fully understood only from a relational perspective that focuses on the dynamic interaction between a changing (developing) individual in a changing context" (1986:5). An individual's career is an extension of himself or herself, and its importance measured by the fact that, at least in the United States, individuals tend to make a more permanent commitment to their work than to their first marital partner! At the same time, few are thoroughly satisfied with their first career choice. These concepts are immediately applicable to the study of second-career clergy.

The work of Vondracek et al. draws attention to the contribution of vocational psychology. From the point of view of vocational psychology, conditions in society in the industrialised nations are such that the individual faces career issues throughout much of life: men and women make mid-life career changes; married women with children commence their careers at an older age; couples alternate the roles of home carer and income earner; older people merge part-time work with semi-retirement. The career decisions of youth may be merely the earliest in a series of career decisions made during a lifetime. Career decision-making is a process rather than an event. In the process, situational determinants such as social structure and economic conditions play a part as do personal determinants such as the community and the family. Vondracek et al.'s conclusion is that as both the individual and the context are changing over time the best model for the consideration of career development is a "dynamic interactional" model (Vondracek et al. 1986:5-8).

Others have applied the life span approach to their empirical studies. The most relevant for the purpose of this study is the work of Nesbitt (1995) who studied the effect of age and gender on the career development of first and second career clergy drawn from 1 373 Episcopalian clergy in the United States. (Unitarian Universalist clergy were also involved in the study, but this discussion omits Nesbitt's comparative analysis.) Nesbitt's starting point is that career change in mid-life is a well-documented and not unusual phenomenon. She notes Vondracek et al.'s (1986) finding that most workers are dissatisfied with their first career choice and Sarason's (1977) analysis that shows a steady rate of 8-9 per cent in the extent of "horizontal drastic" career change over the previous forty years in the United States. Nesbitt refers to the increased age and gender

diversity of ordinands, and attributes it to factors such as the ageing of the U.S. population, the ageing of college students generally, fewer young men seeking ordination, and the influx of women from the 1970s onwards after ordination was opened up to them.

Amongst her demographic findings, Nesbitt concluded that in the United States women are significantly older than men at ordination, age at ordination has increased steadily during the last half of the twentieth century for both males and females, and that since 1980 the median age at ordination for both men and women has been above 35 years, indicating that the majority of those ordained in that time have been second-career entrants (Nesbitt 1995:159).

The burden of Nesbitt's study is that age and gender are two important career contingencies for occupational differentiation, occupational segregation, and occupational discrimination (Nesbitt 1995:154). She hypothesised that younger men would be the most advantaged and older women the most disadvantaged in their career trajectories. In her application of the life span model to the study sample, Nesbitt used the 'ministerial life cycle model' devised by Malony and Hunt (1991) for male clergy careers. The model posits five stages of clergy career development - *preparation*, *entry*, *advancement*, *maintenance*, and *decline*, and three broad stages of career attainment - *lower-level*, *mid-level*, and *senior-level* positions. Using the statistical data provided by her survey results, Nesbitt (1995:167) measures career paths against age and gender functions, and arrives at four principal conclusions:

1. The older the ordinand, the less mobility and attainment for men.
2. Attainment for both men and women ordained over age 45 was restricted to lower-level and mid-level positions. None reached the level of being given charge of a senior parish.
3. Men ordained by age 30 were overwhelmingly represented in senior-level positions. Thus, senior-level positions were both age and gender-sensitive. Ninety per cent of clergy at this level were male.
4. Women clergy experienced fewer age-related effects on their careers than did men, the result of the suppressing effect of gender.

Nesbitt uses the life span model to demonstrate the effects of age and gender factors in the differential career trajectories of first and second-career clergy in the Episcopal Church in the United States. However, her use of quantitative research methods only has meant that there are limitations in understanding that effect in real terms. By using qualitative methods alongside quantitative data gathering, this thesis aims to provide a more comprehensive understanding of second careers for clergy.

The Clerical Profession: Australian Considerations

Hans Mol, a pioneer of the sociology of religion in Australia, approached his work from a functionalist perspective. In a broad survey taken some thirty years ago, *Religion in Australia*, Mol found "goodwill" towards religion across the country, but a "massive woolliness of thinking about it." Australian people, he found, tended to stay away from church, although the churches and the clergy were held in high esteem. The key word in his description is "ambiguity" (Mol 1971:302). The churches, he believed, had developed their own "styles of acting" and their own "professional peculiarities," but in this they were similar to other organisations in society. In Mol's view, religion serves the functional purpose of integration at each of four levels – the cultural, social, institutional, and personal. At each of these levels, he found, the churches were in competition with other integrating factors in Australian society. He hypothesised that religious organisations would become more and more peripheral to the life of the nation (Mol 1971:304-6). If the churches were sometimes "musty, pompous, intellectually dull and uninspiring," the spirit of the young, Australian-born clergy and seminary teachers, he found, was quite the opposite. The problems they faced were principally those of self-assertion and "a tendency towards despair in the face of dimly visualised religious goals and even more dimly discernible directions for society at large" (Mol 1971:303-4).

Mol had not addressed specifically the question of ministry. But that omission was soon rectified. In 1976, Boreham, Pemberton and Wilson published *The Professions in Australia*, a collection of papers which covered the clergy and organised religion, among other topics. The sociological treatment of the professions, the authors claim, needs to be freed from the "molly-coddling" which had helped to maintain the professions in a

favoured position, while averting critical issues of self-interest and self-perpetuation (Boreham et al. 1976: Introduction).

A major concern of that volume and of this thesis is the question of entry into the professions: the process of motivation, decision, preparation, and socialisation. In their contribution, Anderson and Western (1976:47) break the process of entry into the professions into three phases: the pre-training phase, the training phase itself, and the post-training phase. In the pre-training phase, an individual typically acquires two related sets of values – general societal values and particular values associated with the profession of choice. Thus the general societal value of altruism might lead to and be related to a decision to seek ordination, which will encourage the development of values associated with ordained ministry, such as servanthood. This might be seen as anticipatory socialisation. In the second phase – formal training – the emergent professional acquires technical skills and substantive knowledge, but is also re-defining personal values and developing profession-specific values, eventually leading to a philosophical basis for the work ahead. The third phase begins after leaving the place of specialised training and entering upon day-to-day work. New technical skills may be acquired – particularly in ministry – and new values acquired. Personal values now need to be integrated with the controlling values and regulatory mechanisms of the profession. In the helping professions such as ordained ministry an accommodation needs to be made at this stage to the more emotive personal values on one hand and a degree of professional detachment on the other (Anderson and Western 1976:49-50). This model of professional socialisation is helpful in assessing the process of entry into ordained ministry as a second career.

In their paper, *The Clergy and Organized Religion*, Dowdy and Lupton (1976:92) begin with the historical concept of the clergyman as the arch-professional – possessor of “an abstract and esoteric body of knowledge and ... the casuistic skills to expound and justify it,” seeking not personal gain, but rather the good of others. But by the later twentieth century in Australia, they argue, the indispensability of religion had faded, and with it the façade of clerical professionalism. The practitioners of organised religion, contrary to virtually all other professionals, were in a state of some crisis in the face of the signs of decline in the churches. Pressure on clergy comes from their church organisations and from Australian society. Individual clergy, they suggest, find difficulty in mediating the

voice of the hierarchy to local needs and changing situations. The congregation, too, may be a source of crisis, as documented in the case of Methodist ministers by Dempsey (1973). But societal factors are ever-present. Here, a basic discrepancy is seen between the ideal and the actual situation. As their ideal Dowdy and Lupton (1976:95) take the definition of religion offered by Geertz (1969), who found five essential elements of organised religion: (i) a system of symbols which acts to (ii) establish powerful, pervasive, and long-lasting moods by (iii) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (iv) clothing those conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (v) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.

Dowdy and Lupton (1976:95-9) claim that few contemporary clergy would be able to agree that their practices and attitudes conform with this classical definition of organised religion. Many eschew the historic symbols, for instance of dress, ritual and language, in an effort to approximate the social norms that surround them. The religious mood is out of conformity with the overriding societal mood of flexibility and adaptability. The "general order of existence" historically posited by the churches is challenged by scientism, agnosticism, individualism, and other alternative world views. In the churches priority is often given to factors such as developing an appropriate style of worship rather than to issues of belief. The generation of uniquely realistic moods and motivations is hindered by processes such as structural differentiation – the appearance of specialised agencies which invade the territory once held by clergy, reducing them to an apparent role of "benevolent amateurism." Clergy, in short, are "a professional group facing a changing world in which their own roles and standing are uncertain" (Dowdy and Lupton 1976:106).

Wilson (1983) agrees. He highlights the bewilderment of the clergy in the face of their diminished role in society and their diminished public respect. He claims that clergy "take the erosion of their public role with stoic passivity" (Wilson 1983:142), but lays blame less with the clergy but more with the churches for their failure "to produce a policy that is both rational and compassionate" (1983:149). For the churches to regain their momentum, he argues, "it requires clergy who are convinced deeply of the truth of their Christian faith, but who also understand the modern world better than it understands itself" (1983:158).

Hughes (1989) is less pessimistic. He plays down the uncertainties of clergy regarding their role. He agrees they have withdrawn from their former roles in social welfare and counselling, but claims they have done this willingly. At the same time, they are secure in their role within the gathered church community. Reporting on the Combined Churches Survey for Faith and Mission conducted in 1987, he points to areas of tension in the lives of both Catholic and non-Catholic clergy. They are denied the prophetic and educational role they desire because "people in the pews prefer comfort to challenges" (Hughes 1989:85). They are disheartened by their failure to gain new adherents (1989:86). They are limited in their ability to establish meaningful friendships and find it hard to balance availability with privacy (1989:86-7). However, Hughes finds little evidence of confusion concerning the restricted role clergy now occupy:

The clergy clearly identify their role in relation to the work of the church. They are there to help people to build their relationship with God ... They seek to promote devotion to God and greater caring within the congregation ... They seek to build an understanding of the scriptures and to give people guidance for living. In these roles within their churches, ... the clergy find a great deal of purpose in this work. (Hughes 1989:87)

Probert (1989) has made a substantial contribution to the study of the sociology of occupations. She adopts a critical stance in regard to the professions in general, referring sympathetically to Illich's claim (1977:15) that "professions are equipped with a tighter hold over those they claim as victims than any mafia." For the purpose of this study, however, Probert's account of the attributes of professions, as she sees them in the Australian context, is more relevant. A professional organisation, Probert claims, (1989:54-6) will exhibit certain features to a greater or lesser extent:

1. Members will possess specialist knowledge gained from long periods of formal theoretical training.
2. There will be a system for the formal licensing of members, and a restriction of the right to practise to recognised members.
3. A formal organisation will exist to safeguard the standard of work in that organisation.
4. There will be a concern for and influence over the training and testing of new members. Training would normally be done by independent training institutions,

but completion of training would not in itself qualify a graduate for entry into the profession.

5. Each profession will possess an exclusive authority to practise.
6. There will be control over conditions of work in the profession. At the most professional end of the scale, practitioners can expect to deal with clients as they see fit.
7. Priority will be given to the interests of clients or the community rather than the interests of individual practitioners.
8. There will be a code of ethics which members are required to work and live by.
9. The profession will claim the right to self-regulation.

Probert's analysis may be used as a preliminary measure of Anglican clergy as a sub-set of the clerical profession in Australia. Several of Probert's defining characteristics may be readily agreed with as applying to the Anglican Church. The church has a system for the formal licensing of clergy (Item 2), and the right to practise certain professional tasks (particularly of a sacramental nature) is limited to them. The church takes an active interest in the training of entrants (Item 4) and assumes sole responsibility for their selection. This is a further mark of professionalism, in Probert's terms. The priority given to the clients' or the community's interest rather than self-interest (Item 7) may vary from one individual to another, but this item may be seen as another positive item. With regard to a code of ethics (Item 8), the ordination vows of the clergy constitute a unique pledge of professional intent. Most dioceses now have a written code of ethics for clergy which formalises the unwritten code of conduct that developed from societal expectations and long tradition within the profession. This may be counted as a further positive indicator of the professionalism of clergy.

Several of Probert's categories, however, must be applied with caution. The exclusive authority to practise (Item 5) has been severely eroded in recent times. This may be seen particularly in relation to weddings and funerals, where civil celebrants now occupy a large part of the professional ground once held by clergy. The authority to practise has been restricted largely to liturgical functions within the local church community. The

question of how far individual clergy are able to control their conditions of work with regard to time allocation and the selection of task priorities (Item 6) is examined in a later chapter. Most clergy are diverted to some extent from their desired schedule of tasks and time allocation by pressures from lay members of the church on one hand and the church's mission priorities on the other. As regards self-regulation within the profession (Item 9), the hierarchical nature of the church is a barrier to the operation of a representative system of regulation. There is little opportunity for colleagues to be involved in the monitoring or supervision of the activities of other clergy.

Two items remain. Probert gives first place to the possession of specialist knowledge gained from a long period of formal theoretical training (Item 1). This poses a serious qualification to the degree of professionalism amongst Anglican clergy as a whole. Most do not have a degree in theological studies. Some have no formal qualifications at all, secular or theological. In the Diocese of Gippsland, as an example, of all licensed clergy, both active and retired, only 28 per cent have a degree in theology, while 17 per cent have no qualifications at all. In comparison with other professions in this regard, particularly the classical professions of architecture, law and medicine, the clerical profession suffers badly. The issue is more fully discussed later in this study. Finally Probert looks for the existence of a formal organisation of members to preserve the standard of work as a sign of professionalism (Item 3). In the Anglican Church various measures are taken to preserve or raise the "standard of work," but there is no formal organisation whose aim is to work to that end in a consistent way across the whole of the membership. Attempts in that direction are spasmodic and originate in the hierarchy rather than in the 'membership.'

The degree of professionalism of Anglican clergy, then, as measured against Probert's criteria, is uneven. The spirit of the profession is dominated by hierarchialism rather than collegiality. The picture that emerges is not one of a confident and cohesive professional body, but rather one consistent with Dowdy and Lupton's view (1976:106) of Australian clergy as "a professional group facing a changing world in which their own roles and standing are uncertain."

Gender Considerations: Australian Research

One of the major interests of this study is that of gender issues in relation to the ordination of mature-age clergy. Three important Australian research projects have been conducted in this area. In his research conducted amongst members of the Anglican and Uniting Churches, Lehman (1994) was chiefly interested in the reception given to female clergy by lay members. He found that the way church members dealt with the ordination and placement of women as priests and pastors was broadly similar to that of other countries. Compared with Britons and Americans, Australians were more receptive to women. They revealed the least amount of stereotyping of female clergy, the fewest preferences for men in clergy roles, and the most acceptance of women in leadership roles (Lehman 1994:122). Australians' concerns were basically practical rather than theological; the major concern of the laity about women clergy was their ability to hold together their domestic and professional roles.

Those most receptive to women were younger, more "cosmopolitan" as against "localistic" in orientation, and female themselves. Lay members with a traditional religious orientation tended to be more conservative in their attitude to female clergy. Lay attitudes reflected the diocesan point of view. Thus, Anglicans in Melbourne were more open to women's ministry than Anglicans in Sydney. The strongest single influence in moving the laity towards receptivity or resistance to women clergy was the attitude of local congregational leaders. In general, Anglicans were less receptive to women clergy than were Uniting Church members, although a clear majority of Anglicans indicated that they had no prejudice against women performing specific clergy functions. Nevertheless, the laity were more conservative when it came to parish leadership, about half saying they preferred a man to be in charge of their parish. Most significantly, receptivity to female clergy increased markedly when lay members were exposed to women's ministry, especially amongst Anglicans (Lehman 1994:73, 79, 82-84, 97, 119, 121, 122).

The question of receptivity to Anglican women clergy was a burning issue in 1991, when Lehman's survey was conducted. The debate over the ordination of women as priests was in full flood. It remains a sensitive issue, and the issues Lehman dealt with form a major theme of this thesis.

Bouma et al.'s Report (1996) on gender factors amongst Australian clergy at the time of commencing their careers is written from the viewpoint of the clergy themselves rather than responses to their ministry. Their survey sample included all women in Australia ordained in the period, 1986-95, and a random sample of male priests and deacons ordained in the same period. They find a significant relationship between age and gender factors. Women report receiving their call to ordained ministry at an older age than men. Thus they are older when entering the selection and training process leading to ordination. The extent of this difference is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1
Gender and Age Distribution of Anglican Clergy ordained 1986-95

Age at ordination	Males		Females	
	%	n	%	n
35 and younger	43.9	18	3.3	3
36-45	31.7	13	25.3	23
46-55	12.2	5	37.4	34
56 and older	12.2	5	34.0	31

(Source: Bouma et al. 1996:27).

Table 3.1 reveals an inverse relationship between age and gender with regard to male and female ordinands. The percentage of males being ordained decreases with age, whereas the reverse is broadly true for females. The Table reflects in part the situation to be expected in the early years of women's ordination – that many women who had felt called to ordained ministry at a younger age had been debarred from responding. Bouma's report found that women at all ages had more professional experience before ordination than men, but men were significantly more likely to be priests in charge of a parish. Women were more likely to be non-stipendiary, part-time, and to hold limited licences. Women of all ages reported experiencing longer and more difficult journeys from the time of call to the time of their ordination than did men. This is demonstrated in Table 3.2. The researchers used two variables for length of process – “short” and “long” – and two variables for the difficulty of process – “smooth” and “hard” – resulting in four categories of transition. In each age division women tended to have longer and more difficult journeys from call to ordination than did men. Older women and older men were both disadvantaged in relation to the length of time involved. Similarly, both older women and older men were disadvantaged in relation to the difficulty of the process.

Table 3.2
**Gender and Reported Difficulty and Length of Process from Call to Ordination,
 Related to Age (n=128)**

Category	Males				Females			
	< 36 yrs	36-45 yrs	46-55 yrs	≥ 56 yrs	< 36 yrs	36-45 yrs	46-55 yrs	≥ 56 yrs
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Short and smooth	88.9	83.3	60.0	60.0	66.7	39.1	28.1	3.3
Short and hard	5.6	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Long and smooth	0.0	0.0	20.0	20.0	0.0	13.0	21.9	23.3
Long and hard	5.6	16.7	0.0	20.0	33.3	47.8	50.0	73.3

(Source: Bouma et al. 1996:27).

Hughes (2001) reported on how well female clergy had been received in the Anglican church and community. Hughes's survey, like Bouma's, was conducted amongst all women ordained in the Australian Anglican Church and a random sample of male clergy. In comparison with Bouma's earlier report, Hughes found an improving situation. Female clergy were older and better educated than males, but held fewer senior positions and fewer positions on diocesan committees. However, Hughes downplays the gender factor and argues that length of service is the most significant factor in promotion to senior positions. Women are handicapped in this respect because of the relative recency of their ordination. Women's dissatisfaction with their conditions of work were significantly greater than men's in the process of appointments (Hughes 2001:15), in the strength of their support networks (2001:25), and in the sense of fellowship with clergy of the opposite gender (2001:31). Where dioceses are in economic decline, women tend to suffer in employment opportunities more than men. Although most clergy seek full-time appointments, only 46 per cent of women have full-time appointments as against 86 per cent of men (Hughes 2001:28-9).

Hughes found some evidence of gender discrimination at the inter-personal level. Some lay people refuse to receive the sacrament from female priests. One fifth of women reported "abusive, threatening behaviour and sexual harassment" occurring at least occasionally (Hughes 2001:26). However, female clergy report stronger support from the

wider community than do males, and a stronger sense of inner peace and affirmation (2001:19). Hughes concludes on a positive note (2001:32). "Since 1985," he says, "women have brought strong gifts in many aspects of ministry to the Anglican Church. Many parishioners and members of the community are affirming the gifts, and particularly the people-skills, women have brought to the Church."

Sociology of Religion and Religious Organisations

Sociological analysis of religion is a recent phenomenon, although the interface between social organisation and religion is far from new. One observer (McCann 1993:17-8) suggests that the meeting between Jesus and the Roman centurion described in Luke, chapter 7, is a coming together of the representative of organisational theory and the representative of religion! However ancient the actuality, Moberg, in his seminal study of 1962, still writes somewhat defensively about the application of sociological theory to religion:

... the sociology of religion brings the same sociological perspective, methods of enquiry, and schemes of analysis to bear on religion as sociology brings to its study of other aspects of human society. The unique character of religion does not prevent such study. Even though religion is distinctively sacred and involves divine relationships, it is a part of human group life. (Moberg 1962:7)

Moberg brought every aspect of the American church into the sweep of his investigations, from religious revivalism to the effect of the churches on crime rates. By contrast, Berger, in an equally important work of 1967 - *The Sacred Canopy* - writes from a more philosophical and theoretical standpoint, seeking, he says, "to apply a general theoretical perspective derived from the sociology of knowledge to the phenomenon of religion" (Berger 1967:v). From a sociological perspective religion is to be understood as a social construct. He defines religion as the establishment, through human activity, of an all-embracing sacred order, that is, of a sacred cosmos, that will be capable of maintaining itself in the ever-present face of chaos (1967:51). He writes:

Religion implies the farthest reach of man's self-externalization, of his infusion of reality with his own meanings. Religion implies that human order is projected into the totality of being. Put differently, religion is the

audacious attempt to conceive of the entire universe as being humanly significant. (Berger 1967:28)

In his examination of the contemporary American religious situation Berger builds his thesis around the concept of secularisation, which for him is a word of neutral, non-evaluative meaning. By secularisation is meant the process "by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (Berger 1967:107). Secularisation is not only an objective phenomenon. The individual consciousness is capable of secularisation, so that large numbers of individuals "look upon the world and their own lives without the benefit of religious interpretations" (1967:108). Secularisation is not a universal process, however, but is patterned according to geographical, urbanisational, occupational, denominational, gender, and age factors amongst others. Secularisation, at least in Berger's earlier understanding, is not a tendency that stands outside and against the human religious tendency, but is inherent in religious forms themselves. In the Christian religious tradition, the seeds of modern secularisation may be found in the Old Testament and traced through successive periods of history. Here Berger is in accord with Weber, for whom the Hellenisation of the early Christian church set in train the secularisation of the church, which he labels the "disenchantment of the world." For Berger, the Protestant Reformation, however, was the critical event in weakening the walls of the Christian religious domain to the point that they could no longer sustain the dominance of religion in both its objective and subjective forms. The Protestant churches, in varying degrees, radically truncated the Catholic universe at the expense of a vast wealth of religious content. Their establishment led to "an immense shrinkage in the scope of the sacred," so that "the sacramental apparatus is reduced to a minimum and, even there, divested of its more numinous qualities" (Berger 1967:111).

Berger's thesis, intended to provide an all-encompassing understanding of religious belief, could hardly have been attempted in a later, post-modern age which in large measure rejects the attempt to provide a universal explanation of religion and seeks avenues to God in subjective, experiential individualism. But Berger's work is nevertheless important in demonstrating that religion is a proper field for sociological investigation. Berger had begun his work by asserting that "Society is a dialectic phenomenon in that it is a human product and nothing but a human product, that yet

continuously acts back upon its producer" (Berger 1969:3). He shows religion to be an essential part of that dialectic process. His emphasis on the subjective aspect of secularisation helps to delineate the position of many clergy in the contemporary era as they find themselves called to mount the defences of the established religious fortification, despite having been largely formed by the very secular forces that besiege them. In the same way that the churches stand in ambivalent relationship to society in general, so the clergy stand in ambivalent relationship to the churches they serve, as well as to wider society. The model of a sacred canopy provides little protection for many recent entrants into the clerical profession.

Whereas Berger disclaims the notion that he is constructing a thorough-going sociology of religion, but rather pointing to some of the elements to be considered in any such endeavour, Moberg (1962) boldly sub-titles his major work in this field a "Sociology of American Religion." After establishing that religion is a fit subject for sociological study, Moberg proceeds to give his understanding of 'the church' as a universal institution, a generalised symbolic conception, a macro-institutional construct. In fact, like Berger, he argues that, from a sociological perspective, there is no such thing as *the* church. Only local churches, denominations, and other religious organisations are present in concrete reality (Moberg 1962:17). He proceeds to a description and analysis of the churches - and also Judaism - in this micro-institutional sense. Leadership in the churches is a particular concern of Moberg, and he deals at some length with clergy in their work and in their social setting. He examines the factors pre-disposing Protestant clergy towards ordained ministry, and cites home training, father's occupation, and the influence of significant others such as pastors and evangelists as major determining elements. He refers also to the importance of participation in church youth activities and of high academic attainment. From a study carried out in fifty-seven Protestant seminaries, Moberg draws the conclusion that for most students their call was a gradual process combining situational factors, personality, abilities, and attitudes of understanding or devotion. "A call to the ministry," he writes, "seems to be conditioned more by coldly rational than by emotional factors" (1962:483-4). The motivation for ordination forms an important part of the present study. Moberg's findings serve as a comparative basis for the findings reported later in this study.

Following the foundational work of Blizzard (1958a, 1958b) in understanding clergy roles, Moberg sets out to examine the multiple roles of clergy and the conflicts these entailed. He sees the major roles of non-Catholic clergy as those of preacher, educator, institutional representative, administrator, group leader, and counsellor, as well as various symbolic roles such as that of sacramentalist. Tensions arise from the disharmony between the personal and professional priorities of clergy, as well as from the time allocation given to various roles. Most stress arises from the demands of administration (Moberg 1962:488-97). Moberg paints a depressing picture of the situation that can develop:

Prevented by social pressures from living as they believe men ought to live, frustrated by an unfulfillable self-image of the minister as one ordained to a holy calling, filled with vocational guilt for spending major portions of time on pointless parish piddling, disillusioned by the politics of professional advancement, embittered by the bureaucracy that makes them office managers, committee maneuverers, and publicity directors instead of scholars and preachers of God's Word, sensing the double standard which expects the clergy and their families to live according to different ethical and moral standards from laymen, and sometimes sensing cleavages between doctrinal, social, political, or economic beliefs and what they are expected to preach, many ministers resolve their bitter struggles by entering other vocations. ... They reflect a culture with increasing specialisation in all vocations which is filled with inconsistencies and paradoxes and dominated by secular values. (Moberg 1962:509-10)

Moberg has arrived at the same point – secularisation – from his descriptive approach as Berger reaches from his theoretical perspective. The discussion of secularisation to this point has assumed an inevitable nexus between modernity, secularisation and religious decline. That has been the traditional view of secularisation. That view, however, has been challenged in recent times on several fronts. There have been three main standpoints in the debate. The first is to defend the standard view of secularisation developed by Weber, Moberg and in the earlier work of Berger. The most thorough defence has been mounted by Bruce (1996, 2002) whose analysis cites individualism and rationality as the two major forces that have undermined the 'sacred canopy' in the western world. "Individualism," writes Bruce (1996:30), "threatened the communal basis of religious belief and behaviour, while rationality removed many of the purposes of religion and rendered many of its beliefs implausible." Bruce (2002:240) emphasises indifference rather than irreligion as the chief distinguishing mark of modern religious attitudes in the

mass of the population. Indifference stems from "the lack of religious socialization and the lack of constant background affirmation of beliefs." He concludes.

[W]here diversity and egalitarianism have become deeply embedded in the public consciousness and embodied in liberal democracy, where states remain sufficiently prosperous and stable that the fact of diversity and the attitude of egalitarianism are not swept away by some currently unimaginable cataclysm, I see no grounds to expect secularization to be reversed. (Bruce 2002:241)

Bruce acknowledges that secularisation is not a blanket phenomenon, but that argument has been taken much further by writers such as Martin (1991) and Davie (2002). A theory of 'exceptionalism' (Davie 2002:16-7) has been developed – that particular circumstances of history, politics, locality, voluntarism, and demography result in secularisation occurring at various rates and in various ways. Secularisation is by no means inevitable. This is the second standpoint. To equate secularism in the United States and in Britain is the primary sociological crime in the eyes of the exceptionalists. For Davie, Western Europe is the exceptional case. Europeans, she argues (2002:19), are not necessarily less religious than, say, Americans, but differently so.

The third position is that of the rational choice theorists, who define religion in market terms: consumers make rational decisions about religious involvement because they believe the benefits exceed the costs. Stark and Finke (2000:78) declare the theory of secularisation to be "a product of wishful thinking." They deny any consistent relationship between modernisation and religious participation, and see an increase in religious activity on a world scale rather than a decline (2000:33). Traditional explanations of changes in religious involvement, they argue, have concentrated on changes in 'demand' for the religious product, whereas rational choice theory claims that changes in religion come about because of changes on the 'supply' side of the equation (Finke 1997:47). Churches – and sects – which make strong demands on adherents will thrive, while those which make few demands will wither. Clients who make a more costly investment in their religious membership will look for a more favourable religious return on their investment. Major criticisms of rational choice theory are made: the historical analysis is questionable; the concept of rationality is taken beyond its established meaning; and the theory is restricted to considerations of individual choice,

while larger problems concerning the activity of religious organisations are unresolved (Beckford 2001:133-4).

Beckford himself stresses the variety of meanings attributed to the term, 'secularisation,' and claims there has always been a "strong ideological charge" associated with its use (2003:41). This colours the ongoing debate about secularisation. He declines to enter into the debate as outlined above on the grounds that there is no "fixed reality" behind the concepts of religion and secularism: both are social constructions (2003:42) and vary in meaning at different times and in different places (2003:7). Debates about secularisation, he argues, are "a dialogue of the deaf" (2003:68). There is no point in attempting to "uncover a world of objective reality" behind the social constructions of secularisation and sacralisation. These concepts are in continuous process of reinterpretation. They arise not from "deep structural forces within culture," but from the "struggles between ideas, values and material interests as articulated by human beings" (2003:71).

Such is the current theoretical and philosophical debate concerning secularisation which surrounds the day-to-day work of clergy. Those involved in this study face a situation of uneven, but general, contraction in the measurable aspects of traditional religious practice. The unresolved nature of the wider debate only adds to the uncertainty of their role in attempting to maintain 'market share.'

In contrast to the theoretical and descriptive analyses discussed above, some observers have turned their attention to the application of organisations theory to the church. Organisations theory (or systems theory), they argue, integrates internal and external factors and allows the examination of the full range of environmental, membership, and operational aspects of a church or other organisation. The work of McCann (1993) may be taken as representative. McCann sees three independent variables combining to form the structure of religious organisations. They are the situation in which a particular religious organisation is placed (the environment), the human element within the organisation, and particularly the stance which the organisation takes towards those who are part of it (the membership), and the work undertaken by the organisation (the organisational task).

McCann's analysis may be used to illustrate several issues for the Anglican church in Australia. The first of his three independent variables is the environment – the “things outside the window – the institutions, the people, the trends, the public, the rivals, the culture, and the mass media” (McCann 1993:74). Here, McCann writes from the perspective of traditional secularisation theory. The essence of this environment is change. Secularised societies have become increasingly plural in orientation. Individuals are centred on a multiplicity of “localities, settings and values,” and acknowledge no single locus of authority. The clergy, respected as experts in a number of fields, once played an integrating role in the community. Now, in a very different environment, that expertise and authority are both widely rejected, with the result that clergy are left with no clear understanding of their role (1993:78-9). The result is the kind of role confusion described by Moberg, above. Similar difficulties amongst Australian clergy are described in a later section.

McCann's second independent variable is “membership” – the way in which an organisation such as a church deals with people who associate themselves with it. In Australian Anglican terms this involves, essentially, the operation of local parishes. Here, McCann makes a broad differentiation between “communal” churches ministering in a comprehensive way to the people surrounding them in a geographic sense and “associational” churches which are gathered communities resulting from the choice of adherents to belong. Local churches will tend towards one or other of these types. The communal nature of urban churches has been weakened by the breaking down of the congruence between the ‘church on the corner’ and the everyday concerns of the people living around it. The parish church, more particularly in cities, “can no longer function as a community, nor as a territorial organization, nor act as a symbolic center for its society, nor play any part in important areas of public life” (McCann 1993:89-90). The re-orientations that are needed to deal with this situation place considerable pressures on clergy, parish leaders, and members of churches generally.

The third of McCann's three independent variables is the work of the particular organisation, the organisational task. This is a relational issue, as organisations essentially consist of people coming together for a mutual purpose. But for a church, it is a question, too, of mission. A church at every level of its structure must consider its mission to do the work of God. McCann, following Blauw (1974), argues that there is a centripetal and a

centrifugal sense of that mission: "God calls out to send forth, God says 'Come' in order later to say 'Go'" (McCann 1993:115). The churches are confused between these two commissions. Some try to develop 'Come' structures, others 'Go' structures. This difference of emphasis has been variously described: as between mission and maintenance, between the renewal of society and the nurture of the individual, between challenge and comfort, or as the prophetic as opposed to the priestly function (1993:115-6). The ambiguity of purpose which results bears particularly on the clergy person in the Anglican Church, with its inherited tradition of ministering to the whole person and the whole community. There are in fact a multiplicity of emphases contained within the two broad commissions described above, each needing different approaches and different local arrangements to be adequately fulfilled. Thus the clergy are, once again, placed under strain in meeting broad and often undefined objectives.

Kaye (1995) brings an intimate knowledge of the Australian Anglican church to his comprehensive assessment of the church in its end-of-century setting, tying together historical, theological, psychological, as well as sociological strands in the process. He does this in clearly functional terms, using the sociological concept of 'identity' as the point of entry. He begins by taking Mol's understanding of identity as "a stable setting within whose boundaries an individual or group can find order and sameness" (Kaye 1995:176). Both church and society have moved into less predictable times since Mol wrote those words. His model may seem to have lost something of its validity in the fragmentation and subjectivism of the post-modern era. Nevertheless, Kaye finds the concept useful and adds a new element to it.

The identity of the church, he argues, is to be found at the meeting point of the various environmental elements which impinge on it. The first of these elements is the inherited Anglican tradition, which Kaye traces back to pre-Reformation roots and which he epitomises as that of a "lay ecclesiastical community" with a particular emphasis on the Incarnation as God's presence in the world. The way the church has been shaped by the special features of Australian society over the last 150 years is a significant part of that inheritance (Kaye 1995:6-7). The second, related, element is to be found in the church's engagement with modern Australian society, which he describes as a "radical kind of social pluralism," issuing in different kinds of inequity and threatening human dignity, but essentially open to dialogue with the church. Kaye is optimistic about the possibilities

of dialogue. He believes the values that developed in the Australian community in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries are still "significantly embedded and operative" in contemporary Australian society (1995:175, 2, 189). The third element consists of the resources of the church, especially its human resources. Kaye sees the greatest strength of the church as the persistent faith and commitment of the laity. A properly developed sense of lay vocation is at the heart of the church's role as "church in society." Kaye uses the concept of "church in society" to describe his ideal model of the Australian Anglican church (1995:2, 7, 188). There is, as well, a socio-political factor, which Kaye believes is a fourth principal element establishing the identity of the Anglican Church in Australia. That is the nation's place in the world as a Western nation facing Asia and the Pacific. To explore and advance the role of Australians as mediators of regional cultural differences is a function which will help to establish the identity of the whole nation, including the churches (Kaye 1995:175-6).

Mol's definition of identity had emphasised the relational situation at it exists for the church at any one time, that is, the synchronous perspective. Kaye employs a more diachronous concept in that he sees the identity of the church in Australia as being fixed by inputs that have continued over time (Kaye 1995:176). Hence there is a dynamic aspect to Kaye's use of the term, identity. Thus, the situation that exists at any one time – and the decisions taken therein – are shaped by the continuing influence of the past, and will help to shape the course of the future. Further, he argues that the notion of identity can be applied at the individual level and even at the national level, as well as at the organisational level. For the purposes of this study, Kaye's concept of individual identity and its shaping by a wide range of environmental factors accords well with the dynamic interactional aspects of the life span, life space model of career development discussed earlier in this chapter. In the context being discussed here, it can be said that an ideal situation arises when the individual, the church, and the broader Australian community are aware of and respond meaningfully to each other and to their internal strengths and external influences, while remaining true to the authentic elements of their history. The theory of identity is useful in this study. The central concern here is the decision of men and women to give up one career and to turn to a second career in the church. Their personal identity is involved through the understanding they have of themselves, their ongoing life story as they perceive it, and the decision they make regarding their career.

At the same time they link their personal identity with the identity of the church and contribute to locating and changing it.

Men and women entering ordained ministry in recent times have faced a confusing situation. Religion in its traditional form appears to be in decline, yet the shape of religious belief continually metamorphoses into new forms. The church on one hand defends the old ways while on the other explores accommodation with the new. The application of sociological theory to religious processes brings some order to the scene – for individuals and for the church as a whole. But until some consensual understanding of the church's place in the new religious order is achieved – and what that new order consists of – clergy will continue to experience some sense of discomposure. We turn to examine that phenomenon in more detail.

Clergy Roles and Role Frustrations

Members of professional organisations have specific and differentiated functions to perform. The professional functions of Anglican clergy have moved over time from an overarching "cure of souls" ministry (Russell 1986:264-5) to a much narrower field. By the end of the twentieth century those functions, that is, the roles to be played by clergy, were in need of re-definition. Developments in Australian society had altered the religious landscape. For Anglican clergy, the view from the vicarage was unpromising. Fewer people were coming to Sunday worship and fewer families were availing themselves of the occasional services of the church. Outside the church's immediate domain, many were now looking to secular practitioners to provide a range of services clergy had formerly provided, while secular philosophies were increasingly popular. New religious movements and New Age spiritualities appeared to flourish. Religious sentiment moved from the public domain into the private sphere. Australians had dispatched mainstream religious organisations and religious practitioners to the margins. Wilson, writing from a traditional secularisation viewpoint, explains the diminution in the social role of the clergy that was in full flow by the 1980s by reference to "the shift from the 'Christian country' consciousness to that form of consciousness which is secular, this-worldly, relativistic and permeated with ideological science" (Wilson 1983:138). The

churches had need to rethink their place in society just as the clergy had need to re-evaluate their role both in society and within the church.

Clergy tend to internalise the complexities of the situation their churches face. This is not just to say that clergy have anxieties about the role of the churches and of their own role. They are conditioned by prevailing societal attitudes and standards. When community values are changing rapidly there will be particular stresses for those clergy who feel that they are charged with preserving established values or shaping values in a distinctively Christian direction. If the role of the clergy is unclear in the minds of people in the general community, the clergy themselves will internalise that lack of clarity (Hadden 1972:166-7). Various studies have shown that clergy share the uncertainties of the community at large. A study of South Australian clergy from the Congregational, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Churches of Christ Churches found that one-quarter of them had no sustained devotional life of their own, over one-quarter had no intellectual certainty concerning the existence of God or the divinity of Jesus, almost one-third felt that prospects for church growth were at least limited, over one-third felt unsure or pessimistic about the future of the church in Australia, and almost half found church activities to be only moderately satisfying (Bodycomb 1978:128).

Weakness of personal conviction can be compounded by occupational frustrations. A principal source of frustration comes from differing understandings of the role of the clergy held by lay leaders and by their lack of support, sometimes amounting to obstruction. This may apply more to rural clergy. Dempsey studied relations between Methodist clergy and lay leaders in a rural town in New South Wales over a prolonged period. His conclusion was that

not only in Methodist local churches, but in the local churches of all major Protestant denominations ... many ministers and their lay people were discovering that they wanted quite different things from the church, often had quite different notions of what the focus of local church life should be, and often possessed radically different conceptions of the part each should play in local church affairs. (Dempsey 1983:172)

Dempsey's findings accord with other studies overseas. A study sponsored by the National Council of Churches of the United States surveyed 5 000 non-Catholic clergy. It found that by far their most common source of stress was their relations with lay people

in their parishes. This was so for clergy of all ages. The report concluded that such conflicts "will probably remain the dominant source of stress in all stages of the minister's career" (Quinley 1974:243). In his own survey of 1 580 non-Catholic clergy in California, Quinley found that "serious differences of opinion" existed between clergy and parishioners, more so for 'modernist' clergy than for 'traditionalist' clergy (Quinley 1974:243).

In a separate study, Dempsey (1983) gathered views on clergy-lay disharmony from over 100 representatives of lay people and clergy from several Protestant denominations in Victoria and New South Wales. Lay people complained of the clergy that preaching was irrelevant, church life was becoming increasingly unattractive, and that congregational numbers and financial support were falling. They connected this with the commitment of their clergy, particularly with regard to pastoral work. Clergy charged their lay people with a lack of interest in programmes such as Christian education and pastoral care and active opposition to social action endeavours or attempts to make changes in the range of the minister's tasks. Dempsey attributes such conflicts ultimately not to local factors, but to broader societal attitudinal changes being worked out at a local level. Blame cannot be attributed one-sidedly (Dempsey 1983:173). This view is supported by Breward who sees unresponsive lay attitudes arising from a "failure of vision and courage and a retreat back into the safety of the familiar," but also as a "lay protest against clerical modernity" (Breward 1988:83).

Dempsey's findings were validated for the Anglican Church in Victoria by the work of Blaikie who surveyed the professional attitudes of almost 1000 Protestant clergy in Victoria, including 299 Anglicans. He found that 69 per cent of Anglican clergy were content or confident in their work, 12 per cent had "some problems," while 19 per cent were either frustrated or negative in their attitude (Blaikie 1979:185). Blaikie – admitting to some over-generalisation – concludes:

Many clergy appear to encounter a wide range of problems: they are expected to be experts in many areas, but are usually inadequately trained for the activities on which they spend much of their time; they are unable to accomplish many of the activities they feel should be done or that others expect them to do; ... they are invariably required to spend more time on organizational tasks than they feel is warranted and generally receive limited satisfaction from this type of activity; they find core individuals and groups

are unlikely to support them, should they give high priority to the role of 'social reformer'; some find their parishioners do not share their goals for "the Church"; many find they are frustrated in carrying out various roles by what others regard as being appropriate performance; many find they are constrained in their preaching by what others want to hear from them; and they find people do not respond to their efforts to involve them in programmes clergy consider important and necessary. (Blaikie 1979:186-7)

Ballis (1999b) approaches the same issue from the point of view of clergy who leave the ministry. He concludes that many clergy suffer an identity crisis which results in lowered morale and reduced self-respect. Many find that resigning from the ministry or seeking employment in non-parish work become appealing options. For those in parishes, many find relief by specialising in a narrow field within the broad range of the work open to them. This may further put at risk relations with lay members of the parish. Others will accommodate to the expectations and priorities of their congregation. The end result is role ambiguity (Ballis 1999b:101-2).

It is not surprising that various studies have shown many clergy to have ideal priorities for their church very different from the practices that actually operate. An Australian Council of Churches survey of 519 Catholic and non-Catholic clergy in New South Wales and Queensland, reported in Dowdy and Lupton (1976), asked clergy to compare how much emphasis was being placed by their church on a range of activities with how much emphasis they believed should be placed on the same activities. The views of the Anglican clergy are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3
Perceived Actual and Ideal Emphases in Church Activities, Anglican Clergy

Activities	Ranking (actual)	Ranking (ideal)
Providing formal services of worship	1	4
Raising money	2	9
Propagating the teachings of Christ	3	1
Missionary activities	4	2
Providing emotional and practical support for members	5	7
Providing social welfare amenities	6	7
Gaining converts at home	7	3
Taking an active part in social and political problems	8	6
Attracting new ministers	9	5

(Source: Dowdy and Lupton 1976:101-3).

Anglican clergy believed that much of the emphasis of their own church was misplaced, in particular that more formal aspects such as providing religious services and money raising were stressed at the expense of more evangelistic aspects such as proclaiming the faith and gaining converts. Regarding their own work, Anglican clergy indicated along similar lines that they would like to spend less time on formal tasks and have more time for such things as counselling and private prayer. Forty-eight per cent felt at least "moderately" restricted in their work by the church (Dowdy and Lupton 1976:104).

Blaikie (1979) was also concerned with the question of the actual occupational roles of clergy as against their preferred roles. Much interest had developed in this issue following Blizzard's work in the United States (1958a, 1958b). Blaikie investigated the range of occupational activities of non-Catholic clergy in Victoria and the relative importance assigned to them by the same clergy. He presented respondents with a set of eight roles based on the work of Blizzard (Blaikie 1979:93). Anglican respondents ranked the importance of these roles as follows:

1. Priest (conducting worship, administering the sacraments)
2. Pastor (visiting, counselling)
3. Preacher (delivering sermons, expounding the word of God)
4. Educator (teaching, instructing, leading study groups)
5. Evangelist (converting others to faith)
6. Scholar (reading, studying, writing)
7. Organiser (organising and supervising the work of the parish)
8. Social reformer (being involved directly in working against social injustices)

Blaikie found a significant variation to this pattern according to the theological orientation of respondents. Clergy tending to a fundamentalist stance ranked the categories of 'preacher' and 'evangelist' higher than did those tending to a more modernist stance. The latter, in turn, ranked the categories of 'pastor,' priest' and 'educator' higher than their more fundamentalist colleagues. Blaikie also found a relationship between role rankings and both personal satisfaction and effectiveness. There was firm evidence that clergy of all denominations gained the greatest satisfaction from the roles they gave the highest priority. Blaikie suggests that clergy tended to rank more highly the roles in which they felt they operated with greatest success (Blaikie 1979:105-9). He concludes that individual clergy role priorities emerge from a combination of factors: theological orientation, goals for the church as a whole, and personal goals for ministry, as well as ongoing occupational experience, which will include the reactions of

others who are in a professional relationship with the clergyman or woman (Blaikie 1979:110).

In the same survey, Blaikie also explored the relationship between age and theological orientation. He did not extrapolate results for different denominations, but reported that, overall, there was a weak relationship between these two variables. Blaikie finds limited support for the popular view that younger clergy are less theologically conservative than older clergy. He suggests three factors that could contribute to this pattern: a life cycle trend towards a more 'supernaturalist' orientation; younger clergy experiencing general and theological socialisation in a more 'secularist' era; and a higher resignation rate amongst 'secularist' clergy (Blaikie 1979:116-7). The relationship between age and the attitudes of older ordinands is explored in depth in succeeding chapters.

Summary and Conclusion

The review of relevant literature and research findings gives focus to the investigation that follows. Several themes have emerged, some relating to the clergy profession as a whole, and some to the work and careers of individual clergy, although it is not always necessary to disentangle one from the other.

There have been recurring references to the situation where professionals are employed by an organisation such as a state instrumentality or a corporation, or, as in the present case, the church. Ritzer, Hughes, Rothman and others have pointed to the limitation of individual professionalism that results. To the extent that the professionalism of individual practitioners is lessened, so the degree of professionalisation of the group is brought into question. For the clergy this is a large issue. On one hand, there is a theoretical identity of interest between the clergy and the church, yet studies reported by Dowdy and Lupton and by Blaikie show a wide divergence of aims and practice. This raises the problem of role conflict for the clergy and poses a question of their professionalism. To what extent are clergy inhibited in expressing their professional inclinations? Does the church act towards individual clergy in a professional way? Is the clerical profession degraded by the suppression of freedom for clergy to act according to their own priorities? These questions will be explored in the ensuing investigation.

Another important issue has been the call to ministry. What moves a middle-aged person, probably in secure and rewarding employment, to offer for ordained ministry? A predisposition to ministry, the influence of others, the process of recognising and accepting a call to ordained ministry, the determination to make a major change in one's life course – these questions have raised the importance of vocational psychology. The work of Vondracek and others is important in this regard. Personal factors intersect with environmental factors in decision-making. American writers such as Hall have developed the concept of a dynamic interaction between personal and broader societal factors in career development. How rational were clergy career choices? How much were they responses to external factors? Were the original motivations maintained? What socialising influences were brought to bear at the training stage and in the early years of ordained ministry?

The concept has emerged of viewing careers in the light of the whole of the life cycle and with regard to a range of life circumstances. In modern society the rate of career change and the need for re-training have increased. A career decision in early adulthood may be merely giving a first direction to a lifetime of career change and development. As whole-of-life factors – family considerations, changing value systems, and general societal influences – bear upon an individual, a career change may become attractive as a way of bringing personal and occupational preferences into synchronisation. Demographic factors operate: increased expectation of life and the possibilities of early retirement offer opportunities for new careers such as in ministry. At age 50 men and women have one-third of their life span ahead of them. Increasingly the assumption can be made that "it is change, not stability along the lifeline, that is the keynote of adult development" (Rossi 1986:130). This study examines the career changes of late ordinands against the life span, life space model.

In the process of career change certain disincentives may operate. There may be adverse family and financial considerations. Age and gender have been regarded as negative factors in clergy careers in both the United States and Australia. The question is whether these disincentives assume as much significance for second-career clergy as for occupational groups that have been the subject of wider studies. That question is examined in the survey that follows. As this study deals with second career clergy, age is an inbuilt factor, and an attempt is made to isolate the gender factor from age and other

factors. The issues of age and gender go beyond the individual careers of clergy and bring into question the professionalism of the church in matters such as equity and natural justice. Age and gender provide touchstones for examining both clergy career trajectories and the professional nature of the church.

A great deal has emerged about the role of clergy in a secularised society. In contrast to a time, perhaps only fifty years ago, when the church held an influential place as shaper and arbiter of community values, now the church is merely one voice amongst many offering a philosophy of life and a programme for human behaviour. And the church's view may be lacking in clarity, unity and conviction. At the same, many of the former functions of clergy have been lost. In this situation, what attracts new entrants? Are they content to accept the reduced role that is offered? Are they driven by general altruistic motives or do they feel called to fulfil a specific function? Evidence has been presented to illustrate the frustrations clergy face in their daily work. Frustrations occur in relation to the community and to the laity, as well as to the church hierarchy. Do commencing second career clergy understand the role conflicts and frustrations they may meet? Are they realistic about the nature of work in ministry? Are they meeting role conflicts in their new careers, and, if so, how well do they handle them? What is their level of job satisfaction? These questions flow from the overview presented above.

The task remains of imposing intellectual order on the large mass of data provided by the survey of second-career clergy that follows. The major sociological perspectives are useful in different ways. A functional approach, as represented by Berger and Kaye, for instance, would emphasise the ways in which various components come together in establishing the church's position in society. Conflict theory has been applied successfully in the study of the professions and of the church, as seen in the work of Ritzer and Boreham, by highlighting the sectional interests within a profession. It is useful, for instance, in demonstrating the situation of a professional employed in an organisation. Exchange theory, again, is helpful as a model by which to measure the actions of workers giving up their former occupations and commencing new careers in ordained ministry, surrendering part of what had given substance to their lives, yet gaining something they valued on other counts. Systems theory, as demonstrated by Grint and McCann, places emphasis back on the coherence of interest between church and

individual clergy, as well as the conditioning influence of the wider group upon the individual.

My approach throughout the thesis has been eclectic. Each of the sociological perspectives mentioned above is employed at some stage. Yet, it is another – symbolic interactionism – to which I am most sympathetic and which is the principal subconscious controller of what is written. ‘Mutual adjustment’ is perhaps the keynote of symbolic interactionism, and is also central to this study. The concept “gives a distinctive cast” (Becker 1970a:291) to the thesis. Symbolic interactionism is consonant with the generally inductive nature of this enquiry, and suits the micro-level examination of data (Neuman 1997:58). Ritzer (1988:291) emphasises the pragmatic nature of interactionism, and lists its three critical elements as “(1) a focus on the interaction between the actor and the world; (2) a view of both the actor and the world as dynamic processes and not static structures; and (3) the great importance attached to the actor’s ability to interpret the social world.” These principles underlie my interpretation of the data. Willis’s comment (1995:119) that with symbolic interactionism, “events take place because of the actions of individuals collectively negotiating goals in the context of free will” endorses the primacy of agency given in the thesis to the shaping of the careers of second-career clergy. As with most studies of this nature, however, theory is not a preliminary and controlling factor in the thesis, but “develops from the ground up” (Neuman 1997:58) as data is gathered and processed.

* * *

Russell describes the Church of England as a “notoriously enigmatic institution,” and the role of the clergy as scarcely less so (Russell 1980:3). His view might apply equally to the Anglican Church in Australia and its clergy. Russell goes on to describe the range of designations applied to the clergy and makes a fundamental distinction between the terms, “priest” and “clergyman” (sic). As a “priest,” a clergy person is claiming a theological status arising from scripture and developed doctrinally over a very long period. The role of priest needs to be examined according to theological principles. As a “clergyman,” a person is claiming an occupational role among many other occupational roles in society. In this capacity normal historical and sociological principles will apply to them, and they must prove themselves on normal investigative terms. The tenor of this

study is along these lines. The clergy under review are both "priests" and "clergymen." Their special status is recognised, and their role in society is placed alongside it. The clergy are both called and appointed. They live in the church and in the world. The treasure they guard is contained in earthen vessels.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

The basic style of reasoning employed in this thesis is inductive. The process originates in detailed observations of particular situations and moves towards the formulation of abstract conclusions (Neuman, 1997:46). Inductive logic moves one towards a qualitative approach to research design, where the starting point is the circumstances of the daily lives of the men and women under study. Cheatwood (1999:207) argues that a qualitative approach is not merely about the way research is conducted. It is a way of looking at life: "It moves us from our own perspectives, meanings, and assumptions into those of the populations which, in fact, are encountering those events on a day-to-day basis." There are three reasons, then, for the adoption of qualitative methods in this thesis: my own instinctive sympathy with Cheatwood's position; the appropriateness of qualitative methods where inductive processes are paramount; and the standard arguments for the validity of qualitative research.

Qualitative Methods of Research

The starting point of qualitative methodology is the philosophical perspective of subjectivism. The subjective approach holds, in Ritzer's words (1988:340), that "through our own independent mental construction of reality, we define certain components of reality as meaningful," and is to be differentiated from the objective perspective which places priority on "the sets of meanings that exist in the culture as a whole" (Ritzer 1988:341). It follows from the subjectivist approach to social reality that observations of social action begin from the standpoint of social actors rather than from generalisations about society. This, in turn, means that sociological investigation is more likely to concern itself with small-scale examination of particular social situations rather than with macro-studies, and that the interpretations given to their situation by people in society

will be given priority in sociological analysis. This accords with the celebrated dictum of W.I. Thomas that "that which is defined as real is real in its consequences" (in Willis 1995:119).

As a result, qualitative investigation deals primarily with the circumstances of everyday life for the subjects under investigation. Qualitative research, as Bouma (1996:18) puts it, "tends to answer questions such as: What is it like to be a member of that group? What is going on in this situation? What is it like to experience this or that phenomenon?" The name, 'phenomenology' is often given to this approach. Data derived from the phenomenological approach enables the researcher to "see the world as subjects see it" (Bogdan and Taylor 1975:2). This leads back to the question of the research methods appropriate to such an aim. Techniques of open-ended questions and one-to-one interviews as used in this study best serve such a purpose. My situation as virtually a member of the survey group through my personal occupational history adds to the suitability of the research methods employed. Denzin (1970:217) urges the researcher to "intimately familiarize himself with the field situation. He must penetrate the groups or situations under study. He must grasp the meanings implicit in their languages. He must learn to see the world through their eyes." I am intimately familiar with the field situation of the present study; I am able to 'speak the language' of the participants and understand their nuances of meaning. I was in most respects a 'participant observer' in the research process. A further advantage of qualitative methods is that research becomes a dynamic process in which the direction of the enquiry is influenced by research results as they emerge. This particularly applies to the interview phase of the survey. Continuing reflection on the process allows refinements to be brought progressively into the research programme itself.

The Research Process

The research process followed the standard lines of sociological investigation. First came the clarification of issues to be examined in the thesis. They formed at first as a result of

my own experience of mature-age ordination, but were tested and clarified in the early stages of planning the thesis. Four major areas of interest emerged:

1. The standing of ordained ministry as a profession.
2. How the church as an organisation is tested by its handling of second-career clergy.
3. The actual experience of those who made a mid-life career change.
4. The differences between male and female ordinands' experience of their transition and initiation into their new career.

The second phase was the selection of appropriate research techniques and the consideration of appropriate variables to be measured. The two basic research tools decided upon were the use of a questionnaire (designed to encourage extended written comment in each part), to be followed by extended individual interviews with a cross-section of respondents. The third phase of the research process consisted of gathering data from the sample of second-career clergy using the questionnaires and the extended interviews as above. The final phase of the investigation involved critically analysing the data, and relating the information gathered to the research objectives, seeking to establish patterns of significance, and attempting to place the findings within the overall context of the sociology of professions and the meaning of ordained ministry.

The Questionnaire

As well as the four major areas of interest listed above, various themes were found to recur in the field of the sociology of professions which were pertinent to the issue of ordained ministry as a second career in the Anglican Church. These included the degree of professional autonomy exercised by individuals employed in organisations, the professional stance of management towards individuals employed in organisations, inter-personal aspects of mid-life career change, the interplay of societal influences and personal factors in the process of changing careers, career trajectories in relation to the

life cycle, age and gender constraints on career decisions and opportunities, and the role of clergy in a secularised social environment. The questionnaire was designed to provide data about respondents' attitudes and experiences in such areas. It consisted of eight parts.

In Part A respondents listed personal and occupational history. The remaining sections provided a series of statements and asked for a response to each on a five-point Likert scale ranging from strong agreement to strong disagreement. Respondents were invited at the end of each part to expand on any matters touched on in that part and to write freely about their feelings and experiences. The parts covered the following areas of experience:

Part B. The decision to move from previous occupations into ordained ministry.

Part C. The selection and training process.

Part D. The first appointment after ordination.

Part E. The first ten years as a clergy person (or part, for more recent ordinands).

Part F. Professional concerns.

Part G. The role of the clergy.

Part H. An overview of the whole of career.

The questionnaire may be found as the Appendix to this thesis.

The questionnaire was developed in several stages:

- (i). Informal discussions with administrators and clergy across the Province.
- (ii). Exploratory discussions with late-ordained clergy, individually and in small groups.
- (iii). A preview of the questionnaire by a cross-section of clergy not involved in the study.

The wording of the questionnaire encouraged comment from the respondents. This was appropriate in view of the relatively literate and sophisticated nature of the subject group. More importantly, this approach was suited to the exploratory nature of the project as a whole. It was important to give those responding room to fully describe their experiences and the weight they attached to them. The use of extended commentary avoids over-quantification and the impression of false precision. It allows the respondents to give an account of their opinions and feelings in their own way, at the same time allowing them to make their meaning clearer than if they had been confined merely to ticking a series of boxes.

The questionnaire was posted to 175 Anglican clergy in the Dioceses of Ballarat, Bendigo, Gippsland, Melbourne, Tasmania, and Wangaratta. This number represented all men and women in those dioceses who had been ordained deacon at age forty or above whose ages at ordination could be ascertained from *The Australian Anglican Directory* for 2001.

Although the thesis is based on predominantly qualitative principles, the questionnaire served several useful purposes. It gave the researcher an overall view of the attitudes of respondents; it helped in the selection of subjects for interview; and it gave some initial direction to the interviews that followed. Some statistical information derived from the questionnaire is given in the text of the thesis. Its purpose is to provide an outline of attitudes towards items of particular interest. The statistical Tables are the surveyors' pegs; the discussion and interpretations that flow from them form the building itself.

Wilson (1996:117-8) points out that the validity of both interview and questionnaire responses depends in part on the relationship between interviewer and respondent. He argues that "every reply is an artefact produced by the particular interviewer's interaction with a specific respondent in a given context." Even in postal surveys there is social interaction between the one who asks questions and the one who replies. The willingness of the respondent to co-operate is the major component of the social context in which the questionnaire is completed. In this regard we may claim a high degree of willingness to

co-operate and a high degree of validity. Each questionnaire was sent from one second-career clergyperson to another in a spirit of mutual investigation. The overall willingness to assist the study was shown by the high proportion of respondents who volunteered for further contact. The questionnaire was completed on the basis of anonymity, but respondents were invited to give their names and addresses if they agreed to possible follow-up. Eighty-six percent gave their names for this purpose.

The Interviews

Twenty-five of the questionnaire respondents were chosen for interview, selected to represent a cross-section of respondents. The interviewees included approximately proportionate representation of men and women, metropolitan and rural clergy, priests and deacons, active and retired clergy, and older and younger ordinands. Four of the respondents were known to me personally. All interviews were arranged by telephone. Nine were conducted in vicarages, eight in the private homes of respondents, five in church offices, and three by telephone. The twenty-five interviews were spread over a period of six months in late 2002 and early 2003, and averaged seventy minutes in length. Interviews were tape-recorded, and made on the basis of confidentiality. All interviews were conducted in an extremely cordial atmosphere, although several reached points of high emotion, including tears. Tea and cakes invariably followed! Several respondents expressed gratitude for the opportunity to tell of their experience of 'late ordination.' All showed interest in hearing of the outcome of the research. All interviews were positive experiences for both parties, arising from "a common intellectual curiosity and a reciprocal respect" as posited by Kvale (1996: 35).

Research results based on qualitative research (including interviews) have been regarded with scepticism in some quarters. Becker (1970c:399) points to the mass of data produced, impossible of succinct summary, so that "the reader finds it difficult to make his own assessment of them and must rely on his faith in the researcher." The results of qualitative research is sometimes seen as 'artistic' rather than 'scientific;' something

more is required of the researcher than "merely immersing oneself in the data and 'having insight.'" (Becker 1970c:412). Zelditch (1970:495) reports criticisms of qualitative research "for slipshod sampling, for failing to document assertions quantitatively, and for apparently accepting impressionistic accounts."

Later opinion tends to assert the validity of qualitative research. Schwandt (1997:70) accepts the difficulties imposed by the sheer mass of data, but defends the analytic integrity of qualitative methodology: "Qualitative analysis often does indeed begin with the data of specific cases, but that simply means that its efforts at analysis are grounded in data and [are] not speculative or abstract." Schwandt argues (1997:xv) that qualitative research involves a different epistemological methodology: "Adopting a posture as partner in the dialogue or conversation about the purpose and means of qualitative inquiry makes possible a different kind of knowing, a knowing from 'within' a particular situation." Most recent critical literature (Becker 1996:317-8; Willis 1995:127-8) is concerned to acknowledge the different but equal validity of traditional logico-deductive research methodology and the methodology of inductively-oriented qualitative research. Writing from this perspective, Charmaz (2001:351) writes of qualitative methods, "Thus, you follow the leads gained from your view of the data, not from the careful and exhaustive literature review of the traditional research design. A fundamental premise ... is to let the key issues emerge rather than to force them into preconceived categories." Denzin's comment (1970:188) retains its legitimacy: "Sociology rests in the ultimate analysis on the interview. The interview is ... the ultimate flirtation with life. It remains ... the basic source of sociological data."

In the thesis, data gathered from interviews is used primarily in the sense referred to by Charmaz. They provide the raw material for making generalised observations about the experience of ordained ministry as a second career as well as illustrating those observations and locating them with greater authority in real situations. Data thus gathered also serve the purpose of enriching the data arising from the survey of participants and providing a commentary on them. Thus qualitative and quantitative methodologies are brought to bear on the project. There are other benefits related more

directly to the interviews themselves. They have added an element of personal authenticity to the text. They allowed me, as interviewer, to follow points of interest to deeper levels of meaning. An important aspect of the interviews was that they allowed me to become, to some extent, a participant in the process of identifying and describing important issues. They added to the understanding I had gained from my personal experience as a second-career clergyman. At the same time they served as a useful corrective to any unrecognised biases that I might have held as a result of my experience.

Many comments were made in interviews (and also in written comments in the questionnaire returns) severely critical of aspects of church policies and of church officials and members of the clergy. Fair reporting of the attitudes and comments of respondents means that a discordant note is sounded in some parts of the thesis. These may seem carping at times. However, the expression of negative personal feelings by respondents is part of the interaction between people and systems that lies at the heart of this thesis. Giddens (1986:2) refers to the necessary "subversive or critical character" of sociological study, because it deals with "controversies and conflicts" in society. In the case of this study, conflict at the personal level is a pointer to wider issues of sociological significance and is reported for that reason.

Case Studies

Several aspects of the research methodology have brought the process into the legitimate field of ethnography: extensive exposure to the culture under study, the generation of descriptive data, the use of more than one data source, and the element of rapport with subjects (Schwandt, 1997:44). Ethnography refers to "the descriptive account of the way of life of a particular society" (Mitchell, 1979:70). In ethnography, the presentation of the account is of primary importance. Hence the significance of case studies in ethnographic writing and in this thesis.

The case studies woven into the text combine biography with what was actually said by the subjects. The writing of what was actually said is of fundamental importance, and occurs in micro-form as well in consolidated passages throughout the thesis. According to Geertz (1983:50), "The ethnographer 'inscribes' social discourse; *he writes it down*. In so doing he turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be reconsulted." He refers approvingly to Ricoeur's comment, "What does writing fix? Not the event of speaking, but the 'said' of speaking, where we understand by the 'said' of speaking that intentional exteriorization constitutive of the aim of discourse. ... It is the meaning of the speech event, not the event as event" (Geertz, 1983:50).

The case studies embedded in the text of the thesis constitute such a record. They enable the reader to compare the generalisations based on the verbal encounters with the actual record and thus serve as a test of the validity of the researcher's conclusions. They are a creative and sociologically proper way of translating experience into text (Emerson 2001:22). The aim of the case studies, as argued by Emerson (2001:22) in more general terms, is to set out "a partial, selective and purposed re-presentation of these ways of life gleaned through the researcher's efforts to get physically and socially close."

Validating the Sample

The target sample of second-career Anglican clergy consisted of all those in Victoria and Tasmania who could be identified as having been ordained at age forty or more. Accordingly, 175 questionnaires were distributed and 104 returns received. Of the 104 replies, 100 were usable, two respondents returning blank forms on account of advanced age, and two having been under age 40 at the time of their ordination and thus ineligible for consideration. One questionnaire was returned as undeliverable. The standard method of calculating the response rate was used (Dillman 1978:50; de Vaus 1995:107), that is,

$$\text{Response rate} = (\text{number returned}) \div (\text{number in sample} - \text{ineligible and unreachable}) \times 100$$

The response rate was thus 61.2 per cent. This is 10 to 20 percentage points higher than the rate regarded as typical for a mailed survey with no follow-up (Nachmias and Nachmias 1976:107-8; Jackson, Winston 1988:173; Babbie 1992:267). The response rate was achieved against an observed decline in response rates in Australia and the United States in recent years (Dillman 1978:3; de Vaus 1995:106). The result may be regarded as satisfactory from the point of view of the validity of data drawn from the survey. It has been held that a response rate of 50 per cent is adequate for analysis and reporting, while a response rate of 60 per cent may be considered as good in this respect (Babbie 1992:267).

To test the representative nature of the response group, that is, the possibility of non-response bias, comparisons may be made between the response group and the whole group with regard to items which can be determined from public records (Dillman 1978:53). Data concerning the whole group is obtainable from *The Australian Anglican Directory*, 2001. Four items may be readily compared – gender, age, age at ordination, and level of educational achievement.

The whole group consisted of 108 men and 62 women (the five ineligible and unreachable recipients are omitted from this calculation). Returns were received from 62 men and 38 women. Thus men are slightly under-represented in comparison with women in the level of returns.

The average age of the whole group was 60.4 years, whereas the average age of respondents was 61.7 years. The median age of the whole group was 58.5 years, and the median age of the respondents 61.5 years. Thus the response group was marginally older than the whole group.

There was also a tendency for the response group to come to ordination at an older age (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1
Age at Ordination, Respondents and Whole Group

	Ordained at age 40-49 years (%)	Ordained at age 50-59 years (%)	Ordained at age 60 + years (%)
Whole group	61.4	30.1	8.4
Respondents	55.0	35.0	10.0

As regards theological qualifications, a threefold division was made into those who held a theological degree, those who held tertiary qualifications other than a degree, and those without theological qualifications (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2
Level of Theological Qualifications, Respondents and Whole Group

	Degree (%)	Other than degree (%)	No qualifications (%)
Whole group	38.8	44.1	17.1
Respondents	35.0	52.0	13.0

Thus the response group was broadly similar to the whole group as regards theological qualifications.

The response group conforms more closely to the whole group in the matter of secular qualifications. Here, similarly, three sub-groups were determined – those with a degree in a secular field, those with tertiary qualifications other than a degree, and those without secular qualifications (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3
Level of Secular Qualifications, Respondents and Whole Group

	Degree (%)	Other than degree (%)	No qualification (%)
Whole group	38.8	24.1	37.1
Respondents	38.0	24.0	38.0

Thus the academic background of the response group was marginally lower than that of the whole group.

It can be seen that, by comparison with the whole group, the response group contained a slightly higher proportion of females, was slightly older in age and in age at ordination, tending more to the middle range in theological qualifications, and with a slightly lower standard of non-theological education. Allowing for these differences, it remains that the response group corresponds well with the whole group. Considering both the satisfactory rate of overall response to the questionnaire and the degree of compatibility in the areas that could be determined, a high degree of confidence may be held that the respondents adequately represent the whole field of second-career clergy, and that their responses and comments constitute a valid set of data to illustrate the experiences and sentiments of the body of clergy under study.

Profile of Respondents

The second-career clergy covered in this study represent a wide range of previous occupations and experience. The most common argument adduced in favour of the ordination of mature-age clergy is that they bring life experience and a broadened perspective into their work in the church. This is seen as an advantage for individual clergy, but the range of occupation and level of previous attainment of second-career clergy as a whole can be expected to bring expertise across a broad spectrum of fields to be placed at the service of the church generally. The respondents came from professional

backgrounds, with few exceptions. Three had been farmers, one of whom had left school at fourteen. Several had been technicians, one had been a landscape gardener, and another a road transport owner/driver, although some of these had also had professional occupational experience. Seven of the female respondents listed homemaking as a previous occupation, but in every case they had worked also in professional positions. Indeed, many respondents had worked in two or more distinct fields.

Those surveyed included in their ranks representatives of a large number of prior occupations. The following occupation types were represented by at least one person: scientists, university professors and lecturers at tertiary level, bank managers, doctors, air traffic controllers, theological college lecturers, public servants, senior health administrators, army officers, actors, artists and professional musicians, geologists, librarians, pharmacists, university administrators, politicians, local government officers, probation officers, town planners, welfare workers, speech therapists, architects, business men and women, nurses, engineers, teachers, and many who had been employed in church and para-church organisations. People in the latter two categories were the most numerous. Twenty-six of the one hundred respondents included primary or secondary school teaching at some stage of their previous occupational history. Of the twenty-six, eighteen had been secondary teachers, three of them headmasters or headmistresses. A further twenty-six respondents had worked in some form of church-related employment, chiefly as deaconesses, Church Army officers, missionaries, pastoral workers in parishes, and lay chaplains in state or independent secondary schools. Second-career clergy are bringing individual skills of a high order as well as "a deep reservoir of life experience" (87,f,p,60) to their own work and to the church at large.

The respondents make up a varied and experienced group of clergy, representative of mature-age ordinands in the Anglican Church in the Province of Victoria and Tasmania, and, by their number and by the representative nature of the dioceses they come from, likely also to be representative of the wider Anglican Church of Australia.

CHAPTER 5

DECIDING ON ORDINATION

This chapter considers the experience of second-career clergy as they made their decisions to seek ordination and went through the process of giving up their previous work, in most cases to begin or continue with their theological education. Were they dissatisfied with their previous employment? Was this a motivation for change? Did they feel that God was calling them into ordained ministry? In what ways was the call perceived? Where did they find encouragement as they followed their call to ordained ministry? Did they carefully consider the pros and cons of their career change? Did they or their families experience difficulties in the process? Was this an easy process or were there heartaches involved? What differences were there for older ordinands? ... for rural candidates? ... and for women? These and similar matters are explored below.

The material presented in this chapter falls under two heads. Some matters are internal to respondents in that they relate to their individual modality. These include the source of the impulse to ordination, the sense of a divine call, the extent of rational consideration given to career change, and the personal emotions associated with the change in life direction. Other matters are external in that they arise more from the social environment of respondents: questions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in employment, whether age was regarded as a disadvantage for career change, and the difficulties encountered in the process of changing occupations. The analysis is validated by comments made by respondents in questionnaire replies and interviews, and one case study is introduced as a means of authentication.

Occupational Mid-Life Transition

Eighty per cent of the men and women in this study were ordained between forty and fifty-five years of age and the rest at an older age. The years between age forty and age fifty-five have been referred to in the research literature as the "mid-career" years.

Typically, entry into this stage is framed in negative terms, as a time when particular stresses may be placed on individuals. Thus, Greenhaus and Callanan (1994:194) speak of the fear of lost youth and missed opportunities, together with the awareness of aging and mortality, as triggers for occupational reassessment. Hall (1976:81-2) produces a long list of physical infirmities that might affect the forty-year-old's attitude to work. Other factors said to precipitate occupational change include mental health problems (Brown et al 1984:372) and job dissatisfaction (Holland, in Brown et al. 1984:373). Such approaches suggest that mid-life career change is primarily a response to changes in an individual's environment, rather than arising from within the individual, whereas, as is argued below, personal and psychological factors weigh heavily in the drive towards ordination amongst the men and women covered in this study. Second-career clergy, too, are sometimes presented in negative terms. Some observers refer to a perception that second-career clergy were unsuccessful in their secular careers prior to ordination. Nesbitt (1995:168) cites Carroll, Hargrove and Lummis (1983) in support of this contention, and also notes that many denominational officials in the United States hold this belief.

However, any theory that Australian second-career clergy may be considered in the same way finds little support from the present study. The evidence points to these men and women being drawn to their careers in ordained ministry rather than seeking relief from unhappy situations. In the present study, only six individuals report some measure of unhappiness in their former work, while an overwhelming majority of respondents (90.7 per cent) report that they were "happy" in their work before moving into ministry training. This was often expressed in simple terms; one wrote simply, "Secular job satisfaction was as high as I could hope for" (6,m,p,50). Another explained how successful he had been: "I enjoyed my secular career and was considered good at it, this being recognised by the award of the Victorian Division of [my professional Society's] Gold Medal" (31,m,p,50). Some were called to ordained ministry while at the height of illustrious careers (9,m,p,50; 57,f,p,40), and several made the point that they regarded their secular career prior to ordination also as a calling from God. One commented,

Teaching was my ministry and I had a very happy time in the various situations that I've been in, and particularly the last school ... I knew when I left teaching that I wasn't running away from it. It wasn't a mid-life crisis. I was quite happy with what I was doing. (16,m,p,40,1)

Although happiness at work does not necessarily equate with success in that work, it may be concluded that second-career clergy in the Australian context move into ordained ministry from very positive motives, and not because they are seeking escape from a disagreeable situation. They were drawn towards work which corresponded more closely with their developing spiritual instincts and which gave them an opportunity to serve God's purposes as they were revealed to them.

The Many Paths to Ordination

The one hundred respondents involved in this study make up a very varied group of mature and independent people, each with their own story to tell of the journey to ordination. However, from the questionnaire returns, the often extensive comments made in them, and, particularly, from face-to-face interviews, certain patterns may be discerned in the multiplicity of pathways to ordination. Eight categories are distinguished in Table 5.1 and the twenty-five men and women interviewed allocated to the categories which most completely represent their situation. These are descriptive categories reflecting my understanding of the experiences of respondents rather than pre-conceived types of journey towards ordination. Between two and four respondents were judged to fall into each category. The categories move from the most compelling of motivation (Category 1) to the least compelling (Category 8).

There is some overlap between the categories, particularly between categories 5 and 6. As well, it was not always easy to allocate individual respondents to particular categories. The task of imposing a sociological judgement upon the unstructured data of a respondent's narrative necessarily involves making a personal assessment. In the words of Bogdan and Taylor, "the researcher acts as a selective sieve in all forms of research" (1975:12). In this study, the researcher's background in ordained ministry, shared with the respondents, helps in the making of analytical decisions. Becker has commented, "... the ability to make imaginative use of personal experience and the very quality of one's personal experience will be important contributors to one's technical skill" (1970a:22). The categorisation of respondents is made in the spirit of these remarks.

Table 5.1
Categories of Journey towards Ordination

Categories of journey towards ordination	Respondents in this category
1. Those who were 'surprised' in their life path by an irresistible call to ordained ministry	Phyllis Harding; Colin Lock
2. Those much involved in the church as lay people whose increasing depth of spiritual development brought the idea of ordination into focus	Pete Barclay; Vicki Klein; June Pearson; Thelma Watkins
3. Those who had felt called for many years, but for whom various factors had intervened	John Daws; Grace Graham; Karen Jordan; Roseanne Spargo
4. Those who were at or near the end of a long secular career, and were moved to spend the remaining years of their working life as a deacon or priest, often non-stipendiary	Ian Cross; Gordon Paterson
5. Those in a specific vocation of ministry prior to ordination, and for whom ordination was a natural progression rather than a major readjustment	Susan Mills; Muriel Preston; Arthur Robbins; Judith Tully
6. Those whose experience in the workplace caused them to consider offering for ordination	Alan Gleeson; Ron Heatley; Neil Thorne
7. Those for whom prompting by others was a major factor	Harvey Shaw; Simon Stacey
8. Those who seemed to 'drift' into ordination	Jan Ashby; Don Beverley; Wayne Holliday; Alwyn Ward

The analysis of written responses and interview data reveals two basic factors applying to the way respondents went about the task of changing careers. The two factors are the *source of motivation* and the degree of *individual initiative* adopted by each respondent. With the source of motivation, a continuum may be plotted between the poles of personal and internal factors on one hand and external, environmental factors on the other. The level of individual initiative taken in regard to career change ranges from high to low. These poles of delineation may be used to construct a generalised description of the types of career change involved in ordination, classifying ordinands into four major categories. The four categories are labelled, 'Inspired,' 'Delayed,' 'Promoted,' and 'Drifted.' Each label represents a conflation of attitudes and responses observed in the individuals comprising the group.

The typology outlined above provides a framework for interpreting respondents' accounts of their journey towards ordination. It has been developed not to be used as an analytical tool, but as a descriptive device to highlight the variety of types of entry to ordained ministry. The typology helps, also, to clarify the sociological issue of what draws people of mature age to seek a new career in the church. The four types are described below with case study material drawn from extended interviews to authenticate and make personal the types identified. The profiles that emerge approximate the positions established in the typology.

Inspired

Categories 1 and 2 from Table 5.1 are brought together under the 'Inspired' designation. Respondents in the 'Inspired' category reveal a high level of internal motivation and also a high level of initiative in making the career change into ordained ministry. Their progress towards ordination was marked by expedition, assuredness, and single-mindedness of purpose. They have "discovered the pearl of great price, ... the most important thing in the world" (57,f,p,40,I), and must possess it. They possess two further characteristics. First, there was a high degree of compulsion in their call to ordained ministry. It came in an overwhelming moment of conviction or developed as an insistent claim on the direction of their life course. Second, their path to ordination was an easy one, without obstacles from either personal or extraneous sources. 'Inspired' respondents include both men and women. They come principally from urban backgrounds. Those who experienced an overwhelming moment of conviction were in the upper level of the age range of respondents, while those whose call developed with less immediacy were in the lower level of the age range. Colin Lock and June Pearson are representative of clergy who approximate this form of entry into ministry.

Phyllis Harding

Prior to her call to ordination Phyllis spent over thirty years in science and education, working her way to a very senior level. She was predisposed towards ordination through a lifelong commitment to the faith ("I was a Christian body and soul!") and the Anglican Church, where she had belonged to several administrative and contemplative organisations. Her call, however, was unanticipated, although it did not surprise many who knew her well. She retells the moment of calling:

The call to ordination was *completely* new. It was literally waking up in the morning – one of those experiences that people write about. I'd been [to church] the previous evening and consciously went and knelt at the foot of the crucifix. ... Next morning I woke up and – there was this extraordinary experience that somehow everything has dissolved and there's an extraordinary feeling of continuity with the universe, and I actually remember sitting up in bed and saying, "There are no barriers! There are no walls!" Out aloud. "Lord, there are no barriers. What do you want me to do?" And a voice came as if it was in my ear, "I want you to be a priest."

June Pearson

June had only a slight connection with the church until reaching adulthood. Then a series of steps increased her awareness of and commitment to a life of faith – marriage, confirmation, a charismatic experience of speaking in tongues, and working as a lay minister in her home parish. The culmination was a felt call to be part of the church's ordained ministry:

The life-shaking event for me was becoming a committed Christian in the first place. That has formed my life. That has made me who I am. That has given my life meaning. ... Nevertheless there was this great spiritual anguish I went through, very disturbed, very restless. I had a real sense that God was calling me to something more, but I didn't know what it was. This feeling went on for over twelve months, made worse by Cursillo.* That's when I decided to study and went to a Selection Conference, and was accepted. Now, being caught up in the church in this leadership position is as though God called me to take this particular position. It's where I'm meant to be at this time.

* Cursillo: a spiritual encounter course run by the Anglican church.

Delayed

The 'Delayed' type represents respondents from Category 3 in Table 5.1. They were strongly committed to the call to ordination, often fiercely so, but faced obstructions of different kinds. Their spirit is typified in the comment that, "although I *felt* down-hearted and hurt, I still always 'knew' that ordination was where I was going" (106,f,p,50). Respondents in this category took an active part in the process of their change of career, but differ from the 'Inspired' category in that the path to ordination was more strongly influenced by external factors, which meant that their ordination was delayed, principally because of obstacles not of their own making. Most of these respondents were women, and the obstacles arose from procedural and attitudinal difficulties associated with the

introduction of women's ordination into a church divided over that issue. For these respondents the path to ordination was 'hard' as well as 'long.' Grace Graham's experience is typical of clergy in this category.

Grace Graham

Grace, a former public servant, is now working in a chaplaincy position. In her case, ordination was delayed by factors beyond her control – lack of support from senior diocesan figures, attitudes to women's ordination in general, changes in diocesan personnel, and inconsistencies in dealing with her progress towards ordination. She was offended by the delays and attitudes shown towards her, although her sense of call remained strong:

I don't think I really knew what I wanted, except that it was to be ordained – and to work with the dying. How this was going to work out I didn't know. For twelve months I tried to make it go away, but it wouldn't. I said, 'Don't be ridiculous, Grace.' ... Then I started to fight it. 'No way,' I said. 'I'm not going to do that. I enjoy what I'm doing. I have little children. I'm not going to put them through years of study, etc., etc. And I became more and more confused and uptight and tied in knots. Finally, probably about eighteen months after I'd been aware of that first call, I poured it all out to [my parish priest], feeling stupid and upset ... and he just sat there and, in the end, said, 'I've known - for quite a while.'

Obstacles from within the church then began to appear:

When I first went to the Bishop, there was just no way forward, mainly because I was a woman. I wasn't taken seriously. I began some study, and went back to the Bishop. I was better received this time. I think I'd proved myself a little bit. ... The Bishop said, 'Well, what am I going to do with you?'

For several years Grace worked as a lay assistant in a nearby parish, paid for one day a week and working for mostly three. At the same time she completed her theological studies. Women could now be ordained as deacons, but a new bishop was in place, who was opposed to this practice. Without explanation to Grace, however, he changed his mind and sent her to the diocesan Examining Chaplains to have her calling and readiness for ordination to be examined. Although ultimately approved for ordination, she found this to be another ordeal:

At the end of an hour and a half's conversation with one chaplain, he said, 'In other words, Grace, what you'd like is for the Diocese to take you seriously.' ... The other one wasn't much better. His comment that sticks in my mind was, 'Well, I've had a lot of people through here, but I've never had a morn before.' I just felt like saying, 'What a pity!'

Promoted

The 'Promoted' category represents clergy in Categories 4, 5, and 6 of Table 5.1. Respondents in the 'Promoted' category had high levels of internal motivation in their offering for ordination, though their level of individual initiative was lower than for the previous two categories. They were staunch servants of the church prior to being moved to seek ordination, but their feelings about ordination were muted: "Really, it was not all that different" (90,f,p,50,I); "It just felt right" (78,m,p,40,I); "It was just a simple transition, ... not a great turning point" (12,m,p,60,I). For the 'Promoted,' ordination was more a natural progression from their former work than an urgent demand upon their lives. Some offered for ordination as they completed or neared the end of their former secular career. Typically, these were male, in the upper age range, and came from rural dioceses. Their service after ordination was principally in non-stipendiary or part-stipendiary positions. Others had been in occupations of ministry, such as lay chaplaincies and appointments in church agencies. Others, again, were in less specifically ministry-style occupations, such as teaching, but were drawn towards an idealistic and religious interpretation of their work, for which ordination was a logical and satisfying outcome. Representatives of this category include Ian Cross and Muriel Preston.

Ian Cross

Ian's working life prior to ordination was spent in the health care field. In that capacity he became very well known to most of the residents in his local community, amongst whom he worked for over thirty years. During this time, he became very involved in his parish church, serving in several capacities, including that of Licensed Lay Reader. This meant that he was often robed for services and preached frequently. As he neared his intended retirement age, the idea of offering for ordination began to form in his mind:

I would push it into the background. I would think, 'Now this is being ridiculous. It doesn't seem reasonable or rational.' But it was a recurring thought. [The new Rector] was a man who'd been ordained fairly later on in life, in his mid-fifties. He started to learn about what I was feeling and to

encourage me. Finally, things started to happen. I was very willing by this time for things to start to happen. The Bishop put it out that Lay Readers should do some study in theology, including old fogies like me. ... So I began a course with the Institute of Theological Education – really as fun and interest, but not with the intention of ordination. ... But this was whipping up the appetite. I had a talk with the Bishop, and from there it just went steadily. I said to myself, 'The thought isn't going to go away, I'm able to do it, I've got the energy and health to do it, therefore I jolly well ought to do it!' ... Then on my sixtieth birthday was the great day when I attended the Selection Conference, and was accepted.

Muriel Preston

Muriel was a full-time pastoral worker in the church for many years before her ordination. Married, but free from family responsibilities, she sought ordination largely because it would enable her to function more fully in her day-to-day work. Ordination itself was an exciting moment from the point of view of the women's movement in the church – "something that had grown from a small groundswell into almost a raging torrent was happening!" Nevertheless, Muriel holds a 'low' view of ordination:

In responsibilities it meant that suddenly I was able to conduct funerals, baptise and conduct weddings. Apart from those three areas there was absolutely no difference whatsoever. I considered my ministry had just moved along a notch. ... It was like moving from one strata of ministry to another. For me there wasn't that much difference. The call to be a deacon was the same as the call to work in the church in the first place. ... The actual ordination was still the high point of my life in the church. It seemed right for it to happen – for women. We were caught up in the euphoria of it all. We weren't thinking too much about how we would exercise that ministry.

Drifted

The 'drifters' are those in Categories 7 and 8. Respondents in this category were led to ordination more by external factors than by feelings of intuition or reflection arising from within themselves. They took a more reactive role in comparison with respondents who sought ordination more urgently. The encouragement of others was of paramount importance. They were "nagged" into ordination (54,m,p,40,I) or saw it as giving "more authority" (39,f,d,50,I). "Yes, I suppose God called me," said one (4,m,p,60), and another, "I didn't have any great urge or ambition [to be ordained]" (106,m,p,50,I). Thus their translation to the clerical profession was more an occupational transition than a fulfilment of personal or spiritual aspirations. Most saw their future as serving the local church rather

than as collegiate members of a wider organisation. Many of these were men. Some had been active lay members of parishes and slipped into ordination, often as deacons, for local reasons rather than because they felt a strongly directed call to ordination. Many of them remained in part-time positions in the church, some working voluntarily. Simon Stacey and Wayne Holliday are taken to represent the 'Drifted' category.

Simon Stacey

Simon worked as a public servant for the first half of his working life. He was drawn into contact with the church in early adulthood, although he was at that time not deeply committed to the faith. For him, church was principally a social and community organisation. After being posted to a provincial city, however, he found his new congregation to be very supportive, and this had a "profound influence." He became involved in many of his parish's activities. After some years, several people urged the possibility of ordination on him. The following exchange during the interview with Stacey outlines the circumstances of his drift to ordination.

My boss one day said to me, 'Have you ever thought about going into ministry in the church?' He asked again a few months later. Later still, the curate down at the church asked, out of the blue, 'Ever thought about coming into the ordained ministry?' I dismissed it, but, after, my wife said to me, 'You know, that's three times you've been challenged.' At that stage. I thought, 'Well, maybe there is something in it.' The other thing is that I'd been working for nearly twenty years, when my pension and superannuation and all that kicked in ... Things were coming together. ... There are those who have said that my wife pushed me into it, but I don't agree with that at all.

Interviewer: Was there a decisive time of decision?

Reply: (pause) Yeah. (pause) I can't say that there (pause) yeah (pause) yeah (pause) I suppose that after the third challenge (pause) yeah (pause) I suppose that at that point I was involved in the church (pause) you know (pause) the vestry, pastoral care (pause) there was a Mission at the church that fairly much spoke to me. So there were a number of things which gelled at that time. I thought maybe there's something in this, something going on. I went to see the parish priest, and sat down and talked to him, and prayed about it, and he said, 'Well, we'll go to talk to the Bishop.'

Wayne Holliday

Now in his fifties, Wayne Holliday had an impressive career in administration and education at secondary and tertiary levels. Since his ordination more than ten years ago,

he has been a non-stipendiary deacon in his parish church while continuing in full-time secular occupation. He assists with the Sunday liturgies and helps with youth work, though there have been times when he was quite inactive. For long periods he felt undervalued and under-utilised by local clergy, and is ambivalent about proceeding to the priesthood. At the time of his ordination he was uncertain about the precise role he would play in the church:

I thought it would probably be a traditional sort of appointment to a church, to assist the local priest, basically, as a non-stipendiary. ... Becoming a deacon simply was the next calling I think I saw in my ministry. ... There was a fair bit of pushing and shoving behind the scenes - 'You'll make a good deacon' sort of thing. ... It was the people I worked amongst [who encouraged me], and a couple of priests who were my mentors. They actually sort of sponsored me for it, and the Bishop at that stage took a shine to me and thought, 'Well, I'll get him into the deacon role.'

[As for my own feelings], it wasn't exactly a flash of lightning from God. It wasn't anything that jumped out at me and said, 'This is what you're going to do.' It was more of a very slow progression in that direction, and at all stages was parallel to everything else I was involved in. It seemed to be a natural movement, that interest in being involved at that level was developing. I went through the clergy selection panel. ... I was pushed by the parish priest who thought that was the next logical thing to do. I was ordained after that. It wasn't a radical change of life style or anything.

I came into ordained ministry really wanting to do something for people, and never found it to be so. I'm still hoping for it. It was not a given. You are limited in what you can do. If your priest is not going to help you, ... you're really history, because a deacon depends very much on the largesse and welfare of the priest in charge. ... A non-stipendiary deacon isn't really accepted as the full rubber, and as a result of that it was a bit disappointing in a way.

Reflecting on Journeys to Ordination

The typology and categories used above impose some sociological order on an otherwise amorphous situation. In the words of C. Wright Mills (1970:11), the categories help us "to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals." The individual accounts of the pathway to ordination demonstrate the interplay between the "inner life" and the "external career" of second-career clergy. Each ordinand was motivated by a subtle and highly complex range

of personal and environmental factors, as evidenced by their individual stories. C. Wright Mills wrote the words quoted above in 1959, at a time when D.E. Super and others were developing theories of the inter-relationship of internal and external factors in career development and career transition. Super coined the phrase, 'Life Span, Life Space' to refer to the interaction between the psychology and life history of an individual on one hand and that individual's environmental situation on the other, and which he later described as bringing "life-stage and role theory together to convey a comprehensive picture of multiple-role careers, together with their determinants and interactions" (Super 1984:200).

The patterns of career change demonstrated in the clergy under study bear out the dynamic-relational approaches as outlined by Super and Vondracek et al. (1986). Some major environmental considerations are apparent in individual cases. The fact that the Anglican Church of Australia did not begin to ordain women until 1986 was an overriding environmental factor for many women who felt called to ordination long before that date (e.g. 42,f,p,70). Other discrete environmental factors include the "ticking of the biological clock" (77,f,p,50), restrictive diocesan policies (103,f,d,40), discriminatory attitudes emanating from diocesan officials (86,f,p,40), the encouragement of supporters (54,m,p,40), domestic re-location (58,m,p,50), and being appointed to a specific function within the church for which ordination was an advantage (105,m,p,50).

At the same time, powerful personal factors meshed with external factors such as these, the principal and overriding one, expressed powerfully by many respondents, being the sense of call to ordination.

The Call to Ministry

Behind almost all the respondents' decisions to seek ordination lay a strong sense of having been "called" to ordained ministry. Of all statements in the survey, the belief that God was calling them into ordained ministry received the strongest affirmation by respondents – 93 per cent. This expression of feeling was uniformly supported across the various categories of respondent, with the exception of gender, where women were even more certain of the divine origin of their calling than were men. Women were more likely

to agree or strongly agree than men by a margin of 7.1 percentage points. At the other end of the scale, of the seven individuals who were not certain of their calling or who disagreed that they felt called by God, only one was a woman. A parallel might be drawn between the greater sense of call amongst women and their experience of a longer and more difficult journey to ordination, reported by Bouma et al (1996:10). This connection was not specifically tested in the present study, but one might be led to conclude that the calling of women ordinands has been reinforced by their more difficult experiences, or that some women with less conviction have been deterred from proceeding to the stage of ordination by the obstructions they encountered.

The overall rate of agreement on the matter of being called by God is in line with the findings of Francis and Robbins (1999). In their survey of women deacons in the Church of England, 97 per cent agreed that they sought ordination because they believed God wished them to be ordained (1999:52). However, this finding is at odds with the findings of Blaikie in Victoria thirty years earlier. In a survey of 943 clergy of the six major non-Catholic denominations in 1969-70, Blaikie (1979:124) found that 35 per cent reported that their entry to the ordained ministry was not accompanied by a felt call from God. Anglicans recorded the lowest level of call. Many factors need to be considered in any explanation of the difference in the results, including the younger age of ordinands in the 1960s, the entry of women into ordained ministry, changed selection procedures, general societal changes, and different understandings of church and ministry in the church. However, it is inviting to conclude that the greater age of ordination candidates in the present study, with their greater maturity and an associated high level of conviction, is a major factor in explaining the differences between Blaikie's findings and those of the present study.

The question of being 'called' is related to a sense of unease expressed by many respondents. Whilst the general feeling was one of satisfaction with their previous work, some report an accompanying sense of disquiet as well. One respondent wrote, "Whilst I was happy in my work, I had a sense of 'disturbance' that I should be doing something else" (3,f,p,40). Some felt torn between two noble careers: the work they were currently doing and the work they felt called to do. One put his predicament in this way: "God seemed to be calling me from a highly successful, useful and valuable area of work. Why was ordained ministry a higher calling than this?" (88,m,p,40).

The sense of uneasiness led some to declare themselves ready for change in their employment. This accords with the view that 'midlife transition' is a time of reassessing careers within existing work situations or in seeking alternative occupational satisfaction (Rothman 1987:348). The extent of their readiness to change employment is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Respondents seeking Radical Change in Employment if not accepted for Ordination (n=97)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
If I had not been accepted for ordination, I would have been seeking another way of radically changing my work	15.4	16.5	68.1

Table 5.2 indicates that while nearly one-third of respondents agreed that they were ready for a radical change in their work, or at least were undecided about the matter, a large majority had been satisfied with their previous employment. The result is consistent across gender, age, age at ordination, and diocesan divisions. The response is to be seen against the high level of workplace satisfaction reported above. Occupational satisfaction was combined with occupational uncertainty in many cases. This is consistent with the belief that God was calling many of these people from settled occupations into ordained ministry.

Alongside the high degree of unanimity regarding the call of God stands a considerable diversity in experiencing and responding to the call. Some of the responses have been outlined above. One man regarded the call as an operational command. He explains that he "'heard' the Lord in prayer instruct me to resign [from my previous job]. ... [Later] I felt the strong calling to the ordained ministry which was confirmed by others including prophetic confirmation! The selection conference confirmed what I knew in my heart to be God's call" (35,m,p,40). Others struggled with their call, but were overcome by it: "I felt I had no choice. The call was so strong the more I tried to run away the more God

chased me. Everything seemed to fall into place. So many doors were just opened. It seemed just so right" (15.m.p.40). For others the call needed to be carefully examined: "The process of discernment was important in authenticating and evaluating the call to ordained ministry" (3.f.p.40). Another put it that she "tested every step of the way with prayer and by imposing on myself certain conditions" (100.f.p.40). For many the call was a continuing development rather than one particular experience: "This was a process – of being called – that started after a number of 'God incidents'" (63.m.p.40). Some women already in active ministry, particularly hospital chaplains, felt their call in hindsight rather than as a calling forth:

"The notion that I might be called to ordained ministry dawned on me slowly, largely as an outcome of reflecting on the nature of my developing ministry in Chaplaincy, and my realisation that the major feature of that ministry was mediation and reconciliation (82.f.p.50).

"I originally strongly resisted suggestions regarding Ordination which came from time to time from friends, Chaplaincy colleagues, patients and staff with whom I worked. ... I now find a certain irony that with my work in supervision I was preparing a learning context for student candidates for ordination, and believe that this eventually led me into accepting that I too was being called to respond (87.f.p.60).

These comments provide evidence that entry into ordained ministry was neither acting on impulse nor an emotional reaction to difficult circumstances.

Although the call of God was felt to be decisive in the decision to seek ordination, it is to be noted that the call was perceived in different ways. Most believed that their primary motivation originated from within themselves, but a large minority – 35.8 per cent – acknowledged the prior affirmation and encouragement of other people. Many of the latter were at pains to establish that this was not to be seen as lessening the validity of God's calling: "Others initially nudged, and only evoked what I believe God had desired" (68.f.p.50). Elsewhere, the discernment of others was a critical factor: "The affirmation of others, coming often when I had not revealed my sense of calling, was a strong encouragement" (78.m.p.40). One respondent summed up the views of many others in writing, "I experienced both my own sense of call, and other people's affirmation of that call validated by the acceptance of my ministry. I consider both to be essential" (53.f.p.40). The form of encouragement by others varied. For one person, the decisive moment came during a chance conversation in the vestry; for another the vital factor was

a strong family clerical tradition; others found affirmation from Bible study or prayer groups; some were motivated by the insights of secular colleagues at work or by family members; for some there was a key figure who acted as mentor; others had received promptings since early childhood. Many referred to the congruity of their own sense of calling, the recognition of that calling by others, and the way forward being made easy for them. This was not true for all. Some, particularly women, found the way forward far from easy.

Two aspects of the descriptions of the call to ordained ministry found in both the written comments accompanying the questionnaire returns and the face-to-face interviews need further comment. One is the careful attention given to explaining the way the call was experienced, and the other is the language used in the telling. The call, in whatever form it took, had a considerable emotional impact. Respondents felt a need to explain their call, and they did so by speaking "from faith to faith." The telling of the story of being called is done using imagery derived from the church and often in the language of conversion. One, for instance, found himself in tears as he travelled on an aeroplane; another heard himself speaking words of acceptance that came from beyond himself; others heard a voice speak to them; another was impelled towards ordination by a dramatic event at work; another was moved by a scriptural allusion after days of prayer and fasting; another spoke of a feeling of unworthiness in the face of God's call; more than one used the phrase, 'Damascus Road' to interpret their experience. Almost all respondents came from a situation of close attachment to the church. They used the language of the church to make sense of their experience, to justify it, and to report it. This process has been identified by various observers. Taylor (1976:319) suggests that converts invest their personal experience with the expectations and symbolism of the group with which they identify, and so confirm the authenticity of their perception. In similar vein, Beckford (1978:249), writing of Jehovah's Witnesses, argues that "[i]deology plays a central role in mediating between the movement's external circumstances, its organisational rationale and its members' ways of accounting for their conversion."

Insofar as call can be identified with conversion, respondents similarly explain and justify their calling into their new careers using imagery and language calculated to confirm the legitimacy of their calling. The telling of the stories of 'call' and the manner of the telling illustrate the complex nature of the interplay between internal and external factors in the

career change that was being embarked upon. They also give weight to the theories of observers such as Vondracek et al. who claim (1986:5) that "vocational and career development can be fully understood only from a relational perspective that focuses on the dynamic interaction between a changing (developing) individual in a changing context."

It will be helpful at this stage to bring together many of the issues mentioned above as they are embodied in the life of one representative person. The illustrations so far have been fragmented. To hear a more complete story from one person allows a fuller understanding of the call to ordained ministry and the decision to turn to a second career to be made – in the life of that person and, by inference, of many others involved in this study.

Pete Barclay

Pete Barclay is now in his fifties and comfortably established as Rector of a large parish, with several staff members, clergy and lay. He learnt something of the faith as a boy, but sport rather than Christianity was his religion as a teenager. As an adult he worked in skilled professional employment, still distant from the church.

Two calls lay ahead of him – one into the life of the church and the second into ordained ministry. The first came while working overseas, where he met and later married Mary, full of the vibrancy of evangelical Christian fervour. His life changed as he saw in her what he realised he lacked in himself. He began to attend church – the Church of England – and was confirmed. He re-discovered God. "It all came back," he says, "and I gave my life to Christ."

At home again, he served in various locations interstate, in each place well involved in the local church. Now past thirty, and with a wife and children, he looked for an opportunity to better himself. By chance he saw an advertisement for a suitable position in Melbourne, applied, gained the appointment, sold up, and very soon after was in Melbourne. The new job turned out to be very congenial. The transition was done with extraordinary ease. Barclay saw God's hand in it all.

There followed five or six satisfying years – very agreeable conditions at work, a contented family life and very full participation in the life of the local parish. Then came the second call, to ordination:

I'd just arrived in [my new parish] when they got a new priest. His name was Stan Morris. ... Through his ministry ... I felt very much called – a feeling that this was not all that there was, and that there was something else God wanted me to do. Stan very carefully guided me. He got me leading worship. I was a churchwarden; he would have a weekly Bible study and he got me studying the Bible more. I really felt called to the ministry and decided that I would offer myself for ordination.

There was certainly no Road to Damascus experience. It was very much a sort of confirmation of what I was beginning to become aware of – that somehow because of the encouragement of people ... you know, I would be leading worship and they would come up to me after the service and say, 'You know, you're in the wrong job. You should be doing this full time.' And people would come and seek my counsel on things, ask me questions. Stan was great because he really gave me a lot of encouragement to do more, and I found that more and more people were saying to me, 'You're wasted [where you are]. We could do with you in the church.'

Barclay, however, demurred. His life-plan had been to retire to a life of comfort at age fifty, with a large superannuation payout. The urging towards ordination was in conflict with that. Another hesitation was his wish to avoid putting his family through another upheaval in their life. They had relatives close by; the children were settled in school. He was reluctant to even broach the subject with his wife:

The more and more I tried to put that to one side the more and more it became quite obvious that I had to offer myself. I knew that if I didn't I'd probably regret it – if I hadn't at least explored the possibilities. But I think that once I'd made the decision, and Stan really helped me through that, and I was able to sit down with Mary, and when I said to her, 'Look, I really feel I'm being called to the ordained ministry,' she said, 'What took you so long?'

Barclay's account of his journey to ordination reflects the experience of many others in this study, and is instructive in several ways. Over many years he had built a strong connection with the Anglican Church and had established a position of personal and spiritual identity within that community. He had entertained the idea of ordination for some years and developed a feeling of personal conviction regarding the rightness of ordination for himself. There was a good 'fit' of person and position. He was encouraged

in a direct way by the influence of a 'significant other,' in this case, Stan Morris, and in a more general way by the support of the gathered church community in his home parish. In his own home he had also the support and eventual encouragement of his family. In those ways he was embraced by a succession of supporting individuals and groups. In sociological terms, Barclay's response to his call was the outcome of a supportive social environment. It was evoked by others, and he responded in turn by offering to serve others. In occupational terms, Barclay turned from one career which was very acceptable to him to another which offered rewards now held to be more important as his life course had unfolded.

Various commentators have noted the tendency for career choices to be influenced by subjective factors. Lindorff and Tan (1997:6) conclude that "individuals select to work in organisations that complement their personal values." Robbins (1978:7) sees this tendency as part of a general societal development by which "people have begun to examine their careers more carefully to define their own goals, rather than accept the definitions of others." Hall (1976:201) describes the increasing tendency towards the "Protean career," in which the person's "own personal career choices and search for self-fulfillment are the unifying or integrative elements in his or her life." Barclay's story illustrates the pattern of mid-life career change where the criteria of success moves from status and income to "personal development, more meaningful work, and a better fit between personal values and work" (Papalia and Olds 1989:383). One aspect of Barclay's story – that of the ease of his path to ordination – was true for many others, particularly males, but not typical for others.

The Call and its Complications

Exchange theory is a useful instrument for the consideration of careers and career change. Exchange theory developed from theories of purposive action arising principally from the work of Talcott Parsons (1937). Blau (1964) and Coleman (1975) apply this approach to various areas of social enquiry, particularly inter-personal relations and business and industrial fields. In the occupational context, the theory holds that "individuals are attracted to occupations by the rewards they expect from becoming members of them" (Blau 1964:161). Ritzer (1972:358-60), following Homans (1961) and Blau (1964),

argues that individuals will be drawn to those careers where personal benefits are seen to exceed personal costs and thus stresses the rationality of choices regarding careers as opposed to emphasising societal influences.

In the present study, there is a high degree of rationality in the decisions of respondents to seek entry into ordained ministry. This is made clear by responses to a statement in the questionnaire which asked respondents to consider whether they had acted without sufficient thought in offering for ordination. Ninety-two per cent responded in the negative, most in extreme terms. The response was equally strong for men and women, across the urban-rural divide and through all ages of ordination so that those ordained in mid-career felt as strongly as those ordained late in their working lives or in their retirement. Clearly, the decision to seek this career change in mid-life or later was regarded as a very rational one. At first glance, this may appear to be contradictory. Given that the great majority of respondents felt called by God to a new career, it might be thought that the impulse to seek a career change was more instinctive than rational, more subjective than objective. Nevertheless, as is shown above, the call to ordination was in most cases not a sudden and overwhelming experience, but one which had developed over considerable time. The evidence is that these men and women acted with great deliberation in electing to give up their previous careers in favour of careers in the church. They were prepared to give up occupations most were very contented with, as documented above, and, for many, the seniority that had accrued to them, in exchange for an occupation that was felt to be God-driven, bringing high rewards of personal satisfaction.

This finding regarding the rational basis for the decision to seek ordination accords with the theories of Herzberg (1959, 1968) and later writers such as Rothman (1987:239-40) and Hall (1994:101) who have argued that people find satisfaction in work because of intrinsic rather than extrinsic factors such as salary, working conditions, security, and future prospects. Intrinsic factors are associated with opportunities for fulfilling the need for recognition, achievement, personal growth, and responsibility. To these intrinsic factors might be added, in the case of the clerical profession, the opportunity to serve a divine purpose and to follow the calling of God. Some respondents commented on the idealistic as against the materialistic motive in their consideration of career change. Some were scornful of the notion that they might have been guided by material considerations:

"I [wanted to] give my time to the Lord, not to seek material gain" (2.m.p.50). Others trusted in the Lord to provide: "My superannuation was only \$28,000 ... but I have never looked for financial rewards. The good Lord supplies all my needs" (62.f.d.60). Others, however, pondered thoughtfully the balance between the occupational benefits and costs of ordained service in the church. "That the occupational rewards appeared to exceed the personal costs is right," one respondent wrote. "They still do despite looming financial hardship on forced retirement at age 65" (8.m.p.40). The complexity of the issue was well brought out by another respondent:

I was certainly drawn by the whole area of being valuable and important in the lives of those to whom I would minister; and I felt that the liturgical and ministry of the Word opportunities would provide occupational rewards. Being of value, use and service to others were rewards for me that would more than compensate for personal costs. The question directed to me 15 years after ordination ... would be quite different. Personal costs must include the cost to the family and friends, and there are no rewards that would compensate for these costs because they should never be costs in the first place. This was not considered by me when approaching ordination. Sacrifice and costs were part of the virtues felt in the calling. (88.m.p.40)

For these clergy, offering for ordination was a matter of measured decision-making driven by a sense of divine calling and made more appealing by the possibilities of serving others.

The second-career clergy under study typically had been working happily at their former occupations prior to seeking ordination, but had experienced a strong call from God to be ordained. They had considered their options carefully before offering themselves for ordination. However it would not be correct to generalise that the passage to ordained ministry was easy for all.

Difficulties on the Journey

A principal consideration for would-be ordinands was the possibility of detrimental effects from their change of career on themselves personally and on their families. Whether they were foreseen or not, the path towards and into ordained ministry brought difficulties in a large number of cases. When asked to consider the proposition that giving

up their previous employment had imposed difficulties on them and their families, more than half the respondents agreed. Men encountered more difficulty than women, as shown in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3
Difficulty experienced in giving up Previous Employment, comparing Males and Females

<u>Statement. Giving up my previous employment imposed difficulties on me and my family</u>	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=59)	57.6	1.7	40.6
Females (n=34)	50.0	0	50.0

Younger ordinands were more affected than older ordinands. Those ordained in their forties had a significantly higher rate of encountering difficulties than those ordained at an older age, as shown in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4
Difficulty experienced in giving up Previous Employment, comparing Age at Ordination

<u>Statement. Giving up my previous employment imposed difficulties on me and my family</u>	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Ordained in 40s (n=49)	70.0	2.0	28.0
Ordained age 50+ (n=42)	37.2	0	62.8

Thus, the group most likely to meet difficulties was the group of younger male ordinands, reflecting the expectation that they would be the ones engaged most actively in their pre-ordination occupations. The main concern expressed was the financial cost of the change in career during training and in ensuing years. Many respondents were studying in preparation for their new careers for long periods before they actually gave up their previous work, and reported that this imposed strains within their families because of the time given to their study and the separation from family life that it entailed. One couple sought help from the Anglican Marriage Guidance Council as a result, and in another case

the wife of the man who was to be ordained received professional counselling because of the stress she was experiencing. Difficulties were encountered equally, whether or not the family of the ordinand was supportive of the proposed career change.

Some respondents exhibited a dogged determination to follow their calling despite the difficulties encountered. One wrote,

My family life was disrupted when I was sent to college [interstate]. My two children had to change schools many times and my husband became the 'house spouse.' I don't know that I would have used the word, 'suffered,' in any of that - and neither did they. It was like the man counting the cost before he built the tower. I guess we'd done our homework. We knew what was being asked and we were prepared to commit. (13.f.p.40)

Some of the difficulties related to anxiety over age. More than one in five of respondents felt that age was a disadvantage to them as they approached ordination. Men felt disadvantaged more strongly than women, and respondents from rural dioceses more strongly than Melbourne candidates. Understandably, older ordinands tended to feel a greater disadvantage than younger ones. One respondent reported feelings of apprehension about the reactions of diocesan clergy, many of whom had made ordained ministry their life work, to his late entry into the profession (93.m.p.40), but such reports were not common. More usually, respondents felt their age to be an asset, especially in relation to the work they were entering into. "I felt more competent, more able to cope and meet people where they were as a mature candidate," one wrote. "I had a lot of experience with administration, teaching, people, pastoral care and with the usual worries and crises of life in 20th century Australia" (45.f.p.40).

Pre-Ministerial Tension

The final issue to be examined in this section is the matter of the personal wellbeing of respondents during the time of deciding to move from their pre-ordination careers into ordained ministry. Most were largely untroubled, 70 per cent of respondents reporting that they seldom, if ever, felt downhearted in their progress towards ordination. One ordinand spoke for many others, particularly men, in saying that he did not feel downhearted in his journey towards acceptance for ordination because the process was "quick, effective and

affirming," and he was "very compliant" (88.m.p.40). Nevertheless three candidates in ten had mixed feelings, and in many cases expressed very strong sentiments of dejection and resentment. Candidates from the rural dioceses reported more negative feelings than their Melbourne counterparts, the difference being 12.9 percentage points. As well, the rural respondents reported in more extreme terms. Age also made some difference. Those most disaffected were individuals ordained in their fifties, who reported more negatively by a difference of 6.4 per cent compared with those ordained in their forties.

The gender differential, however, was much more significant. Women reported a higher rate of despondency on the journey towards ordination and also a significantly greater intensity of feeling than did men. The extent of this difference is shown in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5
Feelings of Despondency in Journey towards Ordination, comparing Males and Females

<u>Statement. I often felt downhearted in my journey towards ordination</u>	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=62)	3.2	16.1	3.2	41.9	35.5
Females (n=38)	18.4	21.1	2.6	28.9	28.9

Thus a significant minority of respondents felt downhearted. However, the attitude was twice as pronounced overall for women, particularly women from rural dioceses. Fifty per cent of women from rural dioceses reported feelings of despondency as against 30 per cent of the Melbourne women. In many cases female ordinands felt let down by the church hierarchy. There were many causes of complaint: bishops failed to affirm them; they were prevented from speaking openly; bishops failed to follow up the promises of their predecessors; there were delaying tactics by diocesan officials; bishops required more of them than of their male counterparts; and they were offered inadequately-salaried appointments. Some women were placed in difficult and sometimes distressing circumstances through being called to ordination at a time when they were denied that possibility by the Canon law of the church. "I have been conscious of God's call to ordained ministry since I was a small child," wrote one, "but I was the wrong sex"

(60.f.p.40). Another who felt called to the priesthood remained a deacon because her diocese had not adopted legislation approved by the national church. Her diocese "did not want to know" women who felt called to the priesthood (21.f.d.40). Another woman wrote, with evident feeling.

The Church ... did not want me, but it was as clear as anything ever has been to me that God did. The resulting agonizing dichotomy was very draining indeed ... I cried a terrible lot. I was in classic grief mode most of the time from 1980-1992 - a very long time to be in pain. (86.f.p.40)

For some the pain was very personal. One wrote, "The debate on the ordination of women produced vituperative and degrading personal remarks from the 'lunatic fringe,' many of whom I had considered good friends" (13.f.p.40).

The findings reported here about the greater feelings of despondency amongst women ordinands correspond with those of Bouma et al. (1996:10, 24). There it was found that women in the Anglican Church of Australia experienced a longer and more difficult journey from the time of their call to the time of their ordination than did men, and that the time taken and degree of difficulty experienced increased as age increased. The present study confirms Bouma's findings and illustrates the personal difficulties encountered on that journey by a large number of ordinands, especially women.

The unhappy experience of many female respondents in relation to diocesan officials and official bodies emphasises the importance of a trusting relationship between clergy and the church hierarchy and demonstrates the failure of the church to give women, in particular, the support they needed. Many observers point to the relationship with lay people as the chief difficulty faced by clergy (Dempsey 1983:172; Quinley 1974:243; Blaikie 1979:186-7). That contention cannot be borne out from the present study. Rather, a chief difficulty is the question of how clergy are dealt with by the church organisation. The professionalism of the church in this regard is a recurring theme in this study and will be examined more closely in a later chapter.

Summary

Several findings have emerged from this analysis of mature-age clergy at the stage of approaching ordination. Most expressed satisfaction with their previous employment. They were not failures seeking a way out. Nevertheless, nearly one-third expressed a degree of discomposure in their previous work. The respondents asserted overwhelmingly that they felt called by God to ordained ministry, although the way that call was experienced varied greatly. Most believed that the call came directly to themselves, although in a large number of cases the call was originally discerned by others rather than directly by the ordinands.

In assessing the place of the clerical profession amongst the range of professions in society, due allowance is to be made for the fact that its members overwhelmingly feel called to ministry by a power outside themselves. A very high proportion of ordinands believed that they had acted sensibly and reasonably in seeking ordination. Material rewards were not held in high esteem, but occupational rewards such as personal satisfaction and serving God were regarded highly in the consideration of the new career. As part of their reasoned approach to seeking ordination, most were prepared to give up a degree of material well-being in exchange for the opportunity for personal fulfilment and service perceived to be inherent in ordained ministry.

Anxieties about coming to ordination in middle age or later were felt more by men than by women, by candidates in rural dioceses more than in Melbourne Diocese, and by older more than younger candidates. Over half the respondents reported that the change of occupation had brought difficulties for themselves and their families. Younger ordinands were more affected than older ordinands, and men faced more difficulties than women. These problems were most often financial, and sometimes serious in nature, but there was a tendency for ordinands to work through them with considerable fortitude. Most ordinands went through this period untouched by feelings of personal heartache, but a large minority suffered, some severely. The worst affected were women, particularly from rural dioceses, who felt that they were battling against prejudices associated with the women's ordination movement as well as against a perceived lack of sympathy and encouragement from the church hierarchy. These findings highlight the deeply personal

aspects of career change in mid-life, and reflect on the adequacy of the performance of the Anglican Church as an employer.

Reflection

C. Wright Mills suggests that sociological thinking is enhanced if the researcher looks at data from the point of view of various disciplines, to allow the mind to become "a moving prism catching light from as many angles as possible" (1970 235-6). This line of thought might be applied in four ways to the material presented in this chapter.

The sociologist concerned with the professions might observe that those entering a new career in mid-life are driven by a desire to immerse themselves in the practical aspects of their work and thus have little sense of a broader professionalism. Much has been written about the theory of professions and what differentiates a profession from other fields of occupational endeavour. It may be that studies of individuals at the point of entry into the professions, especially if they are atypical in age and background, can throw light on attitudes to professions and therefore on the nature of professionalism itself. In some circumstances there may exist a divide between the theory of professionalism – the "symbol" of the profession (Becker 1970a:92-8) – and the practice of professionalism, and this divide might have wider application than has been recognised.

The religious historian may draw conclusions regarding the multi-faceted nature of the church. The common usage of the term, 'church' suggests an organisation easily recognisable and capable of clear definition, whereas, in fact, the 'church' presents itself to would-be professional members in many forms. It impacts on them in its tradition, through its hierarchy, by association with professional colleagues, and through its lay members. The variety of experience and diversity of interests and attitudes encompassed by the incoming professional membership matches and reinforces the polychromatic nature of the church they are joining. The Anglican Church has always claimed to be broad and inclusive. To maintain a variety of styles of churchmanship in its new clergy is to safeguard this characteristic, and protects the church against a tendency to monochronism or cultism.

The social psychologist may observe aspects of personality revealed by people entering a new career in mid-life – vitality, purposefulness, resilience in the face of disillusionment – and may connect these traits with the maturity of this particular group and also their sense of divine calling. At a critical time for these individuals, when they are making decisions about the rest of their working lives, the process is governed more by their personal situation and their personal characteristics than by the occupational structures and procedures that are often given first place in theorising about career development.

Feminist historians would find evidence of discrimination against females emanating from both official and unofficial sources, and undoubtedly would connect it with the recency of a prolonged and bitter debate within the Anglican Church of Australia over the legitimacy of women's ordination to the diaconate and the priesthood. Giddens (1986:10) comments that "we create society at the same time as we are created by it." Women entering a previously male enclave of occupation "create society" by changing the parameters of social construction. At the same time, when they experience discriminatory acts and attitudes, they are acted upon by the social forces they are in the process of altering and so "are created" by society.

These observations throw light on each of the four principal areas of enquiry established in Chapter 4, namely the standing of ordained ministry as a profession; how the Anglican Church as an organisation is tested by the way it deals with second-career clergy entering its service; the experience of ordinands in taking up new careers in the church in their middle or later years; and differences in the way male and female ordinands experience the time of transition and initiation into their new careers. The observations on these themes made in the course of this chapter will be developed as the work proceeds.

CHAPTER 6

NEW BEGINNINGS: HOPES AND HINDRANCES

Inevitably, change occasions pain. In subjecting themselves to the selection and training procedures of the church, candidates went through a drawn-out 'rite of passage' on terms dictated by the church. It was not an easy process. Candidates were giving up well-established personal and occupational routines to come under the gate-keeping disciplines of their newly-chosen profession. Pain arose not only from the discontinuity of experience involved, but more particularly from personal privations that ensued and from vexations arising from the methods of selection and training they encountered. Behind these lay a further tension – a deep-seated discordance between the practical and pastoral orientation of trainees and the more academic and formational aims of the church. These matters of discontinuity, pain, and conflicting aims are the focus of this chapter.

The men and women involved in this study make up a very diverse group of people. Responses to the issues raised above vary greatly. Some variations can be traced to gender differences, some to regional differences, some to age at ordination, and some to educational backgrounds. In many cases, the significance of minority views has to be assessed. Here, the personal understanding of the researcher is an important element in making decisions about the weight given to minority responses. Individual responses are reported in some detail not only to substantiate the themes of the chapter, but also to throw light on the wider issues addressed in the thesis – the professional aspects of ordained ministry, the church's standing as a professional organisation, the personal experiences of second-career clergy, and gender differences in the field covered by this study.

Selection Procedures

One of the defining characteristics of a profession is its ability to restrict membership to those judged suitable by internal methods of scrutiny. Ritzer (1972:54), Rothman (1987:10), and Freidson (2001:127) in the United States, as well as Boreham et al.

(1976:20) and Probert (1989:54) in Australia, all draw attention to this feature amongst the structural characteristics of a profession. It is an aspect of the autonomy by which professionalisation is measured. In the case of Anglican clergy, examination by a selection panel is the particular way in which this policy is put into practice, although the ultimate decision to ordain or not remains with the Diocesan Bishop. Respondents gave no indication that they objected to the system in principle. One acknowledged the church's role as both arbiter of God's call and admitting agent into the profession in this way:

The church has got to do the testing and come to a decision. ... I don't have any problem with that. ... If they'd said 'No' to me, I'd have gone on my way. ... I accept the church's right to make that judgment. ... And it adds to the authenticity. (9.m.p.50.1)

When asked about their experience with selection panels, a majority of respondents – just over three-quarters – expressed satisfaction with the way they were treated. As with many responses in this survey, this meant, however, there was a substantial dissident minority. The responses when analysed by gender and by diocese of origin locate agreement and disagreement more precisely (Tables 6.1 and 6.2).

Table 6.1
Satisfaction with Selection Personnel, comparing Males and Females

Statement: I was content with the way the selection personnel treated me	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=60)	81.7	0	18.3
Females (n=38)	71.0	13.2	15.8

Table 6.2
Satisfaction with Selection Personnel, comparing Dioceses of Origin

Statement: I was content with the way the selection personnel treated me	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Melbourne candidates (n=36)	80.5	8.3	11.1
Rural candidates (n=62)	75.8	3.2	21.0

(*The dioceses of Ballarat, Bendigo, Gippsland, Tasmania, and Wangaratta are classified for the purposes of this study as being rural dioceses).

Men are more likely than women to have enjoyed good experiences with selection panels, while women are more cautious about reporting approval. When the respondents expressing dissatisfaction with selection personnel are examined more closely a pattern of characteristics emerges. Of the seventeen individuals disagreeing with the statement shown, nine hold theological degrees (an over-representation of 16.9 per cent), eight hold secular degrees (an over-representation of 9.1 per cent), and thirteen are from rural dioceses (an over-representation of 13.6 per cent). Rural males are much more likely to express strong feelings of disagreement. All six individuals recording a 'Strongly disagree' response were from rural dioceses, five of them being men. A pattern may thus be observed of a minority group composed particularly of the well-educated and of rural males who were impatient of their treatment by selection personnel. Possibly the higher rate of criticism by men is due to the greater readiness of males to express displeasure. This claim is in fact made by Hall (1994:207-8) who argues that "men have been socialized to be more willing [than women] to vocalize their dissatisfaction."

Comments made about selection panels indicate that many respondents were unnerved and in some cases deeply scarred by their experience. It is common practice for rural candidates to attend the Melbourne selection conference in place of or as well as going through their own selection system, and most criticism was directed towards the Melbourne panel. One respondent, aged then in her sixties, described the interviews as "stressful" and "demoralising" and reported feeling "like a naughty child being put on the mat by the head teacher" (87,f,p,60). Another, in his fifties, was made to feel like "a country bumpkin." His wife was infuriated by being at first ignored and then "put down" (64,m,p,50). Yet another was given the impression that "my previous experience counted little, that I was at the bottom of a new career and that there would be no favours" (88,m,p,40). One felt that two members of the panel acted rudely to her (86,f,p,40). Another reported, this time of a rural selection group, that the process was "insulting, non-professional, and took little account of personal feelings" (103,f,p,40). Disappointment was also expressed at the lack of a searching exploration of motives, one describing the interviews as "cosy chats," the outcome being "entirely assumed" (93,m,p,40). There were also complaints of a lack both of pastoral care during the selection period and of personal follow-up. The overall tone of those who expressed negative reactions in their dealings with selection panels is that their experience, maturity and individuality were not acknowledged and respected by the panellists. Complaints regarding selection panels were

not directed at their usefulness as mechanisms of professional control, but at the unprofessional manner in which they were conducted.

Flexibility in the Selection Process

In the most widely legitimated professions, such as law and medicine, entry procedures are standardised to a high level. In contrast, entry procedures in the Anglican Church of Australia are determined separately within each of the twenty-three dioceses, and there is no necessary uniformity within each of those. The diocesan Bishops are the final – and in some cases the sole – arbiters of selection. This situation enables would-be ordinands to pursue their objective by seeking out an amenable bishop or diocese. However, the level of professionalism of the church is reduced in the process.

Several candidates were prepared to move from one diocese to another in their quest for ordination. Several women left dioceses which did not ordain women as priests (such as Sydney and Wangaratta) for those which did. Some men, also, were prepared to move. One studied in Adelaide because the theological college there offered good accommodation for his family. Another found a rural diocese with less demanding prescriptions for ordination. The rural dioceses, in general, were more accommodating in making individual arrangements for candidates, particularly for older men and women. One candidate, considering the normalcy of her diocese's selection procedures, asked, "What's normal? ... 'Normal' seems to be different in every case in [my diocese]. Rules are invented to suit the time/ circumstance/ personality" (86,f,p,40).

The informality of arrangement referred to here in critical vein could be seen by others as a welcome level of flexibility. Those with limited qualifications could still hope for ordination. Thirty-eight per cent of the whole group had no secular tertiary qualifications, while 39 per cent had no theological qualifications at the time of their ordination (although most of the latter – and all but one of the women – completed a theological qualification at a later date). Informality of the selection process also meant that those coming from distinguished secular careers could be hurried through with little formal preparation. In the inconsistency of selection procedures, a certain paradox emerges in that distinction in a

previous secular career appears sometimes to have been given more weight than distinguished lay service in the church. Yet even here another contradiction emerges.

Some candidates believed they were accepted by their bishop for ordination primarily because of their extensive lay service in the church, while others expressed their perception that their prior church experience was belittled by selection panels. Thus one candidate reported, after detailing her extensive contribution to the church in her diocese and elsewhere, that "[w]hen ordination became possible, I was accepted on the strength of these activities and of my considerable experience of parish ministry" (55,f,p,50), while another expressed the view that "the process was geared to people who were in secular work ... It was as if lay ministry doesn't count, you are not a minister until you wear your collar back to front" (67,m,p,40). The inconsistent nature of the selection process, though understandable in the light of the variety of circumstances that older candidates present, gives rise to a pervasive sense of dissatisfaction amongst clergy.

Official Attitudes towards Older Ordinands

In their approaches to the church, second-career clergy are dealing with senior diocesan staff whose occupational history is entirely different. The Australian Anglican Directory for 2001 lists thirty-nine bishops and seventy-two archdeacons on the active list throughout the national church. The median age at which bishops entered the ministry (that is, their age at deaconing) is twenty-five and the median age for archdeacons is twenty-six. They had by then completed their theological training. Thus, virtually all those in the hierarchy had life-long careers in the church and held little in common with the mature-age entrants they were dealing with, sharing almost nothing of their occupational background. For female candidates there was another potential barrier. Of the 111 senior figures referred to, only five were female, none of them in the province under study. As Nesbitt (1995:196) notes about a precisely similar situation in the Episcopalian Church in the United States, it may be predicted that there will be a high probability of insensitivity on the part of diocesan officials to the aspirations of older ordinands, particularly women.

Respondents sensed an official attitude of caution towards the ordination of mature age candidates. Age is the major reference point in the study of careers and career trajectories.

Respondents were sharply aware of their age in relation to their life course and the new career departure they were undertaking. They felt that those in official diocesan positions were also sharply aware of their age and its ramifications for future staffing and implementation of diocesan policies. This was most clear in Melbourne Diocese, where reservations about mature-age ordinands were openly expressed.

The issue of late vocations had been recognised as early as 1944, when Archbishop Booth spoke warily to Synod about

men, who, for very worthy reasons, have been delayed in offering themselves until a later date, perhaps around about forty. None should be accepted in this group, except they have been successful in their own field of employment and only when the parish clergy and the examining chaplains can fully support their application for ordination. (Booth 1944:31)

Vocations in middle life, however, were rare, and the issue remained in abeyance.

By the mid-1980s, a more diverse pattern of entry to ordination was emerging, encouraged by Archbishop David Penman. According to a former Director of Theological Education for Melbourne Diocese, Penman welcomed the more flexible methods of clergy selection and training then used in England, and involved himself personally in the work of choosing candidates (Williams 2003). He drew on a much wider variety of advice than previous archbishops, and was open to ordaining former Roman Catholic priests and ministers from other Protestant denominations. During his episcopate the first women deacons were ordained. He told Synod he expected the trend towards older ordinands to continue, and made changes to post-ordination training to help them in their first years of ministry. He encouraged older candidates, especially those with university and public service backgrounds, to seek ordination (Nichols 1991:148).

However, by the early 1990s critical notice was being taken of the proportion of older men – and now women – seeking ordination. The election of Keith Rayner as Archbishop signalled a more cautious attitude towards ordaining older clergy. Rayner put his reservations to Synod:

It is interesting to note that contrary to the trend in recent years to encourage mature age candidates for ordination, a number of Australian dioceses are now placing age limits on ordination candidates. I myself believe that we

have lost something of the energy, vitality and flexibility which younger clergy feed into the church. While older candidates often have valuable life experience to bring to their ministry, we are finding that some of them lack sufficient flexibility and adaptability to move effectively into a vocation which makes very different demands from most secular occupations. (Rayner 1994:14)

Rayner was intent on maintaining the "so-called Anglican system" in all things, including clergy selection and training (Williams 2003). The historic model of younger clergy serving a four-year 'apprenticeship' as curates was firmly fixed in his mind as an ideal. Again, he engaged Synod on this theme:

The other [trend] is to employ long-term experienced associate clergy rather than short-term newly-ordained curates. ... We need to recognise, however, the long-term implications if this pattern becomes too general. How do we place the men and women who are ready for ordination after years of sacrificial preparation? How do we ensure a continuing supply of well-trained clergy for the future? What are the alternatives to the apprenticeship model which curacy represents if that model is no longer appropriate? (Rayner 1997:7)

In 1999 Melbourne Diocese promulgated a document, 'New Pathways,' establishing a programme for the selection and training of Diocesan clergy. The document reflects Rayner's conservatism. The traditional way of training – three or four years in a theological college – was accorded a 'crucial place,' while a warning was given against the "dumbing down" of Anglican clergy. A new category of ordained service was introduced, labelled 'Tentmaker Ministry,' in which it was foreshadowed that men and women would be ordained to part-time ministry while working simultaneously in their former occupation, but on a non-stipendiary basis (New Pathways 1999:2-6). There was no recognition of older ordinands looking forward to full-time service in the church on an equal footing with others ordained at an earlier age, nor of the more flexible arrangements that might be needed for them.

The trend to look favourably on the ordination of younger men and women may be seen in many quarters, in the Uniting Church as well as the Anglican. The implication is that the ordination of older candidates had gone too far. The Anglican Bishop of Wangaratta wrote in 2001 of his "delight" in having a number of young candidates for ordained ministry (Farrer, 2001). The Principal of the Theological Hall of the Uniting Church, commenting

on entrants to training in 2003, said, "The average age seems to be in the early 30s, so there's a discernible switch back to younger people coming in. That's quite a good trend" (Matheson, 2003).

The guarded attitude towards the ordination of older candidates which developed in the 1990s was familiar to respondents across the Province. They were quick to defend themselves on both theological and personal grounds. To question the validity of the call of older ordinands is to deny the hand of God in the process, some argued. One respondent put it this way: "One of the great learnings of my life is that God works in God's own time. My personal experience, which has now been accepted by the church, is that God calls people at various stages in their life, and I think the church would be very unwise to second-best that" (9,m,p,50,I). Another claim was that to restrict ordination to younger candidates would mean that ordained ministry as a whole was a flawed embodiment of Christ whom it purported to represent. This view was best expressed by one respondent who wrote, "I believe with ordination you need the whole Body of Christ there. In this diocese there is a move towards 'We've got to ordain more young people,' ... but if you're going to stop people like me becoming ordained, then I think you're not actually exhibiting the full Body of Christ" (15,m,p,40,I).

At a personal level, a stream of respondents strongly denied the suggestion that they lacked vitality or flexibility. They saw themselves bringing "fresh air" into the church (28,m,p,40,I), "maturity and wisdom" (1,m,p,40), or "maturity and enthusiasm" (15,m,p,40). "I have been able to make a deep reservoir of life experience available to the ... Church," wrote one (87,f,p,60). One reported that she found her previous experience especially helpful in dealing with pastoral work (100,f,p,40). An astute respondent reported, "I find a difference between clergy who have worked in other places and positions and some who have only ever worked in the Church. The biggest difference I find is between independent self-starters and the rest" (53,f,p,40). The 'Caleb effect' was invoked by one respondent (54,m,p,40). Caleb, at the age of eighty-five, was found still worthy in the service of the Lord (Joshua 14)! The main thrust of responses was that mature age ordinands combined the wisdom of experience with the enthusiasm of embarking on a new career.

One respondent, ordained in her late forties, told how she had fronted Archbishop Rayner after listening to his 1994 Synod address in which he had argued that the Church needed the "energy, vitality, and flexibility" that younger clergy bring, and which he thought lacking in older ordinands. She explained her reaction as follows:

I really resented what he said, and I said to him that I'd taken offence. I think that he negated and didn't understand the role of women in the church, and it doesn't have to be women, maybe it's the mature person coming in with life experience. But for me I was saying women because I'd married when I was twenty-three, and ... had four children. ...and then entered the workforce again. I went to the Austin Hospital to do Clinical Pastoral Education ... I became a voluntary pastoral worker in the parish for three years ... and I started a Bachelor of Theology, which just blew my mind. When I came to be ordained I was full of enthusiasm and full of energy, and that's when I said to the Archbishop 'You underestimate people like me. I've got the time now to spend on myself and my own development and I'm just ready to take off! You're saying that at my age people are burnt out and they're on the heap and I'm just starting! Don't underestimate that!' (96,f,p,40,I)

The Bishop of one rural diocese is reported to have said to some of his clergy that when people reach forty-five they are past their prime. "I really took umbrage at that," reported one of the group. "Some people are past their prime when they are twenty-five! ... To say that someone is past their prime simply because of a numerical age is ridiculous. And why should the church ignore the wisdom of the elders?" (103,f,p,40,I). One respondent went beyond the argument from maturity and life experience to argue that older ordinands are able to bring gifts, particularly spiritual gifts, to their ministry:

I think that mature-age people bring a different spirituality, a spirituality that's honed by their own life experience, by their experience of the secular workforce. I think they bring different skills in the way they approach and do things that come from secular work experience as well. Certainly my own background as an educator has influenced the way I do things in the parish, influenced the sorts of things I want to offer. I'm still a teacher. (77,f,p,50,I)

Despite the sentiment expressed by some in official quarters favouring earlier ordination, the actual age of ordinands for Melbourne Diocese has remained high, as shown in Table 6.3.

Table 6.3
**Age at Time of Deaconing and Gender of Ordinands, Melbourne Diocese,
 2000-03**

Age at ordination as Deacon	Males	Females	Total	Percentage of Total
Aged in 20s	-	-	-	-
Aged in 30s	16	3	19	36.5
Aged in 40s	8	10	18	34.6
Aged in 50s	4	7	11	21.2
Aged 60+	1	3	4	7.7

(Source: Melbourne Diocese, Theological Education and Ministry Training, 2003).

Table 6.3 reveals that a majority of ordinands in Melbourne in recent years are male, by a margin of 55.8 per cent male to 44.2 per cent female. Further, the average age of male ordinands is less than that of female ordinands. Of male ordinands, 44.8 per cent were aged forty or more, while the corresponding figure for female ordinands is 87.0 per cent. Of the total of fifty-two males and females, 63.5 per cent were aged forty or more. Because of its size, position, and historical antecedents, the metropolitan Diocese of Melbourne dominates the six dioceses that make up the Province of Victoria and Tasmania. It has, for instance, 65.4 per cent of the active clergy of those dioceses. In that pre-eminent diocese, the trends established over the last twenty years are being maintained. Men have a numerical advantage over women. Older ordinands are in the majority. Women come to ordination at an older age than men.

One issue confronting Melbourne diocesan authorities is that a high proportion of recent ordination enquirers are from non-Anglican backgrounds. The Director of Theological Education for Melbourne Diocese claims that two-thirds of those entering the vocation-discernment process over the last two years "have come into the Anglican Church in the recent past, ... their track record isn't in the Anglican Church" (White 2003). White agrees, however, that this is less true of older enquirers. In this respect, older ordinands constitute a conservative element. In the present survey, eight of the one hundred respondents specifically referred to their past involvement with other denominations, but in their accounts of their previous experience as Anglicans, all but four gave details of

extensive pre-ordination activity in Anglican affairs in such capacities as Lay Reader, Parish Council member, Sunday School teacher, and pastoral care worker. The exceptions were three former Uniting Church members and one Roman Catholic priest, each of whom had only brief periods of Anglican formation before their ordination. It may be concluded that second-career clergy have contributed to preserving the traditional polity and heritage of the Anglican Church.

Academic Preparation

With some exceptions those accepted for ordination are required to complete some form of theological qualification. The insistence on a measure of theological training reflects a desire by the church to maintain effective standards of professionalisation through the cultivation of the knowledge basis of the profession. The demand for theological qualification also acts as a gatekeeping mechanism for entry into the profession. Clergy have historically been amongst the most literate of professionals. Their work takes shape around reading, writing and communicating. Hence academic training is both a practical work-tool and a professional safeguard.

Respondents in the present study were torn between the academic and practical aspects of their training. Pavalko (1971) discusses these two end-points of the training continuum in terms of 'ideational' and 'nonideational' training. "Professional training is ideational," he writes. "[I]t places a strong emphasis on acquiring the ability to manipulate ideas and symbols rather than ... things and physical objects" (1971:19-20). This issue presents itself in many professions. Nursing offers a close parallel to the clerical profession. There, a lively debate has been taking place over the academic/practical aspects of training for several decades. One participant in this debate comments that the "learning of basic nursing skills and the technical knowledge concerned with disease does not require three years' full-time study. On the other hand, learning how to handle people physically and emotionally in the real world does require at least two years' full-time practical experience" (Fream 1984:23). These sentiments are directly transferable to the clergy under study who came down solidly on the side of gaining practical guidance and experience as opposed to theological enrichment. They were impatient of getting into the

field and learning the tricks of the trade rather than the academic side of the profession. One wrote,

The training through study was a hurdle requirement and provided a very good background to where a conservative theology placed itself. The theology and doctrine work gave me an idea of where we stood as a church, but in a very short time I realised that it was quite an inadequate preparation for real life, with people who had issues, concerns, questions, and who were dealing with the way life had cornered them. (88,m,p,40)

In the 'books versus people' debate, this group of ordinands voted for 'people.' Their motivation was principally 'nonideational' – pastoral, not academic. In the tension between these two positions, some pain was generated.

A large minority of respondents report finding academic work difficult from an academic point of view. Twenty-seven respondents (28.1 per cent) experienced difficulties with the academic aspects of their training. The degree of difficulty is related to the level of theological qualification attempted. Table 6.4 reveals that previous socialisation in academic circles made for a smoother and easier passage to ordination.

Table 6.4
Difficulty with Academic Study, comparing Qualification attained

Statement. I found my theological training to be difficult academically	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Those with a theological degree (n=36)	11.1	2.8	86.1
Those with a theological diploma (n=48)	31.2	2.1	66.7
Those with no theological qualification (n=12)	66.7	8.3	25.0

Ordinands with the highest qualifications found their academic work easiest, while those with lesser qualifications experienced more difficulties. Most of those without qualifications attempted some form of theological study, but failed to complete their

course. Many of these were at the upper levels of the age range at the time of ordination, and a correlation may be observed between age at ordination and difficulty found in academic work (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5
Difficulty with Academic Study, comparing Age at Ordination

<u>Statement:</u> I found my theological training to be difficult academically	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Ordained in 40s (n=53)	17.0	0	83.0
Ordained age 50+ (n=43)	41.9	7.0	51.1

The study has revealed that a substantial proportion of mature-age ordinands were under some pressure from the academic demands of their training, especially those in the older age range. Also to be noted is the relation between age at ordination and the level of theological qualification obtained. Younger ordinands are most qualified theologically and older ordinands least qualified (Table 6.6).

Table 6.6
Level of Theological Qualification obtained, comparing Age at Ordination

Level of theological qualification	Ordained in 40s (%)	Ordained age 50+ (%)
Holding theological degree (n=36)	69.4	30.6
Holding theological diploma (n=48)	52.9	47.1
No theological qualification (n=12)	23.1	76.9

There is a consistent inverse relationship between increased age at ordination and level of theological qualification. Tables 6.4, 6.5, and 6.6 suggest that there is an overall gradation of mature-age ordinands from older, less-qualified men and women who have difficulty with their academic studies to younger, better-qualified men and women who handle the

academic component of their training more easily. There is a significant number of people at each end of this spectrum.

It is instructive to look more closely at the thirteen respondents who have no theological qualification. Ten of them have no secular qualification either. Twelve are male, one female. Twelve are from rural dioceses, one from Melbourne. They tend to have been ordained at an older age than the average for the whole group, and to have served in non-stipendiary positions. Four of them worked after ordination on a voluntary basis in their former parishes. The picture emerges of a group of older ordinands, overwhelmingly male and rural, relatively uneducated, picked out after loyal lay service and ordained by their bishops, often to serve locally rather than across their diocese. This group was spared the pressure to acquit themselves academically, but remained in less exacting positions. Their existence brings into question the degree of professionalisation of the church as a whole, but their successes in their limited field of operation may prove the practical worth of their ordination. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate this paradox.

Stress Experienced during Training

Stress is an integral part of discontinuity in the life cycle of an individual. The respondents in this study were experiencing a major discontinuity that affected their private as well as their working lives. There are several causes of stress at the time of entry into a new work situation. Some arise from the work itself – matters such as adjusting to new work arrangements, developing relationships with other workers and performing satisfactorily in relation to clients. Other potential causes of stress lie in the domestic changes consequent on the new work commitments. These factors are all evidenced in respondents' reports of their time of training for ministry.

Many respondents undertook their theological training in conjunction with full-time or part-time work, and most also had family commitments. A major issue for respondents was the difficulty of balancing work, study and family responsibilities. The extent of stress is shown in Table 6.7

Table 6.7
Training as a Time of Personal Stress (n=96)

Statement	Agree/ strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
My training was a time of personal stress	34.4	8.3	57.3

Fewer than six out of ten respondents were able to assert that they had not suffered some degree of stress during their training. The positive/negative response ratio was similar across the variables of gender, age at ordination, year of ordination, level of qualifications, and diocese of origin. Half of those who acknowledged they experienced difficulty with academic study also had experienced personal stress during the same period. Thus, a significant minority suffered the dual burden of academic pressure and personal stress.

The personal difficulties with regard to training stemmed from two main sources – pressure of time and family obligations. The time factor was not just one of coping with demanding schedules on several fronts, but also not having time to absorb and reflect adequately on the formation process (45,f,p,40). Training expectations were sometimes inflexible: “The main stress was balancing family/candidature responsibilities. ... The then Director of the College was fairly unsympathetic. I was a candidate; therefore I was expected to be present at early morning prayer” (3,f,p,40). Women could be under pressure because of their role as principal home-maker. One reported, “I had three children and a husband to care for, and had to fit in theological work and [my parish placement]” (21,f,d,40).

However the pressure frequently fell on the spouse and family members of respondents. Often it was they who “really carried the burden” (6,m,p,50). One marriage break-up resulted, near the end of the training period. It was not uncommon for marital relationships to be tested, as revealed by this female respondent:

[My husband] always said, ‘Look, you’re an independent person. You do what feels right for you.’ But it was harder when I actually did it. ... It did threaten to move us apart, because of the pressures that were placed on me.

Just the emotional and mental adjustment of having a wife who was ordained, or heading for that, was a fairly big leap for him. (103,f,d,40,I)

Several respondents left homes in the country to live and study in Melbourne. One who lived a "split existence" from his wife and three school-age children for two years reported,

Things worked out pretty well, but there was still the separation. I was down in Melbourne during the week and home on the weekends, and then as part of the studies I also had a Field Education programme in a parish, so even though I'd come home on weekends I'd still have to work on Sunday mornings. It wasn't easy, and, of course, I had no income, except for my service pension. (97,m,p,40,I)

Such comments reveal a considerable degree of fortitude. That quality, as well as the shared nature of the pressures placed on respondents' families, is seen in another comment:

I was away from home for a year, at College. It was hard work, mentally stimulating, very emotionally difficult at times. I remember ringing [my husband], 'I can't do it; I'm going to give up; I'm coming home.' He said, 'Don't you dare. You just stay there and finish it. You're half way there now.' And of course he sacrificed so much. He'd given up his position ... so that he could get his long service leave money, and that is what supported us during the year I wasn't earning any income at all ... and that means he has never had his long service leave. So it's cost him a great deal financially, and now, of course, I'm on a much reduced wage. For him there are very real sacrifices. (45,f,p,40,I)

The dedication shown by respondents may be related to their firm belief that God was calling them into challenging albeit difficult fields of service. The comment reported previously applies equally here: "We knew what was being asked, and we were prepared to commit" (13,f,p,40).

The sense of commitment observed in respondents may be related to the altruism that is widely recognised as an aspect of professionalism (Ritzer 1972:54; Probert 1989:56). It has been a standard academic understanding that "in professional work, people are not motivated by the same simple self-interest that motivates most ordinary workers" (Probert 1989:55). For Jackson (1970:6), the professional calling is "work-oriented to the highest possible degree. ... [For] a doctor or priest, "vocation is ... a lifelong commitment."

Commitment, in this sense, is to be differentiated from Becker's use of the term as a "mechanism" in which "externally unrelated interests of the person become linked in such a way as to constrain future behavior" (Becker 1970a:276, 301). Against this understanding which emphasises the influence of social structure, the commitment referred to here is a more deliberate act of choice. In Kierkegaardian terms it is "a consequence of choosing with one's whole self to go in a direction which irrevocably defines that self, from that point on" (Krause 1971:46). The attitude of respondents is entirely consistent with the latter understanding of commitment. A dynamic interplay was at work between their commitment and the stress engendered by the requirements of professional training. The fortitude which was found in many respondents is the point of meeting between these two constraints. In fact, the difficulties appear to have been, for some, an encouragement to commitment. This effect has been noted by Grusky, who found that "the greater the obstacles the person has to overcome ... the greater his commitment. ... [T]he act of hurdle-jumping calls out the commitment" (in Krause 1971:46).

The sense of altruistic dedication in professionals is normally referred to in connection with those established in the field. Hughes (1963:656) reminds us that the term, 'profess,' originates in the vows taken by those entering a religious order. Ritzer (1972:74-6) highlights the sense of commitment in those entering professional training as an important factor in their socialisation into their profession. Entrants to the clerical profession in this study similarly possessed a good measure of commitment to their profession, which may be related not only to their sense of divine calling, but also to their age. Sofer (1970:47) comments on the "investment" involved in the initial entry into a particular occupation, and which normally leads to an increasing commitment to "the title, technical function and ideology of the occupation." It is reasonable to assume that their maturity and the careful consideration respondents in this study gave to their decision to seek ordination were important factors in the degree of commitment they displayed. This assumption is consonant with other research findings. Hall (1994:108) cites several research projects which found "a strong and positive relationship" between age and level of "involvement," which Hall equates with commitment.

Levels of Despondency

The question of despondency in individuals during the initial stages of their occupational life receives scant treatment in standard sociological writings. Individual studies such as Becker et al. (1961) assume a homogeneity amongst entrants into a profession, while general works make little or no reference to the personal and psychological side of commencing professional careers. Where there is some acknowledgment of anxiety levels in professional schools, the anxiety is attributed to in-house matters, such as "the large amounts of information to be learned, continual evaluation from faculty, and uncertainty about how to apply ... limited knowledge in dealing with clients" (Hall 1994:92). Of more importance in the present study are factors associated with the diversity of candidates and age-related life concerns.

The reasons given for feelings of despondency include a lack of support from respondents' dioceses, the inadequacy of spiritual direction, deficiencies in systems of pastoral support and encouragement, unhappy relationships with supervising clergy, difficulties in making the adjustment involved in 'going back to school', the pressure of continuing in full time secular employment after commencing theological training, the inability to devote sufficient time to families, separation from families, and insensitive treatment by the church, such as being appointed to inappropriate parish placements during training. The age of respondents overlay these concerns. One reported, in connection with her periods of despondency, "There were times when I felt the rush forward of the biological clock" (106,f,p,50). Some 60 per cent reported no such feelings, but given the maturity of the group and the careful consideration that lay behind their decisions to change career, the level of despondency reported by the other 40 per cent must be regarded as unsatisfactory from the church's point of view and a matter of grave concern for respondents.

Almost one-third of respondents reported feeling despondent during the time of selection and training. There was a strong correlation with those who had earlier reported periods of despondency at the time of deciding to seek ordination. Three-quarters of those respondents reported similar feelings during their selection and training. Thus, about one quarter of all candidates experienced times of dejection over an extended period of time as they took up their second careers in ordained ministry. Levels of despondency were higher for women, as shown in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8
Despondency during Training and Selection, comparing Males and Females

<u>Statement. I sometimes felt despondent about the process of my training and selection</u>	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=61)	3.3	19.7	8.2	49.2	19.7
Females (n=38)	15.8	26.3	10.5	28.9	18.4

The margin of difference between women and men is approximately 20 per cent, and the feelings of women were more intense, as indicated by their 'Strongly agree' response, which is nearly five times as great as the men's. Similar results are obtained from those ordained in the later years of women's ordination as in earlier years. For women, despondency levels during their training have not eased in recent times, compared with the years following the first ordination of women.

There is no evidence that feelings of despondency extended to the profession in general. They related only to the circumstances of the selection and training process. They are best understood as part of the purchase price of the new calling. In sociological terms, negative feelings experienced during the training phase represent a cost to be borne in exchange for a much-desired benefit to follow.

Residence in Training College

Professional schools constitute an important aspect of socialisation into a profession. Becker et al. (1961:13) refer to medical school as "an organised enterprise with unusual singleness of purpose." The theological college rivals medical school as a formative institution. Because of their mature age and church background, most students in the present study had previously developed firm ideas about the values system of the profession. Hall (1994:92), drawing on Becker and others, notes that prior socialisation is not always helpful. Previously-formed ideals may not be consistent with the actual nature

of professional experience. Pavalko (1971:83) refers to marriage and the armed forces to illustrate the need to unlearn previous values and argues that the principle applies widely in the occupational field. Melbourne Diocese's Director of Theological Education (White 2003) concurs. He argues that, for ordination, "background isn't quite the same qualification as formation. Even if they're from a long Anglican background, they still need formation of what it really means to be Anglican, not just what *they* think it means."

The most complete socialisation into professional culture and occupational solidarity is gained from residence in professional school. Of the whole group of 100 ordinands in this survey, thirty-four spent some time in residence in a theological college. These were typically younger and male. The obverse of the previous statement may be more significant – that two-thirds of late-entry clergy have no experience of residential collegial life in the formative period of their entry into the clerical profession. The value of residential experience was widely recognised by respondents. One rural ordinand who lived in college for a year at the expense of her diocese wrote, "I had no real church background, and I learnt a great deal about the Anglican tradition, about 'how to do' church things, about the way services run and about the discipline and community of the daily offices. Also [it was] great to discuss and share ideas and philosophies at the intellectual level of tertiary study" (45,f,p,40). Another described his years of residence as "the best years of my life" (63,m,p,40). Many who did not live in nevertheless gained valuable experience by being associate members of colleges as they pursued full-time or part-time studies.

However, others did their theological study entirely by correspondence. In some dioceses, such as Gippsland, assistance was given by the bishop or other clergy, but it was often a difficult task. "I received little or no support from the clergy in my studies," wrote one, "but as I was somewhat isolated by the location (and accepted that as part of the problem in this area) and understood what it was like to always do things by myself I managed" (84,m,p,60). This is hardly a desirable situation when taking up a new career in late middle-age! Another respondent revealed both an understanding of what she had missed and a determination to make up for it on the job as best she could:

Because I was in a small rural town, still working full-time ... I did all my 'academic' theology by correspondence and the practical liturgical things by observation and on the job instruction. This meant I missed out on the 'cut & thrust' of theological college, i.e. discussion and varying opinions; and also

on a variety of practical role models, ideas on practicalities. So there are probably huge gaps in my training, which I now have to try and fill in as they become apparent and as opportunities arise to fill those gaps. (70,f,p,40)

One might presume that it was an awareness of the issues raised by such comments that motivated bishops of rural dioceses to send ordinands to the cities for residential experience. In fact, the proportion of ordinands who spent at least part of their training in a residential college was higher for rural candidates. Of the respondents who had residential experience, twenty-five were from rural dioceses and only nine from Melbourne. Of all rural respondents, 39.7 per cent lived in for part of their training, while the corresponding figure for Melbourne respondents was 24.3 per cent. Melbourne candidates had more opportunity than rural candidates to attend college on a daily basis as associate college members. At the same time, however, those who had been resident students were more satisfied with the quality of their training than the others.

Residential experience in training, then, was highly regarded by respondents as well as by diocesan authorities for the increased access it provided to professional culture and solidarity, but was available only to a minority for reasons of cost, distance and family circumstances. These considerations have become so powerful that fully residential theological training has now been abandoned by Melbourne Diocese. In 2003 there were no Melbourne ordinands resident in college (White 2003). All attend on a daily basis.

Satisfaction with Training

Training is one of the key attributes of professionalism. In the case of the clerical profession, training equips new members for ministry and empowers practitioners to maintain a professional relationship with laity and with the community. Shortcomings in training weaken claims to professionalism in both these directions.

In the sociology of professions, training is identified as one of the key attributes of a professional. Ritzer (1972:54) places possession of "general systematic knowledge" as a prime characteristic of the professional and the professional organisation. According to Ritzer (1972:70), professional schools not only communicate knowledge and develop

teaching skills, but also informally communicate professional norms and values. The importance of the knowledge component of professional training has been supported by later observers such as Abbott (1988:8), who sees the core of professionalism as the application of "somewhat abstract knowledge to particular cases." Hall (1994:48) states, bluntly, that "knowledge is the basis for the power that is the basis for professional status." Freidson (1971), who had championed the 'power' approach to the understanding of professionalism writes thirty years later about the ideology by which a profession may be judged. The acquisition and transference of knowledge plays an important part in his argument, which echoes Ritzer's much earlier views: "The ideology claims both specialized knowledge that is authoritative in a functional or cognitive sense and commitment to a transcendent value that guides and adjudicates the way that knowledge is employed" (Freidson 2001:127). The inculcation of specialised knowledge and of professional values through a training process, then, is clearly a highly significant aspect of the claim by clerics to professional status and a high level of professionalism.

While a majority of respondents were satisfied with their training, a considerable minority (more than one in five) expressed dissatisfaction, while others did not commit themselves, bringing to nearly one-third those who failed to endorse the value of their training (Table 6.9).

Table 6.9
Adequacy of Training for Future Ministry (n=97)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree(%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
My training gave me a satisfactory preparation for my future ministry	68.0	10.3	21.7

Bi-variate analysis reveals three significant variations from the pattern shown in Table 6.9. Older ordinands – those ordained at age fifty or more, as against those ordained in their forties – were more satisfied with their training (a positive variation of 21.0 per cent). Those with theological college residential experience were more satisfied compared with those without residential experience (a positive variation of 17.5 per cent). Men were more

satisfied than women (a positive variation of 9.5 per cent). These results, significant in themselves, also corroborate several tendencies previously noted, including the benefit derived from residential attendance at theological college and the greater compliance of older ordinands and of males.

The response above was made in the context of the period of training. In another part of the survey, respondents were asked to reflect again on the adequacy of their training as a preparation for ministry, this time from the perspective of having spent some years in the field. The result showed a decline of 9.9 per cent (to 58.1 per cent) in the agreement rate, a decline that occurred across the divisions of gender, diocese, age at ordination, and level of qualification. The second response confirms the low level of affirmation of training processes. With the benefit of occupational experience, clergy recognise more acutely the shortcomings of their original training.

Respondents made their feelings about training abundantly clear. As late entrants to the profession, and as men and women who had almost all had extensive involvement with the church, they were looking primarily for practical training in ministry skills. Many found, however, that while their training was sound academically and theologically, skills training was inadequate. Particular areas of inadequacy referred to were leadership and management training, administration, psychology, inter-personal relations, and pastoral care. Some mentioned the lack of connectedness between theoretical and practical education and cited other training models that they believed were superior in this respect, such as Church Army training and Clinical and Pastoral Education, both of which are very practical in their orientation. Some maintained that their ministry skills were derived fundamentally from their previous occupation rather than from their ministry training, while others reported that their practical skills were mostly learned later, "on the job." The level of Anglican formation was felt by some to be deficient or, at least, uneven.

However, it was the lack of practicality that was the overriding sentiment. One woman remarked that she was "poorly prepared for ... weddings, wedding preparation, funerals, visiting, anointing the sick, etc." "Thank heavens for the Prayer Book!" she added (45,f,p,40). An older ordinand wrote that his "pre-ordination experiences were more helpful than college experience" (20,m,p,50). One graduate observed, "My training gave me confidence in my new work and the skills to continue my self-improvement, but as for

actually showing me the day-to-day apparatus of parish ministry I was thrown in at the deep end" (93,m,p,40). "The theory in theological colleges is fine," wrote one respondent from the vantage point of later experience, "but it is all somewhat 'Ivory Tower.' Out in the parish/ hospital/ school/ prison/ it's all a bit different!" (86,f,p,40). Comments such as these echo the cry that training for ministry should be more practical.

Against the call of ordinands for a more practically oriented scheme of training, the Church in recent times has held to a more academic and ecclesiastically formative approach. This is clearest in Melbourne Diocese, which has given more thought to this issue than have the rural dioceses. In Melbourne Diocese four years of full-time academic study in theology leading to a degree is the "normal standard requirement" for the priesthood. The Diocese delegates to the two officially approved theological colleges responsibility for training, but insists on certain core elements in the curriculum, most of which are academic rather than practical (Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, Board for Ministry, *Information for Inquirers*, 2001:5). Formation in the values and norms of ordained ministry and of the Anglican Church are given priority over practical preparation during the Year of Discernment (before inquirers' acceptance as official candidates), during college training, and over the four years of Post-Ordination Training, with the aim of securing the "transition from being a private to a public person" (Anglican Diocese of Melbourne, Board for Ministry, *Policy on Training for the Priesthood*, 2002:2-3). The Director of Theological Education comments, "Formation is the key ... and developing identity as an ordained person" (White 2003). In the other dioceses, policy in training matters is not so easy to discern. Most rural candidates train at Ridley College or Trinity College, but often for only part of their academic course, and both practical training and clergy formation are more on an ad hoc basis than in Melbourne.

The preference respondents have shown for a more practically-based training system is fashioned by long experience in the workplace. It results from felt needs and is made in the light of later experience when the training received had been tested in the field. The weaknesses in training identified by respondents may lead to a lowering of professional standards in the local church. Criticism by respondents of matters specifically aimed at increasing clergy professionalism, such as the level of Anglican formation, show that the Church's aims have not always been achieved. On the academic side, it is to be recalled that only 36 per cent of all respondents have completed a degree in theology, while 13 per

cent have no theological qualifications at all. While this situation persists, any claim of the church that its members possess "general systematic knowledge" is flawed. The practice of bishops who have continued to ordain candidates with limited or no professional qualifications limits the claim even further, no matter how worthy the aim measured by local standards or how successful these clergy may be in the field. A disparity exists between the aims of the church regarding its professionalisation and the actual levels in practice. This situation is inherently present in all occupations claiming to be professions. In its professional dimension, the church in the Province places itself towards the lower end of the professionalisation continuum.

The Experience of Women

The appearance of women clergy in the Anglican Church is a new phenomenon in historical terms. As newcomers, they are subjected to forms of conscious and unconscious discrimination and feel themselves less than completely accepted by some members of the church and male colleagues, a position Bock (1972:67) describes as "professional marginality."

This reaction can be seen in the comments of respondents regarding selection and training. Men are more likely to emphasise particular deficiencies in their ministerial preparation, especially the lack of practical skills, while women comment more generally on their relationship with selection panels and diocesan selection bodies. Some of the women's comments reveal considerable distress. Although some comments relate to the later 1980s, others refer to more recent years. One spoke of the "hypocrisy and abuse" she experienced at the hands of church officials (69,f,p,40). Another found that theological college staff related poorly to her as an older person and as a woman, and felt that younger students were also ill at ease in her presence (104,f,d,50). The main vexation, however, has to do with administrative and procedural ineptitude on the part of diocesan individuals and groups. Applications and reports were lost; communication was "abysmal" and unsympathetic; inefficient liaison between dioceses and episcopal interregnums caused delays which led to hardship and anxiety; official attitudes – almost always male – were unhelpful and patronising. Gender underlay these difficulties. These findings are supported

by Hughes (2001) who concluded that female priests in the Anglican Church expressed higher levels of dissatisfaction regarding appointments procedures, particularly with mishandling of situations by authorities.

It is possible to interpret accounts of dissatisfaction as merely the result of personality differences, and to look for prejudice behind respondents' reports of difficult situations. There must be "another side to the story." In describing the relationship of clergy with official church individuals and organisations, the aim has been to record the perceptions of clergy and not to judge the rightness or wrongness of the situations that are related. Potter and Wetherall (1987:92-3) argue that reaching an understanding of how respondents rationalise their experiences is more valuable than establishing the truth or falsity of their stories. Similarly, with regard to the church as a professional organisation, it is as important for the feelings of clergy to be recognised as for the validity of their criticisms to be established.

As to the validity of the researcher's understanding of the perceptions of the clergy under study and the presentation of their attitudes, the reader must rely on the judgment of the researcher. "Value decisions must be made," writes Denzin (1978:530). "Every action in the field is bound to produce biased results because it is impossible to study all sides of an issue." The presentation of material in this study falls within the parameters of that approach to sociological research. This is the nature of qualitative research and of research findings. In this connection, Glaser and Strauss comment (1967:225):

Why does the researcher trust what he knows? ... They are his perceptions, his personal experiences, and his own hard-won analyses. A field worker knows that he knows, not only because he has been in the field ... but also because 'in his bones' he feels the worth of his final analysis. ... What is more, if he has participated in the social life of his subject, then he has been living by his analyses, testing them not only by observation and interview but also by daily living.

That mandate is appealed to in the present instance. Further, the value of subjective experience for sociological analysis should be reiterated. Denzin quotes Mead's observation that

Social psychology ... is not behavioristic in the sense of ignoring the inner experience of the individual – the inner phase of the process or activity. On the

contrary, it is particularly concerned with the rise of such experience within the process as a whole. (Denzin 1970:250)

Denzin goes on to state that "this ability to interpret ongoing social acts from the perspective of the persons involved has been one criterion I have brought to bear against all methodologies. ... [R]ecords of human subjective experiences form the core data of sociology" (Denzin 1970:250).

A valuable form of presenting "human subjective experience" is through case studies derived from extended personal interviews. In the case study, attitudes and actions are presented so that they are seen "from the actor's point of view" (Becker 1970b:421). Case studies can be used to explain "both the broad organization and much of the moment-to-moment detail" (Potter and Wetherall 1987:169) of critical situations. The case of Roseanne Spargo may be taken to represent those of other women who felt they were treated badly by sections of the church, including those in positions of authority. Her experience provides evidence of what she and others went through, evidence which is important in itself, but which also makes more personal and more real the issues being dealt with in this study. Spargo is one of twenty-five respondents interviewed at length. The particular circumstances of the following case study have been changed, although the spirit of the interview and the words of the respondent are retained.

Roseanne Spargo

Roseanne Spargo offered for ministry at the age of seventeen, but was told by local church officials she was 'too young,' the 'wrong gender,' and that she needed to 'maybe get some life experience.' She became a teacher, but held to the notion of future full-time service in the church. Female Church Army officers and visiting missionaries provided her with feminine models of ministry. Meanwhile, she engaged in extensive voluntary work in the church:

I fulfilled my sense of calling in the church ... by working in education. So I was involved in the educational ministries of the church as much as I could, chiefly Christian religious education in schools, ... teaching Sunday School, working with adults in study groups. It was always an intentional thing. I always felt that I was doing something that I was called to do, that there was a giftedness that needed to be expressed.

Spargo married and began to raise a family. Eventually, her husband, when in his mid-thirties, himself felt called to ministry. He was accepted, trained, ordained, and then entered parish ministry. Spargo was not jealous of his progress, but curiously troubled:

I felt that perhaps that was a way to express my own sense of calling – supporting him in working together as a team. ... I remember feeling really disillusioned when he was first ordained. ... Having supported his ministry and his study financially and practically, I suddenly felt that his ordination broke our team. ... It just seemed that in those years there was no place that I could be really involved in the way that I still wanted to be. There was still an unease within me that I had not yet found the spot, the place, that was truly my own.

Eventually Spargo made a considerable name for herself in the Australian church. She was active in her husband's parish, and at diocesan and provincial level in several fields of activity. By this time the debate about the priesting of women in the Anglican Church was developing in intensity. The ordination issue was an important catalyst for Spargo, who found herself becoming emotionally involved in the debate:

One day I listened to an ABC radio programme in which a priest arguing against the ordination of women said with some emotion that if women had to be sacrificed in the cause of truth, so be it. That was a turning point for me, that broadcast, because I decided that not only was I not to be sacrificed, but that I was part of God's church, and I started to ask myself quite intentionally, 'Why are you feeling so attached to this debate, what is it within you, what's driving you, what's making you feel so passionate, get so angry, feel so connected to something that is really a long way from you? I think that as I thought about that I began to think about my own life again and to look at the pattern of it, and to ask whether or not I was really doing the work that I'd all those years before felt called to do.

Spargo began a theological degree by external study to test her vocation and at the same time prepare herself against the eventuality of ordination. She attempted to speak to her diocesan bishop about that possibility, but for eighteen months was met with procrastination and vacillation. Ultimately the bishop explained, "I just think I should make it clear to you that there's no chance of you being ordained. You must find another diocese, if that's the path you want to pursue." "I was very angry with him," she recalls. "I was angry that he had no solution other than to say, 'Leave,' because I loved the Diocese and worked hard in it." The Bishop's attitude reinforced Spargo's belief that she was indeed called to be a priest and increased her determination to proceed.

Spargo put aside a week for prayer and fasting in order to clarify God's call. On the last day of that week an unknown person, by accident or design, left a Bible opened at a passage used in the Anglican ordination service alongside her seat in the church. Like Augustine at a critical point in his life, Spargo took this as an irrevocable sign that she was indeed truly called to be ordained.

Her husband was now appointed to a parish position in another diocese, this time one which was supportive of women's ordination. Here Spargo was accepted as an official ordination candidate and was affirmed by selection conferences at both diocesan and provincial level. Several obstacles remained, however – those of isolation, finance and age. Because she had lived in quite isolated rural towns, Spargo had very few to encourage her in her ordination journey. There were no clergy to turn to; her parish priest was her husband! Local people were unable to share her aspirations, nor understand them. Outside her family, only a group of Roman Catholic nuns was able to offer any measure of support.

Spargo's diocese required her to complete her theological studies before being ordained, yet offered no financial support. The family's finances were so precarious that she could afford to study only one subject each year. At the same time she was approaching her fiftieth birthday. At that time the age of fifty was being canvassed as a possible cut-off point for ordination. One diocesan official told her that the diocese needed "to get its money's worth" from those chosen for ordination. "So I very much felt the pressure of frustration of not being able to finish quickly," Spargo recalls, "and the anxiety that fifty might be too old anyway when I got there." "I was in a 'Catch 22' situation," she says.

Eventually a date was set for Spargo's ordination as deacon, but shortly before the event the ceremony was postponed on the grounds that there were insufficient funds for her stipend in the parish she was expecting to serve in. "The convention is 'No pay, no ordination,'" said the Bishop. Spargo pleaded to be appointed to another parish, even though this would mean living away from her husband, but without success. The decision "simply road-blocked any future for me as an ordained person," she comments. "If the Provincial Conference and the Diocese had strongly affirmed my ministry ... what on earth was the church doing in just dumping me because a particular parish couldn't pay?"

Spargo believes that wrong decisions by the church often flow from the rigidity of its structures. "I think it's about conventions that people feel bound to keep," she comments. "And I think there's been insufficient notice taken of either the arrival of women or the arrival of older people offering for ordination. The structures that I've battled have been structures that are geared up for younger people entering ministry, but haven't taken notice of a person's past experience or maturity that they bring."

Eventually the original parish was left without regular ministry, and, to overcome this situation, the Bishop agreed to proceed with Spargo's ordination as both deacon and priest. Despite having reached her goal, Spargo's experience had been so unhappy and exhausting that she and her husband sought and found appointments in another, more amenable diocese.

Spargo's experience is replicated in various ways in the experiences of other women participating in this study. A recurring pattern is that of personal offering being met with official rebuff, and heartache resulting. The church in its official character is found to be unsympathetic and begrudging, disrespectful of the urgent feelings of those being called to ordained service, and tending to alienate some of its most spirited members. At the same time, there is in many women a quality of tenacious determination to overcome obstacles and achieve their goal of ordination.

The particular difficulties Spargo faced were mostly to do with isolation, finance and age. Beyond these lay the concern that individual clergy and would-be clergy could do no more than place their prospects in the hands of senior church officials, especially bishops. This situation reflects the hierarchical nature of church government. But the decisions of the hierarchy are often viewed with distrust, as being made in the interests of the church alone with little regard for the wellbeing of individuals. The result is often to induce in people like Roseanne Spargo a feeling of powerlessness to control their own future.

Spargo's struggle to be ordained was conducted within the larger campaigns of the women's movement in general and the women's ordination movement in particular. "This is no internal church squabble," writes Porter (1989:3) of the women's ordination movement. "The debate is also about all women, outside the church as well as inside." The wider debate and Spargo's quest for ordination were brought together through her hearing

a particular radio broadcast. That incident brought an underlying and largely amorphous sentiment into the realm of intellectual consideration, and propelled her into more deliberate action in pursuit of her goal.

Many of the women clergy now at work in the Anglican Church have experienced years of frustration before being admitted to ordination, and have brought that experience into their ministry. Spargo's story illustrates the extent of frustration and personal pain that has been lived through. The women's ordination debate was conducted largely on legal and theological grounds. Only rarely was the personal position of the women considered. However, on one such occasion, the Archbishop of Melbourne wrote:

I know that my words about the time needed to resolve the controversy will ring hollow to women who have believed for years that God is calling them to the priesthood. ... These are not women bent on hurting the church or the faith. They are responding, often at great personal cost to themselves and their families, to what they are convinced is the call of God. That is why the sense of injustice and anger is so strong. Wherever we stand on the overall question, we should be fully aware of the pain of these women. We are not simply discussing abstract principles, but real people. (Rayner 1992:2)

Archbishop Rayner's comments indicate that a corrective is needed in order to place Spargo's experiences more precisely into the general situation of women ordinands. Hers was a solitary struggle, isolated as she was in a rural diocese, without the encouragement of other women aspirants to ordination. However, many others, particularly those in Melbourne Diocese, had the support of other women in similar circumstances. Their more fortunate situation was made clear by Nelson (1994:5) in a sermon preached on the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Movement for the Ordination of Women in Melbourne:

Over the past ten years as we have told and retold our stories and rediscovered our history we have helped each other to discover our true identities. In our travelling together we have learnt who and what we are. We have crossed frontiers, left places we will never return to, and our lives have been changed forever.

Spargo's account of her feelings during the years leading up to her ordination amply illustrate the finding of Bouma et al (1996:10-1) that women ordinands in the Australian Anglican church typically experience a 'long and hard' journey towards ordination. It also highlights the importance of a trusting relationship between clergy and the church hierarchy, and demonstrates the failure of the church in Spargo's case to give her the

support she needed. Many observers point to the relationship with lay people as the chief difficulty faced by clergy (Dempsey 1983:172; Quinley 1974:243; Blaikie 1979:186-7). That contention cannot be borne out from the present study. A more significant difficulty is the matter of how clergy are dealt with by the church hierarchy. Spargo's story would indicate that the church acted in a less than adequately professional manner in dealing with her particular circumstances, causing her considerable distress.

Summary

Almost all the entrants to the clerical profession involved in this study had extensive experience in the Anglican Church before entering the process of selection and training. They had lived and breathed Anglicanism. The level of anticipatory socialisation was very high. Despite this, as a group, they found themselves entering a time of considerable anguish. As regards selection, difficulties arose from the insensitive and sometimes clumsy way that selection panel members and others in the church hierarchy dealt with candidates. Women felt particularly aggrieved. The two most significant career contingencies - age and gender - came into play at the very beginning of the career path. Candidates felt that their experience, maturity and individuality were not respected, while women were aware also of negative gender-based attitudes from church personnel. Candidates had a sense of powerlessness in the process by which they placed their futures in the hands of an often-unsympathetic church hierarchy.

As regards their training, respondents, as mature and experienced people, had firm ideas about the kind of preparation for ministry they needed. Their position was often in conflict with the church. The basic tension was between the candidates' desire for practical training and the church's emphasis on a more academic preparation for ministry. This tension raised issues of professional standards and of socialisation into the profession. Respondents tended to feel that they had already absorbed the norms and values of the profession, while the hierarchy saw the need for more explicit Anglican formation and a strong theological foundation for later ministry.

With regard to professional standards, the church's aim of maintaining a strong academic base for the profession was thwarted to some degree by the practice of allowing some

candidates to proceed to ordination with a minimum of theological training and others with none. The idiosyncratic nature of selection and the alienation of many candidates both reflected negatively on the church as a professional organisation. Meanwhile, the commitment of ordinands to the idealism of their calling may be seen as a sign of their emerging professionalism.

Reflection

Two principal trends have recently emerged in the field of the sociology of careers. The first is to regard a career as the possession of the individual, rather than as an external role to be filled. People construct their own careers. Thus, Patton and McMahon (1999:4) comment that "people develop a career on the basis of their perceptions of, and attitudes toward, career." The second trend is related, and stresses the fluidity of the life cycle of the individual. Chronological age is no longer an accurate reflector of social age. Neugarten and Neugarten (1986:35-7) point to the blurring of former distinctions between life-stages, and draw attention to the emergence of the 'young-old,' whose distinctiveness is not based on health or social characteristics, nor on chronological age, but a determination to control their own career destiny. "We are less sure where to put the punctuation marks in the life line," they conclude. "What in earlier generations were irregularities are now the social reality."

These trends are well demonstrated by the second-career clergy under study. They have constructed their own careers. Their motivations were not the historic ones of promotion or income or prestige. Many entered ordained ministry from fields quite foreign to that discipline. Those who had been engaged in work with some similarities – occupations in the fields of social welfare or pastoral care – entered a new zone of competence and responsibility. As for placing "the punctuation marks in the life line," the grammar of career change knows few rules for this representative group of one hundred clergy. Neither age nor seniority provided markers of transition. Despite some negative expressions, which lay heavily on several respondents, the church was, in general, open to admitting such a variety of entrants. In fact, the proportion of mature-age candidates amongst the clergy proceeding to ordination indicates that the church continues to rely on them to fully staff parishes and other places of ministry.

Although it can be said that the principal feature of the participants in this study is their dissimilarity, several common aspects may be discerned as they entered ordained ministry. These include an eagerness to enter fully into their new field of work, confidence in their ability to succeed, and a propensity to indifference with regard to the formal structures of the church. These characteristics are further observed in succeeding chapters. Clergy who enter the profession at mature-age would seem largely to escape standard socialisation processes. Almost all have been socialised into their profession by long-time involvement in the church as active and discriminating lay members. They have a clear idea of what is expected of them as clergy and of the patterns of ministry they plan to exercise. They desire to enter immediately into the ranks of the clergy. They see themselves not as apprentices, but as artisans. They are the 'young-old' of the profession.

CHAPTER 7

ENTERING INTO THE LABOURS OF OTHERS

Having first responded to their call to a vocation in ordained ministry, and then negotiated the church's gate-keeping and training procedures, the second-career clergy under study now enter a profession which is very familiar to them, alongside men and women often well-known to them. They are not new to the church, though newcomers to the profession and still marginal to the dynamics of the organisation.

It is a mistake to think of this group as constituting a contemporaneous cohort of men and women linked with one another and responding to coterminous determinants and motivations. They are, rather, a heterogeneous miscellany of independent individuals. Their ages range from forty to seventy-two; some have still to complete their training; they are from various dioceses; most go into full-time stipendiary positions, but others work on a part-time or part-stipendiary or voluntary basis; and their entry into their profession occurs over a period of many years. At the time of the survey, forty-two had been ordained during the previous ten years, forty-three for between ten and twenty years, and fifteen for twenty years or more. They are therefore unlike the subjects of many sociological studies where there is a large measure of equivalence.

Nevertheless, the same principle of enquiry is appropriate, in this case to attempt to understand the ongoing patterns of behaviour of the subjects in interaction with their social environment, in relation to their membership of a particular occupational organisation, the Church. The matter addressed in this chapter is the entry of this disparate but distinctive group of workers – new practitioners in their field, but experienced in life and in various forms of employment – into an established professional organisation. Because of the unusual nature of the relationship between the established organisation and the new employees, Giddens' concept of social systems is informative. For Giddens (1986:12), a social system exists only in so far as "individuals actively repeat particular forms of conduct from one time and place to another," so that "social systems are like buildings that are at every moment constantly being reconstructed by the

very bricks that compose them." Giddens' understanding of social systems is here applied to the Anglican Church. We enquire, in this chapter, into the role of clergy in the restructuring of the building, how well the new bricks fitted into place, and whether any damage took place to bricks or building in the process.

Commencing Work

The normal pattern for commencing clergy, after ordination as deacon, is to be appointed as curate under the supervision of a senior clergy person (usually the incumbent of the parish to which the curate is assigned) for a period of between one and four years. Most are ordained priest during this time, usually after one year as deacon. There are many variations to this pattern, however. The one constant is that there is some degree of supervision.

There is a considerable literature on the subject of commencing work. Two approaches are helpful in understanding the experience of the respondent group. One, associated particularly with Becker and Strauss (1956), deals with the experience of work in general. Hall (1994:95-6) summarises this approach to "encountering work" as follows:

Here the individual must deal with the processes of managing outside conflicts, such as scheduling, demands from family, and demands on family – as well as work-related conflicts: management of inter-group role conflicts, role definition (that is, knowing one's role within the work group), initiation to work tasks, and initiation to the work group. These processes are strongly interrelated. For example, until people are integrated into the work group, they may not be able to perform work tasks well because information is withheld from them.

The validity of each of these matters will be demonstrated in some detail as the chapter develops.

The other approach – using the apprenticeship or mentor model – can be applied to professional work in particular, where a close relationship between neophyte and practitioner develops the beginner's commitment to the profession as well as technical competence. A positive and trusting relationship between curate and incumbent provides

an ideal realisation of this model. Hall (1976:76) describes this ideal relationship as one of "supportive autonomy," whereby the beginner is given scope to develop appropriate skills under creative and respectful supervision. In the experience of the men and women in this study, this relationship often failed.

Despite criticisms of the quality of supervision they received, a high percentage of respondents reported coping well with their new work. Their life experience and social skills gained in pre-ordination years were an advantage. One respondent wrote,

My ability to set goals, work to plans and achieve outcomes is something my previous work developed in me. This approach to work, which relied on me being resourceful, thorough, motivated, responsible and innovative helped me very much in my new career. The people skills I had developed ... were extremely helpful." (88,m,p,40)

When asked how well they coped with their new work, 85 per cent of respondents reported that they coped "easily" with their new work, while nine per cent reported that this was not so.

There are no important variations to this pattern when measured against each of the known variables – gender, diocese of origin, age at ordination, year of ordination, the possession of theological or secular qualifications, or theological college residence. This suggests that the difficulties that were reported sprang from either personal characteristics or local difficulties in the situations respondents were placed in. Many of the problems resulted from the respondents' relationship with their supervisors.

Supervision

The supervision of commencing clergy is an integral part of the Anglican Church's training and socialisation programme. Management theory indicates that, in job change, relating to one's 'boss' is especially important in that he or she controls the newcomer's work role by defining what is required and what may be left to discretion. Nicholson and West (1988:14) argue that this balance

can be thought of as akin to a length of rope between the boss and the subordinate: too short and the latter feels over-controlled, too long and she may feel neglected and unsupported, or even, figuratively speaking, hang herself! Maintaining a mutually acceptable tension is, of course, a dual responsibility, and the subject of continuing informal negotiation between the parties.

The length of rope given to respondents was a frequent cause of contention. The issue has less to do with the development of professional skills than with the emotional wellbeing of new clergy. Hall (1976:77-8) states that organisations need to allow for the emotional forces at work in new work situations, and claims that they "have tended to see personal growth as being independent of or irrelevant to the "really important" career development changes – new skills, abilities and knowledge." Changes in the motivational and attitudinal area are the most significant changes in career development at the stage of entering a new field of employment (Hall 1976:78). The intensity of some respondents' expressions bears witness to this claim.

Respondents' comments reveal that individual circumstances varied considerably, and that the quality of supervision was uneven. About one-quarter of respondents felt that their supervisors could have done more to assist them. There were variations to this pattern according to diocese of origin, age at ordination and gender. Rural clergy expressed a higher degree of satisfaction with their supervision than Melbourne clergy, as did those ordained at an older age compared with younger ordinands. Table 7.1 shows that female clergy were less satisfied with their supervision than men. Almost one-third of female clergy expressed some dissatisfaction with the assistance given them by their supervisors.

Table 7.1
Assistance given by Incumbent/Supervisor, comparing Males and Females

Statement. My incumbent/supervisor did all they could to assist me	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=59)	74.6	6.8	18.7
Females (n=37)	64.8	2.7	32.4

Some respondents reported favourably on their supervisors. The most frequently mentioned positive aspect was the degree of trust that some supervisors demonstrated, giving due credit for the maturity and experience of the people under their care. The delicate balance between controlling and allowing discretion to incoming clergy was achieved. One respondent reported, "My incumbent was terrific. He trusted me and gave me freedom to work and explore new ministries" (3,f,p,40). Others mentioned receiving support from Field Committees set up specifically to ease them into ordained ministry.

Nevertheless, critical comments were more common. For one respondent, supervision was minimal and advice seldom given (5,f,p,40). Another was disappointed that his incumbent assumed that he "knew all about it." "But I didn't!" he exclaimed (49,m,p,50). Another had so little direction from her incumbent that she found a mentor from another parish and paid for this external supervision (22,f,p,50). Several made less specific comments about incumbents who were "very difficult to work with" and "who made life difficult" (31,m,p,50). One reported such a loss of self-confidence as a result of her treatment by the parish priest and the parish Field Committee that, at her request, she was moved to another parish where conditions were much more congenial (39,f,d,50). Still another "had a Rector who was bound to his computer and produced reams of paper that gave me different instructions every day, usually meaning confusion of the expected tasks and ministry requirements" (97,m,p,40). In fact, 16 per cent of clergy reported that during this time of working under supervision they were confused about their priorities in their day-to-day work. One respondent was brought to the verge of resignation as a result of his treatment by the parish priest. "The only thing I was taught in the 2.5 years of my first appointment ... was what to do when celebrating the Holy Communion," he wrote. "I was frequently told that I should learn by observation." Further, he was treated in a personally degrading way. "I believe [my parish priest] took the concept of 'Assistant' to mean 'Servant,'" he added (64,m,p,50). Several reported not being permitted to conduct baptisms, weddings and funerals. Others suffered from over-regulation of their activities, resulting in a stifling of their own initiative. One reported:

[The Vicar] said, 'I'll produce for you each week the things you will do, and this is what your time-table will be, and when you visit you will only visit for half an hour per person, and I expect you to do x number of visits a day, and if you don't do your required number of visits in a week you'll make

them up on your day off, Saturday.' He was very controlling. ... He was trying to control too much the freedom of spontaneous ministry. (97,m,p,40.I)

Just as the quality most admired in supervisors was the ability to accept their charges as skilled and life-experienced men and women, so the quality most criticised in others was the reverse – the failure to recognise the newly-ordained as responsible co-workers, and the consequent lack of dignity accorded them.

The following case studies of Hartley and Thorne convey more vividly the reality of commencing work under supervision and also illustrate how dissimilar the experience of entering into one's first appointment can be. Two men of similar age – early forties – are chosen in order to eliminate gender and age factors – as far as possible – as an explanation of the differences in their accounts.

Ron Heatley: A Place in the Sun

Ron Heatley had been a teacher and educational administrator in Australia and overseas. He recalls his years in education as very gratifying ones, where he developed a 'consensus' style of operation. He was a life-time Christian and had been a server and lay reader in his local church. After acceptance by his bishop, whom he knew well, he was affirmed at a selection conference and went to theological college where he lived in with his wife and children. His college years were extremely happy ones for all of them. Heatley's wife, Melissa, has always been deeply involved in his work - virtually a ministry partner. Heatley was made deacon while in college and priested as he began work in a remote rural parish. He recounts the experience of his first appointment:

I started in [the bush], with my two years up there as curate and associate, with a fantastic priest – Albert Green – I couldn't have got a better bloke to do a curacy under. He was fantastic, and it was a great experience because it was a huge parish. ... There were three of us on the staff. The second year I was there, when the other mature-age curate came, I still say was the happiest year of my ministry because the three of us just gelled so well, and worked so well together as a team. That was a great experience to start with, and the people out there were so supportive. ... I suppose in some ways I'm a fairly easy-going sort of person. I mean, I don't get het up about things like changes in liturgy and insisting that the furniture's got to be just where I

want to put it. I'm quite happy to accommodate people if it seems at all reasonable. I think - having Melissa alongside me as well, for de-briefing - she's been great. I can come home at night and really share what's happened. And her role, too, in the parish. She certainly does very effective work.

We had a very small deanery. ... We were a little group and because we were so isolated we were very supportive of each other. ... And then I was involved in the Post-ordination training programme which took me down to [the cathedral]. A long day down there! The fellows in that - they were all fellows at that stage - that was a great group to be part of as well. I always got on well with the bishop, and [the archdeacon] was terrific. Apart from that, you would meet at inductions and those sort of things, so you didn't see a lot of other clergy. We used to have an annual week at Retreat House - clergy conference plus retreat. It was a family. That's what I like about the diocese. A small diocese, that you don't get in Melbourne. You get that family feel. ... I always felt the other clergy were supportive. ... I always felt like I was being cared for. I know there was politics amongst it. There was a fairly strong evangelical group, and some at the other end of the spectrum. At the diocesan level, it hasn't always been totally united and happy, but for me personally, I suppose part of it is that I've always been fairly middle of the road. ... I don't have very passionate feelings about keeping the Anglo-Catholic tradition going or whatever. The bishop was good to me. ... I thought that he and [the archdeacon] made a great team. ... Certainly, pastorally, I've got no complaints.

Not being the Rector and not having the responsibility, I was given the job of looking after two congregations. ... It's a great area. They're terrific people out there and I loved the time I spent there. [The place I spent most time] was great. I chaired their own little vestry, and they were really keen and enthusiastic to build their church up and to get young families in. So that was great. ... They were very open to ideas, so I introduced family services and we did all sorts of things with the kids, you know - we had pets' services and we had kids planting trees in the grounds with environment themes in the services and ... the Sunday School built up, and quite a few young families came in and got involved. Even though some of the vestry members were elderly, they had young hearts and they were really keen. They weren't sort of tied down to 'Well, we can't do anything.' ... They were saying, 'Look, you come up with an idea, we'll support you.' And they did. And the Rector, Albert, was saying, 'Well, I've given that patch to you to look after; you tell me what you're doing, and go for it!'

I've often thought since then I'd like to be involved in team ministry. I would quite happily play second fiddle to a good leader any time. That time out there just really showed how a group of clergy who are compatible and who respect each other's ministry - even though the rector obviously had to be the boss - just how effectively they can work, because you've got that wider range of skills between the three of you that you can bring to bear, and you can support each other. Being in a parish where you meet every day for Morning and Evening Prayer, and socially as well, and just the

opportunity to be able to talk through issues, and you don't get the isolation that the one clergyman can get.

Several aspects of this account may be noted briefly as contributing to the positive feelings of Ron Heatley's introduction to ministry. These include his success in his previous career, his easy-going nature and lack of personal ambition, the consensus style of ministry he employed, his enjoyment of teamwork, the strong support of his wife, the good relations he established with other clergy including his superiors, his relaxed attitude to churchmanship matters, and his respect for lay members of the church.

Neil Thorne: Stormy Weather

In his younger days, Thorne had held down a number of important but unskilled jobs, and had worked his way around the world. He belonged to church youth groups and worked voluntarily for one of the church's mission organisations, but his connection with the church was never close. His mission work, however, moved him increasingly into sympathy with the faith and with the church. His work became more and more oriented towards caring for disabled and underprivileged people. After encouragement from others, including his wife, a parish priest and friends, he began a theology degree, then offered for ordained ministry, and was accepted. His wife, Barbara, is a professional woman of some standing and has pursued her career independently of her husband, though is entirely supportive of his work in the church. Thorne's appointment to his first curacy some distance from where they had been living meant that Barbara had to resign her position and take an inferior job closer to her new home. He tells of his experiences:

We moved from where we'd been living while I'd been training, to [a plush suburb]. That was a chronic shock. It was the kind of suburb I'd never lived in. It was people I'd really never lived with. People who up till I entered the church probably wouldn't even have had a bar of me. ... Moving there I've often said was like an emigration experience. There were no social factors that were the same. I relied so much on my experience, and I was then put somewhere that was outside what I'd ever experienced. I'd always worked with working class and welfare people, people of a certain end and level of society, and all of a sudden I was with the rich dudes.

The vicar they put me with! Somehow I got to the end of two of the worst years of my life. By the end of that curacy, that vicar was only talking to me on the phone. In fact, our offices were next door to each other. If he wanted

to talk to me about something, he'd walk down to his house and he'd ring me up. We never got along. ... He made me feel like rubbish, really. He was very rigid in his thinking. There were certain ways everything had to be done. And I was coming with a whole sense of 'Be open and meet the needs that arise.'

The other difficulty [the vicar] had was we were within a year of each other in age. But everybody kept saying to him, 'Isn't it good you've got a young person there with you, somebody who's young and with a new younger feeling,' which I don't think went down very well. ... He was seen as old and staid and everyone kept saying 'Isn't it wonderful he's got this young man with some new young ideas.'

We got the bishop in within a couple of months and sort of said, 'Am I being punished or something here?' And he patted us on the head and prayed with us and said, 'No, no, no, we'll work this out. It'll be fine,' and went away again. ... I believed you just had to say yes and grit your teeth and get on with it. ... I had some skills at how to do that. ... I had enough self-confidence. I knew that a lot of what I felt I was being told was wrong with me wasn't wrong. It was just *me*. So I guess that maturity and experience said 'Don't accept that. You are OK.' ...

It was very difficult. We felt we'd gone through these four years which was financially very demanding of us and personally very demanding of us, to be sent into something that was that difficult to deal with. ... Perhaps it drove us closer together, too. ... It was demanding. It was a big ask. ...

Other than finding people who were generous enough to be supportive towards me, the structure of the church didn't offer much. There was no sense that they really understood what I was going through. There may have been options there that I could have pursued, but nobody took the trouble to tell me. Everybody must have known what it was like. I made enough noise about it. We do Post-ordination training and in that I talked with a number of examining chaplains, but my vicar was one of the examining chaplains anyway! He was one of the people running the support group that I should have been going to. Alan Bond once described racing for the America's Cup against the Newport Yacht Club as - when you've got a protest - it's like going to your mother-in-law to complain about your wife. And I had a bit of that feeling. I could only go to the colleagues of the person I would be complaining about. I'm sure they would have been supportive, but I didn't want to put them in the position of having to go against a colleague.

So I felt a bit bereft there. I felt the structure was not good. I felt the bishop was a dead loss. My dean was very good, but there was a limit to what he could do. ... There was only so much I thought I could expect in that situation.

Some potentially negative aspects of Thorne's experiences may be noted: the impact of his appointment on his wife's work, the social contrast presented by the new parish, the

contrasting personal styles of vicar and curate and the similarity of their ages, the ineffectiveness of the bishop in trying to resolve the situation, and the breakdown of the official support system.

Perhaps the most significant of Thorne's observations concerns his apprehension of a social difference between himself and the people of the parish to which he was assigned. The extent of his sensitivity is revealed in his use of such terms as "rich dudes," that parishioners "wouldn't even have had a bar of me" before his entering the church, and that the experience of coming amongst them was a "chronic shock." Thorne defines himself as being of a different social milieu from that of the parish, and, as Edgar (1980:22) comments, "... if people define themselves as middle class or working class they are likely to act the part." Thorne's contrary social identification with the parish may be seen as the primary factor in his sense of alienation, a sense that was brought into a more precise and painful reality by the personal difficulties that developed between vicar and curate. Cultural and individual elements combined to create an unfavourable occupational and personal situation.

These two dissimilar accounts of commencing work demonstrate the importance of interpersonal relationships in the socialisation process – a factor that was not provided for during formal training. Heatley and Thorne brought their individual personalities and attributes to bear on their work, but were not free agents in doing so, for they were under the constraints of supervision and seniority. Their variant experiences were due partly to the particular circumstances they were placed in and partly to their readiness to accept and adapt to their circumstances and the limitations placed on them. As regards their actual wellbeing, personal considerations loomed larger than occupational considerations. This bears out Brim's comment (1968:203) that "changes in the person demanded by the varied interpersonal relationships of his work situation over time are more significant than the informational learning associated with the performance aspects of a new job," and confirms Hall's conclusion, referred to above, that the most significant learning for new employees is in the motivational and attitudinal areas.

Certain aspects of Heatley's personality and background pre-disposed him to an uncomplicated integration into ordained ministry – his record of good standing and continuity in a similar occupation, his long-time association with the church, his

willingness to conform with the status quo, his emphasis on consensus and teamwork, and having a wife who shared in all aspects of his work. Krause (1971:50) points out that the question for understanding varying experiences of occupational socialisation is that of "ascertaining what part of the work experience is due to *occupational* membership and what part is a consequence of working in a particular *setting*, regardless of specific occupational membership." For Heatley, we may conclude that his professional aspirations and his occupational environment meshed closely, resulting in a highly satisfactory introduction to his new work.

Thorne, on the other hand, brought a different set of personal characteristics and previous experience to his work situation -- a varied but discontinuous work history, a tendency to unorthodoxy, a more personally aggressive temperament, and greater radicalism in thought and action. His wife was independent, occupationally. There was a potential situational problem in the age similarity between newcomer and supervisor, while a fundamental cultural difference existed in the social dissimilarity between newcomer and parish. In Krause's terms, Thorne found that his professional aspirations were in conflict with the occupational environment. The environment hampered the development of his professionalism.

The relationship between vicar and curate tested the church's ability to intervene successfully to overcome a situation of disharmony. For Thorne, there were personal and systemic weaknesses in the church's strategy for dealing with the problem. The bishop failed to resolve his difficulties and the support mechanisms he could turn to in the church were flawed. He was left feeling disillusioned and, in the absence of professional networks of support, resorted to those of his own making. Thorne and Heatley present very different types of incoming clergy. Heatley was pre-disposed to the norms and values of the organisation; Thorne represents a variant pre-disposition. Heatley's induction into the profession was easy; Thorne's difficult. The question arises whether the church favours the conformist over the nonconformist, and thereby entrenches its own conservatism.

Sector Ministry

Those who took up sector ministry after ordination had less direct supervision than their colleagues who entered immediately into parish ministry. Some were continuing in their former work situations, which made the transition easier, but a sense of disappointment remained that they were not fully savouring "what it meant to be a priest" (45,f,p,40,1). Twelve of the one hundred respondents were in sector ministry at the time of the survey, in either hospital or school chaplaincies. Only two, however, were working full-time in that capacity, both as chaplains in Anglican schools. The others combined chaplaincy positions with parish work or administration, or were part-time or non-stipendiary. Almost all the clergy in this category were women.

In recent years, sector ministry has been given greater recognition, especially in Melbourne Diocese. Candidates who express a desire to work in chaplaincy positions are given appropriate placements during training. A former requirement that clergy could not enter sector ministry until they had completed five years of parish ministry has been discarded (White 2003). There is a feeling of nonfulfilment amongst sector ministers, however, stronger in school chaplains than hospital chaplains. The ministry aspirations of hospital chaplains are more satisfied through the greater pastoral care opportunities in their day-to-day work. But from both sectors came expressions of regret that they felt themselves to be the poor relations of the church.

Their complaints are both local and systemic. In their work-places, they are distanced from liturgical and eucharistic functions, even where they have a parish placement alongside their chaplaincy work. One school chaplain noted, "[I had] no clear understanding of the priestly vocation, as opposed to being a teacher. ... [I was] answerable in matters of liturgy and religious education content to the school principal/council, so I was not really 'my own person'" (45,f,p,40). Another school chaplain with a half-time appointment found that the school expected full-time work (57,f,p,40). Yet another was required by her school to enrol for a Diploma of Education. She was disappointed to find that her work "was more about being a professional teacher than being an ordained minister" (59,f,p,40). The busy round of school responsibilities crowded in on them to the exclusion of their role as ordained ministers. Their calling as priests was not fulfilled:

I was teaching classes. I was Head of Science for a while. ... There were exams to mark, there were reports to write, exactly the same as teaching. ... Taking a lunch-time eucharist, that was the only priestly function that I did. ... I needed to step out of the teaching role in order for me to determine what it is for a priest that is different. (45.f.p.1)

Sector ministry chaplains believed that their work was undervalued by the church at large in comparison with parish ministry. One respondent related that negative comparison to gender discrimination. She wrote, "If I had been a male, I would have been placed in a parish, but I entered theological college when the debate over the ordination of women was still not settled" (59.f.p.40). Hospital chaplains appeared to find stronger support networks and clearer roles for themselves than school chaplains, although they, too, were apt to be made aware of the prejudices of others towards their positions, that "of course, real ministry will always be in the parish" as one was told (87.f.p.60). One school chaplain referred to what she believed was endemic bias in the church against sector ministry. She described her experience as follows:

It made me slip the list a bit because at the end of the two years curacy everybody else was getting moved, and I wasn't, and we contacted the Bishop ... and they hadn't even thought about it. ... So suddenly although you were still in ministry they dropped you off the circulation. ... You get categorised to a ministry as a chaplain. ... I thought this isn't what I became a priest to do. ... It's a bit like being on an island here. You wouldn't know what the rest of the church is doing. I can't get to many clergy things, and when I do go ... they tend to sit and look at you as having an easy job with long holidays and not really doing significant ministry. ... It's a feeling you get, and it's been said. ... Once I was in school chaplaincy I was categorised, and it's interesting, they don't see you as having the skills to go into parish ministry. ... In my fifth year here I was interested in a parish - it was a good parish, well-endowed - and they said the Bishop didn't want me, and I said, 'Why?' and they said, 'Well, because you're a school chaplain.' There was no way they were going to let a woman who'd only been in ministry for five years, and in a school, take that. (59.f.p.40.1)

In the last sentence, this respondent refers to three distinct areas where she felt subject to discrimination - her gender, the discounting of her skills because of her relative inexperience in ordained ministry, and her position in sector ministry as against parish ministry. Gender matters and inexperience in ordained ministry have been continuing themes of discussion in this study. Issues to do with sector ministry must also be

considered when assessing how successful the transition of second-career clergy into the working life of the church has been.

The perception amongst those in sector ministry that their work is less favourably regarded than parish ministry by those in the church at large is widespread. "The parish clergy are not the only clergy," noted an English commentator (Melinsky 1992:221), "even if they sometimes think they are!" Australian research demonstrates a bias against sector ministry amongst clergy of all denominations. Reference was made in Chapter 3 to Dowdy and Lupton's (1976) finding that Australian clergy downplayed social outreach activities, such as sector ministry, in favour of more formal priorities organised around a gathered community of worshippers. Hughes's 1989 survey amongst a wide range of Australian churches finds that tendency more deeply entrenched. "The churches are withdrawing from the world," Hughes wrote (1989:58). "None of those functions of the church which involve active work in society were affirmed by the clergy." Chaplains, then, are working in a field unfavoured by clergy generally. There is good reason for their sense of marginalisation.

The sector ministers in this study were reporting their experience as newcomers to ordained ministry. Their marginalisation is, then, to be seen in the context of their status as beginners in their profession. The issues surrounding this situation are discussed in the section, 'Commencing Work,' above. It may be noted here that the sense of marginalisation felt by those appointed to work in sector ministries as their first appointment can be interpreted in terms of both general sociological theory and attitudes embedded in the church.

Reception of New Ordinands

The question of personal relationships in their new work situation was of great moment to respondents. Most of the difficulties they reported were in the area of relationships with others, especially with clergy. This accords with the observation of Robbins (1978:96), who found that for job-changers in mid-life, "most of the failures stemmed from difficulties in dealing with other people and in developing satisfactory relationships with those who were important to them." The relationships of fundamental importance to

commencing clergy are twofold: with clergy colleagues and with the lay people towards whom their efforts are primarily directed. New clergy are also sensitive to the support they receive from the church as an organisation. Participants were asked to reflect on their reception as new clergy by these groups. Over 23 per cent of respondents reported feeling a lack of support from the church at this time, while the strength of support from clergy and laity respectively is shown below.

Table 7.2
Reception of New Clergy by Clergy Colleagues and Laity (n=100)

Statement	Strongly agree (%)	Agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree (%)	Strongly disagree (%)
My clergy colleagues were encouraging to me	16.0	52.0	12.0	16.0	4.0
The lay people I worked amongst were welcoming to me	65.0	29.0	5.0	1.0	0

There is a sharp difference between the way respondents felt they had been accepted by clergy as compared with laity, as seen in Table 7.2, which places the two responses side by side. Perceptions of lay reception are more positive than those of clergy reception. The difference of forty-nine percentage points in the 'Strongly agree' column is significant. It suggests that the welcome given by laity touched the emotions of the newcomers, while the clergy's welcome was more formal in nature. This is borne out in the discussion below.

Reception by clergy colleagues

Of the one hundred respondents involved in this study, thirty-six were critical of at least one aspect of their handling by the clergy they had dealings with during the time of their first appointment. Criticisms included a lack of personal encouragement, poor quality of supervision, lack of feedback on performance, exclusion from opportunities to practise liturgical and pastoral skills, and the discounting of previous experience. One respondent expressed the latter point succinctly in writing, "Having been a senior lay person in the

Diocese. I became the junior clergyman. Once my opinion was sought: then, I did not have to be consulted, only ignored" (63.m.p.40).

Table 7.3
Reception by Clergy, comparing Males and Females

Statement: My clergy colleagues were encouraging to me	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=62)	71.0	14.5	14.5
Females (n=38)	63.2	7.9	29.0

Female clergy had less favourable experiences than men, as shown in Table 7.3. The differential responses correspond with the finding of Hughes regarding the Australian scene. Hughes notes (2001:24) that females had less support than males from neighbouring clergy due in part to the established 'old boys' clubs' that existed there. There was also a significant difference in responses according to age at ordination:

Table 7.4
Reception by Clergy, comparing Age at Ordination

Statement: My clergy colleagues were encouraging to me	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Ordained in 40s (n=55)	61.8	14.5	23.7
Ordained age 50+ (n=45)	75.5	8.9	15.5

Table 7.4 shows that clergy ordained in their forties experienced less encouragement from established clergy than those ordained at an older age. This might be explained in psychological terms as well as career terms. Older entrants are more likely to have reached a stage in their life-cycle where they could accept the reality of limitations to their future professional development. Erikson (1963:267-8), referring to the middle and later stages of life development, argues that a worker is more likely to have passed through the stage of needing to establish his or her identity and to have a greater concern

for "establishing and guiding" others." Greenhaus and Callanan (1994:209) argue that older entrants to a profession could therefore be expected to be less interested in future leadership roles and more interested in productive performance for its own sake. Accordingly, those respondents ordained at an older age posed less threat professionally to existing clergy because they had few expectations of promotion to senior positions. Thus, established clergy might be expected to be more open in accepting them.

Professional relationships amongst clergy are influenced by the peculiar nature of the profession in that there exist only three orders of service, those of deacon, priest and bishop. In theory, these are not hierarchical, but are distinctive callings. In practice, however, with the exception of a small minority who feel called to the permanent diaconate, there are informal divisions of seniority within the profession. The great majority of clergy remain at the level of priest throughout their ordained career. In 2001, there were on the clergy lists of Australian dioceses, both active and retired, 336 deacons (most of them en route to being priested), 3125 priests and ninety-four bishops (*The Australian Anglican Directory*, 2001:18). The opportunities for promotion from priest to bishop are therefore very limited.

A system of senior appointments is superimposed on this three-fold pattern. These appointments include such offices as those of Area (or Rural) Dean and Archdeacon. Nevertheless, the clerical profession stands in contrast to such organisations as the armed services, business corporations and the Public Service, which contain a complex system of achieving seniority. Without fixed points to safeguard their informal seniority, it is understandable that clergy should develop defensive attitudes towards newcomers to the profession and that these attitudes should be regarded as unwelcoming gestures by some entrants into the profession.

Several of the men felt that established clergy "stood back a little" because of the newcomers' perceived lack of thorough theological preparation, worse still if they were "placed [in charge of] a parish straight away" as some in the country were (102,m,p.50). On the contrary, some men explained the distance they felt from their colleagues as stemming from the insecurity of established clergy in the face of often better-qualified newcomers. The disfavour was keenly felt:

I remember feeling surprised about the way many clergy were so protective of their perceived boundaries and position. In my innocence I was surprised by clergy battling issues that made no sense to someone coming in from 'outside.' I was surprised about the art of the 'put-down' that seemed to be adopted by some clergy. I guess, if there was a feeling of lack of support ... it was that I was tapping into a general issue among clergy – at the time I felt it more personally. (88.m.p.40)

This respondent draws attention to the subtleties by which distance could be maintained between established clergy and those commencing their ordained careers. Others had similar experiences. "There might have been the odd person," said another, "who has just felt they're on a different track, and they make that clear to you. ... You can tell just by the way they speak or the way they treat you" (15.m.p.40.1). One of the women explained how such attitudes could be brought to bear upon a female curate, and how she reacted:

From the male clergy there was a sort of an avuncular – they called you, 'Dear,' and some were anti-women anyway and therefore stiff upper lip about the whole thing ... and [the Vicar] was suspicious for quite a long time that I was going to take over. ... I had to swallow my pride. ... I had to learn to be at the bottom of the barrel. 'I've got to accept it,' I'd say, 'I've got to take it.' ... I could understand with my mind, and emotionally I just had to knuckle under. (22.f.p.50.1)

Another woman reported,

Mostly, we [women] were totally ignored even at clergy conferences, or days, or occasions at the Cathedral. The men clergy didn't seem to know how to relate to a woman clergy person. I'd walk into the room where all clergy were robing for a Diocesan occasion, they'd turn and look at who was coming in the door and then turn their backs on the two of us. I ended up robing in the street (21.f.d.40).

Witz (1992:6) uses the phrase, "discursive strategies," to explain the informal methods by which social closure has been practised by professional groups at an institutional level, especially on the basis of gender. At a micro-level, similar strategies may be observed in the actions and non-actions of clergy confronted with newcomers to their professional neighbourhood. Macdonald (1995:51), with reference to the practice of social closure, speaks of "those aspects of everyday life and behaviour which at first glance seem quite trivial until one realizes that these are precisely the clues that one uses all the time to place other members of one's society, in order to formulate one's mode of action towards them." Witz and Macdonald refer principally to the medical and para-medical professions

to illustrate the practice. From the evidence of respondents to this survey, the same techniques appear to have been applied in the clerical profession.

Reception by laity

Respondents reported receiving stronger support from the laity than they did from clergy and even from their own families, as indicated in a separate response. The tendency for men to report more favourably than women is again highlighted. The degree of acceptance is very high, but women were more hesitant than men to commit themselves to such an extreme response (Table 7.5).

Table 7.5
Reception by Laity, comparing Males and Females

Statement: The lay people I worked amongst were welcoming to me	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=62)	98.4	1.6	0
Females (n=38)	86.9	10.5	2.6

The more muted response from women may be due to the negative attitudes they encountered about the legitimacy of women as clergy. Lay attitudes to female clergy tended to become more accepting with greater experience of women's ministry, as can be seen from this comment: "... [B]y and large the laypeople soon recognised that I as a woman complemented the men. They were more concerned with the mundane rather than the theological -- would I cope with home and family and work?" (13.f.p.40). A good deal of restraint from female clergy might be called for. Another respondent reported that "in each of my placements there were a (very) few parishioners who could not accept a woman minister, but, by my showing respect and care for their position, in most cases if not all cases they were happy to accept my ministry by the end of the first year" (43.f.d.50). Several women reported that they encountered reservation, if not opposition, as they began their ministry, but that negative sentiment was won over with time and sensitive handling. "The majority of lay people are very supportive," wrote one

respondent during her first appointment. "Don't we usually get back what we give?" (91.f.p.60).

There was no significant difference in the level of acceptance given to those with varying levels of qualification. Lay people were equally welcoming to graduate clergy, those with diplomas, and those with no qualifications, and this applied to the level of qualification in both theological and secular fields. Indeed, the tendency, though not sufficient to be of statistical significance, was for the least qualified to be the most warmly received. It would appear that people in the church may be less interested in the professional standards of their pastors as is the church hierarchy. The desire of the group under study when in theological college to seek training as pastors rather than to pursue academic excellence may be justified.

Reception by the organisation

At a wider level, respondents' criticisms of the church's role during the settling-in period ranged from capricious decision-making by senior clergy, lack of trust in bishops' concern for their welfare, the sidelining of issues raised by new clergy, limited response to appeals for help, to the inadequacy or non-existence of support structures. Some made reference to the better support systems they had known in their former occupations, such as nursing or teaching. Two respondents sought and paid for professional support from secular sources. There were several attempts to draw parallels between the church's methods of management and those of other organisations. One compared the politics she witnessed in the Anglican Church to those she had seen in the Australian Labor Party, arguing that factionalism and nepotism in both organisations militated against good leadership (96.f.p.40,1). Another likened authority in the church to that in the medical profession. "I don't think they're God, either," she said. "I don't think anybody's God, and that includes the hierarchy in the church. They have their failures and their weaknesses like everybody else" (90.f.p.50,1).

Criticism of the church's ability to establish satisfactory work conditions for commencing clergy can be read as an indication that there exists in the church an actual if unrecognised culture of discrimination against new clergy. From what respondents say,

there is a virtual ritual of marginalisation of newcomers. They are accorded peripheral status until they have proved themselves and/or acknowledged the informal seniority rankings that prevail. This is a process that acts against the best interest of the church in that it blunts the focus of new attitudes and entrenches the status quo.

Sargent (1997:3-4) refers to 'establishment sociology,' which, she says, "accepts the status quo and is largely uncritical towards it. ... Establishment sociology uses theory which explains and justifies the existing social order and its dominant interests." The church as an organisation has benefited from an establishment perspective over many years. Some have spoken of a 'halo effect' that gives the church protection from critical analysis. It has been argued that the clerical profession should not be analysed alongside secular professions because of its divinely-inspired nature. Durie (1981:43) refers pejoratively to those who "dislike this honourable calling being subjected to the somewhat vulgar and impartial gaze of sociologists." Sargent herself refers (1997:8-9) to the "myth" of religious organisations claiming to be "concerned primarily with supernatural rather than material things," pointing out that "variations found in custom, behaviour, values and beliefs" contradict that claim.

The evidence of the men and women who have taken part in this study provides ample evidence of the "variations found in custom, behaviour, values and beliefs" that exist in the church, and which are based on the foibles of human strength and weakness, as in all occupations. Bishops turn a blind eye to unfair practices; archdeacons support senior clergy against the just claims of junior clergy; vicars demean curates; men hold prejudices against women. People suffer because of inadequate support structures within the church; the gifts of new clergy are neglected; commencing clergy of mature-age are not shown the respect due to them as individuals. All these things are to be found in some degree within the church in the Province of Victoria and in Tasmania. The conclusion to be drawn is that the church is like other organisations in society and must be judged according to the same principles of justice and professionalism.

Supplementary Ministry

The Anglican Church has periodically experimented with selecting members of congregations to be ordained for service in their local area. This is often referred to as Supplementary Ministry. Typically, such clergy receive little formal training and serve in a non-stipendiary capacity, either as deacons or priests, and under a degree of supervision from more experienced clergy. This has occurred chiefly in the remote dioceses of North Queensland, Rockhampton and North West Australia. The system is to be distinguished from the normal pattern of appointing stipendiary clergy from a central source after extensive training and according to the resource needs of the whole diocese.

Ten per cent of respondents can be identified as having been ordained to Supplementary Ministry, almost all from rural parishes and predominantly from the dioceses of Tasmania and Wangaratta. Some continued in their previous secular employment after ordination and reported an easy transition to ordained ministry. "The people of this parish are very supportive of me," reported one man. "I didn't notice a very great change. All that happened is that I did different things and I had different responsibilities, but going from an open-necked shirt ... to having a dog collar didn't make much difference" (12.m.p.60.1). Another saw particular opportunities for ministry as a result of his new status. The same respondent wrote, "These years were a valuable part of my ministry. I always wore collar crosses to identify my vocation and often a farmer too embarrassed to seek help from his own priest or minister because he hadn't been to church for years would unburden himself to me because he perceived me as non threatening and non judgemental" (31.m.p.50). But at times there was a measure of reserve in clergy colleagues. One described his situation in this way: "I always felt that most of my fellow clergy, not all, stood back a little, which I feel was because I had not done my full theological studies which they had to do" (102.m.p.50). One woman reported experiencing ill-feeling from others based on age, gender and the informal manner of her selection for ordination, but in this case the resentment emanated from the lay members of her small, conservative parish rather than from clergy. She found herself being harassed by some of her parishioners, who "do not hesitate to lecture me when they think of something which annoys them" (91.f.p.60).

Thus, at a local level, there are delicate issues of receptivity from both laity and clergy to be considered when such people are ordained. At a wider level of consideration, the practice raises questions about the professionalisation of the church. The system has been defended on several grounds: it is in keeping with the New Testament pattern of ministry; it places the clergy concerned under the discipline of the church, as compared with lay assistants; it builds up the local church because it is 'locally owned'; and it provides continuity of ministry often lacking in rural areas (*The Bush Telegraph*, 1992:2). A former Bishop of North West Australia (Muston 1985:12, 13, 19) has written of the system, which he calls, "local priesthood," where clergy are recognised and nominated by their own congregations:

I would like to see each congregation truly a ministering community, sufficient in itself for the ministry that is needed in that local situation. ... Training for local priests can be done mostly within the diocese and without disturbing the regular life-pattern of those concerned. ... I do not see expediency as the reason for such local ordinations. It is not just a cheap way of keeping the ecclesiastical wheels turning. Nor is it just for those centres where a priest is not available. I believe that the life of any parish would be strengthened by the support of a small 'college' of local priests sharing with the Rector in the exercise of his ministry. It could be a sign to the whole Church of the ministry God gives to every baptised Christian.

Such ordinations and deployment of clergy, however, have been seriously questioned on practical, ecclesiological and theological grounds. Is this simply providing ministry 'on the cheap'? Can such supplementary orders be portable between parishes and dioceses? Are there, then, two kinds of ordination in the church, and two kinds of ordained ministry? Does the system lend itself to the development of an un-Anglican congregationalism? Can a local priest represent the fullness of the church and its traditions?

Undoubtedly, the non-stipendiary 'local clergy' covered by this study were satisfied by the system that produced them, and their work in ordained ministry was generally successful in a practical sense. However, the small scale of this pattern of ministry within the church, even in dioceses in the Province of Victoria where financial circumstances suggest it might be more attractive, is an indication of the strength of opposition to it. It would appear to challenge the ability of the holders of power in the church to control entry into the ranks of the clergy. The more decentralised the process of recruitment and

licensing, the more professional standards are threatened, and the less professional the church can claim to be. The limited development of the system of honorary ordained supplementary ministry in the church reveals something of the desire of the gatekeepers of the clerical profession, the church hierarchy, to maintain their authority.

Fulfilment despite Difficulties

At the end of their exhaustive study of medical students in training, having followed a group of students through to the point of their emergence as doctors, Becker et al. (1961:441) conclude that "immediate situations exert a compelling influence on individual conduct." Freidson (1974:89-90) makes the general comment that "quite critical elements of professional behavior ... do not vary so much with the individual's formal professional training as with the social setting in which he works after his education." Similarly, respondents' reports of their experiences during their first appointments as ordained workers for the church show that the diversity revealed there may be explained more by each person's circumstances at that time rather than by reference to general factors such as membership of the occupational group of ordained clergy or common values developed during the time of training. These commencing clergy responded to circumstances pragmatically rather than systematically. In Freidson's words, what they were was "not completely but *more* their present than their past" and what they did was "*more* an outcome of the pressures of the situation ... than what [was] earlier internalized" (Freidson 1974:90).

The practical fashion in which respondents responded to the challenges of their first appointment allowed them to find a high level of fulfilment in their work despite the difficulties they encountered. Respondents were generally more contented once they were at work than during their time of training. Thirteen per cent of respondents reported experiencing some measure of personal difficulty in their new work, as compared with the 33 per cent who earlier reported that their time of training was a time of personal stress.

The maturity of the group was of benefit, as were previously-developed personal skills. Respondents commented frequently that their maturity and life skills helped them in their

introduction to ordained ministry. Ninety-five per cent reported that their maturity was of benefit to them at this time. One respondent wrote, "I had had a lot of training in my previous work before ordination, particularly on people skills. My maturity and previous experience ... enhanced my ministry tremendously. I find I can touch base with almost anyone" (102,m,p,50). Another spoke of establishing respect from people who understand that "you have had a life experience and that you also come with that maturity into the ministry, but with the enthusiasm of being new to ministry" (15,m,p,40,l).

There was trauma for some, however, as illustrated in the case study of Neil Thorne, above. Hall (1976:66) refers to the 'reality shock' that may occur when the high expectations of commencing workers collide with frustrating on-the-job experiences. There was some reality shock amongst respondents. Most of the problems cited stemmed from work situations, such as dealings with supervisors, relations with other clergy, rudeness from lay people (felt especially by women), strain arising from working part-time in parish ministry and part-time in chaplaincy, confusion about priorities in day-to-day work, and personal abilities not being called upon. Other difficulties were indirectly related to work - isolation due to remote rural location, hostile attitudes extended to respondents' spouses, and family tensions, especially where there were children at home and both parents were at work. A particular problem existed for single parents with children at home. In one case, the children were sent to boarding school. In another family, recourse was made to counselling in an attempt to overcome tensions in the home.

Two groups reported higher than average levels of personal problems. Younger entrants to ministry tended to experience more difficulties. Twenty per cent of those ordained in their forties encountered personal problems at this time, as against 4.4 per cent of those ordained at age fifty or more. Female clergy also experienced increased levels of personal problems. Here, the agreement rate was 21.1 per cent, compared with males 8.1 per cent. Younger women recorded a very high rate of personal difficulties, 40 per cent of women ordained in their forties agreeing to the proposition that they were troubled by personal problems connected with their work during the time of their first appointment.

However, despite the difficulties encountered, few respondents expressed regret about their decision to enter ordained ministry. When asked if they had misgivings about being

ordained, ninety-three of the ninety-eight men and women who responded shrugged off the possibility. The five who admitted to some misgivings were from rural dioceses. In view of the difficulties referred to by many respondents, it may seem surprising that there was such a considerable affirmation of the career change that had been made. Such a response, however, can be explained in terms of overall job satisfaction being determined by the total response of an individual to his or her work situation. Herzberg (1968) observes that "factors involved in producing job satisfaction [are] *separate* and *distinct* from the factors that [lead] to job dissatisfaction" (1968:75-6). Hall (1994:100) writes that job satisfaction is "an overall emotional response that people have to their jobs." Overwhelmingly, the respondents to this survey found a satisfaction in their new work that overrode the considerable difficulties inherent in their situation.

Respondents frequently expressed this satisfaction in terms of having arrived at a desired destination in their life course. "I actually feel as though I'm now doing what I've been meant to be doing all my life," said one woman in her first parish appointment (106,f,p,40,I). Her thoughts were echoed by another, who elsewhere had reported extreme personal frustrations: "I feel very strongly that I'm doing the right thing for me to be doing – and that is a very sure and a very good feeling, very fulfilling" (103,f,d,40,I). Another said, "It's a journey thing. It's who I am to be for God. ... One has to be aware that this is God's territory, and you're just the agent, just the person who's put there for God's purposes"(45,f,p,40,I). A fourth respondent, who had enjoyed a highly successful secular career, commented about her new work in ordained ministry:

This is realler and engages more of me. For me, I do feel it's what I'm called to do. ... There was nothing wrong with [my earlier career], but it engaged the less fundamental part of me. This now engages me in a much deeper level, and I don't only mean an emotional level, but beyond that. It's my place, it's my calling. (57,f,p,40,I)

Immediate circumstances impacted strongly on these men and women experiencing their first appointment in ordained ministry, but they carried with them one important element that was ideational rather than experiential. That was their sense of being called by God to the work they were doing. This was a critical factor in their sense of satisfaction and fulfilment.

Summary

A large majority of respondents viewed their transition into ordained ministry as successful and a source of personal satisfaction. They found their professional and personal skills, as well as their maturity, of great benefit. However, the quality of their supervision was uneven. Some found themselves in distressing situations. The happiest circumstances were found where new clergy were treated as responsible and experienced workers. Conversely, the least happy circumstances occurred where their maturity and pre-ordination experience were neither recognised nor respected. Those in sector ministry made an easier transition, many continuing in their former positions, although they tended to have some ambivalence about their role as ordained clergy. The small number of Supplementary Ministers in this group found success and satisfaction in their work, but their existence calls into question the professionalisation of the church.

The welcome given to newly-ordained clergy was uneven. There was a disturbing level of coolness displayed by clergy colleagues. Similarly, there was a common perception of lack of support from the church organisation as a whole. By contrast, the reception from laity was warm and of great personal encouragement to the respondents.

Younger clergy found greater difficulty in making the transition into the ranks of the ordained than older entrants, while women were disadvantaged at almost every point. They often faced hostility on account of their gender, they were less satisfied with the quality of their supervision, they were less warmly received by other clergy (and also by lay people, though on a very different scale from clergy reception), and they had more personal problems. Despite the difficulties experienced, both men and women report an overwhelming sense of satisfaction in taking up their new careers.

Reflection

Berger (1963:87-109) has amusingly pointed up the way in which social constraints control the individual in all aspects of life, including work, so that "society is the walls of our imprisonment in history." This functionalist and deterministic way of thinking, he

explains, is akin to the Durkheimian view of humans in society, reduced to its most basic form.

The examination of the experiences of commencing second-career clergy in this chapter has revealed the pressures exerted on them by established structural elements in the church, such as gender discrimination, the system of supervised curacy, and the expectations of lay people. But it is a mistake to interpret the experience of these men and women solely in structural terms. Respondents made conscious efforts to shape their conditions and to determine their place in the operation of the organisation to which they now belonged. In the classic sociological distinction between agency and structure, respondents showed determination for the 'agency' cause and to take up a forward position on that continuum.

The issues are best understood by examining the local phenomena encountered by respondents. Their individual *sitz-im-lieben* was determined by the cut and thrust of small-scale issues, in which they themselves were active participants. Their aspirations were significant in shaping their situations. They sought to construct their own 'reality.' This does not necessarily mean they placed themselves in situations of conflict with the church, although that was the result for some. It means, rather, that they placed their individuality alongside the organisational aspects of the church, and so created their own social and occupational actuality.

CHAPTER 8

PROFESSIONALISM IN ORDAINED MINISTRY

This study has argued that in matters of individual professionalism clergy are to be measured according to the same standards as members of secular professions. Similar questions may be asked of them. How free are clergy to establish and follow their preferred patterns of work? What efforts do they make to maintain and improve their standards of ministry? What is the extent of their professional collegiality? In what ways have they absorbed the ethos of their profession? In examining these matters conclusions may be drawn about the professionalism of second-career clergy and of Anglican clergy generally. Similarly, in a professional sense, the church is to be judged as any other profession. Similar scrutiny may be applied. Is the integration of incoming clergy satisfactorily managed? Does the bureaucratic nature of the organisation limit the performance of clergy? Are there acceptable standards of equity and justice? Is a gender bias built into church structures? These are the topics pursued in this chapter. The matter of professionalism is not confined to this chapter. Some issues, such as questions of socialisation and gender, were touched upon in earlier chapters as they related to matters discussed there.

Before turning to the general issue of clergy professionalism, we observe how such matters have resonated in the life and ministry of one second-career clergyman. The case study of Cliff Klein illustrates his own professional values and reflects on the professional disposition of the church. The particular details of this account have been altered sufficiently to mask Klein's identity.

A Case Study in Professionalism: Cliff Klein

Before his ordination, Klein worked for over twenty years as an architect and head of a professional architectural organisation. He had always been involved in church affairs, but was in his late thirties when he felt called to ordination. This followed a period of

personal anxiety through which, he believes, he gained the maturity and stability to assess his life course and to follow his deeper inclinations. Marriage and parenthood were a vital part of his self-discovery. He explains his decision to seek ordination in this way:

I never felt that architecture was what I should be doing, even though I was reasonably successful at it. ... There was nothing wrong with architecture as a profession, but it just wasn't mine. It wasn't me. I'd moved on beyond that. I felt more able to be myself after my children were born. My years of grief and anxiety passed away with the joy of parenthood and I could be more myself. And being more myself turned out to be being a priest. I needed to be that age before all of that could come together.

Klein did four years of full-time theological study, followed by four years of curacy, before being appointed Vicar of a medium-sized parish in a central part of his diocese. He is a very able and articulate person, achieving first-class honours degrees in his own specialist field as well as in theology. He brings abilities developed in his secular career to his work in ministry, and is anxious that they be used for the benefit of the church. His secular training, he says, is most evident in the way he deals with managing change in his parish – in his ability to discern the need for change, bringing lay people to support change, and then implementing it. Yet he believes that the church has made little use of the technical skills he brought with him into ordained ministry. Because of his previous career in architecture he expressed a readiness to give assistance with several development programmes carried out in parishes and at diocesan level. Yet his expertise was largely ignored by the church and often actively belittled. Leading lay figures as well as members of the church hierarchy seemed distrustful of his talents.

In one instance, he recommended a course of action to the churchwardens of a parish with which he had a connection, only to have them disregard his advice and follow an alternative plan, at considerable cost to the parish. "The wardens there were very suspicious of my knowledge," he said. "One of the wardens in particular ... was very confused at the crossover between me being [a member of the clergy] and being able to give professional advice." In another case, Klein received an abrupt letter from a diocesan official after he had offered advice on a technical matter within his field of competence, warning him not to interfere in diocesan affairs. Repudiations such as these hurt deeply. At a personal level he feels "amused" and "irritated," but believes there is a general issue involved, with which the church must deal:

It's partly a suspicion that I would know anything, but also a *resentment* that I would know anything – a resentment that I could be both an ordained minister and have another area of professional competence. That's the resentment, mainly more on behalf of lay people. And I think it's to do with a bounding of what is sacred. It's all a part of the privatisation of religion and faith. I think it's an unwinnable battle, in a sense. ... It's deeply ingrained. It's not to do with me. It's to do with ingrained uncertainties and insecurities.

Klein's experience suggests that an ambivalence exists in the church – at the level of both official structures and the laity – about the right of clergy to exercise the professional competencies gained before their entry into the ordained ministry. This can be seen as a denial of gifts freely offered for the building-up of the church and also a reduced level of professionalisation of the church as a whole. The question arises as to whether clergy are to abandon their professional identities upon ordination, that is, to adopt another persona, or to offer their total professional capacities in the service of the church.

It has not been easy for Klein to step away from his former occupation. The things he misses are more personal and social than professional. He misses having his own home, the daily pattern of travelling from home to work and the regular contact with younger people and people of his own age. He explains his feelings in this way:

It's like I've migrated. I made the decision and I'm not sorry I migrated, but there are things about the culture of the church that I'll never feel quite at ease with, and I'll always miss the things I left behind. It's a sort of bereavement in a way, and it's also very strange because you dip back into that life. I still move in those circles. ... I was an architect for longer than I've been a priest. It isn't even as though I migrated from Sicily to Melbourne, and only went back to Sicily after twenty years. I still see that land I left.

Giving up his former work was easier than giving up his work environment, particularly the easy relationships he had established with other workers. Clergy collegiality, he believes, compares unfavourably with the collegiality he previously experienced. He regards diocesan clergy as being "in competition with one another," and "quite suspicious" of each other. "There's not a sense of collegiality among clergy," he claims, and adds, "I think if you hadn't worked as a professional in another area, you might not grasp the collegiality that normally exists in so many professions."

The lack of clergy collegiality to which Klein refers extends to "a hesitancy among a lot of priests to accept seriously ... anybody who trained as a mature-age candidate. ... their vocation isn't as serious." He interprets this in terms of the clerical life being essentially one of isolation and loneliness. "They [the second-career clergy] haven't suffered as much, maybe," he says. This perceived attitude is galling to Klein. His comments reinforce similar views expressed in the course of this study by several other mature-age-entry clergy.

The question of collegiality spills over into the area of the church's ability to see that fair practices operate in the workplace. For Klein, the church hierarchy too often accepts unprofessional behaviour in its workforce, especially from senior clergy. He offers a case in point to illustrate both the negative attitude of some established clergy towards newcomers and the church's limited determination to deal with unfair actions:

After I'd finished my degree they told me after I was ordained I was going to be the curate at [one of the diocese's more senior parishes]. The Vicar said, 'This man has a first-class honours degree in Systematic Theology. He'll never be any good in a parish. I'm not having him.' The Bishop couldn't budge him. He was really scared. ... I've done four years of theological training and four years of curacy and I'm still only learning on the job now. I was no super-ministry person to show him up. ... He'd never met me, by the way. We'd never spoken. We'd never had anything to do with one another. ... What irritated me in that was the lack of interest of the Bishop in challenging this man, this Vicar. You can get somebody saying that and the fact that he wouldn't even meet me, and the Bishop wouldn't really spend any time in bothering about it or try actually to solve it. In another work situation ... [the Vicar] would not be able to be unchallenged. They'd say, 'Well, meet this person' or 'They can be on six months probation' or 'Meet them and talk to them' He'd *never* be able to say, 'No. I won't meet them. I won't put them on probation.' And that's the kind of thing that still can happen.

Klein was speaking out of expert experience in his former profession. His judgement of the propriety of the church's dealings with individual clergy is also on the basis of his ability to compare the church with other professional organisations, and is similarly negative. He refers to promises not being kept in such matters as appointments and housing conditions, and the weakness of recourse procedures through the absence of any sort of tribunal or appeals process such as existed in his former profession.

The weakness of appeal procedures is linked, in Klein's view, to power in the church being exercised by personalities and elite sub-groups. He claims that

advancement – to bigger and better parishes, or becoming an archdeacon or whatever – has been mainly by attaching yourself and grovelling to a very senior person – I've seen this politicking in the church – and/or attaching yourself to either the evangelicals or the liberal catholics. It's really like the faction scene in the Labor Party. ... Someone said to me once, 'Oh, well, you know, Cliff, you'll never get yourself on a diocesan committee. If you're not on a ticket, you won't get elected.' That's factually true.

He goes on to argue that many in the church have been seduced into a secular model of authority and management. He sees this as evidence of immaturity in individuals and unprofessionalism in the organisation as a whole. He believes that "a lot of people are fascinated by the politicking in the church." Many clergy who were trained when they were young, he claims, romanticise the secular world and have come to see it as the real world. Competence and familiarity with the real world is equated with professionalism. "They want to be seen as worldly and as knowing about money and power plays and so on," Klein explains. "For them, they are the marks of maturity." Accordingly, many church leaders in parishes and at diocesan level "just go with the managerial model" rather than assert their leadership as pastors or spiritual leaders.

Because of his occupational background, Klein is uniquely placed to compare secular styles of management with those of the church. His criticism of the church is that leadership tends to derive from secular practice rather than being authentically Christian. Adam (2001:6, 8) warns against this tendency in the church: "Some lead by *politics*. They are always working the system to gain advantage, always aware of possible ways to trade advantages, how to divide their opponents, and how to win. ... Those who marry the spirit of the age will be bereaved sooner than they realise!" Treloar (2001:37) recognises the intrusion of secular models into church management practices. "Secular models of leadership provide a most attractive pull," he argues. "They may hold out the promise of success in the world's terms and be more readily available to us." He relates the problem to the size of the administrative unit: "The task of critiquing secular models of practice in leadership becomes progressively more difficult, the larger the scale of church organisation." Treloar's ideal (2001:33, 37) is that management by church leaders should be marked by authority – which carries a moral connotation – rather than by

power, and that authority should derive from both 'intrinsic' and 'conferred' sources. Authority should rest upon "abilities, accumulated wisdom, life experiences, and existing relationships with others" on one hand and "a commissioning ... to a particular office" on the other. Klein's views fully support Treloar's position.

Klein's criticisms of the church and its administration come not from one disaffected with the church, but from one who is a very loyal servant of the church. In becoming a priest, he believes he "discovered the pearl of great price." "I love the church," he says. He adds, "I feel privileged and humbled by the people in the parish, and I love the Anglican Church, and I love the Diocese - and, yes, I do love the Bishop, even though I don't think he's a very good manager of the diocese." On his feelings for the church, Klein continues,

I love not just the silliness of the church, but its great persistence and the sameness between parishes, whether they're large or small, evangelical or liberal catholic or anything else. ... It's like trying to describe why you love your wife. I can list her attributes, but I could also list her shortcomings. I'm bonded to my wife, and I think I'm bonded to the church. We've shared so many experiences together. And I've found my place. I never felt I'd found my place before.

In these comments, Klein demonstrates the capacity to maintain joy in his work and loyalty towards the church, despite the criticisms he makes and the unsatisfactory treatment he feels he received.

Hirschman (1970:4, 38, 88, 92-3, 98) develops a theory concerning the relationship between dissatisfaction and loyalty and applies it to membership of organisations as well as to economic and political fields. He argues that as dissatisfaction with an organisation grows, a member will move towards one of two options - 'exit' or 'voice,' that is, they will either resign their membership or express dissatisfaction in a variety of ways. The greater their loyalty to the organisation, the more they will favour the 'voice' option. Hirschman claims that many 'loyalists' "will actively participate in actions designed to change [an organisation's] policies and practices, but some may simply refuse to exit and suffer in silence, confident that things will soon get better." Thus, loyalty acts to limit expression of dissatisfaction as well as to put "a brake on exit." Expression of 'voice' is reduced if members pay a "high cost of entry" to the organisation. Hirschman concludes

that "the reluctance to exit in spite of disagreement with the organisation of which one is a member is the hallmark of loyalist behaviour." From the point of view of the management of the organisation, Hirschman argues that there is a tendency for managers, in the face of expressed dissatisfaction, to "entrench themselves and to enhance their freedom to act as they wish, unmolested as far as possible by either desertions or complaints of members." This reaction tends to perpetuate the causes of dissatisfaction.

Hirschman's theory has been presented in some detail because the responses of participants in this study fit well with the lines of Hirschman's hypothesis. Most respondents paid a "high cost of entry" to ordained ministry in that they left successful careers in other fields to risk their futures in ministry. The high cost consisted of the possibility of failure or disappointment in their new career. When dissatisfaction with the church occurred, as it so often did, their loyalty to the church, developed in most cases over years of involvement, directed them towards the 'voice' option rather than the 'exit' option. Only one participant out of the one hundred in the present study expressed an intention to leave ordained ministry because of the church's dealings with her. Some respondents actively discussed the causes of their dissatisfaction with appropriate colleagues or members of the hierarchy; some "suffered in silence." Their devotion to the organisation enabled their loyalty to override their sense of grievance. As regards the organisation, Hirschman's theory is supported by the reported tendency of members of the church hierarchy to maintain the status quo by siding with senior clergy when responding to complaints by more recently ordained clergy.

The experience of Klein as outlined above bears out Hirschman's theory. By leaving his senior architectural position to be ordained, he paid a "high cost" of entry into the professional organisation of the church. He encountered actions by the organisation that caused him much dissatisfaction. However, the church did nothing to overcome the causes of his dissatisfaction, and, further, rejected his readiness to help the church through his architectural expertise. He gave no thought to resignation, however, largely because of his loyalty to the church. His loyalty overrode his sense of grievance. Several other aspects of Klein's experience will be taken up in this chapter, particularly concerning collegiality amongst the clergy, the relations of individual clergy with the hierarchy, the church's style of management and authority, and the degree to which clergy are enabled to utilise the skills they bring with them into ordained ministry.

Putting Gifts to Use

The second-career clergy involved in this study constitute a diverse group of people with a large variety of occupational backgrounds and a multiplicity of professional skills and personal gifts. In theory, the church should be enriched by the entry of such experienced people into the ranks of the clergy. The case of Cliff Klein suggests that professional skills are not always immediately welcomed. With regard to personal gifts as distinct from professional skills, most respondents felt that ordained ministry gave them scope to utilise these gifts. Indeed, the majority believed they were able to use their personal gifts better in their work for the church than they had in their former occupations (Table 8.1).

Table 8.1
Use of Personal Gifts in Ordained Ministry (n=95)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
I have been able to use my personal gifts better in ordained ministry than in my previous work	72.6	11.6	15.8

Results across the sub-categories of age at ordination, gender, and diocese of origin correspond closely with the figures shown in Table 8.1. Written comments show that respondents differentiated between the more general aptitudes associated with the personality of the individual and technical competency developed in secular work. Thus, the over 70 per cent who agreed that their gifts were better put to use in ministry were thinking in terms of personal abilities such as "leadership, organising, and a strong faith" (66.m,p,40). One reported, "My organizational skills/ time management skills and my ability to work independently and to set priorities were greatly beneficial to the ordained ministry" (3,f,p,40). Another wrote, "My teaching background was a plus. Communication skills, small group work, teaching/ preaching and skills in working with people generally were enhanced by this background" (77,f,p,50). Other skills variously reported as being brought into ministry from previous work experience included public speaking, team building, encouraging lay people, and the ability to seek solutions to

parish problems in a systematic way. The most frequent reference was to human management skills.

On the other hand, those who disagreed spoke more of their previous work-specific expertise. It was this experience that was believed to have been neglected by the church, as illustrated by the case of Cliff Klein. One highly-qualified woman described her frustration as a curate because her former skills in counselling and teaching were allowed by her parish priest to lie dormant (22,f,p,50,1). Later, when placed in charge of a parish, these skills were used to advantage. Another respondent related a similar experience. Again, the neglect of his talents lay in an incompatibility between priest and curate. He explains:

I basically found [the parish priest] fairly difficult to relate to. We shared nothing in common, and we got nowhere in anything that we sought to do together. I guess I just agreed to differ and stand back. ... I felt that this was simply the dark night of the soul. ... I wasn't going to go to war over anything with him because there was no point in it. He simply was in charge totally, absolutely. ... So I would then worship in other centres I could find comfort in. In fact I had a nice little stint with [another denomination], and they welcomed me with open arms. (51,m,d,40,1)

When there was a change of parish priest, this respondent was able to take a large part in parish affairs, calling on his skills of teaching and administration.

There is a quiet irony to be found in the claims by many respondents that they relied in their ministry on gifts which largely originated before they were ordained. It was noted in Chapters 6 and 7 that a major source of irritation to mature-age clergy during the selection process and in their first appointment was the reluctance of senior members of the church to acknowledge the personal and professional abilities they brought with them. They were often regarded merely as "empty slates" (77,f,p,50). Respondents clearly felt that the tables were now turned on those who held such views. As they continued in ministry second-career clergy began to draw on a large range of personal skills developed prior to their ordination.

Getting Ahead in the Church

The prospect of promotion is considered one of the 'extrinsic' determinants of job satisfaction (Hall 1994:100). 'Upward career mobility' is a basic element in the study of the professions, according to Pavalko (1971:111-2). The desire for professional advancement, however, must be applied with caution to the participants in this study.

The question as to whether respondents sought to make a mark in the church touched a sensitive nerve. Strong opinions were expressed. Many were indignant that they might have been thought to harbour ambitions of climbing the hierarchical ladder. Rather, as one declared, citing scriptural authority, their work was "a calling, not a job ... I look to be a servant, not one with seniority" (2,m,p,50). Their desire was "to do God's will ... not for a career" (7,m,p,40). Their aim was to "fulfil the call of God on my life ... not in climbing anywhere" (21,f,d,40). One respondent criticised 'preferment seekers': "I'm not much interested in seniorities and hierarchies, and it interests me to observe that those who are become somewhat aggressive and so obtain promotion" (13,f,p,40). Another reported, with studied indifference, "The honest answer is I really don't care" (12,m,p,60).

At the other extreme, there were equally intense statements of frustration with career progress. One respondent wrote, "I have been cheated and disappointed, and deprived of the positions my talents should have enabled me to fulfil – due to a bishop's malice" (8,m,p,40). Another claimed that "through my past experience and maturity I could be a much better bishop than many of the bishops in the church" (29,m,p,40). Women were more likely to be dissatisfied by the level of seniority they had attained, as shown in Table 8.2.

Table 8.2
Satisfaction with Level of Seniority

Statement. I am satisfied with the level of seniority I have attained	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=57)	84.2	5.3	10.5
Females (n=36)	63.9	19.4	16.7

There is a significant difference of approximately 20 percentage points between the rate of men's and women's satisfaction with their advancement in the church. Fewer than two-thirds of female respondents believed they had reached a desirable level of seniority or one which their abilities entitled them to. This response confirms the findings of Bouma et al (1996:23), who rated discrimination in appointments as the primary 'hurdle of femininity' experienced by Australian Anglican female clergy.

The 'hurdle of femininity' originates in the laity as well as in the church organisation. One woman explained her situation in this respect by writing,

In my own mind I've felt I'd be quite capable of becoming an Archdeacon. I knew that 'big' parishes would never call me as Rector – and you don't become an Archdeacon [in my diocese] unless you're rector of a big parish. Nomination Councils are not supposed to discriminate between male-female, married-unmarried, BUT we all know what goes on before the official meetings when the powerful gateholder MEN of the parish get together. (13,f,p,40)

Some, particularly female respondents, distinguish between being proactive and reactive in the process of professional advancement, that is, between actively seeking promotion and being ready to accept the offer of a more senior position. One respondent explained, "I had no ambition to move up the church hierarchy, nor do I have now; but it would be good to be able to exercise the gifts I have for the church – which has rarely happened" (100,f,p,40). Another wrote, "I reject the idea of the church as a place where 'career' means being able to 'get ahead.' I'm not interested in competing with career priests. On the other hand, I do want to contribute at a high level and I have considerable skills to offer" (77,f,p,50). Some women thought many male clergy were inappropriately ambitious, and found their attitude to advancement distasteful. One described her feelings as follows:

My calling/ordination is for me into leadership modelled on the footwashing narrative and example of Christ. I was amazed at how many of my male clergy colleagues would make comments related to higher office in the church. ... Quite frankly, I was quite disgusted by the number of colleagues who were so concerned to rise up the ladder. (68,f,p,50)

There were some expressions of quiet disappointment about missed opportunities to serve the church as fully as had been hoped. Although not typical of the overall mood, they represent a sizeable group of respondents. One man claimed to be unconcerned, but expressed regret about his professional advancement. "I was more anxious to be where the Lord wanted me to be," he wrote. "... But I felt I may have been overlooked in the making of some appointments"(47,m,p,40). Another pointed out that, having been ordained in his mid-fifties and then serving two full curacies, and with a compulsory retiring age of sixty-five in his diocese, his opportunity to be in charge of a parish was limited to five years (49,m,p,50). A woman in another diocese, keen to enter parish ministry, was not offered a parish position and drifted into chaplaincy. "I have become settled in school chaplaincy," she wrote regretfully, "and have given up seeking or thinking about ministry elsewhere" (59,f,p,40). Her attitude coincides with a further finding of Bouma et al. (1996:23), who listed "lack of support and respect for chaplains and chaplaincy" as another plank in the 'hurdle of femininity.'

Some reported a jaundiced attitude from established clergy, which had the effect of holding back their advancement. One wrote, "I was passed over for one senior appointment because my clergy colleagues considered I had not at that time earned my stripes. One clergy wife expressed the view to me that if I were appointed to that position, 'there would be a lot of jelly [jealous] babies in the diocese.' This was not a friendly warning" (93,m,p,40). Changing dioceses was seen as a barrier to promotion. One woman wrote, "I think clergy considered both [another clergywoman] and I to be outsiders. We'd both come from other dioceses. We weren't children of the diocese, and we were something of a novelty" (77,f,p,40,I). Another respondent had moved from another diocese and had also entered Anglican ministry from another denomination. He found a double difficulty:

I think some of the others found me a bit threatening because I asked the hard questions, because I'd come from a non-traditional source into the ministry. They found that a bit hard to handle. I've been to places they couldn't conceive of. Some of them couldn't see that it was relevant or of any importance. So there was a degree of that in some people. (58,m,p,50,I)

Another man responded with resignation and some disillusionment to what he observed in the church. He expressed his position as follows:

In coming into ministry, I consciously left 'getting ahead' as unimportant ... However I was quite naïve with the 'getting ahead' scene of the church – it is just as alive in the church as it was in the academic world. ... I can remember the feelings about my past experience and qualifications counting for very little in the new work arena and was therefore keen to get ahead to overcome having to start again. ...

I saw titles being more a reward for seniority and experience than for talent, vision or dynamic leadership. So ... late ordination was in some ways a hindrance to my career in the church, if career means getting to a place where I could have been influential at the Diocesan level. If career means doing as best I could in the place that God had me be, then my maturity was a great asset. ... It takes years of service to get near the top in the career of the church – if you start at 45 and spend the required 15-20 years to serve for promotion to Diocesan responsibilities then obviously maturity is a hindrance. (88,m,p,40)

The more thoughtful responses related the holding of particular positions in the church to the exercise of appropriate gifts, rather than seeing the question of advancement in the church simply in secular terms, such as that of 'upward career mobility.' However, the intensity of feeling shown over the issue of advancement reveals it as a major source of discomposure for respondents.

Hughes (2001:11-2) notes that Anglican female clergy hold proportionately fewer senior positions (priests-in-charge, archdeacons, area deans) than males, although the position is obscured by the fact that women are not ordained priest in some dioceses. He suggests that length of service is a greater determinant of seniority than either gender or age. Women, he argues, have not had the years of service to qualify for senior positions because of the recency of their right to be ordained. Alongside these considerations, however, is to be placed the finding of this study that female clergy are significantly less likely than males to report satisfaction with the level of seniority attained at the time of responding to the survey. Bouma (1996:36) concluded, "Women are less likely to have full-time stipendiary positions; less likely to have parish appointments; ... and are less likely to report satisfaction with the progress of their careers given expectations held" than males. He identifies (1996:36) a "pattern of differential negative treatment of women." On the basis of the present study, that remains a problem to which the hierarchy must give ongoing attention.

The issues touched upon in the foregoing discussion deal with the nexus between the horizontal and vertical dimensions of work. Second-career clergy have moved, in the horizontal sense, from one kind of employment to another. In the process factors to do with the vertical dimension are highlighted – advancement, attitudes to advancement, and barriers to advancement. Gender is shown, above, to be a determinant of advancement for second-career clergy. This is also the case in the wider sphere of work. Hall (1994:228) claims that “inertial tendencies” that prejudice opportunities for women’s careers to advance “will take at least a generation to be changed in any significant manner.” He adds, “Men in powerful positions will use [their] power to attempt to maintain their positions.” In the matter of gender discrimination, then, the clerical profession is shown to approximate other professions. The church cannot be viewed as a special case.

Putting Individual Objectives into Practice

The ability to follow one’s own objectives is an important element in the claim to individual professionalism (Ritzer 1972:65-7, 85-7; Probert 1989:55). A distinction must be made, however, between ‘free’ professionals – normally taken to mean ‘self-employed’ – and ‘professionals-in-organisation,’ who are salaried or stipendiary. Free professionals are more able to follow their professional objectives than those employed in organisations, who are subjected to bureaucratic processes built into the organisational system of administration and authority. There are, however, various constraints on those who are self-employed, as there are varying degrees of freedom of action possible for those working in organisations.

The term, ‘professional-in-organisation’ carries an implicit contradiction. Pavalko (1971:189) explains that “From the professional perspective, the impetus for work behavior is internal to the individual. From the bureaucratic perspective it is located in the organization’s goals and rules.” Tensions arise between the professional instinct of the clergy and the bureaucratic features of the church, that is, “when professional roles confront organizational necessities” (Barber 1963:25). Clergy are to be regarded as belonging to the ‘professional-in-organisation’ category, caught up in varying degrees in an inevitable discordance between their sense of professionalism and the bureaucratic aspects of their work situations.

Respondents were asked how far they had been able to follow their own objectives in ministry. Three out of four asserted that they had been able to do so, but many pointed to constraints imposed on them. Some of these constraints were built into the hierarchical nature of church government, described aptly in one response: "The Parish Administration Act and directives from the Registrar, Bishop-in-Council, Bishop, and Archdeacon defined much of how I was to operate. Parish Council needed to be convinced of my objectives, and then implementing them on parish culture was not always easy work" (88,m,p,40). This comment illustrates that there are limitations placed on individual initiative from both a downward direction – from the church as an organisation, and an upward direction – from the laity.

Little concern was expressed regarding controls flowing from the structures of the church. These were accepted as a standard part of professional practice. Control by laity, however, was understood to be negotiable and was the subject of much comment. Men tended to reveal a more uncompromising approach regarding the pursuit of their own ministry objectives. In that vein, one writes that his ministry style has been "both encouraged, supported and developed by church leaders and lay people, yet at times rejected because of traditionalism and/or legalism [of others]" (6,m,p,50). Others were dismissive of lay sentiment. One wrote, "My objectives have been limited by the laity. I have felt the reluctance of key people to change and to support my ministry" (63,m,p,40). Another reports, "When first in my own parish, I met with the people and put forward my objectives, only to be met with a brick wall ... Frustrating in the extreme!" (64,m,p,50). This response typifies the dogmatic attitude of some male respondents.

Women, on the other hand, adopted a more conciliatory approach. One writes that she has "tried to be sensitive to differing theological views when preparing sermons. This ... has helped people to be more accepting of me" (3,f,p,40). Another comments that "the views of lay people should be taken into consideration. ... The priest needs to make accommodation of the congregation's situation and theological position" (68,f,p,50). This more pliant viewpoint is demonstrated by another woman who wrote that she "is not sure what my objectives and preferences are, except to do God's will and uphold other people in their search for and work for God" (70,f,p,40). Another revealed her accommodating attitude in writing, "I was a lay person for a very long time. I haven't noticed too much of a 'them/me' situation anywhere I've been" (86,f,p,40). Nevertheless, women as a whole

reported that they felt less free to follow their own objectives in ministry than did men, as shown in Table 8.3.

Table 8.3
Ability to Follow own Objectives

Statement. I have been able to follow my own objectives in ministry	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=62)	82.2	4.8	12.9
Females (n=37)	64.8	13.5	21.6

Fewer than two-thirds of women could agree that they followed their own ministry objectives. This response, coupled with the more conciliatory approach of women, suggests that, rather than being unwillingly limited by the views of lay people, female clergy were more inclined to acknowledge the right of the laity to be consulted on ministry objectives and to incorporate lay views into their style of professional operation. This is consistent with having a less dogmatic approach than men to matters of ministry.

Two other variations to the overall pattern of response regarding the pursuit of individual objectives are evident. Clergy from rural dioceses felt more free to implement their own objectives than those in Melbourne Diocese by a factor of 8.5 per cent, while clergy ordained at age fifty or above felt greater independence in implementing their own ministry objectives than younger-ordained colleagues, this time by a factor of 19.6 per cent. In the group under study, then, females, metropolitan clergy, and those ordained in the lower age bracket felt most constraint in putting into practice their individual objectives in ministry. This can be seen as a reflection of differing attitudes towards ministry held by variant groups of respondents, but also of differing attitudes amongst lay people. Lay people have sought to influence the individual ministry styles of clergy particularly where clergy were female, working in metropolitan parishes, and ordained at a younger age.

The question of clergy implementing their individual objectives was approached in another way. Respondents were provided with a list of nine major objectives in church ministry, taken from an Australian Council of Churches survey of clergy, reported in Dowdy and

Lupton (1976:101-3). Respondents were asked to rank the nine activities, firstly in what they saw as the ideal order, and secondly in the order they found themselves giving priority to them in their work in ministry. The results were quantified by allotting nine points to each first priority, eight points to each second priority, and so on for all priorities recorded (Table 8.4).

Table 8.4
Major Objectives in Ministry, Ideal (n=86) and Actual (n=83)

Ministry activity	Score (ideal)	Ranking (ideal)	Score (actual)	Ranking (actual)
1. Propagating the teachings of Christ	729	1	649	1
2. Providing support for church members	580	2	626	2
3. Providing formal services of worship	562	3	607	3
4. Gaining converts at home	553	4	423	4
5. Missionary work of the wider church	462	5	308	7
6. Attracting new ministers	326	6	230	9
7. Providing social welfare amenities	323	7	339	6
8. Taking an active part in social and political problems	315	8	282	8
9. Raising money	151	9	343	5

The nine activities divide into four categories – evangelical, pastoral, social, and practical. In their ideal rankings, respondents have clearly given preference to evangelical (Activities 1, 4, 5, and 6) and pastoral (Activities 2, 3, and 7) objectives over the social and practical (Activities 8 and 9). Propagating the teachings of Christ is by far the most valued activity and raising money by far the least valued.

When it comes to putting these ideals into practice in everyday work, there is a high degree of correlation between the most favoured ideal activities and the most common actual activities. The four most favoured ideal activities are also, in the same order, the four most practised, although the most clearly pastoral of them (providing support for church members) comes close to equalling the most clearly evangelical (propagating the teachings of Christ). There are two principal differences between ideal objectives and actual activities. Respondents are unable to engage in some missionary activities (the missionary work of the wider church and attracting new ministers) to the extent they would prefer, while their least favoured ideal priority (raising money) is forced more upon them.

In general, these findings suggest that pastoral and practical aspects occupy a larger place in ministry than most respondents would prefer, and the evangelical focus, while still paramount, is somewhat less than desired. Social aspects of ministry are not considered of great moment in either the ideal or actual rankings. Second-career clergy come into ordained ministry with the objective of being primarily evangelists and pastors. For the most part they are able to put into practice their preferred activities, although practical necessities tend to intervene. The degree of overall correlation between ideal and actual is heartening with regard to both the clergy and the church. For clergy there is no large discrepancy between personal ideals and the harsh reality of everyday work. For the church, the direction of mission – as reflected in the activities of clergy – accords to a large degree with the personal preferences of clergy.

Aungles and Parker (1988:30) distinguish between professional and bureaucratic attitudes to work: "The professional tends to have a relatively low loyalty to his or her employing organisation but a high commitment to role skills. The bureaucrat tends to show high loyalty to the employing organisation but low commitment to role skills." This study has shown second-career clergy to be atypical in these respects. They do not demonstrate such a sharp dichotomy between loyalties and skills. Rather, they place a high value on their professional skills, while at the same time displaying a high level of loyalty for the church – even though many are critical of its mode of operation. Their situation is to be identified more with a pattern found in Protestant clergy in the United States by Gustafson who described their situation as follows: "The minister is responsible to the laity in very immediate ways; but he also is responsible to God and to his denominational officials. He lacks a clear definition, however, of the relation of these authorities to each other" (Gustafson 1963:81). Respondents to this survey would want to add a fourth item to the mix of responsibilities described by Gustafson – that of a responsibility to their professional standards. Tensions for second-career clergy arise from the unresolved pressure of these various obligations.

Maintaining Professional Standards

The possession of distinctive systematic knowledge is the most identifiable of attributes in the claim of any occupation to professional status (Murphy 1990:71; Probert 1989:55; Abbott 1988:55). Goode (1969:266-7) reduces the essential characteristics of a profession to two "central generating qualities" – abstract knowledge and the ideal of service. The aim of continuing professional education is to maintain and extend the knowledge base of a profession. Hence continuing education – or in-service training – is a pointer to the professionalisation of the church.

The aim of in-service training can be stated in more practical terms – to upgrade day-to-day work skills. Many respondents claimed that their primary academic training – in theological college – did little to develop the effectiveness of their work in the field. Collins (1990:19) argues that for professionals "most practical skills are learned on the job." The experience of respondents confirms this claim. Thus, "mid-career training" (Becher 1990:141) in the church is important for practical reasons and as a guide to the degree of professionalism of clergy.

To meet the need for updating the profession's knowledge base and to enhance practical skills, the Anglican Church has given priority to training in the first years after ordination, but clergy training is also offered more widely to all serving personnel. When asked for their views on in-service training, most respondents endorsed the opportunities provided. Seven out of ten feel they have gained from such training (Table 8.5). Responses were significantly more positive in the case of males, clergy from rural dioceses, and particularly from those ordained at an older age. Clergy at the upper end of the age spectrum are looking for both the collegiality and the skills training provided by post-ordination training.

Table 8.5
Benefit gained from Training Days and Conferences (n=97)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
I have gained much benefit from clergy training days and conferences	70.1	11.3%	18.6

Many voiced criticisms of in-service training, often couched in general terms: training was "unstructured and dependent on the priest's own desire to advance one's skills" (71,m,p,40); "information passed on was usually first line management when middle management is necessary to serve in a parish" (64,m,p,50); "clergy training days do not provide support for the priest evangelist" (67,m,p,40); or that in-service training "is pretty small fry, really" (86,f,p,40). Other comments, however, had more substance, most expressing the view that in-service education was insufficiently related to everyday needs. One respondent commented,

After I was ordained, I said, 'I would like to know how to run some marriage preparation interviews,' and we were given no help at all. So I had to go to some other people and say, 'Well, what do you do?' Now I would have thought that some blighters out there who were running this should have been able to say, 'Look, this is what I do. You adapt it to whatever you like, but this is the way I run it.' Now, I guess I'm the sort of person who wants to improve those sort of skills because it seems to me that marriages are always turning up, funerals are always turning up, baptisms are always turning up, Christmas comes around and Easter comes around, and stewardship needs to come around. So why don't we give people these practical skills? ... Or they get people to post-ordination training who are theorists and haven't necessarily done a good job on the ground. I thought some of it was OK, but ... there was a lot to be desired. (1,m,p,40,I)

These are serious criticisms in view of the claim that practical skills for professionals are generally learned on the job. Many second-career clergy, anxious to get to grips with their work in ministry found first that their primary training was too theoretical and then that their post-ordination training was similarly lacking in the practical assistance they needed.

One respondent spoke critically of the training aspect of rural deanery meetings in his diocese. His comments have the objectivity of one who remained in full-time secular employment and was able to view his ordained colleagues with some detachment:

[The parish clergy] have the advantage of going to workshops, seminars, and regular meetings the bishop calls. There's the rural deanery, where they all get together. They're a classic – the rural deanery. It's really a blokes' work day outing, where you have wonderful discussions about Mrs. So-and-so who's still running your church. I was quite amazed at my first rural deanery. They're blokes. It's all blokes. There's no women. I'm used to

being in a predominantly female environment with leadership roles by women and all of a sudden the blokes are in charge, totally. The agendas are so messy sometimes you wonder what's going to happen. We all adjourn for a wonderful lunch which is the highlight of the day – provided by the women! – and sometimes it just seems to be like they're discussing things like their car allowances, the telephone allowances, all those nitty-gritty material things. ... But then they're obviously important and that's when they get together to talk *shop*. And here I'm sitting and thinking, 'I wonder will we have a talk about some spiritual matters today. Will we talk about some high theology? And of course we don't. We never do. And I thought, 'Well, here you go – the secular person looking for a little bit more spirituality and probably the spirituality people looking for a more secular input. (51,m,d,40,l)

These comments reveal how male issues and style of collegiality can dominate clergy gatherings in some dioceses. They suggest, also, that interest in practical training may not be maintained over a longer span of time. Clergy who have gained experience over years of service may be more inclined to share particular concerns of the workplace rather than to improve their technical skills. This respondent, being non-stipendiary and in secular employment, had different needs from most commencing second-career clergy, and found his desire for spiritual input to be lacking in clergy training sessions. From his perspective, in-service training served a collegial rather than a theological, spiritual or practical purpose.

Other comments bear out the observation that in-service training has more to do with "networking" (53,f,p,40) with other clergy – the "table-top talk" (12,m,p,60), or "seeing other clergy at work or play!" (63,m,p,40) – than with receiving new information or developing professional skills. The principal benefit of training sessions was seen to lie at the inter-personal level. "Only other clergy," one respondent wrote, in relation to in-service training, "... can understand the concerns and practical problems I may have with regard to ministry" (45,f,p,40). Another respondent commented that "the benefit has primarily been in fellowship and gaining contacts/ meeting with other clergy" (3,f,p,40). One man, ordained in the upper age range and without qualifications expressed a guarded appreciation of training days and for the "fellowship with those priests who accepted you" (20,m,p,50). Meetings with other clergy could be occasions for discrimination, as already noted. In that vein, one woman agreed that she had benefited from training days

and conferences, "apart from never feeling a part of the group of clergy gathered for the occasion" (21,f,d,40).

The emphasis in respondents' comments on the value of fellowship during in-service training reflects something of the collegial isolation that some clergy experience in their work. This may be the explanation for respondents in the more isolated rural dioceses recording a more favourable attitude to clergy conferences and training activities than their metropolitan counterparts. Where lay attitudes seem misinformed or fashioned by secular principles and denominational support structures are weak or distant the gathering of clergy colleagues for a training occasion can be a time of both social and spiritual relief for clergy. In-service training thus serves many purposes and has some unintended consequences!

Academic Qualifications

While respondents criticised aspects of in-service training provided for them, many expressed dissatisfaction also with their own academic achievement. Barely half asserted they felt professionally qualified to their own satisfaction (Table 8.6).

Table 8.6
Need for Better Educational Qualifications (n=99)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
I have felt the need for better educational qualifications	38.4	10.1	51.5

Workers in the religious field possess low levels of professional qualification. Qualifications held by workers in 'Religion and Theology' have compared unfavourably with most other professional groups. Table 8.7 demonstrates the extent of the discrepancy. Second-career clergy in the present study are better qualified than the average for religious workers across Australia (36 per cent have degrees in theology), but

lag behind practitioners from the professions of dentistry, law, medicine, architecture and civil engineering. Also significant is the proportion of church workers (20 per cent) who have no qualification or have not stated one. This is far higher than for any comparable professional group.

Table 8.7
Qualifications held by Members of Various Professions

	Bachelor Degree	Higher Degree	Graduate Diploma	Diploma	Other Tertiary	None or not stated
Dentistry	82	7	4	-	5	2
Law and Jurisprudence	69	3	-	16	9	3
Medicine	69	4	22	-	3	1
Architecture	50	2	3	22	20	3
Civil Engineering	37	3	1	16	40	3
Computer Science*	12	1	2	3	37	40
Librarianship	11	1	15	18	52	3
Religion and Theology	10	3	1	41	25	20
Education**	6	1	13	44	25	10

* Plus 6 per cent Certificate in Computer Science

** Plus 1 per cent Certificate of Education

(Source: Department of Employment, Education and Training, 1988. Discussion Paper No. 4).

Collins and others argue that the acquisition of knowledge distinctive to a particular profession is not in itself important. According to Collins, (1990:18-9) the importance of the possession of knowledge lies in giving status to professionals in the mind of the public, thereby giving the holders a degree of authority as an occupational group. Torstendahl and Burrage (1990:3) contend that "[t]he ritualistic and ceremonial moments in practising their professions impress the laymen." They continue, with particular reference to the clerical profession, "Those who have the knowledge have also the

privilege of being in contact with a higher world ... that gives to these people a serene capacity that is the real background for the honours given to them." Our examination of both the knowledge base of clergy and the lessened respect accorded the clerical profession in recent years, however, suggests that the professional standing of clergy in society is becoming increasingly a shadowy reality and that the pursuit of abstract knowledge serves an internal professional function rather than one related to external professional status.

Some respondents in the present study revealed a simplistic sense of academic competency. One commented that "when I felt this need [of better qualifications] I answered it by undertaking reading and formal study" (82,f,p,50), while another wrote, "With what I do as Rector of this particular parish, I believe even my two diplomas ... are superfluous" (64,m,p,50). A third, without qualifications in either the theological or secular field wrote, "Life experience is what I learn by in my eagerness to serve the people and my God well" (102,m,p,50). The sense of needing to improve educational qualifications was greatest among those with least theological qualification and least in those with greatest qualification, and the same was true in regard to secular qualifications. There was much praise for the Clinical Pastoral Education programme, often done after commencing work in ministry. But some felt that time had slipped them by or that there were more urgent things to be done. One wrote, "I would like to do further study in the area of evangelism and counselling. But, I am too old (54) to bother at the moment. There are greater priorities in helping others" (63,m,p,40).

Respondents were also asked to state whether they felt they had kept up a satisfactory level of theological and professional reading. The result was indeterminate: 73.5 per cent asserted they believed they did so. The ones who were least sure of the adequacy of their reading were the most qualified academically, both theologically and in a secular sense. Perhaps they were in a better position to appreciate the need to keep up-to-date professionally. A common response to this question was that there was little time for professional reading, no matter how good the respondent's intentions. One respondent linked professional reading with in-service training: "Professional reading is very good, but for me, much more can be gained from it if there is the opportunity for discussion and exchange of ideas" (45,f,p,40). The relative lack of written comment on this issue would suggest that it is low on the list of respondents' priorities.

The conclusion is inevitable that second-career clergy are concerned primarily with the practical concerns of their everyday work. This is not a criticism. Rather, it is a valid position, and reflects the view of those like Moore (1970:135) who point out that a professional career is to be regarded as "a continuous learning experience, not the application of eternal verities acquired in youthful training." Goode (1969:282) argues that "most professionals do not use much of their abstract knowledge and perhaps for most problems do not really apply principles to concrete cases, but instead apply concrete recipes to concrete cases." In looking for concrete recipes for concrete cases, the respondents to this study demonstrate a legitimate concern for the work they are called to do.

Collegiality

The degree of professionalism amongst clergy was further explored by asking participants about their collegial relationships. Ritzer (1972:66) points to involvement in occupational culture through activity and commitment as a measure of individual professionalism. Vollmer and Mills (1966:159) describe "professional colleagueship" as an aspect of professionalism and a factor forming the public image of a profession. Freidson (2001:49) cites collegiality as a "characteristic of professionalism," while Russell (1980:23) places the solidarity of the clergy colleague group as one of the marks of professionalism in the church.

When asked about their relationships with their fellow-workers, just over two-thirds of respondents agreed they felt a sense of collegiality with other clergy they worked amongst. This result replicates very precisely the response to a related enquiry, where just over two-thirds indicated they received encouragement from other clergy at the time of setting out on their ordained careers. A significant minority in each case failed to experience collegiality or encouragement from their co-workers.

Of those reporting satisfactory collegial links, some were enthusiastic in their comments. "I was given every support that I possibly could," said one. "The deanery was exemplary. I had the *best* deanery! It was a fantastic deanery! I was there for five years. They were just excellent! [Clergy of the region of Melbourne Diocese] were incredibly supportive,

and continue to be so whenever I see them" (106,f,p,50,I). Another, who came into Anglican orders from another denomination, commented,

Anglicanism is a sort of caste ... and I was determined to make my contribution and to gain what I could from it, and I found that very delightful. I never fail to go to retreats and conferences. Synods I loved every year because it was partly that collegial thing again. I'd never discovered collegiality much before. The thing with Anglican orders – that was true collegiality. You wept with people, and I did with a few. That's true collegiality. (105,m,p,50,I)

Nevertheless, it must be regarded as disappointing that only just over two-thirds of respondents found they enjoyed satisfactory collegial relationships with others. Various factors were mentioned as contributing to negative responses to this question. Some felt their lack of qualifications to be a source of exclusion. One commented that he "sometimes" felt a sense of collegiality, and added, "After all I only had 12 months at [training college]" (20,m,p,50). Another said she found it hard to develop a feeling of collegiality because of her non-stipendiary and part-time status (70,f,p,40). Another reported that "[a]fter becoming a full-time priest ... I felt much more part of the team than in my non-stipendiary period" (99,m,p,40). One respondent commented that the level of collegiality he experienced locally did not compare well with his experience of mission work overseas (30,m,p,50). One rural respondent, through his remoteness, looked for support from clergy of other denominations rather than Anglican sources (63,m,p,40). Several respondents sought explanations in general rather than specific factors. One explained,

I would love to have a deep sense of collegiality and believed that this would have been so among women and men of God, but to me it did not exist. There is almost a siege mentality in parish ministry and I experienced this as quite unhealthy. ... Clergy want to have someone to listen to them, but often did not want to listen to others. The lack of collegiality was disappointing, but where I did experience a sense of collegiality, with a few clergy, the effect was liberating, affirming and helpful. (88,mp,40)

Two respondents claimed there is an inherent difficulty for clergy in developing strong collegial relationships. "There's something about clergy," said one. "It's very hard to really make friends with them. A few people I went to College with I could say I have a good friendship with, but we don't get together, and I guess that's because we're too

busy. There have been times when we've tried by having a little group, but it always seems to break down" (96,f,p,40,I). Another spoke as follows:

I think it says something about the willingness of clergy to give of themselves any more than they have to. Ministry in the parish is a giving thing. It's difficult to form friendships with other clergy unless you've known them through College ... because you have to give. You know what they're going through, and in your friendship you're looking for something where you can just blob. You're looking for a relief from all of that emotional demand ... and because people move around a lot I'm sure there's this mindset, 'Let's not get too involved here, because we'll be going soon and maybe we'll never see them again,' so there's no depth of friendship. (45,f,p,40,I)

These comments indicate that relationships amongst clergy suffer from demands placed on their time, the considerable emotional investment they make in their work and the short-term nature of many appointments. The term, 'anomie' refers to a situation of social participation where "the conditions necessary for man to fulfil himself and to attain happiness" are not present (Mitchell 1979:7). The absence of social ties is regarded as a principal factor in the development of anomie in individuals. Gustafson (1963:81) describes anomie as a concomitant of occupational life for Protestant clergy. The weak collegial links reported by many respondents in this survey contribute to a sense of isolation amongst participants, to which the term, 'anomie,' might well be applied.

Two variations to the overall response concerning collegial relationships are significant. Feelings of collegiality were stronger in rural dioceses than in Melbourne Diocese. Fifty-nine per cent of Melbourne clergy reported feeling a sense of collegiality with other clergy, compared with 74 per cent in rural dioceses. One Melbourne respondent pointed to competitiveness and church politics as two factors limiting collegiality in his diocese: "I sometimes feel that we clergy could help each other more and be less competitive. Churchpersonship still seems to play an important role which gets in the way of collegiality" (15,m,p,40). By contrast, rural respondents made frequent reference to the absence of party divisions in their respective dioceses.

Table 8.8
Sense of Collegiality, comparing Males and Females

<u>Statement.</u> I have felt a sense of collegiality with other clergy I have worked amongst	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=62)	71.0	21.0	8.0
Females (n=37)	64.9	5.4	29.7

A variation according to gender was also apparent. Female clergy had sharply divergent negative views compared with males. Table 8.8 reveals that men's views on collegiality were more ambivalent, but only 8 per cent declared that they lacked some sense of collegiality. Women had stronger and more negative feelings, approximately 30 per cent reporting a perceived lack of collegiality in their relationship with other clergy. The less fortunate experience of women in this regard is confirmed by another response where respondents were asked whether they had "sometimes" experienced antipathy from clerical colleagues. There was a marked difference between men and women in this response also (Table 8.9).

Table 8.9
Antipathy experienced from Clergy Colleagues

<u>Statement.</u> Sometimes I experienced antipathy from my clerical colleagues	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=60)	41.7	8.3	50.0
Females (n=37)	59.5	5.4	35.1

Both men and women reported high levels of antipathy from other clergy. There is some evidence from Tables 8.8 and 8.9, however, that a sense of collegiality may be maintained in the face of occasional disagreeable experiences with work colleagues. It remains that women were more likely to meet with clerical antipathy than were men. This was particularly so for rural women. Sixty-five per cent of rural women reported some

degree of antipathy from colleagues as against 55 per cent of women from Melbourne Diocese.

It might be thought that antipathy to women is declining as the issue of women's ordination decreases in intensity over time, but, in fact, women reporting antipathy represent a balance between the recently-ordained and those ordained in earlier years.

Half of those reporting meeting antipathy from colleagues were ordained in the years, 1986 to 1993, and half in the years, 1994 to 2000. It can be concluded that female clergy face continuing animosity from other clergy on the basis of their gender.

One conclusion that may be drawn from the foregoing discussion is that, apart from the regional and gender differences affecting levels of professional fellowship, the degree of collegiality experienced by individual clergy depends partly on personal factors and on the initiative of each person in seeking to develop collegial links. Indeed, much is left to the individual. There appears to be a systemic weakness in the church in that insufficient care is taken to ensure that professional collegial relations are facilitated for clergy generally.

This conclusion is confirmed by the response to another question, in which respondents were asked whether they felt themselves to be an integral part of their area or diocesan team of clergy. The result was almost identical with the return concerning the perceived level of collegiality, 68.4 per cent agreeing that they felt part of their local clergy team. The same sub-pattern regarding gender difference also applies. Remarkably, only 4.9 per cent of male respondents disagreed about feeling themselves to be an integral part of the team of ministry, whereas 29.7 per cent of female respondents did so. The woman's perspective was captured by one, who wrote, "I am happily involved in a couple of diocesan matters (AWA, Cursillo), but I don't feel this is as a team member – rather a certain responsibility is given to me as an individual. The diocese relies on such service, but I feel it lacks the collegiality of 'team'" (5,f,p,40). Another wrote, wistfully, "I can't say I've felt an integral part of the team, though there are some whom I know lovingly support me" (100,f,p,40).

Those who have entered Anglican ministry from other professions contributed valuable insights to the study regarding collegiality in the clerical profession. The case study of Alwyn Ward typifies this input.

Alwyn Ward, Ex-engineer

As a young man Alwyn Ward joined a small American-based evangelical sect. He studied theology at Bible College and held senior administrative positions in his church for some years. After gaining engineering qualifications he worked overseas and in several states. In that capacity he became Project Manager for some civil engineering construction works of national significance. In his fifties Ward became disenchanted with the political aspects of his work and moved interstate to take up less stressful work in the same field. At the same time he parted company with his church, having outgrown its "firebrand, hoopla American style." He began to attend Anglican services and eventually was moved to offer for ordination. He was accepted and served as priest-in-charge of several parishes until his retirement.

Ward believes that Anglican clergy for the most part lack an instinct for teamwork, in comparison with two other professions which he knows intimately – engineering and architecture. He recognises the possibility of a disposition to individualism in those attracted to ordained ministry, but thinks that much of the lack of teamwork can be traced to the type of training ordinands receive. He comments,

I have a real problem with theological training. ... It seems to me from what I see in priests that the emphasis is on the priest's relationship with God and liturgy and all that in their training. ... When I think of my own [theological] training – so much of what I did when I was at College was on my own [with] head buried in books, ... whereas when you do Engineering and Architecture and those sorts of professions there's a team approach to an awful lot of things. You get thrown together in classes and they say 'Here's a problem. Figure out how to solve it.' And there's three or four of you kicking ideas around and you come up with some sort of compromise, and you've got to argue for your point till you get some sort of sensible solution.

The approach developed in training is found also in the style of co-operative work engineers and architects are involved in throughout their working lives. Clergy co-operation seems poor by comparison:

Engineers tend to work in teams. ... You've got to learn to trade off and work together and share the glory instead of trying to claim it all for yourself. And here is another group of professionals (in inverted commas!) who really had no idea about how to work together. I'm not knocking their spirituality or anything else. There's just no concept that you could work together in teams, and while somebody might nominally be in charge you all get a fair sort of reward out of what you did – and the job was what mattered, not people's personal prestige.

Ward goes on to argue that the individualism he sees in clergy leads to an unfortunate tendency to arrogate authority to themselves and thus be seen as inflexible and coercive when in charge of a parish. He puts it this way:

I think there's a lot of people in the clergy who get to be rector of a parish and then become little tin gods. They're not willing to let anyone else get involved or make any decisions, and if they've got curates or somebody working with them, well 'they're the boss,' and the other person does what they say whether they like it or not. There doesn't seem to be the dialogue and ability to compromise and trade off and realise you haven't got the answers to everything and suddenly think, 'Well, this isn't the right way to do it,' and to say, 'Yeah, I'm wrong. Let's have a go at something else.' I don't see those sorts of attitudes in quite a few priests. And those attitudes come as second nature to engineers and architects, most of them, because of the way they work and the way they're trained.

Ward contends that the malaise he describes is widespread in the church. It is the norm, and exceptions stand out against the general situation. He ponders whether those who work from individualist prerogatives may belong to a personality type also attracted to ordained ministry. He continues:

I think there is a lack of professionalism in some ways in the clergy. ... Maybe it's the sort of people who become priests. It's the make-up of the animal that pushes you down this path. There's a few around who are good team people, but the majority aren't.

Ward's comments are highly personal, but come from an experienced and practical mind. His opinions are genuinely held and stem from much reflection. He sees evidence of a widespread inability in the clerical profession to work in easy collegial fashion, and argues that this trait develops in training, certainly by comparison with some other professions. It lends itself to authoritarianism in ministry, which he equates with a lack of professionalism.

In Anglican understanding, ordination to the priesthood brings men and women into membership of a distinctive order. Priests are set apart from the laity. One might expect a deep bonding to develop in such a fellowship. However, this aspect of ordained ministry is given little prominence by the church. A sign of this is to be found in the ordination service, where priests undertake to be loyal to those in authority over them and to serve loyally those they are set over (*A Prayer Book for Australia*, 1995:795). There is no mention of loyalty to colleagues in priesthood. Group collegiality is played down. The mutuality that is a potential source of affirmation and comfort occupies a minimal part of clergy consciousness and practice. This may be contrasted with other occupations and with other fields of ministry. Bloom (2002:138), for instance, claims a distinctive collegial identity for the Jewish rabbinate. He writes, "The rabbi belongs first and foremost to the rabbinic community and it is to that community he must turn for support and nurturing." Anglican clergy do not have such a sense of solidarity with their peers.

Freedom to Choose one's Work Zone

'Free' professionals may exercise a degree of freedom in choosing their own place of employment subject only to financial and personal considerations. Professionals in a bureaucracy, such as Anglican clergy, have the same personal preference for working in a particular location, but are under the direction of their employing organisation, which is driven primarily by the need to maintain effective functioning of the organisation. Where the employment strategies of the organisation coincide with the preferences of the individual, the sense of autonomy in the individual is confirmed. However, the personal needs of the individual will sometimes conflict with the needs of the organisation. In the church, the extent of resolution of this conflict may be taken as a measure of the benevolent nature of the administration and the commitment of clergy to their calling.

Respondents were asked whether their placements matched their own personal preferences. A majority of respondents (approximately two out of three) agreed that this was so. Some, however, bridled at the suggestion that clergy were entitled to personal preferences in such matters, as God directed their ways and they wanted nothing more than to follow God's leading. One respondent said she placed herself entirely at the

Bishop's disposal: "I never had preferences – I accept the appointments of my Bishop without question. At ordination I promised to come under the authority of the Bishop" (62,f,d,60). Another spoke of a mixture of worldly and divine motivations: "Some of the moves I have made were for financial reasons initially, but the perspective changed after taking up the appointments and I felt ultimately the decisions made were of God's rather than my own choosing" (47,m,p,40). On the other hand, some hard feelings were exposed about treatment by bishops. One respondent was "forced to the bush ... and attempts to move have been refused or thwarted" (8,m,p,40). Others spoke of being kept in curacies for inordinate periods or of remaining unhappily in parish appointments. Some women pointed out that because of family responsibilities they had not been able to take up appointments offered.

Those ordained at an older age were more content with their appointments, which reflected their greater freedom from family obligations as well as the number of older ordinands who served in their home parishes in a non-stipendiary capacity. A significant division existed between those in the metropolitan diocese and those in rural dioceses, as well as between males and females. These circumstances are indicated in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10
Placements in Accordance with Personal Preferences, comparing Melbourne and Rural Clergy, and Males and Females

<u>Statement. The moves I have made in my ministry have been in accordance with my own preferences</u>	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Melbourne males (n=17)	70.5	5.9	23.5
Rural males (n=45)	55.6	11.1	33.4
Melbourne females (n=20)	80.0	15.0	5.0
Rural females (n=16)	56.2	6.3	37.5

Rural clergy were less satisfied with their placements than their Melbourne counterparts by a factor of some twenty percentage points. The greater satisfaction of clergy in Melbourne Diocese may be attributed to the greater flexibility of appointments made possible by the larger number of parishes and the greater opportunities for sector ministry

in Melbourne. Women, especially rural women, suffer in comparison with men. The disadvantage experienced by rural women may be illustrated by considering the case of one rural diocese which has five women on its list of active clergy. One of these is non-stipendiary and works only in her home parish. Of the other four, two are part-stipendiary (though in charge of parishes), and all four have spent at least three months living apart from their husbands in order to take up their appointments. These circumstances arise not only from the lack of flexibility found in smaller dioceses, but also from the dictates of distance.

A significant proportion of respondents have experienced some limitation to their desire to work in situations which accord with their own preference, and so to their own sense of autonomy and satisfaction with their work. Rural and female clergy are particularly affected. Difficulties pertaining to the freedom of individuals to choose their own work location contribute to creating a general feeling of discontent amongst the clergy as a group. Loss of control over the circumstances of their employment possibly also reduces the overall level of professionalism in the church.

Personal Support for Diocesan Policies

Congruence between the policies of the church and the interests of clergy, that is, the level of fit between the expectations of individual clergy and the needs of the church as an organisation, can be taken to be a measure of individual clergy wellbeing as well as of the wellbeing of the church. Few would doubt that the degree of clergy support for church policies impacts on satisfaction with work. Hall (1994:104) argues that an individual's fit with an organisation's policies affects work satisfaction and contributes to more productive performance.

To measure identification with official policies, respondents were asked to what extent they were able to support the policies of their bishop and senior clergy. The result is shown in Table 8.11.

Table 8.11
Personal Support for Policies of Bishop and Superior Clergy (n=97)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
I have been able to personally support the policies of my bishop and superior clergy	60.8	27.8	11.3

The particular feature of interest here is the high number of those who recorded a 'Not certain' return. This is the highest 'Not certain' response made over the whole course of the survey, and would appear to emanate from the desire of many clergy not to commit themselves to a politically sensitive response in the format of a postal questionnaire. It could be argued because of this that most of the 'Not certain' responses indicate a negative sentiment about support for the policies of diocesan leaders. This hypothesis is given some support by an examination of the ages of the 'Not certain' group at the time of the questionnaire return, which shows that those in their fifties are over-represented by a factor of approximately 12 per cent. These respondents would tend to be those in mid-career and arguably more likely to make a non-committal response to a potentially sensitive question.

In their comments, some respondents took the opportunity to repeat deprecatory statements about their bishops. Several commented that their level of personal support for diocesan policies had altered as they experienced varying leadership styles in different dioceses or under different bishops in the one diocese. There was mention of the oath of canonical obedience taken at ordination, by which clergy swear to "obey your bishop and other ministers given authority over you, gladly and willingly following their godly and lawful directions," but little indication that it was necessarily applied at the level of personal support. Some intimated that their public and private responses to diocesan authority were kept carefully distinct from one another, or, as one respondent put it, "I feel the need to support my Bishop publicly, but tend to speak openly with him in private" (103.f.d.40). Another, far from the diocesan centre, wrote, "Whatever the Bishop required I supported enthusiastically if I felt it applied locally" (84.m.p.60). Another commented acerbically about diocesan policies, "Not sure what they were!" (29.m.p.40).

A significant incongruity of purpose has been revealed between second-career clergy and policy makers in the church. A recurring pattern is the apparent distancing of respondents from the official structures of the church and from official viewpoints. It demonstrates not so much disaffection with the church as indifference; the organisational church is respected, but not followed in all circumstances. In comments from respondents, this attitude is attributed particularly to second-career clergy. One put the position as follows, referring to those ordained in mature age:

They've brought fresh air into the church, but I think the hierarchy has found it difficult, because it's challenging. [Second-career clergy are] a threat in many ways because they have other views. ... They're not going to be pushed around. The church has to be, in their eyes, structured and 'do-as-you're-told,' 'you don't make waves,' and I think how great it is to have these guys coming in – and women – into the church. (28,m,p,40,I)

Some respondents cared little for the church's traditional patterns of operation. "I'm not frantic to hang on to the structures of the church," said one (45,f,p,40,I). "I don't like politics in the church," said another. "In fact, church as an institution bores me to tears" (28,m,p,40,I). "I won't kowtow to the bishop," another asserted (103,f,d,40,I). "I personally don't have a lot to do with the hierarchy," said another. "I can separate myself from the church and the hierarchy. They're there and I'm here. 'Stuff them,' I say; 'this is my work here with the people'" (97,m,p,40,I). These comments reveal a lukewarmness by many second-career clergy towards official aspects of the church. Their priority is to their work unencumbered, as they see it, by the organisational church. Respondents show themselves to be confident in their sense of maintaining a distance from official church attitudes, but remain loyal to the church in general and comfortable in its employment. Hall (1994:100) explains that "people have specific satisfactions and dissatisfactions with various aspects of their work. However, ... people can combine their assessments of these multiple dimensions into a composite satisfaction with the job as a whole." The ability of second-career clergy to encompass divergent attitudes towards their work and still maintain their allegiance illustrates that contention.

The Church's Dealings with Individual Clergy

The final matter to be considered in relation to professionalism is the manner in which the church acted towards clergy as individuals. If the church is to be regarded as a professional organisation it is to be expected that clergy would feel they received good support from the church, been given personal respect, and that the church acted in a professional manner towards them as ordained ministers.

In Chapter 7 it was reported that nearly one-quarter of respondents indicated they felt that the church had not given them sufficient support during their first appointment. Two related questions yielded similar results. The first enquiry was whether the church hierarchy had treated respondents with respect at all times, and the second whether respondents believed the church had acted responsibly towards them as individuals.

Approximately one out of four respondents indicated that the church at times had failed to show sufficient respect to them as individuals, and a further one quarter reported that on occasions it had acted less responsibly towards them than they would have wished. In both these responses, there was a considerable divergence between the responses of males and females, and also between those ordained at different ages (Tables 8.12 and 8.13).

Table 8.12
The Church's Treatment of Individual Clergy, comparing Males and Females
(Statement 1: m=62; f=37. Statement 2: m=60; f=37)

	Agree/Strongly agree (%)		Not certain (%)		Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)	
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
<u>Statement 1. The hierarchy of the church treated me with respect at all times</u>	77.4	59.5	3.2	13.5	19.4	27.0
<u>Statement 2. The Church acted responsibly towards me as a person</u>	71.7	56.8	8.3	8.1	20.0	35.1

Table 8.12 indicates that male respondents had a more favourable attitude towards the church's treatment of them than did females, the difference being more than fifteen

percentage points. The divergence over the same issues between those ordained at different ages is indicated in Table 8.13.

Table 8.13
The Church's Treatment of Individual Clergy, comparing Age at Ordination
 (Statement 1: Ord. in 40s=54; Ord. 50+=45. Statement 2: Ord. in 40s=53; Ord. 50+=44)

	Agree/Strongly agree (%)		Not certain (%)		Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)	
	Ordained in 40s	Ordained 50+	Ordained in 40s	Ordained 50+	Ordained in 40s	Ordained 50+
<u>Statement 1. The hierarchy of the church treated me with respect at all times</u>	59.3	84.4	11.1	2.2	29.6	13.3
<u>Statement 2. The church has acted responsibly towards me as a person</u>	52.8	81.8	9.4	6.8	37.7	11.4

Clergy ordained in the upper age-range thought more positively of the church in these respects than did those ordained at a younger age. The difference in this case was considerable, being more than twenty-five percentage points. In these matters, previously-identified patterns are reinforced. Women are more dissatisfied than men over the way in which the church has dealt with them and clergy ordained at a younger age are similarly more dissatisfied. Male clergy, especially those ordained at a later stage of life, are found to be more compliant. This research indicates that males escape much of the frustration and discrimination felt by female clergy.

While respondents content with the church's dealings with them chose to make little comment on this issue, some were at pains to set out what they saw as a proper relationship between the church and its clergy. "I don't think the hierarchy's that special," said one. "I don't confuse people with their office. Not always the right people are in the right office. ... I don't hate anyone or dislike anyone just because they're authority, but I do think people have to earn respect, always, whoever you are" (90,f,p,50,I). Another spoke in similar terms with respect to the church's record in promoting clergy:

I have confidence that even if, as human beings, the church makes mistakes with promoting the wrong people, that eventually we'll get all that sorted out. ... I do know that from time to time the Anglican Church makes mistakes in who it seeks as leaders, but I also believe that somehow or other God still manages to work in that. ... So I have confidence in the system and the process, even if it takes time to get there. (106,f,p,50,I)

These comments reflect a healthy understanding of the church as a human organisation, capable of encompassing the same strengths and weaknesses as any other organisation in society.

Most unfavourable comments were from women. Some referred to structural matters, such as the church's lack of support mechanisms for first-appointment clergy (96,f,p,40) and the lack of policy regarding "worker priests" – clergy who hold full or part-time secular positions alongside non-stipendiary work in the church (60,f,p,40). Most criticisms, however, concerned insensitive decision-making by church officials and adverse personal relationships between respondents and senior church members. There were references to diocesan decisions that resulted in family disruption, financial hardship and personal frustration. Several respondents reflected on the situation of having their welfare and career prospects at the disposal of the hierarchy. Bishops loom large in the consideration of most clergy and were singled out for particular complaint. One woman spoke of their "appalling insensitivity," and developed this theme extensively, placing some degree of culpability on the clergy for not asserting themselves more decisively:

Instead of people working in partnership, you get this acceptance of hierarchy. It's the hierarchy that's absolutely wrong. ... As a parish priest I naturally work with my team of people always. I don't throw my weight around like that. I don't think any of the women do. It's not the way we go about things. There is a culture in the Anglican Church where that is acceptable. In fact a lot of people expect it and accept it. ... If a bishop wants to throw his weight around and have secrets and not be transparent, then people allow it to happen. I think there's this expectation of oppression. ... Bishops make all the difference to clergy, really. A lot depends on your relationship with the bishop. The way it works is all wrong. ... The power of bishops very much depends on what is given him by those below. The real power is not to do with authority. It's to do with who's in the know and who's not in the know, and whether things are made transparent, made visible, or not. ... In the church they're not made visible, and you don't have the transparency. (22,f,p,56,I)

According to this respondent, patriarchy, lack of transparency, and a bureaucratic disposition to maintain power are embedded in the church, all militating against the benevolent exercise of authority.

Other comments were of a more personal nature. One told how she "experienced somewhat dismissive politeness rather than respect" (87.f.p.60). One man reported, "I was not respected; more than that I often felt judged" (88.m.p.40), while another claimed to have been "treated as an ignoramus, and denigrated on several occasions" (64.m.p.50). The more extreme comments are omitted here in order not to skew the general tone of response of the cohort as a whole. One respondent simply recorded a 'Disagree' response when asked about the hierarchy treating her with respect, and wrote alongside, "Hollow laugh" (86.f.p.40)! One disgruntled respondent who had previously made severe criticisms of senior church officials merely wrote, "You've got the picture!" (21.f.d.40).

The 'picture' that emerges is of a highly-critical and sizeable minority marginalised and hurt by the church. Of the one hundred respondents in all, forty-four replied negatively to at least one of the three issues explored under this head, that is, they either felt a lack of support from the church during their first appointment, and/or claim not to have been treated by the church hierarchy with respect at all times, and/or believe they have not been dealt with responsibly by the church. Seven were critical of the church on all three counts. Of the seven, five were women and all from rural dioceses. Humane and professional leadership from the church appears to have failed these people.

Summary

Professionalism and the lack of it are not absolutes. A sense of professionalism may be detected to some degree in any occupational cohort and in any organisation in society. In this chapter an attempt has been made not so much to make a judgement on the level of professionalism in either church or clergy as to describe the complex pattern by which strengths and weaknesses in this regard have been displayed by the organisation and by individual clergy.

The chapter has highlighted that a significant number of clergy have been restricted in their capacity to implement their own objectives in ministry because of pressures from within the system (the church) as well as from the client group (the laity). Collegiality amongst clergy is limited. The sense of belonging to an effective and like-minded ministry team is mediocre. Many have served in placements that were far from their own choosing. Strong criticisms are made of the manner in which bishops and other senior diocesan personnel dealt with respondents. Accordingly, the level of personal support for the hierarchy is lessened.

Significant differences emerge between clergy ordained at the younger end of the scale for this group (in their forties) and those ordained at an older age. Older ordinands feel freer to follow their own objectives in ministry, less constrained in their work by pressures arising from the laity, more supportive of in-service training, more content with their placement by the hierarchy, more accepting of the policies of bishops and senior diocesan staff, and more likely to report being treated with respect by church leaders. In all, they reveal themselves as more compliant and satisfied with their conditions of work.

Differences are also observed between clergy from Melbourne and those from rural dioceses. Clergy from Melbourne are freer to follow their own objectives, less restricted by lay attitudes, and more content with their placements than rural clergy, but experience a reduced sense of collegiality in their work. The respondents with the deepest sense of alienation from the hierarchy of the church are overwhelmingly from rural dioceses.

Significant gender differences also are found. Women are advantaged in being less constrained by lay attitudes and more satisfied with their placements than are men. On the other hand, men are advantaged by being freer to follow their own ministry objectives, experience a greater sense of collegiality, feel themselves to be more involved as integral members of local ministry units, and are more likely to be treated with respect by senior diocesan figures.

Reflection

Much of the discussion about professions relates to the exercise of power within occupational structures. Thus, Aungles and Parker (1988:95) conclude that "professionalism is not so much an occupational activity as the institutionalised form of control of such activity." This approach focuses attention on the professional-client relationship. To think in terms of the professional-client relationship as a relationship of power and therefore of negotiation has little meaning if one thinks in terms of practising clergy as professionals and lay people as clients. The concept takes on more meaning, however, if the church is thought of as a professional organisation and clergy as its clients. In this way, a basic difference is exposed between the clerical profession and other professions such as the medical and legal professions. The Anglican Church retains a structure of authority and discipline unlike any other professional organisation.

A further difference arises from the place of the church in Australian society. Clergy operate in an organisation whose membership is voluntary. Their primary client base comprises, in theory, the 21 per cent of Australians who say they belong to the Anglican Church and, in effect, the much lower percentage who are involved with the church's activities. The pressure to constantly enlarge and safeguard the client base – the reason why power is seen to be of paramount concern in professions – does not apply in the same way to clergy.

The professional relationship that engages the second-career clergy of this study is their relationship with the church, not their relationship with the laity. The hierarchical structure of the church ensures that this is so. Clergy see themselves as in a downward relationship with the church and in an outward relationship with the laity. After at least half a lifetime as lay people themselves, they tend to form a natural professional alliance with the laity. Their relationship with the church hierarchy is the locus of issues of power and contention in their professional lives.

CHAPTER 9

SECOND-CAREER CLERGY AS AGENTS OF CHANGE

In the very first words of *The Sociological Imagination*, C. Wright Mills (1970:9) describes how people's lives are circumscribed by their inability to understand or resist the impact of fundamental societal changes at work around them. "They sense that within their everyday worlds, they cannot overcome their troubles," he writes. "They cannot cope with their personal troubles in such ways as to control the structural transformations that usually lie behind them." Mills's starting point is that human lives are normally lived in reaction to powerful sociological forces beyond their control. Without denying the basic truth of Mills's understanding, it may be asserted that the social group in the present study stands out in contradistinction to his general assumptions. At least in the reorganisation of their occupational lives, respondents were agents of change rather than passive observers. At a relatively late stage of their working lives they chose a different future for themselves. Their experience is a reminder of the significance of 'agency' in the ongoing debate concerning the relationship of 'agency' and 'structure' in the shaping of social systems and individual lives.

In their comments on this transformation, a majority indicate they believe their actions to have been successful. The explanation of this belief would seem to lie in the 'calling' that in most cases led to their change of career and the resultant powerful sense of motivation to serve a cause beyond their own personal interests. This chapter focuses on matters to do with the whole course of respondents' lives and careers in the church since ordination – their contribution to the church, how their years in ordained ministry have affected their private lives and personal finances, changes in their personal faith and theological views, and whether the 'dreams and visions' they held when entering ordained ministry have been achieved. Respondents were also asked their views on whether the ordination of mature-age entrants should be encouraged in the Anglican Church. Some respondents had been ordained for a relatively short time. Therefore care has been taken not to interpret individual responses beyond the weight of experience they carry.

Contribution to the Work of the Church

Most respondents' recollections of particular successes and failures in ministry were assimilated into the overall memory of their effectiveness. The ultimate worth of an occupation is not the level of satisfaction a worker expresses regarding individual incidents or experiences, but the extent to which they are able to look back on their whole occupational endeavour with satisfaction, as having achieved something worthwhile in their own eyes. This principle coloured participants' responses to the question of their contribution to the work of the church, even where they were still actively engaged in the course of their ministry.

The sense of having contributed to the goals of one's employing organisation is an important factor in job satisfaction. Durkheim (1972:179) emphasises the worker's need for contributive purpose in his or her endeavours. He observes that, ideally, "[the worker] is not a machine which repeats its actions without knowing their meaning, but he knows that they tend, in some way, towards an end that he can see fairly distinctly. He feels that he is of some use. For that, ... it is sufficient that he perceive enough ... to understand that his actions have an aim beyond themselves." In the light of this comment, it is not surprising that respondents consider their contribution to the church as an important issue. The question of contribution was made more acute by the fact that participants had made a decision in mid-life to enter a new career. Because of this, the sense of contribution becomes a judgment on the original decision to change the pattern of one's life course.

The longer respondents had been ordained and the more they held full-time stipendiary positions, the more positive they were about their contribution to the church. Others responded modestly because of their lack of experience and/or opportunity. The most accurate picture emerges when respondents with four or more years of ordained service, principally in fully-stipendiary positions, are considered. There are sixty-eight respondents in this category (Table 9:1).

Table 9.1
Contribution to Church of those ordained four or more years and with Full-Stipendiary Experience (n=68)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
I have made little contribution to the overall work of the church in my diocese	13.2	11.8	75.0

Three-quarters of the more experienced stipendiary clergy in the survey group believe they have made a distinctive contribution to the church as ordained ministers. A minority report that they have offered little to the church or were not given opportunity to contribute. Some commented on particular aspects of their contribution, for instance that their influence had been local rather than on the broader church. Others commented on specific matters such as their achievements for women's ministry or Synod resolutions they had initiated or their work in school chaplaincy. However, the general nature of most comments indicates that people responded from a consideration of their service as a whole. One respondent spoke for many others: "I think we've made an impact on a lot of people's lives that only time will show. I'm quite comfortable that, you know, we put our shoulder to the wheel and did the best we could, and achieved some things" (58.m.p.50.1). Four respondents refrained from making a judgment on their contribution, believing that they could not assess it or preferred to leave such a judgment to God.

Hughes (1989:54-6) associates estimates of effectiveness in ministry, that is, contribution, with perceptions of personal success. Following Hughes, it appears likely that in this instance respondents based the judgment of their contribution to the work of the church on their feelings of the success they have achieved in particular roles. Hughes (1989:56-7) argues further that clergy gravitate to roles in which they experience most success. This group of respondents saw their ministry roles primarily as those of evangelist and pastor, as indicated in Chapter 8. It is difficult to measure success in these roles, particularly that of pastor, because of the imprecise nature of pastoral ministry. This difficulty must be taken into account when assessing responses to the question of contribution to the work of the church. We may conclude, however, that a large majority

of participants believe they contributed effectively to the work of the church and that their contribution was effected through the roles they particularly favoured.

This conclusion is to be seen in relation to the personal 'investment' made by respondents when they turned to ordained ministry in mature age. Sofer (1970:39) speaks of the sense of personal identification with a job that may be built up over a period of time. This sense of identity develops when workers have a feeling of contentment, the future work path is clear, and there is adequate recognition by people who matter to them. Sofer continues by saying, "Once the person has entered an occupation and stayed with it for a sustained period, he tends to regard it as part of him, or attached to him, something to which he has a legitimate claim." For the large majority of this response group, Sofer's observation rings true. However, one may feel for the minority who believe they made little contribution to the church. In most cases they have given up much to enter ordained ministry, and yet, by implication, they have little sense of identification with the new career they have chosen.

Personal matters: Family and Finance

Compared with most occupations, non-Catholic Christian ministry makes large demands on families. In the Anglican Church, most clergy are married and have families, work mostly from home, have a six-day working week with erratic and extended hours of work, including much evening work, and the nature of their work is often emotionally exhausting. There is an expectation that the clergy spouse—especially the clergy wife, will augment the work of the parish minister, and even that children of the vicarage will be of good behaviour. These features produce difficulties for clergy families in leading normal lives. They magnify stress within clergy families, and give urgency to the need for the clergy person to have good support from his or her spouse and also from other family members.

Respondents were asked about the degree of support they received from their families for their work in ministry. The response was mostly positive. One man described his wife as "an angel." Others referred to their wives as "partners in ministry." One said that his wife

"in a sense was ordained with me. I had the collar and did the thing, but she did the caring and the loving and much of the artistic skills and the human touch." One woman described her husband as "fantastic," another as "a huge supporter." Two respondents spoke of the pride felt by their families at their ordination service. There was little indication that respondents rejected the traditional concept of the clergy person and spouse making up a dual ministry team. Four, in fact, are married to clergy spouses. The level of support from families can be seen in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2
Level of Support from Family (n=99)

Statement	Agree/ Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/ Strongly disagree (%)
I had good support from my family	87.9	6.1	6.1

The high rate of agreement shown in Table 9.2 does not gainsay the anguish felt by those who lacked good support from family members. One respondent commented, "My family are non-believers. Alas." He went on to say that his wife "is becoming more anti-faith than she was. ... That's a burden to carry. ... but I can shut it out of my mind" (12.m.p.60.1). In another case, the husband found difficulty in adjusting to his wife's ordination. The respondent commented, "He always said, 'Look, you're an independent person. You do what feels right for you. But it was harder when I actually did it. It did threaten to move us apart. ... The emotional and mental adjustment of having a wife who was ordained was a fairly big leap for him." In this woman's case, the children rejected the church because of what they saw as the church's harsh treatment of their mother. "They've seen a lot of the distress that I've been put through," she said, "and they're very anti-church, all of them, which I find very hard. It's not as if they don't care; they're angry. I get a bit cranky with God about it from time to time. They're all caring, thinking people; they just don't like the institution" (103.f.d.40.1).

In another case the spouse was supportive, but the children antagonistic. One man spoke feelingly about the effect of his ordination on his children:

There was pain in my family which to this day I can easily get in touch with. Really, all my kids were wrecked by the move. They were in their late teens and twenties. ... My third son was screwed up completely by this. He'd gone to Christian schools, but he repudiated all that. ... I suppose the greatest sorrow of our lives is that all our four children are not functioning as Christians. They thought my ordination was weird. What I'd done was weird. They thought I was squandering what might have been a different sort of future for myself. [Our daughter] was the most hurtful one. She couldn't really relate to our religiosity. She came down once and sat in the Vicarage through morning service, you know, twenty metres away. We were deeply hurt at that. We didn't want to raise it and have a row with her. We just said that's part of the pain of our ministry. (105.m.p.50.1)

Despite the intensity of feeling expressed in the comments recorded above, it remains the norm that most respondents are affirmed by their families in their ordained status and over their years in ministry.

A significant proportion nevertheless reported that their entry into ordained ministry created difficulties in their home lives. Although nearly nine out of ten had stated they had good support from their families in their ministry careers, fewer than six out of ten reported that their family life had not suffered from their work as ordained ministers. Many specific issues were referred to. They include over-commitment to pastoral work (7.m.p.40; 90.f.p.50), interruptions to family life stemming from living alongside the church (29.m.p.40; 100.f.p.40), unreasonable demands from the employing organisation where the clergy person was engaged in sector ministry (59.f.p.40), having to move house frequently and re-establish friendship groups (31.m.p.50; 66.m.p.40), perceived ill-treatment by church authorities (69.f.p.40), the perverse demands of parishioners, (31.m.p.50), frequent absences from home (100.f.p.40), and worry over finances and the provision of a retirement home (31.f.p.40; 47.m.p.40). These are difficulties of considerable moment, and several might be experienced simultaneously. A career in ordained ministry potentially demands sacrifices from all members of a clergy family.

Personal finances were a common concern. Responding to a separate question, more than a quarter of respondents acknowledged that they were left "in a difficult financial position" as a result of their careers in ministry. Several female clergy reported that they relied on their husband's income to subsidise their own work (3.f.p.40; 21.f.d.40; 103.f.d.40). Two respondents charged the church with threatening their financial viability

by forcing them out of full-time ministry before they had reached retirement age (34.m.p.50; 47.m.p.40). The most common response, however, was that life was "manageable rather than difficult" (16.m.p.40). "The pension is adequate," wrote one retired respondent, "though I always enjoy any extras that come in" (82.f.p.50). There were several statements, especially from single women, to the effect that they were content to sacrifice financial comfort in the cause of their Christian ministry. "I have never looked for financial rewards. The Good Lord supplies all my needs," wrote one (62.f.d.60). Typically, financial stringency was met with patient resignation.

Men reported fewer family problems arising from their work than women, the margin being some six percentage points. Rural clergy, also, experienced fewer family difficulties than metropolitan clergy, by a similar margin. Those ordained in 1986 or later encountered fewer family difficulties, the margin over those ordained earlier being nine percentage points, which may point to an improving situation. There was a very large difference, however, when age at ordination was considered. The rate of reporting work-related family difficulties by those ordained in their forties was more than double the rate of those ordained at age fifty or above (Table 9.3).

Table 9.3
Effects of Work on Family Life, comparing Age at Ordination

Statement: My family life has suffered through my work as a member of the clergy	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Ordained in 40s (n = 53)	50.9	5.7	43.4
Ordained age 50+ (n = 43)	23.3	4.7	72.1

The lessening of ill-effects on family life as ordination age increases points to a major advantage in ministry for second-career clergy as a group. Family difficulties and distractions limit the ministry effectiveness of clergy at the stage in their life cycle when they are committed to raising and supporting a family. By the age of fifty most people have completed their immediate family obligations or find them greatly reduced. They are then freed to devote themselves more fully to their career objectives, which for clergy means being able to apply themselves more single-mindedly to their ministry.

commitments. Clergy ordained in mid-life, and especially after the age of fifty, are more likely to enter at once into ministry endeavours without the distraction of family demands. They have a double advantage over those ordained at an earlier age – the opportunity to apply themselves more completely to ministry, and possessing the accumulated maturity and experience developed in the course of their lives before ordination.

For many clergy, the years between age fifty and retirement are a golden age of ministry – secure in their psychological maturity, experienced in discernment, content with the level of their occupational advancement, relatively free from family diversions. Nicholson and West (1988:36) found similar characteristics in managers in the later stages of their careers. They report that they appear “more relaxed, fulfilled and less ambitious, and are less concerned with material rewards from work than they are with opportunities to influence and contribute to their environments.” One respondent gave voice to this aspect of late-career fulfilment in saying, “Although [my ministry] may be short in terms of years, I think in terms of depth it is very rich and rewarding – and very authentic, very real” (45.f.p.40.1).

Many of the survey participants, however, had experience of the stress associated with balancing ministry commitments with the domestic responsibilities associated with the earlier years of marriage and the raising of children. This, indeed, is a perennial subject of discussion amongst clergy and clergy spouses. Two clergy wives, not themselves part of the survey, highlighted the difficulties clergy families are liable to meet. The first is the wife of a former diocesan Director of Theological Education who contributed to discussion after her husband had been interviewed. She had brought up five children in vicarages. Her comments illustrate the pressures that younger ordinands and their spouses face during their earlier years as clergy:

If you're ordained at an older age, you both come to the job with more maturity. ... When you're younger you've got the strain of your new marriage and your expectations and all of that, and the strain of young children which is often the thing I found the hardest to cope with – having a houseful of young children, and all these other things that are put upon you. ... When you're older, you don't have that, and I would imagine you could approach it with a more united front. ... Financial problems is probably another cause for stress in younger clergy, especially in the days when we

had large families. It was a huge stress for us. One of our sons says he went to nine primary schools! And having to cope from the woman's point of view, having to cope with all these new schools, getting the children settled, and then all the related things – their activities that were always going to be changing, because you're in a new environment. ... I was involved in 'Clergy Wives' for years, and from a woman's point of view, the stresses and strains – I think they would have all, most of them, been glad not to have been in the position they were in.

These observations are a reminder that the maturity of both ordinand and spouse are important in coping with the strains of domestic life in the vicarage. They indicate also the extent to which stress falls on both marriage partners, even though it is usually the wife who bears most of the direct impact.

The second contribution came in the form of an unsolicited letter from the wife of one of the survey participants. In it, she describes the pressures faced by couples when one is ordained. In particular she points out that, in the case of male clergy, wives are inevitably drawn into playing the role of 'clergy wife':

A bishop I know accepted a sherry in the ordinand's home and stated blithely that 'the clergy wife does her own thing.' The clergy wife-to-be muttered, 'Tell me another!'

The family life of mature age ordinands can be expected to have settled into some sort of pattern. ... I personally feel that the priesthood is the most important vocation there is, but I wish also to have my professional (or artistic, or community) vocation respected.

In practice, if the wife has a strong sense of personal vocation, both ordinand and spouse will have to think more carefully about the effect on their relationship of the legitimate pressures and demands that both must face. There will also be some demands that one might describe as illegitimate. Both partners need to be open about this and agree to be firm with people who make unreasonable demands. I would suggest that ordinand and spouse together seek some consultation with an experienced Anglican marriage counsellor (as we did), and spend some time in the home of an experienced clergy couple. ...

I have heard clergy wives talking unhappily of moving house several times and each time having to create a new social circle. Also they feel insecure about not having a permanent home to retire to.

Taken together, the comments of these two women reveal the pressures that clergy families face – particularly those to do with raising children, frequently moving house,

the non-clergy spouse being expected to play a preconceived role in church affairs, financial difficulties, the question of adequate retirement provision, and the demands made on vicarage families because of their nearness to the church building and their role as parish factotums. They emphasise, also, that both marriage partners are caught up in experiencing these difficulties, and that the maturity and life experience of both is important in establishing a satisfactory pattern of family life. The comments help to explain how clergy ordained in their fifties or later might be less affected by such pressures and would thus report a lower rate of family stress than those ordained at a younger age, who are less likely to have resolved many of the issues noted above.

It may be concluded that there is a strong and continuing element of sacrifice in the lives of many mature-age clergy and their families. For some it was a willing sacrifice, as in the case of the respondent, reported earlier, who bore disruption cheerfully because she and her family had "counted the cost" and "were prepared to commit" (13,f,p,40). But others felt aggrieved and compared their willing contribution with the seemingly ungenerous attitude of the church. One who felt strongly that his family life had suffered through his work in the church wrote that he "felt a sense of anger welling up" in responding to this item. "I have known some wonderful ordained and lay people," he wrote, "but, generally, the 'sacrifice' of vocation has been used by the church in an irresponsible way. I had a sense of giving my life and energy to God's work, and I am still energised by that sense of giving, but I feel that the church takes the gift and with it takes away many rights as a person" (88,m,p,40). A similar animus against the church in this regard runs through the comments of a small minority of respondents. The great majority of respondents, however, were able to subsume any grievances they might have had about difficulties in their family lives within their overall positive feelings about their work in the church, illustrating once more the human capacity to make a positive judgment on one's occupational satisfaction despite the vexations experienced in the process.

For respondents whose home lives were under strain, there was the necessity of nevertheless attempting to maintain the appearance of personal and domestic stability. Ordained clergy have a calling to domestic life as well as a calling to serve God through leadership in the church. At their ordination (*A Prayer Book for Australia*, 1995:793-4), a

priest is called to be a model of "godly living," but also "the Lord's messenger." Their vocation is to be exercised as professional people in a public arena. The living out of their domestic calling rests upon – and often challenges – their personal faith and their understanding of God.

Theological Views and Personal Faith

Commencing second-career clergy are conscious of their duty to God, but are made aware, also, of their accountability to the church. Elements of both the divine and human play upon them. On one hand, they respond to a compelling call from God. On the other, they experience the process of socialisation into the general values of the church. Melinsky (1992:268) comments, "Clergy are there because they have, in the context of the Christian community, been given [an apprehension of the divine vision], together with the conviction that in some way they are custodians of it and responsible for its furtherance." Melinsky neatly ties together the call to ministry and the obligation of clergy to express their response within the framework of the church. Most respondents reach a form of compromise between the two motivations of calling and professional tradition, a compromise that necessarily entails change. Their original understanding of the faith and of ministry is modified, principally through their experience of dealing with people within their field of care in parish or chaplaincy situations.

There was a lively response to the question whether respondents' theological views had changed as a result of their experience in ministry (Table 9.4).

Table 9.4
Change in Theological Views (n=99)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
My theological views changed as a result of my experience in ordained ministry	40.4	8.1	51.5

Clearly, this is a topic of importance to respondents. They were divided on the matter, with a small majority claiming that their theological views had remained unchanged. It emerged from written responses, however, that participants had interpreted the question in different ways. Those who claimed there had been no change in their theological views tended to argue from a defensive standpoint. There had been no *weakening* of their faith. Those who agreed that there had been a change in their thinking tended to write of the ways in which their theological understanding had broadened. Some of the latter responses were along strictly theological lines, while others interpreted the question more in terms of their attitude to ministry.

The main theological thrust was that respondents had become less dogmatic in their views. One wrote, "I have become more liberal in my views as I've met with so many people who have not shared the same upbringing as I had and whose values, attitudes, motivations, priorities, etc. are very different from my own. I am happier now to move in grey and chaos" (13,f,p 40). Another reported that his views "developed, grew, broadened, expanded rather than changed per se. The orthodox base is still the same but I now have a greater ecumenical outlook" (6,m,p,50). Some found their theological understanding changing in line with developments in the wider church. One wrote, "1981-91 were years of great change. I changed my views on women's ordination, greater lay participation, etc" (8,m,p,40). Another who regards himself as strictly within the evangelical camp, commented, "I now accept people where they're at, work with them, and go with them to Christ. I'm not laying down hoops and hurdles for them to jump through and go over. I'm wanting to treat them as individuals. ... That really helped me to get a balance in my theological understanding between grace and law" (15,m,p,40,l). Another, firmly within the liberal fold, said, "I'm probably more liberal than I was. Instead of becoming more religious, for want of a better word, I'm probably less religious in that closed way, and more tolerant and open, and more inclusive, less black and white, theologically broader" (59,f,p,40,l).

One respondent differentiated between her theological views, which "had not altered significantly," and those relating to ministry which had altered "in the light of the realities of parish life" (53,f,p,40). This theme was reiterated by others – that their understanding of ministry had been reordered in the light of their experience in dealing with people.

This was well illustrated by one respondent who wrote, "I was very reluctant to claim a 'Theology,' out of the (mistaken) belief that this was really only to be found via study and book-learning. Fortunately, I was helped to realize that pastoral experience was the real road to a living and growing theology" (87,f,p,60). Another explained how he has begun to take a less authoritarian line in his dealings with parishioners: "Since I've been an actual vicar, sitting here in my own parish all alone, ... I've realised how much more I've got to listen to people who are arguing against me, and actually move towards their position, to evaluate and think, 'What are they saying that's right?' ... I've got to take their viewpoint and see in what ways it informs mine, and sometimes actually give up what I thought" (78,m,p,40,l). For another, the whole crux of the church's work has changed from organisation to ministry: "The church as an organisation is less important to me. ... The life led in the parish and by the parishioners ... is the real work of the church" (9,m,p,50,l).

Although the name of Bonhoeffer was invoked only once, the trend of respondents' theological views is towards his general position regarding the Church. Like Bonhoeffer, there is a distaste for organised religion. One respondent commented, "We are on about reinventing ordained ministry and being church, and I find it an exciting time" (65,f,p,40), while another went so far as to say, "The church as we know it - including Anglicanism - is dying. Thank God!" (63,m,p,40). Like Bonhoeffer, respondents ground their theology not in intellectualism, but in situations of real life. Their experience leads them not to reflection but to action. Like Bonhoeffer, the theology of respondents is an incarnational theology. The secular and the religious are not to be divided. They would give assent to Bonhoeffer's assertion (1981:91) that "The church stands, not on the boundaries where human powers give out, but in the middle of the village."

A considerable number of older ordinands, then, have been willing to broaden both their theological understanding and their approach to ministry in the light of their experience in the field. There is impressive evidence to rebut the charge of Archbishop Rayner (1994:14), previously quoted, that older ordinands lack "flexibility and adaptability." Rather, they showed themselves capable of regeneration. Their experience in ordained ministry made them more accepting of alternative views and less inclined to dogmatism. Their ministry became more people-centred.

In a related inquiry, respondents were asked whether their ordained service in the church had strengthened their personal faith. The overall response to this question is to be viewed against the popular concept of contemporary clergy struggling to hold on to their faith convictions. Wilson (1966:97), for instance, in an influential work, contributed to this understanding in referring to clergy who typically "become sceptical, and cease to believe in many of the things which laymen believe in as essentials of the faith." Some clergy have readily added to this impression. Ballis (1995:95) has described and questioned the tendency of clergy malcontents to stress the "cerebral, theological disaffection" of their position vis-a-vis their denomination. In almost every case, disaffected pastors used theological language to describe what were in reality personal and relational difficulties. Bodycomb (1978:128), however, gives some credibility to the picture of clergy struggling with their doubts in finding that over one-quarter of Uniting Church and Churches of Christ clergy in South Australia "had intellectual problems with the existence of God and the divinity of Jesus."

This study has not set out to measure belief or unbelief in the survey group. Nor, perhaps in typical Anglican fashion, did respondents volunteer many affirmations of personal faith in their written comments or in interviews. However, there was overwhelming agreement with the proposition that personal faith had been strengthened by respondents' years in ordained ministry. Eighty-five of the ninety-six responses to this inquiry were affirmative. Seven were 'not certain' and four replied in the negative. This inquiry about the strengthening of personal faith may be regarded as one of the more delicate questions to be asked in the survey, and it is possible that respondents' replies tend towards what they would like the researcher to hear or what they themselves would like to believe. The level of support for this proposition may be inflated. Nevertheless, there is good evidence for concluding that the experience of respondents' ministry tended to reinforce and deepen faith in God.

Several respondents made the point that their faith was maintained or even strengthened despite encountering unfortunate experiences. "I would have to say that ... I feel increasingly marginalised," wrote one respondent. "However ... my personal faith has been strengthened beyond what I could have imagined by ordination" (60,f,p,40).

Another who described a "failure of responsibility" by the church towards her went on to say that she believed that her faith had bypassed the church: "My experience ... has certainly changed my faith in God and the Anglican Church, but my faith in 'Creation' and the human place within it is stronger, better informed, more spiritual than ever" (69,f,p,40). The tenor of almost all written comments was that participants had come to a more robust faith during the years of their ministry. One concluded, "My personal faith has changed dramatically and it feels so much healthier, life-giving and real" (88,m,p,40). These comments further illustrate one of the key findings of the present study – that second-career clergy have continued to develop personal attributes in their middle and later years, particularly in response to the experiences they encountered in dealing with lay people in the day-to-day circumstances of their lives.

Job Satisfaction

In seeking admittance to the clerical profession through ordination, participants in this survey were not running away from unhappy occupational circumstances. As shown in Chapter 5, an overwhelming majority – over ninety per cent – claimed to have been happy in their last job before entering ordained ministry. Respondents were now asked to compare their level of job satisfaction during the first ten years of their ordained ministry (or less, in the case of those ordained more recently) with that of their work before ordination. A majority reported higher levels of satisfaction since being ordained (Table 9.5). In view of the personal commitment represented by the change of career in mature age, it may be thought disappointing that the rate of agreement was not greater. A relatively high level of disagreement and of hesitation (the 'Not certain' category) and also of abstention (five per cent of respondents) indicates an unwillingness to assent to the proposition by a significant minority.

Table 9.5
Job Satisfaction compared with Pre-Ordination Work (n=95)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
I rate my level of job satisfaction higher at this time than in my pre-ordination work	68.4	13.7	17.9

Several factors are to be considered in assessing the weight to be placed on the data shown in Table 9.5. The phrase, 'job satisfaction,' is capable of various interpretations. Some may have taken it to mean self-fulfilment or occupational fulfilment, others personal contentment, others an absence of negative indicators. Again, the assessment of 'job satisfaction' is a matter of personal feeling rather than of measurement. Emotions and the feelings of the moment can influence the response. In this particular inquiry, respondents are asked to compare two sets of feelings over a period of considerable time. That makes for a doubly subjective response. Respondents had previously indicated a high level of satisfaction with their previous employment, which is likely to reduce the proportion giving preference to their work in ordained ministry as a more satisfying experience.

As a result, too much should not be read into these figures. However, in a separate response, participants indicated that relatively few – about one in twenty – had misgivings about entering ordained ministry. This response applied to their feelings during the time of their first appointment, but there is no indication that it would not apply over the longer period being considered here. If a typical response could be elicited, it is that one's previous work was enjoyable and one's present work equally or more so. There was no hankering after a return to previous employment.

The variety of interpretations of 'job satisfaction' is revealed in written comments. Some wrote of their job satisfaction in spiritual terms, speaking in terms of their "gospel work" (6,m,p,50), or of their "joy in the Lord" and "bringing God's love into difficult situations" (7,m,p,40). But this was not necessarily an indicator of occupational fulfilment, as revealed by the respondent last quoted, who concluded, "Yet I know I fail

to move people closer to God, to faith in Jesus. Sometimes I wonder if what I do and say has any effect at all." Others were quick to point out their attachment to their former occupations and were hesitant to rate one form of work above the other (16,m,p,40; 31,m,p,50; 39,f,d,50). One refused to accept that a secular occupation could be compared with a religious occupation (63,m,p,40). The feeling of many respondents was encapsulated by one who wrote, "I have always felt that I am sometimes happy and sometimes not, but that priestly ministry is right for me, and that nowhere else would be right for me" (8,m,p,40). This is to affirm that occupational satisfaction in ordained ministry is not to be considered merely in terms of personal wellbeing, but in terms of fulfilment of one's calling to that ministry.

The comment of the respondent cited above that he was "sometimes happy and sometimes not," yet content in his second career in ordained ministry is another instance of the capacity of workers to come to an overall view of job satisfaction pieced together from positive and negative experiences. Further illustration is provided by the thirteen respondents who in written comments or in interviews reported circumstances in their ministry careers that brought them great pain, yet who agreed that their job satisfaction was higher since ordination than previously. One of these is Graeme Smith. His contrasting experiences demonstrate the varied elements that make up the complex of job satisfaction. His situation is similar to others who experienced the highs and lows of clerical life, yet claimed a high level of satisfaction with their work.

Graeme Smith

Graeme Smith and his wife, Catherine, are both steeped in the Anglican Church. Their life has been lived around church and church affairs. Catherine is regarded as an equal partner in ministry. Smith's first career was in teaching, and he remained in this profession until his mid-fifties. He was encouraged towards ordination by his Bishop, who said to Smith, "We need older people like you." Smith views his ordination as a natural progression in a lifelong commitment to Christian service.

After ordination, Smith served as curate in a fashionable suburban parish close to his home. The evangelical bias of the church was much to his liking. "I'm a Bible person,"

he maintains. His ideal is to "remain faithful to the scriptures and the Prayer Book, and to ordination, to the Word and Sacrament." His time in this parish was a high point of Smith's ordained career. He was in his element.

The couple then accepted a posting to an overseas mission station for some years. Here, Smith was in charge of a training school for indigenous evangelists. His work consisted mainly of gathering together lay and ordained pastors for short seminars consisting chiefly of Bible teaching and leadership development. Smith rejoiced in this work. It suited perfectly his evangelical churchmanship and his teaching skills. He was surrounded by enthusiastic Christian people. Again, he was in his element.

Returning to Victoria, Smith took up an appointment as minister-in-charge of a rural co-operating parish. Now events turned against him. Three factors in conjunction had been the basis of the success and satisfaction he gained from his ministry to date – he worked with like-minded people; he was able to give expression to his evangelicalism; and he was able to use his teaching abilities. None of these applied in his new position.

Smith's account of his disenchantment with his co-operating parish provides echoes of the process of clergy marginalisation described in Dempsey's *Conflict and Decline* (1983). "I was the only person there," he exclaimed ruefully, meaning that he had little or no collegial support. He found many of his people to be lacking in enthusiasm for the faith, and he missed the teaching and mentoring roles he had enjoyed in various circumstances over forty years.

Smith refers to himself as "an Anglican-born Anglican." As an unalloyed Anglican, he was unable to come to terms with the system of co-operation between the partners, the Anglican and Uniting Churches. "At times I wondered how Anglican I was," he said. "I had to be stepping back all the time." He found the system administratively cumbersome and confining. He went on, "I was responsible to two people – to the Presbytery and to the Diocese. And the Uniting Church way of running a parish is not the way the Anglican Church runs a parish. And so, what was my role? ... There were some difficulties; there were some conflicts." A leading lay person attempted to have him dismissed, and he was disappointed in the support he was given from his bishop.

Above all, Smith was unable to adapt to the less hierarchical structure of the Uniting Church. He explains the problem as follows:

The classic case is that you have a triangle, and the Anglican priest for better or worse is the top of the triangle. Within the Uniting Church it's the reverse. The lay people are the top of the triangle ... and the Anglican priest is the bottom. ... The elders have far more authority than the wardens do in an Anglican Church. ... I was just a member of Parish Council with just one vote, and the elders – they had the power. There was no thought of me, the Vicar of the parish, being chairman of the Council. So there was that point of leadership. ... So this kind of conflict would come in. ... This was a very difficult time for me. Very hard; yes, very hard.

Smith felt keenly his isolation from pastoral encouragement. For a long time he felt unable to approach his bishop about his problems. "The Bishop cannot be your pastoral counsellor and your employer at the same time," he said. "You can't really go and pour your heart out to the Bishop." His chief support came from his wife.

Smith's difficulties led to his resignation and retreat to the city, which was his natural habitat. At the same time he retired from active ministry. "We weathered the storm ... for about twelve or eighteen months," he says. "We knew at the end of the time there was a promised land in [the city]." Smith's reaction to his situation can be interpreted as the response of a dyed-in-the-wool clergyman, dyed in the colour of his own denomination and fixed on a particular strand within that tradition, unable to adjust to a situation in ministry where he was called upon to accommodate alternative approaches. Ordained in mature age and by then in his middle-sixties, he was insufficiently resilient to overcome the difficult circumstances he encountered. In that sense, he is unrepresentative of second-career clergy as a whole. From the organisation's viewpoint, he was placed in a situation which was so foreign to his personal and theological background that he was bound to find unhappiness and failure.

In his ordained career Smith found both joy and despair, success and failure. Yet he has no misgivings about his original decision to seek ordination. He believes his faith has been strengthened by his experience in ordained ministry. And he rates his level of job satisfaction since becoming a clergyman higher than in his previous career in teaching.

While two out of three respondents rated their job satisfaction after ordination higher than in their pre-ordination work, there were several significant variations to this response. Women expressed a higher rate of comparative job satisfaction than men (by a factor of 11.2 percentage points); clergy ordained at age fifty and above reported more positively than those ordained in their forties (by a factor of 6.7 percentage points); while there were quite wide variations of response from one diocese to another, with clergy from Gippsland, Wangaratta and Melbourne reporting higher levels of comparative job satisfaction than clergy from Bendigo, Ballarat and Tasmania (Table 9.6), although the number of respondents from Ballarat and, to a lesser degree, from Wangaratta and Bendigo is relatively low.

Table 9.6
Job Satisfaction compared with Pre-Ordination Work, comparing Diocese of Origin

<u>Statement. I rate my level of job satisfaction higher at this time than in my pre-ordination work</u>	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Diocese of Gippsland (n=16)	75.0	6.3	18.8
Diocese of Wangaratta (n=8)	75.0	12.5	12.5
Diocese of Melbourne (n=36)	72.2	16.7	11.1
Diocese of Bendigo (n=9)	66.7	11.1	22.2
Diocese of Ballarat (n=5)	60.0	0	40.0
Diocese of Tasmania (n=21)	57.1	19.0	23.8

Table 9.6 demonstrates considerable variations between dioceses. There is no metropolitan/rural divide. Rural dioceses show the highest and the lowest rates of comparative job satisfaction. These considerations suggest that over and above the variations of gender and age-at-ordination noted above, local circumstances play a large part in determining how clergy feel about their work in ministry as it compares to their work before ordination. The low rate of comparative satisfaction for Tasmania would seem to indicate that negative local circumstances play a more significant part there than

in other dioceses. (The number of returns from Ballarat Diocese is too small to draw a similar conclusion).

The frequency of critical comments about the church in written and verbal responses, coupled with the apparently contradictory expression of overall job satisfaction, bears out the validity of Ritzer's dictum (1972:185) that workers at the white collar end of the occupational spectrum tend to express dissatisfaction with their work situations, but not to be alienated in the sense of experiencing a "breakdown of the natural interconnection between people" (Ritzer 1988:22). We may conclude that it is common for second-career clergy to have experienced difficult situations at a personal or systemic level, but to have retained an attitude of support for and confidence in the church. In this respect, they show themselves to be like professional workers in similar occupational groups, who are "dissatisfied but not alienated" (Ritzer 1972:186) when faced with unfavourable circumstances.

Dreams and Visions

A basic premise of the qualitative approach to sociological investigation is that research begins with the circumstances of the research subjects and how these circumstances are understood by the subjects themselves. To enable free expression of their overall feelings, respondents were given an opportunity to review the whole course of their ordained ministry from the perspective of whether their original expectations had been realised. Respondents were asked whether their 'dreams and visions' had been fulfilled. A wide range of views was expressed in written comments, while the statistical result is shown in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7
"Dreams and Visions" Fulfilled (n=96)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
My "dreams and visions" on entering the ordained ministry have been fulfilled	49.0	27.1	24.0

This appears to be a disappointing response. Fewer than half the respondents are able to affirm that their initial hopes have been realised. Nearly a quarter affirm the opposite. Many do not commit themselves. To have made a life-changing decision about one's career, and then to confess that the experience does not meet the expectations of the 'dreams and visions' about it implies an element of disillusionment. The question needs more detailed examination.

There are significant variations of response from different sub-groups. The gender difference is striking (Table 9.8). Men are much more likely to report having their 'dreams and visions' fulfilled, the margin over women's agreement being 25.0 percentage points. Only one in three women can say unequivocally they have found fulfilment of their initial aspirations. The 'agreement' and 'disagreement' responses are distorted by the high 'Not certain' figures, especially from women. Nevertheless, the disagreement rate for men is 10.6 percentage points lower than for women.

Table 9.8
"Dreams and Visions" Fulfilled, comparing Males and Females

Statement. My "dreams and visions" on entering the ordained ministry have been fulfilled	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Males (n=60)	58.3	21.7	20.0
Females (n=36)	33.3	36.1	30.6

The low level of agreement by women and the high level of their 'Not certain' returns can be explained in part from individual comments made by those who recorded a 'Not certain,' 'Disagree,' or 'Strongly disagree' response – twenty-four women in all. Two were recent ordinands and not able "to answer this really clearly" (3,f,p,40). One felt that "it is God's vision and outcomes that are important and we are not always able to see the results from God's perspective" (70,f,p,40). One was not sure she had ever had any dreams and visions, being "somewhat a realist" (13,f,p,40). Another, similarly, "really had very hazy ideas about my ministry" when ordained (33,f,p,50). Five women, four in

Tasmania and one in Gippsland, were ordained to non-stipendiary positions in the parishes where they served as laywomen, and may be thought to have entered ordained ministry without particular 'dreams and visions' of what they might achieve.

Other responses were explicit about the reasons for disagreement. One respondent was working unhappily in a chaplaincy appointment, having tried, unsuccessfully, to move into parish ministry. Seven of the twenty-four were from the Diocese of Tasmania, where particular circumstances were said to obtain – that "it is too difficult to find full time paid positions for single women in ministry" (41,f,p,40) and that "it is almost impossible in the current climate in Tasmania for honorary clergy to be appointed to stipendiary positions" (60,f,p,40). These factors led to resentment and the recording of negative responses. Two of the women were deacons from a diocese that does not ordain women as priests, and both were frustrated in their 'dreams and visions' because of this. A deacon from another diocese had been refused ordination as priest. Several respondents give no indication why a non-committal or negative return has been made. However others make strong criticisms of the way the church has dealt with them over a period of years. Many of these criticisms have been reported in this and earlier chapters. They refer to perceived mismanagement and obstruction from parish clergy, senior church officials and from church structures generally.

Many of the women who were unable to agree that their expectations had been met still made resounding statements of personal well-being. One commented, "I have never been so fulfilled in the work that I have done, except perhaps in rearing young children to adulthood. God has been good and I feel richly blessed and privileged to be able to fulfil the calling to ordained ministry in the Anglican Church in [my diocese]" (45,f,p,40). Another wrote, "I am exactly in the right place for me and my family, and, I trust, for God" (65,f,p,40). Yet another: "My years in the ordained ministry have largely been a source of some wonderment to me. ... I have certainly had a strong sense of fulfilment" (87,f,p,60). Another, though describing herself as a "second-class citizen" in the church, commented, "Yes, it has been worthwhile. ... I still believe that God calls me to be a priest in his church" (60,f,p,40). Even the one who was perhaps the most consistent critic of the church throughout her questionnaire returns, wrote, after strongly disagreeing with the proposition that her dreams and visions had been fulfilled, "This response is not due

to how I was received by the people – I had a wonderful relationship with them. ... [My] personal fulfilment is extremely high" (21,f,d,40).

The low level of women's anticipated hopes for ministry being fulfilled remains an important finding of this study. The lower rate of fulfilment for women compared with men is significant. However, in light of the comments recorded above, it may be concluded that women generally have been able to suppress their disappointments and have engaged positively with their work during the years of their ordained ministry.

A second variation from the general response is evident when the age at which respondents were ordained is considered (Table 9.9).

Table 9.9
"Dreams and Visions" Fulfilled, comparing Age at Ordination

<u>Statement.</u> My "dreams and visions" on entering the ordained ministry have been fulfilled	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Ordained in 40s (n=53)	39.6	32.1	28.3
Ordained age 50+ (n=43)	60.5	20.9	18.6

Older ordinands feel that their original expectations have been realised to a significantly greater degree than those ordained at a younger age, and are less likely to be ambivalent in their response. A similar result occurs when actual ages of respondents at the time of completing the questionnaire are tabulated (Table 9.10).

Table 9.10
"Dreams and Visions" fulfilled, comparing Actual Age

<u>Statement.</u> My "dreams and visions" on entering the ordained ministry have been fulfilled	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
Aged in 40s and 50s (n=44)	29.5	36.4	34.1
Aged in 60s (n=32)	56.3	25.0	18.8
Aged 70+ (n=20)	80.0	10.0	10.0

The agreement rate rises steadily with age. The disagreement rate steadily falls, as does the proportion of 'Not certain' responses. Older respondents are more fulfilled and more sure of their feelings. The conclusion may be drawn that younger respondents, who are more likely to be still in active and full-time work, are not as prepared as others to declare themselves fulfilled with regard to their original expectations of ordained ministry. Many are in process of coming to a decision about that, although, if the earlier trend continues, they will feel more positive as they move towards the end of their active ministry and into retirement. This consideration puts the overall rate of agreement from respondents in somewhat more hopeful perspective, for both individual clergy and the church.

This conclusion is confirmed when the responses of those still in stipendiary service are compared with all others – retired and non-stipendiary clergy (Table 9.11).

Table 9.11
"Dreams and Visions" Fulfilled, comparing Clergy in Stipendiary Service with all Others

<u>Statement.</u> My "dreams and visions" on entering the ordained ministry have been fulfilled	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
In stipendiary service (n=55)	38.2	32.7	29.1
All others (n=41)	63.4	19.5	17.1

Those in stipendiary service are less likely to state that their dreams and visions have been fulfilled than other clergy, the difference being approximately twenty-five percentage points. Their 'Not certain' response is also markedly higher. These differences may be explained by the fact that clergy still on the active list are caught up in the preoccupations and frustrations of their everyday activities to the extent that they are less likely to make a favourable assessment of the overall fulfilment of their original ministry expectations. Being still actively engaged in their ministry, their consideration of this question, which involves making a judgment on the whole of their career, is more likely to be put on hold. This helps to account for the high 'Not certain' response.

Responses to the question about the fulfilment of dreams and visions fall into four categories. First, there were those which reiterated negative views expressed elsewhere in the return papers. Some respondents wrote about particulars that rankled, such as having to retire from part-time work at the age of seventy (32,m,d,60) or a Bishop's veto of an article in a diocesan paper (49,m,p,50). Others were critical of the church as a whole: it is slow, bureaucratic and irrelevant (63,m,p,40); it gives insufficient guidance to clergy (64,m,p,40); lay people are given little understanding of the working conditions of clergy (7,m,p,40; 53,f,p,40); the church needs thoroughgoing renewal in "minds, hearts, wills, structures" (21,f,d,40). Some used intemperate language: the Anglican hierarchy is "a lot of sycophants, lackeys" (14,m,p,40); the church has been "cruel and heartless" in its actions (34,m,p,50).

A second category comprised responses which were more positive, often including practical suggestions: successful ministry for married clergy stems from the teamwork of ordained minister and spouse (31,m,p,50); sector ministry is crucial for carrying "the Church's gospel message of redemption and reconciliation into the community outside the walls of the institutional Church" (87,f,p,60); non-stipendiary ministry should be more valued (55,f,p,50); retired clergy should be used in a more systematic way (54,m,p,40). The diaconate was commended by one person as providing special opportunities for ministry (43,f,d,50) and condemned by another as limiting opportunities for ministry (32,m,d,60); the joys of working in the country were mentioned: "people accept you as their friend and priest" (80,m,p,50) and "[here] we all know each other, the wives and often children as well, somewhat like an extended family" (75,m,p,50). Some women took the opportunity to describe the process of achieving their long-denied dream of ordination. One wrote of her circumstances in this way:

I never consciously made the decision to enter the ordained ministry. I found that it had, as it were, happened. ... Looking back, I believe that this had been my vocation since my days at university but that I never recognised this because I never saw it as a possibility. ... I was content with what I did and believed it to be God's will. ... My hardest struggle was to accept the possibility that God was calling me, because I did not believe that he would call a woman to be a priest. It was study, membership of ecumenical groups, and the acceptance of both church and non-church people which led me to admit the reality of God's call to women. (55,f,p,50)

Through comments such as this, respondents illustrated how age issues merge with gender issues in the experience of many women. Local concerns also have their part. One woman still barred from proceeding to ordination as priest, succinctly brought together issues of age, gender and location in concluding her remarks, "Mind you, it's even more interesting being a late ordinand, living in [this diocese] and being a woman!!" (103,f,d,40).

A third group of comments, nearly all from men, sought to bring the discussion back to a more spiritual basis. One respondent said he had no dreams and visions "other than to serve the Lord" (35,m,p,40). Another commented, "I do not have 'visions and dreams.' ... I still see myself as a willing servant to go and to do as God calls me" (63,m,p,40). Another wrote, "I feel that I truly did receive my calling from our Lord and have been able to follow that and bring others to Him" (99,m,p,40). In similar manner, others summed up what is perhaps their major life commitment in a few words: "I was content," wrote one, "to bring people to faith and minister to those in need" (47,m,p,40). Another wrote, "I have no great faith, but I do have faith in a great God" (7,m,p,40). Some queried the spirit of sections of the questionnaire, believing that it assumed a secular view of ordained ministry. One wrote, "I have problems with some of the thrust of these questions, especially relating to career and financial stability. I have always regarded my life as being vocational rather than being involved in a profession as these types of questions suggest. I have often found my vocation to be a very hard way of life with its rewards often not being tangible. Nonetheless, it is my vocation. I chose it as much as it chose me" (17,m,p,40).

Finally, there were those who took the opportunity to make a statement about the joy they have found in ordained ministry. Coming from men and women who took the risk of putting aside their former careers to enter the church, they make reassuring reading. "I'm a fairly positive person," wrote one, "who has worked hard in ministry. I've tried to keep fresh by continual attendance at conferences and seminars and overseas travel. I've made plenty of mistakes, but I feel on the whole I brought maturity and wisdom to the task" (1,m,p,40). Another wrote, "I have found ordained ministry rewarding and enriching. It has been a very positive experience. Of course there are frustrations, but I have never been happier or more content. To see people come to faith, grow and mature has made

everything worthwhile" (15,m,p,40). For one respondent, the principal emotion was one of gratitude. He commented,

It's been a great privilege. I feel deeply grateful to the church. You know, at our age one thinks, 'What will they ever say at my funeral?' And I'd like it to be said something like, 'This guy might have come to the church late in life, but he loved the church and he loved his ministry and pre-eminently he loved the people that he ministered to, and was deeply grateful that God gave him that opportunity well beyond the time when most people would have thought such things possible. (105,m,p,50,1)

Respondents in the fourth category were able to weigh their positive feelings against the difficulties they had experienced, and come down on the side of having found much fulfilment. One who eventually came to feel that "the church has little or nothing to offer me" nevertheless fondly recalled one particular time in his ministry. "Those years spent there," he wrote, "will live in my memory as being amongst the most fulfilling years of all" (34,m,p,50). "This job has to be the best job in the world," commented another, "and like any 'job' has its upsets, pressures and disappointment. ... Change and leading change has its trauma. But I'm thrilled to be in the ministry. I regard it as a huge privilege" (92,m,p,40). Another reached much the same conclusion through a more personal recalling of the difficulties he had faced:

My vision and dream was to be a very good parish priest. I am uncertain whether that simple dream has been fulfilled because 1). My concept of 'parish priest' changed over the last fifteen years. 2). The Anglican Church that I grew up in and with was no longer there, and 3). I was not aware how demanding, stressful and all-consuming parish life could be for a parish priest. However I must hasten to add that even though the dreams and visions that I originally had are not fulfilled, the ongoing experiences of redefining the dream within the unreal demands has brought a huge amount of joy, fulfilment and feeling valued. Living in the mix of stress – joy – demands – freedom – dashed dreams – and Christ-like service – was at once both the vitality of the vocation and the enervating of my personal resources. (88,m,p,40)

Others were less complicated in their summing up. One who worked beside "the mighty Murray River" concluded, "I wouldn't have missed it for quids"(20,m,p,50)! A sense of wonderment remained with some of the women clergy, best expressed by one who at various points in her response papers had reported instances of ill-treatment at the hands of church members, but who nevertheless concluded by writing,

I love what I do or am, I love the folk I meet/have dealings with in pastoral/sacramental situations and it really seems an amazing adventure, which ten years ago did NOT seem as if it would ever blossom, much less bear any fruit. So I thank God daily for such an astonishing transition! (86,f,p.40)

The overriding impression given by respondents in this category is one of gladness and fulfilment in their ordained careers. While some might want to justify their change of career by donning rose-coloured glasses, nevertheless there is an air of authenticity about the written comments as a whole. They carry conviction.

Two equally valid though apparently-inconsistent conclusions may be drawn from this consideration of the fulfilment of respondents' dreams and visions. Despite variations in responses, and allowing for the possibility that active clergy might wish to defer their decision, the level of fulfilment expressed remains low. This is of concern for the wellbeing of individual second-career clergy and points also to a deficiency in the overall condition of the church. Both of these effects reflect on the profession as a whole. This judgment, however, is relieved by the second conclusion to be drawn, that respondents tend to express satisfaction with the whole of their ordained careers even when their dreams and visions fail to materialise. In the final analysis, respondents view their ordained careers in their entirety and not as a series of episodic circumstances. The typical response is to distil the essence of varied experience from the vantage point of distance. This is perhaps the truest guide to occupational satisfaction – the instinctive sentiment that forms after the completion of one's working life. For most respondents that sentiment is a positive one, despite the incidental frustrations experienced.

Why Second-Career Clergy?

The final question to be considered is how the Anglican Church has gained from the ordination of mature-age clergy. There was an inherent tension for respondents between the objective nature of the question and the deeply personal feelings attached to it. Some strong statements were made as respondents reflected on the issue from their own perspective. Many felt obliged to defend one of the major decisions of their lives. Their

responses contain, collectively, an important message for the church, shaped by experience. They amount to a spirited rebuttal to those who have questioned the wisdom of admitting second-career clergy to the profession to the extent that has occurred in recent years. An overwhelming majority of participants agreed with the proposition that the church has gained from the ordination of mature-age clergy (Table 9.12).

Table 9.12
The Church's Gain from the Ordination of Mature-Age Clergy (n=97)

Statement	Agree/Strongly agree (%)	Not certain (%)	Disagree/Strongly disagree (%)
I believe that the Australian Anglican Church has gained through the ordination of mature-age clergy	91.7	7.2	1.0

The pattern of response shown in Table 9.12 was repeated consistently by various sub-groups, with the exception that women were more definite in their agreement than men. Of the eight individuals who recorded a 'Not certain' or 'Disagree' response, seven were men. Having experienced more difficulties than men in being accepted as ordinands and in the course of their total experience in the profession, female respondents now cling more intensely to the position they have won through to, and endorse it with feeling.

A former Director of Theological Education for Melbourne Diocese, who for seven years oversaw the selection, training, and placement of ordinands, commented,

I think it's necessary to have the spread of age groups [in ordinands]. I think it's very good to have older people because of their maturity and the stability and tolerance they bring. I think that older people don't see things in black-and-white like some young people do. Young people often have an easy answer to a problem, where older people tend to look at issues and realise, 'Well, maybe it's not as easy as it looks or not as clear.' And that's a good thing. So you need all – because, to go down to the younger age group, you've got the enthusiasm. They can win the world, and they go off adventuring, where often older people are a little more concerned about security or what the cost might be. ... Yes, there is perseverance and determination in older people. Maybe they get tired a little more quickly than the younger ones! (Williams 2003)

There was quite prolific comment from respondents on this issue. A common theme was of agreement with Williams' views about the importance of having both younger and older people brought into ordained ministry and about the attributes of maturity, stability, tolerance, and determination that older ordinands bring to their work. Respondents disagreed with Williams, however, about the comparative levels of energy and initiative they possessed. Rather, respondents emphasised that second-career clergy have an enthusiasm for ministry that springs from the excitement of beginning a new phase of life.

Advantages brought to ministry by second-career clergy

In interviews and in their written comments, respondents referred extensively and passionately to the qualities brought to ministry by mature-age ordinands. The ten most frequently mentioned advantages of second-career clergy are itemised below. Each of the qualities referred to is accompanied by some illustrative remarks from a representative respondent and a brief comment on the passage selected. In this way the spirit of respondents' views as well as their substance is conveyed most effectively.

1. Strong work ethic

[Second-career clergy] bring life skills that the young blokes don't have. ... A good, healthy set of clergy in any diocese needs the mixture of both. It needs the young blokes – and women – who've gone to college and got a really solid grounding in everything that's going on and learnt all the latest things. ... We need all that.

On the other hand you need the people that come in from outside, who've had some experience in the real world, and know what it's like to have to get up every morning and go to work whether you like it or not, of having the discipline of having to work for a boss who wants to know what you're up to and whether you've achieved something, ... and where you've got deadlines to meet, and expectations, and deal with whoever comes and whatever's going on, whereas in the church sometimes you can pick and choose what you do. ...

I think it's very easy if you don't have that mixture for some people to become like the caricatures of English priests of days gone by, where you live in an ivory castle and you don't have to deal with the real world.
(Alwyn Ward)

Ward assumes a situation where late-entry clergy have a background in non-academic pursuits. This applies to many, but others have a background in professions, such as teaching, where many of the same professional and personal disciplines apply as in the church. It is also to be noted that many of the participants in this study had gained good academic qualifications in theology – a situation that Ward fails to take into account. However, Ward's contribution picks up key points of view – the importance of a mix of early and late entry clergy, and the value of developing a strong work ethic, which secular work often provides. Above all, he emphasises the benefit to the church of admitting men and women who have succeeded in "the real world."

2. Management skills

[In my former occupation] I was in charge of 160 people. As a manager I saw that we were all to be directed towards a certain goal. ... My primary concern was to see that our goals were achieved. ... I do see the bigger picture. One advantage of having been a professional is that I had an idea of what it would be more or less like. I think in terms of parishes and the wider church. A lot of people think in terms of individuals. My primary focus is the parish itself as the Body of Christ. ... The notion that a parish can change and that it might need to change whilst at the same time becoming more true to the gospel is probably something I've brought from my professional life. I instinctively say 'We will do this.' I think the greatest skill I brought with me was the overall concept of managing a parish – making changes. (Cliff Klein)

Klein argues that many second-career clergy have developed skills in organisational matters that are of benefit to the church in the areas of administration and human relations. Participants in this survey have occupied such varied and important positions as principals of schools, heads of university departments, members of parliament, and managers of power stations.

3. Perseverance

[Second-career clergy offer] worldly wisdom and experience, judgment, perhaps, maturity - but I think, also, survivability. I think you ought to have an established track record ... and out of that comes survivability which ought to equip a person for hard times and blighted expectations, even, and unexpected dilemmas. ... Because certainly that worked for me. I guess I've never had any terrible traumas to negotiate, but I think if I had I would have dug in, thinking, 'Well, damn it, I've never failed anything. I'm not going to fail this. ... I think my doggedness would have seen me through. I'm calling

it survivability. That must come out of a degree of self-knowledge and self-awareness. (Don Beverley)

Beverley focuses on the clergy themselves rather than on the church. He emphasises the resilience and perseverance associated with maturity. In Beverley's case – male, mature, confident and successful – he knew little of the traumas that some respondents faced, but his view is typical of those who made an easy transition to ordained ministry and believe they have discovered the formula for success in that field.

4. Self-knowledge

My maturity came through mostly in an ability to understand myself. ... I came to realise that what I had to do to be a minister was to know myself. ... And maturity – maturity in knowing oneself, and therefore you're not practising growing up on your congregation, but being integrated and helping them to grow to integration. ...

There's a special advantage in getting that life experience *outside* the church. ... The church is still sitting as if the church is important to the bulk of the community. ... Mature age people have always worked out in the world. All of their growing has been out in that culture. All of my experiences of life have been out in a culture of people who don't necessarily believe in God. One of the disadvantages of people coming to ordination in their twenties is that they don't know any other culture but the culture of the church. ... I grew up with – mature age [ordinands] grew up with – that 'Who's God?' world. So the church is on the fringe and mature age people are more able to acknowledge the reality of the church. (Karen Jordan)

Jordan uses stock phrases such as 'maturity' and 'life experience,' but interprets them in her own fashion. 'Maturity' is understanding oneself – a process that leads to integration, which is for the good of the people one serves in ministry. Her emphasis is on the benefits to the church of mature and well-integrated clergy rather than on the value of maturity for the clergy themselves, as was the case with Don Beverley. Jordan places much emphasis on formation for ministry, and argues that being formed in a secular environment rather than in the more insular confines of ordained ministry gives the individual a more valid appreciation of the place of the church in society and brings greater relevance to the church's outreach to its members and to the community.

5. Variety in ministry

I feel that mature-age clergy who've seen a different life/job prior to ordination are vital. ... In the very near future, the Church will have to consider even more the different models of ministry necessary. This will involve more collaborative ministry between clergy and laity; provision for clergy who are unable to move from parish to parish because of family, work, or spouse's commitments; provision of part-time paid work for clergy who still feel called to continue other part-time work. (Maureen Davies)

Davies is a highly-qualified professional woman and also a non-stipendiary priest at the cathedral church of her diocese. She is concerned particularly with the place of part-time and part-stipendiary ministers in the church, and sees second-career clergy as providing some of the flexibility that will be needed in staffing parishes in the future. Her argument has special application to rural dioceses, where human and financial resources tend to be limited.

6. Fresh attitudes

Get on with it, fellows! Don't waste the talent that's out there – people that can shake and move in a different way, that aren't brought up in the Anglican tradition, if you like. Bring them in if they're showing an interest from other faiths. Don't limit yourself. ... And just because they're non-stipendiary, it doesn't mean that they have no contribution to make. Allow them to make a contribution! And please put them into parishes where they can do something, with people that will allow them to do things. And promote them! Don't consign them to the backblocks. Promote them to positions where they can be seen to have done what they thought to do. (Wayne Holliday)

Holliday's comments reflect his personal circumstances and experiences. However, they represent an attitude frequently encountered amongst respondents – that the entry of second-career clergy encourages the breaking-down of the perceived conservatism and inflexibility of the church.

7. Promotion of lay values

I've never allowed myself to be institutionalised. ... I've lived a real life out there in the community. I was a nurse and a mother, a wife and a teacher ... I bring all my life experience into what I do now. ...

I still feel at times like a lay person and I fight for them, too. ... I was a lay person for a lot longer than I've ever been a priest. ... I've seen it from both sides, and I was a very active lay person. I think that's one of the keys – because if you've been a lay person in your parish and you've been an active lay person – like, I was a churchwarden for three years, I used to do the books, I helped the Treasurer, I was Vestry secretary, I ran a teenage group in the parish, I was an intercessor, a lay assistant in Communion, and then I was a pastoral worker for three years. So I *know* how a parish works. ... When they're ordained when they're young, – they haven't got that parish experience because they haven't had those years. And I think that gives you an edge as to how a parish works. ... I've seen what goes on – both sides of it – and you bring all of that into ministry. So it does give you a sense of knowing what it means to be a lay person in the parish. (Susan Mills)

There is a polemical edge to Mills's comments. She is arguing against the concept of clergy as a distinctive 'cultus' within the church. She speaks in opposition to Archbishop Keith Rayner's expressed preference for ordaining clergy at a younger age. Like Jordan, she believes that the formation of clergy best occurs in a secular framework rather than in a professional setting. Mills's comments imply a low view of ordination, which is mostly associated with evangelical attitudes. That connection cannot be made in the case of Mills, however. She would place herself in the liberal catholic wing of the church. Her views are driven more by a determination to be free from conventional ways of thinking about the church. In that she gives expression to an important line of thought amongst second-career clergy.

8. A 'secular' spirituality

With the Christian experience has come all those life experiences, and you have to put those in the context of your Christian experience. ... You have to connect with how you believe God to be ... and you can't do that until you've 'done it!' You can't make theological sense of life unless you've lived it first. ... Life experience preceded ordination. One of my children was a very wild child. ... These are things you need to work out before you would take on something like ordination ... and if you haven't dealt with them in some way which brings you to a peace then how can you help other people? (June Pearson)

Pearson's argument is that second-career clergy tend to bring a different and richer spirituality to their ministry, honed by their life experience, compared with that of other clergy. This provides a model for the spirituality of the people they are ministering to, and is conducive to more effective pastoral practice.

9. Empathy

If I could speak to the bishops and archbishops of the church about ordaining older people, I'd want to tell them about life experiences – that when people come to me who have suffered through life, I can stand in the shoes of people who have been divorced or have been made powerless by violence, and have managed to stand above that and grow whole. And only the passage of time can give one that sort of perspective. You cannot put that on young shoulders. (Karen Jordan)

Jordan was ordained in her early fifties. She has experienced much trauma in her family life, and also suffered from severe health problems. To her, life experience is not merely a conflation of events having occurred in a person's life, but the effect of those events, over time, on the ability of the person to minister to others. If there are painful experiences in the life of a minister together with a record of overcoming them, as in Jordan's own case, there is a particular advantage for ministry.

10. Enthusiasm

At my own age – middle fifties – I feel I'm a very energetic person, and I think that's important. I'm struck by the fact that lots of other clergy I meet in my own age group who've been in ordained ministry for a much longer time actually seem quite depressed to me – disillusioned and angry and upset. A lot of negative things are said in Deanery meetings by some other people in my age group, and I think that perhaps because I'm reasonably newly ordained and in my first parish I'm not carrying some of the burdens that they're carrying, and I do still have a freshness about the task, and I think that's really one of the positive things. (Roseanne Spargo)

Spargo argues that second-career clergy have a vitality for their work springing from the stimulation they find in taking up a longed-for career in ordained ministry. By contrast, first-career clergy are sometimes found to be jaded, perhaps exhausted, by the stress of their work over a long period.

The ten characteristics chosen, above, are summarised in Table 9.13. The respondents quoted represent a range of age and experience. The youngest is forty-eight, the oldest sixty-nine. They have been ordained for periods ranging from one to fourteen years. They include male and female, stipendiary and non-stipendiary, and urban and rural clergy. To the question whether the practice of ordaining mature-age clergy should continue as at

present, they give a resounding affirmative. But they say more than that. In their explanations they say a good deal about themselves and the whole group they represent.

Table 9.13
Perceived Attributes of Second-Career Clergy

Attribute	Representative respondent	Illustrative quotation
Strong work ethic	Alwyn Ward	'You need the people ... who've had some experience in the real world'
Management skills	Vicki Klein	'My primary concern was to see that our goals were achieved'
Perseverance	Don Beverley	'You ought to have an established track record ... and out of that comes survivability'
Self-knowledge	Karen Jordan	'I came to realise that what I had to do to become a minister was to know myself'
Variety in ministry	Maureen Davies	'In the very near future, the Church will have to consider even more the different models of ministry necessary'
Fresh attitudes	Wayne Holliday	'Don't waste the talent that's out there - people who can shake and move in a different way'
Promotion of lay values	Susan Mills	'I still feel at times like a lay person. ... I've seen it from both sides'
A 'secular' spirituality	June Pearson	'You can't make theological sense of life unless you've lived it first'
Empathy	Karen Jordan	'I can stand in the shoes of people who have been divorced or have been made powerless by violence'
Enthusiasm	Roseanne Spargo	'I feel I'm a very energetic person ... and I do still have a freshness about the task'

The comments quoted above were made in interview situations. Mishler (1991:10-11) speaks of an interview being "meaningful speech between interviewer and interviewee as speakers of a shared language." My part as interviewer was to contrive to bring the

interviewees to a situation where they felt able to speak freely about their feelings, knowing their comments would be understood. The part they took upon themselves was to use the matters I had presented them with to speak of their feelings and perceptions in such a way as to reveal and justify the persona they had established for themselves in the particular capacity then being investigated.

As a result, there are two levels of response found in the interviews. The first is a formal one. At this level the respondents appear to think along unadventurous lines. They speak in general terms of the life skills they have developed and of their maturity. They recommend a mix of younger and older ordinands. They speak of the work ethic and the need for a track record in ordinands. These are external, measurable quantities, and reveal little of the respondents themselves.

However, there are also indications of the understanding respondents have of their identity individually and as members of the group known as second-career clergy. They know themselves to be cast in a different mould from clergy ordained in their early adult years. They speak of self-understanding as a starting point for effective ministry. They refuse to accept the traditional role of clergy being above and beyond the laity. They say they feel like lay people rather than ones elevated to a distinctive and superior class. They reject the notion of belonging to a special caste of the ordained. They are distinctly anti-elitist. They talk about standing alongside the people they serve. They look beyond the people in their parishes and are concerned for the community round about them. They say the best way to prepare for service in the church is to immerse oneself in the world. They understand church and society to be in parallel rather than in tension. They don't see themselves as having arrived; they want to move forward rather than luxuriate where they are. They see themselves as being on a pilgrimage.

These observations are drawn not only from the words quoted above, but also from my perception of the mindset of the respondents as a whole. They ring true to me because I am of the same group. The respondents and I are able to speak a shared language. Not only that, but I have dealt with the one hundred respondents over a long period of time, through recorded responses, written comments and many hours of face-to-face

discussion. To me, these matters of self-understanding are authentic and may be applied to the group of second-career clergy as a whole.

Summary

Several negative consequences of ordination appeared amongst the group of second-career clergy involved in this study. They chiefly concerned domestic matters: family life was adversely affected; family finances were depleted; family members were not always supportive of the change of direction of the ordained person.

Participants frequently encountered difficulties in the course of their professional duties, often of major proportions. However, most were able to subsume their negative reactions into the greater satisfaction given by their work as a whole. The same applies to the fulfilment of respondents' initial aspirations when setting out on their ordained careers. Despite reporting many disappointments in this respect, respondents generally accepted the reality that ministry brings both sorrows and joys. In most cases they declared themselves well satisfied with the whole sweep of their years in ordained ministry.

The overall feeling amongst those ordained in mature age is one of assurance that ordination was right for them. By and large, this group of clergy found growth and fulfilment in their new careers: their personal faith strengthened; their views on ministry and the church developed, mainly in the direction of moderation and toleration; the more experienced understood themselves to have made a significant contribution to the work of the church; and they believed that the trend towards mature-age ordination was hugely beneficial for the church.

Reflection

In the course of the thesis, certain general characteristics of second-career clergy have been identified. It is possible to draw these together to develop a composite sketch of a typical member of the group which would be recognised by all others, even where they

reported contrary feelings on some points. There was one major fault-line in the responses, however – the gender differentiation that appeared in many areas of activity. Hence, it is more valid to compose two profiles, one for male respondents and one for female, each embodying a typification of respondents' experiences and perceptions. These portraits do not attempt to condense all the findings of previous chapters, but to bring out major characteristics, especially where important gender differences existed.

The typical *male* second-career clergyperson had extensive experience as a layman in the church and was working contentedly in secular employment before offering for ordination. He sought ordination because he felt called by God to do so. This decision was not without misgivings, especially as to the financial aspects of the contemplated change, and resulted in some strain being placed on his family. He was aware of some resistance to mature-age ordination within the church, but the transition was accomplished with relative ease, and the selection process was made easy for him. He studied theology while living at home, and, after ordination, was employed in parish work as a full-time stipendiary curate. Although he had been critical of aspects of his training, he coped well with his work, despite experiencing some tension between himself and his supervising priest. He related well to other clergy, without feeling particularly close to them, and was well accepted by the laity. He had no marked ambition to progress to senior status within the church and remained only loosely attached to diocesan policies and structures. Nevertheless, he felt that the church gave him adequate support and affirmation.

With further experience, he was appointed to be in charge of a parish, but there his promotion ceased. Although he believed that the skills he had brought to ministry had been under-valued, he was satisfied with the contribution he had made to the church. As he looked back on his career, he entertained no regrets about entering ordained ministry. His faith had been strengthened, though his thinking on theological and ministry matters had softened and become more liberal. His work had imposed some restrictions on the quality of his family life, and there was some regret that the vision he had embraced on setting out on his ordained career had not fully materialised, but his commitment remained strong. He remained in touch with the secular world and viewed his ministry through the lens of people in the pews rather than from a clerical standpoint. He was

always conscious of having been a late ordinand. He retained, however, the vigour of a man engaged in a new work, and felt himself, though in mature age, to be actively involved in the mission of the church.

The typical *female* second-career clergyperson felt called to ordination years before she was able to respond because the church had not at that time admitted women as deacons or priests. After this legal roadblock had been removed, frustrations continued. Her troubled progress towards acceptance for ordination brought on periods of despondency. She was conscious of a continuing bias against women. This might appear in the selection conference or in the actions of some lay people or male clergy. Diocesan officials also might cause her personal distress. Her path to ordination was longer and more difficult than that experienced by men. She was older than most of the men ordained with her, and conscious of the fact that fewer women than men were ordained. After ordination she was more likely to be placed in sector ministry than her male counterparts, and to receive a *part-time* appointment. She was enthusiastic about her work, but still encountered *discriminatory* attitudes from clerical and official sources. Her relationships with lay people were good, better than with clergy. She was inclined to think she should have received more support from the church and that she was passed over for senior appointments.

Over the course of her career, she found some appointments less than satisfactory personally, and continued to be hurt by some of her diocese's dealings with her. Negative attitudes from male clergy might still be encountered. Her original dreams and visions remained largely unrealised. Nevertheless, she remained enthusiastic about her work and about the place of mature-age ordinands in the church generally. The fulfilment she found in ordained ministry far outweighed the disadvantages and frustrations she had experienced.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

In the last decades of the twentieth century the age at which men and women came to ordination in the Anglican Church increased markedly. This phenomenon was part of a trend towards older ordination in churches generally. It was also part of a pattern of increased mobility in mature-age employment occurring throughout the developed world. In the Australian Anglican Church it was accentuated by the opening of ordination to women, many of whom had felt called to ordination in previous years but had been debarred from responding. This thesis has not set out to investigate the reasons for this trend, but to examine its ramifications in a sample group of mature-age ordinands within the Anglican Church of Australia. The thesis does not test a hypothesis, but explores a subject about which little has been written. Induction rather than deduction has been the primary style of reasoning. There is no grand discovery. Rather, a series of findings have emerged as the work has been in progress.

The research methods used in the study are qualitative rather than quantitative. The starting point of analysis is the experience of the men and women who entered ordained ministry at age forty or more. Data were gathered first by means of a survey which asked for responses to particular questions, but which encouraged broad comment on the areas covered. The survey was followed by in-depth interviews with twenty-five of the one hundred respondents to the survey. The interviews were loosely structured, and followed the concerns of the interviewees rather than the agenda of the interviewer. Interviews were also conducted with diocesan officials who had been involved in the selection, training, and placement of mature-age ordinands. These helped to ensure that broader perspectives were brought to bear on the narratives of the respondents. Recourse was also made to various documents published in the dioceses covered by the study. My own experience in the church as a mature-age ordinand helped in judging the authenticity of written and oral material.

Four main areas of interest emerged in the early stages of the investigation.. These may be described as the *themes* of the thesis: professional aspects of ordained ministry, the relationship that exists between the Anglican Church and its clergy, the personal experience of occupational transition for mature-age ordinands, and gender issues related to mature-age ordination.

Data are analysed and material presented in approximately sequential order, following the respondents as they moved from their former careers, through their selection and training, and into their work as ordained ministers of the church.. Five substantive chapters (Chapters 5 to 9) report and analyse the data. Each chapter deals with a particular aspect of the respondents' experience. These aspects may be described as the *topics* of the thesis: the decision to seek ordination, the selection and training phase, first appointment in the church, professional aspects of the new work in ministry, and the view from the standpoint of the whole of the ordained career.

Regarding the intersection of themes and topics in sociological writing, C. Wright Mills (1970:238) advises students as follows:

... quite systematically, you must cross-clarify [the themes] with the full range of your topics. This means that you will ask of each topic: Just how is it affected by each of these themes? And again: Just what is the meaning, if any, for each of these themes of each of the topics?

The cross-clarification Mills speaks of has been done incidentally throughout each of the five substantive chapters, and in the summary and reflection at the close of each chapter. The threads of this cross-clarification are drawn together in the sections that now follow, following the order of the four themes mentioned above.

Professional Aspects of Ordained Ministry

The question of professionalism for the church and for clergy is clouded by the issue of whether ordained service is to be regarded as a 'vocation' or a 'career.' A 'vocation' has been described as a "divine call to a life and order to perform certain tasks or services," while the term, 'career' suggests an emphasis on the mechanics of employment involving

such items as "qualifications, ... remuneration, ... wage justice ... [and] progress to positions of higher status and rewards" (Anglican Diocese of Canberra and Goulburn, Commission on Clergy Conditions of Service Report 1990:24-5). The terms are not mutually exclusive. However, the thesis has shown that the church counts on the ideal of vocation in its clergy but often fails in its dealings with them on the career side of their employment. For their part, second-career clergy strongly assert their belief that they are following a vocation, in the sense given above, though it was common for strong criticisms to be made on the 'career' side of their relationship with the church.

A number of factors emerged in the course of the study which have the cumulative effect of diminishing the level of professionalisation of the Anglican Church. There is a tendency to belittle the skills mature-age entrants bring to ordained ministry; there is a lack of consistency in procedures for selecting and training entrants; an element of capriciousness is often found in decisions on ordination; the content of training courses is widely regarded by clergy as inadequate or inappropriate; the professional qualifications held by clergy compare unfavourably with other professions; the curacy system used for training and supervising new clergy suffers from inconsistency and sometimes breaks down at the inter-personal level; a culture of hierarchism offends some clergy and reduces their sense of professional autonomy (particularly galling for mature-age ordinands); discrimination against women continues at different levels in the organisation; there remains a bias against sector ministry in comparison with parish ministry; the ordination of men and women to voluntary forms of ministry, despite individual successes, reduces the ability of the church to maintain uniform standards across the profession; the hierarchy's ability to deal with complaints from clergy is often inadequate; and the sense of common endeavour amongst clergy is limited in many areas.

Second-career clergy themselves show scant respect for the formal trappings of the church. They enter ordained ministry with immediate and practical aims, seeing themselves primarily as practitioners rather than occupants of a historic profession. After long experience of the church as lay members, second-career clergy form a natural alliance with the laity rather than with the church organisation. Their approach to ministry is fashioned by the circumstances they meet rather than according to pre-determined principles. However, the sense of having been called to service remains strong in them. Despite personal difficulties and frustration with the church – regarding

gender discrimination, low levels of collegiality, and unpopular policies emanating from the hierarchy – their commitment to their calling remains high, as does their loyalty to the church.

The sociological principle underlying these observations is that of the significance of individual attitudes and actions in determining the occupational path, that is, the primacy of 'agency' in the occupational lives of second-career clergy. They are influenced by cultural elements on one hand and structural forces on the other, but largely frame their own circumstances. They approximate the social actor envisaged by Rubinstein (2001:14) who, "while subject to both cultural and structural constraint, is in thrall to neither – that is, neither a cultural nor a structural dope." This understanding meshes well with the "life-span, life-space" approach to career development taken by Super (1980) and Vondracek et al. (1986), which focuses on "the dynamic interaction between a changing (developing) individual in a changing context" (Vondracek et al. 1986:5). Second-career clergy are constrained by the norms and practices of their organisation, the church, but have striven powerfully to construct their own occupational identity. They are neither structural nor cultural dopes.

The Anglican Church and its Clergy

Anglican clergy have been categorised in this thesis as 'professionals-in-organisation.' Following Etzioni (1969:xii), they can be further placed as members of a professional organisation which shares the same goals as themselves. These goals may be summed up as the extension of the Kingdom of God and the spiritual welfare of church members. Like-minded professionals, then, "have superior authority over the major goal activities of the organization" (Etzioni 1969:xii). This should make for close consonance between the church hierarchy and ordained clergy in ideals and practice.

Instead, as evidenced throughout the thesis, there exists a level of dissonance sufficiently great as to affect the overall mood of the profession and to cause personal distress to many individuals. In the period leading up to their ordination, candidates, especially women, suffered various indignities at the hands of bishops and other church officers. During the training phase, candidates found themselves at odds with church policy over

which aspects of clergy preparation should be given priority. The training colleges emphasised formational and academic content, while candidates generally looked for practical and pastoral training. After ordination, clergy were appointed to supervised placements, generally in parishes, but the quality of that supervision was variable and led to a significant level of discontent. In later years, it was common for clergy to express disregard for the hierarchy, as illustrated by the person who commented, "They're there and I'm here. 'Stuff them,' I say. This is my work here with the people." This is a far cry from the ideal of congruence of aims and practice in the clerical profession.

A significant minority – approximately one-quarter of participants in each case – replied negatively to each of three critical enquiries – whether the church in its official capacity had given them sufficient support during their first appointment; whether the hierarchy had shown them respect at all times; and whether the church had acted responsibly towards them during their years of service. These figures demonstrate a significant breakdown in the relationship between the church at the official level and its clergy. Although the particular circumstances causing the sense of alienation from the organisation were often temporary rather than ongoing, the result was a strong remembered sense of grievance in clergy. Breakdown in the relationship between individual and organisation, however, seldom led to exit. The comment of Dowdy and Lupton (1976:106) on the clerical profession remains relevant: "Perhaps in no other profession is the individual so completely dependent on the approval of his [sic] employing organization, having no 'professional' association to turn to, and little chance of changing 'employers' without a major personal re-orientation."

It is argued in the thesis that in seeking ordination, second-career clergy looked for intrinsic rather than extrinsic rewards. In basic terms, they saw ordained ministry as "an end in itself rather than as a means to an end" (Jureidini et al. 1997:201). Matters of status, power, salary, and working conditions were of secondary importance, while matters of personal fulfilment, recognition, service to others, and obedience to God's calling were highly important. It is precisely in these intrinsic elements that disgruntled clergy felt aggrieved. They believed that members of the church hierarchy gave insufficient respect to their personal and professional integrity.

A major point of weakness in the relationship between clergy and hierarchy is the nature of decision-making within the church, particularly in the areas of selection for ordination and appointments. The chief complaint from clergy is the lack of transparency. Decisions are made with little or no consultation by the bishop and/or senior staff - made up of male, first-career clergy - and are not adequately explained. Diocesan officials tend to make decisions in isolation: clergy tend to accept them without official complaint; and thus a culture of muted dissatisfaction is perpetuated. It is common for second-career clergy to interpret shortcomings in diocesan decision-making in the light of their previous experience with other systems. Melbourne Diocese has attempted to improve transparency by setting out procedures and expectations in formal documents. Codes of Practice, which deal with expectations of clergy, are being introduced into all dioceses. Second-career clergy would support any move to greater transparency.

In a positive sense, second-career clergy have been of value to the church. They have provided staffing to parishes and sector ministry that the church has come to rely on. Personal qualities such as wisdom, judgment, and maturity have broadened the range of gifts contained in the clergy as a whole. Their measured and liberal tendencies have influenced the church in the direction of moderation. The range of backgrounds and skills they represent have added to the resources of the church. The evangelical and pastoral priorities of second-career clergy support the main thrust of the church's mission which also lies in these directions. The varied experience and attitudes of second-career clergy have matched and extended the historically broad basis of the Anglican Church.

The Personal Experience of Mature-Age Ordinands

Sullivan (1995:1-2) describes the briefcase as the symbol of modern professionalism. It stands for the out-of-hours dedication of the bearer, of his or her autonomy in work, and capacity for independent, unsupervised efforts. It carries "an alluring scent of success." The briefcase is not a good symbol of the kind of professionalism claimed by second-career clergy. They would invoke the same dedication, autonomy and reliability, but would reject the overtones of "alluring success." Many left a 'briefcase' type of occupation, seeking out a career which placed them in the midst of their 'clients' rather than at a remove. The essence of their work is immediacy and variety. Previous skills

have proved useful, but most ministry skills were learnt on the job. There was a strong practical bent to their work. Behind their endeavours lay the knowledge that through age they had a shortened time in their new work, but age and maturity also helped give them the confidence to assert themselves amongst more experienced practitioners in ministry. There were unseen difficulties, at times acute, but disillusionment was suppressed by the greater sense of fulfilling the calling to serve God's people through the structures of the church.

Those they served became their friends and allies. It has been conventional wisdom (Blaikie 1979; Dempsey 1983) that clergy and laity are on two sides of a divide. Dempsey writes of clergy and laity in the Protestant churches (1983: 172) that "they wanted quite different things from the church, often had quite different notions of what the focus of local church life should be, and often possessed radically different conceptions of the part each should play in local church affairs." There is no support for that division amongst the second-career clergy of this study. Rather, they formed a partnership with lay people, based on their own extensive experience as lay ministers. Several participants stated that they continued to think and act precisely as lay people.

Diversity and individuality are the dominant characteristics of second-career clergy. These distinctive features arise from the fact that second-career clergy spend their earlier and more formative years in a variety of occupational circumstances, and without the direct socialising influence of the church. Through this, the church has a broader range of human resources made available to it, while, at the same time, the interconnection between church and mainstream society is reinforced.

Despite the distinctive individuality found in second-career clergy, various patterns of response can be identified according to certain contingencies. The three most significant are those of gender, location of employment, and age at ordination. Variations according to gender are dealt with in the following section. With regard to locational differences, rural clergy generally expressed more positive feelings about their work than their counterparts in Melbourne Diocese. The most important difference was the considerably higher level of clergy collegiality found amongst rural second-career clergy. This finding is consistent with the often-repeated claim that rural dioceses develop a more closely-knit fellowship of clergy. The most significant advantage for Melbourne clergy was the higher

rate of satisfaction reported there with the appointments they had received. Metropolitan clergy have three advantages over clergy in rural dioceses: a wider range of placements is available to them; distance is a less important controlling factor; and full-time appointments are more common due to the greater viability of metropolitan parishes.

On the issue of age at ordination, older ordinands (those ordained at fifty years of age and older) had several advantages over younger ordinands and were more contented in their work. Being freer from responsibilities such as raising children and paying off mortgages, and often having achieved occupational ambitions in their secular employment, they were able to make the transition to ordained ministry with fewer personal encumbrances. They felt more warmly welcomed by other clergy; they were more in accord with diocesan policies; they had stronger feelings of job satisfaction; and their aspirations on entering ordained ministry were more likely to have been realised. Significantly, older ordinands believed that the church had shown them greater individual respect and had acted towards them in a more professional manner. These differences may be related to the vocation-career dichotomy referred to above. Older ordinands are less caught up in 'career' considerations, such as status, promotion and income. They are influenced more by 'vocational' concerns, such as living out their calling to ordained service in the church.

Despite the critical stance towards the church adopted by many second-career clergy, they remain loyal to the church and confident in their work. They believe themselves to have been successful in what they have done, and have pursued their church careers with vigour. They have had no second thoughts about their change of career, and have found personal fulfilment in their work, despite their various disappointments. They are confident that the combination of maturity and enthusiasm they bring to the church has been of great benefit to themselves and to the organisation. To have entered a new career in mid-life or later represented a considerable upheaval in their life course, but was successfully achieved, in large measure because they took an active role in shaping their new circumstances, rather than allowing themselves to be dictated to by external factors.

Gender Issues related to Mature-Age Ordination

This study confirms previous research that showed that female clergy have experienced various forms of discrimination. Bouma et al. (1996:36) conclude, "The careers, employment conditions and satisfaction of men and women clergy in the Anglican Church of Australia are significantly different at every stage." Hughes (2001:2,31) found "continuing evidence of gender discrimination in the [Anglican] churches" and that "conditions under which women work are not as favourable as those that most men experience," although he adds the rider that "discrimination in conditions is not as great as in the past." The present study demonstrates that patriarchal attitudes are embedded in the norms and networks of the church, affecting expectations as well as actual experience.

Female second-career clergy suffer by comparison with male second-career clergy at every point in their progress from seeking ordination through to their employment in the field. In the initial stages, women felt 'downhearted' about their journey towards ordination at twice the rate for men. For rural women this difference was substantially greater. During training, women's 'despondency' exceeded men's by approximately the same margin. In their first appointment after ordination, women were less likely to express satisfaction with their supervisors; they found their clergy colleagues less welcoming; they felt less encouragement from the laity than men did; and women – particularly younger women – experienced more personal problems than did men at this time.

In whole-of-career terms, women reported less favourably than men on their career progress, their experience of antipathy from clerical colleagues, their sense of inclusion in the local team of clergy, their satisfaction with the appointments they received, and the fulfilment of the 'dreams and visions' they held at the outset of their ministry. They were less likely than men to express the view that the church's dealings with them had been handled responsibly and with respect to them as individuals. On the positive side, however, women expressed a higher degree of job satisfaction than men and also were more enthusiastic about the place of mature-age ordinands in the church.

There is evidence in this research that prejudicial attitudes towards women are declining as contact with female clergy increases. Lehman (1985:163) found in his study of

receptivity to female clergy in the United States that "contact with a woman as pastor increases members' levels of receptivity, breaks down the pervasiveness of institutionalized sexism in the church, and overrides the effects of other factors influencing levels of receptivity." Lehman (1994) later validated these findings for Anglican and Uniting Churches in Australia. He found (1994:121) that Uniting Church members tended to have more positive attitudes towards women in ministry than Anglicans. Nevertheless, "Anglicans who had experienced the ministry of an ordained woman were more prepared to offer hospitality and to vote in favour of women's ordination, had less preference for men in clergy roles, and held fewer reliability stereotypes of clergywomen than those who had not had such contact" (Lehman 1994:82). The attitude of male clergy holding positions of leadership was a critical factor in the formation of congregational attitudes towards the place of women in the church (Lehman 1994:84).

Lehman's findings, together with the written and anecdotal evidence provided by participants in this study, encourage the belief that the position of women in the church will continue to improve, particularly as male clergy are won over to take a more positive role in forming attitudes. A potentially negative factor is the continuing dominance of leadership positions in the church by male, first-career clergy. Attitudes to the representation of women in the clerical profession, however, is inevitably linked to general societal attitudes towards women. Nevertheless, the priority of agency over structure has been consistently argued in this thesis in connection with the entry of mature-age ordinands into ministry. The evidence suggests that female second-career clergy are making a significant contribution to effecting positive change in attitudes to gender issues within the church, and that influence will affect, in some degree, attitudes to gender issues on a much wider front.

Limitations of the Study

The thesis investigates the experience of second-career clergy from one denomination in one region of Australia. The conclusions drawn cannot be extended to necessarily apply to clergy in other churches in other places. The findings are offered as possible starting points for other investigations. Nevertheless, the size of the sample group and the range

of dioceses covered ensure that the findings may be regarded as applicable to the overall Australian Anglican scene. The thesis is based on the perceptions and intuitions of respondent clergy. There is little formal verification of the circumstances they report on. This is to be taken into consideration in weighing generalisations that are made.

The investigation proceeds using inductive methods. Readers will look in vain for the application of grand theories to a social situation. Instead, the circumstances of a number of individuals are explored, often expressed in very personal terms. This means intensive exploration of small-scale phenomena. The spirit of C. Wright Mills (1970:215) is invoked here: "It is much better ... to have one account by a working student of how he is going about his work than a dozen 'codifications of procedure' by specialists." The result is sociologically significant because the thesis deals with a significant social phenomenon: patterns are found in the experience of a significant group of people that may be applicable in a wider context.

Much of the interpretation of data depends on the judgment of the researcher. This is necessarily the case where qualitative methods are used, as in this instance. There are two safeguards against error here. First, conclusions are drawn after listening to many respondents. Extensive evidence is heard from one hundred participants, of whom seventy-three are cited in the text of the thesis. Secondly, the researcher in this instance, as a second-career clergyman himself, is intimately aware of the context of what has been reported to him, as well as the nuances of meaning in the words used, and may be trusted to interpret the raw material of the thesis with accuracy and integrity. The words of Homans (1970:67) are an encouragement in this regard: "No one will go far wrong theoretically who remains in close touch with and seeks to understand a body of concrete phenomena."

Implications of the Study

Berger (1963:15) writes, "The sociologist is a spy. ... The good spy reports what is there. Others decide what should be done as a result of his information." In the case before us, the decision makers are quite clearly members of the hierarchy of the Anglican Church. Several items emerge from this study for their consideration. As noted by Bouma et al.

(1996:37). in a hierarchical organisation like the Anglican Church change must be sponsored and implemented from above.

The management style of the church has been called into question at many points in this thesis. The Anglican Church is unquestionably a bureaucracy. In standard bureaucracies the hierarchical system is integrated with a system of appeal and accountability (Berger and Berger 1985:215). A hierarchical – and patriarchal – system dominates the church, by establishing a prevailing ethos amongst clergy as much as through the formal means of control and communication. The question at issue is whether the upward system of appeal and accountability complements and informs the downward system of hierarchy. The existing bureaucratically-organised management process may have catered well enough for first-career clergy – particularly males – who are familiar with the organisational context. Second-career clergy, both male and female, however, need higher levels of guidance and support in integrating with the system. But the system also needs thorough examination. The emergence of second-career clergy as a major component of the church's workforce highlights the limitations of the present order. They have extensive experience to draw on; they have had exposure to a range of types of organisations and organisational behaviour; and they have little sympathy for those who stand on seniority and traditional practice as a means of exerting their authority.

There exists in some sections of the church an ongoing bias against older ordinands. It can be found in official circles and also in the attitude of some established clergy. Against this is a developing urgency in Australian society to encourage older workers to find avenues of continuing employment. Second-career clergy have demonstrated that they offer qualities that are appropriate and effective in carrying out the mission of the church. A thorough-going revision of policy across the whole church, embracing the selection, training, and supervision of both younger and older ordinands, would place second-career clergy on a more confident footing and bring the clergy into a greater degree of professional solidarity.

In a mission-oriented, people-centred organisation such as the church, distress experienced by staff members as a result of the internal workings of the organisation tends to deny the integrity of the organisation. The thesis has documented ongoing areas where mature-age entry clergy have suffered difficulties at the hands of church agencies.

The principal points of concern are the process of selection and supervision during the time of first appointment, while gender bias is a continuing source of anguish for women. In these areas it is common for second-career clergy to feel that they lack support and encouragement from the church at an official level. There is a need for fresh approaches to these issues. The overall system of church governance that might well have worked well in the past, when first-career clergy were the norm, may need modification and adaptation now that increased numbers of second-career clergy are entering the church.

A recurring need for revision of bureaucratic processes is a normal part of organisational development. The tendency for styles of management in organisations to become rigid and uncompromising has been frequently noted (Worsley 1978:309; Berger and Berger 1983:223-8; Haralambos et al. 1986:297). Past practices are sanctified; policies become associated with personalities and are locked into past histories; problems become impediments to routine; and the human side of the organisation is downplayed. Management comes to rest on a formula that perhaps worked successfully in the past, but which needs periodic revision in order to accommodate changes, the specific instance, in this case, being the proportion of second-career entrants amongst the clergy. The responsibility of the hierarchy in effecting organisational and cultural change is inescapable. Hall (1994:297) reminds us that "Organizational management is the dominant internal source of change" in organisations.

It is possible to read the results of this research in two ways. One reading would show second-career clergy for the most part to be positive and committed. They work from the basis of a firm belief in being called by God to ordained service in the church. They combine the wisdom and judgment of maturity with the energy of new beginners. They bring tolerance and moderation to the church. They find personal fulfilment in their work and are very satisfied with their change of career. They take up an independent stance with regard to the church, but remain intensely loyal to it.

The other interpretation would bring out the shadow side of the first reading. The change of career brings family and financial difficulties for many. There are periods of despondency. Selection panels act unprofessionally. Preparation for ministry and in-service training are inadequate. Curacies are often unhappy. The church is found to offer no support at the times when it is most needed. Established clergy are unwelcoming at

best and hostile at worst. Placements are often unsatisfactory. Sector ministry is officially downgraded. Church officials fail to show respect for the dignity of individual clergy. Initial aspirations for ministry are largely unaccomplished.

Both readings are legitimate and are to be integrated into one understanding of the professional and personal circumstances of second-career clergy. They exist not only across the range of second-career clergy, but also within individuals. The positive and negative aspects of the experience of second-career clergy are two sides of the same coin. To grasp this requires what C. Wright Mills (1970:11) refers to as the "sociological imagination," which "enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals." The ultimate message of this thesis is that the inner lives and external careers of second-career clergy constitute a single reality. That reality should be in the minds of all who have a regard for the welfare of clergy and the professionalism of the church.

APPENDIX (QUESTIONNAIRE)

PART A

This part of the questionnaire is to give an indication of the personal and occupational background of the second-career clergy covered by the survey.

1.	Date of birth	
2.	Sex (M F)	
3.	Marital status	
4.	Year of ordination as Deacon	
5.	Year of ordination as Priest (if applicable)	
6.	Diocese in which you were ordained	
7.	Summary of church involvement as a lay person	
8.	Summary of work history before ordination	
9.	Summary of work history after ordination, distinguishing between stipendiary and non-stipendiary appointments	
10.	Theological qualifications, with year of completion	
11.	Other academic qualifications, with year of completion	
12.	Time spent in theological college, residential and/or non-residential	

PART B

This part of the questionnaire asks about the process of deciding to move from your pre-ordination career into ordained ministry.

Please tick one box to indicate to what extent you agree with each of the following statements

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Certain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	I was happy working in my last job before entering ministry training / beginning work in the church					
2.	I believed that God was calling me into ordained ministry					
3.	The impulse for ordination came from other people rather than from within myself					
4.	I acted without sufficient thought in offering for ordination					
5.	If I had not been accepted for ordination, I would have been seeking another way of radically changing my work					
6.	I was drawn to the whole field of ordained ministry rather than to a specific function or functions within it					
7.	I sought ordination because the material and occupational rewards appeared to exceed the personal costs					
8.	Giving up my previous employment imposed difficulties on me and my family					
9.	I felt my age to be a disadvantage in entering ordained ministry					
10.	I often felt downhearted in my journey towards acceptance for ordination					

Please use the space below and the following page to expand on any of these matters and to write freely about your feelings and experiences during the time of deciding to move into ordained ministry

PART C

This part of the questionnaire is about the selection and training process.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Certain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I went through the normal selection procedures for my diocese					
2. I was content with the way the selection personnel treated me					
3. The selectors considered my age to be a disadvantage					
4. The selectors considered my previous experience to be an advantage					
5. I found my theological training to be difficult academically					
6. My training was a time of personal stress					
7. My training gave me a satisfactory preparation for my future ministry					
8. My sources of support were personally arranged rather than organised officially					
9. I found my maturity was a help to me during the selection and training process					
10. I sometimes felt despondent about the process of my training and selection					

Please use the space below and the following page to expand on any of these matters and to write freely about your feelings and experiences during your time of selection and training.

PART D

This part asks about your first appointment after ordination.

Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Certain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. I coped easily with my new work					
2. My incumbent supervisor did all they could to assist me					
3. I felt a lack of support from the church generally					
4. My clergy colleagues were encouraging to me					
5. The lay people I worked amongst were welcoming to me					
6. I was confused about my priorities in my day-to-day work					
7. I was troubled by personal problems on account of my new career					
8. My maturity was of benefit to me at that time					
9. I was able to use the abilities I had developed in my previous work in my new career					
10. I had misgivings about my decision to enter the ordained ministry					

Please use the space below and the following page to expand on any of these matters and to write freely about your feelings and experiences during the time of your first appointment after being ordained

PART E

This part asks you to reflect on the first ten years of your work in ordained ministry, or, if you are a more recent ordinand, on the time since your ordination until the present.

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Certain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	I was keen to "get ahead" in the church					
2.	My late ordination was a hindrance to me in my career in the church					
3.	Lay people were more supportive of me than clergy					
4.	Sometimes I experienced antipathy from my clerical colleagues					
5.	I had good support from my family					
6.	I was content with the opportunities given to me to take part in the wider operations of the church					
7.	I was overloaded with commitments outside my immediate sphere of responsibility					
8.	I found that my theological training had prepared me adequately for my work					
9.	My theological views changed as a result of my experience in ordained ministry					
10.	I rate my level of job satisfaction higher at this time than in my pre-ordination work					

Please use the space below and the following page to expand on any of these matters and to write freely about your feelings and experiences during these years of your ministry

PART F

This part asks about the degree of professionalism in ordained ministry.

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Certain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	I have gained much benefit from clergy training days and conferences					
2.	I have felt a sense of collegiality with other clergy I have worked amongst					
3.	I have been able to follow my own objectives in ministry					
4.	My ministry style has been restricted because of the need to consider the views of lay people					
5.	I have been able to personally support the policies of my bishop and superior clergy					
6.	I have felt the need for better educational qualifications					
7.	The hierarchy of the church treated me with respect at all times					
8.	I maintained a satisfactory level of theological and professional reading					
9.	The moves I have made in my ministry have been in accordance with my own preferences					
10.	I felt myself to be an integral part of the area/diocesan team of clergy					

Please use the space below and the following page to expand on any of these matters and to write freely about your feelings and experiences concerning the professional aspects of your ministry.

PART G

This part deals with matters relating to the role of the clergy.

Consider the following nine activities that have been found to be the principal emphases in church ministry. In the first column, rank these activities (with 1 the highest and 9 the lowest) in the order that you believe is ideal. In the second column, rank the activities in what you believe has been the actual order of emphasis you have given to them during your years of ministry.

Activity	Ideal Priority	Actual Priority
Attracting new ministers		
Gaining converts at home		
Missionary work of the wider church		
Propagating the teachings of Christ		
Providing support for church members		
Providing formal services of worship		
Providing social welfare amenities		
Raising money		
Taking an active part in social and political problems		

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Certain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	The churches now play a minimal role in shaping Australian society					
2.	The place of the churches in Australian society has been a matter of anxiety for me					
3.	The churches should stand out against modern trends in society					
4.	I have been confused about what role I should play as a Christian minister in modern society					
5.	Providing a model of holy living has been more important to me than efficiency in my day-to-day tasks					
6.	I have spent too much time in routine administrative tasks					

Please use the space below and the following page to expand on any of these matters and to write freely about your feelings and experiences in the matter of the role of the clergy in Australian society.

PART H

This final section is an overview of your years as a clergy person in the Anglican Church.

	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Certain	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1.	My "dreams and visions" on entering the ordained ministry have been fulfilled					
2.	I have made little contribution to the overall work of the church in my diocese					
3.	I am satisfied with the level of seniority I have obtained					
4.	I am disappointed by the level of social prestige accorded to me as a clergy person					
5.	The church has acted responsibly towards me as a person					
6.	My family life has suffered through my work as a member of the clergy					
7.	My career in the church has left me in a difficult financial position					
8.	My personal faith has been strengthened by my years in ordained ministry					
9.	I have been able to use my personal gifts better in ordained ministry than in my previous work					
10.	I believe that the Australian Anglican Church has gained through the ordination of mature-age clergy					

Please use the space below and the following page to expand on any of these matters and to write freely about your feelings and experiences regarding your years of ordained ministry. Has it all been worthwhile? (Use extra pages if necessary).

Thank you for completing this questionnaire. I appreciate the time you have taken.

This survey is conducted on the basis of anonymity, but if you would like to give your name and address to enable possible follow-up, please do so here

Name.

Address

.....

Phone

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