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## Some Sociological Factors Influencing Interdenominational Switching in the Protestant Ministry

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**SOME SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING  
INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING IN  
THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY**

**Elizabeth Q. Bulatao**

**A Thesis  
Submitted to the  
Faculty of The Graduate School  
In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirement for the Degree of  
Master of Arts**

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E.Q.B.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION: MOBILITY IN THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY

Religious conversion, the process by which an agnostic becomes a "true believer" or "gets Jesus," or by which a Muslim becomes a Catholic or a Catholic becomes a Jew, has received considerable attention from social scientists at least since the time of William James. By contrast, the movement from one Protestant denomination to another has received much less attention, because it is a far less dramatic change, motivated most of the time by pragmatic rather than by religious reasons, and seldom involving the psychological upheaval that characterizes conversion. These differences, however, make changes in denominational affiliation more amenable to study by survey research techniques, rather than by the depth-psychological techniques necessary to study conversions.

This study uses survey data to illuminate patterns of denominational switching specifically among Protestant ministers. Denominational switching will be considered not as a type of religious conversion, but as a form of career mobility, as

equivalent, say, to a chemical engineer leaving Dow Chemical for Borg-Warner. This study seeks the determinants of denominational switching among ministers, and investigates some of its consequences as well.

Studies of Career Mobility. By career mobility is understood any movement, in the course of an individual's working life, from job to job, whether this involves movement from one position to another in the same organizational hierarchy, or movement from one job to a similar job in a different organization, or movement from one job to an entirely different occupation. In Hughes' terms, it is movement through the "series of statuses and clearly defined offices" that constitute career (1937). "Occupational mobility" will occasionally be used as a synonym for career mobility.

By this definition, career mobility is a form of intra-generational rather than intergenerational mobility. That is, it involves movement by the individual relative to his own past job, rather than relative to his father's occupation or status. The son of a steelworker becoming a lawyer, for instance, is a case of intergenerational mobility but cannot be considered career mobility. Career mobility may be upward, downward, or sideward--it may involve either an increase in status, a decrease in status, or no change in status at all.

Studies of occupational mobility fall into two general categories: studies that abstract from the specific occupation of the mover in order to determine the factors, across occupations, that promote or hinder mobility, and studies that focus on career lines in specific occupations.

Examples of the first category are Lipset and Bendix's (1959) well-known comparison of rates of mobility in industrial societies, Jackson and Crockett's (1964) analysis of trends in occupational mobility in the United States, and Broom and Jones' (1969) comparison of career mobility in Australia, Italy, and the United States. Vertical mobility has received considerably more attention in these studies than horizontal mobility. Blau and Duncan (1967), in summarizing their own findings on the basis of data from their survey of "Occupational Changes in a Generation," provide a convenient summary of the correlates of mobility investigated in these studies. Other issues, such as methodological problems and historical trends in occupational structure, also concern Blau and Duncan, but as far as the individual's occupational mobility is concerned, their main conclusions about what promotes mobility may be listed thus:

- 1<sup>1</sup> The main factor that determine's a man's chances of

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<sup>1</sup>Numbering supplied.

upward mobility is the level on which he starts. The lower the level from which a person starts, the greater is the probability that he will be upwardly mobile, simply because many more occupational destinations entail upward mobility for men with low origins than for those with high ones (1967:401-402).

2. A man's social origins exert a considerable influence on his chances of occupational success, but his own training and early experience exert a more pronounced influence on his success chances . . . . Social origin, education, and career beginnings account for somewhat less than half the variance in occupational achievement (pp. 402-403).
3. The significance of other conditions, such as ethnic background, for occupational success is not independent of that of social and career origins and of education. . . . Low social origins are associated with a variety of factors that have adverse effects on occupational chances (p. 403).
4. Minority group handicaps are challenges for as well as impediments to achievement. They create obstacles to success and simultaneously provide a screening test of the capacity to meet difficulties, with the result that those members of the minority who have conquered their initial handicaps and passed the screening test are a select group with high potential for continuing achievement (p. 407).
5. Migrants achieve generally higher occupational status than non-migrants, whether the reference is to a man's leaving the region of his birth or to his moving after age 16 from the community where he was raised (p. 408).
6. Broken families spell lower occupational achievements for both the children and the husband, though it is not clear whether the husband's less successful career is a consequence of the marriage break-up or helps to precipitate it (p. 410).
7. Men from large families are less likely to achieve high status in their careers than those from small families

of the same socio-economic stratum. . . . the adverse effect of a large family on future success is most pronounced for oldest children, less pronounced for middle children, and least pronounced for youngest children (pp. 410-411).

8. Men who successfully have overcome obstacles to their advancement are more likely to progress to still higher levels of attainment than those who had never to confront such problems (p. 411).
9. Higher occupational classes have fewer children than lower ones, though the relationship is not entirely linear because the lower rather than the top white-collar strata have the smallest number of children. . . . The experience of mobility in either direction [upward or downward] has a minor depressing effect on fertility, which is greatly overshadowed by the cumulative effects of present occupational status and origin status on fertility (pp. 413-414).

Several of these conclusions about social factors in mobility lead to specific hypotheses regarding mobility in the ministry, which shall be taken up later in this chapter.

In the second category of occupational mobility studies are such studies as Oswald Hall's article, "The Stages of a Medical Career" (1948), and D.L. Westby's "The Career Experience of the Symphony Musician" (1960). Albert Reiss, Jr. has taken a somewhat more comparative perspective in "Occupational Mobility of Professional Workers" (1955). Using Carr-Saunders' distinction of four types of professions, namely, the old-established professions, the new professions, the semi-professions, and the would-be professions, Reiss examined social origins and mobility

patterns in each category. (A fifth category not identified by Carr-Saunders, the marginal professions, i.e., those who perform technical assignments associated with professional assignments, was included for comparative purposes.) Reiss' sample consisted of 654 white males, from four cities, who had held a professional job at some time during the years 1940 through 1950, and who worked one month or more in 1950. Across the professional categories, "the less established the professional status, the greater the opportunity for persons to enter or move within the status but the greater also the risk of losing that status when changes are made in occupational assignment"(1955:696). Reiss found that men in the established professions were the oldest and men in the marginal professions the youngest. The percentage of men who had never married was higher among those in the semi-professional and marginal occupations than among other professionals. On the variable of education, the findings were that a college or a professional school training was a requisite for entry into the established professions but not for entry into the marginal professions. Finally, it was found that men in the established and would-be professions were most likely to be migrants--almost all of the young men in these categories migrated early in their career, which suggested that they were ready to

change their residence to achieve occupational mobility. Of the other studies in this category, those that focus on the ministerial profession require consideration in greater detail.

Mobility in the Ministry. Moberg (1962) has observed that because of the "sacred" nature of the profession of the ministry and the relative flatness of organizational hierarchies in religious bodies, few studies directly relate to occupational mobility within the clergy.

One of the earliest studies was done by Moxcey in 1922. Moxcey was interested in the qualities associated with success in the Methodist ministry. She asked 51 ministers to rate the capabilities of their colleagues for performing specified ministerial activities. A total of 487 ministers were rated. Moxcey found that ministers who were rated good preachers and good executives were actually receiving the highest salaries. Executive ability was slightly more important in obtaining a better-paying job than preaching, but both of these were considerably more important than pastoral ability. Moxcey also sought to determine whether those who got higher grades in the seminary became more successful ministers. Of the 310 graduates of three Methodist Episcopal theological schools she received responses from, those who got higher grades were less likely to



become missionaries but were more likely to hold executive positions.

Focussing on the effect of training was May's (1934) monumental study of theological education in America. May's data included the 1926 Census of Religious Bodies, additional questionnaires circulated among more than 5,000 clergy, histories of ministers from denominational yearbooks, and special surveys of parishes and ministers in Connecticut, in rural Illinois, and in certain areas of Chicago. May assigned ministers to one of four categories according to their education: both college and seminary, only seminary, only college, and neither college nor seminary. He found that pastors with both college and seminary training had the largest congregations, and "college only" pastors had larger congregations than those who had only seminary training. Both trained and untrained clergymen began in small churches averaging 142 members. However, the trained gained an average of 6.1 members per year while the untrained gained only 3.4 members. Promotions (in terms of larger congregations) could be attributed to better training, but training failed in increasing the ministers' own salaries. May found that even when the size of the community in which a minister's congregation was located and its occupational

structure were controlled, the trained ministers still enjoyed an advantage over the untrained. The importance assigned to education is in agreement with the second point quoted from Blau and Duncan above, that training is more important than social origins. May also concluded that the trained ministers were more successful in other areas: in organizing social services for their congregations, in terms of the value of the property owned by their congregations, and in terms of having more social insight into their communities.

On the surface, O'Donovan and Deegan's study (1963) of 1453 Roman Catholic pastors contradicts May's emphasis on education. O'Donovan and Deegan tested the hypothesis that "seniority rather than previous administrative experience and other verifiable manifestations of technical preparedness is the main factor in determining the incumbent to the religious manager's role" (p. 61). The hypothesis was partly confirmed: the majority of pastors felt that seniority was the major determinant in their peers becoming pastors, but tended to believe that their own promotions were the result of merit and experience.

However, Fichter (1961) points out that the Catholic hierarchy is relatively flat, with only four levels: the laity, pastors, bishops, and the pope. He says: "Every parochial

curate must 'wait his turn,' which means the turn of his ordination class, when openings are available. Seniority in this case is the traditional example of the desire of the Bishop to be absolutely fair to all candidates for promotion" (1961:169).

A second reason for promotion by seniority is the difficulty in measuring achievement in the priestly role. Fichter argues that an average priest can easily perform routine administrative functions, and, by the very nature of his calling, is expected to uphold certain moral values. Consequently, neither administrative nor moral achievement is considered as important a criterion as seniority. Among religious functionaries other than diocesan priests, however, the criterion for promotion is not primarily seniority, but in addition, "conformity to the spirit and the rules of the organization. . . ." (1961:169). Fichter stresses the distinction between the diocesan priest and other religious functionaries, because the latter do not have a definite pattern of career expectations within their organization. Members of religious orders and congregations, for instance, have two channels of upward mobility: (1) various offices within the organization itself to which one may be appointed, and (2) positions in the apostolate or external works of the organization. In the latter, while seniority and

personal virtue cannot be entirely excluded, they are obviously not as important as technical competence. The implication of Fichter's analysis is that the importance of education for mobility may be somewhat reduced by social-structural or organizational factors, but even among the Catholic clergy the better-trained still enjoy some advantage.

To return to studies of Protestant ministers, Lawson (1955), like O'Donovan and Deegan, found age to be a main variable in ministerial success for 57 Chicago ministers, with sponsorship as a secondary factor. Denominational executives felt that 7 to 10 years experience was needed before a minister was equipped to work in a big city. Thus the pastor is at the peak of his profession between the ages of 36 and 49, and by age 50 should have found his level. Lawson also confirmed that congregational size was the basic standard for ministerial success. Ministers with larger congregations also had higher salaries and better reputations. Other physical indices of success, such as the favorability of the location of a minister's church and the state of the physical plant, all derive from the size of the congregation. In Lawson's sample the ministers' congregations averaged 630 members, with the oldest ministers having the largest congregations, and the youngest the smallest.

The question of education versus experience or seniority as a factor in ministerial success cannot be finally settled on the basis of these studies.

Other studies have focussed on aspects of a minister's family background that may be related to mobility. Allen (1955) attempted to relate childhood background factors to achievement within the Methodist church for 316 white Methodist ministers. Achievement was determined on the basis of ministers' status, and status was measured in terms of annual salary, since Allen believes that the status system within the Methodist church is clearly reflected in salaries. He found that high achievement was correlated with growing up in large rather than small communities, with attendance at the largest schools, with mobility of the minister's family of orientation prior to his high school graduation, with the minister's father being a professional or a proprietor, with having fewer siblings, with feeling a sense of equality with one's mother at an early age, with acceptance as an equal by the respondent's father in early life, and with a happy family of orientation.

More recently, Smith and Sjoberg (1961) drew a sample of 297 elite Protestant clergymen, representing eight major Protestant denominations, from the 1958-59 edition of Who's Who

in America in order to investigate socio-economic origins, career patterns, and some characteristics of their families of procreation. The majority of this elite group spent their childhood and youth in urban centers--i.e., places larger than 2,500 in population--and came from high status families. More than any other occupational grouping, the families in the professional category produced the greatest number of ministers. The data also indicated, however, a tendency for the younger ministerial elite to come from somewhat lower status backgrounds, thereby pointing to a recent broadening of the recruitment base. There was also a low incidence of family disorganization in the families of these elite clergymen, and the authors assume that such family stability enhanced the clergymen's chances for advanced education. Almost all of the ministers were college graduates and many had pursued graduate studies. Smith and Sjoberg found that the clergymen had a mean of 7.2 major occupational shifts, but they point out this is most likely an underestimate. As to their family of procreation, these elite clergymen married advantageously and had sons who were relatively successful. Their wives also came from high status family backgrounds and had relatively high education, and, significantly, over 15 per cent were ministers' daughters. The average number of children was 3.3.

Somewhat parallel findings for 572 ministers of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod are reported by Scherer (1963a, 1963b). Among these ministers Scherer identified a "ministerial 'elite' which is privileged and advantaged by virtue of birth in professional church homes and attendance at the Synod's 'West Point' (St. Louis) seminary" (1963b:10). While entrance to this elite stratum is occasionally open to those who are not sons of clergy, those who are clergy sons distinguish themselves from the non-sons in that they seem to possess a "greater sense of professionalism, more sober concepts of 'call,' broader concepts of reference" (1963b:10). Scherer also examined a sub-group of 101 ministers who occupied policy positions. He found them to be more enthusiastic and to possess greater organizational knowledge and skill than any other group within the Synod. They were also the most conservative bloc in the church, but, nevertheless, were highly honored and respected by their colleagues. Of all the ministers, these men had the fewest doubts about their suitability for the ministry. Scherer believes that had these men not entered the ministry, they would probably have gone into medical, welfare, or sales personnel fields rather than into teaching.

The Lutheran ministers, in general, were described as

"itinerants" when compared with other professionals whose work lives are usually stable in a particular community. After his initial call, the minister is relatively free to accept or reject "calls" or offers made him by congregations or church agencies. Scherer found that he held each position for an average of six years; the 572 ministers had held an average of three and a half positions. Relatively more frequent moves were made in the early part of their careers. Movement is generally

from smaller parishes with less responsibility and prestige to large ones, with greater prestige and perquisites, at the same time being honored with successively more important honorary elective or appointive offices as seniority progresses. Or the minister can move from the parish area into academic or executive work. Foreign missions is one of the few special fields the seminary graduate can enter directly. Executive positions presuppose prior parish experience and thus tend to be entered somewhat later than non-parish fields (1963a:4).

Regarding the relationship of seniority to career mobility, age seems to be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for movement to positions of eminence.

Two studies have examined the effects of different kinds of church polity upon the mobility rates of ministers. Rodehaver and Smith (1951) present some provocative arguments about how congregational type denominations favor greater mobility among their ministers than episcopal type denominations. The authors



hypothesize that ministers of congregational-type denominations are more success-oriented than episcopal-type ministers and therefore move more frequently. It is argued that in a congregational authority structure the securing of ministers for a church is in the nature of a contractual relationship, so that individual clergymen operate in a free-market situation. In the episcopal type, the relationship between the minister, his denominational supervisors, and his church is more bureaucratic, and therefore, episcopal type clergymen are required to be more disinterested and more idealistic as a result of their institutionally structured situation. In support for these hypotheses, the authors examined interchurch mobility (movement from one pastorate to another within a given denomination) among congregational-type Universalist ministers. Most of the reasons advanced for mobility reflected the "success" motive--financial reasons, the desire for wider service, educational and cultural advantages, attraction to a larger congregation, and lack of denominational cooperation. Other reasons advanced that were of doubtful value to the hypotheses were incompatibility, health, and desire for a smaller congregation. The authors believe that financial betterment as a motive is really stronger than was actually indicated.

Rodehaver and Smith also examined the socio-economic effects of such moves. Two out of three moves meant ascent on the socio-economic ladder, while only one out of five meant descent. Younger men less than 10 years in the service had more successful moves; for those more than 10 years in the service, half of their moves were to higher income, one third to a decrease in income. Ministers who were more migratory were more "success" motivated and more successful than those who stayed. It is also pointed out that the mention of "incompatibility" between pastors and parishioners is further evidence of the conduciveness of a congregational authority pattern to mobility. Since both minister and parishioners have about equal power, the minister may choose to flee from an intolerable situation. In the episcopal polity, however, there is much adherence to traditionalism and parishioners tend to accept and respect the pastor's authority more.

Statistical evidence was also gathered on the length of pastorates among Roman Catholics, Episcopalians, and Universalists. Rodehaver and Smith found that in half of the localities, Catholic pastors had the longest tenure, followed by the Episcopalians, and then the Universalists, and that the frequency of migration increases as the employment of ministers approaches

the free market situation. Congregational-type ministers experienced isolation and feelings of being neglected by authorities in the denominational structure. The authors believe that such feelings are less typical within a bureaucratic system. These findings were essentially confirmed by Smith (1953) for a different sample of Episcopalians and Universalists.

Contrary to Rodehaver and Smith, however, Mitchell (1966), using a national sample of ministers from eight Protestant denominations, found that "broad differences in denominational polity have little or no effect on various features of inter-church mobility" (p. 257). Mitchell had evidence that organizational control over ministers increased as one moved from autonomous (congregational) to collegial to hierarchical bodies but no evidence that this affected mobility. Rather, Mitchell found that "the major organizational influence on rates of mobility was found in the hierarchical stratification of churches according to their relative attractiveness" (p. 257). Contrary to respondents' statements that they based their career decisions primarily if not exclusively on non-material criteria, his findings clearly indicated that material considerations played an important part in organizing the ministerial labor market and in motivating the career decisions of ministers.

The following table summarizes the major factors which influence success and mobility in the ministry as reported in the studies just discussed. The influencing factors may be grouped into four categories: (1) social origins and family variables; (2) educational backgrounds and work experience of successful clergymen; (3) attitudinal and ideological factors; and (4) structural features of denominations. The various samples utilized in these studies are listed so that one may better evaluate the generalizability and significance of the findings. These findings generally agree with those of Blau and Duncan quoted earlier, which applied to occupations in general. For instance, the emphases on education and on family stability are parallel in both sets of findings. It is also apparent that clergy mobility studies have concentrated largely on various aspects of intradenominational mobility and little on interdenominational mobility.

Statement of the Problem and Hypotheses. This study is concerned with interdenominational switching, and seeks to complement the findings regarding intradenominational mobility. Because of one peculiarity in the data to be used (which shall be taken up in greater detail in Chapter II), it will not be possible to distinguish interdenominational switching

TABLE 1.1

**FACTORS RELATED TO MOBILITY AND SUCCESS IN THE PROTESTANT MINISTRY:  
SUMMARY OF SIGNIFICANT EMPIRICAL FINDINGS FROM PREVIOUS STUDIES**

Factors	Sample	Date	Authors
1. Marital stability of family of orientation; low incidence of family disorganization	316 White Methodist ministers 291 elite clergy from 17 denominations	1955 1961	Allen Smith & Sjoberg
2. Fewer siblings	316 Methodists	1955	Allen
3. Sense of equality with mother at an early age; feelings of acceptance as an equal by father	316 Methodists	1955	Allen
4. High status families of orientation	316 Methodists 297 elite clergy 572 Lutheran ministers	1955 1961 1963	Allen Smith & Sjoberg Scherer
5. Childhood and youth spent in urban areas	316 Methodists 297 elite clergy	1955 1961	Allen Smith & Sjoberg
6. Mobility of family of orientation during minister's high school years	316 Methodists	1955	Allen
7. Small family of procreation	297 elite clergy	1961	Smith & Sjoberg

TABLE 1.1--Continued

Factors	Sample	Date	Authors
8. Wife's high-status background and education	297 elite clergy	1961	Smith & Sjoberg
9. Overall professional training; both college and seminary training; attendance at largest schools	Methodist ministers: 487 from N.Y., 25 studied over 15 years, 310 theological school graduates 67,429 ministers from a national census; an additional 5,000 ministers; 248 ministers from denominational yearbooks	1922 1934	Moxcey May
	297 elite clergy	1961	Smith & Sjoberg
	572 Lutheran ministers	1963	S herer
10. Seniority; age	57 Chicago ministers from 7 denominations	1955	Lawson
	1,453 Catholic priests from the West and Midwest	1963	O'Donovan & Deegan
11. Executive ability; organizational skills	822 Methodist ministers	1922	Moxcey
	572 Lutheran ministers	1963	Scherer

TABLE 1.1--Continued

Factors	Sample	Date	Authors
12. Having held more ministerial positions	297 elite clergy 572 Lutheran ministers	1961 1963	Smith & Sjoberg Scherer
13. Sponsorship	57 Chicago ministers	1955	Law on
14. Stronger success motivation	Universalist ministers	1951	Rodehaver & Smith
15. Confidence in own suitability for the ministry	572 Lutheran ministers	1964	Scherer
16. Ideological instrumentalism	Universalist ministers	1951	Rodehaver & Smith
17. Conservatism	572 Lutheran ministers	1963	Scherer
18. Congregational size; congregational property; attractiveness of physical plant	822 Methodist ministers 57 Chicago ministers	1922 1955	Moxcey Lawson
19. Congregational type of denominational polity	Universalist ministers 24 Episcopal and Congregational clergy in a metropolitan area	1951 1953	Rodehaver & Smith Smith
20. Hierarchical stratification of churches according to attractiveness	3,928 ministers from 8 denominations	1966	Mitchell

that involves an increase, a decrease, or no change in status. Nevertheless, it is a general assumption of this study that most interdenominational switching involves an increase or at least does not involve a decrease in status, and the hypotheses to be presented were developed with this assumption in mind. As inferential evidence that this assumption is reasonable, one may cite Rodehaver and Smith's (1951) finding that two out of three ministerial moves were upward and that most moves were success-motivated, and Scherer's (1963a) finding that movement was generally toward larger congregations and greater responsibility.

Interdenominational switching will be defined as movement by a minister from one Protestant denomination to another at any time in his life. Two Protestant denominations will be considered different, and therefore movement between them will be considered switching, if they have distinct organizational structures. Thus, a change of affiliation between two denominations that later merge will be considered switching if the change was made before the merger became official. The causes of switching are dealt with in the first three main hypotheses and some of its consequences in the fourth.

Hypothesis I. A minister is more likely to switch denominations if he comes from a social background more generally conducive to mobility. A particular set of social background



factors contributes to a minister having a "mobile personality,"<sup>2</sup> and therefore increases the likelihood that he will switch denominations. The sub-hypotheses following specify these social background factors.

- IA. Ministers whose fathers were professionals and white-collar workers are more likely to switch than ministers whose fathers were skilled, semi-skilled, or farm workers. Ministers whose fathers were also ministers are an exception: they are very unlikely to switch.
- IB. Ministers who lived in more urbanized areas during their high school years will tend to have more mobile personalities than those who lived in less urbanized areas.
- IC. Ministers with more education will tend to have more mobile personalities than those with less education.

Hypothesis II. Ministers with more experience and with more years in the ministry are more likely to have switched than those with less experience. Ministers who have held more positions within a particular denomination are more likely to switch between denominations.

Hypothesis III. Ministers with more liberal attitudes will tend to have more mobile personalities than ministers with more conservative attitudes.

- IIIA. Ministers who lived in more urbanized areas during their high school years will tend to have more liberal attitudes than ministers who lived in less urbanized areas.
- IIIB. Ministers who have more years of education will tend to have more liberal attitudes than ministers with less education.

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<sup>2</sup>This is purely a hypothetical construct, and no attempt will be made to directly measure it. The construct is useful, however, for expository purposes.

Hypothesis IV. Ministers who switch denominations are more successful than ministers who have not switched denominations.

- IVA. Ministers who have switched denominations will have larger congregations than ministers who have not switched.
- IVB. Ministers who have switched denominations will have congregations with larger budgets than ministers who have not switched.
- IVC. Ministers who have switched denominations will consider themselves more suited to the ministry and will express greater satisfaction with their monetary rewards than those who have not switched.

Sample and Method. The subjects for this study will be approximately 5,000 ministers affiliated with the major white Protestant denominations in the United States. In the summer of 1964 these ministers responded to a survey questionnaire distributed by the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States. The present study involves a secondary analysis of this NCC survey,<sup>3</sup> which was originally intended to determine levels of compensation among clergymen in the United States.

The 15 major white Protestant communions were included in the survey sample. Executives from each denomination were

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<sup>3</sup>The data were made available by Professor Ross P. Scherer, who conducted the survey when he was Director of Research Operations in the Bureau of Research and Survey of the National Council of the Churches of Christ.

asked to randomly draw names of ministers from lists restricted to local parish clergy, who totaled 110,000 from all fifteen communions in 1964.<sup>4</sup> In this manner 8,492 were selected, and subsequently 5,623 of these returned the questionnaires they received.

Previous analyses of this data have been reported in a paper on levels of compensation in the ministry<sup>5</sup> (Scherer, 1964) and a more general discussion of central tendencies and variations among white Protestant ministers<sup>6</sup> (Scherer, 1965).

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<sup>4</sup>The sample of Southern Baptist Convention ministers was stratified and the proportion of clergy in larger-sized churches was increased. Samples from all the other denominations were completely random.

<sup>5</sup>The major findings were: ministers had received modest incomes in 1963, generally below those of most professional men and just slightly above those of factory workers. Their median cash salary was \$5,158, plus about \$1,800 in additional benefits. Income was dependent on size of church membership and on the size of the community in which the church was located. Income also tended to increase with amount of academic training and with years of pastoral experience. Very few ministers reported an annual increase in salary or a regular annual review of their salary situation by their congregations.

<sup>6</sup>This second paper compared the 15 denominations in terms of: (1) social base and "personnel capacity" (the ability to recruit ministers); (2) fiscal capacity of congregational units; (3) "personnel-caring" structure and processes, i.e., arrangements for compensation of ministers and provisions for their support; (4) conceptions held by the clergy of their own roles; and (5) incentives, satisfactions, and points of strain in the ministry. Personnel capacity and fiscal capacity were related, with those denominations that had originated as branches of

Of primary significance for the present study is the finding that 26 per cent of the ministers had changed their denominational affiliation at some time in their lives (Scherer, 1965). Switching, then, is not an insignificant factor in the ministerial career. Denominations with the highest percentages of ministers formerly affiliated with other denominations were the United Church of Christ, the American Baptist Convention, the Protestant Episcopal Church, and the United Presbyterian Church. Next highest are the Church of God, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and the United Brethren. The three Lutheran denominations (particularly the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod), the Southern Baptist Convention, the Church of the Brethren, and the Disciples had received the fewest switchers (Scherer, 1965:9). Some additional findings about patterns of movement between denominations will be discussed in Chapter II.

The original survey data had been punched on IBM cards.

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churches being higher on both than those that had originated as sects. The "high capacity" denominations recruited their clergy from higher social backgrounds, had higher degrees of professionalization, were more frequently able to coopt members of a minister's family to assist in congregational work, paid higher salaries, and had larger staffs serving each congregation. High capacity was also related to greater acceptance of worldly involvement and a dislike of technical-administrative tasks. All the ministers considered traditional pastoral functions a central part of their role.

In sorting these, it was discovered that most of the cards for one denomination, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, were missing. In addition, a few cases seemed to be missing from other denominations, and some cards were apparently missing from particular cases.<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless about 5,500 cases remained, and the decision was made to carry out the secondary analysis with this reduced sample, excluding the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod from any analyses that involved denominational affiliation. Hence some slight differences may be expected between tabulations in this study and some tabulations previously reported for the same survey (Scherer, 1965).

All the variables involved in the previously stated hypotheses were operationalized in terms of responses to particular questions or sets of questions from the survey questionnaire. Several indices had to be constructed, such as a liberalism index and a satisfaction index (which are discussed in the appropriate chapters). Cross-tabulations of variables hypothesized to be related, tests of association, and the computation of mean scores for sub-groups of the sample and of t-tests are the essentials of the analysis to be reported.

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<sup>7</sup>Correspondence with the Bureau of Applied Social Research of the National Council of the Churches of Christ failed to turn up the missing cards.

Each of the following chapters reviews the evidence for and against one of the main hypotheses of this study. Thus, Chapter II is concerned with the social origins of switchers and non-switchers, Chapter III with differences in their work experiences, Chapter IV with attitudinal factors involved in switching, and Chapter V with comparing switchers and non-switchers on different standards of success. Chapter VI attempts a theoretical re-interpretation of the findings.

## CHAPTER II

### THE INFLUENCE OF A MINISTER'S SOCIAL BACKGROUND ON INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING

Of the 5,623 Protestant ministers in this study, 3,794 answered the question: "Were you ever affiliated with any other denominations previous to your present affiliation?" For one reason or another, information is not available on the remaining ministers. Those who admitted they had switched totalled 952, or 25.1 per cent of those who answered this question.

Table 2.1 indicates that those who admitted having switched are spread out among all the denominations included in this study. In the table, the denominations are ordered, so that it is the United Church of Christ that has the highest percentage of previous switchers among its surveyed ministers, the Protestant Episcopal Church that has the second highest percentage, and the two Lutheran bodies, the American Lutheran Church and the Lutheran Church in America, that have the lowest. The United Church of Christ is composed of three churches of historic importance, the Congregational Church, the Christian Church, and the Evangelical and Reformed Church (Mead, 1970:208), and is relatively

TABLE 2.1  
NUMBER OF SWITCHERS AND NON-SWITCHERS BY PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION

Present Denomination		Switching				Total
		Switchers		Non-switchers		
		n	%	n	%	
United Church of Christ	(UCC)*	47		37		84
			56.6		44.0	
Protestant Episcopal Church	(PEC)	218		311		529
			41.2		58.8	
United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.	(UPC)	92		138		230
			40.0		60.0	
Church of God	(CG)	30		47		77
			39.0		61.0	
American Baptist Convention	(ABC)	96		166		262
			36.6		63.4	
Presbyterian Church in The U.S.	(PCUS)	41		94		135
			30.4		69.6	
Evangelical United Brethren	(EUB)	26		60		86
			30.2		69.8	
Reformed Church in America	(RCA)	25		80		105
			23.8		76.2	
Methodist Church	(METH)	143		495		638
			22.4		77.6	
Christian Churches (Disciples)	(DISC)	53		239		292
			18.2		81.8	
Church of the Brethren	(CB)	17		80		97
			17.5		82.5	



Southern Baptist Convention	(SBC)	86		507		593
			14.5		85.5	
Lutheran Church in America	(LCA)	48		304		352
			13.6		86.4	
American Lutheran Church	(ALC)	25		257		284
			8.9		91.1	
Other		5		27		32
			15.6		84.4	
<hr/>						
Church-originated Denominations		496		122		1717
			28.9		71.1	
Sect-originated Denominations		456		1621		2077
			22.0		78.0	
<hr/>						
All Denominations		952		2842		3794
			25.1		74.9	
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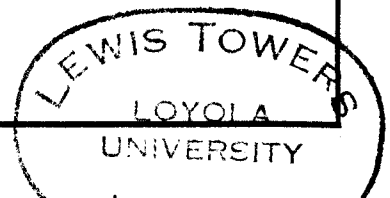
\*The above abbreviations for denominations will be used in subsequent tables.

"ecumenical," so that it is not surprising that it receives the most switchers. Except for the Church of God, all the denominations receiving the most switchers have more humanistic theologies, are ethnically more old-American, belong to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and participate in the Consultation on Church Union. Thus, these denominations are more "ecumenical" and more receptive to "come-outers" than, for instance, the more exclusivist Lutherans.<sup>1</sup>

The 14 denominations were classified, following Nottingham (1954), according to whether they originated as sects and eventually "settled down," or whether they were established by migrants as branches of state churches in the old country. The church-originated denominations are the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., the Reformed Church in America, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American Lutheran Church, the Lutheran Church in America, and the United Church of Christ; the sect-originated denominations are the Methodist Church, the American Baptist Convention, the Southern Baptist Convention, the Christian Churches (Disciples), the Church of God (Anderson, Indiana), the Evangelical United Brethren, and the Church of the Brethren (Scherer, 1965:28).

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<sup>1</sup>Ross P. Scherer, private communication.



The second panel in Table 2.1 indicates that church-originated denominations received significantly more switchers than sect-originated denominations ( $\chi^2(1)=23.9$ ,  $p < .001$ ). According to Scherer (1965:20), church-originated denominations "...possess higher capacities in social levels of ministerial recruitment, professionalization, family cooptation, compensation, and congregational staff provision. The sect-originated bodies seem generally to be lower in these resources." Higher capacities may partly explain the greater power to attract ministers of these church-originated denominations.

The data on where the switching ministers came from is sketchy, since half of the switchers did not answer this question. It should also be noted that the questionnaire did not ask how many moves a minister had made, so that the previous denomination listed for a switching minister may have been his first denomination, his last previous denomination, or something in between if he made more than one move. These cautions aside, Table 2.2 classifies the ministers who switched by previous and by present denomination.

Preferential exchange of ministers seems to exist between denominations of the same "family" (e.g., between the United Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., and

TABLE 2.2  
NUMBER OF MINISTERS SWITCHING BETWEEN DENOMINATIONS

Present Denomi- nation*	Previous Denomination														Total
	UCC	PEC	UPC	CG	ABC	PCUS	EUB	RCA	METH	DISC	CB	SBC	LCA	ALC	
UCC	4	1	2	0	1	0	5	1	7	4	0	0	0	0	25
PEC	23	0	6	0	3	1	1	0	64	5	0	5	2	1	111
UPC	11	3	0	0	1	10	1	4	12	2	0	2	0	0	46
CG	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	8	1	1	1	0	0	13
ABC	6	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	8	5	0	27	2	0	53
PCUS	6	1	13	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	0	26
EUB	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	9
RCA	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	2	6	0	0	0	1	0	14
METH	8	1	0	2	2	3	7	0	1	7	1	7	3	0	42
DISC	6	1	1	0	2	2	0	0	11	2	0	5	1	0	31
CB	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	7
SBC	1	0	1	1	15	1	2	1	16	3	1	0	0	0	42
LCA	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	1	1	0	0	9	21
ALC	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	1	0	3	0	10
Total	75	9	29	3	26	20	22	8	151	30	6	48	13	10	450

\*Refer to Table 2.1 on page 31 for full names of denominations.

between the American and the Southern Baptist Convention). Some denominations can be characterized as primarily "producers" of ministers (Blau, 1965; Scherer, 1965) for other denominations--the Baptists and the Methodists--and others as primarily "receivers" of switching ministers--the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Reformed Church in America, and the Church of God. The Lutheran groups and the Church of the Brethren seem to be largely self-contained, neither producing switchers nor receiving them. The factor of "elective affinity" (to use Weber's phrase) may help explain some of the movement--that is, members of sect-originated bodies feel drawn to "mother," the representative American body from which the sect came, as for instance, in the case of the Methodists going "home" to "mother" Episcopal church. In the special case of the Lutherans, this would suggest their going home to the Catholic Church, but this movement is blocked by celibacy and by ethnic and political factors.<sup>2</sup>

Because of the uncertainty of the data regarding denominational origins, subsequent analysis will be solely in terms of present affiliation. These brief notes on institutional factors involved in ministerial switching lead now to investigation of individual differences between switchers and non-switchers.

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<sup>2</sup>This interpretation was suggested by Ross P. Scherer, private communication.

It was hypothesized in Chapter I that ministers who switch denominations come from social backgrounds more conducive to mobility. Aspects of social background to be considered are: (1) being a minister's son versus not being a minister's son; (2) father's occupation, for those whose fathers are not ministers; (3) the size of the community the respondent minister lived in during high school; and (4) his amount of education.

Clergy Sonship. Only 17.6 per cent of the ministers whose fathers were also ministers switched denominations, as compared with 26.0 per cent of the ministers whose fathers had some other occupation (Table 2.3). This difference is significant ( $\chi^2(1) = 13.2$ ,  $p < .001$ ), so that having a minister for a father substantially reduces a minister's chances of switching. It may be suggested, in explanation, that the families of orientation of clergy sons may be more committed to their respective denominations than the families of orientation of non-sons. The ministerial profession may also be seen as a type of proprietary occupation like a farm or a family business enterprise, in which the father expects at least one son to succeed to his ministry. It is not unlikely that the socialization of the son emphasizes loyalty to one denomination, discouraging switching.

Another type of explanation is that sons of ministers may

TABLE 2.3  
NUMBER OF SWITCHERS AND NON-SWITCHERS  
AMONG SONS OF CLERGY AND AMONG NON-SONS

Switching	Sonship				Total	
	Sons of Clergy		Non-sons			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Switchers	72	17.6	856	26.0	928	25.1
Non-switchers	337	82.4	2435	74.0	2772	74.9
Total	409	100.0	3291	100.0	3700	100.0

$$\chi^2 = 13.2, p < .001.$$

have more opportunities for career mobility within their denominations, and therefore, less incentive to switch. To check this explanation, sons and non-sons were classified according to how many different ministerial positions they had held. As Table 2.4 indicates, sons and non-sons have held approximately the same number of positions. This fails to confirm this explanation, but it is still worth noting that ministers' sons are not restricted in their career mobility within their original denominations despite showing less interdenominational movement.

TABLE 2.4  
NUMBER OF SONS OF CLERGY AND NON-SONS  
WHO HAVE HELD DIFFERENT NUMBERS OF POSITIONS

Number of Positions Held	Sonship				Total	
	Sons of Clergy		Non-sons			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	83	21.8	670	21.9	753	21.9
2	76	19.9	694	22.7	770	22.4
3	72	18.9	591	19.4	663	19.3
4	61	16.0	442	14.6	504	14.7
5	41	10.8	253	8.3	294	8.6
6	19	5.0	177	5.8	196	5.7
7	17	4.5	105	3.4	122	3.6
8	6	1.6	51	1.7	57	1.7
9+	6	1.6	70	2.3	76	2.1
Total	381	100.0	3054	100.0	3435	100.0

Turning now to the effect of sonship on switching among the various denominations, Table 2.5 shows more non-sons than sons who have switched in 11 out of 14 denominations. The three denominations where this is not so are the Presbyterian Church in the U.S., the Church of the Brethren, and the Southern Baptist



TABLE 2.5

PER CENT SWITCHING AMONG SONS OF CLERGY AND AMONG NON-SONS  
BY PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION

Present Denomination	Sonship		Total
	Sons of Clergy	Non- Sons	
UCC	41.7	58.3	56.0
PEC	32.0	42.4	41.2
UPC	31.6	41.8	40.0
CG	16.7	40.6	39.0
ABC	29.4	37.7	36.6
PCUS	33.3	29.9	30.4
EUB	11.1	32.9	30.2
RCA	11.1	25.0	23.8
METH	12.7	22.9	22.4
DISC	3.4	20.2	18.2
CB	25.0	17.4	17.5
SBC	15.6	14.4	14.5
LCA	6.7	14.2	13.6
ALC	7.5	9.2	8.9
Church- originated	21.1	30.0	28.9
Sect- originated	13.9	22.8	22.0
Total	17.6	26.0	25.1

Convention. In general, more sons and more non-sons switch into church-originated denominations than into sect-originated ones.

Father's Occupation. Regarding the effects of father's occupation in general, it was hypothesized in Chapter I that high status occupations are more conducive to minister sons being mobile. This hypothesis seems most reasonable if the switching involved is vertically upward. No distinction was made in this study between upward, downward, and sideward mobility however. Nevertheless, the hypothesis is still maintained. Rodehaver and Smith (1951) found that Universalist ministers who moved from one pastorate to another were more successful in socio-economic terms. In accordance with this finding, it is inferred that switchers are generally more successful, and, therefore, the usual relationship between higher status occupations of fathers and mobility in terms of interdenominational switching for the sons should obtain.

The data in Table 2.6 seem to give some support to the hypothesis. There is a slightly greater tendency for switching among ministers whose fathers have held higher status occupations. Switching is highest for ministers whose fathers held technical and related jobs, as well as service, professional, and skilled occupations; those who switched the least are minis-

TABLE 2.6  
NUMBER OF SWITCHERS AND NON-SWITCHERS  
BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Switching		Father's Occupation*									Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
Switchers	n	198	41	47	185	108	24	25	156	1	782
	%	29.2	26.8	30.9	28.8	27.6	30.4	26.5	19.0	14.3	26.0
Non-switchers	n	481	112	105	457	283	55	61	665	6	2225
	%	70.8	73.2	69.1	71.2	72.4	69.6	73.5	81.0	85.7	74.0
Total		679	153	152	642	391	79	83	821	7	3007

- \*Father's Occupation:
- (1) Professional, Public Official, Administrator, Officer
  - (2) Other Executive or Managerial
  - (3) Technician, Sales, Clerical
  - (4) Skilled
  - (5) Semi-skilled
  - (6) Service
  - (7) Common labor
  - (8) Farm
  - (9) Other, including the Armed Forces

ters whose fathers were in farming and in the Armed Forces. Not only is the occupation of farming a particularizing background, but both farming and the military are occupations that, presumably, are more congruent with family structures that are more authoritarian and dogmatic; therefore, men in such positions are prone to be more traditional and conservative, in turn rearing children whose personalities and outlooks are similar to theirs.

When denominational type is controlled, ministers in sect-originated denominations switch less than those in church-originated bodies, except where father's occupations are in the technician, sales, clerical, and service categories (Table 2.7 and Figure 2.1). Since these are lower white-collar occupations, this may suggest that ministers with such low status backgrounds are more likely to join sects or fundamentalist religions. Lipset (1960), in discussing the social bases of politics, points to the close relationship between low social status and fundamentalist or chiliastic religion. Such religion is "...a product of the same social forces that sustain authoritarian political attitudes. The liberal Protestant churches, on the other hand, have been predominantly middle class in membership" (Lipset, 1960:97). Generally, lower white-collar people are the base of contemporary mass movements because their substandard education

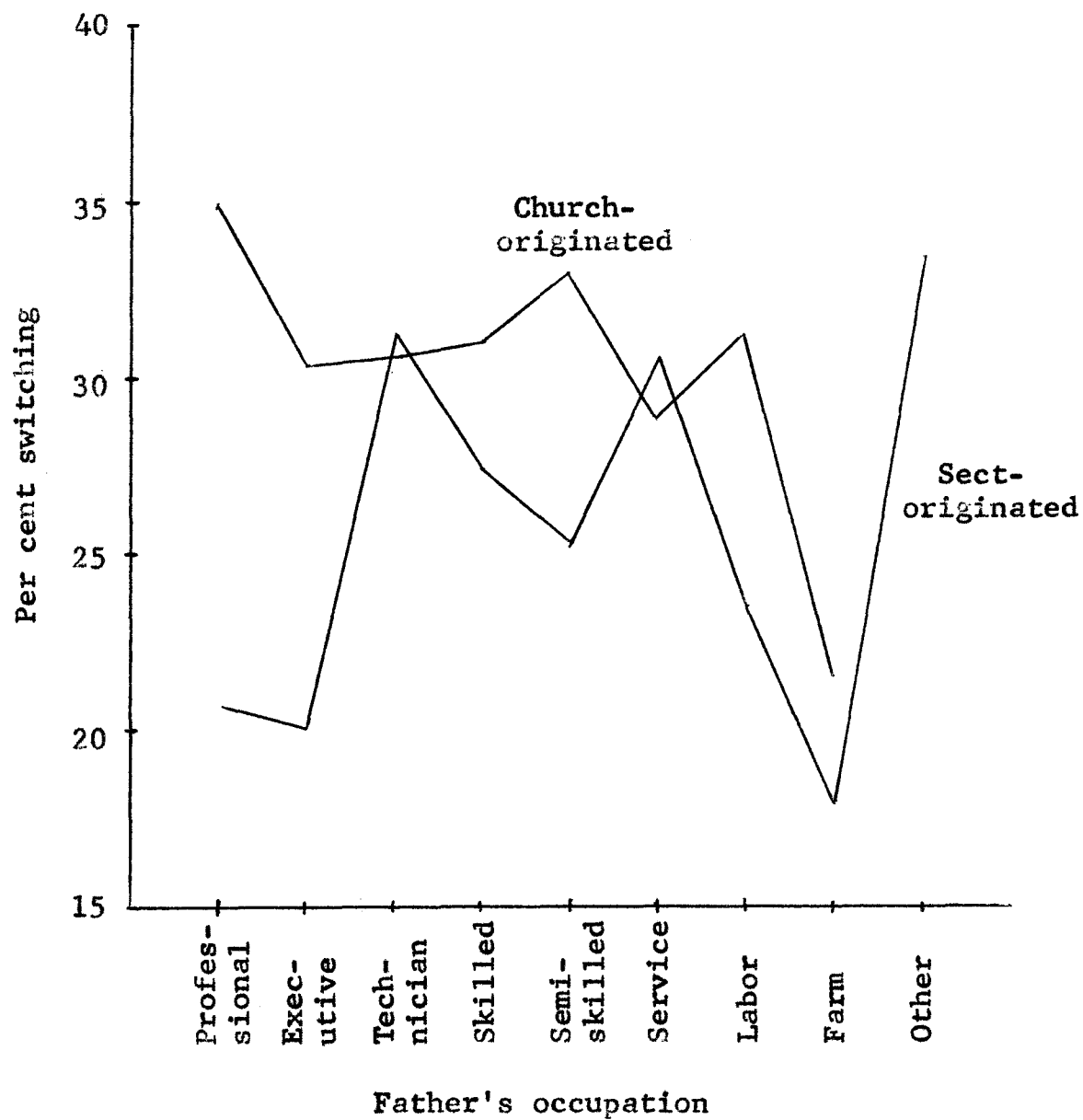


Fig. 2.1.--Per cent switching by father's occupation and by type of denomination

TABLE 2.7  
PER CENT SWITCHING BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION  
AND BY TYPE OF DENOMINATION

Father's Occupation	Type of Denomination		Total
	Church- originated	Sect- originated	
Professional	34.9	20.7	29.2
Executive	30.4	20.0	26.8
Technical	30.7	31.2	30.9
Skilled	31.0	27.4	28.8
Semi-skilled	32.4	25.3	27.6
Service	28.9	30.3	30.4
Labor	31.2	23.5	26.5
Farm	21.6	18.1	19.0
Other	--	--	14.3
Total	28.9	22.0	25.1

and their low socio-economic status give them a relatively unsophisticated perspective and make them more suggestible.

Size of Community Lived in During High School. Another background variable related to mobility is the size of the community one was raised in. Question #3 of the survey questionnaire asked for the size of the community the minister lived in

TABLE 2.8

PER CENT SWITCHING BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY LIVED IN  
DURING HIGH SCHOOL AND BY TYPE OF DENOMINATION

Size of Community	Type of Denomination		All Denominations
	Church- originated	Sect- originated	
500,000 or more	32.4	32.6	32.4
100,000-499,999	36.1	25.8	31.2
25,000-99,999	28.4	26.4	27.3
2,500-24,999	26.9	19.1	22.5
2,499 or less	26.7	20.1	22.7
Open Country	22.3	19.0	19.8
Total	28.9	22.0	25.1

during high school. Responses to this question were cross-tabulated against switching with the results shown in Table 2.8. One notes a consistent trend: switching goes hand in hand with urbanism. Switchers come from large metropolitan areas and places with a population of 25,000 or more than from non-metropolitan areas and open country. Taking population density as an

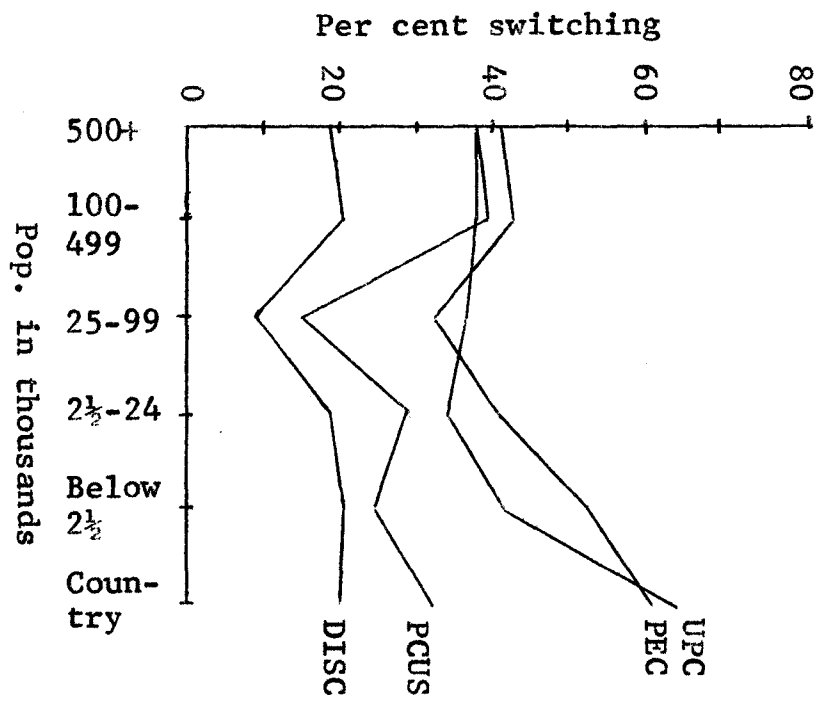
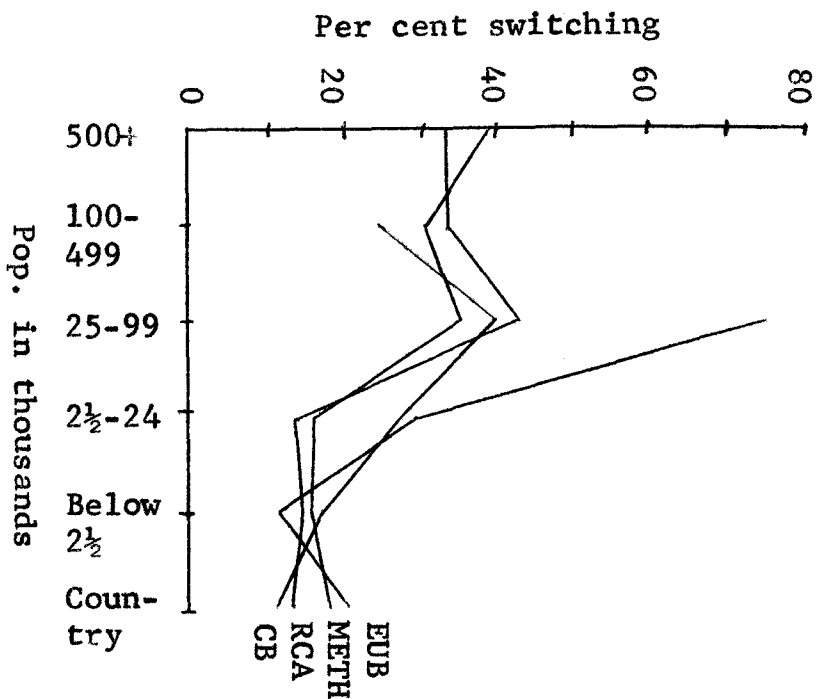
index of degree of urbanism, it may be argued that the larger the community, the greater the division of labor, and the greater the specialization of skilled required. Urban life opens one's eyes to a greater variety of acquirable skills and to various avenues for improving one's social position. Consequently, the potential minister who matures in such a setting is likely to be more liberal, to have broader interests, greater flexibility, and by necessity, will tend to be more competitive. Low switching in less urbanized areas may be due to the fact that in such areas, the prevailing occupations are of a particularizing nature.

The effect of community size on switching for different denominations is not uniform (Figure 2.2), but no clear explanation of the patterns emerges.

Education. Ministers switch the most if they have had 20 or more years of education, and they also switch more frequently if they have had 13 to 15 years (Table 2.9). Relatively less switching is reported among those with only a high school education (12 years or less) and by those who have completed college but have had no graduate nor Bible-school training (exactly 19 years).

A possible explanation for this pattern is that the ministers with 20 years of education have had sufficient train-





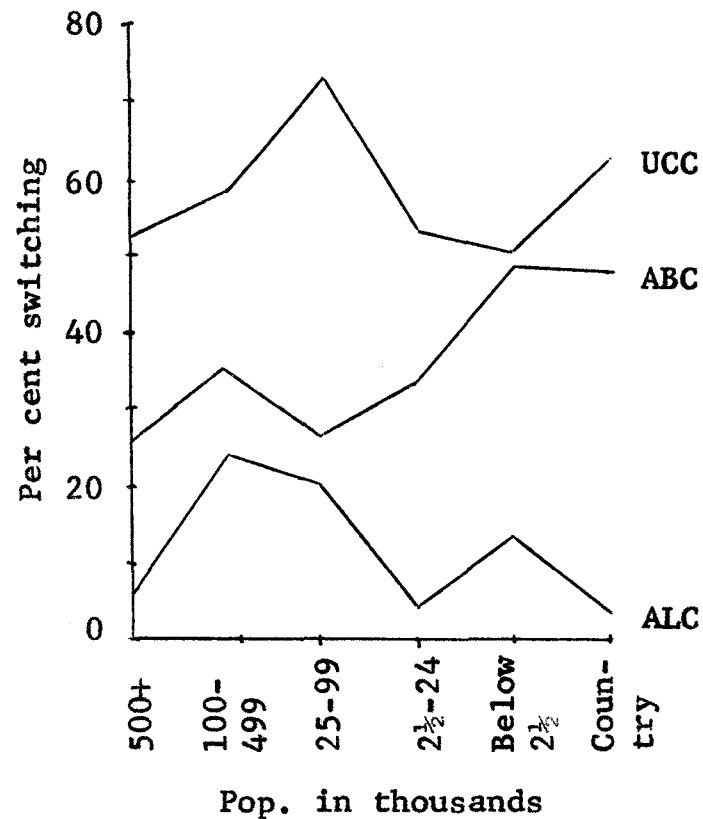
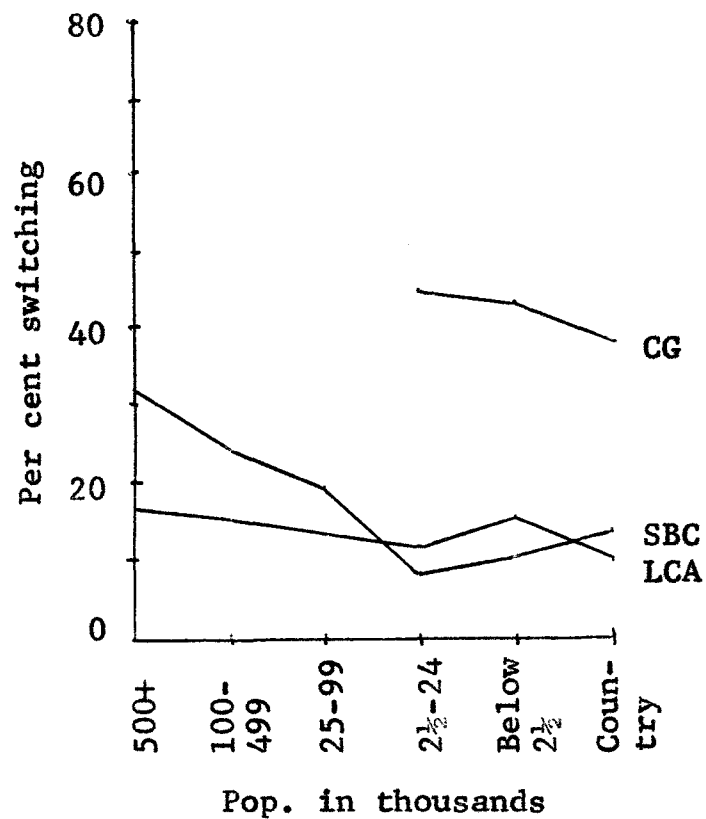


Fig. 2.2.--Per cent switching by size of community lived in during high school and by denominational affiliation

TABLE 2.9  
PER CENT SWITCHING BY EDUCATION  
AND BY TYPE OF DENOMINATION

Years of Education	Type of Denomination		All Denominations
	Church-originated	Sect-originated	
12 or less	--	26.7	26.1
13-15	38.5	28.5	29.7
16-18	41.9	23.6	27.4
19	23.9	17.3	20.7
20 or more	33.3	24.6	29.6
Total	28.9	22.0	25.1

ing and acquired a considerable amount of skills and breadth of outlook to facilitate their being mobile. On the other hand, those with 13-15 years of education are equally mobile, not because they have acquired the needed skills but because, not having completed college, they were not yet sufficiently committed or indoctrinated into any particular denomination. As for the non-mobile groups, those with only 12 years of education have little opportunity to switch because they lack the necessary training and skills. Those who have just completed college are

likely to be well socialized into their respective denominational systems and moving into another system is not likely to be considered. These ministers can feel comfortable in their denominations, but they do not have the surplus of skills that would permit switching without generating professional insecurity.

This effect of education on switching may suggest that there are two types of switchers: the under-educated switchers, insecure and incapable because of their lack of professional skill, and therefore forced to move ("downward" switching), and the over-educated switchers, who move voluntarily because they have developed capabilities beyond those needed in their denominations, or whose outlooks are broadened beyond those appropriate in their particular denominations ("upward" switching). This conjecture can be substantiated only if there is some difference between switchers with low education and switchers with high education, above and beyond the effect of education. However, Chapter V, on the consequences of interdenominational switching fails to show any differences apart from those accountable by education.

As an illustration of this point, take Table 2.10, abstracted from another table in Chapter V. Those switchers with limited education are designated "downward switchers" and those

TABLE 2.10

MEAN CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES BY TYPE OF  
SWITCHING AND BY EDUCATION

Education	Non-switchers	Upward Switchers	Downward Switchers
Low	\$12,118	--	\$9,197
High	30,578	29,659	--

with high education are designated "upward switchers." The table presents the mean expenses of the congregation each minister heads, separately for each group of switchers and non-switchers and for each level of education. The difference between "upward" and "downward" switchers can be accounted for by the educational difference, as comparison with non-switchers shows. There is no need to postulate different kinds of switching.

A second attempt was made to differentiate those who switch because they lack the skills to be stable, and those who switch because they have considerable skills, using the minister's own judgment of his suitability for the ministry. Switchers who considered themselves to be "highly suitable" were assumed to be upward switchers and those who considered themselves "low in

suitability" downward switchers. But here again it was not possible to demonstrate any differences that could not be otherwise explained.

Three variables were introduced as controls to see if they affected the relationship between education and switching. The first of these was the type of denomination (church-originated versus sect-originated) the minister was affiliated with. The relationship was the same for both types of denominations. The second control variable was clergy sonship. Both sons and non-sons show a dip in switching at 19 years of education (Table 2.11), but, otherwise, non-sons are not affected by education, whereas sons tend to switch more when they get more education. One might speculate that education has a freeing effect on sons, liberating them from family traditions; non-sons, on the other hand, do not come from a background as oriented to particular denominations as do minister's sons, so that they have greater freedom of choice with respect to their denominational affiliation. Consequently, non-sons do not necessarily have to depend on education to liberate them for switching. The third control variable was size of community lived in during high school. That lower switching obtains for those with 19 years of education is still generally true for different degrees of

TABLE 2.11  
PER CENT SWITCHING AMONG SONS OF CLERGY  
AND AMONG NON-SONS BY EDUCATION

Years of Education	Sonship		Total
	Sons of Clergy	Non-sons	
12 or less	1.4	28.0	26.1
13-15	13.6	30.1	29.7
16-18	22.4	27.8	27.4
19	10.4	22.1	20.7
20 or more	27.1	30.2	29.6
Total	17.6	26.0	25.1

urbanism, though the effect of education is somewhat more uncertain. Conversely, the effect of community size is consistent for each educational level.

Summary. Three main social background factors tend to retard or block switching--being a minister's son, being a farmer's son, and being well socialized into one's denominational system by having exactly a college education and no more. Two other factors operate toward increasing the rate of switching, namely, coming from a highly urban area and having some education beyond college.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE EFFECTS OF MINISTERIAL EXPERIENCE ON INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING

Besides being affected by his social origins, a minister's propensity to switch denominations is dependent on his specific experiences within the ministry. These experiences may be related to acquiring more marketable skills or greater maturity, which could contribute to switching, or to the minister becoming integrated into a particular congregation, which could hinder switching. As general indicators of what the effect of work experience is on switching, three variables will be considered: the minister's age, the number of years of ministerial experience he has had, and the number of full-time ministerial positions he has held.

Age. Table 3.1 shows a slight upward trend in switching up to age 30 to 34 and a sharp rise among ministers between 35 and 39. The trend remains upward to ages 40 to 44 and then gradually declines. The absence of any significant switching between the ages of 20 and 34 is explainable by the fact that ministers at these ages have not yet had the opportunity to



TABLE 3.1  
INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING BY AGE OF MINISTER

Switching		Age									Total
		20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+	
Switchers	n	4	81	133	162	161	138	85	82	102	948
	%	15.4	20.6	20.3	27.6	28.4	26.9	25.1	26.7	25.6	25.1
Non-switchers	n	22	313	521	426	405	375	253	225	296	2836
	%	84.6	79.4	79.7	72.4	71.6	73.1	74.9	73.3	74.4	74.9
Total		26	394	654	588	566	513	338	307	398	3784

switch. Ages 35 to 44 are about the prime years in an individual's career, when he would have acquired sufficient experience and technical know-how, some influence and important contacts, and the motivation to switch ministerial positions within or between denominations.

The drop in the percentage switching with increasing age is rather minimal, and the significance of such slight differences is doubtful. Nevertheless, a possible reason for low switching beyond 44 is that the older ministers grew up in an era of low mobility, when opportunities were relatively limited. Scherer points out, with regard to the situation in one large Lutheran denomination, that

the occupational market for ministers has not remained constant over the years. Not only has the parish market expanded greatly with suburban mission planning since the latter 1940's, but specialty fields and staff positions have also offered many more opportunities to the young category than was true for the old and the middle. There has been an increase in positions like military chaplaincy for the middle bracket, as well as some opportunity for the campus pastorate and foreign missions. There has been a slight decrease in the proportion going into teaching and executive work (relatively, not absolutely), as parish positions have expanded more rapidly than staff positions (1963b:329).

The upward trend in switching rates up to 44, and the slight drop thereafter, is similar in both church- and sect-originated denominations (Figure 3.1) although the switching rates are

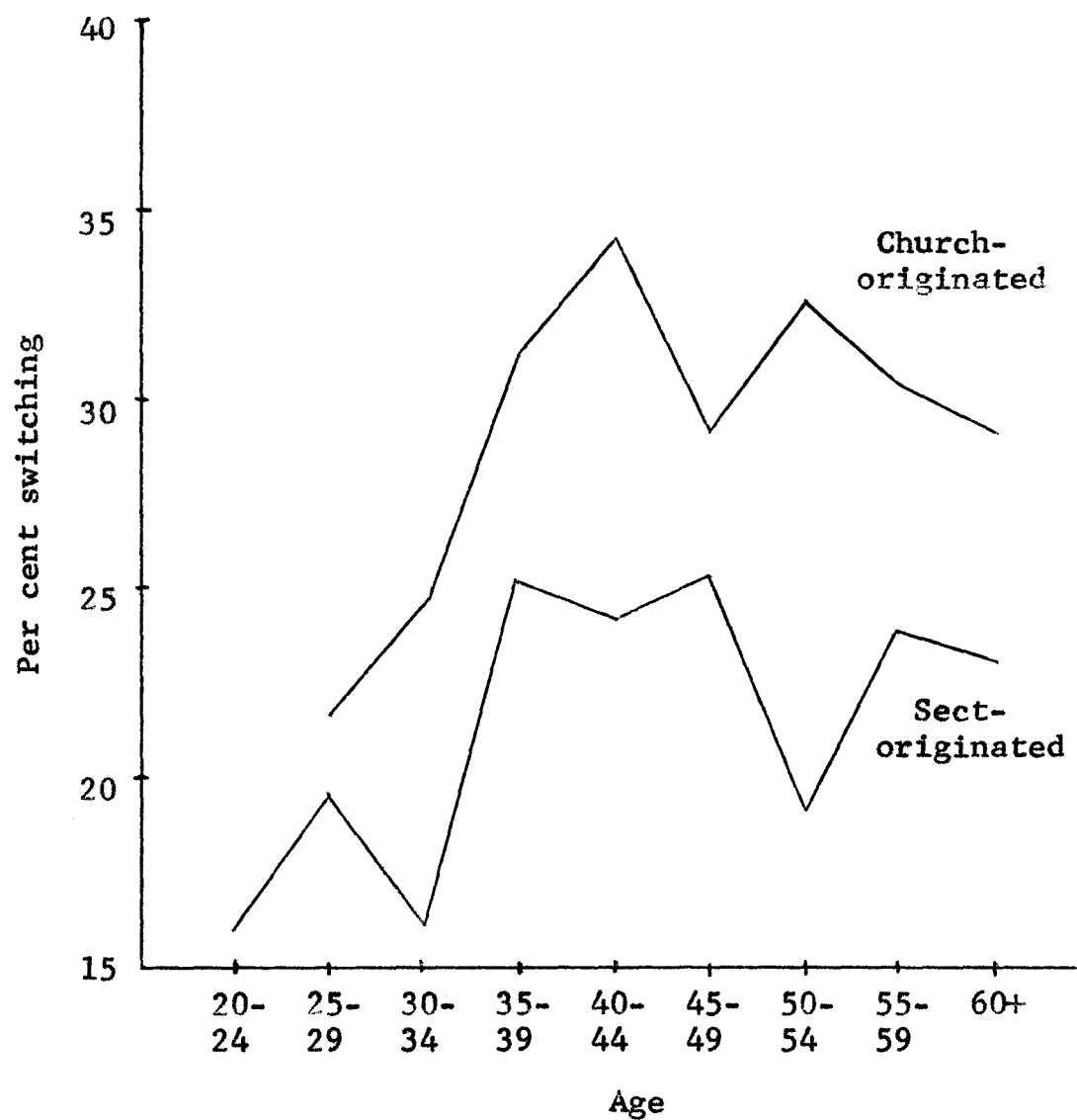


Fig. 3.1.--Per cent switching by age and by type of denomination

somewhat lower in the latter. As further support for the previous interpretation of the drop in switching at later ages, Jackson and Crockett (1964) may be cited. One may conclude, they say, within the limitations of the data available, that "...the rate of occupational mobility in the United States has increased somewhat since the end of World War II" (1964:15). While cautiously agreeing with them, Blau and Duncan specify that "...it is the highly salaried positions (rather than all white-collar jobs) that have expanded to accomodate the upward flow [of mobility], and it is the younger men in particular who have been able to take advantage of this expansion" (1967:106). There could well have been, then, a difference in the opportunities available to the successive cohorts of ministers included in this study.

Some interesting results emerge when specific denominations are examined. Switching peaks at ages 40 to 49 for ministers who switched into the United Church of Christ, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the Evangelical United Brethren, and the Methodist denominations; switching into the United Presbyterian Church, the Church of God, the Reformed Church in America, and the Disciples peaks at age 60 and over. Ministers who switched into the American Baptist Convention did so at younger ages (30

to 39 is the mode) than those who switched into the United Presbyterian Church and the Reformed Church in America. These findings seem to indicate that ministers who switch to high status denominations are older, while those who switch to relatively lower status denominations tend to be the younger ministers.

Years of Ministerial Experience. If it were assumed that ministers entered the profession at about the same age across the years, then the effect of years of experience on switching should be identical to the effect of age. It is likely however, that some ministers enter the profession at a later age. Therefore Table 3.2 reveals a somewhat less consistent effect on switching for years of experience, though the trend is the same. The most switching was for those with between 10 and 14 years of experience, and from this point on, switching declines. Those with 25 or more years of experience have a particularly low rate of switching. Controlling for the church-sect distinction results in the same tailing-off effect in switching, but this is not marked (Figure 3.2). This may be interpreted in the same way as the tailing-off when age is controlled, as due to a historical change in the opportunity structure.

The effect of years of experience on switching controlling for age was also examined. This cross-tabulation should help to

TABLE 3.2  
INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING BY TOTAL YEARS  
OF MINISTERIAL EXPERIENCE

Switching		Years of Experience							Total
		0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30+	
Switchers	n	142	183	172	101	86	60	96	840
	%	26.3	25.3	27.1	25.3	26.1	23.8	23.6	25.6
Non-switchers	n	398	540	462	298	244	192	307	2441
	%	73.7	74.7	72.9	74.7	73.9	76.2	76.2	74.4
Total		540	723	634	399	330	252	403	3281

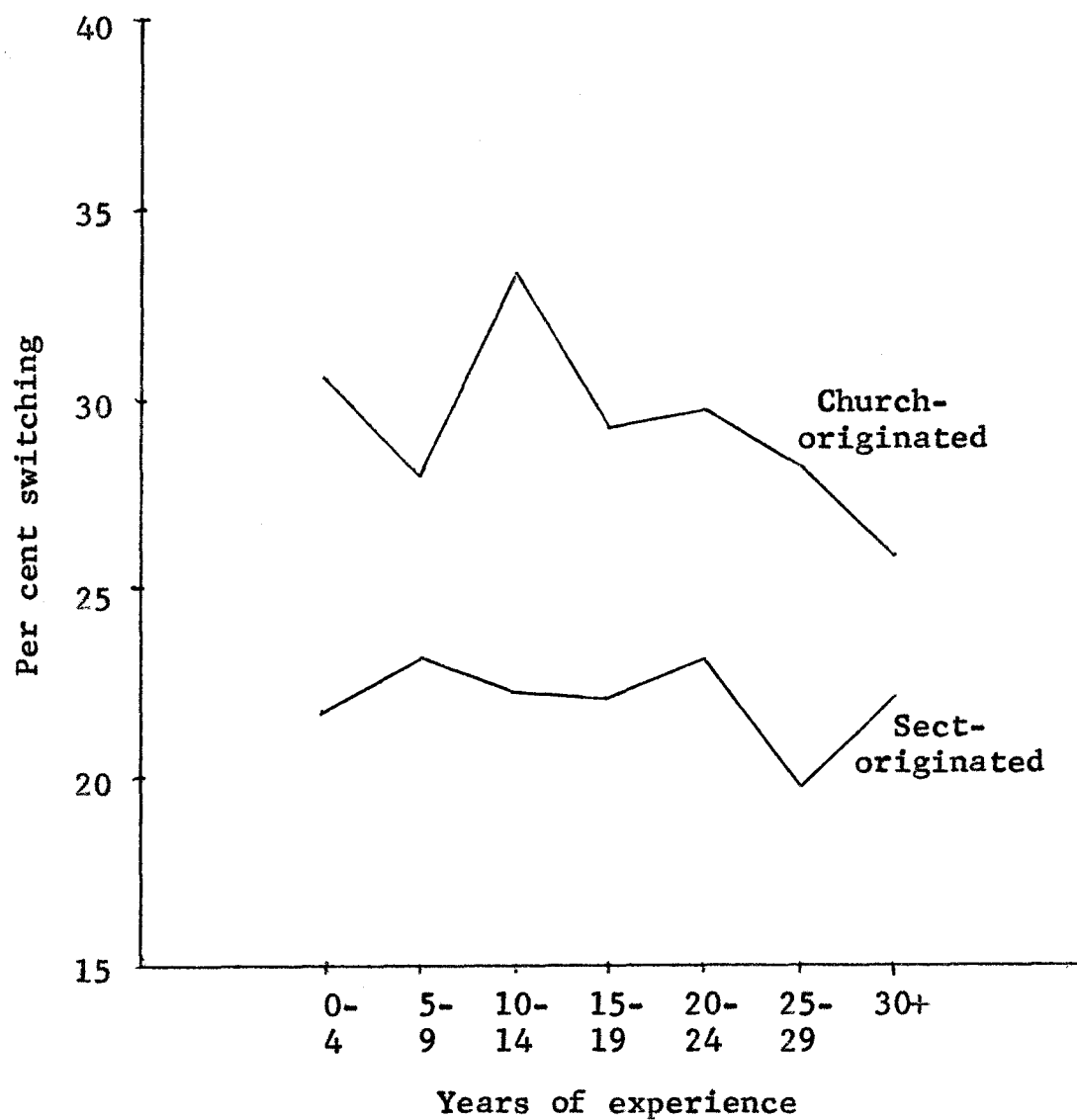


Fig. 3.2.--Per cent switching by total years of ministerial experience and by type of denomination

establish whether a cohort factor affects switching or whether switching is in fact related to some strictly experiential variable like amount of experience. As expected, most of the respondents in Table 3.3 cluster around the main diagonal. Nevertheless, it is possible to observe that within most categories of amount of experience, the age effect still appears, so that a cohort effect cannot be ruled out. A second observation is that switching goes up with years of experience only for the three youngest age categories, while for older ministers switching goes down with increasing years of experience. This suggests the hypothesis that those who enter the ministry at a later age are subsequently more likely to switch. The minister who finds his vocation late may be more choosy and more likely to move if he does not find what he expects in his first denomination.

It is possible that the age effect could be due to the different amounts of education received by ministers in the different age categories. A cross-tabulation controlling for education (Table 3.4) shows that within most age categories, the education effect noted in Chapter II appears (i.e., the high points for switching are for those with 13 to 15 and 20 or more years of education, and the low points are 12 or less and 19 years).



TABLE 3.3  
PER CENT SWITCHING BY YEARS OF EXPERIENCE AND BY AGE

Years of Experience	Age									Total
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+	
0-4	16.7	20.6	25.8	44.2	48.4	30.8	--	--	27.3	26.3
5-9	--	26.6	16.2	32.4	37.5	41.9	--	--	--	25.3
10-14	--	--	33.3	24.4	25.4	31.7	40.7	--	20.0	27.1
15-19	--	--	--	18.0	23.1	24.0	28.1	57.9	33.3	25.3
20-24	--	--	--	--	26.3	25.4	26.0	38.1	16.7	26.1
25-29	--	--	--	--	--	25.6	19.4	28.6	36.8	23.8
30+	--	--	--	--	--	--	14.3	18.9	26.9	23.6
Total	15.4	20.6	20.3	27.6	28.4	26.9	25.1	26.7	25.6	25.1

TABLE 3.4  
PER CENT SWITCHING BY AGE AND BY EDUCATION

Age	Years of Education					Total
	12 or less	13-15	16-18	19	20 or more	
20-24	--	--	23.1	--	--	15.4
25-29	--	28.6	16.2	21.2	20.5	20.6
30-34	--	36.4	17.2	17.5	26.6	20.3
35-39	57.1	23.3	45.6	24.0	26.6	27.6
40-44	33.3	45.2	26.7	20.8	37.5	28.4
45-49	14.3	40.5	24.4	21.7	33.3	26.9
50-54	11.8	19.2	31.7	22.1	28.9	25.1
55-59	42.9	17.9	31.1	25.8	23.5	26.7
60+	27.3	34.0	25.8	13.8	32.7	25.6
Total	26.1	29.7	27.4	20.7	29.6	25.1

Within the education categories, on the other hand, the results are rather ambiguous and inconsistent. The age trend does seem to appear within most categories (i.e., upward, then downward) but the percentage of switching fluctuates rather unpredictably at times. At any rate, it appears clear that differential education cannot fully explain the age effect, if it indeed explains any part of it.

Number of Full-time Positions Held. Another experience

variable that may affect switching is the number of full-time positions a minister has held. Its influence on switching may be viewed in several ways. For one thing, having held a number of positions may indicate the acquisition of considerable skills and diverse experience, and, therefore, greater latitude for switching. Secondly, it is possible for switching to become a habit--that is, those who move a lot within a denomination may also become accustomed to moving between denominations. Finally, one might speculate that those who cannot be stable in one position cannot be stable in one denomination. Each of these arguments leads to the hypothesis that switching is more likely the greater the number of positions a minister has held.

Table 3.5 supports this hypothesis. From the previous discussion, it is possible to interpret the higher switching rate for those who have held more positions as either "upward" switching due to the acquisition of more skills or as "downward" switching due to less occupational stability. When the relationship is examined by denominational type, the trend appears to hold only for ministers who have switched into church-originated denominations (Figure 3.3); the relationship in sect-originated denominations is somewhat suspect.

Furthermore, it also appears that, controlling for sonship

TABLE 3.5  
EFFECT OF TOTAL NUMBER OF FULL-TIME POSITIONS HELD  
ON INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING

Switching		Number of Positions									Total
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+	
Switchers	n	171	192	176	124	85	54	34	16	25	877
	%	22.3	24.7	26.2	24.1	28.6	27.1	28.8	28.6	33.8	25.2
Non-switchers	n	596	586	495	391	212	145	84	40	49	2598
	%	77.7	75.3	73.8	75.9	71.4	72.9	71.2	71.4	66.2	74.8
Total		767	778	671	515	297	199	118	56	74	3475

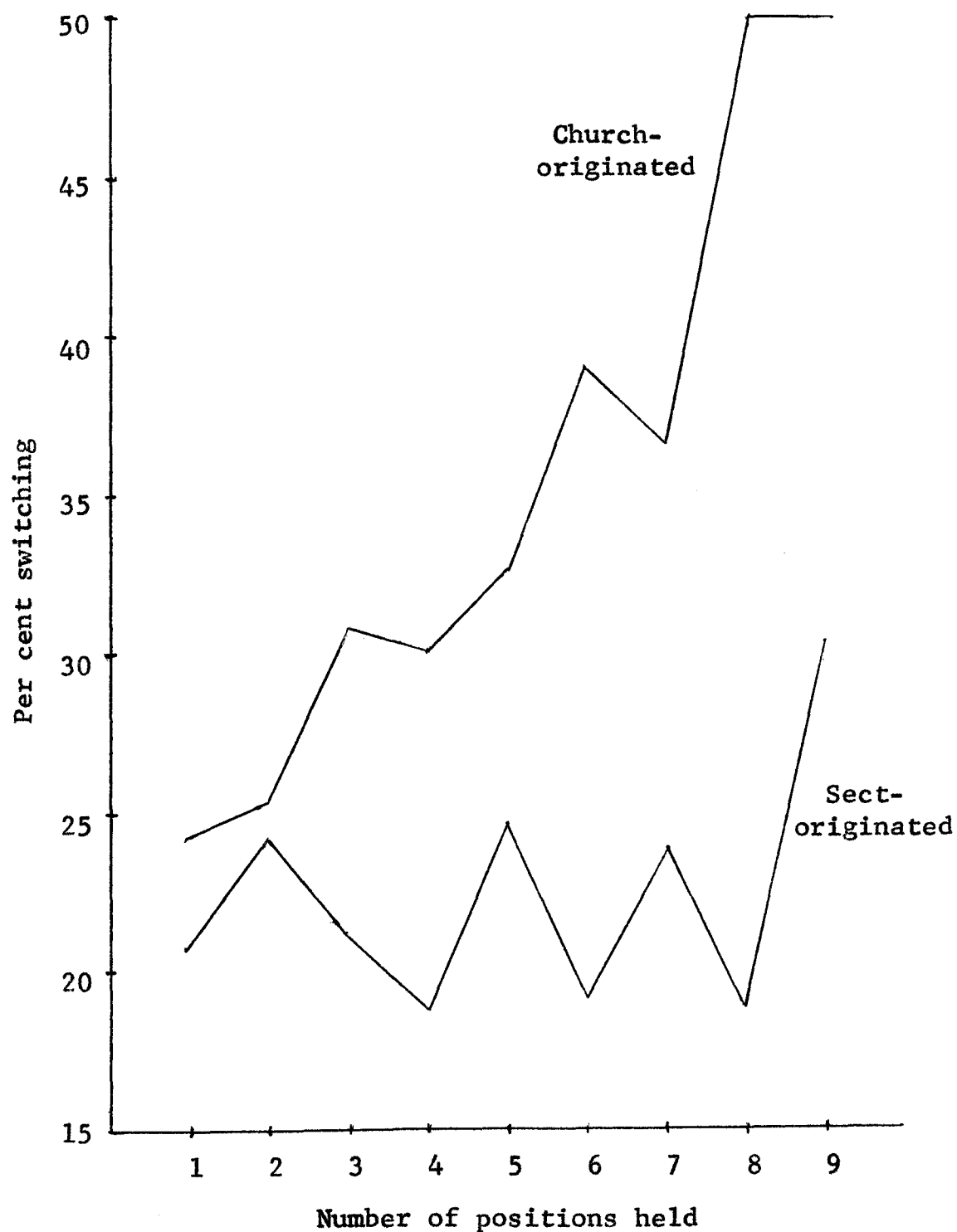


Fig. 3.3.--Per cent switching by number of positions held and by type of denomination

interdenominational switching rates increase among non-sons with number of positions held (see Table A3.2<sup>1</sup>), but not among sons of clergy. Thus, it is mainly among the non-sons within church-originated bodies that there is some slight relationship between movement within a denomination and switching. The number of positions one has held is obviously affected by age. With this controlled the relationship to switching vanishes (Table A3.3).

Finally, the effect of number of positions held on switching, controlling for education, was analyzed. The prediction here is that the number of positions a minister has held increases with education. It is interesting to note that the effect of number of positions held appears for switchers with the highest education, but since there are so many empty cells, no further interpretation is safe (Table A3.4). However, when one analyzes the direct influence of education on number of positions held, the trend essentially supports the above prediction of increasing number of positions with more education (Table A3.5). The percentage of respondents decreases as education goes up where only one ministerial position is held but aside from slight fluctuations, the percentage of respondents holding more positions increases as years of education increase.

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<sup>1</sup>All tables preceded by "A" are in Appendix A.

Summary. To summarize the preceding analysis of the effect of ministerial experience on switching, the findings were that the variables of age and years of ministerial experience have similar effects on switching: rates of switching move upward up to age 44, and then downward. A two-factor explanation was proposed--younger ministers have not had the time to switch, while the older respondents spent most of their years in an era of low mobility in general. Regarding years of experience, this variable had the same effect as age, except for the latecomers into the profession (those who started their ministerial careers at a later age), who had slightly higher probabilities of switching. Finally, the results also indicate that the effect of number of positions held on switching is stronger in church-originated denominations, for non-sons, and for ministers with high education, but is confused by the age effect. Generally, there is some support for the hypothesis of a positive relationship between number of positions and years of education.

## CHAPTER IV

### ATTITUDINAL FACTORS IN INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING

Two attitudinal variables which may affect switching, the variables of liberalism and alternative occupational choice, are examined in this chapter. The previous chapters have shown how social origins affect a minister's occupational experiences, and how both of these sets of factors affect his mobility. It may be assumed that attitudinal changes mediate the effects of these variables on switching, that social background and ministerial experience combine to produce a "mobile personality," and that this pattern of attitudes favorable to mobility is directly responsible for interdenominational switching. The "mobile personality" is a hypothetical construct, a gestalt that cannot be directly measured or evaluated. It is hypothesized, however, that one aspect of the "mobile personality" is a more cosmopolitan and liberal orientation, which should be related to greater tolerance for, and empathy with, diverse points of view, and therefore, to a greater possibility of switching, whether this switching mean an increase or a decrease in status.

A competing hypothesis to this hypothesis that liberals



should switch more than conservatives may be derived from the theory of cognitive dissonance. Dissonance is said to exist when of two cognitive elements, one implies the opposite of the other, but both are simultaneously believed to be true by one individual (Festinger, 1957). Festinger states that the psychological discomfort of dissonance motivates a person to "...actively avoid situations and information which would likely increase the dissonance" (1957:3). With regards to this study, it is hypothesized that interdenominational switching is the result of dissonance between two relevant cognitive elements--a minister's degree of liberalism and the degree of liberalism of his former denomination. Switching is then identified as the mechanism utilized to restore consonance. Under this hypothesis, neither liberals nor conservatives should switch more, but liberals should switch into relatively more liberal denominations and conservatives into more conservative denominations.

The Liberalism Index. Question #51 of the survey questionnaire asked each minister to evaluate the importance of several different ministerial activities. Ten of these activities were arbitrarily chosen to represent liberal or conservative orientations. "Liberal" activities were: (1) participating in community social action; (2) working for interdenomina-

tional projects; and (3) working for committees and projects outside the church. "Conservative" activities were: (1) calling on prospective members; (2) own prayer, devotions; (3) officiating at weddings, baptisms, funerals; (4) teaching children's membership class; (5) teaching Sunday Bible class; (6) office work; and (7) working on denominational committees. The liberalism index was devised by first assigning a score of 1 to 3 for each respondent's rating of each activity. The score of 3 was assigned if the respondent rated a "liberal" activity very important or if he rated a "conservative" activity not important. The score of 1 meant the opposite--that he had rated a "liberal" activity not important or a "conservative" activity very important. The score of 2 was assigned for any activity rated fairly important. Scores were summed across all 10 activities, and the result was the liberalism index. This index could range from 10 to 30 (though the lowest score actually obtained was 15). The mean liberalism score for the entire sample was 18.2.

To validate the index, its relationship to education, to size of community lived in during high school, and to age were examined, the assumption being that liberalism scores would be higher for ministers who had more education, who came from more urbanized backgrounds, and who were younger. Each relationship

is in the expected direction, although the relationships are only moderate (Tables A4.1, A4.2, and A4.3). The number of ministers with low liberalism scores (15-16) declines as education increases, whereas the number with the highest scores (23-30) increases slightly with education. By community size, the number of "conservatives" (scores from 15 to 18) decreases with urbanism, while the number of "liberals" (scores from 19 to 30) increases. By age, there is a slight tendency for older ministers to be more conservative, though the relationship is not entirely consistent.

Liberalism and Switching. Since the liberalism index appears to have some validity without being reducible to any of the other variables, the effect of the index on switching was next examined. Table 4.1 supports the hypothesis that ministers with relatively more liberal attitudes have a greater tendency to switch between denominations. Controlling for education (Table A4.4), the positive relationship between liberalism and switching still holds true for those with relatively little education as well as for those with more. It can be concluded that the effect of liberalism is not due solely to education. When size of community lived in during high school is controlled (Table A4.5), the relationship holdstrue mainly for large commu-

TABLE 4.1  
EFFECT OF LIBERALISM ON INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING

Switching		Liberalism Scores					Total
		15-16	17-18	19-20	21-22	23-30	
Switchers	n	204	323	293	116	16	952
	%	23.2	25.1	25.2	27.8	34.8	25.1
Non-switchers	n	674	966	871	301	30	2842
	%	76.8	74.9	74.8	72.2	65.2	74.9
Total		878	1289	1164	417	46	3794

nities but not for small communities. This finding suggests that besides liberalism, a minister needs to come from a more urbanized background to predispose him to be mobile in general, and eventually switch between denominations.

However, the most interesting findings appeared when type of denominational affiliation (church versus sect-derived) was controlled. Among church-derived ministers, more are likely to have switched into churches if they had more liberal orientations (Table 4.2). On the other hand, of ministers presently in sect-derived denominations, the more conservative ones tend to have previously switched. Over-all, the rates of switching

TABLE 4.2  
PER CENT SWITCHING BY LIBERALISM  
AND BY TYPE OF DENOMINATION

Liberalism Scores	Type of Denomination		Total
	Church- originated	Sect- originated	
15-16	24.1	23.5	23.2
17-18	29.8	25.2	25.1
19-20	29.3	18.1	25.2
21-22	33.3	17.8	27.8
23-30	46.4	12.5	34.8
Total	28.9	22.0	25.1

are considerably higher in church-derived denominations. These findings confirm the dissonance hypothesis that more liberal ministers are more likely to move into church-derived denominations (which are relatively more liberal organizations when compared to their sect-derived counterparts), and the more conservative ministers achieve more consonance in the sect-originated denominations. Both hypotheses about the effects of liberalism appear to be simultaneously true.

Alternative Occupational Choice. Another possible source of dissonance between a minister and his job involves his occupational aspirations. The ministers' responses to a question on what occupation they would have chosen had they not entered the ministry were analyzed, the prediction being that those who chose jobs least similar to the ministry must have felt most dissonance in the ministry. The hypothesis then is that the less congruent a minister's alternative occupational choice is with the ministerial profession, the greater is the likelihood that he will switch denominations, perhaps as a stepping stone to eventually moving outside of the ministry. In support of this hypothesis, a recent study by Jud, Mills, and Burch (1970) of ex-pastors and their reasons for leaving the parish ministry may be cited. They found that men who attended seminaries of other denominations appeared more often among the ex-pastors than among those who remained pastors, thus reflecting higher interdenominational mobility for ex-pastors. In testing the hypothesis, occupations chosen by the respondents were ordered according to their similarity to the ministerial profession. From the most similar to the least similar, the occupational categories were: (1) Counseling, Social Welfare, Teaching; (2) Medicine, Social Science, Government, Public Relations,

Journalism, Art, Law; (3) Engineering, Technical, Natural Science, Management, Accounting; (4) Personnel, Sales, Small Business, Trade-Skilled; and (5) Farm.

Table 4.3 indicates that except for the occupation of farming, no significant differences can be found among the other occupational categories. The "misfits"--those who would have gone into technical, business, and related occupations--appear to have higher rates of switching but the difference is small, except for the farm group, which constitutes a very small number. Analysis using the church- versus sect-originated distinction reveals only one unusual difference. The percentage of switchers into sect-originated denominations is smaller in every category of alternative occupational choice except for the category of engineers, technicians, natural scientists, business managers, and accountants. Only among those ministers who chose the above-mentioned occupations as alternatives were there more switchers into sect-originated bodies. One possible reason for this finding could be that technical fields are more compatible with religious fundamentalism than with more liberal religious outlooks.<sup>1</sup>

Summary. This chapter has examined the variables of

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<sup>1</sup>Suggested by Ross P. Scherer, private communication.

TABLE 4.3  
EFFECT OF ALTERNATIVE OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE  
ON INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING

Switching		Alternative Occupational Choice*					Total
		1	2	3	4	5	
Switchers	n	317	109	53	37	6	522
	%	23.7	24.3	27.3	26.1	11.1	24.0
Non-switchers	n	1019	339	141	105	48	1652
	%	76.3	75.7	72.7	73.9	88.9	76.0
Total		1336	448	194	142	54	2174

\* Alternative Occupational Choice: Occupations ordered according to similarity to the ministerial occupation.

1. Counseling, Social Welfare, Teaching
2. Medicine, Social Science, Government, Public Relations, Journalism, Art, Law
3. Engineering, Technician, Natural Science, Management, Accounting
4. Personnel, Sales, Small Business, Trade-Skilled
5. Farm



liberalism and alternative occupational choice as two attitudinal factors which influence switching. As regards liberalism, attempts were first made to validate the liberalism index by relating it to the variables of minister's education, size of community in which he lived during high school, and to the minister's age. Cross-tabulations of the ministers' liberalism scores against each of these three variables showed the predicted relationships, to a moderate degree. This moderate relationship among the variables suggests that the liberalism index is a relatively independent measure, sufficiently distinct from any of the other measures of the "mobile personality." It was found that ministers with more liberal outlooks had higher rates of switching relative to their more conservative counterparts. However, closer analysis indicates that it is the conjunction of liberalism and more urbanized backgrounds that really fosters switching. Finally, on the denominational level, it appears that the advantage of liberal ministers over the conservative ministers applies mainly to switching into church-originated denominations. Of those who switch into sect-originated denominations--and these are relatively fewer in number--more are conservative than liberal. One is led to conclude that ministers switch to find a setting that suits their ideology. With respect

to the variable of alternative occupational choice, no significant differences were noted between ministers whose alternative choices were most congruent to the ministry and those whose choices were least similar to the ministerial profession, except for ministers who chose technical occupations as alternatives switching more heavily into sects.

## CHAPTER V

### CAREER CONSEQUENCES OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING

The main factors influencing interdenominational switching having been covered, this chapter turns to consideration of the effects, if any, of interdenominational switching on the career of the minister. Specifically, the following questions are raised: (1) Does switching lead to a more successful ministerial career, in terms of larger congregations or larger congregational budgets? (2) Is the minister who has switched generally more satisfied with the material remuneration he receives? (3) Does switching affect his rating of his own suitability for the ministry? It is predicted that switchers are likely to be more successful in their careers, will tend to have larger congregations and larger congregational budgets, and will also tend to consider themselves more suited to their profession.

Recent literature on ministerial moves has demonstrated the strong tie between career movement and career success. Rodehaver and Smith (1951), in examining the movement of Universalist ministers from one pastorate to another within the same denomination, found that most of the reasons advanced for inter-

church movement reflected the "success" motive. Among the reasons given were financial reasons, the desire for wider service, educational and cultural advantages, the attraction of a larger community, and lack of denominational cooperation. Rodehaver and Smith believe that the financial motives were really dominant in most moves, and also suspect that the "desire for wider service" was a rationalization for the success motive. Ministers who were more geographically mobile were more "success" motivated and more successful--two out of three career moves made by a minister meant ascent on the socio-economic ladder, while only one out of five meant descent. Smith and Sjoberg (1961) found that elite Protestant clergymen sampled from Who's Who in America had a mean of 7.2 occupational shifts. Though this figure appears high, the authors still suspect it is an underestimate.

Apart from estimating a minister's success through a reputational approach (i.e., using Who's Who), one may use such an index as the size of a minister's congregation. For a sample of 57 ministers from seven denominations in the Chicago area, Lawson (1955) found the basic standard for success in the ministerial career to be congregational size. In a big city like Chicago, ministers with large congregations had higher salaries and better reputations. Age was the main variable in determining

the size of a minister's congregation. Related to ministerial success is the degree of confidence the minister has in his own suitability for the profession. Scherer (1963) found this to be true for 101 ministers in the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod who occupied policy positions.

In accordance with these previous studies, this study utilized four variables from the survey questionnaire as indices of success: (1) the size of a minister's congregation at the time of the survey; (2) the size of his congregation's budget; (3) the degree of satisfaction he expressed with his income in relation to certain standards of comparison; and (4) his own rating of his suitability for the ministry.<sup>1</sup>

Congregational Size. Congregational size varies by denomination because of different definitions of membership. While in general Protestantism stresses active, not formal, membership, exactly how "active" one has to be is not constant from one church body to another. Some Protestant bodies, notably the

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<sup>1</sup>One may note the absence of the income variable as an index of material success. The original plan was to include average cash income of ministers, but unfortunately, in the process of correcting and transferring all the data from the original cards to tape, this variable failed to get copied onto the tape. As it was not possible to go through another computer transcription operation without incurring too much expense, the decision was made to drop the income variable from the analysis.

Protestant Episcopal Church and many Lutheran churches, count all baptized persons, including infants, as members. Most Protestant churches, however, count only those who have attained full membership, of whom only a small minority are less than 13 years of age (Rosten, 1955:209). Presumably, the survey questionnaire meant to ask respondents only for "full" members, rather than for the entire "baptized" membership of the various denominations, but no such qualification was explicitly made in the questionnaire. In the succeeding tabulations, denomination will have to be controlled.

When the effect of switching on congregational size is examined, the results turn out to be significant, but not in the direction predicted. The non-switchers had a mean congregational size of 459.0 in contrast to 409.9 for the switchers ( $t=-4.96$ ,  $p<.001$ ). Mean congregational size was computed utilizing the mid-point for each category rather than the actual figure.

This reverse finding is consistent across denominations (Table A5.1). In every denomination except one, non-switchers have larger congregations, and in three cases this difference reaches the .05 level of significance.

An attempt was made to explain this unexpected relationship by controlling for each minister's rating of his own suit-

TABLE 5.1  
EFFECT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING  
ON CONGREGATIONAL SIZE

Congregational Size	Switching				Total	
	Switchers		Non-switchers			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
1-49	26		45		71	
		2.7		1.6		1.9
50-99	64		157		221	
		6.7		5.5		5.8
100-199	190		428		618	
		20.0		15.1		16.3
200-299	189		465		654	
		19.9		16.4		17.2
300-399	114		364		478	
		12.0		12.8		12.6
400-499	83		293		376	
		8.7		10.3		9.9
500-599	47		211		258	
		4.9		7.4		6.8
600-699	35		154		189	
		3.7		5.4		5.0
700-799	28		112		140	
		2.9		3.9		3.7
800+	176		613		789	
		18.5		21.6		20.8
Total	952		2842		3794	
		100.0		100.0		100.0

TABLE 5.2  
MEAN CONGREGATIONAL SIZE BY SWITCHING  
AND BY SUITABILITY

Suitability	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
High	421.8	485.3	-5.04	<.001
Medium	353.2	394.3	-1.10	n.s.
Low	386.9	369.2	.24	n.s.
All subjects	405.9	459.0	-4.96	<.001

ability to be a minister. It was assumed that suitability ratings would be strongly related to congregational size, and removing the effect of this variable may clarify the relationship. Table 5.2 gives the mean congregational size for switchers and non-switchers with suitability as a control variable, and the respective t-statistics. Switchers who rate themselves in the high and medium suitability categories have smaller congregations than non-switchers in the same suitability categories, but switchers who have low suitability scores have practically the same size of congregations as non-switchers. While, for non-



switchers, congregational size increases as suitability ratings increase, this pattern does not hold for switchers.

How might one account for these over-all results? It is possible that switchers have congregations where formal membership is more strictly defined, while the congregations of the non-switchers have more all-encompassing membership rules. Or it may be possible that switchers, as a consequence of their more "mobile" backgrounds, are more likely to make several moves within their respective denominations, such behavior being often associated with more ambitious personalities. Frequent inter-church moves do not enable a minister to grow roots or to develop sufficient community influence to enable him to attract a larger congregation. One might theorize that switchers and their smaller congregations are analogous to mobile families. Upwardly mobile families, because of their stronger economic drive and more ambitious outlooks, often are smaller, more pragmatic, and tend to place less emphasis on wide kinship networks. (Note that this applies to those still moving upward and not to the established upper class.) Similarly, ministers who are more success-oriented may be less concerned about growing roots. As pragmatists, they are likely to place less importance on ritual and paternalistic relationships with their congregations, and

to be less concerned about having a sizeable membership. In addition, switching means starting all over again in a new system. This leads to a de-emphasis, among switchers, of congregational size as a criterion of success, while for non-switchers the strong relationship between their self-ratings and the size of their congregations argues that they consider this criterion very important.

Congregational Expenses. The relationship between congregational expenses and switching was next analyzed. Since the non-switchers had significantly larger congregations than the switchers, it is logical to expect them to also have significantly larger congregational budgets. This is borne out (Table 5.3), but the advantage the non-switchers enjoy is not statistically significant.

Several control variables were introduced (Tables A5.2 through A5.7), but whether it was education, size of community in which the minister lived in during high school, age, suitability, sonship, or denominational affiliation that was controlled, non-switchers still enjoyed a slight edge in the size of their congregational expenses. It is worth noting that this advantage does become significant for two denominations, and for all sect-originated denominations combined. For the church-originated

TABLE 5.3  
EFFECT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING  
ON CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES

Congregational Expenses (In Dollars)	Switching				Total	
	Switchers		Non-switchers		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Under 5,000	67	8.3	178	7.3	245	7.6
5,000-9,999	159	19.7	444	18.3	603	18.7
10,000-14,999	178	22.1	498	20.5	676	20.9
15,000-19,999	98	12.2	314	12.9	412	12.7
20,000-24,999	71	8.8	202	8.3	273	8.4
25,000-29,999	42	5.2	151	6.2	193	6.0
30,000-39,999	61	7.6	212	8.7	273	8.4
40,000-59,999	44	5.5	196	8.1	240	7.4
60,000-79,999	33	4.1	84	3.5	117	3.6
80,000 and Over	53	6.6	147	6.1	200	6.2
Total	806	100.0	2426	100.0	3232	100.0

denominations as a group, it is the switchers that enjoy the advantage. The cross-tabulation with suitability controlled (Table A5.5) is also worth a second look. Suitability self-ratings and congregational expenses are linearly related for switchers, suggesting that money as a criterion of success means more to switchers than the number of members in their congregation does. For non-switchers the effect is a little puzzling. Those who have the smallest budgets rate themselves "neither high nor low" on suitability. One interpretation might be that the slightly more conservative non-switchers are ambivalent about financial success for their congregations as a goal. If their congregations have relatively small budgets, they may compensate by de-emphasizing money and stressing congregational size, and still see themselves as relatively successful.

Satisfaction with Present Income. The minister's satisfaction with his present income was obtained from Question #43: "In general, how do you feel about your own current level of ministerial compensation in relation to the standards of comparison listed below?" Five reference points were listed: (1) personal and family needs; (2) work required of me; (3) other comparably educated professionals; (4) fellow clergy in my denomination; and (5) living level of my congregation. (A sixth

category, "other" was excluded to avoid ambiguity.) The ministers responded on a five-point scale, "My current salary is much too low" to "My current salary is much too high" relative to each standard. Scores from 5 for the first response down to 1 for the second response were assigned to each rating, and then summed across all five standards to provide a total satisfaction-with-income index. The index ranges from 5 to 25, with a mean of 10.95.

Table 5.4 compares switchers and non-switchers on satisfaction. The mean satisfaction score for switchers was 10.80 in contrast to 11.13 for the non-switchers ( $t=-2.56$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Non-switchers were significantly more satisfied than switchers.

Since satisfaction with income obviously has other determinants besides switching, the next step was to see if controlling for some of these would reduce the difference between switchers and non-switchers. But whether being a minister's son, education, or size of community lived in during high school was controlled, the same relationship of switching to low satisfaction remained. With sonship controlled, the non-switchers who are not sons of clergy turn out to have significantly higher satisfaction scores than the switchers who are not sons ( $t=-2.10$ ,  $p<.05$ ), but there is no statistical difference between switchers

TABLE 5.4

EFFECT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING  
ON DEGREE OF SATISFACTION WITH PRESENT INCOME

Satisfaction Scores	Switching				Total	
	Switchers		Non-switchers			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
7 and below	80	13.1	190	9.8	270	10.6
8-9	126	20.6	366	18.9	492	19.3
10-11	152	24.9	512	26.5	664	26.1
12-13	135	22.1	425	22.0	560	22.0
14-15	98	16.0	364	18.8	462	18.1
16+	20	3.3	78	4.0	98	3.8
Total	611	100.0	1935	100.0	2546	100.0

and non-switchers who are sons of clergy (Table A5.8). For both switchers and non-switchers, sons of clergy have higher satisfaction scores than non-sons. Perhaps sons are more satisfied because they are better compensated, in congregations with larger budgets. Their higher satisfaction scores may also be attributed to their having a more realistic concept of how much a minister can earn, since, being the sons of ministers, they could well have experienced some privation. On the other hand a non-son, while having some idea of what it means to be a minister, may not have been too clear about how much he could actually make as a minister and could tend to have higher expectations. Controlling for education (Table A5.9) reduces the relationship between switching and satisfaction, and, therefore, the low financial satisfaction scores of switchers are partly but not entirely due to an educational factor. Within all but one of the categories of size of community lived in during high school, though non-switchers were more satisfied, the t-statistics did not reach significance (Table A5.10).

Several additional control variables were also considered, but none of these (denominational affiliation, age, congregational size, and congregational expenses in Tables A5.11 through A5.14) affected the switching-satisfaction relationship.

Suitability for the Ministry. Since switchers not only have smaller congregations but also have lower financial satisfaction scores, it was expected that they would rate themselves relatively low on suitability. This rating was obtained from Question #52: "Finally, give your own estimate of your over-all suitability for the ministry as you now see it. (Check one.) (1) Very high; (2) Fairly high; (3) Neither high, nor low; (4) Fairly low; and (5) Very low." "Fairly low" and "Very low" responses were combined because they were so few. A score of 4 was assigned to a "Very high" rating, 3 to "Fairly high," 2 to "Neither high nor low," and 1 to "Fairly low" and "Very low."

Table 5.5 shows the distribution of ministers by switching and by suitability ratings. In examining the table, one finds the predictions invalidated. It does not follow that switchers are lower on the suitability scale than the non-switchers because they are low on satisfaction and congregational size. Rather, on this variable, switchers rate themselves as significantly more suitable for the profession than the non-switchers. The mean suitability score for switchers was 2.89, for the non-switchers, 2.82 ( $t=2.69$ ,  $p<.01$ ). Switchers also give themselves higher ratings in 10 out of 14 denominations (Table A5.15), and their self-evaluations are significantly higher than the self-



TABLE 5.5  
EFFECT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL SWITCHING  
ON ESTIMATE OF OWN SUITABILITY FOR THE MINISTRY

Suitability	Switching				Total	
	Switchers		Non-switchers			
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Very High	154	17.4	364	13.6	518	14.6
High	501	56.6	1494	56.0	1995	56.2
Medium	210	23.7	762	28.6	972	27.4
Low	20	2.3	47	1.8	67	1.8
Total	885	100.0	2667	100.0	3552	100.0

evaluations of the non-switchers for all church-originated denominations combined ( $t=2.87$ ,  $p<.01$ ), and higher but not significantly so for sect-originated denominations ( $t=.51$ ).

Three other variables were selected as especially likely to affect suitability ratings. These were education, congregational size, and congregational expenses. As Tables A5.16, A5.17, and A5.18 indicate, both switchers and non-switchers rate

themselves more suitable if they have had more education, if they have larger congregations, and if their congregations have larger budgets. However, none of these controls affects the relationship between switching and higher suitability ratings: within most of the categories of each of these control variables, switchers still have higher ratings than non-switchers.

Summary and Conclusion. On the basis of the above discussions, what might be said about the consequences of inter-denominational switching? One finds that non-switchers have significantly larger congregations than switchers but the non-switchers' congregational budgets, while possibly slightly larger, are not significantly so. This suggests that switchers, though having smaller congregations, may have congregations that are better-off financially, relative to their size, than non-switchers' congregations. It was further found that switchers had lower financial satisfaction scores than non-switchers, but judged themselves as more suited for the ministerial profession in contrast to the non-switchers. Switchers apparently have a more confident self-image and are more ambitious in advancing their careers. Therefore, they are less easily satisfied with their monetary returns. It is often the case that strivers will always continue to want more than what they currently have and mobile ministers are no exception.

As a consequence of these findings, it becomes necessary to modify the original hypotheses, namely, that switching leads to larger congregations and larger congregational budgets, and consequently, to greater satisfaction with material remuneration and to greater confidence in one's suitability for the ministry. Objectively, the average switching minister will have a congregation with fewer members but with a budget slightly larger, relative to its membership, than the congregation of a non-switcher. Subjectively, the switcher will be more satisfied with himself in terms of his capabilities for the ministry, but less satisfied with the monetary rewards he receives.

## CHAPTER VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Interdenominational switching was defined in Chapter I as the movement of Protestant ministers from one denomination to another. This study has concerned itself with patterns of such switching discernible in a 1964 clergy-support survey. Of the approximately 4,000 ministers, affiliated with 14 major white Protestant denominations, with whom this study is concerned, 25.1 per cent had switched at some time in their lives.

The denominations that had received the highest percentage of switchers were the United Church of Christ, the Protestant Episcopal Church, the United Presbyterian Church, the Church of God, and the American Baptist Convention; conversely, those denominations with the lowest percentage of switchers were the Lutheran churches and the Southern Baptist Convention. Two ways of characterizing the denominations that received more switchers were suggested: these denominations appear more liberal and more ecumenical, thus being more receptive to ministerial transfers; they are also more likely to be church-originated than sect-originated, and this is associated with

having higher "personnel capacity" and "fiscal capacity" (Scherer, 1965). It was also determined that switching was more likely between denominations of the same "family," between, say, Presbyterian bodies, or between Episcopal bodies.

The main findings regarding individual determinants of switching were:

1. Sons of ministers who became ministers themselves are less likely to switch denominations than other ministers.
2. There is a slight tendency for switching to be associated with one's father having a higher status occupation. Farmers' sons who enter the ministry are least likely to switch.
3. Ministers whose fathers were in lower white-collar occupations were somewhat more likely to switch into sect-originated denominations.
4. The size of the community a minister lived in during high school is directly related to the propensity to switch.
5. High education promotes switching, but having exactly a college education and no more retards it. This is especially true for sons of clergy.
6. The per cent of ministers who have switched increases for each age group up to age 44, but declines beyond 44.
7. Those who enter the ministry at a later age are more likely to switch or to have switched.
8. More liberal ministers are more likely to switch into church-originated denominations and more conservative ministers are more likely to switch into sect-originated denominations.

9. Over-all, liberal ministers who also grew up in more urbanized communities are more likely to switch.
10. Ministers who chose as alternative occupations engineer, technician, natural scientist, business manager, or accountant were more likely to switch into sect-originated denominations.

A Pattern-Variable Interpretation of Switching Rates. It is possible to apply, in a post hoc manner, the pattern-variable scheme (Parsons, 1951) to this summary of findings. The purpose of this application of Parsonian doctrine is to present not an integrated theory of interdenominational switching but a convenient heuristic device by which the diverse and amorphous empirical findings may be held together, and in this process of tying the "facts" up in a single package, to discover tensions between them and possible extensions of their meaning that may be worth further research.

Parsons argues that "an actor in a situation is confronted by a series of major dilemmas of orientation, a series of choices that the actor must make before the situation has a determinate meaning for him" (1951:76). The choices are five:

- (1) between affective-neutrality and affectivity, between renunciation of immediate interests and undeferred gratification;
- (2) between self-orientation and collectivity-orientation;
- (3) between universalism and particularism, where the former

refers to highly generalizable standards and the latter to standards applicable only in particular relations; (4) between achievement and ascription; and (5) between specificity and diffuseness, between limiting obligations in the ego-alter relationship in a manner analogous to a contract, and defining obligations in a broad, all-encompassing manner.

To apply these choice dilemmas, which Parsons labels the pattern variables, it is necessary to assume, first, that the minister contemplating a change of denominations is in the choice situation defined by Parsons, and, second, that a choice of the first alternative for each pattern variable (affective neutrality, self-orientation, universalism, achievement, and specificity) will lead to switching while a choice of the second alternative will not. Switching must involve greater concern for one's interests above those of the collectivity, greater pre-occupation with achievement rather than acceptance of one's ascribed allegiances, and the capacity to break the emotional, affective ties one has developed with a given denomination. In addition, particularistic and diffuse relationships are more difficult to break, while it is expected that functional relationships, involving specificity, will be broken if they are no longer in the individual's calculated interest. These are the

grounds for the second assumption. It becomes convenient to define the mobile personality as a personality in which the five alternatives assumed to lead to switching are generally elected in choice behavior.

It is now possible to interpret the lower switching rate of sons of clergy as due to the likelihood that some degree of ascription was involved in their entering the ministry, since the ministry can be occasionally viewed by some families as a proprietary occupation. Those whose fathers were not ministers had a greater achievement component in their entry into the ministry, and this increased their probability of switching. A different pattern variable, specificity-diffuseness, can be used to explain the lower switching rate of farmers' sons. The occupation of farming generates more traditionalistic and diffuse relationships, values which are the obverse of those which generate mobile personalities.

The effect of community size may be interpreted thus: one's interpersonal ties in a small community tend to be diffuse and particularistic, which hinders mobility in general. On the other hand, larger communities and more urbanized areas lead to greater specificity in interpersonal relationships, to specialization and the division of labor in work organizations, including



religious bodies. Coming from such backgrounds generates a more liberal orientation and gives one more freedom to switch between denominations.

As regards the effect of education on switching, the highly educated may be seen as more achievement-oriented. Also, higher education usually leads to more universalistic standards. To explain the low switching rate of ministers with 19 years of education, one can use the pattern variable of self-orientation versus collectivity-orientation. Getting the "optimum" education to qualify one as a good minister according to current standards may be seen as more collectivity-oriented behavior, and this is related to lower switching. On the other hand, getting more education than necessary is more self-oriented, and related to more switching.

The first half of the age effect, the upward trend in switching to age 44, is simply a function of needing some time to move--younger ministers just haven't had the opportunity to move. The other half of the age effect--the downward trend in switching for older ministers--may be related to a long-term societal trend toward more specificity in relationships, more secularity, and more focus on functionality rather than diffuse emotional relationships. The inferential finding that ministers

who enter the ministry when they are older are more likely to switch may be interpreted in terms of their being more achievement rather than ascription-oriented. That is, among those who enter young, there must be more who become ministers largely by ascription due to greater family cooptation.

The effect of liberalism in increasing switching, when it is associated with growing up in an urban area, may be related to the universalistic component of liberal ideology. Apparently, this is not strong enough by itself to promote switching, but must be complemented by the awareness of diverse standards and wider opportunities resulting from an urban upbringing.

There remain three findings that cannot be explained within the pattern-variable framework, all of them involving the distinction between church-originated and sect-originated denominations. Three categories of ministers whom one would expect to have lower rates of switching actually have higher rates of switching into sect-originated denominations but not into church-originated denominations. These are ministers whose fathers were lower white-collar, ministers who were more conservative, and ministers who selected technical or managerial jobs as alternative occupations. As suggested in Chapter IV, dissonance theory may help account for these findings. Each of

the three cases involves switching into a denomination that provides an ideology complementary to one's own attitudes, an ideology that is more conservative and more fundamentalist.

The Consequences of Switching. The switchers in this study had smaller congregations than non-switchers, a finding somewhat difficult to explain within the pattern variable scheme. One could say that smaller congregations represent more a self-rather than a collectivity-orientation, or that smaller congregations, like small nuclear families, are more affective-neutral rather than affective, but both of these interpretations can be readily disputed. It seems safer to stay with the interpretation offered in Chapter V, that mobile ministers, like mobile career men with small families, tend to have smaller congregations because of their pragmatic views and lesser concern for growing roots and establishing paternalistic relationships. The switchers had congregational budgets which were only slightly smaller than those of non-switchers. This may be some measure of achievement for the switchers--since they had smaller congregations, they obviously should have had smaller budgets, and the fact that they do not is some indication of relative achievement. The switcher's dissatisfaction with his financial remuneration is equally indicative of an achievement orientation, as

opposed to actual achievements, and his self-judgment of his higher suitability for the ministry could be viewed as a measure of self- over collectivity-orientation. Since the switcher believes he is well suited for his career, it is quite logical for him to expect commensurate financial remuneration.

Significance of the Findings. There is some indication, particularly in the trend of switching with age, that the amount of interdenominational switching may be on the rise. The same prediction could be made on theoretical grounds, from the further movement toward gesellschaft types of organization in industrial society and from the link that has been drawn, using the pattern variables, between secularization and switching. The trend would indicate that interdenominational switching could become a phenomenon requiring even more investigation.

Switching may require more attention for what it says about the relative social situation of different Protestant denominations, besides for what it does to a minister's career. This type of broad question has not been a central concern of this study which has stayed largely on the individual level.

It is necessary to point out some of the limitations of this study that suggest particular researchable topics. A significant limitation was the lack of any detailed information

on the process of switching itself. No information was available on the number of switches an individual minister had made, or the timing of the switches, on all the denominations he had passed through, or on whether switches meant an increase or a decrease in particular status characteristics. Nor were the reflections of individual ministers on their own switches available. Likewise, the question of whether switchers were better or more effective ministers according to other criteria besides congregational size and congregational budgets (such as whether they inspired people, were more charismatic, more personable, or better administrators) have not been investigated. If interdenominational switching does indeed become a more common phenomenon, such questions as these will have to be answered.

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APPENDIX A

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

TABLE A2.1

## PER CENT SWITCHING BY EDUCATION AND BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

Years of Education	Father's Occupation									Total
	Profes- sional	Execu- tive	Tech- nician	Skilled	Semi- skilled	Serv- ice	Labor	Farm	Other	
12 or less	16.7	--	33.3	37.5	50.0	0.0	20.0	20.8	--	26.1
13-15	33.3	100.0	42.9	46.8	40.0	66.7	50.0	13.8	--	29.7
16-18	25.7	36.4	36.1	31.5	28.6	60.0	16.7	23.1	--	27.4
19	26.1	22.7	23.1	24.8	20.7	21.6	22.2	15.6	--	20.7
20 or more	35.9	30.4	37.5	27.0	30.0	30.8	38.1	23.9	--	29.6
Total	29.2	26.8	30.9	28.8	27.6	30.4	26.5	19.0	14.3	25.1

TABLE A2.2

PER CENT SWITCHING BY EDUCATION AND BY SIZE OF COMMUNITY  
LIVED IN DURING HIGH SCHOOL

Years of Education	Size of Community					Open Country	Total
	500,000 or more	100,000- 499,999	25,000- 99,999	2,500- 24,999	2,499 or less		
12 or less	66.7	66.7	33.3	25.0	46.2	18.4	26.1
13-15	42.9	54.5	35.5	30.9	25.4	20.2	29.7
16-18	43.9	37.5	25.8	27.5	21.9	20.6	27.4
19	25.5	25.7	26.1	15.9	18.0	18.4	20.7
20 or more	36.4	33.3	27.6	28.4	29.3	22.2	29.6
Total	32.4	31.2	27.3	22.5	22.7	19.8	25.1

TABLE A3.1  
PER CENT SWITCHING BY AGE  
AND BY PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION

Present Denomination*	Age					Total
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	
UCC	42.9	52.2	76.2	50.0	46.7	56.0
PEC	35.9	38.3	44.2	43.6	40.7	41.2
UPC	34.8	39.8	31.8	45.5	59.1	40.0
CG	20.0	33.3	47.6	15.8	71.4	39.0
ABC	36.7	40.5	38.0	27.7	36.0	36.6
PCUS	10.0	34.0	35.0	26.3	23.1	30.4
EUB	14.3	30.4	52.6	26.1	15.4	30.2
RCA	13.3	25.8	27.3	16.0	41.7	23.8
METH	17.7	22.2	26.6	21.8	21.1	22.4
DISC	17.4	14.4	17.3	21.6	28.1	18.2
CB	28.6	04.5	20.0	28.6	07.7	17.5
SBC	14.3	14.3	16.4	15.5	06.5	14.5
LCA	06.8	17.5	12.8	16.7	03.0	13.6
ALC	17.5	05.7	10.0	06.7	08.1	8.9
Total	20.2	23.8	27.7	25.9	25.6	25.1

\*Refer to Table 2.1 on page 31 for full names of denominations.

TABLE A3.2

PER CENT SWITCHING BY NUMBER OF POSITIONS  
HELD AMONG SONS OF CLERGY AND AMONG NON-SONS

Number of Positions	Sonship		Total
	Sons	Non-sons	
1	12.0	23.5	22.3
2	14.7	25.3	24.7
3	12.5	28.1	26.2
4	24.6	23.9	24.1
5	14.6	31.5	28.6
6	21.1	28.3	27.1
7	17.6	31.0	28.8
8	--	28.0	28.6
9+	--	30.9	33.8
Total	17.6	26.0	25.1

TABLE A3.3

## PER CENT SWITCHING BY NUMBER OF POSITIONS HELD AND BY AGE

Number of Positions	Age									Total
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+	
1	7.7	16.7	22.6	32.1	34.6	28.1	15.0	22.4	15.0	22.3
2	--	29.2	18.0	28.9	34.8	21.2	20.6	33.3	20.7	24.7
3	--	21.9	22.0	30.6	25.0	26.7	26.5	21.7	32.4	26.2
4	--	18.7	19.1	19.8	21.8	30.3	19.6	23.4	34.0	24.1
5	--	--	23.1	24.1	25.9	32.2	34.5	32.6	18.9	28.6
6	--	--	--	23.5	27.3	18.7	28.0	30.0	38.5	27.1
7	--	--	--	--	27.8	37.5	31.8	27.3	26.9	28.8
8	--	--	--	--	--	18.2	27.3	33.3	28.6	28.6
9+	--	--	--	--	--	30.0	16.7	50.0	30.0	33.8
Total	15.4	20.6	20.3	27.6	28.4	26.9	25.1	26.7	25.6	25.1



TABLE A3.4

PER CENT SWITCHING BY NUMBER OF POSITIONS HELD  
AND BY EDUCATION

Number of Positions	Years of Education					Total
	12 or less	13-15	16-18	19	20 or more	
1	31.3	21.7	23.3	20.0	25.9	22.3
2	33.3	34.9	29.1	22.9	25.5	24.7
3	28.6	28.6	26.5	20.8	33.2	26.2
4	--	13.6	35.8	20.3	26.0	24.1
5	--	50.0	26.4	25.0	30.3	28.6
6	--	38.5	30.8	15.9	37.5	27.1
7	--	--	16.7	20.8	41.0	28.8
8	--	--	20.0	14.3	40.9	28.6
9+	--	--	31.6	23.8	42.9	33.8
Total	26.1	29.7	27.4	20.7	29.6	25.1

TABLE A3.5

NUMBER OF MINISTERS WHO HAVE HELD DIFFERENT NUMBERS  
OF POSITIONS, BY EDUCATION

Number of Positions	Years of Education										Total	
	12 or less		13-15		16-18		19		20 or more			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
1	32		61		103		381		166		743	
		48.5		30.5		22.1		23.2		15.7		21.7
2	13		44		79		416		215		767	
		19.7		22.0		16.9		25.4		20.4		22.4
3	7		28		69		341		216		661	
		10.6		14.0		14.8		20.8		20.5		19.3
4	7		23		68		212		197		507	
		10.6		11.5		14.6		12.9		18.7		14.8
5	1		15		53		117		109		295	
		1.5		7.5		11.3		7.1		10.3		8.6
6	0		15		39		82		66		202	
		0.0		7.5		8.4		5.0		6.3		5.9
7	1		5		26		48		41		121	
		1.5		2.5		5.6		2.9		3.9		3.5
8	0		3		10		21		23		57	
		0.0		1.5		2.1		1.3		2.2		1.7
9+	5		6		20		22		21		74	
		7.5		4.5		6.3		1.3		4.3		2.1
Total	66		200		467		1640		1054		3427	
		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0		100.0

TABLE A4.1  
EFFECT OF EDUCATION ON LIBERALISM

Liberalism Scores		Years of Education					Total
		12 or less	13-15	16-18	19	20 or more	
15-16	n	33	90	117	401	241	882
	%	35.1	26.7	21.7	23.2	21.7	23.1
17-18	n	23	101	217	604	347	1292
	%	24.5	30.0	40.3	34.9	31.2	33.9
19-20	n	29	97	143	522	381	1172
	%	30.9	28.8	26.5	30.2	34.3	30.8
21-22	n	9	49	57	175	128	418
	%	9.6	14.5	10.6	10.1	11.5	11.0
23-30	n	0	0	5	27	15	47
	%	0.0	0.0	.9	1.6	1.3	1.2
Total		94	337	539	1729	1112	3811

TABLE A4.2

## EFFECT OF COMMUNITY SIZE LIVED IN DURING HIGH SCHOOL ON LIBERALISM

Liberalism Scores		Size of Community					Open Country	Total
		500,000 or more	100,000- 499,999	25,000- 99,999	2,500- 24,999	2,499 or less		
15-16	n	125	117	109	174	143	196	864
	%	22.7	24.2	21.9	21.7	22.1	24.8	22.9
17-18	n	175	147	164	275	242	280	1283
	%	31.8	30.4	32.9	34.3	37.3	35.5	34.0
19-20	n	178	163	164	248	189	217	1159
	%	32.3	33.7	32.9	31.0	29.2	27.5	30.7
21-22	n	61	48	55	95	68	91	418
	%	11.1	9.9	11.0	11.9	10.5	11.5	11.1
23-30	n	12	9	6	9	6	5	47
	%	2.2	1.9	1.2	1.1	.9	.6	1.2
Total		551	484	498	801	648	789	3771

TABLE A4.3  
EFFECT OF AGE ON LIBERALISM

Liberalism Scores		Age									Total
		20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59	60+	
15-16	n	4	82	145	123	138	123	80	81	111	887
	%	15.4	20.8	22.1	20.7	24.2	23.8	23.3	25.9	27.3	23.2
17-18	n	13	125	221	208	199	172	122	115	121	1296
	%	50.0	31.6	33.6	35.0	34.9	33.3	35.6	36.7	29.7	33.9
19-20	n	6	133	208	196	168	145	105	83	127	1171
	%	23.1	33.7	31.7	32.9	29.4	28.1	30.6	26.5	31.2	30.6
21-22	n	2	46	76	57	60	66	35	34	46	422
	%	7.7	11.6	11.6	9.6	10.5	12.8	10.2	10.9	11.3	11.0
23-30	n	1	9	7	11	6	10	1	0	2	47
	%	3.8	2.3	1.1	1.8	1.1	1.9	.3	0.0	.5	1.2
Total		26	395	657	595	571	516	343	313	407	3823

TABLE A4.4

PER CENT SWITCHING BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT  
AND BY LIBERALISM

Liberalism Scores	Years of Education					Total
	12 or less	13-15	16-18	19	20 or more	
15-16	12.5	31.0	31.3	17.8	27.7	23.2
17-18	40.9	29.3	26.0	20.3	30.4	25.1
19-20	27.6	31.3	25.7	23.0	26.6	25.2
21-22	33.3	24.4	28.1	21.1	38.6	27.8
23-30	--	--	40.0	29.6	42.9	34.8
Total	26.1	29.7	27.4	20.7	29.6	25.1

TABLE A4.5

PER CENT SWITCHING BY COMMUNITY SIZE LIVED IN  
DURING HIGH SCHOOL AND BY LIBERALISM

Liberalism Scores	Size of Community						Total
	500,000- or more	100,000- 499,999	25,000- 99,999	2,500- 24,999	2,499 or less	Open Country	
15-16	31.1	26.3	23.9	24.7	18.6	19.0	23.2
17-18	32.6	33.1	26.2	20.1	24.9	20.9	25.1
19-20	31.6	30.2	24.8	24.0	23.9	18.9	25.2
21-22	32.8	38.3	40.0	22.6	20.6	21.3	27.8
23-30	50.0	44.4	66.7	11.1	20.0	0.0	34.8
Total	32.4	31.2	27.3	22.5	22.7	19.8	25.1

TABLE A4.6

PER CENT SWITCHING BY ALTERNATIVE OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE  
AND BY TYPE OF DENOMINATION

Alternative Occupational Choice*	Type of Denomination		Total
	Church- originated	Sect- originated	
1	28.8	16.2	23.7
2	29.4	17.4	24.3
3	25.9	29.3	27.3
4	34.0	21.7	26.1
5	21.0	5.7	11.1
Total	28.9	22.0	25.1

\* Alternative Occupational Choice: Occupations ordered according to similarity to the ministerial occupation.

1. Counseling, Social Welfare, Teaching
2. Medicine, Social Science, Government, Public Relations, Journalism, Art, Law
3. Engineering, Technician, Natural Science, Management, Accounting
4. Personnel, Sales, Small Business, Trade-Skilled
5. Farm



TABLE A5.1

MEAN CONGREGATIONAL SIZE BY SWITCHING  
AND BY PRESENT DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION

Present Denomination*	Average Number of Members Per Congregation		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
UCC	464	420	.77	n.s.
PEC	514	541	-1.02	n.s.
UPC	416	473	-1.51	n.s.
CG	112	123	- .30	n.s.
ABC	286	359	-2.44	< .05
PCUS	344	352	- .15	n.s.
EUB	272	292	- .48	n.s.
RCA	331	376	- .81	n.s.
METH	400	540	-5.43	< .001
DISC	389	453	-1.58	n.s.
CB	178	291	-3.38	< .01
SBC	416	464	-1.26	n.s.
LCA	445	495	-1.25	n.s.
ALC	559	575	- .28	n.s.
Church- originated	464	500	-2.40	< .05
Sect- originated	342	455	-7.53	< .001
All Denominations	406	459	-4.96	< .001

\*Refer to Table 2.1 on page 31 for full names of denominations.

TABLE A5.2  
MEAN CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES BY SWITCHING  
AND BY EDUCATION

Years of Education	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
12 or less	\$ 7,912	\$ 8,634	- .27	n.s.
13-15	9,602	13,215	-1.99	< .05
16-18	20,027	19,995	.02	n.s.
19	24,804	25,034	- .16	n.s.
20 or more	29,659	30,578	- .52	n.s.
All Subjects	\$24,233	\$25,028	- .84	n.s.

TABLE A5.3

MEAN CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES BY SWITCHING AND BY SIZE  
OF COMMUNITY LIVED IN DURING HIGH SCHOOL

Size of Community	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
500,000 and Over	\$29,164	\$27,561	.66	n.s.
100,000-499,999	27,821	25,945	.72	n.s.
25,000-99,999	25,927	28,783	-1.04	n.s.
2,500-24,999	20,954	24,938	-2.12	< .05
2,499 or less	19,500	24,725	-2.50	< .02
Open Country	21,192	21,106	.40	n.s.
All Subjects	\$24,232	\$25,028	- .84	n.s.

TABLE A5.4

## MEAN CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES BY SWITCHING AND BY AGE

Age	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
20-24	\$ 3,000	\$ 5,643	-2.79	< .02
25-29	22,776	17,442	1.62	n.s.
30-34	20,375	21,143	- .38	n.s.
35-39	23,441	24,124	- .32	n.s.
40-44	24,845	28,250	-1.50	n.s.
45-49	31,549	30,833	.24	n.s.
50-54	27,079	30,911	-1.13	n.s.
55-59	23,691	26,637	.91	n.s.
60+	19,408	24,390	-1.82	n.s.
All Subjects	\$24,233	\$25,028	- .84	n.s.

TABLE A5.5  
MEAN CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES BY SWITCHING  
AND BY SUITABILITY

Suitability	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
High	\$25,301	\$27,070	-1.59	n.s.
Medium	21,027	19,386	.88	n.s.
Low	16,882	24,903	-1.42	n.s.
All Subjects	\$24,233	\$25,028	- .84	n.s.

TABLE A5.6  
MEAN CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES FOR SWITCHERS  
AND NON-SWITCHERS BY DENOMINATION  
(IN DOLLARS)

Present Denomination*	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
ABC	18,260	21,310	-1.28	n.s.
ALC	25,480	25,300	.03	n.s.
DISC	25,600	28,800	-.94	n.s.
CB	10,620	15,710	-2.65	<.05
CG	14,260	11,540	.71	n.s.
EUB	14,160	15,650	-.60	n.s.
LCA	18,450	21,450	-1.18	n.s.
METH	19,640	21,510	-.79	n.s.
PCUS	25,240	23,240	.45	n.s.
PEC	30,190	31,780	-.65	n.s.
RCA	15,920	23,340	-2.57	<.05
SBC	30,240	30,140	.02	n.s.
UCC	26,160	20,910	1.19	n.s.
UPC	27,260	27,570	-.09	n.s.
Church- originated	26,760	25,830	.66	n.s.
Sect- originated	21,050	24,340	2.32	<.05
All Denominations	24,230	25,030	-.84	n.s.

\*Refer to Table 2.1 on page 31 for full names of denominations.

TABLE A5.7  
MEAN CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES BY SWITCHING  
AND BY SONSHIP

Sonship	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
Sons	\$34,774	\$31,868	.75	n.s.
Non-sons	23,379	24,105	-.75	n.s.
All Subjects	\$24,232.6	\$25,027.8	-.84	n.s.

TABLE A5.8  
MEAN FINANCIAL SATISFACTION SCORES  
BY SWITCHING AND BY SONSHIP

Sonship	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
Son	11.64	11.45	.39	n.s.
Non-son	10.71	11.12	-2.10	<.05
All Subjects	10.80	11.13	-2.56	<.01



TABLE A5.9  
MEAN FINANCIAL SATISFACTION SCORES  
BY SWITCHING AND BY EDUCATION

Years of Education	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
12 or less	8.67	10.30	-1.96	n.s.
13-15	10.19	10.66	- .80	n.s.
16-18	11.10	11.16	- .17	n.s.
19	10.81	11.25	-2.22	< .05
20 or more	10.88	11.10	- .94	n.s.
All Subjects	10.80	11.13	-2.56	< .01

TABLE A5.10

MEAN FINANCIAL SATISFACTION SCORES BY SWITCHING AND BY SIZE  
OF COMMUNITY LIVED IN DURING HIGH SCHOOL

Size of Community	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
500,000 and Over	10.62	11.18	-1.87	n.s.
100,000-499,999	11.11	10.84	.77	n.s.
25,000-99,999	10.79	11.21	-1.25	n.s.
2,500-24,999	10.80	11.24	-1.45	n.s.
2,499 or less	10.75	11.16	-1.14	n.s.
Open Country	10.67	11.11	-1.34	n.s.
All Subjects	10.80	11.13	-2.56	< .01

TABLE A5.11

MEAN FINANCIAL SATISFACTION SCORES  
BY SWITCHING AND BY DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION

Present Denomination*	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
ALC	11.98	11.27	1.34	n.s.
DISC	11.01	11.32	- .71	n.s.
CB	9.78	10.42	- .94	n.s.
CG	10.00	10.93	-1.30	n.s.
EUB	11.29	11.53	- .33	n.s.
LCA	10.78	10.93	- .36	n.s.
PEC	10.92	11.05	- .49	n.s.
RCA	10.33	11.46	-1.60	n.s.
SBC	10.77	11.16	-1.04	n.s.
UCC	10.62	10.85	- .32	n.s.
UPC	10.65	11.24	-1.56	n.s.
All Denominations	10.80	11.13	-2.56	< .01

\*Data for three denominations (ABC, METH, and PCUS) is missing.

TABLE A5.12  
MEAN FINANCIAL SATISFACTION SCORES  
BY SWITCHING AND BY AGE

Age	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
20-24	11.50	11.50	0.0	n.s.
25-29	11.15	11.25	- .23	n.s.
30-34	10.61	10.87	- .73	n.s.
35-39	10.84	11.03	- .59	n.s.
40-44	10.58	11.10	-1.54	n.s.
45-49	10.80	11.39	-1.78	n.s.
50-54	10.88	11.31	- .90	n.s.
55-59	10.81	11.50	-1.44	n.s.
60+	10.89	10.94	- .13	n.s.
All Subjects	10.80	11.13	-2.56	< .01

TABLE A5.13

MEAN FINANCIAL SATISFACTION SCORES  
BY SWITCHING AND BY CONGREGATIONAL SIZE

Congregational Size	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
1-49	9.46	9.80	- .45	n.s.
50-99	10.79	9.87	1.33	n.s.
100-199	10.58	10.56	.07	n.s.
200-299	10.04	10.61	-1.88	n.s.
300-399	10.44	10.67	- .62	n.s.
400-499	10.85	11.29	-1.12	n.s.
500-599	11.01	11.83	-1.48	n.s.
600-699	10.77	11.76	-1.47	n.s.
700-799	11.87	11.10	1.04	n.s.
800+	11.83	12.16	-1.15	n.s.
All Subjects	10.80	11.13	-2.56	<.01

TABLE A5.14

MEAN FINANCIAL SATISFACTION SCORES  
BY SWITCHING AND BY CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES

Congregational Expenses (In Dollars)	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
Under 5,000	10.08	9.99	.14	n.s.
5,000-9,999	10.14	10.29	- .50	n.s.
10,000-14,999	10.38	10.72	-1.20	n.s.
15,000-19,999	10.43	11.23	-2.12	<.05
20,000-24,999	10.92	10.89	.05	n.s.
25,000-29,999	11.39	11.41	- .02	n.s.
30,000-39,999	11.43	11.98	-1.12	n.s.
40,000-59,999	11.84	12.22	- .62	n.s.
60,000-79,999	11.31	12.40	-1.70	n.s.
80,000 & Over	12.15	12.77	-1.21	n.s.
All Subjects	10.80	11.13	-2.56	<.01

TABLE A5.15  
MEAN SUITABILITY SCORES BY SWITCHING  
AND BY DENOMINATIONAL AFFILIATION

Present Denomination	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
ABC	2.91	2.89	.30	n.s.
ALC	2.61	2.70	.66	n.s.
DISC	2.92	2.83	.98	n.s.
CB	2.59	2.79	-1.47	n.s.
CG	2.67	2.55	.58	n.s.
EUB	2.55	2.75	-1.47	n.s.
LCA	2.79	2.75	.32	n.s.
METH	2.90	2.88	.36	n.s.
PCUS	3.00	2.85	1.24	n.s.
PEC	3.03	2.95	1.22	n.s.
RCA	2.57	2.84	-1.97	n.s.
SBC	2.81	2.75	.64	n.s.
UCC	3.05	2.76	1.73	n.s.
UPC	2.88	2.88	.04	n.s.
Church-originated	2.93	2.82	2.87	.01
Sect-originated	2.84	2.82	.51	n.s.
All Denominations	2.89	2.82	2.69	.01

TABLE A5.16  
MEAN SUITABILITY SCORES BY SWITCHING  
AND BY CONGREGATIONAL SIZE

Congregational Size	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
1-49	2.62	2.50	.62	n.s.
50-99	2.76	2.71	.45	n.s.
100-199	2.86	2.69	.92	n.s.
200-299	2.87	2.73	2.41	<.02
300-399	2.75	2.80	- .60	n.s.
400-499	2.80	2.82	- .29	n.s.
500-599	3.10	2.80	2.39	<.02
600-699	2.87	3.00	- .36	n.s.
700-799	3.11	2.99	1.21	n.s.
800+	3.07	2.99	1.30	n.s.
All Subjects	2.89	2.82	2.69	<.01



TABLE A5.17

MEAN SUITABILITY SCORES BY SWITCHING  
AND BY CONGREGATIONAL EXPENSES

Congregational Expenses (In Dollars)	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
Under 5,000	2.75	2.66	.89	n.s.
5,000-9,999	2.75	2.68	1.01	n.s.
10,000-14,999	2.94	2.78	2.73	<.01
15,000-19,999	2.95	3.06	-1.57	n.s.
20,000-24,999	2.98	2.88	1.22	n.s.
25,000-29,999	2.95	2.94	.06	n.s.
30,000-39,999	2.90	2.95	-.44	n.s.
40,000-59,999	3.13	2.98	1.19	n.s.
60,000-79,999	3.22	3.03	1.44	n.s.
80,000 & Over	3.09	3.04	.40	n.s.
All Subjects	2.89	2.82	2.69	<.01

TABLE A5.18  
MEAN SUITABILITY SCORES BY SWITCHING  
AND BY EDUCATION

Years of Education	Switching		t	p
	Switchers	Non-switchers		
12 or less	2.50	2.41	.52	n.s.
13-15	2.68	2.57	1.21	n.s.
16-18	2.86	2.73	1.81	n.s.
19	2.88	2.80	1.75	n.s.
20 or more	3.01	2.99	.56	n.s.
All Subjects	2.89	2.82	2.69	<.01

APPENDIX B

THE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

# SURVEY OF CLERGY SUPPORT

## Introduction

Your denomination, in cooperation with major Protestant denominations in the United States, is undertaking a study of the existing *level of compensation of clergy serving local churches* (parish clergy). Findings of this study should make it possible to plan for more equitable compensation for ministers and their families. Besides the questions dealing directly with your monetary situation, we would like to ask you a number of questions related to your professional background and experience, your family situation, and preferences and views. These latter questions should allow some meaningful correlations between income and ministerial situation.

Please complete the questionnaire as carefully as you can, referring to your Federal income tax return (for 1963 income) where necessary. Since this information is to be anonymous, *do not sign your name*. In most cases, only a check mark or a word here and there is all that is necessary. Disregard marginal lines and figures. They are for tabulation purposes only.

## I. Professional Background and Experience

1. What is your age? ..... years (6, 7)
- 2a. In which state were you born (country, if not U.S.A.)? ..... 8- .....
- b. In which state is your present residence? ..... 9- .....
3. In which size community did you live during high school and in which size community is your present church located? (*Check one in each column.*) 10- .....  
11- .....

Size of Community	Residence during high school	Location of present church
Large metropolitan city proper of 500,000 and over . . . . .	12-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	13-1 <input type="checkbox"/>
Suburb or fringe of large metropolitan city . . . . .	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Intermediate city proper of 100,000 to 499,999 . . . . .	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Suburb or fringe of intermediate city . . . . .	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
City (and fringe) of 25,000 to 99,999 . . . . .	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
City of 2,500 to 24,999 (non-metropolitan) . . . . .	6 <input type="checkbox"/>	6 <input type="checkbox"/>
Place of 2,499 or less (non-metropolitan) . . . . .	7 <input type="checkbox"/>	7 <input type="checkbox"/>
Open country . . . . .	8 <input type="checkbox"/>	8 <input type="checkbox"/>

4. Please check your present denominational affiliation below:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 14-0 <input type="checkbox"/> African Methodist Episcopal<br>1 <input type="checkbox"/> African Methodist Episcopal Zion<br>2 <input type="checkbox"/> American Baptist Convention<br>3 <input type="checkbox"/> American Lutheran Church<br>4 <input type="checkbox"/> Christian Churches (Disciples)<br>5 <input type="checkbox"/> Christian Methodist Episcopal<br>6 <input type="checkbox"/> Church of the Brethren<br>7 <input type="checkbox"/> Church of God (Anderson, Ind.)<br>8 <input type="checkbox"/> Evangelical United Brethren<br>9 <input type="checkbox"/> Lutheran Church in America | 15-0 <input type="checkbox"/> Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod<br>1 <input type="checkbox"/> The Methodist Church<br>2 <input type="checkbox"/> Presbyterian Church in the U.S.<br>3 <input type="checkbox"/> Protestant Episcopal<br>4 <input type="checkbox"/> Reformed Church in America<br>5 <input type="checkbox"/> Seventh Day Adventist<br>6 <input type="checkbox"/> Southern Baptist Convention<br>7 <input type="checkbox"/> United Church of Christ<br>8 <input type="checkbox"/> United Presbyterian, U.S.A.<br>9 <input type="checkbox"/> Other .....<br><div style="text-align: center; font-size: small;">(PLEASE SPECIFY)</div> |
|---|--|

5. Were you ever affiliated with any *other* denominations previous to your *present* affiliation? 17- .....  
18- .....  
19- .....  
20- .....

16-1 ☐ Yes → which before college? .....  
X ☐ No ↓ which during or after college? .....
6. What was your father's usual occupation at the time you were graduated from high school? (*Please give descriptive job category and place of employment.*) 21- .....  
22- .....

7. What is your race?

23-1 ☐ White  
2 ☐ Negro

3 ☐ Oriental  
4 ☐ Other

8. Please check the *highest educational level* you attained in school.

- 24-1 ☐ High school graduation or less  
2 ☐ Some college or post-high school training  
3 ☐ Bible college training  
4 ☐ College graduation  
5 ☐ Some college plus full three-year seminary  
6 ☐ College graduation plus some seminary  
7 ☐ College graduation plus graduation from three-year seminary  
8 ☐ College and seminary graduation, plus graduate work  
9 ☐ Other .....  
(PLEASE SPECIFY)

9. Which *earned* degrees do you hold? (Check all that apply.)

- 25-1 ☐ Bachelor's (college)  
2 ☐ Bachelor of Divinity or equivalent  
3 ☐ Master's in theology or religion  
4 ☐ Other Master's degree  
5 ☐ Doctorate in theology or religion  
6 ☐ Other Doctorate  
7 ☐ Other .....  
(PLEASE SPECIFY)

10. How many individual local congregations are you presently serving as *full pastor*? Fill in number.

Serving ..... congregation(s)

(26)

11. What is the *total membership* of your congregation(s)? (List individual figures for *each* congregation at right, if serving *more* than one.)

- 27-1 ☐ 1 - 49      7 ☐ 500 - 599      (If serving more than one)  
2 ☐ 50 - 99      8 ☐ 600 - 699  
3 ☐ 100 - 199      9 ☐ 700 - 799      Congregation 1 .....  
4 ☐ 200 - 299      0 ☐ 800 - 999      Congregation 2 .....  
5 ☐ 300 - 399      X ☐ 1000 - 1499      Congregation 3 .....  
6 ☐ 400 - 499      Y ☐ 1500 and up      Congregation 4 .....  
28-.....

12. What was the *total* sum expended for local congregational *current expenses* in 1963 (non-capital or non-benevolence money) for the above church(es)?

\$ .....

29-.....

13. Which of the following *full time* staff positions currently exist in your church? (Use largest church if serving more than one.) (Check all that apply.)

- 30-1 ☐ Pastor-in-charge      7 ☐ Director of Christian Education  
2 ☐ Associate minister #1      8 ☐ Director of Music  
3 ☐ Associate minister #2      9 ☐ Church secretary  
4 ☐ Associate minister #3      0 ☐ Church administrator  
5 ☐ Assistant minister #1      X ☐ Custodian or sexton  
6 ☐ Assistant minister #2      Y ☐ Other .....  
(PLEASE SPECIFY)

14. Now go back to the previous question and *underline the position you now hold*.

15. For *each full time ministerial position* you have held thus far, complete the information requested below. Consider as No. 1 your *first full time ministerial work* (in the event you entered the ministry *before* formal ordination). (Under "specialty" field below include chaplaincies, foreign missions, campus pastorate, social welfare, etc. Under "executive" include denominational and interdenominational agencies. Under "teaching" include college and seminary.)

Full time positions	Type of Work				Years in Each
	Congregation	Specialty	Teaching	Executive	
1st	32-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	44-.....
2nd	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....
3rd	34-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	46-.....
4th	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....
5th	36-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	48-.....
6th	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....
7th	38-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	50-.....
8th	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....
9th	40-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	52-.....
10th	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....
11th	42-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	54-.....
12th	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....

Total years: ..... 56-.....

## II. Family Situation

16. Please indicate your *present* marital status:

- 57-1 ☐ Never married      5 ☐ Divorced, not remarried  
2 ☐ Married, living with first wife      6 ☐ Divorced, remarried  
3 ☐ Widowed      7 ☐ Separated  
4 ☐ Married, wife deceased, remarried

17. Please write in the number of children:

..... children *ever* born to or adopted by you (58)

..... children *still dependent* on you for half or more of their support (59)

18. What is the *total number* of persons *dependent* on you for half or more of their support (including wife, children, parents, in-laws, etc.)

..... total dependents (60)

19. How many of these are now full time students in college?

..... in college (61)

20. (FOR THOSE MARRIED AND WITH WIFE LIVING) Is your wife now employed and receiving money income?

6-1 ☐ Yes → a. How many full days (or equivalent) per week does she work? ..... (7)

X ☐ No      b. What were her gross earnings (before taxes) in 1963? \$ ..... 8-.....

c. What is the *principal reason* for your wife's working? (Check one.)

- 9-1 ☐ Insufficient family income to meet expenses  
2 ☐ Working is temporary to meet special expense item  
3 ☐ Desires to fulfill special training and interest  
4 ☐ Needs additional challenge beyond homemaking  
5 ☐ Other .....  
(PLEASE SPECIFY)

31-.....

III. Income of the Minister

21. First, what was the total cash salary you received in 1963 from your work as minister on the staff of a local church and, in addition, any "anniversary" or "appreciation" gifts? (If you serve more than one parish, include *total income*, but do not include allowances or fees.)

- a. Cash salary in 1963 . . . . . \$ .....  
b. "Anniversary" or "appreciation" gifts \$ .....  
c. Total cash income in 1963 . . . . . \$ .....

10- .....  
11- .....  
12- .....

22. If your church provides an allowance or pays for all or part of your utilities, please indicate the annual amount paid. (Include electricity, gas, oil, coal, water, telephone, etc.)

\$ .....

13- .....  
14- .....

What per cent of the actual cost to you does this represent? .....%

23. Did you have *other* work, *outside* your parish duties, for which you received money in 1963?

15-1 ☐ Yes → a. Please give the amount of pay received: \$ .....

X ☒ No

b. Type of work .....

c. Average hours per week spent in other work: ..... hours.

16- .....  
17- .....  
18- .....  
19- .....

24. Are you presently provided with a parsonage?

20-1 ☐ Yes

Please estimate rental value of your parsonage per year. (Give realtor's appraisal of rental value, if possible.)

Rental value per year: \$ .....

2 ☐ No

If you received a "housing allowance", how much did you receive in 1963?

\$ .....

21- .....

25. In general, do you prefer to have a parsonage provided or to be given an adequate housing allowance in cash (so that you can either purchase or rent your own home)? (*Check one.*)

22-1 ☐ I prefer to have the parsonage provided.

2 ☐ I prefer an adequate housing allowance in cash.

26. (THOSE ONLY LIVING IN PARSONAGES – OTHER OMIT.) How does the *quality* of your *parsonage* compare with the average housing of your congregation? (*Check one.*)

23-1 ☐ Parsonage much lower

2 ☐ Parsonage somewhat lower

3 ☐ Parsonage about the same

4 ☐ Parsonage somewhat higher

5 ☐ Parsonage much higher

27. Do you participate in your denomination's pension or retirement fund?

24-1 ☐ Yes

Please list the amounts contributed by you and by your congregation(s) in 1963:

Congregation(s) contributed: \$ .....

You contributed: \$ .....

25- .....  
26- .....  
27- .....

28. What per cent of your cash salary is *included as housing* in the base on which your pension contribution is figured?

.....%

28- .....

29. Did you receive additional benefits (insurance premiums, additional annuities, etc.) toward which your congregation contributed in 1963 on your behalf?

29-1 ☐ Yes

X ☒ No

Please list the total annual amounts contributed by your congregation for your benefit:

Health insurance \$ ..... For other annuity \$ .....

Major medical insurance \$ ..... Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) \$ .....

Life insurance \$ .....  
30- .....  
32- .....  
34- .....

30. Please estimate the total value of fees received and *retained* by you in connection with your officiating at weddings, funerals, baptisms, etc. in 1963.

\$ .....

36- .....

31. What is the dollar value of goods and services received "in kind" — if any — during the past year? (e. g., meat and produce; medical, dental, or professional services; etc.)? Please estimate.

\$ .....

37- .....

32. Estimate the total value of *discounts* on personal or family purchases (for which you would not be reimbursed) last year, if any?

\$ .....

38- .....

33. As a minister, did you participate in the Federal Social Security program in 1963?

39-1 ☐ Yes

2 ☐ No

34. Concerning your *total indebtedness*, would you please fill in the amounts currently owed for items below (in rounded hundreds) and then total.

Purchase of house \$ .....

House furnishings \$ .....

Automobile \$ .....

Medical care \$ .....

Education \$ .....

Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) \$ .....

TOTAL \$ .....

40- .....  
42- .....  
44- .....  
46- .....

35. What has happened to the level of your personal and family indebtedness over the past five years?

47-1 ☐ Increased

2 ☐ Decreased

3 ☐ Remained about the same

IV. Business Costs of the Minister

36. Are you *provided* with an automobile?

48-1 ☐ Yes

2 ☐ No

37. Did you receive an *allowance* for automobile expenses in 1963?

49-1 ☐ Yes

2 ☐ No

How much did you receive? \$ .....

50- .....

38. Please compute your professional automobile costs and possible financial loss incurred, as follows:

- a. Total estimated miles driven in 1963 . . . . . 51-  
b. Subtract miles for personal - family purposes - 52-  
c. Net miles driven in the course of pastoral work . . . . . x 9¢ \$ 53-  
d. Subtract total automobile allowance received . . . . . \$  
e. Net loss incurred (for professional auto costs) . . . . . \$  
f. Net gain received from automobile allowance (if any) . . . . . \$

39. Did your church pay for your entire expenses to official denominational meetings (in the last four years)?

54-0 ☐ No → What per cent of the expense did you pay? .....%  
X ☒ Yes

40. Did your church pay your expenses for attendance at a ministers' institute, workshop, study conference, college or seminary course work in 1963?

56-1 ☐ Yes → How much was paid on your behalf? \$ ..... 57-  
X ☒ No → How much did you pay out of your own pocket? \$ ..... 58-

41. Did you receive any money in 1963 for the purchase of books in your field?

59-1 ☐ Yes → How much did you actually receive? \$ ..... 60-  
X ☒ No

V. Clergymen's Preferences and Opinions

42. Suppose you had entered another occupation. Which *other occupation(s)* in addition to the ministry would especially interest you as fields you might *prefer to have* entered, considering your background, personality, and interests? (*Name one or two.*)

Why briefly? .....

43. In general, how do you feel about your own current level of ministerial compensation in relation to the standards of comparison listed below? Please check one response after each standard listed.

In relation to . . .	My current salary is				
	Much too low	A little too low	About right	A little too high	Much too high
Personal and family needs . . . . .	9-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Work required of me . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Other comparably educated professionals . . . . .	11-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Fellow clergy in my denomination . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Living level of my congregation . . . . .	13-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

44. Do your *key lay leaders* know how you feel about your compensation?

15-1 ☐ Yes      2 ☐ No

45. What would you do with an hypothetical extra \$2,000? Indicate your decision on possible expenditures below.

Type of Expenditure	Decision to spend portion			
	Definitely yes	Probably		Definitely no
		yes	no	
Continued professional education . . . . .	16-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Education of children . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Travel - Europe, USA, etc. . . . .	18-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
New furniture, appliances . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Hobbies - photography, Hi-Fi . . . . .	20-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Investment - stocks, real estate, etc. . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Insurance or annuities . . . . .	22-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
New or second automobile . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Contribution to worthy causes . . . . .	24-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Payment of debts . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Summer home or cottage . . . . .	26-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>

46. In your opinion, which of the following groups could do the most for improving ministerial compensation levels in your *denomination*? Rank the *three most important*, starting with "1" as most important, "2" as next most important, then "3".

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 28- ..... National denominational leaders  | 32- ..... Key laymen                              |
| ..... State denominational leaders         | ..... Key lay women                               |
| 30- ..... Local denominational leaders     | 34- ..... Interdenominational council of churches |
| ..... Individual pastors in local churches | ..... Other (PLEASE SPECIFY)                      |

47. How important are the following factors in the determination of salaries in your local church? (*Check twice for each factor: once for "Important Actually," and once for "Important Ideally."*)

Factors in Determining Salaries in Denomination	Important Actually			Important Ideally		
	Very	Some-what	Not Very	Very	Some-what	Not Very
Size of church membership . . . . .	36-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	51-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Size of congregational budget . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Rate of congregational growth . . . . .	38-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	53-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Economic conditions in local community . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Key laymen in local church . . . . .	40-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	55-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Clergyman's education . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Length of service . . . . .	42-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	57-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
All around pastoral competence . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Size of family . . . . .	44-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	59-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Participation in community activities . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Participation in denominational activities . . . . .	46-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	61-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Skill in personal relations . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Dedication to calling . . . . .	48-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	63-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Reputation among clergy . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>
Other (PLEASE SPECIFY) . . . . .	50-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	65-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>

48. Are you in favor of having a *national minimum salary* set for your *denomination*?

66-1 ☐ Yes      2 ☐ No

49. At what level should this national cash minimum salary be set (in thousands) for the following years of experience:

a. After graduation from seminary \$ ..... (67)

b. After fifteen years of service \$ ..... (68)

50. Do you now receive a regular *annual increase* in salary?

69-0 ☐ No → Do you now receive a regular *annual salary review*?

X ☒ Yes

70-1 ☐ Yes

2 ☐ No

51. Please indicate *how important* you personally consider each of the following *ministerial activities to be* to your professional calling in the first three columns below. Then, in the last column write in the *number of hours per week spent in each activity*.

Ministerial Activity	How Important?			Number of hours per week	
	Very	Fairly	Not		
Calling on sick or shut-ins . . . . .	6-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(30)
Counseling on personal or spiritual problems . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Social visits to members' homes . . . . .	8-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(32)
Calling on prospective members . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Own private prayer, devotions . . . . .	10-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(34)
Officiating at weddings, baptism, funerals . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Church administration . . . . .	12-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(36)
Keeping up as a student . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Sermon preparation, preaching . . . . .	14-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(38)
Teaching adult membership class . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Teaching children's membership class . . . . .	16-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(40)
Teaching Sunday Bible class . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Counseling young people . . . . .	18-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(42)
Office work (typing, filing, etc.) . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Planning congregation programs . . . . .	20-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(44)
Attending congregation committee meetings . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Participating in community social action . . . . .	22-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(46)
Getting members to serve on committees and training them to do so	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Keeping check on the budget . . . . .	24-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(48)
Working on denominational committees . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Working for interdenominational projects . . . . .	26-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(50)
Working for committees and projects outside the church (YMCA, welfare, service clubs, etc.) . . . . .	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	
Spending time with my family . . . . .	28-1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	(52)
Other ..... (PLEASE SPECIFY)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	.....	

52. Finally, give your own estimate of *your overall suitability for the ministry as you now see it*.  
(Check one.)

- 54-1 ☐ Very high  
2 ☐ Fairly high  
3 ☐ Neither high, nor low  
4 ☐ Fairly low  
5 ☐ Very low

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.



APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Elizabeth Q. Bulatao has been read and approved by members of the Department of Sociology.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

January 14, 1971

Ross P. Kheri  
Signature of Adviser