

The State of Female and Racial/Ethnic United Methodist Clergy in the US

Eric B. Johnson, Ph.D.
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Introduction

There is a longstanding concern with both gender and racial equity for clergy in the United Methodist Church (UMC). Race and gender relations have changed dramatically since the formal proscriptions against women's ordination were removed in 1956 and the segregated "Central Jurisdiction" was dissolved in 1968. But gender and racial equity did not proceed easily from these formal steps, and despite the many changes between then and now, the degree to which disadvantages persist for female and racial/ethnic clergy remains a pertinent question.

One reason is the lack of basic factual information on how female and racial/ethnic clergy are faring in the UMC. It is widely known that the number of female clergy has increased greatly in the past 30 years, but changes in racial/ethnic clergy have been studied infrequently. Furthermore, studies that exposed the "stained glass ceiling" in the clergy careers of females were largely conducted 10 years ago or more, and at least 70% of the female clergy currently serving congregations in the UMC have entered since then.

This study aims to provide a set of basic quantitative facts that will inform discussions about race and gender equity by indicating where situations have improved, and what areas need more attention. To what degree are experiences of disadvantage the legacy of earlier discrimination? Where does disadvantage persist?

Due to data constraints this study focuses on US clergy, and pays most attention to clergy serving congregations. The definition of clergy in the UMC includes elders, deacons, and local pastors

serving congregations under appointment. In the report, I will use the term clergy to refer to ministers serving in both parish and non-parish appointments, and the term pastor to refer specifically to the leader of a congregation.

To provide a basic overview of how racial/ethnic and female clergy are faring in US congregations in the United Methodist Church, the Study is divided into two main topics:

1. Demographics. How are racial/ethnic groups and females represented in the clergy; where are they most and least prevalent; what is the composition of current clergy with respect to their cohort of entry; and how are these groups changing over time.
2. Career Progression. What are the career outcomes of female and racial/ethnic clergy over time; what are the attributes of their first appointments, and at what rate do they leave the clergy.

Data

This study will use appointment data assembled for a study of UMC salaries. This data set consists of a complete record of appointments from 1997-2008 for all US pastors serving local churches in the UMC, characteristics of the pastoral charges they are assigned to, and a historical record of parish and non-parish appointments for the pastors serving from 1997-2008. A record of which churches are assigned to multiple church charges is unavailable prior to 1997, so church/pastoral charge characteristics for appointments prior to 1997 are not available.

Seniority, Cohort, and Period

The experiences of clergy may be affected by time in three separate ways: through *seniority*, through the *cohort* with which they entered the ministry, and through the *period* in which they are serving.

Seniority is the amount of time a person has been a pastor. For this study, it is defined as the time since a pastor's first recorded appointment to a congregation (at any level). In general, newer pastors are more likely to be assigned to smaller positions, be associate pastors, or have status other than elder. Lead pastor positions and positions in larger/wealthier congregations are more likely to be assigned pastors who have higher seniority (GBHEM Salary Study 2010).

Clergy currently serving congregations are also members of different cohorts. They have entered the ministry during different time periods and, to some degree, their experiences have resulted from the common environmental conditions faced by these cohorts as they progressed through their careers. For the cohorts of female pastors that entered the ministry in the 1970's, most female pastors were the first female assigned to their congregation, and there were very few mid-career female pastors to serve as role models, or who occupied administrative positions within the UMC. By the end date of this study, almost 30% of all pastors were female, and females represented an even greater percentage of pastors serving in their first appointment. Characteristics of job markets are a particularly important factor when considering cohorts. For example, there are a large number of pastors approaching retirement; their departure will create more opportunities for younger pastors just en-

tering the ministry.

Finally, the period in which a pastor is serving matters directly. Attitudes towards racial/ethnic and female clergy have shifted notably of the past 40 years, so pastors who entered the ministry in the 1970's have differing prospects for appointments today, regardless of their cohort or seniority.

The present study combines both prospective and retrospective elements. Since 1997, the data contains information on all clergy assigned to UMC congregations, and tracks records of their appointments. For pastors who entered the ministry at or after this time period, we can determine exactly how many people entered the clergy and how many have left the clergy. We do not know how many people left the clergy prior to 1997, so for cohorts prior to 1997, we cannot know for certain how many female and racial/ethnic clergy entered in these cohorts, or whether these pastors left the clergy at higher rates than white/male clergy. In other words, cohort and seniority are confounded—having high seniority also implies belonging to an early cohort within the sample.

Since racial/ethnic and female clergy have faced radically differing conditions based upon the time in which they entered the ministry, *cohort* will be a central theme of the study. The study will document differences in the career experiences of racial/ethnic and female pastors from previous cohorts when they enter the study sample in 1997, and will track how their experiences change between 1997 and 2008. However, it is important to recognize that these differences may result from two separate processes: the appointment of these groups to different types of positions over the course of their ca-

reers and/or differential rates at which female and racial/ethnic ministers leave the clergy.

Statistics about cohorts prior to 1997 are still be meaningful, but care needs to be taken in their interpretation. They are not representative of the entire cohort, just the fraction of the cohort that has remained in the pastorate until 1997. For this reason, it will be important to differentiate between cohorts, account for seniority throughout the analyses, and analyze rates of leaving the ministry.

1 Understanding Demographic Shifts in the Representation of Female and Racial/Ethnic Clergy Serving Congregations

How many racial/ethnic and female clergy serve congregations in the UMC? Are these pastors more likely to be found in some regions, positions, or types of churches than others? To what degree are all congregations open to female and racial/ethnic clergy? The first section of part I of this report addresses these questions, using a snapshot of data from the end of the study period.¹ The second and third sections then take up the theme of time, examining the cohort structure of the clergy and how representation levels have changed over time.

1.1 Overall Representation

In 2008, female clergy were more than twice as prevalent as racial/ethnic clergy. Females comprised 29% of the clergy serving congregations, while only 13% percent of pastors had a non-white racial/ethnic affiliation (fig. 1).

Of these racial/ethnic clergy, Black pastors were by far the largest category, with 6.9% of all UMC clergy. Blacks were followed by Asian clergy (3%) and Hispanic/Latino(a) clergy (1.5%). Native American, Pacific Islander, and multi-racial pastors each comprised less than 1% of the clergy. The small number of clergy in these groups limits the potential for statistical analysis. For this reason, the report will group

¹In order to achieve a reasonable sample size, a three year window (2006-2008) is used for this snapshot.

racial/ethnic categories with less than 1% into a single, combined, category.

The representation of female pastors varies substantially across racial/ethnic groups. Proportionally, there are more female pastors within Black and multi-racial clergy (34%) than there are within White clergy (29%). In other racial/ethnic categories, however, there are fewer female pastors than there are for White clergy. For example, only 21% of Asian pastors are female.

Ethnic congregations are highly likely to have a racial/ethnic pastor—over 90% of ethnic congregations are led by a racial/ethnic pastor (fig. 2).² (Conversely, less than 10% of predominantly White congregations are led by non-White pastors).

In contrast to the experiences of ethnic congregations, racial/ethnic pastors are appointed to both ethnic and non-ethnic congregations. Racial/ethnic pastors were appointed to ethnic congregations in about 60% of appointments. Forty percent of their appointments were to non-ethnic congregations. Thus, from the point of view of a racial/ethnic pastor, cross-racial/cross-cultural appointments occur frequently, but ethnic congregations do not receive many cross-racial/cross-cultural appointments.

²This study follows the GCFA coding where congregations with 40% or more non-White members are considered to be *Ethnic Congregations*.

Figure 1: Distribution of Racial/Ethnic and Female Clergy

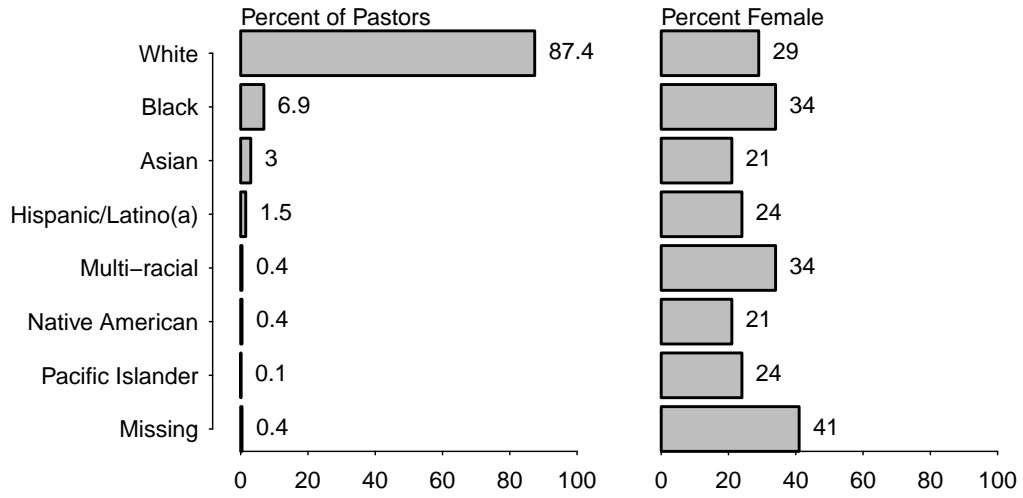
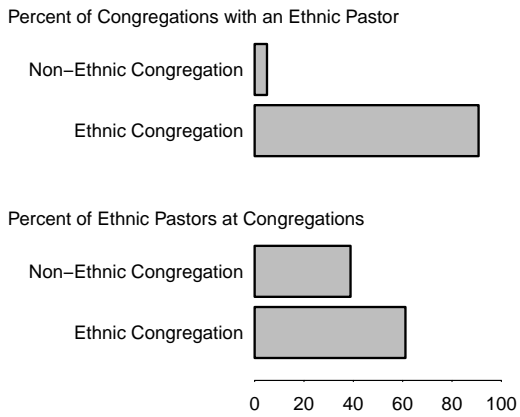


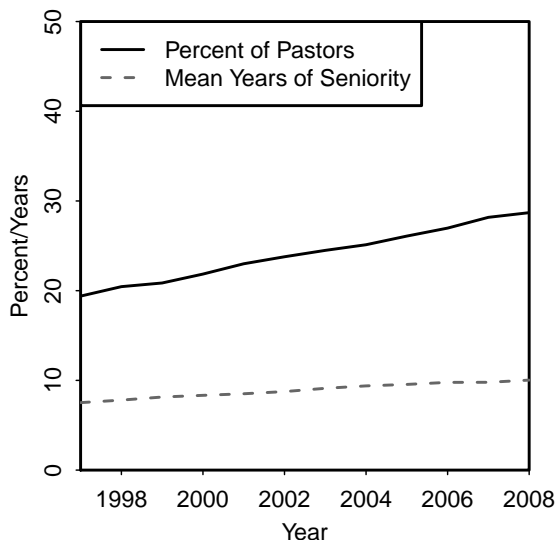
Figure 2: Percentages of Racial/Ethnic Clergy Serving Ethnic Congregations



Note: Percentages are based upon the years 2006-2008.

1.2 Change Over Time

Figure 3: Increase in Female Clergy and Seniority over Time



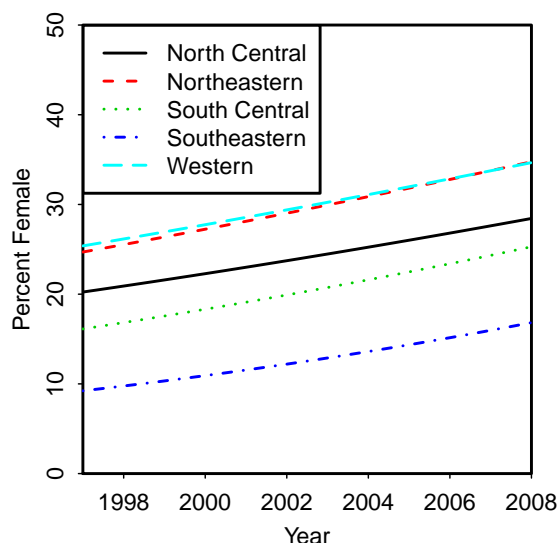
Note: This figure shows the percent of the cohort that is *presently* female. If female pastors from earlier cohorts left the ministry at different rates from male pastors, then this percentage may not reflect the initial composition of the cohort.

Female Clergy Even in the 12 year period covered by this report, the percent of female pastors has increased substantially. In 1997, around 20% of pastor appointments to congregations were held by females. By 2008, this had increased by 45% (to 29%, fig. 3). As the cohort analyses below indicate, this increase reflects the larger proportion of female pastors in recent cohorts, and retirements among the oldest cohorts where there were few female pastors. Provided that females continue to comprise similar percentages of entering cohorts, the number

of female pastors in the UMC will continue to increase.

This process has important implications for pastor seniority. Because most female pastors are recent entrants, their seniority levels are currently rather low. In 1997 female pastors had 9 years of seniority, on average, and this increased by 30% by the end of the study (fig. 3). The average seniority of female pastors can be expected to increase further as recent cohorts with large female contingents advance toward the middle of their careers.

Figure 4: Increase in Female Clergy by Jurisdiction



Racial/Ethnic Pastors When viewed as a percent of overall pastors, the share of racial/ethnic pastors in the UMC shifted little from 1997 to 2008 (fig. 5). However, this largely reflects the stability of Black pastors, the largest

racial/ethnic group in the UMC. The share of Asian, Hispanic/Latino(a), and the combined (Native American, Pacific Islander, and multi-racial) group each increased by about 25% from 1997 to 2008. This rate of change does not impact the overall representation of racial/ethnic pastors in the UMC by much, however, because these groups were small to begin with.

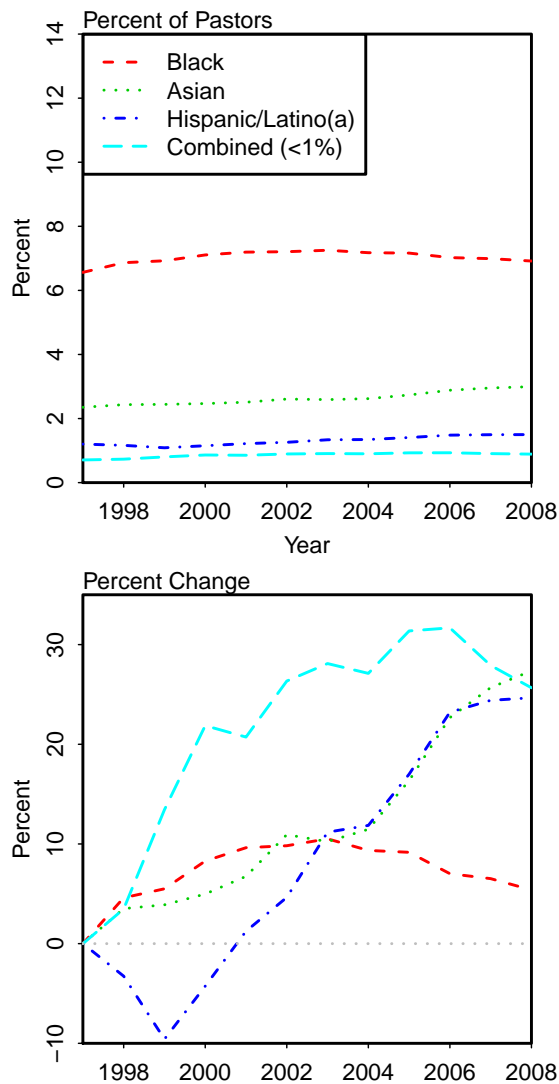
1.3 Annual Conference Variation

The degree of variation across annual conferences is one of the most striking features of representation levels for racial/ethnic and female clergy. This variation occurs for both racial/ethnic and female clergy, but follows differing logic. For female clergy, the pattern is one of *regional difference*. Annual conference variation is associated with broad US regions. For racial/ethnic clergy, annual conference variation exhibits a pattern of *concentration*—a few annual conferences have relatively high levels of representation for racial/ethnic clergy, while there are low levels in most annual conferences.³

Regional Differences in Female Clergy

Figure 6 shows how the percentage of female pastors varies by UMC jurisdiction boundaries.⁴ There are far fewer female pastors in the *South-eastern* jurisdiction than in other jurisdictions—only 20% of pastors in this jurisdiction are female. By contrast, in the jurisdictions with the highest level of female pastors, the *Western* and *Northeastern* jurisdictions, 36% and 35% of pas-

Figure 5: Change in Percentage of Racial/Ethnic Clergy

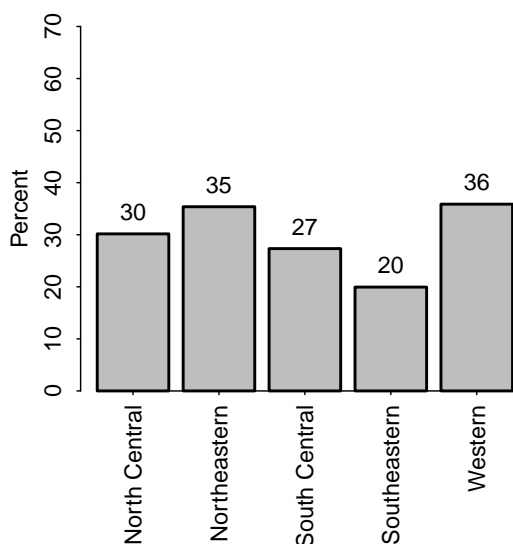


³This section uses the same three-year snapshot (2006-2008), as the earlier section.

⁴With a few exceptions, jurisdiction boundaries are close to the regions defined by the US Census Bureau.

tors serving at congregations are female. This means that, in relative terms, a female is $\sim 45\%$ less likely to be a congregation’s pastor in the *Southeastern* than in the *Western* jurisdiction.

Figure 6: Percentage of Female Clergy by Jurisdiction



Note: Percentages were calculated from 2006-2008 based upon a regression model.

However, both participation levels and regional variation depend heavily on the type of position—women are far more prevalent in associate pastor positions than sole/lead positions (fig. 7). Almost half of associate pastors are female in three out of five UMC jurisdictions. Furthermore, the regional differences in the percentage of female pastor are more muted for associate pastors than for sole/lead pastors. Thus, even in regions with a low percentage of sole/lead female pastors (*Southeastern* and *South Central*) almost 40% of associate pastors are female. This implies that most of the regional variation in the per-

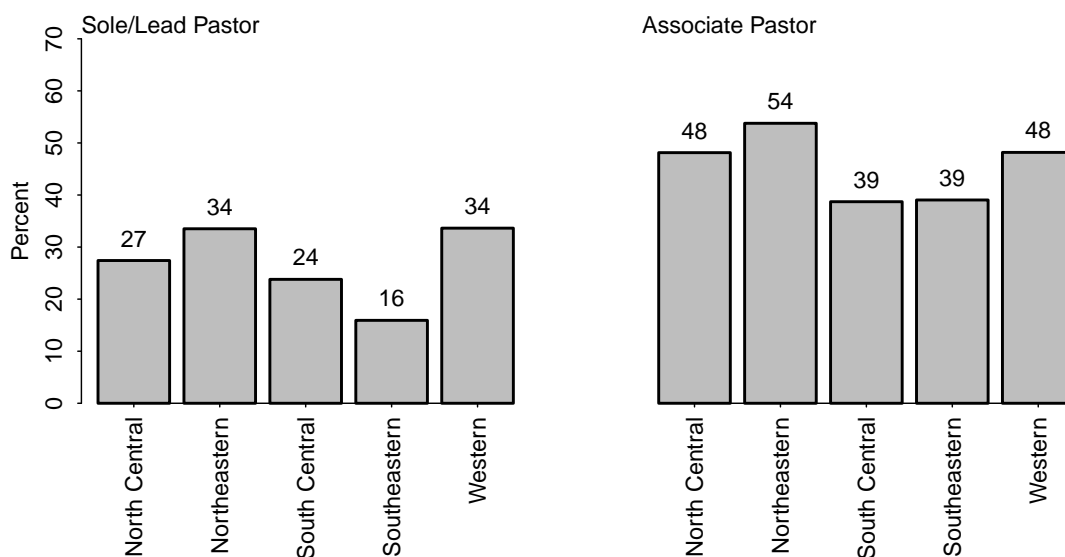
centage of female pastors results from differences in the percentage of females serving in sole/lead pastor roles. Apparently, the factors that reduce the percentage of females serving as pastors in the *Southeastern* jurisdiction are not applicable to associate pastors in the same degree. But, with the figures for associate pastors removed, regional differences are even more notable—for instance, only 16% of lead/sole pastor positions in the *Southeastern* jurisdiction are filled by females.

Because of these differing patterns of representation observed for associate and sole/lead pastors, the remainder of this report will examine each separately.

Even after accounting for regional differences, there is still a remarkable amount of variation in levels of female participation between conferences. Figure 8 shows the percentage of female sole/lead and associate pastors alongside jurisdiction averages, ranked by jurisdiction average and then conference within jurisdiction. Conferences range from a high of 46% sole/lead female pastors in *New England* and *North Central New York* to a low of 9% in *Kentucky*. There is also a great range of variation within jurisdictions. In some cases, the jurisdictional boundaries are clearly not accurately capturing regional differences—for example, Pennsylvania conferences are closer to *North Central* or *South Central* than to other conferences in the *Northeastern*. Region, while a major explanatory factor, clearly does not tell the whole story.

Conference-level differences in female participation rates are only weakly correlated with the percentage of female sole/lead pastors, and the percentage of associate pastors in a conference does not mirror the trends for sole/lead pastors.

Figure 7: Percentage of Female Clergy by Type of Appointment



If anything, there is more variation for associate pastors than there is for sole/lead pastors.

Concentration in Racial/Ethnic Clergy

Because racial/ethnic pastors are heavily appointed to racial/ethnic congregations, differences in regional participation levels is highly dependent on the location of ethnic congregations. There is large annual conference variation in the prevalence of racial/ethnic pastors but, unlike for female pastors, this variation is not spread across jurisdictions—jurisdictional differences in the percentage of racial/ethnic pastors serving congregations are not statistically significant. Rather, regional differences are more localized and depend upon the characteristics of specific annual conferences.

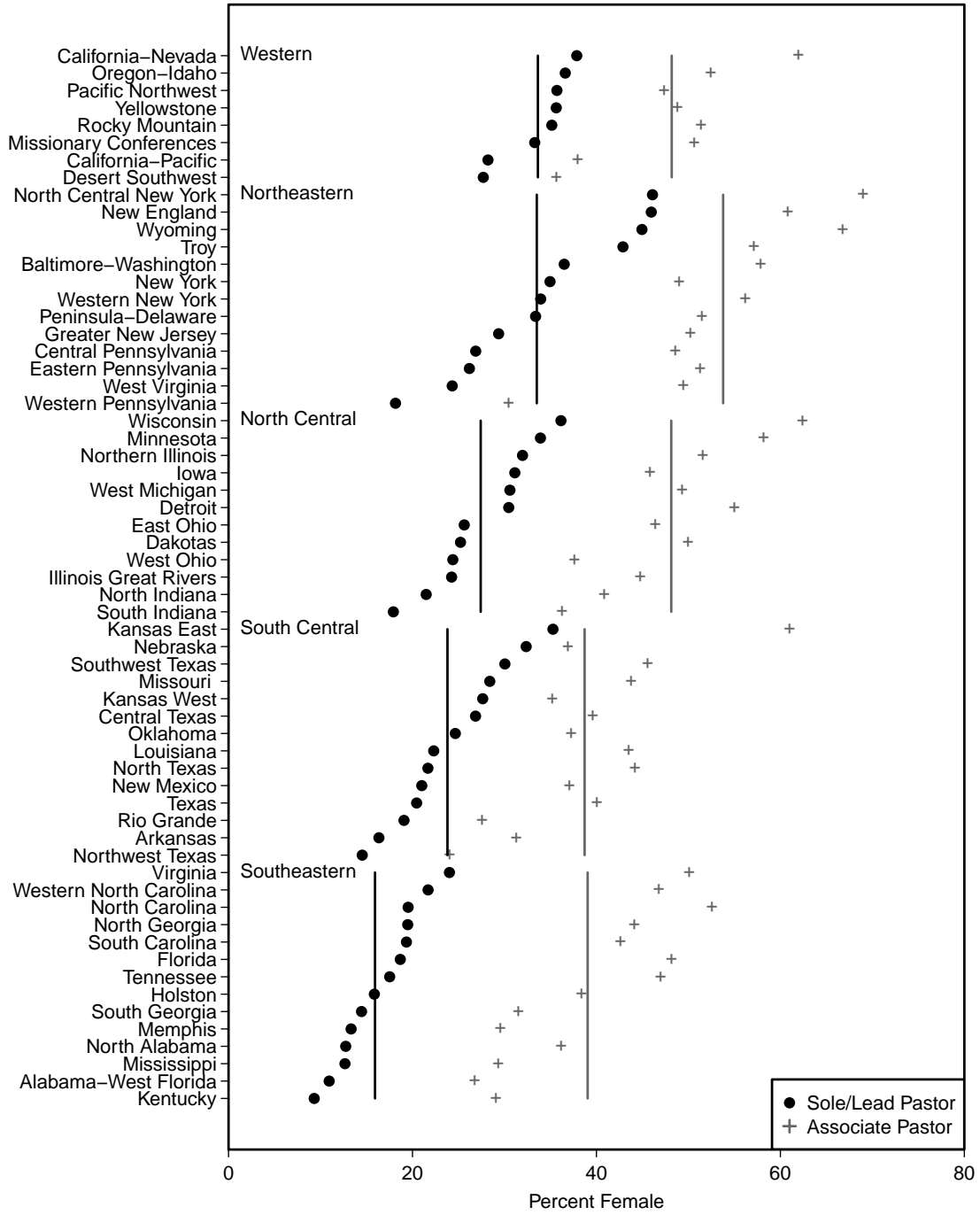
Figure 9 shows the percentage of racial/ethnic pastors in each conference. For sole/lead pas-

tors, pie charts indicate the composition of racial/ethnic pastors within that conference. Gray crosses indicate the representation of racial/ethnic pastors among associate pastors.

The bulk of racial/ethnic pastors are concentrated in just a few conferences, while the majority of conferences have very few racial/ethnic pastors. There are twelve conferences that have at least 20% racial/ethnic pastors. Many of these conferences contain large, urban centers (New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Francisco, Baltimore/DC), while a few are located in Southern conferences (South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana).

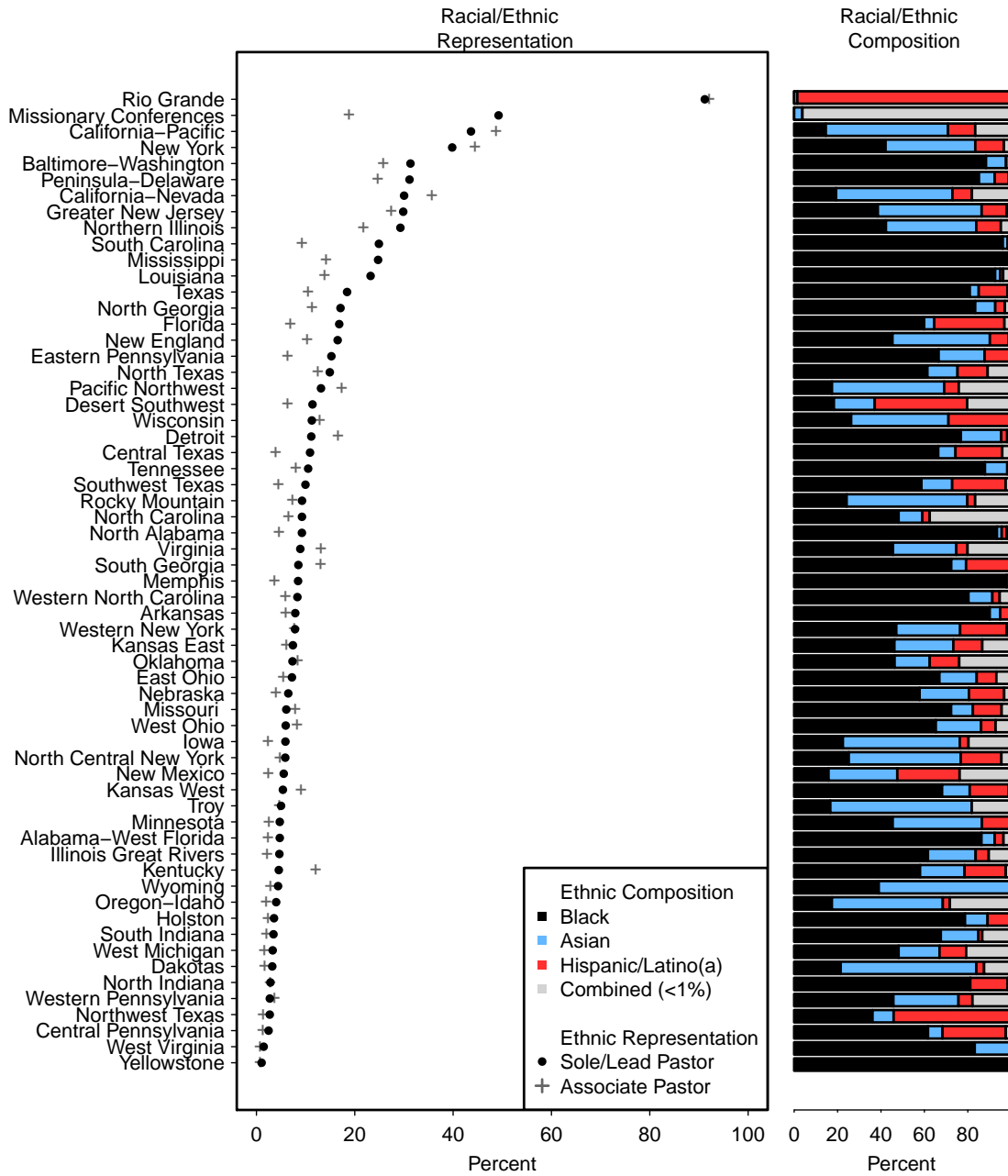
The composition of the different racial/ethnic groups is varied. As might be expected, southern conferences tend to have predominantly Black pastors. West coast conferences, and conferences containing urban areas are more likely to have

Figure 8: Percentage of Female Sole/Lead and Associate Pastors by Conference



Based upon multilevel-regression results for data from 2006-2008, with jurisdiction and associate pastor status as predictors. Lines indicate the average values for each jurisdiction.

Figure 9: Percentage of Racial/Ethnic Pastors by Conference



Bar charts give the composition of racial/ethnic groups for pastors within each conference. The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations. Based upon multilevel-regression results for data from 2006-2008 with jurisdiction and associate pastor status as predictors.

a mix, often with Asian pastors as the largest group. Finally, the highest representation levels of non-ethnic pastors are found in conferences that were formed based on ethnic lines—Hispanic/Latino(a) pastors in the Rio Grande conference, and Native American pastors in the missionary conferences.⁵

1.4 The Size of Congregational Appointments

Pastors of any sex and race are unlikely to lead a large congregation in their careers. For example, in the study data, only 4% of male pastors with 15 years of seniority had led a congregation with 1,000 or more members.⁶ Because large congregations have high visibility, and the pastors of these congregations are able to direct greater levels of resources, it is important to consider whether females and racial/ethnic pastors are proportionally represented in appointments as lead pastors to the largest congregations.

Larger congregations are, in fact, far less likely to have female pastors than smaller congregations. The percentage of female sole/lead pastors decreases monotonically as congregational size increases—from 25-45% in small congregations to less than 5% in congregations with 5,000+ members (fig. 10).⁷

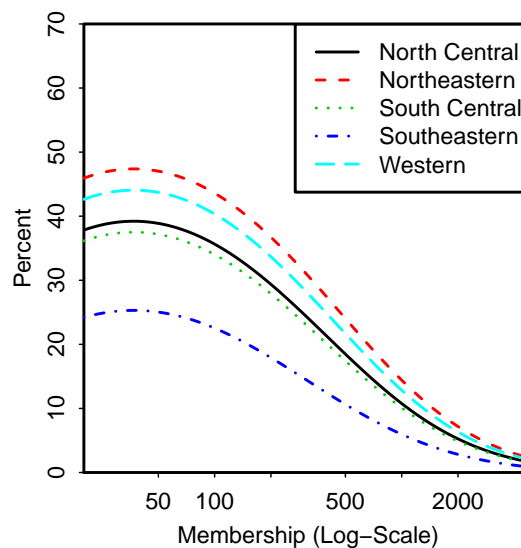
Sole/lead racial/ethnic pastors are also more

⁵Note that the missionary conferences have been grouped together because of the small number of pastors in each separate missionary conference.

⁶Based on a simple logistic model of leading a congregation with 1000+ members as the senior/sole pastor, based upon seniority and gender as predictors.

⁷These figures are based upon a regression model. See the appendix for further information regarding the methodology.

Figure 10: Percentage of Sole/Lead Female Pastors by Congregational Membership

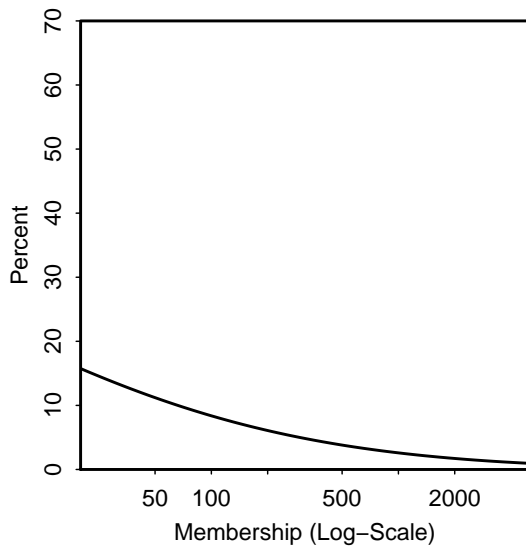


likely to be found in smaller congregations, and are highly unlikely to be the leaders of the largest churches (fig. 11).

Since pastors are more likely to be assigned to larger congregations later in their careers, to some degree this decrease is driven by the small numbers of female pastors in older cohorts (see below). A better comparison is to consider whether the association between congregational size and gender is as large when a pastor’s cohort is included in the analysis, or whether the association with size is greater in older cohorts than for more recent ones. The magnitude of the association between size and the probability of having a female pastor drops by roughly half when cohort is considered alongside size, indicating that the lack of more senior female pastors contributes substantially to the paucity

of female pastors in the largest congregations. However, within cohorts, the negative association between size and the probability of having a female pastor is greater for older cohorts. In other words, there are fewer female lead pastors in large congregations than can be attributed to their reduced numbers in older cohorts, but the situation is improving for more recent cohorts.

Figure 11: Percentage of Sole/Lead Racial/Ethnic Pastors by Congregational Membership



1.5 Other Attributes of Congregational Positions

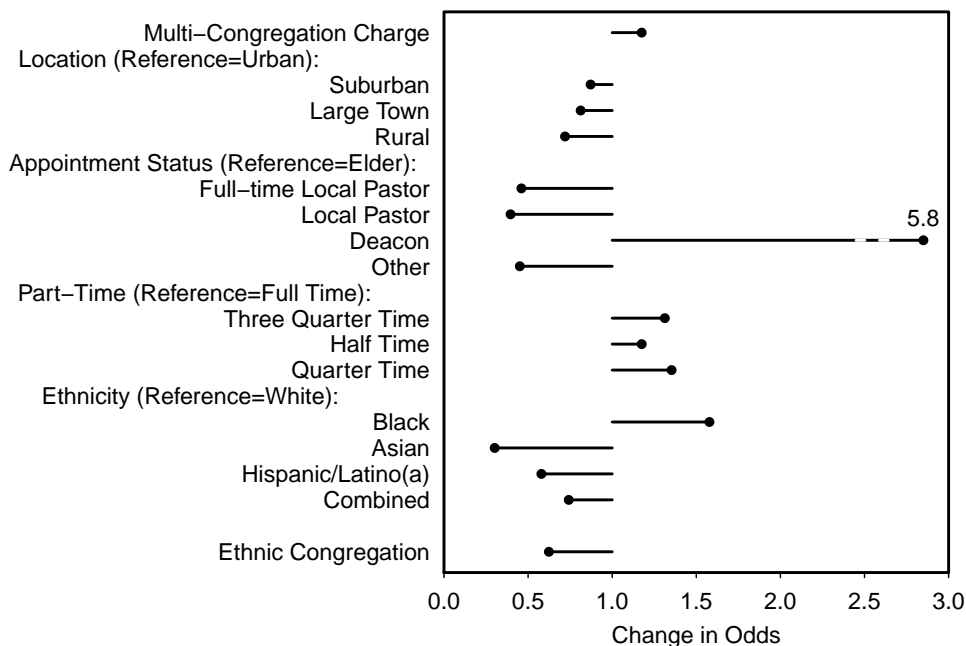
How does the representation of female and racial/ethnic clergy vary across other characteristics of congregational positions? Multivariate, statistical models were used to assess this question. The results of these models indicate the change in the likelihood of having female pas-

tor that is with various factors. Values over 1.0 indicate factors that increase the likelihood of having a female or racial/ethnic pastor, while values lower than 1.0 indicate factors that reduce this likelihood. The results for all factors can be interpreted on an all things equal basis with respect to the other factors discussed so far (conference, region, and size). See the appendix for a more detailed discussion of the statistical techniques used and the full model results.

Female Clergy A congregation is less likely to have a female pastor if they are located outside of an urban area (figure 12). The odds of having a female pastor are approximately 20-30% less in large-town and rural churches, and approximately 10% less in suburban churches. These differences run counter to the impact of size, so while females pastors are more likely in small churches, they are less likely in small rural churches than in small urban churches. Beyond size and location, the grouping of congregations into multi-congregation charges matters. The odds of having a female pastor are slightly higher in multi-congregation charges than in single-congregation charges of a similar size and location.

The picture for racial/ethnic pastors varies by racial/ethnic category. As a whole, ethnic congregations (those reporting 40% or more non-White membership) are about 40% less likely to have a female pastor. The odds of being a female *Asian* pastor are 70% less than being a female *White* pastor. Likewise, the odds of being a female within the group of *Hispanic/Latino(a)* pastors is almost 60% less than among *White* pastors. In contrast, the odds of being female among *Black* pastors is almost 60% higher than

Figure 12: Change in the Odds of Having a Female Pastor Based on Characteristics of the Position



Dots indicate the multiplicative change in the odds of having a female pastor for a number of characteristics. A value of 1.0 indicates no change. For variables with multiple categories, these changes are presented with respect to a reference category. The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations. These results stem from a regression model.

for *White* pastors.

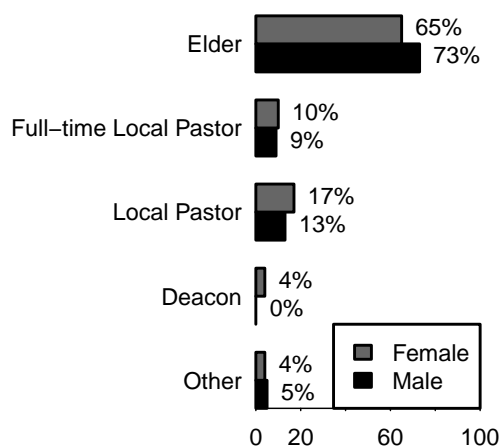
There are also notable differences in the probability of being a female sole/lead pastor across job characteristics. Historically, females held leadership roles primarily as deacons and, even today, the odds of being female are much, much greater for deacons—deacons are 5.5x more likely to be female than male. Other appointment statuses are less likely to have female pastors compared to elders—the odds of being a female full-time local pastor are approximately 55% less and other local pastors are approxi-

mately 60% less. Part-time pastors are more likely to be female.⁸

These differences in appointment status (as well as the other comparisons in this section) are made on an all things equal basis. In other words, they are the average differences one would expect to see for congregational appointments

⁸Because the data relies on Board of Pensions data for information on appointments and part-time pastors are less likely to participate in the pension system, the data is less representative of part-time pastors than it is of full-time pastors.

Figure 13: Appointment Status by Gender



that were similar for each of the other factors listed in the table. The raw distribution of appointment status positions provides a complementary window into where female pastors are serving, as seen in figure 13.

There were fewer females serving as elders from 2000-2008 than males, while females were more likely to be local pastors and deacons. This differs from the all things equal results because these appointment statuses are more likely to be found in small, part-time positions, which are more likely to be filled by female pastors.

Racial/Ethnic Clergy Figure 15 presents the change in the odds that a sole/lead position will be filled with a racial/ethnic pastor, indicating how various factors are associated with the prevalence (or lack) of racial/ethnic pastors. Conference, region, and size were also included

in the multivariate model that generated these results, but are not included the figure.

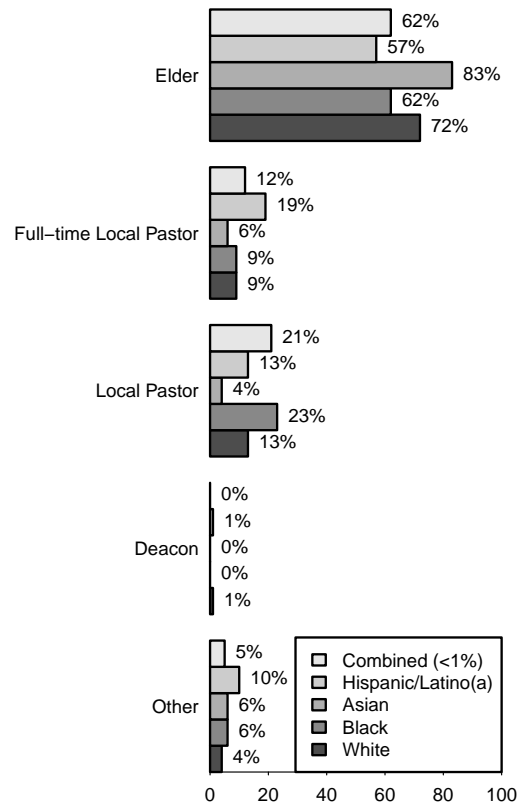
The enormous impact of a congregation’s ethnicity can be seen in the results for non-ethnic congregations. The change in odds approaches zero, reflecting the fact that non-ethnic congregations are highly unlikely to have a racial/ethnic pastor. Being in a multi-congregation charge, however, increases the odds of having a racial/ethnic pastor by more about 1.75x.

These results confirm that urban congregations are far more likely to have a racial/ethnic pastor than congregations in other locations. The odds of having a racial/ethnic pastor in suburban, large town, or rural congregations is less than half of what it is in urban congregations. This association with urban location is observed even with congregational ethnicity included in the model, indicating that urban location remains a salient predictor, even after accounting for the propensity of ethnic congregations to be found in urban locations.

A similar pattern is observed for appointment status. Racial/ethnic pastors are far more likely to be elders than they are to be local pastors or deacons, with a similar 50% reduction in odds for these statuses. Note, however, that the descriptive statistics for appointment status show a more complicated picture. While there were fewer appointments as elder among Black, Hispanic/Latino(a) and pastors falling into the Combined category compared with White pastors, Asian pastors were more likely than White pastors to hold an appointment as an elder. This difference suggests that cultural patterns matter for determining the appointment patterns within specific race/ethnic groups.

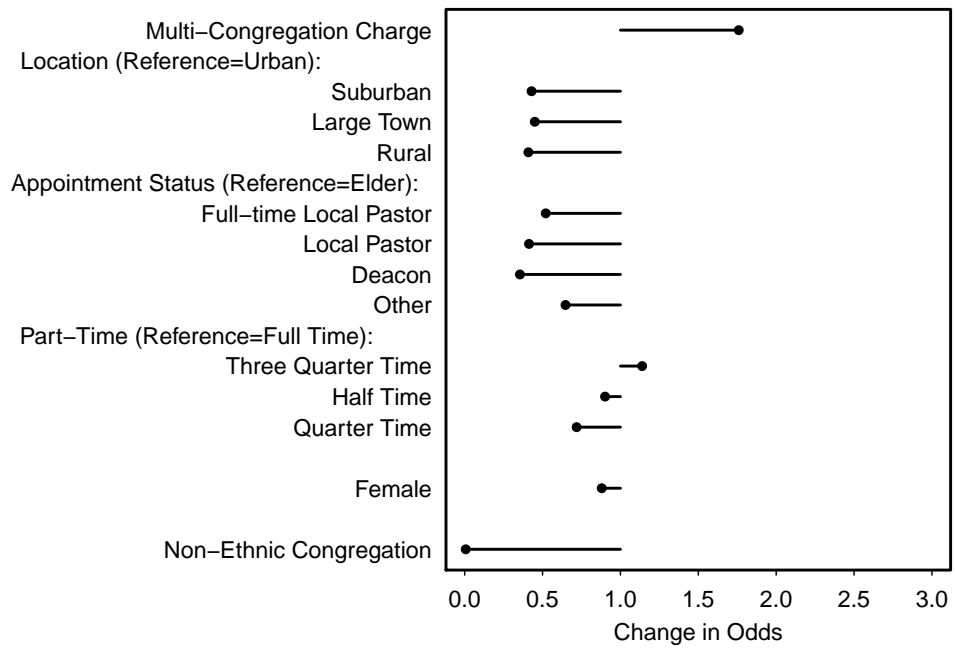
The odds of being a racial/ethnic pastor are slightly less among females, but, as discussed above, this propensity varies by racial/ethnic group, with higher representation of females among Black pastors.

Figure 14: Appointment Status by Race/Ethnicity



The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

Figure 15: Change in the Odds of Having a Racial/Ethnic Pastor Based on Characteristics of the Position



1.6 Cohort Structure

Cohort structure is a fundamental feature of demographic processes that occur over time. The number of people and the representation of groups within each cohort reveals much about the history of clergy and points toward what we can expect in the future.

Population pyramids are a concise way of representing cohort structure. These pyramids can be examined for insight on two separate factors. One is the balance between sides at each cohort, which indicates how well female or racial/ethnic clergy are currently represented within each cohort. The other is the overall shape of each side of the pyramid. A steep shape, like the one for males in figure 16, indicates the presence of a sizable number of older cohorts with respect to newer cohorts. A shape that is wide at the bottom and narrows towards the top, as for females in figure 16, signals growth (because there are more pastors in younger cohorts than in older cohorts).

Around 37% of UMC pastors were found in cohorts that entered the ministry prior to 1990, and thus had more than 19 years of seniority in 2008. Of these older cohorts, very few (~5%) are female, so there are few female pastors with high seniority. Most female pastors in the UMC belong to newer cohorts.

There are differences in the shape of these population pyramids between jurisdictions that reflect the differing opportunity structure and historical conditions facing female pastors in each jurisdiction. In the *Southeastern* and *South Central* jurisdictions, the graphs are more pyramid shaped—indicating a younger (in terms of seniority) base of pastors. The graphs for the other

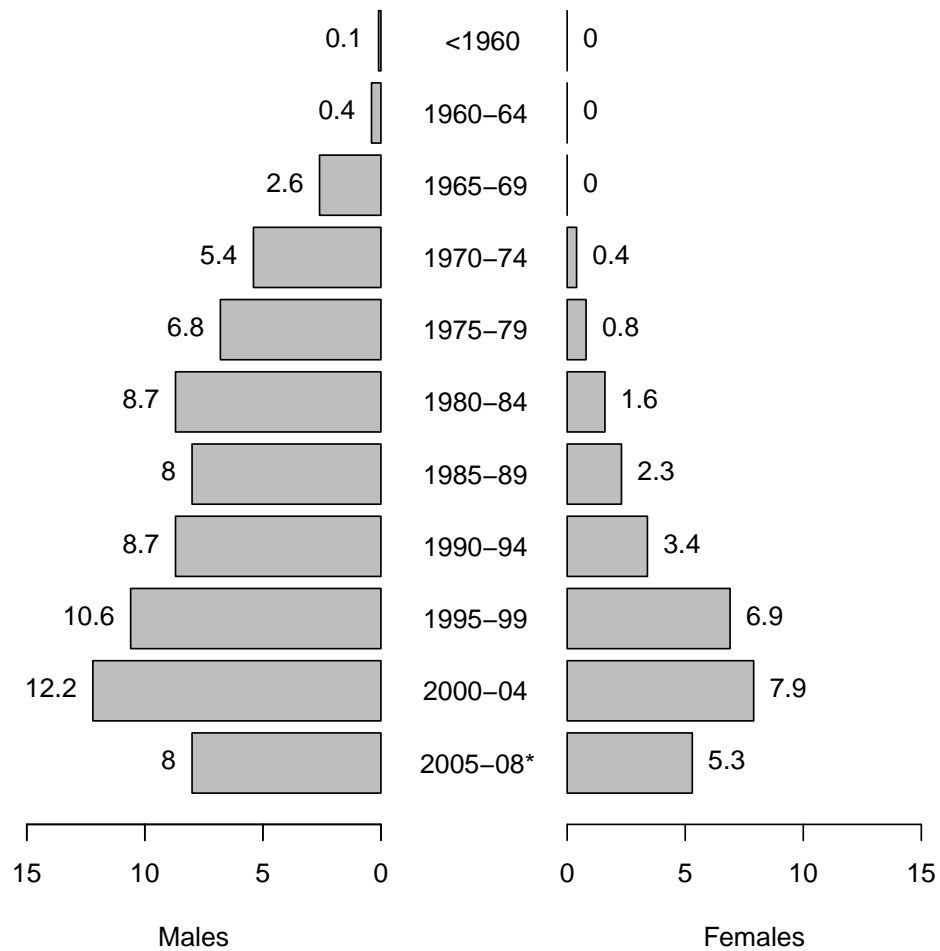
jurisdictions are flatter, indicating that more senior pastors make up a higher percentage of pastors in these jurisdictions. The growth that is occurring in the South, but not in the other regions, is the most likely explanation for these differences in shape.

In all cases, there are very small numbers of female pastors until the cohorts of the mid 80's. Females enter the pastorate in large numbers earliest in the Western jurisdiction (in the 1980-84 cohort), while the jump in female pastors in the *South Central* and *Southeastern* jurisdictions doesn't really occur until the mid 90's. Even then, the jump in female pastors is less impressive because it occurs alongside a larger cohort of male pastors.

These graphs can help us understand whether the percentage of females is low because most congregational positions are occupied by members of older cohorts, or because of differential participation within current cohorts. For the *North Central*, *Northeastern*, and *Western* jurisdictions it is largely the former. Recent cohorts are close to gender parity, but there are a large number of pastors from older cohorts still in the pipeline. By contrast, gender differences in recent cohorts are more important in the two southern jurisdictions because they make up a larger proportion of the pastorate in these jurisdictions.

Turning to the composition of each cohort, we see that the percentage of females in each cohort is successively greater for more recent cohorts (fig. 18). Female pastors comprised 40% of the three most recent cohorts. Interestingly, the increase in female representation appears to plateau in these three cohorts—the percent female is not much greater in 2005-08 than it was

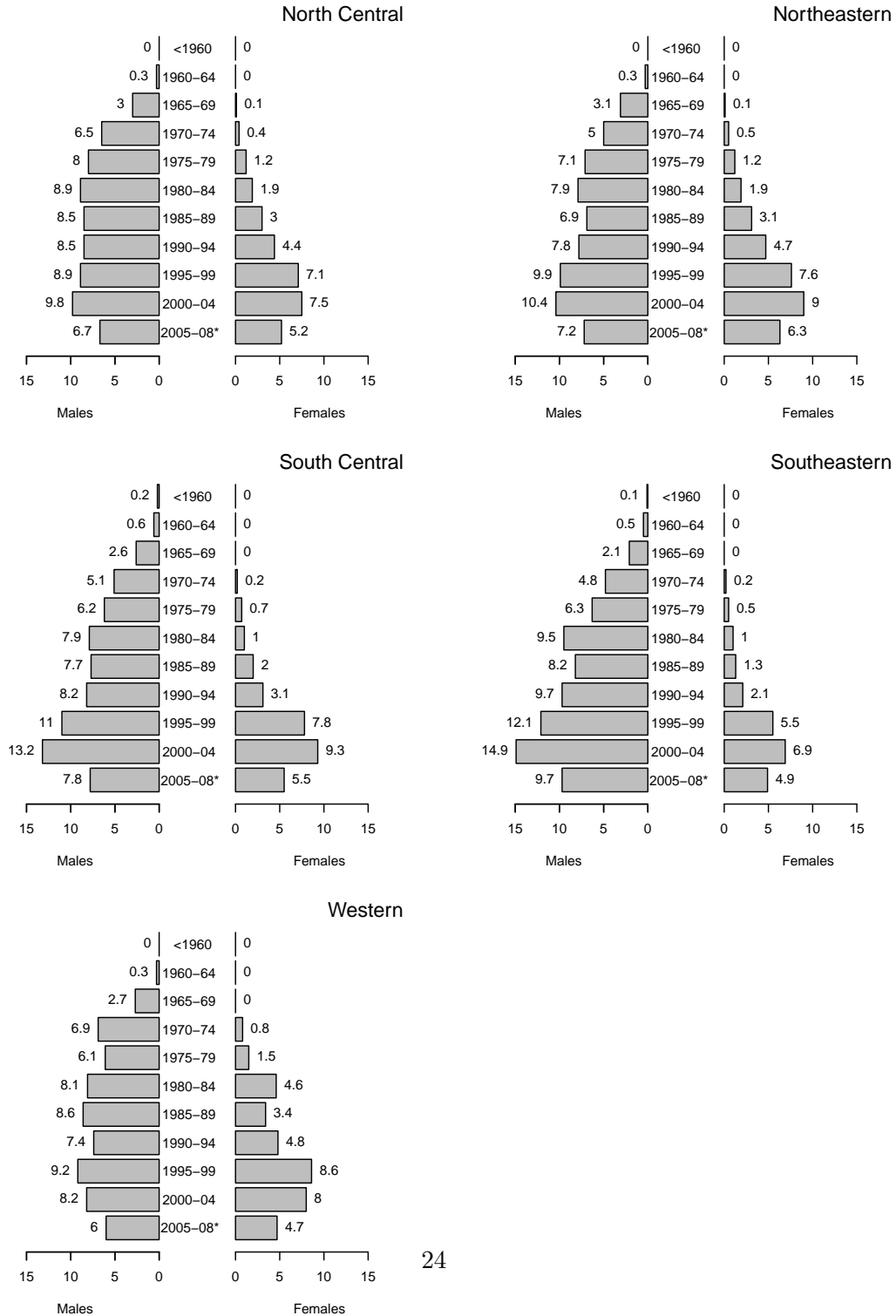
Figure 16: Cohort Structure in 2008 by Gender



The percent of clergy assigned to UMC congregations in 2008, by cohort of entry. Entry cohorts are determined by the first recorded appointment to a charge, and have been split into five year intervals.

*The 2005-2008 cohort contains one year fewer than other cohorts, so care should be taken interpreting the percentage of pastors in this cohort.

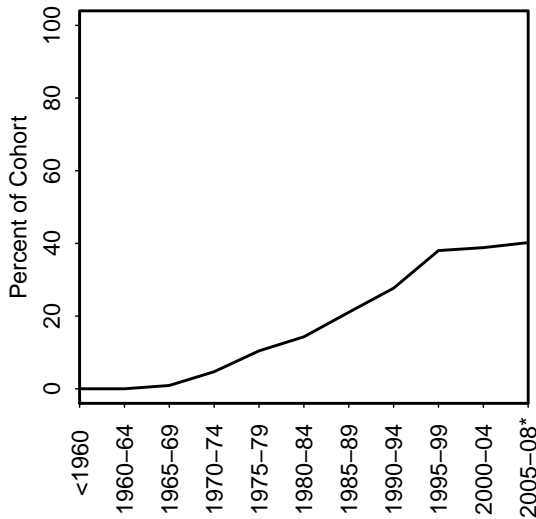
Figure 17: Cohort Structure in 2008 by Jurisdiction



*The 2005-2008 cohort contains one year fewer than other cohorts, so care should be taken interpreting the percentage of pastors in this cohort.

in 95-99.⁹ It appears that the change in pace at which women are entering the ministry has slowed, if not altogether stopped.

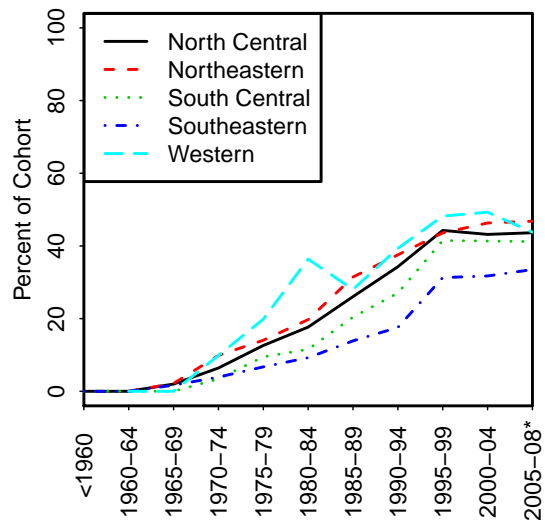
Figure 18: Percent of Cohort that are Female



Note: This figures shows the percent of the cohort that is *presently* female. If female pastors from earlier cohorts left the ministry at different rates from male pastors, then this percentage may not reflect the initial composition of the cohort.

Examining the same figure broken out by jurisdiction, the *Southeastern* jurisdiction is the clear outlier. With the exception of the early bump in female participation in the *Western* jurisdiction, the composition of each cohort is relatively similar for each jurisdiction, especially in recent cohorts.

Figure 19: Percent of Cohort that are Female by Jurisdiction



Note: This figures shows the percent of the cohort that is *presently* female. If female pastors from earlier cohort left the ministry at different rates from male pastors, then this percentage may not reflect the initial composition of the cohort.

⁹It is not clear to what degree the shifts in earlier cohorts are due to female pastors leaving the ministry at greater rates than men, rather than to the percentage of women entering the ministry in each cohort.

Cohort Differences Between Ethnic Groups Comparing population pyramids from pastors in each racial/ethnic category to that of White pastors indicates both historical and current trends of racial ethnic representation in the clergy (fig. 20).

Out of these population pyramids, the pyramid for Black pastors most closely resembles that for White pastors. This similarity probably reflects the length of the historical relationship between Blacks and the UMC. The pyramid for Black males is spread out over cohorts to a similar degree as for Whites, indicating that there are a substantial percentage of older, Black male pastors. In contrast, the bulge towards the bottom of the figure for Black female pastors indicates strong, recent growth. The bulge is greater than that for White females, indicating greater growth in the number of Black females compared to White females.

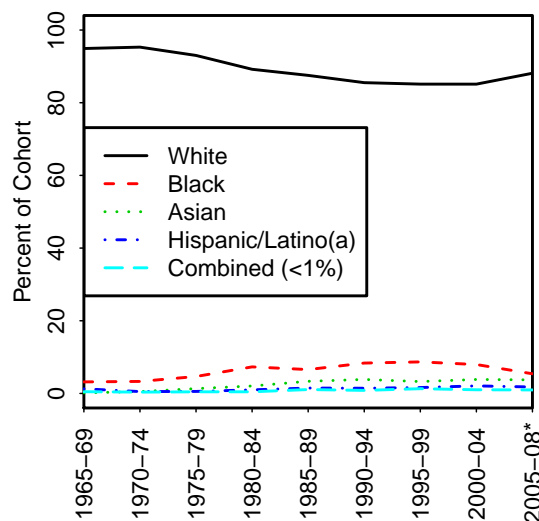
For Asian and Hispanic/Latino(a) pastors, there is a substantially different pattern. The distribution of males in each cohort is much more pyramid-like, indicating that the largest cohorts of Asian and Hispanic/Latino(a) male pastors are recent entrants, and is indicative of growth within these categories. This pattern is not mirrored for females, however, suggesting that such growth is occurring primarily among males. While there is some growth occurring in female cohorts for these groups, it is not proportional to the growth in male cohorts.

It is harder to discern a pattern within the combined category. There is potentially a jump in pastors in these categories in the mid 80's for males and in the mid 90's for females. However, since there are much fewer pastors in this group, especially in older cohorts, it is possible

that these jumps are due to random variation.

Overall, the representation of racial/ethnic pastors is greater in recent cohorts than in older cohorts (fig. 21). As much as pastors from some racial/ethnic groups have gained ground in relative terms, in terms of overall composition in the UMC, the difference across cohorts is not dramatic.

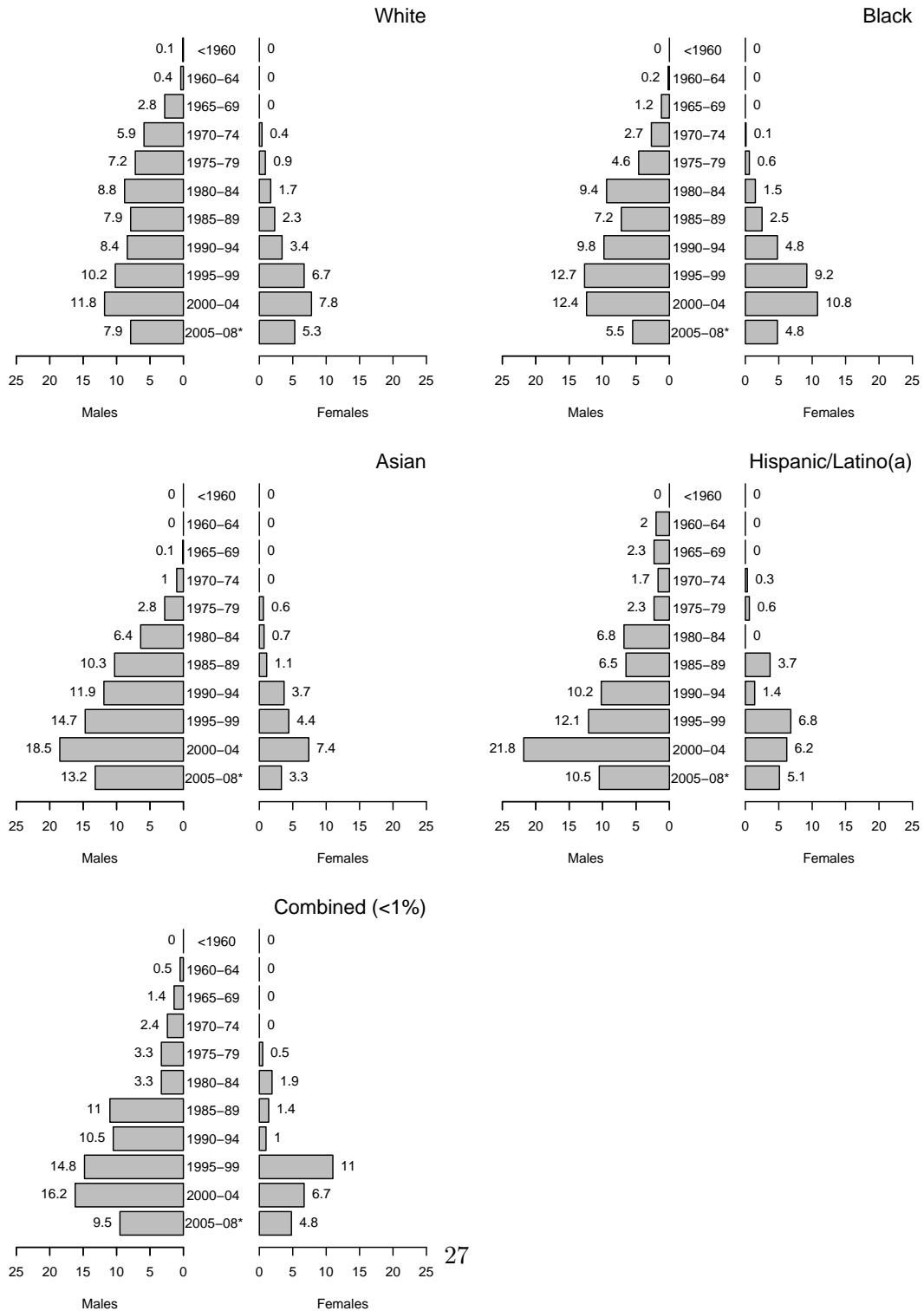
Figure 21: Percent of Cohort by Racial/Ethnic Group



Note: The percentages given are for pastors presently in each cohort, and may not reflect the initial composition of the cohort. The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

Age at Entry An increasing number of clergy are entering the ministry as a second career, and are much older than clergy who enter the ministry soon after college (figure 22). In the 2005-08 cohort, the average age for clergy was 45 years old for males and 47 years old for females. In

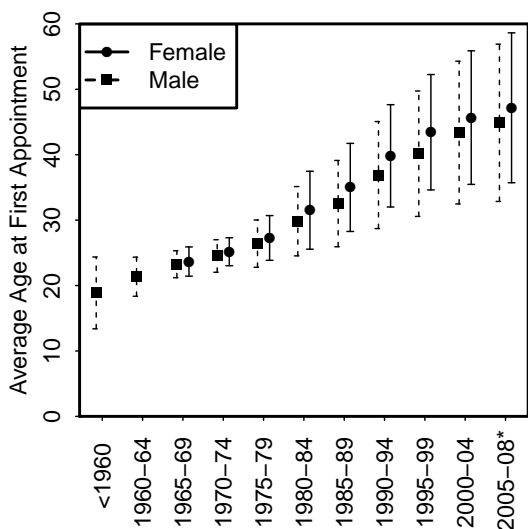
Figure 20: Cohort Structure in 2008 by Racial/Ethnic group



The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

addition, the variation (standard deviation) is rather large, indicating that many pastors are either substantially older or younger than the mean. While the two year difference between males and females is dwarfed by the variation in ages within each gender, this difference is consistent across cohorts, and is statistically significant.¹⁰ These results suggest that there are more second-career pastors among females than males—but only to a small degree.

Figure 22: Average Age at First Appointment by Cohort and Gender



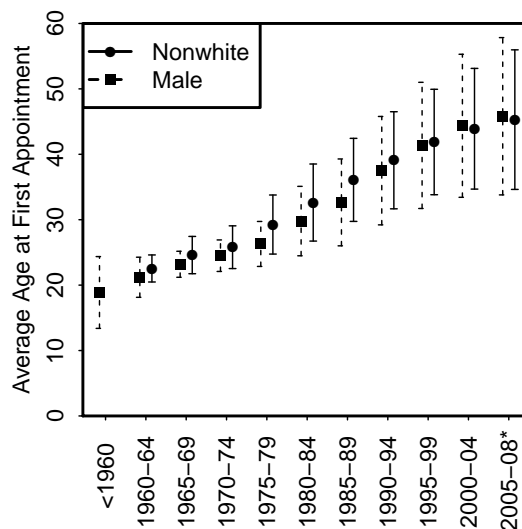
Error bars indicate one standard deviation.

Racial/ethnic pastors in earlier cohorts are slightly older on average (though again, not by much) than their White counterparts (fig. 23).

¹⁰The trend in age at first appointment in this graph is exaggerated by the fact that older pastors from earlier cohorts are more likely to have died or retired, so that only the younger pastors from those cohorts are in the present sample.

However, this trend disappears for more recent cohorts and, if anything racial/ethnic pastors in more recent cohorts are slightly younger than White pastors in these cohorts.

Figure 23: Average Age at First Appointment by Cohort and Racial/Ethnic Status



Error bars indicate one standard deviation.

Cohort Definition for this Report This section has examined cohorts in five year groupings in order to provide a high resolution view of cohort structure. However, this level of detail is not needed for the rest of the report. Furthermore, it is desirable to separate the cohorts for which there is only retrospective information (prior to 1997) from those where data on all pastors is recorded (1997 and forward). For this reason, I will divide cohorts into 10 year increments up until 1996 (< 1960, 1960-69, 1970-79, 1980-89, and 1990-96), and then split the pastors who join in 1997 and later into two cohorts

(1997-2001, and 2002-2008).

1.7 Representation in Non-Ordained Leadership Positions in 2001

While the main focus of this study is on the clergy, it is important to recognize that other leadership roles are filled by laity. Lay leadership roles provide another site at which to consider gender and racial/ethnic representation. Compared to the statistics and data compiled on clergy, little is known about lay leadership roles. This section briefly considers the representation of women and racial/ethnic members among lay leadership roles. The US Congregational Life Survey (2001) is currently the best source of information on lay leadership. This survey was given to all people attending worship on the date that the survey was administered in 177 UMC churches. One set of survey questions asks about whether the respondent is currently serving in any leadership roles.¹¹

Table 1 presents the percent female among respondents who indicated they held one of a number of possible lay leadership roles.

Looking first across all racial/ethnic categories, women comprised between 55-70% of lay leadership roles in this sample. Serving on a congregation's governing body had the lowest female participation rates (55%). Since women made up 63% of the sample, they were under-represented in this role. By contrast, women are over-represented in small-group leadership and religious education roles.

Participation in lay leadership roles is lower for Asians and Hispanic church attendees than for White or Black attendees, mirroring the findings for clergy participation rates. (Note, however, that there are a large number of Asian and Hispanic women, who indicate that they participate via some other role.)

¹¹While the sample size for the number of surveys returned is large, the participation rate for congregations was fairly low (approximately 18%). Because of the low participation rate, there is a greater chance for systematic bias than one would think based upon the sample size alone.

Table 1: Percent of Lay Leaders that are Female

Do you currently have the following role:	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic/ Latino(a)	Combined
Member of the governing board	55	55	52	14	50	36
Member of a congregational committee or task force	65	65	60	57	64	42
Leading or assisting in worship	61	60	67	33	56	37
Officer or leader of a small group	73	73	70	50	56	46
Religious education teacher	67	67	68	60	77	60
Other role	65	65	62	78	78	59
Total sample	63	63	60	60	65	53

Table 2: Percent of Attenders that Hold Lay Leadership Positions by Ethnicity

Do you currently have the following role:	Total	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic/ Latino(a)	Combined
Member of the governing board	15	16	20	9	7	14
Member of a congregational committee or task force	19	20	19	16	10	17
Leading or assisting in worship	10	10	18	10	8	9
Officer or leader of a small group	11	11	25	10	8	9
Religious education teacher	13	13	13	16	13	14
Other role	10	10	11	10	8	15

Note: Participation in lay leadership positions is considered regardless of whether the respondent is in a predominantly ethnic congregation or not.

2 Career Progression

As a normative concept, the idea of a career can be problematic for pastors because of its association with advancement along a career ladder and with material achievement. But career is also a descriptive concept. The main use of the term career in this report is in this descriptive sense—to simply recognize the fact that pastors occupy a succession of positions over their life course.

However, without claiming that status should be recognized along congregational size, or that clergy should orient themselves to advancement in these terms, it is important to recognize that the size of a congregational appointment matters greatly in determining the material circumstances of appointments (like clergy salaries, the nature of clergy work, the visibility of leadership, etc.). So, even in a descriptive sense, it is important to track clergy careers across congregational size.

For the purposes of considering career equality across gender and race/ethnicity there is naturally great interest in a set of outcomes:

- Whether female and racial/ethnic pastors are moving into larger (or smaller) congregations at the same rate as white or male pastors.
- Whether female and racial/ethnic pastors are more likely to occupy associate rather than lead pastor roles.
- Whether female and racial/ethnic pastors move from parish to non-parish ministry to a larger degree than white or male pastors.
- Whether female and racial/ethnic pastors

exit the clergy at greater rates than white or male pastors.

This section looks at outcomes across the full span of clergy careers—beginning, middle, and end—in order to ask whether the experiences of female and racial/ethnic pastors differ substantially from their white/male counterparts, and to assess whether gender and/or racial/ethnic barriers are easing.

2.1 Career Progression—Outcomes After Eight Years

Over the course of the study period the career outcomes of female and racial/ethnic pastors ended up exhibiting a subtle pattern of disadvantage relative to white/male pastors. Though not dramatic, these differences indicate persistent differences in the experiences female and racial/ethnic pastors.

To measure career outcomes, this study took the set of clergy serving congregations in 2000, and recorded the job they held eight years later, at the end of the study period in 2008. This measure of career outcome provided a relatively simple means of accounting for both transitions between specific positions/statuses and potential differences in the length of time spent in positions.¹²

Pastors still serving congregations in 2008 were

¹²Analyses of transitions between jobs (for example, comparing the first, second, and third jobs held by male and female pastors) miss an important aspect of careers—the time spent in each job. By focusing on the job held by pastors after a set period of time, this analysis emphasizes the overall outcomes of specific job transitions. Note, however, that pastors who entered the ministry from 2001-2008 are not included in this analysis.

further sub-classified based on that congregation's size—whether it was smaller, larger, or of a similar size to the congregation they served in 2000. A 15% difference in either direction was used as the threshold for determining whether a congregation was similarly sized.¹³

Clergy serving congregations in 2000 were most likely to still be serving congregations in 2008 (figure 24, top three cases combined). Of these pastors, roughly equal percentages served in congregations that were larger or of a similar size to their starting point. Far fewer ended up in substantially smaller congregations. This general pattern captures the reality of career progression over time—serving in a larger sized congregation is more likely than serving in a smaller congregation.

Gender and racial/ethnic splits do not depart dramatically from these general trends, but their patterns do vary in predictable ways along gender and racial lines. Females were less likely to end up in larger and similar-sized congregations, and more likely to end up in smaller congregations than their male counterparts. The same was also true for many racial/ethnic pastors with respect to whites.¹⁴ Only 6-7% of pastors were either on leave or working in non-parish positions by 2008. However, in both cases, female and racial/ethnic clergy were more likely than male and white clergy (respectively) to be in these

¹³Non-parish positions were classified into three broad categories: Exits, Leave, and Non-parish work. Non-parish work included district superintendents, extensional ministry, and other services at the conference or district level.

¹⁴Black and Hispanic/Latino(a) pastors were actually less likely than White pastors to end up in a smaller congregation. However, they were also less likely to end up in larger or similarly-sized congregations due to their increased prevalence in Leave and/or Non-parish positions.

states.¹⁵

Exits from the clergy occurred frequently—about 30% of pastors serving in 2000 had exited the UMC clergy by 2008. While this may seem high, recall that the sample includes many pastors from early cohorts (and, in fact, excludes the most recent cohort), and tracks these pastors over a rather lengthy period of time. Females were less likely to exit than males, and Asian pastors and pastors in the Combined racial/ethnic category were less likely to exit than White pastors. In part, this overall trend is due to greater numbers of new pastors in these categories. Section 2.3 investigates how UMC pastors leave the clergy in more detail, accounting for such demographic differences.

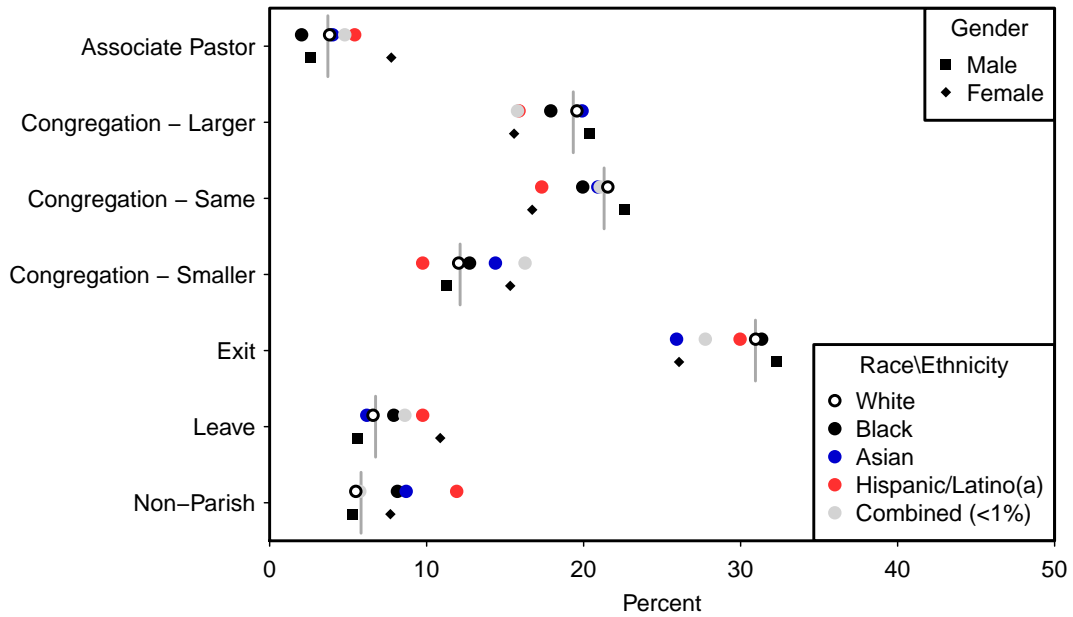
Statistical Models of Career Outcomes

Because the career outcomes presented in figure 24 can be driven by many factors, including a pastor's cohort, it is hard to interpret the patterns observed in career transitions. For instance, women could be more likely than men to transition to smaller congregations as a result of differences in the percentage of women in each cohort, rather than gender inequality. However, this turns out not to be the case—the shifts in gender and race outcomes hold, even when accounting for a number of other factors.

Statistical models provide one means to assess how career outcomes differ across gender and race for “comparable” pastors—pastors having the same material conditions. This section uses statistical models to assess whether the differences shown above are due to the concentration of female and/or racial/ethnic pastors in some

¹⁵The exception is Asian pastors, who were just as likely as White Pastors to go on leave.

Figure 24: 2008 Appointment Status for Clergy Serving Congregations in 2000



Gray lines indicate the overall percentage of pastors found in each state in 2008. These overall averages are overlaid by the splits between genders (diamonds vs. squares) and race (colored circles). The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

categories of the following factors: cohort, region (jurisdictional boundaries), the size of the congregation the pastor was serving in 2000 (membership), whether the position was an associate pastor position, the congregation's location, the presence of a parsonage, the age of the pastors in 2000, whether their position was full or part-time, and their status as a UMC minister (elder, local pastor, or deacon).

In order to gauge the impact of these factors, the analysis follows these steps:

1. Create a baseline statistical model that reproduces the descriptive findings.
2. Add the factors listed above to this model.
3. Check to see if the descriptive patterns disappear, or are substantially altered by including the additional factors.

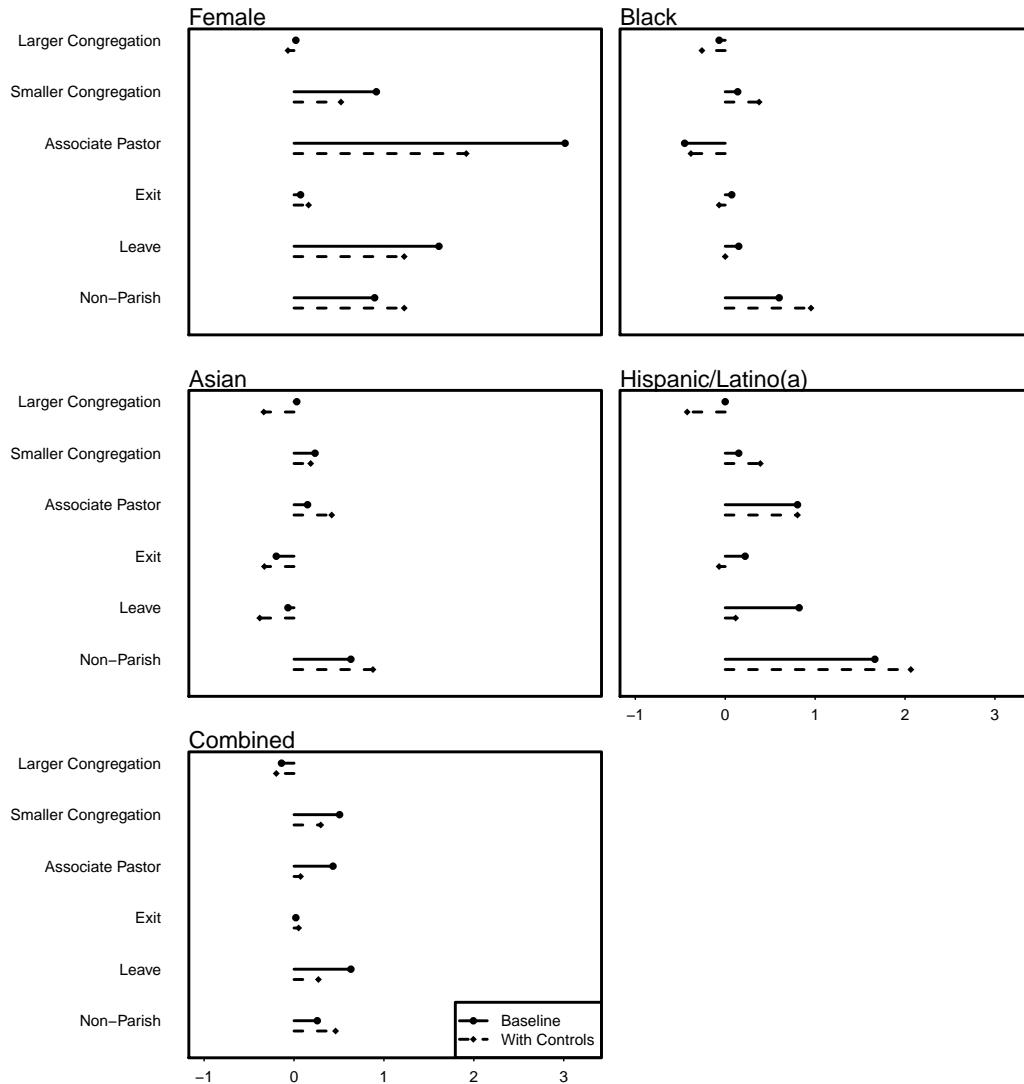
The particular model used in this case assesses gender and racial differences in transition rates relative to a reference category. Serving in a similar-sized congregation was used as the reference category in these analyses. Thus, coefficients in the analysis for gender differences for the “clergy exit” transition, take the degree to which pastors exit the clergy relative to serving in a similar-sized congregation and report the difference between male and female clergy for this statistic. Details of the modeling strategy and the full results of the model are given in the Appendix.

Coefficients for the baseline and full model are reported in figure 25. Values above zero indicate that females have a higher exit rate than males. The following patterns emerge from these results:

1. Coefficients for the positive outcome of serving in a larger congregation are below zero or statistically insignificant. There is only a small difference for females, but the magnitude of the difference between white and racial/ethnic pastors is greater, especially when other factors are included in the model.
2. Coefficients for the negative and neutral transitions are generally above zero for gender and race, indicating that female and racial/ethnic clergy are more likely to experience these outcomes than white/male clergy. With a few exceptions, female and racial/ethnic pastors are:
 - More likely to be serving in a smaller congregation or as an associate pastor.
 - More likely to be on leave or move to a non-parish position.
3. These patterns increase between the baseline and the full model rather than diminish. This increase indicates that correlations between career outcomes and the demographic/congregational attributes included in the full model are not responsible for the patterns described in 1 and 2.

Female and racial/ethnic pastors are less likely to remain in parish ministry, serving in a similarly-sized or larger congregation. They are more likely to move into positions that carry less of an imprimatur of leadership—smaller congregations, associate pastor, and non-parish positions, or to go on leave. Furthermore, this pattern does not appear to be the result of demographic factors or systematic differences in the starting positions of male vs. female and White

Figure 25: Relative Change in Moving Out of a Similar-Sized Congregation for Gender and Ethnicity



This figure shows a measure of how much more likely female and racial/ethnic clergy are to move from a base-line category (serving a similar-sized congregation) to each of the job categories compared to male pastors (for gender) and White pastors (for race/ethnicity). For example, the large positive value for associate pastors in the *Female* results indicates that females were far more likely than males to be serving as an associate pastors instead of in a Similar-Sized congregation. The specific measure of likelihood is the multiplicative difference in the odds of serving in a similar-sized congregation. The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

vs. racial/ethnic pastors. Since the most recent cohort available for inclusion in this analysis was the cohort of pastors entering in 2000, this analysis does not capture the most recent trends in appointment patterns; rather, it reveals what the historical experience of many female or racial/ethnic pastors has been in the UMC.

2.2 First Appointments

The previous section considers gender and racial/ethnic differences as they develop over time across careers, but does not consider how much inequality is present at the beginning of careers. This section takes up the theme of initial inequality by examining first appointments. Are female and racial/ethnic pastors assigned to different types of positions in their first appointments than white and/or male pastors?

Appointment Status The pathway that pastors take into the clergy is captured (in part) by the status of their first appointment. Pastors who enter as elders following seminary education are following the traditional, and in many ways, normative path to achieve full-status membership in the contemporary United Methodist Church. Yet the tradition of appointing local pastors provides an alternative pathway, one which is increasingly used to fill positions in small congregations.

Local pastors are not full participants in itineracy however, and their first appointment is also likely to be their last. In combination, the increasing number of local pastor appointments and their short duration, imply that a large percentage of the pastors appointed to a congregation for the first time are likely to be local pastors. Full-time local pastors comprised 23% of the first appointments made between 2000 and 2008, while other local pastors comprised 51% of first appointments (51%; figure 26).

Elders made up a minority of first appointments (17%; figure 26). But, because they are more likely to be reappointed multiple times and to have longer careers as UMC clergy, the distrib-

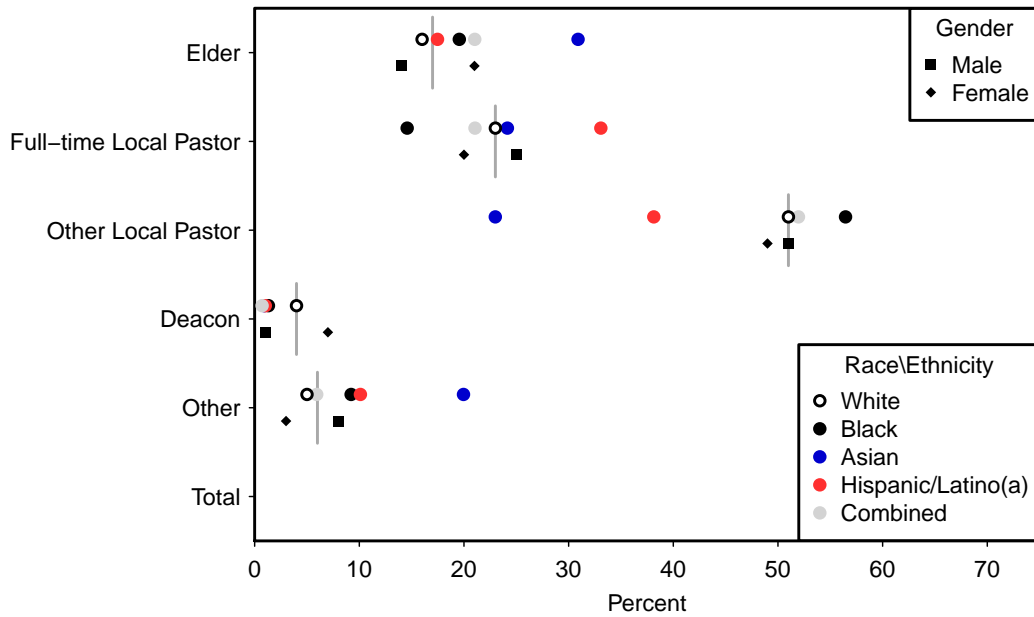
utor of appointment statuses is reversed when all appointments are considered. Overall, elders served more than 70% of congregations and multi-congregation charges in the study, even though they were not the majority of first appointees (see figures 13 and 14).

The high representation of local pastors among first-appointees is a trend that is worth highlighting. However, because elders are more likely to continue on to long-term careers as UMC pastors, gender or race based differences in the first appointments of elders will potentially have a greater impact for ongoing inequality than will differences in the appointments of local pastors. For this reason, this report will examine the characteristics of first appointments across both groups: elders and local pastors.

There are substantial gender and racial/ethnic differences in first appointment status. For race, the most notable trends—the high proportion of Asian pastors who hold elder positions as first appointments, and the high proportion of Hispanic/Latino(a) pastors who hold full-time local pastor positions—are similar to overall differences in appointment status (figure 14). However, the difference in male and female representation among first appointments shows the reverse of the overall pattern. Overall, there are fewer female elders than male elders, and more female local pastors (figure 13). However, among first appointees, there are more female than male elders, and fewer local pastors (and fewer pastors in the positions classified as other; figure 26).

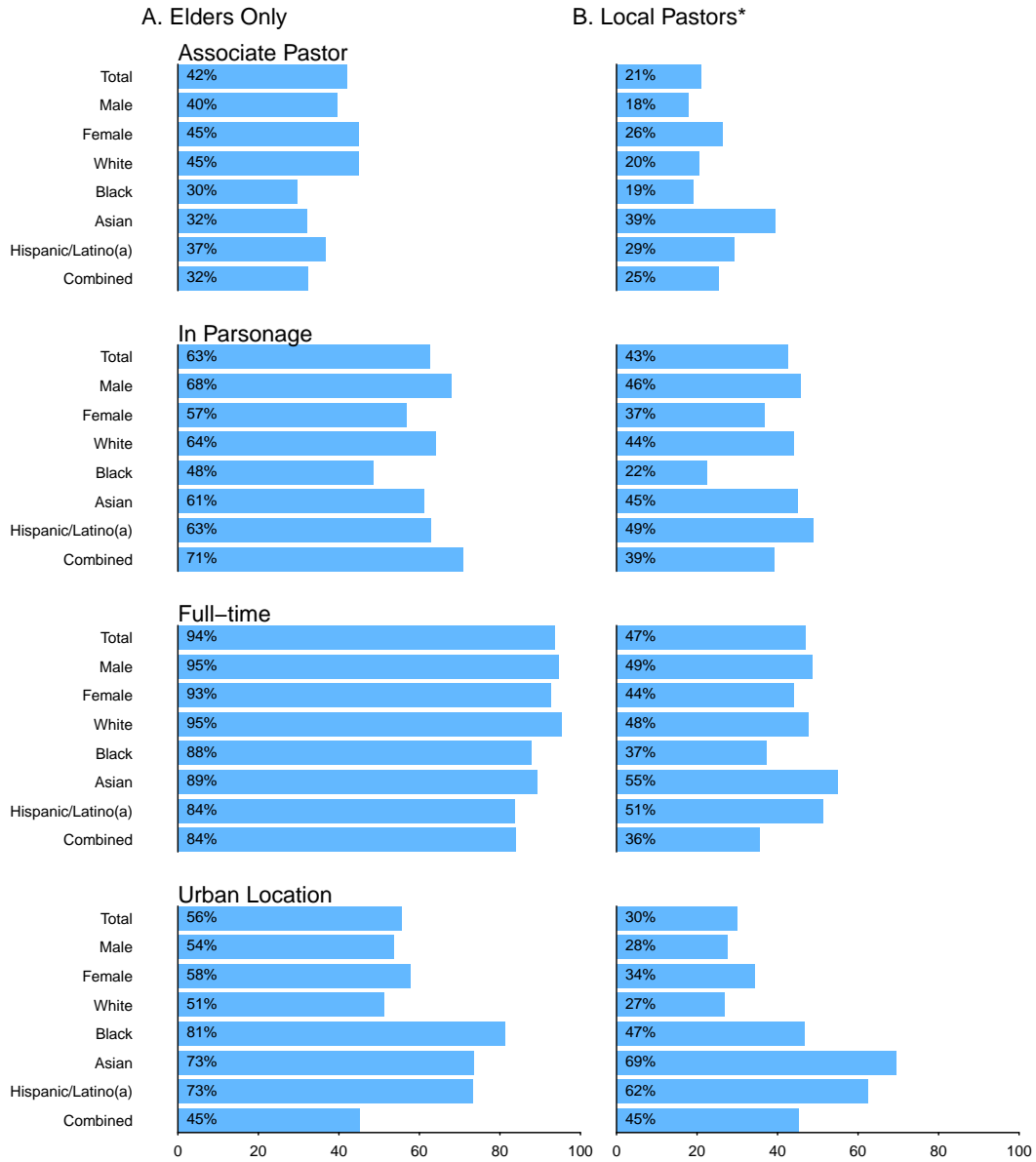
Appointment Characteristics We have already seen that females are more likely than males to be associate pastors (figure 6), so it should be no surprise that this trend begins with

Figure 26: Status at First Appointment



This chart shows the appointment status at first appointment for all pastors whose first appointment took place between 2000 and 2008. Gray lines indicate the overall percentage of pastors found in each category. These overall numbers are overlaid by the percentage within each gender (diamonds vs. squares) and the percentage within each racial/ethnic group (colored circles). The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

Figure 27: Characteristics at First Appointment



This chart shows the percentage of first appointment elders (A) and local pastors (B) having each of the following characteristics: holding an associate pastor position, appointments with parsonages, holding a full-time appointment, being appointed to an urban location (see glossary for definitions). The local pastor category contains both full-time local pastors and other local pastors.

the first appointment. Associate pastor positions are frequently treated as entry-level positions—42% of elders that entered the clergy during the study held associate pastor positions as their first appointments. Among elders, females were more likely to hold an associate pastor position, but the difference is relatively mild (45% for females vs 40% for males; figure 27). Racial/ethnic elders, on the other hand, were less likely to hold associate pastor positions as a first appointment. This percentage ranged between 30% and 37% for racial/ethnic pastors.¹⁶

local pastors still hold associate pastor positions for first appointments, but at a much lower rate—only 21% of non-elders held an associate pastor position for their first appointment. Gender differences in this rate were more notable for local pastors than for elders. Among local pastors, 26% of females held an associate pastor position compared to just 18% of males. So, not only are females less likely to be a local pastor in the first place, they much less likely to be a local pastor who is the sole/lead pastor of a congregation.

Most elders (94%) held full-time positions at entry, and there was little difference between males (95%) and females (93%), despite the perception that female pastors may be more likely to hold part-time roles.¹⁷ When all first-appointees are

¹⁶As with females, the greater percentage of whites that are local pastors moderated this effect when examining the full sample. Whereas 27% of all entering white pastors held associate pastor positions, entering Black pastors were slightly less likely to hold associate pastor positions (21%) while entering Asian and Hispanic/Latino(a) pastors were slightly more likely to be associate pastors (34% and 32% respectively).

¹⁷Note, however, that part-time pastors are likely under-represented in this dataset. See the *Methodology* section for details.

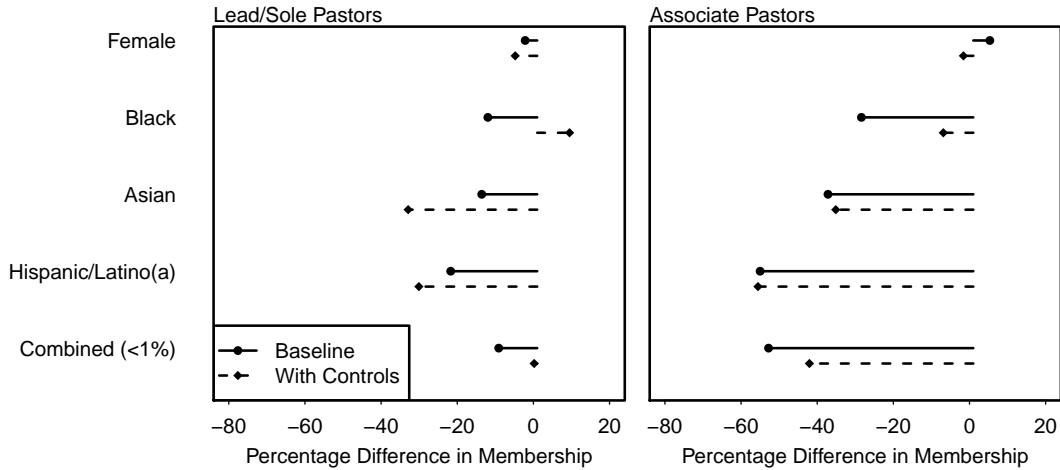
considered, the percentage of full-time pastors is much lower (58%), but there is still no difference between male and female pastors. Racial/ethnic elders were less likely than white pastors to hold a full-time position at entry (84-89% vs. 95%), but the racial/ethnic differences are not consistent when all pastors are examined.

Female entering pastors were more likely to be in an urban congregation (58% vs. 54%, elders; 43% vs. 33%, all pastors), and less likely to live in a parsonage (57% vs. 68%, elders; 40% vs. 49%, all pastors). Entering racial/ethnic pastors were also more likely to be in an urban location with the exception of the combined category (73-81% vs. 51%, elders; 56-73% vs. 33%, all pastors), but there was no clear trend for living in a parsonage.

Congregational Size Pastors often move into larger congregations after they accrue more experience and seniority. But are there any gender or race-based differences in the size of congregations to which they are first assigned? If future assignments are based (in part) on the size of a pastor's current congregation, then such differences could serve to initiate long-running inequality.

The short answer is that there is little difference between the size of first appointments for gender, and substantial differences for race. Figure 28 shows the results of two statistical regression models. The baseline model provides basic descriptive statistics about the difference in appointment size for race and gender, while the second model accounts for differences in size associated with appointment status and ethnic congregation status.

Figure 28: Impact of Race and Ethnicity on Size of First Appointment



The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

For both senior/sole pastors and associate pastors, the average membership of the first appointment of females is, at most, just slightly less (2-5%) than for males. By contrast, senior and sole racial/ethnic pastors hold appointments whose average size ranges from 10-25% less than that of White pastors, while the gap is even greater for associate pastors. Furthermore, in only one case, Black pastors, is this gap moderated by accounting for ethnic congregation and appointment status. Ethnic congregations are smaller than primarily White congregations, so the pattern observed for Black pastors is one possible outcome—after accounting for the smaller average size of ethnic congregations, the first appointments of Black pastors are actually slightly larger than for White pastors. However, the size gap for Asian and Hispanic/Latino(a) pastors are similar or even greater after accounting for these variables, suggesting that size differences are more deeply rooted for these groups.

2.3 Rates of Leaving

The level of racial/ethnic groups and females in the clergy is based upon a combination of two factors—entry rates and exit rates. Clergy burnout is notoriously high, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that if female or racial/ethnic clergy face a less receptive environment than white/male clergy, they will leave at greater rates. Additionally, child-raising may result in high rates of departure for female vs. male clergy.

Do rates of leaving reflect these hypotheses? In order to address this question, the report examines both direct and indirect exits from the clergy. Direct exits are transitions that directly result in the departure of a pastor from the clergy (table 3). These include death, retirement, and transfers to other denominations. Indirect exits occur when pastors leave parish ministry for a non-parish status and then leave the clergy from this non-parish status (through one of the direct exit events). Clergy who remain in non-parish ministry, say as a seminary professor, are not counted as exiting the clergy. Counting indirect exits recognizes the fact that ceasing to serve in parish ministry is often a precursor to leaving the clergy. The Appendix contains a more complete description of the methodology.

Table 3 shows a reduced set of “Service Type” codes that describe the last recorded appointment to a congregation for pastors in the study. Not surprisingly, *Retired* and *Deceased* events together comprise a large proportion of pastoral exits from the clergy. The other large category, *Discontinued*, includes pastors who voluntarily depart from the UMC clergy.

For transitions that result in an indirect exit,

both the total number of transitions are shown as well as the percent that have been classified as exits. This percentage indicates how many pastors left the clergy via a recorded exit transition at a later date, without returning to a congregation in between. There are high numbers of pastors that leave the clergy without returning to serve a local congregation from nearly all of these indirect exit categories, reinforcing their importance as pathways for leaving the ministry.

The largest category of indirect exits, the *Active service* type, refers to extension appointments beyond the local church. Nearly 30% of pastors who transitioned from parish to extensional ministry then left the clergy.¹⁸

Descriptive Statistics on Rates of Leaving

In order to summarize differences in leaving the clergy between males and females, annual rates of leaving can be examined directly. But it is also helpful to take a step back and consider the proportion of pastors that remain clergy after some number of years (through what are known as “survival curves”). The former is better suited to understanding how a pastor’s chances of leaving the clergy in any one year change over time and/or differ between male and female clergy, while the latter provides a better means to assess these differences in terms of the overall composition of clergy.

Both cases suffer from the limitation mentioned in the introduction to the study—namely that with a 12 year study-window, pastors from earlier cohorts have higher seniority. Thus, it cannot be said with any certainty whether the differ-

¹⁸Note that these percentages actually understate the number of such indirect exits, since some pastors would have exited the ministry after the study window ended.

Table 3: Direct and Indirect Exit Events

	Number of Events	Number of Exits	Percent Exited
Direct Exit Events			
Retired	7,136	7,136	
Discontinued	1,777	1,777	
Deceased	525	525	
Surrender Credential	338	338	
Withdrawn	315	315	
Withdrawn-Other Denomination	168	168	
Honorable Location	87	87	
Terminated	55	55	
Indirect Exit Events			
Non-parish Appointment	2,753	775	28
Leave*	1,346	626	47
No Record of Appt	1,243	519	42
Disability-Cpp	975	389	40
Special Appointment	230	43	19
Attend School	183	49	27
Sabbatical	100	41	41

The *Number of Events* column counts the number of times that this code is associated with the last recorded move out of a congregation. The *Number of Exits* column counts the times that an exit event is subsequently recorded for this pastor. In other words, cases where a pastor goes on family leave and then is later reappointed to a congregation are not recorded in these counts.

* Leave categories include: Educational, Family, Incapacity, Involuntary, Personal, and Transitional.

ences between male and female pastors are associated with their entering the clergy in differing cohorts or due to changes in the occupational chances that arise once a certain level of seniority is reached.

2.3.1 Female Clergy

Annual Rates of Leaving As a first look at how pastors leave the clergy, I examined annual rates of leaving for a three year window in the data (2006-2008), grouping them by sex and years of seniority (fig. 29). For male pastors with less than 30 years of tenure leaving rates are fairly constant—about 4.5% leave the clergy per year regardless of seniority. Above 30 years, leaving rates shoot up dramatically, due to retirement and death.¹⁹ In many other lines of work, new-entrants are at considerably more risk of leaving a field, leading to higher rates of leaving at low tenures. At present, this appears not to be the case for UMC clergy—leaving rates for current entrants are not any higher than for established pastors.

But another way of viewing this pattern is that 4.5% is a rather high annual rate of leaving, and that the consistency of this rate over all levels of seniority reinforces the subjective view that the clergy is a difficult calling, where burnout is common.

Leaving rates for female pastors also shoot up dramatically at 30 years, while remaining relatively level below this mark. There are some trends, however, that are not seen for male pastors. Among older cohorts, rates of leaving are higher for females than they are for males. Fe-

¹⁹In fact, leaving rates continue to increase beyond the bounds of the graph, up to 55 years.

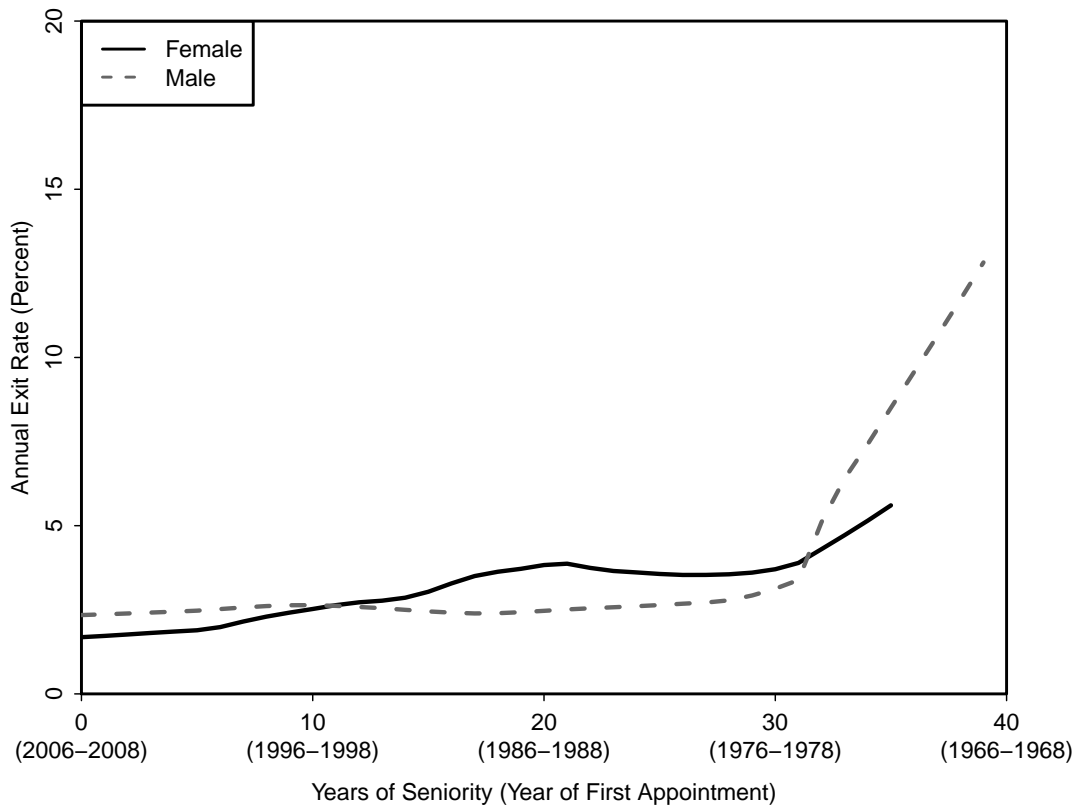
male pastors who had between 10 and 30 years of seniority in 2006-08, left the clergy at a greater rate than male pastors (~5.5% per year). These levels of seniority correspond to the cohorts of female pastors who entered the clergy from 1976-1998. However, female pastors with 0 to 10 years of seniority were *less* likely than male pastors to leave the clergy (~3.0% per year).

The Proportion of Pastors Remaining in the Clergy Over Time How do these rates of leaving matter over time? Do the differences between sexes greatly affect the overall composition of the ministry, or not much? Survival curves, which show the proportion (i.e. percentage) of pastors who have remained clergy at least Y years following the beginning of the time period are better suited to answering these questions. Survival curves also add an additional element to the analysis. While the rates of leaving represent a snapshot taken across a cross-section of seniority/cohort levels for one moment in time, survival curves trace the pattern of leaving over time within cohorts.

The survival curves (figure 30) illustrate the cumulative toll that annual rates of leaving take on the ranks of the clergy. Since annual rates of leaving are similar across seniority levels, the survival curves for the 1970-79 cohort and above are relatively similar—at the 10 year mark, ~ 40% of clergy present at the beginning of the period have exited the clergy, with ~ 60% remaining. Since it is likely that each cohort experienced broadly similar rates of loss for each preceding 10 year period, these departure rates from the clergy seem large indeed.

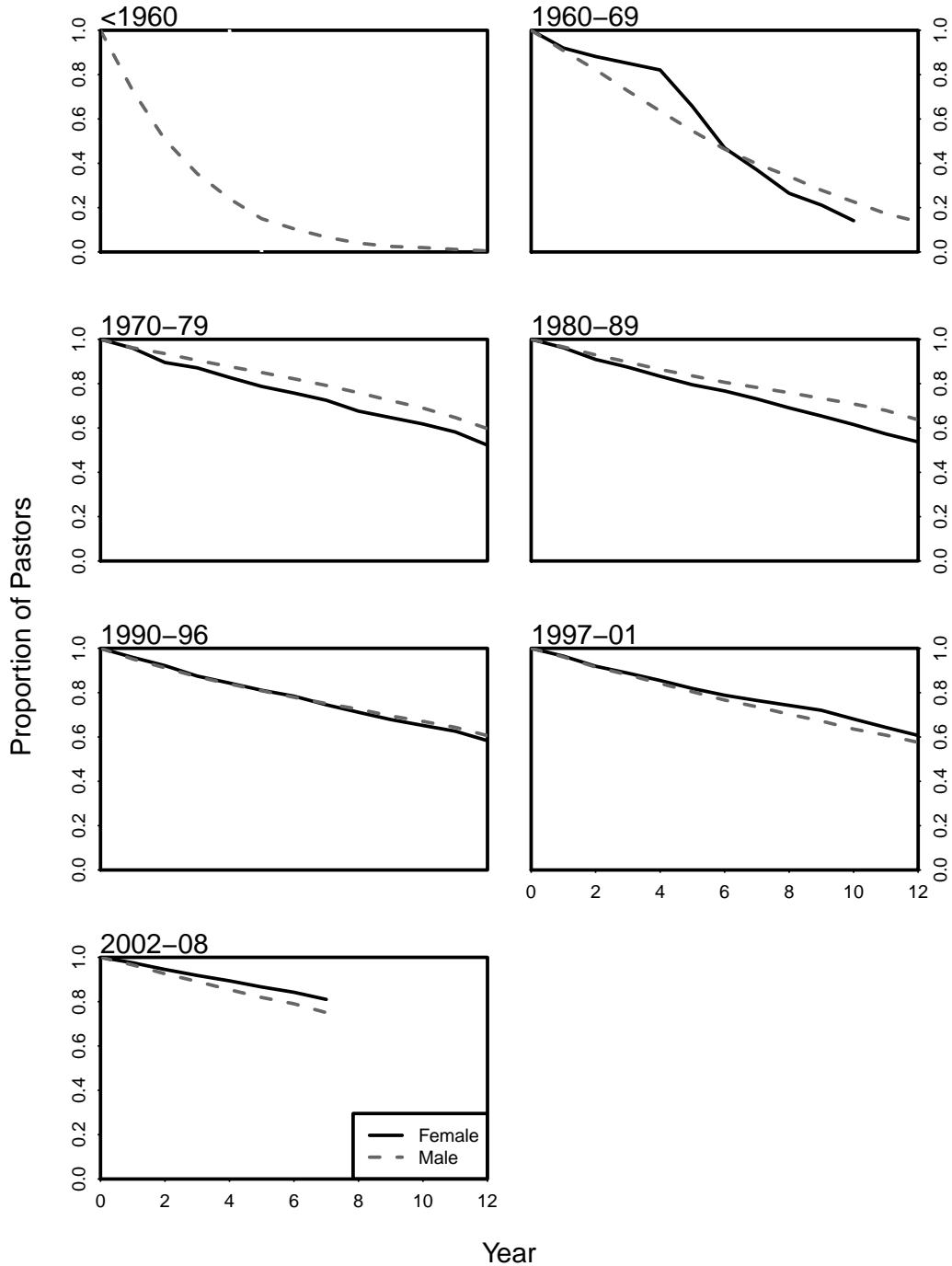
Against this broader backdrop, the differences between male and female pastors are more sub-

Figure 29: Annual Rate of Leaving the Clergy for 2006-2008 by Gender



This figure shows the annual rate at which pastors left the UMC clergy for the years 2006-2008. Rates of leaving are calculated separately by year of seniority (points). A pastor's years of seniority correspond closely to their cohort. Corresponding three-year cohort windows are listed beneath the years of seniority.

Figure 30: Proportion of Clergy in Ministry for at Least Y Years by Gender



This figure shows “survival curves” for pastors in each cohort. Survival curves plot the proportion of pastors who are still active clergy over the passage of time. For the two cohorts after 1997, seniority is used directly as the measure of time. For cohorts prior to the study’s start date (1997), these curves are conditioned upon survival until 1997—that is, they show the departure rates only for pastors who have remained in the ministry until 1997. The passage of time is captured as the number of years since 1997. The Combined group consists of Native American, Pacific Islander, and Multi-racial affiliations.

tle. Just as for annual rates of leaving, female pastors do better than male pastors in recent cohorts, and worse in older cohorts. The cumulative impact of differential leaving rates is largest in the 1970-79 and 1980-89 cohorts. For the 1980-89 cohort, there is an 11 percentage point difference in the percent of pastors remaining in the clergy at 10 years (57% of females and 68% of males). By contrast in the 2002-08 cohort, the difference (at 5 years) is 5 percentage points in the other direction (87% of females and 82% of males).

Despite the differences between the results from leaving rates and survival curves, the main substantive findings are relatively similar. Female pastors in recent cohorts are less likely to leave the clergy than their male counterparts, while females in older cohorts are more likely to leave. The difference between males and females is not dramatic, but it does add up over time to impact the composition of pastors. Apart from the cross-over between leaving rates of males and females, the differences between cohorts are relatively uninteresting—leaving rates are remarkably similar across cohorts/seniority levels until retirement becomes a major factor.

Factors Associated with High Rates of Leaving The results of the descriptive analysis indicated that women who entered the clergy in 1997 and later are less likely to leave the ministry in a given year than males. This section asks how departure rates vary across regions (UMC Jurisdictions), whether the types of positions that female pastors are assigned to can account for their lower departure rates, and whether the rate at which females leave the clergy is greater in some positions than in others.

Multivariate models were used to model leaving rates in each cohort. The cohorts were modeled separately, but the results are presented together in table 4 for ease of comparison. Cohorts prior to 1970 are not modeled because leaving rates are dominated by retirement, and our interest lies primarily in understanding why pastors leave the clergy prior to retirement.

The coefficients in these models indicate the proportional change in the rate of leaving associated with various predictors. Coefficients that are not statistically significant are omitted from the table. The table presents two sets of models—a baseline set, with only gender and race present in addition to seniority, and a full model where a number of predictors are included simultaneously.

The baseline model essentially reproduces the descriptive analysis presented above, and the results reflect this design. For older cohorts (1970-79 and 1980-89), the annual rate at which females left the clergy was higher than for males across the study period. In the 1990-96 cohort, the gender difference is statistically insignificant. For cohorts since 1996 females leave the clergy at a lower rate than males.

The shift in the coefficients between the baseline and full model is highly revealing. In the full model, the *Female* coefficients for the 1970-79 and 1980-89 cohorts are greatly reduced, to the point where the 1970-79 coefficient (0.16) is no longer statistically significant, while the 1980-89 coefficient (0.11) is less than a third of what it was in the baseline model. This reduction indicates that female pastors from these cohorts were more likely to occupy positions in which pastors are more likely to leave the ministry. Looking at the other coefficients in the full model, we can

Table 4: Proportional Change in Rates of Leaving

	1970-79	1980-89	1990-96	1996+
Baseline Model				
Female	0.25	0.46		-0.23
Race/Ethnicity (White Omitted)				
<i>Black</i>	0.81	0.37		
<i>Asian</i>	1.99	0.39	-0.36	-0.46
<i>Hispanic/Latino(a)</i>	1.01			
<i>Other</i>				
Full Model				
Female				-0.19
<i>Black</i>			-0.26	
<i>Asian</i>				
<i>Hispanic/Latino(a)</i>				
<i>Other</i>				
Jurisdiction (Midwest Omitted)				
<i>Northeastern</i>	-0.17		-0.16	-0.15
<i>South Central</i>				
<i>Southeastern</i>				-0.16
<i>Western</i>		-0.43		
Age (10's of Years)	20.30	6.25	2.69	0.55
Associate Pastor	-0.56	-0.41	-0.29	-0.26
Log of Membership	-0.15		-0.10	
Part-time Status (Full Time Omitted)				
<i>Three Quarter Time</i>		1.00	0.89	0.70
<i>Half Time</i>			-0.29	-0.17
<i>Quarter Time</i>				
Appointment Type (Elder Omitted)				
<i>Full-time Local Pastor</i>	0.65	0.58	0.68	1.40
<i>Part-time/Other Local Pastor</i>		-0.46	0.38	1.23
<i>Deacon</i>	6.38			1.55
<i>Other Appointment Status</i>			0.34	2.65
Non-ethnic Congregation	0.49			

see that these positions are: age, membership, part-time status, and full-time local pastor status. Thus, female pastors in these cohorts were in less advantageous positions and left the clergy at a higher rate because of this.

By contrast, there is little difference between the baseline and full models for the coefficients for females in the 1996+ cohort, suggesting that holding more advantageous positions does not explain the reduced rate of female departures in this cohort.

The predictors of leaving rates are generally similar across cohorts. Associate pastors and pastors at larger congregations are less likely to leave the clergy, while part-time and non-elder pastors are more likely to leave the clergy. Older pastors are also more likely to leave the pastorate, and age has the biggest impact in older cohorts, where pastors are closest to retirement age. While the coefficients for jurisdiction are statistically significant in a number of cases, it is difficult to discern a coherent story for these differences.

There is little evidence that associate pastor status, congregational membership, jurisdiction, appointment category, or ethnicity are associated with leaving rates in different ways for males and females. The potential for such differential associations was tested by including interaction terms between gender and each factor. Most of these interaction terms were statistically insignificant and the few that were not did not follow a pattern.

2.3.2 Racial/Ethnic Clergy

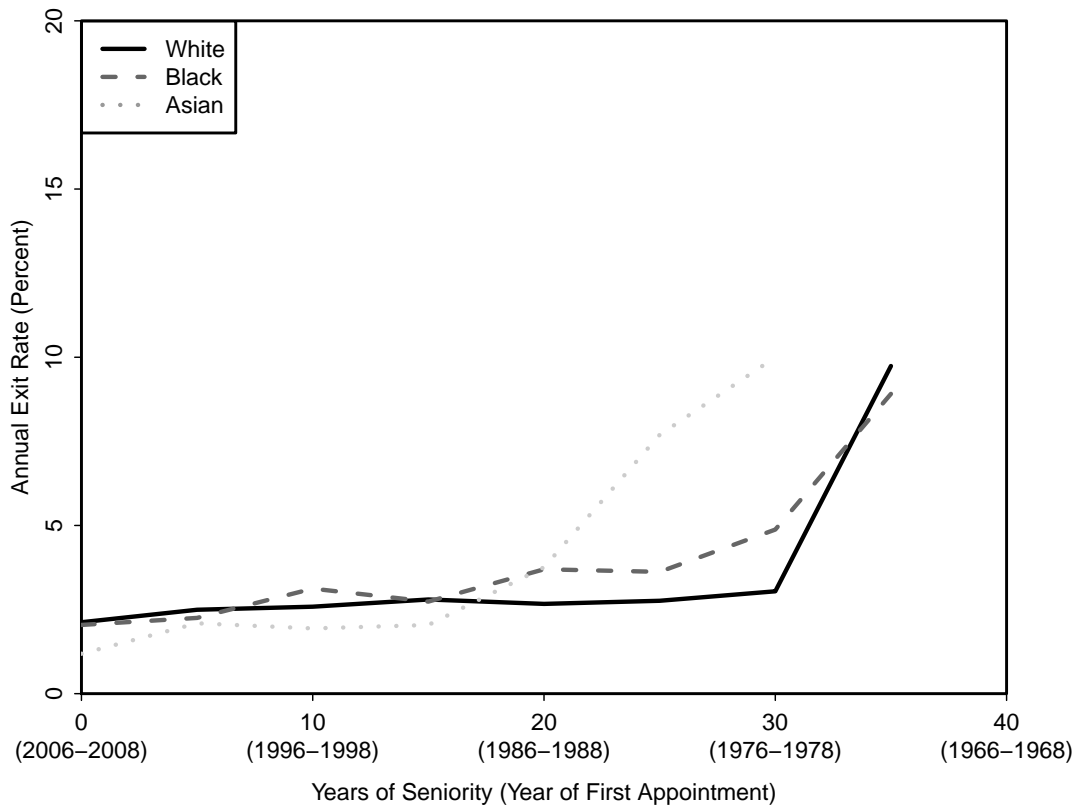
Annual Rates of Leaving The annual rates of leaving for racial/ethnic pastors are summarized in figure 31. Because of the smaller sample size for racial/ethnic pastors, rates of leaving were calculated in five-year increments, and it was only possible to include the two largest racial/ethnic groups: Black and Asian pastors.

As with female pastors, there is little difference in rates of leaving among recent cohorts, but racial/ethnic pastors from earlier, high seniority cohorts are leaving at a higher rate than White pastors from these cohorts (fig. 31).

The Proportion of Pastors Remaining in the Clergy Over Time The consequences of higher rates of leaving in earlier cohorts can be seen by comparing the proportion of racial/ethnic pastors remaining at the end of the study period to the same proportion for White pastors (fig. 32). In recent cohorts, there is little consistent difference in this proportion. However, for the 1980-89 cohort and, in particular, the 1970-79 cohort, more racial/ethnic pastors left the clergy than White pastors. Only half of Asian and Hispanic pastors from these cohorts remained in the clergy in 2008, compared to over 70% for White pastors in this cohort.

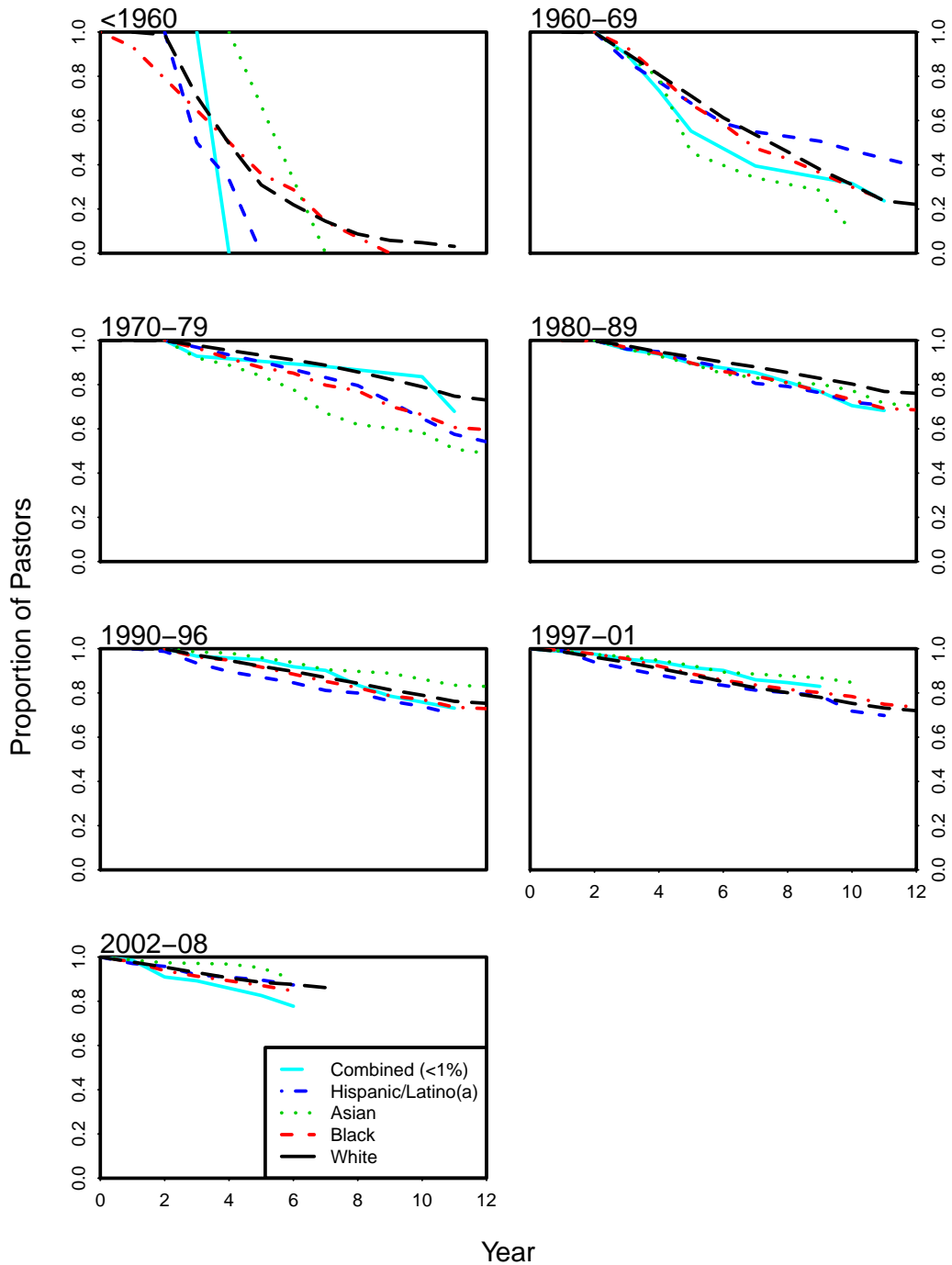
Factors Associated with High Rates of Leaving The statistical model confirms the pattern seen in the descriptive statistics. In the baseline model (table 4), Black, Asian, and Hispanic/Latino(a) pastors from the 1970-79 and 1980-89 cohorts are more likely to leave the clergy than are White pastors from these cohorts. However, when examining the full model,

Figure 31: Annual Rate of Leaving the Clergy for 2006-2008 by Race/Ethnicity of Pastor



This figure shows the annual rate at which pastors left the UMC clergy for the years 2006-2008. Only Black and Asian clergy had enough sample size for inclusion in the graph. Rates of leaving are calculated separately by year of seniority (points). Because of the narrow time frame for the data, a pastor's years of seniority correspond closely to their cohort. The corresponding three-year windows of start dates are listed beneath the axis for seniority. Trend lines were calculated using the *lowess* smoother function.

Figure 32: Proportion of Clergy in Ministry for at Least Y Years by Race/Ethnicity



This figure shows “survival curves” for pastors in each cohort. Survival curves plot the proportion of pastors who are still active clergy over the passage of time. For the two cohorts after 1997, seniority is used directly as the measure of time. For cohorts prior to the study’s start date (1997), these curves are conditioned upon survival until 1997—that is, they show the departure rates only for pastors who have remained in the ministry until 1997. The passage of time is captured as the number of years since 1997.

these trends become statistically insignificant for the 1970-79 and 1980-89 cohorts. This shift suggests that the higher leaving rates among racial/ethnic pastors in early cohorts is due to differences in the types of positions occupied by these pastors, and/or their age relative to White pastors. Thus, this study provides little evidence to suggest that racial/ethnic pastors are experiencing greater rates of burnout, even in earlier cohorts where there is an observed difference in rates of leaving.

A Glossary

Clergy elders, deacons, and local pastors affiliated with the UMC, regardless of whether they are actively serving a congregation, on leave, or in a non-parish appointment.

Cohort Clergy who received their first congregational appointment during the same time window.

Congregational Size The membership of a congregation at which a pastor is appointed. If the pastor is appointed to a multi-congregational charge, then it is the total membership of all congregations in the charge.

Location *Urban, Suburban, Large-Town,* and *Rural*. These designations were assigned based on census tract, using Rural Urban Commuting Area (RUCA) designations, <http://www.ers.usda.gov/Data/RuralUrbanCommutingAreaCodes/>. The four-tier classification is based on a suggested simplification of RUCA codes given at <http://depts.washington.edu/uwruca/ruca-uses.php>.

Multi-Congregation Charge A pastoral charge that consists of multiple congregations.

Pastor The appointed leader of a congregation or multi-congregation charge.

Seniority The number of years from a clergy's first appointment to a congregation.

B Data

The data used in this report combines data on attributes and annual statistics of congregations maintained by the General Council on Finance and Administration (GCFA), with data on clergy appointments maintained by the General Board of Pensions (GBOP). The data was initially assembled to produce a report on clergy salaries, *Salaries for United Methodist Clergy in the US Context* Quantitative Analysis. For the present report, this data set has been extended to include GBOP data on clergy appointments status beyond the local church. See the Appendix of the salary report for a list of available variables and a discussion of missing values.

The GCFA data tracks information reported annually by congregations. Smaller congregations are often grouped together under one pastoral charge, forming multi-congregation charges. Because pastor appointments can include multiple congregations, GCFA data need to be aggregated in order to reflect the characteristics of pastoral charges rather than congregations. GCFA data contain a number of variables with information on specific congregations, including charge-church alignments. Charge-church alignments extend only to 1997, thus setting the starting point of this study. The GCFA also tracks information about the pastors assigned to local churches each year including: gender, race, birthdate, appointment status, and contributions made by the congregation for the pastor's salary and housing expenses.

The GBOP tracks people who are enrolled in the UMC pension system based upon reports provided by conference administrative officials. Most, but not all, people who lead

UMC churches fall into this category. Exceptions include: ministers from other denominations, unpaid local pastors, some part-time pastors, ministers who have retired, and supply ministers. Because of these exclusions, the GCFA data provides a more complete sampling framework. However, for the pastors it does follow, the GBOP holds data on appointment histories and the level of part-time work. Data on central conference pastors is not available across the entire period, so this report focuses on the US.

I used GCFA records to establish the sampling frame of US pastoral charges that existed from 1997-2008 (i.e. the universe of which potential appointments), and then matched GBOP appointment and salary information to the charges in this sampling frame. Finally, I used the GBOP's historical record of appointments to generate statistics on the career path of pastors (e.g. seniority). This procedure exploited the strengths of both datasets. The GBOP does not collect information on the race/ethnicity of pastors, so GCFA records were used for this attribute. When there were multiple congregations in a pastoral charge, GCFA information on the local churches was aggregated to the charge level for analysis, and the location was based on that of the largest church in the charge.

Each row in the resulting dataset contains information for one pastor in one year. Since GCFA data is reported on a calendar year basis, charges were matched to pastor information at the end of that calendar year. For example, a pastor whose salary changed in June of 2006 from \$35,000 to \$38,000 would have \$35,000 recorded for 2005 and \$38,000 for 2006.

I combined conferences that merged during the study period, so that conference boundaries were

the same across the entire period. The merged conferences are: Greater New Jersey, Arkansas, and Missouri. The following missionary conferences had very few pastors and were pooled into a single category, "Missionary Conferences", for analysis: Oklahoma Indian Missionary, Red Bird Missionary, and Alaska Missionary.

C Methods

C.1 Statistical Models of Having a Female or Racial/Ethnic Pastor

Logistic regression was used to provide descriptive statistics for how often females or racial/ethnic clergy are appointed to congregations. Multi-level models were used to account for, and describe, differences in representation rates between conferences. A number of models were fit in order to accommodate different analytic goals. The descriptive results in the paper are based on models with few explanatory variables, so that logistic regression is being used to measure differences (i.e. between regions, appointment statuses, and annual conferences). Variables were added to these models in order to investigate potential causes of gender and race gaps in representation. When the added variables are also correlated with the frequency of having a female or racial/ethnic clergy, then the initial difference can change providing insight into the source of gender and race gaps.

Results from these models can be summarized in two ways. First, they can be used to calculate the percent female (or racial/ethnic) under various conditions. Second, the impact of various factors can be presented in terms of coefficients (often referred to as effects) based on how

much they shift these percentages with respect to a baseline category. The exponent of logistic regression coefficients is interpretable as the change in odds of an event occurring. While odds are frequently associated with games of chance, in this case they merely represent an alternative way of measuring the frequency with which racial/ethnic or female clergy occur with respect to white/male clergy. Unfortunately, however, the change in odds is not the same as the percent differences in the percentage of pastors that are female, which is a more intuitive statistic for most people.

C.2 Statistical Models of Career Progression

The models used to represent career progression are multinomial logit models where the data consists of pastors serving at congregations in 2000, and the outcome is the job status in 2008. One important aspect of this strategy is that individual job transitions between 2000 and 2008 are not considered, only outcomes after 8 years.

I present two models, a baseline-model, with no other variables besides gender and race, and a full-model with all of the factors listed above included. The baseline model shows how the simple descriptive transition percentages, shown above in figure 24, translate into the model framework, and indicate whether these differences are statistically significant.²⁰ Since the reference category is serving in a similar-sized congregation, to interpret the model coefficients first note that women are less likely than men to serve in similarly-sized congregations. The

²⁰Comparing the model results with this figure is a good way to understand what the model indicates.

multinomial model results tell us whether the gender gap is similar for other outcomes. So, in the model results (table 5), for females we see that two transitions with similar-sized gender gaps (serving in a larger congregation and exiting the clergy) are statistically insignificant. The cases where there are positive, significant coefficients indicate the change in the gender gap.

Model results are presented in table 5. Figure 25 graphs $e^{coefficient} - 1$. This indicates the factor difference in the odds of males versus females experiencing that outcome relative to the reference outcome.

C.3 Congregational Size at First Appointment

The models of congregational size (membership) at first appointment looks only at the size of the congregation or multi-congregation charge that clergy were assigned to in their first appointment. The model uses standard linear regression with the log of congregational size as the outcome variable.

C.4 Rates of Leaving

Capturing departures from the ministry is trickier than it might first appear. There are a number of relatively unambiguous “exit” transitions that directly follow an appointment to a congregation. Pastors do re-enter the clergy following such events—for instance, pastors who are dismissed can be reinstated; and those who leave for other denominations may return. However, with one exception (retirements) re-entry is uncommon and the decision to leave the clergy is, in any case, significant, even when it turns out

to be temporary. For these reasons, this study examines only the time until a pastor’s first exit event (ignoring any subsequent re-entries).

Retired pastors do frequently return to the pulpit. The decision to treat retirement like other exit events, counting the date of retirement as an exit from the clergy is, in part, a pragmatic decision. The data on pastoral appointments following retirement is less reliable than for appointments prior to retirement. In addition, however, retirement marks a substantial change in the relationship between pastors and the denomination—most notably, the end of itineracy. Retired UMC pastors can choose the appointments they will participate in (if any), and are more likely to engage with congregations on a part-time basis, and to serve in smaller and/or less-demanding positions than prior to retirement.

In addition to explicit exit events, there are also transitions that, while not exits themselves, are more likely to lead to an exit event. For instance, pastors who are struggling may shift to non-parish work, or take extended leaves, and then exit the clergy from these positions. Ignoring such indirect exits would miss an important pathway through which pastors leave the clergy; but both the uncertainty of whether pastors will return to parish ministry and the delay between the last congregational appointment and leaving the clergy serve to create problems for analysis. Transitions to non-parish work are explored in more detail in section 2.1. For the purposes of providing insight into clergy exit rates, this section focuses on transitions to non-parish work as “indirect” exit events. Transitions from parish ministry to non-parish work or leave status are counted as exit events when (A) the pas-

tor does not return to parish work during the study period, and (B) there is an exit transition within the study period. Effectively, this definition counts the exit day of pastors as the day on which they leave a parish appointment rather than the day they leave the clergy. This procedure introduces a minor source of error; since indirect exits are more likely to be unobserved close to 2008 (the end of the study window), exits are undercounted.

Table 5: Multinomial Regression Model Results—Transition from Position Held in 2000 to 2008 (Relative to a Same-Sized Congregation)

	Larger Congre- gation	Smaller Congre- gation	Associate Pastor	Exit	Leave	Non- Parish
Baseline Model						
Constant	-0.13***	-0.72***	-2.19***	0.32***	-1.46***	-1.52***
Female	0.02	0.65***	1.39***	0.07	0.96***	0.64***
Race/Ethnicity (White Omitted)						
<i>Black</i>	-0.07	0.13	-0.60***	0.07	0.14	0.47***
<i>Asian</i>	0.03	0.21	0.14	-0.22	-0.07	0.49***
<i>Hispanic/Latino(a)</i>	0.00	0.14	0.59	0.20	0.60*	0.98***
<i>Other</i>	-0.15	0.41	0.36	0.02	0.49	0.23
Full Model						
Constant	-0.21*	-0.63***	-0.96***	-0.67***	-0.79***	-0.87***
Female	-0.07	0.52***	1.92***	0.16*	1.23***	1.23***
<i>Black</i>	-0.26***	0.38***	-0.38*	-0.07	0.00	0.95***
<i>Asian</i>	-0.34***	0.19	0.42	-0.33*	-0.38*	0.88***
<i>Hispanic/Latino(a)</i>	-0.42*	0.39	0.80	-0.07	0.12	2.06***
<i>Other</i>	-0.20	0.30	0.07	0.05	0.27	0.46
Cohort						
Pre-1960 Cohort	0.08	-0.88	0.77	1.86*	0.40	3.44*
1960-69 Cohort	-0.27*	-0.51***	-0.02	1.69***	-0.09	1.77***
1970-79 Cohort	-0.13	-0.47***	-0.23	0.15	-0.24*	0.72***
1980-89 Cohort	0.00	-0.27***	-0.23*	0.13	-0.10	0.04
Jurisdiction (Midwest Omitted)						
<i>Northeastern</i>	0.00	-0.11	-0.56***	-0.12	0.08	-0.13
<i>South Central</i>	0.70***	-0.03	0.43***	0.11	0.39***	0.34***
<i>Southeastern</i>	0.58***	-0.21***	0.01	-0.06	0.25*	0.02
<i>Western</i>	-0.12	0.52***	0.21	-0.10	0.22	0.11
Log of Membership	-0.56***	0.99***	-0.10	-0.27***	-0.37***	0.11
Log of Membership ²	0.23***	0.01	0.36***	0.19***	0.22***	0.17***
Associate Pastor	0.09	2.06***	5.89***	0.99***	1.23***	0.95***
Location (Urban Omitted)						
<i>Suburban</i>	0.08	-0.11	0.13	0.14	-0.18*	-0.27***
<i>Large Town</i>	0.02	0.12	-0.01	0.08	-0.14	-0.10
<i>Rural</i>	-0.10	-0.03	-0.16	0.12	-0.14	-0.20*
Presence of Parsonage	-0.06	0.00	-0.24*	-0.05	-0.06	-0.19*
Age (10's of Years)	-0.32***	0.06	-0.25***	4.64***	-0.17***	-0.37***
Age ²	-0.03	0.19***	0.28***	1.94***	0.15***	0.13*
Part-time Status (Full Time Omitted)						
<i>Three Quarter Time</i>	-0.24*	0.40*	0.20	1.34***	1.12***	0.17
<i>Half Time</i>	-0.60***	-0.23	0.82*	-0.37*	-0.32	-0.11
<i>Quarter Time</i>	-0.79***	-0.05	0.80	-0.48*	0.16	-0.33
Appointment Type (Elder Omitted)						
<i>Full-time Local Pastor</i>	-0.52***	0.00	0.39*	0.40***	-0.20	-0.42***
<i>Part-time/Other Local Pastor</i>	-0.52***	-0.05	0.06	-0.39***	-0.64***	-0.30*
<i>Deacon</i>	-1.00	2.78	56.40***	24.03***	12.46*	15.28*
<i>Other Appointment Status</i>	-0.39***	-0.17	-0.37	0.31*	-0.05	-0.50***

Note: The following interaction terms were included in m3.1, but are not reported for the sake of brevity: Ethnic Charge*Ethnicity, Ethnicity*Appointment Status, Female*Associate Pastor, Associate Pastor*Ethnicity. Statistical significance: *, $p < 0.05$; **, $p < 0.01$; ***, $p < 0.001$.

Table 6: Regression Model Results—Size at First Appointment

	m1	m2	m3	m3.1
Constant	4.77**	4.79**	5.28**	5.30**
Female	-0.02	-0.03	-0.05*	-0.05*
Associate Pastor	1.82**	1.82**	1.62**	1.61**
Race/Ethnicity (White Omitted)				
<i>Black</i>	-0.13**	0.17**	0.14**	0.09
<i>Asian</i>	-0.15*	0.03	-0.22**	-0.40**
<i>Hispanic/Latino(a)</i>	-0.24**	-0.01	-0.17*	-0.36*
<i>Other</i>	-0.10	0.11	0.05	0.00
Ethnic Charge		-0.45**	-0.38**	-0.31**
Appointment Type (Elder Omitted)				
<i>Full-time Local Pastor</i>			-0.12**	-0.13**
<i>Part-time/Other Local Pastor</i>			-0.76**	-0.78**
<i>Deacon</i>			0.19**	0.19**
<i>Other Appointment Status</i>			-0.39**	-0.41**
Female*Associate Pastor	0.07*	0.07*	0.03	0.03
Black*Associate Pastor	-0.21*	-0.28**	-0.16*	-0.16*
Asian*Associate Pastor	-0.32**	-0.26*	-0.03	-0.03
Hispanic/Latino(a)*Associate Pastor	-0.55**	-0.71**	-0.47**	-0.45**
Combined*Associate Pastor	-0.65**	-0.71**	-0.56**	-0.55**
R^2	0.49	0.5	0.58	0.58
N	13769	13769	13769	13769

Note: The following interaction terms were included in m3.1, but are not reported for the sake of brevity: Ethnic Charge*Ethnicity, Ethnicity*Appointment Status, Female*Associate Pastor, Associate Pastor*Ethnicity. Statistical significance: *, $p < 0.05$; **, $p < 0.01$; ***, $p < 0.001$.