

THE EMOTIONAL AND SPIRITUAL DIMENSIONS OF BEING A PASTOR:  
AUTHENTICITY AND IDENTITY

A Dissertation

by

PENNY ADDISON OTEY

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2010

Major Subject: Communication

THE EMOTIONAL AND SPIRITUAL DIMENSIONS OF BEING A PASTOR:  
AUTHENTICITY AND IDENTITY

A Dissertation

by

PENNY ADDISON OTEY

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Katherine Miller
Committee Members,	Jamie Callahan
	Joel Iverson
	Barbara Sharf
Head of Department,	Richard Street

August 2010

Major Subject: Communication

## ABSTRACT

The Emotional and Spiritual Dimensions of Being a Pastor: Authenticity and Identity.

(August 2010)

Penny Addison Otey, B.A., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill;

M.S., Texas Christian University

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Katherine Miller

Emotional labor and its influence on authenticity and identity amongst human service workers has been the focus of numerous studies. Often these studies viewed identity as a stable sense of self. This study set out to examine emotional labor amongst clergy and how it may differ from the emotional labor experienced in other occupations, with the premise that individuals have multiple identities that shift and change depending on the situational context. A thematic analysis of interviews conducted with twenty-seven clergy and a textual analysis of denominational/church texts was conducted to examine the following ideas: 1) how clergy negotiated tensions of authenticity and identity in their work; 2) how clergy described the spiritual and emotional dimensions of their work; 3) how denominational texts address issues of spiritual and emotional labor; and, 4) if clergy felt enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs.

The results of this study indicated that emotional and spiritual labor amongst clergy is unique for several reasons. One, the emotional labor clergy engaged in served a positive function because they see it as means of helping others. Second, clergy were

aware that emotional labor was intrinsic to the job and they engaged in activities to preempt or manage the tension they felt when the job required them to mask their true feelings and display organizationally preferred feelings. Finally, clergy enjoyed the spiritual dimension of their jobs; thus they were engaged in spiritual work (authentic spirituality), not spiritual labor (inauthentic spirituality).

Results also indicated that denominational texts did convey a preferred identity or ideal for how pastors should behave. Pastors indicated that the denominational expectations and guidelines for pastors both enabled and constrained them. The majority of the pastors felt the freedom to disagree civilly and the denomination/church provided venues in which pastors could communicate their dissenting views. However, in some cases, pastors felt the denominational guidelines for the “ideal pastor” were in conflict with how they saw their own role as pastor and they left the denomination. Results also revealed how pastors’ identities shifted and changed as the context in which they were ministering changed.

DEDICATION

Jeff and Schuyler

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee chair, Kathy, and my committee members, Barbara, Joel, and Jamie, for their guidance and support throughout the course of this research. Each of you challenged me to pursue excellence, and your feedback strengthened the project. I would like to extend a special thank you to Kathy whose patience, gentle redirection, encouragement, and kindness enabled me to push through those difficult moments.

Thanks to my dad, mom, and sister who began this process with me. I so appreciate your encouragement, prayers, and support. And most importantly to the love of my life, Jeff, whom I met and married in the middle of this process and who has been my strength, support, and motivation for completing this process. I could never have made it through to the end without your love and encouragement. Thanks!

Thanks also to my friends and colleagues, especially Jill Yamasaki, Rachel Jumper, Martha Shoemaker, and the department faculty and staff for making my time at Texas A&M University a great experience.

Finally, I would be remiss if I did not include a heartfelt thanks to all the interview participants. I thoroughly enjoyed getting to know these ministers through the interview process and hearing their stories. They are a unique set of individuals who have a strong commitment to God and who are willing to make many sacrifices to fulfill their calling as ministers. Thanks!

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT .....	iii
DEDICATION .....	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
LIST OF TABLES .....	xi
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	1
Emotional Labor.....	5
Identity .....	14
Structurational Approach to Identity.....	16
Postmodern Approach to Identity .....	20
Spirituality.....	25
Religion, Emotional Labor, and Identity.....	30
Summary and Research Questions.....	38
II RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....	41
Interviews .....	42
Research Participants .....	43
Participant Interviews.....	50
Analysis of Interviews.....	55
Textual Analysis .....	57
Summary .....	60
III RESULTS.....	62
Negotiating Tensions of Authenticity and Identity .....	62
Honest and Forthright.....	64
Reacting Privately .....	71
Faking It .....	72
Taking It in Stride .....	72

CHAPTER	Page
Developing Formulaic Responses .....	73
Connecting with God .....	75
Descriptions of the Emotional and Spiritual Dimensions of Pastoral Work .....	77
Emotional Dimensions of the Job .....	79
Spiritual Dimensions of the Job .....	83
Spiritual and Emotional Labor in Denominational Texts .....	86
Serving God.....	87
Serving Others.....	89
Personal Characteristics, Beliefs, and Practices.....	92
Implications of Texts in Enablement and Constraint of Identity and Authenticity .....	97
Aligning with a Denomination.....	97
Authenticity .....	100
Enabled and/or Constrained by Denominational Standards and Beliefs .....	102
Enabled.....	103
Enabled and Constrained.....	106
Discernment Process .....	106
Church Polity.....	108
Theological Position.....	112
Response to Constraint.....	114
Summary .....	119
IV    DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS .....	121
Emotional Labor.....	121
Spiritual Work not Spiritual Labor.....	128
Structurational Approach to Identity.....	132
Postmodern Approach to Identity .....	138
Limitations .....	147
Future Research.....	148
Conclusion.....	151
REFERENCES.....	153
APPENDIX A .....	166
APPENDIX B .....	170
APPENDIX C .....	171



	Page
APPENDIX D .....	173
VITA .....	174

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	Page
1 Approaches to Identity and Identification .....	20

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
1	Classification of Denominations on Conservative to Liberal Continuum .....	46
2	Clergy Demographics.....	49
3	Church Polity.....	59

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

“What is the Lord asking of me in this moment, in this situation? ... Calvin says somewhere that each of us is an actor on a stage and God is the audience” (Robinson, 2004, p. 124). Clergy, missionaries, and religious workers may consider these issues frequently because they are in the business of “serving God.” Yet contradictions are likely to arise in such work when the perceived requirements of God, work, and self are not in alignment.

Spirituality in organizations has garnered a great deal of attention recently, and the body of scholarship addressing spirituality has grown (Bullis, 1996; Mitroff & Denton, 1999; see special edition of *Communication Studies*, 2006). After conducting interviews with senior executives, Mitroff and Denton (1999) proposed the following definition of spirituality: “the basic feeling of being connected with one’s complete self, others, and the entire universe” (p. 83). The ability to bring one’s whole self to work is important to many and reflects the ideas of interconnectedness and authenticity. In such a situation, employees have healthy relationships with others and can be true to themselves. According to some scholars, this will enhance job performance and provide benefits to the organization (Graber & Johnson, 2001; Mitroff & Denton, 1999; Neck & Milliman, 1994). One would expect that the environment of a religious-based organization, such as a church, would encourage spirituality and, more specifically, being authentic and having authentic faith. Yet some research indicates that at times

---

This dissertation follows the style of *Journal of Applied Communication Research*.

pastors feel inauthentic while engaging in their pastoral duties, more specifically that they must convey ideas and opinions that do not match their personal convictions (Nauta, 2003). So how do pastors handle this mismatch and how does the religious community define authenticity?

Authenticity is often defined within the religious community as having your outward actions match what is in your heart. Definitions and descriptions of authentic Christianity abound and are often used as a marketing tool to attract new church members. One woman stated on a discussion thread asking if a certain church was good: “Pastor Will and the entire staff are the ‘real deal’” (Mombug, 2009). Popular Christian literature, Bible studies, and sermons include titles such as: *Six Essentials of Spiritual Authenticity* (Kent & Lee-Thorp, 2000); *Authentic Faith: The Power of a Fire-Tested Life* (Thomas, 2002); and *Authentic Faith and the Bible* (Daniels, 2005). For example, one pastor states that there are three tests of authentic Christianity and being an authentic Christian. Those three tests are 1) confessing that Jesus is the Christ, 2) obeying God, and 3) loving God (Matthew, 2002). The minister goes on to say that an authentic Christian’s life should reflect God’s love to other people, and that, as a Christian, your heart, mind, and will were regenerated through salvation so you can reflect the love of God to others. In other words, your outward actions should match what is in your heart. Authentic faith and being an individual who reflects authentic Christianity appears to be highly valued within the religious community.

But what happens when your behaviors and communication contradict your emotions and you feel you are putting on an act for God? More specifically, what

happens when you are the spiritual leader (pastor, priest, clergy) of a church whose governing denominational body requires you to take a particular stance on an issue when your personal spiritual beliefs are not congruent with the denomination's stance? Clergy may experience dissonance between "authentic" feelings from the heart and behaviors required for the church, for their congregation, and (in the eyes of some) for God. For example, Father Cutié, a former Catholic priest, left the Catholic Church and priesthood for the Episcopal Church and priesthood because of a romantic affair he had been engaged in for over two years (CNN, 2009; Padgett, 2009). Like all priests ordained in the Catholic Church, Cutié took a vow of celibacy. However, by his own admission, he broke that vow when he engaged in a romantic affair with a friend. "This is something I've struggled with. I don't support the breaking of the celibacy promise" (CNN, 2009). Cutié was wrestling with the desires of his heart to be in a romantic relationship and the celibacy requirements of the Catholic Church for its priests. Once the relationship became public knowledge and he was removed from his parish responsibilities, he had to make a decision about which he would follow—his heart or denominational requirements. Several days later, he was received into the Episcopalian Church, where he could "continue to proclaim the word of God and my love for God" (CNN, 2009) while having the option of pursuing his relationship with this woman. He chose to align himself with a church that would allow him to continue to be a minister for God and pursue the desires of his heart. He experienced dissonance between his "authentic" feelings from the heart and the behaviors required for the Catholic Church (celibacy), for his congregation, and for God.

According to Hochschild (1983), emotional labor, the management of one's emotion(s) as a function of the job, "poses a challenge to a person's sense of self" (p. 136) by creating dissonance between an authentic expression of emotion and a required display. Clergy have been identified as having jobs that involve emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983; Wharton, 1993). Pastors minister to people who are often emotionally demanding and who have unrealistic expectations of how the pastor should interact with them. For example, pastors often listen to complaints individuals may have about how the church is run, and pastors are expected to actively listen, convey concern, and do so with great tact and diplomacy – even with chronic complainers. As a result, pastors may often have to mask their true feelings in order to fulfill the expectations that the church and the church members have of how a pastor should respond.

An interesting dynamic for clergy is that their job involves both a religious and a spiritual component. Religion is usually associated with an organization like church and is an external expression of one's faith (e.g., attending church), while spirituality reveals the connection between God and the individual (personal) (Bullis, 1996; Ellor, Netting, & Thibault, 1999). Issues of authenticity are especially salient in religious occupations, because acting with authenticity is a central aspect of both religion and spirituality (Giacolone & Jurkiewicz, 2003), and it may be more difficult to justify inauthenticity in a religious occupation as just "part of the job." For example, an airline attendant is expected to be nice to passengers. At times, the attendant may need to put on a fake smile in order to be nice to a passenger who is particularly demanding or exasperating. The attendant "acts" nice because it is a part of her job, even though she may not feel

like being nice. However, ministers may not feel that putting on an act to do the job is appropriate because they may be expected to model authentic faith. Thus there is a conflict when the perceived requirements of God, work, and self are not in alignment. How do clergy handle this conflict? How do they negotiate the tension between the expectations of God, work, parishioners, and self? What are the effects of this negotiation on clergy, and how does it influence how they see themselves? This dissertation seeks to understand the emotional and spiritual dimensions of pastors' work as well as how the standards of the denomination influence their role as pastor.

In this chapter, I will review the literature on emotional labor, identity, and spirituality in the workplace in order to show connections between authenticity and identity amongst clergy. In addition, I will consider why emotional labor amongst clergy is distinct from forms of emotional labor identified in other jobs and conclude with research questions to be examined.

### **Emotional Labor**

Prior to much of the recent work on emotion in the workplace, scholars from a variety of disciplines tended to privilege rational processes and behaviors within organizations such as decision-making and negotiations (Gouran & Hirokawa, 1996; Hirokawa, 1988; Lewicki & Litterer, 1985). While this line of research has been predominant for many years, scholars have also recently recognized the value of examining the ways in which emotion may influence processes, behaviors, and relationships within the workplace (Hochschild, 1983; Mumby & Putnam, 1992). Because the scholarship on emotion in organizations has grown considerably over the



last two decades, Miller, Considine, and Garner (2007) reviewed the literature and identified five types of emotion common to the workplace: emotional labor, emotional work, emotion with work, emotion at work, and emotion toward work. *Emotional labor* is the management of one's emotions as a function of the job, and it is often "perceived as inauthentic" (Miller et al., 2007, p.232). *Emotional work* is similar to emotional labor in that it is part of the job and must be managed; however, the emotion is not dictated by management and often involves more authentic emotional expressions. Emotion that relates to interaction with coworkers and ensuing relationships is called *emotion with work*. *Emotion at work* is when an individual experiences emotion outside the workplace but brings it to work (e.g., grieving the death of a loved one). Finally, *emotion toward work* is the emotion experienced about the job or work itself, such as job satisfaction. For the purposes of this project, I will expand on and review the literature on emotional labor.

Emotional labor, the management of one's emotions as a function of the job, has received growing attention since Hochschild's (1983) seminal work chronicling the emotional labor of flight attendants and bill collectors. A variety of workers involved in emotional labor have been considered in the research, including 911 call-takers (Shuler & Sypher, 2000; Tracy & Tracy, 1998), cruise-ship employees (Tracy, 2000), recreation-center workers (Haman, 2006), service attendants (Ashforth & Tomiuk, 2000), prison guards (Tracy, 2004), and firefighters (Scott & Myers, 2005). Research has examined the positive and negative results of performing emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983; Shuler & Sypher, 2000), the differences between emotional labor that calls for

expression of positive, negative, or neutral emotions (Hochschild, 1983; Scott & Myers, 2005; Shuler & Sypher, 2000), variations of emotional labor (Callahan & McCollum, 2002), and how emotional labor is discursively created (Haman, 2006). A review of Hochschild's work is needed to highlight how managing one's emotion as a requirement of the job has implications for authenticity and identity.

Hochschild (1983) argues that individuals often manage their feelings via surface or deep acting. Surface acting takes place when individuals feel the need to hide their true feelings and "put on an act" to mask those feelings. For example, while greeting people after a Sunday service, a pastor may encounter a parishioner who begins complaining about the choice of hymns. Instead of expressing his annoyance with yet another complaint by rolling his eyes, he is attentive, smiles, and asks what hymns she would like to sing in the future. The pastor is feeling annoyed, but hides his true feelings by masking his annoyance with a smile. He is engaging in surface acting, the regulation of emotional expression (Callahan, 2002; Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983).

Deep acting takes place when someone tries to convince herself that she feels a particular emotion and then expresses the emotion that has been conjured up. Nauta (2003) illustrates this well with an excerpt from the novel *Zionoco* (de Winter, 1995). Sol, a Jewish rabbi, is greeting people at the end of a funeral service with compassion, care, and attentive listening. He is embarrassed because he realizes he is just "acting" compassionate. So he begins to try to feel sad as if he is mourning the loss of a friend in order to truly appear sympathetic. In this situation, Sol is engaged in deep acting because he is consciously trying to modify his feelings so he can express the appropriate

emotions of genuine care, concern, and sympathy for the people attending the funeral. Surface acting and deep acting are two ways of managing emotion. Surface acting involves the regulation of the emotional expression, whereas deep acting requires the individual to consciously modify the feeling in order to display the desired emotion (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). However, how does an individual know what appropriate emotion should be displayed?

Feeling rules guide us about emotionally appropriate responses and behaviors in various contexts. It is acceptable to cry when a friend or loved one dies, to laugh at a joke, to cry for joy at a wedding or the birth of a baby, or to yell in support of your favorite sports team. Workplaces also have feeling rules. Often these emotional expression expectations are conveyed through training seminars, materials, and the observable behavior of coworkers. For example, in a study of a faith-based organization, one of the main job responsibilities of its employees was to engage in evangelism (Addison, 2008). However there were specific directives for how evangelism should be handled:

We should seek to make a prayerful, intelligent, aggressive presentation of the gospel to every living person...; ... show love. Be casual, friendly, warm, and speak with confidence. You don't need to impress people with your brilliance, but neither should you use a half-hearted, hesitant, negative approach that suggests, "I don't suppose you would like to become a Christian would, you?"; don't try to argue or high-pressure anyone into making a decision for Christ. (Addison, 2008, p.21)

Here we see clear expectations or feeling rules for the emotions an employee is to exhibit when engaging in evangelism. However, if the employee did not feel the way she was expected to feel, she may choose to manage her felt emotions via surface acting or deep acting. She may choose to smile and mask her “real” emotion in order to meet the organizational feeling rules or she may choose to consciously modify her “real” emotion so she would actually feel what the organization dictated.

When an organization regulates how employees should feel and their emotional communicative behavior directed toward customers, emotion becomes a resource that can be bought and, as Hochschild (1983) states, “used to make money” (p. 55). Emotion has become commodified. For example, Tracy (2000) talks about how cruise ship management, as well as passengers, dictated appropriate emotional behavior of cruise-line employees. The normative expectation for employees on the cruise ship was to always smile whether on or off the clock (feeling rule), because the management wanted passengers to have a good experience so they would take another cruise and bring their friends (Tracy, 2000). In this case, the organization has bought its employees’ emotional labor.

The following excerpt from Hochschild’s research with flight attendants (1983) reveals some of the questions that are raised when emotion becomes commodified:

When rules about how to feel and how to express feeling are set by management, when workers have weaker rights to courtesy than customers do, when deep and surface acting are forms of labor to be sold, and when private capacities for empathy and warmth are put to corporate uses, what happens to the way a person

relates to her feelings or to her face? When worked-up warmth becomes an instrument of service work, what can a person learn about herself from her feelings? And when a worker abandons her work smile, what kind of tie remains between her smile and her self? (p. 89-90)

These questions are important because they are related to workers' identities or how they define a sense of self. How a person answers these questions highlights the distinction between a "fake" or "authentic" version of self. According to Hochschild (1983), "emotional labor poses a challenge to a person's sense of self" (p. 136), which creates dissonance between what one may feel is authentic and what one must display to others.

Hochschild (1983) suggests that stress may develop when over time a person's feelings do not match the emotional display they are expressing: that is, when there is emotional dissonance. As a result, the person may try to really feel what they are displaying (deep acting), mask their true feeling by expressing the "appropriate" emotion (surface acting), or display their genuine feelings in order to reduce the stress that could result from "surface acting." As Hochschild (1983) states: "In surface acting, the expression on my face or the posture of my body feels 'put on.' It is not 'part of me.' In deep acting, my conscious mental work, ..., keeps the feeling that I conjure up from being part of 'myself'" (p. 36). Organizationally prescribed emotion management over time may result in the employee feeling they must suppress their "true" feelings, thus creating a sense that they are not being authentic or true to who they are as a person.

Scholars have extended Hochschild's work in an effort to provide additional insight about issues of authenticity and identity in emotional labor (Ashforth & Tomiuk,

2000; Erickson & Wharton, 1997; Fineman, 1993, 2000; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, 1989; Tracy, 2004; Tracy & Tracy, 1998; Wharton, 1993, 1999). For example, Wharton (1999) found that “it is the requirement that workers handle people well that increases feelings of inauthenticity—not merely the amount of interaction with people at work or contact with the public” (p. 166). Erickson and Wharton’s research (1997) highlights the connection between one’s occupational role, especially jobs that require good “people skills” and feelings of authenticity. Clergy may find this particularly relevant to their role as pastor. They interact a great deal with members of the congregation and the community in which they are situated. How they handle the people they interact with is critical because they are often viewed as a pillar in the community and are expected to handle various situations with people well. For instance, Lummis (2003) found that lay people wanted an “available, approachable, and warm pastor with ‘good people skills’” (p. 2). Specifically, both lay people and regional denominational leaders wanted to know that the pastor liked them (the congregation) and would care for them. The expectations are clear. Therefore, pastors know they must handle people well because of the expectations the denomination, the congregation, and even God have of those who are ministers. These expectations could lead to feelings of inauthenticity if pastors find they must engage in surface or deep acting in order to portray that they have good people-handling skills (Erickson & Wharton, 1997).

Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) argue that faking one’s emotions may not always be detrimental and that the outcome is dependent on whether or not the individual has internalized the workplace feeling rules. An employee who fakes in “good faith”

believes that displaying particular emotions is a valued part of the job, whereas someone who fakes emotions in “bad faith” believes that the feeling rules should not be part of the job (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). To illustrate, a nurse may mask his indifference towards a patient by acting concerned because he believes that communicating concern and care to patients is part of a nurse’s job. Thus, he is faking concern in “good faith”—he has agreed that this organizational emotion prescriptive is a legitimate norm for the job. However, Rafaeli and Sutton’s (1987) interview with a check-out clerk who “resented acting friendly to customers because pasting on a smile should not be part of the job” (p. 32) exemplifies acting in “bad faith.” Although emotional dissonance is possible in both “good faith” and “bad faith” acting, these scholars argue that emotional dissonance will be more apparent in “bad faith” faking because the employee does not agree with the organizational feeling rules (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1989).

Ashforth and Tomiuk (2000) developed this perspective further in their study of service agents and what aspects of their job made them feel authentic or inauthentic. They found that service agents felt they were their “true selves” at work, but it was also necessary to “act the part” in order to perform their job well. These findings led Ashforth and Tomiuk to suggest two levels of authenticity: surface authenticity and deep authenticity. Surface authenticity describes a situation in which the person’s feelings and expression of feelings are congruent. Deep authenticity takes place when the employee follows the organization’s feeling rules because they see the feeling rules as part of the job role/identity, regardless of how they actually feel at that given moment (Ashforth & Tomiuk, 2000). The relationship between authenticity, identity, and

emotional dissonance becomes more apparent as they discuss their findings. These scholars propose that if employees identify with their occupational role, they are engaging in deep authenticity, and if they agree with the workplace feeling rules and the emotions they feel and the emotions they express are congruent, then they are engaging in surface authenticity and emotional dissonance is absent. Employees may identify with the role (deep authenticity) and agree with the feeling rules, yet they may mask their true feelings in order to convey the organizational feeling rule norm because they believe it is a part of their job. Although they are engaged in surface inauthenticity, because their “real” feeling is not what they are conveying to the customer, they are faking in “good faith.” Emotional dissonance in this situation may be minimal because their acting supports their work identity. However, if employees identify with the role (deep authenticity) but do not agree with the organizationally prescribed feeling rules, even though they perform the appropriate emotional expression, they are acting in “bad faith” and are likely to experience more emotional dissonance.

Although the focus of these scholars has primarily been on issues of authenticity within emotional labor, they have also touched on issues related to identity. The very concept of authenticity implies that individuals have a true self or identity that is being supported or challenged by the way in which they manage their emotions within the workplace. The next section of this chapter, then, considers various approaches to understanding the concept of identity.



## **Identity**

Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) proposed that future research dealing with emotional labor should address the influence of identity and role in emotional labor processes. Several scholars have taken up this call, and there are differing ways in which these researchers approach or treat the concept of identity. For example, some view identity as an essential or stable sense of self (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996), while others argue (often from a theoretical base in Structuration Theory or postmodern theorizing) that individuals have multiple identities that shift and change depending on the situational context (Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998; Tracy & Tretheway, 2005).

Research on emotional labor in the workplace has typically focused on an essentialist view of identity that posits a stable sense of self (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Hochschild (1983) argues that our feelings are a means to finding our true self, and if organizations require us to mask our feelings and display organizationally appropriate feelings, our “real” self is obscured. She views emotions as “more real in private life before they fall under the sway of organizational norms” (Tracy, 2000, p. 97). These assumptions have led to subsequent research focusing on the emotional dissonance one feels when real emotion and identity are hidden by acting. The dichotomy of a real and fake self is perpetuated and reified in everyday life, because people often talk in terms of what makes them feel authentic or inauthentic to their sense of self with the assumption that identity is unified and stable.

In spite of the fact that Hochschild's perspective on emotion and identity has served as the basis for subsequent emotion labor studies, scholars have begun to note "possible problems with the notion of authenticity in terms of 'real' and 'fake' selves" (Miller et al., 2007, p. 256). For example, identities may change over time and some aspects of an individual's identity may be more apparent in certain contexts than others (Scott et al., 1998). Scholars have spent much time exploring the idea of self. Holstein and Gubrium (2000) provide an excellent review of approaches to the notions of self and identity throughout history. They propose that, instead of viewing ourselves as having an integrated self, we have multiple selves which emerge as our situational context shifts and changes. This view supports the idea that identity is socially constructed and that an individual may have more than one identity. Several organizational communication scholars have proposed alternative ways of examining identity, which accounts for the idea that individuals may enact more than one identity and their identity may shift depending on the context (Scott et al., 1998; Tracy & Tretheway, 2005). Tracy and Tretheway (2005) point out that the organizational literature provides support for the idea that an individual's identity is in flux as the individual creates, negotiates, and maintains various identities that are enacted within the workplace and that these identities are influenced through organizational discourses, organizational and societal rules, and interaction with others. In light of the evidence and support for multiple identities, this study will incorporate two theoretical frameworks that propose an alternative to viewing emotion and identity as a simple dichotomy between "real" and "fake." These two theoretical frameworks are the structural view of identity and

identification proposed by Scott, Corman, and Cheney (1998) and the postmodern approach to “crystallization of self” proposed by Tracy and Tretheway (2005).

### *Structurational Approach to Identity*

Organizational communication scholars have used Giddens’ (1979) Structuration Theory (ST) to examine the tension between action, structure, stability, and change within a system or organization. Structuration is “the process by which systems are produced and reproduced through members’ use of rules and resources” (Poole, Seibold, & McPhee, 1996, p. 117). Rules are the formulas or procedures that people use to get things done, such as knowing how to behave when attending church. Resources, both material (e.g., money) and immaterial (e.g., status), are what people use to get things done (Miller, 2005). To illustrate, when an Episcopalian priest is asked to visit someone in the hospital, certain practices (rules) are followed. The priest walks into the room, anoints the person with oil, blesses the person, and prays for healing. The oil, the prayer, the blessing, and even the priest’s clerical collar are the resources that the priest uses when visiting the sick (rules). The rules and resources produce and reproduce the social practice of what to expect when an Episcopalian priest makes a hospital visit. ST has been applied to the individual level, group level, and organizational level within organizational communication studies. For the purposes of this project, I will focus on the individual level, specifically as it relates to identity and identification.

Organizational identification is a communicative process that reveals an employee’s commitment, attachment, or sense of belonging to an organization (Cheney & Christensen, 2001; Larson & Pepper, 2003; Scott et al., 1998). A structurational view

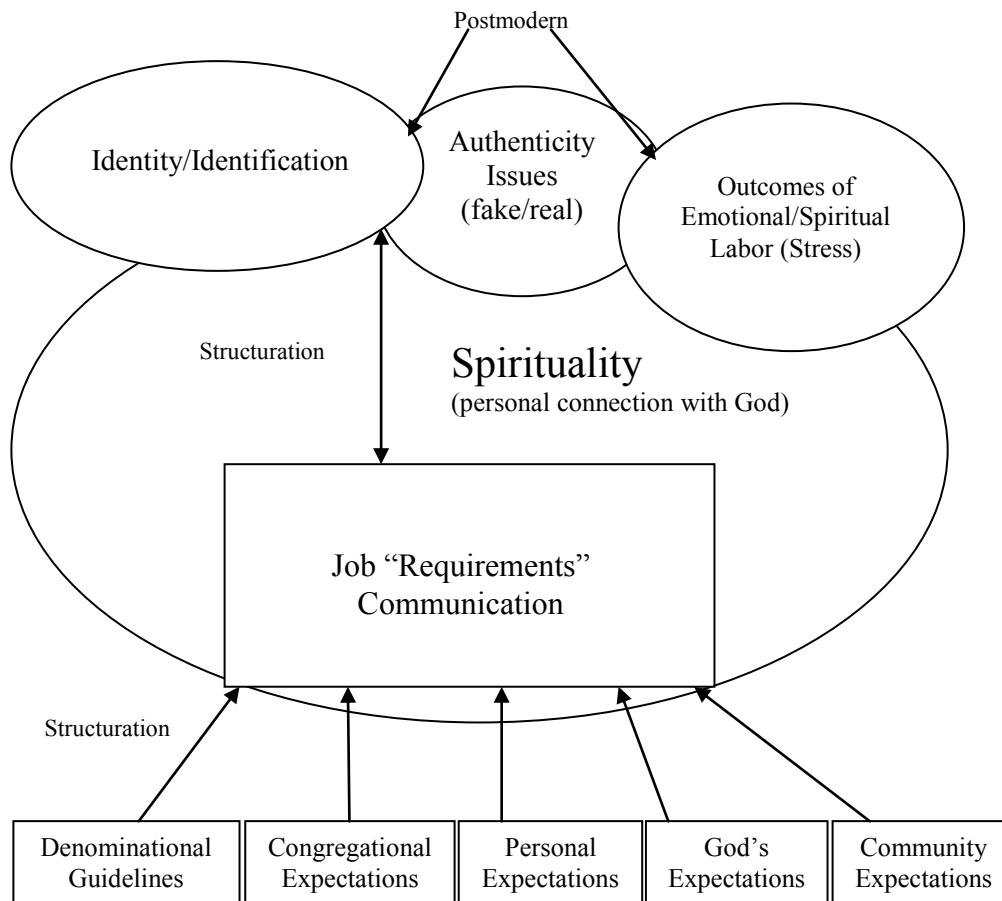
of identity (Scott et al., 1998) is one framework that is useful in understanding how identity and identification influence one another. Scott and colleagues (1998) argue that the multiple identities and identifications an individual may experience in an organization are influenced by both time and context. In addition, this theoretical framework addresses both the role of the individual in shaping identities (agency) and the social structures that influence the construction of identities (structures). Identity consists of the values, goals, and desires of an individual, whereas identification is the process by which identities emerge

Identity is composed of the structures (rules and resources) used to anchor who a person is at a particular time and in a specific context. The rules and resources that guide the social interaction and make up the identity are not only in the memory of the employee but in organizational rituals and texts, as well. These rules can include emotion display rules, such as “always maintain a professional distance with your students.” To illustrate, a graduate teaching assistant (GTA) draws on the rules (preparing lectures and activities for class, taking attendance, engaging students in class discussion, professional demeanor) and resources (Bachelor’s degree in education, previous teaching and work experience, technology, course director) that produce and reproduce her GTA identity. Further, by enacting her role as GTA, she reproduces the rules and resources on which she has drawn. When she takes attendance and stands in the front of the room to lecture, she reinforces this action as a part of what GTAs do (identity).

A structurational approach to identity also addresses the fact that people's identities are influenced by their membership in various groups, such as family, church, and work. Scott and colleagues (1998) argue that we enact identities specific to the context or group that we are engaged with at the moment, and typically these identities can be categorized as group, organizational, occupational, and personal. For example, a person's GTA identity is most prevalent when she is teaching or holding office hours, however, when she is at home with her husband, her identity as a wife is being enacted. The rules and resources (structures) for GTA and wife are different, and she will enact the identity that fits the context in which she finds herself. In summary, a structurational approach to identity and identification argues for multiple identities across situations as the counteracting forces of agency and constraint work together in the identification process.

A structurational approach to identity is important for my project for several reasons. First, this framework allows me to take into account the rules and resources that shape the clergy member's identity and thus influence his identification with the organization. For example, what rules (e.g., feeling rules) and resources are mentioned in denominational texts that the clergy must enact? What resources do the denomination, the pastor, the congregation, God, and possibly the community provide? How do God's expectations of a pastor shape his identity? How do the congregation's expectations shape his identity? How do his own expectations of what a pastor is shape his identity? What are the job responsibilities of the pastor and who communicates them? Second, this framework allows me to explore the identities that the pastor may

enact in various contexts of the job and how other identities may come into play and influence the identification process. For example, how does being an Episcopalian minister shape her identity (denominational system)? How does being the pastor of a particular church shape her identity (organizational system)? How does being a minister of God shape her identity (theological belief system)? How does being a single or married woman shape her identity as a pastor? Third, hearing how pastors talk about the church may provide insight into their level of attachment, as well as what may enhance or detract from their identification with the church. In addition, I can explore the systems that influence the identification process and shape the pastor's identity/identities. For example, congregational members, the denomination, God, and the community are a few of the structures that may influence a pastor's identity. This particular approach allows me to examine the processes of how identity and identification take place and the ensuing results (Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** Approaches to Identity and Identification

*Postmodern Approach to Identity*

Tracy adopts a Foucauldian perspective in her postmodern approach to identity and identification (Tracy 2000, 2004; Tracy & Tretheway, 2005). She summarizes Foucault’s arguments in the following statement: “the self is fragmented and constructed through a number of discourses; different selves emerge in contextually specific manners. The private self is no more real than the public self. ‘Real’ emotion is constructed in public, organizational forums” (Tracy, 2000, p. 99). Therefore, she

argues that emotional identity is constructed through the discourse and communication within an organization. In subsequent scholarship, she further develops the idea that it is actually the organizational discourse that fosters and creates the idea of someone being “real” or “fake” (Tracy & Tretheway, 2005).

This postmodern approach to identity views self as fragmented, shaped by a variety of discourses, and multiple in nature depending on the situational context (Tracy, 2000). According to Tracy and Tretheway (2005), “emotions and identity are more productively understood as neither real nor fake, but constructed and constrained through various discourses of power” (p. 175) which promote a preferred organizational identity. These discourses are produced by the organization and conveyed to employees. One would expect that the organization imposes this identity onto its employees; however, research reveals that employees often assume this identity volitionally (Horrocks & Callahan, 2006; Tracy, 2000). For example, Horrocks and Callahan (2006) found that some employees were “excellent at displaying exactly what the organization wanted” (p. 77) in order to convey that they were a model and/or perfect employee. They volitionally chose to assume the organizational preferred identity even though they may feel differently.

Tracy and Tretheway (2005) discuss two critical organizational discourses: managerialism and entrepreneurialism. Managerial discourses convey to employees an idealized view of someone who has control and money and is manifested when employees work hard to gain status, power, and more money. To illustrate, the pastor who embraces the purpose, vision, mission, and values of the church (organization) he



leads, may describe what he does and who he is in light of the church's vision. He has adopted the discourse and assumed the preferred identity of the church.

Entrepreneurial discourses promote a self who "is responsible and actively engaged in creating a new, better, self-motivated self" (Tracy & Tretheway, 2005, p. 176). For instance, a pastor who seeks out ways to enhance her preaching skills or develop her listening skills or who explores new ways of studying the Bible is following an entrepreneurial discourse.

Managerial and entrepreneurial discourses convey to employees that there is a preferred identity. These discourses may impinge on the employee's sense of self and as a result the employee may try to align his real self with the organizational ideal self. These discourses and the subsequent alignment of selves perpetuates the idea that there is a real and fake self and can be a means of organizational control as the employee aligns himself to prescribed norms. Tracy and Tretheway (2005) propose, instead, that scholars view identity as "crystallization of self" because there is evidence that people enact multiple identities and that these identities are created and recreated as organizational discourses shift and change. These discourses may shift due to the particular workplace context in which the employee is engaged at a particular moment, thus allowing for the concept of multiple work identities that are enacted in specific contexts. In addition, viewing identity as "crystallization of self" may free individuals up to appreciate and be comfortable with the particular identity or facet of self that is evident in a particular context.

The postmodern approach of crystallization of self is grounded in Foucault's ideas that self is fragmented and shaped by the discourses surrounding the individual (Tracy, 2000). Often organizational discourses foster and create ideas of being fake or real, and when an employee aligns her true self to the organizationally preferred self, this provides a means of organizational control. Using this approach to examine organizational discourses can reveal the preferred identity that a denomination and a congregation may have for its pastors. In addition, this approach allows me to examine how and if clergy volitionally align themselves with the ideal and even how they negotiate and talk about their identities

Both the structural and postmodern approaches to identity allow me to examine how identity and identification are influenced by various constituents and contexts (denominational guidelines, congregational expectations, God, and personal faith/spirituality), how authenticity is influenced by organizational discourses which affect both the identity and identification process of the clergy member, and how pastors deal with emotional and spiritual labor. Yet, each framework allows me to examine different aspects of those processes. A structural approach focuses on the duality of the identification process that involves "identities that create and are created by identifications, which are themselves observed in social interactions with others" (Scott et al., 1998, p. 298). I am able to examine how various systems (identification) create pastoral identities. In turn, the pastoral identities that are situational in nature create and influence the identification process. For example, denominational guidelines, congregational expectations, and even community expectations of a pastor serve as

means of creating, maintaining, and recreating himself based on his relationships with these systems. How he then talks about his interaction with others and the systems (denomination, congregation, community) that influence him sheds light on his attachment to the church he pastors. Eliciting pastor's narratives about their job and the roles they serve may provide insight into how they negotiate the numerous identifications with their church as well as reveal the ongoing construction and reconstruction of their identities (Figure 1).

The postmodern framework focuses on the power discourses within the organization that construct and constrain a worker's identity. I am able to look for the discourses within the organization that may come from the denomination, congregation, and community and see how they prescribe an "ideal" pastor and if the "ideal" varies with regards to the particular discourses that are in play in various contexts. In addition, I can explore the ways in which clergy embrace the ideal or resist the ideal by observing how they negotiate the tension between conflicting or competing discourses in the identity construction process. The framework also allows me to examine the stories and texts I gather to see if the pastor has embraced the ideal or is resisting and how a pastor might navigate the tension of resistance. These identity construction frameworks highlight the communicative nature of the creation of identifications and identities and support the idea that individuals have multiple identities that shift and change depending on the situational context.

Emotional labor scholars propose that organizationally prescribed emotion management over time may result in employees feeling they must suppress their "true"

feelings thus creating a sense that they are not being authentic. Thus, a good portion of the research on emotional labor has reinforced the real-fake dichotomy and the assumption that there is a stable sense of self. However, the scholars discussed above have proposed identity frameworks that account for multiple selves or identities that morph as the context changes. Crystallization of self and a structural view of identification and identity also account for multiple ways in which an organization exerts influence/power/control over the construction of an individual's identities. By the nature of their job, clergy are involved in both religious and spiritual activities. These activities represent systems (structural view of identity) that influence a pastor's identity, which in turn create a level of attachment or identification with the church. The religious and spiritual activities have discourses associated with them that may communicate a church's preferred identity for its pastor. In the next section, I will address the differences between religion and spirituality as well as the connection between the two concepts and how both inform our understanding of authenticity and identity amongst clergy.

### **Spirituality**

Interest in spirituality and organizations has grown over the last decade. Many researchers are quick to differentiate between religion and spirituality (Bullis, 1996; Canda & Furman, 1999; Ellor, Netting, & Thibault, 1999; Mitroff & Denton, 1999), arguing that "religion is organized and communal while spirituality is highly individual and intensely personal" (Mitroff & Denton, 1999, p. 88). Others would add that religion is usually associated with an organization and is an external expression of one's faith,

whereas spirituality reveals the connection between God and the individual (Bullis, 1996; Ellor, Netting, & Thibault, 1999). For example, religious expression of one's faith may include such activities as attending church, singing in the church choir, and serving on any number of church committees. Spirituality, or the personal side of one's faith, may be reflected in such practices as daily prayer, meditating on Scripture, fasting, or quietly providing for the needs of others. Although an individual's spirituality may compel him or her to join a church and vice versa, the two concepts are different in nature. A more thorough explanation of spirituality and its relationship to religion will aid in understanding how a minister's workplace, the church, and his/her connection to God may influence issues of identity and authenticity.

The scholarly literature on workplace spirituality highlights various ways in which spirituality is manifested (Giacolone & Jurkiewicz, 2003; Mitroff & Denton, 1999; Tisdell, 2003). Some of these include acting with authenticity, living out one's deep personal values, desiring to make a difference in the world, and believing that there is a purpose for one's life and living out that purpose (Giacolone & Jurkiewicz, 2003). These activities reflect the definition that Mitroff and Denton (1999) propose for spirituality: "the basic feeling of being connected with one's complete self, others and the entire universe" (p. 83). The ability to bring one's whole self to work is important to many and reflects the ideas of interconnectedness and authenticity. Tisdell (2003) argues that developing spirituality "constitutes moving toward greater authenticity or to a more authentic self" (p. xi). Acting with authenticity appears to be an important aspect of an individual's spirituality.

Mitroff and Denton's (1999) model for how organizations can be religious or spiritual considers the relationship between religion and spirituality. These scholars conducted interviews with executives from a variety of organizations to ascertain their views on religion, spirituality, and whether or not spirituality was relevant in the workplace. They found that people had differing orientations toward religion and spirituality, which subsequently influenced their views on the relevance of spirituality in the workplace. Based on the orientations towards religion and spirituality, Mitroff and Denton (1999) identified five models of how organizations can be religious or spiritual: 1) religious-based, 2) evolutionary, 3) recovering, 4) socially responsible, and 5) values-based (Mitroff & Denton, 1999). The relevance of spirituality in the workplace is different in each of these models. The religious-based model has two possible orientations towards religion and spirituality. One orientation involves a positive view of both religion and spirituality with the notion that one's spirituality is developed through religion. The second orientation reflects a positive view of religion, but a negative view of spirituality where the focus is the religious life as evidenced through the rituals and practices of a specific religion. The remaining four models do not have a positive orientation toward religion and the orientation toward spirituality falls along a positive–negative continuum. For the purposes of this study, I have categorized churches as religious-based with a positive view towards spirituality.

Mitroff and Denton (1999) also point out that each type of spiritual or religious organization will use other texts besides typical business school texts to guide their organization's principles and practices. Many churches in the Judeo-Christian tradition

choose to use the Bible as their guide for personal and business practices. For example, a pastor may be encouraged that, “Whatever you do, work at it with all your heart, as working for the Lord, not for men ...” (*The Holy Bible*, 1986, p. 1040). This biblical text then becomes a part of the organizational discourse that shapes the feeling rules of the organization (church). The pastor is to perform her job with abandon for the Lord. She is reminded that God is watching her performance and that others expect the pastor to live up to God’s mandate as communicated through the Bible. Additionally, if the individual believes that this text is the word of God, then this discourse directs behavior and emotion at a personal level as well. Religion and spirituality are both implicated in this example as the organization uses the Bible to prescribe the norm for how a pastor should do her job and the pastor may personally believe this mandate should be reflected in her life.

Religion and spirituality are both relevant to this dissertation because I am looking at issues of individual spirituality (and authenticity regarding that spirituality), but I will look at these personal constructs through the prism of religious organizations, specifically the church. Examining this dual focus from a structurational approach to identification and identity is ideal because it takes into account both individual agency and the structures (rules and resources) that enable and constrain that agency. To illustrate, identity consists of a person’s core beliefs, assumptions, and values of who they are and a person’s spirituality makes up part of the person’s identity. Identification is the interaction that reveals a person’s attachment to the religious organization. The organization, in this case the church, often communicates norms for how pastors should

act and who they are through training materials, like the Biblical passage mentioned above. Both the personal/spiritual and the religion-based organization influence the formation of the pastor's identity, which in turn impacts the identification process of the pastor. The influence of religion and spirituality on authenticity and identity is also helpful when utilizing a postmodern approach to identity. Earlier I pointed out how becoming more authentic is important in the development of spirituality and is similar to entrepreneurial discourses that say an employee should strive to become a better self. Therefore, if the church's entrepreneurial discourse includes the idea that pastors should grow in their spirituality, it implies that they are becoming more authentic. Identifying and examining the church's (religion) discourses can shed insight about the "preferred ideal" pastor. How the pastor conforms to the ideal is of interest, as well as how the pastor negotiates the tension if the "preferred ideal" differs from her own sense of what it means to be a pastor. Thus, the communal based concept of religion and the personal nature of spirituality are important to this study because they reveal how both the organizational and personal aspects of a person's work influence authenticity and identity. These concepts fit well with both the structural view of identity and the postmodern approach to identity.

In this next section, I will provide support for the argument that clergy are involved in emotional labor and then consider the ways in which emotional labor amongst pastoral staff is distinct from forms of emotional labor identified in other occupations and jobs.



### **Religion, Emotional Labor, and Identity**

Clergy are involved in providing service and care to people in a variety of ways. In fact, a basic principle of most religious organizations is the focus on providing support and service to those in their community (Bullis, 1996; Canda & Furman, 1999; Ellor, Netting & Thibault, 1999). Pastoral responsibilities are many and varied and can often be divided into the following categories: pastoral care, church administration, denominational obligations, community service, personal development, and teaching (Forward, 2000; Kay, 2000; Perl, 2002). Pastors must prepare sermons, give sermons, lead worship, teach Bible classes, and facilitate small groups. Pastoral care responsibilities may include counseling, helping others deal with conflict, visiting and comforting those who are distressed or sick, praying with people, helping people deal with loss and death, and leading support groups. Pastors are also involved with budget planning, church administration, and supervising staff. Attending enrichment classes, personal Bible study, and prayer are part of their personal spiritual development. Many pastors also have to fulfill responsibilities as assigned by the denomination. In addition, they may have community obligations such as being the chaplain for the fire department. Further, many clergy have the potential to be “on call” 24/7 (or to at least perceive that responsibility) and to feel that they live in a fishbowl or glass house for all to see (Hill, Darling, & Raimondi, 2003; Rayburn, 1991; Rayburn, Richmond, & Rogers, 1986). Clergy have a multitude of responsibilities and, as many scholars and pastors have noted, these responsibilities can be overwhelming and stressful (Hang-yue, Foley & Loi, 2005; Lee, 2007; Miner, 2007a).

Pastors are also subject to expectations from multiple sources such as their congregation, the denomination, the community, God, and even self (Beebe, 2007; Hang-yue, Foley, & Loi, 2005; Jones, 2000; Kay, 2000; Meek et al., 2003; Nauta, 2003; Rayburn, 1991). Congregational expectations are readily acknowledged as a source of stress and burnout for pastors (Beebe, 2007; Rayburn, 1991). Many congregations expect pastors to fulfill their role to perfection and meet their emotional demands, including being available whenever needed (Beebe, 2007; Lee, 2007; Meek et al., 2003). In many cases, although not all, churches fall under the direction of specific denominational guidelines or a governing body. Therefore, the pastor and the way in which he leads the church are influenced by the basic tenets, values, and beliefs of the denomination (Hang-yue, Foley, & Loi, 2005; Rayburn, 1991). For example, when Methodist ministers are ordained they are expected to abide by *The Book of Discipline* (2004) of the United Methodist Church. *The Book of Discipline* (2004) states that self-avowed practicing homosexuals cannot be ordained or appointed as ministers within the United Methodist Church. Therefore a United Methodist minister is not free to pursue romantic relationships with someone of the same sex, and, if they do so, their clergy credentials will be revoked and they will no longer be recognized as a United Methodist minister. If they still desire to be a minister, they must seek opportunities with denominations that allow homosexual relationships in order to fulfill their desires.

The community that the pastor resides in may also have expectations of the pastor's involvement and the manner in which she conducts herself (Hill, Darling, Raimondi, 2003; Perl, 2002). Ministers also refer to the expectations that they feel God

has of them, especially as it relates to their call to ministry (Lee, 2007). Jones (2000) stated that pastors described their call to vocation as a “sense of responding to God’s specific and determined will for their life” (p. 14). Self-imposed expectations are also evident in pastors’ lives (Kay, 2000; Rayburn, 1991). For example, Rayburn (1991) found that some female clergy felt they must excel at their job more than men to feel worthy of their call. Expectations of clergy often come from the denomination, the congregation, personal convictions, God, and the community. Each source may have a different “ideal” of who the pastor should be and what she should do. The minister is having to navigate the expectations/feeling rules of the church, congregation, God, community, and the individual while performing the pastoral job and this can be stressful and lead to burnout (Beebe, 2007; Kay, 2000; Miner, 2007a).

The job responsibilities of clergy, as well as the number of sources that have expectations of clergy, reflect the characteristics that Hochschild (1983) uses to describe occupations that entail emotional labor: 1) people-to-people contact, 2) the employee is responsible for generating an organizationally prescribed emotion in the client, and 3) the organization exerts control over its employee’s display of emotion. Ministers are involved in serving people, they are responsible for generating prescribed emotion from the congregation, denomination, God, and community, and each of these constituents exerts some control over the pastor’s display of emotion. Hang-yue and colleagues (2005) describe clergy work as “‘people intensive’, emotionally demanding, and may leave the individual worker feeling drained and exhausted” (p. 2134). Clergy are engaged in emotional labor and, as described above, this emotional labor has the

potential to lead to stress and burnout. Although no direct connections between clergy stress, burnout, and emotional labor have been drawn, the implications are evident in the literature exploring stress and burnout among clergy.

Numerous studies have been conducted in an effort to understand the stress clergy often experience, as well as to suggest ways of coping with or avoiding burnout (Meek et al., 2003; Randall, 2004; Stanton-Rich & Iso-Ahola, 1998). Burnout is a psychological condition that results from prolonged work-related stress, and it consists of three dimensions: emotional exhaustion, depersonalization, and a lessened sense of personal accomplishment (Maslach, 1982). These dimensions relate specifically to the negative results of engaging in emotional labor. Depersonalization involves a shift from caring for the people one serves to becoming emotionally disengaged and cynical. For example, a pastor may become overwhelmed over time by the problems of those he serves on a day-to-day basis. Instead of responding with compassion and care, he may find ways to avoid interacting with people and when he does interact he may respond with emotive outbursts or in an impersonal manner as if he does not care. Emotional exhaustion is defined as a wearing out or depletion of emotional energy as a result of interacting with people on a day-to-day basis in the context of their job (Miller, Ellis, Zook, & Lyles, 1990). A lessened sense of personal accomplishment may be a result of emotional exhaustion, cynicism, or a combination of the two (Maslach, 1982). For instance, a pastor who has had to deal with multiple staffing crises that deeply affect her congregation may grow very weary of handling the fallout and feel that she has failed to do her job adequately. In addition, if a pastor is experiencing dissonance between what

she feels and what she needs to convey to others, the “uphill battle” to put on a “happy face” may result in reduced self-efficacy. These types of responses are congruent with Hochschild’s description of the negative consequences of emotional labor.

Studies indicate that clergy burnout can be traced to personality and psychological factors (Golden, Piedmont, Ciarrochi, & Rodgeron, 2004; Miner, 2007a, 2007b; Randall, 2007) and role conflict (Beebe, 2007; Forward, 2000; Hang-yue, Foley, & Loi, 2005; Kay, 2000; Kemery, 2006; Rayburn, 1991; Rayburn, Richmond, & Rogers, 1986). Golden and colleagues (2004) found that clergy who feel less intimate with God are more likely to experience burnout. Miner (2007b) found that individuals whose personal religious beliefs were not integrated with their religious vocational beliefs were more vulnerable to burnout. Interestingly, Miner (2007a) also found that clergy who never engaged in a period of questioning their religious beliefs or had low levels of internal motivation for ministry were more vulnerable to burnout.

Issues of authenticity and the influence on one’s identity on the burnout process for clergy are evident in this research, although not explicitly addressed. Specifically, the alignment between one’s spirituality and religious vocational beliefs illustrate that identity and identification processes may influence the extent to which pastors are susceptible to burnout. For example, the development of one’s spirituality, which implies striving to become more authentic, is important to clergy and appears to be a necessary area for development in order to avoid stress and possibly burnout (Golden et al., 2004; Meek et al., 2003; Miner, 2007b). The church/denomination which encompasses the religious vocational beliefs of a clergy also has directives with regards

to how a clergy should enact his role. If a mismatch occurs between the pastor's personal spiritual beliefs and the denominational beliefs, this incongruence might result in stress or burnout.

Rayburn's study (1991) of clergywomen coping with stress also alludes to emotional labor. Rayburn (1991) found in a sample of nuns, female rabbis, and female clergy that the clergywomen were more likely to experience stress and depression than men. Although these women were serving in denominations that ordain female pastors, their congregations and male peers often were not accepting of their pastoral role. Some female clergy expressed resentment towards congregants who would not accept communion from them. However, these women kept their anger and resentment hidden in order to fulfill their pastoral duties in the manner they believed was required by the denomination and God. Emotional dissonance and stress is evident as one sees that these women were masking their true feelings in light of the organizationally derived emotion rules.

A recent study by Nauta (2003) further addresses the emotional dissonance that pastors experience when they feel inauthentic while performing pastoral duties. For ministers, acting authentically is a desire of the church/organization, the congregation served, the individual, and God. Nauta (2003) argues that one way in which pastors can handle feelings of inauthenticity that arise is to allow themselves some distance between the role of pastor and their person. This sounds strikingly similar to Hochschild's (1983) assessment of how to avoid burnout from emotional labor: "the essential problem is how to adjust one's self to the role in a way that allows some flow of self into the role but

minimizes the stress the role puts on the self” (p. 188). Although Nauta does not specifically talk about the emotional labor of pastors, it is evident that issues related to authenticity are salient.

Although research on burnout amongst clergy has been conducted, direct connections to emotional labor have not been made. The literature that focuses on these occupations does address the desire of clergy to be authentic, how to avoid burnout, and how to support pastors so they do not leave their jobs, all of which I believe have some connection to emotional labor (Meek et al., 2003; Nauta, 2003; Randall, 2004; Stanton-Rich, Iso-Ahola, 1998). What makes the study of emotional labor amongst pastoral staff unique is the multiple levels of feeling rules an employee must negotiate: 1) the denomination, 2) the congregation, 3) God, 4) the community, and 5) the pastor’s personal spirituality/faith. Clergy are engaged in emotional labor, and their faith (spirituality) adds another dimension to emotional labor. On one level pastors are dealing with authenticity as it relates to the job and the church’s feeling rules, yet they are also dealing with authenticity in their relationship with God in the context of their job. Thus, emotional labor amongst clergy is multi-dimensional. The church/organization demands that an individual be authentic, the congregation demands authenticity, the person’s spirituality/faith encourages authenticity, and God is believed to desire authenticity. Inauthenticity may not be seen as an option for pastoral staff.

Ministers have jobs that entail emotional labor, but some may argue that clergy have jobs that also involve spiritual labor. McGuire’s (2006) recent study on parochial boarding school teachers introduces the concept of “spiritual labor, the commodification,

codification, and regulation of organizational members' spirituality" (p. 11). She examined the ways in which the organization prescribed norms for how teachers should enact their spirituality and the effects of those prescriptions on the individual.

Dissonance was experienced if a teacher did not ascribe to or practice specific beliefs, yet appeared compliant (McGuire, 2006, p. 11). Although emotional labor and spiritual labor may appear similar, McGuire (2006) argues that spiritual labor is distinct from emotional labor in several ways. Hypocrisy and guilt appeared to be more salient in spiritual labor than emotional labor. She also maintains that "the dissonance in spiritual labor is more nuanced in that 'expression' and 'experience' of spirituality is not as easily defined or observed" (p. 306) as dissonance in emotional labor. Finally, she argues that emotional dissonance does not involve the core beliefs and values that spiritual dissonance does.

Although I agree that someone's spirituality can be regulated by an organization, I question the extent to which spiritual labor and emotional labor are distinct from one another. For example, because ministers are engaged in jobs that involve both religion and spirituality, the church's feeling rules would be expected to be spiritual in nature. To illustrate, suppose one of the expectations of the church is that its pastor would love God and people. This expectation is one of the tenets of Christianity and would be expected to be a part of the job description for someone whose job is to minister to others. Thus, the regulation of one's spirituality in a religious-based organization can be seen as a form of emotional labor. The discourse from the church that conveys the way an ideal pastor should behave will include components of regulating spiritual and



emotional displays. Additional research is needed to tease out how and if the concepts of spiritual and emotional labor are distinct or enmeshed. It is important to investigate the extent to which an individual's faith adds another dimension to the concept of emotional labor, especially for those working in a religious-based organization such as a church.

### **Summary and Research Questions**

This chapter began by raising the question of what happens when, as a pastor of a church, your behaviors and communication contradict your emotions and you feel you are putting on an act for God. To begin addressing this issue, the literature on emotional labor and its connections to authenticity and identity was reviewed. Emotional labor involves employees conforming to organizational feeling rules through surface or deep acting. Over time stress may develop when the person's feelings do not match the emotional display they are expressing and this, according to Hochschild (1983), presents a challenge to the individual being true to one's self or being authentic. Emotional labor influences and affects organizational members' identities.

Although much of the research on emotional labor focuses on an authentic-inauthentic dichotomy, scholars have proposed identity frameworks that account for multiple identities that shift as the context changes. A structural approach to identity and the postmodern approach to identity can account for the myriad of ways in which an organization exerts control over the construction of an individual's identities in the workplace. The structural approach focuses on the duality of the identification process in which identities both create and are created by identifications via social

practices with others (Scott et al., 1998). The postmodern framework focuses on power discourses within the organization that construct and constrain an employee's identities.

A unique aspect of the pastoral role is the involvement of both religion and spirituality. Religion is an external expression of one's faith, whereas spirituality reveals the connection between God and the individual (Bullis, 1996; Ellor, Netting, & Thibault, 1999). An important component of spirituality is the idea that one is becoming more authentic (Tisdell, 2003). The communal-based concept of religion and the personal nature of spirituality are important because they reveal how both the organizational and personal aspects of a person's work impacts authenticity and identity. It is the intersection of the religious and spiritual aspects of ministers' jobs that make it of particular interest. Therefore, I would like to examine the following questions:

RQ1: How do pastors negotiate tensions of authenticity and identity in their work?

RQ2: How do pastors describe the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their work?

RQ3: How do denominational texts address issues of spiritual and emotional labor and the pastor's role? What implications do these denominational texts have in the enablement and constraint of identity and authenticity for pastors?

RQ4: Do pastors believe they are enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs?

In the next chapter, I will discuss the methodological approaches I used for examining these questions, describe my research participants, and explain the data analysis procedures. In Chapter III, I will discuss the results and findings of my research

and the final chapter will address implications of the results, limitations, and future research ideas.

## CHAPTER II

### RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

My interest in this project stems from my own experience working with a religious-based organization. I began examining issues of authenticity, identity, and emotional labor in faith-based organizations for a previous research project, in which I was able to perform a textual analysis of the training materials for all new employees and identify how employees were socialized to conform to emotional labor/spiritual labor norms and how authenticity was promoted and/or compromised in the process of socialization (Addison, 2008). Although I was able to identify some clear patterns in these materials, something was missing. I realized I needed to talk to employees in order to find out how they made sense of the emotional labor and spiritual labor norms and if they felt those norms promoted and/or compromised authenticity. In addition, few studies related to clergy have included interviews with the clergy. Thus, I have chosen to approach this project by interviewing clergy and conducting a textual analysis of the different governing denominational bodies' tenets. By considering both the discourse of individual pastors and the denominational texts that enable and constrain their beliefs and their performances, I will be able to more fully consider issues of emotional labor, spiritual labor, identity, and authenticity through the theoretical lenses of Structuration Theory and the "crystallized self" as outlined in Chapter I.

My methodological approach to this dissertation project could be described as a theoretically informed phenomenological approach (Schutz, 1967). Schutz (1967) proposed that understanding the lived experience of others would allow us to gain

insight into our social world. He also suggests that understanding the lived experience of others takes place when we interact with others, which is one reason I chose to interview clergy. The purpose of my study is to understand the lived experience of clergy as it specifically relates to identity, authenticity, emotional labor, and spiritual labor.

This chapter begins with an explanation of my choice of using participant interviews for this project. This will be followed by a description of the research participants and interview process as well as an explanation of how I analyzed the interview data. Then I will transition to the textual analysis portion of my project. This discussion will include a justification for examining denominational texts, how I decided which texts to examine, and the process I used to analyze the texts.

### **Interviews**

Interviews provide researchers with an opportunity to understand a participant's experience, perspective, and the meanings of their lived world (Kvale, 1996; Lindloff & Taylor, 2002). Inviting participants to tell their stories as they relate to particular topics gives others an eye into their world. Stories or narratives serve a variety of functions, such as sensemaking, conveying and constructing one's identity, justifying choices, persuading others, mobilizing others to action, and building community (Riessman, 2008; Sharf & Vanderford, 2003). The functions of sensemaking and identity creation were particularly relevant to this project and were the reason I chose to conduct interviews and ask pastors to tell me their stories. To illustrate, narratives are about meaning and serve a meaning-making function when ruptures are experienced in the

context of one's life (Bruner, 1990). For a pastor, disruptions in life can come in the form of conflict with parishioners or the possible dissonance experienced if there is disagreement with the tenets of the denomination. Analysis of the narratives of clergy provided me with the opportunity to see how tensions are negotiated in a variety of contexts. In addition, narratives reveal how an individual forms or reshapes identity (Sharf & Vanderford, 2003). Because narratives reveal how a person makes sense of their lived experience and the re-creation of their identity, this seemed like the natural methodological choice. Interviewing participants permitted me to explore in-depth how clergy made sense of negotiating the authentic–inauthentic tension as well as how organizational constraints influence the identities they enact. Through the use of narrative interviewing, I hoped to gain insight into the following research question—RQ1: How do pastors negotiate tensions of authenticity and identity in their work? In addition, these narratives in conjunction with the textual analysis address RQ3: How do pastors describe the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their work and RQ4: Do pastors believe they are enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs?

### *Research Participants*

Purposive or purposeful sampling allowed me to select participants “who can provide unique insight into the culture, people, and communication behavior being examined” (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000, p. 264). My sample crossed denominational lines within Protestant Christianity because I felt it would provide important insight into how denominational strictures may influence emotional/spiritual labor, identity,

identification, and authenticity. In addition, many of the studies that have been done on clergy burnout have tended to focus on a single denomination or faith tradition (Forward, 2000; Kay, 2000; Kemery, 2006; Miner, 2007a, 2007b; Randall, 2004, 2007). The studies that spanned denominational lines were more robust, and differences between denominations were noted (Beebe, 2007; Rayburn, 1991; Rayburn, Richmond, & Rogers, 1986). However, I decided to limit my study to Christian (Catholic and Protestant) denominations because this enabled more direct comparisons among specific denominations.

Religious research most often categorizes Christian denominations as Catholic and Protestant with Protestant denominations being classified along a fundamentalist to liberalism continuum (Smith, 1990; Sullins, 2004). Typically, Protestant denominations can be divided into three categories; 1) Fundamentalists, 2) Moderates, and 3) Liberals. Smith (1990) provides characteristics of each category, which I used in determining where the denomination should be placed along the continuum, though there is undoubtedly a great deal of variance among specific congregations within this category system. This classification system draws on previous schemes developed by earlier scholars and includes the following: 1) examining affiliations with liberal, moderate, or conservative inter-church associations; 2) examining the beliefs of both the clergy and congregational members; and 3) examining the theological orientation of the church based on its standard reference works. The categories are quite broad, and there is a good deal of variance within the categories. Churches were placed along the continuum depending on where they fell with regards to their belief in Biblical inerrancy; how

orthodox their beliefs were on God, Jesus, the devil, and life after death; their beliefs about being “born again”; and their beliefs on social issues such as abortion, homosexuality, and the death penalty. Churches that were more orthodox in their beliefs, such that they felt being “born again” was extremely important, believed in the inerrancy of the Bible, and were opposed to abortion and homosexuality, were categorized as fundamentalist/conservative. Churches that focused more on social justice issues than salvation, that did not hold to a literal interpretation of Scripture, and were more accepting of science were classified as liberal. Churches categorized as moderate fell between the two ends of the continuum. For example, a church categorized as moderate may hold to the inerrancy of the Bible, but accept broader interpretations of Scripture and be moderately involved in social justice/welfare issues within the community.

Before conducting any interviews, I created a chart of where I felt the various denominations and churches would fall along the conservative to liberal continuum. I found information about specific denomination’s positions on critical issues on their websites to make my initial categorization. In the case of churches that did not fall under a denomination, I used information I found on their websites related to issues of inerrancy of Scripture, social issues, and perspective on being “born again.” I categorized churches according to denomination taking into account that some churches may belong to a different Synod within the denomination which would affect their placement along the continuum (see Table 1). Adjustments were made when it became clear during the interview that the church best fit in another category. For example, one



minister addressed the transition that his church recently went through when the church broke ties with one denomination to move under the leadership of another denomination. I also created this chart for the purpose of ensuring that I had a fairly even number of interviews amongst the three categories.

**Table 1** Classification of Denominations on Conservative to Liberal Continuum

<b>Conservative</b>	<b>Moderate</b>	<b>Liberal</b>
Church of Christ	Anglican-AMiA Rwanda	Disciples of Christ
Evangelical Free	Antiochian Orthodox	Episcopal-US
Lutheran-Wisconsin Synod	Lutheran-Missouri Synod	Lutheran-ELCA
Nondenominational	United Methodist	Presbyterian-PCUSA
Southern Baptist		United Church of Christ
United Baptist		

After categorizing the churches along the liberal to conservative continuum, I asked a colleague to examine my categorization of the churches for reliability purposes. I wrote descriptions for each category along the continuum and gave that information along with a summary of the denomination's positions to my colleague and asked her to place the churches in one of the three categories (Appendix A). In the case of the nondenominational churches, I provided a summary of the churches' positions on various issues as reference for how to classify them. My colleague's categorization of the churches corresponded with the way in which I categorized the churches with the exception of one. She mentioned that the particular denomination was difficult to place, and so I provided further information about the denomination as well as an excerpt from

the interview that I felt would be helpful. After hearing the additional information, she agreed with my choice of where to place the denomination.

Upon receiving approval from the university Institutional Review Board, I began to identify possible research participants through a consideration of the local newspaper (paper and website), the Yellow Pages in the local telephone book, and contacts I had in other communities across a large southern state and the United States. A letter or email (Appendix B) was sent to sixty-nine clergy introducing myself, explaining the nature of the project, and stating that each pastor would receive a follow-up phone call from me requesting their participation. They were also given the option of emailing me to indicate their willingness to participate. My goal was to interview between twenty and thirty pastors.

Within a few days of the initial mailing, several pastors had emailed me about their desire to participate. The pastors I talked with when setting up interview appointments were very willing to help. Nine of the pastors were either working on or had completed their Ph.D. or Th.M., so they understood the process of conducting research. I set up twenty-nine interviews and conducted a total of twenty-seven. The other two scheduled interviews did not take place due to a miscommunication about the time and because the mother-in-law of one pastor died the day the interview was scheduled. I was unable to reschedule those interviews.

The majority of the research participants (21) were from a mid-sized town in a large southern state, three were from larger cities in a large southern state, while three others hailed from various locations along the East Coast. Five participants were women

and twenty-two were men. They ranged in age from twenty-eight to sixty-five and they had been pastors from between one year and thirty-three years. I tried to have a racially diverse sample, but found that access to predominantly Hispanic and African-American churches was difficult to obtain. This may have been due to the fact that many pastors of predominantly Hispanic and African-American churches hold full-time jobs in addition to pastoring the church, so their time is extremely limited. I sent letters to eight pastors of Hispanic descent and ten African-American pastors. The one African-American pastor, two Hispanic pastors, and twenty-four Caucasian pastors were a highly educated group (see Table 2 for participant demographics). Two have Bachelor degrees, nineteen have obtained their Masters, and six have a Ph.D. or a Th.M. One pastor has a law degree since she practiced law before entering the clergy while another was a university professor with a Ph.D. before he became a minister. Some of these participants began their job as pastor in their 20s, whereas others made mid-career changes in order to become a pastor. I was very deliberate in my attempt to include an equal number of pastors from each religious category (conservative, moderate, and liberal). I interviewed ten conservative, seven moderate, and ten liberal clergy. Although I contacted nine priests about this study, I was unable to obtain an interview with a Catholic priest. The five I talked to about the interview were gracious, but indicated they did not have time for an interview. This may have been due to the fact that there is a nationally recognized shortage of priests so they have additional constraints on their time (Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, 2009). As a result, my sample was made up of Protestant Christians and did not include Catholic

Christians. The interviews on average lasted fifty minutes. All but one of the interviews were taped using a digital voice recorder. I took notes during the interview in which the participant did not want to be recorded. The interviews were completed within a three-month window.

**Table 2** Clergy Demographics

<b>Age</b>	
20-29	1
30-39	4
40-49	9
50-59	12
60-69	1
<b>Sex</b>	
Male	22
Female	5
<b>Race</b>	
African-American	1
Caucasian	24
Hispanic	2
<b>Education</b>	
Bachelor	2
Masters	19
Th.M./Ph.D.	6
<b>Entered Pastorate</b>	
Straight out of college	20
MidCareer	7
<b>Years as Pastor</b>	
1-9	12
10-19	5
20-29	6
30-39	4
<b>Vocation</b>	
Full-time	24
Bivocational	3

Upon completion of the interviews, I began transcribing the interviews. Twenty of the interviews were transcribed by me, and the other seven were transcribed professionally after I received a small grant to support my research. When I checked the professionally transcribed interviews, I noticed some discrepancies between the transcription and the audio recording. The discrepancies seemed to be a result of the spiritual nature of the conversation, so I listened to all seven of the interviews and cleaned up the discrepancies (e.g., “doctoral” was changed to “doctrinal”, etc...). I made the choice to transcribe the interview so that the pauses and “messy talk” was left intact (Riessman, 2008). I did this because those pauses and fillers often indicated the need for the interviewee to think about and contemplate how they would answer the question, issues that had possible relevance for my analysis. I also noted in the transcripts where laughter occurred, emphasis was made, and other contextual notations that were germane to the interview (e.g., whispering or closing a door to avoid being overheard). The interviews resulted in 310 single-spaced pages of transcription and twelve pages of single-spaced field notes.

### *Participant Interviews*

Eighteen interviews were conducted in pastors’ offices, which afforded me an opportunity to observe their work environment. The majority of pastors had a wall of bookshelves, and one even had an outboard motor for a boat sitting on a shelf. Pictures of family members and of groups of people were placed on walls, shelves, and desks or were the screen savers on their computers. Often pastors would point to these pictures in reference to something they were sharing during the interview. Several of the interviews

were interrupted by phone calls pertaining to church business or family matters.

Although there were a few interruptions, the pastors were relatively undistracted and appeared to enjoy talking about various aspects of their jobs.

Three pastors asked to meet with me in a public setting because their offices were difficult to locate or they did not have an office. We met at a place of their choosing. Meeting in a restaurant or in the commons area of a local university was a challenge on several levels. The ambient noise concerned me because I was afraid the digital recorder would be unable to pick up voices. However, upon reviewing the recordings after the interviews, I found each interview could be clearly heard. Another challenge I anticipated when we met in a public setting involved the interviewees' comfort in answering questions if they thought they might be overheard. This concern was unwarranted as each of the ministers candidly answered the questions.

Six interviews were conducted over the phone because of distance and/or interviewee preference. Most pastors scheduled the phone interview during regular business hours. I talked with one pastor as she ate lunch between the appointments she had scheduled for her "regular" job. Another pastor talked to me from his home while sitting in front of the fireplace with his family. The phone interviews tended to be about 15 minutes shorter than the face-to-face interviews.

I began the interviews by reviewing the informed consent form, asking if they were comfortable with being recorded, and obtaining their signature. Several pastors asked for clarification of who would see or hear the interview, and I assured them that the study was confidential and that they would not be identified by name or identifiable

characteristics in any transcripts, written reports, professional presentations, or publications associated with the study. One pastor was clearly uncomfortable with my recording the interview and declined to be recorded, so I took copious notes and transcribed those as quickly as possible after the interview. After each interview, I took time to write down my impressions and thoughts. I also included in my field notes a brief description of their office and what they were wearing because I felt these reflected aspects of their identity as well.

Several pastors asked me about my dissertation and why I was interested in studying pastors. This allowed me to share my previous work experience with Campus Crusade for Christ (a faith-based nonprofit organization) with which many of them were familiar. This background information helped me build rapport and allowed them to see that I understood on some level the uniqueness of their occupation. I reminded them that the reason I wanted to interview them was to learn more about their experiences of being a pastor. I mentioned that the interview had three parts: 1) I wanted them to describe their path to becoming a pastor; 2) I wanted to find out what it means to them to be a pastor and the responsibilities they have as a pastor; and 3) I wanted them to address how the standards of their denomination influence their role as a pastor. The semi-structured nature of the interview allowed me to adjust the order of the questions to fit the ebb and flow of the conversation (Charmaz, 2006; Kvale, 1996).

The sensitizing concepts of emotional/spiritual labor, identity, and authenticity guided me as I wrote the questions for my semi-structured interview (Charmaz, 2006). The interview protocol (Appendix C) was divided into three sections. I viewed the

protocol as an interview guide to allow for the opportunity to shuffle the order and explore “unexpected conversational paths” with each participant (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 105). The first section (three questions) pertained to the participant’s individual background. I asked each pastor to describe his or her path to becoming a pastor and the training received along this path. The reason I began with these questions was to build a level of comfort both with the interview process and with me. The second section (seven questions) focused on the work they do as pastors. For example, I asked them to describe what a typical day/week looks like, what they like best about their job, what challenges they face, and how much of their job involves emotional communication. The final section addressed how denominational standards influence their role and responsibilities (eight questions). Some of the questions include: 1) What are the denomination’s values and expectations for its pastors? 2) How does the denomination foster an environment that reinforces its values and expectations? and 3) Are there ways in which the denominational standards and your personal standards are in conflict? If so, how do you manage the conflict between the two? Because this section addressed potentially sensitive issues, I placed it last in the sequence after I spent time building rapport with the previous questions. In order to close on a positive note, in case the questions in section three created discomfort, I asked them what advice they would give someone who is contemplating becoming a pastor.

Each interviewee received a copy of the interview transcript so he or she could review it and, if needed, make clarifications or changes. This served as a member check. Eight pastors replied when I sent them a copy of the interview transcript. One made



word corrections in the transcript which I corrected in my copy. Two pastors mentioned that they would answer the questions differently now: “Interesting to reminisce on how I thought about being a minister at the time versus now. The same pretty much holds true now, but there are subtle details that I’d change were you to conduct your interview today.” This was particularly interesting because it supports the idea that narratives are in flux as an individual’s lived experience changes with the progression of time and life (Mattingly, 1998).

Two pastors were uncomfortable with reading the transcript of the interview. One pastor felt that he had not been as articulate as he needed to be and wanted to “clean up” the grammar so the flow of the conversation was not as choppy. He also wanted to remove the portions of the interview that contained more personal background information. After asking several more questions, I ascertained that he was afraid that identifying characteristics would be used in the writing of my dissertation. I assured him that all names and identifying characteristics would be removed and that only my dissertation advisor and I would have access to the transcribed interviews. I did offer to let him edit the transcript and send me what he would be comfortable with me using. His fears were allayed once I reviewed the informed consent form with him. The other pastor stated in response to reading the transcript: “This was far too painful to read, so I just skimmed it and decided never to give any more interviews.”

The pastors will also receive a copy of my analysis so I can obtain their feedback and impressions regarding findings. Sending the transcripts and a copy of the analysis to the interviewees for review serve as member checks, where the participants have the

opportunity to confirm the findings or indicate if something was overlooked or understated (Charmaz, 2006; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002).

### *Analysis of Interviews*

I uploaded the transcriptions and field notes into QSR International's NVivo 8 software (NVivo, 2008), a qualitative analysis computer program, to help me organize and manage the data. I spent several days acquainting myself with the program before putting it to use. I read through all the interviews twice in order to reacquaint myself with what was covered during the interview. During these readings, I made notes of possible thematic categories and my general overall impressions of the interviews. These notes served as preliminary memos.

A thematic analysis of the data was conducted, because I began this dissertation project with the sensitizing concepts of emotional/spiritual labor, identity, and authenticity in mind (Charmaz, 2006, Riessman, 2008). Creating the themes or categorization is "the process of characterizing the meaning of a unit of data with respect to certain generic properties" (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002, p. 214). I began the process of creating themes while transcribing the interviews and doing preliminary readings. Before beginning my third reading of the transcripts and my first pass at coding the interview data, I reviewed my research questions. I used the thematic categories I identified during my preliminary readings to code the interviews. I added categories as needed. After my first pass at coding, I had twenty-four categories. I read through the units of data within each category two to three times and began to reorganize the categories. I examined how units of data from one category compared to another and

began to combine and restructure the categories. I collapsed categories and ended up with fifteen themes after my second pass at focused coding. My units of data included single words, phrases, and entire stories (Charmaz, 2006). After reexamining the texts, I engaged in axial coding which reveals the relationships within a particular theme or category. This process resulted in eight themes with twenty-two subthemes (Appendix D). This process helped me categorize the data. Next, I read through the thematic categories with an eye to answering each research question. I repeated the process with each research question, making notes about how the data answered the questions. Common patterns and themes pertaining to each research question emerged, and these will be discussed in Chapter III.

NVivo (2008) was helpful in the analysis because I was able to see if there were units of data that were common to more than one theme or subtheme. The ability to do this enabled me to manage the data more effectively and to draw clearer connections among various aspects of the interviews and field notes.

As will be described further in my discussion of the textual analysis, I had to tuck back and forth between the analysis of the interviews and the textual analysis because each influenced and/or informed the other. This was particularly relevant as I explored whether or not pastors believed they were enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs. The pastors' beliefs were revealed in the interviews and the denominational standards were evident in both the interviews and denominational texts.

### **Textual Analysis**

People's stories do not exist in a vacuum but are intertextual. They are shaped by the culture, history, and other stories surrounding their story (Fisher, 1987).

Examining the denominational materials provided an opportunity to examine the culture and organizational histories that may have shaped pastors' work and identity.

Understanding the requirements of the various denominations gave me 1) a better basis for understanding the organizational constraints of the various pastors I interviewed and 2) a more explicit way to approach issues of authenticity because I have a specific comparison between "requirements" and professed behavior.

Hermeneutic analysis provides a means of understanding the social life of an organization which, in this case, is the church (Burrell & Morgan, 1979; Gadamer, 1989). This particular method of analysis highlights the connection between the text, the context, the author (the governing denomination), and the researcher (Miller, 2005). Gadamer's (as cited in Giddens, 1976) view of hermeneutics is particularly relevant in that he argued "Being is manifest in language"; therefore, communication is a key means by which we understand the social life of people (p. 57). Organizational texts provide an opportunity to examine organizational discourses that may be shaping employees' work identities (Tracy & Tretheway, 2005). The examination of denominational texts enabled me to explore RQ2: How do denominational texts address issues of spiritual and emotional labor and the pastor's role? What implications do these denominational texts have in the enablement and constraint of identity and authenticity for pastors? The textual analysis in conjunction with the participant's narrative allowed me to examine

RQ4: Do pastors believe they are enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs?

Because I interviewed research participants from a variety of denominations, I needed to be strategic about the materials I gathered and examined. During the course of the interviews when I asked about denominational guidelines and expectations, several pastors gave me brochures or read the expectations from a handbook. In most cases, the handbooks were accessible online. I visited the official denominational websites and the specific church's website and looked for statements of faith, summaries of beliefs, denominational strictures, vision, mission, and purpose statements, pastoral job descriptions, ordination vows, and recruiting materials.

Another aspect of the pastor's church that was important to identify with regard to organizational norms was the church's government structure or polity. Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopal are the three types of church polity (Sullins, 2004). The locus of power and authority is different within each type of governing structure. Authority that resides in the congregation and reflects voluntary membership is indicative of congregational polity. Authority in a Presbyterian structure of church government is relegated to "regional councils of clergy" (Sullins, 2004, p. 278). Within Episcopal structures, the bishop has authority. Knowing the way in which church life is governed for each pastor provided insight into how the church enabled and/or constrained identity and authenticity. For example, within the Episcopal structure, ministers are sent or assigned to particular churches, although the level at which the minister is involved in the assignment varies between denominations that hold to the

Episcopal structure. However, in churches with a congregational structure, the congregation is involved in calling or offering the pastor a position. In this case, the church often conducts a typical “business” type search for the pastor.

Information about church polity was found in both the denominational texts and the interview accounts. The breakdown of church polity for this study is as follows: three pastors were in churches with a Presbyterian structure, eleven were in congregational churches, and thirteen were in churches with an Episcopal structure (see Table 3).

**Table 3** Church Polity

<b>Congregational</b>	<b>Episcopalian</b>	<b>Presbyterian</b>
Church of Christ	Anglican-AmiA Rwanda	Presbyterian-PCUSA
Disciples of Christ	Antiochian Orthodox	
Evangelical Free	Episcopal-US	
Nondenominational	Lutheran-ELCA	
Southern Baptist	Lutheran-Missouri Synod	
United Baptist	Lutheran-Wisconsin Synod	
United Church of Christ	United Methodist	

I gathered 396 pages of material for the textual analysis portion of my study. These included texts from twenty-seven different churches and fifteen different denominations. Three churches were not affiliated with a particular denomination, though church documents and the interviews suggested that each should be classified as conservative in nature. The textual materials provided a description of the pastor’s role, the spiritual and/or emotional labor the pastor is engaged in, and how these impact issues of authenticity and identity. These texts indicated the denominational strictures and

standards and allowed me to identify any possible tensions between those standards and the participant's responses.

I read through all of the denominational texts and marked the portions that revealed expectations and rules for a pastor's conduct, how pastors were to fulfill their job responsibilities, and how they were to interact with their congregational members and the community at large. Upon completion of this initial review, I read back through the texts and wrote a summary for the passages I had marked for each church and each denomination. Then I read through each participant's interview and wrote a summary of how they described denominational and church expectations. I created a table for each research participant so I could do a side by side comparison of the denominational and church texts with how the participant described their responsibilities and denominational/church expectations. I reviewed these and made notes of how they met or did not meet the expectations or if there were significant discrepancies between how they described the expectations and how the denomination described their expectations.

### **Summary**

Twenty-seven pastors from a variety of denominations participated in narrative interviews that explored the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their jobs. These interviews combined with textual analysis were the methods I felt would allow me to more fully consider issues of emotional labor, spiritual labor, identity, and authenticity amongst clergy.

Using the qualitative software NVivo (2008), I conducted a thematic analysis of the interview data to explore how pastors negotiated tensions of authenticity and identity

in their work as well as how they described the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their work. The textual analysis examined how denominational texts addressed issues of spiritual and emotional labor for pastors as well as how these texts enable and constrain identity and authenticity for pastors. The interview data and texts were examined to see if pastors believe they were enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs. Common patterns and themes became evident for each research question. I will elaborate on these in Chapter III and discuss implications and conclusions in Chapter IV.



## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

Common patterns and themes were identified during the data-analysis process, and the best way to present the findings is to arrange them by research question.

As way of reminder, the research questions are as follow:

RQ1: How do pastors negotiate tensions of authenticity and identity in their work?

RQ2: How do pastors describe the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their work?

RQ3: How do denominational texts address issues of spiritual and emotional labor and the pastor's role? What implications do these denominational texts have in the enablement and constraint of identity and authenticity for pastors?

RQ4: Do pastors believe they are enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs?

#### **Negotiating Tensions of Authenticity and Identity**

But you said, what I like, dislike. Yea, that's it. What I like most—working with people. What I dislike most—working with people. (laughs) You know. People make me crazy! And then you love them. Love them to death. (Reverend Miriam<sup>1</sup>)

The clergy I interviewed were quick to articulate what they found most enjoyable about their role as pastor as well as why they chose this particular career. Preaching, seeing people's lives changed, helping people, and representing Christ to people were a few of the things the pastors enjoyed most. One minister said, "I love preaching more

---

<sup>1</sup>Pseudonyms are provided for each participant, church, and town in order to protect anonymity.

than anything in the world. When I die one day, I hope I'm preaching. I just love it, love it" (Reverend Asher). Other ministers talked about how much they love seeing people's lives changed as they grow in their faith and relationship with God. In addition, they like representing Christ to people, whether it be while preaching, hanging out with people, or helping people in the context of their day to day ministry. Many clergy mentioned that they chose to pursue the pastorate because of their love for preaching, their love for people, and wanting to serve God. One minister said, "I'd always been a lover of people. Bottom line is, I wanted to help people" (Reverend Micah).

However, the things that clergy found most appealing and most enjoyable could also be the most frustrating. For example, "I generally enjoy visiting, most of the time. I also enjoy preaching, most of the time. But those things that are great joys can be very frustrating, too. And so even the things you like to do can be sources of frustration" (Reverend Barnabas). Many clergy also found that although they enjoyed the "people" aspect of their job, the "people" drove them crazy at times. In short, the things that ministers enjoy the most are also the things that were the most annoying or wearisome. Knowing that this is the case, how do these clergy negotiate the tensions of authenticity and identity in their work? For example, how do clergy fulfill God's command to love your neighbor as yourself even when certain people can be extremely annoying? I found that clergy negotiated and viewed the tensions of authenticity and identity in their work in multiple ways: 1) being honest and forthright; 2) reacting privately; 3) faking it; 4) taking it in stride; 5) developing formulaic responses; and 6) taking care of one's self by connecting with God. The first five means of handling the tension are enacted when the

clergy is actually in the situation while the sixth one is done outside of the situation or context in an effort to address the tension before it happens.

*Honest and Forthright*

One way that clergy addressed the tension of authenticity was by being honest and forthright in their responses to individuals in one of two ways. Reverend Barnabas described the differences in these approaches in the following manner:

the easiest to illustrate that [difference in how prophets talked to people]—  
Prophet Isaiah... he would be what you would call a resident prophet. As a resident prophet you'd have to temper what you say, because tomorrow you'll be in the same place, hopefully, and the day after that and so on and so forth. It does temper what you can say. The other kind would be an itinerant prophet and the best biblical example of that is Jeremiah. And he is a very unhappy character (P: laughs), but he is also, he's sitting naked in ashes at the city gates and he's saying terrible things about the power brokers in the country and about the king, and his [Jeremiah's] life is unpleasant because they make it unpleasant. In terms of balancing that, the dynamic of working for these people and working for God, part of it then comes down to accepting the idea, accepting the reality that I am not an itinerant prophet. I'm a resident prophet and that means I have to find ways to be able to say [things], so that they can hear it. A lot of things can be said that are pretty radical, that can be said if you find the right way, there has to be great attention to that.

A resident prophet strives to be diplomatic, yet pointed, in his response, while an itinerant prophet “says it like it is” and does not attempt to temper his comments. Clergy engaged in both types of honest and forthright responses. For example, Reverend Paul stated: “I have a responsibility to the people to tell them the truth. Truth isn’t always easy, but you speak the truth in love. And that’s the key; you’ve got to speak the truth in love. But the people need to know the truth.” His statement conveyed that a resident prophet must find a balance between truth and love—firm, yet diplomatic.

Situations involving conflict often find ministers responding as a resident prophet.

The harder part about conflict is when it deals with personal issues—personal animosity. I need to be ready to listen but have a level of firmness so the person doesn’t take control and power. I try to manage the conversations, yet not let them have free rein. Let the person say what is appropriate, but then stop the conversation when it digresses so shows the facilitator’s [minister’s] leadership.

(Reverend Jude)

The minister addressed the need for firmness in handling the conflict situation while allowing the person to express his or her feelings. The response was tactfully firm.

Another minister found himself in a disagreement with an outside vendor for the church. As he expressed his anxiety, frustration, and disappointment about the situation with the vendor, he became more animated. The vendor asked him to change his tone of voice. He responded in this way:

I understand what you're saying. And I can really drop my voice low, but I need to hear from you that you clearly understand the seriousness, again, the anxiety that we are feeling and the betrayal that we're feeling and are worried that you're not taking our situation seriously because you're saying we can't do \_\_\_\_\_ . I can whisper that just as easily as I can get excited. I'm not angry, but I'm animated. (Reverend James)

He recognized his need to be diplomatic, especially when the vendor asked him to change his tone of voice. He lowered his voice and backed off, but he was also direct about what he wanted from the vendor. These pastors responded as resident prophets in that they were honest and diplomatic and also recognized, as the Prophet Isaiah did, that they lived among these people and wanted to maintain good relationships with them.

Itinerant prophetic responses are different in that they are forthright, but little is done to temper the response. The pastor's response may be interpreted as insensitive. Itinerant prophets, like Jeremiah, "name current reality which is very uncomfortable to confront" (Reverend Luke). These responses often shock people, and they may be enacted voluntarily or involuntarily. In fact, one minister felt that "a sign of him doing a good job is when some people are really ticked off," when he bluntly addresses issues or current reality. Several pastors, like Reverend Jonah, mentioned that they are not afraid to address hot topics from the pulpit:

Again, I'm very blunt and forthright about that. I'm not afraid to talk about environmental issues, social issues, political issues, homosexuality, abortion, hurts, and pains. ...Last Sunday in the pulpit, I said "you know, what were you

all praying? Were you praying the storm [Hurricane] would hit somebody else?" and this was in the pulpit. I said, "I was praying, 'Lord would you stop that damn storm in its tracks in the Gulf.'" Everyone is saying "he said Damn, he said damn." And so I stopped and said, "some of you are offended by that, I'm more offended by the lives that have been ruined and the fact that most of us are concerned about whether or not we've got air conditioning today. That's offensive, not me saying damn." And spin that. I've always been a journalist, a communicator, a producer of films, and those kinds of things. I've used those kinds of tools to create and say the point and make the message. But it's about framing for people what the issues are. And not being afraid to say "we've got people in pain here." You know. Where else can you say that, but the church?

Reverend Jonah bluntly stated the truth, and he purposefully chose to do so from the pulpit as well as in the everyday life of the ministry. He strategically chose when to be an itinerant prophet. Twenty-eight years of pastoring have given him insight into when to engage and when not to engage in itinerant prophet responses. He used the refrain from Kenny Rogers's song *The Gambler*, to illustrate his strategy, "you got to know when to hold 'em, know when to fold 'em, and know when to walk away, and know when to run" (Rogers, 2001, track 1).

Itinerant responses may be a spontaneous reaction versus strategically planned. For example, a pastor told me about the late-night phone call he received from a married couple who wanted him to arbitrate their feud over who should get the last toothpick. His immediate response was: "You woke me up for this?! A toothpick! Go buy you a

box of toothpicks. There's five hundred of them in there" (Reverend Asher).

Sometimes the context of the situation evokes an itinerant response, one that reveals how the pastor is feeling at the moment with no filters.

Pastors minister to people who are often emotionally demanding and who have unrealistic expectations of how the pastor should interact with them. For example, pastors are often asked for advice, yet many times their advice may be ignored and the individual may return asking for more advice. Reverend Deborah makes no apology when she addresses such people:

I just look at them and say, "hey it's your fault." Because I'm a believer in that you suffer the consequences of the decisions that you make. I just say, "when I tell you what I tell you, I'm giving you the best advice I can give you at the moment, with the information that I have. And if you choose to ignore that advice, there's no help for you." I've had people come back and ask me for advice for the same situation and my first question is, "did you do what I told you to do before?" Apparently the answer is "no." And I said, "ok, well when you've tried that, then you can come back to me for a new idea. But I'm not willing to waste a good idea on people that won't listen to them. I'm not going to waste another good idea on you because at the time that I spoke to you, I gave you the best idea I had available." And when they come back and [I ask], "did you try it yet?" [And they say,] "well, no." [I tell them,] "well call me when you try it (laughs).

Reverend Deborah told it like it was and pulled no punches. Her expectations of her parishioner were quite clear.

Clergy who chose to engage in resident and itinerant prophet responses felt justified in part because Jesus and other key Biblical characters responded in a similar manner at times. Further, they felt God called them to respond in this way. Several clergy referred to Biblical accounts of prophetic-type responses. In addition to the references to the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, Paul and Jesus were mentioned. For example,

You look at Paul, [he] is certainly not one to hide his emotions in his writings and yet those letters, all but maybe one of them, is based on little petty things going on in the church, scary things. “Try not to get too drunk when you’re serving communion,” (laughs) and fights, and people challenging his authority, and talking behind his back and having to deal with it. (Reverend Jacob)

Paul’s dealings with the early Christians served as an example to many clergy and provided support for their choice to speak candidly in certain contexts. The account of Jesus overturning the moneychangers’ tables in the Temple courtyard because “He was angry that a mockery was being made of the Temple” was an example used by others to justify their responses. One minister recounted an experience with a parishioner who began complaining to him after the sermon about the choice of hymns sung that morning:

Someone comes walking out and says, “Pastor, do we have to sing that hymn all the time?” I said, “have you listened to the words? Do you read the words? No,



why do you pick that and complain?” You know what I said? And maybe I shouldn’t have said this, but I told ‘em in these words, “My dad taught me something a long time ago, that if you have nothing positive to say, keep your mouth shut.” I said it in a kind of a diplomatic way. I looked at this person and said, “I never hear anything positive from you.” I said, “I try and do a pretty good job, but you always complain. This might not be the church for you.” I think pastors need to talk that way sometimes, in a diplomatic way. Not keep your mouth shut. And so they kind of look at me like I shouldn’t talk like that. Well, you know what, when Jesus went into the Temple, when people were making a mockery of the Temple, He got mad and there’s nothing wrong with it. (Reverend Asher)

Many ministers made no apologies for their responses because they felt that God called them to do this and it was just who they were. Several ministers commented on how part of their role as pastor is to tell the truth and that being a prophet means you tell the truth. This may take place when giving a sermon or when the pastor is interacting with people one-on-one. As one pastor stated: “I am passionate, but not necessarily compassionate” (Reverend Nehemiah). They are being true to themselves (authenticity) and to what they feel God has called them to do as a pastor (identity). Thus, pastors may negotiate the tension between authenticity and identity by engaging in resident (honest and diplomatic) and itinerant (untempered honest) prophet responses.

*Reacting Privately*

Dealing with people can be one of the rewarding aspects of the clergy job, but it can also be one of the exasperating aspects of the job. Chronic complainers, naysayers, and those who want their poor choices unequivocally supported are some of the most difficult individuals to handle diplomatically. Many pastors talk of how they are publicly diplomatic in their responses, yet in private they express their frustration. For example, Reverend Luke has been addressing the need to reach out to the changing demographics of residents surrounding the church. The church's mission statement reflects the desire to reach out to the people living nearby, yet when he preached a sermon about accepting people and drew the connection to ministering to people different than they are, the people respond with, "uh, no, no, I don't think so." He told me while laughing, "The frustration, can't you get it! Why don't we get it after all these years of reflecting on the message of God's ongoing story?" He is obviously frustrated and expressed that frustration privately, yet he continues to diplomatically address their unwillingness to change.

"Na,na,na,na,na,na," "golly people, grow up please," and "dad gum, why don't you people just act right?" were a few of the more snarky comments made by pastors behind closed doors. These were often the result of responding to chronic complainers and naysayers. I observed the expression of frustration in private when I was interviewing one pastor. He was making a phone call on behalf of a parishioner and was placed on hold. He banged his hand on the desk and began drumming his fingers while giving an exasperated sigh. Finally, he was able to leave a message which was very

calm, diplomatic, and friendly sounding, a very different message than the one I observed. These pastors were publicly diplomatic, yet reacted quite differently in their private interpretations of the interactions.

### *Faking It*

Faking their response was another way clergy managed the tension between being the kind of pastor people expect and how they really feel. Pastors may fake interest in the person and the situation or they may fake joy, sadness, or concern about someone's circumstance. For example, Reverend Nehemiah shared that he is emotional in a passionate way, but not necessarily sensitive or compassionate. He talked about how if a college student broke up with someone a month ago and they call him and say, "should I go talk to that person?" he wants to say, "Get over it! Don't go talk to them, get over it!" I asked him how he manages the dissonance of his internal feelings with the diplomatic display of concern while interacting with the parishioner and he said, "You fake it! You just fake it and learn to fake it." So some pastors engage in surface acting and are fully aware that they are faking their response. Learning to fake it, according to Reverend Nehemiah, is just part of the job because the alternative of saying what one is thinking is not acceptable.

### *Taking It in Stride*

The ministers I interviewed also recognized that at times they had to be diplomatic because it was part of the job of being a pastor, even if it was not a natural response. They needed to take the person and situation in stride and handle it well. Sometimes this entailed letting things roll off their backs or rising to the occasion to deal

with an issue. These particular responses were often used when a pastor was faced with one of the difficult aspects of the job. For instance, one pastor stated: “So there are times you get sort of frustrated with what people might say or do or you know, all those kinds of things and I think you have to learn most of the time just to keep your mouth shut and process through it” (Reverend Josiah). Other pastors described the process of just rolling with the punches as an aspect of “politicking to a degree” in order to please the person. Reverend Isaac said: “by nature I’m not a confrontational person. But as I understand being a minister, I know that I have to rise to that occasion some times and step outside my skin and do it.” Another pastor described dealing with a woman in her parish who got mad at the church librarian and “she came in and took all the books off the shelf because she was mad about something” (Reverend Lydia). Reverend Lydia was laughing while relaying this story, but she went on to mention that her response to the situation was influenced by Christ’s command to “love her neighbor.” Because pastors often feel that being diplomatic is an expected part of their job, they will choose to “take things in stride” even when it is frustrating or something they do not like to do.

#### *Developing Formulaic Responses*

Several pastors found themselves in the same situation multiple times with different people, so they developed a formulaic response for that particular situation. To illustrate, handling benevolence fund requests is not Reverend Daniel’s favorite job responsibility because his preference is to fund every request, but because he is in charge of the finances he realizes he cannot honor each request. He said that he manages the

tension of his personal desire to say “yes” with the reality that he does not have an unlimited budget with the following formulaic response:

Well, usually, I’ve got a little pat answer that goes something like, “at this point in time we’re not able to help you because of our financial situation here at the church” or something like that. It sort of leaves the door open that maybe at a later time we could, but at the same time it’s a way of saying, “no we can’t right now.” (Reverend Daniel)

Having a well thought out response for situations that create tension between his natural response and his job responsibilities helps ease that dissonance. The pat answers also help the pastor maintain a state of diplomacy in challenging situations. For example, Reverend Abigail was the first woman to give a sermon at the church where she is on staff. This was a hallmark event because the Elder board had recently made the decision to open the pulpit to gifted and qualified women. Not everyone in the church, nor in the community, were supportive of this decision, and Reverend Abigail knew she must be prepared to handle the negative feedback. She developed the following response for interacting with people who might aggressively criticize her for preaching a sermon:

I kind of came up with a standard answer that I’m going to give people if they accost me publicly, of just how I’m going to handle it and basically it’s going to be, “Are you a brother or sister in Christ?” And if they say “yes,” then I say, “then I appreciate that you disagree with me, but I really don’t feel like I want to be slandered in public, so I’m going to just leave now” or something of that sort. So, I’m going to say, “if you’re a brother in Christ, disagree with me, but we’re

not going to treat each other this way publicly because it's not very good for Christ's reputation." And so that's kind of how I'm going to handle it.

Her motivation for developing the response was to avoid becoming "cynical and bitter toward the body of Christ" and to be a good representative for Christ.

### *Connecting with God*

The next process pastors used in negotiating tensions of authenticity and identity in their work is quite different from the strategies already discussed. Ministers recognize the potential for tension between how they feel, who they are, and the demands of the role they play as pastor. They try to address the tension before it happens through connecting with God and developing their personal faith. Several pastors commented on how their ministry is an overflow of their personal spiritual life and if this aspect of their life is not "fresh" then the people they minister to will see that they are faking it, that they are not genuine, and that there is a level of artificiality. As one pastor stated:

My personal faith is the fuel that feeds my whole life and so, the connection point for me is that I can't do my job, I can't do my role as [pastor] if I'm not engaged in heart and in mind in my own personal faith. If I'm not fully convinced that this is the most meaningful way to address life, experience life, and to gain the best kind of life, then I kind of become this hollowed hired hand, which is a deadly combination for someone in the clergy. So my personal faith is absolutely essential in order for me to fulfill my role as minister. ...And, in preaching and in teaching, if I don't engage at a personal level with what I'm

about to say, then I really do fall into the trap of just being that noisy gong, clanging cymbal. (Reverend John Mark)

Reverend John Mark recognized the importance of being authentic and that his personal spirituality is what enabled him to be genuine as he fulfilled his role as pastor. The pastors I interviewed felt that their personal spirituality was directly connected to their ability to do the job because “you do what you believe” (Reverend Deborah) and “if you’re going to talk the talk, you’re going to walk the walk” (Reverend Barnabas). Reverend Benjamin explained this connection in the following statement: “I don’t think I can be a healthy teacher, a healthy pastor, a healthy preacher, a healthy whatever, without having, I know it sounds so pietistic, without having that personal time with God every day.”

Ministers’ personal spiritual connection with God was what enabled them to keep from “going nuts,” and succumbing to burnout. It is during this time of personal spiritual enrichment that they were able to refocus on who God is and who they are, and this enabled them to handle the responsibilities of their job. Maintaining this personal connection with the Lord is key to being true to who they are (authentic) and being a minister (identity).

The focus of this section was to answer RQ1: How do pastors negotiate tensions of authenticity and identity in their work? Pastors were aware that tensions of authenticity and identity are a part of their job, and they handled those tensions in a variety of ways. One, ministers were honest and forthright when interacting with their parishioners. Second, pastors were diplomatic in public, but expressed their true feelings

in private. Third, pastors faked their responses in an effort to meet social norms. Fourth, ministers often chose to take the situation in stride because it is viewed as part of the job. Fifth, some ministers developed formulaic answers for recurring situations and sixth, they took time to develop their personal spirituality as a means of helping them preempt or cope with the tension.

### **Descriptions of the Emotional and Spiritual Dimensions of Pastoral Work**

(Emotional Dimension) Well, you know, I just hired a guy who takes care of some of that stuff for me. He's the family life director. But you know, they always come to the pastor. I would say twenty-five percent of the time, because every Sunday morning, I'm dealing with emotional things. You always have people who, you know, stand there, shaking hands and you see all these people coming up and they're saying, "Well, you know, "can you pray for me in this" and that's the thing I always get... "Can you pray for me?" and things like that. The emotional end of ministry, you know what, that's even probably more, I'd say fifty percent and everything you do here is emotional, I guess. I've never even thought about that. That's a chunk. That's a chunk. Even when I'm preparing sermons, I try to get into the emotional end of it. You know, using a lot of application and trying to get into people's minds with emotion kind of, oh, gosh, I started at twenty five. I would say half of my ministry, at least. Ministry is emotional. Nobody's ever asked me that question before. (Reverend Asher)

(Spiritual Dimension) I'm actually weary from this desire to serve. (Reverend Ezra)



The ministers I interviewed described their role as involving a variety of responsibilities such as teaching, staff care, pastoral care, administration, leadership, community responsibilities, and denominational responsibilities. Teaching involves sermon and Bible study preparation, delivery of sermons, and facilitating small group studies for a broad range of audiences. Overseeing the development and direction of staff and interns comprises the staff care portion of their job. Visiting the sick and shut-ins, handling people in crisis situations, and performing weddings and funerals comprise the pastoral care aspect of the role of minister. The administrative side of the job was by far the least liked aspect of the job. This may include filing reports of growth, or lack thereof, to denominational officials, preparing church newsletters, proofing the church bulletin, overseeing finances, responding to emails and phone calls, and participating in committees. Even though some pastors had administrative help, there was always some administrative detail that they had to handle that they disliked completing. Providing direction for the church by communicating vision and advocating change to better fulfill the mission of the church reflect the leadership responsibilities of the job. Many pastors are involved in community outreach, such as sitting on local ministerial associations, being Chaplain of the local Fire Department, being a Chaplain in a military reserve unit, hosting Hurricane evacuees, and providing small group Bible studies for local university students. Denominational responsibilities may include sitting on various committees or boards as well as meeting with other pastors in the region. These are some of the major responsibilities that ministers were engaged in during any given week. Not only was I

interested in the various job responsibilities of ministers, but I was curious as to how they would describe the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their jobs.

### *Emotional Dimensions of the Job*

Finding out how much of a pastor's job involved communication about emotional topics was of particular interest to me, so I asked them to share two things: 1) to what extent their work involved communication about emotional topics and 2) to share the most prevalent examples of emotional communication. Their answers were both interesting and somewhat surprising. They described their job as involving a good bit of emotional communication. Responses ranged from 25 percent to 100 percent of their job dealt with emotional issues. One minister felt that his job as executive pastor required less emotional communication than his previous role as youth pastor. Yet thirteen pastors said that sixty percent or more of their job entailed communication that involved emotions. "Well, oh, I can't think of any topic that doesn't have an emotional tagline to it" and "I think all of it does" were some of the comments. Reverend Tabitha described it in this way:

I would say 100% of the work I do is involved in that in some way or another because I'm working with the way people think and what motivates them and I'm trying to talk about value systems. All of that is emotional and nobody deals with that stuff without their background and baggage and their needs and wants and motivations and so I would say that's 100% of my work even if I'm in my office reading resumes for who's going to be the new parish administrator. It's all related to that.

Her description of her role and the connection between the spiritual and emotional was indicative of other ministers' responses. One would expect the communication to touch on emotion within the pastoral care aspect of the job; however, I found that emotion affected all of the other aspects of their job such as, implementing change, managing conflict, dealing with staff, teaching, preaching, and addressing issues like the economy, social justice, politics, and value systems.

One expects that pastoral care responsibilities tap into the emotional aspect of life. Helping people handle crises such as job loss, a cancer diagnosis, the death of a loved one, negotiating marital and family conflict, and other life challenges are bound to invoke emotion. Even positive life events such as a wedding, the birth of a long-awaited child, and baptism stir up emotions. Several ministers commented on how they see their role as being a non-anxious presence in an anxious world:

This is what being a military chaplain is all about. Being a chaplain in a hospital or in an ER when everything is just going haywire, that's what one does, is attempt to stand around and look secure or be a non-anxious presence."

(Reverend Luke)

Another minister explained that being a non-anxious presence "doesn't mean that you're not emotional with them. It just means that you allow them, allow people to kind of be where they are" (Reverend James).

Instilling hope, comfort, and peace in the midst of crises is another way in which their job engages emotion. Reverend John Mark said: "People come in and they feel awful, or they are fearful, or they're anxious about a number of things, but if they can

put a name on really what the issue is, that brings a great deal of comfort and peace and help.”

Leading a church often involves implementing change, which can evoke both positive and negative emotions amongst those whom the change affects, thereby creating conflict. To illustrate, the anxiety for one church is “discerning whether or not God is calling this congregation to do something with Hispanic ministry. We’re having a vestry meeting tonight and it is going to be very long and I suspect emotionally charged meeting” (Reverend Luke). The demographics of the community surrounding the church have changed significantly since the church was founded and built and the congregation is struggling with how to adjust. Emotions are engaged when the pastor tries to lead the congregation in welcoming members of the surrounding community who are racially different from most of the congregants.

Changing the carpet, paint, drapes, pews, and colors in a church’s worship center can evoke strong emotional responses. “And one of the sort of hot issues that has brought a lot emotions to the surface that we’ve been dealing with over the past two weeks is with our senior adults, who are very, very attached to the worship center as it is and specifically to the pews as they exist and to altar furniture and things like that. So there’s been a lot of emotion that we’ve been dealing with, that I’ve been dealing with” (Reverend Daniel). Some parishioners welcome the change while others protest the change. Reverend Daniel talked of how he had to provide spaces for people to express their opinion as a means of managing the redecorating conflict. So whether the change

involved disagreeing with the vision and mission of the church or redecorating the sanctuary, emotions were evoked.

Handling staff issues also provided an opportunity to observe the emotional aspect of the job. Hiring and firing of staff, evaluating their performance, and coaching them can evoke emotion. Often pastors are helping staff deal with the compliments and criticisms of their performance in addition to helping them “deal with emotional issues related to job satisfaction or difficulties that they’re experiencing in their own context in their own specific ministry” (Reverend John Mark). Reverend Andrew remarked how having to fire one of his pastors for sexual misconduct evoked emotion in himself, the pastor who was fired, and the congregation. Subsequently he had to engage in providing pastoral care, leading the congregation through change, and managing the fallout from his decision to fire the pastor.

Preaching and teaching were often seen as a way of engaging people’s emotions and providing a venue to communicate about emotion. Reverend Luke spoke of how his role as preacher and teacher is sometimes one of “agitation”:

By looking at the Biblical story and asking “how does this story, this meta-narrative, intersect with your life, the narrative of your life” and for some, including me, it can be very uncomfortable. Hispanic ministry is confronting our own racism, including mine, and being very honest about it. It’s extremely uncomfortable because no one likes to admit their own failings and faults, and hence the nature of sin.

Reverend Luke, along with many other ministers, unapologetically addressed hot topics such as racism, environmental issues, political issues, social issues, homosexuality, or abortion in their sermons. These topics tended to incite an emotional response from most people, depending on their particular stance. One minister mentioned that even teaching doctrine or catechism deals with emotion:

Catechism and instruction also deals with emotion because we're talking about our understanding of marriage and life. It seems like it is just "teaching" but when people bring in their life experiences in which they've been hurt, emotions come up while teaching catechism. (Reverend Jude)

Emotion permeated every aspect of the minister's role and job, whether it be pastoral care, preaching, teaching, managing conflict, or handling staffing issues.

### *Spiritual Dimensions of the Job*

While listening to pastors talk about their role, it became apparent that they thoroughly enjoyed the spiritual dimensions of their job. Often ministers would begin talking about the spiritual dimension of their job by saying, "I love \_\_\_\_." They took pleasure in preparing and giving sermons, seeing people grow in their faith, and ministering to people during key moments in their lives.

A number of pastors mentioned their love of preparing for and giving sermons and what they hoped their parishioners would gain from their sermons. Reverend Samuel said:

I love the preparation that goes into teaching. That's always the way I've looked at the preaching ministry, that it is a great platform to teach. Even though you

are in a proclamation role of proclaiming the gospel, I just kind of relish the thought of providing encouragement and depth of insight, a depth of understanding in the things of God, the things of ministry that then begin to work in them, to prompt them to pursue their call, purpose, mission, and ministry in their own life. So I just really love everything that kind of goes into that.

Even though pastors may not enjoy every aspect of preparing to teach or preach, they still generally enjoy the process and the outcome. To illustrate, Reverend Abigail talked about preparing a Bible Study series that she presented:

I like writing. I don't actually like writing, but I like seeing the series unfold and God surprises me every year (laughs) which you'd think after this many years I'd go, "why am I so surprised?" But I love to see how He percolates things in my head to put together the series. It feels somewhat foggy and then in the middle of it I see Him unfold it and go "wow, look at that beautiful, beautiful mural You have drawn, Lord." And then it happens to be the very thing that women are dealing with and that they needed to hear.

She does not always enjoy writing the series, yet knowing that in the end it will minister to the women she teaches, she somehow ends up enjoying the process.

Ministers often spoke of their love of seeing people grow in their faith. "I like seeing people changed," "seeing people being affected and their lives changing, marriages and families changing," and "I want people to encounter God and have a transformational experience" were a few of the ways ministers described the spiritual

growth of their parishioners. Reverend Jude summarized his love of changed lives in the following excerpt:

I like to see people learning more about their faith and growing in their relationship with God. That they find a newer and deeper relationship than before. It means a lot when I hear someone say, “I’ve never had an interest in the Bible before” and they are now actively pursuing their faith. Or after a service when someone says, “what was the reference you used today, because I want to go home and read it.” I like to see people finding a richer and deeper relationship with God. That they are developing that eternal relationship and that they appreciate and make their relationship with God a part of their regular development.

Ministering to people at key moments in their lives was another enjoyable spiritual dimension of the job.

What I enjoy most about this work is being invited into the most intimate times of people’s lives. You call your pastor, your priest, rabbi, imam, when children are born, when people are ill, when people are getting married, when people die. Sometimes they are the most trying, stressful times of people’s lives, but I’m invited as a guest into that moment, not because it’s (his name), it’s because this role that I play in people’s lives. (Reverend Luke)

He enjoys ministering to people during significant moments in their lives. Another minister said: “I think one of the greatest pastoral moments and meaningful moments for pastors are times of death. It’s rich and it’s deep and it’s a privilege. It’s a great



privilege. Yes, there's sadness, but you know there's also hope" (Reverend Jacob). These ministers desire to be present, to be supportive, and to provide hope for their parishioners.

In summary, the findings of RQ2: How pastors describe the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their work were outlined in the previous section. Two things became apparent as ministers described the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their jobs: 1) emotion affected every aspect of their job and 2) pastors genuinely enjoyed the spiritual dimensions of their role. Emotion was evident in a variety of job responsibilities, whether it involved pastoral care, teaching, leading meetings, or dealing with staff. Pastors also enjoyed the spiritual aspects of their job, which included seeing lives changed, ministering to others at key moments in their lives, and preaching.

### **Spiritual and Emotional Labor in Denominational Texts**

Pastoral Duties: [A pastor] must be above reproach, the husband of but one wife, temperate, self-controlled, respectable, hospitable, able to teach, not given to much wine, not violent but gentle, not quarrelsome, not a lover of money. He must manage his own family well and see that his children obey him with proper respect. He must not be a recent convert. He must hold firmly to the trustworthy message as it has been taught, so that he can encourage others by sound doctrine and refute those who oppose it (See I Timothy 3:2,3,4,6; Titus 1:9). (Luther, 1991, pp.35-36)

One of the first things that I do whenever I move to a new town is search for a church. I ask neighbors and acquaintances for recommendations as well as conduct

online searches. Searching the web allows me to examine a church's statement of beliefs and to get an idea of what the doctrinal underpinnings are and what the pastor may be like. The text provides insight about the church. In the same way, the denominational texts provide insight into what one can expect from the denomination.

I examined various texts to ascertain how the denomination addressed the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their pastors' work. I found several ways in which the denomination addressed the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their work: 1) serving God, 2) serving others, and 3) personal characteristics, beliefs, and practices.

### *Serving God*

Serving God was mentioned in all the denominational texts I examined. Two particular aspects of serving God became apparent upon further examination: 1) submission to God and 2) fulfilling the Great Commission. Submission to God, recognizing God as one's boss, and obedience to God's commands were evident in the texts. "Servant of God," Holy Master," "God is boss," and "under obligation to serve God" were a few of the phrases used to convey that denominations expected their pastors to submit to God and to view God as their Master and Lord. The ordination vows of several denominations included statements regarding the pastor's willingness to submit to the Lord. For example:

God is the One who crowns with the name of Priest those whom He deems worthy to serve the world of His truth in the divine ministry of this degree. ... Be favorably pleased to grant unto him the great grace of Thy Holy Spirit, and make him wholly Thy servant, in all things acceptable unto Thee, and worthily

exercising the great honors of the priesthood which thou hast conferred upon him by Thy prescient power. (Antiochian Orthodox Church, n.d.)

The priest is described as God's servant and as called by God to fulfill the role of priest. The texts also indicated the denomination's view that "Christ is head of the church" and that obeying Christ's commands as well as His Father's commands is to be expected.

Obeying God by fulfilling the Great Commission was an additional way in which ministers are expected to serve God. The Great Commission can be described as the job description Christ gave the apostles before His ascension to heaven. The book of Matthew contains the Great Commission which states: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you" (*The Holy Bible*, 1986, p. 882). Specifically, the apostles were to tell others all around the world about Christ's birth, death, resurrection, and how to live according to God's commands. The terms that Christians use today to describe the activities involved in the Great Commission are evangelism (telling others about Christ), baptism (identifying with Christ), and discipleship (teaching them to live according to God's commands). "Bringing the good news of Jesus to those around us," "making Christ known," and "giving faithful witness in the world, that God's love may be known in all that you do" are some of the ways denominations describe fulfilling the Great Commission. Not only does serving God involve sharing the good news of Jesus, but it entails teaching others the commands of Christ. Therefore, ministers are expected to teach and preach the Gospel. For example, the priestly vows in *The Book of Common Prayer* (1979) contain

the following excerpt: “As a priest, it will be your task to proclaim by word and deed the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to fashion your life in accordance with its precepts” (p. 531).

The denominational texts indicated that a pastor must serve God by submitting to God and obeying God’s command to fulfill the Great Commission. Each denomination had texts that contained both of these components of serving God. I find it interesting that fulfilling the Great Commission is not only an indicator of serving God, but it also informs how ministers are to serve others.

### *Serving Others*

Sharing the Gospel, building disciples of Christ, ministering to people, and leading congregations were the four ways that denominational texts instructed pastors to serve others. As mentioned previously, fulfilling the Great Commission involves sharing the good news or teaching and preaching God’s Word. The texts described their pastors as “gospel proclaimers” or those who are making disciples of Christ by sharing the gospel with others. One denomination stated that its pastors are “called among the congregation to baptize, to teach, to forgive sins, to proclaim the good news among us, and to lead worship and preside at Holy Communion” (*Lutheran Book of Worship: Occasional Services*, 1990). Church vision and mission statements, ordination vows, and other texts all highlight that part of the role of its ministers is to share the Gospel.

Building disciples of Christ is another expectation denominations have of how their pastors serve others. Disciple building involves helping parishioners grow in their faith and teaching them to obey God’s commands. Denominations may describe this as “connecting people with God and with each other,” “shepherding the forgiven children

of God,” “equipping and empowering people to live balanced, successful Christian lives,” and “leading them to become fully devoted, faithfully-serving, life-long followers of Jesus Christ.” The church desires to “equip” their members for ministry and help them become devoted followers of Christ and God. Although denominations and churches may vary in their description of how disciple building is to be done, they each address this as a role of their minister.

Ministering to people was another way in which the texts described the role of their pastors. This is often described as caring for and providing for the needs of those the minister serves. For example, United Methodist pastors have specific duties classified as “ministering within the congregation and to the world” and some of these duties include the following:

1. b) To counsel persons struggling with personal, ethical, or spiritual issues.
- c) (1) To perform the marriage ceremony after due counsel with the parties involved... (2) To conduct funeral and memorial services and provide care and grief counseling. d) To visit in the homes of the church and community, especially among the sick, aged, imprisoned, and others in need. ...3. d) To lead the congregation in racial and ethnic inclusiveness. (*The Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church*, 2004, p. 239-240)

These are just a few of the ways in which the United Methodist denomination expects its clergy to minister to the needs of those they serve. Each denomination had similar expectations that were clearly outlined in their documents and included such things as: “keep silent all confidences shared with you; seek to regard all people with equal love

and concerns and undertake to minister impartially to the needs of all” (*Book of Worship: United Church of Christ*, 1986, p. 408); and “love and serve the people among whom you work, caring alike for young and old, strong and weak, rich and poor” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, 1979, p. 9).

However, the specific ways in which pastors are to minister to and care for people are influenced by the denominational underpinnings. To illustrate, one way in which ministers minister to others is by conducting marriage ceremonies. Some denominations specifically state that marriage ceremonies are to be conducted for heterosexual couples only. Other denominations actively advocate for “equal marriage rights for couples regardless of gender” (United Church of Christ, 2005, p.2). Although every denomination includes conducting marriage ceremonies as a way of ministering to their congregations, denominational underpinnings affect how the ceremony is conducted and for whom it can be conducted. I will discuss the implications of the theological underpinnings and denominational directives on the emotional and spiritual dimensions of the minister’s role in a later section.

Finally, leading the church is another way in which the pastor serves others. A common theme throughout the denominational texts was that clergy needed to lead with a clear vision, mission, and plan. This was reflected in the fact that all but two of the churches represented in this study had a vision and/or mission statement on their website. Other texts described the pastor as being a leader and the importance of his/her leadership role. For instance, one church stated: the “Leadership role of pastor is important because it is pivotal if the congregation is to fulfill its mission of making

disciples for Jesus Christ” (*Guidelines for Leading Your Congregations*, 2005, p. 28).

The Evangelical Lutheran Church provided a list of leadership qualities that are suitable for those in public ministry which included: “Leadership: giftedness, spiritual, creative, empowering, courageous, equipping others, responsible, visionary, awareness of one’s style, practiced, people skills, willingness, servanthood, humility, sense of privilege in serving and selflessness” (Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, 2008b). Several denominations specifically stated in their recruiting materials that they are looking for people who are leaders, have the gift of leadership, or have leadership abilities to become pastors within their denomination. Being the spiritual leader of the congregation is an important role of ministers and every denomination expected their ministers to lead the congregation.

Serving others by sharing the gospel, building disciples of Christ, ministering to others, and leading the church are expectations that each denomination and church had of its pastors. Although this was true across the board for all denominations, there were differences noted in exactly how some of these facets of the job were to be conducted. Not only did denominational texts address the emotional and spiritual dimensions of serving God and serving others, they also addressed personal characteristics, beliefs, and practices that should be true of their ministers.

#### *Personal Characteristics, Beliefs, and Practices*

Denominational and church texts indicated a variety of personal characteristics their clergy should exhibit, some beliefs that they should ascribe to, and some practices in which they should be engaged. These descriptions and prescriptions pertained to

personal attributes, the manner in which the job was to be done, what their beliefs should be on various issues, and disciplines that should be part of their personal spiritual life. “Energetic/engaging,” “forgiving/grace-extending,” “relaxed/free,” and “vibrant and joyful” were some of the words used to describe the personality of a pastor. One denomination described the ideal pastoral candidate as a “Person with sense of wonder: Need aware, caring, courageous people leading the church. ...Need passionate, joy-filled and adventurous people who want to bring healing and hope to other people in this broken world. Natural leader: use your gifts of creativity...” (Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, 2008a). Other denominations and churches defined the ideal pastor as someone with compassion, passion for justice, leader, dynamic, and passionately committed to Christ. Although the descriptions of the ideal pastor may vary between denominations, one attribute was common to all. There was a strong emphasis on how pastors were to be “genuine and real,” “be an authentic believer,” “display authentic faith,” or “must have an authentic faith.” Authenticity is greatly valued in ministers and must be evident in the ministers’ lives.

Some of the adjectives used to describe the ideal pastor for a particular church or denomination were connected to specific job responsibilities. For instance, “persevere in prayer,” “humbly listen to those in authority over you,” “passionate leadership,” and “demonstrate sound judgment” are a few of the ways prescribed for pastors to fulfill their roles. Ministers are not simply “to listen,” but “to humbly listen.” They are to engage in “passionate” leadership, not simply engage in “leadership.” Ordination vows are replete with descriptions of the characteristics and attributes a pastor should have and



may include such things as: “Will you seek to serve the people with energy, intelligence, imagination, and love?” (Presbyterian Church (USA), 1998, p. 11). Another ordination ceremony included a segment where the ruling elder prays and asks God to “make him/her a *faithful* pastor, a *patient* teacher, and a *wise* councilor” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, 1979, p. 12). Each of these descriptions paints a picture of the “ideal” pastor for the particular denomination or church.

Included in the texts were prescriptions for the position pastors should take on various issues. Beliefs about the Bible, tithing, being good stewards of the environment, capital punishment, abortion, sexual orientation, family, marriage, role of women in the church, and embracing diversity were among the topics that denominations chose to address. For example, a number of churches described the ideal pastor as one who accepts and promotes diversity and recognizes the equality of all people. One denomination specifically stated that its pastors should “treat all persons with equal respect and concern as beloved children of God” (Presbyterian Church of America (USA), 1998, p. 15) while another denomination urged its pastors to serve as an example of how to be racially and ethnically inclusive (*The Book of Discipline of the United Methodist Church*, 2004). Extraordinary Lutheran Ministries asked the pastors it ordained to uphold their commitment “to the full participation of people of all sexual orientations and gender identities in the life and ministry of the Lutheran church” (Extraordinary Lutheran Ministries, 2007b). The denominational descriptions of how the church is to embrace diversity and equality of all people vary among denominations, however, and the positions that a church expected its pastors to ascribe to were

influenced by the denominational leanings. Those denominations and churches that are categorized as liberal were more inclusive of gender identity, sexual orientation, race, and ethnicity. In contrast, moderate and conservative denominations tended to talk about embracing diversity as opposing racism and did not specifically address issues of gender identity and sexual orientation. Another example that serves to illustrate how denominational leanings affect what attributes or beliefs a pastor should have revolves around abortion. Denominational texts in several of the moderate and liberal churches did not convey a particular position on the issue of abortion. The lack of a particular stance could be interpreted as offering individuals the space and freedom to decide for themselves what they will choose to believe about this issue. To illustrate, pastors within the Presbyterian Church (2006) “have a duty to counsel with and pray for those who face decisions about problem pregnancies,” but they allow the individuals to make their own decision. Conservative churches often clearly outline their position on abortion via statements like the following: “speak on behalf of the unborn and contend for sanctity of all human life from conception to natural death” (Southern Baptist Convention, 1999). Thus, the personal characteristics and beliefs of pastors that denominations prescribe vary between denominations.

Denominations and churches often outlined expectations they had of how their ministers’ should develop their personal spirituality. Clergy were expected to develop their personal spirituality and engage in various practices to make sure development and growth was taking place. The *Ministerial Code of Ethics of the Christian Church* (Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), 2008) asks their ministers to commit to

“growing in faith, knowledge, and the practice of ministry through the spiritual disciplines, study, continuing education, and service” (p. 2). Other churches expected their pastors to be “personally engaged with the Bible” (Ministry Issues Implementation Committee, 2009, p. 7), or have a “disciplined devotional life” (Hempelmann, n.d.). Ministerial vows also included statements outlining the personal devotional life of clergy and give specifics for how to do so:

Therefore I will: Practice the disciplines of study, prayer, reflection, worship, stewardship, and service. ...But in order that the minister may perform all these things better and more easily, it is especially required of him that he fear God, be constant in prayer, attend to spiritual reading, and in all things and at all times be watchful, and by a purity of life to let his light to shine before all men.

.... Those responsible for teaching and preaching the Word have a special responsibility to ensure that in their personal worship they observe a discipline of reading from the fullness of Scripture. (Presbyterian Church (USA), 1998)

These personal devotional practices are intended to help the minister spiritually, which according to the denomination enables ministers to do their jobs well. This is also reflected in other ministerial vows: “Will you be diligent in the reading and study of the Holy Scriptures, and in seeking the knowledge of such things as may make you a stronger and more able minister of Christ?” (*The Book of Common Prayer*, 1979, p. 10). Ministers are expected to engage in private devotional practices so they can grow spiritually and become better ministers. In essence, engaging in practices that promote

the personal spiritual growth of ministers enables them to do a better job of serving God and serving others.

The denominational texts addressed the emotional and spiritual dimensions of the clergy's role and specifically as it relates to serving God, serving others, and the personal characteristics, beliefs, and practices of clergy. Identifying how the various denominations addressed the emotional and spiritual dimensions of the clergy member's job leads us to consider the second part of RQ3: What are the implications of these denominational texts in the enablement and constraint of their pastor's identity and authenticity?

### **Implications of Texts in Enablement and Constraint of Identity and Authenticity**

The denominational texts serve as a means of both enabling and constraining the identity and authenticity of their clergy. One of the implications of how these texts enable and constrain their clergy relates to their alignment with a particular denomination. A second implication relates to the denomination's value for authentic pastors and how the denomination defines authenticity.

#### *Aligning with a Denomination*

The theological and doctrinal beliefs reflected in the texts provide a means for prospective clergy to see how well their beliefs line up with a particular denomination. Clergy may compare their beliefs with those of the denomination during their call and training to find a good match at the start of their career. They may also refer back to those same texts throughout their career to see if the fit continues to be compatible or needs adjusting. As mentioned in Chapter II, I categorized churches along a

conservative to liberal continuum. Belief in biblical inerrancy; how orthodox the denomination's beliefs were on God, Jesus, the devil, and life after death; their beliefs about being "born again"; and social issues such as abortion, homosexuality, and the death penalty were the criteria I used to place churches along the continuum. Churches that were more orthodox in their beliefs such that they felt being "born again" was extremely important, believed in the inerrancy of the Bible, and were opposed to abortion and homosexuality were categorized as fundamentalist/conservative. Churches that focused more on social justice issues than on salvation, that did not hold to a literal interpretation of Scripture, and were more accepting of science were classified as liberal. Churches categorized as moderate fell between the two ends of the continuum. The churches' leanings on any of these topics were easily identified via the denominational and church websites and other texts specific to the church and denomination.

Prospective pastors could use this same information to help them ascertain if the beliefs of the church and/or denomination were congruent with their personal beliefs. This would help them identify a mutual fit between themselves and the denomination. For example, if the individual believes that the Bible is the word of God, yet there is no official interpretation, but many interpretations, she may opt to affiliate with denominations that ascribe to her same viewpoint. Or if a minister believes in the literal interpretation of Scripture, she could opt to affiliate with denominations or churches that also believe in this strict interpretative stance. The prospective minister self-selects which denomination would be the best fit based on how well aligned the theological and doctrinal assumptions were between the denomination and the minister. This is, of

course, only one means a potential pastor may use to examine the fit between personal and denominational beliefs.

In addition, clergy may find these texts useful throughout their career as a means of measuring how close the fit may be. Some clergy may find that their beliefs have changed or shifted and they need to move to another church or denomination that better reflects and supports their values and beliefs. Denominational values regarding social justice are an area that is important for many pastors. Those denominations and churches that ask ministers to promote social justice or “work toward a just and morally responsible society” (Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), 2008, p. 4) will attract those pastors who also have a deep desire regarding social justice. For example, several denominations speak to their desire to be an open, welcoming, and affirming congregation for people of every sexual orientation, gender identity, race, nationality, and age. They have a strong desire to embrace diversity and to speak out against discrimination of marginalized and disenfranchised peoples. These denominational values may be particularly important to clergy who fall into marginalized groups. For example, homosexual or lesbian ministers may find that serving in a church with these distinctives allow them to be true to who they are and to be open about who they are. Social justice is not limited to being an open and welcoming community, but often includes other issues such as, striving for peace, standing against discrimination, and seeking help for the poor and needy. Ministers who desire to promote social justice may find they gravitate towards those denominations that are advocates for social justice as well.

Another way in which the texts would enable or constrain the identity and authenticity of pastors relates to a denomination's view on who can be a pastor. For example, several denominations specifically state that they "train men for pastoral ministry" and only men are ordained as ministers. Contrast that with denominations that ordain both men and women. Women who desire to be ordained as ministers must then choose denominations that ordain women and hire women as pastors. In addition, some men may choose to serve in denominations that only ordain men because of their personal beliefs on who can be a pastor. These men and women are making choices that enable them to be true to their identity as a pastor.

### *Authenticity*

An authentic pastor with an authentic faith was one of the qualities that each denomination and church desired in its clergy. There were several instances in which authenticity was defined and described as an important issue in clerical identity. Consider the following excerpt from an organization that ordains people within the Lutheran tradition without regard for sexual orientation:

Extraordinary Lutheran Ministries is an association defined by our transparency and authenticity. *We create a way of being church in the world that doesn't require those called to ministry to lie, forget, ignore, or pretend who they are, who they love, and how they wish to serve in the ministry [italics added].*

(Extraordinary Lutheran Ministries, 2007a)

For this denomination, then, authenticity means that pastors do not hide their sexual orientation and their desire to be a pastor in order to minister to others. This statement enables those ministers who are ready to be transparent about their sexual orientation.

Other churches speak of their desire to have pastors who display authentic faith and who are genuine and real. One church describes itself as a place where people can display this type of authenticity: “We do not feel it is necessary to act like we have it more together than we do. Besides, it is counterproductive to do so. After all, open and genuine people can grow. People wearing masks can only hide” (Irving Bible, n.d.). This serves as a desired value the church has for all its members including their ministers. They do not want ministers or parishioners who are fake or who are “playing” at having an authentic faith. Denominations and churches specifically stated that they wanted ministers who are “authentic believers” (Restoration Church, n.d.), who “display an authentic faith” (Anglican Mission, n.d.), and who had “the personal gift of authenticity” (Episcopal Church, n.d.). In these statements, desire for authenticity is an abstract one not connected to specific behaviors, but seen as part of the spiritual make-up of pastors and parishioners.

To summarize, I found that denominational texts addressed the emotional and spiritual dimensions of pastors’ work in the following areas: 1) serving God, 2) serving others, and 3) personal characteristics/attributes. These categories and the manner in which the denomination addressed these categories were one means by which the pastors selected the denomination or church in which they would serve. Each denomination and church valued authenticity and provided descriptions or definitions of how pastors who



were authentic would conduct themselves. It is likely that, how well the personal beliefs of the clergy match with the denominational beliefs may determine if the clergy feels enabled and/or constrained, which will in turn affect how authentic the clergy feels. This is the issue considered in the next section, as I consider the way the clergy themselves described the denominational standards and beliefs and if they felt enabled and/or constrained by them.

### **Enabled and/or Constrained by Denominational Standards and Beliefs**

(Enabled) When I came here, the church sent out a weekly newsletter. I cut it back to monthly and sometimes I don't send it but every other month. Because if my impact really is to go out and be a leader in making a harvest for Jesus Christ and reaching people with the gospel, then why do I need to be in my office editing a newsletter for the flock, when there are those who aren't a part of the flock that need to be reached? (Reverend Nehemiah)

(Constrained) All of the churches that we were associated with in my childhood were conservative fundamentalists and they didn't believe in women preachers. So, from my earliest recollections, I couldn't deal with the desire to preach, because I was told that God did not call women. (Reverend Lydia)

One might expect ministers' perceptions of whether they are enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards would be influenced by church polity and whether the denomination is liberal, moderate, or conservative. For example, you may surmise that a top-down governing system would be more constraining than congregational rule, or that conservative denominations would be more constraining,

whereas liberal denominations would be more enabling. However, pastors talked of feeling both enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and in ways that I had not previously considered. Next I will elaborate on the ways in which pastors felt enabled and/or constrained and their response to the constraining influences.

### *Enabled*

When I asked the clergy to tell me about the denomination's values and expectations of its pastors, they were quick to respond either by pulling out appropriate material which outlined their job responsibilities or retrieving from memory what the denomination would expect. Laughter often accompanied their responses as they digested the question or as they listened to their answer. As Reverend Tabitha said:

And of course having all of those expectations and all of those things does not contribute necessarily to a small work week and a healthy lifestyle trying to be good at all of those things. There's kind of a mixed message about, be healthy, be balanced, take care of yourself, and being an expert at everything.

Regardless of how lofty and overwhelming their list of responsibilities may have sounded, there was agreement that these guidelines provided parameters for how they were to do their jobs. This knowledge was helpful because they knew what was expected of them which empowered them to do their job. One pastor described the denominational expectations as his "marching orders." In his case, he clearly knew what he was supposed to be focused on as a pastor: "caring for people, caring about people, and equipping people to go about the ministry to which God calls everybody" (Reverend Luke).

The denomination's job description also enabled pastors to be forthright and make difficult decisions when necessary. Reverend Jonah knew that part of his job was to make sure the church was fulfilling its mission and being fiscally responsible. He knew he would have to make some changes.

Our mission statement is to meet Christ, become His disciples, to serve His people with doors open. And everything we do must fit in that mission statement and my job is to empower the staff so they can empower the laity to be in ministry. One of the big challenges I had in coming to this church, Penny, was this church was, kind of vulgar term, but they were used to "mercenary" ministry. Mercenaries are soldiers you hire to fight for you. This church had hired this huge staff to do God's work for them in their place. And you saw it in many subtle ways: expecting the custodian to have their pot of coffee made for them in their Sunday School room when they got there. That's a waste of my custodian's time. You're an adult, make a pot of coffee and see that as your Christian service to your friends. When I got to this church they were spending 17% on clerical staff. We're now at 6.4%. I've gone from 6 full-time to 2 full-time and a part-time person and my members are doing a lot of the work that others were paid to do because they can fold newsletters, they can come up here and get on the phone and call shut-ins, you know, that's ministry, do it! It was not without some pain and some fights.

Reverend Jonah had a clear picture of what his role was based on the guidelines (mission-focused and fiscally responsible) provided by the church/denomination and that

empowered him to make the difficult decisions and to be “tough” as needed. He made changes to make sure his church was serving others, and that meant getting his members to see that making coffee, calling shut-ins, and folding newsletters were ways to do just that. By making these changes, he also cut expenditures, thereby freeing up money to be allocated elsewhere.

Not only did this knowledge empower pastors, but it also served as a means of helping to manage the congregation’s expectations. This is best illustrated in the following excerpt from my conversation with Reverend John Mark.

The additional thing that I get to do that I really dig is, I really am empowered by the church to bless others and what I mean by that is, is that because of my collar and because of the way ordination is used in this tradition, I am given permission to bless and do things in people’s lives at key moments of their lives that I didn’t have the same kind of immediate access in my previous world. For example, when I go to the hospital now and I walk in a room, I’m not there just offering a friendly visit from the church folks. When I walk in with the collar and someone from my tradition sees me, they expect me to do something. They expect me to pray for them. They expect me to anoint them with oil. They expect me to bless them for healing. That’s different. When I baptize people now, adults, kids, and infant, same thing. I’m not only going through this sacramental moment, but I anoint them with oil, not to say that I have some kind of magical power, but I just have a power to bless them in ways that another person perhaps is not given permission. Same thing at death with last rites.

He speaks of feeling empowered as a priest to do his job by the denomination and that his congregants also expect him to fulfill these responsibilities. His parishioners expect him to bless them or pray for them. They know what to expect. Another pastor mentioned that she felt empowered to do her job because of the title the church gave her. Her official title is “women’s teaching pastor.” She talked about how that freed her up to focus on teaching instead of having to “run the children’s ministry” or other aspects of the ministry which would take her away from focusing on teaching. Her title also communicated to others what her responsibilities were, which helped her direct people to other staff if their concerns or issues were outside the purview of her job. The denominational expectations of its pastors’ job responsibilities served to enable and empower pastors to perform their jobs and aided in managing the expectations of their congregants.

### *Enabled and Constrained*

#### *Discernment Process*

The discernment process, church polity, and the theological positions of the denomination were areas in which ministers felt both enabled and constrained by the denominational guidelines. The majority of the clergy talked about the process of discerning if they were to go into the pastorate or not and the manner in which each church handled this process. The process varied between denominations, whether it was recognized as a formal part of the process of ordination or informally acknowledged. An affirmation of the person’s call into the pastorate by a church committee, the parish priest, or seminary professor is often required before a person is ordained. Other

churches do not require a formal discernment process, but they suggest that those seeking to become pastors talk to others and seek confirmation of their call. This serves as a means of validating the individual's call to the role of pastor. Reverend Lydia shared about her call to the pastorate and how it was confirmed:

I had a genuine call experience where God let me know that I was indeed called and that He expected that I would become, that I would pursue a career in ministry. That was confirmed by another female pastor, who heard me share at a prayer breakfast. She looked at her husband and said, "I wonder if she knows she has a call for ministry on her life." So she was the first one to confirm it, and after that different people in the church began to confirm it. They said, "We knew you were more eloquent than most people are when it comes to Scripture, it just rolls off your tongue and when you say it, it sounds believable and it sounds like you have the authority of God. Not to equate you with Jesus, but you speak like you've got authority. You're sure what you're saying so we don't need to doubt you."

The confirmation of her call by others enabled her to pursue her call to the pastorate with confidence. She began her ministry soon after her call was confirmed. The discernment process can serve to enable and empower pastors to confidently pursue the pastorate.

Other ministers talked of how the discernment process was both constraining and enabling. This usually happened when the individuals were in seminary and spiritual mentors or church committees redirected their ministry path. Reverend Miriam was in seminary to become a hospital chaplain, however her direction shifted.

I was a little over a year in the program and the professors came to me and said, “you’re not reading your call right.” And I went, “what do you mean?” And they said, “You really should think about going through your denomination’s ordination process. You really have gifts for parish ministry.” And I went, “pshaw, I DON’T think so. I’m not going to do that.” And they go, “no, you really should think about that.” So I did. I started to go through the process of that and did all the things I had to do towards ordination. ... When I had to do my unit in clinical pastoral education, it became very clear to me that I probably wouldn’t have liked it [hospital chaplain] as well as I thought. ... What I discovered is, I did not like the fact that you did not have a relationship with the person. You can’t develop one. You’re basically there and you see them maybe once or twice, sometimes longer, but there’s no real connection and I thrive more on developing connections with people or lasting connections, or you know pastoral in that sense. So they were absolutely right! (laughs)

Reverend Miriam was constrained in her initial pursuit of ministry by the feedback from her professors. However, their feedback enabled her to pursue parish ministry which was a far better fit than hospital chaplaincy would have been. The denominational involvement in the discernment process in this and other cases proved to both constrain and enable its pastors.

#### *Church Polity*

Church polity, the governing system of the denomination, also proved to enable and constrain its ministers. As way of review, Congregational, Presbyterian, and

Episcopal are the three types of church polity (Sullins, 2004). The locus of power and authority is different within each type of governing structure. Authority that resides in the congregation and reflects voluntary membership is indicative of congregational polity. Authority in a Presbyterian structure of church government is relegated to “regional councils of clergy” (Sullins, 2004, 278). Within Episcopal structures, the bishop has authority. Ministers within the Episcopal structure are assigned to a church by the bishop, whereas ministers in congregational structures are interviewed and offered a position by the congregation of that specific church. The majority of the clergy I interviewed were pastoring churches with an Episcopalian or Congregational system of governance and each mentioned varying ways in which they felt enabled and/or constrained.

Those ministers within the Episcopal structure commented on the freedom they felt to do what they were called to do because they could not be fired by the congregation. Reverend Jonah articulated it this way: “I show up on their doorstep with a letter that says, ‘This is your new preacher.’ That’s liberating. If they don’t like me, if I blow up here, I’ll get another job somewhere else to do my thing. That’s liberating.” Yet at the same time, authority that rests in the office of the bishop can be constraining. For example, the following happened in one denomination under the direction of the bishop:

She [the bishop] has taken the Harvard Business Model and transposed it on our denomination. And it is a mistake. She’s going full force. ... The mission statement of the annual conference is now supposed to be the mission statement



of the local church, so it's top down planning. ... They're holding a lot of pressure over us. (Reverend Jonah)

The rub intensified when the bishop dictated that Reverend Jonah's church plant a new church in another part of town. The church members were asking "why" and as he said: "You tell a bunch of people from (location) that are independent in a church like this, 'well this is what you're going to do.' They're going to swell up like toads and say, 'hell, we are!'" (laughs). He mentioned that the response could have been different had the bishop talked to him first before dictating that they would plant a new church. The Episcopal structure is constraining in that this minister must follow the direction of the bishop even when he disagrees with the approach.

Pastors within the Congregational structure continually commented on the autonomy of their particular governing system. They were particularly grateful that they did not have to deal with a hierarchy telling them what to do. "Pastors value the fact that we're not really accountable to the denomination, like, you know, Presbyterian, in certain circles there's you know a whole ruling body that they are sort of accountable to. [Our denomination has] the autonomy to do whatever they want, any way they want" (Reverend Daniel). Another pastor articulated it this way: "We champion the autonomy of the local church and so our denominational affiliation or involvement is more of a cooperative and more of a voluntary kind of act. I don't know, so I guess what I'm saying is we're not a denomination that is receiving dictates from people above us" (Reverend Samuel). These ministers valued the autonomy of their church and the freedom it gave them to manage and lead their congregations as they saw fit.

However, several pastors mentioned that congregational rule could pose problems or constrain them. For instance, the congregation can fire the pastor if they are dissatisfied with the pastor. This can create stress for pastors as they try to lead as they believe God has called them to lead while at the same time trying to please the congregation. As Reverend Barnabas stated:

In a congregation you work for them and you could end up with a hundred different people thinking they're your boss. So you have to be real careful in terms of dealing with people. As a new minister coming in, you don't know exactly where the issues are and it's easy to step into something and not know it. The minister works for the congregation. But then at the same time from a theological level, I don't work for the congregation, I work for God. Sometimes those don't go in the same direction. It's one of those points at which, there can be real struggles.

He went on to describe how other denominations cannot fire their pastors. However, because he pastors a church with congregational rule, he does not have the support of a bishop or ruling body of elders to prevent the congregation from firing him. Therefore congregational rule can be constraining if ministers feel that they are not able to lead as God has called them to lead or if they happen to step on a landmine that causes pastors to fall into disfavor with the congregation.

I found it interesting to note that pastors of nondenominational churches mentioned the need for constraining influences within congregationally ruled churches

for accountability purposes. Reverend Paul argued for accountability for the following reasons:

In the nondenominational realm, sometimes I think there's not enough accountability as far as who we turn loose in the pulpit. You know, you take some of the larger pastors that have the TV shows and stuff. They get up and say this doctrine that's so far out there that you can't even really support it biblically and they are no better than some that we would say would be heretics. They grab a kernel of truth and then they build a whole theology around it. And so, I think, in the nondenominational realm, there's more accountability [needed] because by the very nature of the institution, the autonomy of the local church, there's no accountability.

Other pastors also agreed that there was a need for accountability within nondenominational churches to make sure the pastor does not teach heresy and does not become power hungry. These pastors argued for some constraints to make sure the pastor and the church do not stray from their purpose.

#### *Theological Position*

Pastors also spoke of the enabling and constraining nature of the theological position of the church. The majority of the ministers I interviewed did not feel constrained or at odds with the doctrine of their current church because they chose the particular church or denomination because it fit with their beliefs. "Well, I made the choice to become [a minister in my denomination] and I wouldn't have made the choice if I fundamentally disagreed with it" (Reverend Jude). One pastor mentioned that it was

refreshing that he agreed with the doctrine because he had friends within the denomination that were at odds over various beliefs. Others commented on how nice it was to have freedom to have their own opinions on the non-essentials as well as a place to articulate those views. Overall, they felt enabled and free to be themselves within the church tradition in which they were pastoring.

A few ministers did share about experiences they had in which they felt constrained. Two in particular stand out from the others. Reverend Tabitha is an openly gay minister. Her denomination, at the time of the interview, ordained gay and lesbian clergy, but asked them to remain celibate. Reverend Tabitha openly disagreed with the denomination's stance and wanted to be ordained within that denomination. I asked her why she stayed with the denomination and she replied:

I feel like the reason that I stayed Lutheran is that I really, really agree with the fundamentals of Lutheran theology and what Lutherans believe. It's just that sometimes I feel like the church isn't acting them out, in the same way that I would, or isn't carrying them far enough in their social statements, or things like that.

She was in agreement with the theological positions of the church, but did not feel like the church lived out its theology appropriately. Because she refused to support the celibacy policy, the denomination refused to ordain her. She was unable to fulfill her call as pastor within the dictates of the denomination of her choice.

Another minister shared how his church went through a difficult time when the value of the mission of the church was lost.

So, when we were in the [denomination], the highest values were pastoral. Priests need to be committed to the liturgy meaning, show up, do the sacraments as it's written in the book. Be inclusive of everyone, maintain unity in our Church, don't create controversy, let everybody believe what they want, and let's all just try to get along and put our arms around the hurting and the needy and all of those are great, great values. .... Where we felt like we had gotten crossways was not in any particular or one issue, it wasn't the gay issue, or it wasn't one theological issue. But for us, it was the value that was lost was a mission issue. Mission, in terms of helping others come to know Christ as the Lord and Savior of their life is not a high value. (Reverend John Mark).

The discernment process, church polity, and the theological positions of the denomination were areas in which ministers felt both enabled and constrained by the denominational guidelines. Their responses to these constraints are the focus of the following section.

#### *Response to Constraint*

Clergy responses to denominational constraints varied. Some clergy felt the freedom to disagree, others left the denomination, while others chose alternate means of getting around the constraint. Most clergy indicated that there were some issues within the denomination over which they would disagree. Regional meetings, conventions, conferences, and position papers were a few of the means that ministers used to civilly disagree. Reverend Andrew stated that if he feels that he is at odds with the denomination:

I have to emotionally and spiritually accept that a call to this denomination is kind of like being a member of a family and say there are just some things about this family that I can't reconcile, but I am a member of the family. So I kind of choose to accept that there are people in the family that I don't agree with and kind of live with it. That would be one way for me to emotionally deal with that. The other is, if I feel strongly enough about it, then to be involved in transformation or involved in being a change agent within the denomination, which I'm involved with some of the change agent groups in the church. The change agent group that I'm involved in is a call to orthodoxy and faithfulness to the historic doctrines of the church. And call attention to where it's not [faithful to historic doctrine].

Involvement with the change agent group allows Reverend Andrew to voice his opinion on following the doctrine of the church. The denomination provides a platform for different groups to express their opinions. He handles his dissent or disagreement with others in the denomination through involvement with the change agent groups or by letting things slide because he realizes that he will not agree with everyone.

Disagreement is common, yet having the opportunity to express one's opinion in the proper context can ease some of the tension. To illustrate, I asked Reverend Abigail if she ever disagreed with church leadership and if so, how did she manage that tension. She responded with:

Sure, I definitely do, but I, as strong and opinionated as I am. I really have never had that big of an issue with that. I think because I know our leadership and I

know our elders and I probably have a little different idea of male-female relationship in the home and the headship whole thing than our senior leadership. But I love, I know the hearts of our leadership, and they are good, and they are thinking, and doing their very best. And it's just not a "salvation" issue for me and so I work underneath their leadership and I think unity is more important than my theology being heard and declared as the rule. I counsel most of the time as best I can what I think is their stance unless it is something I just can't. And they know how I feel and I'm not that far off from them. I'm a little different. They hear me. I love that I have a voice and I get to speak into it and I get to challenge that. And that may be part of it too, if you feel you have a voice you don't feel stifled even if they don't come your way.

Yes, she differs in some areas from her leadership, yet because she has a voice to express her opinion, she chooses to submit to their leadership. Even though there are differences she feels there is still room for her to be true to who she is and her role as pastor.

Sometimes the disagreement is over issues that the minister considers nonnegotiable and the response is different. Earlier I shared Reverend John Mark's story of how the denomination he was ministering in had lost its focus on evangelism. The ministers of his particular church began to consider if they should align with another bishop that better reflected their values and vision.

I have found my personal faith in conflict with, primarily, national leadership. Being in the Diocese of \_\_\_\_\_, there would be mixed congregations of various

clergy within the Diocese but, you know, we knew that we were not a one to one fit theologically, but, you know, the lovely thing about this tradition is the civility that exists even among people that strongly disagree with one another. And it was one of the real advantages of this world. So I love that. But in dealing with the national issue, you know that was a heart wrenching decision for and continues to be for a lot of clergy, that while we can talk about these issues civilly, at what place do you disengage fellowship. Is it enough if the presiding Bishop, a national leader of the [denomination] says, "I don't believe Jesus is the only way to God" and can you say, can you still wear the brand name of the [denomination] and just shrug your shoulders and say, "Well, I disagree with this person," but we can still be on the same team. So there is a lot of struggle there and a great deal of struggle and anxiety and grief in just our church in our clergy deciding to move out. It is very, very difficult. And even among our staff, among our clergy in our own church, you know, we had a difference of opinion of how we deal with the matter.

In the end, this church decided to align with another branch of the denomination whose primary values were evangelism and church planting. For this church, the difference in the denominational expectations and the priest's expectations were too wide and they left one Anglican community for another that better reflected their values. Other pastors also mentioned that they began their ministry in one denomination, but switched when they realized that another denomination would be a better fit. There were no patterns



noted with these transitions. Some began their ministry in more conservative churches and switched to a moderate or liberal church and vice versa.

Finally, some pastors chose alternate means to get around the constraining denominational influences. Reverend Tabitha was unable to be ordained in her denomination because she disagreed with the celibacy policy for gay and lesbian pastors. She did not let that stop her from pursuing her call to pastor within the denomination. A group of people within the denomination founded an organization in hopes of changing the policy. This organization is not officially recognized by the church, but it provided an avenue for gay and lesbian pastors who disagreed with the policy to be ordained. Reverend Tabitha went through the ordination process with the organization and was invited to pastor a church within her denomination. At the time, she was not officially recognized by the denomination as being ordained or of being the pastor of that church. Reverend Tabitha could have pursued ordination through another denomination that welcomed gay and lesbian pastors, but she stayed within the denomination of her choice. She found a way to work around the policy so she could fulfill her pastoral calling.

Pastors' responses to the constraining influences of the denomination varied. If the issues were nonessential or they felt they had a platform to express their views, they disagreed civilly. Other pastors felt that the gap between the denominational expectations and their own beliefs were too wide and they opted to leave the denomination or church. Finally, some pastors chose alternate means of getting around the denominational constraint.

## Summary

Chapter III was dedicated to answering my research questions based on the common themes and patterns that emerged during the data analysis. I found that pastors negotiated tensions of authenticity and identity in their work in a variety of ways. They may choose to be honest and forthright in their responses, react privately, fake it, take it in stride, or develop formulaic responses. Finally, they often addressed the potential for tensions of authenticity and identity by taking time to develop their personal spirituality as a means of helping them preempt and/or handle the tension.

Research Question 2 addressed how pastors describe the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their job. I found that each of the job responsibilities that pastors described as being a part of their role involved emotion whether it was pastoral care, teaching, preaching, managing conflict, or handling staff issues. Ministers described the spiritual dimension of their job as enjoyable, encouraging, and satisfying, but not burdensome.

The denominational texts addressed issues of emotional and spiritual dimensions of clergy's work and there are implications that these texts have in the enablement and constraint of clergy's identity and authenticity. Overall denominations addressed how ministers should serve God, serve others, and what personal characteristics and beliefs the ministers should enact. These texts often served as a means for the pastor to self-select which denomination would be a good fit. Part of finding a good match entailed if they felt their personal beliefs and who they were would be supported by the denomination.

Finally, I addressed the ways in which pastors felt enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards. Overall, the ministers felt that the job guidelines and responsibilities enabled and empowered them to do their jobs and to manage congregational expectations. The discernment process, church polity, and theological position of the church were all factors that influenced whether or not clergy felt enabled and/or constrained. The gap between what the minister believed and what the denomination required influenced the manner in which the minister responded to the denominational constraint. Some clergy acknowledged that they would have some area of disagreement, but as long as it was over a nonessential issue and they had an opportunity to voice their opinion, it was not a deal breaker. However others felt the gap was too wide, and they chose to leave the denomination or church to find a better match. Some pastors found a way to get around the constraint.

The next chapter focuses on making connections between the results of my study and the literature on emotional labor, identity, authenticity, and spiritual labor. I will also discuss implications and ideas for future research.

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this research project was to explore how emotional labor amongst clergy is distinct from forms of emotional labor in other occupations and how the authenticity and identity of pastors are affected if and when their behaviors and communication contradict their emotions and they feel they are putting on an act for God. Clergy do engage in emotional labor in ways that are distinct from this process in other occupations. In this chapter, I revisit the literature considered in Chapter I and draw connections between existing literature and the results of this project. I will begin by discussing the emotional labor that clergy engage in on the job, followed by a discussion of how clergy are engaged in spiritual work, not spiritual labor. Next, I will examine issues of authenticity and identity through a structuralist and a postmodern approach to identity. As I work through the various aspects of the results, I will comment on ways in which the findings might influence organizational practice. This will be followed by a discussion of the limitations of this project and ideas for future research.

#### **Emotional Labor**

The focus of this project was emotional labor, that is, the management of one's emotions as a function of the job. I found that clergy are engaging in emotional labor, that they are well aware that they are doing this, and that they try to handle the possible negative outcomes of engaging in emotional labor in a proactive manner.

Like many organizations, religious denominations and churches have certain expectations of how clergy should conduct themselves in the role as pastor. There is a degree of regulation on the denomination's part that dictates how a pastor should feel, communicate, and behave with others. Pastors often find themselves in situations where they must manage their feelings by acting in a manner that contradicts their "genuine" feelings. They may engage in surface acting by regulating their emotional expression to fit the demands of the organization (e.g., mask annoyance) or they may engage in deep acting by trying to conjure up the appropriate feelings for a particular situation (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983). The following excerpt from a conversation with Reverend Jacob illustrates surface acting:

I've got a member who has often been doing her volunteer work pretty quiet, but in the past has been pretty zealous in her work and it has often caused the need to redirect her. Well, right now, we're having a Fall Festival coming up and she wants to do signage out there. Well, they [city government] made it an amendment that you can put a banner out there, but you have to go apply for a permit. You have to do this, but she was going to ignore all that and just do it and get a bunch of signs out there. So I have to sometime today, make the call, try to curtail that. ...So it's easy to get angry and frustrated, but at the same time you have to be direct [go talk to them], you have to be patient, you have to listen. Jacob wishes he did not have to talk to this woman and redirect her energy. His response is not always what he feels it should be. You can see that he is wrestling with feeling angry and frustrated, yet having the right attitude about serving his parishioner.

He is engaged in surface acting because he is masking his frustration and anger, so he can express the appropriate emotion of genuine care and concern for the person.

Reverend Jacob is experiencing dissonance between what is required of him as a pastor and his feelings. He is engaging in emotional labor.

However, the emotional labor that clergy were engaged in was not oppressive in nature, but had a more positive spin. Shuler and Syper (2000) identified positive functions of emotional labor amongst 911 dispatchers and the function that most closely relates to this study is “emotional labor as altruistic service” (p. 75). Callahan and McCollum (2002) also describe this type of emotional labor as autonomous emotional labor because the “employee manages emotions to conform to her own standards not only because she feels it is right, but also because she chooses to” (p. 224). Many human service employees see their emotional labor as a means of helping others and something they want to do. Clergy are no exception. Minister after minister talked about the desire “to help others grow in their faith and relationship with God,” or “to give resources to people and to hold people accountable,” or “to see people changed.” A large part of why many of the ministers I interviewed became ministers was to help people in the spiritual area of their lives. So clergy are engaging in emotional labor, but view it as a means of helping and serving others. The following account from Reverend Asher illustrates the altruistic nature of emotional labor:

So, we have a preschool here at school or at church. I have to catch myself because we have chapel every Wednesday morning and I love the kids, I love doing that, but sometimes I’m like, “gosh, I just don’t want to do chapel today

and I just don't want to do that today." But I get in there, I get going, I see their smiles, they all give me a hug and I'm thinking "okay, God, this is why I gotta do this."

He is not always excited about various aspects of his job, yet he may put on a smile (surface acting) as he goes to the kids' chapel or he may try to conjure up feelings of excitement (deep acting) because he knows that he is helping these kids by fulfilling his role as pastor even when he does not always feel like doing so. In this case, however, emotional labor is not viewed as oppressive, but as a positive and necessary part of his job.

Another pastor mentioned that he is not always compassionate. For example, he said that when a ninety-five year old grandmother dies, he would like to say, "Let's celebrate her life because she lived a long life, besides this is just a normal part of life [death] and she was old" (Reverend Nehemiah). However, he knows it would be inappropriate to say what he is thinking. He acts contrary to how he feels, but he does so because he knows that he needs to express compassion when someone is grieving the loss of a family member. Although his role of pastor demands that he express compassion to those he ministers to, he is not oppressed, but sees the suppression of his true feelings as a means of helping others (autonomous emotional labor). This also serves as an example of faking in "good faith" or faking the organizationally prescribed emotion (compassion) because it is seen as part of the role of a pastor.

Another possible explanation for the positive function of emotional labor amongst these ministers is that there was actually very little discrepancy between the

pastors' own descriptions of their role and the denominational and church expectations of the pastors. The congruency between how pastors see themselves and the denomination's expectations could aid in the internalization of the feeling rules and enable ministers to see that "faking it" at times is part of the job of helping and serving others as a pastor. I will hasten to add that pastors were quick to differentiate between "faking it" because it is a function of the job or appropriate for the situation and being fake or inauthentic in a way that does not comport with individual or denominational expectations.

The discernment process and seminary are two experiences that may contribute to the congruency between the pastor's expectations and the church's expectations. For many pastors, the discernment process lasted anywhere from two to five years. Although the process differed somewhat between denominations and churches, it generally included seminary training and meeting with their church's pastoral candidate committee. During this time, future pastors received feedback from professors, other clergy, and church committees which confirmed or redirected their call into ministry. Their seminary training, internships, and feedback served as opportunities to expose the individuals I interviewed to the job requirements and to socialize them into the role of clergy. The lengthy process and exposure to the denomination and church appeared to provide candidates with a relatively clear picture of the organization that allowed them to make an informed decision about fit. This may account for the congruency between who the pastor is and the expectations the church has of its pastor.



Another interesting finding was that ministers were aware that they would engage in emotional labor or feel the tension between how their feelings, their identity, and the demands of the role they fulfill as pastor. They tried to address this tension before it emerged by connecting with God and personal spiritual enrichment. The majority of the ministers I interviewed knew they would experience some dissonance or tension between how they were expected to fulfill their role as pastor and how they felt in a given situation, and they used various methods to prevent the tension from developing or from hindering their job performance. They felt that if they did not try to preempt or manage the tension that others would sense a lack of genuine care or see their behavior as inauthentic. There are several factors that may aid in their understanding of the tension and ways to manage it. One pastor mentioned that connecting with God and taking care of oneself was addressed in her seminary classes.

Well it's something new they're teaching in seminary. So I don't think pastoral generations before me were taught, but they're starting to figure out, well maybe that's why pastors are having such a hard time with alcoholism, and mental health, and all kinds of other things. It was pretty much part of my seminary training to say, you need to do that. You need to take care of yourself. That's part of your responsibility to God, and your congregation, and yourself.

(Reverend Tabitha)

Seminary classes, diocesan seminars, conferences, and fellow ministers served to provide information about and training for how to handle the emotional labor they would face in the job.

When I asked the ministers to tell me what advice they would give to those considering a career in ministry, the majority of the answers included tips on how to take care of oneself personally, spiritually, and emotionally to avoid burnout. They mentioned things like: “take care of yourself, establish good boundaries and guidelines and self-discipline,” “develop a healthy sense of who you are,” and “get very, very anchored in your walk with God and remember that your most basic calling is to Him, not pleasing other people.” Reverend Matthew offered this advice:

Leave enough time for your own personal life and personal devotion because if you lose that and you lose the sense of feeding your own soul...you really don't have anything to share anyway and it becomes pretense in a hurry. And people can really see through that sort of artificiality, it's not genuine and real.

These tips were the same things that they personally practiced in order to preempt and manage the tension.

One implication that stems from these findings is that the pastors mentioned practical ideas that can be seen as beneficial continuing practices for a variety of organizational types. The ministers were aware of the potential for emotional labor, and they had practical means by which to manage or preempt the dissonance and tension that could result. They shared these ideas with others and often the diocese, denominational conferences, and seminary classes provided training and seminars that addressed the challenges of remaining authentic and real. Many of these pastors also had a network of peers that provided support, encouragement, and perspective when they began to feel the tension of emotional labor. These venues and support networks could also work for

other human service organizations and their employees. Hearing from fellow employees about how they manage those days when their feelings do not match how they are supposed to act could be helpful, aid in handling the tension, and possibly help employees avoid burnout. Organizations could provide seminars and address the potential of emotional labor, especially if they know the jobs their employees are performing are prone to emotional labor. Understanding the challenges of the job and what may help one navigate those challenges would be a boon for both the employee and the organization.

### **Spiritual Work not Spiritual Labor**

Spiritual labor, according to McGuire (2006) is “the commodification, codification, and regulation of organizational members’ spirituality” (p. 11), and it is distinct from emotional labor. In order to determine if clergy engaged in spiritual labor, I asked them to describe the emotional and spiritual dimensions of their jobs. I found that clergy genuinely enjoyed the spiritual dimension of their jobs, and as I mentioned in the previous section, engaging in spiritual activities actually enabled them to perform the emotional labor that comes with the job. Borrowing from Miller, Considine, and Garner’s (2007) study on types of emotion in the workplace, I believe that the type of spirituality in the workplace these clergy engaged in was not spiritual labor (inauthentic spirituality in interaction with others), but spiritual work (authentic spirituality in interaction with others). In addition, Callahan and McCollum’s (2002) definition of emotion work translates well into spiritual work. They argue that employees engage in emotion work when they choose to manage their emotion because it gives them pleasure

versus the organization dictating how they should manage their emotions. Spiritual work then is something clergy enjoy engaging in and they choose to engage in spiritual work.

The ministers talked about how they took pleasure in various aspects of the spiritual side of their job such as preaching, teaching, and seeing people's lives changed.

As Reverend Benjamin stated:

I love to preach, it is one of the things I really look forward to every week. I don't want to sound like an egotist, but it's a real rush to do that. But it is not a rush that is about me, it's a wonderful opportunity to speak about God and see how people react to that.

He, along with others, often began talking about the things they enjoyed about the spiritual dimension of their role with the words "I love." They were very positive about the spiritual dimension of their job, and they spoke with passion about how they enjoy it and why they like ministering to others. Reverend Gideon described it this way:

I like seeing people changed. One of the coolest things for me and it applies to all teachers, it doesn't matter what you do, you see it in their face that they got it. You're saying something and you see in people's faces, their eyes light up, they get that smile on their face, or you can see that they're sitting there thinking, they got the answer to what they were questioning. That's one of the joys.

The pastors I spoke to receive joy and pleasure in ministering to others and seeing lives changed. They genuinely enjoy the spiritual dimension of their job. They do not have to

fake their delight in doing this part of their job. They are engaging in spiritual work or authentic spirituality in their interactions with others as they do their job.

The clergy I interviewed took pleasure not only in the spiritual activities involved in ministering to others, but also the activities that fostered their own spiritual development. Pastors take their personal spiritual development seriously and, as Reverend Andrew stated: “my personal spirituality and faith is the driving value of my life.” Several ministers described these activities as practices that “feed the soul” and “prevent burnout.” They enjoyed and saw the value of a variety of spiritual disciplines. For example, Reverend Samuel said: “I love journaling because it’s just me and God. It’s God speaking into my heart and me responding to Him. So it’s Bible reading. It’s prayer, a dialogue with Him. It’s journaling some things, or an extended time of solitude.” The ministers also recognized that their personal spiritual development enabled them to do their job well. Reverend John Mark said:

My personal faith is the fuel that feeds my whole life and so, the connection point for me is that I can’t do my job, I can’t do my role as (minister), if I’m not engaged in heart and in mind in my own personal faith.

In addition, several pastors mentioned that if they did not “feed their soul” that they would become susceptible to burnout.

But when the spiritual disciplines are cut out and we’re no longer taking that time to do some personal reflection and we’re just doing this, and it just drains, it will drain the soul, drain the body, and drain everything and can become quite exhausting. (Reverend Ezra)

Clergy enjoyed the spiritual dimensions of their job, whether it involved ministering to others or fostering their own spiritual growth and development. Ministers are engaged in spiritual work.

Although there were some denominational prescriptions with regards to ministers pursuing their personal spiritual development, these expectations did not result in ministers feeling oppressed or believing that they had to fake their spirituality. The denominational expectations appeared to serve as general guidelines, yet there was freedom with regards to how the individual minister chose to pursue his or her spiritual growth. For example, several denominations expected their pastors to spend time reading and studying the Bible, yet ministers were free to choose the method and time that worked best for them. It would be interesting to see how pastors may feel if denominational guidelines began to dictate the particulars of how they are to read and study the Bible. Providing general guidelines to follow while allowing employees freedom in how they carry out their job roles, may be something organizations should keep in mind to enable employees to feel they are engaging in spiritual or emotional work instead of spiritual or emotional labor. Providing enough structure to set goals—while still allowing agency in how those goals are met—may be one way to create an atmosphere that results in employees taking pleasure in their roles and feeling authentic about their work.

In sum, then, clergy engaged in emotional labor with a positive attitude because they view it as a means of helping others and as a part of their job. Thus, they did not speak of engaging in emotional labor as oppressive. They were aware that emotional

labor came with the job and as a result they made choices to connect with God on a personal level and develop their spiritual life as a means of preempting and/or managing the tension when the job required they mask their true feelings and display organizationally preferred feelings. Although clergy engaged in emotional labor, they were not involved in spiritual labor. They genuinely enjoyed the spiritual dimensions of their job and exhibited authentic spirituality as they interacted with others; thus they were involved in spiritual work. Engaging in spiritual development through maintaining their personal connection with the Lord was key to being true to who they are and being a minister and it is how they dealt with the emotional labor. The pastors' identities were influenced and affected by engaging in emotional labor and spiritual work. In the next sections, I consider these issues of identity using both a structural approach and a postmodern lens.

### **Structural Approach to Identity**

A structural approach to identity and identification argues for multiple identities across situations as the counteracting forces of agency and constraint work together in the identification process (Scott, Corman, & Cheney, 1998). Identity is composed of the structures (rules and resources) used to anchor who a person is at a particular time and in a specific context. Identification is the system and the means by which a person communicates his or her level of attachment to the organization. A structural approach to identity was important to my project because it allowed me to examine the rules and resources that shape ministers' identities. I looked at the expectations that the denomination and church had for its clergy. Congregational

expectations, personal expectations, expectations from God, and expectations of the community were also examined. Each set of expectations influenced the ministers' views of themselves, as would be the case for an employee of any organization. However, God's expectations and the denominational expectations appear to carry a symbolic weight that outweighed other structural influences and that differentiate this profession from others.

Pastors speak of their jobs as being unique and different than other jobs and one of the reasons is that they see God as their boss. They feel they are representing God and Christ in their jobs, that they are to be an example to others, and this is not something that they take lightly. Pastors also recognize that they are in unique positions of power and need to act ethically and handle people well. Reverend Lydia talked about how wearing her collar symbolizes that she belongs to God and is a representative for Him. Because she represents Christ and God, she is fully aware that the manner in which she handles people is of particular importance: "it's more harmful in this role, than in others to mess up, and when you mess up, you apologize" (Reverend Lydia). The weight of representing God and fulfilling His expectations of how a priest should act is a heavy responsibility. In addition, her own expectations of how a minister should act come into play, as well as the expectations of her parishioners. If she does mess up, she knows that she needs to make amends.

Reverend Jude described the weight of being a minister and how it influenced his identity in the following way:



The position of responsibility for a priest is heavier. For example, when I lead penitence prayers I do this to carry out a task for the church, but it also builds spirituality in me and my church. There is no boundary between my personal faith and being a priest. I have a greater level of responsibility and I must be disciplined and not skip activities that develop my spiritual life. I feel responsible to maintain my spiritual life and to serve as an example to others. Also when I share a homily, I can't do this without looking at the Scriptures. So the two (personal spirituality and role of priest) go back and forth in their influence.

Reverend Jude alludes to the expectations he has of himself, the expectations that his congregation may have, as well as the expectations he perceives God has for him; these all make the position of responsibility heavier. He feels he should be an example to others and that he needs to build spirituality in himself and his church. All of these various expectations influence and shape his identity as a minister. These expectations comprise the rules and resource that make up an individual's identities and these identities are influenced by both time and context (Scott, Corman & Cheney, 1998).

The particular identity that ministers enact at a given time is influenced by the context in which ministers find themselves. In addition, the activities in which ministers engage reinforce the identity and the expectations of how ministers should interact in a given situation, reflecting the interplay of agency and structure in a structural approach to identity. To illustrate, preaching is a key responsibility of pastors, and the church, pastor, congregation, and God expect the pastor to preach. This expectation is

clearly identified in denominational and church job descriptions and pastors readily list this as one of their job responsibilities. These pastors spend time throughout the week preparing their sermons which are delivered on Sundays. Several pastors mentioned that they tend to be very direct, forthright, and honest in their sermon delivery, and they desire to challenge their congregations to love God and others. The congregation most likely expects their pastor to preach God's word and the directness and honesty are also considered appropriate within that context. The pastor's identity is shaped by the sermon delivery context as well as the expectation that preaching is part of his or her job. The activity and communicative behaviors of giving a sermon instantiate the preaching aspect of the pastor's identity. Similarly, other activities and communicative behaviors reify other aspects of a pastor's identity. For example, Reverend John Mark is an Episcopalian priest who wears the white clergyman's collar. He mentioned that when someone is sick and he goes to visit, the parishioner has an expectation of what he will do as an Episcopalian priest and denominational texts reinforce the activities in which he is to engage. His collar symbolizes that he is a representative for God and an Episcopalian priest. When he visits the sick, he is expected to anoint the sick with oil, bless the person, and pray for the person. These activities indicate that he is in a pastoral care or ministry of presence context and not a preaching context. To engage in a prophetic and blunt declaration of the gospel during a visit with someone who is dying or sick could be inappropriate and unexpected in that context. Each context is linked to specific activities, communicative behavior, and a particular identity of a pastor.

Scott, Corman, and Cheney (1998) also argue that individuals have more than one occupational identity, and this notion of multiple identities was clearly articulated in my conversations with clergy. Pastors are not only defined by being a pastor, but the majority of the pastors I interviewed were married and had children. These identities also influenced their identities as pastors. As one pastor stated:

You've gotta keep that symbolic weight when you get away from the altar or else you're not going to be able to carry it at the altar. If you can't carry it here and still be authentic and be who you are and be someone people can relate to, that's what is so valuable, if they can relate to you. Knowing you're a mother, knowing you're a wife, knowing you're challenged with this and that and this and that and yet you can carry that whole person behind that altar or in front of the altar ...you're carrying all that humanity up to the altar. (Reverend Lydia)

Being a wife, mom, and a human are other identities that shape Lydia's role as a minister and allow her to relate to the people she ministers amongst. Her occupational identities are influenced by her family identities and vice versa. Each identity is important and each identity may become more prevalent in certain situations based on which identity is being enacted at a particular moment.

Even though each identity of a pastor is important and becomes more prevalent depending on the context, the pastoring parts of the minister's identity appear omnipresent. The combination of the pastor identities permeates all aspects of the pastor's other identities (e.g., family, community member). The salience of the occupational identity for pastors imbues all that they do no matter what identity is being

enacted. Ministers' identity is not just pastor or organizational it encompasses their whole being as if there is no self outside of work self. Scott and colleagues (1998) talk about various regions of a person's identity and how these regions overlap and are unique from one another based on which regions of the person's identity are most salient. However, for clergy, it appears that their occupational identity encompasses all other identities. The seeming omnipresence of the pastoring parts is unique. It would be interesting to talk to clergy who leave the ministry all together to how it affects their identity and how they view themselves.

Following a structurational approach to identity, this research showed that not all rules and resources that influence one's identity are created equal. Some may carry a heavier weight than others. Although God's expectations may be a unique factor to consider when identifying influences on one's occupational identity, the fact that some factors carry more weight than others is not. Knowing which factors carry more weight than others could aid in understanding what motivates an employee or what would be most effective in creating and maintaining employee attachment and commitment to the organization. To illustrate, suppose an employee who is required to travel extensively with her job decides that she may need to resign because she desires to feel like she is part of a community, can develop relationships, and enjoy a social life while in town. Although she enjoys her job and is successful, she finds the travel too taxing. If the organization decides they do not want to lose a valued employee, they may propose a variety of options to entice her to stay in the job. For example, they may reduce the amount of time she has to travel by investing in technology that allows her to fulfill her

job responsibilities on location. Working to come up with a plan that meets the organization's needs and the employee's desires could increase the level of attachment and commitment the employee has with the organization. Although being successful and making good money was attractive to the employee, her desire to be connected with others in her community was greater. The organization recognized that and kept a valuable employee by implementing some changes.

In summary, a structural approach to identity revealed several things. Denominational texts, along with expectations from God, the pastor, the community, and the congregation, were identified as some of the rules and resources that influence pastors' various ministerial identities. What set ministers apart from employees of other organizations are that God's expectations and the denominational expectations appear to carry a symbolic weight that is not seen in identity structures found in other occupations. In addition, the link between activity, identity, communicative behavior, and context was evident. Finally, the influence of identities not associated with their occupation was seen to be of importance and actually helps pastors relate to the people with whom they interact. Next, I would like to address identities from a postmodern approach.

### **Postmodern Approach to Identity**

The postmodern approach views self as being fragmented, shaped by a variety of discourses, and multiple in nature depending on the situation context (Tracy, 2000). Tracy and Tretheway (2005) argue that "emotions and identity are more productively understood as neither real nor fake, but constructed and constrained through various discourses of power" (p. 175). These organizational discourses often promote a

preferred organizational identity which can be a means of organizational control as employees align themselves to prescribed norms (Tracy, 2000). “Crystallization of self” offers an alternative to viewing identity as real or fake because there is evidence that people enact multiple identities as organizational discourses shift and change.

The predominant organizational discourses across all denominations and churches were that pastors would 1) serve God, 2) serve others, and 3) embody certain personal characteristics, beliefs, and practices. The denominational texts communicated a definite ideal for what a pastor should do and who they should be and although there is potential for those prescriptions to be constraining and controlling, I found something quite different. When I compared what the ministers said about what was expected of them from the denomination to what the denominational texts said, there were very few, if any, discrepancies. The congruency between the pastors’ descriptions and the actual texts was remarkable and it served to empower pastors to do their jobs. In the rare cases where ministers felt constrained by the denominational ideals, ministers felt the freedom to respond in a variety of ways.

Pastors spoke of how the denominational norms for how to fulfill their job responsibilities actually empowered them to perform in the pastoral role. For example, one pastor mentioned how having a clear picture of what his role was based on the guidelines provided by the church/denomination empowered him to make the difficult decisions and to be “tough” as needed. Another pastor expressed that having those expectations aided the congregation in knowing what to expect of him in various situations. His parishioners knew what to expect when he came to visit them or when he

was preaching. These pastors spoke of the positive and enabling aspects of the denominational norms and discourse, and many argued that the job was a good fit because the bottom line was—they wanted to help people in the spiritual area of their lives. This is a bit different than how Tracy and Tretheway (2005) propose an employee would cope with being real or fake as prescribed by organizational discourse. They suggest a number of ways in which the employee will align themselves to the organizational discourse in order to enact the preferred organizational identity. In the case of ministers, it appears that their spirituality, their connection to God trumps the denominational/church discourses. What they sense God desires of them, not the organizational prescriptives, enables them to deal with various facets of themselves and the tensions between authenticity and identity. If the minister feels that the denominational discourse differs from their personal spiritual beliefs (spirituality) then they often leave the denomination for another denomination that is a better fit. They do not question the denomination or try to force themselves to conform to the preferred identity, they simply leave. Ministers' spirituality, their connection to God, is another uniqueness for this particular occupation. Spirituality permeates every aspect of who they are.

Pastors acknowledged that there were denominational constraints that they disagreed with and they handled those in a variety of ways. Some pastors were offered venues by the denomination in which they could civilly disagree. When clergy believed that their concerns were respectfully heard, they were enabled to continue serving within the denomination. Other pastors realized that the denominational constraints were a

“deal breaker,” and they subsequently left the denomination to serve with another denomination or church. Finally, other pastors found an alternative way to get around the constraint in order to serve as a minister in their denomination, such as being ordained via an alternative denominational organization. In each case, the pastor was “rebellious” against some aspect of the preferred organizational identity and being “true” to themselves. However that does not mean that they had been “fake” before they rebelled or that they were being more true to themselves when they chose to contest the organizational norm. They were simply exercising their autonomy. In some cases, a pastor could act in ways contrary to denominational expectations and feel comfortable staying with the denomination. In other cases, the pastor chose to leave because it was clear that there was not a fit between individual identity and denominational expectations. To illustrate, one minister mentioned that a denominational emphasis on evangelism and church planting had been replaced by other priorities. The denominational discourse outlining the focus and priorities of the church and its pastors had shifted and created tension for this pastor. Throughout my conversations, it was clear that these pastors were not passive recipients of the denominational norms. Instead, they chose to align themselves with the norms or to disengage from the norms depending on how closely their ideals of a pastor matched up with the denominational ideals.

The congruency between the pastors’ descriptions of their responsibilities and the denominational/church texts descriptions of job responsibilities



As was true in the structuration approach to identity, various identities are crystallized depending on the context. For example, a pastor who is ministering to a sick parishioner will engage in a pastoral care identity in which she may pray for, bless, and speak comforting words. When preaching, the pastor may speak bluntly and forcefully, challenging her parishioners to obey God's commands. In each context, a different pastoral identity is evident. Reverend Abigail addressed how various identities are always present, but depending on the context one facet will be more readily apparent.

So, I'm a pastor even when I'm not at work. My children have children who come in the home and I'm a pastor to them. My faith is applied to that. I go out in my neighborhood and with my relationships. Everywhere I go it is just part of who I am. It is not *this job*. ...Again, it is somewhat Asian and Jewish—circular, not linear. I've had people say, "do you have work hours and how do you separate work from home?" I don't, I mean how do you separate Jesus? I mean, when am I done doing Jesus? When am I done serving Him, loving Him, and expressing Him? NEVER! It is just where I happen to be doing it, that's all. So there is no on/off button when you serve Jesus. ...It's kind of like saying, "when do you separate your job from mothering?" Well, never, I'm always a mother. Just because I'm not with my children at a certain hour, doesn't mean I'm not mothering. Watch them call. I know how much mother I become as soon as they call. You know what I mean. They're always on my mind. I'm always with them in my heart. I think about them. I'm thinking about how I'm

going to get to them later to make sure they have food. You can never not be a mother, or not be a Christ-follower.

Her identity as a mom, a Christian, and a pastor are always present; however, facets of her overall identity are more prevalent at some times than at others. Reverend Abigail illustrates this concept clearly when she talks about how she instantly becomes a mother when her kids call, all other identities fade to allow her mother identity to crystallize. Viewing identity as “crystallization of self” moves away from a “real” or “fake” view of self and allows individuals to appreciate and be comfortable with the particular identity or facet of their selves that is evident in a particular context.

An interesting implication regarding organizational discourses that convey a preferred sense of self arises when one considers organizations that are undergoing restructuring or significant organizational change. One would assume that if change is in the works, the organizational discourses would undergo a change as well. These new discourses may then begin to paint a very different picture of what the preferred identity of its employees would be. As a result, it should not surprise the employee if the new ideal does not feel quite right and it should not surprise the organization if its employees begin to protest the changes in various ways. The previous example I mentioned of how one denomination shifted its focus over time illustrates this idea well. As the discourse of the denomination shifted, one church and its pastors decided the fit between the church and the denomination was no longer a good fit and they aligned themselves with another denomination. Other organizations may experience this as well. Now not all changes will necessarily result in an employee exiting the organization, but there are

ways in which change could be managed to help employees work through this realignment process. For example, providing opportunities for employees to communicate their concerns and to ask questions could be sufficient in helping the employee ascertain that they still see the correspondence between the organization's ideals and their own as a good fit. Sometimes, employees just need to be heard. However, at the same time, the organization should expect that some employees may choose to leave because they no longer see the organization as a place where they can work. The new organizational preferred identity may not fit with an individual's sense of self. Even though the loss of an employee or the loss of a job is not ideal, this may benefit both the employee and the organization in the long run as they seek a job or employees that make a good match.

Applying a postmodern approach to identity in this study provided an opportunity to identify the prevailing organizational discourses that reveal a preferred identity for pastors. Serving God, serving others, and embodying particular characteristics, beliefs, and practices were the overarching denominational discourses. The ministers' understandings of denominational expectations were congruent with the denominational expectations found in various texts. Although a denominational ideal was conveyed through these discourses, the ministers generally felt the freedom to disagree. However, in some cases pastors felt that the denominational discourse was in conflict with their own and they left the denomination. Finally, support for the idea that identities are crystallized in multiple contexts was provided.

Another observation that I made related to the research questions is that spirituality permeates the results of each question and links the questions to one another. Spirituality reveals the connection between God and the individual and that individuals are becoming more authentic as they develop their spirituality (Bullis, 1996; Ellor, Netting, & Thibault, 1999; Tisdell, 2003). These ideas of spirituality were evident throughout the clergy responses. For example, the continuing development of their connection with God was important in enabling them to maintain their authenticity and keeping their perspective as they dealt with tensions between their authenticity and identity (RQ1). Developing their spirituality was also something that they enjoyed and building into their own spiritual growth helped them fulfill their job responsibilities (RQ2). The denominational texts indicated that the various denominations and churches expected their ministers to engage in personal spiritual development because it would both enable them to be more effective in doing their job (e.g., studying Scripture to prepare for sermons) and in taking care of themselves (RQ3). The various texts also mentioned that ministers developing their spirituality enables them to maintain and develop their authenticity. Several pastors indicated that failure to develop one's spirituality could lead to burnout. Finally, a pastor's beliefs about whether or not they were enabled and/or constrained by denominational standards and beliefs (RQ4) was influenced by spirituality as well. If a minister felt that he or she had a significant difference of opinion over what they defined as a non-negotiable issue, it often led to the minister leaving the denomination. The non-negotiable issue was something that the individual felt went against his or her personal beliefs about a spiritual issue which they

also felt was different from what God would want from them. On the flip side, ministers felt enabled when their personal spiritual beliefs were aligned with the denomination and if any differences were over issues that they considered negotiable. Spirituality is a common thread that weaves the questions together and illustrates the encompassing nature of their connection to God and authenticity.

Clergy do indeed experience emotional labor on the job. However what makes their experience unique is that the emotional labor they engage in has a positive function because they view it as a means of helping others. Thus, they did not speak of engaging in emotional labor as oppressive. Pastors were aware that emotional labor came with the job, and as a result, they made choices to connect with God on a personal level and develop their spiritual life as a means of preempting and/or managing the tension when the job required they mask their true feelings and display organizationally preferred feelings. The spiritual aspect of their jobs was something they enjoyed and took pleasure in; therefore, they were not engaged in spiritual labor, but spiritual work.

Moving from viewing identity as a stable sense of self to one in which individuals have multiple identities that shift and change depending on the context provides a robust picture of the factors that influence an individual's identities. Examining identity using a structural and postmodern approach allowed me to see what factors influence identity and allowed me to see that as the context changes, the weight or importance of various factors may strengthen or diminish dependent on the identity that is in full view at the moment. Although an individual may have many identities, each is seen by the individual as authentic and real.

Both the structurational view and postmodern approach to identity highlighted how pastors' identities shifted as the context changed. In addition, both their occupational and nonoccupational identities influenced one another. Pastors also chose different ways in which to manage the competing denominational discourses. These findings highlight some of the unique aspects of the role of pastor as it relates to emotional labor, spiritual work, authenticity, and identity. Next, I will discuss some of the limitations of the study and ideas for future research.

### **Limitations**

As with any research project, this one had limitations. Ideally, I would have liked my research participants to include Catholic priests and more women. In addition, more racial and geographic diversity would have strengthened this project. After the initial round of interviews, I intentionally tried to recruit more women, Catholic priests, and people of color. I offer an explanation for why these populations may have been more difficult to recruit in Chapter II.

Initially, I had planned to conduct follow up interviews with each research participant for purposes of clarification. I had planned to compare the materials about the denominational standards with the transcript from the first interview and then formulate follow up questions that would allow me to seek additional understanding about the ways in which the organization enables and constrains specific aspects of emotional and spiritual labor, identity, and authenticity for specific pastors. For example, if I found a seeming inconsistency between denominational standards and the participant's responses, I could ask the participant to help me understand or explain the

apparent discrepancy. The reason I did not conduct the follow up interviews was because there were very few discrepancies between the minister's views and those of the denomination or church. Although there were few, if any, discrepancies between the participants' responses and the standards and expectations in the denominational texts, it would have been interesting to capture their thoughts several weeks later to see if there were any changes. For example, after reading the transcripts, several pastors mentioned that they would answer the questions differently and at least two ministers left to pastor other churches. Having the opportunity to probe further about how and why they would answer the questions differently may have provided a new perspective or insight into authenticity, crystallization of identity, and spiritual labor. Hopefully, the research participants will provide similar feedback as they respond to reading the results of the project.

### **Future Research**

Communication scholars are often drawn to particular research interests because of their experiences and their desire to understand communicative processes in their own lives, and I am no exception. My interest in emotional and spiritual labor was fostered by my work experiences. As a result, I began examining emotional labor within my former workplace. After completing a textual analysis of the orientation and training materials from that organization, I quickly realized that gathering stories from the employees of the organization would enhance the project. Because I was still a little "too close" to the organization and hesitated to create tension with those that I interviewed, I chose to extend my study of emotional and spiritual labor to another

population. As I prepared for the dissertation project and began conducting interviews, I realized I had many preconceived ideas of what I thought the clergy would say. I was surprised that emotional labor carried a positive tone with them and not a negative or oppressive tone. I also found that the denominational expectations were far less prescriptive than those of the organization that I previously studied. The training and orientation materials of Campus Crusade for Christ (CCC) prescribed emotional and spiritual labor norms in both the private and public spheres of their employees' lives and to a far greater degree than a denomination or church did for its clergy. For example, part of the training requirement for new employees at CCC is to design a budget for their personal finances, live according to the budget, and after three months discuss the budget with an organizational trainer. Although clergy were required to be fiscally responsible and ethical with the church budget, their personal finances were not under review.

I think it would be fascinating to explore the differences between the emotional labor experienced by the staff of CCC and the clergy I interviewed. For example, overall, do the employees of CCC feel that emotional labor has a negative, positive, or neutral tone and how does that compare to clergy? If the tone is more negative, then why is it more negative? Do the public and private nature of the emotion norms in CCC create dissonance? How do the discernment processes for clergy and employees with CCC differ and do they influence how emotional labor is experienced? My initial impression is that working for CCC entails enacting many more emotion norms and the organization is far more prescriptive in both the public and private lives of its employees than a denomination is for clergy. Only future research will be able to provide support



for or against my initial impressions and personal experience. A comparison between clergy and employees of a faith-based nonprofit organization could reveal interesting differences and/or similarities of how emotion norms affect their identity and authenticity.

In addition, I think examining the differences in how clergy and staff with CCC talk about the spiritual dimensions of their job would be of interest. For instance, do CCC employees engage in spiritual labor, spiritual work, or both? The campus organization seemed to be far more prescriptive in terms of how one should pursue spiritual development and growth and that could affect how CCC employees talk about their job and experience spirituality at work.

Clergy shared with me their “call” experience or how they came to be a pastor. The communicative nature of this process would be interesting to examine as their “call” experiences, whether it be their upbringing, interactions with people, dissatisfaction with their previous career, or hearing a voice from God, were a part of shaping their identity. Examining how the call experience can serve to manage job expectations could prove interesting.

Several ministers mentioned that there is a movement among churches to use business principles and texts to aid in leading and managing churches. Although a church is considered an organization and there are many similarities between churches and other organizations, these pastors felt that business principles do not always translate to, nor are they always appropriate in, a church setting. Identifying the characteristics of a church that make it distinct from other organizations, as well as how those

characteristics shape the identity of the church, its members, and its pastor would be interesting. In addition, examining how the use of business principles within the church have shaped the identity of the church or how the identity of the church has been reshaped by implementing a business model would be of interest. For example, does the purpose and focus of the church shift? Does the use of a business model affect the view pastors may have of parishioners? Would there be a shift to view parishioners as customers and consumers? Would congregational members begin to view the church differently? Exploring these questions shifts the focus from individual identity to an organizational or group identity.

### **Conclusion**

My own work experience and a subsequent research project influenced my pursuit of this study. I was initially guided by the general question, “What happens when as a pastor of a church your behaviors and communication contradict your emotions and you feel you are putting on an act for God?” Although I began the project thinking I would find pastors describing emotional labor and spiritual labor as oppressive, I was pleasantly surprised to find otherwise. This study found that clergy do engage in emotional labor and it is different from the emotional labor experienced in many other occupations in that it has a positive function. Pastors see emotional labor as a means of serving others and as altruistic in nature. In addition, this study found that these clergy were engaged in spiritual work, not spiritual labor. The spiritual work actually helped them managed the tensions of emotional labor and enabled them to do the emotional labor they knew would be expected of them. They acted in good faith and

did not feel that it created a crisis of identity. In fact, the various factors that influence the shaping of ministers' identities were identified and these factors revealed: 1) that there was little discrepancy between the pastor's view of their role and the denomination's expectations and 2) that God's expectations of them created a symbolic weight to their role because they saw themselves as representatives of God.

## REFERENCES

- Addison, P. (2008, November). *When inauthenticity is not an option: Emotional labor, identity, and faith in a faith-based organization*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Communication Association, San Diego, CA.
- Anglican Mission. (n.d.). *Our purpose, our call, our mission*. Retrieved May 19, 2009, from <http://www.theamia.org/experience/home>
- Antiochian Orthodox Church. (n.d.). *The ordination of a priest*. Retrieved May 19, 2009, from <http://www.antiochian.org/midwest/the-ordination-of-a-priest>
- Ashforth, B. E., & Humphrey, R. H. (1993). Emotional labor in service roles: The influence of identity. *Academy of Management Review, 18*, 88-115.
- Ashforth, B. E., & Tomiuk, M. A. (2000). Emotional labor and authenticity: Views from service agents. In S. Fineman (Ed.), *Emotion in organizations* (2nd ed., pp. 184-203). London: Sage.
- Beebe, R. S. (2007). Predicting burnout, conflict management style, and turnover among clergy. *Journal of Career Assessment, 15*, 257-275.
- The book of common prayer*. (1979). New York: The Church Hymnal Corporation.
- The book of discipline of the United Methodist Church*. (2004). Nashville, TN: The United Methodist Publishing House.
- Book of worship: United Church of Christ*. (1986). Cleveland, OH: The Pilgrim Press.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bullis, R. K. (1996). *Spirituality in social work practice*. Washington, DC: Taylor & Francis.

- Burrell, G., & Morgan, G. (1979). *Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Callahan, J. L. (2002). Masking the need for cultural change: Emotion structuration in a nonprofit organization. *Organization Studies*, 23, 281-297.
- Callahan, J. L., & McCollum, E. E. (2002). Obscured variability: The distinction between emotional work and emotional labor. In N. Ashkanasy, W. Zerbe, & C. Hartel (Eds.). *Managing emotions in the workplace* (pp.219-231). Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe Publications.
- Canda, E. R., & Furman, L. D. (1999). *Spiritual diversity in social work practice: The heart of helping*. New York: The Free Press.
- Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate. (2009). Retrieved October 12, 2009, from <http://cara.georgetown.edu/bulletin/index.htm>
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Cheney, G., & Christensen, L. T. (2001). Organizational identity: Linkages between internal and external communication. In F. M. Jablin & L. L. Putnam (Eds.), *The new handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research and methods* (pp. 231-269). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). (2008). *My ministerial code of ethics: Christian Church (Disciples of Christ)*. Indianapolis, IN: Disciples Home Missions.
- CNN (2009, May 11). Priest who broke celibacy vow joins Episcopal church. *CNN.com*. Retrieved September 2, 2009, from <http://www.cnn.com>.

- Daniels, M. (2005, October 9). *Authentic faith and the Bible*. Message posted to <http://markdaniels.blogspot.com/2005/10/authentic-faith-and-bible.html>
- de Winter, L. (1995). *Zionoco*. Amsterdam: Bezige Bij.
- Ellor, J. W., Netting, F. E., & Thibault, J. M. (1999). *Understanding religious and spiritual aspects of human service practice*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Episcopal Church. (n.d.). *What is vocation?* Retrieved October 2, 2008, from [http://www.episcopalchurch.org/1521\\_6551\\_ENG\\_HTML.htm](http://www.episcopalchurch.org/1521_6551_ENG_HTML.htm)
- Erickson, R. J., & Wharton, A. S. (1997). Inauthenticity and depression: Assessing the consequences of interactive service work. *Work and Occupations*, 24, 188-213.
- Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (2008a). *Become a leader*. Retrieved May 19, 2009, from <http://www.elca.org/Growing-In-Faith/Vocation/Become-a-Leader.aspx>
- Evangelical Lutheran Church of America (2008b). *Qualities and gifts for public ministry*. Retrieved May 19, 2009, from <http://www.elca.org/Growing-In-Faith/Vocation/Become-a-Leader/Candidacy/Discernment/Qualities.aspx>
- Extraordinary Lutheran Ministries (2007a). *Candidacy and credentialing*. Retrieved May 19, 2009, from <http://www.elm.org/candidacy-and-credentialing/>
- Extraordinary Lutheran Ministries (2007b). *Mission*. Retrieved May 19, 2009, from <http://www.elm.org/mission/>

- Fineman, S. (1993). Organizations as emotional arenas. In S. Fineman (Ed.), *Emotions in organizations* (pp. 9-35). London: Sage.
- Fineman, S. (Ed.). (2000). *Emotions in organizations* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Fisher, W. R. (1987). *Human communication as narration: Toward a philosophy of reason, value, and action*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Forward, G. L. (2000). Clergy stress and role metaphors: An exploratory study. *Journal of Communication and Religion*, 23, 158-184.
- Frey, L. R., Botan, C. H., & Kreps, G. L. (2000). *Investigating communication: An introduction to research methods* (2nd ed.). Needham Heights, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Gadamer, H. (1989). Text and interpretation. In D. Michelfelder & R. Palmer (Eds.), *Dialogue and deconstruction* (pp. 21-51). Albany: SUNY Press.
- Giacolone, R. A., & Jurkiewicz, C. L. (2003). Toward a science of workplace spirituality. In R. A. Giacolone & C. L. Jurkiewicz (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace spirituality and organizational performance* (pp. 3-28). Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- Giddens, A. (1976). *New rules of sociological method*. London: Hutchinson.
- Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Golden, J., Piedmont, R. L., Ciarrocchi, J. W., & Rodgers, T. (2004). Spirituality and burnout: An incremental validity study. *Journal of Psychology and Theology*, 32, 115-125.

- Gouran, D. S., & Hirokawa, R. Y. (1996). Functional theory and communication in decision-making and problem-solving groups: An expanded view. In R. Y. Hirokawa & M. S. Poole (Eds.), *Communication and group decision-making*, (2nd ed., pp. 55-80). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Graber, D. R., & Johnson, D. A. (2001). Spirituality and healthcare organizations. *Journal of Healthcare Management*, 46, 39-52.
- Grandey, A. A. (2000). Emotion regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor. *Journal of Occupational Health Psychology*, 5, 95-110.
- Guidelines for leading your congregations 2005-2008: Pastor*. (2005). Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press.
- Haman, M. (2006, April). *Emotional labor and authenticity: A discursive approach*. Paper presented at Nuevo Dia Conference, College Station, TX.
- Hang-yue, N., Foley, S., & Loi, R. (2005). Work role stressors and turnover intentions: A study of professional clergy in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 16, 2133-2146.
- Hempelmann, L. D. (n.d.). *Themes and readiness*. Retrieved May 8, 2009, from <http://www.lcms.org/pages/internal.asp?NavID=11589>
- Hill, E.W., Darling, C. A., & Raimondi, N. M. (2003). Understanding boundary-related stress in clergy families. *Marriage and Family Review*, 35, 147-166.



- Hirokawa, R. Y. (1988). Group communication and decision-making performance: A continued test of the functional perspective. *Human Communication Research, 14*, 487-515.
- Hochschild, A.R. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2000). *The self we live by: Narrative identity in a postmodern world*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- The Holy Bible: New international version*. (1986). Nashville, TN: Holman Bible Publishers.
- Horrocks, A., & Callahan, J. L. (2006). The role of emotion and narrative in the reciprocal construction of identity. *Human Resource Development International, 9*, 69-83.
- Irving Bible. (n.d.). *Who we are*. Retrieved October 2, 2008, from <http://www.irvingbible.org/index.php?id=1279>
- Jones, K. B. (2000). Factors effecting job satisfaction among ordained Presbyterian clergy (Doctoral dissertation, The University of South Dakota, 2000). *Dissertation Abstracts International, 67*, 3887.
- Kay, W. (2000). Role conflict and British Pentecostal ministers. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 28*, 119-124.
- Kemery, E. R. (2006). Clergy role stress and satisfaction: Role ambiguity isn't always bad. *Pastoral Psychology, 54*, 561-570.

- Kent, C., & Lee-Thorp, K. (2000). *Six essentials of spiritual authenticity*. Colorado Springs, CO: NavPress.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Larson, G. S., & Pepper, G. L. (2003). Strategies for managing multiple organizational identifications: A case of competing identities. *Management Communication Quarterly, 16*, 528-557.
- Lee, C. (2007). Patterns of stress and support among Adventist clergy: Do pastors and their spouses differ? *Pastoral Psychology, 55*, 761-771.
- Lewicki, R. J., & Litterer, J. A. (1985). *Negotiation*. Homewood, IL: R. D. Irwin.
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2002). *Qualitative communication research methods*, (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lummis, A. T. (2003). *What do lay people want in pastors? Answers from lay search committee chairs and regional judicatory leaders*. (Pulpit and Pew Research Reports). Durham, NC: Duke Divinity School.
- Luther, M. (1991). *Luther's small catechism with explanation - 1991 edition*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House.
- Lutheran book of worship: Occasional services*. (1990). Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Fortress.
- Maslach, C. (1982). *Burnout: The cost of caring*. Englewood, Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- Matthew, P.G. (2002, April 28). *The apostolic definition of an authentic Christian*. Retrieved from [http://www.dcn.davis.ca.us/GO/gvcc/sermon\\_trans/2002/Apostolic\\_Definition\\_of\\_Authentic\\_Christian.html](http://www.dcn.davis.ca.us/GO/gvcc/sermon_trans/2002/Apostolic_Definition_of_Authentic_Christian.html)
- Mattingly, C. (1998). *Healing dramas and clinical plots: The narrative structure of experience*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- McGuire, T. (2006). *Spiritual labor and spiritual dissonance in the total institution of the parochial boarding school*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia.
- Meek, K. R., McMinn, M. R., Brower, C. M., Burnett, T. D., McRay, B. W., Ramey, M. L., et al. (2003). Maintaining personal resiliency: Lessons learned from evangelical Protestant clergy. *Journal of Psychology and Theology, 31*, 339-347.
- Miller, K. I. (2005). *Communication theories: Perspectives, processes, and contexts*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Miller, K. I., Considine, J., & Garner, J. (2007). "Let me tell you about my job": Exploring the terrain of emotion in the workplace. *Management Communication Quarterly, 20*, 231-260.
- Miller, K. I., Ellis, B. H., Zook, E., & Lyles, J. S. (1990). An integrated model of communication stress and burnout in the workplace. *Communication Research, 17*, 300-326.
- Miner, M. H. (2007a). Changes in burnout over the first 12 months in ministry: Links with stress and orientation to ministry. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 10*, 9-16.

- Miner, M. H. (2007b). Burnout in the first year of ministry: Personality and belief style as important predictors. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 10*, 17-29.
- Ministry Issues Implementation Committee. (2009). *The marks of faithful and effective authorized ministers of the United Church of Christ*. Retrieved October 12, 2009, from <http://www.ucc.org/ministers/pdfs/Marks-of-Faithful-and-Effective-Authorized-Ministers.pdf>
- Mitroff, I. I., & Denton, E. A. (1999). A study of spirituality in the workplace. *Sloan Management Review, 40*, 83-92.
- Mombug. (2009, September 1). *Brazos fellowship* [Msg 13]. Message posted to <http://mybcs.com/Content/Forums/Replies.aspx?tid=1469667>
- Morris, J. A., & Feldman, D. C. (1996). The dimensions, antecedents, and consequences of emotional labor. *The Academy of Management Review, 21*, 986-1010.
- Mumby, D. K., & Putnam, L. L. (1992). The politics of emotion: A feminist reading of bounded rationality. *Academy of Management Review, 17*, 465-486.
- Nauta, R. (2003). The performance of authenticity: Ordination and profession in pastoral care. *Pastoral Psychology, 51*(5), 425-431.
- Neck, C. P., & Milliman, J. F. (1994). Thought self-leadership: Finding spiritual fulfillment in organizational life. *Journal of Managerial Psychology, 9*, 9-16.
- NVivo (2008). NVivo qualitative data analysis software, Version 8. Melbourne, Australia: QSR International Pty Ltd.
- Padgett, T. (2009, May 7). The Father Cutié scandal: Sex and the single priest. *Time*. Retrieved September 2, 2009, from <http://time.com>

- Perl, P. (2002). Gender and mainline Protestant pastors' allocation of time to work tasks. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, 41*, 169-178.
- Poole, M., Seibold, D. R., & McPhee, R. D. (1996). The structuration of group decisions. In R. Y. Hirokawa & M. S. Poole (Eds.), *Communication and group decision-making* (2nd ed., pp. 114-146). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Presbyterian Church (USA). (1998). *Standards of ethical conduct*. Retrieved October 12, 2009, from <http://www.pcusa.org/oga/publications/ethical-conduct.pdf>
- Presbyterian Church (USA). (2006). *Abortion*. Retrieved October 12, 2009, from <http://www.pcusa.org/101/101-abortion.htm>
- Rafaeli, A., & Sutton, R. I. (1987). Expression of emotion as part of the work role. *Academy of Management Review, 12*, 23-37.
- Rafaeli, A., & Sutton, R. I. (1989). The expression of emotion in organizational life. *Research in Organizational Behavior, 11*, 1-42.
- Randall, K. J. (2004). Burnout as a predictor of leaving Anglican parish ministry. *Review of Religious Research, 46*, 20-26.
- Randall, K. J. (2007). Examining the relationship between burnout and age among Anglican clergy in England and Wales. *Mental Health, Religion & Culture, 10*, 39-46.
- Rayburn, C. A. (1991). Counseling depressed female religious professionals: Nuns and clergywomen. *Counseling & Values, 35*, 136-148.
- Rayburn, C. A., Richmond, L. J., & Rogers, L. (1986). Men, women, and religion: Stress within leadership roles. *Journal of Clinical Psychology, 42*, 540-546.

- Restoration Church. (n.d.) *Core values of Restoration Church*. Retrieved May 8, 2009, from <http://www.restorationbcs.org/values.html>
- Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Robinson, M. (2004). *Gilead: A novel*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.
- Rogers, K. (2001). The Gambler. On *The Gambler* [CD]. Burwash Common, England: Dream Catcher.
- Schutz, A. (1967). *The phenomenology of the social world* (G. Walsh & F. Lehnert, Trans.). Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.
- Scott, C., Corman, S., & Cheney, G. (1998). Development of a structural model of identification in the organization. *Communication Theory*, 8, 298-336.
- Scott, C., & Myers, K.K. (2005). The socialization of emotion: Learning emotion management at the fire station. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 33, 67-92.
- Sharf, B. F., & Vanderford, M. L. (2003). Illness narratives and the social construction of health. In T. L. Thompson, A. M. Dorsey, K. I. Miller, & R. Parrott (Eds.), *Handbook of health communication* (pp. 9-34). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Shuler, S., & Sypher, B. D. (2000). Seeking emotional labor: When managing the heart enhances the work experience. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 14, 50-89.

- Smith, T. W. (1990). Classifying Protestant denominations. *Review of Religious Research, 31*, 225-245.
- Southern Baptist Convention (1999). *Basic beliefs*. Retrieved May 19, 2009, from [http:// www.sbc.net/aboutus/basicbeliefs.asp](http://www.sbc.net/aboutus/basicbeliefs.asp)
- Stanton-Rich, H. M., & Iso-Ahola, S. E. (1998). Burnout and leisure. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 28*, 1931-1950.
- Sullins, D. P. (2004). An organizational classification of Protestant denominations. *Review of Religious Research, 45*, 278-292.
- Thomas, G. L. (2002). *Authentic faith: The power of a fire-tested life*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Tisdell, E. (2003). *Exploring spirituality and culture in adult and higher education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Tracy, S. J. (2000). Becoming a character for commerce: Emotional labor, self-subordination, and discursive construction of identity in a total institution. *Management Communication Quarterly, 14*, 90-128.
- Tracy, S. J. (2004). The construction of correctional officers: Layers of emotionality behind bars. *Qualitative Inquiry, 10*, 509-533.
- Tracy, S. J., & Tracy, K. (1998). Emotion labor at 911: A case study and theoretical critique. *Journal of Applied Communication and Research, 26*, 390-411.
- Tracy, S. J., & Tretheway, A., (2005). Fracturing the real-self—fake-self dichotomy: Moving toward “crystallized” organizational discourses and identities. *Communication Theory, 15*, 168-195.

United Church of Christ. (2005). *Equal marriage rights for all*. Retrieved October 12, 2009, from <http://www.ucc.org/assets/pdfs/2005-equal-marriage-rights-for-all-1.pdf>

Wharton, A. S. (1993). The affective consequences of service work: Managing emotions on the job. *Work and Occupations*, 20(2), 205-232.

Wharton, A. S. (1999). The psychosocial consequences of emotional labor. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 561, 158-176.



## APPENDIX A

## Conservative to Liberal Continuum

Placement along continuum based on...

- their belief in Biblical inerrancy
- how orthodox their beliefs were on God, Jesus, the devil and life after death
- their beliefs about being “born again”
- social issues such as abortion and homosexuality

**Conservative:**

Churches that were more orthodox in their beliefs such that they felt being “born again” was extremely important, believed in the inerrancy of the Bible, and were opposed to abortion and homosexuality were categorized as fundamentalist/conservative.

**Liberal:**

Churches that focused more on social justice issues than salvation, that did not hold to a literal interpretation of Scripture, and were more accepting of science were classified as liberal.

**Moderate:**

Churches categorized as moderate fell between the two ends of the continuum. For example, a church categorized as moderate may hold to the inerrancy of the Bible, but accept broader interpretations of Scripture and be moderately involved in social justice/welfare issues within the community.

**Denominations to be classified:**

- Anglican-AMiA Rwanda
- Antiochian Orthodox
- Church of Christ
- Disciples of Christ
- Episcopal-US
- Evangelical Free
- Lutheran-ELCA
- Lutheran-Missouri Synod
- Lutheran- Wisconsin Synod
- Nondenominational
- Presbyterian-PCUSA
- Southern Baptist
- United Baptist
- United Church of Christ
- United Methodist

## Denominational Stance Summaries

- Anglican-AMiA Rwanda  
Focus on evangelism-make disciples of all nations; believe in God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; believe in virgin birth; believe that Bible is Word of God and is final authority in matters of faith and practice; salvation is found through Christ's death and resurrection alone which we attain through faith in Him; care about serving others and providing for other's needs.
- Antiochian Orthodox  
Believe in Trinity-God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; witness to truth; believe in virgin birth; salvation through Christ; concerned with interfaith relationships (ecumenical) and member of World Council of Churches
- Church of Christ  
Bible is only guide and it is infallible and authoritative; believe in virgin birth; believe in heaven and hell; saved by grace and must repent; if do what Lord commanded then know salvation is certain
- Disciples of Christ  
Believe Jesus is the Son of God and Christ; want to demonstrate true community, passion for justice and deep Christian spirituality; pro-reconciling and anti-racist; widely involved in social concerns; bring about justice and salvation to the world.
- Episcopal-US  
Share God's love through outreach, sacraments, education and fellowship; open, diverse and welcoming Christian community; seek Christ in all people; believe Bible is Word of God; God sets us free from sin through redemption; believe in Trinity, God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; concerned with social justice issues
- Evangelical Free  
Teach God's Word and seek to interpret it as God intended and apply it as God's Spirit leads; Scripture is inspired and without error, explains way of salvation and is final authority for Christian faith and life; Believe in Trinity-God, Son and Holy Spirit; man is sinful and lost and needs salvation which is provided through Christ's death and resurrection; must accept salvation which is free gift; believe in heaven and hell and if a Christian will go to heaven; focus on evangelism and missions.
- Lutheran-ELCA  
Passion for justice; saved by God's grace alone, salvation is through faith alone and Bible is only norm of doctrine and life; preach the Good News of God's

inclusive love (e.g. sexual orientation) and passion for social justice; ministers of all sexual orientations are ordained.

- Lutheran-Missouri Synod  
Bring good news of Jesus to those around us; Jesus was sent to save the ungodly; Scripture is God's inerrant and infallible Word in which reveals salvation; salvation is through faith alone. If believe in Jesus are guaranteed eternal life with Him in heaven; engage societal issues theologically.
- Lutheran- Wisconsin Synod  
Theologically conservative; strong loyalty to Scripture; Confessional church
- Nondenominational  
Bible is inspired by God, inerrant and supreme source of truth for Christian beliefs and living; must accept God's free gift of salvation in order to be saved; should be a witness for God; if not saved then spend eternity apart from God; believe in Trinity, God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; believe in virgin birth; must repent to be saved; abortion, homosexuality, and sex outside of marriage is wrong.
- Presbyterian-PCUSA  
Live out faith by seeking and assisting those in need; welcoming community of faith who reaches out, cares for one another and proclaims the love of Christ; Bible is Word of God; believe in equality of men and women and ordain women ministers; involved in social justice, yet do not take a stance on any particular issues, leave that up to individuals; welcoming church (welcoming means friendly to all sexual orientations and beliefs); salvation is through God alone.
- Southern Baptist  
One God manifest in 3 persons, God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; Jesus was Son of God and died for our sins to pay penalty for sin and rose to provide eternal life; Bible is Word of God without any error and sole authority for life; Men are sinners and salvation is through repentance and faith in God; baptism by immersion; eternal life if saved; can't lose salvation; primary focus is evangelization of all peoples around the world-want to save them.
- United Baptist  
Reach out to unsaved; believe in Trinity-God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; doctrine of salvation is important as well as tribulation and judgment; promotes home and foreign missions; Bible is inspired by God and God is its author; salvation by grace, must repent to be saved; salvation results in eternal life with God; believe in heaven and hell.

- United Church of Christ  
Offer God's extravagant welcome to all (every orientation, race, etc...); mission is to seek a deeper spirituality and to help transform God's world, one act of love at a time; respect differences and value diversity; progressive Christian community; inclusive, progressive and compassionate church; Believe in God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; believe in Christ's death and resurrection; Scripture is Word of God (do not address if believe infallible or without error)
- United Methodist  
Believe in Trinity-God, Jesus and Holy Spirit; Jesus is redeemer; Bible is Word of God and contains everything necessary for salvation(doesn't mention infallible, or inerrant); God reveals Himself through sacraments of baptism and holy communion; importance of personal experience; concern for social justice issues; be a witness for Christ; Christ will judge people in future with justice, mercy and honor choices we've made.

## APPENDIX B

## LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

Dear (Name of Pastor),

You are receiving this letter because you have been identified as the pastor of a church. For my dissertation project in the Department of Communication at Texas A&M, I am conducting a research project to understand better the role of pastors and the challenges and joys of being a pastor. I am hoping that you will be able to assist me in that research.

As a member of a local church, I know that the role of pastor is an important one that is rewarding, challenging and stressful at times. In this research project I hope to understand better the nature of your role (how you see yourself) as pastor, the challenges you face in being a pastor as well as the highlights of being a pastor.

I am investigating these questions through interviews with pastors, and I am hoping that you would be willing to be interviewed as a part of this study. The initial interview would take about an hour of your time and would be arranged at a time and place that is convenient to you. Within four to six weeks, I would schedule a 20-30 minute follow up interview. Through your participation in the study, you would have an opportunity to share your experiences and stories as a pastor and I would provide you with the results of my research once the interviews are completed. During the interview, you would, of course, be able to decline to answer any questions and all of your responses will be kept in strict confidence. You should also know that this research has been approved by the Institutional Review Board at Texas A&M University.

**I will call you next week to see if you would be willing to participate in this research or if you have any questions about the research. If you prefer, you may let me know of your willingness to participate through electronic mail ([paddison@tamu.edu](mailto:paddison@tamu.edu)) or by phone (979-820-1901).** You can also contact my faculty advisor, Katherine Miller ([kimiller@tamu.edu](mailto:kimiller@tamu.edu)) if you have any questions about the research. Your participation in this research study would be of great value in learning more about the emotional and spiritual dimensions of a pastor's job.

With Kindest Regards,

Penny Addison Otey

## APPENDIX C

### INTERVIEW GUIDE

#### **Project Introduction:**

For this project, I am interviewing individuals who serve as pastors. With this role comes many challenges and reward, and I want to learn more about your experiences of being a pastor. I am particularly interested in three things. First, I'd like to talk about your path to becoming a pastor. Second, I am interested in finding out what it means to be a pastor and the responsibilities that you have as a pastor. Third, I would like to talk about how the standards of your denomination influence your role as a pastor and how you fulfill your responsibilities.

#### **Part 1: Individual Background**

1. First, let's cover some basic information about how you decided to become a pastor
  - Describe your path to becoming a minister/priest/pastor?
  - How long have you been a minister/priest/pastor?
  - What kind of training, if any, did you receive? (denominational requirements?)

#### **Part II: Work**

1. Now let's move to discussing your role as pastor and your responsibilities
  - What does it mean to you to be the pastor/priest of (insert name of church)?
  - How would you describe what you do as a pastor for the church? What does a typical week look like? What are the major things you do during a given week?
  - What are some of the things you like best about your job? Can you tell me a story that illustrates why you like that aspect of your job? Does this come naturally?
  - What are some of the challenges or things you like least about your job? Can you tell me a story that illustrates why you dislike that aspect of your job?
  - To what extent does your work involve communication about emotional topics? What are the most prevalent examples of emotional communication in your job as pastor?
  - Apart from work overload & monetary issues, what aspects of your job are stressful? What makes that aspect of your job stressful?
  - Tell me about how your faith and being a pastor are related? How does your faith influence how you do your job?

#### **Part III: Denomination**

1. Let's move to some discussion about how denominational standards influence your role and responsibilities
  - What are the denomination's values and expectations for its pastors?
  - How does the denomination foster an environment that reinforces its values and expectations?
  - How would you describe the people who work as pastors in your denomination?

- Do you feel that your personal faith and the beliefs of the church are aligned? Can you give me an example?
- What are some of the denominational standards that influence how you do your job? What are some of your personal standards that influence how you do your job?
- Have you ever experienced dissonance or conflict between the denomination guidelines and your personal guidelines? Tell me a story about that dissonance or if you have never experienced dissonance give an example of how these are aligned. How do you manage the dissonance/conflict between the two?
- What words of wisdom or advice would you give to someone who is considering becoming a pastor?

APPENDIX D  
CODING CATEGORIES

1. Pastoral ministry
  - a. Appealing aspects
  - b. Ministry challenges
2. Authenticity
3. Emotional Communication
  - a. Conflict
  - b. Change
  - c. Theological Instruction
  - d. Pastoral care
  - e. Dealing with Staff
  - f. Economy, social issues, value systems, politics
4. Emotional & Spiritual Labor
  - a. Coping
5. Expectations
  - a. Congregational expectations
  - b. Denominational Expectations
  - c. Personal Expectations/Roles of a pastor
  - d. God is my boss/Submission to God
6. Dissonance (denominational expectations)
  - a. Management of dissonance
  - b. No Dissonance
7. Discernment-others validating the call
8. Job responsibilities
  - a. Diocesan or regional level denominational responsibilities
  - b. Leadership
  - c. Sermons & instruction
  - d. Pastoral Care
  - e. Community
  - f. Administrative
  - g. Staff Care



## VITA

Penny Addison Otey received her Bachelor of Arts degree in education from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1988, her Master of Science degree in speech communication from Texas Christian University in 2003, and her Doctor of Philosophy in communication from Texas A&M University in 2010. Her current research interests include emotion in the workplace, spiritual labor, emotional labor, and conflict. In addition, she has conducted research related to health narratives and group communication.

Dr. Otey may be reached at Department of Communication, 4234 TAMU, College Station, Texas 77843-4234. Her email is [potey@suddenlink.net](mailto:potey@suddenlink.net).