

Durham E-Theses

Gender attitudes amongst Anglo-Catholic and evangelical clergy in the Church of England: An examination of how male priests respond to women's ordination as priests and their consecration as bishops.

ALEX DAVID JAMES FRY

How to cite:

FRY, ALEX DAVID JAMES (2019) Gender attitudes amongst Anglo-Catholic and evangelical clergy in the Church of England: An examination of how male priests respond to women's ordination as priests and their consecration as bishops. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/13218/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

Gender attitudes amongst Anglo-Catholic and evangelical clergy in the Church of England: An examination of how male priests respond to women's ordination as priests and their consecration as bishops.

Alex David James Fry, MA, AKC, FHEA

**Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Department of Theology & Religion, Durham University**

March 2019

Abstract

The Church of England has historically prevented women from holding various positions of power within its hierarchy, a phenomenon that has not been undermined with the advent of women bishops. Nevertheless, little research has been conducted on male clergy attitudes towards women since before women were permitted to be ordained as deacons in 1987. There has also been little research on the social factors that shape such attitudes to date. This is a significant gap in scholarship given that the Church of England is a male dominated institution and that male clergy have therefore been central to the process of denying women the same opportunities in the Established Church as men.

Responding to these issues, this thesis explores historical, sociological, and psychological influences on male clergy attitudes towards gender. It is based on a thematic narrative analysis of semi-structured interviews with forty-one priests from the evangelical and Anglo-Catholic traditions of the Church of England.

In order to understand the various social factors that shape male clergy attitudes, participants' narratives have been brought into dialogue with the historical developments that have led to women's ordination as deacons and priests, and their consecration as bishops in the Established Church. This thesis also draws on the sociological theories of engaged orthodoxy, social capital, and spiritual capital, as well as psychological theories of prejudice, intergroup contact, and identity in order to further interpret clergy narratives.

This thesis concludes that the attitudes towards gender that male clergy possess are shaped by their chosen religious traditions because through them they inherit specific ways of thinking about gender roles. It then builds on this to argue that those who inherit traditions that object to women's ordination oppose it because the presence of women priests and bishops is perceived to be a threat to their contingent self-esteem.

List of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction	8
1.2 The structure & make-up of the ordained ministry in the C of E	10
1.3 Timeline of women's ordination	13
1.4 Gender equality in Contemporary Britain	15
1.5 The literature to date	19
1.6 The research aims	22
1.7 Thesis outline	24

Chapter Two: There's something about patriarchy

2.1 Introduction	27
2.2 A Summary of Feminist & Gender Theory	29
2.3 Feminist/gender theorists	32
2.4 Feminist (and para-feminist) theology	50
2.5 Protestant hermeneutics	53
2.6 Roman Catholic hermeneutics	57
2.7 Prejudice and sexism	63
2.8 Discussion on intergroup contact	73
2.9 Conclusion	81

Chapter Three: Evangelical (& Anglo-Catholic) but not angry

3.1 Introduction	82
------------------	----

3.2 Describing modernity	86
3.3 Modernity, evangelicals, and gender roles: the US context	90
3.4 Modernity and engaged orthodoxy in the US & Britain	95
3.5 Studies on 'fundamentalism' in US evangelicalism	97
3.6 US & British evangelicals: Similarities and divergences	98
3.7 'Fundamentalism' and the British context	103
3.8 High churchmanship prior to 1833	104
3.9 Conclusions	111

Chapter Four: From suffrage to episcopacy

4.1 Introduction	113
4.2 Gender changes in the twentieth century	114
4.3 Feminism	121
4.4 The charismatic movement	121
4.5 Ecumenism	122
4.6 Changes in the C of E between 1956-1992	125
4.7 Resistance to women's ordination	131
4.8 Some preliminary findings	138
4.9 Changing attitudes: 10 years on	142
4.10 Consecrating women as bishops	143
4.11 Conclusion	147

Chapter Five: Methodological considerations

5.1 Introduction	151
5.2 Epistemological position of the thesis	152

5.3 The construction of the research question	162
5.4 Reflexivity & research ethics	163
5.5 Selecting the research methods	179
5.6 Participant selection	185
5.7 Interview protocol	194
5.8 Analytical process	196
5.9 Reflections on interviews & analysis	198
5.10 Conclusion	201

Chapter Six: Analysing the data I

6.1 Introduction	203
6.2 Results & initial discussion: Reform	205
6.3 Results & initial discussion: Charismatic evangelicals	230
6.4 Results & initial discussion: Anglo-Catholic participants	247
6.5 Conclusions	263

Chapter Seven: Analysing the data II

7.1 Introduction	268
7.2 Participants' identities	270
7.3 Results & initial discussion: Reform	273
7.4 Results & initial discussion: Charismatic evangelicals	304
7.5 Results & initial discussion: Anglo-Catholics	316
7.6 Conclusion	332

Chapter Eight: Summary, reflections & conclusions

8.1 Introduction	338
8.2 Summary of findings	339
8.3 Theorizing the findings	341
8.4 Further theorization	347
8.5 An integrated methodology	355
8.6 An integrated theory of clergy attitudes towards gender	356
8.7 A further reflection on engaged orthodoxy	358
8.8 Possible applications	359
8.9 Directions for future research	366
8.10 Conclusion	369
Appendices	373
A. Invitation letter	374
B. Information sheet	376
C. Interview questions	378
D. Consent form	382
E. Unexpected findings in the data	383
F. Theme tables	385
G. Table of participants	395
Bibliography	398

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without the author's prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The place of women within the formal structures of the Church of England (C of E) is not a settled matter amongst its clergy. Even though it has been ordaining women since 1987 (Francis and Robbins, 1999) there remain various factions within the Church that actively oppose women's ordination. Resistance towards women's ordained ministry was a prominent feature of debate within the worldwide Anglican Communion¹ in the latter half of the twentieth century (Fletcher, 2013; Jones, 2004). It has also been able to provoke lively debate within

¹ The Anglican Communion is the worldwide Anglican Church that enjoys a formal, ongoing relationship with the C of E.

the English context during the first two decades of the twentieth-first century. This has primarily been through the work of Anglican networks that publically dispute the validity of ordaining women to certain positions within the C of E's hierarchy. For instance, Reform is an evangelical organisation formed in 1993 to protest the introduction of women priests (Jones, 2004). Similarly, Forward in Faith represents a theologically conservative catholic contingent within the C of E that formed in 1992 for the same reason (Jones, 2004). Both groups now protest women's consecration as bishops (see Taylor, 2010; Sherwood, 2017), which materialised in 2014 (see Bingham, 2014).

Both of these groups continue to resist women's ordained ministry in various capacities. For instance, Forward in Faith publishes literature that promotes their stance against the priesting of women on their website ("Women bishops and women priests", 2018). Likewise Reform publishes material that supports their stance against women becoming incumbents² or bishops ("Reform resources", 2018). These responses to the advent of increased female presence in the C of E indicate that gender traditionalist clergy (those who believe that women should not enter the priesthood and episcopate) are not a homogenous group, but represent a broad spectrum of theological positions on the roles of men and women in Church and further afield. I will therefore outline some of the basic facts about the way that the C of E is structured and provide greater specificity on the range of views that exist on women's ordination.

² Incumbents are priests in charge of parishes.

1.2 The structure and make-up of the ordained ministry in the C of E

The C of E is the established church, meaning that it enjoys a privileged position as the only religious institution in England that is civically supported. It is also an episcopal church, meaning that it is hierarchical, consisting of deacon, priest, and bishop. The term derives from the ancient Greek word ἐπισκοπή, used in the New Testament, referring to ‘overseer’ (Balz and Schneider, 1990b). A deacon is normally a person in their first year of ordained ministry, preparing for the priesthood³ (“Deacon”, 2018), and so in this sense is the lowest rung of the ordained hierarchy. They are seen as servants with a particular remit to meet the needs of vulnerable members in the communities they are sent to serve (“Common worship ordination services”, *n.d.*). In fact, the word ‘deacon’ stems from the Ancient Greek word διάκονος, also found in the New Testament, which means ‘servant’ (Balz and Schneider, 1990a). All priests and bishops start their ordained life as deacons.

The priesthood, on the other hand, is that to which the majority of those receiving ordination aspire to (“Deacon”, 2018). Whilst pre-Reformation language is used to denote this position, in Anglican usage it takes on new meaning and denotes the role of the early Church’s πρεσβύτερος, sometimes translated as ‘elder’ (Balz and Schneider, 1990c). The priest is the Church’s representative to

³ However, some enter the distinctive diaconate, meaning that their sense of calling is to remain as deacons, rather than become priests.

God and to society, and is to proclaim the Christian Gospel in the communities that they serve (“Common worship ordination services”, *n.d.*). After a deacon is ordained priest they often continue in their current post (as assistant curates) under the oversight of a more experienced priest for a further two to three years as they continue their ministerial training. However, after this period they usually go on to lead their own churches as incumbents or become chaplains in a variety of different contexts. A key distinction between deacon and priest is that the latter presides at the altar in order to consecrate the bread and wine used in the Eucharist. A bishop, by contrast, is the most senior clergy person in a diocese and is responsible for overseeing the churches in their region (“Bishop”, 2018). This includes pastoral oversight of the clergy and playing an authoritative role in directing the Church’s mission including appointing clergy to parishes and, where appropriate, discipline.

The Established Church is also theologically diverse. Whilst it can be simplistic to define its various traditions too exactly, studies have demonstrated that many clergy and laity do identify with particular subsets of Anglicanism (see Randall, 2005). For example, Village (2013) refers to the C of E as constituting Anglo-Catholics, evangelicals, and those who are broad church. Francis, Robbins and Astley (2005) provide empirical weight to the contours of the C of E that Village employs, and it would appear that many Anglicans do describe themselves in these ways (e.g. Brierley, 2005). However, even within these traditions there is diversity. For example, the rise of the charismatic strand of evangelicalism has been written about on numerous occasions (e.g. Buchanan et al., 1981) as well as a liberal/conservative divide emerging within evangelicalism during the

twentieth century (e.g. Bebbington, 1989). The evangelical tradition is often understood to consist of those Christians who hold the authority of the Bible, the need for personal conversion, Jesus' crucifixion, and social activism as key components of faith (Bebbington, 1989).

The charismatic movement has also found expression in other Anglican traditions, such as Anglo-Catholicism (Maiden, 2018). The Anglo-Catholic tradition may be divided between traditional and liberal catholics. Traditional catholics emerged as the result of the Oxford Movement and are theologically more inclined to incorporate Roman Catholic theology into their own thinking ("Anglo-Catholic", 2018). Liberal catholics, however, emerged in the twentieth century, and are more affirming of women's ordination, and stress the need for theological reflection on the contemporary implications of Roman Catholic teaching (Furlong, 2000). The broad church tradition is often seen as liberal (e.g. as in Furlong, 2000). It is also referred to as the central tradition (Hylson-Smith, 1993) or the *via media* (the middle way), and can be situated somewhere between the catholic and evangelical wings of the C of E (McGrath, 1993). It developed as a reaction to the introduction of Anglo-Catholicism during the nineteenth century (Chadwick, 1972), and previous studies indicate that those situated within this tradition are typically affirming of women's ordained ministry (Nason-Clark, 1987a). Opponents of women's ordination tend to be situated in either traditional Anglo-Catholicism or conservative evangelicalism.

Whilst those who tend to disagree with the ordination of women tend not to oppose their entry into the diaconate, there are mixed views over what other

roles are in/appropriate for women to hold. For example, evangelicals who possess more traditional theologies of gender roles may not oppose the ordination of women as priests *per se*. Rather, they may disagree that it is appropriate for a woman to be an incumbent or a bishop because they believe that Christian Scripture prohibits women from teaching or leading men in a religious context. However, for such persons it may be acceptable for women to be priests on the proviso that they are chaplains in contexts that do not require them to preach to adult males. On the other hand, conservative Catholics within the C of E may have no issue with a woman teaching men. Instead, they might object to a woman presiding at communion and so take issue with the priesting of women because standing in the place of the male Christ at the altar is thought to be an intrinsic part of priesthood in their theology.

1.3 Timeline of women's ordination

Different time lines charting the journey of women's ordination begin in different places. The most appropriate place to start for this project is the introduction of women deaconesses because this was the first formalized office that women could hold. The concept of deaconesses came to the fore in the latter half of the nineteenth century over concerns that the Established Church was failing to engage the working class (Young, 2015). Young (2015) writes that the Church thought it necessary to introduce an additional order to the hierarchy so as to include the working class more fully into the life of the C of E. However, because this was thought to require a less educated cohort of ministers, members

of the clergy were concerned that the introduction of permanent deacons would compromise the social status of the clergy (Young, 2015). Young (2015) states that the solution to this was to introduce an, "inferior office" (p.66) as it was called by some of the clergy. She explains that the result of this was the introduction of a fourth order, namely that of the deaconess in 1862. Deaconesses' roles were more limited than their male deacon counterparts. They could lead worship services, offer pastoral care, teach the Christian faith, and prepare devotees for receiving sacraments, such as baptism or communion, but only under the oversight of a male priest ("The order of deaconesses", *n.d.*).

The next significant step towards the ordination of women was in 1975 when the C of E's governing body, the General Synod⁴, passed a motion stating that they did not see any fundamental objection to ordaining women as priests (Barticioti, 2016). However, attempts to pass a motion for ordaining women were unsuccessful and it was not until 1987 when women could first be ordained as permanent deacons (Francis and Robbins, 1999). It then took an additional five years for the General Synod to approve the ordination of women to the priesthood (Francis and Robbins, 1999). As a result nearly four hundred dissenting priests left the C of E (Barticioti, 2016). However, there was no provision made for women to become bishops at that time and male clergy were able to protest women's ordination by refusing to be ordained by a bishop who also ordained women (Maltby, 1998). Congregations that opposed women's ordination as priests could

⁴ The General Synod comprises the House of Bishops, House of Clergy, and House of Laity. A motion must gain a two-thirds majority in each house in order to be passed.

also pass a number of resolutions that prohibited women from either presiding at communion or becoming their incumbent (Maltby, 1998).

It was not until 2012 that the General Synod voted on whether to consecrate women as bishops, when the motion failed to win a majority in the House of Laity (“Women Bishops”, 2012). Nevertheless, the motion was brought back to the Synod in 2014 and won the necessary two-thirds majority in each of the houses (Bingham, 2014). However, provisions were put in place for priests who do not accept the authority of a woman bishop. Such clergy can elect to go under the episcopal oversight of a gender traditionalist (male) bishop, thus avoiding compromising their conservative theology (“Flying bishop”, 2018). Comparing these objections to women’s ordination with the attitudes of the British public, and the C of E as a whole, highlights how distinctive such beliefs are in contemporary society.

1.4 Gender equality in contemporary Britain

Gender attitudes are hardly homogenous amongst the British population. However, there have been a number of high profile events in recent years that are representative, if only anecdotal accounts, of a stated value of gender equality. One key example is the gender pay gap between presenters working for the British Broadcasting Company that caused outrage and protest (see “BBC statutory gender pay gap report”, 2017). Similar protest was also evidenced within the C of E when Philip North, a gender traditionalist priest, was appointed as the Bishop of

Sheffield. Almost immediately after the announcement there were calls for him to refuse the post (Sherwood, 2017), a demand that was soon met (Bashir and May, 2017). Indeed, the relative (but by no means complete) equality of the sexes in British society has been well attested in sociological research (e.g. see Aune, 2006; Brown and Woodhead, 2016), as has Christianity's propensity to incorporate more egalitarian gender ideals into its own theological framework (e.g. Aune, 2006; Gallagher, 2003; Gallagher and Smith, 1999). This demonstrates just how counter-cultural conservative theologies of gender are, not just amongst wider society but even within the C of E itself.

Although the question of homosexuality has dominated in intra-Communion tensions in recent years (Brittain and McKinnen, 2011; Brown and Woodhead, 2016), conservative backlash against more liberal attitudes towards both homosexuality and women's ordination appear to bear some relation. In 2017 the Anglican Church in South Africa consecrated a priest in the Diocese of Newcastle as a bishop, because it was believed that the C of E had departed from its orthodox heritage of opposing homosexual practice (Wyatt, 2017). The now Rt. Rev'd Jonathan Pryke is a focus of ecclesial unity for those priests who deem their own bishop to have departed from the accepted theological norm, and part of Pryke's remit is to ordain ordinands⁵ who hold similar convictions (Wyatt, 2017). Importantly, however, this applies only to men because Pryke will not ordain women (Wyatt, 2017). In other words, even though the debate over the ordination of women is no longer at the very fore of Anglican division, tensions over the place

⁵ An ordinand is a person training for ordained ministry in the C of E.

of women within the Church's hierarchy are brought to bear in the ongoing sexuality debate by those who hold traditional views on both gender and sexuality. The ordination of women and their consecration as bishops is far from being a conciliatory matter.

Nancy Nason-Clark (1987a) previously drew attention to the paradox of having an Established Church that was restrictive of women's rights whilst operating in a society that was otherwise making gains in gender equality. If that was true over thirty years ago, then it is at least equally as true today with women occupying an unprecedented amount of professional positions (see Roantree and Vira, 2018). This highlights the disparity that exists between factions within the C of E and the society in which it is apart. This is problematic for a number of related reasons. Firstly, as the Established Church the C of E exists to provide spiritual care for all who reside in England. However, the evident disparity between the Church and much of wider society on a matter that is typically understood as fundamental to people's identity leaves the position of the Established Church precarious to say the least.

Secondly, there has been a steady decline in the number of women affiliated with the C of E since the arrival of second wave feminism (Brown and Woodhead, 2016; see also Day, 2017). This has been attributed to the dissonance between women who are experiencing new opportunities in the public domain and the socially conservative C of E whose gender attitudes lagged behind those of the English people (Brown and Woodhead, 2016). Indeed, the fact that the C of E allows groups such as Reform and Forward in Faith to exist whilst being a part

of the Established Church underscores this dissonance. Thirdly, as a religious organisation, it is exempt from gender equality legislation that is imposed on many other institutions within the country (see Maltby, 1998). If the Church represented the general beliefs of the English people then this could *perhaps* be more understandable. However, given the present reality it is rather puzzling that such an arrangement exists in law. Finally, much of the opposition towards women's ordination and consecration stems from the conservative end of the evangelical spectrum. However, evangelicalism is consistently one of the largest traditions within the C of E (see Brierley, 2005).

In addition to these concerns, there remains a peculiar paradox. Whilst the number of women attending C of E services has declined since the 1960s (Brown and Woodhead, 2016), women nevertheless make up a bigger percentage of the churchgoing population than men in the UK (Hackett et al., 2016). In fact, according to the Pew Research Center, women in the UK have a ten percentage-point lead in the importance they attribute to religious belief (Hackett et al., 2016). The most recent figures published by the C of E also indicate that more females than males are choosing to get confirmed⁶ in the C of E ("Statistics for mission 2017", 2018). The UK Office for National Statistics also reports that between 2001-2011 women in the majority of age brackets are still more religious than men ("Full story: What does the Census tell us about religion in 2011?", 2013).

⁶ Confirmation is the religious rite when an individual who was baptized (usually as an infant) and decides to adopt the Christian faith for themselves. It is also understood to be a public declaration that a person is aligning their self with the C of E.

Yet, despite the C of E's slow and, at times, contradictory progression towards gender equality it enjoys a large share of regular churchgoers in the country ("Where is the Church going?", 2018).

At present there are eighteen women bishops in the C of E ("List of female bishops in the Church of England", 2018) across forty-two dioceses. As of 2017 only around thirty per cent of clergy are women and only twenty-eight percent of women clergy were in paid positions ("Ministry statistics 2017", 2018). Whilst this demonstrates a twenty-seven per cent rise in the amount of female clergy since 2013, and a twenty-five per cent rise in the number of paid women clergy within the same time period ("Ministry statistics 2017", 2018), it also suggests that the C of E is still a heavily male dominated institution. Collectively, these facts make the matter of gender in the Established Church worthy of further study. In order to identify the specific areas that require addressing, I will briefly summarise what insight scholarship in this area has previously provided and where it is lacking.

1.5 The literature to date

This section will not offer a substantial literature review. This is done throughout the thesis instead. Rather, the focus will be an outline of the types of studies that have been conducted in the area of women's roles in the C of E's hierarchy. Much of the literature is at least twenty-five years old and was published during the debates surrounding ordaining women to the diaconate and

then the priesthood. For example, Nason-Clark's (1984) doctoral thesis explored clerical attitudes towards women's roles in church and society. Many of these participants were men because women could only have been deaconesses when Nason-Clark undertook her research. Nason-Clark (1987a, 1987b) later published work relating to her doctoral thesis that explored whether clergy attitudes towards women could be understood as sexist, and the challenges that women were facing within their own institutions. However, whilst her research provided useful insights at the time, much has changed since then. The C of E now has women occupying every level within its ordained hierarchy, and their roles in the occupational sphere have also grown since that time. Moreover, social scientific understandings of sexism have developed significantly since 1987 and methods and theories not available at the time have since evidenced their utility as effective analytical tools.

Alan Aldridge (1987) has charted the submission of women within the C of E through the revival of deaconesses and argues that the introduction of a distinctive diaconate for women is evidence of their subjugation within the Established Church, not least because, at this point, they were not permitted to become priests. Aldridge (1989) later argued that whilst the majority of clergy were in favour of the ordination of women they possessed much power over the future of the women who might later become priests even though these men would not be practically impacted by such changes. Aldridge (1992) also posits that gender traditionalists framed the distinctive diaconate alongside the Church's need to develop its ecclesiology further. He notes that women deacons, however, viewed themselves in a struggle against male power in a male dominated

institution. Aldridge (1993) further claims that Anglican clergy understand themselves as having inherited elite status through their ordination, and so they possess high levels of social status because of their ancient profession. As with Nason-Clark's research, however, much has changed since Aldridge's work was conducted both inside and outside the Established Church.

Other research has explored the impact of women's ordination. For instance, Maltby (1998) criticizes the way in which church legislation has compounded gender inequality amongst the clergy. Francis and Robbins (1999) recorded the perceptions of the C of E and the debate over women's priesting that were held by the first women priests. They also explain the barriers that these women had to overcome in the first few years of their priestly ministries. Jones (2004) explores how clergy opinions towards women's ordination had changed ten years after the General Synod approved the motion to further include women into the ecclesial hierarchy. He notes that in the majority of cases opinions in the dioceses he explored no substantial change had occurred. More recently Page (2010, 2014, 2017) has explored how women priests navigate motherhood, and clergy dress from a gendered perspective, and how clergy husbands inhabit a gendered privilege not afforded to clergy wives. Brown and Woodhead (2016) have explored women exiting the C of E, as has Day (2017). A number of other researchers have also explored the experiences of women priests in relatively recent years (Bagilhole, 2003, 2006; Greene and Robbins, 2015; Robbins and Greene, 2018). However, these more recent works, whilst providing useful insight into gender concerns within the Church, do not systematically review the current

attitudes of the clergy towards the question of women's ordination as priests, or their consecration as bishops.

Given the amount of social change that has occurred since the majority of this research was undertaken an assessment of clergy attitudes is overdue. In addition to this, whilst some of the earlier studies explored clergy opinions (sometimes referred to as attitudes) towards the advent of women's ordination, there have been no studies that have sought to understand the psychological motivations that lie behind these opinions, nor the broader socio-historical context in which they have been formed. As the C of E remains a male-dominated institution, with the majority of its senior positions being occupied by men, it is particularly surprising that no extended efforts have been made to gauge what lies behind their objections or affirmations of women in holy orders. Indeed, that men have had the power to prohibit or permit women to take their place in the hierarchy of the Established Church (Aldridge, 1989) ought to make such enquiry a priority. It is this gap in intellectual knowledge therefore, that this thesis shall address.

1.6 The research aims

The primary aim of this thesis is to better understand the historical, social, and psychological forces that shape conservative, male clergy theologies of gender more broadly, and theological orientations to women's ordination as priests and their consecration as bishops more specifically. This inquiry will involve charting

the historical developments of different Christian traditions and their attitudes towards gender historically. It will also involve an exploration of the life narratives of clergy who have arrived at different understandings of gender roles, particularly within the Church context. Moreover, this thesis will offer a detailed description of how the historical and present attitudes are articulated by the clergy and discuss what other factors are likely involved in shaping gender attitudes. It will also theorize the causal relationship between historical developments and current attitudes possessed by members of the clergy. The secondary aim of this thesis is to offer a number of practical suggestions that can guide the Established Church further as it seeks to navigate the tensions it faces around the various factions that have formed in response to the increased presence of women in its hierarchy.

The specific research question guiding this thesis is as follows: What historical, social, and psychological factors contribute to the formation of conservative, male Anglican clergy attitudes towards gender? This can be broken down into a series of smaller questions. Firstly, what are the attitudes and theologies that ordained members of the C of E articulate concerning the roles of men and women (i) within the Church context and (ii) further afield? Secondly, do the clergy's answers to the first question reflect ideas that are common to their tradition, and if so, how? Thirdly, how have different Anglican traditions historically expressed theologies of gender roles and is this evidenced by the clergy in those traditions today? Fourthly, how might the life experience of the clergy shape their assumptions about gender, and how do these assumptions contribute to their theology of gender roles?

1.7 Thesis outline

There are seven chapters that follow this one. The next chapter offers a detailed summary and analysis of both academic and popular gender literature. It maps the development of feminist thought and gender theory before engaging with theological approaches to gender. This will also include an assessment of academic, as well as popular treatments, because the latter illuminate clergy beliefs around gender given that the clergy interviewed for this project engage with them. The third chapter begins to map the historical journey of conservative Protestant gender values from modernity until the start of the twentieth century. It charts the modern evangelical reaction against changes in gender norms and the consolidation of the hierarchical status quo of gender relations (i.e. gender normativity). It then explores the rise of Anglo-Catholicism and identifies the core components of that movement.

The fourth chapter continues to chart the historical context of increasing women's rights, particularly in twentieth century Britain. It focuses on the impact that wider social values had on the C of E as well as the influence that other Churches and religious movements had on the gender values it came to adopt. It offers further details on the events that led to women's ordination and the impact this had within the Established Church, both in its immediate aftermath and over time. It also offers an assessment of the advent of women bishops. The next chapter offers the methodological framework that is adopted in this thesis, particularly in the empirical investigation and the analysis of its data. It states the

epistemological underpinning of the thesis before discussing causality, reflexivity and research ethics in some detail. It then explains and justifies the research methods that I have employed, the fieldwork process, and the particular analytical methods I have selected to interpret the data that has been gained from forty-one interviews with clergy in one diocese in the south of England. Participants identified with the evangelical and Anglo-Catholic traditions.

The sixth chapter begins to analyse the data. It discusses the literature on prejudice and sexism before describing how prejudicial, and associated, attitudes are either present or absent amongst the clergy interviewed. It also brings these findings into dialogue with the gender literature and historical scholarship discussed in chapters two through four in order to posit the specific social and historical influences on clergy attitudes towards gender. The following chapter builds on the previous one by discussing the literature on intergroup contact and group schisms. It also discusses the research available on social capital. It then maps the type of contact that the clergy have with women in different contexts and the relationships they have with those from other theological traditions to their own. These are interpreted in light of the scholarship on intergroup contact and social capital. It then begins to highlight the particular psychological processes that inform clergy gender norms. Once more the gender and historical literature is utilised to shed further light on the relationship between the wider historical and social contexts, and the gender values possessed by the clergy.

The conclusion will bring the constituent analyses together and offer a theoretical framework that incorporates all the different parts of the thesis. This

will provide an overarching framework that explains the relationships between the different strands of analysis offered in the previous chapters. This final chapter will reflect on the implications of this for the life of the Church. It will also offer a number of ways forward for the C of E as it seeks to manage the internal tensions regarding the role of women within its ordained hierarchy.

2. There's something about patriarchy: Exploring feminist and gender theory, and its interface with Christian theology

2.1 Introduction

Before I engage directly with the literature on conservative Protestantism it is appropriate to explore feminist/gender theory, feminist theology, and social psychological research on sexism. It is necessary to engage with the former because they explore the contours of human thinking about the nature of the body, what it is to be male and female, as well as the meanings of masculinity and femininity (e.g. Butler, 1990; Laqueur 1990). Later chapters will demonstrate that this thesis' participants all have assumptions about these phenomena, and that such assumptions inform their gender norms and values, in addition to impacting how they articulate their theology in this domain. In fact, participants' gender values are reflected in their theology and so the two are intertwined. Therefore, in order to understand the attitudes towards gender that the clergy

who were interviewed held, one must appreciate and understand the different conceptions of gender, sex, and the body that exist. Indeed, as Storkey (2000) argues, developments in gender studies from the academy are reflected in popular literature and also impact the thinking of those outside of academia. Feminist theology employs feminist/gender theory and interprets it theologically, and consciously identifies and creates the points of contact between the two disciplines (e.g. Jones, 2000; Storkey, 1985). Sarah Jane Page (2013) claims that, whilst feminism and Christianity are often thought to be incompatible, religious ideals have actually underpinned historic feminism. Given the link between participants' gender norms and theologies it would be pertinent to explore feminist theology also. It is necessary to discuss the literature on sexism and intergroup contact because it helps to explain the attitudes that lie behind participants' understanding of gender.

In order to do this, I will outline the development of feminist and gender theory. I will explore a number of feminist and gender theorists. However, these will be grouped with respect to their epistemological outlook, rather than their chronological development, given that one of the key undertakings of this chapter is to understand how these underlying assumptions contribute to gender norms. Such attitudes are an eclectic mixture of gender-related beliefs that can draw on ideas from different waves of feminism (Gamble, 2004; Genz and Brabon, 2009). A chronological summary would not be well suited to reflect this fact. This chapter will then explore theological developments alongside feminist/gender theory in order to establish some of the theological sources and beliefs that are echoed in this thesis' data.

2.2 A Summary of Feminist and Gender Theory

Feminism may be divided into three broad waves, as Pilarski (2011) notes. She identifies the first wave as a political movement, originating in the US during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which was aimed at increasing the rights of women. Pilarski elaborates that in the second wave the feminist movement entered more fully into academic discourse during the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s.⁷ She also draws attention to the deepening awareness that oppression was multi-faceted, and that gender was just one component of human struggle for liberation that the second wave evidenced. It was from this point in time that feminist studies became an accepted academic discipline (Pilarski, 2011). According to Pilarski (2011), the third wave emerged in the 1990s and focused more intentionally on the diverse cultural dimensions to oppression. She explains that oppression was multi-layered, particularly with respect to racial discrimination. Some are now suggesting that a fourth wave of feminism has occurred where the feminist cause has utilised social media in order to advance equality between the sexes (Munro, 2013).

However, despite this useful summary of the feminist movement, other scholars make it clear that the discipline is far from uniform. For example, Alsop, Fitzsimons and Lennon (2002) explain that gender theory was a response to

⁷ It is worth acknowledging womanist theory that, according to Floyd-Thomas (2006), arose out of a perceived inadequacy of feminist theory to take seriously the struggles of black women. Unfortunately, scope will not permit a detailed analysis of it here.

feminist theory, where proponents of the former believed that advocates of the latter were not sufficiently challenging gender normativity. Alsop et al. also detail that, in the second wave of feminism, gender theorists believed that patriarchal structures were insufficiently challenged and so an alternative was needed. However, according to Alsop et al., during the third wave of the feminist movement scholars began to synergise the two. Nonetheless feminist/gender theory is not a unified field of study, but an umbrella term that refers to a diverse range of thought and debate (Alsop et al., 2002). An example of this theoretical diversity is Postfeminism, because it is a broad and multifaceted phenomenon that is difficult to define (Gamble 2004). Ruth Perrin (2016) explains that there are at least three different conceptualizations of postfeminism.

Firstly, Perrin (2016) articulates that ‘postfeminism’ may see feminism as something that is irrelevant and out-dated. Rene Denfield (1995), for example, has claimed that for younger generations feminism became totalitarian and inflexible in its desire to uphold views that reflected a previous period in time. Page (2013) has also noted how one cohort of Anglican (women) priests, including those who were active in striving for greater gender equality in the C of E in the 1980s-90s, later avoided using the word ‘feminist’ to describe themselves partly because of the negative associations of the feminist movement being too hard-lined.⁸

⁸ However, Page (personal communication, March 9th, 2018) has also noted that those who partook in her study played down their feminism because of the needs of their parishioners rather than because they had become particularly disenchanted with feminism.

Secondly, Perrin (2016) explains that postfeminism may be identified as a revision of the second wave of feminism, made fresh for a new generation. She explains that this is synonymous with third wave feminism. Indeed, Sarah Gamble (2004) posits that younger would-be-feminists navigate a tension between continuity and change in their conceptions of gender equality. Gamble also asserts that these postfeminists emphasise the complexity of oppression, given different people may be oppressed by different things, and so they are willing to hold in tension the different (even contradictory) strands of feminism. In a similar manner, Page (2013) notes how a young cohort of Anglican women tended to draw on a mixture of secular and religious resources to promote gender equality. Page explains how such methods were individualised amongst her participants, thus reflecting the eclectic approach that Gamble (2004) identifies in third wave feminism. Thirdly, Perrin (2016) describes postfeminism as a, “both and neither” (p.178) movement. She explains that, in this instance, there exists an avowal of feminist ideals but also nostalgia for a non-feminist gender order. Kristin Aune (2006) identifies this occurrence amongst non-conformist British evangelicals whose gender-related attitudes encompassed both modern and more contemporary ideals.

Genz and Brabon (2009) note how postfeminism has been met with opposition because it has been seen as a “conservative backlash” (p.1). They also explain that some feminist writers understand postfeminism as a betrayal of feminism that risks undermining all that the second wave had achieved. Nonetheless, some suggest that this is an over-simplistic understanding of the

phenomenon and that postfeminism is too broad for a single definition to describe it (e.g. Gamble, 2004; Genz and Brabon, 2009). Indeed, drawing on Coppock, Haydon, and Richter (1995), Gamble (2004) suggests that it is akin to postmodernism in that it cannot be neatly categorized. Furthermore, Gamble elaborates that postfeminism seeks to understand women as having agency, rather than merely being, “victims who are unable to control their own lives” (p.44).

2.3 Feminist/gender theorists

2.3.1 Poststructuralist Approaches to Gender and Sex

One branch of feminist/gender studies engages in poststructuralist interpretations of the body (sex)⁹ and of gender.¹⁰ Some of these interpretations consider the relationship between sex and gender, such as Judith Butler (1990), whereas others consider sex only (e.g. Laqueur, 2012). However, because scholars such as Butler (1990) employ discourse analysis in order to make their claims, and particularly rely on Foucault (1977, 1978, 1985) in order to do so, it is pertinent to discuss him first. Michel Foucault (1977) believed that, through language, the events and ideas of the past structure society in the present. He argued that, although this can be subtle, it is nonetheless an expression of power because such events and ideas come to bear on human agency by influencing

⁹ I use the term ‘sex’ to refer to the physical different male and female bodies.

¹⁰ I use the term ‘gender’ to refer to behaviours and attitudes associated with either of the sexes. For a discussion of the differences between both terms see Keller (1998).

people to behave and think in particular ways. Foucault called this process normalisation, the imposition of certain standards on society that then become the norm by which people are judged. Whilst some, such as Freundlieb (1994), have used this to accuse Foucault of denying human agency, Hindess (1996) understands that Foucault distinguishes between power, which is subtle and coercive (and does not compel), and dominance, which is more forceful. In other words, Foucault does not preclude human agency (Hindess, 1996). Nonetheless, as Caldwell (2007) writes, he decentres the agent.

Judith Butler (1990) builds on Foucault (1977), arguing that the concept of gender has been imposed on society and she rejects the division between gender and sex because one cannot be understood without respect to the other. Whilst she denies that gender and sex are identical Butler nonetheless claims that a series of societal values have been imposed on the body, making sex a cultural construction. Butler uses this to argue that gender is thus performed rather than innate and that gender does not exist beyond performativity. Butler (1990) draws on Mary Douglas' (1966) *Purity and Danger*. In doing so, it is argued that conceptions of the body are the result of taboos that function to create stable boundaries for behavioural norms, and that destabilization is necessary through re-thinking how the body and gender are understood (Butler, 1990). Despite this, however, Butler (1990) rejects Foucault's (1977, 1978, 1985) notion that there once existed non-sexual identities. This is because it suggests a time of freedom from social control (Butler, 1990). Butler (1993) later argues that, because gender and the self are inseparable, and because the former is constructed, there is no certainty that there is an agent beyond the construction.

To be clear, Butler does not categorically deny that there could be a referent beyond perception, but rather is sceptical that one is discoverable (Butler, 1993).

In his historical analysis of sex, Thomas Laqueur (1990) notes how conceptions of the body have been theorised differently through the centuries (see also Rubin, 1975). Laqueur (2012) also demonstrates how the notion of sex was less developed prior to the eighteenth century. For example, he argues that the female reproductive organs were seen as inferior versions of male reproductive organs, rather than being ones unique to the female body. Laqueur (1990, 2012) thus suggests that human understandings of the body are conditioned by social context. Similarly, Oudshoorn (1994) challenges positivist assumptions about the body and notes that biological accounts of gender have previously attempted to distinguish between male/female hormones, only to later conclude that men and women share the same hormones, but with different physiological combinations. Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) explains that scientists employ ideas from, “social relationships to structure, read, and interpret the natural” (p.116). She further argues that scientists do not examine the actual objects of study *per se*, but a simplified form in order to more readily understand its constituent parts. Fausto-Sterling elaborates that this simplified version is then mistaken to be the original object. What science examines then, is not the actual, but an interpretation (Fausto-Sterling, 2000). Bonvillain (1995) argues along similar lines. She explores the historic indigenous peoples of Namibia and Arctic North America. From her data Bonvillain concludes that economic and

political circumstances, particularly through intercultural contact, reshape behaviour and ideology pertaining to gender.

Furthermore, Rosalind Barnett and Caryl Rivers (2004) draw on data from numerous studies that highlight the insufficient empirical evidence behind a number of perceptions about gender differences. For example, they note how leadership styles between men and women in the work place are not significantly different and that, in some quarters, female managers even behave in ways that are generally associated with male managers. Barnett and Rivers also argue that biological answers to perceived differences between the sexes are less established by evidence than is generally understood by those with gender essentialist beliefs and that ideology often attributes a biological rationale to alleged differences between the sexes. In fact, Robbins, Francis, Haley and Kay (2001) evidence how Methodist clergy in the UK do not frequently exhibit behaviours that are typically associated with their sex when compared with the wider population.

I have labelled these as poststructuralist approaches to gender and sex because they seek to demonstrate a mediated interaction with the world. This has been particularly evident in the discussion of Laqueur (2012), for example, given that he argues for an understanding of biology that is mediated by social context. I have also categorised them in this manner because they either lack any significant discussion of the referent, as in Laqueur's (2012) case, or are sceptical

of it, as in Butler's (1993) case. In other words, they do not have a critical realist underpinning (e.g. see Sayer, 2000) and they reject a positivist outlook. For example, Laqueur's (2012) discussion on the body, whilst not denying the existence of an exterior physical entity that is identified as the human body, focuses on demonstrating the socially constructed perceptions of sex and how it can impact the way one (subjectively) thinks about the body. Fausto-Sterling (2000) goes further and claims that scientific examination unwittingly leads to perceptions of objects that no longer reflect the actual object itself. However, she too does not deny the existence of objects beyond human perception. Butler (1993), on the other hand, entertains this possibility. Hence, the above approaches attempt to demonstrate that cultural and social factors *significantly* impact the way that one perceives their environment. As they do so they neglect to discuss the place of the referent beyond this perception at any length unless it is to deny the likelihood of perceiving it.

Furthermore, different theorists can attempt to demonstrate this with different assumptions. For example, with Laqueur (2012) there is no explicit sense in which one's culturally mediated conception of the body leads to a complete failure to engage with that object in a way that is external to the one perceiving it. Fausto-Sterling (2000), by way of contrast, can readily be read in this way, as can Butler (1993). However, Butler (1993) and Fausto-Sterling (2000) differ here. Butler (1993) suggests a conflation of the social and physical whereas Fausto-Sterling (2000) does not. This highlights two important points. Firstly, poststructuralist approaches are not homogenous and do not necessarily

share all of the same assumptions. Secondly, the difference between *some* poststructuralist approaches are not actually vastly different from critical realist approaches, and that the difference can be one of degree or emphasis.

To elaborate, if one reads Laqueur (2012) as I have proposed then he does not deny that one is engaging with an object beyond their perception (even if he does not affirm this either). Critical realism would echo the claim that objects are perceived and interpreted, but emphasise that the actual object external to one's self is what is perceived (e.g. Sayer, 2000). Laqueur's (2012) and Sayer's (2000) understandings are not necessarily in conflict, even though their claims are not identical, because acceptance of one approach does not preclude acceptance of the other. Instead, each work may be understood as responding to a set of subtly different concerns: whereas Laqueur (2012) demonstrates a historically and culturally mediated interpretation of the body, Sayer (2000), whilst affirming the point about perception, seeks to correct the absence of the referent in poststructuralist thought. This is similar to findings in epistemological research on management and organisation that identifies the presence of relativism in critical realist epistemologies (Al-Amoudi and Willmott, 2011).¹¹ Whilst compatibility with the assumptions of critical realism is not necessarily the case for all the works discussed above, it is an important nuance

¹¹ However, rather than arguing that critical realism and poststructuralism are compatible, Al-Amoudi and Willmott posit that critical realism is not fully realised in management and organization.

to establish¹² because a number of this thesis' participants expressed views that caricatured and disregarded poststructuralist outlooks. This has relevance for their own epistemological assumptions regarding gender and sex.

This is therefore an appropriate point at which to discuss critical realist approaches to gender and sex. As will be demonstrated in a discussion of Baron-Cohen (2003) and Dawkins (2006), some of these are best understood as being partially gender essentialist because they believe in general biologically determined differences between the sexes, whilst also allowing for contextual factors to help shape how the sexes behave. This will prove a helpful discussion because an emphasis on biology is frequently reflected in this thesis' primary data.

2.3.2 Critical Realist Approaches to Gender and Sex (Partial Gender Essentialism)

Simon Baron-Cohen (2003) argues that differences in the ways that males and females think and behave are empirically observable and that they are the result of both biological and contextual factors. Baron-Cohen argues that gender

¹² Much of the literature on critical realism notes the similarities between this epistemology and poststructuralism in so far as both rejected positivism (e.g. Benton, 1998; Collier, 1994). However, there is nothing in the literature that suggests the potential for the compatibility of these two approaches. Indeed some, such as Clegg (2006), argue that feminist research ought to adopt a critical realist lens instead of a poststructuralist one because the latter denies agency.

and sex, despite being culturally conditioned to some extent, are nonetheless inseparable from the biological differences in the brains of males and females. In other words, he believes that despite there being culturally driven perception, behind such perception exists discoverable biological facts. For example, he claims that whilst parents do treat their male and female babies and toddlers differently (and that this can have an impact on why males and females behave differently), there nonetheless exist clear physiological differences between males and females that impact the development of the brain. In particular, because males have greater levels of testosterone, the right hemisphere of their brains develops quicker than females (Baron-Cohen, 2003). Baron-Cohen (2003) claims that this explains why males tend to think in a more systematising fashion and why the left hemisphere in females brains tend to be more developed, making them better empathisers.

Baron-Cohen's (2003) research demonstrates that there is clearly some empirical weight behind the argument that men and women typically behave differently. However, there remain problems with his rationale. For instance, he appears to rely on a somewhat stark difference between each hemisphere of the brain. McGilchrist (2009) explains that both hemispheres of the brain undertake the same tasks, but do so in different ways. Baron-Cohen (2003) appears to suggest, however, that each hemisphere is geared up to perform different tasks. Whilst he does evidence some nuance in his understanding of the different hemispheres, for example, by explaining that women use both hemispheres for language, this logic is not applied consistently to his argument. Baron-Cohen also admits that his observations are statistical averages. However, it has been noted

that statistical averages do not necessarily suggest biological conditioning over contextual influences because social conditioning can lead people to behave in accordance with gender stereotypes (Eagly and Wood, 2013).

Furthermore, one can accept the empirical fact of differences in the ways that males and females generally interact with the world whilst offering a more critical engagement with the scientific process of interpretation. For example, one could take seriously some of Laqueur's (2012) and Fausto-Sterling's (2000) critique of the way scientific enquiry itself can be contextually conditioned. If one were to do this then Baron-Cohen's (2003) reliance on scientific enquiry would be undermined. This is because he appears to have a somewhat positivist approach to scientific endeavour as he appears to assume the apparent truth in this type of investigation without questioning its assumptions. For example, he draws on evidence from research on hormones to advance the claim that there is a biologically driven difference between the way males and females behave, but he does not offer an analysis of how particular cultural and social constructions may actually have conditioned the ways in which the scientists he utilises thought. Had Baron-Cohen done so his case for sex differences being primarily biological would have been weakened as there would be less certainty about the external verification of the research he cites (see e.g. Fausto-Sterling, 2000).

This inconsistency also mirrors the findings of Al-Amoudi and Willmott (2011) who note that critical realist epistemologies in organisations can be inconsistent. I would argue that it is therefore important to maintain greater consistency with a critical realist perspective. If one is to assume a critical realist

approach to sex and gender, then one must also appreciate the subjective nature of scientific enquiry, where objects of study are interpreted.

Moreover, more recent studies have demonstrated that Baron-Cohen's (2003) case is overstated. For instance, Nadaf and Campus (2018) have argued that there is no significant correlation between gender and personality traits. Similarly Daphna et al. (2015) have been able to argue that brain features are not actually particularly dimorphic between men and women, questioning the concept of the female/male brain. In fact, their studies also indicate that individual brains have unique patterns of so-called male and female elements leading them to conclude that there are in fact multiple ways of being male or female, psychologically speaking. Indeed, Daphna and McCarthy (2017) have found evidence that suggests that sex differences are transient over one's lifetime and that such transience is traceable to context-dependant factors. Nevertheless, Gong, He and Evans (2011) conducted MRI scans over a number of studies and did find, "substantial gender differences" (p.575) when looking at brain matter. However, their collective studies lack the promising effect size that is found in Daphna et al's. (2015) study, meaning that it simply does not carry the same empirical weight. Moreover, whereas Gong, He and Evans (2011) look exclusively at MRI scans, with a particular focus on white matter, Daphna and colleagues (2015, 2017) collective studies take a broader range of evidence into account. Collectively, therefore, their conclusions are the more persuasive.

Another approach to understanding sex through a critical realist lens that emphasises the role of biology is that of Richard Dawkins (2006) in *The Selfish*

Gene. Dawkins explains that the language used to discuss “sex” (p.144) is somewhat problematic when it is universally applied. In particular, he asserts that the word “sex” (p.144) cannot be accurately applied to all animal and plant species, according to the technical use of the word. However, Dawkins explains that it is nonetheless a helpful term because it can help describe reproductive phenomena. In other words, he understands that, despite language being imperfectly mapped onto the object of study (i.e. mediated perception), there nonetheless exists some phenomenon beyond that language (i.e. the referent).

However, for Dawkins (2006), sexual inequality is a matter of genetics. He argues that females are more committed to their offspring from the moment of conception than are males because the former carry their young. According to Dawkins, this is why the mother rather than the father is usually left caring more fully for the offspring, whilst the father is free to produce more offspring with other females. He claims that this is particularly true among the human species whilst children are especially young. Dawkins (2006) states that, “the female sex is exploited, and the fundamental evolutionary basis for the exploitation is the fact that eggs are larger than sperm” (p.147). For Dawkins, it is the fact that men can produce much sperm without the immediate need for long-term commitment that allows them to have multiple sexual partners and avoid some child-rearing responsibilities.

However, Dawkins (2006) explains in an endnote to a later edition of his monograph that he is now sceptical of this explanation for asymmetry between the sexes. He also allows for faithful relations to develop through the

evolutionary process. Nevertheless, he states that, “all individuals, are a little bit deceitful, in that they are programmed to take advantage of opportunities to exploit their mates” (p.156). Indeed, referring to the two sexes, Dawkins (2006) writes in an endnote, “there is likely to be escalating disparity between them” (p.301).

Dawkins’ (2006) approach here is more consistently critical realist than Baron-Cohen’s (2003). Dawkins (2006) does evidence an appreciation of the slippery nature of language in interpreting scientific phenomena. Nonetheless, he still fails to reflect more fully on the gender-related discourses that surround biological enquiry into the body, and the impact that this has on biological understandings noted by Laqueur (1990, 2012). This means that Dawkins (2006) is not consistently critical realist either. This also mirrors Al-Amoudi and Willmott’s (2011) findings. In addition to this, Dawkins (2006) risks conflating sex and gender by suggesting that his biological account of the sexes have a tendency to impact the roles of each sex. More specifically, he argues that because women carry young, they tend to be the ones who care for them, rather than men. There is, however, something important lacking from the discussion at this point. Graham Ward (2014) explains how the human species evolved in dialogue with their external environment. That is, Ward explains that, just as human biology is responsible for human behaviour, so too is the physical world—and human engagement with it— responsible for human biology.

Dawkins’ (2006) explanation for gender is a one-way causation but Ward’s (2014) discussion implies a two-way causation. Dawkins (2006) does

appear to hint at this. For example, he discusses how females and males adapt their behaviour to compensate for social concerns that are biologically driven. He also writes that these behaviours eventually become part of that evolutionary process. However, Dawkins does not fully integrate this into his overall argument and so his emphasis on biology is somewhat imbalanced. With that asserted, it will be illuminating to explore some approaches to gender/sex that are critical realist, but that are also more gender essentialist. This is because some of these works also assert empirical differences between the sexes, which are also reflected in this thesis' primary data.

2.3.3 Positivist Approaches to Gender and Sex (Full Gender Essentialism)

John Gray (1992) wrote *Men are from Mars, Women are from Venus* and in 2011 penned *Men are from Mars, Women and from Venus, and Children are from Heaven*. In his books Gray asserts an essentialist view of the sexes, conflating sex and gender. He believes that men communicate in certain ways simply because they are men, and that woman communicate in ways unique to them because they are women. Gray contends that the psychological needs of the sexes differ from each other as a result of evolution. Ahmad and Rethinam (2010), however, aptly demonstrate how some of these differences cannot be evidenced along gender/sex lines but are actually the result of individual communicative preferences.

Other gender essentialist writings may be found in Christian literature. These works are included here because they are either therapy-based approaches to understanding gender, where theological reflection is secondary

(e.g. Eldredge, 2001), or because they are a theological response to feminist influence on Christian theology (e.g. Piper and Grudem, 1991). John Eldredge (2001) wrote *Wild at Heart*, which is written from a therapist's perspective. It claims that men are designed by God to behave and think in particular ways, chiefly as (metaphorically) sword yielding warriors. However, Eldredge also argues that men have had their sense of masculinity undermined, often by fathers, and that it is important for the Christian to experience a sense of psychological healing in order to fully reflect God's masculinity. John Eldredge and Stasi Eldredge (2005) wrote *Captivating*. They claim that women too have been wounded and are often no longer secure in their own sense of femininity, and so struggle to reflect how God has created them to be. Eldredge and Eldredge believe that it is necessary for women to embrace their femininity in order to reflect their creator's design.

Similarly, John Piper and Wayne Grudem (1991) responded to evangelical feminism. They argue for a complementarian¹³ model of gender roles, asserting that certain biblical texts demand that men are to (lovingly and sacrificially) lead in marriage and in church, whereas women are to submit to their husbands' authority. These ideas are repeated in later literature (e.g. Piper and Grudem, 2016). In his edited collection Grudem (2002) has a chapter on the Greek word κεφαλή. However, the meaning of this word is disputed in New Testament scholarship (e.g. see F. F. Bruce, 1984). Grudem (2002) argues that κεφαλή must

¹³ See chapter 6 for a discussion on, and fuller definition of, complementarianism.

mean “head” (p.26), denoting male authority. He explains that this chapter is identical to an article he wrote for academic journals (Grudem, 2001, 2002).

However, some of Grudem’s (2002) argument rests on undermining other interpretations of the Greek word. As a part of his attempt to dismiss the possible interpretation of κεφαλή as ‘source’, which he notes is a translation favoured by some egalitarians, Grudem cites a personal letter he received from a lexicographical scholar. Grudem explains that this scholar also rejects the possibility that κεφαλή may be understood as ‘source’. The primary weakness with this line in Grudem’s argument here is that the letter in question makes no attempt to elaborate on why one should not understand κεφαλή in this way, but only asserts an opinion (see Grudem, 2002, p.188). Nonetheless, Grudem (2002) concludes from this that, “this must be counted a significant statement because it comes from someone who, because of his position and scholarly reputation, could rightly be called the preeminent Greek lexicographer in the world” (p.189).

In other words, to some extent, Grudem’s (2002) own reasoning is based on the fact that someone who he considers to have an excellent ability in the subject matter at hand agrees with him, rather than solely on the coherence and rigour of an intellectual argument. This is an intriguing method for argumentation in an academic text. It is an important one to bear in mind because some of this thesis’ participants, despite being intellectually trained and

engaged, neglect at least some intellectual engagement in their reasoning behind their stance on women's ordination (see Fourcade, 2010; McCarthy, 2005).

I have identified these approaches as positivist interpretations of sex/gender because they assume that there is no division between one's sex and the roles, attitudes, and behaviours that one naturally exhibits. For example, the Christian literature in particular posits that a deviation from masculine norms for men and feminine norms for women are a break with the design that God created them with (e.g. Eldredge, 2001, Piper and Grudem, 1991). It is worth noting these themes and claims because they will appear prominently in later discussions of participants' theology of gender and ordination.

2.3.4 Critical Realist Approaches to Gender and Sex (anti- Gender Essentialism¹⁴)

However, it is the critical realist anti-gender essentialist approach that I adopt, given the above discussion of the shortcomings of gender essentialist beliefs, and the coming discussion of the merits of critical realism in chapter five. There are a number of authors who have written for more general audiences who reject gender essentialism. For example, Deborah Tannen (1990) refers to the presence of asymmetry between the sexes, particularly with respect to the different ways males and females often communicate. According to Tannen, men

¹⁴ 'Gender essentialism' refers to the belief that gendered traits are part of the essence of male/female (see Rahman and Jackson, 2010).

approach the world in a hierarchical fashion, where people are continually in competition and so they believe that there is a need to protect one's self from others. Women, on the other hand, see themselves, "as an individual in a network of connections... [where] conversations are negotiations for closeness in which people try and seek and give confirmation and support" (Tannen, 1990, p.25). Tannen (1990) claims that many deny the differences that exist between the sexes because masculinity is seen as the social norm, and so if women are different to men, then they are in some sense abnormal. Nonetheless, she argues that there are indeed differences in the ways that men and women interpret and interact with the world. However, Tannen interprets these differences from the perspective of sociolinguistics, and thus from a cultural/social perspective, rather than from a biological determinism.

Carol Gilligan (1993) argues that men and women tend to view morality differently with the former gravitating towards a sense of justice, whereas the latter gravitate towards an ethic of care. Nonetheless, it is asserted that:

No claims are made about the origins of the differences described or their distribution in a wider population, across cultures, or through time.

Clearly, these differences arise in a social context where factors of social status combine with reproductive biology to shape the experiences of males and females and the relations between the sexes (Gilligan, 1993, p.2).

Gilligan (1993) also insists that, “the contrasts between male and female voices presented here are to highlight a distinction between two modes of thought... rather than to represent a generalization about either sex” (p.2). In other words, Gilligan believes that the empirical differences between the sexes are not to be universalized, even though she also believes that these differences manifest alongside reproductive biological differences that also shape gendered experience.

A number of participants in this study directly discussed Germaine Greer (often with ambivalence). Greer (1970) argues that stereotypes about women are socially constructed and that ideas of femininity are oppressive for women and learned from a young age. However, Greer (1999) later argues against accepting those who were born male and who have undergone sex change surgery as authentic women. Greer (1999) states, “the insistence that manmade women be accepted as women is the institutional expression of the mistaken conviction that women are defective males” (p.81). What is interesting about her argument here is the overlap it shares with Laqueur’s (2012) finding that, historically, female biology was understood to be an inferior equivalent of male biology. Hence, an overlap between poststructuralist and critical realist work on gender may be observed.

These examples are critical realist. They assume the embodied experiences of males and females without seeking to challenge the fact of its existence, or posit that one’s perception of the body is culturally determined. Nonetheless, they seek to challenge some of the social perceptions attributed to

the sexes. That is, they assume the validity of the referent (i.e. the sexed body), whilst arguing for the social construction of gendered 50ummariz. Nevertheless, Tannen (1990) and Greer (1970, 1999) appear to deny the biological contribution to gender roles. Gilligan (1993), however, recognizes that biology is far from absent in this process, but appears to remain somewhat agnostic about its particular role. This highlights that not all outworkings of critical realist epistemologies in gender research are identical.

2.4 Feminist (and para-feminist) theology

This thesis will specifically explore Feminist Biblical Hermeneutics (FBH) and a somewhat similar body of biblical interpretation referred to as redemptive trajectory hermeneutics (RTH). This is because ideas from these bodies of literature are evident in the narratives of some participants. The literature will evidence that there is also research in these fields that may be regarded as Catholic, Anglican, or evangelical in ethos or historical development, and so the key tenets of this research will be relevant for an examination of the religious traditions that the participants inhabit. This is augmented by the fact that they were formed in an academic environment with access to the ideas contained within these writings. Whilst the present project cannot fully determine the extent to which those interviewed had engaged with particular texts or theologies, a social-scientific investigation of clergy narratives that ignores the fact that participants were immersed in an environment where such ideas would have been accessible would be incomplete.

According to Pilarski (2011) FBH may be understood as being comprised of three elements. Firstly, she explains that it introduces a feminist stance that takes seriously the humanity of all people, regardless of age, class, gender, ethnicity, religion, or other socio-economic factors. Secondly, Pilarski notes that it is a discourse that presupposes the intellectual, theological, and ethical responsibility of all who undertake such work, in order to interpret the Bible appropriately with respect to the experiences of communities of faith across the world, including the women in those communities. Thirdly, she elaborates that it is to be reflexive, understanding the hermeneutical nature of all disciplines, not least its own. Schneiders (1995), however, defines FBH differently. She explains that it starts with suspicion, by claiming that texts are not neutral and interpreters are not objective, and that it is thus rooted in ideology criticism.

For Schneiders (1995) there are five stages to feminist hermeneutics. Firstly, she explains that there is the matter of translation, which involves challenging the privileged use of gendered language. Secondly, Schneiders notes that there is a directed focus on exploring the texts with liberating potential, but with the caveat that one must be careful not to assume that the texts in question were written to be *about* women, lest one loses sight of their problematic (patriarchal) nature. Thirdly, she details that there is the process of raising women to visibility within the text. Fourthly, she argues that one is to reveal a text's 'secrets', chiefly by teasing out any subtle elements that have remained unnoticed by other interpretive discourses. Finally, Schneiders posits that one is to rescue the texts from misinterpretation.

There are some conceptual overlaps between the two interpretations of FBH. For example, Schneiders' (1995) raising women's visibility in a text is conceivably akin to interpreting a text in line with the experiences of women, which Pilarski (2011) encourages. Nonetheless, the differences in these scholarly summaries of the field reflect the diversity that exists within feminist hermeneutics. Nevertheless, scholars in this area do share a broadly common goal, which may be summarized as seeking to identify sexism (and other forms of oppression) in order to challenge it within the Church and/or society (Jones, 2000; Storkey, 1985). Jones (2000) explains that Christian theology may draw on feminist theory in order to better understand human identity and community, particularly its relationship to the grace of God. Elaine Storkey (1985) asserts that theological endeavors that incorporate feminist thinking have the ability to highlight the presence of sin in the Church, as well as in society, and that a Christian theological approach to inequality that does so is particularly well equipped to find the root cause of such issues.

Pilarski (2011) explains that FBH emerged in the second wave of feminism in the North American context, alongside the realization that identities are multi-faceted, particularly along socio-economic lines. Jones (2000) posits that it gained ground in the 1970s and saw itself as a political movement seeking societal change. However, Pilarski (2011) asserts that during the third wave of feminism, in the 1990s, theorists turned towards poststructuralist methods of conducting FBH. She also notes that this was born out of the realization that women, especially from racial minorities, experienced multiple layers of

oppression, not least because there were layers of oppression within, and not just between, groups. Pilarski also explains that, in this respect, one may understand FBH in the third wave as a fuller realization of the complexity of oppression identified in the second wave. With this context in mind, it is appropriate to commence a fuller exploration of FBH, as well as RTH.

2.5 Protestant hermeneutics

A number of the approaches employed in FBH are shared across religious traditions, and indeed some scholars cannot be easily placed in a particular religious tradition. For example, the challenge to patriarchal language in Christianity can be seen in the works of both Roman Catholic scholars, such as Elizabeth Johnson (see Rakoczy, 2008) and Protestant scholars such as Deseta Davis (2013). Other scholars cannot be put into any religious tradition without evoking controversy. For example, Mary Daly left the Roman Catholic Church because of her concerns over its patriarchal culture (Storkey, 1985; see also Daly, 1985). However, there are those who consciously identify with certain theological frameworks, including those whose work reflects the uniqueness of that tradition (e.g. Thrall, 1958). The purpose of what follows is not to present a full historical development of feminist (or redemptive trajectory) hermeneutics, nor is it to categorically pigeonhole research and researchers, but to introduce some key theological concepts that will enable a fuller understanding of this project's participants.

To do so, this chapter will categorise broadly the works that are most echoed in the clergy narratives, and it will do so with respect to religious traditions because participants evidenced more strongly (although by no means exclusively) the ideas that are more embedded in their own theological traditions, rather than those found elsewhere. Indeed, by exploring the theological approaches to gender and sex that have emerged in the Anglican, evangelical, and Catholic traditions, the wider traditions of which participants are a part (or on which they draw on) will become clearer and permit a fuller assessment of their narratives.

M.E. Thrall's (1958) *The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood* is an appropriate point at which to start for two reasons. Firstly, Thrall offers an Anglican approach to understanding women's ordination. Secondly, it appears to be one of the first calls to assess the theological validity of ordaining women to the Church of England's priesthood. Thrall (1958) does not come down fully on one side of the debate, but wishes to prompt others to ask this question. She begins by asserting that women now question why they cannot be admitted to holy orders because, by this point in time, they can enter into a number of other respected professions. However, Thrall rejects this as a source of authority and asserts that, "because the Anglican ordinal states that priesthood is conferred through the bishop's laying on of hands, rather than because of one's natural ability ... equality is not a sufficient argument" (p.8).

Thrall (1958) then begins with an analysis of the creation accounts in Genesis 1- 2. She concludes that Genesis 1 reflects the potential that women may

grow into because both sexes are made in the *Imago Dei*. Genesis 2, however, is thought by Thrall to infer women's subordination to men in the image of the Godhead as a stage in their development. However, as she engages with New Testament texts, Thrall states that there is a theological shift and that, in passages such as 1 Corinthians 11, women can act as the intermediate for men's redemptive status as reflecting the *Imago Dei*. This new potential in Christ is something that is available to women and men, challenges the necessity of women's subordination to men, and begs the question of whether women may too be ordained to the priesthood (Thrall, 1958).

Although Thrall (1958) does not claim that her work is a consciously feminist piece of research, it was nonetheless published at the start of what Brown (2001) refers to as the 'long sixties' (p.188). In other words, it was at the time when the second wave of feminism entered academia (see Pilarski, 2011). Given its goal it cannot be ignored in a discussion of the key literature in this movement. It is also worth discussing RTH at this point. Although Graham (2002) asserts that it is not a branch of feminist, or even liberation, hermeneutics Vanhoozer (2004) explains that there are clear ideological overlaps. Hence, it is unsurprising that RTH have been used in theological agendas that have sought to challenge oppression (Vanhoozer, 2004). Thus, it is because it has clear currency for liberation-based theology that I am referring to it as a para-feminist theology. It is also an approach used by evangelical theologians who rely on an interpretation of biblical texts as a primary authority (Vanhoozer, 2004). In this respect, it mirrors Thrall's (1958) theological method, which is based primarily on scriptural interpretation.

Vanhoozer (2004) describes RTH as applying the universal spirit of a text by finding the elements of a text that exhibit love, justice and equality. He explains that in order to apply a biblical text appropriately today one must place these aspects on a trajectory in keeping with God's redemptive plan. However, Graham (2002) notes that this approach is not to be confused with the hermeneutic of suspicion found in feminist works because RTH affirms an evangelical understanding of the authority of biblical texts, whereas in Graham's opinion, the hermeneutic of suspicion is seen as antithetical to conservative Protestant thought.

In a similar fashion, W. J. Webb (2001) wrote *Slaves, Women and Homosexuals*, which adopted RTH in order to conclude that the most appropriate reading of biblical texts on women's role in Church would permit them to formally lead. This monograph is a key advocate of RTH (Hiebert, 2002). However, Webb (2001) refers to it more specifically as a, "redemptive movement hermeneutic" (p.30). Webb (2001) explains that one ought, "to engage the redemptive spirit of the text in a way that moves the contemporary appropriation of the text beyond its original-application framing" (p.30). It was cited by some participants who favoured women's ordination and demonstrates the impact that such theological enquiry has had on participants' theology of women's ordination. Regarding women's role in society Webb (2001) concludes that:

Through the writers of Scripture, God brought about significant improvement in the social situation of women relative to the original setting. But that improvement needs to continue today. While the biblical text spoke redemptively to its generation, we would not want to advocate much of the legislation found in Scripture concerning women (p.248).

Elaine Storkey (1985, 2000) is a feminist theologian and works within an Anglican context (Storkey, *n.d.*). Storkey (1985) interprets patriarchy as a manifestation of sin and claims that it has become institutionalized and so is manifest in the Church, for example, through subtly sexist jokes in sermons. She also cites male dominated language in church as another example of ecclesial patriarchy. Storkey believes that feminism ought not to focus solely on patriarchy as the root of women's oppression because a Christian framework suggests that patriarchy itself is caused by the fallen state of humankind, something she believes that both of the sexes share in. As will be demonstrated, these theological assertions may be found in the narratives of the clergy interviewed for this thesis. In order to give this fuller treatment, however, it is also necessary to explore areas of feminist theology that may be understood as pertaining to the Roman Catholic tradition.

2.6 Roman Catholic hermeneutics

Roman Catholic hermeneutics are important to explore because a number of the participants reflected an influence of Catholic teaching on their gender

values. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza is often cited as a key thinker in feminist theology (e.g. Pilarski, 2011). She is also a Roman Catholic (Koenenn, 1985). Schüssler Fiorenza (1983) believes that women were effectively written out of the pages of Scripture because those texts emerged in cultures that were patriarchal. She understands that the task of the feminist theologian is to write them back in to history. She claims that the New Testament documents in particular were redacted in this patriarchal environment, that they do not provide an accurate historical account of events so much as a theological interpretation of them, and that such events were interpreted in light of patriarchal norms.

Furthermore, Schüssler Fiorenza (1983) discusses, what she labels as, neo-orthodox feminist theology, something she understands to regularly derive from Protestant scholars. She dismisses this approach, which, as she explains, looks for distinctions between timeless truth and culturally conditioned expressions in the pages of Scripture. Schüssler Fiorenza understands this to include attributing more 'problematic' texts to post-Pauline interpolations. This is because the neo-orthodox approach can fail to explore the use of the Bible in the oppression of others given that its proponents attempt to use the Bible in support of those who are oppressed (Schüssler Fiorenza, 1983). Schüssler Fiorenza (1983) also draws particular attention to the fact that the Bible has been employed to justify patriarchy in the Church and society through the (supposedly) divinely ordained place of women and points to the Vatican's 1977 statement against women's ordination in support of this claim.

However, for Schüssler Fiorenza (2009), the issue of patriarchal discourses in biblical interpretation is not restricted to the Church but also permeates within the academy. She employs the phrase “kyriarchy” (p.115), in reference to domination over, and the subordination of, people based on a wide variety of socio-economic traits, including gender. It is because feminist and post-colonial interpretations of Scripture have been marginalised that students of theology have to use kyriarchal language and discourses (Schüssler Fiorenza, 2009). In order to break this cycle Schüssler Fiorenza (2009) claims that an intersectional analysis of kyriarchy is needed. She explains that this includes the assessment of heterosexual culture, in addition to gender, race, and class given that oppression is complex and multi-faceted. Schüssler Fiorenza (2009) also explains that kyriarchy therefore effects, “wo/men” (p.117), rather than women only. This creative use of language leads neatly on to a discussion of another thinker who ought to engage the present research.

Elizabeth Johnson is another Roman Catholic scholar (Rakoczy, 2008). Johnson (2007) recognizes women’s agency, as well as their ability to sin, and so in this respect mirrors Storkey (1985). Johnson (2007) claims that patriarchal language has three negative effects. Firstly, she notes the lack of alternative language means patriarchal expressions about God are taken literally and so become idolatrous. Secondly, Johnson explains that it justifies patriarchy in Church and society by suggesting that maleness has more in common with God than femaleness. Thirdly, she states that such language implies that women are in some sense less like God than are men. Her solution to this is to use more

feminine language to talk of God. Johnson draws on biblical texts in support of this, for example, by positing that the Hebrew word $\eta \eta$ is feminine and is used to denote the Spirit of God.

Johnson (1993) also identifies a history of dualism in Christian theology that has its origins in the ancient Greek thought that the earliest Christians were immersed in. She explains that this “hierarchical dualism” (p.10) divides reality into two spheres, preferring one to the other. She asserts that humanity become detached from nature, which is associated with the feminine. In this paradigm God is also detached from the world, and the masculine discourse is understood as spiritual (Johnson, 1993). Johnson (1993) claims that the impact of this is the subordination of women to men where the former become other-ed. Indeed, others have also identified the presence of Gnostic, or Gnostoid/ Proto-Gnostic ideas in ancient Christianity (e.g. King, 2005; Williams, 1999). Others have also identified it in contemporary conservative Protestantism (e.g. Lee, 1993).

In addition to this, Johnson (1992) claims that patriarchal conceptions of God are compounded by the fact that the Bible is often understood to be the Word of God, and so is read literally. She explains that in this context revelation is assumed to be a conceptual truth located in rational linguistic statements communicated by God and without error. Johnson thus argues that revelation is thus equated with the very words of the Bible and become universalized. She also states that as a result of this the Church becomes bound to repeat the language of God instituted by men of privilege. Nevertheless, Johnson identifies promise in the fact that, in light of biblical criticism, Vatican II stated that the

Bible is inerrant with respect to its claims of salvation, rather than in all things. This is because Johnson understands this to provide space for alternative ways of talking about God and theology.

Tina Beattie (2004) discusses the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith. She explains that it issued a letter in 2004 permitting women to seek fulfillment outside of the domestic sphere, whilst still orientating women to the home and family as their primary calling. Beattie elaborates that the letter implicitly blamed feminism for enmity between the sexes and criticized a compounding of sex and gender by understanding the former as a historical and social construction. She also explains that the letter allowed for the distinction between sex and gender. Furthermore, Beattie understands that the letter also blames feminism for a new desire in women to seek power, and she suggests that claims such as this might have more merit if they relied less on generalisations and drew on specific instances.

Groppe (2009) discusses the 1976 Pontifical Biblical Commission that explored the appropriateness of women's ordination in the Roman Catholic Church. She explains that it concluded that the New Testament evidence alone is too ambiguous to employ as an authority in the debate. Groppe adds that the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith claimed that there is a continuous tradition of male priesthood, and that it elaborates that because the priest stands, "*in persona propria*" (pp. 162-163), it would be difficult to envision a woman priest. However, she argues that until the twelfth century the term "ordination" (p.153), although used broadly, referred to women in a number of

functions, some of which were shared with men. This included teaching, taking confessions, and conducting baptisms, but never presiding at the Eucharist (Groppe, 2009). Furthermore, Groppe (2009) draws on Wright (1997) who argues that the patristic fathers excluded women from the priesthood because of commonly held assumptions about the nature and temperament of women, rather than from a theology of male apostolic succession. Groppe (2009) also draws on Ferrara (1994) who finds that the scholastic thinkers used by the Church held traditional gender values due to a belief in women's natural subordination to men.

Similarly, Hans Küng (2001) rejects the Roman Catholic Church's claim that women are not ordained because Jesus did not choose them to be apostles. He argues that the Church Fathers claimed women's witnessing Jesus' empty tomb suggests an equality in apostleship, and claims that this is an integral aspect to being identified as an apostle. Margaret Beirne is an RSC sister ("Dr Margaret Beirne, RSC", 2016), a Roman Catholic order ("Our History", *n.d.*). Beirne (2003) explores Johannine gender pairs and concludes that the Gospel establishes that Jesus is, "decidedly and equally inclusive of women and men" (p.26). Beattie's (2004) analysis of recent Roman Catholic teaching will prove of particular importance for understanding the Anglo-Catholic participants whose narratives form a part of this thesis' study. Nonetheless, ideas found in the rest of the above literature are also reflected in their narratives, as well as in the narratives of other participants either in affirmation or rejection.

2.7 Prejudice and sexism

Much of the research on prejudice in recent years traces its intellectual roots to Gordon Allport's (1979) *The Nature of Prejudice* (e.g. Forbes, 1997; Glick and Fiske, 1996). Whilst his work was primarily concerned with ethnic prejudice, Allport's understanding of prejudice has been widely utilised (Forbes, 1997). Based on a large-scale review of previous research Allport (1979) defines prejudice as, "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group" (p.9). Forbes (1997) explains that, for Allport, prejudice consisted of three aspects: firstly, Forbes explains that there is hostility towards (and the rejection of) individuals. Secondly, he notes that there are faulty and unfounded generalisations about groups. Thirdly, he writes that persons who hold prejudicial attitudes towards a person or a group reject evidence that would undermine that prejudice.

Pettigrew (1971) argues that prejudice is lessened when members of different social groups exhibit four criteria. Firstly, they must possess equal status. Secondly, they must seek common goals. Thirdly, they need to be cooperatively dependant on one another. Finally, they need to interact with each other with the support of mitigating authorities or structures. This will be explored in more detail in the following chapter. However, for now it is important to recognise that the absence of these factors are more likely to be present when prejudice is discerned (Pettigrew, 1971). More recently, work on

prejudice has been employed in numerous areas, including on prejudice within occupational spheres (e.g. Green, 2007), religious diversity (e.g. Merino, 2010) and gender (e.g. Rudman, 2005). These studies demonstrate the utility of employing research on prejudice to studies of religious traditions, the work place, and gender, all of which are of central concern to this thesis. Indeed, Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) claim in their meta-analysis that this is a reliable theoretical lens. Their conclusions are based on a study with a significant effect size (c. 250,000), across thirty-eight countries, spanning an approximately fifty-year timeframe.

However, a separate strand of research has developed and is also based on Allport's (1979) work. Glick and Fiske (1996) have drawn on ambivalence psychology and formulated the theory of ambivalent sexism, a sub-set of prejudice. They assert that there are two strands in this theory, namely hostile sexism and so-called benevolent sexism. Glick and Fiske elaborate that hostile sexism describes attitudes towards women that are in keeping with Allport's definition of prejudice. They also claim that 'benevolent' sexism designates an attitude towards women that may initially appear subjectively positive, but that actually undermines conceptions of women's competence. For example, a man may be all too happy to help a woman because he believes that she requires protection as the (allegedly) weaker sex (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Glick and Fiske (1997) elaborate that benevolent sexism, "recognizes men's dependence on women... and embraces a romanticized view of sexual relationships with women" (p.121). Furthermore, they argue that a biological determinism often lies behind benevolent sexism (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Glick and Fiske (1996)

believe that sexism is thus ambivalent because it incorporates these two different aspects of gender-related prejudice, and because an individual can harbour both kinds of sexism but in different contexts (see also Kilianski and Rudman, 1998).

Glick and Fiske (1997) assert that, “there can be little doubt that male structural power is related to hostility toward women” (p.120). They also agree with Allport (1954/1979) and Tajfel (1969) that prejudice is related to “the restriction of a group to lower status roles and hostile stereotypes that justify this exploitation” (Glick and Fiske, 1997, p.120). The theory of ambivalent sexism has been developed since its conception. Initially hostile sexism was associated with the justification of male power, traditional gender roles, and men’s exploitation of women as sex objects, achieved through demeaning caricatures of women (Glick and Fiske, 1997). However, in later research it became associated less with sexualising women and more with a hostile response to women when they are perceived by men to be threatening their power or status in some way, such as through endorsing feminist ideals (Masser and Abrams, 2004).

Glick and Fisk (1997) expand their understanding of both hostile and ‘benevolent’ sexism by further sub-categorising them. They write that, “power differences between the sexes (a consequence of patriarchy) are rationalized through ideologies of *paternalism*” (p.121, emphasis original). They elaborate that dominative determinism is a sub-set of hostile sexism, and is the idea that men should control women. Protective paternalism, by contrast, according to

Glick and Fiske, asserts that men ought to protect women because of their superior strength and power. They add that this belief tends to be stronger in men's relationships with those whom they are dyadically reliant on, such as wives.

Drawing on Eagly (1987), Glick and Fiske (1997) formulate another aspect of sexism, namely gender differentiation. They write that on the one hand, competitive gender differentiation is a sub-set of hostile sexism and relies on negative stereotyping of women by men so that the latter maintain a sense of gender-related superiority. This is understood to be a self-esteem boost achieved by evidencing the superiority of one's social group over others (Glick and Fiske, 1997, drawing on Abrams and Hogg, 1990). On the other hand, it is believed that complementary gender differentiation is a sub-set of 'benevolent' sexism and is made up of traditional stereotypes about women that are more positive, and are theorised to be the result of men's dyadic relationships with women (Glick and Fiske, 1997, drawing on Eagly and Mladinic, 1993). In this respect, women are seen to complement characteristics typically associated with men and supposedly male roles (Glick and Fisk, 1997). Complementary gender differentiation thus relies on the perception that women have virtuous traits in contrast to men (Glick and Fisk, 1997). The final sub-category is heterosexuality: Glick and Fiske (1997) posit that heterosexual hostility describes an inclination to view women as sex objects and a male fear that women will employ their sexuality to gain mastery over men. They also write that intimate heterosexuality (which accompanies 'benevolent' sexism)

describes male reliance on women, which is a result of a romanticized view of women as sexual objects.

Kilianski and Rudman (1998), drawing on Sigel (1996), have suggested that men's appreciation of equality remains abstract and that in practice men can remain reluctant to engage with egalitarian behaviours. Indeed, both forms of sexism may be labelled as such because they reinforce traditional gender roles as well as a patriarchal status quo, limiting the role of women in society (Glick and Fiske, 1996, 1997). It is also possible that they are closely linked with one type of sexism reinforcing the other (Kilianski and Rudman, 1998). The reliability of the ambivalent sexism theory has been well attested from its origins with large scale testing in numerous contexts and with a diverse range of participants and large effect sizes (e.g. Christopher and Mull, 2006; Glick, Diebold and Bailey-Werner, 1997; Glick and Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2001a, 2001b, 2011; Glick, Sakalli-Ugurlu, Ferreira and Auguiar de Souza, 2002; Russell and Trigg, 2004; Sakalli-Ugurlu, Yalçin and Glick, 2007). However, a limitation of much of the work to date has been that it has not focused on sexism in real life situations (Sakalli-Ugurlu and Beydogan, 2002). Although some studies have done so outside of abstract computer based scenarios (e.g. Hebl, King, Glick, Singletary, and Kazama, 2007), these studies are rare and still do not offer the thick description that accompanies a qualitative approach. A descriptive analysis of how those with sexist outlooks present their beliefs will therefore respond to such absence of knowledge.

However, it is also worth noting that the term 'benevolent sexism' is problematic. Whilst this was not seen to be problematic when the theory was first published in 1996, much has changed with respect to social scientists' understanding of gender inequality since then. Glick and Fiske (1996) appear to pre-empt objection to the term. They explain that it intended to explain the subjective appearance of benevolent sexism rather than communicate their value judgement on it. Nevertheless, partly because of the insights gained through the theory of ambivalent sexism, there is greater awareness of the extent to which women still face discrimination. This knowledge requires greater sensitivity on the part of researchers because it demonstrates appreciation of the subjectivity of persons that is required by research ethics (see Burman, 1994). Therefore, I argue that an alternative term is required. Indirect sexism is a more appropriate term because it denotes the fact that this expression of prejudice is not *necessarily* as obvious as its more overtly hostile counterpart. It is this term that I shall use instead of 'benevolent sexism' from now on.

Glick and Fiske (1996) understand sexism, whether hostile or indirect, with respect to the above definitions they have provided. This enables one to employ the theory in a qualitative context because the researcher is not reliant upon a fixed questionnaire in order to determine whether one has sexist attitudes or behaves in a sexist manner. Thus, whether or not a person's gender values are deemed sexist is dependent upon whether or not their statements reflect the aforementioned definitions. However, any statement being analysed for sexism must meet all aspects of any one of the definitions of sexism or its sub-categories in order to be considered sexist. There is also a distinction

between sexist attitudes and behaviours to be made. The former concerns how one thinks about women, whether that be in abstract or certain groups of women in particular, such as feminists. The latter concerns discriminatory attitudes towards women.

2.7.1 The role of empathy in prejudice and prejudice reduction

A discussion on empathy is relevant for the present study because it has been argued that it is an important mediator of prejudice as persons with more empathy tend to be less prejudicial (Batson et al., 1997; Brown, 2011). Those with less empathy, on the other hand, tend to be more prejudicial (Pettigrew, 1998; Reich and Purbhoo, 1975). It will therefore be instructive to assess the role that empathy (or its lack) plays in participants' narratives.

Work starting with Stotland (1969) has demonstrated that imagining how a victim may feel in a distressing situation may lead to an increase in empathic behaviour (see also Toi and Batson, 1982). This body of literature has indicated that whether one possesses altruistic empathetic behaviour (also called dispositional empathy) or egoist empathetic behaviour (also called situational empathy) can be discerned through a simple test (Batson, Fultz and Schoenrade, 1987; Dovidio, Allen and Schroeder, 1990; Stotland, 1969, Toi and Batson, 1982). The literature claims that participants who decided to help the imaginary victim, despite having the opportunity to exit the situation, possessed altruistic empathy. (Batson, Fultz and Schoenrade, 1987; Dovidio, Allen and Schroeder, 1990; Stotland, 1969, Toi and Batson, 1982). The same studies also conclude that those who would only help when there was no indication that they could exit the

scenario were understood to display empathic behaviour in order to reduce their own sense of distress.

Furthermore, in their meta-analysis, Eisenberg and Miller's (1987) argue that empathy is related to pro-social behaviours including— most notably for the present thesis—co-operation. Studies on prejudice imply that co-operation between distinct social groups can lead to prejudice reduction (e.g. see Stephan and Finlay, 1999). Thus, empathy is an important facet for prejudice on two fronts: in mediating prejudice more generally, and in enabling co-operation, which can mediate prejudice more directly.

Scholarship has also debated the extent to which empathy is a gendered phenomenon. Baron-Cohen (2002) believes that women are more predisposed to empathy than are men because male brains are more likely to exhibit autistic behaviours (see also Baron-Cohen and Wheelwright, 2004). However, Batson and Powell (2003) reviewed a number of studies and claim that the majority of the available data leads to mixed findings. For instance, they explain that, whilst some studies indicate that women are typically more empathetic (e.g. Wegner and Crano, 1975), others indicate that men are (e.g. West, Whitney and Schnelder, 1975). In light of this, Batson and Powell (2003) conclude that whether women or men are more inclined to display empathy is largely context dependent, but also that women typically display more empathic behaviour.

Nevertheless, Robbins, Francis, Haley and Kay (2001) argue that, amongst Methodist clergy, men tend to exhibit behaviour typically associated with

women and women, those with men. However, Nason-Clark (1987a) articulates that clergywomen in the US tended to offer greater sensitivity and pastoral care than their male colleagues. The overall scope of the literature reinforces Batson and Powell's (2003) more nuanced conclusion that, whilst women appear more empathic than men (in general terms), there are certain contexts where this is evidently not the case. This reinforces the previous critiques of a biologically deterministic attitude towards gender. In light of the above, participants' empathy towards those of different theological persuasions was assessed by following the model of imagining a scenario where they were discriminated against because of their sex and were either barred from priesthood or had the validity of their vocation called into question.

2.7.2 Prejudice suppression

A further important insight from prejudice research is the justification-suppression model (JSM) proposed by Crandall and Eshleman (2003). They posit that, because society has typically become more aware— and disapproving— of overt forms of prejudice, prejudicial attitudes and behaviours are often suppressed and integrated into people's self-concepts (the self that is informed by the beliefs that a person holds of one's self and by the responses of other people). Crandall and Eshleman further argue that suppressed prejudice manifests when a person perceives that it is legitimated by their circumstances. There are four broad components to Crandall and Eshleman's model. Firstly, there are the origins of prejudice. Secondly, there are the sources of prejudice suppression. Thirdly, there are the effects of suppression. Finally, there is the legitimization of prejudice.

Regarding the origins of prejudice, Crandall and Eshleman (2003) find that a number of factors that contribute to such attitudes. According to their research these include: (i) direct cultural learning (e.g. from one's peer group), (ii) instrumental attitudes (such as the perception of danger to one's in-group from an outgroup), (iii) social categorization and identity (i.e. self-identifying with a particular social group at the exclusion of another), and (iv) religion (if it is accompanied by certain forms of training and socialization). Equally, Crandall and Eshleman (2003) posit that a number of factors encourage the suppression of such prejudice. These include: (i) value systems (e.g. egalitarianism, Christian principles of inclusion, or personal moral standards), (ii) social norms (e.g. the idea that prejudice is out-dated), (iii) playing for an audience (in so far as public behaviour is more accountable and so often displays less prejudice than private behaviour), (iv) the self as an audience (i.e. a concern to appear unprejudiced to one's self).

Crandall and Eshleman (2003) also outline the effects of prejudicial suppression. For example, they discuss the phenomenon of suppression as justification (i.e. denial of prejudice leading to the failure to acknowledge its manifestations). They also introduce the concept of reactance, which they explain is the display of apparently contradictory behaviour in order to follow the norms of the immediate situation. Another effect of prejudice suppression that Crandall and Eshleman argue for is suppression release as a means of reward, by which they mean expressing prejudice can alleviate the build up of

anxiety. These insights will provide a helpful framework for interpreting aspects of participants' narratives.

2.8 Discussion on intergroup contact

2.8.1 Intergroup contact

In the previous section Allport's (1979) understanding of prejudice was outlined. I will now expand on his theory, known as the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1979). Allport (1979) argues that prejudice can be reduced when contact between outgroups is made under certain conditions. More particularly, he explains that prejudice is likely to be reduced during prolonged contact when all parties involved: (i) possess equal status, (ii) seek common goals, (iii) are cooperatively dependant upon each other, and (iv) interact with the positive support of the relevant authoritative bodies. Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami (2003) explain that these factors collectively can be referred to respectively as: (i) functional relation variables, (ii) behavioural variables, (iii) affective variables, and (iv) cognitive variables. Brown (2011) adds that co-operative dependence is particularly potent for facilitating prejudice reduction. He asserts that in the common group identity model, goal sharing can promote cognitive changes as part of the process of re-categorisation. This is the process of opposing groups beginning to see themselves as part of a new superordinate category, rather than as two distinct groups, because of their co-operation (Brown, 2011).

Further support for these four conditions has been provided in Pettigrew's (1971) study. Whilst some of the earlier research on the contact hypothesis came under scrutiny, for example, with criticisms concerning the generalizability of the theory (Forbes, 1997), later studies have demonstrated the robustness of the theory. For instance, a meta-analysis by Pettigrew and Tropp (2005) concluded that:

Overall, results from the meta-analysis revealed that greater levels of inter-group contact are typically associated with lower levels of prejudice... Additional analyses indicate that these results are unlikely to be due to participant selection or publication biases; also, the more rigorous research studies reveal stronger contact-prejudice relationships (p.268).

Pettigrew and Tropp's (2005) meta analysis was based on fifty years worth of studies in thirty-eight countries with data from around 250,000 participants, indicating a clear robustness to the theory. Indeed, Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) later explain that the analysis revealed a mean effect size of $-.215$ and that this figure rose negatively for the more rigorous studies (a negative mean effect size indicates that greater intergroup contact is associated with lower prejudice). Importantly Pettigrew and Tropp's (2005) analysis incorporated studies that engage with a wide range of prejudices, rather than just ethnic prejudice. Therefore, whilst the earlier studies on the contact hypothesis did come under scrutiny for a lack of methodological rigour (Brown,

2011), over the course of its life, the hypothesis has been demonstrated to be a perfectly credible interpretation of intergroup contact and prejudice.

Nevertheless, there are additional critiques of the hypothesis that require addressing. For example, whilst Dixon, Durrheim, and Tredoux (2005) are generally convinced by the contact hypothesis, they argue that studies are concerned only with rare conditions which tend not to exist in areas where prejudice towards outgroups most evidently manifests. They also add that participants' understandings have been interpreted in light of the existing literature rather than with respect to participants' experiences and assumptions. Finally, they assert that the use of the hypothesis for reducing prejudicial outcomes is flawed, for three reasons: (A) it is not clear that those with prejudicial attitudes can change their estimations of an entire outgroup even if their prejudice towards an individual within an outgroup is reduced. (B) They question whether contact is the result of existing intergroup relations. (C) Contact could risk increasing prejudice amongst outgroups if they begin to interact with each other negatively.

With respect to the first and second points, I have addressed these in the methodology chapter in dialogue with Halualani (2008) where it was explained how this thesis avoids such pitfalls. Regarding the third point: (A), Brown (2011) explains that generalisations are indeed made towards an entire outgroup when contact is made with those who are perceived to be representative of an outgroup. With regard to (B), Brown (2011) also demonstrates that there is a reciprocal causality between contact and prejudice because those who hold

prejudice tend to avoid those against whom they are prejudiced, and when contact is made it can be effective in reducing such attitudes. Allport (1979) and Pettigrew (1971) had already explained the variables necessary for positive contact to take place between outgroups— mentioned above— acknowledging that (C) is indeed a possibility but also outlining how to mediate this risk.

Nevertheless, the literature demonstrates that a number of factors can discourage persons from engaging with outgroups. More specifically, this includes: (i) differences in values (Pettigrew, 1998), and (ii) societal norms, including institutions— even if this is accidental (Kirk, 1993). These are important factors to remember as this thesis continues to explore participants' interactions with, and attitudes towards, women. In fact, it is evident from the discussion thus far that members of Reform and most of the Anglo-Catholic participants have different values from the wider C of E, which affirms the legitimacy of women's ordination. In the same way, the institutional norms of the Established Church are also at odds with the gender norms of these two groups. Hence, many from these groups explain that they have impaired communion with their bishops, instead placing themselves under the oversight of a 'flying bishop'. The same cannot be asserted for the vast majority of the charismatic evangelical participants.

In addition to this, Pettigrew (1998) explains that the optimal conditions of intergroup contact do not themselves effect prejudice reduction. Rather, he explains that they facilitate four psychological stages that more directly reduce an individual's prejudice. Firstly, he explains that in-group members learn about

the outgroup, correcting any faulty caricatures that in-group members have of them. However, Pettigrew adds that this only happens when: (i) the outgroup's behaviour is evidently different from the stereotype, and when an outgroup's behaviour is strongly associated with their label, (ii) occurs frequently across a variety of different contexts, and (iii) the outgroup members concerned are seen as typical members (see also Rothbart and John, 1985).

Secondly, Pettigrew (1998) continues that there is behavioural change, which precedes attitude change. He explains that when contact leads to new situations new expectations surrounding behaviour arise, and that, when this includes accepting outgroup members, behavioural change can lead to attitude change. Thirdly, there is generating affective ties, where positive emotions—particularly empathy— can improve attitudes towards outgroups and can be cultivated during contact (Pettigrew, 1998; see also Batson et al., 1997; Reich and Purbhoo, 1975). Finally, Pettigrew (1998) states that there is in-group reappraisal because contact can encourage reflection on in-group norms, leading to the conclusion that there may be other legitimate identities or behaviours. That is, to use sociological language, plausibility structures are undermined (e.g. Hunter, 1987). To summarise, therefore, when contact occurs under the desired variables, four causal stages of prejudice reduction are triggered.

2.8.2 Group schisms

It is also relevant to describe the findings on group schisms because it details why some people/groups avoid contact with certain others, a

phenomenon evident in many of the participants' narratives. Sani (2005) provides a helpful discussion, and importantly, frames the social psychological literature on group schisms with reference to the debate concerning the ordination of women in the C of E (see also Sani and Reicher 1999, 2000; Sani and Todman, 2002). Sani (2005) starts by drawing on self-categorisation theory (see Turner and Oakes, 1986) and articulates that a group of persons who consider themselves similar to each other— and thus in the same 'group' as each other— place their identity in that and begin to behave in a way that reflects the identity and values of that group. Sani (2005) continues that this leads to a process of debate concerning what values are integral to group identity, and so when group members perceive that the historical, core identity of their group has come under threat a number of cognitive and affective consequences follow that can lead to schismatic behaviour.

More specifically, Sani (2005) writes that perceived subversion can have a negative impact on group identification where group members struggle to see themselves as part of that group. He also explains that members, "experience a mixture of both dejection-related emotions (e.g. disappointment, sadness) and agitation-related emotions (e.g. apprehension, uneasiness)" (p.1076). He then draws on self-discrepancy theory (see also Higgins, 1987) in order to explain why such emotions may be felt. Sani (2005) explains that the individual has three social selves: the actual self (the attributes you believe that you possess or that you think others believe you possess), the ideal self (an idealised version of yourself that you aspire to), and the ought self (how one thinks they should be or what they perceive others think they should be). He elaborates that changes to

group identity can create discrepancy between the actual self and the ideal and/or ought self. “More specifically, it is contended that the actual-ideal discrepancy leads to dejection-related emotions and that the actual-ought discrepancy generates agitation-related emotions.” (p.1076). Sani also refers to work by Bizman and Yinon (2002) who have extended self-discrepancy theory to the social self (how one present themselves). They demonstrate that discrepancy between the actual self and the social self creates dejection-related emotions.

Sani (2005) explains that a further consequence of perceived identity subversion is a perceived reduction in in-group entitativity¹⁵ because those who believe strongly in the group’s identity subversion will also believe that there are two factions within the group with incompatible ideologies. Frijda (1986) has noted that emotions of dejection tend to lead to apathy and passivity, whereas emotions of agitation lead to initiative and activity. This has led Sani (2005) to conclude that a distinction ought to be made between those who join a schism and are actively involved in it, and those who join but are more passive members. He also notes that schismatic intentions can be moderated by the extent to which one perceives they have a voice, or lack thereof, within the group. That is, the more one believes they will be heard, the more likely they will be to stay within the group (Sani, 2005). Schismatic intentions can also be reduced by increasing group identification and by group members experiencing more positive emotions (Sani, 2005). It stands to reason that if participants in

¹⁵ Sani explains that entitativity is the perception that one’s social group is a unified whole.

the present study veer towards schism, then outgroup contact— and all that it can foster for the reduction of prejudice— will be avoided.

2.8.3 Social capital theory

Bourdieu (1983) is well known for his theory of social capital, the idea that social ties can reproduce inequality because it enables people with sufficient social networks to gain access to increased power. Putnam (2000) believes that belonging in a religious community is primarily a social phenomenon because it is largely dependant on the extent to which one has ties with its broader social context. To this Putnam adds that conservative religious groups are made up of members that are more likely to be heavily involved in their faith community than their wider community. He explains that trends in religious life therefore typically reinforce a lack of social cohesion with wider society. Instead, smaller and thus more exclusive communities tend to generate trust, honesty and reciprocity more readily than larger ones (Putnam, 2000). Putnam explains that this includes co-operation, increased effectiveness at problem solving, and the ability to test their own views against others. He explains that, without the latter, “people are more likely to be swayed by their worst impulses” (p.289). He thus argues that smaller group cohesion is an exclusive phenomenon as it leads to social capital amongst connected members of a network rather than those outside of it. He states that where social capital is lacking, so will these virtues. This will be a helpful supplementary lens to the literature on schisms to gain further insight into the group dynamics of this study’s participants.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the wide-ranging literature on feminist/gender theory, as well as feminist theology, and sexism, and intergroup contact. This has been in order to establish the various ways that one may conceive of gender/sex. Such an undertaking will enable a fuller analysis of the attitudes that this thesis' participants' have towards gender/sex more broadly, and women's roles in the C of E in particular. This chapter has examined a broad range of the literature in this area. I have posited that the epistemological assumptions pertaining to gender/sex are not always starkly different. The discussion on feminist theology has outlined the various engagement that theology enjoys with feminist/gender theory. It has demonstrated the polyphony of ways that religious sources may be used in articulating a more inclusive or exclusive theology of women's roles in Church and beyond. These findings will be revisited as the thesis develops. At present, however, this thesis will explore the historical development of the different religious traditions that the participants inhabit.

3. Evangelical (and Anglo-Catholic) but not angry: Locating participants' religious traditions I

3.1 Introduction

I have already identified the various traditions within the C of E in the introduction. However, categorization sometimes leads to discrimination against those being labelled (e.g. Tajfel, 1982). Indeed, the literature on conservative Protestantism frequently states the ethical objections to designations such as 'fundamentalist', which can appear derogatory (e.g. Bruce, 2008). In fact, a number of this thesis' participants reported instances of being negatively stereotyped because of the tradition they are a part of and/or some of their specific beliefs. It is therefore important to reflect on the role of descriptive designations in academic research, something that this chapter will begin to consider as it seeks to locate participants' religious traditions.

In his discussion of possible definitions for 'fundamentalism', Marsden (1991) wrote that, "[a] fundamentalist is an evangelical who is angry about something" (p.1). The term 'fundamentalist' derives from a series of booklets produced by evangelicals between 1910-15 entitled *The Fundamentals* and they reinforce a number of central Christian beliefs in reaction to the perception that conservative Protestant teaching was being eroded (Smith, Emerson, Gallagher, Kennedy and Sikkink, 1998). Scholarship has noted that the derivative term 'fundamentalist' is not necessarily easy to define. For example, a complexity with this term lies in the fact that, despite its genesis in the US, it was later utilised in descriptions of the Iranian Revolution in the 1970s before being re-imported into the North American context (Balmer, 1989). Therefore, some of this chapter will further explore the extent to which the term may be meaningful.

Ammerman (1987) notes that by the 1940s a distinct group of evangelicals self-identifying as fundamentalists had emerged and that they labeled their institutions accordingly. Scholarship, however, has often cast the net more widely in determining who fits the bill of 'fundamentalist' (e.g. Boone, 1987; Bruce, 2008). Whilst the issue of labeling will be discussed to some degree in the exploration of methodology it is necessary to discuss it in more detail here. This is because there are striking similarities between the beliefs, thought patterns, and behaviours of the participants and those found in studies of groups that are sometimes labeled as fundamentalist.

As for the term 'evangelical', David Bebbington (1994) writes that it is, "all those Protestants inside and outside the established churches who have been

committed to spreading the gospel at home and abroad” (p.365). Bebbington (1989) also understands evangelicalism as a quadrilateral of conversionism, activism, biblicism, and crucicentrism. However, because of its diversity, it is more difficult to define evangelicalism in the US context (Bebbington, 1994). Perhaps this is why Randal Balmer (1989) employs it as an umbrella term for conservative Protestants, with all of its sub-groups, who emphasize spiritual rebirth for salvation. Anglo-Catholicism, however, is the branch of Anglicanism that emerged from the High Church tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century, and stressed the importance of the aesthetics of worship, the unity of the worldwide Church (particularly with Roman Catholicism), the apostolic commission of bishops, and the significance of tradition (Chadwick, 1990).

This chapter will begin to explore how this study’s participants may be defined with respect to their religious tradition(s). This is for two reasons: firstly, with regard to research ethics, it is important to offer an understanding of participants that is a fair representation (Martin, 2017; H. Mustajoki and A. Mustajoki, 2017). Indeed, caricatures can be distorting (Allport, 1954). Secondly, labels, or at least perceptions of in/out groups, are an essential part of intergroup processes and identity (Reynolds, 2011). Both of these ideas will be explored in later chapters and so it is necessary to lay the foundation for them here.

Importantly, the analysis below will aid our understanding of how the participants think and behave, as well as why they think and act in certain way, because it will enable one to remember that they have inherited particular

religious traditions (see Vasey-Saunders, 2016). In fact, it will be seen that it is more accurate to assert that they are inheritors of multiple traditions. Indeed, the below will be another important undertaking with respect to representing participants, given that some of the beliefs regarding women held by a large number of the participants are, in the words of Rowan Williams, “not intelligible to... wider society” (“Women Bishops”, 2012).¹⁶ By understanding the participants’ beliefs in this way one is better positioned to exhibit sympathy towards them rather than ‘other’ them (Dovidio, Hewstone, Glick and Esses 2010). This is a phenomenon and a danger that is related to caricaturing (Pettigrew, 1998). Indeed, it is one that this thesis will continue to engage with through an examination of relevant scholarly literature.

Whilst much of the literature on conservative Protestantism refers primarily to evangelicalism significant portions of research on Protestantism in modernity applies to Anglo-Catholicism also. In particular, this chapter will engage with the literature that provides an appropriate theoretical framework for interpreting the data. This will be evidenced by the similarities between those studies and the participants in this study. It will pave the way for a more fruitful discussion by addressing historical as well as etymological concerns. As it does so, it will set two contexts for the development of the thesis. It will set the scholarly context in which this thesis contributes, and it will begin to set the

¹⁶ In fact, this is particularly pertinent given, as the report states, that William’s words were given to the General Synod immediately after the House of Laity failed to approve the motion for consecrating women to the episcopate in 2012.

historical context of the data. This will be particularly useful given that evangelicalism has common origins on both sides of the Atlantic (Bebbington, 1994). Indeed, there is much in the literature from the US context that will provide useful insights for interpreting participants' data. Hence, these constituent parts must be unraveled before we proceed with the results gained by narrative analysis. First, however, it is prudent to return to the opening statement of this chapter and ask what some evangelicals (and conservative Protestants more broadly) are supposedly angry about.

3.2 Describing modernity

Marsden (1991) elaborates on his designation of so-called fundamentalists as, "angry" (p.1) by describing them as Christians who actively oppose 'liberal' developments¹⁷ in the Church, para-church organisations, and wider society, and who exhibit Separatism¹⁸ in the process. Bruce (2008) notes that 'fundamentalism' was a reinterpretation of tradition, utilised in new ways for contemporary purposes with the onset of modernity. Whilst the concept of modernity is agreed upon there are minor differences in the emphases afforded it. Bruce (2008) summarizes it helpfully in four key components. Firstly, he

¹⁷ By which Marsden means ideas that deviate from the current social and theological norms, which are understood as 'traditional'.

¹⁸ Marsden describes separatists as those who left mainline Protestant denominations because they were thought to be too liberal, but he notes the exception of Southern Baptists, a denomination that stayed traditional in the main.

explains that there is differentiation, the segregation of society with the onset of the Industrial Revolution, where society became increasingly compartmentalised with new institutions performing roles previously fulfilled by the Church.

Secondly, Bruce states that there is the process of socialisation, where populations adapted to new social and professional roles and ways of life in new urbanised areas and led to decreased contact between the classes. Thirdly, he asserts that there is rationalisation, the process of explaining the world through natural rather than supernatural means, not least with the advent of modern scientific investigation with the focus on cause and effect. Finally, he claims that there is egalitarianism, where an understanding of individual responsibility gave way to the demand for equal rights.

Bruce (2008) indicates that one irony of this is that these so-called fundamentalists were reacting against a movement that, in some respects, can be traced back to the Reformation. Bruce claims that rationalisation was set in motion by the ability to code morality at the Reformation. He elaborates that, once it became effectively detached from a divine being and an internal logic for morality was found, the role of religion in moral reasoning and guidance gradually decreased. It was this same European phenomenon which led to the rise of egalitarianism in modernity where the focus in Protestant theology on human equality before God led to the development of individual responsibility, which paved the way for individual rights (Bruce, 2008). As was demonstrated by the literature discussed on gender, it is this that eventually helped set the context for the drive to ordain women in the C of E (i.e. Thrall, 1958).

Nancy Ammerman's (1987) articulation of modernity supplements the above by referencing the increase of religious pluralism in the US context, particularly of Roman Catholics and Jews, the result of European migration (see also Smith et al., 1998). Ammerman (1987) also highlights the rise of Biblical Criticism and subjectivism as part of an intellectual revolution that emerged in tandem with the developments outlined by Bruce (2008). Bruce (2008) explains that the consequence was that, whereas before the onset of modernity the overarching belief systems in society were assumed to be an accurate account of how the world was, once the cogs of modernity began to turn the plausibility of the existing worldview was undermined. For example, the historical authenticity of the Gospels was called into question, undermining normative Christian assumptions (Marsden, 1991). This is perhaps most clearly expressed in David Strauss' (1846) *Life of Jesus*, which claimed that the Gospel accounts must be fabricated on account of the frequent reports of miracles. The French Revolution also indicated a new way of thinking about the world (Antoun, 2001). Here, the assumption of divine political order was abandoned in some quarters, and questioned in others (Chadwick, 1990).

Balmer (1994) notes the challenge that the advent of Darwin's evolutionary theory posed to orthodox theology.¹⁹ This was augmented by the ability to trace cause and effect in scientific endeavor which made the concept of

¹⁹ 'Orthodox theology' is used as the antithesis to liberalism, referring to the existing theological norms of the time in Balmer (1994) and Marsden (1991).

God redundant for some (Bruce, 2008). Indeed, with existing plausibility structures undermined, there were theological shifts towards liberalism within mainline Protestant denominations (Marsden, 1991). The literature seldom elaborates on the particular theological disputes of the time, other than interpretations of the authority of the Bible (e.g. Ammerman, 1987). However, one does not have to look far into the history of Christian doctrine from the Enlightenment period onwards before finding major challenges to key beliefs held by the vast majority of Protestants. For example, the traditional articulation of the two natures doctrine (which affirms the simultaneous deity and humanity of Christ) underwent significant re-examination, sometimes in order to understand the person of Jesus through a naturalist lens (Macquarrie, 1990). Ideas such as Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) rationalist Christology or Friedrich Schleiermacher's (1768-1834) humanist Christology certainly went beyond the bounds of orthodoxy, and even heterodoxy (Macquarrie, 1990). Furthermore, James Barr (1983) notes how higher criticism of biblical texts in this milieu permitted theologians to ask questions that challenged theological convention, and which highlighted the (biased) role of Church tradition in biblical interpretation.²⁰

²⁰ Barr (1983) also notes that whilst a number of historians and sociologists looking at modernity understood higher criticism as a German phenomenon, it is more accurate to understand it as originating in Britain and the USA, before being exported to Germany, and then back to the former countries.

Marsden (1991) claims that these developments set the scene for evangelical reaction (or anger). Their response is the result of their marginalization from society, where Christians from more conservative traditions felt that their beliefs were being relegated, and so their reaction was defensive in so far as they (selectively) resisted societal changes, forming a subculture in which to shelter (Appleby, 2011). That is, “[f]undamentalism... is the religion of the stressed and the disoriented, of those for who the world is overwhelming” (McCarthy Brown, 1994, pp.175-176). However, before this is unpacked in greater detail it is instructive to explore a particular dimension of modernity in detail, and the subsequent evangelical responses.

3.3 Modernity, evangelicals, and gender roles: the US context

3.3.1. Changes to gender and familial patterns during the Industrial Revolution

Given the focus of this thesis, it is appropriate to spotlight the importance of gender and family life within the context of modernity. It is worth exploring the US context because, as is argued below, British and US evangelicalism have a number of things in common because of the history of their development. Indeed, this thesis’ participants evidence attitudes and behaviours observed in the literature on US evangelicalism, and so this body of research will be a helpful interpretive lens for understanding the participants in this thesis. This section will explore a number of distinct topics pertaining to gender in order to demonstrate the extent of resistance to shifting gender patterns within evangelicalism.

Sally Gallagher (2003) notes that a renewed resistance to women's public ministry and an emphasis on male authority in church and at home was brought about as a response to higher criticism. This occurred within a context of dramatic shifts in gender roles (Gallagher, 2003). Balmer (1994) notes that prior to modernity, when societies were agrarian, men were more present in the home, but with the onset of the Industrial Revolution men began to work outside of the family and so gender roles adapted and the division of labour became more distinct with women becoming the primary instructors of their children, not least in matters of religion. Hence, as Gallagher (2003) states, there was an emphasis of men as providers by the late eighteenth century.

3.3.2. Initial Evangelical attitudes to changing gender and familial patterns

Bruce (2008) explains that changing gender roles were central to modernity, yet focus on the family unit had been a central concern of Church teaching for centuries, making it difficult for religious conservatives to adjust their stance to match the new realities of emerging familial patterns in the twentieth century. Similarly, Hunter (1987) notes that religion and family life were virtually inseparable, not least because the latter was the primary context where faith was lived out and where it is passed on from one generation to the next. Ammerman (1987) explains that in the family sphere the Christian way of life may be taken for granted. Brown (2000) argues that changing attitudes towards gender— and thus the 'death of Christian Britain'— resulted from younger women from the 1960s onwards adopting alternative gender norms that rejected the feminine piety of previous generations. Both Gallagher (2003)

and Hunter (1987) assert that gender ideals became narrowed further after World War II. Gallagher (2003) posits that the traditional division of labour was seen as sociably functional as well as God-given. She elaborates that these gender ideals were initially articulated in hierarchical ways. Hunter (1987) notes that, because the family was supposedly weakened after the war, a number of networks, societies, and organisations were formed promoting traditional family values. Indeed, Guest and Aune (2017) explain that family units can serve as plausibility structures for faith.

Brenda Brasher (1998) asserts that in the US gender was *the* key factor giving birth to 'fundamentalism', seeing it as an anti-feminist backlash. She draws on DeBerg (1990) who evidences that much of the early 'fundamentalist' literature focused on gender and family ideology. Brasher (1998) explains that so-called fundamentalists have articulated three theological components in this reaction to feminism. Firstly, she writes that there is sexual polarity, the concept that men and women are created differently, and thus for different purposes. Secondly, Brasher elaborates that there is sexual dominance, the belief that men are ordained by God to rule or hold authority. Thirdly, she states that there is sexual unity, the belief that men and women are in some sense equal in God's eyes.

However, the reactions to modernity more broadly, noted above, suggest that DeBerg's (1990) account of first wave 'fundamentalism' is a simplification. Gallagher (2003) demonstrates that the rise of the religious right in the 1970s was reacting against the rise of biblical feminism that had its genesis in the

1960s. However, as Balmer (2016) observes, gender issues such as abortion *primarily* became salient during evangelical outcry against legislative procedures in the 1970s that threatened to strip tertiary educational institutions of their tax-exempt status if they continued to segregate along racial lines.²¹ With that in mind, it is nonetheless evident from Gallagher (2003) that ‘fundamentalists’ did indeed react against feminism, even if this wasn’t the sole defining feature of ‘fundamentalist’ origins or its later developments, as Balmer (2016) claims. Indeed, during the early twentieth century women were gaining independence through increased employment and their earning potential (New, 2012).

3.3.3. Later evangelical attitudes towards changing gender and familial patterns

Paradoxically, however, by the 1980s patriarchal and hierarchical language pertaining to gender roles had softened (Balmer, 1994; Gallagher, 2003). In fact, the emergence of symbolic headship and pragmatic egalitarianism was apparent (Gallagher and Smith, 1999; Gallagher, 2003). This is the idea that theologies of male leadership and authority over women are more rhetorical than actual, and that Christians who claim to practice the headship model within the marital context are actually more likely to mirror the *comparatively* egalitarian gender patterns of wider society (Gallagher and Smith, 1999; Gallagher, 2003). In other words, so-called fundamentalists (and other

²¹ Balmer explains here that the momentum gained against Carter’s administration because of racial equality legislation was seized upon by some evangelical leaders and redirected towards the promotion of traditional patterns of gender.

evangelicals) do not simply resist modernity, but engage with it also (Smith et al., 1998).

It was within this context that later modernity began to undermine the previous sex segregation evidenced at the start of the Industrial Revolution, reduced the number of children women had, and reduced the amount of women becoming mothers altogether (Bruce, 2008). In response, 'fundamentalists' began to insist that there was a gender difference in creation where men would lead and women follow, and that Christian Scripture mandated this pattern as a timeless prescription (Gallagher, 2003). Hence, Ammerman (1987) notes how, in one 'fundamentalist' congregation, issues of family were frequently addressed from the pulpit where appeals were made to the Bible as asserting that the role of women was as the domestic caregiver. Having accepted the emergence of women as the primary care givers and religious instructors of children as a result of the emerging working conditions for men, 'fundamentalists' began to resist the very process that led to this development when it then gave women an increased presence in society beyond the domestic sphere (Balmer, 1994; Gallagher, 2003). Hence, Gallagher (2003) demonstrates that 'fundamentalist' and evangelical (dis)engagement with modernity is multifaceted. It also lends some credence to Berger's (1967) concept of cognitive bargaining *in so far as* symbolic headship and pragmatic egalitarianism suggests more than cognitive dissonance because, as Aune (2006) notes, adherents negotiate their traditional views in the contemporary world with the assimilation of more recent understandings of gender into this model.

Having outlined the relationship between modernity and evangelicals (including so-called fundamentalists) with respect to gender and family, it is also appropriate to outline their relationship with modernity more broadly, particularly with reference to relatively recent studies in contemporary evangelicalism. This will be instructive for locating the religious traditions of the present study's participants within the English context.

3.4 Modernity and engaged orthodoxy in the US and Britain

Mathew Guest (2007a) has a helpful discussion on the key literature in this area. For the present purposes one only needs to familiarise themselves with the debate between understanding evangelical engagement with modernity as a deviant body of knowledge (also called the project of resistance) or as engaged orthodoxy (Guest, 2007a). In the former model, proposed by Peter Berger (1970), Christian groups need to remain distant from modernity in order to survive in a modern context, and so belief systems are contrary to societal norms. Guest (2007a) explains that, in this phenomenon, the following may be observed: communalism, which is set against individualism, strict moral codes which are contrasted to modern libertarianism, and patriarchal structures of authority are asserted. He adds that these are often voiced polemically and foster homogeneity, solidarity among members, and a clearly defined set of boundaries that set them apart from the outside world.

In contradistinction, Hunter (1987) argues that there is both resistance towards, and accommodation of, wider society, and so a persistent tension between these two forces exists. He claims that the general movement is accommodation over time, eroding the symbolic boundaries of evangelicalism, facilitated by exposure to modernity, not least through higher education. The remedy is to retreat from the surrounding culture in a protective enclave (Hunter, 1987; see also Berger, 1967). However, Penning and Smidt (2002) disagree with Hunter and demonstrate that accommodation of modernity is selective, and that tertiary educated Christians are more likely to express certainty in their beliefs than those without. Methodological discussion will deal further with the mechanistic determinism assumed by Hunter (1987) and Berger (1967) and adds weight to this critique.

Guest, Aune, Sharma and Warner (2013) also note the link between regular church attendance and conservative theological beliefs amongst university students. These results are unsurprising given the vast body of social psychological research that demonstrates that exposure to difference is insufficient to change one's attitudes to an individual or a group who they see as distinct from themselves, and that several conditions must be facilitated or present in order for there to be embrace of the other (e.g. Allport, 1954/1975; Dovidio, Gaertner and Kawakami, 2003; Pettigrew, 1971).

As an alternative to the above conceptual framework, Christian Smith et al. (1998) proposed the model of engaged orthodoxy. They explain that Neo-evangelicals emerged in the 1940s wanting to reform the 'fundamentalism' that

had emerged in the 1920s, and that it had a socially active agenda and wanted a more robust intellectual theology. Whilst neo-evangelical theology was traditional, there was proactive engagement with intellectual, cultural, social, and political life unparalleled in 'fundamentalism', whereas progressive evangelicals had wanted similarly but felt the need to abandon so-called fundamentalist evangelicals in the pursuit of the reformulation of theology for the modern day (Smith et al., 1998).

Smith et al.'s (1998) understanding is paralleled in more recent findings such as Gallagher and Smith's (1999) symbolic headship and pragmatic egalitarianism, a feature also observed by Kristin Aune (2006) in the British evangelical context (see also Gallagher, 2003). Guest's (2007a) study of a large evangelical Anglican church in England also supports the model of engaged orthodoxy. Thus, its clear explanatory strength, when compared to the enclave model, makes it a useful framework for understanding evangelicalism.

3.5 Studies on 'fundamentalism' in US evangelicalism

I have discussed certain aspects of US evangelicalism that are often referred to as 'fundamentalism' because participants in this study reflected some of the attitudes and behaviours identified with this theological tradition. There are other aspects of 'fundamentalism', however, that require discussion for this reason. A key feature of evangelical movements labelled as fundamentalist is the presence of Scottish Common Sense Realism, which promoted a plain reading of

texts and democratized the Bible in the eighteenth century, making it available to a larger audience (Balmer, 2016; Boone, 1989; Marsden, 2006). This ties in with another key interpretative strategy regularly associated with ‘fundamentalists’, namely literalism (Ammerman, 1987; Balmer, 1993; Boone, 1989). Boone (1989) explains literalism as taking the plain meaning of a text, and that literalistic readings of Scripture are selective, something also noted by Gallagher (2003). This is particularly true when it would require the fantastic or empirically impossible (Boone, 1989). Boone (1989) also claims that such literalistic interpretations (where possible) are necessary because it guards the text from being interpreted in alternative ways. Hence, she explains that we ought not to understand ‘literal’ as synonymous with being anti-allegorical, but that which is clearly verifiable.²²

3.6 US and British evangelicalisms: Similarities and divergences

David Ceri Jones (2008) has noted that, during the last great revival in Britain, despite theological conservatism, preachers (whether Calvinist or Arminian)²³ displayed innovations, drawing on a breadth of Protestant thought

²² At this point Boone directly rejects Barr (1981) who she claims conflates literalism with anti-allegorical reading of Scripture.

²³ Calvinism is a systematized theology with the central belief that one cannot effect their own salvation because only God decides whom He saves and condemns. Arminianism, however, is the counter theology that one is free to choose to believe in God and so have agency in their salvation or condemnation.

and spirituality. This is also true of evangelicalism in Britain in later years (Guest, 2007a). Hence, there are a number of areas worthy of note when considering the similarities and differences between British evangelicalism and its North American counter-part.

3.6.1. Shared leaders

Historically, evangelicalism has common roots on both sides of the Atlantic (Bebbington, 1994). Despite this, Jones (2008) notes that there were tensions between the movements' key leaders, where the Calvinists Whitefield and Edwards came into conflict with the Arminian John Wesley. Jones explains that the latter seized the absence of the former in Britain, due to extended trips to the US, to promote an alternative to Calvinist doctrine. Nonetheless, Bebbington (1994) asserts that since the 1940s it was especially evident that both evangelicisms enjoyed similar trajectories. However, Bebbington (1994) discusses this with specific reference to shared preachers between both sides of the Atlantic, such as Billy Graham and John Stott in the twentieth century, as well as with reference to broader similarities such as the presence of evangelicals within mainline denominations in the US during the same period as in Britain (see also MacCulloch, 2009). Indeed, there was clear interaction with the two, for example, with American students coming to Britain to study under evangelical biblical scholars such as F. F. Bruce (Guest, 2007a). Nonetheless, as will be demonstrated, the evangelicisms of the two nations had important distinctions.

Bebbington (1989) notes that evangelicals in Britain resisted modernity as in the North American context, but also that the term 'fundamentalist', whilst

not being altogether absent, was nonetheless used infrequently. The terms 'conservative' and 'liberal' were employed, with the former holding to a more literalist reading of Scripture than the latter (Bebbington, 1994). Some of the controversies, such as biblical authority, were as in the US, but others, such as Darwinism, were less felt in Britain in the early twentieth century (Bebbington, 1989). Both liberal and conservative evangelicals displayed the ability to be innovative, even though the latter tended towards greater societal resistance than the former, but these divergences led to intra-evangelical tensions (Bebbington, 1989).

3.6.2. The institutional context

Nonetheless, because of the institutional nature of evangelicalism in the British context, these tensions did not prove as divisive as in the US (Bebbington, 1989). Noll (2004) notes the history of important evangelical figures, such as John Newton, entering the ranks of C of E and intentionally encouraging vocations within it. Brown and Woodhead (2016) also document the role that evangelical camps played in the faith of privately educated boys in the twentieth century, many of whom would then pursue ordination to the Anglican priesthood. This demonstrates something of an extended history of evangelicalism within the Established Church.

Bebbington (1989) further illustrates the importance of the institutional context by outlining four important phenomena. Firstly, he notes that bodies such as the Evangelical Alliance and the Islington Conference drew liberal and conservative evangelicals together. Secondly, Bebbington writes that the Oxford

Group— a precursor to the charismatic movement— met outside of church times rather than clashing with Sunday services. Thirdly, he claims that, at the 1967 National Evangelical Anglican Congress in Keele, evangelical Anglicans agreed to affirm its commitment to the C of E and to play a more active role within the institution. Finally, Bebbington writes that, one year prior to this, Westminster Chapel preacher Martin Lloyd-Jones had called on all evangelicals to leave their denominations in order to join a unified evangelical free church, but that this was immediately rebutted by high-profile Anglican priest (and evangelical) John Stott.

Further signs of evangelicalism's institutional compatibility in Britain can be discerned from Olsen's (1990) discussion on Methodism. He explains that during the revival many Methodists were content with the C of E, appreciating its ecclesiology and liturgy, as well as the fact that Wesley avoided holding meetings inside church hours. Olsen also notes that there was only a short list of exceptions to this, such as if the local Anglican Church was staunchly Calvinistic, or if people lived more than two miles away from it. In addition to this, he explains that there was also a proposed union between Anglicans and Methodists in the 1960s, which was rejected by conservative evangelicals only because they felt that the conditions were unfavorable to their Methodist brethren. In fact, as the conservative evangelical wing of the Church grew during the twentieth century, their opposition to wider society's innovations, such as the cinema, declined, also revealing greater harmony between conservative evangelicals and their social surroundings by the mid twentieth century or so (Olsen, 1990).

3.6.3. Social engagement

British evangelicalism was often involved in social concerns in the nineteenth century (Turnbull, 2007). However, when conservative evangelicals believed that this would detract from evangelism it ceased to be a priority (Bebbington, 1995). Bebbington (1995) relays that this began to change during the interwar years due to more internal concerns, such as the holiness movement where personal sanctification was stressed to the detriment of social justice. Nonetheless, he elaborates that this was reversed at Keele in 1967 under Stott's leadership, where evangelicals once more affirmed that the outworking of the Gospel included loving service. However, whilst Turnbull (2007) notes that evangelicals were engaged in social reform before the twentieth century, there were also interpretations of newly industrialized cities as godless and evil, not least with church attendance being low amongst the working class (Brown, 2001). This view of the world coincided with the so-called crisis of doubt where some began to articulate their honest uncertainties about the legitimacy of the Christian faith (Larsen, 2006; McLeod, 1996). It occurred alongside a decrease in church attendance up to the outbreak of the Second World War (McLeod, 1999). This did not improve in the latter half of the twentieth century and scapegoats were sought in the form of theological liberalism, exemplified by John Robinson's (1963) *Honest to God*, as well as in the form of support for the decriminalization of homosexuality (Brown, 2010).²⁴

²⁴ This is another irony of Protestant resistance to modernity. Bruce (2008) notes that it was the theological presupposition that God was already seen as 'outside' or distant

3.7 'Fundamentalism' and the British context

The above demonstrates that 'fundamentalism' in Britain did not have the leadership presence that it did in the US and that there was not the tendency towards it as there was across the pond (Bebbington, 1994). Nonetheless, Atherstone (2013) stresses that 'fundamentalism' was not altogether absent in the British context and notes that conservative evangelicals in the C of E in the 1920s and 1930s could share some of the tenets associated with fundamentalism. In fact, some evangelicals rejected higher criticism, and it was not until the 1950s and 1960s when British evangelicals appeared to be embarrassed by their links to US evangelicalism (Atherstone, 2013; see also Numbers, 2006). Thus, Bebbington and Jones (2013) reject the claim that so-called fundamentalism did not exist in Britain and that the C of E was entirely moderate. However, as historians also note (Atherstone, 2013; Numbers, 2006), it was a marginal movement, ultimately rejected by evangelicals within the C of E. Hence, it is therefore incorrect to refer to contemporary evangelicals within

from the world that contributed to the potency of scientific discovery, with its cause and effect approach, that undermined Christianity as a plausibility structure. Robinson (1963) sought to address what he saw as a misconception of God's omnipresence. Given Bruce's (2008) assertion, it may well be the case that if such conceptions about God had been taken as a given for the previous two centuries or so, the relegation of God as an explanation for existence would presumably have mitigated to some extent. Hence, in resisting *Honest to God* evangelicals were failing to resist a theology that actually contributed to the demise of Christianity as a plausibility structure with the onset of modernity.

the C of E in this way. Rather, Bebbington's (1989) term 'conservative evangelical' is more appropriate, even though aspects of 'fundamentalism' may be observed in this thesis' data. This will be unpacked further in the methodology chapter, however. Having established the historical context of evangelicalism in the C of E, I will now explore the historical development of Anglo-Catholicism.

3.8 High churchmanship prior to 1833

Since the seventeenth century the High Church faction of the C of E emphasised continuity with Rome, as well as the divine order of Church and State, particularly the episcopacy and the monarchy (Cross and Livingstone, 2005). This tradition's spirituality, especially their liturgy, was influenced by the Caroline Divines, theologians during the reigns of Charles I and Charles II, who sort to integrate particular forms of Roman Catholic liturgy into the C of E in their promotion of ancient piety (Hylson-Smith, 1993). By the eighteenth century there was a prominent representation of High Churchmen at Oxford, although, as Charles Wesley was to discover, they were not especially enthusiastic about ecclesial changes (MacCulloch, 2009). It was against this historical backdrop that the leading figures of Anglo-Catholicism were operating.

Whilst Anglo-Catholicism has not been subject to academic scrutiny to the same extent as evangelicalism, and so there are fewer works of scholarship to engage with, there are nonetheless important parallels between the two

histories. As will be evidenced by the scholarship reviewed below, Anglo-Catholics were likewise reacting against modernity in a number of ways, although such resistance was often expressed differently. Hence, it is now appropriate to explore the rise of Anglo-Catholicism shortly before the time when evangelicals started getting “angry” with modernity.

3.8.1 The history of the Oxford Movement

The rise of the Anglo-Catholic movement began in Oxford in 1833 and its adherents are often referred to as the Tractarians because of the numerous tracts they produced promoting their ideas (Martin, 1976). They emerged during a period of significant societal change (Chandler, 2003). Despite numbers of Roman Catholics and non-conformist Protestants increasing, the number of Sunday attendees in the C of E was in decline during Victorian England and disestablishment of the Church became a genuine threat (Reed, 1996). This was the result of the so-called crisis of faith alluded to above (i.e. Larsen, 2006; McLeod, 1996). It demonstrates an additional irony in conservative Protestant reactions to modernity, because it was partially the evangelical emphasis on an authentic inner faith, rather than a ‘fake’ outward expression, that gave rise to a sense of permission to publically question the validity of the Christian faith during this time (Larsen, 2006). This rise in religious dissent was allegedly caused by the political dissent experienced in France during the revolution (Herring, 2002). The fact that pamphlets inspired by the revolution were being produced in England, denouncing the Christian faith, led credence to this interpretation (Chadwick, 1990).

There were, however, other reasons for, and examples of, the marginalisation of faith, and conservative reaction. For instance, the movement was opposed to the Age of Reason (i.e. the Enlightenment), with its leaders laying emphasis on aesthetic judgement instead (Chadwick, 1990). This is a parallel to the above literature that demonstrates how evangelicals resisted intellectual developments around this time. Furthermore, Heeney (1988) notes how the Established Church was seen as a guardian of anti-feminism during a time when women were beginning to make up the majority of churchgoers and take on positions of authority and lay leadership. This was particularly unfortunate given it was also a period of increased public religious literacy among women, mostly of higher classes, whose writings were relatively numerous (e.g. Taylor and Weir, 2016). Indeed, works such as Caroline Fry's (1834) *Christ our Example* demonstrate the influence that women were beginning to enjoy in the realm of religion. Perhaps this is unsurprising given the increase of education around this time (Hollis, 1967).

This would have been an unfortunate combination for the C of E and helps explain its dip in popularity, not least as Hollis (1967) explains, the function of the Established Church was, in effect, to defend the established order. The decline in popularity was also matched by a stark decline in the Church's social function with the increase of education and government initiatives, which resulted in the decrease of social opportunities available to clergy as well as their institution (Hollis, 1967). Hence, clergy were also sensitive to what they perceived to be lukewarm worshippers during this time (Chandler, 2003). However, the tensions reached a head during a debate concerning government

control on the Church (Chapman, 2006). Chandler (2003) notes that one event was particularly salient for bringing about the movement. He cites a statement by the dean of St. Paul's Cathedral from the time: "What is called the Oxford or Tractarian Movement began, without doubt, in a vigorous effort for the immediate defense of the Church against serious dangers, arising from the violent and threatening temper of the days of the Reform Bill" (R.W. Church, 1891, p.1 as cited in Chandler, 2003, p.1).

As Fairweather (1964) notes, the Church Temporalities Bill, which occurred during this time, seriously reduced the C of E's hierarchy in Ireland without its consent. This action was particularly controversial given the C of E was dependent upon its Episcopal nature (Fairweather, 1964). The result was a damning sermon by Keble, one of the movement's key leaders, on, 'National Apostasy' that he gave from the pulpit of St. Mary's Church (Reed, 1996). In it he condemned the English people for a lack of piety, and the government for quashing the number of bishops in the Irish See (Martin, 1976). Martin (1976) also explains that the tracts were produced to expand on these concerns. Furthermore, Knox (1933) states that the doctrines of Apostolic Succession²⁵ and the Divine Right of Bishops were intrinsic to the movement. This is unsurprising given that, as Fairweather (1964) suggests, it was the office of the bishop that was under threat. Thus, one may interpret Reed's (1996) evidence as

²⁵ Apostolic succession is the belief that the authority of the Church's bishops has been inherited from the original apostles appointed by Christ.

the movement's advocacy of the privileged position of their institution as a key component of Tractarian origins.

This presents another irony of conservative Protestants. Nockles (1994) explains that a legacy of the movement has been only selective submission to episcopal authority. For example, Tractarians historically have happily dissented against bishops when their theologies diverge, as was seen with Keble's friction with Bishop Froude over disestablishment (Nockles, 1994). Martin (1976) notes that, even early on, relationships between Anglo-Catholics and their bishops were problematic and that disagreements may have had personal overtones. He evidences this in a discussion of the Bishop of Winchester's refusal to ordain Keble's curate to the priesthood because of his theology of Real Presence²⁶.

Interestingly, the Oxford of Keble, Newman, and other Tractarian leaders, was enclave-like given, as Martin (1976) explains, it was predominantly filled with clergy and their sons, many of whom would later become ordained. Indeed, it seems somewhat coincidental that a prominent feature of the movement was the revival of religious orders (Ollard, 1963). The enclave-like origins and outworking of the movement ought to be juxtaposed with a number of its attributes. Firstly, its leaders' relied theologically on the early Church Fathers to support some of their claims (Faught, 2003). Secondly, their High Church tendencies oriented them towards a historical lineage that led to Rome

²⁶ Real Presence refers to the theology that the bread administered at the Eucharist is somehow Christ Himself.

(Pickering, 1989). Thirdly, the tendencies of clergy like Keble who encouraged avoidance of originality (Martin, 1976). All of these attributes were articulated in the aftermath of the Church Temporalities Bill, after Keble's sermon gained momentum (Faught, 2003; Martin, 1976; Pickering 1989). In other words, there was a clear and intentional look to the past, during a time of significant social change that included the marginalization of the Church from wider society. This presents another parallel with evangelicalism in the same period (i.e. Marsden, 1991). However, on comparing the High Church tradition to the Oxford Movement, one sees that the theology that was articulated as a response to change had clear continuity with what High Churchmen had expounded previously.

Nonetheless, in contradistinction, evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics wrestled with modernity with clear respect to their theological emphases: whereas the perceived threat to the family unit was a central concern for the former, the high view of the episcopate with its apostolic origins was a key tenet for the latter (e.g. compare Gallagher, 2003 with Fairweather, 1964). That does not mean that matters other than gender were unimportant for evangelicals, nor is it to imply that gender concerns were unimportant for Anglo-Catholics (e.g. Balmer, 2016; Heeney, 1988). These are themes that this thesis will return to in analysing the data. Crucially, it will be demonstrated that matters of gender are not unrelated to current Anglo-Catholic conceptions of the episcopate.

Notwithstanding, just as the evangelical response was characterized by retreat and engagement, so too was that of the Tractarians (e.g. compare Smith

et al., 1998 with Chadwick, 1990 and Reed, 1996). This is an important finding to bear in mind as narratives are compared and contrasted in subsequent chapters. With this in mind, it is pertinent to state some conclusions after one final comment.

Much of this discussion on Anglo-Catholicism has been broad and without a significant engagement with matters of gender. This is because the literature does not identify gender roles as a primary concern for the Tractarians. Nevertheless, this discussion has been pertinent. However, in order to justify this claim, elaboration is needed. Four things are important here. Firstly, the Anglo-Catholic tradition emerged in reaction *against* a milieu of social change (e.g. Reed, 1996). Secondly, this opposition was nonetheless partially aimed at the changing role of women in English society (e.g. Heeney, 1988). Thirdly, one of the motivations of protest was to protect the episcopate (e.g. Martin, 1976). Finally, as a result, a high theology of episcopacy, and an emphasis on traditional norms became augmented within the tradition (e.g. Knox, 1933; Martin, 1976). Therefore, it does not require much imagination to envisage that changing the nature of priesthood or episcopacy, particularly to include women, would be met with resistance within Anglo-Catholicism. That is, the history of the movement demonstrates that all the necessary ingredients for opposition to women's ordination were present at its genesis. This will be brought to bear in the discussion on these traditions in the next chapter.

3.9 Conclusions

This chapter has explored and compared the historical developments of British evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism within the Church of England. It has considered their historical shape within modernity and the relationship of (dis)engagement between these religious traditions and their wider societies. It has also considered the ways in which both traditions are similar, and the ways in which they are distinct. An examination of the literature has provided a framework for understanding this study's participants. This will continue into the following chapter. Currently, it has been established that it is preferable to understand groups with respect to their historical development, rather than through inflexible categories.

Whilst the different shades of evangelicalism have not been explored in the present chapter, they will be unpacked in the following one. Similarly, there have been important trajectories outlined that have influenced the contours of the debate for the ordination of women in the C of E, which will be addressed in more detail in the coming chapter. Indeed, it is worth re-stating an important finding: the question of gender has been a salient one to conservative Protestants. It is true that it has not been their only concern in their struggle with modernity, but it has evidently been a significant one. This has become particularly apparent in evangelical articulations of traditional gender values in the face of societal change. It will likewise be seen as a building block for High Church resistance to societal changes that latterly had consequences for gender

ideologies in the following centuries. These are important points that we will need to bear in mind as this thesis develops.

4. From suffrage to episcopacy: Locating the participants' religious traditions II

4.1 Introduction

Having outlined the historical development of the evangelical and catholic traditions within the C of E throughout the rise of modernity, this chapter will explore the further development of these traditions throughout the twentieth, and at the start of the twenty-first, centuries. More particularly, it will begin with an exploration of changes in gender expectations starting with the end of the First World War and into the mid-twentieth century onwards. It will also chart the rise of charismatic movement, and the movements for women's ordination before exploring the relevance of ecumenism and resistance towards the challenge to gender normativity within the C of E. In doing so, this chapter will provide useful information for analysing the social causes of participants' attitudes and behaviours later in the thesis. For now, however, it is simply worth

stating Thorne's (2000) claim that a number of significant cultural changes in the twentieth century paved the way for debates about women's ordination.

4.2 Gender changes in the twentieth century

It is important to discuss the social changes that occurred external to the C of E because those within the Established Church do not operate in a social vacuum, meaning that they are influenced by wider social trends (e.g. Thorne, 2000), a fact that ought not to be neglected in a thesis exploring the social context in which clergy theologies operate.

4.2.1 Gender roles from the First World War to the mid-twentieth century

Pugh (2000) notes that, although the role that the Great War had on women's enfranchisement is debated, the 1918 Representation of the People Act permitted women to vote so long as they were at least thirty years of age and were married to enfranchised men. The decreased male population both during and after the war also provided women with increased opportunities in paid employment, and careers became of greater importance for women, particularly from middle class backgrounds, as a means of supporting themselves (Pugh, 2000). Although the extent to which these events enabled greater equality between the sexes more generally is debated, it is agreed that women's rights did change nevertheless during this time (Pugh, 2000).

However, Aune (2008a) explains that the religious sphere was more strongly associated with women during this time. She states that this is because increased state control in areas historically provided by the Church led to the marginalisation of religious beliefs to the domestic (female) sphere. Similarly, Brown and Woodhead (2016) explain how the passing down of religious belief was seen as the prerogative of the mother rather than the father. Furthermore, according to Callum Brown (2001), during this time there existed an evangelical narrative of men and women as binary opposites that lasted throughout the twentieth century. Brown argues that, whilst men were perceived as immoral, women were perceived to be godly and virtuous and often played crucial roles in the conversion of men. However, during the interwar period, the evangelical narrative in Britain adapted to reflect the economic change that included the professional woman (Brown, 2001). Nevertheless, this shift maintained traditional feminine ideals at its heart, which were frequently passed on to children and teenagers through story telling (Brown, 2001).

Others have also noted the role that women's involvement (direct or indirect) in the Second World War played for further shifting gender roles in British society during the twentieth century (Summerfield, 1998). Once more women joined the labour force in significant numbers, often undertaking jobs previously considered to be male (Brown, 2001). However, this pattern appeared to be short lived with women often returning to more traditional spheres after 1945 with the expectation that they would become mothers to help regrow the population after the war (Brown, 2001). Summerfield (1998) explains that during this era the belief that the woman's place was in the

domestic sphere prevailed. Nevertheless, it became the norm for working-class women to enter the workplace (Brown, 2001), and women's role in the workforce during the war appears to have set a precedent for the following generation of women who pursued paid employment in larger numbers than their mothers' generation (Summerfield, 1998). Indeed, mass consumption after the Second World War also saw women in the work place with demand for a larger workforce (Thorne, 2000).

Furthermore, Thorne (2000) notes that support amongst the laity for women's ordination increased in the aftermath of the First World War with the production of a joint laity/clergy report entitled *Women and the Priesthood* being sent to the then Archbishop of Canterbury. However, Thorne also states that it did not gain much ground until 1935 when the idea became popular as a result of the suffragette movement with another report entitled *Ministry of Women*. Nonetheless, by 1941 the C of E affirmed that the order of deaconess was the only appropriate licenced post for women (Thorne, 2000). In this respect, the attitudes towards women's ordination in the C of E reflected that of wider society with modest increases in support of widening women's role outside of the domestic sphere, but with an overall conservatism.

4.2.2 The 'long sixties' and the immediate aftermath

Brown (2001) refers to the years 1956-1973 as, "the 'long sixties'" (p.188). He identifies this period as the most significant decline of Christian religiosity in British Christendom and a clear manifestation of secularisation. It was during this era that gender roles shifted rapidly (McLeod, 2007). For

example, the introduction of the pill enjoyed widespread use amongst young women (McLeod, 2007). Increased control over their sexuality dovetailed with women's increased presence in the labour market (Brown, 2001), which rose steadily but continuously during this period amongst married women (McLeod, 2007). The 1967 Abortion Act also provided women with increased control over their bodies, leading to prolonged periods in the work place, and thus to the reconceptualization of the purpose of the female body (Brown, 2006). Brown and Woodhead (2016) explain that the increased professionalization of women meant their lack of involvement in, "keep[ing] the church running" (p.76). In fact, Abby Day (2017) notes the loss of generations of active laywomen in the Church who were both a financial and working resource for the institution. MacCulloch (2009) explains that the authoritative role of men in marriage was diminishing with a partnership of equals replacing the traditional model. Role swapping was also becoming more common between husband and wife (McLeod, 2007). The new more affluent family model led to lifestyle concerns that detracted from the life of the Church that resulted in the decrease in children attending Sunday schools (MacCulloch, 2009).

However, the increased utilitarian expectations of marriage ultimately led to increased divorce rates when reality failed to live up to expectation (MacCulloch, 2009). Extramarital births noticeably increased during this time and into the 1970s (MacCulloch, 2009) and many felt isolated from the Church with its traditional teachings on gender and sexuality (McLeod, 2007). As MacCulloch (2009) states, "the new-style family was not good news for Churches,

whose rhetoric of support for the family had not envisaged that it might be a competitor for rather than a mainstay of Church life” (p.986).

How did the Church respond to these social developments? As was the case earlier in modernity (see Chapter Three), the Church’s response, according to MacCulloch (2009), was to reinforce traditional values through a, “generally angry conservatism” (p.990). He elaborates that:

The anger centres on a profound shift in gender roles which have traditionally been given a religious significance and validated by religious traditions. It embodies the hurt of heterosexual men at cultural shifts which have generally threatened to marginalize them and deprive them of dignity, hegemony or even much usefulness— not merely heterosexual men already in positions of leadership, but those who in traditional cultural systems would expect to inherit leadership (MacCulloch, 2009, p.990).

This is both a pertinent and a strong statement that this thesis will explore in greater depth in the final chapter. However, at present it is appropriate to extrapolate only the following points: (i) the Church’s response to modernity included resistance; and (ii) that gender featured prominently in this resistance. In other words, the Church’s response to the developing role of women in English society during the mid to late twentieth century paralleled the resistance earlier in modernity including the resistance noted in US evangelicalism. Hence, as the Church wrestled with modernity it consistently

opposed the changing role of women in England. Of course, however, the Church is not a homogenous entity and some Christians held more liberal or permissive attitudes towards women during this period, but this was not the overarching narrative.

4.2.3 Masculinity throughout the twentieth century

Lucy Delap (2013) has a helpful discussion on the relationship between masculinity and Anglicanism throughout the twentieth century. She notes that the idea of muscular Christianity permeated throughout the different Anglican traditions from one decade to the next. More specifically, Delap explains that there was a continuous understanding of male Christian chivalry identifiable throughout this period. She elaborates that this was accompanied by: a conservative gender hierarchy, the preference for male breadwinners, and the fact that this tended to be a middle class phenomenon amongst the clergy and laity. Additionally, McLeod (2012) recognises that much of the muscular Christian image was influenced by secular sporting imagery. In fact, Balmer (2016) states that, “the domain of sports provides an alternative, male-dominated universe where the voices of women rarely intrude” (p.140). He adds that this is something that is reflected in evangelical culture in the twentieth century.

Anna Rose Stewart (2012) shows that there is a continuation of muscular Christian ideals where preaching is understood as a masculine domain amongst contemporary evangelicals in the UK. She draws on Hall (1994) to explain that this is the result of the Victorian belief that speech was a masculine enterprise.

Similarly to Delap (2013), Aune (2008b) also writes that evangelical identity has historically included specifically middle class notions of gender. In addition to this, she demonstrates that contemporary evangelical culture in the UK also adopts the ideology of separate gender spheres and male breadwinners.

Additionally, Aune argues that this involves an assimilation of wider cultural gender ideology where anti-feminist ideas may be found. Indeed, Aune (2006) asserts that wider British society is often construed as being postfeminist. I have already outlined the various conceptions of postfeminism in chapter two.

However, it is necessary to explain that Aune finds the nostalgic approach to postfeminism within British evangelicalism that affirms certain aspects of the movement, whilst rejecting others. This is in keeping with the analysis by Aune and Guest (2019) who note the blended approach to gender values amongst Christian university students. Aune (2006) also evidences that the rhetoric of male headship is a central component of this navigation of contemporary evangelical identity and elaborates that British evangelical notions of male-only leadership in marriage actually works itself out in more egalitarian ways in practice, just as is observed in wider society. Importantly for the purpose of this thesis then, contemporary evangelicalism (as well as Anglicanism more broadly) has inherited gender normative views that are still alive today. Equally though, in more recent times, if one is to take Aune's research on board, secular culture also has an impact on evangelical gender praxis. This is unsurprising, however, given that muscular Christianity incorporated non-religious sporting ideas from its origins (McLeod, 2012). In light of this I argue that it is the multiple sources for gender normative ideology in contemporary evangelicalism that makes it such a persistent phenomenon.

4.3 Feminism

Thorne (2000) writes that, “historically the development of women’s involvement in public ministry in the Church is linked to the feminist movement” (p.19). She notes the importance of Scripture in Anglican theological practice and explains that the rise of feminist theology led to, “a convincing picture of women’s involvement in the early Christian movement” (p.30). Thorne also explains that feminist theologians have called for women to remain active within the structures of the Church in order to transform it by challenging its sinful patriarchal structures. In addition to this, she notes that some feminist theologians were encouraging women to partake in the outward expressions of power in order to do so.

4.4 The charismatic movement

As Guest, Olson, and Wolffe (2012) note, the charismatic movement provided a platform for female leadership in Christian settings and so it is necessary to understand how this occurred. The charismatic movement can be traced to Charles Parham in 1901 and later became associated with the Azusa Street church in 1906 (MacCulloch, 2009). MacCulloch (2009) explains that the phenomenon was referred to as the, “third blessing” (p.913) and that it consisted of phenomena such as praying in tongues and the search for fresh revelation from God. It also included an emphasis on miraculous healing and baptism in the Holy Spirit (Buchanan et al., 1981). Although the charismatic movement was Pentecostal in origin it spread into the established churches too

(MacCulloch, 2009). However, MacCulloch (2009) posits that charismatic Christianity is less compatible with expressions of the conservative strand of evangelicalism because of the emphasis on theological history, intellect, and doctrine within this tradition.

The charismatic movement entered the C of E and manifested within the evangelical tradition (Buchanan et al., 1981). For example, members of the congregation at All Souls, Langham Place, prompting the assistant curate Michael Harper to start The Fountain Trust in 1964 (Buchanan et al., 1981). The C of E more formally engaged with the charismatic movement during the 1970s (Buchanan et al., 1981). For instance, in 1973 the Church of England Evangelical Council co-wrote the *Gospel and Spirit* report with the Fountain Trust (Buchanan et al., 1981). In fact, many Anglican churches came to implement house groups that were modelled on the house church movement, which relied on lay leadership (Buchanan et al., 1981). This context enabled women to enjoy more informal leadership roles within evangelical churches (Guest, Olson, and Wolffe, 2012).

4.5 Ecumenism

4.5.1 Relationships with the Roman Catholic Church

One of the most significant factors in the debate over women's ordination to the priesthood in the C of E was the relationship of the C of E to the Roman Catholic Church (Carey, 2004). Carey admits that when he was a bishop he genuinely believed, with others, that he would see the unification of Canterbury

with Rome in his lifetime. He explains that from the 1970s there had been intentional dialogue between the C of E and the Roman Catholic Church in order to establish that there was a common Christian doctrine between them. Indeed, Carey explains that the major argument against priesting women from the Anglo-Catholic wing was that it would worsen relationships between the two churches. This was theology expounded, for example, by leading clergy such as successive Bishops of London during the early 1990s (Carey, 2004).

4.5.2 Relationships within the Anglican Communion (outside the C of E)

Others note that the situation of the worldwide Anglican Communion also had its bearing on the C of E's attitudes towards women's ordination. Wendy Fletcher (2013) writes that at the 1968 Lambeth Conference it was declared by a vote of two hundred and twenty one to one hundred and eighty-three that deaconesses ought to be included into the diaconate. This means that the international gathering of Anglican bishops legitimated ordaining women into the ordained hierarchy of the Anglican Communion. Fletcher (2013) elaborates, explaining that the conference rejected the ancient and medieval reasons for barring women from ordination on the basis of their biological inferiority. Hence, the only appeal to tradition for objecting to women's ordination lies only in the fact that there is no historical precedent for it (Fletcher, 2013).

Fletcher (2013) further notes that, in light of these findings, the Anglican Consultative Council (ACC) was established so that different provinces within the Anglican Communion could consult the same body on the matter of women's ordination. She also explains that the 1971 ACC encouraged all provinces within

the Communion to consider their stance on women's ordination and concluded that any province wishing to ordain women could do so with the support of the ACC. This decision was made in light of the Bishop of Hong Kong wishing to proceed with the ordination of two women and all provinces were asked to remain in communion with any other province that began to ordain women (Fletcher, 2013). However, this decision caused much debate and controversy within the Communion (Mayland, 2007).

Fletcher (2013) continues that by the 1978 Lambeth Conference four of the twenty-seven provinces in the Communion has ordained women (Hong Kong, New Zealand, Canada, and the USA). She also writes that this development strained relationships with different provinces, many of which were yet to make a firm decision on the matter, leading the 1978 conference to explore how the Communion may remain diverse yet united. Ten years later, however, having accepted the ordination of women as deacons and priests, the key question for several provinces was the consecration of women to the episcopate (Fletcher, 2013). This led to the 1988 Lambeth Conference to affirm each province's autonomy on making decisions pertaining to women's ordination and consecration (Fletcher, 2013). Finally, by 1998 the Communion was becoming increasingly divided over the question of sexuality that emerged after the strain that women's ordination presented to the Communion (which by this point was less of a challenge for unity) and so the Lambeth Conference of that year was dedicated to creating a greater sense of unity amongst the different provinces (Fletcher, 2013).

4.5.3 The C of E and other Protestant Traditions

Jean Mayland (2007) explains that within the C of E the evangelical argument against women's ordination centred around biblical interpretation, particularly the theology of headship. She also explains that the C of E discussed the prospect of women's ordination with minimal reference to the developments in the Free Churches on the matter. Nevertheless, Mayland also asserts that the Methodist Church in England, despite entering into a covenant with the C of E, declared that full unity would only be permitted if women were permitted to all areas of licenced ministry. Given the seriousness of the ecumenical dialogue between the Methodist and Anglican churches noted in the previous chapter, the question of women's ordination would thus have been affected to some extent by Anglican-Methodist dialogue. Mayland (2007) also notes the Lutheran churches of Norway and Sweden- who the C of E share a relationship with through the Porvoo Agreement- had women bishops during the C of E's debate about women priests.

4.6 Changes in the C of E between 1956-1992

4.6.1 Broader changes within the Established Church

There are a number of important factors that indicate that either those in the C of E (clergy or laity), or the institution as a whole, were incorporating some of the social changes in English society at the time, to at least some extent. For example, according to McLeod (2007), younger Anglicans (in their twenties) were regularly reconciling contemporary attitudes towards sexuality with their

Christian faith, even though they were not as precocious as their secular peers. This is an important finding for appreciating the C of E's shifting attitudes towards women's ordination: as has already been noted, these changing attitudes towards sexuality— including sexual practices— allowed women a more visible presence in the British workforce (Brown, 2001). Also, as Thrall (1958) notes, this led to churchgoers in at least some quarters questioning why women couldn't thus be ordained as priests. In other words, the attitudes and behaviours of a younger generation of churchgoers, albeit indirectly, contributed to the shifting gender attitudes in the C of E in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Furthermore, there were a number of events that demonstrate that the C of E was accommodating wider societal values in ways unrelated to gender. These demonstrate that attitudinal shifts pertaining to gender operated in a context of wider cultural adaptation. Two important events are worth particular mention. Firstly, Guest, Olson, and Wolffe (2012) note the introduction of the 1980 Alternative Service Book that provided an authorised alternative to the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, a break with centuries of tradition in Anglican worship. In fact, the Book of Common Prayer is an important source of Anglican theology ("Prayer books", 2018) and so this development ought not to be underestimated: an adaptation of a key theological authority sets a precedent for other theological developments as well as makes allowance for theological diversity. Indeed Aldridge (1986) notes how this contributed to an identity crisis for the C of E. On the note of changes in worship, Brown (2001) describes the introduction of the worship band in C of E services that mirrored the music scene

of wider culture during this era, once more highlighting the accommodation that the C of E was exhibiting in the second half of the twentieth century.

Secondly, Atherstone (2011) has a detailed discussion on the meaning of the 1967 National Evangelical Anglican Congress at Keele. He explains that this event demonstrated a shift away from evangelical isolationism within the C of E to a commitment to greater involvement within the institution. Atherstone also draws upon archival evidence to demonstrate the more widespread appetite for such a change amongst evangelical Anglicans at this time. He further argues that the changes at Keele, driven by a younger cohort of Anglicans, led to decreased conservatism, increased diversity, and increased ecumenism within evangelicalism. Warner (2007) also explains that at the 1967 Congress evangelicals reaffirmed the centrality of the Bible but without specifying the necessity of doctrines such as inerrancy or infallibility leaving a significant amount of hermeneutical openness within which evangelicals may disagree.

It is important to juxtapose these events alongside the development in ordinary hermeneutics that Perrin (2016) notes occurred from the 1977 National Evangelical Anglican Congress onwards. She discusses the role that leading evangelical thinkers such as Anthony Thiselton and John Stott, as well as the biblical scholar James Barr had on evangelical Christians. This is a contrast to a previous evangelicalism with its propensity towards biblical literalism, as noted in the previous chapter. Perrin (2016) also notes that these ordinary hermeneutics led to interpretive diversity amongst evangelicals and was met with caution from more conservative evangelicals who were concerned that such

developments would result in theological liberalism. In other words, there was both accommodation and rejection of interpretive biblical diversity amongst evangelicals in the later decades of the twentieth century. Thus, by the end of the 1970s a generation of evangelicals were emerging who were theologically more diverse and open to the charismatic movement. They were also more engaged with a C of E that was becoming more open in certain domains, not least on matters related to gender.

4.6.2 The emergence of the momentum for women priests

In fact, according to Thorne (2000), in 1966 the report *Women in Holy Orders* was published concluding that women were not ordained to the priesthood as of yet as the result of “pragmatic rather than theological” (p.13) reasons. She also writes that in 1975 the C of E passed a measure that officially stated that there was no theological objection to women’s ordination as priests despite the fact that no efforts were made to further the cause of women’s ordination. Indeed, when the motion to enable women’s ordination was brought to General Synod in 1978 it was rejected (Thorne, 2000).

Thorne (2000) documents that the Movement for the Ordination of Women (MOW) was born as a result of the 1978 rejection of women’s ordination. In addition to this, she explains that it had high membership rates at the grass roots level as well as being a national organisation, making it an effective force for women’s ordination to the priesthood. Thorne also explains that a 1981 report entitled *The Deaconess Order and the Diaconate* suggested to the General Synod that both men and women ought to be eligible for the

ordained diaconate, and that this came to pass in 1986. She states that, through this measure, “congregations and member[s] of the public became accustomed to the idea of women priests through their experience of women deacons” (p.15). Francis and Robbins (1999) explain that the first women were ordained as deacons in 1987 but without the provision for any subsequent ordination to the priesthood.

Mantle (1991) notes that, during this time, Robert Runcie was Archbishop of Canterbury. Mantle also explains that whilst the archbishop’s opinion on women’s ordination was initially, “agnostic” (p.93), by the 1984 General Synod he had come to accept its eventuality after the Episcopal Church in the US has voted in favour of it. Mantle explains that Runcie addressed the Synod saying:

It is clearer now that the ordination of women to the priesthood— like it or like it not— is almost certainly a permanent development in the ministry of at least some Anglican churches... There can hardly be a way back as long as there are women priests in the Communion. They are here to stay. (Mantle, 1991, pp.188-189)

In other words, even before women were ordained as deacons, there appeared to be a likely unstoppable move towards women’s ordination throughout the Anglican Communion. Mantle (1991) interprets this as indicative of Runcie’s decision to support the ordination of women to the priesthood. Indeed, Runcie was not the first senior cleric to voice such an opinion. Bishop Hugh Montefiore edited *Yes to Women Priests* (1978) where several senior clergy

wrote essays in favour of ordaining women as priests in the C of E. Monica Furlong also edited *Feminine in the Church* (1984) where a number of notable clergy and theologians, including Rowan Williams and Jane Williams, argued in favour of women's ordination. Furthermore, in his memoirs, George Carey (2004), who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1991, explains that he was personally in favour of women bishops by the early 1990s. This also lends credence to Emma Percy's (2017) claim that women's increasing place in the C of E's hierarchy is attributable to pragmatism more than theology. Nevertheless, this discussion evidences that both clearly play a part.

However, the overall picture is not as affirming. Nason-Clark's (1987a) research demonstrates that the amount of clergymen in favour of women's ordination was split exactly evenly, and that more clergy wives opposed women's ordination than favoured it. In fact Carey (2004) reveals that in the run up to the 1992 General Synod, which voted in favour of women's ordination to the priesthood, he was unsure whether he would bring the matter to the Synod to vote in the first place. However, he explains that he decided to do so only when it became clear that the C of E's relationship with the Roman Catholic Church, in his opinion, could not become worse than it already was. In other words, a key supporter of women's priesthood was hardly fervently pressing for its actualisation despite the influence he possessed to bring it to bear. Indeed, Michael Perry, the Archdeacon of Durham contributed a chapter in Montefiore's 1978 collection. He cautions that a slower development for women's ordination to the priesthood was favourable (Perry, 1978).

4.7 Resistance to women's ordination

Referring to the divisions that the ordination of women has brought about, Paul Avis (2004) writes, "perhaps the issue [of unity] is felt nowhere more acutely than in the Church of England, which has also gone further than any other Anglican church to accommodate conscientious objectors to the priesting of women" (p.153). George Carey's (2004) memoirs are a helpful source of information on the resistance to women's ordination in the run up to the 1992 General Synod, as it offers a detailed perspective of someone caught in the middle of the debates. Carey notes that he encountered vocal opposition from various quarters in the C of E. For example, he explains that Graham Leonard, the then Bishop of London, was outspoken against women's ordination and used the 1988 Lambeth Conference as a platform to promote his views. Equally, Carey recalls Eric Kemp's (Bishop of Chichester) opposition from a more catholic standpoint. He also notes the arguments put forward by David Silk in 1992, the then Archdeacon of Leicester. Carey writes that Silk held a traditional catholic opinion on the matter, also expounding the ecumenical argument against women's ordination, drawing attention to the fact that its introduction could split the C of E. Carey further recalls that in an interview he gave to *Reader's Digest* he stated that the Anglo-Catholic belief that women cannot stand "*in persona Christi*" (p.117, emphasis original) was, "a very serious heresy" (p.117). He writes that his comment caused serious backlash from the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church who opposed women's ordination on these grounds causing him, albeit reluctantly, to retract his statement.

Nonetheless, Carey (2004) recalls that the majority of bishops were in favour of women's ordination, a fact born out in the voting results of the 1992 General Synod. Within the House of Bishops thirty-nine voted in favour of ordaining women to the priesthood with only thirteen against, whereas in the House of Clergy one hundred and seventy-six voted in favour with seventy-four against, and in the House of Laity one hundred and sixty-nine voted in favour with eighty-two against (Carey, 2004). In other words, the motion was carried and the way for the ordination of women to the priesthood was made (Thorne, 2000).

Ian Jones (2004) notes that on hearing the vote, traditionalist clergy removed their clerical collars as a sign of protest and that some of these reported feelings of isolation and confusion. He also explains that congregants witnessed their priests in tears in the following weeks. Jones additionally explains that by August 1994 three hundred clergy had left the C of E and joined the Roman Catholic Church. An Anglo-Catholic group, Forward in Faith, was also formed the month after the Synod in order to oppose women's ordination (Jones, 2004). Sani and Reicher (2000) studied the group and discuss the public events held by Forward in Faith, such as the 'Walking in the Way' rally in May 1993 where literature that argued against women's ordination to the priesthood was dispensed to members of the public. Forward in Faith was seen by some as a "breathing space in which to grow alternative structures for use in the event of a greater level of detachment" from the C of E (Jones 2004, p.29).

Ian Jones (2004) also explains that an evangelical group formed in 1993 in opposition to women's ordination (amongst other things). Reform, Jones expands, wanted to save the C of E from a more general and pervasive theological liberalism. In other words, whilst Forward in Faith was concerned with a mixture of advancement within and retreat from the C of E, Reform was concerned with advancement within it, but through retreating into a group of like-minded Anglicans in order to do so. A report from the House of Bishops outlined the key disagreements on women's ordination. It stated that for some gender traditionalists the ordination of women would bring a question over the efficacy of the sacraments if they are performed by anyone other than a man because it was believed by some that Jesus' maleness is integral to the priesthood ("The Ordination of Women the Priesthood", 1988). The Anglo-Catholic participants in this thesis' study expounded this argument. The report also highlights that other gender traditionalists believe that the Bible teaches male headship and female subordination, making it inappropriate for a woman to lead a church ("The Ordination of Women the Priesthood", 1988). This was the view that members of Reform in this thesis' study expounded.

That stated, not all evangelicals within the C of E were opposed to ordaining women to the priesthood. For example, Carey (2004) recalls how many evangelicals in the EGGS (Evangelical Group of the General Synod) was the biggest evangelical group in Synod at the time and mostly voted in favour for ordaining women as priests. However, he also notes that a number were reluctant to do so in case it led to the ordination of practising homosexuals at a later date. The solution, according to Carey, was a promise that this would never

happen under his leadership and that women's ordination and that of practicing homosexuals were entirely separate debates. The result was (approximately) a further twenty-five votes in favour of priesting women (Carey, 2004).

Nevertheless, the 1992 Measure for Priesting women stipulated that it would not consider it unlawful for women to be discriminated against on the grounds of their sex with regard to: (i) their ordination as priests, (ii) their licensing as such, or (iii) their appointment beyond something more senior than an assistant curate (Furlong, 1998). Judith Maltby (1998) argues that this set a precedent for the 1993 Act of Synod that provided greater protection for those opposed to the ordination of women as priests. She explains that it introduced the notion of the two integrities, the idea that the C of E would accommodate gender traditionalists and modernists. Maltby outlines the two main provisions made within the spirit of accommodation. Firstly, there is the introduction of Provincial Episcopal Visitors, also known as Resolution C, which provided clergy opposed to women's ordination with an alternative theologically sympathetic bishop in the stead of their diocesan bishop if the latter were more egalitarian. Secondly, gender traditionalist bishops could call on other bishops (either suffragan or neighbouring bishops) to conduct the ordinations of women, and modernist bishops could call on their more traditional colleagues to conduct the ordinations of men who were against women's ordination (Maltby, 1998).

Maltby (1998) also discusses additional discriminatory protections that were passed as part of the Measure approved by the General Synod in 1992. For example, she explains that women clergy would be exempt from the 1975 Sex

Discrimination Act and that Parochial Church Councils (PCCs) could pass either Resolution A or B so that women could be barred from presiding at the altar and pronouncing absolution (the former resolution) as well as from being given any appointment (whether it be stipendary or self-supporting) in a parish (the latter resolution). Maltby also points out that parishes could not specifically request a woman meaning that there was no positive discrimination for women, only “negative discrimination” (p.45). Furthermore, she explains that clergy who left the C of E over the introduction of women priests received £30,000 (and that several of them returned to the C of E at a later date without being required to repay the Church). Maltby adds that the Measure stated explicitly that there was no provision being made for women to become bishops and that no bishop could be required to ordain women if he objected to it on theological grounds.

Francis and Robbins (1999) conducted both qualitative and quantitative research from the first generation of women priests. They concluded that the majority of women deacons waiting to be priested did find the protections for gender traditionalists discriminatory against women, and more women felt that they were unacceptable than those who felt that they were acceptable or those who were uncertain. However, Francis and Robbins also found that female evangelical deacons were less likely to feel that the C of E did not value their ministry than did those within the catholic tradition. They also discovered that those female deacons who felt undervalued in general were more likely to be under the age of forty. This indicates that the cultural changes younger generations experienced growing up has impacted their gender values. It also suggests that women clergy was a phenomenon that was more accepted within

the evangelical tradition than the Anglo-Catholic tradition. However, the discussion on charismatic evangelicalism implies that women's ordination would have been more accepted by evangelical congregations and clergy that were more impacted by this movement than those that were not.

Bagilhole (2003) has also documented women's frustration with the inequality that persisted once women were ordained. For example, she notes how the first generation of women priests experienced an imbalance of responsibilities when compared with their male colleagues, with women being given a disproportionate amount of ministerial activities involving children, and the subsequent feeling that their work was seen as less important than that of the male clergy. Bagilhole also documents how these women felt silenced by the male dominated structures of the C of E, feeling pressured to conform to a male model of priesthood and were thus having to jettison elements of their identity that they associated with being female.

Greene and Robbins (2015) argue that, even once women were ordained as priests, they still faced discrimination in the selection process for ordained ministry. For example, women with children were often required to train on different pathways from men, and those women who were over the age of forty-five were expected to train as non-stipendary (i.e. unpaid) ministers. Women priests were also subject to physical abuse, such as being spat on in public, abusive e-mails and telephone calls, and even verbal abuse in the professional setting (Green and Robbins, 2015). It was also common for lay and ordained men to refuse to take communion from women priests (Green and Robbins, 2015).

These experiences have sometimes led women to feel threatened and, in some cases, fearing for their lives (Green and Robbins, 2015).

Furthermore, literature produced by evangelical and catholic wings of the C of E at this time shed further light on the then attitudes of the clergy. For example, one evangelical approach, exemplified by J. I. Packer's (1973) essay states that whilst women could be ordained to the priesthood (or presbytery) in theory, they should stay under the authority of a male priest (or presbyter) as they do so. From this Packer concludes that it would be better not to ordain women to the priesthood because the difficulties those structural restrictions would impose in pragmatic terms. In order to justify this position, he draws on a vague physiological difference between men and women as well as to the creation narrative in Genesis, understanding it to mean that men are created to lead whereas women are created to help men rather than lead them.

However, Colin Craston (1988) promotes an alternative understanding of New Testament passages that are used to promote male headship and female submission. For example, he promotes F.F. Bruce's (1984) view that the Greek word κεφαλή is best understood as source. Indeed, Craston adds that in Hebraic and Ancient Greek thinking the heart and stomach were seen as the ruling faculties rather than the brain. Similarly, Jonathan Sedgwick (1992) provided a modernist catholic approach to women's ordination. He criticised a more traditional catholic approach to the debate that leans primarily on tradition at the expense of employing Scripture. Sedgwick then develops a case for ordaining women to the priesthood based on an engagement with biblical texts,

sacramental theology, and the theology of the priest as a representative figure. He also challenges more traditional catholics for refusing to engage with such arguments and for relying on, what he deems to be, lesser arguments such as the disunity it will bring and the claim that the C of E does not have the authority to act unilaterally on the matter of women's ordination.

4.8 Some preliminary findings

What is one to deduce from the above discussion? There are several factors that are relevant for this thesis' question. Firstly, the C of E as a whole evidenced both resistance and adaptation to changing gender values during the twentieth century. For example, it has been noted that evangelical attitudes towards gender did adapt to incorporate professional women but with traditional values still permeating their depictions of this new development. It was also noted that younger churchgoers during the 1960s onwards incorporated a more liberal approach to sexuality than Christian tradition had tended to teach even though it was still more conservative than that of wider society. The same phenomenon is also seen in the slowness of the C of E's conversations on women's ordination throughout this century. Whilst there is an overall move in the direction of increasing women's involvement within the life of the Established Church, it is particularly cautious and takes the best part of a century to achieve, and even then there are caveats to women's participation in the ranks of the clergy.

This dialectic of accommodation and resistance, to use Smith et al.'s (1998) terminology, on matters pertaining to gender, is a continuation of conservative Protestant tradition noted in the previous chapter, indicating the continuity of this phenomenon within the C of E. It is within this wider Christian tradition of engaged orthodoxy that the evangelical and Anglo-Catholic traditions under examination in this thesis are located. Secondly, and related to the first point, there is an increase in evangelical involvement within the life of the C of E. Nonetheless, this is to be juxtaposed with resistance by the end of the century with the introduction of women's ordination to the priesthood. This parallels the diversification of the evangelical tradition, particularly with the impact of the charismatic movement and the introduction of more modern attitudes towards women's involvement in the life of the institutional Church. It thus becomes apparent that towards the end of the twentieth century there is a split in the evangelical tradition in gender attitudes. One strand remains traditionalist, in continuation with evangelical resistance noted throughout modernity in the last chapter, whereas the other strand, being influenced by the charismatic movement, amongst other events, becomes increasingly open to women's ordination as priests. Hence, within evangelical Anglicanism in England, one branch tends *more* towards resistance and the other *more* towards accommodation with respect to gender ideology.

Thirdly, and in contradistinction to the second point, the Anglo-Catholic tradition continues to show signs of resistance and withdrawal once the matter of women's ordination gained momentum, as well as protest. However, there is little evidence of adaptability, particularly with clergy leaving the C of E or

making preparations for a later defection. Indeed, in continuation with what was evidenced in chapter three, the Anglo-Catholic contingent of the C of E exhibited enclave-like behaviour alongside visible, public protest. A part of that process was the reaffirmation of catholic theology, particularly drawing upon Roman Catholic teaching and praxis, something that was also seen during the Tractarian Movement in the previous century.

It is therefore evident that the Anglo-Catholic tradition is typified by a general separation from the life of the wider C of E, only to engage more directly with— and in opposition to— it during debates concerning significant change in ecclesiology or traditional values. It is interesting to note that there appears to be less accommodation than in the evangelical tradition(s), but this is readily explained by the fact that Anglo-Catholicism from its origins identified readily with the Roman Catholic Church as did its proto-type the High Church tradition. In other words, Anglo-Catholicism has historically looked past Canterbury towards Rome and in this respect is more detached from the wider culture of the C of E. It is therefore more likely to give credence to the theology of the Roman Catholic Church than the Church of England where the teaching of the latter differs from that of the former.

Furthermore, the above discussion evidences that the C of E had a strong desire for unity amongst its diverse polyphony of traditions, and in doing so provided greater autonomy to individual provinces and even allowed specific groups within a province to separate, to some extent, from the wider Church in order to avoid a full schism. The evangelical and Anglo-Catholic traditions thus

operate in an institution that allows dissent and makes provision for traditions to factionalise and behave in enclave-like fashion and/or protest against the wider C of E. In doing so it provides opportunities for its male clergy that it does not for its women clergy. In fact, the C of E demonstrated a clear bias towards the traditionalist factions at the expense of full equality for women priests given that the protections made for traditionalist clergy and congregations were not accompanied by protections for women priests (see Maltby 1998). The C of E also allowed for the presence of diverse sources of authority and the decentring of its traditional episcopal structure.

In addition to this, it has become apparent that the C of E provides protected male spheres where male clergy are not required to share ecclesial equality with women nor submit to female authority. However, this occurs alongside a decreased space for male privilege within the institution as a whole as gender traditionalist clergy now have to 'opt in' for provisions that are more compatible with their traditionalist theology. Likewise, one sees a decrease in male authority in the private familial sphere alongside their privileged role in society as the role of the Church diminished. Finally, it is apparent that a very specific expression of gender expectations has been present in Anglican and wider evangelical Christianity in England for an extended period of time. With this in mind, it is appropriate to examine gender attitudes in the C of E since the priesting of women.

4.9 Changing attitudes: 10 years on

Ian Jones (2004) compared Anglican clergy and laity attitudes towards women's ordination between 1992 and 2002. He found that, out of the three dioceses he conducted fieldwork in, the vast majority of clergy supported women's ordination. He also found that, out of the nine congregations studied, only two had a majority of congregants that opposed women's ordination. He explains that there was a clear rise in support for women's ordination from the clergy over the ten year period and attributes most of this to the amount of gender traditionalists that either left the C of E or took early retirement in protest to Synod's vote. Nonetheless, Jones also discovers that, out of the clergy who reported their opinions from 1992 and then in 2002, there was an increase in the percentage of clergy who supported women's ordination ten years later in all but one diocese, which had an equal amount of clergy supporting the development in 2002 as it had in 1992. There were also an obvious decrease in the amount of clergy in each of the six dioceses in the study who strongly disagreed with the priesting of women, with the exception of one diocese, where the percentage of clergy who strongly disagreed remained the same (Jones, 2004).

Jones (2004) also explains that those clergy who opposed women's ordination in 1992 were very unlikely to change their mind, with less than three per cent completely changing their mind and supporting women's ordination. He also concludes from his analysis that those on either end of the spectrum were most likely to retain their opinion of women's ordination to the priesthood.

4.10 Consecrating women as bishops

In 2000 the General Synod passes a motion calling for a theological enquiry into the appropriateness of consecrating women to the episcopate, which led to the *Women Bishops in the Church of England?* report in 2004 (“The Five Guiding Principles”, 2018). The report was written by the House of Bishop’s Working Party and discussed four main areas in order to determine the answer (Church of England, 2004). Firstly, it discussed the role of Scripture. Secondly, it discussed the role of tradition. Thirdly, it discussed the role of ecumenical relations. Finally, it discussed the role of wider societal values and the Church’s mission

The report claims that the experience of women priests has led to a new way of understanding Scripture, but it rejects the notion that experience of women priests is itself a new source of authority of theological decision making (Church of England, 2004). Rather, the report insists that it provides a new hermeneutical lens to bring to Scripture. It asserts that because the Bible strongly supports women’s priesting, the pertinent question is: when does the C of E proceed to comply more fully with the Bible and consecrate women as bishops? Furthermore, the report claims that there is a scriptural trajectory that indicates the full inclusion of women in the life of the Church and that restrictions within the Early Church are best understood as time-conditioned rather than reflecting the universality of God’s will. It also details why the concept of male headship/female submission is an inaccurate reading of the

relevant biblical texts and evidences the extensive role that women played in the Early Church as a reason for consecrating women to the episcopate.

In addition to this, *Women Bishops in the Church of England?* (Church of England, 2004) claimed that tradition has departed from the biblical witness of equality between the sexes, that it is not static but evolving, and that for tradition to be considered essential to the Christian faith the Church must have, “considered a particular question in a decisive fashion at some point in its history, as in the case of the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity” (p.171). It also asserts that both sexes are needed to represent Christ because both, “are incorporated into Christ” (p.172). The report insists that the C of E has a right to develop its own order independently from other denominations not least because this was, “the very basis of Anglicanism” (p.173) during the English Reformation. The report also claims that women are eligible to become bishops by virtue of being priests because priests have always been able to become bishops. Finally, it is claimed that the introduction of women bishops is necessary, “to give credibility to the Church’s proclamation of the gospel in today’s society” (p.175).

However, it was not until 2012 when the C of E first voted on whether to consecrate women as bishops, where the vote was rejected (“General Synod rejects women bishops compromise bid”, 2012). It was rejected in the House of Laity seemingly because many, despite being in favour of women bishops, did not believe that there was adequate provision for those who rejected the move to consecrate women as bishops on theological grounds (“The Five Guiding

Principles”, 2018). Indeed, in the following days this is what members of the House of Laity themselves claimed (Leafe, 2012). During this time Christopher Hill, the then Bishop of Guildford, suggested three ways in which unity may be achieved within the C of E with the introduction of women bishops (Jenkins, 2005). In particular, he put forward: the possibility of implementing, a single-clause measure within the legislation that would see the consecration of women, accompanied by a code of practice, a number of legislative safeguards for gender traditionalists, or the implementation of a third province where those opposed to women bishops could continue under a male bishop of the same theological persuasion (Jenkins, 2005).

However, the ensuing debate was criticised by Affirming Catholicism, a movement that was set up to promote the ordination of women and that was in favour of women joining the episcopate (Jenkins, 2005). Richard Jenkins, the leader of Affirming Catholicism wrote a letter to Christopher Hill explaining that the focus on providing for gender traditionalists could lead to a lack of catholicity (i.e. unity) within the C of E by undermining the status of women bishops (Jenkins, 2005). Instead, Affirming Catholicism suggested that a single-clause enabling women to become bishops that is accompanied by, “a robust mechanism to ensure consistent appliance” (Jenkins, 2005, p.138). In other words, it would be inappropriate to provide legislation that would undermine women’s episcopal authority (Jenkins, 2005). During this time the question of ecumenism was also pertinent in some quarters of the C of E. Jonathan Baker (2004) edited a collection on women’s consecration from an Anglo-Catholic perspective. Aidan Nichols (2004) contributed a chapter written from a Roman

Catholic perspective. However, as aforementioned, the House of Bishops Working Group released a report the same year, claiming that ecumenism was no reason to avoid consecrating women as bishops in the C of E (Church of England, 2004).

In November 2014 the General Synod voted in favour of consecrating women as bishops (The Faith and Order Commission, 2018). In the House of Laity one hundred and fifty-two voted in favour of the motion, with only forty-five against and larger majorities in the houses of bishops and clergy (Brown, 2014). This time the Five Guiding Principles (see The Faith and Order Commission, 2018) accompanied the motion and outlined a way forward for a Church with both gender modernists and gender traditionalists within it. These principles are: firstly, to recognise that all orders within the C of E are open to clergy regardless of gender and so they, “deserve due respect and canonical obedience” (p.18). Secondly, all who are licensed in the C of E are to recognise that the Church has reached a clear and decided opinion on this matter. Thirdly, the C of E recognises that this development is set within a wider ecumenical context of discernment amongst the Anglican Communion and the rest of the Christian Church. Fourthly, the C of E is committed to continue to allow diversity on this matter for all clergy whose theology is within the C of E’s, “spectrum of teaching and tradition” (p.27). Finally, there will be, “pastoral and sacramental provision for the minority” who reject women’s priesthood in order to enable, “mutual flourishing” and to maximise unity (p.32).

In January 2015 the first woman bishop— Libby Lane— was consecrated (Percy, 2017), followed by the consecration of Philip North, to represent gender traditionalists (The Faith and Order Commission, 2018). Lee Gatiss (2016) edited a collection for the Church Society with three chapters dedicated to discussions of episcopacy and gender. These chapters promoted a traditional evangelical view of gender (Benn, 2016; Ruddick, 2016, and Tooher, 2016). Thus, by the time that the first woman was appointed to a see, one notes that the C of E has remained committed to maintaining unity and the importance of ecumenism. However, the latter was evidently more important to the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church. One also sees the development of a firmer resolve to affirm women's ministry in all layers of the Church's hierarchy. However, there was evidently an evangelical commitment to reaffirm traditional gender teaching. With that in mind, it is now appropriate to offer some conclusions.

4.11 Conclusion

Having charted the historical development of gender roles throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries with specific relation to the C of E, this chapter has identified a number of themes, attitudes, and behaviours within the life of Anglicans and the structures of the Established Church. Whilst a number of these have been highlighted it is worth emphasising the paradoxical nature of accommodation and resistance on developing gender roles within evangelicalism. More specifically, during the rise of the charismatic movement, evangelical attitudes towards gender became more diversified, resulting in

greater accommodation in gender role developments within an evangelicalism that was theologically charismatic, and greater resistance within an evangelicalism that was not.

However, it is important to note that the charismatic movement does not *a priori* foster greater gender equality. There are many branches of Pentecostalism that maintain traditionalist gender roles (e.g. Bowen, 1996; Flora, 1975; Willems, 1967). Nonetheless, there are multiple accounts of Pentecostalism apparently providing women with increased agency (e.g. Brusco, 2010; Stoll, 1990). Therefore, whilst charismatic Christianity has the potential to liberate women to at least some extent, this alone is insufficient as an explanation for greater gender equality in the C of E. Instead, it is important to understand the specific context in which it manifested. I argue that because it emerged during a time of substantial changes in gender patterns *and at the same time* because it emerged outside of church hierarchy the charismatic movement took on a more egalitarian form in the C of E. The fact that the charismatic movement manifested outside of ecclesial hierarchies is important because it means that laity would have had greater involvement in the movement's leadership, many of whom were presumably engaged in life outside of the Church in some way, and thus were more likely to come into direct contact with emerging gender values

Despite there being less literature on Anglo-Catholicism, it would appear from the evidence available that gender attitudes within this tradition were characterised more by resistance than accommodation. It will become evident in

the coming discussion of this thesis' data that these themes, attitudes, and behaviours manifest in different ways in the participants' narratives. The sixth and seventh chapters will explore how the narrative of resistance and accommodation manifest in these traditions amongst this thesis' participants, and will specify the more specific links between the literature reviewed in this and the previous chapters and the data. This will enable a fuller understanding of the clergy interviewed.

With respect to appropriate designations for participants, it has become evident that one cannot discuss Anglican evangelicalism as a single homogenous entity. Although one could simply use the terms 'conservative' and 'liberal' as qualifying terms for evangelicals (e.g. Bebbington, 1989) as a means of designating the extent of resistance verses accommodation respectfully, this is potentially confusing given the term 'liberal' can be used as an antithesis of evangelicalism (e.g. Marsden, 1991). For now, it is worth employing the phrase 'conservative evangelical' to denote the strand of evangelicalism that has tended to resist modern developments (both with regard to gender specifically and modernity more generally) simply because 'conservative' tends to denote a contrast to what is contemporary or modern ("Conservative", *n.d.*). However, for those evangelicals who hold more permissive views of gender roles in Church, it is appropriate to employ the term 'charismatic evangelical' given the aforementioned impact that this movement had on shifting evangelical attitudes towards women's participation in the life of the Church. In this respect, conservative Anglo-Catholic is likewise an appropriate designation for the conservative Anglican tradition with a focus on Roman Catholic teaching and

unity. What the present and previous chapters have done, then, is set the scene for a fuller assessment of the interviews the researcher conducted with the participants. It is to this task that the thesis will now turn.

5. Methodological considerations

5.1 Introduction

Having outlined the recent historical, as well the contemporary, significance of the ordination of women in the C of E, and the debate within the Church that surrounds it, I shall explore the methodological considerations. In order to do so, I will discuss the epistemological position of this thesis, outlining the particular lens through which this project was undertaken. I will then outline the research question and the context that prompted it before reflexivity and research ethics are explained in detail. I will continue by elaborating on the particular methods employed, including the opportunities and limitations of this research. Once this has been established, discussion will turn to an explanation of the rationale for the sample of participants used before exploring further considerations pertaining to fieldwork. Afterwards, the analytical process will be considered before my reflections of the research process are discussed.

5.2 Epistemological position of the thesis

5.2.1 *Critical Realism*

The question of the underpinning epistemology is a subtle and complex one. In keeping with others (e.g. Page, 2010, drawing on Ramazanoglu, 2002), I do not make a claim to completely objective knowledge and in doing so reject a positivistic account of one's interaction with the world. Indeed, as McGilchrist (2009) has demonstrated, from the perspective of evolutionary psychology, one interprets the world around them and so does not engage with it in an unmediated way. Furthermore, Archer (1998) explains that critical realism rejects positivist notions that are associated with the empiricism of scientific enquiry that dates back to Newtonian conceptions of scientific discovery. She explains that such thinking, when applied to the social sciences, conflates natural and social sciences, neglecting the differences between them. According to Archer, it is important to remember, "that society is an open system" (p.190), by which she means that social scientific investigation cannot be collapsed into a formula of causality and predictions. That is, according to Archer, critical realism accepts that one does not engage with the social world without a filter distorting one's perception of it.

Nevertheless, this does not necessarily preclude the referent (e.g. Sayer, 2000). Sayer (2000) argues for a critical realist epistemology, and asserts that poststructuralist interpretations of the social world have neglected to remember that one interacts with objects that exist independently of the one perceiving them. Thus, even though one engages with the world exterior to one's self

through a process of interpretation, the social world is not *merely* a construction (Sayer, 2000). Indeed, Bhaskar and Collier (1998) explain that social science is a suspicious discipline in so far as it seeks to explain how and why social phenomena occur in such a way as to (at times) undermine common assumptions about the social world. They also assert that, in doing so, social scientific investigation can have moral implications beyond its findings. For example, they explain that Marx's account of oppression has led to attempts to challenge capitalist structures. Bhaskar and Collier also outline that, whilst this is objectionable to those who hold to Hume's Law (that rejects the notion that what is observed becomes indicative of what ought to happen), critical realism is able to, "actually *discover*" (p. 387, emphasis original) phenomena in an objective study without being in itself, "value-neutral" (p.387). In other words, Bhaskar and Collier assert that, whilst critical realism accepts that the researcher possesses a subjective lens, it is nonetheless able to engage with the social world in such a way as to discover that which exists externally to one's perceptions. Critical realism therefore, is able to strike the delicate balance between a reflexive acceptance of subjectivity and an awareness that one is attempting to explore a world that exists beyond one's perceptions.

5.2.2 Explanatory Critique, Feminism, and Dialectical Critical Realism

Bhaskar and Collier (1998) also introduce another point using their line of reasoning above. They explain that it is because social scientific research is suspicious that it can reveal false assumptions and, in doing so, provide moral imperatives. They refer to this as the theory of explanatory critique and argue that such a moral orientation is necessary because false beliefs within society are

often harmful whereas true beliefs can serve as a correction to such harm. Whether or not this is typically true is beyond the scope of the present thesis. However, as this thesis will continue to discuss in chapters six and seven, faulty and caricatured beliefs about women often lead to discriminatory behaviour against them (see Allport, 1954; Glick and Fiske, 1996). This research was not initially framed as a feminist piece. However, given the attitudes towards women discussed as the data from the present study is analysed, this research has developed a feminist underpinning during the data analysis. Thus, in keeping with Bhaskar and Collier (1998), the morally oriented dimension of this thesis, “follows from the nature of the case” (p.387).

As I also identify as a feminist it is important to define what is meant by this self-identification. Page (2010) is one of many to have considered some of the different understandings of feminism that exist and so one does not need to relay them in depth here. I largely share Page’s approach to feminism, but with one caveat. Whilst I agree with the poststructuralist critiques of positivist attitudes towards gender that Page discusses, as well as the emancipatory possibilities of poststructuralist approaches to gender, I nonetheless emphasise the biological component that lies behind gender given my critical realist stance. That is, whilst I accept with Page that gender is indeed fluid and constructed, I wish to emphasise that there is nevertheless a physical body that exists beyond perception, even if associated labels such as ‘man’ and ‘woman’ are constructed, and gender and sex are erroneously conflated, as I understand Page to imply. However, in light of Cornwall (2015), I believe that it is important to recognise

the limitations of the current binary language that is employed to describe physical human bodies.

Furthermore, Wright (2013) notes that there is a strong Marxist influence within critical realism that led to the development of dialectical critical realism (see also Bhaskar, 2008, 2010). This approach emphasised the role of social science to go beyond describing society in order to seek its transformation (Wright, 2013). As Bhaskar and Collier (1998) claim, there is a moral imperative that has its genesis in social scientific descriptions of the social world. Whilst this thesis *primarily* offers a description of attitudes and behaviours there are two secondary components. The first of which is an exploration of the origins of such attitudes and behaviours, and the second of which is some reflections for how the C of E can respond to some of them. Therefore, it is necessary to make this epistemological underpinning clear.

5.2.3 The stratification of reality

Seybold's (2007) stratification of reality model is also assumed. This is the idea that no single academic discipline has the efficacy to fully describe and explain the social (and natural) world, but that disciplines are inter-reliant (Seybold, 2007). Indeed, even with the disciplines of sociology or social psychology the methods employed in this thesis are not exhaustive and so it ought to be noted that the present research contributes to a small number of multiple segments that provide the overall picture of social reality. The adoption of Seybold's (2007) model is appropriate for three reasons. Firstly, as Seybold demonstrates, research in a number of areas indicates that multiple disciplines

are drawn on in order to further understanding in that area. In this respect, the stratification of reality may be understood as a necessary description of academic research. Secondly, it allows for the possibility of a theological segment because the model does not preclude the possibility of meaningful theological claims regarding gender and sex. Thus, by assuming the stratification of reality, I avoid the imbalance of power that Burman (1994) warns against because I do not claim that a reductive social-scientific account of participants' attitudes and behaviours are the sole, definitive explanation. This leaves open the possible validity of participants' worldviews. Thirdly, by being honest about the intellectual limitations (as well as the intellectual efficacy) of this thesis I am better placed to practice reflexivity and thus reduce my bias because I am more aware of the claims I can and cannot make from the data analysis.

5.2.4 Theories of causality

Hunter (1983) notes that the sociology of knowledge is frequently drawn on in order to explain the impact of modernity on religious phenomena, particularly in relation to modernity. As Hunter states, it may be summarised as the belief that there is a, "constant causal reciprocity between consciousness and social structure and therefore that interaction between religious world views and the structures and processes of modernity will be a sociological necessity" (p.15). In other words, Hunter claims that there are societal influences on worldview and *vice versa* as part of the process of interaction between the two. Wuthnow and Lawson (2004) explain that social movement is another common approach to understanding the relationship between worldview and society. This is the theory that ideas are reliant on successful social movements in order

to be sustained (Wuthnow and Lawson, 2004). However Wuthnow and Lawson (2004) criticise the sociology of knowledge approach for being too deterministic and for failing to account for other influences in worldview other than broad social conditions and individual consciousness. They also express that social movement is insufficiently deterministic and that it leads to the neglect of other movements. Instead, Wuthnow and Lawson suggest a theory of cultural articulation. They assert that, whilst worldview and social structure partially influence each other, causality is not to be attributed to this interaction alone. Rather, there is a more complex, multifaceted link between worldview, social structures, and other factors with respect to causality (Wuthnow and Lawson, 2004).

One strength of cultural articulation is that it readily recognises what has already been stated in the discussion of the stratification of reality, namely that social reality is deeply complex and multidimensional. This means that no single approach has the efficacy to fully comprehend it (Wuthnow and Lawson, 2004). It also dovetails with the critical realist underpinning to this thesis because cultural articulation specifies a partial perception of social reality (Wuthnow and Lawson, 2004). Equally, Wuthnow and Lawson (2004) accept the role that social structures play in informing one's worldview, and so cultural articulation still possesses the ability to contribute to one's understanding of the causal dynamics of worldview in relation to social structures.

However, Elder-Vass (2010) has a helpful discussion of causality in social science and draws upon Bhaskar (1975). Elder-Vass (2010) explains that, within

a critical realist framework, there is an ontological distinction between the laws that govern events and the events themselves because, in the open system of the social world, the impact of such laws may be hidden by other external influences on an object. He also explains that there are two key facets to Bhaskar's theory, namely (i) real causal powers, and (ii) actual causation. However, in order to understand these facets more fully one needs to understand Bhaskar's three domains, namely: (i) the real, (ii) the actual, and (iii) the empirical (Elder-Vass, 2010). Elder-Vass (2010) explains that the domain of the real refers to the causal mechanisms behind events or objects, the events/objects themselves, and one's experience of those events/objects. He describes the domain of the actual as the sphere of the events/objects caused by certain mechanisms and the sphere of one's experiences of such events. Finally, he describes the domain of the empirical as the sphere of one's experiences of these objects/events only. He also explains that the distinction between the domains is necessary because the causal mechanisms are distinct from the objects that they affect.

In light of this Elder-Vass (2010), still drawing on Bhaskar (1975), explains that real causal powers exist in the domain of the real and do so as independent mechanisms even when there are no objects through which to observe them, or when they are unobservable as the result of other external influences. Actual causation, on the other hand, exists in the domain of the actual and is the result of multiple forces acting upon an object at any single moment (Elder-Vass, 2010). Hence, actual causation involves multiple determination, meaning that no single mechanism determines the whole result (Elder-Vass, 2010). To put Elder-Vass' (2010) summary of Bhaskar (1975) another way: (i)

within the social world there exists numerous laws which are not dependant upon their being observed through objects or occasions in the social world. (ii) However, they may only be noticed through the impact that they have on objects or events, and as they are noticed they are experienced. (iii) Nonetheless, because the social world is highly complex several laws may be acting upon an object/event at any one point in time and as they do so the outcome on that object/event will be different to if only one, or even a smaller selection, of laws were enacting upon the object/event.

Elder-Vass (2010) builds on Bhaskar's (1975) theory by introducing the concept of the level of abstraction. This is the idea that each object in the domain of the real and the domain of the actual has several constituent parts that, at times, requires a laminated view of reality (Elder-Vass, 2010). Elder-Vass (2010) further defines this laminated view as perceiving the individual components of any given object. He details that each object is made up on higher levels (the more complete object) and lower levels (such as molecules and atoms). In this model the causal impact of the higher level (i.e. the entire object) includes the causal impact of the lower levels because they are all connected, making up the entity (Elder-Vass, 2010). The utility of Bhaskar's approach here lies not only in its critical realist outlook that also informs this thesis, but also in the acceptance of the complex diversity of an open social system. It is also preferable to the theory of cultural articulation: this realist theory of causal powers accepts the complexity involved in identifying cause and effect in the social world, and in this sense is in agreement with cultural articulation. It also avoids being overly deterministic through its acceptance of a polyphony of independent laws

governing the social world in an open circuit fashion, whilst also accepting that these laws do have the efficacy to impact objects/events, thus striking the balance that cultural articulation claims. However, the realist approach as articulated and expanded by Elder-Vass (2010) is more comprehensive than the theory of cultural articulation with the addition of the laminated view of reality. This therefore possesses the potential for greater potential for arriving at a more detailed analysis and identification of the forces at work in the social world than cultural articulation does. The realist approach is also more thorough than cultural articulation with respect to its commitment to critical realism. The former takes seriously the layers of domains that separate the domain of experience and the domains of the real and the actual. This provides further opportunity for a reflexive analysis because within the theory there is a built-in reminder to the researcher that their interpretive process consists of a subjective experience of what is observed given that experience is treated as distinct from what is real and what is actual.

However, because of the discussion of the relationship between social structures and consciousness is marginally underdeveloped I will supplement my epistemological assumptions with an additional theory. Swingewood (2000) develops the thinking of Goffman to propose the notion of a tight coupling between macrocontexts (social structures) and microcontexts (everyday interaction). Swingewood claims that the former narrows down the possible actions of the latter. However, he explains that this is not because human agents are not free, but rather because they opt into the social structures that bind groups together as it serves their motives. In this sense, tight coupling is the

claim that we do not operate in a social vacuum, whilst also accepting the freedom that humans possess. In this respect, it leaves open the possibility of multiple social forces. Similarly Ahmed (2012) highlights the role that individuals have within social institutions, arguing that they have the power to collectively shape their culture. I am therefore employing these as complementary positions to Elder-Vass.

In practical terms, the above discussion will be useful for this thesis because it will enable me to identify a number of factors that have shaping influences over participants' attitudes towards gender. This will mean isolating a number of social factors that have been deduced from the interviews, historical analysis, ethnographic observation, and other supplementary material. However, because I will be taking a laminated approach, it will be remembered that I cannot offer a description of the entirety of social reality. Rather, this thesis concerns one part of a bigger picture. It will provide a fresh contribution to the conversation on the C of E and gender in order to move it forward, rather than conclude it. In order to accomplish this, I will draw on insights from sociology as well as from social psychology, recognizing the merits of adopting Seybold's stratification of reality. This will enable me to reflect on the utility of employing both disciplines in a complementary fashion during the data analysis.

As this thesis is multi-disciplinary it correlates different disciplines, particularly sociology and social psychology. It does so by employing a variety of theoretical lenses from each discipline and then analysing the ways in which each lens highlights different phenomena in the data. Lenses from both

disciplines are utilised in order to identify factors that shape human interactions and thought processes. In this sense there is much overlap between the psychological and sociological literature I employ. However, whereas the sociological analyses help us understand how social and historical factors shape interactions and thought processes, the psychological analyses enable us to identify the unconscious mental processes involved in a person's gender values. As will be identified in this thesis, there is much overlap between these disciplines, because social and mental forces are co-dependent, meaning that they affect each other.

5.3 The construction of the research question

The genesis of the research question at hand was immersed in both personal and academic experience. With respect to personal experience, I was often intrigued during my undergraduate career in Religions and Theology as to why those around me, including women, both in church and in a Christian student society, regularly espoused conservative attitudes towards women's roles in church leadership. This was particularly striking given that I am familiar with the biblical texts employed by proponents of more traditional gender roles within the Church, yet understand their implications rather differently. This personal interest grew into an academic one during my taught postgraduate studies where I undertook a number of essays, including a dissertation on feminist hermeneutics and conservative/evangelical readings of biblical passages. More specifically, I explored John 4, Acts 16, 1 Corinthians 11 and 14,

and 1 Timothy 2-3. However, it became apparent to me that even when hermeneutical methods are agreed upon, different interpreters may understand the same texts in different ways. I therefore decided it would be beneficial to embark upon an investigation of what social/psychological processes impact one's theological beliefs. In order to accomplish this, a social-scientific investigation, rather than an overtly theological one, was merited.

5.4 Reflexivity and research ethics

In addition to a number of matters pertaining to reflexivity and ethics that will be encountered in the discussion on research methods, there are a number of other facets to consider in this thesis. This section will begin with a discussion of reflexivity before engaging in detail with important ethical considerations.

5.4.1 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is, "the capacity to reflect on our role in generating research knowledge" (Ali, Campbell, Branley and James, 2004, p.25). It is important to provide a reflexive account because it allows further transparency and recognises that the researcher does not come to the project from an unbiased position (Crowley, 2010). May and Perry (2011) discuss two types of reflexivity. Firstly, they introduce endogenous reflexivity, which they explain concerns the way that a researcher's assumptions and expectations shape the way in which they conduct their research, and are shaped by one's different social contexts. Secondly, they introduce referential reflexivity. May and Perry elaborate that this

entails the meeting of participants' conceptions of phenomena with that of a researcher in order to make sense of the world. They state that this is related to epistemic permeability. This term denotes the extent to which knowledge is the domain of the researcher, versus the domain of the non-specialist (May and Perry, 2011). Thus, this section will require an exploration of how I have incorporated such concerns into the research. In addition to this, in keeping with the advice of Crowley (2010), it is pertinent for me to state my position. This undertaking is necessary because one's social position influences their perception of the social world (Ali et al., 2004).

With respect to my religious identity, I identify as an Anglican in the open evangelical tradition of the C of E. By 'Anglican' I mean that I am committed to the Anglican emphasis on Scripture, reason, and tradition as the foundation for theological enquiry and investigation ("Authority, Sources of (in Anglicanism)", 2018, para.1). By 'evangelical' I mean that I am personally committed to general summary of the Christian faith provided by bodies such as the Evangelical Alliance (see "Basis of Faith", 2018). By 'open' I mean that I positively engage with other traditions within the Christian faith, as well as with the wider world (see "The Ethos at Ridley", *n.d.*, para's. 3 and 5). Despite this present positioning, I was originally raised in the Roman Catholic Church and spent fifteen years in Roman Catholic schools, which proved to be formational in my worldview. My open evangelicalism has enabled me to adopt elements of catholicity into my own religious practices and I feel comfortable emphasising the ecumenical nature of my faith, for example, with reference to creeds that I have encountered during my time in both the Roman Catholic Church and the C of E.

As an undergraduate student in Theology and Religion, I became persuaded that the scholarly arguments in favour of a contextualised reading of scriptural passages that were often used to justify the prohibition of women ministers was the most appropriate (e.g. Witherington III, 1987, 1990). Thus, I personally believe that there is no universal scriptural mandate for refusing to omit women to any section of the C of E's hierarchy. This brief history is important for the purposes of reflexivity because they present both opportunity and challenge with respect to undertaking social scientific research on religion and gender. With respect to the opportunities, I was able to identify with participants from all three traditions that were included in this study. I came with an understanding of where many of the participants would place themselves theologically with respect to the ordination of women. In most cases this meant that I did not need to spend much time intellectually acquainting myself with various points of view. It also meant that I was able to empathise with, and relate to, participants. Additionally, I could readily understand tradition-specific language.

With respect to challenges, I was aware that I had particular expectations regarding what participants of each tradition would say, and so there was a risk that it would influence my questions for the participants as well as my interpretation of their responses. There was also the possibility that I needed to navigate issues of identity. Given that I have been personally involved in two of the traditions I was exploring, and in a similar tradition to the third one being studied, I had to consider how personal investment might be mitigated when analysing narratives. The fact that I am biased towards a more permissive

theology of women's ordination meant I needed to take care not to represent the narratives of those who hold more traditional views of gender in an imbalanced and inaccurate way, nor to conflate more permissive theologies with my own.²⁷

However, the impact of these challenges was mitigated in a number of ways. The utility of qualitative research, particularly semi-structured interviews, have already been discussed, but it is worth re-stating Burman's (1994) points that a research design of this kind naturally fosters greater reflexivity and that it provides greater insight into people's understandings of various phenomena. Appendix E outlines a number of examples where I learned that my assumptions were not as readily reflected in the data as I had expected. I also analysed the transcripts four times in order to find anything new or unexpected. To this end, one may conclude that my assumptions were indeed mitigated by the research process. Interpretations of the data were also tested alongside appropriate citations from participants' narratives and were presented to my supervisors and colleagues in other contexts²⁸, such as at seminars and conferences. This meant that feedback was received and reflected on, allowing my analyses to undergo critical scrutiny and was feedback into my analysis.²⁹

²⁷ See the section on research ethics for a discussion on how participants' narratives will be presented in a balanced way.

²⁸ See discussion of anonymity below.

²⁹ It is worth stating that the nature of the feedback and scrutiny did not involve offering alternative or new interpretations of the data, but probing questions that led me to reflect further on the justification for my ideas and for the methods employed.

The above process incorporates endogenous reflexivity because it concerns reducing the impact of my own assumptions and reflect on my various social influences. With regard to referential reflexivity, whilst I interpreted the data social-scientifically, employing academic convention and theory, the research process allowed for participants to reflect on their interpretation of their beliefs and behaviours. For instance, participants were asked to reflect on a time when they had worked with female priests and whether this had impacted their thinking about the appropriateness of ordaining women to the priesthood. They were also asked what they read or heard theologically that had informed their thinking on this matter. Such questions gave participants the opportunity to reflect on matters they may have not done previously, and to make their own links and provide their own interpretations for their attitudes towards gender. These ideas then become a part of the data and were thus incorporated into the study.

It is also important to reflect on the embodied element in conducting research, not least because this is a feminist piece of research. The fact that I am a white, middle-class male appeared to impact on the process of gathering data in important ways. This embodiment is similar to those of this study's participants and thus they would more readily socially identify with me than with a researcher with a different embodiment. Indeed, as an Anglican who had been nurtured in a range of churchmanships, including conservative and charismatic evangelicalism, and Roman Catholicism, there were other less overt elements to my embodiment that enabled a greater sense of relationship

between myself and the participants, for example through the language that I used or understood when used by the participants. The impact of this was borne out in the interviews as participants were regularly candid, and even explained that they were divulging to me beliefs, assumptions, and understandings that they did not divulge to others. This means that my physical presence, and habitus more generally, allowed me to gain a more honest insight into participants' personal world.

However, this does not preclude subjectivity in the process of gathering data: there is also the issue of power, in the Foucauldian sense of the word, that requires reflection. For instance, on occasion, participants evidenced that they wanted to steer the impression of their group that resulted from the research. As a case in point, very early on in the research process one participant was keen to put me in contact with a variety of other members in their network. They would regularly ask whom I had interviewed. They also asked other members of their network if I had interviewed them. On another occasion I accompanied them to a meeting. They introduced me to another colleague, jokingly, as their research assistant. The knowledge that this individual wanted suggests that they desired a level of control over the research process. The fact that I was referred to as their research assistant further indicates this because it is suggestive that they understood my role to serve their particular motives. These experiences further impressed upon me the need to have clear boundaries between the participants and myself in order to avoid an imbalance of power that could compromise the integrity of the research. This involved rearticulating the need for complete confidentiality, reinforcing my role as the researcher.

5.4.2 Research Ethics

Regarding research ethics, there were a number of considerations to take into account. H. Mustajoki and A. Mustajoki (2017) explain that when research involves human participants it is important to attain informed consent. They further explain that this involves the participant possessing enough knowledge about the study in order to exercise autonomy in agreeing to take part in the research. They elaborate on this by outlining a number of pieces of information that participants ought to know in order for them to provide informed consent. Firstly, Mustajoki and Mustajoki explain that participants must be aware of the aims and the duration of the research. Secondly, they posit that participants should know the research design and any potential risks. Thirdly, they state that participants ought to know how to leave the study if they wish to withdraw consent. Fourthly, Mustajoki and Mustajoki explain that any associated responsibilities or benefits need to be provided by the researcher, including wider benefits to society. Fifthly, they explain that participants need to be aware of how the data is analysed and stored, as well as who has the rights to see the data or the results. Penultimately, they argue that those taking part must be made aware of, “how, where and when the results will be published” (p.49). Finally, Mustajoki and Mustajoki write that participants need to be aware of where to attain more information about the project.

I have taken such considerations into account. Firstly, participants were all provided with an invite letter (see Appendix A) and an information sheet (see Appendix B), both of which outline the aims of the project. Both documents also

explain that this is Ph.D. research. An exact time frame was not provided on these documents because the precise duration was unknown at the time the fieldwork was conducted. However, approximate time scales were provided in person before interviews were conducted, and the fact that these were somewhat flexible was also highlighted. Secondly, the information sheet also outlined the fact that the research would be interview based. However, Mustajoki and Mustajoki (2017) explain that a pertinent question in considering research ethics is sharing information in a way that is understandable. King (2010) also notes that theoretical considerations may not be useful as they could be less comprehensible to the non-specialist. For these reasons a more detailed description of research design and theoretical influences was not given unless participants specifically asked. Before interviews were conducted, however, I explained that the questions (see Appendix C) being asked were divided into the three sections outlined below.

Nonetheless, King (2010) notes that it is helpful to avoid providing questions too far in advance so as not to lead the participants. However, the specific questions were not given beforehand and it was only on meeting participants on the day of the interview that the four sections of questions were explained. This was in order to strike a balance between informing them of the research design and avoiding leading participants. However, there was one participant from the charismatic evangelical group who wanted the questions in advance in order to take part. In this case, I provided him with an outline of some of the more general questions whilst also explaining that others would be asked conversationally, for example, as follow up questions. Importantly, this

participant's narrative did not diverge from the others in that group in any significant way.

Thirdly, before interviews were conducted I explained the 1998 Data Protection Act to participants, particularly that they were free to withdraw consent and that if they did so the data I had on them would be deleted and no longer used in the study (see "Data Protection Act, 1998", *n.d.*).³⁰ In fact, participants signed a consent form (see Appendix D)³¹ prior to interview, which included a section that asked whether they understood that their participation was voluntarily and that they were free to withdraw at any point, as well as a section that asked whether they had the opportunity to ask any further questions. Fourthly, participants were made aware through the information sheet that the interviewer would come to a location that was convenient for the participant at a time that suited them. It also explained that the results are intended to aid the C of E reflect more on how it engages with cultural changes, particularly those pertaining to gender.

³⁰ During the write up phase of this research (but after the fieldwork and analysis) the General Data Protection Regulation (2018) was introduced, but this research had already met the requirements set by the new act in any case.

³¹ One participant was unable to sign the form because he had impaired vision. However, I agreed with my supervisors and the departmental ethics committee that it was to acceptable read out the statements in the form and for the participant to verbally express agreement with each statement individually, whilst being recorded, something that the participant also readily agreed to beforehand.

Fifthly, prior to interview I explained to participants that, in line with the faculty's ethics policy, all data would be stored on a password protected hard drive and that I, and potentially my supervisors, would have access to the data. I also explained that they would be stored online and password protected with access still being limited to supervisors and me. The consent form participants signed also asked them if they had understood how the data would be stored. Additionally, I explained at interview that analysis would consist of piecing together a picture of the three constituent sections of the interview questions. Penultimately, I explained to the participants that the ultimate goal of the research was publication of a PhD thesis, but also that it could become an academic book and/or a series of journal articles. Finally, in the information sheet participants were provided with the email address of my supervisors and I invited participants to email me should they have any further questions.

However, Mustajoki and Mustajoki (2017) also explain that one needs to consider whether participants can truly provide informed consent. More specifically, they highlight social factors such as education and linguistic ability. However, all participants had received university education and had fluency in the English language. This means that they were able to understand what was being asked of them and were able to clearly articulate any questions that they had. Furthermore, Martin (2017) explains that symmetry is important in ethical research. He writes that this is an attempt to strike the balance between being honest and avoiding offending participants. Martin elaborates that research must be honest and avoid glossing the truth, and that negative depictions ought only

be included if they are relevant to the points the research wishes to make. This thesis will make observations about some participants' attitudes towards women that maybe interpreted as negative. However, in order to strike the balance between intellectual honesty and sensitivity towards participants, I opted to explain fully what I observed about participants' attitudes towards women in a variety of contexts because it is integral to the nature of the research question.

Equally, when evaluations that appear negative are present, I have also decided to offer a rationale for this behaviour by drawing upon an historical analysis of religious traditions as well as by employing established theoretical frameworks. Interpreting devotees with respect to their religious tradition enables one to gain a deeper understanding of them so as to move beyond a mere description of their attitudes/behaviours and create an awareness of historical inheritance, thus promoting a view of those taking part in the research that is multidimensional rather than a caricature (see Vasey-Saunders, 2016). Furthermore, I believe that a discussion of sociological and psychological rationales for such attitudes and related behaviours will do likewise because they too open up the world of the participant to the researcher and reader. I will also draw attention to the aspects of participants' beliefs that may be interpreted more positively so as to ensure a fuller picture of them that is more balanced.

In addition to this, Mustajoki and Mustajoki (2017) explain that anonymity is a standard feature of research ethics. To this end, all participants' names are pseudonyms. The names of their churches (past and present) are also

absent, and the diocese is unnamed. This is to offer anonymity at the highest possible level, not least because affiliation with particular groups is not always confidential and church websites often name their clergy. By choosing not to provide these details participants cease to be readily identifiable. Whilst some participants were happy to have their real names and churches provided, for the sake of consistency, and in order to make others who did not express such permission to remain anonymous, it was explained to participants that this was not possible. Whenever real names are mentioned in narratives (whether of people or places), or positions that could compromise anonymity, these will be amended in any data that is cited and made transparent by inserting the replacement names in brackets when they are replaced, or through inserting an ellipsis when they are altogether omitted. Also, on the occasions that my supervisors (and others) saw the data the names were also anonymised.

Furthermore, King (2010) highlights a number of other ethical considerations for qualitative research. For example, he discusses confidentiality, explaining that it is related to anonymity. However, as Martin (2017) states, they are not identical. King (2010) expands and communicates that there are personal details that could identify a participant for others who are closely connected to the study in some way. A helpful feature of participants' narratives in this regard is that, within each of the three groups interviewed, there was extensive amount of material that was paralleled from one narrative to another. When narratives more obviously diverged it was with respect to what participants did prior to ordination training, but in such cases there were regularly stark similarities amongst the narratives. This means that, if relevant, I

can discuss them at a general level. For example, in one group there were several participants who were involved in ministry prior to ordination training. If this were to prove relevant, rather than stating the specific kind of ministerial work that they undertook and the location, it will be sufficient to merely offer a summary statement that outlines the similar features amongst the narratives and its relevance for this thesis.

However, King (2010) also discusses a further issue with confidentiality. He writes that the researcher has to decide what to do with comments that are said, “off the record” (p.112). He explains that he means information that participants provide while one is not recording. However, the consent form asked if participants were happy for notes to be taken, and so when participants said something of potential interest that was not captured by the recording I wrote them down in plain view. This provided a transparency between the participant and myself. Furthermore, before I left the participant after interview, I also expressed that the participant is free to contact me at any point should they have any further questions. This would allow them to follow up after seeing that I had written notes on conversation prior to or after the interview. However, I decided not to take many notes during the interview process as on one occasion during the pilot study it appeared off putting to a participant who seemingly tried to read all the notes that the were being taken during interview as I wrote them.

On the topic of confidentiality, there were occasions where participants explicitly stated that what was said was confidential. In such cases I explicitly

asked if the participant would like the comment struck from the record. If the answer was in the affirmative then that comment was not transcribed. Instead a brief comment was added into the appropriate place in the transcript to make it clear that a line had been omitted for the sake of confidentiality. Occasionally, participants expressed that they were tentative about their comments and were ambiguous with respect to how comfortable they were for the information to be used. In these cases I asked them to clarify if they were happy for those comments to be used or if they would prefer them to be omitted and acted in accordance with their wishes.

King (2010) explains that assessing the risk of harm for participants is another factor worthy of consideration, and that it can be related to confidentiality because reputational harm is possible. However, the aforementioned anonymity and confidentiality will mitigate any such possibility. Nonetheless, King (2010) also explains that other types of harm resulting from distress should be considered. I was aware that any number of personal issues could come to the fore during the interviews because of the nature of some of the questions being asked were potentially sensitive. To this end, I made sure that these questions were open-ended and so participants could direct them in a way that they were comfortable with, rather than being pressured into providing details on difficult life experiences. I also found during the pilot study that the final question in particular (“Is there anything else you’d like to add?”) was useful for those who chose to share highly personal details because it provided them with an opportunity to reflect on their experience of sharing some of their life events. This appeared to offer a degree of comfort as the participants could

conclude the interview on their own terms and appreciate the richness of their life experience. This question was hence kept in the main study and proved useful for this reason.

Whilst there was one case where a participant shared a history of depression and anxiety, he also expressed that he had a therapist who he saw on a regular basis as well as support from his bishop, was part of a clergy network that met throughout the year, and had living companions, suggesting that he was well supported in his personal and professional life. This participant was also articulate, clearly understood the questions being asked and demonstrated that he understood the nature of the research. I made sure to ask explicitly that the participant was happy for his interview to be used after a discussion of his health challenges, and he answered clearly in the affirmative. Furthermore, King (2010) notes that not all emotional experiences are harmful and that speaking with a researcher can actually be a helpful process. Whilst the interviews were designed to be around one hour in length, the I spent nearly four hours with this particular participant as he took the time to take me through much of his life story, including family relations, despite the fact the I never asked the participant about many of the details he offered. At the end of the interview the participant expressed that this time had been helpful in enabling him to reflect on some of his life struggles and think through how to better cope with them. This suggests that the participant in question did indeed find the interview a beneficial place to talk about the history behind his health concerns.

King (2010) also discusses the importance of researcher safety and states that one must think carefully about where interviews are held. I conducted almost all interviews in participants' homes, and others in church buildings. However, all clergy are required to undertake advanced DBS checks ("Safer recruitment practice guidance", 2017), indicating their trustworthiness. Also, whilst debriefing is not particularly necessary it is nonetheless important to explain to participants where results of the study may be obtained from (King, 2010). Participants were offered a copy of the Ph.D thesis after its examination if they wished and I took note of all who expressed an interest in this.

The role of funding is also important when considering honesty and integrity (King, 2010). This project was funded by a number of bodies. However, the grant making bodies that have generously contributed to this research have not insisted on maintained contact or knowledge of the research findings prior to submission of the thesis. Their aims have also been broad and general, including those that required or preferred particular religious affiliations or theological commitments, meaning that I have been able to conduct research independently of these bodies. Indeed, they have not been updated on any of the findings, and references for funding have only highlighted the topic and my academic ability. Occasionally, a brief discussion of methodology and a short list of important literature were provided, but the research has changed significantly in focus since these details were given. Whilst the relevant bodies were informed, the information provided remained general, explaining why particular methods were preferred over others, and the reading list was diverse and did not indicate

what particular findings were expected, not least because I did not know what I would find at the point of making these applications.

Burman (1994) notes how it is important to recognise those taking part in qualitative research as participants and not as subjects. Tindall (1994) also emphasises the acknowledgement that participants are due as contributors to the knowledge that qualitative research produces. For these reasons, this thesis will also refer to the clergy taking part in this research as participants, and I extend my gratitude to all those taking part for making this thesis possible. Finally on research ethics, King (2010) explains that it is important for researchers to maintain appropriate boundaries, recognising the limitations of their role. This did not present itself as an issue either in the pilot study or in the main study. However, I was aware that, occasionally, there were personal links between participants and people who I have known previously. Nonetheless, none of these relationships were present ones and so they did not act as gatekeepers. They did not come to bear on the research proceedings, other than allowing both participant and myself to find some more common ground than would have otherwise been the case. This proved helpful for a more relaxed discussion.

5.5 Selecting the research methods

The decision was made to undertake an interview-based approach to data collection. This is because the question at hand seeks to understand the culture

of particular groups, rather than exclusively explore participants' experiences (the phenomenological approach), or explore how participants' research their own context (participatory action research). Neither was the aim to offer new theories (grounded theory) because it was apparent from an early stage that there was much well established literature that could shed light on clergy attitudes towards gender that had not been utilised. Moreover, the number of participants required for a doctoral study such as this required larger numbers than is generally provided in case study research (see Smith, 2015 for descriptions of qualitative research methods).

The primary method for data collection was one-to-one semi-structured interviews. This is because such an approach offers the opportunity to capture the subjective interpretations of the participants so that the researcher is less likely to interpret their answers in light of her/his own existing assumptions (Burman, 1994). This is a necessary addition to the research on gender attitudes within the C of E because such studies tend to focus on quantitative methods. This shortcoming in the literature needs to be addressed because clergy attitudes and opinions risk being collapsed into limiting categories that do not accurately capture the full extent of participants' beliefs, not least because such approaches are unable to completely capture nuance (see Halualani, 2008).

This is an important aspect of this thesis. Some of the theoretical lenses employed from social psychological have almost exclusively been utilised in quantitative studies. However, these can tell us very little about how people's gender attitudes manifest *in situ*, or even about how they are perceived to

present themselves in every day circumstances by those who possess them. Nevertheless, to gain such knowledge would be valuable because, as Storkey (1985) explains, by understanding how negative attitudes towards women occur within the lives of devotees, one is in a better position to address them. Furthermore, other studies that have employed other theoretical lenses to understand traditionalist attitudes within the context of the C of E have also been quantitative (e.g. Nason-Clark, 1987). This thesis, therefore, is the first piece of research that is able to explore in depth the gender attitudes of theologically conservative clergy in such a way that seeks to understand these attitudes through the eyes of those who hold them.

Whilst other qualitative methods, such as focus groups, were a possibility, the literature on group identity indicates that one adapts their behaviour in response to their immediate social context (e.g. Tajfel, and Turner, 1979). Whilst I do not believe that a one-to-one meeting would provide an entirely objective insight into participants' lives and thinking, I did believe that I could ascertain more candid and personalised responses from the participants through this method. This was born out in practice. One will note the direct manner of many of the answers discussed in the proceeding chapters. Participants also frequently articulated that they were giving their honest opinion to my questions because they were being anonymised, something that would not have been entirely possible if focus groups were employed. In this respect, private interviews also allowed closer adherence to an important aspect of research ethics. Given the controversial nature of the topic of this thesis, it was important that research

methods that would allow participants to feel more comfortable, in order to allow greater honesty, was important.

It was also important that the interviews were semi-structured. To have conducted fully structured interviews would make it difficult to ascertain the nuance and honest opinions of those taking part in the research because there would have been less scope for participants to steer the conversations in a way that was more meaningful to them. Alternatively, if I had conducted unstructured interviews there would have been significant risk that certain topics were not covered across the participant base, and so it would be very difficult to draw comparisons and discover clear themes in each group.

Therefore, this study will provide a detailed description of participants' attitudes towards gender and related behaviours, and provide a comparison of how this manifests across the three traditions identified above. This has not yet been documented across various factions of the C of E, nor has any study on clergy attitudes towards gender been conducted in very recent years, despite the fact that gender values in wider society are quickly changing (e.g. see "The Women's Timeline", 2018). This study will therefore provide unique and original insight into a controversial matter that still polarises the Established Church in England. In addition to this, ethnographic observation was employed as a supplementary method. Observations were made during the interview process, especially when access was given to participants' homes and churches, and on the occasions when invites were made to attend church services directly prior to interviews. These insights were useful for providing a fuller context for

participants, which gave additional insight into some of the themes that emerged.

Narrative analysis has been employed as the methodological framework for interpreting the data for two main reasons. Firstly, as Riessman (2005) explains, all human beings construct narratives in order to make sense of the world around them and of their life experiences and events. She also explains that this is equally as true of institutions and social movements. The implication of this insight is that an examination of the gender attitudes of individuals and the wider traditions of which they are apart within a long-established English institution would be incomplete without an understanding of their narratives. Secondly, Bryan (2016) notes that the narratives we construct aid us to find sequential relationships in our life experiences. Thus, if one's life experiences shape their attitudes towards gender— as I will be assuming in this thesis— an examination of participants' narratives will enable me to more readily understand the sources of their gender values. More specifically, I will employ a thematic narrative analysis because the present study has set out to explore the beliefs of individuals. As Braun and Clarke (*n.d.*, para. 5) note, thematic analysis possesses the efficacy to achieve this. Additionally, thematic analysis may be employed in order to identify themes across a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). This is precisely what is required in this study because I will be interviewing individuals who are a part of wider religious traditions in order to understand the broader social contexts in which clergy attitudes towards gender have developed.

Whilst there were alternative types of ethnographic analysis available, these did not possess the same efficacy to answer the research question at hand. For instance, whilst framework analysis would help code the data based on issues that emerge from it, it also requires one to code based upon *a priori* concerns (Srivastava and Thomson, 2009). This may well be appropriate for certain projects and questions. However, a significant component of the present research is concerned with gaining insights from participants by giving their voices as much freedom as possible so as to gain as much nuance as possible from the data they provide. It is therefore more appropriate to avoid an analytical approach that could undermine this. Similarly, discourse analysis would yield insight through an examination of how participants use language (Gee, 2004). Nevertheless, as aforementioned, my research question requires analytic tools that can evaluate beliefs and values in addition to this. Discourse analysis lacks this ability. Moreover, content analysis involves condensing data in order to offer broad descriptions of it (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). This too carries the risk of missing the nuance that qualitative analysis can provide, and which is sought in this study.

Once I had decided to employ narrative analysis, I adopted an inductive approach in order to apply any interpretive lens to the data after it had been collected. This was to allow for an interpretive lens that more naturally fitted the data rather than steering the results to fit a specific theory (see Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015). Additionally, descriptive, as well as semantic, approaches were applied to the transcripts allowing for a realist engagement with the data, rather than a latent one. I adopted this approach so that I could more effectively

explore participants' answers as they had provided them to avoid interpreting the data in light of my own assumptions and bias (see Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015). This approach also afforded me further opportunity to capture the subjective responses for those who were interviewed, thus further minimalizing the impact that I had on the research process (see Burman, 1994). This also aided me to remember that participants are contributing to the production of knowledge (see Tindal, 1994). Nevertheless, I do not assume that my subjective understanding of the data is precluded (see Clarke, Braun and Hayfield, 2015).

5.6 Participant selection

The present study conducted research with three different groups within the C of E. These were (tentatively labeled) Anglo-Catholic, conservative evangelical, and charismatic evangelical. Anglo-Catholics' opposition to women priests has been noted in the past (e.g. Sani and Reicher, 2000). However, there are few empirical studies on this tradition's attitude towards gender and none in recent years.³² Nevertheless, a study of clergy attitudes towards gender in the C of E would not be complete without exploring clergy in a tradition that has been noted to promote traditional sex roles. Thus, there is an absence of information about this group that ought to be addressed. This is particularly true given the

³² See Sani, 2005, 2008; Sani and Reicher, 1999; Sani and Todman, 2002. However, many of these studies do not explore Anglo-Catholicism explicitly or solely, but as part of a wider group of gender traditionalist Anglicans.

contemporary controversy that has surrounded Anglo-Catholicism. For example, Philip North, discussed in the introduction, is a council member of the Society under the Patronage of St. Winifred and St. Hilda (“The Council of Bishops”, 2017). This is an Anglo-Catholic society in the C of E that holds restrictive views about women’s ordination (“About the Society”, 2017, para. 2). The fact that this tradition is implicated in the Church’s divisions on gender makes it pertinent to explore Anglo-Catholicism. The C of E glossary defines Anglo-Catholicism thus:

The name given to loyal members of the Church of England who look primarily to tradition as the source of *authority*. They tend to espouse a Roman Catholic view of *doctrine*, particularly of Scripture, the Eucharist and the priesthood. The majority are inimical towards the *ordination* of women to the priesthood (“Anglo-catholic”, 2018, emphasizes original).

Moreover, the salience of researching evangelicalism when exploring gender attitudes in the C of E lies in the fact that it is proportionally the fastest growing tradition of the C of E (see Brierley, 2005; Goodhew and Cooper, 2018). In particular I decided to study a group called Reform. This is because it emerged in 1993, in part, in protest to women’s ordination (Jones, 2004), and so is also of interest to a study on gender attitudes. The majority of those interviewed in this group who reflected on their tradition self identified as ‘conservative evangelical’. They also reflect the definition of evangelical below. Having established that it would be necessary to explore evangelicalism, it was decided that it would be pertinent to study one group that was opposed to women’s ordination in various capacities, and another that was not, for the sake

of comparison. This allows me to identify with greater confidence the attitudes and behaviours that are specifically associated with more restrictive and more permissive theologies of women's ordination.

The other evangelical group that was selected was charismatic evangelical, because as Guest, Olson and Wolffe (2012) note, leadership in the charismatic movement has tended to be open to both men and women. Given the impact that the charismatic movement has had upon the C of E, as noted by Buchanan, Craston, Gregg, Gunstone, Howard and Pattison (1981), it was anticipated that this would be reflected among clergy in this tradition. The C of E glossary understands the charismatic tradition in the following way: "Its emphasis lies on the working of the Holy Spirit in healing, prophecy and miracles in the church today, and on the direct revelation of God's will to the individual believer" ("Charismatic", 2018). An evangelical is defined as those: "Who hold a set of doctrines derived from the Scriptures.... Evangelicals have a high regard for Scripture, believe firmly in personal conversion and are active in spreading the gospel" ("Evangelical", 2018). Thus, charismatic evangelicals within the C of E may be understood as those who evidence both sets of practices and beliefs. Whilst these labels were not imposed uncritically onto participants, they were initially helpful for identifying what groups within the C of E I might wish to focus on, because these terms and descriptions are used within the C of E (hence the glossary entries above) and so would presumably be familiar to participants.

Furthermore, I opted to conduct the research in a single diocese. This is because not all of the above traditions have networks with clear guidelines for

membership. This means that a national study, or a study of a larger region, risked failing to produce results of any given group of clergy that can be expected to be mirrored in other parts of the country. An exploration of a single area, however, would be more likely to do so given that participants would be exposed to comparatively similar contexts. I settled on the particular diocese in question because it was important to conduct research in a diocese that had a mixture of urban, suburban, and at more rural areas so as to conduct interviews in a context that was in this sense representative of the C of E as a whole. Also, for this same reason, I opted for a diocese that had the breadth of Anglican traditions.

Moreover, the particular diocese was chosen because of its perceived liberal positioning. The diocese has had a succession of bishops whose theology has been thought of as contrary to orthodox church teaching, and the diocese as a whole is typically understood to embody this. It was thought that this diocese would thus provide the necessary context to more clearly see how theologically conservative male clergy manage ministering in an environment that has a distinct theological culture to their own.

However, it ought also be noted that the traditions studied are only three of those within the C of E, and that studies, such as Nason-Clark's (1987a), have demonstrated that there were many in the Church who supported women's ordination in the run up to the 1992 vote. Indeed, the list of parishes that have passed resolutions, published by the C of E's Research and Statistics Office, indicates that those who are strongly against ordaining women as priests or consecrating them as bishops are a minority. This is demonstrated by the figure of 393 parishes out of 12,032 having provisions for extended episcopal ministry

by 2016 (“Ministry Statistics 2016”, 2017, table 15). Indeed the General Synod passed the vote for consecrating women to the episcopate with a majority in each of its three houses (“Church of England Synod backs women bishops”, BBC, 2014). In this sense, the present study can only claim to be representative of these traditions within the diocese and *perhaps*, to a lesser extent, of these networks nationally. It is also worth stating that the *attitudes* found to belong to members of Reform are not required for membership, and that some of the participants specified that their views are not necessarily representative of Reform. Hence, one cannot make the claim that gender attitudes are nationally representative of this network. Nonetheless, the utility of interviewing members of Reform in the particular diocese in question lies in the fact that they are evangelical and gender traditionalists (Jones, 2004). This is also true of Anglo-Catholic participants who were a part of Forward in Faith.

It was appropriate to explore clergy attitudes towards women’s ordination in particular because it is they who steer a congregation in any given direction on women’s ordination. It was also because the recent consecration of women bishops will impact them more than the laity as it impacts their professional lives. Once the decision to research clergy attitudes was made, only male clergy were appropriate if a comparison was to be made between those in favour of and those opposed to women’s ordination in various capacities. This is because women who do not agree with their sex becoming priests would not be ordained as such. Whilst ordination to the permanent diaconate is an option for such women (“Deacon”, 2018, para. 1), I could not find a sufficient number of permanent women deacons in any diocese to interview.

There were thirteen Anglo-Catholic participants, all of whom were ordained as priests in the C of E and were either active in parish ministry, or in the case of three participants, were retired after an several decades of parish ministry, or combined parish ministry and chaplaincy experience. They were all British, white, and male, in their thirties to eighties and identified as “catholic Anglicans”, although many identified as being “traditional catholic” in particular. Six of them were members of Forward in Faith, but participants had relationships with other members in the Anglo-Catholic group regardless of membership or affiliations with various bodies or networks. Several of the participants explained that they were homosexual, some of which were celibate, and some had civil partnerships (but the question of their celibacy was not discussed). One heterosexual participant had been married to a woman previously but is now widowed. Most had a university education prior to ordination, and whilst the type of higher education institution participants attended was diverse, it was common for participants to have received a Russell Group education prior to ordination training. Only one participant did not receive a higher education prior to training for the priesthood, but nonetheless received one during his time in ministerial formation. They had diverse religious backgrounds, although all of them had some sort of Church affiliation growing up. Several of them became Anglo-Catholic during their teenage years or early twenties.

With respect to participants in Reform, I interviewed fourteen participants, all of which were ordained in the C of E and had been active in

parish ministry for differing lengths of time. However, there was one exception to this who had retired after three decades in parish ministry. All participants in this group were white, male, and British. They were all in their thirties to sixties and each identified as 'conservative evangelical'. Thirteen of those interviewed were officially members of Reform and another was actively involved, attending meetings, agreeing with the theological position of Reform and had good personal relationships with several members of the group. At the time of the interview he was considering obtaining formal membership of Reform. Thirteen of these participants had at least an undergraduate degree, usually from Russell Group institutions, often Oxford or Cambridge. However, one participant did not receive a higher education until he embarked upon ordination training. All of the participants had belonged to evangelical Anglican churches previously with many growing up in that tradition. They had grown up in diverse parts of the UK. It is also worth stating that all Reform participants were married to women, and one was actually licensed in an adjacent diocese, but had permission to work in an 'illegal church plant' that was founded by another evangelical Anglican church.³³ However, the priest in question was nonetheless granted permission by the bishop of the present diocese to minister there.

With respect to the charismatic evangelical contingent, there were fourteen participants, all of whom were ordained in the C of E and active in

³³ I learned this during the interview process. It was explained to me that an illegal church plant is one that breaks canon (i.e. C of E) law by founding a new church without the diocesan bishop's permission.

parish ministry. They were all British males in their thirties to sixties, twelve of whom were white and two of which were mixed race. Whilst participants in this group were approached with the belief that they would represent the charismatic evangelical tradition clearly, the reality was more nuanced. In fact, whilst a number of participants readily identified as charismatic evangelical and reflected the criteria I employed (see 'Fieldwork' below), many defined themselves as being 'open evangelical' and had incorporated theological components and spiritual practices from other Christian traditions. Nevertheless, they retained clear elements of charismatic evangelical theology and spirituality. All participants were married to women and all had a university education prior to ministerial training. A minority of those with a university education had received it at theological college, prior to ordination training. However, their religious backgrounds were somewhat diverse, some coming from evangelical Christian families (inside as well as outside the C of E), and others coming from families with no Christian faith. Those who had transitioned into the C of E had done so as young adults.

I employed a mixture of purposive and snowballing techniques in order to recruit Anglo-Catholic participants. The Forward in Faith website lists all the clergy in each diocese who are members of the group, and so names and email addresses were found this way. I then contacted potential participants by email, sending an invitation letter that outlined the scope of the research as well as its goals, a summary of the research project, and the opportunity to ask me any follow up questions. Forward in Faith was used as the starting point for recruiting Anglo-Catholics, because it identifies as a catholic group who oppose

women's ordination ("About Forward in Faith", 2017). I employed the same techniques for attracting participants from Reform, but was able to make direct contact with the diocesan chair of the network. He then was able to provide me with a list of members and their email addresses once I had provided him with detailed information of the research. I supplied the same documents as with the Anglo-Catholic participants to both the Reform chair and potential participants.

With respect to the charismatic evangelical group, snowballing was the main method for sourcing participants. An acquaintance of mine identifies within that tradition and ministers in the diocese where the present study was conducted. She was able to provide me with a list of clergy who she understood to also be of that tradition. I also asked participants if they could recommend anyone within the charismatic evangelical tradition who may be interested in taking part in the research.

Nevertheless, purposive sampling was also employed, but in a more limited capacity. This is because I could not easily get access to the New Wine network in the diocese as the leader stated he did not have the time to assist with the research. New Wine is a network that belongs to the Evangelical Alliance and emphasises the role of the Holy Spirit and the accompanying miraculous events ("Our Story", 2018), and hence an appropriate place to source potential participants within the charismatic evangelical tradition. Nonetheless, I looked at the list of parish churches on the diocese' website and used this to search the individual church websites in order to identify any churches that may be led by charismatic evangelical clergy. In particular, I contacted those whose

churches specified that they were apart of New Wine and who emphasised the role of the Holy Spirit in their ministries in a way that mirrored the definitions of 'charismatic' and 'evangelical' outlined above. Finally, in all three cases, *Crockford's Clerical Directory* was used as a preliminary check of training institution and ordained appointments in order to provide me with additional background information on potential participants.

5.7 Interview protocol

Semi-structured interviews were conducted one to one and lasted an average of seventy-five minutes. All the interviews were transcribed by myself and were stored on a password protected hard drive and online cloud, which only I had access to. The questions I asked were arranged to discuss four main aspects of participants' lives. Firstly, I asked those taking part to describe the period of their lives when they first felt called to ordination. Secondly, I asked participants about their time in ordination training. Thirdly, questions were designed to understand participants' theological positions and their attitudes on a range of topics related to gender and sex. Finally, I asked the clergy interviewed to discuss their experiences of working with others in the C of E who were from different traditions to them. I also asked them about their engagement with their local communities.

I also made sure to utilise the strengths of qualitative research as outlined by Burman (1994), namely, the ability to capture participants' subjective

interpretations and nuances in their answers. By doing so I aimed to reduce my own influence, and so questions were designed to be open ended and space was given to allow for unplanned follow up questions, whether for clarity or to capture greater detail. There were four stages to the formulation of questions. Firstly, there was the initial development of questions based on my personal experience of the traditions in question. Secondly, there was the further development of questions through engaging with relevant literature on all traditions. Thirdly, there was the honing of the questions after feedback from colleagues. Finally, there was the finalising and sharpening of questions during and after a pilot study. In this final stage, participants had suggested that there may be other topics that they associated with gender that I could include in the questions. These were subjects such as transgenderism and homosexuality. Such topics, however, were beyond the scope of my research question. Nevertheless, because it was important to avoid precluding any potential findings in how the clergy thought about gender I decided to ensure that there was a question that provided participants with the opportunity to address anything they felt ought to have been discussed during the interview. The main questions, and the prompt questions, are stated in Appendix C along with the rationale for asking them.

I employed Grady's (1998) approach to data saturation. He states that sufficient data has been gathered when the researcher finds that they are finding the same ideas being repeated in participants' answers and new data fails to provide additional information.

5.8 Analytical process

With respect to thematic coding, Saldaña's (2009) two-stage approach to data analysis was followed. Descriptive coding was employed in the first cycle of coding because it is malleable for a wide variety of purposes (Saldaña, 2009). This was appropriate for the present study because it requires knowledge of participants' opinions on a number of subjects, rather than exclusively exploring their narratives. Other elemental methods of first cycle coding were less appropriate for achieving this task for a number of reasons. In Vivo coding, for example, which uses participants' language to identify codes, (Saldaña, 2009) fails to abstract information and thus cannot be used to analyse the data as fully as it could at an early stage of analysis. Process coding would have been a suitable analytical framework for some of the questions asked at interview, particularly those concerning participants' choices at different stages of their lives, because it codes data with action words (Saldaña, 2009). However, this approach would not be as valuable for analysing the questions concerning participants' beliefs and values.

Further to this, grammatical methods were largely unnecessary. They provide demographic details about participants that can be logged for later use (Saldaña, 2009). The homogeneity of participants' demographic characteristics, however, meant that a formal coding stage was not a valuable use of time. Nevertheless, such details were noted and I do make use of them in the data analysis. As the data was analysed it became clear that affective methods for data interpretation would have been effective, because these involved the analysis of

participants' likely psychological processes (Saldaña, 2009). However, to employ this method from the start of the data analysis would have pre-empted the results and undermine the steps I have made to reduce research bias.

Additionally, this approach is unnecessary given that the coding strategy I have employed has led to employing insights from the social psychological literature because of the themes that emerged with descriptive coding followed by the second coding cycle.

The second cycle utilised focused coding because it helps one identify the most common codes and thus the most prominent themes (Saldaña, 2009). Pattern coding was also employed because it allows one to make relational connections across data and allows one to search for causes and explanations (Saldaña, 2009). This is useful for the study at hand because I am seeking to establish why clergy think in the way(s) that they do about gender. I also chose to employ axial coding because it requires one to re-label codes that are very similar into conceptual categories thus reducing the number of initial codes (Saldaña, 2009). As with focused coding, it helps identify the most prominent themes by clarifying the relationships between the codes. Hence, the second cycle relies on eclectic coding (see Saldaña, 2009). Other common second cycle methods were inappropriate for the present study. Elaborative coding, for instance, could not be utilised because it is designed to build on previous studies (Auerbach and Silverstein, 2003). Longitudinal coding requires comparing data sets over time (Saldaña, 2003) and so is equally inappropriate for the purposes of this study.

Whereas I began the first cycle of coding whilst the interviews were still being conducted, I began the second cycle after all the data had been gathered. I adopted this approach so that I was able to analyse the narratives of each group individually and then as a collective. This is consistent with a projecting that employs narrative analysis because it seeks to identify the individual voice amongst the plurality of voices (Riessman, 2005). I coded the data for all three groups using NVivo. The process of coding involved identifying particular phrases or words that occurred throughout participants' narratives. These were grouped in order to form clusters, which were likewise grouped in order to identify the emerging themes. Following Saldaña, (2009), in the post-coding/pre-writing phase representative material was selected for the themes. Analytical memos, as well as diagrams, were utilised for the coding process.

5.9 Reflections on interviews and analysis

A number of points worthy of reflection appeared during the fieldwork and analysis. Firstly, the question of grouping participants was a prominent consideration. Whilst the fieldwork began with three broad, distinct groups, they could either appear broader than I had initially anticipated or there was theological overlap between them. For example, whilst I sought out members of Forward in Faith for participants that could be identified as 'Anglo-Catholic', the snowballing technique led to participants who, whilst were in the same professional and social circles as members of Forward in Faith and held the same theology of women's ordination, were nonetheless without membership of that

network. Similarly, there was one participant who was a member of Reform but who also quite clearly met the definition for a charismatic evangelical and so could be counted in that strand of participants also. This reminded me that social reality is complex and multifaceted, reinforcing the fact that one cannot offer a fully objective account of social phenomena. It also made me aware of the importance of noting when this is relevant at the appropriate points in the chapters that deal with the analysis of participants' data.

Secondly, the question of participant honesty became salient. I was struck by participants' explicit awareness of the conflict between wider society's attitudes towards gender and more traditional theological positions. This led me to reflect on participant honesty given that participants' awareness that their views were unpopular might be a motivation to be less direct about their beliefs. However, participants were detailed and candid in sensitive matters, indicating a deep level of honesty, even when they expressed their anticipation that their views were antithetical to what many may consider appropriate. The fact that participants were also detailed and candid about a number of personal matters was also indicative of their honesty during the interviews.

Thirdly, I became aware that my own theological position on women's ordination might well impact how comfortable participants were in expressing their own theology on this matter. This became apparent on the rare occasion when participants asked me my own opinions in this domain in a way that appeared slightly anxious. In response I opted to give an answer that was truthful but balanced, suggesting and understanding and appreciation of

different interpretations of the biblical passages in question, so as to steer the conversation as little as possible, not least because, as others have noted (e.g. Page, 2010, Perrin, 2016), the environment can influence participants' engagement.

Fieldwork and analysis yielded a number of related conclusions across the three groups: it became apparent that those participants who most strongly rejected the validity of women's ordination had a narrative of either contact avoidance or an absence of contact with women priests/ordinands and those who support women's ordination across the C of E's hierarchy. That is not to say that these participants never communicated with those of a different theological persuasion, but that there was a lack of prolonged and sustained contact with them. Equally, those who were more strongly in favour of women's ordination across the Church's hierarchy demonstrated a narrative of longer and more sustained interaction with women priests/ordinands and others who hold a similar theological position. For both, gender traditionalists and gender modernists, this contact (or lack of it) manifested throughout their accounts from at least their time as an undergraduate student, through their time in ordination training, to their present ministry.

As may be expected in light of these findings, the participants who were more ambivalent about women's ordination revealed a more mixed history of engagement/disengagement with women priests and those who supported women's ordained ministry. Similarly, the few participants who had changed their theological position from a more tradition one to a more permissive one

evidenced a history of increasing interaction with women priests/ordinands and those in favour of women's ordination. In fact, participants' narratives revealed a series of themes that coincide with the attitudes and behaviours outlined in over sixty years worth of research on intergroup contact and prejudice, and so it is for this reason that this became the interpretive lens for understanding the data. Interestingly, the data possesses striking parallels with the literature reviewed in the third chapter on biblical hermeneutics, a fact made yet more interesting due to the similar motivations identified as underpinning the behaviours identified with theories of intergroup contact and prejudice, and the evangelical hermeneutics noted in North America, indicating a relationship between the two bodies of literature as exemplified in this thesis' data. This will be developed in depth in the coming chapters. With that stated, some conclusions on this chapter will be offered.

5.10 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the method for the data analysis in the coming chapters. It has outlined the theoretical underpinnings and assumptions, as well as the approaches that this research has adopted. As it has done so, this chapter has explained the opportunities and the limitations to such approaches, including how these limitations have been mitigated to allow for a fuller and more objective study than would be the case otherwise. It has also explained in detail how this thesis engages with sensitive questions and materials in an

appropriate way. Having done so, it has laid the necessary foundation for an exploration of participants' data.

6. Analysing the data I: Participants' gender norms and values

6.1 Introduction

So far I have introduced the research question and its relevance. I have also reviewed the related literature in order to understand conservative Protestant theologies of gender and set the three traditions being explored in their respective historical contexts. In addition to this, I have outlined the method employed. It is now appropriate to bring the research and theoretical frameworks discussed into dialogue with the data collected during the interview process. This is because participants' gender ideologies and their related actions mirror those found in the scholarship discussed in previous chapters. However, in order to make the analysis more coherent, I will divide the investigation of this study's data into two chapters. Whilst the present chapter primarily concerns participants' attitudes, the following chapter is primarily concerned with their behaviours. Specifically, in a significant break with the literature (which is almost exclusively quantitative) this chapter will offer a detailed description of

how prejudicial and affirming attitudes towards women are reported to manifest in the everyday lives of the clergy.

I will draw attention to an analysis of participants, referencing scholarship on sexism and intergroup contact in the first instance, before employing the literature discussed in previous chapters when they provide insight for further understanding the participants. Given that the literature discussed in previous chapters has focused on conservative evangelicalism more than the other traditions, I will begin by discussing Reform, after which I will focus on the charismatic evangelical group, before engaging with the narratives from the Anglo-Catholic participants. Comparisons between the three groups will then be drawn out more fully before I offer a conclusion, reflecting on what has been established thus far. It is also worth explaining here that all quotes provided in this chapter and the next are representative of their group as a whole unless otherwise stated. With that stated, it is appropriate to discuss the relevant literature.

Before starting the analysis of the relevant themes for discussion, it is worthwhile stating the specific themes for discussion. I will address these below in two distinct parts. Firstly, and in order to understand the nature of participants' attitudes and ideologies, I will provide an initial analysis of the themes, generally with respect to the literature on prejudice and sexism. Secondly, and in order to better understand the wider cultural milieu in which participants live, I shall discuss the themes that relate to the other literature reviewed. This will include themes related to gender and to the historical

development of the three Anglican traditions. This is in order to more fully appreciate the impact of the history of participants' religious traditions.

6.2 Results and initial discussion: Reform

Four themes will be the focus of discussion on the Reform participants. These are: (i) Created order of male headship and female submission, (ii) Negatives of feminism, (iii) Lack of empathy towards women priests, and (iv) Deutero-intellectualism. The decision to examine these four themes in particular is driven by the overarching research question: What social and psychological factors contribute to the formation of male Anglican clergy attitudes towards gender? In order to establish this, it is necessary to understand clergy theologies of gender roles and it was this discussion that led to the emergence of the first theme. This question also makes it necessary to understand clergy opinions of wider social gender trends. It was a discussion on these that led to the emergence of the second theme. The decision to include the third theme was made in light of the fact that much of participants' narratives reflected the behaviours and attitudes described by research on intergroup processes. There will be an exploration of the fourth theme because it provides insight into how participants think about gender and how they employ Christian Scripture in order to articulate their theology of gender.

6.2.1 Sexism and Reform

6.2.1.1 Created order of male headship and female submission

The first theme for discussion is the 'created order of male headship and female submission'. This was discerned from the strand of questions concerning participants' theology of women and men's roles in the Church, in the family unit, and in the occupational sphere. Thirteen of the fourteen participants believed that, according to the Bible, God had designed men to lead in the Church and family, whereas women are designed to follow male leadership. For example, Greg said: "We [complementarians] want to model male responsibility in leadership in the church family with the conviction that that will encourage the same in the home". When discussing the creation narrative in Genesis 2, Greg elaborates: "[The Bible is] saying that Adam is created first.... Eve was created to be a complement to Adam ... I think that the two are to work together as equals with those different roles that are given to us". Similarly, Callum stated: "I'm... a complementarian. Men and women are made differently and I think there is a natural headship that men have over women.... It's... ingrained into us".

Greg and Callum identify as complementarians. Participants explained that this is someone who believes that, according to the Bible, men are created by God to lead the Church and the family unit, whereas women are created to help men but also to be subservient to male leadership (see also Grudem, 1994; Guest, Aune, Sharma and Warner, 2013). Greg's particular rationale for this is the fact that Adam (the man) was made before Eve (the woman), indicating a belief in causal priority, the idea that the one who comes first has greater authority (see Thiselton, 2000). Participants could also offer other justifications for this

belief. For instance, Callum's rationale stems from an internal sense that men are natural leaders. More importantly, however, all participants agree that God has created men to lead and women to submit in the Church and familial spheres, with only one exception.

Such a belief is indicative of complementary gender differentiation: it is clearly an example of indirect sexism for several reasons. Firstly, subjectively positive attitudes are present with the concept of women being a complement to men. Secondly, however, this complement necessitates women being led by men, and thus risks undermining female competence. Thirdly, a biological determinism underlies this belief with men and women being created by God to be different. Also, there is recognition of man's dependence on woman as a co-worker and complement. Additionally, it relies on an unrealistic, idealised understanding of the husband/wife dynamic. That this indirect sexism may be further categorised as an example of complementary gender differentiation is deduced from: (i) the aforementioned subjectively positive attitude towards women and (ii) the promotion of traditional gender roles where the man is the authoritative figure at the expense of the women.

Nevertheless, there is an important caveat to this. Participants held mixed views about whether it was acceptable, according to biblical mandate, for women to lead in the workplace. When asked whether the principle of male leadership and female submission ought to apply in the work place Adam stated: "I think inevitably if ...there is a subordination ... in the Trinity ... [and] if we're made in God's likeness then that surely should be mirrored in society and in

cultural and political [and other] ... areas of life". Adam is alluding to 1 Corinthians 11 where Paul states that Christ submits to God the Father and uses this as a rationale for male leadership and female submission in all areas of life, including those beyond the family and Church spheres. However, this idea was only found in three of the narratives, and none of the participants were adamant that this is something they expected to see adhered to. Adam continues: "So while I would be complementarian within a church framework and within the home, I do not think that that is the right thing to tell society to be, because... it's a secular society". Likewise, Ron said: "...within [marriage]... there's godly leadership and godly submission... I don't think it applies to any other area of life... [other than] the family and the church.... I've no issue with having a female prime minister, for example".

Adam explains that whilst, in theory, he believes that the gender patterns he thinks ought to be exhibited in the Church and family should also be exhibited in all areas of life he accepts that wider society has different values. It is also relevant to note that those who theoretically disagreed with women's leadership in all areas of society did not hold tightly to this belief, and that eleven of the participants did not share this belief at all. Ron, like the remainder of the participants, did not think it was appropriate to prescribe a complementarian pattern to wider society. Thus, in keeping with the existing literature, sexism is ambivalent in that one type does not manifest in all circumstances.

Only one participant deviated from the above discourse. Karl had no theological objection to women taking on any level of leadership in any context.

He said: “I feel like I'm a bit of a liberal because I will let women teach Have you got women leaders in scripture? Yes... God does raise up women who lead”.

Karl does not believe that women should be prevented from leadership positions based on their sex. Instead, he believes that one’s suitability for leadership— and associated activities such as teaching— ultimately depends on whether or not God has called a person to that role, and this does not preclude women.

6.2.2.2 Negatives of feminism

The second theme requiring examination for an analysis of sexism within the Reform narratives is the negative understandings of feminism that participants held. For instance, Stephen said:

I think there are branches within [feminism—] one of seeking to affirm women and be constructive and creative, and one that can become over militant and become denigrating of men.... I've seen... a movement that can become denigrating, over-asserting women over men.

Stephen’s comment was representative of the Reform narratives in so far as there is an ambivalent attitude towards feminism where one perceives positive as well as negative aspects of the movement. However, it is interesting to note here that there is evidently an anxiety about the nature of feminism to (supposedly) subvert men and place women higher up in the social hierarchy. This was seen in half of the Reform participants’ answers to a question that asked them to give their response to the feminist movement. Joshua reports similar sentiments to Stephen:

Radical feminism that moves beyond... trying to raise up the rights of women... to promoting a... feminine alternative as being stronger than the prevailing masculine reality... and thinking actually we'd be better off if this package of feminine ideals... had the upper hand... is something I take real issue with.

The other seven narratives, however, expressed similar sentiments but were less pronounced, entertaining the idea that feminists could be “angry” or “militant”, for example.

The attitude expressed in Stephen and Joshua’s comments evidences that hostile sexism was present in the Reform narratives for a number of reasons. First, it is a hostile response to a caricature of a certain kind of woman that, according to Stephen, involves female attempts to assert women over men. Second, as evidenced in the preceding section, it is accompanied by advocating traditional gender roles. Third, as also aforementioned in the previous section, it is accompanied by a theological justification for male authority over women. This latter point indicates that such a belief is accompanied by a dominative paternalism.

In addition to this, there is a clear indication of competitive gender differentiation given that: (i) there is a strong presence of negative stereotyping, and (ii) each narrative that asserts such caricatures also reinforces the theological necessity of male leadership and female submission, thus indicating a

sense of male superiority. Nevertheless, this assessment applies only to half of the Reform participants: those narratives that were less pronounced fall short of the hostile sexism and associated criteria. However, the above indicates that all of the Reform clergy interviewed are operating in a group where attitudes and beliefs associated with sexism are regularly present even if it manifests with different degrees of intensity.

6.2.2.3 Lack of empathy towards women priests

Participants were asked a series of questions that were designed to assess their level of empathy towards women priests. Based on previous studies, it was decided that empathy was present if participants were able to imagine how women with a sense of call to ordination would feel if their conviction was rejected on the basis of their sex. However, all participants neglected to reply in a way that demonstrated empathy. For example, in response to a question on the role of feminism and gender inequality Callum responded:

[In] countries where women are married off when they're twelve, and there's female genital mutilation ... [is] where there's gender injustice....
In 2017 in liberal, middle class England, I don't personally have much [time for] 'we're under the cosh of patriarchy'.

In a similar fashion, Greg said: "If that's what scripture is saying that's what I will be committed to doing, I hope whole heartedly and joyfully.... I'm sure it would be a positive joy." Three participants did begin to empathise but failed to fully do so. When asked how he would feel if his sense of calling to the

priesthood was rejected based on his sex, Stanley replied: "I wouldn't want to get too caught up in your call ... so hopefully I wouldn't be that bothered.... But I do understand when women find it very difficult". Ron responded: "I wouldn't like it initially... but hopefully I would want to be [asking]... what does the Bible say on this issue and then seeking to submit to that". Stanley and Ron demonstrated the potential for empathy but were unable to imagine a scenario that directly placed themselves in the same situation as women priests who had their sense of call denied. They therefore did not meet the standard required to exhibit empathy that has been set in the psychological literature. These results are in keeping with the relationship between empathy (or its lack) and prejudice discussed above adding further weight to the decision to employ prejudice research as an interpretive lens. Furthermore, the lack of empathy towards their female peers is in keeping with the findings of Batson and Powell (2003) that men are generally less empathetic. However, because the imagine-set question was not asked about women in other spheres of life the data is unable to provide insight as to whether their lack of empathy towards women is indeed context dependent as Batson and Powell claim.

A clear benefit from this qualitative approach to analysing prejudice is that it identifies how those with prejudicial attitudes articulate them. More particularly, because participants are not selecting predetermined options of how they would describe gender roles, one is able to gain insight into participants' gender norms and values as they perceive it. As discussed in the methodology, this limits the risk of misrepresenting participants (i.e. Burman, 1994) and thus limits the possibility of oversimplifying their beliefs (i.e.

Halualani, 2008). Moreover, this approach also provides insight into the specific expressions of sexism that people perceive to occur in day-to-day life. Whilst it is useful— indeed necessary— to understand the categories of sexism and their definitions, discerning the presence of sexism is a less abstract undertaking that requires one to be able to identify how the quantitative findings translate into people’s lives. The qualitative approach has also indicated that sexism isn’t always a set of attitudes that are distinctly different from non-sexist ones, as might be assumed from the quantitative literature. Rather, one can adopt attitudes that contain elements of the definitions of sexism without fully reflecting these definitions. Such a qualitative venture is long overdue considering the C of E’s historic significance and the role it plays in public life (see Nason-Clark, 1987a). It stands to reason that prejudice is all the more difficult to tackle if its expressions cannot be identified.

6.2.3 *Extended discussion: Reform*

6.2.3.1 Created order for male leadership and female submission

Greg’s statement above indicates an underlying gender essentialist belief that is also positivist in outlook. His comment that God had “created” men to lead and women to “complement” men by undertaking “different roles” to them is a clear conflation of gender and sex: Greg believes that one’s biological sex determines the gender roles that one ought to undertake in at least some areas of life. In this respect, Greg’s understanding of gender roles echoes that which is found in non-religious literature such as in the work of John Gray (1992, 2011). It also resonates with the work of Baron-Cohen (2003) and Dawkins (2006) but departs from them in so far as social influences on gender roles remain

undiscussed or dismissed. In this respect participants' view reflect the views found in Gong, He and Evans (2011). However, it also directly mirrors ideas found in conservative Christian literature, such as in Piper and Grudem (1991) who argue that the Bible demands male leadership in church and marriage. Indeed, in response to a question that asked whether he believed in male headship as defined by Piper and Grudem (1991), Greg stated: "Yes, but headship as it's understood biblically... self-sacrificing, servant leadership that takes responsibility at cost to the leader rather than a self-serving, status driven, arrogant type of headship".

This comment further reflects the complementarian views asserted by Piper and Grudem (1991) (see also Grudem, 2002). It also echoes some of the ideas found in Eldredge (2001), although it is fainter. The fact that Greg believes that the role of a man, at least within the context of marriage and the Church, involves an element of sacrifice is not especially far removed from the concept of men needing to be spiritual warriors. Both concepts lean on the idea of a macho masculinity that can withstand hardship in a heroic fashion. However, this sense of a macho Christianity has a historical precedent in the UK. The popularised muscular Christianity that imbued middle-class Anglicanism in the twentieth century (see Delap, 2013; McLeod, 2012) has no doubt found outlet in the present conservative evangelical gender values under discussion. However, that McLeod (2012) describes how such ideas originated in secular sporting imagery presents evidence that the ideas articulated by Reform participants are not strictly taken from Christian Scripture as they claim. Rather, it lends further credit to Aune's (2006, 2010) argument that evangelical gender norms are not *as*

different from those found in wider society as one may initially imagine. Indeed, the above has demonstrated that Reform participants have inherited a tradition that assimilates the gender norms of wider society.

Guest et al. (2013) have found a similar phenomenon amongst younger evangelicals. They write that, rather than such beliefs being sourced from Christian Scripture, evangelical students appeal to a, “cultural ‘common sense’” (p.182) in order to advocate their gender essentialism and belief in equality. Reform interviewees evidently do likewise, but additionally reflect on Scripture to inform their understanding of complementarianism. As with Guest et al.’s (2013) participants, the common sense appeal to gender differences was more pronounced than that of equality. Nevertheless, one clear difference lies in a comparison of these participants to those in the work of Guest et al. (2013). They find that Christians at university— including those from evangelical backgrounds— do not provide observable differences in their gender values from their non-religious peers. Their study also found that, although men were more likely to have traditional gender attitudes than women, both sexes (around 80 per cent) were likely to advocate equal opportunities for men and women in positions of church leadership. This difference is unlikely to be the result of the secularising influence of the university given that the same study also demonstrated the stability of student faith over the course of the participants’ studies. Berger (1967) and Hunter’s (1987) theory of gradual secularisation has also been discussed already. Rather, this difference may be explained by generation. Indeed, Guest et al. (2013), drawing upon on Park, Phillips and Johnson (2004), note that younger generations tend to possess more socially

liberal attitudes, a finding that they claim is borne out in their study. The Reform participants, however, were in an older generation than the majority of the participants in Guest et al.'s study, in some cases by several generations. This means that they would have grown up in a more traditional gender milieu than current students experience. This is in keeping with Williams' (2014) finding in the US that younger generations of evangelicals tend to have more socially liberal attitudes than their parents' generation.

However, I am of the belief that there is an additional reason for such differences. Guest et al. (2013) explain that many of their participants do not engage with Christian activity at university, but were immersed in an environment where they were navigating values that were often different to their own. Whilst the authors of this study explain that this did not tend to compromise participants' sense of Christian identity, the study does demonstrate that they were socially engaged in wider university life, and hence were coming into sustained contact with those who would have had more liberal values. Social identity theorists note that a person's identity and values is shaped by their social group/s (e.g. Turner, 1975). However, the members of Reform interviewed for the present study indicated that they were involved in Christian groups, such as the Christian Union, whilst they were at university and reported that these were important social groups for them. This means that, whilst the Reform participants possessed ideals that are found in wider society, there are clearly different degrees of assimilation of the wider gender values amongst evangelicals. Generation and content of one's social interaction best explain these differences.

Participant's gender values are also problematic in an indirect way. The pay disparity between men and women in comparable— and even identical— jobs is well documented (e.g. Kulich, Trojanowski, Ryan, Haslam and Renneboog, 2011; Lips, 2013a, 2013b). Redfern and Aune (2010) claim that this is the result of a number of factors. Importantly for this study, they posit that the gendering of skills as a cause of employment inequality. More specifically, Redfern and Aune assert that women are often in lower paid jobs due to the gendering of skills, where the skills traditionally associated with women are undervalued. This is because such skills are thought to be 'natural' to women and thus not so worthy of merit, and contributes to the underrepresentation of women in higher status jobs (Redfern and Aune, 2010). The fact that Reform participants believe that women are created to be followers rather than leaders demonstrates that they advocate a belief that exists beyond the Church that contributes to gender inequality in the work place.

This presents an obvious link between ambivalent sexism and the sociology of gender inequality. The social psychological theory provides the appropriate tools for identifying problematic attitudes in individuals, whereas the sociological literature helps contextualise these identifications by offering a panoramic view of how such attitudes impact women. Further, whilst some of the psychological literature has argued that gendered discrimination exists as the result of sexist attitudes (evidencing the disciplinary cross over of social psychology and sociology), the sociological approach frames these attitudes within the wider social impact of sexism. This provides a fuller understanding of the impact that the views shared by the participants' can have. Thus, in keeping

with dialectical critical realism, it foregrounds the ethical dimension of social enquiry. This also highlights the utility of the stratification of reality as an epistemological lens given the different phenomena that both of these disciplines address. Moreover, the above reflects Elder-Vass's (2010) theory of causality through recognising the interaction of consciousness (one's attitudes) and social structures (the environment of inequality).

As discussed previously, Mayland (2007) reports that in the previous century evangelical opposition to women's ordination centred around theological articulations of headship. It is therefore unsurprising to see this objection manifest in Reform narratives. Moreover, Greg's comment that he tries to mirror male leadership in the Church as in the family strongly resonates with the inseparable nature of family and religious life that was apparent in evangelicalism throughout the twentieth century (Ammerman, 1987; Bruce, 2008; Hunter, 1987). Indeed, the fact that the majority of participants wish to distinguish between the home and church spheres as the arena of Christian living against the occupational sphere is in keeping with Guest and Aune's (2017) claim that the family can serve as a plausibility structure for faith. The discussion around this theme has also highlighted the continuation that Reform share with historic evangelicalism through the belief that the traditional division of labour is God-ordained (see Gallagher, 2003). In addition to this, this theme also shows continuity with Aune's (2008) claim that faith has become marginalised to the domestic sphere (which she attributes to increased state control in public life).

However, the emphasis on the woman as the primary care giver of children (i.e. Ammerman, 1987) was only rarely found in participants' narratives. Those interviewed were often located in expensive areas with respect to property prices and occasionally referenced this as a need for some families to have two working parents, even if they felt that this was not ideal. This suggests a certain level of pragmatism in their theological position and further indicates that some of the participants' theology responds to their wider social context rather than being born solely from Scripture. This is indicative of previous research that has documented evangelicalism's engagement with wider society as gender ideals are negotiated (see Gallagher, 2003; Gallagher and Smith, 1999; Smith et al., 1998). This is therefore also consistent with more recent research that demonstrates that evangelicals are continuing to simultaneously engage with, and resist, wider society as they continue to navigate their identity in contemporary society (Brittain and McKinnon 2011; Engelke, 2013; Green, 2014; Williams, 2014; Strhan, 2015). It also demonstrates that evangelicals in the UK context still hold a number of traditional attitudes as in the US context (Green, 2014), which testify to the stable core of the nature of evangelical engagement with wider society (Warner, 2014).

In addition to this, there are broader historical reasons that can also explain the lack of a traditional caregiver model. Given that the evangelical tradition adapted to the increase of women in the work force during the previous century the concept of professional women became less of a contrarian idea within evangelicalism (Summerfield, 1998). Indeed, British evangelical gender values, whilst remaining somewhat conservative throughout the twentieth

century, nonetheless adapted to include the idea of the workingwoman (Brown, 2001). Interestingly, Greg did not use hierarchical language when describing his complementarianism, evidencing, along with Balmer (1994) and Gallagher (2003), that evangelical articulations of traditional gender patterns have softened in recent decades. Although Adam begins to use hierarchical language, this was not representative of the group as a whole, and he later elaborates that women are to submit to self-sacrificial and loving leadership. Equally, contrary to Ammerman's (1987) observation in her ethnographic study, participants reported rarely promoting such theology from the pulpit. Instead, they explained that they only teach it when a related passage would come up naturally in their sermon series. Participants further reported that they believed it was usually proper to teach through one book of the Bible at a time to their Sunday congregations so that Scripture would (supposedly) set the preaching agenda rather than the preacher. It could be, therefore, that participants' 'biblicism' (see Bebbington, 1989) is a contributing factor for this. Nevertheless, participants' did evidence the gendered hierarchical dualism that has been present in Christian tradition for centuries (see Johnson, 1993), thus indicating both continuation and discontinuation with historical tradition. This is in keeping with what others have observed about recent evangelical engagement with society (e.g. Carpenter, 2014). Hence, there is yet more evidence that Smith et al.'s (1998) engaged orthodoxy is present in contemporary English evangelicalism.

However, participants also often expressed awareness that this teaching could be divisive for members of their congregations and it could be that this too

was a reason for refraining from politicising their gender values from the pulpit. It is also important to remember that Ammerman (1987) explains that what she observed took place when there was increased momentum for reasserting traditional gender patterns. This study's participants, on the other hand, belong to an institution that has been clear on its decision to ordain women to the priesthood and consecrate them as bishops (Ferns, 2014) and that had become increasingly supportive of women's ordination throughout the twentieth century (Thorne, 2000).

Notwithstanding, this was not just embedded in the culture of the C of E but also in the wider Anglican Communion given that an increasing number of Anglican Churches were ordaining women prior to 1994 (Fletcher, 2013). Indeed, the institutional context discussed in previous chapters demonstrate that evangelicals became consciously committed to work within the C of E's structures by 1967 and there was a level of hermeneutical openness, for example, when it came to understanding how Scripture was authoritative (i.e. Atherstone, 2011; Bebbington, 1989; Craston, 1998; Warner, 2007). In fact, that Reform aimed to transform the C of E from within (Jones, 2004) underscores this. Equally, participants expressed that their concern was not with the ordination of women as priests *per se* but that this usually allowed them to preach to men and lead churches. This view may be traced back at least to evangelical debates about gender roles from the sixties and seventies (see Packer, 1973). Further, the fact that the C of E was also committed to including those who objected to women's ordination in the life of the Church and made provisions for them (e.g. Avis, 2004; Maltby, 1998) presumably made the relative

peace that conservative evangelicals had with the Established Church possible. Hence, these should be understood as further factors for this lack of public militancy. Also, that conservative evangelicals within the C of E have been a part of this institutional milieu also explains the lack of angry reinforcement of conservative gender norms that McCulloch (2009) notes was a backlash to changing gender patterns in the 1960s.

Nevertheless, a further reason for this may be identified from the social psychological literature. It is interesting to note that participants were acutely aware that their theological position on gender roles was not often received well by those outside of the conservative evangelical and traditional Anglo-Catholic traditions. Indeed, a number of comments by participants that referenced their gratitude that their comments were anonymous so that they could express themselves more fully than they would do otherwise without repercussions. This highlights their awareness of an external audience and suggests that participants wish to answer, to at least some extent, in a way that is socially desirable, in keeping with the justification-suppression model.

Furthermore, this also demonstrates a level of release for participants because they could express their ideologies with less anxiety about immediate backlash. The fact that participants believe that women cannot lead in the Church or home because of a God-ordained pattern, yet can in other contexts, is also evidence of reactance because their behaviour is contradictory when different contexts are compared. They also fail to realise the discriminatory nature of their theology and of the C of E's resolutions and related Acts that

prevent women from enjoying the same freedom to minister as men. This reveals a failure to acknowledge manifestations of prejudice. In other words, the Reform narratives reveal the effects of prejudice suppression noted in addition to a well-established motivation for suppressing them.

The above leads to further methodological reflection. The fact that participants' religious heritage influences their response to contemporary events in the C of E is demonstrative of how social structures impress upon an individual's consciousness. Tight coupling is evidently at play here because members of Reform have deliberately opted to remain within the C of E in order to transform it. However, one also sees the pressures on participants in the form of wider social norms, an additional social structure, because they are aware of how their beliefs may be received by those outside of their tradition. This presents an additional disciplinary complement between sociology and social psychology because the insights from the justification suppression model help one understand the impact of certain social structures in participants' narratives.

Finally on this theme, Brasher's (1998) three-fold observation is also reflected in the Reform narratives. Sexual polarity is seen in Greg's account of men and women being created to fulfil different roles. Sexual dominance is evidenced in his claim that men, rather than women, are to lead in the Church and family. Sexual unity is demonstrated in the assertion that both sexes have been made by God as equals. Brasher's (1998) sexual polarity is akin to the idea of the sexes being binary opposites that permeated British evangelical thinking in the twentieth century.

6.2.3.2 *Negatives of feminism*

Stephen's comments on feminism reflect something of a postfeminist outlook. More particularly, he demonstrates an appreciation for feminism in addition to a critique of it. In doing so, Stephen provides a further example that reflects Aune's (2006) findings that evangelical gender attitudes are not always that distinct from those of non-religious members of society. He also mirrors what Guest et al. (2013) find in their study indicating that such beliefs are cross-generational. Stephen's remarks also reflect some of the ideas found in Piper and Grudem (1991) that criticise feminism, once more evidencing a relationship between participants' theology and wider societal and theological assertions. There is also a frequent disregard for poststructuralist interpretations of gender. For instance, participants explained that they felt modern society was becoming too flexible with its approach to gender. Joshua said: "We're not free to just determine whatever it is we want.... We are male and female and that has implications for transgenderism. It has implications for our sexual behaviour and so on". Alongside this caricature, there was general agreement amongst participants that post-structuralist contemporary gender ideologies are antithetical to Christian teaching.

Also, there are a number of links between participants' attitudes towards feminism and findings in other studies. In particular, the appreciation for certain aspects of feminism highlights their appreciation for a relatively new movement and that participants have incorporated an element of wider society's gender norms into their own thinking. However, the negative assessments of feminism that they exhibit are symptomatic of the fact that their incorporation of wider

values into their own is limited. Participants therefore exhibit Smith et al.'s (1998) model of engaged orthodoxy, rather than Berger's (1970) enclave model or Hunter's (1987) proposed gravitation towards theological liberalism. It is also worth highlighting that the participants perceive a danger towards men in feminism because their belief that it has the potential to favour women over men in the social hierarchy. This provides further evidence of prejudice suppression given that scholarship identifies perceived threat from outgroups as a source of prejudice.

6.2.3.3 Deutero-intellectualism

Reform participants were not anti-intellectual, having academic qualifications in Theology, often from prestigious institutions, and being engaged in academic theological reading post-ordination. Nevertheless, there were clear instances of disregard for, or inconsistency in, a rigorous intellectual approach to their theology on matters of gender. For instance, when asked about his hermeneutics of texts such as Ephesians (a New Testament letter that discusses gender roles), Simon said: "I think responsible hermeneutics makes sense of the situation of the time". Here, Simon demonstrably expresses an appreciation for the role of historical criticism for interpreting the Bible. He is advocating the necessity of going beyond a mere plain reading of Scriptural texts when forming one's theology. Nevertheless, he also says: "The best sense that I can make of the biblical texts... are that it's most appropriate for a man [rather than a woman] to be leading the church in the role of vicar". In other words, Simon believes that only men should be ordained to lead churches. However, this interpretation of the passages Simon cites in support of his claim relies on a plain meaning

reading. For example, 1 Timothy 2:11-14, which Simon states as a relevant passage, reads:

Let a woman learn in silence with full submission. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor.

(NRSV, Anglicised edition).

In practice, however, there is no attempt to nuance how one might read this in light of the context in Ephesus (where the recipients of this letter were based— see Drury, 2001). In fact, conservative scholars who think that this letter universally prohibits women preaching to men nonetheless contextualize this passage. For instance, some comment that this passage is not directly applicable to contemporary Church structures (e.g. Mounce, 2000). Nevertheless, this is not consistently found amongst participants when they explain their interpretation of the relevant biblical texts.

In fact, there are other types of examples of participants' inconsistency in thinking through their gender attitudes. Greg has claimed that his rationale for adopting complementarian theology is that God has created men and women to fulfill different roles as evidenced through causal priority. However, one can see in the 1 Timothy text cited above that the author had an additional justification for prohibiting women from teaching men: it is because a woman was deceived at the Fall. Indeed, the English word 'for' in this passage has the force of 'because'

and the original Greek word it represents (γάρ) also connotes a causal relation (see Balz and Schneider, 1990a). Despite this, such reasoning does not enter into Greg's narrative. It is therefore apparent that Reform participants continue in the tradition of evangelicals such as Grudem (2002) who do engage intellectually to some extent, yet fail to consistently offer an intellectually informed hermeneutic.

Moreover, the impact of Scottish Common Sense Realism on the Reform participants is apparent. Greg's interpretation of Genesis 2 is heavily reliant on 1 Timothy 2. No regard for the text's historical context is necessary to possess this interpretation, and thus those interviewed reveal the interpretive process described by Balmer (2016), Boone (1989), and Marsden (2006). Furthermore, two of Boone's (1989) markers of inerrancy in 'fundamentalism' are present, namely the idea that the Bible is reliable for all knowledge (including scientific understanding), and a literal (although not necessary anti-allegorical) reading of biblical texts. With respect to the first marker, that Genesis is understood to offer a description of how men and women naturally 'are' is indicative of a belief that it can offer scientific insight into the sexes. With respect to the second marker, the literal interpretation is very similar to the Scottish Common Sense Realism hermeneutic. The only difference is that it does not require anti-allegorical readings (see Boone, 1989).

However, given the nature of allegory in the Bible remained undiscussed during interviews, the distinction is not relevant for the present study. The above also reinforces Johnson's (1993) claim that patriarchal interpretations of the Bible are accompanied by literal readings. It is also interesting to note that there

are clear parallels between this group and the findings of Burn and Busso (2005). They argue that both men and women who were inclined to interpret the Bible literally were also more prone to indirect sexism. An evident difference between the present study and theirs, however, is the fact that the present participants evidenced hostile sexism whereas Burn and Busso's participants did not. However, their study did not ask participants on their specific view of feminism, despite the clearly negative reception that feminism has received in some evangelical circles (e.g. Piper and Grudem, 1991). This indicates that reliance on the ambivalent sexism inventory is insufficient as a sole mechanism for capturing prejudicial attitudes towards women and highlights a further shortcoming of previous research on religiosity and sexism that this thesis has addressed.

6.2.4 Some initial conclusions: Reform

Thus far both accommodation and resistance towards the gender attitudes found in wider society and within the C of E has become apparent within the Reform narratives. However, given Reform's commitment to promote traditional theology within the C of E ("Reform Covenant, 2018"), the level of engagement found therein is best interpreted with respect to a continuation of the commitment evangelicals made to transform the C of E from within at Keele in 1967 (Bebbington, 1989). Additionally, the fact that indirect and hostile sexism has been evidenced adds further weight to the claim that sexism can indeed be ambivalent. The fact that it is restricted to the Church and family spheres implies that its expression is context dependant, in keeping with (Glick

and Fiske, 1996). However, this is best understood with respect to prejudice suppression.

Further to this, there is also an evident consistency with a number of the observations made on US evangelicalism. This is best explained by, both, the common ancestry of US and British evangelicalisms discussed in chapter three, and by the recent dialogue that each strand of evangelicalism has enjoyed in recent decades (e.g. see Guest, 2007a). This highlights that there is an international quality in contemporary conservative evangelicalism in England, as others have noted in recent years (Swartz, 2014). In this sense it is a hybrid of American expressions of evangelicalism and the English institutionalisation of its historical development. Put another way, participants are impacted by the history of their tradition. Moreover, in keeping with the discussion in the methodology, social phenomena have multiple, complex causes behind them. This section has identified a number of such causes for Reform participants' attitudes and beliefs pertaining to gender.

It is pertinent to note that the present findings indicate a level of discontinuity with Village and Francis' (2005) analysis of evangelical laity. Their study looks at Jungian personality types and suggests that evangelicals tend to be more sensing (feeling based). The Reform clergy in this study, however, lacked feeling-based characteristics in their discussion of gender roles. These differences in results highlight the need for further investigation of the difference between clergy and lay attitudes and interpretive preferences. Indeed,

whilst Village (2016) has conducted a quantitative comparison, there is currently no qualitative counterpart.

6.3 Results and initial discussion: Charismatic evangelicals

A larger number of themes will be discussed as I engage with the charismatic evangelical data, because these narratives were less homogenous. The themes are: (i) Affirmation of women's ordination, (ii) Rejection of the theology of headship, (iii) Gender differences as observable, (iv) Belief in the flexibility of gender roles, (v) Negatives of feminism, (vi) Empathy towards women priests, (vii) Appreciation of traditional gender theology, (viii) Hermeneutic of canonical context, and (ix) Hermeneutic of historical context. As with the Reform themes, these were chosen due to their relevance to answer the overarching research question. These themes provide insight into participant's theology, their understanding of wider societal gender phenomenon, or are related to the literature on intergroup processes.

6.3.1 Sexism and charismatic evangelical participants

6.3.1.1 Affirmation of women's ordination and Rejection of the theology of headship

All participants in this group believed that it was entirely appropriate for women to be ordained, and all but three thought that this could be to any part of the C of E's hierarchy. For instance, Ken said:

I am fully supportive of women being deacons, priests and bishops and I think ... that there's a good biblical case for that.... I think that if you look behind at what was actually going on ... culturally/ historically [in the communities the biblical texts were written to, they're] talking about a cultural situation rather than a timeless truth.

The more permissive gender attitudes expressed by Ken shows that the clear articulations of sexist beliefs found in the Reform narratives were in fact largely absent in the charismatic evangelical narratives. In fact eight of the participants directly rejected the theology of male headship and female subordination. Richard remarked:

I definitely don't believe in headship and submission, I believe in equal partnership in marriage... I believe in equal submission... in [Ephesians 5] before it goes on about, 'wives submit to your husbands' [it is] preceded by, 'husbands and wives submit to each other'.

Richard understands the biblical texts employed in support of male headship/female submission to be misinterpreted. Instead, he believes that both sexes ought to be equally submissive, thus avoiding an imbalance of power. However, four participants, whilst affirming women's ordained ministry, neglected to mention headship at all. The other two participants, on the other hand, had a similar interpretation to members of Reform: they claimed that there was a created pattern of male headship/female submission and that this makes it inappropriate for women to lead churches. However, this did not bar them from

ordination *per se*, nor from taking any leadership responsibilities in a congregation so long as they were not incumbents. For instance, it would be entirely appropriate for a woman to preach to a mixed congregation, to be a curate, or an associate minister. This was one of the main distinctions between these two narratives and those in the Reform group in this respect. Oscar said that male headship: “seems to be argued from creation, not from culture and... there is a difference in... role[s] between men and women..... I do think there is something going on with headship that is valid for all time”.

Oscar believes that the Bible suggests women may teach in different settings, but that there is nonetheless a universal created pattern of male leadership. However, Oscar did not believe it was inappropriate for a woman to be a bishop, whereas the other complementarian in this group did. Nevertheless, neither of these participants were comfortable articulating this in a decisive manner. As a case in point, Michael stated:

Our theology is formed by the church that we're a part of.... I was in ... a category B church.... [meaning that we] had nominated as a church that [we] would like a male incumbent. So that was the tradition of HTB and we were an HTB plant... and [so that is] my understanding.

Michael deflects the question concerning his gender values, to some extent, by asserting that he has simply inherited a pre-existing view, a behaviour that Oscar similarly exhibited. Both were leading churches that had been planted by Holy Trinity Brompton (HTB), a large charismatic evangelical church in

London that has planted new churches and supported the growth of existing ones across England (“Our Church Network”, 2018). However, the deflection of questions in this area was accompanied by a lack of detailed elaboration on their understanding of the created order and so these two participants did not provide any evidence of sexism within these themes, despite mirroring something of the headship theology found amongst the Reform narratives.

6.3.1.2 Gender differences as observable and Belief in the flexibility of gender roles

Despite the absence of sexist articulations in participants’ narratives, stereotypes about gender were present in most of the interviewee’s narratives.

Matt said:

It's very difficult to generalise about characteristics of male or female leadership. However, female leadership can be more emotionally intelligent.... I think a more— quote— female leadership approach could be one of very few rays of light [for the C of E].

Participants regularly articulated that there is evidence for gender differences. Matt’s comment here is one of the clearest examples, despite being very broad and lacking in detail. Others were yet more vague and didn’t specify any differences, but suggested that subtle ones nonetheless existed. Once more, interviewees’ reluctance to extrapolate avoids the potential of discovering sexist attitudes. It might be that participants are suppressing attitudes that they think may be perceived as prejudicial as the result of social desirability, as in the justification-suppression model. Equally, participants may genuinely reject

certain gendered stereotypes. However, if the former option is assumed, it is helpful to note that the charismatic evangelical participants articulated an engagement with wider society with more intensity and consistency than those in the other groups. It is thus conceivable that wider societal norms contributed to the possible prejudice suppression here. Equally, given that contact can reduce prejudice (see Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1971), it is entirely possible that such contact undermines prejudice for this group of clergy.

Charismatic evangelical participants were open to the concept of flexible gender roles when it comes to the particular functions that men and women may fulfil in church, home, and wider society. Richard said: "I don't think there should be prescribed [gender] roles I think, as a general rule, there are differences between men and women..... There are undoubtedly exceptions to those rules". Similarly, Michael said: "You can't caricature [gender roles]. For example, I am a better cook [in my marriage], so I do the cooking". Participants did not think that men, nor women, should always conform to traditional roles. In many cases participants had professional wives and saw no theological, practical, or social problem with this. Whilst this does not give much information to help one decide whether participants were suppressing prejudicial attitudes, it is useful to note that this group of participants evidenced greater flexibility on the matter than those in Reform. Further to this, whilst ten interviewees in the charismatic evangelical group suggested that there are gender differences, all fourteen agreed that female and male roles are flexible across a range of domains. It is also pertinent to note that participants in this group did not usually ascribe a biological or God-ordained origin to gender differences to gender roles (although

they did with respect to reproductive biology). Overall, participants appeared rather agnostic on the matter.

Nevertheless, one participant believed that motherhood and fatherhood are distinct roles, each with its own characteristics. However, another participant explained that male clergy are often keen to develop their feminine side for pastoral reasons, implying that observable gender differences are not biologically exclusive. Therefore, whilst there are occasional pieces of evidence to suggest that aspects of indirect sexism are present in these narratives, the overall picture is one of greater impartiality.

6.3.1.3 Negatives of feminism

As with Reform, participants had mixed attitudes towards feminism, but the negative evaluations they provided do require comparing with statements made by members of Reform because, despite each tradition evidencing different theologies of gender, both exhibit similar attitudes towards feminism. Matt said:

Most of [feminism] I'm really happy with. When it gets shrill and demonising men I get stroppy about it and disagree.... I don't agree with that and I feel there's an imbalance in [that] view, which actually is very similar to the way that some men, in a chauvinistic way, talk about women.

Ten participants expressed a belief that feminism could overreach itself by attacking men and/or minimising differences between the sexes so as to

conflate the two. This is very similar to the Reform narratives, other than the fact that four charismatic evangelical interviewees did not evidence such beliefs, whereas all of the Reform narratives did. Matt's statement above is indicative of an attribute of hostile sexism because a caricaturing generalisation is made about feminists that accuses them of unduly attacking men. Importantly, however, this statement does lack the other elements that collectively make up hostile sexism and its related categories, and so one must conclude that charismatic evangelical participants do not in fact possess hostile sexism. Similarly to half of the Reform participants, they do exhibit attitudes that are associated with it.

6.3.1.4 Empathy towards women priests and Appreciation of gender traditional theology

A clearer contrast to the Reform narratives was the level of empathy that charismatic evangelical participants exhibited. In total nine of the fourteen were able to clearly demonstrate that they could understand, to at least some extent, the challenge of having the validity of one's vocation challenged or denied on the basis of their sex. There were two types of answers that displayed empathy. Firstly, Pete said: "I would probably have felt a very deep sense of frustration, possibly anger. I would have probably gone on the marches and protest, and done the things that those for the ordination of women were doing". Secondly, after seeing an ordained woman argue with a preacher for not using, what she understood to be, gender inclusive language, Richard said:

It gives me more grace to remember that it was a struggle, and it must have been hard, and it must have hurt, and it must have caused deep scars.... I have seen the evidence of the scars and I know that it hurt other people ... And I don't like being told I can't do something, so I imagine it would hurt me too, but I wouldn't know until I was there.

In Pete's case there is an apparent engagement with the empathy question. He readily imagines what he would do if he was in the same situation as would-be women priests during the 1980s-90s. Richard's narrative is more detached from the situation, drawing on someone else's response. Nevertheless, despite his assertion that he cannot know his response for certain (a fair answer in itself), he still employs his imagination in trying to understand what it must have felt like for the women he describes. Those participants who did not display any indications of empathy had mixed responses to the question. These ranged from being uncertain of how they would respond, accepting the situation and finding alternative ways to serve, and trusting in the authority of the Bible (for one of the participants who espoused a belief in headship). For instance, Richard replied: "it's hard to know isn't it?" Graham said: "I wonder whether actually I would just have ended up doing something else...". Michael explained: "I think I would have to approach it in the way of... looking at scripture". Some of these views mirror those of Reform, whereas others are notably more distinct. This reflects the understanding of Robbins, Francis, Haley and Kay (2001) amongst Methodist ministers. I argue that the charismatic evangelical participants are more able to reflect so-called feminine traits because women are more fully integrated into their lives. I state this because the psychological literature

evidences that one is more likely to behave in a way akin to those in our immediate social spheres (e.g. see Trepte, 2006).

Moreover, participants did not only display empathy towards women priests, but they also displayed an appreciation towards theology that objected to their ministry. In fact, a total of nine of the narratives evidenced this, meaning that the group as a whole was more appreciative of gender traditional theology than empathetic towards women priests. Richard reported:

I think there are plenty of [people] who are trying to do what they think is biblical and what they think God is calling them to, and whilst I disagree with the outcome that they've reached, I can at least respect how they're trying to get there.

Despite the vast majority of this group disagreeing theologically with the ideas found amongst members of Reform, they nonetheless demonstrated an appreciation for their shared emphasis on the authority of Scripture. Indeed, they altogether neglected to entertain the concept that prejudicial attitudes towards women might be commonplace within conservative evangelical theology.

6.3.1.5 Hermeneutic of canonical context and Hermeneutic of historical context

Another evident contrast between the narratives of charismatic evangelical participants and those of Reform was the articulation of an intentional hermeneutic that almost all the participants applied to reading

biblical texts. It addresses gender related concerns. Whilst this could be articulated in slightly different ways, a common emphasis was on the trajectory that may be discerned from piecing different sections of the Bible together. For instance, Graham articulated:

I found very helpful a book ... called, 'Slaves, Women and Homosexuals' where [the author] talks about the trajectory, which you find in Scripture, and the progressive liberational approach towards women in society you find... particularly in the New Testament... something [that] would then continue post-New Testament.

Graham is describing an academic book that argues for an interpretation of the Bible as an unfolding narrative that is geared towards the emancipation of women from oppression (see Webb, 2001). Whilst not all participants demonstrated that they had engaged in the matter intellectually since their ordination training, they nevertheless explained that it is important for one to look at the different parts of Scripture that address matters of gender in order to get a sense of the overall direction for God's plan for gender equality. Moreover, nearly as many participants explained that understanding the historical context in which the biblical texts were written was important for their gender values. Once more, Graham expressed: "The texts need to be understood in context.... One [should] look for the principle underneath [the text] rather than reading it off the text". In other words, the majority of the participants expressed that it was important to engage with the historical context that biblical authors were writing in, in order to come to a more accurate reading of Scripture. For the

charismatic evangelical participants this made the restrictions on women that Reform believed were appropriate unnecessary to at least some extent. For most of them, such conservative gender values were altogether undesirable and based on a faulty reading of Scripture.

In the discussion on Reform I stated that a qualitative description is necessary for understanding how prejudicial attitudes exhibit themselves in people's lives, and in order to understand how those who exhibit them interpret their behaviours. Likewise, it is necessary to understand how those who appear to exhibit affirming attitudes towards women articulate their attitudes and how they interpret the very same. This is for two reasons. Firstly, because it demonstrates the possibility that one can be evangelical, have something of a traditional outlook towards gender, and not exhibit sexist attitudes. It therefore provides an example of how evangelicalism does not have to be disbanded, rethink any of its central beliefs, or shed its history in order to avoid prejudicial outlooks towards women. Secondly, it enables a comparison between prejudicial and non-prejudicial gender attitudes, making the claim of discerning prejudicial values more meaningful, because it evidences what one might expect to observe in the case of non-prejudicial attitudes.

6.3.2 Extended Discussion: Charismatic Evangelicals

6.3.2.1 Affirmation of women's ordination and rejection of the theology of headship

Participants' theology of women's ordination reflect something of the attitude that Thrall (1958) noted in the late 1950s, namely that Christians were beginning to question why women couldn't hold the same roles in the Church as

men. They also reflect something of Thrall's thinking regarding the rejection of female subordination to men. Indeed, their beliefs concerning the functional equality of the sexes (i.e. with regard to the roles that they may fulfil) reflects much of the aims of second wave feminism more broadly (see Pilarski 2011). Interestingly, however, those interviewed did not typically evidence an understanding of existing patriarchal structures within the C of E (although a minority did). Hence the majority of this group did not reflect the theology found in work such as Storkey (1985). Further to this, these narratives also reveal a level of rejection of the gendered dualism that has permeated Christian thought for centuries (see Johnson, 1993), a clear break with tradition and with Reform. All of this indicates that participants' engagement with wider social ideas is selective, incorporating only certain aspects of other's gender ideals into their own. Participants in this group also reflect Guest et al.'s (2013) finding that most evangelicals believe in gender equality with regard to women's role in church.

It is also worth mentioning that the ideas articulated by the participants are in continuity with the Evangelical Group of the General Synod who, in 1992, were mostly in favour of ordaining women as priests (see Carey, 2004). Charismatic evangelical participants' rejection of headship theology overlaps with their hermeneutic of context. It also parallels the C of E's official position that theologies of subordination are a non-contextualised misreading of Scripture and therefore inappropriate (see Church of England, 2004). Further to this, there is evidently a continuation of thought and practice that was a key component to the charismatic movement historically, namely, the space for women to exercise leadership roles in the Church (see Guest, Olson, and Wolffe,

2012). In fact several participants expressed the importance of spiritual gifts, rather than gender, as the basis for their theology of women's ordination. Hence, the history of participants' tradition impacts upon their current theological beliefs and gender values.

6.3.2.2 Gender differences as observable and Belief in the flexibility of gender roles

The fact that participants are happy with some gender flexibility reflects their upbringing that often included a childhood and/or young adulthood in the shadow of the social developments from the mid-to-late twentieth century, where contraception allowed women more workplace opportunities (Brown, 2001; McLeod, 2007). Given that participants affirm differences between the sexes as well as role flexibility, their gender values also reflect ideas that are a natural outworking of findings in the literature from researchers such as Daphna (2011) and Daphna and McCarthy (2017) (see also Hines, 2011).

Whilst participants did not demonstrate an intellectual knowledge of gender roles, they nonetheless expressed views that are best understood to be critical realist in nature without being gender essentialist. That they insisted on the actual differences between the sexes demonstrates participants' understanding that there is a definitive quality (or set of qualities) that is/are intrinsic to being female or male. However, their avoidance of describing how this might manifest in detail, and their rejection of fixed gender roles indicates a non-gender essentialist belief. In fact, at times participants outright reject gender-essentialist ideas. This indicates that, whilst participants have rejected something of the hierarchical dualism discussed by Johnson (1993), evidence of

this thinking still remains, highlighting further the fact that their tradition's history impacts devotees' attitudes in the present.

6.3.2.3 Negatives of feminism

Charismatic evangelical participants, like Reform participants and Christian students (i.e. Guest et al., 2013), had mixed attitudes towards feminism and so likewise demonstrate views that are more similar to wider society than one may have anticipated, in keeping with Aune (2006, 2010). Similarly, that some of the interviewees believed that feminism was diminishing the differences between the sexes is indicative that they hold views that reflect some of the concerns articulated by Piper and Grudem (1991). However, with the present group it is less pronounced and there is a clear break with the most conservative aspects of the traditional train of thought. Nonetheless, the level of continuity with other evangelicals provides further evidence that anti-feminist sentiments are also cross-generational for evangelical Anglicans.

6.3.2.4 Empathy towards women priests and Appreciation of traditional gender theology

In light of this, it is unsurprising that participants evidenced an appreciation of more traditional theology, even though they also rejected its most rigid expressions. Given that people are more likely to empathise with those they deem to be more similar to themselves (e.g. see Brown 2011) and that one is less likely to identify socially with those of a different sex (e.g. see Powlishta, 2004), this is to be expected. What is unfortunate, however, is the fact that participants' appreciation for traditional gender theology does little to

challenge the manifestations of patriarchy that were identified in the previous discussion of the Reform narratives. This is unnecessary given that the charismatic evangelical participants evidenced elements of what Redfern and Aune (2010) refer to as religious reformists and religious revisionists. They define the former as religious feminists who believe that Scripture has been misunderstood and seek equal opportunities for the sexes within their religious tradition. The latter they define as religious feminists who want to affirm a liberating core in their tradition and are willing to reject anything else that is not in keeping with emancipatory theology. The hermeneutics discussed immediately below clearly reveal the focus of liberating potential in participants' theology and gender values. If the charismatic evangelicals interviewed had greater awareness of the subtle ways in which patriarchy manifests within the C of E, not least in the evangelical tradition, then they therefore would already have a theological resource to draw on as they seek to counter such prejudice.

6.3.2.5 Hermeneutic of canonical context and Hermeneutic of historical context

The hermeneutics articulated by charismatic evangelical participants significantly deviated from the approach reviewed in chapter three. There is no clear evidence of plain meaning readings of Scripture, for example. However, using Scripture to interpret Scripture (i.e. considering the canonical context of biblical texts) is somewhat similar to the approach of Reform in so far as it neglects to consider time-specific qualities in a text, instead choosing to look at the overarching themes within the Bible. In this respect Boone's (1989) observation on the (supposedly) sole authority of the Bible is reflected in their narratives. Nonetheless, this approach also deviates from that of the Reform

participants because the charismatic evangelicals interviewed either cited academic texts that had influenced their thinking on this matter, or they echoed ideas found within such works. Thus, the appeal to a canonical context to inform interviewees' gender values is not entirely void of intellectual engagement.

With respect to their hermeneutic of historical context, charismatic evangelical participants engaged with Protestant theology, such as that articulated not only by Webb (2001) but also Vanhoozer (2004). Overall, the approach found in this groups' narratives can be defined as neo-orthodox in so far as participants attempt to discern what elements of a text are culturally conditioned and what are timeless truths (see Schüssler Fiorenza, 1983). In this respect, the charismatic evangelical narratives are rooted firmly in the Protestant tradition (see Schüssler Fiorenza, 1983), but avoid the so-called fundamentalist conservatism evidenced by other evangelical groups.

6.3.3 Some initial conclusions: Charismatic evangelicals

Thus far, the charismatic evangelical participants have demonstrated a level of engaged orthodoxy, just as is present in the Reform narratives. That is, there is evidently an assimilation of more contemporary gender ideals in addition to a continuation with the evangelical, wider Protestant, and wider Christian traditions. However, with respect to gender values, the present group evidences a greater incorporation of contemporary gender ideals than did Reform interviewees. It is interesting to note that this group evidences engagement with the wider Christian tradition as does Reform. However, the type of engagement that each of these groups has with the wider Christian

tradition is qualitatively different, given that the present group— with minimal exceptions— demonstrates no clear signs of trying to change the C of E's theology. This is in keeping with more recent research on evangelical engagement that demonstrates a split in traditional and new social concerns (Green, 2014), that some evangelicals have adopted more liberal social positions (Williams, 2014), and that there is a divide on evangelical opinion concerning what social matters Christians ought to be concerned about (Carpenter, 2014). This also evidences, along with Swartz (2014) on the US context, that evangelical identity is an ongoing phenomenon of societal interaction.

In light of this, I argue that this group of participants opt into the macrostructures of the C of E and that tight coupling, narrowing the options that participants select, influences their attitudes. However, what is not clear at this stage is *why* the charismatic evangelical contingent selected to do so. Furthermore, the fact that this group's attitudes are more like those in the wider Church than members of Reforms are, leads one to wonder whether the former are more influenced by tight coupling than the latter. However, this will need to be evaluated in more detail in the next chapter.

It is also important to note that, whilst there is some evidence for the potential of prejudicial traits and prejudice suppression, it is usually far more ambiguous and subtle than in the Reform narratives. It is therefore unsurprising that the charismatic evangelical participants evidenced more empathy than the Reform participants. However, this is to be expected given that this group has incorporated more of the ideas found in wider society than have the Reform

interviewees. Nevertheless, the charismatic participants departed from the findings of previous studies that argue that charismatics tend to be the most likely Christian group to interpret the Bible literally (Village, 2005). This distinction could be explained by the fact that Village's study explores charismatic attitudes beyond the C of E and so deals with a very different context. However, a qualitative analysis of charismatics outside of the Established Church would clarify how accurate this assertion is.

6.4 Results and initial discussion: Anglo-Catholic participants

As with the previous group of participants, a larger number of themes will be discussed as these narratives were less homogenous. However, there are not as many themes as there was for the examination of the charismatic evangelical narratives, because the Anglo-Catholics were less heterogeneous than them. The themes I will discuss in this chapter are: (i) Ecumenical objection to the ordination of women, (ii) Sacramental objection to the ordination of women, (iii) Apostolic objection to the ordination of women, (iv) Negatives of feminism, (v) Positives of feminism, (vi) Lack of empathy towards women priests, (vii) Hermeneutic of context, and (viii) Rejection of conservative evangelical hermeneutics. As above, themes were selected on the basis of their relevance to answer this thesis' overarching research question. It is because they do so that these themes therefore provide insight into participant's theology and understanding of wider societal gender phenomenon. They are also related to the literature on intergroup processes.

6.4.1 Sexism and Anglo-Catholic participants

6.4.1.1 Ecumenical objection to the ordination of women

All but two of the participants in this group expressed various reasons for their objection to the ordination of women to the priesthood and, by extension, their consecration as bishops. All of the Anglo-Catholic priests interviewed who objected to the ordination of women to the priesthood articulated that it deviated from the teaching of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. For example, Ashley said:

The Church of England has no authority to [ordain women].... It is not the place of a province in the universal Church to make a unilateral change to order and so therefore until such time as the Catholic and Orthodox Church embrace this change, it's a change we have no authority to do.

These eleven participants explained that, as Anglo-Catholics, they believe that it is important to emphasize the C of E's continuity with the rest of the worldwide Church, particularly the Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches, which they believe the C of E descended from. For them, if these churches have not agreed to ordain women, then (as an expression of Christian unity) neither should the C of E. This is not necessarily an argument against the validity of women's ordination *per se*, but for many of the interviewees it did cast doubt on whether women's orders were sacramentally effective. It is also worth explaining that participants rarely objected to the ordination of women to the diaconate with the justification that deacons do not preside at the altar during communion. Further, the two Anglo-Catholics who did not object to women's

ordination to the priesthood had previously held more traditional attitudes when they were younger, but had gradually re-evaluated their theological position.

6.4.1.2 Sacramental objection to the ordination of women

Ten of those interviewed elaborated on their objection to women's ordination in terms of sacramental uncertainty. That is, they were unconvinced that women's holy orders had the efficacy to allow them to stand in the place of Christ at the altar. Malcolm explained:

The main role of priesthood is to represent the people to God and God and Christ to the people... within a sacramental nature of priesthood... [so] you're not happy with women priests because you're not sure about the validity of [the] sacraments.

Malcolm is referring to the Mass, where the priest presides at communion in order to act in the place of Christ (a man) and in doing so be God's agent in changing the bread into the body of Christ, and the wine into his blood ("Lord's Table", 2018), a key tenet of Anglo-Catholicism ("Anglo-catholic", 2018).

6.4.1.3 Apostolic objection to the ordination of women

All participants who opposed women's ordination to the priesthood also explained that their objection is based on a belief that it breaks the historic chain of male apostles as appointed by Jesus. Oliver, for instance, said:

[Priesthood] has always been exclusively male.... Jesus' own deliberate choice of twelve [men as apostles] ... was a very specific calling.... The Early Church decided that bishop, priest and deacon... descended from the twelve... it was apostolic in that sense and... therefore excluded women.

Oliver believed that the early tradition of the Christian Church was that all ordained ministers were succeeding the twelve men appointed by Jesus. Indeed, for Oliver, the fact that they were men was instrumental to his theology of women's ordination. Whilst most of the Anglo-Catholic participants disagreed with Oliver on the ordination of women as deacons, the other point made in the above quote reflects all eleven Anglo-Catholic participants who objected to women's ordination otherwise. It also mirrors Aldridge's (1992) findings in the run up to the debate about women's priesthood in the early 1990s. He argues that Jesus was used as a charismatic leader figure in order to assert the theology of male-only apostolic succession. Aldridge elaborates that this is an example of a rival group employing sacred imagery in order to legitimate group objectives.

Despite these beliefs concerning women's roles in Church, only one participant entertained the notion that it was inappropriate for women to work. The rest of the Anglo-Catholic participants had no objection to women having other roles in society. Thus far, therefore, there is no clear evidence of sexism— whether hostile or indirect— in the Anglo-Catholic narratives. Further to this, it is also important to note that heterosexuality is a strong predictor of ambivalent sexism (Glick and Fiske, 1996). Seven (i.e. more than half) of the

participants indicated that they were homosexual. Some had civil partnerships whereas others remained single. Whilst this does not rule out the presence of sexism (and thus prejudice suppression) it is nevertheless explains the lack of apparent indirect sexism found in the narratives.

6.4.1.4 Negatives of feminism and Positives of feminism

These two themes will be treated distinctly because fifty per cent more participants evidenced an appreciation of feminism than criticised it, whereas in both evangelical groups those who criticised feminism were almost always those who articulated some appreciation for it also. The fact that there is a clear difference in Anglo-Catholic narratives implies that a separate analysis of 'Positives of feminism' is worthy of merit.

Regarding, 'Negatives of feminism' Peter claimed:

I'm not really sure what feminism is all about... because it strikes me that they're desperately trying to do away with what it is to be feminine.

They're trying to equate themselves [with men].... And that is really an outpouring of the spirit of the present age, which will evaporate.

Peter, like many of the evangelical participants, understands feminism to involve a conflation of the sexes. His reference to feminism as part of "the present age" appears to be an elusion to Paul's letter to the Galatians (1:4) where believers are to be rescued from the evil in the present age. Indeed, Stanton (2001) explains that this passage has an eschatological significance, meaning

that it concerns the coming of God's Kingdom. It could well be that Peter's claim that feminism will "evaporate" is drawing on such theological resources when he criticises the feminist movement. In fact, this harsh tone was common in the Anglo-Catholic narratives. When Adrian was asked about his reaction to feminism he explained that, as a gay man (who also grew up in a lower socio-economic stratum of society), he felt that his own experience of inequality had been ignored. He concluded his answer with the words, "Fuck feminism. Fuck everybody". In response to the same question, Oliver (through the auspices of a joking manner) said, "Well [feminists should] get a life". Clearly, these are hostile responses, but are still insufficient evidence of hostile sexism.

Nevertheless, also akin to the evangelical narratives, other Anglo-Catholic participants claimed that the feminist movement could be unduly aggressive towards men. For example, Edward remarked: "I think there are feminist writers who go far too extreme, and... derid[e] men ... and see men as unnecessary.... We ... fail to realise where women had power ... [such as in] matriarchies". Edward believes that feminists can attack men and that women have wielded power that has gone unnoticed. There is a clear link to hostile sexism here in that Edward believes feminism can be a vehicle for asserting women over men. As in the Reform narratives, the presence of hostile sexism— particularly dominative paternalism— is clear: (i) Edward's narrative contains a hostile response and a caricature of women. (ii) It is accompanied by an advocacy of traditional gender roles in amongst the clergy. (iii) There is a theological justification for men to be in the higher positions of authority within the Church.

However, there is an important nuance that is unique to the Anglo-Catholic narratives. Traditional roles do not have to be adhered to in the family unit for all but one of the participants in this group. Hostile sexism amongst this group only exists within the church sphere, once more indicating that sexism is ambivalent/ context dependent for them, in keeping with the previous literature (see Glick and Fiske, 1996).

Nevertheless, more participants in this group expressed positive attitudes towards feminism than negative. Edward said the following of feminism: “It’s a good thing in so much as it’s about where women have been downtrodden in society or denied access to vocation and jobs and where they’re particularly held down in poverty and so on”. Participants regularly demonstrated appreciation for the contribution that the feminist movement has made for creating greater equality between the sexes. However, this was with some inconsistency: Edward’s comment above indicates an approval that women can more fully explore their vocations in light of the achievements of the feminist movement. However, for him— as for many others in this group— this does not include their ordination as priests in the C of E. Indeed, Malcolm’s comment is interesting in this respect:

I think some feminists do take the view that it means women: good, men: bad. Perhaps that's a bit of an exaggeration, but if the Feminist Movement meant—I don't know how to phrase this. No, I think I'll just stick with what I said [previously], that if feminism simply means that men and

women are equal in society... within the constraints of things like strength and so on, then I have no problem with it.

Malcolm stops himself from elaborating on the negatives of feminism and then closes his statement by asserting something positive about the movement. It is apparent from the second sentence in this citation that Malcolm was about to express a caricature. The fact that he then prevents himself from doing so is indicative of prejudice suppression. Indeed, the somewhat abrupt decision to switch from a negative evaluation of feminism to a positive one after deciding not to expand on his caricature indicates that Malcolm was trying to deflect attention away from some of his beliefs about the feminist movement. The source of such suppression has a number of origins. For instance, participants were aware that their comments were being recorded and could well be cited in this study, which would have a wider audience. When this occurs, therefore, I argue that participants were playing to an audience.

Also, Malcolm responds in a context where women's consecration as bishops was relatively new, in a diocese that was largely less conservative than the Anglo-Catholic and evangelical wings of the C of E. The interview was also after the Church had issued a clear statement expressing the necessity for all members of the C of E to accept the decision concerning women bishops (Ferns, 2014). In fact, participants in this group also reported a sense of pressure and exclusion from the diocese because of their more traditional beliefs. For example, Ashley claimed that: "the liberal catholics in [this diocese] have predominantly been hostile and unwilling to engage in any discussion whatsoever; they have

gone out of their way to marginalise people like myself". Social norms are thus also a factor influencing prejudice suppression.

6.4.1.5 Lack of empathy towards women priests

Furthermore, more than half of the participants failed to express a level of empathy towards women priests. The same imagine-based question was asked of Anglo-Catholic participants as it was for the evangelical groups. Peter remarked: "It's difficult to imagine because one would assume then that the whole apostolic tradition was completely different.... It's difficult because, fundamentally, I don't believe women can be priests". Peter is unable to place himself in the position of those whose sense of vocation he rejects. In fact, his thinking is so strongly tied to the concept of male apostleship that the question asked by the researcher leads him to believe that he would have to imagine an entirely different history (and New Testament) in order to try and empathise. That he ends his answer by reaffirming his belief in the impossibility of a genuine vocation to the priesthood for women further highlights this. Out of the five participants who did display empathy, two of them were the same two interviewees who were decisively in favour of women's ordination to the priesthood. However, given the hostile sexism evidenced above, the lack of empathy is unsurprising and demonstrates that these narratives reflect the findings in the quantitative literature at this point, once more affirming it as an interpretive lens.

6.4.1.6 Hermeneutic of context and Rejection of conservative evangelical hermeneutic

When asked how they read the biblical texts about women most of the participants explain that they believe a contextually driven approach is appropriate. Ashley said that: “The Pauline passages have to be seen— as all Scripture should be— in the context of what it was [the author] was addressing”. The Anglo-Catholic participants did not base much of their theology on a literal reading of biblical texts— with the exception of the fact of male apostles in Acts. To understand biblical passages in their historical context was therefore not a threat to their traditional beliefs concerning women and priesthood, as it was in the Reform narratives. In fact, the Anglo-Catholic interviewees often claimed to reject conservative hermeneutics. For example, Malcolm said: “I understand... the evangelical argument about leadership roles and so on, but it’s not what I hold because I don’t regard myself as a Bible fundamentalist. I don’t believe one takes [those passages about women] literally”. Participants dismissed the headship/submission reading of Scripture in particular. The accusation of ‘fundamentalist’ and desire to distance one’s self from a group known for its conservatism suggests that the Anglo-Catholics interviewed see the basis for their gender traditionalism as being different from, and better reasoned than, members of Reform. However, those who did not directly address the matter of evangelical hermeneutics often displayed apathy for biblical interpretation on gender roles, admitting that it is not something that they have engaged with. This is in keeping with Village’s (2016) claim that Anglo-Catholics are less likely to possess conservative attitudes towards the Bible than are evangelicals.

There is little more to be asserted regarding the value of qualitative analysis at this stage. The Anglo-Catholic themes show what has been revealed in the examinations of the evangelical traditions, namely that prejudicial as well as non-prejudicial attitudes towards women are thus identified in light of participants' understanding of them. However, what is unique about the Anglo-Catholic themes is that such attitudes emerge within a single group. This is testament to the diversity of Anglican traditions and further reason to note that core aspects of this particular tradition's identity need not be abandoned in order to avoid the accusations of prejudicial outlooks.

6.4.2 *Extended discussion: Anglo-Catholics*

6.4.2.1 Arguments in objection to women's ordination to the priesthood

It is difficult to place participants' gender values in any specific 'camp'. Whilst they do believe that male and female possess distinct characteristics, and that one's sex can make someone ineligible for priesthood, for almost all of them this does not reflect what women may/may not do outside of the Church's hierarchy. Participants thus do not hold a gender essentialist position, but nor do they hold a poststructuralist position given their belief that sex does have some sort of implication for gender roles in the Church. This leaves the critical realist underpinning, and indicates that they are partially gender essentialist. However, increased discussion on this matter at interview would help clarify the accuracy of this assertion.

Nevertheless, one is able to discern the presence of theological ideas often challenged by feminist scholarship. For example, the division of the sexes for the

suitability of the priesthood reflects the dualism noted by Johnson (1993). However, it is discernible in participants' thinking only with respect to clerical roles, suggesting that the dualism is rather limited in scope. Johnson (1993) also suggests that patriarchal language implies that men are in some sense more like God than women and that this is indicative of patriarchy. This is suitably applied to the Anglo-Catholic conviction that only men may represent Christ at the altar as it also suggests that men are more similar to Jesus than women. The narratives also reveal the incorporation of the Roman Catholic idea of "*in persona propria*" discussed by Groppe (2009, pp.162-163).

However, participants deviated from traditional catholic thinking with respect to the historic belief in women's temperaments precluding them from priesthood (see Wright, 1997). Despite this, there was some consistency with the Roman Catholic Church's more recent teaching that women could indeed seek fulfilment outside of the domestic sphere (see Beattie, 2004), and this could explain something of why participants' had no objection to working women, given that they state the importance of Roman Catholic teaching for their own theology. Indeed, participants' appeal to Roman Catholicism is in keeping with the Tractarians' conscious decision to look to the C of E's past as part of the Roman Catholic Church as a source of authority (see Pickering, 1989).

Moreover, their rejection of the legitimacy of women bishops, despite believing in apostolic succession, demonstrates continuity with the selective nature of submission to ecclesial authority noted by Nockles (1994). In fact, on a number of occasions participants recalled times when they directly opposed

their bishop because they saw him as holding to inaccurate theology. The appeal to the tradition of the Early Church is also in keeping with the Tractarians' appeal to the Church Fathers for support of their theological claims (see Faught, 2003). Further to this, the prominence of ordaining women to the priesthood and consecrating them to the episcopate is evidently linked to the apostolic hierarchy participants believe was established amongst the first generations of Christians. In this respect, their concern with gender and episcopacy is a reflection of a more general concern for protecting (what they perceive to be) the integrity of episcopacy, as was the case during the nineteenth century (e.g. see Martin, 1976).

Further to this, as discussed in chapter four, in the years leading up to the 1992 vote in the General Synod, there was widespread belief amongst Anglicans that unity with the Roman Catholic Church would be possible, and that ordaining women would damage this possibility (e.g. see Carey, 2004). It is within this context that Forward in Faith organised rallies protesting the ordination of women (Sani and Reicher, 2000). Given that those interviewed still express the importance of unity with Rome this recent historical context sheds light on why they continue to resist women's ordained ministry. Indeed, given that the C of E's relationship with Rome has been salient for Anglo-Catholics since the origins of the Tractarian movement, it would in fact be surprising if participants became more supportive of women's ordination to the priesthood as the current state of the tradition is inevitably moulded by its history (see Vasey-Saunders, 2016). Once more, a tradition's history is seen to impact the theology and gender values of its current devotees.

Participants also deviated from the findings of Guest et al. (2013) who note that many younger Christians have more liberal attitudes towards gender. However, as with Reform, their generation and contact explain this sufficiently. Anglo-Catholic participants represent the oldest generation of all three groups. They also exhibited little contact with those who hold different gender ideals to their own, as will be seen in the next chapter.

6.4.2.2 Negatives of feminism and Positives of feminism and Lack of empathy towards ordained women

Mirroring the findings of Guest et al. (2013), participants claim that feminism could overreach itself. They also claimed that it could seek to downgrade men. This is in keeping with the assertion by the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith that feminism is to blame for women's new desire to seek power (see Beattie, 2004). This is clearly an expression of hostile sexism and demonstrates an evident parallel between Roman Catholic teaching and the Anglo-Catholic participants' understanding of feminism. Again, given their decision to look to Rome for theological guidance, this is unsurprising. Similarly, there is a parallel between the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith statement and the participants regarding the latter's positive appraisal of the feminist movement: the Congregation's statement asserts that it is acceptable for women to seek fulfilment outside of the domestic sphere, whilst the clergy interviewed in the present study expressed the goodness of feminism empowering women to pursue vocations and employment in the occupational sphere.

The lack of empathy displayed by the majority of participants is linked to their hostile sexism. As has been highlighted in the above literature discussion, empathy accompanies prejudice reduction (or the lack of prejudice to begin with) (e.g. see Pettigrew, 1998). Given the presence of such unabashedly hostile sexism, it follows from the predictions in the quantitative literature that there would be a lack of empathy towards women priests also. Additionally, Brown (2001) and McLeod (2007) have noted that the changing opportunities for women from the mid twentieth century onwards occurred in a wider context of shifting attitudes towards sexuality, because artificial contraception provided a detachment from sexuality and reproduction, thus affording women increased opportunities in life. However, as with Reform, Anglo-Catholic participants have traditional attitudes towards sexuality. Indeed, Ashley emphasised the importance of conservative sexual ethics for the tradition by pointing out that many of them are homosexual, yet celibate. The fact that gender roles and sexual practices have been closely linked in recent decades provides an additional reason for Anglo-Catholic opposition.

6.4.2.3 Hermeneutic of context and Rejection of conservative evangelical hermeneutics

The insistence on a context-driven hermeneutic of Scripture is a curious one in the narratives of the Anglo-Catholic participants. As already explained, they do not follow this consistently. Indeed, the fact that the *Women Bishops in the Church of England* (Church of England, 2004) report concluded that a context oriented view of Scripture informed the Church's view that it was appropriate to consecrate women as bishops demonstrates this further.

6.4.3 Some initial conclusions: Anglo-Catholics

The Anglo-Catholic narratives evidently have some distinctives when compared with the evangelical narratives. Their lack of empathy is more obvious, but their prejudice suppression is also more pronounced. Whereas the other groups used the Bible— albeit with different hermeneutical tools to each other— the Anglo-Catholics in this study relied heavily on Roman Catholic teaching and tradition to inform/support their theology. Nevertheless, they evidence some similarity to the Reform participants with respect to their literal reading of Acts, but also mirror the claims of the charismatic evangelical participants by emphasising the need to read Scripture contextually and rejecting the theology of male headship and female submission. Another similarity they share with members of Reform is that the restrictions made on women are context dependant. However, a key difference here is that the emphasis on the family unit is significantly more pronounced amongst the conservative evangelicals than it is amongst the Anglo-Catholics. The above is testament to the continuing distinct impact that each tradition's history continues to have on them. A further contrast with the evangelical narratives is the lack of evidence for the presence of engaged orthodoxy. On the one hand, this is unsurprising given that the literature to date has associated it as an evangelical phenomenon. On the other hand, one might expect to find it in the Anglo-Catholic narratives because as conservative Protestants there are clear similarities with their fellow conservative evangelicals with respect to their dissenting position within the C of E.

6.5 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the gender values and related attitudes of all three groups of participants. It has become apparent that the evangelical groups articulate a very different source of primary authority to the Anglo-Catholic contingent. Whilst the Bible is key for the former, tradition and Roman Catholic teaching is of great importance for the latter. However, both evangelical groups have very different hermeneutical approaches to understanding the Bible, whereas the Anglo-Catholic participants are less concerned with biblical hermeneutics altogether. This reflects the multiplicity of authorities within the Anglican Church (see Sykes, 1987), but also testifies to the fact of human inconsistency given that each group evidenced occasions when they diverged from their stated source of authority. For instance, the Reform participants projected gender values from other sources onto the biblical texts they discussed, whereas a small number of the charismatic evangelical admitted that their sources of authority are in part derived by the wider religious traditions of which they are apart. Similarly, the Anglo-Catholic participants did not consistently respect their bishops. Crucially, the identification of these eclectic sources of authority, and the description of how they are employed by the participants, reveals how sexism is justified within the contemporary C of E.

In addition to this, there are evidently other sources of authority for the participants that are largely unrecognised by them, namely their various social contexts. In this case one has begun to observe the impact of the traditions that

participants have inherited, just as Vasey-Saunders (2016) found in his study of evangelical attitudes towards homosexuality. Indeed, the discussion on the JSM has indicated that the values of wider society are, in a sense, a source of authority for participants in that it shapes how they present their beliefs to an external audience. This mirrors previous research that has demonstrated how wider social values have formed the ways in which conservative Protestants articulate their beliefs (e.g. Aune, 2006; Bruce, 2008; Gallagher, 2003; Smith et al., 1998). However, it adds to the existing literature by identifying a motivational source for the re-articulation of Christian traditions. Whilst Smith et al. (1998) do begin to discuss psychological motivators for evangelical engagement with/resistance to society, it is largely unelaborated and engages with a minute amount of the cognate areas of research.

Further to this, one also ought to consider further the present religious tradition of which participants are a part. It is interesting to note that Reform, the group with the most homogenous set of themes, meet together on a regular basis, whereas the charismatic evangelicals who do not meet together within a shared network have the most heterogeneous themes. Six of the Anglo-Catholics were a part of Forward in Faith who meet occasionally, but even those participants who were not a part of that group— or its affiliated societies and networks— spoke of relationships with some of the participants who were. The group of themes for these participants were less heterogeneous than the charismatic evangelical themes and less homogenous than the Reform themes. This is what one would expect to observe if the participants were being

influenced by their immediate social context, because the more one is immersed in a group, the more likely to be influenced by it (e.g. see Treppe, 2006).

Moreover, it is important to mention that, as these traditions engage with their wider social context, the sexism discerned from participants' narratives must also be understood in this light also. Whilst gender inequality has been a part of the historical development of the Anglo-Catholic and evangelical traditions (as noted in chapters 3-4), the sexism of wider society cannot be ruled out as a source of such prejudice. Indeed, chapter four has evidenced the interaction between wider societal gender norms and Christian articulations of gender roles. Indeed, just as Vasey-Saunders (2016) notes that evangelical homophobia cannot be historically separated from the homophobia of wider society, so neither can historic Christian sexism be separated from the society in which it has been a part.

However, I wish to develop this claim further by adding that it is not just the historic sexism of wider society that undoubtedly influences contemporary Christian sexism. Given the evidence of interaction between conservative Protestants and their wider social context, contemporary sexism that exists beyond the Church informs the gender prejudice of this study's participants. Hence the fact that hostile and indirect sexism are empirically widespread and manifest in divergent parts of society (Glick and Fiske, 1996, 1997, 2011). In this sense, participants' sexism is not uniquely 'Christian', but rather finds particular expression in their various Christian contexts. This does not mean that sexism is simply a non-religious import that is later given religious garb by the Church. It

has been well established in numerous sources that Christianity has a long history of sexism (e.g. McLaughlin, 1974; Radford Ruether, 1974). Rather, it is my belief that the C of E, being a state church rather than a partisan institution, does not have clear boundaries with the society it is situated in and so sexist ideas are incorporated into Christians' pre-existing ideological frameworks. These can lead to a re-articulation of these pre-existing ideas (see Bruce, 2008). Indeed, the evidence of engaged orthodoxy noted this far lends credence to my argument.

Indeed, the discussion in the previous chapter on the limitations imposed upon women's ministry in the 1993 Act of Synod (see Maltby, 1998) indicates that the C of E stands within the historic Christian legacy of gender discrimination. It is therefore important to remember that, in addition to wider society and the historical and present influence of participants' specific traditions, the wider denomination of which they are apart also has a part to play in the formation of the gender ideologies and associated attitudes and behaviours. It is also my argument that contact is emerging as a more potent factor than age for explaining participants' gender values. This is most clearly highlighted in the discussion on the charismatic evangelical contingent who, despite not being significantly older or younger than other interviewees, nonetheless possessed more liberal attitudes towards gender. This leaves contact as a stronger factor in the origins of participants' attitudes. This chapter has thus begun to identify the sources of participants' prejudice, noting the multiple contexts that contribute to its formation. This has been made possible by identifying the specific attitudes of the clergy interviewed and their

relationship to the literature on prejudice. Having identified participants' attitudes towards women, it is appropriate to continue the examination of each of the three Anglican traditions through an exploration of participants' contact with, and behaviour towards, those in other traditions of the C of E.

7. Analysing the data II: Participants' interactions

7.1 Introduction

Having begun an analysis of the data with an exploration of participants' attitudes towards women in various contexts, I will now explore how the clergy interviewed interact with those outside of their theological traditions, particularly those within the C of E who hold different views on gender roles. Crucially, this includes their female colleagues. In order to do so, this chapter will continue to discuss the relevance of the literature on prejudice and intergroup contact for understanding clergy narratives because it will shed further light on participants' behaviours and related gender values. In fact, participants' interactions with others demonstrate stark parallels to research on intergroup contact. For instance, those with more prejudicial views of women were more likely to avoid contact with them professionally, whereas those with more affirming attitudes towards women tended to enjoy ongoing interaction with them. This means that there is a continuation between their attitudes and

their behaviours that corresponds with what the quantitative scholarship observes. Consequently, I will continue to draw on this body of literature in order to hypothesise the motivations behind evident attitudes and behaviours.

However, as in the previous chapter, whereas much of the current research on intergroup process is quantitative in approach, this chapter will provide a qualitative analysis of participants' interactions and statements. In doing so, this thesis will continue to offer a fuller picture of how prejudice and contact is reported to occur together in people's everyday lives, something that is often lacking in social psychological research in this area. More specifically, it identifies how the clergy understand their own interaction with women and allows them to articulate their own gender values and related theology with the language of their choosing. They are also provided with the agency to steer the direction of the conversations in ways that they feel are relevant to the conversation, and in doing so provide insight into how they understand the relationship between current gender debates and other areas of life and faith. This chapter will also engage with theories of social interaction that are employed in qualitative sociology in order to supplement the psychological scholarship and shed further light on the social world of Anglican clergy.

After this introduction, this chapter will analyse the sections of participants' narratives that correspond to the contact hypothesis. As it does so, this chapter will engage the data with the literature discussed in the second, third and fourth chapters. This analysis will also be divided into three sections for each of the three Anglican traditions under analysis. The initial discussions

for each group will focus primarily upon the relationship between the data and the contact hypothesis (and related literature), whereas the further discussions will focus primarily upon the literature discussed in previous chapters. There will then be a summary of conclusions that draws the previous parts together and reflects on them. The final conclusion will then reflect on what has been established in this chapter.

7.2. Participants' identities

I will now more fully describe the specific identities that participants held that are relevant for the present discussion. These emerge from participants' narratives as well as from ethnographic observation. With respect to Reform, participants held a religious-professional identity, a familial identity, an evangelical identity, and a gender identity. Their religious-professional identity as Anglican clergymen is apparent: as priests in the C of E participants explained that they had to undergo an often lengthy discernment process that requires a confidence that priesthood is a vocation that God has called them to, an immersive experience in theological college that forms them to incorporate priesthood into their daily lives, and a 'job' that impacts specific areas of their livelihood such as their housing arrangements. In fact, their homes were located in very close proximity to their church buildings, which were often in view from their houses and easily accessible to parishioners and colleagues.

However, this is clearly tied to their familial identity: the previous chapter evidenced that the role of church leaders parallels that of the (leader) husband within the marital context for the interviewees. In this respect there is overlap

between the two identities. Participants' identity as conservative evangelicals also bears a relationship to their other identities. They frequently refer to themselves as 'conservative evangelical' to distinguish themselves from other Anglicans, including other evangelicals. The primacy of Scripture is claimed as a key tenet of this identity and it is the Bible that is used to justify their role as leaders in the church and in the family. Again, this shows the interlocking relationship that these identities have for the participants.

Finally, these various identities are strongly associated with participants' gender. The introduction of women priests contradicted interviewees' sense of identity as clergymen because their new colleagues were women rather than men, and people should supposedly occupy different roles on this basis. In fact, it also challenges male priestly identity because women priests are placed in the same superordinate category of 'priest'. Likewise, men and women are to take on distinct roles as husband and wife because of participants' traditional gender identity. Participants' gender can therefore not be separated from their other identities.

Charismatic evangelical participants also held religious-professional identities for the same reasons as their Reform colleagues. They likewise hold familial, evangelical, and gender identities. However, these identities are conceived of differently for the charismatic evangelical cohort. The previous chapter evidenced that this group of clergy possessed egalitarian ideals in marriage, and typically in the ecclesial sphere also. They also had less rigid gendered expectations outside of these areas of life. As previous chapters have

demonstrated, and as this chapter will continue to evidence, charismatic evangelicalism is a distinct expression of evangelicalism from its more conservative counterpart. They consciously distinguished themselves from their conservative evangelical colleagues in a number of ways, such as stating their context-driven hermeneutic, or the emphasis on spiritual gifts that many in this group felt was important to discerning a person's call to church leadership, regardless of gender. They also typically rejected the headship model in their marriages.

Whilst Anglo-Catholic participants also held religious-professional identities, they did not evidence the salience of their familial identities in discussions of gender and theology. None of them were married, although one was a widower, and none of them had lived with their families for some years. Two explained that they were in civil partnerships but did not discuss these in detail. They had an Anglo-Catholic identity rather than an evangelical one, frequently referring to themselves as Catholics within the C of E, meaning that there was less of an emphasis on Scripture and more on identifying with the Roman Catholic Church. As witnessed in the previous chapter, their traditional gender values indicate a more rigid gender identity as with members of Reform. As a further parallel to Reform, they also hold the fact that they are men as essential to the validity of their priesthood.

7.3 Results and initial discussion: Reform

There are four themes that require discussion in relation to Reform in this chapter. These are: (i) mixed experience in the discernment process, (ii) resistance towards ordination training institution, (iii) homogeneity in ordination training, and (iv) resistance towards the diocese. These themes have been selected because they provide details on the type of contact that participants have with those outside of their tradition, including women clergy. Given that the Reform participants evidence the prejudicial attitudes outlined in the literature on intergroup contact, it is important to note that the themes identified here revealed that their social interactions mirrored those that the literature identifies as accompanying prejudice. The continuity between the findings of previous studies and the Reform participants reinforces the decision to employ prejudice and intergroup contact as an interpretive lens for understanding this study's data.

7.3.1 Contact avoidance, schism, and Reform

2.3.1.1 Mixed experience in the discernment process

Participants' reports of their experiences of the discernment process for ordained ministry in their respective dioceses were rather mixed. For a number of them, this meant having both positive and negative experiences during this time, whereas for others it tended to be either positive or unmemorable. For instance, Joshua recalled:

The first DDO³⁴ I had was not a great relationship.... The third time we met up she said, 'What's the Gospel?' and I think I used 'man' as a placeholder for 'mankind'.... that whole conversation de-railed.... I was passed on to [another] lady... and she was fantastic....I was [then] handed over whilst I was at college to [another] lady who was fine, but I don't think I ever met her actually.

Joshua's narrative reveals a tricky relationship that resulted from gender related insensitivity. However, this was an infrequent occurrence amongst the Reform participants during the discernment stage. It was more common for participants to express some enjoyment of their relationships with those in the diocese who were charged with discerning participants' readiness to train for ministry. Joshua's relationship with the second person from the diocese was more typical amongst the Reform group, including in the narratives of those who met frequently with members in the diocese who were from different traditions from their own. This included those who had women as vocational advisors or directors of ordinands. Alistair, for example, said: "I still see her [my DDO]... at conferences... I bumped into her at a drinks thing recently. It's lovely... she's always very warm. We always have a little chat.... It's always encouraging". There were also a number of participants, however, who reported something of the impersonal relationship that Joshua recalls having with the third person overseeing his discernment process. For instance, Sam recalled that his

³⁴ The DDO is the Diocesan Director of Ordinands, the person responsible for overseeing the discernment process for potential clergy in a given diocese.

discernment process was, “brief and simple. [I spent] half an hour with the DDO [and then had] tea with the archdeacon”. With such interviewees, relationships were brief, lacking in depth, and largely unmemorable for them. Overall, this theme demonstrates that participants’ interactions with others in the diocese are inconsistent.

Moreover, participants did not see their relationships with the DDO as a formative part of the discernment process. Rather, these relationships were means to an end. Participants could have utilised these opportunities to build bridging capital, forming relationships with the DDOs that would ultimately help them to become ministers. Instead, those interviewed clearly thought very little of those responsible for helping them to discern their vocation unless the relationships were affirming rather than challenging. The fact that Joshua praises the DDO who took no issue with his theological assumptions, but not the woman who questioned his gender-normative language illustrates this effectively. This indicates participants’ uneasiness with female authority given that DDOs have power because they influence when and if potential clergy go forward for selection for ordination training. This is unsurprising given the male dominated culture of the C of E, however (Aldridge, 1992).

However, contact with women clergy in this context is complicated. On the one hand, participants were testing a vocation to a Church that permitted them to reject the validity of women’s ordination. On the other hand, for some of them, they had to satisfy women involved in the discernment process that they possessed a genuine vocation. The question of status is thus unclear, particularly

as the literature notes that men and women do not possess equal status in wider society. Nevertheless, given the prejudicial attitudes towards women held by members of Reform it is fair to state that however participants understood their status compared to the women they encountered in their respective dioceses, this contact appears to have done little to undermine their sexist attitudes and beliefs.

It is also unlikely that participants had identical goals to those discerning their call. Most of the interviewees expressed a strong sense of calling and desire to enter professional ministry, whereas the role of those in the discernment process is to test whether, rather than assume that, such a vocation is there. In fact, once those in the diocese are satisfied that those in the selection process are ready for a national selection panel, they hand over would-be clergy to the C of E's selectors as a further stage in the selection process. This means that those in the diocese are not charged with making a decision on the appropriateness of anyone for ordination *per se*. In addition to this, both the lack of equal status and the lack of common goals make the presence of co-operative dependence unlikely. Thus, even though there would have been support from the C of E in so far as it arranges the discernment structures for potential clergy, the other factors that help facilitate prejudice reduction are absent.

With respect to schismatic behaviours and emotions, however, there is no evidence that participants' experienced or exhibited anything identified in the literature. Nonetheless, as will become apparent as the analysis of Reform develops, as participants are exposed to the C of E in increasing measure over

time, they more clearly evidence behaviours and attitudes associated with group schisms. The above also implies that participants had little in the way of social ties with those involved in their vocational journey at the diocesan level. Whilst this is not necessarily unique to the Reform participants, it is nevertheless symptomatic of their general engagement with those outside of their immediate social networks. This too is indicative that co-operation would be limited between participants and diocesan clergy, reinforcing the problematic nature of participants' sexist attitudes.

This theme demonstrates that contact with outgroups is not necessarily overtly negative and experienced as phenomena that are laden with anxiety for the participants as the quantitative literature suggests (cf Brown, 2011). Rather, it can be perceived as enjoyable and exchanges can be cordial. Persons experiencing contact can also be somewhat indifferent about their encounters. The primary difference between this qualitative analysis and its results from the usual quantitative analyses is that I am concerned with capturing participants' subjective experiences of these events in addition to utilising the existing literature in order to understand them. This means that the present study is able to explore how participants understand their own experiences of contact and their attitudes towards outgroups. Quantitative studies, on the other hand, risk misrepresenting, or altogether missing, how people interpret the questions being asked of them and their understanding of their experiences that lead them to answer the survey questions in the ways that they do (see Halualani, 2008). My approach thus captures much more of the social context that lies behind

clergy attitudes towards gender than has previously been the case with studies on intergroup contact.

7.3.1.2 Resistance towards ordination training institution and Homogeneity in training

There were numerous instances where Reform participants explained that they disengaged from their training institution and community in different ways. There were also plenty of instances when they evidenced homogeneity in their ordination training. These two themes will be discussed together because they collectively demonstrate how the four conditions necessary for prejudice reduction are absent from participants' narratives in a similar fashion. Regarding the first of these themes, Adam, who went to Ridley Hall (an evangelical college in Cambridge that trains men and women), explained that:

There were times where I'd get quite frustrated at being at Ridley because my understanding and my theology wasn't always quite as welcome which could quite often bring some sort of conflicts at times. Some of that might have been self-inflicted but if any conversations came up about the ordination of women or the episcopacy ... it wasn't always ... easy to say anything so you just kept quiet, or if you did [espouse a traditional view] it was usually ... not that welcomed.

Adam evidences that he became evasive within his training community, to some extent, because his interactions with those outside of his specific tradition could be negative. He admits that some of this was his own fault, indicating at

interview that the nature of his interactions could have been improved. However, he also implies that fellow ordinands of a less traditional persuasion than himself also contributed to his undesirable social experiences during his time in training. This was because of their decision to respond in an uninviting manner to those who held more traditional gender values. This is important because it suggests that participants' resistance towards their training colleges was partially, although not entirely, the result of how they were received by their peers.

It is also interesting to note that even participants who went to more conservative theological colleges evidenced similar levels of disengagement from their training institutions. For instance, Henry went to Oak Hill, the most conservative of the evangelical training institutions within the C of E. Nevertheless, he explained that:

Sometimes we [ordinands] would skip lectures and ... go and talk theology in [our] study bedrooms together.... I had a bit of a clash with my tutor... who I felt had shopped me to my bishop.... I had to go down to see the Bishop... And I felt betrayed by that.... I think it was about chapel attendance but he outed it in my report.... We had also clashed theologically and I wondered whether he had it in for me.... [We clashed] about penal substitutionary atonement....and I'd ... exposed [his faulty theology] in a lecture.

Whilst Henry reports a more positive experience of social interaction with his peers he nevertheless evidences an avoidance of those in authority at Oak Hill. Indeed, the fact that he and his peers would skip lectures demonstrates a level of resistance towards his training institution, even though Henry typically enjoyed his relationships there. This is made further apparent by Henry's recollection of a difficult relationship with one of his tutors at Oak Hill. He reveals that he would skip chapel— a compulsory aspect of ordination training— and accused the tutor of handling the situation incorrectly, entertaining the idea that Henry's bishop was informed out of spite. Furthermore, Henry's accusation yields further insight: he had publically resisted his tutor's teaching in a class setting because it was different from his own theology. Thus, participants' do not only resist their training institutions when they are largely made up of those from different Christian traditions, or who possess different theological positions/gender values to their own. Rather, they also resist training institutions that are more closely aligned with the conservative evangelical tradition. However, this occurs alongside difficult relationships that participants' experience with college staff.

With respect to 'Homogeneity in training', participants frequently evidenced that they either surrounded themselves with those from the same tradition as them if they attended a training institution that was theologically broader, or they evidenced how their theological college lacked theological diversity, with most of their peers holding similar positions to themselves. In fact, Simon revealed: "[Out of] all the ordinands in my year group, none of them

were women..... I had deeper relationships with the men, but that's just because it happened to be that way in my year group”.

Simon attended Oak Hill and reported the absence of women wanting to train to be priests, meaning he was not exposed to women who were pursuing a vocation to ordination. Indeed, the fact that he had less developed relationships with the female students at Oak Hill would have meant less exposure to women’s perspectives on ministry, including from those who were also undergoing theological and ministerial training in a lay capacity. Similarly, Joshua explained, “So my immediate contact with college was with the four other people who were on my course, and.... we all had similar convictions.” Joshua was one of only four in his year group who undertook the BA degree in the University of Oxford’s Department of Theology and Religion when he attended Wycliffe Hall. All four of them were conservative evangelical men, and this was his closest circle of friends in an institution that he believes was around ninety per cent male.

Additionally, Joshua explained that he often neglected to engage with the community socially, meaning that he was often physically absent from the college given much of the teaching he received was also outside of the college. He expanded, admitting that staff and students challenged him for this lack of integration: “People might have come to me and said you're having this on your own terms, which was true.... I'd be frustrated to see someone hovering in and out. But I have to say, personally, it was brilliant”. Joshua had clearly decided to be largely withdrawn from the college community, interacting mostly with the other three men on his course, externally to Wycliffe Hall, who were fellow

conservative evangelicals. He also seemed to show little regard for the perspective of others, including the thoughts of his tutors who would have had Joshua more present in community life.

The behavioural patterns above suggest that participants were trained in environments that were not conducive to prejudice reduction for a number of reasons. Firstly, participants did not possess equal status to their tutors who evidently had a level of authority over them. This is evidenced in Henry's narrative where his tutor was able to take action to have Henry sanctioned for failing to conform to the expectations that were put upon all ordinands during the process of ministerial formation. Secondly, with regard to the same criterion for prejudice reduction, participants who trained at colleges other than Oak Hill reported training alongside women who evidently did not hold a more restrictive position on their ordination. Thirdly, there are evidently discrepancies with respect to the goals of those running the training institutions and this study's participants. Indeed, participants deliberately neglected to attend compulsory elements of training, such as chapel and lectures in addition to partaking in the social elements of college life. They also demonstrated an active dislike for elements that required integration with other theological positions. Hence, they clearly did not share common goals with those of other Christian traditions/theological persuasions either.

Fourthly, because of this, participants neglected to put themselves in positions where they would be co-operatively dependant on those with different understandings of theology and gender values from themselves. Finally, although

college staff evidently would have participants interact with their peers from across the range of Anglican traditions, the fact that members of Reform actively rebelled against this direction undermines the efficacy of interaction that is supported by relevant authorities. Indeed, this would only work if participants were willing to co-operate with authority in the first place (see Allport, 1975). As it stands, however, even if participants opted to interact with their theologically divergent peers, any support from their tutors or college principals would do little to bolster such contact because their authority carries little currency for Reform participants.

This leaves the question of schisms. Participants do evidence some of the behaviours identified in the literature as components of schismatic behaviour. For example, Adam evidently experiences dejection and passivity in response to the theological differences he experiences with his peers at college. Interestingly, Adam also came from a church tradition that had conservative gender norms and as a university student belonged to a church that is a member of Reform. He belonged to this church until he began training for ordination. His encounters with others at Ridley Hall would therefore have been the first immersive exposure to an evangelical Anglicanism that possessed different gender values to his own. For Adam, there is thus an apparent conflict between the conservative evangelical Anglicanism that he has experienced and that has contributed to his sense of identity, and the Anglican expressions and associated gender values he experienced during his time in ordination training.

To interpret this further, Adam is experiencing a conflict between his actual self and his social self. At interview he explained that he dislikes the “silo” mentality that can be found in conservative evangelicalism and so believes that it is important to engage with others outside his tradition, hence his decision to attend Ridley Hall. In fact, Adam expressed a desire to converse and get to know other Anglicans— including non-evangelicals— during his time in training. This suggests that he believed he possessed the ability to integrate with other Anglicans and indicates his sense of belonging to Anglicanism, something that he wishes to demonstrate (his social self). However, the fact that he was sometimes unable to do this and so withdrew from others in college indicates that his perception of his Anglican identity was undermined through his peers’ rejection. This is because it indicates that they did not perceive him to share in their identity (his actual self).

Similarly, Henry demonstrates agitation in the form of apprehension when he recalls the relationship he had with his college tutor. He explains that his tutor’s actions led him to conclude that he may have had a vendetta against him. Importantly, the clash was over a historic doctrine that is also important to Reform (“Reform Covenant”, *n.d.*), and to evangelicals more widely (i.e. crucicentrism, see Bebbington, 1989). This difference in doctrine would thus be a threat to Henry’s sense of evangelical identity and so also explains his particular emotional response. With regard to further interpreting his narrative through the literature on schism, the evidence suggests that Henry experienced a conflict between his actual and ought selves. He explained at interview that he believes true Anglicanism is most faithfully expressed through conservative

evangelicalism implying that his Anglican/evangelical identities are what an Anglican ought to inhabit. Indeed Reform claims to be expressing historic Anglicanism (“Reform Covenant”, *n.d.*). However, the situation he recalls with his tutor and bishop suggests that he encountered others who casted doubt on this aspect of his identity because they evidently believe that he is not behaving in a way that someone training for ordination in the C of E ought to. Participants such as David and Joshua, however, are unlikely to display such behaviour or emotions because their experience of theological college was more socially and theologically homogenous. This means that they would not have been exposed to the same perceived threats to their evangelical Anglican identity, and so there would be no reason for the emotions associated with schisms to present themselves.

Therefore, participants who encountered greater theological diversity at their training colleges are understood to have displayed the emotions associated with schisms during times when the identity of a group that they belong to would have appeared to be threatened. However, there is insufficient evidence from these first two themes to more decisively conclude that Sani’s (2005) model is appropriate for understanding the behaviours of the Reform participants. Nonetheless, the evidence for this has increased as participants left the first stage of the discernment process and entered into the training phase.

These narratives also indicate that participants’ social capital was shared with their peers, so long as they were theologically similar to themselves. There would, however, be a lack of shared social capital between participants’ and their

superiors at college, as well as between the participants and their peers with different theological outlook to their own. Indeed, in some cases, there was little possibility in sharing social capital with those from different theological traditions. The fact that participants avoided contact with those of different opinions to themselves is suggestive that they would therefore have passed up opportunities to exchange and debate different ideas, leaving them with the impact of group think, a phenomenon Putnam (2000) uses to denote adopting the views of one's social group unchallenged. This would help to sustain prejudicial attitudes. Indeed, the likelihood of this is furthered by Putnam's observation that the exchange and testing of ideas is made more possible by social capital. It also bears testimony to the exclusive nature of social capital and that religious belonging is accompanied by a lack of belonging to other social groups, which in this case would mean other Anglicans that participants encounter. In this sense, the theoretical outlook of intergroup contact, and of social capital— as proposed by Putnam— have the ability to reinforce some of the findings gained by the other. However, they are distinct in that the former is able to explain the relationship between contact and prejudice specifically, whereas the latter is able to identify the broader social impact that social relationships effect.

7.3.1.3 Resistance towards diocese

Participants frequently evidenced either outright resistance towards their diocese or described interactions with the wider Church that revealed ulterior motives for such contact. For instance, when asked about his interaction with the diocese, Henry explained, "My involvement is actually, at the moment, through

the wider Anglican church – GAFCON and [the] Free Church of England.” Henry explains that he does not currently interact with the diocese voluntarily. Instead he engages with the Global Anglican Future Conference (GAFCON), which is a schismatic international Anglican network that was established in 2008 when leaders in the Anglican Communion met in Jerusalem with the aim of steering the Communion towards historical theological orthodoxy, as they saw it (“About GAFCon”, *n.d.*). Similarly, the Free Church of England broke away from the C of E in the nineteenth century in opposition to the rise of the Oxford Movement and considers itself to be an evangelical church (“FCE History”, 2018). Henry’s involvement with the wider Church is thus through schismatic movements, rather than with his diocese, demonstrating that, not only does he neglect to engage with his diocese, but that he is actively protesting the wider C of E through his chosen affiliations. Indeed, Henry expressed that the outcry against Philip North’s appointment as the Bishop of Sheffield demonstrated that, in his opinion, there is little place in the C of E for theological conservatives. One can deduce from Henry’s narrative that such resistance is born partially out of a sense of rejection.

Whilst other participants described a more generous level of engagement with the wider C of E, it was apparent that they desired to do so in order to promote their own theology within the Church. For example, when Callum was asked if he thought that the C of E needed evangelicalism, he replied, “I think it’s necessary and without it the Church of England will die.” He later expanded that he was writing a module for new curates in the diocese on the Old Testament because he felt that the current course of study was theologically too liberal, and

he wanted to be a voice of evangelical influence in the C of E. Nevertheless, this does require an increased level of engagement and co-operation that would not be seen in Henry's case. Callum did explain that he had sworn allegiance to the bishop and that he would not want to leave the C of E. However, it is also important to note that this level of engagement is limited as he also entertained the idea of leaving if there is a future schism, and that he felt that the Church had become too liberal. Whilst Callum is evidently more willing to interact with the diocese than Henry, the underlying attitude is akin to those involved with GAFCON, given that Reform aims to reform the C of E by bringing it back to (what is perceived to be) its Reformed roots (see "About GAFCON", *n.d.*).

However, a minority of participants, whilst feeling uncomfortable with the perception of marginalisation that they experienced in the diocese as evangelicals, refrained from either, deliberate protest or deliberate reform. Indeed, Stephen remarked:

I am a member of Reform, but I'm... not as fully square in their position... on the ordination of women.... I see it as a secondary issue and therefore I'm totally ready to respect and work with people who take a different view on it.... I'm part of the New Wine network and ... they would be very much more supportive of women's ordination.

Stephen thought that Reform has become too focused on the matter of women's ministry, despite holding to conservative gender values himself. He reports helping women through the selection process towards ordination so long

as they had a clear theological position on why they felt women may be ordained that was informed by the Bible. However, he did not actively partake in additional diocesan activities. Interestingly though, whilst being a member of Reform, he was a member of a group that had a more permissive stance on women's ministry. In fact, despite currently being broader with respect to its evangelicalism, New Wine has its roots in the charismatic evangelical tradition ("Our Story", 2018), which was more inclusive of women's ministry (Guest, Olson and Wolffe, 2012). It is apparent that being exposed to this kind of influence has impacted Stephen's approach to disagreement regarding the role of women in church leadership. Nevertheless, Stephen was the exception rather than the rule in this case.

Stephen's colleagues, on the other hand, tended to articulate fears of a 'slippery slope' whereby shifting theological positions on the ordination of women was thought to inevitably lead to the C of E's official acceptance of homosexuality. For many of these participants, then, the question of women's ordination and consecration was tied up in the question of homosexuality, something that is presently causing significant tensions within the C of E (Brittain and McKinnon, 2011). In fact one participant mentioned to me in passing that he was considering rousing the other members of Reform in the diocese to write a letter of protest to the bishop after a civil partnership between two local priests had been announced in the local media.

The above indicates, therefore, that participants very rarely engaged with the wider Church, including women ministers, or women who were in the

process of becoming clergy. Indeed, when they did so, as in Stephen's case, there was a lack of equal status as those he assisted through the discernment process were reliant on his recommendation as their incumbent. In fact, it would be incredibly difficult for any of the participants to interact with women clergy with equal status for two reasons. Firstly, the discriminatory legislation that has accompanied the introduction to the ordination of women (see Maltby, 1998) has meant that men do not need to recognise the validity of women's ordination. Indeed, legislation regarding women's consecration as bishops only dictates that clergy need to accept that the C of E has reached a decisive opinion on its appropriateness, rather than having to personally accept that it is theologically valid (see Ferns, 2014). Secondly, as numerous studies have explained, women are ill afforded the same social status as men in society more widely. In addition to this, the void of interaction with women priests means that common goals are indeed impossible as is co-operative dependence, regardless of whether the C of E actively promotes interaction between women priests and those who object to their ministry.

Having established the presence of contact avoidance between Reform participants with those in their diocese— not least women priests—one is left with the question of whether there is evidence of the conditions that typically lead to schismatic behaviour. It is my belief that this is indeed the case. A key example is found in Henry's statement above. He explains that he is a part of GAFCon and the Free Church of England. This shows that he is a part of two organisations that have split from the C of E (see "About GAFCon", *n.d.*; "FCE History", 2018). More importantly, however, is the fact that both groups broke

away from the C of E because they believed that it was turning from its historic roots, hence GAFCon's statement that it is, "a global family of authentic Anglicans standing together to retain and restore the Bible to the heart of the Anglican Communion" ("About GAFCon", *n.d.*, para.1 "), and the Free Church of England's statement that it, "separated from the established Church of England in the course of the 19th Century.... [and] was founded by evangelical clergy and congregations in response to the growth in influence of the Oxford Movement in the Church of England" ("FCE History", 2018, para. 1).

The GAFCON statement implies that the Bible has been a central feature of Anglicanism, but also that it is no longer so, something that requires action so that this may be corrected. On the one hand, this is not schismatic because it is seeking to change Anglicanism, rather than develop a new expression of Christianity. However, on the other hand, GAFCON is made up of individual churches and new denominations that split off from the Anglican Church in various provinces and allows those who find themselves in theological opposition to their bishop to go under an alternative evangelical bishop, unrecognised formally by the C of E ("The Complete Jerusalem Statement", 2008). GAFCON is therefore evidently a schismatic movement but one that is trying to bring the Anglican Church's identity back to its perceived past. That is, those who are part of GAFCON have opted to join an organisation that believes that the historic identity of the Anglican Communion has come under threat.

Similarly, the Free Church of England emerged as a result of a similar perception about the C of E given that evangelical clergy opposed the

assimilation of aspects of Roman Catholicism into it, a clear change in historic identity as the C of E broke away from Roman Catholicism. To re-introduce some of its theology and worship may naturally be seen as a break with the C of E's historic identity. Once more, Henry has opted to join such an organisation.

However, do the Reform participants evidence other traits related to schisms? Henry certainly felt as though he lacked a voice within the C of E. When asked about his experiences of working within the C of E he replied, "I think the mutual flourishing fox has been shot", by which he meant that the Established Church provided no place for theological conservatives, particularly with respect to matters on gender and sexuality. This statement is also indicative of apprehension, an agitation emotion given that Henry is uncertain about his place in the C of E in the future. It is also important to bear in mind that Reform specifically asks that those who join it are happy to resist liberal theological developments in doctrine and morality within the C of E ("Online application form", *n.d.*, p.3). This implies that the network officially believes that the historic norms of the C of E's core beliefs has been interrupted by more liberal thinking. In fact, several participants explained that they have impaired communion with their bishop by selecting to go under the pastoral oversight of a flying bishop, whereas a number of others who have not done so can conceive that they might well do so in the future should the C of E become theologically more liberal than they currently perceived it to be.

The fact that Reform members are joining schismatic movements, exhibiting behaviours typically present in group schisms, display agitated

emotions, and have chosen to join Reform in the first place— not least as a response to perceived historic changes within the Church— indicates that Sani's (2005) model is an appropriate one for understanding the engagement with the wider diocese that Reform participants recall. Whilst some participants, such as Stephen, reported to be less active in their protest to the wider Church, Sani also accepts that dejection emotions can include apathy, and that this can be a part of the process that leads to schismatic behaviour.

Moreover, the fact that Henry evidences agitated emotions suggests that there is a discrepancy between his actual and ought selves. This may be discerned from his narrative when one considers that he clearly identifies as an Anglican, something that is highlighted further by his decision to join schismatic organisations that also identify as Anglican, rather than joining alternative organisations. This is a part of his ought self because this is what he believes an Anglican should be according to his understanding of historic Anglicanism. However, this contradicts his actual self because he is still within the C of E, an organisation that he understands to be departing from this historic norm. Callum's narrative indicates a similar experience. He clearly identifies as being a part of the C of E (his actual self) because he is still under the oversight of his diocesan bishop and is not officially a member of Reform. He also explained that he would be happy with his bishop coming to his church and teaching. In fact, he also stated that he consciously pledged allegiance to his bishop when he was ordained. Nevertheless, his comment cited above demonstrates his belief that the C of E needs to be at least somewhat evangelical (a part of his ought self). Callum also expressed concern that the teaching he received during his curacy

training lacked an evangelical component indicates that he believes this aspect is missing from the C of E. This suggests that there is a discrepancy between how he thinks the C of E— a part of his identity— should be and what it is at present. Another way of explaining this is that participants' Anglican identity did not line up with their evangelical identity, and that this is problematic because they understood the evangelical expression of Anglicanism to be the historic, authentic one.

This theme shows with greater clarity that participants' social capital is heavily invested in a conservative evangelical network at the exclusion of other Anglican groups. However, this also shows that where one decides to invest their social capital is dependant on their sense of identity, and that one can decide not to invest one's social capital in a group based on the same. Further, it has become apparent that the decision to avoid investing social capital in particular groups is not necessarily a logical or comfortable decision for those that make it. It also provides additional insight into the cause of the lack of wider social capital that Putnam (2000) documents pervades contemporary society. Whilst the practicalities of phenomena such as modern family dynamics and working patterns that he identifies undoubtedly do negatively impact social capital, the role of social identity in this process ought not to be overlooked. Yet again this highlights the complementary impact of applying both social psychological and sociological frameworks for our data analysis. This also demonstrates the ambivalent nature that members of Reform possess towards the Established Church. The reason for this lies in the way that identities are co-reliant on each other (Trepte, 2006).

These last three themes demonstrate where and how resistance/contact avoidance takes place. Whereas previous studies are able to chart how this happens on a broad scale and thus discuss general trends and offer generalised solutions, this section of the present study has charted, in specific terms, how it exhibits itself. It can therefore suggest specific solutions for tackling prejudice in a real-life context. I will turn to such solutions in the final chapter.

7.3.2 Extended discussion: Reform

The above has evidenced a threat to Reform members' identities. As a result of this, members of Reform resist the wider C of E. Importantly, this is a phenomenon that has evident parallels to the literature on evangelical 'fundamentalism' identified in chapter three. It was the rise of theological liberalism during the nineteenth century, where evangelicals felt that they were being marginalised from society, which led to their resistance towards modernity (Appleby, 2011; McCarthy Brown, 1994; Marsden, 1991). In particular, changes to gender attitudes provoked an evangelical counter-response as society became more egalitarian (Balmer, 2016; Gallagher, 2003; New, 2012). This is exactly what one sees with the emergence of Reform in opposition to women's ordination (see Jones, 2004) and participants' decisions to disengage from their diocese, impair communion with their bishop and/or join other schismatic groups.

However, whereas US evangelicals were responding to developments in theology and gender values throughout the twentieth century (Balmer, 2016), conservative evangelicals in the Established Church in England only began to

more firmly resist such developments in the late twentieth century (see Jones, 2004; Sani, 2000). This is an interesting difference between English Anglican evangelicalism and US evangelicalism given that gender roles in wider society were changing rapidly in both countries from the 1960s onwards (e.g. Brown, 2001). I would argue that the C of E's privileged position within English society buffered its evangelical constituents from such changes. When the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act was introduced religious institutions were exempted from its implications, meaning that the C of E was not legally required to offer equal terms of employment to men and women (see "Sex Discrimination Acts 1975", *n.d.*). In fact, as was explained in chapter four, it was only when the C of E decided to introduce the priesting of women, despite being under no legal obligation to do so, that conservative evangelicals began to evidence schismatic behaviour.

There were, of course, other reasons for this. Marsden (1977), for instance, claims that there is a strong history of theological diversity within the C of E and there has been a political policy of religious tolerance that dates back to the seventeenth century. He also argues that evangelical separatism negated the kind of militancy seen in the USA. A number of leading evangelicals also accepted the concept of historical criticism of the Bible at least in principle, even if they rejected some of the theologically liberal conclusions that resulted from it (Marsden, 1977). Reform's resistance to the wider Church appears to be a continuation of the separatism noted by Marsden. Nevertheless, these historical precedents did not deter conservative evangelical resistance towards the

ordination of women. I argue that this is because theological liberalism was not an affront on their multiple identities as it is for members of Reform today.

It is true that the C of E had discussed the possibility of including women into its ordained hierarchy on a number of occasions before the 1992 General Synod (e.g. see Francis and Robbins, 1999) and calls for the Church to consider it may be traced to the 1950s (e.g. Thrall, 1958). Nevertheless, as aforementioned, evangelicals within the C of E had made a conscious decision during Keele to commit themselves to the Established Church in order to influence it, and evangelicals of different shades had a history of cooperation dating to the 1940s (Bebbington, 1989). It was, therefore, only once the C of E had made a clear decision to change its gender values in practical ways— and when it thus became evident that conservative evangelicals had distinct gender norms from their denomination— that schism began to occur.

This is what one would expect to observe if Sani's (2005) model is appropriate to utilise here because schism only occurs once there is a perceived change to the historic identity of a group. Introducing women into the priesthood for the first time was certainly a historic shift for the C of E. In addition to this, the discussion above provides further evidence that the institutional context of the C of E continued to play a part in its unity amongst different traditions, but also that this ended after 1992. Again, this mirrors findings on US evangelicalism that it was predominantly issues of gender that led to evangelical resistance (e.g. Bruce, 2008). A distinction between the evangelicalisms of the two countries, however, is that in the US religious resistance was towards wider society (e.g.

Ammerman, 1987) and liberal strands of Christianity (i.e. separatism) (Antoun, 2001; Marsden, 1991), whereas this study's participants primarily resist the Church only. This provides further support for the claim that the institutional context in England has significantly shaped the way in which evangelicals behave in so far as the beliefs of the Church are of greater importance to Reform participants than the beliefs of wider society. This reinforces my claim that Anglicanism is an important aspect for their identity.

Further to this, whilst separatism was evident amongst evangelicals in the US prior to the 1940s, after which engaged orthodoxy became more common (Smith et al., 1998), it was evidenced in the previous chapter that the Reform participants have constantly exhibited engaged orthodoxy throughout their resistance. This is best explained by the fact that conservative evangelical resistance in the C of E arose in a milieu of engagement with the wider C of E. I am also inclined to disagree with Bruce (2008) on this point. Bruce claims that 'fundamentalist' reaction to changing gender patterns was the result of the disruption to centuries of Church teaching. Whilst one cannot deny that the literature explored in previous chapters demonstrates that centuries of Church teaching was disrupted, this in itself cannot be considered a direct cause of evangelical resistance. In other words, it is not the fact of the disruption of Church teaching itself that explains participants' behaviour, but the threat that this poses to the group identities of theological conservatives.

Moreover, the above narratives indicate that resistance is a far more appropriate understanding of how participants interact with their diocese than

engagement. When they do choose to interact it is evidently on their own terms. In fact, during the interview process I discovered that one member of Reform—who was not interviewed—planted a church out of another one in the diocese without the Bishop's consent, making it an illegal church with respect to canon law. However, the diocesan bishop attempted to open dialogue with him in order to bring the illegal plant officially into the diocese. The minister refused to do so without his particular demands being met, a stance approved of by the participants who discussed these events with me. Whilst the minister in question is an atypical example, participants' approval offers further evidence of their resistance towards the diocese even though it is vicarious in this specific instance.

7.3.3 Some initial conclusions: Reform

The historical/sociological literature and the social psychological literature therefore converge in the present study. An analysis of this thesis' data has demonstrated that studies on relatively recent evangelical history and society more broadly, as well as insights from intergroup processes collectively make sense of participants' behaviour. Such insights fill an important gap in the literature on conservative Protestantism because one is not solely reliant on sociological explanations of causation. Indeed, given the clear parallels between this study's participants and studies on US evangelicalism, the relevance for intergroup contact psychology for further illuminating separatism and engaged

orthodoxy in the North American context is worth exploration. However, this is beyond the scope of the present thesis.³⁵

Furthermore, the literature from studies in the US proves to be a helpful tool for a cross-cultural comparison of evangelicalism because it highlights the distinctiveness of English Anglican evangelicalism. This not only provides a more detailed view of evangelicalism, but it also aids further insight into why English evangelical Anglicans behave in ways that are unique to them. This more detailed view will ultimately enable me to provide a number of suggestions to aid the C of E to lessen the current gender-based divisions amongst its traditions.

It is also worth foregrounding the fact that schismatic behaviour increased in participants' narratives over time. I argue that the more they were exposed to the C of E, and the different understandings of Anglicanism that they previously had little exposure to, the more inclined they were to distance themselves from the Church. As a case in point, participants showed no signs of schism during the discernment process. However, a vast majority of them had only exercised their faith in conservative evangelical contexts up to that point.

³⁵ Whilst Smith et al. (1998) briefly discuss social identity theory and self-categorization theory, they do so as one of a series of explanatory possibilities and do not go into detail to explain how in particular these- and cognate theories- can explain evangelical behaviour. For example, very little is made of the role of self-esteem- something that will be discussed in detail in the next chapter of this thesis- nor do they unpack the role of prejudice in this literature or demonstrate its relationship to engaged orthodoxy.

Also, those they encountered in the discernment process displayed no values or behaviours that participants considered antithetical to their faith even though they were aware that such persons often came from different traditions. Indeed, whilst participants knew theoretically that there were theological differences between themselves and other Anglicans, the literature has shown that identity— or challenges to identity— are formed through the process of contact.

Appiah (2018) makes some useful observations in this area. He explains that from as young as the age of two human beings are predisposed to categorise objects, including persons, and that this tendency to categorise stays with us throughout our lives. He elaborates that such essentialism is ultimately flawed, relying on stereotypes that are often unfounded. The categories that we ‘invent’, claims Appiah, are ultimately mythical because phenomena that are thought to constitute a particular identity are actually constantly evolving. Therefore, when participants select to distance themselves from the wider C of E, they are primarily distancing themselves from the symbolic meaning that they attribute to the institution. More particularly, because we depend upon such categories for our sense of identity, not least by defining ourselves through demarcating outgroups (Appiah, 2018), the belief of the ‘otherness’ of those who are not conservative evangelical is a part of the symbolic meaning that participants impose upon the C of E. However, in keeping with the critical realist underpinning that this thesis adopts, symbolic meaning is not entirely separable from the world of the actual, and so in practice through the decision to avoid the symbolic meaning that participants attribute to the C of E, they thus avoid contact with those whom they associate as more closely aligning with it,

particularly their more theologically liberal colleagues, not least women priests.³⁶

In addition to this, Appiah (2018) notes that intersectionality plays a role in the navigation of one's identity and that different sections of one's identity can mark them out from others with different sections of identity in a group which both belong to. This has been born out amongst the Reform participants who must navigate their sense of conservative evangelicalism alongside their sense of Anglicanism. Appiah, drawing on Crenshaw (1991), thus provides the language of intersectionality with which to describe the phenomenon that causes the agitation emotion set identified in the social psychological literature. Whilst the literature on intersectionality has tended to focus on those of lower social status in regards to their gender, sexuality, and ethnicity (e.g. Pilarski, 2011), the above demonstrates the utility in applying this theoretical lens to white, middle-class men. The present analysis has demonstrated that an examination of converging identities amongst the socially privileged help to explain why they respond to those who have less socially favourable inter-locking identities in the way(s) they do.

³⁶ This is a further example of how the discipline of sociology can complement that of psychology. The former adds a depth of understanding to the latter because it adds the insight that contact between persons is not perceived in an unmediated fashion by them but involves interpreting the 'other' through one's own world view or cultural lens.

Many participants explain that during their time at theological college they were exposed to different traditions— evangelical or otherwise— and it was at this point where schismatic behaviour begins to present itself, albeit in a limited capacity. The fact that all participants attended evangelical colleges and had close friendships with conservative evangelicals explains why the need to schism was not greatly felt; the majority of their contact would have been with like-minded people. Indeed, if participants such as Joshua avoided college activities then their exposure to Anglican clergy and clergy-to-be from different traditions would have been minimal.

The same cannot be said for participants once they entered the diocese as a member of the clergy. They explained that they had to undergo training with those from more theologically liberal perspectives and often reported during the interviews that they felt like they were in a diocese that was predominantly liberal. Participants also saw many of the senior clerics in this diocese as being too liberal. Thus, schismatic behaviour occurs the more one is exposed to those who are theoretically in the same social group, but are believed to have departed from the historic theological norm. The literature suggests that this would be the result of identity conflict, something that is consistent with the narratives and from wider observations. In fact, it is interesting to note that those participants whose narratives indicate dejection-related emotions are those who did not evidence as much resistance towards the diocese as those who evidenced agitated-related emotions. This is also in keeping with the literature, thus supplying further support for the appropriateness of group schisms as an interpretive lens for this thesis' data.

Furthermore, despite some participants involving themselves in alternative ecclesial structures outside of the C of E, participants have not left the C of E. This thesis has already noted the possibility of flying bishops for theologically conservative priests, as well as the two integrities. In addition to these factors, participants belonging to Reform have a network of like-minded Anglicans in which to carry out their ministries. This level of support within the C of E does provide participants with a sense of voice. As the chair of Reform in the same diocese informed me, they collectively petition the diocesan bishop on a regular basis in order to oppose developments within the Church or diocese that they believe to be inappropriate. This also indicates that participants perceive that they have a voice within the wider C of E because they evidently see a platform for their opposition in order to identify ways of carrying it out. Indeed, the relative success of evangelical churches in recent years, particularly in the southeast of England (e.g. Brierley, 2005; Thorlby, 2018) may also reinforce participants' belief that they still have a voice within the C of E.

7.4 Results and initial discussion: Charismatic evangelicals

In the previous chapter I noted that the charismatic evangelical participants did not evidence prejudicial attitudes towards women. However, it was unclear whether prejudice suppression was indicated in participants' narratives. It is therefore appropriate to explore the kind of contact that they have with others, including their female colleagues, in order to achieve a fuller

picture of participants' attitudes and actions. Therefore, the themes for discussion for this group in the present chapter are: (i) presence of women in ordination training, (ii) co-operation with those in other traditions and with different theologies, and (iii) exposure to women in church leadership.

7.4.1 Contact avoidance, schism, and charismatic evangelicals

7.4.1.1 Presence of women in ordination training

A distinctive feature of the charismatic evangelical participants' narratives is the fact that they trained alongside women during their time at theological college. While the number of women they trained alongside varied from only a few to substantially more, participants had no trouble recalling relationships with their female peers. Nick said:

My friend ... was an important part [in the formation of my views of feminism] because she had strong feminist views... I had other friends, one in my pastoral group.... Again, she was a little older than me and she had lived through the pains of people not being ordained and she was very aware of it. She may well be a bishop one day.

Nick reports meaningful relationships with women at theological college who have influenced the way he thinks about gender. He suggests that these relationships have provided him with a deeper understanding of what women have had to struggle within the context of the Church. Importantly, Nick's interactions with women at college have evidently impressed him as he believes that one of them has the potential to become a bishop. Indeed, the fact that he

saw them as a potential bishop suggests that he sees her as able to represent something of priesthood. Nick is typical of participants who had trained after the C of E had accepted the ordination of women to the priesthood. However, several participants had trained prior to 1992, but nonetheless trained with women preparing for the diaconate. For instance, Lewis said: "I think there was a deep bond between the twelve or fourteen of us [who were in the same cohort]. It was a mix of men and women, probably about four or five women, seven or eight men".

Lewis has fond memories of good quality relationships with the women training for the diaconate. Importantly, his relationships with them appear to have been on the same basis as the men who were training for the priesthood. Whilst it would be difficult to argue that this indicated equality in such relationships, not least as the roles of women in the Church were still more restricted than the men, it does suggest that Lewis nonetheless enjoyed a mutuality with these women. Thus, there is good reason to believe that the extent of inequality between the men and women in this context would be less stark than could have been the case.

Such relationships are suggestive of shared social capital between this group of participants and the women that they sustained relationships with during theological college. Evidently, charismatic evangelical participants have shared intellectual ideas with each other, as evidenced in Nick's narrative. Lewis is describing the relationship she had within his tutor group, a smaller group of ordinands who share in each other's spiritual lives, sometimes undertaking tasks

together, such as organising chapel services. This is also indicative of social capital but in a more specific (i.e. religious) context. It is akin to what Page (2017), drawing on Verter (2003), refers to as 'spiritual capital'. Both scholars see this as a development of Bourdieu's (1983) notion of religious capital. It has been noted that Bourdieu saw religious professionals as an elite group that employed religious beliefs in order to justify the unequal social order that provided them with power and privilege (Guest, 2007b).

Bourdieu (1991) also wrote of 'knowledgeable mastery', a body of systematised knowledge (e.g. theology) that is taught via a specialist institution (e.g. the Church). Putnam (2000) employs the concept of social capital to describe what is accumulated positively through social networks. However, this can be defined more precisely. Verter (2003) defines spiritual capital as consisting of three elements: (i) the embodied state, what Bourdieu referred to as habitus. (ii) The objectified state, commodities that are consumed in order to create habitus. (iii) The institutionalised state, the power that institutions possess in providing devotees with reward (usually thought to be salvation). The second and third components of spiritual capital are certainly present; spiritual commodities such as receiving prayer are consumed in order to achieve a desired outcome for the participants.

7.4.1.2 Co-operation with those in other traditions and with different theologies

Charismatic evangelical participants also engaged on a regular basis with ordained colleagues from different theological traditions to their own. For instance, Nick explained that in his own context: "We are three Anglican

churches who pretty much—apart from conservative evangelicals—... [represent] the broad spectrum of the Church of England.... We meet regularly for clergy to encourage one another and to pray for one another”. Nick’s description of his relationships with clergy in other traditions (which included women) shows that he frequently co-operates with those who possess a different theology and express their faith in ways that are different to his own. The fact that there is personal exchange during these meetings, as indicated by the statement that those involved pray for each other, demonstrates that Nick and his colleagues go beyond the bare minimal contact required by those who work within a diverse institution. They share personal relationships. Similarly, Matt said: “I have [multiple] parishes here, and a number of colleagues... from different theological churchmanships to me... every day one is working with those differences.”

It is interesting to note that in Nick’s context this does not include conservative evangelicals, thus paralleling the analysis of Reform above. Nick’s statement here also evidences that he shares a common goal with those he meets with given that they undertake the same activities on behalf of each other showing a clear sense of mutuality in Nick’s interactions with his clergy colleagues. The same is true of Matt’s statement because co-operation is needed to run multiple parishes with other clergy. Indeed, the mutuality also indicates that participants are co-operatively dependent upon each other during those times: without their other colleagues present there would be no other local church leaders to share their concerns with and pray for them. Finally on this, in one respect the majority of clergy in Nick and Matt’s scenarios—including the

women they work with— largely possess equal status because all but one have incumbent status in their respective parishes, and such interaction does take place because area meetings are a part of the ecclesial structure set up by the C of E. In this respect, these interactions take part with the support of the institutional Church.

Once more these narratives indicate the presence of spiritual capital. However, in this instance it is shared with those who are notably of different theological traditions to theirs. It also demonstrates the co-operation that accompanies such interactions, a clear distinction from the Reform narratives. In this instance the spiritual capital lens is able to draw out the specifics of co-operation in this context because it is designed to highlight the way in which inter-personal activities occur in a religious context. That is, whereas employing the contact hypothesis highlights how contact and prejudice is reported to manifest in the everyday life of the clergy, utilising spiritual capital *more readily* highlights how co-operation in particular— an important facet of contact — is reported to present itself *in situ*. More specifically, participants share the same objectified state as their female peers because they are consuming the same spiritual resources, such as ‘knowledgeable mastery’ through ongoing training in the diocese or through sharing theological ideas and insights as they gather with neighbouring clergy. This contributes to some shared habitus— the embodied state, if only to a limited extent.

Whilst one could simply offer a description of participants’ co-operation without applying this sociological lens, its presence in this analysis rightly pre-

empties the presence of religiously oriented interaction and so leads to a specific focus on the nature of participants' co-operation in a way that the contact hypothesis does not. Hence, both the social psychological lens, and the sociological lens are co-dependant theoretical lenses in the pursuit of qualitative descriptions of social activity. Moreover, this lens is able to understand the role that specific religious activities play in social interaction in a way that social/cultural capital is not immediately predisposed to do, because of the Weberian influence that requires an economic analysis of religious activity (see Guest, 2007b).

7.4.1.3 Exposure to women in church leadership

Twelve of the charismatic evangelical participants also had exposure to women in church leadership in various capacities. For example, Rob said: "I grew up... with a deaconess, and she always had a blue robe on and it never meant anything to me except that she was part of the team of people who were employed by the church". Rob had seen women in public ministry from an early age, making the phenomenon a norm for him. In fact, prior to his ministerial training he didn't appreciate the differences in roles that liturgical clothing represented. This meant that he did not distinguish between women deaconesses and male priests, instead seeing those who led in church in equal terms, regardless of their gender. Similarly, Matt reported: "We had a female deaconess in the 1980s who led our youth group, so very early on I had an experience of women's ministry that was very positive". As with Rob, Matt grew up with a clear exposure to women's licensed ministry, something that he felt was a positive phenomenon.

Oscar held more traditional gender values that would exclude women from leading churches or dioceses but accept them as curates. However, he explained that not only does he work with women in his congregation through the selection process for ordination, but also that the majority of people he sends to the diocese for discernment are women. This process is made possible because the diocese is set up in such a way where those who feel called to ordained ministry are to approach their incumbent first who then decides whether or not to send the potential candidate to the diocese for further discernment. This next stage is done with the support of the incumbent who writes references and provides ministerial experience for the candidate in the parish. In other words, the authority structures in the C of E operate in a way that encourages co-operation between the candidate and incumbent. Thus, the charismatic evangelical themes not only reveal the various ways in which contact can occur amongst a group that has more affirming attitudes towards an outgroup, but also details participants' subjective responses to it.

7.4.2 Extended discussion: Charismatic evangelicals

The narratives discussed above have clear links to the history of the charismatic movement within the UK more broadly and the C of E in particular. Participants' ease with the presence of women at theological college is unsurprising given the tradition's history of accepting women's leadership in church (Guest, Olson and Wolffe, 2012), and also explains participants' exposure to women in church leadership prior to their training for ordination. Participants' co-operation with women from other theological traditions also

reflects the decision made at Keele to engage more actively with the wider C of E (see Bebbington, 1989). Participants' tradition therefore contributes significantly to their interaction with women priests. This is a point at which charismatic evangelicals' behaviour departs from that of conservative evangelicals. Despite both having common ancestry, as shown in chapter three, evangelicals took noticeably different paths after 1992. Whereas conservative evangelicals opted for a program of protest and reform (Jones, 2004), this study's charismatic evangelical participants were at least sufficiently content with this decision so as to avoid conflict with the C of E. Indeed, there is no charismatic evangelical group that formally takes an outspoken position contrary to women's ordained leadership.

With this in mind, it is unlikely that these participants hold prejudicial attitudes towards women and thus it is also unlikely that they suppress them. The statements analysed in the previous chapter that left the possibility open for prejudice suppression ought to be taken at face value instead. To claim to the contrary would be inconsistent with the breadth of evidence because the charismatic evangelicals interviewed evidenced levels of contact with women priests that have been widely demonstrated to undermine prejudice. Moreover, the narratives above indicate that these participants were much more willing to engage rather than resist the wider C of E. In fact, they evidenced no resistance towards their diocese during the interview, with one exception who simply stated that if the C of E introduced gay marriage ceremonies then he would leave the C of E *if* that is what his wider network of colleagues— within the HTB network—would do. This is a break from the engaged orthodoxy model with

respect to participants' interactions with the C of E. How they interact with wider society is another matter altogether, but one that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

7.4.3 Some initial conclusions: Charismatic evangelicals

Participants in this group have demonstrated a clear history of engagement with their clergy colleagues from the breadth of Anglican traditions. This has included continual interaction with women that evidences the key factors that the literature has demonstrated undermine prejudicial attitudes. This is true of the few in this cohort who have fairly traditional gender values within the context of church. The difference between these participants and members of Reform are that: (i) the charismatic participants draw on the historic theology of gifting associated with the charismatic movement (e.g. see Buchanan et al., 1981) and (ii) as aforementioned they behaved in line with recent evangelical history of engagement with the C of E. This means that, as Vasey-Saunders (2016) found with respect to evangelical attitudes towards homosexuality, the historical context of one's religious tradition is an important mediating factor of gender-related prejudice.³⁷

This also demonstrates, therefore, that the context of beliefs is important and that one cannot simply judge an expressed view in a social vacuum. Hence,

³⁷ The approach of the present writer differs from Vasey-Saunders, however, by drawing upon the psychological literature as the basis for establishing the presence- or indeed the absence- of prejudice as well as the sociological literature on social causation.

participants from all three groups cannot be understood without first understanding the tradition that they have inherited (see also Vasey-Saunders, 2016). Importantly, one may deduce from the above discussion that gender attitudes that exhibit elements of traditional thinking are not necessarily prejudicial. One sees from the charismatic evangelical participants that even those with comparatively traditional gender values, such as Oscar, do not prevent— but rather they encourage— women to explore the possibility of ordination as priests, which they understand will likely lead to incumbency positions for those women. An additional point is thus highlighted: what a person articulates as their gender values are not always sufficient on their own to determine the extent of one's prejudice. In the abstract some of the attitudes articulated by members of this group evidenced the potential to be identified as sexist but required further investigation. Instead how a person behaves is also an important aspect of identifying the presence of prejudice (see Allport, 1954/1979).

It is true, however, that this study can only evaluate what participants reported they had done. Nevertheless, given the level of candour and the highly personal information provided at times, I can only assume participants' honesty unless there are sufficient grounds to believe the contrary. It may be valuable in the future, however, to consider studies that also gain data from members of congregations in order to attain a fuller view of the clergy. However, the depth of investigation that this would require is beyond the scope of the present study.

Nevertheless, examining how a person's gender norms are enacted is further substantiated as appropriate given that definitions of sexism and prejudice rely on the impact that a person's views have on women (see Glick and Fiske, 1996). This evidences another benefit of qualitative research in this area: whilst the quantitative studies have demonstrated the importance of ideological *impact* for assessing prejudice, the present study has demonstrated that an individual's values divorced from context does not always provide sufficient grounds to judge the extent of prejudice. This study has evidenced this in such a way as to show the more nuanced nature of beliefs, something that cannot be captured so readily through quantitative means where participants must select predetermined options in order to try and articulate their beliefs (see Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux, 2005).

In fact, Stringer (1996) argues that professed beliefs can be contradictory in nature because an individual can profess different beliefs in different contexts because they tend to be formed in light of rituals or actions. He states that one's actions are thus a necessary window into human thought. Thus participants such as Oscar profess a belief that accompanies his relationship to the HTB network whilst practicing a different set of gender values. Beliefs are therefore not the only measure needed to assess prejudice. This reinforces the need to employ the contact hypothesis as a qualitative theoretical lens for interpreting participants' narratives.

The question of voice requires little discussion when analysing the charismatic evangelical themes because their engagement with the wider Church

does not indicate schism or resistance. In fact, several of the participants were ministering in church plants that had emerged on the request of the diocese. This suggests that the latter is somewhat reliant on the former, and so participants in this group would perceive themselves as having a voice in the wider Church. This indicates why there is an absence of agitation and dejection-related emotions in participants' narratives. According to the literature on intergroup contact and prejudice, this is entirely consistent with their other attitudes and behaviours discussed thus far.

7.5 Results and initial discussion: Anglo-Catholics

As with Reform, the Anglo-Catholic participants have evidenced prejudicial attitudes towards women. I have selected five themes for exploration in this chapter because they will provide a detailed understanding of how the participants interact with those outside of their own tradition, not least women priests. The themes for discussion are: (i) lack of women ordinands in training, (ii) worked with women priests, (iii) conflict with others in the C of E, (iv) criticism of wider C of E, and (v) wider participation in the C of E.

7.5.1 Contact avoidance, schism, and Anglo-Catholics

7.5.1.1 Lack of women ordinands in training and Worked with women priests

All but one of the clergy interviewed trained for the priesthood at a residential theological college that stood in the Anglo-Catholic tradition. Eleven of the thirteen recall a distinct lack of women training for either the diaconate or the priesthood. Oliver said that during his time at the College of the Resurrection

it was: "All male ordinands at that point.... The College of the Resurrection ... is a male [monastic] community.... Our voice trainer... was a ... lady.... I think she was the only female member of staff when I was there". Oliver trained prior to the first ordinations of women to the priesthood or to the diaconate. However, this absence in training was also cited by those who had trained for ordination more recently. For example, Tyrone recalled that women were not a prominent feature of training because, "in the year prior [to me arriving] the college had just admitted women students and only eight years before that ... [they] allowed the wives of married students to come to chapel". There was thus a lack of contact with those who would become their female colleagues from 1994 during the time when participants were being formed as priests. In fact, participants' explained the benefits of communal living and activity, and the social support that accompanied this lifestyle at their colleges. This does imply that there was shared social capital amongst them. However, the relative homogeneity does mean that there would have been little opportunity to test their gender norms because of the lack of alternative perspectives available to them.

However, to a modest extent, this changed for eleven of the Anglo-Catholics interviewed once they were ordained. Ashley explained that, despite helping women priests in the diocese in a number of ways, he doesn't see their ordination as valid: "I suppose my mind-set is that I'm engaging in ecumenical dialogue and activity. So these are fellow Christians, I just don't happen to recognise their orders". Peter, likewise, stated: "I'm one of those who would be called 'impossiblist' ... only men are able to receive the grace of ordination". On the one hand, participants evidence co-operation with their female colleagues.

On the other hand, however, they do not perceive that they do so on an equal basis with women. The fact that the C of E makes provisions for those who cannot accept the validity of women's ordination provides legitimacy to this perspective, rather than supporting the interaction between two outgroups in a way that could encourage prejudice reduction.

Others who had more positive, personal relationships with women priests also indicate a similar lack of co-operation. Malcolm, for example, when discussing a friendship, states: "All I can say is we've got to understand each other. We know exactly where we come from.... but I wouldn't say I've worked with her.... we keep in touch socially... rather than [working] in each other's churches". The fact that Malcolm reports being on relatively good terms with this priest does not mean that they co-operate to achieve shared goals. Also, the fact that their interaction does not occur professionally means that the C of E is unable to foster the type of contact that can lead to reduced prejudice in their relationship.

These examples indicate that social capital and spiritual capital were not widely invested in social groups outside of their own after participants' ordination. However, it does show that a limited amount of social capital was invested through the co-operation with women priests that participants' recall. This demonstrates that, whilst co-operation is a part of social capital, by itself it is insufficient to assess the extent to which one is socially invested in a community or group. The psychological literature and the data in this study also highlight that different mentalities can inform the effect that co-operation has on

in/outgroup interaction, providing fuller insight into the way in which social capital is expressed. Specifically, it shows that co-operation amongst persons must be analysed at the level of intent as well as at the level of action. In this sense, the inter-disciplinary lenses that I employ in this thesis are once more complementary.

Evan, despite being more conservative on the matter initially, became affirming of women's ordination to the priesthood. He describes his encounter with a woman discerning a vocation within the C of E:

I'd already made a friend who was a Church Army officer³⁸ and [she] had to do post-ordination training [with me].... She plonked herself next to me on the sofa and we got talking then we had dinner together and we became friends... she was there as a Church Army officer... and then discerned a calling, first of all to the diaconate, then to the priesthood. And I went on a journey with her.... It was her and journeying with her and beginning to see in her the signs of priestly nature [that changed my mind].

What is interesting is Evan's account is the fact that he changed his position on women's ordination to the priesthood after a prolonged and sustained encounter with someone who was discerning their call to ministry.

³⁸ The Church Army is an evangelistic wing of the C of E. Its candidates are ordained but not as deacons or priests.

This process would have required goal sharing because both parties were in the process of discerning whether or not the woman in question had a vocation to the priesthood and Evan was evidently open to this possibility by the time this process started. This process also would have required mutual co-operation because the discernment of one's vocation to the priesthood involves both, the candidate's sense of call, and the affirmation of those who know them well. Evidently, Evan sensed this call in her— as did she— and supported her through the discernment process. Furthermore, it was the structures of the C of E that enabled them to meet in the first place when the woman in question was assigned to Evan for ministerial training. Hence, a wider authority was instrumental in fostering their contact.

Moreover, whilst Evan and his friend would not have equal status with respect to gender in wider society, within the context of the C of E their statuses cannot be easily compared. Evan was in the priesthood when he met his friend and she was ordained as a Church Army officer. They thus represent two very distinct ministries in the C of E that are not readily comparable. It is also important to consider the fact that Evan identifies as homosexual, meaning that his own social status— particularly when the above event took place at the very end of the twentieth century— would have been more complex. On the one hand, Evan is white, university educated, middle class, and male. On the other hand, Evan's homosexuality would have made status differences unclear, and so despite the fact that both parties were not on an equal social footing, neither could one be held in higher esteem than the other. Thus, the contact between them could not be undermined because of unequal status, even if it wouldn't

necessarily undermine prejudice either. Furthermore, the fact that Evan began to see, “signs of priestly nature” in his friend shows that he was able to see her as representative of women pursuing a call to the priesthood.

Nevertheless, this narrative does highlight the power than men in the C of E possess over women. When Evan’s friend begun the discernment process for ordination, it was shortly after women had been permitted to become priests, meaning that women were still highly dependent upon men’s approval in the discernment process for ordination. The woman in question needed Evan to provide bridging capital in order for her to benefit from his social resources, which in this case included supporting her application for the Church’s discernment process. In this respect, she also needed him to provide spiritual capital in the objectified state so that she could embody the necessary habitus that would convince others in the discernment process of her vocation.

However, the other Anglo-Catholic interviewed who changed his mind concerning the validity of women’s ordination as priests did not provide a narrative of typical contact. Aaron, who is also homosexual, stated that his mind was changed after seeing a woman preside at communion over a long period of time when he was a chaplain and would take part in communion services locally. He reports that seeing a woman preside just as well as men led him to believe that women could fulfil the priestly role. Aaron also explained that when he held a more traditional view of priesthood it wasn’t with great conviction and chose not to join any organisations that opposed the development of women priests. He also explained that he grew up without an understanding that men and

women ought to take on defined roles because of his parent's values. Collectively, this evidence suggests that Aaron did not hold his views as strongly as a number of his colleagues. It also indicates that his gender values lacked much role-based expectations and thus it is unlikely that his views could be convincingly labelled as sexist. Therefore, specific forms of contact were unnecessary for changing his opinion on women priests in the same way that it would be necessary for others. Having stated that, however, the fact that the woman he encountered presided like all other priests could mean that Aaron saw her as representative of women who felt a call to ordination. This is also in keeping with Glick and Fiske's (1996) find that heterosexuality, rather than homosexuality, is a predictor of implicit sexism.

It is interesting to note that Oliver demonstrates no negative emotions as the result of women's ordination during his time in ordination training. This is most likely because his lack of contact with those who hold alternative gender norms. Evan and Aaron also lack similar emotional responses when they encountered women considering, or already in, the priesthood. However, this is likely due to the presence of prejudice reducing factors in Evan's case, and the strength of his former traditional views in Aaron's case. Also in the case of Evan, the three aspects of social capital discussed above are present. Evan and his friend co-operate. Additionally, they also problem solve because, as Evan explained, post-ordination training was a way of the mentor aiding the mentee to solve problems that arise during one's ministry. It was clearly also a time where Evan's own gender values were tested. Social capital is therefore an important

part of intergroup processes where prejudice-undermining behaviours are concerned.

7.5.1.2 Conflict with others in the C of E and Criticism of wider C of E

Participants reported criticisms of the C of E more regularly than the evangelical groups and also reported conflict with their clergy peers more frequently. Ashley reports:

Because of some... issues— not just the ordination of women... I frequently arrive at clashing with people who I think are too innovative.... The liberal catholics in [this diocese] have predominantly been hostile and unwilling to engage in any discussion whatsoever; they have gone out of their way to marginalise people like myself.

Ashley admits that he frequently clashes with his colleagues in the diocese who he considers to be theologically too liberal, instead preferring traditional theology on matters pertaining to gender. However, he claims that this is because, as a theological conservative on these matters, he is marginalised by the wider diocese, which has a more liberal culture. This resonates with the conservative evangelical narrative, represented by Adam, who distanced himself from his peers during theological training because he felt marginalised on account of his conservative theology of gender. This perception would naturally lead one to gravitate towards more schismatic behaviour because there will be little perceived group entitativity. Further to this, the fact that Ashley sees the wider diocese as being innovative with their theology is indicative of a belief that

the C of E is departing from its historic norm, and thus a further reason to expect schismatic behaviour from clergy such as Ashley. Moreover, Ashley's comment that the C of E has become theologically too liberal echoes a criticism held by the Anglo-Catholic participants as a whole. For many, this was the C of E's attempt to be relevant and appeal to wider society. Again, this is suggestive of a perceived threat to one's group identity as Anglicans because it is noting shifts in the values of the group. This makes participants' withdrawal from the C of E, such as by joining Forward in Faith, unsurprising.

Ashley's comment also reveals agitation-set of emotions, particularly frustration on the basis of the innovation he perceives to be present, and his perceived marginalisation from the wider diocese. There is thus a conflict between his actual self and his ideal self. Ashley sees himself as an Anglican and has even decided to stay within the C of E rather than join the Ordinariate, an ecclesial sphere for Anglicans wishing to join the Roman Catholic Church but retain some Anglican distinctives. However, he believes that the C of E is authentically catholic because there ought to be continuity in the contemporary Church from its historic (i.e. catholic) roots. This is what he believes his Anglican identity should reflect. However, he explains that Anglicanism does not reflect this because of the innovative approach that he believes his colleagues are introducing to the C of E. There is therefore a disjunction between his catholic identity and his Anglican identity, much in the same way that members of Reform experienced a contradiction between their evangelical identity and their Anglican identity.

In this case, one is not easily able to invest social capital in other social groups because they too are exclusive. It is therefore not simply the participants who decide where to invest social resources, but all those whom they encounter in different contexts. It is therefore a reciprocal process where participants' behaviours and attitudes are not the only relevant ones.

7.5.1.3 Wider participation in the C of E

Nevertheless, participants did evidence involvement in the wider diocese. Peter explained:

[I] always endeavoured as my time as regional dean [of Forward in Faith] to ensure we always had a quarterly Mass at the cathedral because it is as much our cathedral as anybody else's ... I think it was one of the reasons why I was made an honorary canon [of the cathedral]—because I had engaged Forward in Faith... into the life of the diocese as much as [I] could.

Peter's understanding of engagement, however, was territorial. He desired to occupy space that he felt rightfully belonged to his conservative peers just as much as it did to liberal clergy. This reflects the sentiment in Ashley's narrative discussed above because of the implied sense of marginalisation in this statement. In other words, Peter feels the need to make use of the cathedral in order to demonstrate that it is not solely the space of those who hold alternative theological positions. Peter also recalled an argument with the diocesan bishop, with whom he had impaired communion by placing

himself under a flying bishop. In that conversation Peter felt the need to assert that his church building has been in communion with the Pope much longer than it has been Anglican. This too shows that he thinks, to at least some extent, in schismatic terms, specifically as belonging to a group that is distinct from the wider diocese. However, Peter reports that this incident occurred after the bishop had expressed the desire for his church to be closed rather than grow because of Peter's conservative theological position. Peter also stated that he felt his comment about his building being in communion with the Pope would be a strike against his name with the diocese. Whilst it is difficult to discern from the data whether schism led to relation breakdowns, vice versa, or a mixture of both, the evidence from the quantitative literature indicates that in/outgroup relationships tend to be fluid rather than fixed, meaning that outgroups continually define themselves over and against each other (Tajfel, 1974). Equally, however, as aforementioned, it is a perceived change to the historic identity of a group that brings about the initial schism and formation of a new in/out group dynamic and so it is the perception of group identity threat that comes first (Sani, 2005).

A further point of interest is the fact that the Anglo-Catholic participants, including members of Forward in Faith, did engage with the diocese in a way that indicates goal sharing and support from the institutional Church. For instance, Adrian has assisted other clergy— including women priests— with book keeping skills and Peter undertakes administration for the bishop pertaining to marriage licences. However, such encounters do not foster co-operative dependence because participants are not required to undertake such

activities and do not achieve anything for themselves. When undertaking such activities participants do not assume equal status between themselves and their female colleagues because, as Ashley noted when describing his interaction with the diocese said, “my mind-set is that I'm engaging in ecumenical dialogue and activity, so these are fellow Christians. I just don't happen to recognise their [religious] orders.”

Also, Aaron and Evan both have a strong history of engagement with those outside of their immediate tradition. For example, Aaron recalled his time as a parish priest in a joint benefice, which provided the opportunity for him to work with a variety of colleagues in different traditions of the C of E. He explained: “When I was an incumbent... I inherited a male lay reader who I got on very well with... but theologically and liturgically we were miles apart”. In particular, his parish was in the central tradition, despite him being an Anglo-Catholic, and a lay reader with whom he worked closely was of a different tradition. Whilst Aaron reports that this could cause conflict he also recalled a good personal relationship with him. Both had to work together on a regular basis in order to co-ordinate church services, including preaching and the leading of worship. This means that they were co-operatively dependant on each other and shared common goals. They would also have interacted with the support of the Church's hierarchy because it supports the training and deployment of ministers (ordained and lay). Whilst they would not have had equal status on the one hand, because Aaron was ordained and his lay reader was not, they were both male, indicating equal status in that respect. However, as Aaron is a gay man and his lay reader is heterosexual, Aaron would not have

been as prominent in the social hierarchy as his lay colleague, particularly in the 1980s when this relationship was established (e.g. see Herek, 2004).

With respect to schism-related emotions, the agitation-emotion set manifests in Peter's sense of frustration and bitterness in the way he describes his relationship with the bishop, particularly when he explained he thought the bishop would now have another reason to begrudge him. Thus, Peter also evidences a disjunction between his actual self and his ideal self for the same reasons as Ashley. However, Adrian demonstrates dejection-related emotions. He has a history of anxiety and depression. Adrian states that he is tired of the politics of Church life and is particularly upset by the way he is treated by some of his neighbouring parish priests, particularly a female incumbent. This is most appropriately understood as a contradiction between his actual self and his social self. Whilst he presents himself as a committed Anglican (his social self), he is rejected by other Anglicans, reducing his sense of group entitativity and thus perceives that others do not see him as legitimately in the same social group (his actual self).

In these cases, the gender traditionalist participants did very little to share social capital with other groups. Rather, contact tended to be either for the benefit of the in-group, or coupled with the inflexible assumption that outgroup members held an incorrect position. Aaron and Evan, on the other hand, demonstrate clear social ties to those outside of their immediate tradition and discuss exchanges of perspectives and various forms of co-operation. In this respect, social capital does not necessarily require clear-cut exclusivity.

Many of these themes highlight a further benefit of adopting a qualitative approach to analysing prejudice and contact. Specifically, they demonstrate that there are a number of factors beyond the participants' direct control that come to bear on their attitudes and behaviours. These include the lack of women at theological college, or the way that others receive them, for example. An understanding of participants' wider environments helps foster greater insight into the specific phenomena that can contribute towards prejudice and contact avoidance. Moreover, as has been the case with the other Anglican traditions under discussion, this will enable a more tailor-made approach to tackling prejudicial attitudes and related behaviours.

7.5.2 Extended discussion: Anglo-Catholics

The above analysis of participants' narratives demonstrates that these Anglo-Catholic priests continue the tradition of selective adherence to bishops, despite the prominence of their position, as noted by Nockles (1994). Participants' interactions with the diocesan bishop and their decision to impair communion with him is strong evidence of this. In fact, this is the same behaviour that Jones (2004) notes when Forward in Faith emerged as a sanctuary from the changing Church. Interestingly, I was invited to partake in Mass prior to one of the interviews. The priest in question conducted the Mass in Latin, with his back turned to the congregation in pre-Vatican II fashion. This was clearly a deliberate symbolic gesture to link the Mass with the Roman Catholic Church because this way of conducting Mass is historically unique to that denomination.

One should also note that the enclave-like existence of their theological training mirrors the similar structures that the first Anglo-Catholics experienced at Oxford (e.g. see Martin, 1976). Participants' time in training was predominantly male-dominated, particularly with respect to the teaching staff and those training for ordination. Many of them also came from a privileged background and possessed degrees from institutions such as Oxford and other high-ranking institutions. Also, the fact that this group of participants frequently criticised the changing values of the C of E, particularly the opening of the episcopate to women, parallels the Tractarians' criticism of the shifting values of their time (e.g. see Fairweather, 1964).

Furthermore, in chapter three, the similarities between evangelical and Anglo-Catholic reactions to Modernity were highlighted. It has become evident from the present chapter that Anglo-Catholic behaviours to changing gender patterns in the C of E more recently continue to mirror previous findings on US evangelicalism. Whilst this is largely not the case with respect to biblical interpretation, the exploration of Anglo-Catholic narratives in the previous chapter did reveal a plain meaning reading of the maleness of Christ and the first disciples as, in part, the basis for their theology of an exclusively male priesthood. The primary continuation in behaviour between these participants and the literature, however, is in the engaged orthodoxy that participants exhibit. The Anglo-Catholic priests interviewed collectively demonstrate a relationship with the wider C of E that includes engagement as well as resistance. However, the interaction is somewhat limited in scope and regularly

accompanied by a mentality of resistance. Indeed, the resistance that participants disclosed during interview was clear and overshadowed the interactions they reported with the wider Church, a further parallel with the Reform narratives.

7.5.3 Some initial conclusions: Anglo-Catholics

Whilst it is more difficult to discuss Anglo-Catholicism in the same detail as evangelicalism because of the comparative lack of literature on the former, the Anglo-Catholic participants nevertheless reveal behaviours that are consistent with their tradition's history. In particular, they exhibit schismatic-oriented behaviour. Furthermore, their reported behaviours indicate that their resistance towards the wider C of E— including women priests— stems, at least in part, from their perception of how the others in the Church with different theological convictions receive them. In addition to this, the fact that these participants clearly exhibit the behaviours associated with schism is in keeping with the findings in the previous chapter: they believe the introduction of women's ordination is an important break with the historic tradition of the Church because this was a clear change to their of identity as Anglicans and as members of the clergy. It is therefore also apparent from the above analysis that participants in this group rarely interacted with those of different theological traditions in ways that could serve to undermine their prejudice.

Nevertheless, the fact that those interviewed have remained within the C of E does suggest that they feel that they have a sufficient voice with which to be heard. The fact that participants may have their own like-minded bishop, are

part of a network (whether formally or informally) of Anglican priests with similar theology, and that the C of E maintains the two integrities are all obvious reasons for them to believe that this is the case. In fact, one of the participants with gender normative views has written literature on why Anglo-Catholics should remain in the C of E rather than join the Roman Catholic Ordinariate. However, participants frequently appeared frustrated with, and tired of, their sense of marginalisation. I interviewed them at a particularly poignant time because it was shortly after Philip North had received significant backlash after being announced as the next Bishop of Sheffield. It is therefore possible that this sense of voice is on borrowed time for the Anglo-Catholic participants, particularly those who have opted to join Forward in Faith and its associated networks.

7.6 Conclusion

Regarding the Reform and Anglo-Catholic participants, their reported behaviours indicate that their resistance towards the wider C of E— including women priests— stems, at least in part, from their perception of how the others in the Church with different theological convictions receive them. However, as Brown (2011) notes, prejudice and contact avoidance are mutually reinforcing. This means that one cannot assume that their interactions with the wider C of E alone leads to participants' withdrawal from their colleagues and ultimately to prejudice. Rather, prejudice is equally as capable of encouraging disengagement (e.g. Brown, 2011). Thus, while one must take seriously the claims of these

participants and recognise that their colleagues may not treat them favourably, one must also recognise that pre-existing prejudice most likely encouraged distance, at least from their female colleagues.

Indeed, the historical assessment of women that Christianity has offered, as noted earlier in this thesis as well as in a myriad of other academic literature, suggests that some participants were immersed in traditions that hold prejudicial attitudes towards women long before the C of E opened the diaconate and priesthood to women. However, group identities are not completely stable and develop in reaction to other groups (Sani, 2005; Tajfel, 1974), and so it is equally as likely that the negative interactions that participants report with colleagues from different traditions to themselves compound contact avoidance, which can reinforce participants' prejudice (i.e. Brown, 2011). Moreover, whilst women are evidently the focus of that prejudice, contact avoidance is exhibited to those who operate in the wider C of E who do not hold to gender-normative values, apparently regardless of gender. This means that for the conservative evangelical—and the majority of the Anglo-Catholic— participants contact avoidance has three roots. These are prejudice, negative interactions with the wider C of E, and a perceived change to the historic core of the C of E's identity. Whilst the literature demonstrates that this reinforces prejudice, the origins of prejudice are found within the values of historic Christianity, particularly evangelicalism and Anglo-Catholicism. Nevertheless, as discussed previously, the wider society of which the Church has been a part has had its own gender norms that have been incorporated, to some extent, into the gender values of devotees (e.g. Aune, 2006).

Interestingly, those who exhibit agitated emotions are also those who are the most active in protesting the wider Church. For instance, Henry reported being very influenced by the chair of Reform in his diocese and is taking action to distance himself from the C of E. Equally, Peter used to be the chair of Forward in Faith for his diocese but stepped down only to allow a younger man to replace him. He also made sure that Forward in Faith publically claimed space that he believed was rightfully theirs. Participants such as Adam, however, were not as actively involved with Reform. He claimed that he was somewhat different from typical members because he didn't believe that women's ordination was a significant issue for him despite disagreeing with its introduction to the C of E. Likewise, Adrian explained that, whilst he was opposed to women's ordination, there are times where he is confused about his own beliefs on the matter and sometimes wonders whether his parish should have the extended episcopal oversight. Also, the discussion on participants' emotions also suggests that the Reform and Anglo-Catholic participants experience a discrepancy between their sense of evangelical or catholic identity and their Anglican identity. It is when their perceptions of their Anglicanism are questioned through a disconnection from other Anglicans that negative emotions manifest. If they were able to hold both senses of identity together then it may be that their sense of entitativity would be less threatened and thus their resistance less intense. However, this partially relies on how they perceive other Anglican clergy treat them.

These findings are an evident contrast from those resulting from an analysis of the charismatic evangelical narratives. In the majority of cases their

approaches to gender both inside and outside of the Church are more flexible and less binary. Participants in this group also articulate fuller relationships with those of different theological traditions and demonstrate a history of engaging with women in positions of religious leadership. The result of this is an absence of prejudicial— and thus the presence of more affirming—attitudes towards women inside and outside of the context of the C of E.

These findings also reinforce my decision to employ the social psychological literature as an interpretive lens for a number of reasons. Firstly, the literature on emotions is able to make good sense of the content of the themes when it is used as an interpretive lens. Secondly, data that was not grouped into the existing themes, including data from ethnographic observation, provides further support for employing this interpretive lens. Thirdly, the qualitative description of prejudice and intergroup contact, and the description of participants' emotion processes complement each other because they are equally consistent with what one expects to find according to the literature. This indicates an appropriate fit between these two strands of analysis. Finally, data that does not obviously fall into any theme has also been utilised in order to provide a fuller picture of participants' narratives than would be possible through appealing solely to the content found within the identified themes. This includes information from participants' immediate environments (e.g. parish, house etc.) and social networks.

What may be concluded in light of this? In the previous chapter, participants' attitudes towards women were established and it was evidenced

how members of Reform, and a number of the Anglo-Catholics, possess gender values that fit a variety of the definitions/sub-definitions of sexism as identified in the social psychological literature. They also met the criteria for prejudice suppression, indicating that participants did not in fact share the full extent of their gender values, perhaps because they felt that they would not be seen as socially desirable to a potential audience engaging with this research. As a contrast, however, the charismatic evangelical participants did not evidence attitudes that met the criteria for sexism identified in this thesis, despite the fact that a minority in this group evidenced gender values that were not far removed from members of Reform.

The present chapter has built upon these findings by highlighting the way that the Reform and Anglo-Catholic narratives are void of the types of contact and wider circumstances that the social psychological literature identifies as undermining prejudice. It has also noted how the charismatic evangelical narratives evidence the presence of the type of contact and wider circumstances that undermine prejudice and so accompany more affirming attitudes towards women. In other words, this chapter and the previous one show that participants' narratives are consistent with the findings in the quantitative literature. Furthermore, this thesis builds on such studies by providing a detailed description of how these attitudes and accompanying behaviours manifest within the context of an historic and national institution in England that has been seen to be historically patriarchal and sexist (e.g. see Brown and Woodhead, 2016; Nason-Clark, 1987a). In this respect, this thesis also demonstrates empirically that such sexism still exists strongly within certain pockets of the C

of E. This chapter has also offered context-specific insights into the environments that persons with prejudicial attitudes find themselves in and how the former contribute to the latter, providing a more rounded knowledge and real life examples of prejudice and intergroup contact. Moreover, whereas other studies, such as Nason-Clark (1987a), have focused on functional sexism (i.e. a focus on the restriction of women's roles), this thesis has demonstrated the specific, underlying attitudes that accompany conservative gender norms in the Established Church. This is the first thesis to do so. This thesis has also offered a description of how the model of engaged orthodoxy manifests across the three most conservative traditions in the C of E in order to make comparisons between them. Once more, this is the first thesis to do so.

In addition to this, the present study has also identified the social forces behind participants' attitudes and behaviours. In order to do so it has charted the historic context that participants have inherited through participation in their respective traditions. However, as aforementioned, this is supplemented by an analysis of the psychological processes that form the gender values that participants articulated at interview. However, this thesis has not yet addressed the question of why the advent of women's ordination in particular can trigger the specific emotional responses identified in the narratives, nor has it discussed what these findings mean for the C of E and for gender equality in the UK more broadly. The directions of future research are also yet to be discussed, as are the limitations of the present study. It is now appropriate, therefore, to unpack these questions in the concluding chapter.

8. Summary, reflections and conclusions

8.1 Introduction

In this final chapter I will summarise what has been argued and achieved thus far in the thesis before I provide an explanation of the dominant psychological factors that motivate the attitudes and behaviours held by the clergy interviewed. I will then expand this theoretical lens by positing how the other theoretical lenses and strands of analysis fit together in order to form a coherent argument that accounts for the entirety of the thesis. Before the final conclusion is offered, I will outline the possible ways in which the C of E may respond to the findings presented by this thesis.

8.2 Summary of findings

I have established that the most conservative attitudes towards women that clergy possess regularly meet some, if not all, of the social psychological criteria for sexism that have been identified in scholarship. I have also demonstrated that clerical sexism occurs alongside insubstantial contact with women in less traditional roles and that those priests who are more affirming of more progressive gender roles articulate ongoing relationships with such women. Moreover, I have highlighted that the particular psychological emotions that are commonly understood to accompany prejudicial attitudes (Sani, 2005) are present in the narratives of those clergy who express gender norms that are sexist. Indeed, it has become apparent throughout the above analysis that clergy attitudes and behaviours are in keeping with the predictions made by scholarship on prejudice and intergroup processes, as well as on social categorization theory.

Furthermore, I have also shown the value that a qualitative analysis of prejudice and intergroup processes can bring to the endeavour of further understanding our social world. More specifically, I have demonstrated that in-depth interviews reveal the nuances and paradoxes that people report experiencing in their lives, something that the previous quantitative studies have been unable to provide. Participants' ambivalence towards certain topics, as well as their reticence to answer some of the questions asked of them also became apparent as did the reasons for these phenomena. These cannot be readily captured with quantitative methods and have shed light on clergy attitudes and

behaviours towards women. Providing participants with greater agency in how they answer questions has also provided further insight into clergy prejudice towards, or affirmation of, women in different contexts. The methods I employed to capture data enabled participants to express their attitudes using the language of their choosing, something that has also added analytical depth to this thesis. Additionally, capturing participants' answers in their own words has highlighted the connections between their attitudes towards, and levels of contact with, women and a number of other theoretical frameworks that have not previously been identified.

I have also shown that social capital and spiritual capital are important aspects of contact for those priests who regularly engage with female members of the clergy, that social capital and spiritual capital are shared during the type of contact that predicts affirming attitudes towards women, and that they are absent when the type of contact that undermines prejudice is also absent. Similarly, the above analysis has demonstrated that the ambiguous nature of male clergy interactions with the wider Church contributes to the embattled nature of engaged orthodoxy, and that the more negatively one views outgroups the more likely they are to resist them, and *vice versa* for those who have a more positive outlook on women clergy.

Furthermore, the impact that the C of E's historic traditions have on its current clergy has also been noted. I have argued that the traditions that clergy inherit shape their current attitudes towards women in different contexts. More specifically, those who possess prejudicial gender attitudes are those whom

belong to traditions that have felt threatened by greater gender equality and so have fought against them. Those who have inherited a tradition that has generally been more affirming of gender equality, however, tend to be affirming of women adopting any number of social roles. It is also important to note, however, that participants are not merely passive agents in this process, but can opt in to their respective traditions, as discussed in Chapter Five. In doing so, they can appropriate certain elements of these traditions, rearticulating them alongside their experiences, as seen in Chapter Six.

8.3 Theorizing the findings

This leaves the question of why these attitudes exist and why these behaviours occur in the first place. As I have stated in the methodology chapter, this thesis does not claim to offer a comprehensive explanation of clergy attitudes towards women. Rather, the stratification of reality is assumed, and a critical realist epistemology adopted, meaning that the methods and theories employed in my analysis are helpful for dissecting the social world of the clergy, but do not possess full explanatory power or claim an entirely objective understanding of human attitudes and behaviours. Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated throughout the thesis, the clergy closely reflect what has been identified in previous research on intergroup processes and prejudice, and self-categorization theory. I have also demonstrated that such research provides a robust framework with which to analyse this study's participants. What follows

is primarily a reflection of the data gained from those participants who evidenced sexism.

8.3.1 Self Identity Theory, Self Categorization Theory and Threatened Self-esteem

In the previous chapter I drew on previous research on self-categorization theory and outlined the role of group schisms in participants' narratives. What I did not explain was the role that self-esteem plays in social groups. Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) developed social identity theory. They explain that people are predisposed to in-group bias, exhibiting favouritism to those people with whom they identify and consider part of the same social group as themselves. They explain that this stems from the need to see positive distinctives about their in-group in order to maintain higher levels of self-esteem. However, this involves making generalisations about members of outgroups, seeing them as homogenous units and viewing them unfavourably (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986). This is because one's sense of group identity is interactive rather than stable, and so is formed in response to outgroups meaning that social groups are dependent on outgroups to shape their sense of identity (Turner and Oakes, 1986). This leads to discriminatory behaviour towards outgroups, particularly from groups with higher social status (Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986). This is because higher status groups possess greater social resources, something which they want to maintain in order justify their higher levels of self-esteem (Jost and Banaji, 1994).

These stereotypes are understood to be the route by which prejudice emerges given Allport's (1975) criteria for identifying this phenomenon that then formed the basis of Glick and Fiske's (1996) work on sexism (see Tajfel and Turner 1979). Furthermore, it is this social classification that forms the basis of inter-group relations because without such categories there could be no 'them' and 'us' (see Tajfel and Turner 1979). Scholarship therefore identifies the pursuit and maintenance of self-esteem as the primary underlying motivating force for contact avoidance, and for prejudicial attitudes and behaviours. Sani and Reicher (2000) explain how self-categorization theory builds on self-identity theory. In their work on reactions to the ordination of women in the early 1990s they write that the perceived departure from a group's historic norms trigger threats to a person's sense of self and belonging. They further write that this is the source of the negative emotion sets that I discussed in the previous chapter.

In other words, people avoid and react prejudicially towards outgroups because there is a sense of threat to the status of their group, whether that be to the privileged place that their group enjoys in society or to the perceived historic identity of their group. The narratives of the clergy partaking in this study that exhibit gender prejudice evidence a perceived threat to both. Baumeister, Boden and Smart (1996) were the first to provide substantial evidence that people can react and/or behave negatively towards a person or group when they perceive that their self-esteem is threatened, a claim that was born out in later research (e.g. Bushman and Baumeister, 1998). The utility of these studies lies in the fact that they are based on previous research and have also tested their hypothesis against new data. This approach has provided a significant sample size to draw

on for supporting the theory of threatened self-esteem. Moreover, later work by Crocker, Luthanen, Cooper and Bouvrette (2001) has argued that self-esteem is indeed contingent upon various sources that provide a person with their sense of identity (see also Crocker and Knight, 2005).

In light of this and the previous chapter, I argue that participants' sexist attitudes and behaviours are motivated by the threat that an outgroup poses to their sense of self-esteem, which is wrapped up in their identity as Anglican priests who hold either an evangelical or a catholic interpretation of their denomination. These interpretations are shaped by different theological presuppositions. In the case of the conservative evangelicals, it is the supremacy of Scripture, whereas in the case of the Anglo-Catholics it is unity with Rome. For those who display sexist attitudes or behaviours, their particular understanding of Anglicanism, including priesthood, is one where only men are ordained to run the ecclesial hierarchy, an idea that can be reinforced by appeals to Scripture and tradition. It is the fact that women possess the threat to this historic understanding of the Church that makes them objects of clerical sexism. The advent of women priests therefore threatens their identity as priests, as men, and as either evangelicals or Anglo-Catholics.

However, there are three additional points that I will bring to bear in order to clarify my argument. Firstly, there is the nature of self-esteem. Self-esteem is a potentially tricky concept to define and appears to be often misunderstood by non-specialist audiences, perhaps because of the ease of access one has to 'pop psychology'. It is therefore imperative to define more

precisely how I am using the term. Leary and Baumeister (2000) define it as a 'sociometer' that measures one's sense of worth in relationship to others. In this regard self-esteem is that which monitors one's social context in order to discern the extent of a person's relational value (Leary, 2005). The pursuit of self-esteem is therefore the pursuit of high appraisals (Leary, 2005). I therefore argue that the clergy who evidence sexism do so as a result of their perception that the introduction of women into what has historically been a male-only sphere diminishes their status as men, as priests, and as evangelicals or Anglo-Catholics.

Secondly, self-esteem is either contingent or non-contingent (Mruk, 1995). The former refers to self-esteem that is dependent on external sources, whereas the latter, also referred to as trait self-esteem, denotes one's sense of self-worth over time (Mruk, 1995). Threatened self-esteem, and therefore this thesis, is concerned with contingent self-esteem. Thus, this theoretical lens suggests that the clergy who evidence sexism do so because their contingent self-esteem is being threatened by the advent of women's ordination to the priesthood and consecration as bishops.

Thirdly, in the previous two chapters I have demonstrated that whilst women are the objects of sexism, it is both women and ministers in other (Anglican) theological traditions that are avoided by the clergy with more conservative gender attitudes. I have already demonstrated that the C of E takes on symbolic meaning for the participants who evidence gender-normative values, and that this leads them to avoid individuals who they associate with the C of E, particularly women. Therefore, the avoidance of the wider Church ought

to be understood as distancing themselves from what the wider Church symbolises for them, namely the theological liberalism that has led to the admission of women to the priesthood and the episcopate. In this respect avoiding contact with the wider C of E is a natural extension of avoiding women priests.

8.3.2 Social and spiritual capital

In this context spiritual capital is best understood as the product of the interaction between individuals who share a particular contingency— or contingencies— of self-worth (also see discussion in Chapter Seven). The clergy with more gender-normative attitudes interact most with those who are fellow male priests in their respective theological traditions. Naturally, this is where social capital and spiritual capital is most evident. The role of spiritual capital on participants' self-esteem, however, is circular not linear: social capital and spiritual capital reinforce the sense of social identity shared with in-group members through the process of bonding members together in an exclusive manner (see Putnam, 2000). It is this bonding process that reinforces shared identity because group commitment (the result of self-categorization) reinforces contingent self-esteem (Ellemers, Kortekaas and Ouwerkerk, 1999). Whilst the link between social capital and self-esteem has been previously noted (e.g. Gonzales and Hancock, 2011), these studies are rare and only relatively recent.

Nevertheless, there has been nothing published on the relationship between spiritual capital and self-esteem to date, nor has there been anything on the relationship between religion, self-esteem and social capital. This thesis

therefore advances the theory of spiritual capital by demonstrating how these bonds manifest in the lives of devotees and the impact that it has on them. Spiritual capital is evidently not only useful for understanding the privilege enjoyed by certain social groups, which previous research has demonstrated (e.g. Page, 2017). It also enables one to identify the very phenomena that reinforce a group's self-esteem. In this respect social capital and spiritual capital can also provide insight into the specific behaviours that can mitigate threats to contingent self-esteem because it is the process of in-group bonding and the reinforcement of group identity that enables individuals in any given in-group to maintain and increase self-esteem (see Tajfel and Turner 1979, 1986). This reinforces my argument that the sexist attitudes of the clergy also result from the way in which they interact with outgroups.

8.4 Further theorization

8.4.1 The historical context

My claim that priests with a sexist outlook are influenced by the threat to their contingent self-esteem is further advanced by considering the traditions they have opted into. The third and fourth chapters have outlined at length the negative, and at times outright hostile, reactions that evangelicalism had towards changing gender norms, and that this was particularly true of the conservative end of the evangelical spectrum. Furthermore, the sixth and seventh chapters have demonstrated how this aspect of the tradition's history is still expressed by conservative evangelical clergy in the present. There is thus an evident

continuity of resistance towards increasing gender equality that has been identified in the narratives of Reform participants.

Similarly, this thesis has highlighted that Anglo-Catholicism emerged as a reactionary movement against the perceived threat to the status of the clergy in English society. Moreover, both the conservative evangelical and the Anglo-Catholic traditions were operating in a social milieu where the role of the C of E was seemingly being marginalised in the life of the English people. Indeed, one must take note of the fact that resistance among such clergy towards society, and towards the C of E, has historically been at its most prominent during times of increased equality for women in particular, as this thesis has noted throughout. I argue that this is more than a mere coincidence.

The privileged status that white men continue to enjoy in society is well documented. This thesis has also demonstrated that the clergy historically, as well as those interviewed, nearly all match this description. In fact this is true for all those participants who evidence sexism. In addition to this, Aldridge (1993) has noted how the clergy understand themselves as having an elite status, akin to that which academics enjoy. Many of the participants were either ordained or in the process of ordination training when the research for Aldridge's article was underway. The remainder of the participants revealed that they worked in close proximity to, and under the leadership of, those who inherited this understanding of clergy status. For instance, those who were a part of Forward in Faith or Reform have opted into a network that has been run by the generation of clergy that Aldridge describes. The clergy who displayed sexism

are therefore those operating in a context where their privileged status was assumed.

This privileged status would have encompassed the concept of 'maleness' because historically the clergy have always been male, and even the younger participants surrounded themselves with those who take the view that only men are suitable for Church leadership. I have demonstrated that this was true prior to ordination training, during training, and after their ordination. In other words, even for those clergymen who were ordained into a Church that also ordained women, the privilege of men in that institution was normative. Given that maleness is a part of the privileged identity of these clergymen, the idea of women priests or bishops would indeed be a threat to their contingent self-esteem because it would require them to share social resources, such as status, with an outgroup. This has been best evidenced in the discussion of participants' emotions in Chapter Seven.

The fact that the clergymen interviewed have opted into their respective traditions indicates that Swingewood's (2000) tight coupling contributes to their self-esteem and therefore indirectly to its threat as well as to the subsequent responses that participants have towards women. As discussed in the methodology chapter, Swingewood argues that one opts into a social framework that binds groups together because it serves their motives. It is unsurprising that white men seeking a priestly vocation would choose to immerse themselves in groups such as Reform or Forward in Faith because it enables them to occupy a position that is thought to be privileged. By joining such groups or their

associated traditions these men can continue to operate in a social sphere that affirms their sense of privileged status. Membership of such social circles provides these clergymen with higher levels of contingent self-esteem through a sense of shared worth and belonging with those who they perceive to be similar to themselves (i.e. white, tertiary educated, male Protestants).

Embracing their respective multiple traditions (e.g. Anglican *and* conservative evangelical, or Anglican *and* traditional catholic) also means that these priests embrace the heritage related to each one. Participants' contingent self-esteem is therefore impacted by where they situate themselves on the crossroads of history and the present. Whilst social categorization theory acknowledges that self-esteem is impacted by one's perception of the historic norms of their social group, I argue that this idea needs to be further developed: the historic traditions *themselves*, when they are embraced by the clergy, impact upon their contingent self-esteem because by opting into a conservative tradition their status as male priests becomes a part of their self-worth.

8.4.2 Engaged orthodoxy

The conservative evangelical— and the majority of Anglo-Catholic— clergy evidently hold an ambiguous attitude towards their denomination. In light of the analysis so far, the tension between rejection and acceptance of the Established Church that these clergy navigate is best understood as resulting from the fact that their identity lies in their Anglican priesthood, but that this identity is also under threat. However, social identities are dependent on outgroups to compete with and react against in order to reinforce the identity of

the in-group (e.g. see Bielo, 2011). This means that those clergymen who evidence engaged orthodoxy are dependent on the very institution that threatens their identity in order to preserve this same identity (see Smith et al., 1998). Participants' engaged orthodoxy is thus an outworking of an intergroup paradox. Smith et al. (1998) have argued that evangelical identity thrives off this tension in the US context, and Guest (2007a) has demonstrated its applicability in the UK context. Nevertheless, I offer the first example of this model applied to a non-evangelical conservative Protestant group. I also offer the first detailed explanation of how this relates to the self-esteem of those who embrace the engaged orthodoxy model. This means clergy who hold sexist attitudes also do so because their sense of identity is dependent upon an ambivalent attitude towards their denomination. This is because, as aforementioned, prejudice is formed within the process of inter-group relations.

8.4.3 Affirming clergy

I refer to the clergy who did not evidence a sexist outlook as 'affirming clergy' because they were happy to accept women as priests and bishops, and in a broader variety of other positions in society without reservation. I have previously established that these clergymen have their identities as male priests in either the more liberal or charismatic evangelical tradition, or in Anglo-Catholicism. However, there is apparently no threat to their contingent self-esteem given that they do not evidence any of the criteria for intergroup tensions or associated prejudices. I argue that there are two distinct, yet related, reasons for this based in our data.

Firstly, these participants evidently work with their female colleagues. Much of the work on prejudice and intergroup contact has demonstrated that working with outgroups, particularly on projects that require mutual dependence, undermine prejudice and lead to members of different social groups to view each other as belonging to one superordinate group (e.g. see Brown, 2011). Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain whether those who do so are less prejudiced to begin with or whether contact undermines their prejudice. This is because the quantitative studies indicate that both can be simultaneously true (Brown, 2011). Thus, it is entirely possible that both work in tandem.

Secondly, affirming clergymen from both the evangelical and the Anglo-Catholic traditions demonstrate a bridging approach to their social capital and spiritual capital. That is, rather than reinforcing an exclusive group identity through bonding, these participants form relationships with those outside of their immediate or most obvious social group in order to share capital with them (see Putnam, 2000). Once more, this highlights the close relationship between social capital and spiritual capital and intergroup processes. An examination of social capital and spiritual capital between social groups—or between groups that one may expect to have distinct social identities— highlights the specific ways in which prejudice-reducing contact becomes manifest. That is, it is the process of bridge-building capital that provides space for these types of contact to occur. This thesis thus builds on the current understanding of spiritual capital by recognizing the relevance of Putnam's (2000) distinction between bonding and bridging forms of social capital for the exploration of spiritual capital.

In addition to this, the affirming clergy interviewed did not evidence any clear signs of engaged orthodoxy. Given the extent of the evidence that indicates how one's social identity depends on reacting against the identities of other social groups, it is unlikely that this is because these participants did not resist outgroups. Rather, the most likely explanation is that the C of E and their female colleagues are simply not considered to be outgroups, or at least are not outgroups unworthy of creating bridging capital with. The literature would suggest that these participants would have out-groups that they define themselves against, but there was no substantial indication in the data as to who this may be. The closest reference that these participants made to defining themselves against another group was when they distinguished themselves from conservative evangelicals when discussing their hermeneutical practices. However, these statements were accompanied by expressing a level of sympathy to the passion for Scripture that they perceive conservative evangelicals to have (see chapter six). Thus, further study is needed to determine what outgroups the charismatic evangelical participants may have.

There is an additional matter that must also be taken into consideration, however. The charismatic evangelical participants were not typically part of a formal network, or were not part of one that met on a regular basis. This means that there are fewer opportunities for them to share social or spiritual capital with colleagues in the same tradition as themselves. It also means that there are fewer opportunities for this particular sense of identity to be reinforced (see Tajfel and Turner, 1979). Thus, the divide between them and potential outgroups will be less pronounced.

The two Anglo-Catholic participants who did not evidence sexism explained that they had changed their theology based on their interactions with women priests, whether that contact was direct or indirect. With Evan his theological assumptions about women were evidently challenged amidst ongoing contact of the kind that undermines prejudice. This was demonstrated in the previous chapter.

Aaron's case was less obvious, however, because the contact with a woman priest that led him to change his attitude in this area was indirect. However, spiritual capital can provide further insight. He explained that the way that his colleague presided at communion impressed him because there was no difference between the way that she consecrated the bread and wine and what he considered best practice. Receiving the Eucharist is appropriately seen as a form of spiritual capital because, according to Anglo-Catholic belief, it offers a sense of intimate connection with Christ and is a sacrament that can offer salvation. Thus, I argue that for Aaron seeing a woman priest providing this capital quite competently has contributed to his more affirming attitudes of women's ordination to the priesthood and consecration as bishops. Whilst Anglo-Catholics doubt the efficacy of the sacraments when performed by a woman, Aaron did not believe he had a reason to do so once he saw a woman appear to preside at the altar in the same manner as he had been taught at his training institution. For him, it is still a matter of self-esteem, however, because he was able to share in the spiritual resources that women priests offer through administering communion.

Aaron's role as a military chaplain at this stage in his ministry is also relevant. As he was regularly away he was unable to immerse himself in a network such as Forward in Faith, and as the only priest in much of his working context he would not have been afforded the same opportunities to reinforce his assumptions about the role of women in the Church like many of his Anglo-Catholic colleagues.

8.5 An integrated methodology

Therefore, in keeping with the epistemological underpinning of this thesis, there are evidently numerous factors that shape male clergy attitudes towards women in different social roles. These epistemologies specifically claim that they do not offer exclusive insight into the social world and/recognise the subjective state of the researchers and theories that explore it. In doing so they provide an important opportunity to understand human thinking and interaction from multiple yet complementary angles. The stratification of reality, critical realism, the level of abstraction, and tight coupling have therefore provided an effective platform for the exploration of a multiplicity of factors that shape human attitudes towards gender. Collectively, these theoretical lenses offer an explanation of social causality that recognises human agency as well as the role of contextual factors for shaping events, behaviours, and attitudes. Thus, I argue that these four theories ought to be collectively utilised in order to provide a fuller understanding of the social world that relies on a series of epistemological lenses that are consistent with each other.

8.6 An integrated theory of clergy attitudes towards gender

Previous scholarship has argued that self-esteem, intergroup contact, and prejudice are intimately related psychological phenomena, a claim that has been well received amongst social scientists. I have argued that historic social behaviours significantly shape self-esteem and the related attitudes towards—and contact with— outgroups. I have further argued that engaged orthodoxy, and social and spiritual capital do likewise. In light of this I will articulate a theory of the origins of clergy attitudes towards women that integrates all of these theories into a conceptual whole.

As has been established, the clergy's contingent self-esteem is reliant upon their intersectional identity as male Anglican priests, either as evangelicals or Anglo-Catholics. These identities are shaped by each tradition's history, which the clergy decide to opt into in the pursuit of self-esteem. This causes them to interact with those who are also male evangelical/Anglo-Catholic Anglican priests. During this contact social and/or spiritual capital is shared amongst their in-groups and symbolic boundaries are drawn between themselves and their perception of the outgroups that they encounter.³⁹ This enables participants to further pursue or maintain their self-esteem. However, the emergence of symbolic boundaries also involves navigating a tension between contact and

³⁹ It is important to remember that participants who exhibit prejudicial attitudes often caricature out-groups through appeals to stereotypes (see Chapter Six). This means that the symbolic boundaries are not simply drawn with out-groups as they are, but as they are perceived.

avoidance with outgroups in order to affirm one's social identity by contrasting their in-group to others, or through bridging social/spiritual capital. Both are for the advancement of a group's contingent self-esteem.

Furthermore, whether a group reacts negatively or positively towards an outgroup depends upon the extent to which their self-esteem is threatened by the outgroup. If a social group is able to share social or spiritual resources then the threat of the outsider is limited because the in-group's contingent self-esteem is still advanced. However, if these resources are not shared then one's social group is in fiercer competition with others. Therefore, how a group works out their capital shapes how they respond to outgroups, specifically whether or not they hold prejudicial attitudes towards them. In fact, how a group manages their social/spiritual capital further shapes prejudice, or the lack thereof, because bridging capital leads to the types of contact that undermine prejudice, whereas bonding capital facilitates contact avoidance. Moreover, because prejudice encourages contact-avoidance, the way social/spiritual capital is managed leads to a cycle of either positive interaction, or avoidance of outgroups. Thus, it is the process of behaviours related to capital that proves pivotal for intergroup relations and participants' perceptions of other groups of clergy, not least women.

There is, however, a caveat to this theory. Intergroup relations are circular rather than linear. There is no clear point at which relations within a group or between groups start or stop. Therefore, the integrated theory that I propose needs to recognize that members of the clergy can enter into any stage

of my theory at any point and that several stages can occur simultaneously. My articulation of an integrated theory is thus concerned with separating the distinct parts of the self-esteem and intergroup process for the sake of clarity rather than because these are entirely distinct processes.

8.7 A further reflection on engaged orthodoxy

Those acquainted with Smith et al.'s (1998) model will be aware that he dismisses the idea that social discontent lies behind the ambivalent engagement that conservative Protestants exhibit towards their wider social context. Their argument certainly holds given their data in the US comes primarily from white, working class communities. However, this thesis has demonstrated that in the English context Smith et al.'s (1998) dismissal does not apply. Whilst this thesis has not evidenced status discontent theory in the way that Smith et al. explore it, it has nevertheless found that the sense of threat to one's social status is at the core of clergy gender prejudice. This highlights the need to apply caution before applying a theoretical lens derived from another culture into a different context. Moreover, it also highlights the distinct challenges that arise when examining the narratives of religious professionals because the question of status is central, particularly in the English context where Anglican clerics have enjoyed privileged status for centuries.

8.8 Possible applications

The fact that sexism has been found in the narratives of a significant amount of the clergy partaking in this research poses an important question for the Established Church at this time. In the introduction I explained that gender equality is a normative value in contemporary England, and that affiliation with the C of E is not only at an historic low, but now less than half of the country consider themselves to be a member of the C of E, practising or otherwise (British Social Attitudes, 2018). Whilst an edited volume by Goodhew and Cooper (2018) indicates that de-secularisation may be an emerging phenomenon within the UK, the position of the C of E is nevertheless a precarious one, not least because much church growth exists outside of mainline denominations (see Goodhew and Cooper 2018). Moreover, de-secularisation is not the equivalent of re-sacralisation (Brown, 2018), and so the place of the Established Church in England is precarious to say the least.

Additionally, as the evangelical tradition within the C of E has arguably been the largest one for some time, the gender values explored in this thesis will arguably become even more commonplace amongst the clergy. It is therefore prudent and timely for the C of E to re-evaluate its training for ordinands and clergy, the reflective practice of clergy, and its ecclesial structure in a way that fosters healthier attitudes towards women. I will therefore offer a number of ways that the Church could approach this concern by reflecting on the findings of intergroup contact and prejudice reduction.

8.8.1 Implications for training

This study has identified that the sharing of social and/or spiritual capital is an important factor for changing clergy attitudes towards women. It has also demonstrated, in keeping with previous research, that extended contact that involves co-operation and goal sharing has achieved likewise and is present in the narratives of clergy who hold affirming attitudes towards women in different social contexts. In light of this, I would argue that the discernment process for ordained ministers must consider the proven ability for potential ordinands to collaborate and share resources with those who are sociologically distinct from themselves as a required criterion for selection for training. Whilst the current selection criteria for ordained ministry does require evidence of collaboration as a prerequisite of selection for ordination (Ministry Division, 2014), the criteria does not specify that examples must be provided from interactions with people quite distinct from themselves. Also, whilst those training for ministry must adhere to the Five Guiding Principles, this does not amount to agreeing to work closely with those who have different theological positions. Rather, clergy are only required to assent to the fact that the C of E has reached a firm decision on the appropriateness of women's ordination and consecration regardless of one's personal beliefs on the matter.

A weakness of my approach is that, according to research on intergroup contact, prejudice reduction is unlikely to occur if it is coerced rather than purely voluntary (Brown 2011). However, if clergy must evidence a willingness to engage with those who are likely to identify with different social groups to

themselves then this will not present itself as a significant issue because many more of those going forward for ordination training will be more willing to do so.

The C of E's theological colleges are currently required to ensure that ordinands are willing to serve within the breadth and diversity of the C of E. Whilst placements form a part of an ordinand's theological training, a number of participants explained that during their placements they had very little engagement with clergy from other traditions that required sustained contact and/or co-operation. It is therefore important that training institutions continue to ensure exposure to breadth and diversity as part of ordinands' placements.

It is also worth affirming the current ways that the C of E are including women in the life of the Church. The increase of women in theological education institutions since many of this thesis' participants trained has the ability to cultivate a more affirming culture of women's ministry, not least because the relationships that participants' reported with their tutors included the type of contact that has been argued to reduce prejudice (see Brown, 2011) as well as social capital. Indeed, tutors in the Church's training institutions will be sharing spiritual resources with ordinands through the process of teaching and enabling them to form priestly identities.

8.8.2 Implications for ecclesiology

At the moment the C of E functions in a way that allows gender traditionalists to boycott the authority of women as priests and bishops. This is a form of schism in functional terms because the clergy do not have to accept the

apostolic succession of women bishops or those who are ordained by women. Rather, they are permitted to place themselves under the authority of a gender traditionalist bishop, meaning that they do not come under the jurisdiction of the wider Church to the same extent that other clergy do. Nevertheless, this has been arranged for the sake of supposed unity; the Established Church has claimed that if different traditions co-exist with their differences it can consider itself to be a unified denomination (see Carey, 2004). Equally, the C of E has made it very clear that it expects gender traditionalists to accept that the Church is clear in its commitment to ordaining women to the priesthood and consecrating them as bishops (see Ferns, 2014).

In light of this, I argue that it would be consistent with current ecclesiology for the C of E to adopt something similar to what Linda Woodhead refers to as the 'franchise model'⁴⁰. This is the idea that different traditions within the C of E should seek to sustain themselves rather than rely on the wider Church for funding. Woodhead has suggested that this especially ought to be the case for the traditions that do not conform to the C of E's decision to accept the full, ordained ministry of women.⁴¹ However, she explains that this will also allow such churches greater autonomy because they can decide how to direct

⁴⁰ This is from my notes on an unpublished public lecture given by Woodhead on 19th October 2016 on her co-authored book *That was the church that was: How the Church of England lost the English people* at Newcastle Cathedral.

⁴¹ Personal communication, October 27th 2018.

their financial resources and have their own bishops with theological convictions that they are more comfortable with.

The merit in this idea for the purpose of this thesis lies in the fact that identities rely on othering and exclusivity for their existence (e.g. Tajfel and Turner, 1979). It is therefore possible that clergy who express sexism will not readily change their outlook towards the C of E simply because they need to oppose it in order for their present social identity to survive. This being the case, if the above suggestions fail to deliver results for some of the gender normative clergy within the Established Church, then this is a viable option. In this model, they will still remain a part of the C of E and Anglican Communion whilst also gaining in autonomy. However, in this scenario, future women priests in positions of ecclesial authority (such as bishops) will no longer have to relinquish authority to flying bishops because the diocesan boundaries will be redesigned and no longer incorporate congregations with gender traditionalist clergy.

8.8.3 A (very) preliminary reflection on theology

This is not the place to offer any substantial theological reflection. However, the C of E is a religious institution and so theology is presumably at the centre of its ecclesiology. If my suggestions are to appeal to the Church, it is important to offer a very initial starting point for a theological justification for my solution to the issue of sexism. Moreover, sociologist of religion Randal Balmer (2016) has offered a preliminary theological reflection on his suggestion that conservative Protestants must avoid working with mainline churches if

their churches are to thrive in the US context because, Balmer believes, a partisan and separatist approach to religion protects different churches from being too similar, thus allowing them to compete in the market place of religion and attract more followers. His reflections are useful in our case. Balmer (2016) realises that for his ideas to be implemented, a theological lens must be offered to the US Church in order to justify his sociological position because, like the C of E, it appeals to theology to justify their actions. Balmer uses Jesus' prayer for Christian unity in John 17 as his starting point. He then explains that this is to be realised at the Second Coming rather than in our earthly lives. In light of this, Balmer argues that it is theologically appropriate for conservative Protestants to avoid interacting with other theological traditions.

Balmer's theological suggestion, however, is lacking one key component. Many biblical scholars agree that there is an eschatological significance in much of the New Testament, but they also argue that an inaugurated theology exists, meaning that the implications of the Second Coming start to manifest on earth at the present time, despite being fully realised in the future (e.g. see Dunn, 1998). If one is to offer a conversation starter for theologically justifying a sociological outlook, using eschatology to do so, then one must also appeal to a common understanding of it. I thus posit that my final suggestion for tackling clerical sexism readily reflects this theological tension because it offers a looser form of affiliation with the Church whilst falling short of an official break within the Communion.

8.8.4 Additional considerations

It is also worthwhile expressing a warning that relates to how gender traditionalists are viewed within the Established Church. As aforementioned, the literature on prejudice and intergroup contact demonstrates that everyone is predisposed to distinguish themselves from some and align themselves with others, forming in-groups and outgroups. In fact, this stems from the evolutionary need to live in manageable sized communities (Harari, 2011). Indeed, the Reform narratives and Anglo-Catholic narratives indicated instances when other clergy had drawn clear distinctions between themselves and the participants. Such behaviour risks reinforcing outgroup prejudice amongst gender traditionalists and those with more affirming attitudes towards women. It is counterproductive to create fertile soil in which prejudice towards gender traditionalists can grow whilst combatting gender prejudice because it swaps one type of prejudice for the other. It is therefore important for the C of E to consider how it will seek to reduce prejudice and adopt the above suggestions in such a way that does not risk creating yet more prejudice amongst the clergy. However, scope does not permit a detailed analysis of this here.

Nevertheless, as the Established Church, the C of E's role is to be accessible to all, yet as Brown & Woodhead (2016) have discussed, its gender values have alienated a generation of women that has led to subsequent generations lacking such a significant connection with the C of E that their ancestors once had. This disconnection was apparent in the 2012 vote on consecrating women as bishops. The Prime Minister at the time, David Cameron, told the C of E to "get on with it" (Wintour and Davies, 2012) and allow women

to become bishops. Rowan Williams, the Archbishop of Canterbury that same year, also expressed his concerns that the rejection of consecrating women to the episcopate would not be understandable to wider society ("Women Bishops", 2012). Evidently, the C of E is failing in its national responsibility by allowing such gender values to remain within it. In this respect, the present thesis highlights the disjunction between the English church and the people it is supposed to serve.

8.9 Directions for future research

This thesis has addressed the issue of gender inequality within the C of E. As it has done so it has demonstrated the various influences that contribute to this inequality. However, the implications of these findings raise further questions that have not been addressed because scope does not permit it. Nevertheless, these are important questions and so require further exploration if inequality and prejudice is to be eradicated from the Established Church. The present study has observed clergy attitudes and behaviours in one diocese. The advantage of this has been evident; the depth of analysis on offer has justified this approach. The advantages of employing self-reporting methods have also been highlighted throughout this thesis. Notwithstanding, there are additional areas that can be studied and methods utilised. For instance, it would be beneficial to compare the results of this study to those of one conducted in a more homogenous diocese, not least because there could conceivably be less in-group exclusivity if outgroups are less distinct from the in-group. Additionally,

structured or participant observation strategies will complement the methods I have employed because it will provide an examination of how clergy attitudes play out *in situ*.

It will also be pertinent to examine other traditions within the C of E. The present study has examined an unusual group of charismatic evangelicals who have incorporated a number of other theological traditions into their own theological and spiritual praxis. However, there are charismatic groups, such as the HTB network, that are less likely to reflect this heterogeneity because it is a more organised branch of the C of E that trains its own curates to then lead or plant other churches. It is entirely possible that this would lead to quite different results to what I have found amongst charismatic evangelicals in the diocese I have studied. Examining other Anglican traditions will also present a fuller picture of how the C of E facilitates gender in/equality. This thesis has only explored more traditional factions of the Church and so can only offer an understanding of these wings of the Church.

Moreover, I have previously mentioned that other Christian traditions are on the rise, particularly in London. An examination of Pentecostal churches would therefore be an appropriate venture, not least because they too can articulate traditional gender attitudes (e.g. see Aune, 2006). As the C of E risks further decline, it is certainly worthwhile investing time and energy in understanding how growing Christian churches view the roles of women in church and wider society and how this is enacted.

Furthermore, it is the laity who typically interact more fully in life outside of the Church. Whether they are working in a non-religious context, engage with other parents at school or in children's groups, or whether they are involved in their local communities through organisations such as sports clubs or a Neighbourhood Watch, they are more immersed in secular or pluralistic life than are clergy. It is therefore important to understand how their gender values and norms manifest in life beyond the Church given that gender in/equality is not solely an ecclesial or religious concern. Indeed, because the social interactions of laity will be different from that of the clergy, their social identity, social capital, and contact can shape their gender values in quite different ways to their church leaders.

It ought also to be evident that there is a distinct lack of female voices in this thesis. I have justified this by explaining that an understanding of male gender attitudes is necessary given the power that they wield in society. Nevertheless, both female clergy and laity will undoubtedly provide crucial insight into the manifestation and impact of gender inequality within the C of E today. Their experiences will also provide valuable insight around the discussions of policies and structures that are designed to erase sexism from the Church. I argue, however, that this must also include the voice of theologically conservative women. Whilst sexism can be internalised and this can cause women to perpetuate their inequality (e.g. see Jost and Banaji, 1994), any feminist endeavour is counter-productive if it denies women the platform to voice their gender values.

Also, the literature that shows how sexism can be internalised is quantitative in design and so gives a large-scale picture of prejudice internalisation, rather than being able to account for all circumstances. It is theoretically possible for women to hold traditional gender norms without having internalised sexism. This does not preclude the utility of a quantitative study, however. Such an undertaking can provide fuller evidence of the extent that threatened self-esteem and intergroup relations predict sexism and it can demonstrate the likelihood of causality across a larger sample of clergy.

8.10 Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that the gender values of male Anglican clergy are diverse, even within some of the more conservative traditions, although some of them are more homogenous than others. The heterogeneity of the three traditions studied in this thesis is clearly related to the way that each of the traditions are structured; those with regular meetings and clear network boundaries consist of clergy with views that are more similar to each other than those that are more loosely organised. Given the functions of intergroup contact discussed above, this is unsurprising.

Furthermore, the C of E must understand that it is its own heritage that contributes to current clergy attitudes towards women; clerical sexism is not only the result of the actions of individuals or specific traditions within the Established Church. If this is to be acknowledged then it would be consistent

with the Church's present teaching to offer an apology for its previous gender norms given its assertion that it is theologically correct for women to possess any office within the ecclesial hierarchy. Indeed, this would undermine the legitimacy of the theological conservatism that is employed in order to justify sexist outlooks.

Nevertheless, it is important to understand that the attitudes and actions of the clergy are the result of intergroup processes. These are universal psychological processes (see Bielo, 2011) and so in this respect the root of clerical sexism is not as atypical of the wider population as one may initially assume. Thus, it is important to understand that, whilst they have agency, like all other human beings they have not inherited a blank social canvas and so are influenced towards particular ways of understanding the world. I do not argue this in order to offer an apology or excuse for the social implications of sexism, however. Rather, it is important to highlight the inconsistency of 'othering' clergy with gender normative outlooks. This is because it is inconsistent to criticise participants for othering out-groups whilst doing likewise. Indeed, if sexism is to be challenged then one must understand that the research on prejudice to date demonstrates the transformative power of bridge building social/spiritual capital over and above bonding capital.

This study has also highlighted that it is possible to possess a relatively conservative gender attitude and yet not meet the psychological criteria for sexism. Similarly, some participants have evidenced the presence of one type of sexism in their narratives but not the other. Indeed, others still have evidenced

some of the criteria but not all for any one of the types of sexism that this thesis has explored. Sexist attitudes can thus impact our thinking in subtle ways, even amongst those who cannot be said to possess a sexist outlook. It is therefore necessary to understand that for sexism to be sufficiently challenged an awareness of how wider narratives can impact upon our own gender values needs to be cultivated.

In addition to this, it is apparent that the origins of clerical sexism lie not exclusively in Judaeo-Christian Scripture which has passages prohibiting women from undertaking certain activities, but also in the social milieu that leads devotees to favour particular hermeneutical strategies over others (cf Peek and Brown, 1980). This study has also evidenced that the method employed in empirical studies is important for capturing the extent of nuance and depth that are present in the social world. One's choice of methodological design can capture details not initially obvious or expected. This has been particularly true for employing theories used in quantitative research for qualitative means. It is therefore important to consider how well tested and utilised quantitative studies may be adapted for capturing as of yet neglected features of people's lives qualitatively.

The importance of applying different theoretical lenses to interpret data has also become apparent. It is because participants' narratives reflected behaviours and attitudes associated with a variety of social theories that I decided to pursue multiple lines of enquiry. In doing so I have found a series of interlocking relationships between various social phenomena that have

previously gone unnoticed. This also reinforces the necessity of selecting methods of data collection that are conducive to a very detailed exploration of people's social world.

Finally, it ought to be stated that gender equality is an ongoing battle. The C of E is a national institution and one of England's oldest. However, its employment strategy is entirely inconsistent with the wider legal structures that the British government has implemented over the last forty-five years. Therefore, if the C of E is to maintain its privileged position in the life of the nation then it is appropriate to more intentionally challenge the patriarchy that evidently exists within its structures. If it were to do so the Church would be providing a potent symbol that gender equality is indeed increasing in English society.

Appendices

Appendix A- Invitation letter

Dear.....

My name is Alex Fry, a PhD student in Theology at Durham University. I am supervised between the Department of Theology and Religion, and Cranmer Hall. I hope you don't mind me contacting you, but I thought you might be interested in contributing to my research.

I am exploring the factors which contribute towards clergy attitudes towards the statuses of men and women in British society from the 1960s to the current day. In particular I am conducting an interview based study on how Anglican clergy, such as yourself, respond to the major challenges and opportunities in the ministry of the Church of England in light of these cultural changes.

My intention is to produce a thesis which explains how those in parish leadership understand such changes. It is intended that the findings will be helpful in assisting the Church of England identify areas of its ministry which may benefit from further reflection on how it engages with these cultural changes.

The study will involve one on one interviews with willing members of the clergy who are either assistant curates or incumbents, or hold incumbent status. The interviews will take place at a time and place of convenience to the participant.

If you would be interested in taking part in this research I would be grateful to hear from you.

Indeed, if you have any further questions I would be very happy to answer them.

With best wishes,

Alex David James Fry

Department of Theology and Religion;

St John's College,

Durham University.

Appendix B- Information sheet

Information Sheet for PhD Research: How do Anglican clergy respond to the changes in the statuses of men and women in British society?

The intention of this research is to produce a thesis which explains how those in parish leadership understand and respond to changes regarding the roles of men and women in society from the 1960s to the present day. It is intended that the findings will be helpful in assisting the Church of England identify areas of its ministry which may benefit from further reflection on how it engages with these cultural changes.

The interviews will be one to one, in a place of convenience to the participant and will be audio recorded. Written notes may also be taken during the interview. It is anticipated that they will take approximately one hour.

Participants are free to withdraw their consent at any time, without specifying a reason, and if they wish to do so they should write to the researcher by email alex.d.fry@durham.ac.uk.

This project is supervised by Dr. Jocelyn Bryan (j.m.bryan@durham.ac.uk) who is a tutor at Cranmer Hall, and lay reader in the Church of England. It is also supervised by Dr. Matthew Guest (m.j.guest@durham.ac.uk) who is Reader in the Sociology of Religion in the Department of Theology and Religion.

This research is financially supported from a number of bodies associated with the Church of England, including; The Latimer Trust, the St. Luke's College Foundation, the St Hild and St Bede Trust, and the Foundation of St. Matthias.

The research proposal has been approved by the Research Ethics Committee here at Durham University, and the Data Protection Act (1998) will be strictly adhered to, assuring anonymity; all data collected will be destroyed after the study is complete. In the meantime all data will be stored on a password protected hard drive and a secure password protected email address which only the researcher will have access to. Furthermore, particulars such as participants' parishes or diocese will not be disclosed and pseudonyms will be used in any and all work produced.

All participants will be asked to fill in a consent form and it will be ensured that you have had the opportunity to discuss any questions you may have.

The end goal of the research will be a PhD thesis of up to 100,000 words, which might then be published afterwards. If this is the case, then this could take the form of a single book, as a series of academic journal articles, or presented at academic conferences.

Appendix C- Interview questions

Q 1) I understand that the process of discernment for ordination can be a personal journey for people. But I would really appreciate it if you could you describe to me your vocational journey starting from your initial sense that God may have been calling you to full time Christian service.

Prompts:

*What were the key turning points in this journey?

*Where did you train?

*How influential do you think your incumbent, DDO, or bishop were in this process?

Q 2) What did those closest to you think about you being in ordained ministry?

Prompts:

*What impact (if any) does this have on you?

*What impact specifically did your wife have upon your vocational journey?

*Are there any other significant women in your life that played a part in your vocational journey prior or after ordination?

Q 3) I gather that the training for ordination has many components to it. How did you find the more academic components of your training and why?

Prompts:

*What areas of study/formation did you most enjoy and why?

* Which did you least enjoy and why?

* Can you describe your relationships with fellow ordinands like? And people on your placements?

* Did you train alongside any women? If so what was your relationship with them like?

* Why did you choose your college- what the gender question involved in your decision making?

* Did you have any women teachers at college? What positions did they take and what impact did they have on you?

Q 4) The C of E has a reputation for being, quite literally, a broad church. How do you feel about working with members of the clergy and laity who hold different theological positions to yourself? Can you give me as specific example?

Prompts:

*How do you think this affected your working/personal relationship with them?

*What is your working style- alone or as a team?

Q 5) On the topic of similarities and differences, some think that one of the more controversial decisions in recent years has been the ordination of women to the priesthood and then their consecration to the episcopate. Are you happy to share your thoughts on these decisions?

Prompts:

*Can you explain to me your understanding of the Bible's instructions about the roles of men and women in church? Specifically 1 Tim. 2-3, 1 Cor. 11 and 14, Gen.

2. How do you arrive at those conclusions?

*Are there any other Bible passages you would refer to?

*What is the role of men/women in the Church?

*Does the role of women in the Church inform your understanding of women's roles in the family or wider society?

*What do you understand feminism to be? What is your opinion of feminism?

*Do you think there are any positive reasons for women's ordination?

*Can you give me any specific examples of your experience of women in church leadership, ordained or lay? How comfortable have you felt with them in these positions?

*Were there any positive or negative aspects to your experience of their leadership?

*And to what extent do you think these experiences have impacted your theology?

*Have any particular preachers, theologians, books or media influenced your theology in this area?

*How do you think you would have felt if men were not permitted to train for ordination prior to 1992, or if some Anglicans resisted male leadership/ordination?

*What do you think about male headship/female submission?

*Do you teach your views on the matter to your congregation? In what format?

Q 6) The C of E appears to be undergoing a lot of social change. Are there any other key areas in the life of the C of E which are important to you? What is your reaction to/ interpretation of these issues?

Prompts:

*What is your understanding of the church's mission? can you give examples of how you engage in mission?

Q 7) I would imagine that in the course of your ministry you have had some tough choices to make without the gift of hindsight available to you at the time. Can you talk about some specific times when you felt vulnerable in your ministry?

Prompts:

*Did you feel any negative/ positive emotions?

*Have you told anyone about these struggles, either at the time, or afterwards?

Q 8) Do you think it's important that the church engages with wider society? How have you specifically gone about doing this in your own ministry?

Q 9) Is there anything else which you'd like to add? Do you know anyone who might like to contribute to this research?

Appendix D- Consent form



CONSENT FORM

Title of Project:

How do Anglican clergy respond to the changes in the statuses of men and women in British society?

Name of Researcher: Alex David James Fry

Please initial box

Table with 2 columns: Statement, Initial box. Contains 5 numbered consent statements.

Participant

Name Signature Date
.....

Researcher

Name Signature Date
Alex David James Fry.

Appendix E- Unexpected findings in the data

Tradition/ example	Further explanation	Representative citation
Anglo-Catholic		
Not all participants expressed being staunchly against the ordination of women	-----	-----
	<i>Many expressed that their reservations were based on doubt over the validity of women's holy orders.</i>	"I don't know whether women can be priests; only God knows". (Malcolm).
	<i>One participant expressed his opposition in terms of supporting those in your tradition</i>	"Even if you don't agree with your team you have to support your team haven't you?... I ...very regretfully [went] with the [traditional] catholic side but thought it was very important to do so". (Adrian).
Not all participants chose to join Forward in Faith or its affiliated groups	-----	"I've not been a member of Forward in Faith and I've not been a member of any other group". (Oliver).
Charismatic evangelical		
Several participants had become theologically broader and spiritually more diverse over time	-----	-----
	<i>Some participants were in broad church parishes</i>	"I minister in traditional, broad church Anglican parishes, and so I've had to broaden out, and I wanted to theologically". (Matt).
	<i>Some participants put more emphasis on sacraments in public worship</i>	"So [my spiritual] journey has been... a growing sacramental awareness". (Spencer).
Some participants expressed more liberal views on homosexuality	-----	"I would also have been convinced at that stage that homosexuality was wrong, but throughout my twenties and early thirties that theology has changed". (Richard).

Reform

Some participants were reticent to closely identify with the group

Some members opposed women's ordination with less intensity than the group as a whole

"I see [women's ordination] as a secondary issue. I also want to respect and work with those who take a different view on that.... so there's a bit of a tension there for me in the Reform group". (Stephen).

There was an individual involved in the group without formal membership

"I'm not a member of Reform. I couldn't join because of their complementarian position.... I think I support women leading individual churches [but]I don't support women bishops". (Callum).

Participants' sexism

"I personally am happy to have a woman Prime Minister or a woman CEO of a bank... [but] I want them to exercise those femininely.... I'd have a problem with a woman wearing the trousers in a marriage." (Justin).

Appendix F- Theme tables

Chapter Six

Reform

Theme	Description used for Coding	Prototypical Example	Frequency of Occurrence across the Data <i>n / n</i>
Created order of male headship and female submission	Participants explained that they believe God has created men and women to carry out different roles within the Church and in marriage. It is the role of men to be leaders in these contexts, making the final decisions within the family unit and holding sole responsibility for religious instruction in Church. They are to do so lovingly and sacrificially. Women, on the other hand, are designed to complement men by faithfully submitting to the leadership of men, assisting them where possible. This theme overlaps with the other themes.	"You've got the household of the family and the household of God So in those two households they are to mirror and reflect and live out the creational ordinance and that would include, therefore, male headship and women submitting." (Justin).	13/14
Negatives of feminism	Participants expressed a dislike of the way that feminism, in their view, can seek to advance women ahead of men socially, as well as diminish the differences between the sexes that form a part of God's design.	"A radical feminism that moves beyond the trying to raise up the rights of women and position ... a feminine alternative as being stronger than the prevailing masculine reality.... is something I take real issue with. My understanding is that if God makes male and female then men need to be male, women need to be female. And our mutual flourishing is dependant on the appropriate flourishing of both of those different elements of our created make up." (Joshua).	14/14
Lack of empathy towards women priests	Drawing upon the literature on empathy and imagination, participants were asked to imagine how they would feel if their sense of vocation was called into question because they were men. In their responses participants asserted that for them the authority of the Bible's imperatives are of great importance and so they would ultimately follow their interpretation of Scripture no matter what. As they did so, participants neglected to explore what it must feel like to have their vocation challenged in any meaningful way.	"I can't envisage going ahead with a course of action which I felt was not mandated by the Bible and if I as a man was thinking of becoming ordained in a church were it looked like it was really just very sensible for women to be vicars and leaders in the church I wouldn't go any further." (Simon).	13/14

**Deutero-
intellectualism**

Participants articulated their interpretation of the biblical passages concerning gender roles in a way that demonstrated the importance of a fairly literal reading of the text and without any developed awareness of how the historical and social context in which such texts were written would have influenced them in a way that could be less relevant for the current day.

“I think [that] Genesis and the passages that cite it are] saying that Adam's created first. I think that's significant. Eve is created from Adam I think that's significant. Eve was created for Adam, Eve was created to be a compliment to Adam in working together to fulfil the responsibility of taking responsibility for the world that God has made and looking after it and producing the next generation and training it and showing the next generation how to care for God's world and to live in it under God's authority. ” (Greg).

14/14

Charismatic evangelicals

Theme	Description used for Coding	Prototypical Example	Frequency of Occurrence across the Data <i>n/n</i>
Affirmation of women's ordination	All participants agreed that there was no theological or practical objection to ordaining women to the diaconate or to the priesthood. Two, however, did not believe it was appropriate for women to be incumbents and one did not think it was appropriate for women to be bishops even though he had no objection to women being incumbents.	"I've always presumed that men and women are both equally as capable It's equally appropriate for men and women to exercise leadership." (Richard).	14/14
Rejection of the theology of headship	Participants explained that they did not agree with the conservative evangelical theology of male leadership and female submission in the Church and in the family unit.	"I think those who seek to justify a position that women should not occupy a platform or be given a platform to teach or preach will use a headship type argument but I think that there are problems and perhaps even a little bit of an academic dishonesty by those who want to propose a fairly patriarchal type model in relation to that." (Daniel).	8/14
Gender differences as observable	Participants believed that, other than biological differences, there are gender differences between men and women even though this remained unspecified.	"I do think there are differences between man and women and of course there are- so how do I want to say that- I think as a general rule there are differences between men and women; obviously physically there are differences and I think emotionally and mentally there are differences as generalisations, and there are undoubtedly exceptions to those rules." (Richard).	10/14
Belief in the flexibility of gender roles	Participants believed that, despite any gender differences, it was difficult to determine any fixed pattern for men and women to follow universally, and that a level of choice concerning gender roles was important.	"I would say it was up to every family to decide which partner carries on working. I don't see Jesus making any hard and fast rules about it." (Randal).	14/14

Negatives of feminism	Participants explained that, whilst there are good aspects of the feminist movement, it is no good thing that it can be aggressive towards men and conflate the sexes.	“I think the feminist movement has done a great deal of good and has been needed. I think it's also fair to say that I struggle with elements of it now I would say I struggle with really aggressive feminism, particularly with feminism that seems to what to subvert- to invert- the roles ... in the way that they would describe women as being above men. Equality is what should be sought and it may be that that aggressive feminism has been required in order to balance out centuries of [patriarchy]... but nonetheless, I struggle with it. ” (Richard).	10/14
Empathy towards women priests	Participants were able to imagine how they would feel if they were in a situation where their sense of vocation was challenged because of their sex.	“I guess I would struggle a bit with that. I think that I would find that difficult, especially if I was around women who felt only women should be in leadership. ” (Ken).	9/14
Appreciation of traditional gender theology	Despite most participants disagreeing with complementarian theology, they also expressed appreciation for those views.	“I do understand [complementarian theology], and I feel for ... this recent guy [Bishop Philip] North who was invited to be Bishop of Sheffield.... [We become] so inclusive that we exclude those who can't cope with inclusiveness. And I think that's a real shame. ” (Lewis).	8/14
Hermeneutic of canonical context	Participants believe that the Bible presents a developing story of redemption for women and that this understanding is central to how one ought to interpret Scripture.	“In my opinion God's overriding message on gender in the New Testament in particular is one of liberation for women and when a lot of the time when Peter is writing and when Paul is writing and in the life and ministry of Jesus what we see is women being treated in a way that the culture around them would never have treated them, would never have given them the respect, the honour or the time that those people because of who they were and who Jesus was gave to women.” (Nick).	12/14
Hermeneutic of historical context	Participants believe that one cannot import the historical context in which the Bible was written into the present day and therefore it is important to understand why the biblical texts state what they do with respect to their historical background.	“I think you have to look at the cultural context of those passages and why Paul had the restrictions that he did, which go further about women having their heads covers and men not, and women not speaking in church let alone teaching, and then explore the culture where women had even less place in society and had no rights at all. ” (Shawn).	11/14

Anglo-Catholics

Theme	Description used for Coding	Prototypical Example	Frequency of Occurrence across the Data <i>n/n</i>
Ecumenical objection to the ordination of women	Participants explained that they objection to ordaining women to the priesthood, in part, because the C of E cannot make historic changes to the order of the Church if the two oldest denominations haven't (i.e. the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church). This theme relates closely to the other two these describing participants' objection to women priests.	"My problem is, as a catholic, that the Church of England claims to be part of the universal Church. [The ordination of women is] an action that's not done by the universal Church, either Roman Catholics or the Orthodox [Church]." (Edward).	11/13
Sacramental objection to the ordination of women	Participants explained that they object to the ordination of women to the priesthood, in part, because they were unsure whether a woman could act in the place of Christ. This themes relates closely to the other two these describing participants' objection to women priests.	"My own position about the ordination of women is that I am still uncertain about it sacramentally... [Priesthood] has always been exclusively male... [Look at] Jesus' own deliberate choice of twelve [male apostles]." (Oliver).	10/13
Apostolic objection to the ordination of women	Participants' believed that, because the C of E is part of the wider universal Christian Church that descends from the apostles, it cannot make significant changes to how the hierarchy operates. This theme relates closely to the other two these describing participants' objection to women priests.	"I've always maintained the Church of England has no authority in herself to make such a sweeping change to the traditional three fold ministry of the church which is apostolic in it's origin." (Peter).	11/13
Negatives of feminism	Participants explained that feminism could assert the superiority of women over men.	"I think is there's this illusion that women are better than men whereas actually the harm that women can do is more invisible and more damaging and as evil and they need to get to grips with that." (Adrian).	8/13

Positives of feminism	Participants expressed that feminism's ability to provide more opportunities for women as a welcome and positive phenomenon.	"Feminism gives us a way where we can say that these [oppressed] voices can be heard and can be empowered and should be given a place where they've not been and I think that has been wrong when they haven't been given that voice." (Tyrone).	12/13
Lack of empathy	Participants failed to imagine would it would be like to have your sense of vocation challenged because of your sex. Instead they entertained the idea that they would accept the Church's tradition or teaching.	"I hope I would to say that actually I didn't believe I was called to the priesthood because that was not the tradition [of the Church]." (Tyrone).	8/13
Hermeneutic of historical context	Participants explained that they did not believe a plain meaning reading of Scripture was appropriate and that biblical texts- especially Paul's letters that address gender matters- need to be understood with respect to the historical influences that would have influenced Paul's writings. This is related to the 'Rejection of conservative evangelical hermeneutics'.	"I think we need to be careful ... with the texts of [Paul's] letters for the simple reason that they are all ... so imbued with [the] social context of their day." (Oliver).	8/13
Rejection of conservative evangelical hermeneutics	Participants felt that the plain meaning approach to reading Scripture, which they associated with conservative evangelicalism, was inappropriate. This is related to the 'Hermeneutic of historical context'.	"I've never seen it as being and this idea of women as subjects and the man as being the head. I just think we probably take it too literally and we just try to sort of formulate these things which just doesn't fit in. I struggle to explain it but I'm just uncomfortable with a method that says well that means that a woman can't preach in church or teach in church." (Tyrone).	9/13

Chapter Seven

Reform participants

Theme	Description used for Coding	Prototypical Example	Frequency of Occurrence across the Data <i>n/n</i>
Mixed experience in the discernment process	Participants reported a level of ambivalence in their interactions with the diocese during their discernment for ordination. This is because they had a mixture of positive and less memorable and less personable interactions with those charged for discerning their sense of vocation.	“I was very much [seeing the DDO] for business [rather than for getting to know him]. He was a very nice sort of liberal catholic, would be my guess... We had good conversations, I [could be] honest with him.” (Henry).	14/14
Resistance towards ordination training institution	Participants explained that they disengaged from those of different theological traditions to their own when they were training for ordination.	“I [disliked] the fact that Ridley [Hall] was part of the federation of Cambridge theological colleges. I didn't do much with the other colleges... You had radically different theological opinions and the supposed unity was a bit of a sham.” (Sam)	11/14
Homogeneity in ordination training	Participants explained that their training colleges either tended to consist of fellow conservative evangelicals, or their immediate friendships in college were also conservative evangelical.	“My good friends [at Wycliffe Hall] were conservative evangelicals, and it was good to be taught by people of that position as well.” (Ron)	13/14

Resistance towards diocese

Participants provided numerous ways in which they disengage with the diocese, opting instead to co-operate with those in the conservative evangelical tradition and refusing to work with those they consider to be theologically liberal.

“The bishop said, 'would you like the [incumbency of this church]?' and I said no, because the issue [with the church] is [that it had] a revolving pulpit and I won't do that. I [told him that I] will go ahead if I am the only one preaching in that pulpit. I am the only one running [the church].”
(Karl).

12/14

Charismatic evangelicals

Theme	Description used for coding	Prototypical example	Frequency of occurrence across the data <i>n/n</i>
Presence of women in ordination training	Participants explained that they were formed for ministry in institutions where women had a clear presence as ordinands. They also explained that they shared good social and academic relationships with their female peers.	“The residential side I really enjoyed.... There were several [women training for ordination at college]. The residential block was divided into corridors, so on our corridor I think it was probably half [men] and half [women].” (Sean).	14/14
Co-operation with those in other traditions and with different theologies	Participants revealed occasions when working professionally with other clergy in the diocese led to them co-operating with colleagues from different theological traditions to their own, including women priests. This theme overlaps with ‘Exposure to women in church leadership’.	“I would say I was an open-evangelical now and... I minister in traditional, broad church Anglican parishes, and so I’ve had to broaden out, and I wanted to theologially.” (Matt).	14/14
Exposure to women in church leadership	Participants articulated that they had witnessed women leading churches at formational stages in their lives, and reported these experiences positively and/or as an ecclesial norm for them.	“So I had a female curate for three years... she was wonderful, actually she was really great...very competent, [a] very... gifted women.” (Richard).	12/14

Anglo-Catholics

Theme	Description used for coding	Prototypical example	Frequency of occurrence across the data <i>n/n</i>
Lack of women ordinands in training	Participants trained in male dominated institutions where women, if present, were rarely training for ordination to the priesthood. Instead, they would be the wives of ordinands or visiting lecturers. Many of them trained at colleges where the staff teams were also predominantly male.	"It was all men [training for ordination] apart from the final year. There was one woman who came who now is ordained but she simply came to do a course so I don't think she was in the ordination [track]." (Jerry).	11/13
Worked with women priests	Participants explained that there had been occasions where they have worked with women priests, often in a limited capacity and for short periods of time.	"When I arrived in this diocese from '95 onwards I've always been working with ordained women [in various capacities]". (Evan).	11/13
Conflict with others in the C of E	Participants recalled numerous events where they had encountered direct conflict with other licenced clergy and/or laity in the C of E, including those more senior in the diocese than them.	"I got accepted for training ... and almost immediately a clash happened as the diocesan authorities said,... 'you'll have to do three years [training]' and I said, 'why because I already have my theology degree?'... So I withdrew [from training]." (Ashley).	10/13
Criticism of wider C of E	Participants frequently criticised the wider C of E for being theologically too liberal and innovative theologically.	"[The C of E's] got completely bogged down in the whole sexuality debate... that's a complete mess ... I'm not sure the Church has been very helpful in any way really." (Edward).	12/13
Wider participation in the C of E	Participants did participate within the wider life of the C of E. However, this was usually in a non-reciprocal manner and/or was intended to benefit traditional Anglo-Catholics rather than with the intention of continual altruistic co-operation.	"I'm going to have lunch with the principle of Whiteland's College with a female priest to talk about how we can explore things together." (Ashley).	10/13

Appendix G- Table of participants

Reform Participants

Pseudonym	Position	Level of Education	Age Bracket	Member of Reform	Training college
<i>Adam</i>	Incumbent	Doctoral	40-49	Yes	Ridley Hall
<i>Alistair</i>	Curate	Masters	30-39	Yes	Oak Hill
<i>Barry</i>	Retired	Diploma	60-69	Yes	Oxford Ministry Course
<i>Callum</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	30-39	No	Ridley Hall
<i>Greg</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	50-59	Yes	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Henry</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Yes	Oak Hill
<i>Joshua</i>	Curate	Masters	30-39	Yes	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Justin</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Yes	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Karl</i>	Incumbent	Doctoral	40-49	Yes	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Ron</i>	Curate	Masters	30-39	Yes	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Sam</i>	Incumbent	Masters	50-59	Yes	Ridley Hall
<i>Simon</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Yes	Oak Hill
<i>Stanley</i>	Incumbent	Masters	50-59	Yes	Oak Hill
<i>Stephen</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Yes	Wycliffe Hall

Charismatic evangelicals

Pseudonym	Position	Level of Education	Age Bracket	Training college
<i>Graham</i>	Incumbent	Masters	50-59	St. John's College, Nottingham
<i>Ken</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	30-39	Ridley Hall
<i>Lewis</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	60-69	Trinity College, Bristol
<i>Matt</i>	Incumbent	Doctorate	40-49	Ridley Hall
<i>Michael</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	40-49	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Nick</i>	Incumbent	Masters	30-39	Trinity College, Bristol
<i>Oscar</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Patrick</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Trinity College, Bristol
<i>Pete</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	50-59	Wycliffe Hall
<i>Philip</i>	Curate	Bachelors	40-49	St. Mellitus, London
<i>Randal</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	50-59	Oak Hill
<i>Richard</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Trinity College, Bristol
<i>Rob</i>	Incumbent	Masters	40-49	Regional training course
<i>Shawn</i>	Incumbent	Masters	50-59	St. John's College, Nottingham

Anglo-Catholics

Pseudonym	Position	Level of Education	Age Bracket	Extended Episcopal Oversight	Training college
<i>Aaron</i>	Retired	Bachelors	60-69	No	College of the Resurrection
<i>Adrian</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	50-59	Yes	St. Stephen's House
<i>Ashley</i>	Incumbent	Masters	60-69	Yes	Training undertaken abroad
<i>Brendon</i>	Retired	Masters	80-89	Yes	Wells Theological College
<i>Edward</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	50-59	Yes	College of the Resurrection
<i>Evan</i>	Dean	Bachelors	60-69	No	College of the Resurrection
<i>Jack</i>	Incumbent	Masters	50-59	No	Edinburgh Theological College
<i>Liam</i>	Incumbent	Bachelors	40-49	Yes	College of the Resurrection
<i>Malcolm</i>	Incumbent	Masters	60-69	Yes	Regional training course
<i>Oliver</i>	Incumbent	Doctorate	60-69	No	College of the Resurrection
<i>Paul</i>	Retired	Dip HE	70-79	No	Regional training course
<i>Peter</i>	Incumbent	Masters	60-69	Yes	College of the Resurrection
<i>Tyrone</i>	Incumbent	Masters	30-39	Yes	College of the Resurrection

Bibliography

- About forward in faith. (2017). *Forward in Faith*. Retrieved from <http://www.forwardinfaith.com/aboutus.php>
- About GAFCon (n.d.). *GAFCon*. Retrieved from <https://www.gafcon.org/about>
- About the Society. (2017). The Society under the Patronage of Saint Wilfred and Saint Hilda. Retrieved from <http://www.sswsh.com/aboutus.php>
- Abrams, D. E., and Hogg, M. A. (1990). *Social identity theory: Constructive and critical advances*. New York: Springer-Verlag Publishing.
- Abrams, D., Crisp, R. J., Marques, S., Fagg, E., Bedford, L., and Provias, D. (2008). Threat inoculation: experienced and imagined intergenerational contact prevents stereotype threat effects on older people's math performance. *Psychology and Aging, 23*(4), 934-939.
- Ahmad, K. Z., and Rethinam, K. (2010). Mars, Venus and Gray: gender communication. *International Business Research, 3*(2), 24-33.
- Ahmed, S. (2012). *On being included: Racism and diversity in institutional life*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Aldridge, A. (1986). Slaves to no sect: the Anglican clergy and liturgical change. *The Sociological Review*, 34(2), 357-380.
- (1987). In the absence of the minister: structures of subordination in the role of deaconess in the Church of England. *Sociology*, 21(3), 377-392.
- (1989). Men, women, and clergymen: opinion and authority in a sacred organization. *The Sociological Review*, 37(1), 43-64.
- (1992). Discourse on women in the clerical profession: the diaconate and language-games in the Church of England. *Sociology*, 26(1), 45-57.
- (1993). Negotiating status: Social scientists and Anglican clergy. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 22(1), 97-112.
- Ali, S., Campbell, K., Braney, D., and James, R. (2004). Politics, identities and research. In Seale, C. (Ed.), *Researching society and culture* (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Allport, G. (1954/1979). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Perseus Books.
- Alsop, R., Fitzsimons, A., and Lennon, K. (2002). *Theorizing gender: An introduction*. Cambridge: Polity.

Al-Amoudi, I., and Willmott, H. (2011). Where constructionism and critical realism converge: Interrogating the domain of epistemological relativism. *Organization Studies*, 32(1), 27-46.

Ammerman, N. T. (1987). *Bible believers: Fundamentalists in the modern world*. New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press.

Anglo-catholic. (2018). Church of England Glossary. Retrieved from https://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/anglo_catholic

Antoun, R.T. (2001). *Understanding Fundamentalism: Christian, Islamic, and Jewish Movements*. Walnut Creek, CA; Lanham, MD and Oxford Rowman and Littlefield.

Appiah, K. (2018). *The lies that bind. Rethinking identity: Creed, country, colour, class culture*. London: Profile Books ltd.

Appleby, R. Scott. (2011). Rethinking Fundamentalism in a Secular Age. In Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan Van Antwerpen (Eds.) *Rethinking Secularism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 225-247.

Archer, M. (1998). Introduction: Realism in the social sciences. In Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T., and Norrie, A. *Critical realism: Essential readings*, pp. 189-205. London and New York: Routledge.

Atherstone, A. (2011). The Keele Congress of 1967: A Paradigm Shift in Anglican Evangelical Attitudes 1. *Journal of Anglican Studies*, 9(2), 175-197.

----- (2013). Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the Inter-War Church of England. In D.W. Bebbington and D.C Jones (Eds.) *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom During the Twentieth Century*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 55-75.

Auerbach, C., and Silverstein, L. B. (2003). *Qualitative data: An introduction to coding and analysis*. New York: New York University press.

Aune, K. (2006). Marriage in a British evangelical congregation: Practising postfeminist partnership? *The sociological review*, 54(4), 638-657.

----- (2008a). Evangelical Christianity and women's changing lives. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 15(3), 277-294.

----- (2008b). Making men men: Masculinity and contemporary evangelical identity. In Smith, M. (Ed.). *British evangelical identities past and present. Vol. 1.: Aspects of the history and sociology of evangelicalism in Britain and Ireland*, (pp. 153-166). Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press.

----- (2010). Fatherhood in British evangelical christianity: negotiating with mainstream culture. *Men and Masculinities*, 13(2), 168-189.

Aune, K. and Guest, M. (2019). Christian university students' attitudes towards gender: Constructing everyday theologies in a post-feminist climate. *Religions*, 10(2), 133-154.

Authority, Sources of (in Anglicanism). (2018). An episcopal dictionary of the church. Retrieved from <https://www.episcopalchurch.org/library/glossary/authority-sources-anglicanism>

Avis, P. (2004). The Episcopal Ministry Act of Synod: A 'bearable anomaly'? In Avis, P. (Ed.). *Seeking the truth of change in the Church: Reception, communication and the ordination of women*, (pp. 152-170). London and New York: TandT Clark International.

Baker, J. (Ed.). (2004). *Consecrated women?: A contribution to the women bishops debate*. Norwich: Canterbury Press.

Balmer, R. (1994). American fundamentalism: The ideal of femininity. In Hawley, J. (Ed.), *Fundamentalism and gender*, (pp. 47-62). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bagilhole, B. (2003). Prospects for change? Structural, cultural and action dimensions of the careers of pioneer women priests in the Church of England. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10(3), 361-377.

----- (2006). Not a glass ceiling more a lead roof: Experiences of pioneer women priests in the Church of England. *Equal Opportunities International*, 25(2), 109-125.

----- (2016). *Evangelicalism in America*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.

Balz, H., and Schneider, G. (1990a). *Exegetical dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 1. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

----- (1990b). *Exegetical dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 2. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

----- (1990c). *Exegetical dictionary of the New Testament*, vol. 3. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.

Barnett, R., and Rivers, C. (2004). *Same difference: How gender myths are hurting our relationships, our children, and our jobs*. New York: Basic Books.

Baron-Cohen, S. (2002). The extreme male brain theory of autism. *Trends in cognitive sciences*, 6(6), 248-254.

----- (2003). *The essential difference*. London: Penguin UK.

Baron-Cohen, S., and Wheelwright, S. (2004). The empathy quotient: an investigation of adults with Asperger syndrome or high functioning autism, and normal sex differences. *Journal of autism and developmental disorders*, 34(2), 163-175.

Barr, J. (1983). *Holy Scripture: Canon, authority, criticism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Barticioti, F. (2016, December 1st). Archive for the movement of the ordination of women [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/lsehistory/2016/12/01/archive-of-the-movement-for-the-ordination-of-women/>

Bashir, M. and May, C. (2017). Church of England at war after bishop Philip North's U-turn. *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-39227033>

Basis of Faith. (2018). Evangelical alliance. Retrieved from <http://www.eauk.org/connect/about-us/basis-of-faith.cfm>

Batson, C. D., Fultz, J., and Schoenrade, P. A. (1987). Distress and empathy: Two qualitatively distinct vicarious emotions with different motivational consequences. *Journal of personality*, 55(1), 19-39.

Batson, C. D., Polycarpou, M. P., Harmon-Jones, E., Imhoff, H. J., Mitchener, E. C., Bednar, L. L., Klein, T., and Highberger, L. (1997). Empathy and attitudes: Can feeling for a member of a stigmatized group improve feelings toward the group?. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 72(1), 105-118.

Batson, C.D. and Powell, A.A. (2003), "Altruism and Prosocial Behavior", in T. Millon and M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of Psychology, Vol. 5: Personality and Social Psychology*, (pp. 463-484), Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

Baumeister, R. F., Smart, L., and Boden, J. M. (1996). Relation of threatened egotism to violence and aggression: The dark side of high self-esteem. *Psychological review*, 103(1), 5-33.

Bushman, B. J., and Baumeister, R. F. (1998). Threatened egotism, narcissism, self-esteem, and direct and displaced aggression: Does self-love or self-hate lead to violence? *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 75(1), 219-229.

BBC statutory gender pay gap report. (2017). *BBC*. Retrieved from http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/insidethebbc/reports/gender_pay_gap_report.pdf

Beattie, T. (2004). *The new Catholic feminism: Theology, gender theory and dialogue*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bebbington, D. (1989). *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*. London: Unwin Hyman.

----- (1994). Evangelicalism in Its Setting: The British and American Movements since 1940. In M.A. Noll, D.W. Bebbington, and G.A. Rawlyk (Eds.),

Evangelicalism: Comparative studies of popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and beyond 1700-1900. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 365-388.

----- (1995). The decline and Resurgence of Evangelical Social Concern 1918-1980. In J. Wolffe (Ed.) *Evangelical Faith and Public Zeal: Evangelicals and society in Britain 1780-1980*. London: SPCK, pp .175-197.

Benn, W. (2016). Evangelical episcopacy. In Gatiss, L. (Ed.). *Positively Anglican: Building on the foundations and transforming the church*, pp. 43-54. Watford: Church Society.

Benton, T. (1998). Realism and social science: Some comments on Roy Bhaskar's 'The Possibility of Naturalism'. In Archer, M., R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson and A. Norrie (Eds.). *Critical realism: Essential readings*, (pp. 297-338). London and New York: Routledge.

Berger, P. L. (1967). *The Sacred Canopy*. New York: Anchor.

----- (1970). *A rumour of angels: Modern society and the rediscovery of the supernatural* London: Penguin.

----- (2014). *The many altars of modernity: Toward a paradigm for religion in a pluralist age*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH and Co KG.

Bhaskar, R. (1975). *A realist theory of science*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.

----- (2008). *Dialectic: The pulse of freedom*. London and New York: Routledge.

----- (2010). *Plato etc: problems of philosophy and their resolution*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bhaskar, R., and Collier, A. (1998). Introduction: Explanatory critiques. In Archer, M., Bhaskar, R., Collier, A., Lawson, T., and Norrie, A. *Critical realism: Essential readings*, pp. 385-394. London and New York: Routledge.

Bielo, J.S. (2011). *Emerging evangelicals: Faith, modernity, and the desire for authenticity*. New York: NYU Press.

Bingham, J. (2014). Women bishops approved by House of Lords. In *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/religion/11163105/Women-bishops-approved-by-House-of-Lords.html>

Bishop. (2018). *Church of England Glossary*. Retrieved from <https://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/bishop>

Bizman, A., and Yinon, Y. (2002). Engaging in distancing tactics among sport fans: Effects on self-esteem and emotional responses. *The Journal of social psychology*, 142(3), 381-392.

Bonvillain, N. (1995). *Women and men: Cultural constructs of gender*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Boone, K. C. (1989). *The Bible tells them so: The discourse of Protestant fundamentalism*. New York: SUNY Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1983). The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed. *Poetics*, 12(4-5), 311-356.

----- (1991). *Language and symbolic power* (G. Raymond and M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Bowen, K. (1996). Evangelism and apostasy: the evolution and impact of evangelicals in modern Mexico. *American Journal of Sociology* 102(5):1478-1480.

Brasher, B. E. (1998). *Godly women: Fundamentalism and female power*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Braun, V., and Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), 77-101.

----- (n.d.). Questions about thematic analysis. *The University of Auckland*. Retrieved from <https://www.psych.auckland.ac.nz/en/about/our-research/research-groups/thematic-analysis/frequently-asked-questions-8.html>

Brierley, P. W. (2005). *Pulling Out of the Nosedive: A Contemporary Picture of Churchgoing; What the 2005 English Church Census Reveals*. Swindon: Christian Research.

British Social Attitudes. (2018). Chapter summary: Religion. Retrieved from <http://www.bsa.natcen.ac.uk/latest-report/british-social-attitudes-28/religion.aspx>

Brittain, CC. and McKinnon, A. (2011). Homosexuality and the construction of "AnglicanOrthodoxy": The symbolic politics of the Anglican Communion'. *Sociology of Religion*, vol 72, no. 3, pp. 351-373.

Brown, C. G. (2001). *The death of Christian Britain: understanding secularisation, 1800–2000*. London and New York: Routledge.

----- (2006). *Religion and society in twentieth-century Britain*. Harlow: Pearson Longman.

----- (2010). What was the Religious Crisis of the 1960s? *Journal of Religious History*, 34 (4), pp. 468-479.

Brown, D. (2018). *Real or imagined? Measuring long-term patterns of political secularisation and desecularisation*, Society for the scientific study of religion, Las Vegas, NV, 28th October.

Brown, R. (2011). *Prejudice: Its social psychology*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

Brown, A. (2014, July 14.). Jubilation as Church of England's synod votes to allow female bishops. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jul/14/church-england-synod-votes-allow-female-bishops>

Brown, A., and Woodhead, L. (2016). *That was the Church that was: how the Church of England lost the English people*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

Bruce, F. F. (1984). *The Epistles to the Colossians, to Philemon, and to the Ephesians*. Grand Rapids, MI: William. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Bruce, S. (2008). *Fundamentalism*. Cambridge: Polity.

Brusco, E. (2010). *The reformation of machismo: evangelical conversion and gender in Colombia*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Buchanan, C., Craston, C., Gregg, D., Gunstone, J., Howard, C., and Pattison, D. (1981). *The charismatic movement in the Church of England*. London: The Central Board of Finance of the Church of England.

Burman, E. (1994). Interviewing. In Peter Banister, Erica Burman, Ian Parker, Maye Taylor, and Carol Tindall, (Eds.), *Qualitative Methods in Psychology* (pp. 49-71). Buckingham: Open University Press.

- Burn, S. M., and Busso, J. (2005). Ambivalent sexism, scriptural literalism, and religiosity. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 29(4), 412-418.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. London and New York: Routledge.
- (2011). *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of sex*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Caldwell, R. (2007). Agency and change: Re-evaluating Foucault's legacy. *Organization*, 14(6), 769-791.
- Cameron, L., Rutland, A., Hossain, R., and Petley, R. (2011). When and why does extended contact work? The role of high quality direct contact and group norms in the development of positive ethnic intergroup attitudes amongst children. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 14(2), 193-206.
- Carey, G. (2004). *Know the Truth: A Memoir*. London: HarperCollins.
- Carpenter, J. (2014). What's new about the new evangelical social engagement? In Steensland, B. and P. Goff (Eds.). *The new evangelical social engagement*, (pp. 265-279). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chadwick, O. (1972). *The Victorian Church (Part II)*. London: Adam and Charles Black.
- (1990). *The Spirit of the Oxford Movement: Tractarian Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Chandler, M. (2003). *An Introduction to the Oxford Movement*. New York: Church Publishing Incorporated.
- Chapman, R. (Ed.). (2006). *Firmly I Believe: An Oxford Movement Reader*. Norwich: Canterbury Press.
- Charismatic. (2018). Church of England glossary. Retrieved from <http://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/charismatic>
- Christopher, A. N., and Mull, M. S. (2006). Conservative ideology and ambivalent sexism. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 30(2), 223-230.
- Church, R.W. (1891). *The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833-1845*. London: Macmillan.
- Church of England. (1998). *The ordination of women to the priesthood: The second report by the House of Bishops*. London: Church publishing.
- Church of England. (2004). *Women bishops in the Church of England?: A report by the House of Bishops' Working Party on women in the episcopate*. London: Church Press.
- Church of England Synod backs women bishops. (2014). *BBC*. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-28300618>

- Clarke V, Braun V, Hayfield N. (2015). Thematic Analysis. In Smith, J.A. (Ed.). *Qualitative psychology: a practical guide to research methods*, 3rd edition, (pp. 222-248). London: Sage.
- Clegg, S. (2006). The problem of agency in feminism: A critical realist approach. *Gender and education*, 18(3), 309-324.
- Collier, A. (1994). *Critical realism: An introduction to Roy Bhaskar's Philosophy*. London and New York: Verso.
- Common worship ordination services. (n.d.). *The Church of England*. Retrieved from <https://www.churchofengland.org/prayer-and-worship/worship-texts-and-resources/common-worship/ministry/common-worship-ordination-services>
- Conservative [Def.2.]. (n.d.). In *Oxford dictionary online*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/conservative>
- Coppock, V., Haydon, D., and Richter, I. (1995). *The illusions of 'post-feminism'—new women, old myths*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Cornwall, S. (2015). Laws “Needfull in later to be abrogated”: Intersex and the sources of Christian Theology. In Cornwall, S. (Ed.), *Intersex, theology and the Bible: Troubling bodies in Church, text, and society*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Crandall, C. S., and Eshleman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological bulletin*, 129(3), 414-446.
- Craston, C. (1988). *Biblical headship and the ordination of women*. Bramcote: Grove Books.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Identity politics, intersectionality, and violence against women. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241-1299.
- Crisp, R. J., and Turner, R. N. (2009). Can imagined interactions produce positive perceptions?: Reducing prejudice through simulated social contact. *American psychologist*, 64(4), 231-240.
- Crocker, J., Luhtanen, R. K., Cooper, M. L., and Bouvrette, A. (2003). Contingencies of self-worth in college students: theory and measurement. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 85(5), 894-908.
- Crocker, J., and Knight, K. M. (2005). Contingencies of self-worth. *Current directions in psychological science*, 14(4), 200-203.
- Cross, F. L. and E. A. Livingstone (eds). (2005) "High Churchmen" in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, Third Revised Edition. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Crowley, C. (2010). Writing up the qualitative methods research report. In Forrester, A. (Ed.), *Doing qualitative research in psychology: A practical guide* (pp. 229-246). London: Sage.

Daly, M. (1985). *Beyond God the father: Toward a philosophy of women's liberation*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press

Daphna, J. and McCarthy, M. M. (2017). Incorporating sex as a biological variable in neuropsychiatric research: Where are we now and where should we be? *Neuropsychopharmacology*, 42(2), 379-385.

Daphna, J. et al. (2015). Sex beyond the genitalia: The human brain mosaic. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(50), 15468-15473.

Data Protection Act 1998 (*n.d.*). Legislation.gov.uk. Retrieved from <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>

Davis, D. (2013). The use of patriarchal language in the Church of God of Prophecy: A case study". In Slee, N., F. Porter and A. Phillips (Eds.), *The faith lives of women and girls: Qualitative research perspectives* (pp. 121-128). Farnham: Ashgate.

Dawkins, R. (2006). *The selfish gene: with a new introduction by the author*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Day, A. (2017). *The religious lives of older laywomen: The last active Anglican generation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- DeBerg, B., (1990). *Ungodly women: Gender and The First Wave of American Fundamentalism*, Minneapolis: Mercer University Press.
- Deacon. (2018). The Church of England glossary. Retrieved from <http://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/deacon>
- Delap, L. (2013). 'Be strong and play the man': Anglican masculinities in the twentieth century. In Delap, L. and Morgan, S. (Eds.). *Men, masculinities and religious change in twentieth century Britain*, (pp. 119-154). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Denfield, R. (1995). *The new Victorians: A young women's response to the old feminist order*. Crows Nest: Unwin and Allen.
- Diocese. (2018). The Church of England glossary. Retrieved from <http://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/diocese>
- Dixon, J., Durrheim, K., and Tredoux, C. (2005). Beyond the optimal contact strategy: A reality check for the contact hypothesis. *American psychologist*, 60(7), 697-711.
- Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and danger: An analysis of concepts of pollution and taboo*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Dovidio, J. F., Allen, J. L., and Schroeder, D. A. (1990). Specificity of empathy-induced helping: Evidence for altruistic motivation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 59*(2), 249.

Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., and Kawakami, K. (2003). Intergroup contact: The past, present, and the future. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 6*(1), 5-21.

Dovidio, J. F., Glick, P., and Rudman, L. A. (Eds.). (2005). *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons.

Dovidio, J. F., Eller, A., and Hewstone, M. (2011). Improving intergroup relations through direct, extended and other forms of indirect contact. *Group processes and intergroup relations, 14*(2), 147-160.

Dovidio, J.F., Gaertner, S.L. and Kawakami, K. (2003), "Intergroup contact: The past, present, and the future", *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations, 6* (1), pp. 5-21.

Dovidio, J.F., Johnson, J.D., Gaertner, S.L., Pearson, A.R., Saguy, T., and Ashburn-Nardo, L. (2010). "Empathy and intergroup relations." In Mikulincer, M., and Shaver, P.R. (Eds.), *Prosocial motives, emotions, and behavior: The better angels of our nature*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, pp. 393-408.

Dr Margaret Beirne. (2016). St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox theological college. Retrieved from <http://www.sagotc.edu.au/permanent/margaret-beirne>

Drury, C. (2001). The pastoral epistles. In Muddiman, J. and Barton, J. (Eds.). *The Oxford Bible commentary: The Pauline epistles*, (pp. 244-263). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dunn, J. (1998). *The theology of Paul the apostle*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Eagly, A. H. (1987). *Sex differences in social behaviour: A social role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Eagly, A. H., and Mladinic, A. (1993). Are people prejudiced against women? Some answers from research on attitudes, gender stereotypes, and judgments of competence. In W. Eisenberg, N., and Miller, P. A. (1987). The relation of empathy to prosocial and related behaviors. *Psychological bulletin*, 101(1), 91-119.

Eagly, A. H., and Wood, W. (2013). The nature–nurture debates: 25 years of challenges in understanding the psychology of gender. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 8(3), 340-357.

Elder-Vass, D. (2010). *The causal power of social structures: Emergence, structure and agency*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Eldredge, J. (2001). *Wild at heart: Discovering the passionate soul of a man*. Nashville,

TN: Thomas Nelson.

Eldredge, J. and Eldredge, S. (2005). *Captivating: Unveiling the mystery of a woman's*

soul. Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson.

Ellemers, N., Kortekaas, P., and Ouwerkerk, J. W. (1999). Self-categorisation,

commitment to the group and group self-esteem as related but distinct aspects

of social identity. *European journal of social psychology*, 29(2-3), 371-389.

Elo, S., and Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of*

advanced nursing, 62(1), 107-115.

Engelke, Matthew. (2013). *God's agents: Biblical publicity in contemporary England*.

Berkeley: University of California Press.

Evangelical. (2018). Church of England Glossary. Retrieved from

<http://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/evangelical>

Fairweather, E.R. ed., (1964). *The Oxford Movement*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Father Michael Harper (2010). *The Telegraph*. Retrieved from

<https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/religion->

[obituaries/7158633/Father-Michael-Harper.html](https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/obituaries/religion-7158633/Father-Michael-Harper.html)

Faught, C. B. (2003). *Oxford movement: A thematic history of the Tractarians and their times*. University Park, PA: Penn State University Press.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. *Sexing the body: Gender politics and the construction of sexuality*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.

Ferrara, D. M. (1994). The ordination of women: tradition and meaning. *Theological Studies*, 55(4), 706-719.

Forbes, H. D. (1997). *Ethnic conflict: Commerce, culture, and the contact hypothesis*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Fletcher, W. (2013). There for the burials; there for the births: Women in leadership in the Anglican Communion. In Pui-lan, K., Berling, J., and Plane Te Paa, J. (Eds.) *Anglican Women on Church and Mission* (pp. 55-75). Norwich: Canterbury Press.

Flora C. B. (1975). Pentecostal women in Colombia: religious change and the status of working-class women. In *The Changing Role of Women in Latin America*. Special issue, *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 17(4):411-425.

Floyd-Thomas, S. M. (2006). Writing for our lives: Womanism as an epistemological revolution. In Floyd-Thomas, S. M. (Ed.), *Deeper shades of purple: Womanism in religion and society*. New York: New York University Press.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and punish*. (A. Sheridan, Trans.). New York: Pantheon.

----- (1978). *The history of sexuality, volume I*. (R. Hurley, Trans.). New York: Vintage.

----- (1985). *The history of sexuality, volume II: The use of pleasure*. (R. Hurley, Trans.). New York: Vintage.

Fourcade, M. (2010). The problem of embodiment in the sociology of knowledge: afterword to the special issue on knowledge in practice. *Qualitative Sociology*, 33(4), 569-574.

Francis, L. J., and Robbins, M. (1999). *The long diaconate, 1987-1994: Women deacons and the delayed journey to priesthood*. Leominster: Gracewing Publishing.

Francis, L. J., Robbins, M., and Astley, J. (2005). *Fragmented faith: Exposing the fault-lines in the Church of England*. Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press.

Freundlieb, D. (1994). Foucault's Theory of Discourses and Human Agency. In Jones, C. and R. Porter (Eds.) *Reassessing Foucault: Power, medicine and the body* (pp. 152-180). London and New York, Routledge.

Frijda, N. H. (1986). *The emotions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fry, Caroline. (1834). *Christ our example*. New York: Leavitt, Lord.

Full story: What does the Census tell us about religion in 2011? (2013). *Office for National Statistics*. Retrieved from <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/culturalidentity/religion/articles/fullstorywhatdoesthecensustellusaboutreligionin2011/2013-05-16#religion-by-age-and-sex>

Furlong, M. (Ed.) (1984). *Feminine in the Church*. London: SPCK.

----- (1998). Introduction. In Furlong, M (Ed.). *Act of Synod- act of folly? Episcopal Ministry Act of Synod 1993* (pp. 1-13). London: SCM Press.

----- (2000). *C of E: The State It's in*. London, Sydney and Auckland : Hodder and Stoughton.

Gallagher, S. K. (2003). *Evangelical identity and gendered family life*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Gallagher, S. K., and Smith, C. (1999). Symbolic traditionalism and pragmatic egalitarianism: Contemporary evangelicals, families, and gender. *Gender and Society, 13*(2), 211-233.

- Gamble, S. (2004). Postfeminism. In Gamble, S. (Ed.), *The Routledge companion to feminism and postfeminism* (pp. 43-54). London and New York: Routledge.
- Garriott, W. and O'Neill, K.L., (2008). "Who is a Christian? Toward a dialogic approach in the anthropology of Christianity." *Anthropological Theory*, 8 (4), pp. 381-398.
- Gatiss, L. (2016). *Positively Anglican: Building on the foundations and transforming the church*. Watford: Church Society.
- Gee, J. P. (2004). *An introduction to discourse analysis: Theory and method*. London and New York: Routledge.
- General Data Protection Regulation (2018). General Data Protection Regulation. Retrieved from <https://gdpr-info.eu>
- "General Synod rejects women bishops compromise bid" (2012). BBC. Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-16941311>
- Genz, S. and Brabon, B. A. (2009) *Postfeminism: Cultural texts and theories*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Gilligan, C. (1993). *In a different voice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- Glick, P., and Fiske, S. T. (1996). The ambivalent sexism inventory: Differentiating hostile and benevolent sexism. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 70(3), 491-512.
- (1997). Hostile and benevolent sexism: Measuring ambivalent sexist attitudes toward women. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 21(1), 119-135.
- (2001a). An ambivalent alliance: Hostile and benevolent sexism as complementary justifications for gender inequality. *American psychologist*, 56(2), 109-118.
- (2001b). Ambivalent sexism. In Zanna, M. (Ed.). *Advances in experimental social psychology* (Vol. 33, pp. 115-188). Cambridge, MA: Academic Press.
- (2011). Ambivalent sexism revisited. *Psychology of women quarterly*, 35(3), 530-535.
- Glick, P., Diebold, J., Bailey-Werner, B., and Zhu, L. (1997). The two faces of Adam: Ambivalent sexism and polarized attitudes toward women. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23(12), 1323-1334.
- Glick, P., Sakalli-Ugurlu, N., Ferreira, M. C., and Souza, M. A. D. (2002). Ambivalent sexism and attitudes toward wife abuse in Turkey and Brazil. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 26(4), 292-297.

Goodhew, D. and Cooper, A. P. (Eds.). (2018). *The Desecularisation of the City: London's Churches, 1980 to the Present*. London and New York: Routledge.

Gong, G., He, Y., and Evans, A. C. (2011). Brain connectivity: Gender makes a difference. *The neuroscientist*, 17(5), 575-591.

Gonzales, A. L., and Hancock, J. T. (2011). Mirror, mirror on my Facebook wall: Effects of exposure to Facebook on self-esteem. *Cyberpsychology, Behavior, and Social Networking*, 14(1-2), 79-83.

Grady, M. P. (1998). *Qualitative and action research: A practitioner handbook*. Arlington, VA: Phi Delta Kappa International.

Graham, J. M. (2002, December). [Review of the book *Slaves, women and homosexuals: Exploring the hermeneutics of cultural analysis*, by W. J. Webb]. *Journal of the Evangelical Theological society*, 45(4), 678-679.

Gray, J. (2001). *Men are from Mars, women are from Venus: Practical guide for improving communication*. New York: HarperCollins.

----- (2011). *Men Are From Mars, Women Are From Venus And Children Are From Heaven*. New York: Random House.

Green, J. C. (2014). New and old evangelical public engagement: A view from the polls.

In Steensland, B. and P. Goff (Eds.). *The new evangelical social engagement*, (pp. 129-153). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Green, T. K. (2007). Discomfort at work: Workplace assimilation demands and the contact hypothesis. *North Carolina Law Review*, 86, (2) 379-440.

Greene, A. M., and Robbins, M. (2015). The cost of a calling? Clergywomen and work in the Church of England. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 22(4), 405-420.

Greer, G. (1970). *The female eunuch*. London: MacGibbon and Kee.

----- (1999). *The whole woman*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Groppe, E. (2009). Women and the *Persona* of Christ: Ordination in the Roman Catholic Church. In Abraham, S. and E. Procaro-Foley (Eds.). *Frontiers in Catholic feminist theology: Shoulder to shoulder* (pp. 153-171). Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press

Grudem, W. A. (1994). *Systematic theology: An introduction to biblical doctrine*.

Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press.

----- (2001). The meaning of (kephale)(" head"): An evaluation of new evidence, real and alleged. *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, 44(1), 25.

----- (2002). The meaning of κεφαλή (“head”): An evaluation of new evidence, real and alleged. In Grudem, W. (Ed.), *Biblical foundations for manhood and womanhood* (pp. 145-202). Wheaton, IL: Crossway.

Guest, M. (2007a). *Evangelical identity and contemporary culture: a congregational study in innovation*. Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers.

----- (2007b). In search of spiritual capital: The spiritual as a cultural resource. In Flanagan, K. and Jupp, P. (Eds.). *A sociology of spirituality*, (pp. 181-200). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Guest, M., and Aune, K. (2017). Students’ Constructions of a Christian Future: Faith, Class and Aspiration in University Contexts. *Sociological Research Online*, 22(1), 1-13.

Guest, M., Aune, K., Sharma, S., and Warner, R. (2013). *Christianity and the university experience: Understanding student faith*. London, New Delhi, New York and Sydney: Bloomsbury.

Guest, M., Olson, E. and Wolffe, J. (2012). Christianity: Loss of monopoly. In Woodhead, L., and Catto, R. (Eds.). *Religion and change in modern Britain* (pp. 57-78). London and New York: Routledge.

Hackett, C. et al. (2016). The gender gap in religion around the world: Women are generally more religious than men, particularly among Christians. Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center.

Hall, D. (1994). Muscular Christianity: Reading and writing the male social body. In D.Hall (Ed.), *Muscular Christianity: Embodying the Victorian age*, (pp. 3-15). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halualani, R. T. (2008). How do multicultural university students define and make sense of intercultural contact?: A qualitative study. *International journal of intercultural relations*, 32(1), 1-16.

Harari, Y. N. (2011). *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind*. London: Penguin Random House.

Hebl, M. R., King, E. B., Glick, P., Singletary, S. L., and Kazama, S. (2007). Hostile and benevolent reactions toward pregnant women: complementary interpersonal punishments and rewards that maintain traditional roles. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(6), 1499-1511.

Heeney, B. (1988). *The Women's Movement in the Church of England 1850s-1930*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Herek, G. M. (2004). Beyond "homophobia": Thinking about sexual prejudice and stigma in the twenty-first century. *Sexuality Research and Social Policy*, 1(2), 6-24.

Herek, G. M., and Capitano, J. P. (1997). AIDS stigma and contact with persons with AIDS: Effects of direct and vicarious contact. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 27(1), 1-36.

Herring, G., (2002). *What Was the Oxford Movement?* London and New York: Continuum.

Hiebert, A. (2002, December). [Review of the book *Slaves, women and homosexuals: Exploring the hermeneutics of cultural analysis*, by W. J. Webb]. *Journal of the Evangelical Theological society*, 45(4), 677-678.

Higgins, E. T. (1987). Self-discrepancy: a theory relating self and affect. *Psychological review*, 94(3), 319-340.

Hindess, B. (1996). *Discourses of power: From Hobbes to Foucault*. Oxford: Baker Academic Press.

Hines, M. (2011). Gender development and the human brain. *Annual review of neuroscience*, 34, 69-88.

Hollis, C., (1967). *Newman and the Modern World*. London and Aylesbury: Compton Printing Ltd.

Husnu, S., and Crisp, R. J. (2010). Elaboration enhances the imagined contact effect. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 46(6), 943-950.

Hunter, J. D. (1983). *American evangelicalism: Conservative religion and the quandary of modernity*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

----- (1987). *Evangelicalism: The coming generation*. New York: Barron's Educational Series.

Hylson-Smith, K. (1993) *High Churchmanship in the Church of England: From the Sixteenth Century to the late Twentieth Century*. Edinburgh: Tandt Clark.

Jenkins, David. (2005). "Letter from Richard Jenkins, Director of Affirming Catholicism to the Rt Revd Christopher Hill on the Provision for Those to the Admission of Women to the Episcopate." Received by Rt Revd Christopher Hill. In Rigney, J wit Chapman, M (Eds.). *Women as Bishops*. London and New York: Mowbray , 3 Nov. 2008, pp. 131-138.

Johnson, E. A. (1992). *She who is* . New York: Crossroad.

----- (1993). *Women, earth, and creator spirit*. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

----- (2007). *Quest for the living God: Mapping frontiers in the theology of God.*

London: AandC Black.

Jones, D. C. (2008). Calvinistic Methodism and the Origins of Evangelicalism in England. in M.A. Haykin and K.J. Stewart (Eds.) *The Emergence of Evangelicalism: Exploring Historical Continuities.* Nottingham: Apollos, pp. 103-128.

Jones, I. (2004). *Women and priesthood in the Church of England: Ten years on.* London: Church House Publishing.

Jost, J. T., and Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British journal of social psychology*, 33(1), 1-27.

Keller, E.F. (1998). Gender and science: Origin, history, and politics. In Hull, D. L. and Ruse, M. *The philosophy of biology*, pp.398-413. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Kilianski, S. E., and Rudman, L. A. (1998). Wanting it both ways: Do women approve of benevolent sexism?. *Sex roles*, 39(5-6), 333-352.

King, K. L. (2005). *What is Gnosticism?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

King, N. (2010). Research ethics in qualitative research. In Forrester, A. (Ed.), *Doing qualitative research in psychology: A practical guide* (pp.98-118). London: Sage.

Kirk, T. (1993). *The polarisation of Protestants and Roman Catholics in rural Northern Ireland: A case Study of Glenravel Ward, County Antrim 1956 to 1988*. PhD thesis. Queen's University, Belfast, Northern Ireland. 541 pp.

Kitcatt, C. (2013). Boundaries and beyond: Weaving women's experiences of spiritual accompaniment. In Slee, N., Porter, F. and Phillips, A. (Eds.). *The faith lives of women and girls*, (pp .173- 184). Surrey and Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Knox, E.A., (1933). *The Tractarian Movement, 1833-1845: A study of the Oxford Movement as a phase of the Religious Revival in Western Europe in the second quarter of the nineteenth century*. London and New York: Putnam.

Koenenn, C. (1985, May 12). [Review of the book *Bread not stone: The challenge of feminist biblical interpretation*, by Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza]. *Los Angeles Times*. Retrieved from http://articles.latimes.com/1985-05-12/books/bk-18417_1_elisabeth-schussler-fiorenza

Kulich, C., Trojanowski, G., Ryan, M. K., Alexander Haslam, S., and Renneboog, L. D. (2011). Who gets the carrot and who gets the stick? Evidence of gender disparities in executive remuneration. *Strategic Management Journal*, 32(3), 301-321.

Kung, H. (2001). *Women in Christianity*. (J. Bowden Trans.). London: Continuum.

- Laqueur, T. W. (1990). *Making sex: Body and gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- (2012). The rise of sex in the eighteenth century: historical context and historiographical implications. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 37(4), 802-813.
- Larsen, T., (2006). *Crisis of doubt: honest faith in nineteenth-century England*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Leafe, S. (2012, November 21). Why I voted no to women bishops. *The Independent*. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/voices/comment/why-i-voted-no-to-women-bishops-8340833.html>
- Leary, M. R. (2005). Sociometer theory and the pursuit of relational value: Getting to the root of self-esteem. *European review of social psychology*, 16(1), 75-111.
- Leary, M. R., and Baumeister, R. F. (2000). The nature and function of self-esteem: Sociometer theory. In *Advances in experimental social psychology*, No. 32, pp. 1-62.
- Lee, P. J. (1993). *Against the protestant Gnostics*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.

Lips, H. M. (2013a). The gender pay gap: Challenging the rationalizations. Perceived equity, discrimination, and the limits of human capital models. *Sex Roles*, 68(3-4), 169-185.

----- (2013b). Acknowledging discrimination as a key to the gender pay gap. *Sex roles*, 68(3-4), 223-230.

List of women bishops in the Church of England. (2018). *Forward in Faith*. Retrieved from http://www.forwardinfaith.com/List_of_Women_Bishops.php

Local Contacts. (2018). Reform. Retrieved from <https://www.reform.org.uk/connect/local-contacts>

Lord's Table. (2018). Church of England Glossary. Retrieved from https://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/lords_table

Macquarrie, J., (1990). *Jesus Christ in modern thought*. London: SCM Press.

MacCulloch, D. (2009). *A history of Christianity" The first three thousand years*. London: Penguin.

Maiden, J. (2018). The charismatic turn of the long 1960s: Contexts and characteristics. *Contemporary religion in historical perspective: Publics and performances*. Walton Hill, Milton Keynes, 19th February.

- Malik, S. H., and Coulson, N. S. (2008). Computer-mediated infertility support groups: an exploratory study of online experiences. *Patient education and counseling*, 73(1), 105-113.
- Maltby, J. (1998). One Lord, one faith, one baptism, but two integrities? . In Furlong, M (Ed.). *Act of Synod- act of folly? Episcopal Ministry Act of Synod 1993*, (pp.42-58). London: SCM Press.
- Mantle, G. (1991). *Archbishop: The life and times of Robert Runcie*. London: Sinclair-Stevenson Ltd.
- Marsden, G. (1977). Fundamentalism as an American phenomenon, a comparison with English evangelicalism. *Church History*, 46(2), 215-232.
- (1991). *Understanding fundamentalism and evangelicalism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.
- (2006). *Fundamentalism and American culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martin, B., (1976). *John Keble: priest, professor and poet*. London: Croom Helm Ltd.
- Martin, J. L. (2017). *Thinking through methods: A social science primer*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

- Masser, B. M., and Abrams, D. (2004). Reinforcing the glass ceiling: The consequences of hostile sexism for female managerial candidates. *Sex Roles*, 51(9-10), 609-615.
- May, T., and Perry, B. (2010). *Social research and reflexivity: Content, consequence and context*. London: Sage.
- Mayland, J. (2007). The ordination of women and the ecumenical movement. In Wootton, J. (Ed.). *This is our story: Free Church women's ministry*, (pp. 105-128). Peterborough: Epworth.
- McCarthy, E. D. (2005). *Knowledge as culture: The new sociology of knowledge*. London and New York: Routledge.
- McCarthy Brown, K. (1994). "Fundamentalism and the Control of Women" in J.S. Hawley (ed.) *Fundamentalism and Gender*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press on Demand, pp. 175-201.
- McGilchrist, I. (2009). *The master and his emissary: The divided brain and the making of the western world*. Yale University Press.
- MacGrath, A. (1993). *The Renewal of Anglicanism*. London: SPCK
- McLaughlin, E. C. (1974). Equality of souls, equality of sexes: Woman in medieval theology. In Radford Ruether, R. (Ed.). *Religion and sexism: Images of woman in*

the Jewish and Christian traditions, (pp. 213-266). New York: Simon and Schuster.

McLeod, H., (1996). *Religion and society in England, 1850-1914*. Hampshire and London: Macmillan.

----- (1999). "Protestantism and British national identity, 1815–1945" in P. Van der Veer and H. Lehmann (eds.) *Nation and religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. NJ, Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp .44-70.

----- (2007). *The religious crisis of the 1960s*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

----- (2012). The "Sportsman" and the "Muscular Christian": Rival Ideals in Nineteenth Century England. In Pasture, P., Art, J., and Buerman, T. (Eds.). *Beyond the Feminisation thesis: Gender and Christianity in modern Europe*, (pp. 85-96). Leuven, Leuven University Press

Merino, S. M. (2010). Religious diversity in a "Christian nation": The effects of theological exclusivity and interreligious contact on the acceptance of religious diversity. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 49(2), 231-246.

Ministry Division. (2014). *Criteria for selection for the ordained ministry in the Church of England*. Available at https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/selection_criteria_for_ordained_ministry.pdf

Ministry statistics 2016. (2017). *The Church of England*. Retrieved from <https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2017-10/2016ministrystatistics.pdf>

Ministry statistics 2017. (2018). *The Church of England*. Retrieved from https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2018-08/Ministry%20Statistics%202017_final%20report_v2.pdf

Montifiore, H. (Ed.). (1978). *Yes to women priests*. Oxford: Mowbray.

Mounce, W. D. (2000). *Word Biblical Commentary: Pastoral Epistles*. Waco TX: Thomas Nelson.

Mruk. C. (1995). *Self-esteem: Research, theory, and practice*. New York: Springer.

Munro, E. (2013). Feminism: A fourth wave? *Political insight*, 4(2), 22-25.

Mustajoki, H., and Mustajoki, A. (2017). *A new approach to research ethics: Using guided dialogue to strengthen research communities*. London and New York: Routledge.

Nadaf, Z. A. and Campus, N. (2018). Emotional intelligence, personality characteristics and gender: An empirical study of college principals. *American international journal of research in humanities, arts and social sciences*, 22(1), 99-104.

Nason-Clark, N. (1984). *Clerical attitudes towards appropriate roles for women in church and society: An empirical investigation of Anglican, Methodist and Baptist clergy in Southern England* (Doctoral dissertation).

----- (1987a). Are women changing the image of ministry? A comparison of British and American realities. *Review of religious research*, 330-340.

----- (1987b). Are women changing the image of ministry? A comparison of British and American realities. *Review of religious research*, 330-340.

New, D.S., (2012). *Christian fundamentalism in America: a cultural history*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland.

Nichols, A. (2004). "The bishop as bridegroom: A Roman Catholic perspective". In Baker, J. (Ed.). *Consecrated women?: A contribution to the women bishops debate*, pp. 157-163 Norwich: Canterbury Press.

Nockles, Peter B. (1994). *The Oxford Movement in context: Anglican high churchmanship, 1760-1857*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Noll, M.A., (1994). *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*. Grand Rapids, MA: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Numbers, R. (2006). *The creationists: From scientific Creationism to Intelligent Design*. Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press.

Ollard, S.L., (1963). *A Short History of the Oxford Movement*. London and Oxford:

Mowbray.

Olsen, G.W., (1990). *Religion and Revolution in Early-Industrial England: The Halevy*

Thesis and its Critics. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America.

Online application form. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.reform.org.uk/members-section/register>

Oudshoorn, N. (2003). *Beyond the natural body: An archaeology of sex hormones*.

London and New York: Routledge.

Our Church Network. (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.htb.org/network>

Our history (n.d.). Religious sisters of charity. Retrieved from

<https://rsccaritas.com/index.php/our-history>

Our Story. (2018). Retrieved from <https://www.new-wine.org/about>

Packer, J. I. (1973). Thoughts on the role and function of women in the Church. In

Craston, C. (Ed.). *Evangelicals and the ordination of women*. Bramcote: Grove Books.

Page, S. (2010) *Femininities and Masculinities in the Church of England*. PhD thesis,

School of Sociology and Social Policy, Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

----- (2013). Feminist faith lives? Exploring perceptions of feminism among two Anglican cohorts. In Slee, N., F. Porter and A. Phillips (Eds.), *The faith lives of women and girls: qualitative research perspectives* (pp. 51-63). Farnham: Ashgate.

----- (2014). The Scrutinized Priest: Women in the Church of England Negotiating Professional and Sacred Clothing Regimes. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 21(4), 295-307.

----- (2017). Anglican Clergy Husbands Securing Middle-Class Gendered Privilege Through Religion. *Sociological Research Online*, 22(1), 1-13.

Park, A., Phillips, M., and Johnson, M. (2004). *Young people in Britain: the attitudes and experiences of 12 to 19 year olds*. Nottingham: Department for Education and Skills.

Penning, J.M. and Smidt, C.E., (2002). *Evangelicalism: The next generation*. Ada, MI: Baker Academic.

Percy, E. (2017). Women, ordination and the Church of England: An ambiguous welcome. *Feminist Theology*, 26(1), 90-100.

Perrin, R. (2016). *The Bible reading of young evangelicals: An exploration of the ordinary hermeneutics and faith of Generation Y*. Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications.

Perry, M. (1978). Why not now? In Montifiore, H. (Ed.). *Yes to women priests*, (pp. 73-88). Oxford: Mowbray.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1971). *Racially separate or together?* New York: McGraw-Hill.

----- (1998). Intergroup contact theory. *Annual review of psychology*, 49(1), 65-85.

Pettigrew, T. F., and Tropp, L. R. (2005). Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis: Its history and influence. In Dovidio, J., Glick, P. and Rudman, L. (Eds.). *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport*, (262-277). Malden, M.A., Oxford, U.K., and Victoria, Australia.

----- (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 90(5), 751-783.

----- (2008). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 38(6), 922-934.

Pickering, W. S. F. (1989/2008). *Anglo-Catholicism: a study in religious ambiguity*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pilarski, A. E. (2011). The past and future of feminist biblical hermeneutics. *Biblical Theology Bulletin*, 41(1), 16-23.

Piper, J., and Grudem, W. (Eds.). (1991). *Recovering biblical manhood and womanhood: A response to evangelical feminism*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway.

----- (2016). *50 Crucial Questions: An Overview of Central Concerns about Manhood and Womanhood*. Wheaton, IL: Crossway

Powlishta, K. K. (2004). Gender as a social category: Intergroup processes and gender-role development. In Bennett, M. and Sani, F. (Eds.). *The development of the social self* (pp. 117-148). London: Psychology Press.

Prayer Books (2018). Church of England glossary. Retrieved from https://www.churchofenglandglossary.co.uk/dictionary/definition/prayer_books

Pugh, M. (2000). *Women and the women's movement in Britain, 1914-1999*. Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press.

Putnam, R. D. (2000). Bowling alone: America's declining social capital. In *Culture and politics* (pp. 223-234). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Radford Ruether, R. (1974). Misogynism and virginal feminism in the Fathers of the Church. In Radford Ruether, R. (Ed.). *Religion and sexism: Images of woman in the Jewish and Christian traditions*, (pp. 150-183). New York: Simon and Schuster.

Rakoczy, S. (2008). The theological vision of Elizabeth Johnson. In *Scriptura 98*, pp. 137-155.

Ramazanoglu, C. (2002) *Feminist Methodology: Challenges and Choices*. London: Sage.

- Randall, K. (2005). *Evangelicals Etcetera: Conflict and Conviction in the Church of England's Parties*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Redfern, C., and Aune, K. (2010). *Reclaiming the F word: The new feminist movement*. London and New York: Zed.
- Rees, D. (2016). To boldly go: How do women in senior positions in the Church of England construe their leadership?. In Day, A. (Ed.). *Contemporary issues in the worldwide Anglican Communion: Powers and pieties*, (pp. 129-145). Farnham: Ashgate.
- Reed, J.S., (1996). *Glorious battle: the cultural politics of Victorian Anglo-Catholicism*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Reich, C., and Purbhoo, M. (1975). The effect of cross-cultural contact. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue canadienne des sciences du comportement*, 7(4), 313.
- Reform resources. (2018). *Reform*. Retrieved from <https://www.reform.org.uk/about/reform-resources>
- Resources, Publications, and Data. (2018) The Church of England. Retrieved from <https://www.churchofengland.org/more/policy-and-thinking/research-and-statistics/resources-publications-and-data>

Reynolds, K.J., (2011). "Self-Categorization Theory" in Brian, T. et al. (eds.) *The Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

Riessman, Catherine Kohler. (2005). Narrative Analysis. In: Narrative, Memory and Everyday Life. University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield, pp.1-7. Retrieved from <http://eprints.hud.ac.uk/4920/>

Roantree, B. and Vira, K. (2018). The rise and rise of women's employment in the UK. *Institute for fiscal studies*. Retrieved from <https://www.ifs.org.uk/uploads/BN234.pdf>

Robbins, M., Francis, L. J., Haley, J. M., and Kay, D. William. K. (2001). The personality characteristics of Methodist ministers: feminine men and masculine women?. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 40(1), 123-128.

Robbins, M., and Greene, A. M. (2018). Clergywomen's experience of ministry in the Church of England. *Journal of Gender Studies*, 27(8), 890-900.

Robinson, J. A. T. (2002). *Honest to God*. London: SCM Press.

- Rothbart, M., and John, O. P. (1985). Social categorization and behavioral episodes: A cognitive analysis of the effects of intergroup contact. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41(3), 81-104.
- Rubin, G. (1975). The traffic in women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of sex. In R. Reiter (ed.), *Toward an anthropology of women* (pp.33-65). New York: Monthly Review.
- Ruddick, A. (2016). Complementarian ministry in the local parish church. In Gatiss, A. (Ed.). *Positively Anglican: Building on the foundations and transforming the church*, pp. 55, 66. Watford: Church Society.
- Rudman, L.A. (2005). Rejection of Women? Beyond Prejudice as Antipathy? In J. F. Dovidio, P. E. Glick, and L. A. Rudman, (Eds.). *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport*, (pp.106-120). Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell Publishing.
- Russell, B. L., and Trigg, K. Y. (2004). Tolerance of sexual harassment: An examination of gender differences, ambivalent sexism, social dominance, and gender roles. *Sex Roles*, 50(7-8), 565-573.
- Safer recruitment practice guidance. (2017). Church of England. Retrieved from <https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2017-11/dbs-faq-february-2017.pdf>
- Sakalli-Ugurlu, N., and Beydogan, B. (2002). Turkish college students' attitudes toward women managers: The effects of patriarchy, sexism, and gender differences. *The*

Journal of Psychology, 136(6), 647-656.

Sakallı-Uğurlu, N., Yalçın, Z. S., and Glick, P. (2007). Ambivalent sexism, belief in a just world, and empathy as predictors of Turkish students' attitudes toward rape victims. *Sex Roles*, 57(11-12), 889-895.

Saldaña, J. (2003). *Longitudinal qualitative research: Analyzing change through time*. Lanham, MD: Rowman Altamira.

----- (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage.

Sani, F. (2005). When subgroups secede: Extending and refining the social psychological model of schism in groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31(8), 1074-1086.

----- (2008). Schism in groups: A social psychological account. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(2), 718-732.

Sani, F., and Reicher, S. (1999). Identity, argument and schism: Two longitudinal studies of the split in the Church of England over the ordination of women to the priesthood. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 2(3), 279-300.

----- (2000). Contested identities and schisms in groups: Opposing the ordination of women as priests in the Church of England. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(1), 95-112.

Sani, F., and Todman, J. (2002). Should we stay or should we go? A social psychological model of schisms in groups. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 28(12), 1647-1655.

Sayer, A. (2000). *Realism and social science*. London: Sage.

Schiappa, E., Gregg, P. B., and Hewes, D. E. (2005). The parasocial contact hypothesis. *Communication Monographs*, 72, 92–115.

Schneiders, S.M. (1995) Feminist Hermeneutics. In Green, J. B. *Hearing the New Testament: Strategies for interpretation*. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.

Schüssler Fiorenza, E. (1983). *In memory of her: A feminist theological reconstruction of Christian origins*. London: SCM Press.

----- (2009). *Democratizing biblical studies: Toward an emancipatory educational space*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.

Sedgwick, J. (1992). *Why women priests? The ordination of women and the apostolic ministry*. London: Affirming Catholicism.

Sex Discrimination Act. (1975). Retrieved from <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65>

Seybold, K. S. (2007). *Explorations in neuroscience, psychology and religion*. London and New York: Routledge.

Shepard, W., (1987). 'Fundamentalism' Christian and Islamic. *Religion*, 17 (4), pp. 355-378.

Sherwood, H. (2017). Opponent of women bishops urged to decline bishop of Sheffield post. In *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/24/new-bishop-sheffield-opponent-female-priests-urged-decline>

Sigel, R. S. (1996). *Ambition and accommodation: How women view gender relations*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Smith, C., with Emerson, M., Gallagher, S., Kennedy, P., and Sikkink, D. (1998). *American evangelicalism: Embattled and thriving*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Stanton, G. N. (2001). *Galatians*. In Muddiman, J. and Barton, J. (Eds.). *The Oxford Bible commentary: The Pauline epistles*, (pp. 151-169). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Statistics for mission 2017. (2018). *The Church of England research and statistics*. Retrieved from <https://www.churchofengland.org/sites/default/files/2018-11/2017StatisticsForMission.pdf>

Smith, J. A. (Ed.). (2015). *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods*. London: Sage.

Stephan, W. G., and Finlay, K. (1999). The role of empathy in improving intergroup relations. *Journal of Social issues*, 55(4), 729-743.

Stephan, W. G., and Stephan, C. W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. *Journal of social issues*, 41(3), 157-175.

Stewart, A. R. (2012). *Gender, faith, and storytelling: An ethnography of the charismatic internet* (Doctoral dissertation).

Stoll, D. (1990). *Is Latin America turning Protestant? the politics of evangelical growth*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Storkey, E. (1985). *What's right with feminism?* London: SPCK.

----- (2000). *Created or Constructed? The great gender debate*. Milton Keynes: Send the Light.

----- (n.d.). *Elaine Storkey Curriculum Vitae*. Retrieved from <http://www.elainestorkey.com/cv/>

Stotland, E. (1969). Exploratory studies in empathy. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (vol 4, pp. 271-314) New York: Academic Press.

Strauss, D.F. ([1846] 2010). *The Life of Jesus, critically examined*. New York: Cosimo, Inc.

Stringer, M. D. (1996). Towards a situational theory of belief. *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford*, 27(3), 217-234.

Srivastava A. and Thomson S.B. (2009) Framework analysis: a qualitative methodology for applied policy research. *Journal of Administration and Governance* 4(2), 72–79.

Strhan, Anna (2015) *Aliens and strangers? The struggle for coherence in the everyday Lives of evangelicals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Strobe and M. Hewstone (Eds.), *European review of social psychology* (vol. 5, pp. 1-35). New York: Wiley.

Summerfield, P. (1998). *Reconstructing women's wartime lives: discourse and subjectivity in oral histories of the Second World War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Swingewood, A. (1984/1991/2000). *A short history of sociological thought*, 3rd ed.

Hampshire and New York: Palgrave.

Sykes, S. W. (1987). Introduction: Why authority? In Sykes, S. (Ed.). *Authority in the Anglican Communion: Essays presented to Bishop John Howe*, (pp. 11-23).

Toronto: Anglican Book Centre.

Tajfel, H. (1969). Cognitive aspects of prejudice. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 1(S1), 173-191.

----- (1974). Social identity and intergroup behaviour. *Information (International Social Science Council)*, 13(2), 65-93.

----- (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual review of psychology*, 33(1), 1-39.

Tajfel, H., and Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, 33(47), 33-47.

----- (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behaviour. In Worchel S. and Austin W.G. (Eds.). *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago: Nelson Hall.

Tajfel, H. and Wilkes, A.L. (1963), "Classification and Quantitative Judgement", *British Journal of Psychology*, 54 (2), pp. 101-114.

Tan, A., Fujioka, Y., and Lucht, N. (1997). Native American stereotypes, TV portrayals, and personal contact. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74(2), 265-284.

Tannen, D. (1990). *You just don't understand*. New York: Ballantine.

Taylor, J. (2010). Evangelicals in warning over women bishops. In *The Independent*. Retrieved from <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/evangelicals-in-warning-over-women-bishops-1893195.html>

Taylor, M.A. and Weir, H., (2016). *Women in the Story of Jesus: The Gospels through the Eyes of Nineteenth-Century Female Biblical Interpreters*. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

The Complete Jerusalem Statement. (2008). *GAFCON*. Retrieved from <https://www.gafcon.org/resources/the-complete-jerusalem-statement>

The Council of Bishops. (2017). *The Society under the Patronage of Saint Wilfred and Saint Hilda*. Retrieved from <http://www.sswsh.com/The-Council-of-Bishops.php>

The Ethos at Ridley. (n.d.). *Ridley Hall, Cambridge*. Retrieved from <https://www.ridley.cam.ac.uk/about/ethos>

The Faith and Order Commission. (2018) *The five guiding principles: a resource for study*. London: Church House Publishing.

The Reform covenant. (2010). *Reform*. Retrieved from

<https://www.reform.org.uk/about/the-reform-covenant>

The Women's Timeline. (2018). *Manchester Metropolitan University*. Retrieved from

<https://www.mmu.ac.uk/equality-and-diversity/doc/gender-equality-timeline.pdf>

The order of deaconesses. (n.d.). *The Church of England*. Retrieved from

<https://www.churchofengland.org/more/policy-and-thinking/canons-church-england/section-d>

Thiselton, A. C. (2000). *The First Epistle to the Corinthians: A commentary on the Greek text* (Vol. 7). Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Thorlby, T. (2016). *Love, sweat and tears: Church planting in east London*. [online] The Centre for theology and Community. Retrieved 24th December, 2017, from

http://www.theology-centre.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/ChurchPlanting_Final_online.pdf

----- (2018). Anglican church planting in east London, circa 2005-2015. In Goodhew, D. and Cooper, A. *The Descularisation of the city: London's churches, 1980 to the present*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Thorne, H. (2000). *Journey to the priesthood: An in-depth study of the first women priests in the Church of England*. Bristol: Centre for Comparative Studies in Religion and Gender.
- Thrall, M. E. (1958). *The Ordination of Women to the Priesthood: A Study of the Biblical Evidence*. London: SCM Press.
- Tindall, C. (1994). Issues of evaluation. In Peter Banister, Erica Burman, Ian Parker, Maye Taylor, and Carol Tindall, (Eds.), *Qualitative Methods in Psychology* (pp. 142-159). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Toi, M., and Batson, C. D. (1982). More evidence that empathy is a source of altruistic motivation. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, 43(2), 281-292.
- Tooher, J. (2016). Overflowing with ministry opportunities! In Gatiss, L. (Ed.). *Positively Anglican: Building on the foundations and transforming the church*, pp. 67-72. Watford: Church Society.
- Trepte, S. (2006). Social identity theory. In Bryant, J. and Vorderer, P. (Ed.s), *Psychology of entertainment*, (pp. 255- 271). London and New York: Routledge.
- Turnbull, R., (2007). *Anglican and Evangelical?*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.

- Turner, J. C. (1975). Social comparison and social identity: Some prospects for intergroup behaviour. *European journal of social psychology*, 5(1), 1-34.
- Turner, J. C., and Oakes, P. J. (1986). The significance of the social identity concept for social psychology with reference to individualism, interactionism and social influence. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 25(3), 237-252.
- Turner, R. N., Crisp, R. J., and Lambert, E. (2007). Imagining intergroup contact can improve intergroup attitudes. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 10(4), 427-441.
- Turner, J.C. and Reynolds, K.J. (2011), "Self-categorization Theory" in Paul A. M. Van Lange, Arie W. Kruglanski and E. Tory Higgins (eds.) *Handbook of Theories in Social Psychology*, Vol. 2, pp. 399-417. London: Sage.
- Urquhart, C. (1974). *When the Spirit comes*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.
- Vanhoozer, K. (2004). Into the 'Great Beyond'. A theologian's response to the Marshall plan. In Marshall, I. H. *Beyond the Bible: Moving from scripture to theology* (pp. 81-95). Ada, MI: Baker Academic Press.
- Vasey-Saunders, M. (2016). *The Scandal of Evangelicals and Homosexuality: English Evangelical Texts, 1960–2010*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Verter, B. (2003). Spiritual capital: Theorizing religion with Bourdieu against Bourdieu. *Sociological theory*, 21(2), 150-174.

Village, A. (2005). Assessing belief about the Bible: A study among Anglican laity.

Review of Religious Research, 243-254.

----- (2013). Traditions within the Church of England and psychological type: A study among the clergy. *Journal of Empirical Theology*, 26(1), 22-44.

----- (2016). Biblical conservatism and psychological type. *Journal of Empirical Theology*, 29(2), 137-159.

Village, A., and Francis, L. J. (2005). The relationship of psychological type preferences to biblical interpretation. *Journal of Empirical Theology*, 18(1), 74-89.

Wald, K.D., Owen, D.E. and Hill Jr, S.S., (1989). Evangelical politics and status issues.

Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, (28) 1: 1-16.

Ward, G. (2014). *Unbelievable: Why we believe and why we don't*. London: IB Tauris.

Warner, R. (2007). Reinventing English evangelicalism, 1966-2001. A theological and sociological study. Carlisle: Paternoster.

----- (2014). Evangelicals of the 1970s and 2010s: What's the same, what's different, and what's urgent. In Steensland, B. and P. Goff (Eds.). *The new evangelical social engagement*, (pp. 280-291). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Webb, W. J. (2001). *Slaves, women and homosexuals: Exploring the hermeneutics of cultural analysis*. Nottingham: Inter-Varsity Press.
- Wegner, D. M., and Crano, W. D. (1975). Racial factors in helping behavior: An unobtrusive field experiment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 32(5), 901-905.
- West, S. G., Whitney, G., and Schnedler, R. (1975). Helping a motorist in distress: The effects of race, sex, and neighborhood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 31, 691-698.
- Where is the Church going? Extracts from *UK Church Statistics*, No. 3. (2018). *Brierley Consultancy*. Retrieved from <https://www.brierleyconsultancy.com/where-is-the-church-going>
- Wilking, S. and Efron, L., (2014). *Snake-Handling Pentecostal Pastor Dies From Snake Bite*. Retrieved 24th December, 2-17, from <http://abcnews.go.com/US/snake-handling-pentecostal-pastor-dies-snake-bite/story?id=22551754>
- Willems, E. (1967). Validation of authority in Pentecostal sects of Chile and Brazil. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 6(2):253–258.
- Williams, D. K. (2014). Prolifers of the left: Progressive evangelicals' campaign against abortion. In Steensland, B. and P. Goff (Eds.). *The new evangelical social engagement*, (pp. 200-220). Oxford: Oxford University Press

Williams, J. (1984). Jesus the Jew and women. In Furlong, M. (Ed.). *Feminine in the Church*, (pp. 86-99). London: SPCK.

Williams, M. A. (1999). *Rethinking "Gnosticism": An argument for dismantling a dubious category*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Williams, R. (1984). Women and the ministry: A case for theological seriousness. Jesus the Jew and women. In Furlong, M. (Ed.). *Feminine in the Church*, (pp. 11-27). London: SPCK.

Wintour, P. and Davies, L. (2012). David Cameron: Church of England should 'get on with it' on female bishops". *BBC*. Retrieved from <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/nov/21/david-cameron-church-female-bishops>

Witherington III, B. (1987). *Women in the ministry of Jesus: A study of Jesus' attitudes to women and their roles as reflected in his earthly life/* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

----- (1990). *Women and the genesis of Christianity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Women bishops and women priests. (2018). *Forward in Faith*. Retrieved from <https://www.forwardinfaith.com/WomenBishops.php>

Women bishops: Church has 'lost credibility' says Rowan Williams. (2012). Retrieved from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-20423664>

Wright, A. (2013). *Christianity and critical realism: Ambiguity, truth and theological literacy.* London and New York: Routledge.

Wright, J. H. (1997). Patristic testimony on women's ordination in *Inter insigniores. Theological Studies*, 58(3), 516-526.

Wright, S. C., Aron, A., McLaughlin-Volpe, T., and Ropp, S. A. (1997). The extended contact effect: Knowledge of cross-group friendships and prejudice. *Journal of Personality and Social psychology*, 73(1), 73-90.

Wuthnow, R., and Lawson, M.P. (2004). Sources of Christian Fundamentalism in the United States. In Marty, M.E. and Appleby, R.S. (Eds.). *Accounting for fundamentalisms: The dynamic character of movements* (Vol. 4), pp. 18-56. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Wyatt, T. (2017). Diocese of Newcastle issues warning to conservative evangelical priest ordained by breakaway SA church. *Church Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.churchtimes.co.uk/articles/2017/12-may/news/uk/jesmond-curate-s-breakaway-consecration-surprises-both-diocese-and-conservative-evangelicals>

Young, F. (2015). *Inferior Office? A History of Deacons in the Church of England*.

Cambridge: James Clarke and Co.