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**REPROFESSIONALIZATION
AMONG
CANADIAN CLERGY:
the Definition and
Empirical Investigation
of a New Concept**

by

Thomas Elliott Sherwood, B.A., M.A., M.Div.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

March 31, 1994

Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario

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the Definition and Empirical Investigation of a New Concept

submitted by
Thomas Elliott Sherwood, B.A., M.A., M.Div.

in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Chair, Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Thesis Supervisor

External Examiner

Carleton University

May, 1994

Abstract

This study is a sociological analysis of a set of changes observed to be taking place among some Canadian clergy in the 1970s and early 1980s, using multiple indicators: participant observation, historical and documentary research, and questionnaire data gathered in 1983 from a 71% sample of the 594 members of the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education ("CAPE"). Each respondent completed a 483-item questionnaire (N=423).

The conceptual framework and operational definitions for the investigation were constructed from the theoretical literature of the sociology of professions as it existed in 1982, especially theories of professionalization and deprofessionalization. Specifically, Ronald M. Pavalko's eight-dimension occupation-profession continuum was employed to consider indicators of professionalism.

The new concept of "reprofessionalization" was defined theoretically and tested empirically. Indicators of professionalism were used to test for reprofessionalization among the CAPE members. Indicators of religiosity, in both work role activity and private life, were used to measure the extent to which the CAPE members might still be considered clergy.

On the empirical level, analysis of the results suggests that the CAPE members are a group of clergy who show unusually high measures of professionalism at a time when the clergy profession as a whole seems to be undergoing deprofessionalization. On the theoretical level, this would suggest that the idea of reprofessionalization might be a useful concept in the understanding of how occupational groups may respond to the growth of knowledge, changing social values and other social changes. It might be employed in the investigation of other occupational groups as they are affected by changes in knowledge, technology and social values.

The study concludes with a refined, empirically-based definition of reprofessionalization and suggestions for its use in further study of the clergy and other occupational groups.

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The completion of this research project would not have been possible without the significant contribution of hundreds of people

The CAPE Board of Directors gave their complete support and cooperation; 423 members of the association completed the long questionnaire; and many were very helpful in conversation with me over the years.

At Carleton University, several members of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology gave me support and encouragement, especially the members of the committee chaired by my thesis supervisor, Professor Bruce McFarlane. His enthusiasm for the thesis and interest in the subject were unflagging over fourteen years. Gordon Irving and John Myles also gave advice, insights and criticism that improved the final product. Charles Gordon formally joined the committee only in 1993, but he had been a supportive friend and consultant since before 1980. He first encouraged me to base this study at Carleton, and for that I am especially grateful. Craig McKie joined the committee in January 1994 and offered helpful criticism and support as I made final editorial decisions

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At Orléans United Church dozens of people took on extra responsibilities and made sacrifices in order that I might have a sabbath season in 1993 to complete the thesis. They are too many to name in this space and too good at being friends to thank adequately in words. Let a few represent them all: Gord Riddle, David Kai, Jean Shaddick, George Teather, Dave Estey, Dave and Flora Crombie, Barb Trudeau, Ainslie Clark, Gloria McArthur, Bill and Nancy Miller, Jeannie Artelle, Dave and Annemarie Humenuk, Al Smith, Craig Bater

In fourteen years much can happen -- Canada has had six of our twenty Prime Ministers while I pursued this degree! Children are born, as Robert was a few days after the questionnaire was distributed; people can meet, fall in love and marry, as Lorena and I did; and people die. Three deaths were especially associated with the progress of this thesis, and I remember:

Helen R. Elliot (September 29, 1981)

the Rev. J. E. Gosse (February 13, 1984)

the Rev. Gerald W. Kemp (March 31, 1994).

Finally, I would like to thank my parents for their unconditional love; my brother for his example; my sister for her support; Jessica, Alison, Carla and Robert for their cooperation (it is difficult to share a house with a thesis); and Lorena who was and is sine qua non

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CHAPTER ONE

A SOCIAL PROBLEM AND A SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEM

A Phenomenon without a Name

As society has changed, the conceptual vocabulary of social science has also needed to change in order to describe, analyze and interpret new phenomena. A century ago, for example, such terms as "postindustrial" and "deprofessionalization" did not exist, because the phenomena they describe had not yet developed.

Within sociology, generally, theory has always grown out of empirical research; and many concepts have had broad and lasting interpretive power far beyond the context of their origins: anomie, bureaucracy, social class, role, marginality and sect, to list just a few examples.

Within the sociological study of work, however, theory has had difficulty keeping up with social change, especially in the area of professions. As will be detailed in Chapter Two, scholarship in the sociology of professions has moved through several stages in this century, successively emphasizing the concepts of "profession," "professionalism," "professionalization" and "deprofessionalization". Yet, by the early 1980s, many scholars shared Geison's belief that "all of the existing models of professions and professionalization are inadequate" (1983: 6). The subdiscipline had arrived at a conceptual brink.

Several prominent scholars responded, but in different ways: Freidson (1986) emphasized the institutionalization and power of "formal knowledge"; Larson also took a power approach (1988), following Foucault's domination thesis as it related to technical knowledge and expertise; Krause (1988) emphasized relations between professions and the state; Abbott (1988) argued for a systems approach that would emphasize the substance of professional knowledge, the area or "jurisdiction" within which it was practised, and the relationship between one professional group and its social and cultural context, including other professions; similarly, Perkin (1989) emphasized the role of professions in society and the social structure.

This thesis also developed as a response to the "state of the art" of theory in the sociology of professions as it was in the early 1980s. It had its origins in the realization that the conceptual vocabulary at that time could not easily describe developments that were seen to be occurring within the Canadian clergy profession. The "social problem" was that some clergy -- an organized, ecumenical association -- seemed to have more social power and higher salaries than the rest of the profession. The "sociological problem" was that there was no provision in the theoretical literature for the possibility of an occupational group that had once been generally recognized as a profession, and had more recently undergone deprofessionalization, to regain its former status.

"Reprofessionalization" was a new idea.

Background and Context

Scientific and technological developments, the growth of knowledge, and the rapid pace of social change have had impact on every sector of society in the industrialized West. This is especially evident in two areas where institutions have sometimes sought to resist or control change: professions and religion. The twentieth century has seen tremendous change in the social organization of work and occupations, including the professions, and in the social organization of religion, including the Christian church and clergy.

This study seeks to investigate change taking place where these two sectors overlap in Canadian society by examining the work activities, training and organization of a professional association of Canadian clergy in terms of the possibility of "reprofessionalization," which will be defined theoretically as the regaining of lost professional status and tested empirically in the case study.

Despite their long history, the professions as we know them today are really a product of the nineteenth century, a period marked by dramatic industrial and other changes (Rothman, 1987: 62). Scientific discovery, technological change, growth of knowledge, changing social values and changes in such "social technologies" as welfare programs, health care systems and family services result in changed occupational roles, functions, relationships and status (Perkin, 1989). This has been particularly true of the professional occupations which have held elite

positions in society by virtue of special knowledge, power or abilities to meet critical needs. However, as needs have changed and general knowledge has grown, social significance has also shifted and the "special" areas, or professional jurisdictions, have been redefined (Freidson, 1986: 2-5). New jurisdictions have emerged; old ones have disappeared or been taken over by other occupational groups (Scott, 1983: 12-28; Abbott, 1988).

The clergy profession, for example, which was one of the "old" professions (Reiss, 1955), enjoyed "relatively high status" into this century (Fichter, 1961: 125), but has become increasingly "marginal" in contemporary society (Russell, 1980) and declined in prestige (Clarke, 1981).

Professions that had not existed a century earlier began to rank near the top of prestige scales after World War II (e.g., Blisshen and McRoberts, 1976). The rate of change in occupational status became so rapid that measurements taken at ten-year intervals began to show shifts in position (Szafran, 1992). Rothman identified the expansion and diversification of occupations in the area of mental health services as an illustration of the effects that the growth of industrial capitalism might have on the professions:

Shifting values and perceptions of the motives underlying human behavior later created the need for the counseling professions... The very complexity of professional expertise can proliferate to a point requiring new specialized occupations to emerge out of work previously performed

by general practitioners (1987: 64).

As scholars identified this increasingly important role of professional knowledge in structuring the organization of work, and recognized the accelerating rate of change in technical knowledge, changes began to take place in the sociological study of the professions. Approaches that did not sensitively measure degrees of professionalism were discarded. The study of the professions became for a while the study of professionalization.

This approach also needed to be refined, however, when sociologists identified the need to describe movement in either direction on a continuum of occupations (Pavalko, 1971; Johnson, 1972; Ritzer and Walczak, 1986; Hodson and Sullivan, 1990; Fox, 1992). "Deprofessionalization" was identified, defined and studied (Haug, 1973, 1975; Toren, 1975; Freidson, 1977; Rothman, 1984). Increasingly, the professional occupations were discussed in terms of the amount of power they were gaining or losing (e.g., Berlant, 1975; Bledstein, 1976; Larson, 1977). Pavalko introduced an elaborate multidimensional continuum (1971: 15-43), which allowed for the measurement of either professionalization or deprofessionalization by any individual occupational group in terms of movement toward or away from an ideal-type of profession.

Even with this dynamic approach, however, there was some awareness among scholars that, by the early 1980s, neither the empirical

research nor the theoretical writing in sociology of professions were adequate to describe, analyze and interpret the actual social phenomena:

There is, in fact, good reason to suspect that all of the existing models of professions and professionalization are inadequate to some degree and in some respects. Whether they conceive of professionalization as the emergence of benign, apolitical, "non-economic", and homogeneous "communities of the competent", or whether they see it as a conspiratorial, stratifying, and exploitative process in tune with the needs of capitalism, the existing models are simply unable to account for the rich diverse forms and distribution of professional groups as we meet them in actual historical experience (Geison, 1983: 6).

The present study is one effort to investigate, if not "account for," certain anomolous developments within one professional group, the Canadian clergy.

The clergy profession has been considered the source or prototype of all professions: the shaman was not only a religious figure; he was a medical, legal and educational figure as well. "Anthropologists are fond of reminding their students that shamanism, not prostitution, is the world's oldest profession" (Brown, 1989: 92). Weber considered the Priest to be an "ideal-type" of professional (discussed in *Economy and Society* and *The Sociology of Religion*). Historians have shown that the medieval church's virtual monopoly on learning in Western Europe had led to almost all professional roles being performed by clergy (Rashdale, 1895; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933: 290, 294). Many modern sociologists consider that at one time the clergy profession was the only

profession (e.g., Elliott, 1972; Freidson, 1986: 21).

Today, however, scholars use the clergy to illustrate the deprofessionalization thesis (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986). Even sixty years ago, Carr-Saunders and Wilson decided to omit the clergy from their study because the aspects of the clergy role which were significant to society in general had been taken over by other groups (1933: 3). Within the sociology of religion, most of the scholarship within the various formulations of the secularization thesis refers to the declining power and influence of the church and its clergy (e.g., Bibby, 1987; Bibby, 1993). Within the sociology of work and occupations, the decline of clergy prestige in Canada has been measured (Clarke, 1981).

There have been exceptions to this general trend, however. Preliminary observations made in the 1970s and early 1980s suggested that the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education might be such an exception. Commonly called "CAPE," it is a professional association of ministry practitioners who have undergone training in an educational model called clinical pastoral education ("CPE"), which is administered exclusively in Canada by the association. In 1983 there were almost 600 members in Canada from twenty-four Christian denominations. For the most part, the ministry they practise is either institutional chaplaincy (hospital, nursing home, prison) or pastoral counselling, which may be personal, group, marriage or family therapy within a religious framework.

As will be reported in this study, there was some evidence in the

early 1980s that the CAPE clergy had adapted to changing social context and needs by specializing in the practice of a respected intellectual technique supported by a body of theory, establishing a clientele, developing new forms of professional training for ministry, gaining increased control and sometimes monopoly over certain activities, and being accorded higher social value as expressed in public policy, remuneration and prestige. They had organized themselves formally into a national professional association that was broadly ecumenical and independent from the church denominations, yet still related to them. They had developed a professional subculture that was recognizably religious, but distinct from the denominations. They had established a system of credentials in addition to traditional ordination and its parallels; and they had succeeded in having their certification system entrenched as the required qualification for certain state-funded employment. This had given the CAPE members a clergy monopoly in specific sites beyond the bounds of traditional parish ministry. It also brought them into greater contact with other professionals, especially doctors, nurses, psychologists, social workers and other counselling professionals. In this process of establishing a religious jurisdiction within the mental health care field, the CAPE clergy had defined themselves as professionals in new ways, unlike traditional parish-based clergy; yet they still identified themselves as clergy, and were recognized as such by traditional church structures, their institutional work settings

and the general public

Even in the very informal outline above, this occupational group presents features that must be of interest to sociologists of professions and sociologists of religion. The CAPE clergy seem to be an anomaly within the theoretical framework and empirical research of both subdisciplines. Traditional institutional Christianity may indeed be declining due to the church's inability to change in response to society. It is certainly losing its clientele, its social power and its prestige. However it may also be the case that part of the church, represented by these clergy, has been able to adapt and respond effectively to change, thereby establishing a new clientele, new power and prestige.

In this study, the concept of reprofessionalization will be tested by means of an investigation of the CAPE membership with respect to two questions: "Do the members of the group have relatively high scores in measures of professionalism?" and "Are they still clergy?"

Beyond these basic, general questions, there are more specific ways to phrase the concerns: "Are these people possibly members of a 'new profession'?" "Or should they be called 'new clergy'?" "How are they different from traditional clergy in terms of their work activities, religious beliefs and practices, education and training?" "What is the esoteric knowledge on which their work is based?" "How do they relate to the institutions, structure and authority of the traditional church?" "How do they relate to the other professionals in their work settings?" "Who is

their clientele?" "To what needs of society are they responding?" "Is the process of change that is taking place among this occupational group simply a form of specialization, or is the new, more specific term 'reprofessionalization' necessary for complete and accurate description?"

In summary, this thesis seeks to investigate the members of CAPE with respect to two concepts: professionalism and religiosity. Measures of professionalism are used to test for the possibility of reprofessionalization. Measures of religiosity are used to evaluate whether the population under investigation can still be considered clergy.

The Social Problem and the Sociological Problem

The thesis proceeds with two issues in mind, one at the empirical level, the other at the theoretical level.

A phenomenon has been observed and tentatively identified among the clergy population of Canada. In fact, there is some evidence that the phenomenon is more advanced in the United States, and that it is occurring in such other industrialized societies as Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand, as well (Patton, 1983: 81-85).

This is the "social problem;" and it can be summarized in the following way. While most aspects of traditional, institutional Christianity seem to be in a state of decline, some clergy have organized into professional associations. Certification by the national association is a requirement for certain state-funded chaplaincy positions in such public

institutions as hospitals, community counselling centres and prisons. In Canada, in the 1960s, '70s and '80s, the professional association has grown in size, power and influence. Clergy with CAPE credentials occupy social roles that seem resistant to the declining status of the traditional Christian church. Their status as clergy, however, and their relationship to traditional church structures have become the subject of debate within the field of theological education (e.g., J. Hammett, 1975, Florell, 1975a; King, 1977b; Getman, 1982; Justes, 1982; Oden, 1984)

The "sociological problem" is simply that, to this point, the literature of the sociology of professions lacks vocabulary to measure and describe this phenomenon. Surprisingly, given that theoretical framework for analysis of occupational organization has had to be developed and refined almost continuously for the past century, this possibility of what is being called "reprofessionalization" has not been anticipated

The professionalization thesis assumed unidirectional evolution, and was criticized for its limitations. Deprofessionalization -- the so-called "alternate hypothesis" -- changed the assumed direction on the basis of new empirical evidence, but continued to assume that professional groups would remain intact in the process, and that eventually society as a whole would undergo deprofessionalization. Continuum scholars suggested movement of occupational groups either way across an occupation-profession spectrum; but they have always referred to different groups moving in different directions and at different

speeds on the continuum. They have not considered the possibility that a profession might subdivide through a process of specialization, and that the resultant separate, specialized subprofessional groups might move not only at different rates of development, but even in different directions.

It is certainly a theoretical possibility that an occupational group experiencing deprofessionalization might develop a counter strategy, probably involving specialization, and attempt to regain a higher measure of the characteristics of professionalism.

It may also be an empirical reality.

This thesis proposes to articulate the theoretical concept and investigate it through an empirical case study.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF PROFESSIONS

In this chapter, a history of the sociological approach to the professions will be presented, reviewing the major schools of thought in the sociology of occupations, and the development of the three most significant interpretative paradigms: professionalism, professionalization and deprofessionalization. The limits of the field as it existed in the early 1980s will be considered, and the general concept of reprofessionalization will be outlined as it was suggested by preliminary observations at that time. The conceptual framework that was actually used in the case study will be described. The chapter concludes with a summary of the major contributions made to sociology of professions after 1983, scholarship that was not available when the empirical investigation was designed, but has contributed to interpretation of the findings.

The Problem of Definition

T.H. Marshall observed that "although professions have been in existence from time immemorial, their identity has often been in dispute" (1939: 325). In fact, their identity has been in almost continuous dispute during the development of the sociology of occupations as a subdiscipline; and the issue has never been resolved (Freidson, 1986

20-60, Hodson and Sullivan, 1990: 257). There has been, for example, no consensus on operational definitions of "professions" among researchers in the field. Richard H. Hall consistently used and defended the taxonomic approach (e.g., 1968: 92-104; 1969: 70-91; 1979: 124-126), identifying characteristic professional "traits" or "attributes", and citing Parson's (1959: 547) and Greenwood's (1957: 45-55) definitions. Anselm Strauss employed a different kind of taxonomy, emphasizing stages of development in a process of professionalization (1971: 69-70). Both kinds of definition featured the construction of lists designed to distinguish professions from other occupations.

Extensive but fragmented opposition to these definitional approaches developed. "As Freidson (1976) notes, authors who represent the emerging dissatisfaction with the traditional taxonomic approach to the professions generally work independently of each other" (Klegon, 1978: 259). This independence led to even greater variety of definition, and to a frustrating "lack (of) synthetic theory that would enable synthesis of empirical results" (Abbott, 1993: 187; cf. Sherwood, 1982).

Some scholars attempted to adapt the attribute definitions and the process definitions into a more dynamic and flexible approach. In his text, Pavaiko described a conceptual model employing eight characteristics or "dimensions" on an "occupation-profession continuum" (1971: 15-43). On this scale, professions were defined according to differences of degree rather than of kind:

For our purposes, profession refers to an extreme end of a continuum of work characteristics, and professions are those work activities that exhibit this complex of work characteristics to a high degree (1971: 17)

A few years later, Ritzer formulated another compromise definition

This leads us to our definition of a profession: an occupation that has had the power to have undergone a developmental process enabling it to acquire, or convince significant others (for example, clients, the law) that it has acquired, a constellation of characteristics we have come to accept as denoting a profession (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986: 62).

This drew from the process approach, the structural-functionalist list of attributes and the more recent power approach which criticized both the Chicago and Ivy League Schools for accepting professional self-representation.

Despite such attempts at compromise, however, the debate broke down at the point where investigators were using such different definitions that they could barely communicate. A comparison of the previous definitions with the following example from the power or conflict school of occupational sociology illustrates this:

Professionalism, then, becomes redefined as a peculiar type of occupational control rather than an expression of the inherent nature of particular occupations. A profession is not, then, an occupation, but a means of controlling a occupation (Johnson, 1977: 45).

In fact, during the 1970s, to title a text *The Sociology of Occupations* (Krause, 1971) as opposed to *Sociology of Occupations and Professions* (Pavalko, 1971) was to make a kind of political statement within the

subdiscipline. Some investigators began by accepting a view of the professions as a distinct group within the social and occupational structures, and proceeded to describe and explain this elite status. Other scholars began by challenging this assumption and developed arguments "exposing" the ideology and mythology of professionalism, and describing why these roles should not be treated as elites by either society or sociologists.

I propose that we name the mid-twentieth century The Age of Disabling Professions, an age when people had "problems," experts had "solutions" and scientists measured imponderables such as "abilities" and "needs"... It will be remembered as the age of schooling, when people for one-third of their lives had their learning needs prescribed and were trained how to accumulate further needs, and for the other two-thirds became clients of prestigious pushers who managed their habits (Illich, 1977: 11-13).

The lack of consensus on definition continued into the 1990s (Hodson and Sullivan, 1990: 283-284; Abbott, 1993: 203-204) with the result that a wealth of case studies exists in a poverty of unifying theory (Abbott, 1993: 187). This might argue that researchers undertaking new case studies would make a greater contribution to the sociology of professions by choosing theoretical frameworks that can allow their findings to be related as broadly as possible across the diverse range of the subdiscipline. This point will be raised again when the use of Pavalko's continuum in the study of CAPE is discussed.

The Sociological Study of Occupations

To a great extent, the problem of definition resulted from the theoretical pluralism within the subdiscipline of the sociology of occupations. A variety of definitions for "profession" developed because there was a variety of theoretical approaches to the sociological study of occupations. Three major survey texts published in the 1970s (Krause, 1971; Ritzer, 1977; and Montagna, 1977) all agree that there were four main schools:

1. the historical approach to the development of the occupation;
2. the functional approach, which is a structural-functionalist analysis of the occupation in its society with emphasis on traits and social reproduction;
3. the process approach, which is more sensitive to change and incorporates the interactionist emphasis on such biographical concerns as socialization, identity, roles and career;
4. the power approach, which emphasizes social transformation, employing theories of conflict, class and stratification.

Each school had its own list of names and works associated with it. However, they were not equally popular or influential by 1980. In fact, the order above generally represents their chronological significance.

The earliest -- the historical approach -- included the research of Max Weber. Other names in this school would be Tilgher (1930), Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933) and Salz (1944). There continued to be some historical research on occupations, notably by Udy (1970), by Kranzberg and Gies (1975), by Russell (1980) and by a number of

scholars in the Geison (1983) and Hatch (1988) anthologies; but it has not been a dominant trend. It is more common for scholars to make some use of the historical approach in support of another perspective (e.g., Fox, 1971: 1-8; Krause, 1971: 13-33; Abbott, 1988: 213-314).

Generally speaking, the structural-functional analysis of occupations has gone the way of all functionalism in sociology. Once the dominant system of method and theory, it has not survived well in the face of a critique which describes it as conservative, static and naive. The literature of Parsons, Merton and their students continues to be of historic significance; and some of the historical contributions, such as the understanding of occupational characteristics, are still used, but not uncritically.

The Chicago School actually began before Parsons, but since this approach has outlasted structural-functionalism, it is listed third here. There is a continuity of development from E.C. Hughes to Oswald Hall to Caplow to such contemporary scholars as Eliot Freidson. Their conceptual frameworks may have been formal and somewhat stiff, but did allow for the study of conflict and change. Freidson's own conceptual framework has evolved through three decades of scholarship. To some extent, the radical critique of professions and the occupational structure that became the dominant approach in the 1970s relies upon concepts and insights developed out of the process school.

The power approach is the most influential today. It travels under

various names in other fields of sociology, but in the study of occupations it includes scholars concerned with social class, status and prestige, stratification, theories of the labour market, social conflict, social movements and change. Marx, Touraine (1971), Braverman (1974), Larson (1977, 1988) and Johnson (1972, 1977) are names representative of the wide variety of scholarship within this large and diverse school.

Each of the four approaches to the study of occupations has included more specialized work on professions.

The Sociology of Professions

Sociologists have always been interested in professions and professionalization. Herbert Spencer traced the origins of the professions among primitive peoples (1893: Volume III, part vii). Durkheim dealt with the professions in his discussion of the division of labour in society. He advocated professional organization as a means of facilitating stable, non-violent social evolution; and he envisioned "the professional association taking the place of the jurisdictional area as a political unit" (1957: 39). Max Weber also related professionalization to forces of social order, specifically, bureaucratization, capitalism and rationalization (Ritzer, 1975: 627-634). He did not concentrate on professionals, but in *Economy and Society* he did relate the rise of Calvinism and its particular asceticism to the rise of professions.

The clear and uniform goal of this asceticism was the disciplining and methodical organization of conduct. Its typical representative was the "man of vocation" or "professional" (Berufsmensch), and its unique result was the rational organization of social relationships (1968: 556).

Weber went on to consider some professions at length, especially law and the clergy. In fact, his consideration of the Priest as an ideal-type at the extreme professional end of an occupational continuum anticipated the taxonomic approaches and Pavalko's continuum by several decades. His catalogue of professional characteristics specifically includes "salaries, promotions, professional duties, and a distinctive way of life"; there are also references to rationalized doctrine, esoteric knowledge, systematic education, specialization, full-time occupation, power and control (Weber, 1968: 1164).

Perhaps because, as university teachers, sociologists define themselves as professionals, they have continued to be interested in the concept of professionalism since the time of Spencer, Durkheim and Weber. There is a disproportionately large amount of literature on professions in occupational sociology compared to the percentage of the labour force they comprise. This phenomenon of "over-studying" the professions has itself been the subject of sociological analysis (Smigel, 1954, 1963; Freidson, 1973: 59; Hall, 1983; Ritzer and Walczak, 1986: 59).

This emphasis constitutes acknowledgement that the professions possess peculiar status and power. However, as will be shown in a

chronological review of approaches to professionalization, below, the sociology of professions has become much more analytically critical since the late 1960s. Revisionist investigations have considered professionalism as an ideology or a social construct. The origins and contemporary nature of the professions have been examined more from the perspective of the recipients of services -- the clientele. Much more attention has been paid recently to the internal political activities of professional occupations: their division of labour, their production of knowledge, and the control of expertise.

Sociologists began to question the assumption that professions consist of homogeneous groups of practitioners (e.g., Daniels, 1975: 55); and began to study the effect of different settings on the styles of practice. It was found (especially in the deprofessionalization literature and by Daniels, 1975) that, while expertise always implies power and an element of control, usage varies according to opportunities and constraints provided by the setting. The issue of "reality definition" was studied at the individual level, and in the context of the professions' place in the broad power and control structure of society.

A major theme in this approach has been the idea that professional authority and right to monopoly are strongly legitimated by a well-rooted "mythology of professionalism" which emphasizes the altruism, ethical integrity, and objective expertise which these occupations are reputed to offer or claim to offer. The traditional norm in

perspectives on the professions was not to see their expertise and techniques as being self-serving, but rather altruistically serving society at large and its members. That perception changed during the 1960s:

In the 1960s, however, a shift in both emphasis and interest developed... The mood shifted from one of approval to one of disapproval, from one that emphasized virtue over failings to one that emphasized failings over virtues. The very idea of profession was attacked, implying, if not often stating, that the world would be better off without professions. Furthermore, the substantive preoccupation of the literature changed. In the earlier literature, the major scholarly writings focused primarily on the analysis of professional norms and role relations and on interaction with clients in work settings. While all writers acknowledged the importance of political and economic factors, they did not analyze them at any length (Freidson, 1986).

Freidson focussed on the political and cultural influence of professions (1970), Johnson examined the relationship of professions to political and economic elites and the state (1972), Larson set her analysis of profession and professionalization within market and class system theory (1977).

Julius Roth contributed to this critical-revisionist approach with an analysis that concentrated on professional expertise, codes of ethics and the idea of altruism. Professional knowledge, according to Roth, had great gaps, numerous inconsistencies, and even grave paradigmatic differences that led to controversy over the most fundamental issues. He concluded that the idea that there is something distinctive about professional knowledge as opposed to nonprofessional knowledge is an "illusion". With respect to professional codes of ethics, he wrote:

The evidence we do have about realtors, lawyers, psychologists, insurance agents, physicians and other occupational groups with codes of ethics shows overwhelmingly that, although these codes sometimes curb competition among colleagues, they have almost no protective value for the clientele or the public. Instead, the existence of such codes is used as a device to turn aside public criticism and interference (1974: 10).

And he attacked the idea of a service ethic or altruism:

There is a mass of evidence already publicly available on the bias of professional workers and their service organizations against deviant youth, the aged, women, the poor, ethnic minorities and people they just don't like the looks of (1974: 11).

Even the traditional approaches to the professions had to consider the issue of power in analyzing relationships and structures. For example, Stelling and Bucher (1973) pointed out that the concept of "mistake" is a lay concept, not recognized in the vocabulary of professionals who instead emphasize the ambiguities of decision-making and have a catalogue of euphemisms when something does go wrong. To admit to a mistake would mean accepting another's (a lay person's) definition of the situation. Thus, the concept of mistake is related to the exercise of power by professionals. Sociologists who take the power approach are able to analyze this kind of situation by using the concepts of "margin of uncertainty" and "level of indetermination" (Jamous and Peloille, 1970: 111-152); Johnson, 1972: 41-47; Ritzer and Walczak, 1986: 81-84).

Another theme that developed was the relationship between the growth of the professions and the intensification of monopoly capitalism

during the twentieth century. Studies began to show the ways in which professional expertise had become harnessed to the operations of government and to the methods of business production (e.g., Prandy, 1965). Through the bureaucratization which now characterizes so much of their work context, professional workers had become essentially salaried employees -- a phenomenon which was described as the "proleterianization" of the professional (e.g., Oppenheimer, 1973). In 1960, Baritz had identified professionals as "the servants of power", and this became an increasingly common perspective on the professions.

The professions had come to be viewed as one of several key interest groups in society, co-opted into government decision-making and allowed to develop as agents of control for big government in the post-industrial state. By the end of the 1970s, students of the professions were working in two new areas: the inherently political nature of internal professional activity; and the significance of professionalism and professional activity for the wider issue of the location and exercise of political power in society.

The Study of Professionalization

If the section above describes the "state of the art" of the sociology of professions and a summary of its contemporary issues in the early 1980s, how then did the subdiscipline arrive at that point?

Early sociological approaches to the professions were made by

individual scholars who maintained a macroscopic perspective, looking at broad societal issues rather than the internal characteristics and processes. Weber, Durkheim and Spencer have already been mentioned. However the classic work taking this approach is certainly *The Professions* by Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1933). This was a thorough piece of research on the history of the professions in Britain, with some excellent analysis of their position in the social structure. It influenced many subsequent scholars (e.g. Lewis and Maude, 1952, Milne, 1959; Kaye, 1960; Millerson, 1964). Although they produced a work that was definitive in its effect, Carr-Saunders and Wilson notably did not attempt to create any working definition of "profession", other than limiting themselves to a study of what were, by popular consensus, perceived as professions:

What are the limits of the field to be surveyed?
There is no more agreement about the boundaries of professionalism than there is about its value. Any attempt to define professionalism would be premature until the material is before us. But what material shall we investigate? There are certain vocations of ancient lineage which by common consent are called professions, law and medicine among the foremost; they are the typical professions, and we must begin with them (1933 3).

To these they added the occupations that seemed to them most to resemble these standards or "types". The decisions made at this point, at the beginning of the survey, are notable: the military professions were excluded "because the service which soldiers are trained to render is one which it is hoped they will never be called upon to perform", but the

professions of the merchant navy and of public administration were included. Midwives, opticians, masseurs, secretaries, actuaries, authors, artists and journalists were also examined. The clergy profession was left out "because all those functions related to the ordinary business of life, education among them, which used to fall to the Church, have been taken over by other vocations. The functions remaining to the Church are spiritual, and we are only concerned with the professions in their relation to the ordinary business of life" (1933: 3). Such decisions had impact beyond the work itself, as *The Professions* became "the classic study" (Millerson, 1964: 3) and a standard for others to follow.

Significantly, much of *The Professions* is more social history than sociological analysis. The first half of the book is a descriptive survey of about two dozen professions, their history and development in Britain. A more general history of professions through the Industrial Revolution follows before there is very much structural analysis. This great body of descriptive material is perhaps the greatest strength of the book, but even at the conclusion of the survey the authors are still not prepared to offer a definition: "The survey is not exhaustive because the object is to throw light upon the nature of the group and not to define its boundaries" (1933: 287). To this they add the footnote:

If we had to define a profession we should find it difficult to improve the definition given by the O.E.D.: "A vocation in which a professed knowledge of some department of learning or science is used in its application to the affairs of others or in the practice of an art founded upon it."

Thus Carr-Saunders and Wilson did not formulate a restrictive definition of their own. The one they quoted and the thrust of their investigation emphasized that a professional had to have some special knowledge, science or skill, and use it in serving the public.

In some ways it is possible to see Carr-Saunders and Wilson as ancestors to both the process school and the structural-functional school in the sociology of professions. On the one hand, they provided a great body of historical material, much of it collected for the first time. In taking this historical approach they seemed to emphasize the stages an occupation goes through in moving from nonprofession to profession. They also examined the broad historical development of professionalism, and the relationship between this development and the overall development of society. On the other hand, in describing contemporary professions, they emphasized certain common features or attributes of the occupational group, such as professional associations, standards of training, testing of competence, and ethics. In analyzing the internal history and structure of an individual profession they seemed to have a catalogue of characteristics that were more significant than other factors.

As with the general study of occupations, the first "school" to develop an approach to professionalization was associated with E.C. Hughes at the University of Chicago. The process approach asked the basic question, "How does an occupation become a profession?" and tried to answer it in terms of a series of steps. Reviewing the historical

development of certain typical professions, its adherents formulated systems of stages that were said to characterize and define "professionalization" -- the progress of an occupation toward professional status. In Ritzer's book, *Working. Conflict and Change*, there is a good summary of these criteria, including Caplow's four steps (1954) and Wilensky's five steps (1964). They are summarized to produce a possible six-step process:

1. full-time occupation
2. change of name/exclusivity
3. development of professional association
4. training school
5. code of ethics
6. political agitation to win popular and legal support
(Ritzer, 1977: 46-48).

In his book, *Professions, Work and Careers* (1971), Anselm Strauss takes a slightly different approach, emphasizing the institutional change that must take place before the occupational changes begin. For example, the church-wide reforms that came out of Vatican II had direct effects on the Roman Catholic priesthood as a profession. The institutional changes were prior and causal.

The other principal concern of the process approach has been the dynamics of the role relationship between professional and client. "A profession is a social role defined by the nature of the relationship between the professional and his client" (Hughes, 1958: 236). The two main considerations are professional autonomy and the client's trust. One sees repeated references in the literature to the distinction between

caveat emptor as the ethic of business and *credat emptor* as the ethic of the professional-client interaction. This concern with the fiduciary relationship laid a foundation for the power-approach emphasis on control and conflict in the professional-client relationship.

The process approach was valuable for its analysis of roles, relationships and historical development, but it has been superseded in contemporary analysis because in answering the question "How?" it often left the question "Why?" unanswered. Some sociologists, such as Eliot Freidson, who would have seen themselves as members of the Chicago School in 1970, began increasingly to use conflict theory and theories of social change in subsequent work, perhaps in order to have more predictive power. The process approach was successful in describing change as it had occurred in the past, but it was not able to measure it as it was taking place or to predict with any assurance. One of the complicating factors was that as new professions emerged in the middle of the twentieth century, they were in quite a different social context from that faced by professions developing just after the Industrial Revolution. The political forces and the political activity of the professional associations were especially different. In order to handle this dynamic, Strauss suggested categorizing the professions into three different streams, each having a different model of the professionalization process:

1. those of medieval origin (law, medicine, clergy),

2. those that developed through stages from "occupation" to "profession" (accounting, architecture),
3. scientific occupations that have recently become professions (engineering, chemistry, physics) (Strauss, 1971: 77).

However, even this does not meet the challenge posed by the radical critique of the sociology of professions during the 1970s, which accused earlier scholars of formulating abstract concepts of professionalism that were then applied as if professionalism were homogeneous and universal. The criticism was directed at historians, symbolic interactionists and structural-functionalists.

The taxonomic approach of the structural-functionalist school has already been mentioned. This method portrayed professionalization not as an essentially chronological process, but rather as movement along a continuum of criteria. These criteria, lists, catalogues, definitions, characteristics and functions were debated from Greenwood (1957) to Millerson (1964) to Goode (1969) to Moore (1970) to Pavalko (1971) to Klegon (1978) to Hall (1979). Many earlier investigators used concepts resembling the attributes approach without actually expressing a concept of continuum (e.g., Weber, 1968; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 1933). By the 1970s, the scale or continuum had become quite popular (Greenwood, 1957; Sussman, 1965; Pavalko, 1971).

Within this theoretical framework, an occupation was analyzed for its characteristics which were then compared to a catalogue of professional traits. The more attributes and the better their quality, the

more professional the occupation. For a time, there was a wide choice of catalogues. In his book, Millerson offered a catalogue of the catalogues (1964: 5). He identified fourteen characteristics and some "other elements" as indicators of professionalism. He then reviewed twenty-one sociologists for their use of these attributes. Stripped of ornamentation and translated into a common vocabulary, there are really only about a half-dozen major characteristics to consider. Greenwood identifies five, Goode starts with eight but reduces them to two sets of structured relations between society and the profession; Millerson emphasizes six himself; Wilbert E. Moore uses a six-attribute "scale of professionalism" (1970: 5). In the second edition of his text, Ritzer settles on six, and they are a good summary:

1. body of general, systematic knowledge
 2. autonomy respected by public and law
 3. altruism
 4. authority over client/fiduciary relationship
 5. distinctive occupational culture
 6. recognition by the public and law as a profession
- (1977: 48-56).

Ideally this would enable comparisons of occupations and comparative studies over time or across cultures. However the method is better at description than analysis or explanation. Moreover it is vulnerable to the attack by advocates of the power approach who question the reality of attributes and values placed upon them.

One of the first to question the whole elaborate theoretical structure of traditional approaches to the professions was Howard S.

Becker (1962). He suggested that the word "profession" was a folk concept, a semantic tool employed by members of an occupational group in order to gain status, income, privileges and autonomy.

Larsen saw "professionalization as the process by which producers of special services sought to constitute *and control* a market for their expertise" (*italics hers*); and went on to say:

Professionalization is thus an attempt to translate one order of scarce resources -- special knowledge and skills -- into another -- social and economic rewards. To maintain scarcity implies a tendency to monopoly: monopoly of expertise in the market, monopoly of status in a system of stratification (1977: xvi-xvii).

Berlant (1975) and Burrow (1977) also emphasized monopoly in their studies of the medical profession. Klegon referred to "concrete occupational strategies" intended to acquire and maintain status and power (1978: 281-282).

Criticism of any approach that accepted professional self-definition according to attributes or stages grew in the late 1960s and became one of the main themes of the sociology of professions in the 'Seventies. However, as Freidson (1976) observed, the criticism was not coherent. Various researchers contributed to a general demythologizing of professionalism and the documentation of a deprofessionalization process, however they operated within different theoretical frameworks and employed different methodologies. Some brought a Marxist notion of class to bear on the data; others drew on the literature of status groups.

interest groups, stratification, prestige scales and conflict theory. Most drew on one of the postindustrial theses and on some theory of social change.

As the pace of change in society accelerated, sociological method and theory had to evolve too. Certainly this broad school of the 'Seventies was better at dealing with conflict and change than earlier approaches would have been. In fact, the study of professions had become the study of professionalization and deprofessionalization.

Julius Roth was one of the prophets of this switch. Calling professionalism "the sociologist's decoy" (1974), he advocated an historical perspective that would examine professional groups from a period before they had developed an ideology and gained power through processes of development toward autonomy, monopoly, ideology and power status.

Elliott (1972) had already defined a concept of "status professional" that preceded occupational professions in British social history. According to his research, members of the established professions (law, medicine and the clergy) in pre-industrial British society were persons of high social prestige attained prior to any occupational roles. The prestige was based on political title, family social status and wealth. Generally they had little specialized expertise. They might simply have a general university education in an age of rather limited public education. They might simply have been literate in an age when

that was rare. Professions did not bestow status; men of status occupied professional roles. According to Elliott, professions were "compatible with the social status of gentlemen" because they allowed a leisurely, independent lifestyle, outside the primary sector. They were little more than status, and not very closely related to knowledge and education. Physicians' skills, for example, were "limited mainly to the art of writing complicated prescriptions. (They) might have extensive learning in classic literature and culture, but...depended on...gentlemanly manner, impressive behaviour and clients' ignorance to develop a medical practice" (Elliott, 1972: 28). Most tests of admission to a profession before the Industrial Revolution were concerned with measuring the gentlemanly status of the applicant. There was no other concept of professional competence.

McFarlane adds:

The British have never granted the prestige or status to professionals that North Americans have. Up to about the beginning of World War I, for example, doctors had to enter county houses by the side entrance. Some lawyers, especially if they were Estate Agents of the manor house, could enter by the front door, but they were few and far between. If the "professional" came from a high prestige family, he could enter by the front entrance by virtue of his family connections not by virtue of his profession (1993: 1-2).

Thus, in British society before the middle of the nineteenth century, status preceded other professional attributes, including intellectual technique. The service ethos and autonomy were not related to the occupation as much as to the social class which supplied the personnel for the

occupational role. Elliott's phrase "status professional" was intended to identify an historical stage in the development of law, medicine and the clergy, permitting them to occupy high status social positions until the emergence of their modern professional forms in the nineteenth century as "occupational professions" in industrial society.

Haug (1975) suggested that a similar process occurred in the United States. Although educational and immigration factors were somewhat different, the social prestige existed before the establishment of a modern occupational group.

Johnson argued that professionalism is "historically specific and culture-bound" and that "there is no uniform or unilineal process of professionalization which is of universal applicability" (1977: 29). This point was actually made in an argument against the work of Caplow (1954) and Wilensky (1964), however it places qualifications on the ability to generalize from any research on professions, including that of Elliott and Haug.

In fact, as was pointed out in a special issue of the journal, *Sociologie du Travail*, even the term "profession" is captive of Anglo-Saxon language and culture, which include particular social and economic frameworks (Maurice, 1972: 213). The French view of the occupational category is much broader. In Crozier's book, *World of the Office Worker* (1971), he classified a number of clerical white collar occupations as professional. West German literature seems to have a

Weberian emphasis on commitment, dedication or calling ("Beruf") (Haug, 1975: 200). The Russian equivalent to "professionals" is "intelligentsia", and this changes the emphasis to the knowledge-expertise factor, and to such intellectual labour as scientific research, engineering and teaching (Rutekevich, 1964). East German literature emphasizes the training and socialization process, but does not distinguish between physical and mental labour: machinists and mechanics are professionals, too (Bohring, 1970).

There has been greater awareness of cross-cultural differences in the division of labour in recent years; and the international content of the journal *Sociology of Work and Occupations* has been, since 1974, an important reminder for sociologists working in a post-industrial context. However, there have been few comparative studies of any magnitude. Ben-David's "Professions in the Class System of Present-Day Societies" (1964) is still a landmark in the study of professions as an international phenomenon.

Deprofessionalization

Within the postindustrial framework, the deprofessionalization thesis had become one of the most influential reference points by 1980. In other parts of the world it had almost no application. Advocates of the deprofessionalization thesis would argue that it was not only an appropriate demythologizing of professional ideology, it was also a

necessary corrective for traditional sociology of professions, and the best analysis of conflict and change in the occupational structure of the most advanced societies. The concept of deprofessionalization has an interesting history.

Early sociologists first wrote about the professions as part of their study of the division of labour, social stability and social evolution. Later the historical research of Carr-Saunders and Wilson documented the place of professions in the development of British society from the medieval period to the modern age. Placing a very positive value on the "spreading of professionalism", because for them it meant a more civilized and productive society, Carr-Saunders and Wilson predicted that this progressive element in society might become pervasive.

It may be that, while the extension of professionalism upwards and outwards will be fairly rapid, its extension downwards, though gradual and almost imperceptible, will be continuous. Thus, taking the long view, the extension of professionalism over the whole field seems in the end not impossible (1933: 493-494).

Although they did see some dangers in the process, they welcomed it for its ultimate effect: "a measure of freedom, dignity and responsibility given to all men" (1933: 503).

The trend that Carr-Saunders and Wilson identified and projected into the future was clearly apparent in the industrialized West in the years that followed. The study of professions became the study of professionalization. The process approach, the continuum concept and

the power school all reflect this concern with the dynamic.

Evidence of this trend is everywhere: census data, work force statistics, the indices of learned journals. W.J. Goode said, "An industrializing society is a professionalizing society" (Johnson, 1977: 9, quoting Goode from 1960). Hughes said, "We live in a professional age" (1971: 118); and he described two great trends: an increase in the standard of living and an increase in dependence on professional services. Pavalko observed that, "to a degree, the history of occupations is a recounting of change and attempted change in the direction of greater professionalization" (1971: 28).

However the term "professionalization" was being used in several different ways:

1. broad changes in the occupational structure whereby more jobs were in the professional category relative to the number of jobs in other occupational categories;
2. an increase in the number of occupational (professional) associations in a society concerned with the recruitment, training and practice within a specific occupation;
3. a complex process in which an occupation comes to exhibit an increasing number of "professional attributes";
4. a process involving predictable stages of organizational change by which an occupation moves toward an end-state which is recognized as professionalism (Johnson, 1977: 21-22).

Increasingly, however, it came to refer to social change on the level of the individual occupation. Such terms as "emergent professions", "professions in transition" and "professions in process" were all

describing occupations on their way to greater degrees of professionalism. In western society, this kind of progress for an occupation was considered to be the norm.

However, the occasional dissenting voice was heard. In 1935 Laski wrote on "The Decline of Professions". In an early paper, Hughes saw some dangers lurking behind the apparently progressive trend and discussed -- hypothetically -- a situation that would soon become real large numbers of well-educated people unemployed, and professions in conflict with a demanding, well-informed public (1971: 119ff.). In 1964, Wilensky called into very serious question the popular assumption that the trend would inevitably continue. He saw bureaucracy as a potential enemy, not ally, of traditional professionalism. He pointed out that autonomy would be more difficult to achieve in the future, and that the autonomy which many professionals then had would be vulnerable to steady erosion. He also suggested that "professionalization" was too broad a term in an era complicated by industrialization, bureaucratization, and the instant appearance of new technical occupations and professions. Sociologists were beginning to deal with the new variations: professional as civil servant, professional as bureaucrat, professional as technological expert. Less than twenty-five years after *The Professions*, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders wrote: "No one speaks any more of the learned professions" (1955: 286).

One writer distinguished between structural professionalism and

attitudinal professionalism (Hall, 1969: 78-91), raising the possibility of an occupation accumulating an adequate number of appropriate attributes but not achieving a professional ethos. Having the characteristics, but lacking character, it would be an occupational variation on *nouveau riche*.

In 1970 Freidson reflected on the effects of the new bureaucratic and organizational structures within which traditional professionals were working; and he concluded that the losses of autonomy, authority and trust were inevitable. Krause (1971) suggested that the medical profession had lost some of the authority and prestige traditionally accorded to it, because of public awareness of self-interested actions, increases in health costs, and internal conflicts. Belief in the altruistic ethos and the fiduciary relationship between doctor and patient were both shaken; and this social phenomenon became more apparent and more widespread during the 1970s and 1980s.

It was only left for someone to coin an appropriate term to describe these ebbs in the tide of professionalization. In *The Sociological Review* Monograph No. 20, December 1973, there appeared a paper by Marie R. Haug, titled "Deprofessionalization: An Alternate Hypothesis for the Future". In it, she made the argument that there might well be a ceiling or end point for an occupation in the professionalization process; it might retrace steps backward toward the status of occupation: an occupation could go either way on the continuum. Or, if the definition were in terms

of gaining the special professional attributes, these attributes could be lost as well. In fact, that was the kind of definition Haug used.

Haug located her argument within Bell's theory of postindustrial society. However she took issue with that theory when it argued that the professional and technical class would be pre-eminent (Bell, 1968: 152), or, in more general terms, that it would be a "professionalized society" (Freidson, 1971: 467). Haug's point was that such predictions were based on two aspects of professionalism, neglecting an important third aspect. The knowledge explosion and the relationship of professions to the shape of knowledge in society might lead one to conclude that expanding knowledge would require more and more professional experts. Another thesis was that the service ethos of professionals would become generalized to the total society. However, in emphasizing knowledge and service, said Haug, the issue of the professional's autonomy had been neglected. She argued that a serious consideration of trends with respect to this attribute would lead to an alternate hypothesis. Her data suggested that, increasingly, professionals were buttressed in their relations with clients by partnership with bureaucracy in organizational work settings. They had less autonomy, less individual authority, and more obligation to comply with structures, rules and regulations. She defined deprofessionalization as "a loss to professional occupations of their unique qualities, particularly their monopoly over knowledge, public belief in their service ethos, and expectations of work

autonomy and authority over the client" (1973: 197). She described the knowledge attribute as vulnerable to such trends as specialization, the reaggregation of labour, "new careers", the rising level of public education and knowledge, and the rapid obsolescence of professional training. She made the now fairly obvious point that the professions' service ethos was being challenged from all directions. Moreover, losses in these areas related to the loss of autonomy, because the end of the traditional fiduciary relationship, a well-educated and demanding consumer, and demands for client control and professional accountability were all as much a threat to autonomy as bureaucracy was.

Haug concluded by suggesting that professional roles might be transformed in the future. There would be a power struggle between professionals, trying to hang on to what they have, and new groups of workers trying to take over some of the traditional professional functions. Finally, the term "professional" with all its elitist connotations might itself become obsolete or pejorative, a symbol of an earlier, pre-modern era. Haug suggested that some new word might emerge in the twenty-first century to describe the human service expert.

In her 1975 refinement of the argument, Haug offered more evidence in support of her thesis; and she strengthened her argument with respect to the extension of education, technological change, changes in the division of labour within occupations, and the rise of consumerism. She clarified the point that her thesis was not based on

qualities inherent in professional knowledge, but rather on an external attack on the power of expertise. Toren (1975), for example, also argued that the role of professional expertise in some areas of life might diminish, and that some professions might experience a process of deprofessionalization. However, she differed from Haug in that she identified the sources of deprofessionalization as "cultural elements" of professionalism, not in the structure and processes of society. This emphasis on the attributes of professions made her deprofessionalization thesis independent of the changing social milieu. Ritzer (1977), on the other hand, suggested that the significant changes in the world of work were the result of broad social changes taking place. He identified the 1970s as a period of derationalization, debureaucratization, democratization and deprofessionalization.

In a later edition of his book, he listed eight causes or elements of deprofessionalization, and discussed them at some length, summarized as follows (Ritzer and Wlaczak, 1986: 89-94):

1. The "revolt of the client" describes the modern consumer activism that includes questioning professional authority.
2. "As a result of the specialization, routinization, computerization, and rationalization of at least some of their functions, some professions have suffered a diminished level of indetermination" (page 90).
3. There is a growing awareness that a certain type of professional skill, the artistic ability or craft, can be acquired by anyone who gains the needed experience. Ritzer illustrates this in terms of a physician's bedside

manner and a lawyer's skill in debate. His point is that an emerging threat to the professional in many different fields is the paraprofessional who may not have the scientific skill but does have the requisite artistic ability.

4. There has been a narrowing of the competence gap between the professional and the client.
5. Publicly reported cases of malpractice and professional abuse have led to emotional outrage and structured responses (regulation, redress), and have eroded prestige, authority and autonomy for many professions.
6. There is a widespread "weakening of professional sovereignty" (Starr, 1982: 421), as the work of some professions is increasingly controlled by government, employers, administrators and other authorities outside the profession.
7. In some cases, "allied professions have met with considerable success in breaching traditional monopolies" (Rothman, 1984: 153). This is called encroachment.
8. Proletarianization is label for a complex process whereby modern professionals lose a large number of traditional controls over their work lives.

In her fullest statement of the deprofessionalization thesis, Haug described a future society in which occupational incumbents would have expertise, but "without the claim of mystery, authority, or deference" (1975: 211). Since such status, prestige and deference were a characteristic part of the *ancien regime*, this scenario involved changes in class and strata structures, a changing social milieu resulting in changed forms of occupational organization and the consequent social relationships:

In the 21st century...it seems very unlikely that 19th century patterns of obeisance, trust, and awe of superior knowledge will persist (Haug, 1975: 212).

The article in which she depicted this future scenario was called "The Deprofessionalization of Everyone?"

Rothman (1984) would have answered, Yes! "The process of deprofessionalization is likely to continue," he said. "Autonomous, monopolistic professions may indeed become an anachronism... Professional dominance may be replaced..." (page 202). The summary of his argument serves to summarize the deprofessionalization thesis as a whole:

It is becoming increasingly evident that the conditions that fostered the growth and dominance of the professions during the early part of this century are being eroded by social change. Social, economic, and political trends are undermining claims to autonomy and monopoly by previously well-entrenched groups such as the legal profession in America. These trends include changes in the knowledge base, shifts in the composition of the profession, emerging employment patterns, consumerism, and encroachment from allied professions. The process of deprofessionalization is manifest in a variety of restrictions upon traditional prerogatives, which suggests a general weakening of the very legitimacy of the unregulated professional model of social organization (Rothman, 1984: 183).

Reprofessionalization

The arguments in support of the deprofessionalization thesis are expressed with a surprising tone of certainty. They are supported by a great deal of empirical evidence; but after one hundred years of sociological analysis of occupations, the one safe generalization would seem to be that generalizations are risky.

The deprofessionalization thesis is based on research in several

specific occupational groups, including the Canadian clergy (Clarke, 1981); but Haug, Toren, Ritzer and others generalize from the case studies to suggest a much broader social evolutionary process. There are four stages:

1. the development of certain individual professions;
2. the further professionalization of those groups, the professionalization of other occupations and of society in general;
3. the deprofessionalization of certain individual occupational groups;
4. the deprofessionalization of society in general.

There is no question that this theory was an advance over the professionalization literature. The concept of movement either way on an occupation-professions continuum is supported by empirical evidence and helps to interpret certain contemporary phenomena.

However, the deprofessionalization thesis emphasizes the structural context within which professions function, and neglects such internal concerns as the possibility of knowledge growth, specialization, and increased training and education, all of which might serve to increase or restore the level of uncertainty and margin of indetermination.

In the early 1980s, it did not seem reasonable or safe to assume that the deprofessionalization theorists had arrived at final truth. Birenbaum (1982) and Freidson (1986: xiii), at least, were prepared to critique their thesis. It seemed that an emphasis more on what the

professions do and what professionals practise by way of craft and intellectual technique, in addition to attention to context and organization might paint a more complete picture. And that complete picture might include the possibility of specialists reprofessionalizing. As specific professions begin to experience the early stages of deprofessionalization, they might develop counter strategies. Some of these might be successful.

The present study originated from the observation of what may be such an effort by part of the Canadian clergy. However, there are a number of reasons why the concept of reprofessionalization might suggest itself.

Rapidly expanding scientific and technical knowledge together with changing levels of public education result in constant redefinition of boundaries for the bodies of knowledge popularly known as professional expertise. With the expansion of knowledge there is greater tendency and need to specialize.

This was one of the major themes in the story of the emergence of the modern professions in the nineteenth century. A recognized and fairly unified occupational group, such as engineering or medicine, would subdivide into several specialized groups. This has been documented in such broad historical investigations as the landmark Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933 study, and in many investigations of specific fields, such as Russell's 1980 work on clergy. McFarlane's study of the

British engineering profession is another good example:

There was little specialisation in engineering in the early part of the eighteenth century and civil and mechanical engineers and architects were frequently the same people (1961: 64).

He then traced the increasing differentiation within the occupational group through the nineteenth century to the point where several distinct professions and occupations came into existence, including military engineer, civil engineer, mechanical engineer, architect and builder. Quoting Harvey L. Smith's 1958 article, "Contingencies of Professional Differentiation" in the American Journal of Sociology (Volume 63), McFarlane summarized the process of specialization among British engineers in the following way:

It is not unusual that it happened because "when enough members of a profession develop skills and sympathies outside the usual competence of their colleagues centripetal forces are set in motion". Consequently it is not surprising that it occurred in a profession which at best represented individuals with such a wide variety of occupational skills, educational and training background, and occupational orientation. The medical profession in Great Britain during this period went through the same process (1961: 69).

Such differentiation and specialization have long been considered part of the professionalization process that has produced the modern professions of the twentieth century.

Reprofessionalization would occur among one of these modern professions if it had begun to experience deprofessionalization and then began to regain status through another process of professionalization.

The occupational group might act in a united way as Birenbaum has suggested is occurring in pharmacy (1982); or a specialized group might emerge out of a source profession, which would continue to exist virtually intact. The source profession, which had been experiencing deprofessionalization, would continue in that process. The new specialists would establish themselves as a professional group with measurably more social power than members of the continuing profession. Even without specialization, an occupational group experiencing some form of deprofessionalization might be able to influence or reverse the process through some other pro-active strategy. It was pointed out earlier that the prestige scales, which formerly measured gradual change, now show the instability and fluctuation of occupational status (e.g., Blishen and McRoberts, 1976; and Szafran, 1992).

There were already a number of specific examples of professional groups that had detected the early warning signs of declining status and acted to treat either the symptoms or causes. When the American Medical Association realized that the public respect for the family doctor was declining, it provided seed funding for the popular Marcus Welby television program. The American legal profession made efforts to regain public trust and keep its autonomy after so many members of the Bar were implicated in the Watergate coverup. The Canadian medical profession has struggled to maintain autonomy, control and public

sympathy in an era of government health care plans, doctors' strikes, extra-billing and provincial budget cutbacks. Birenbaum has described the strategy of American pharmacists in response to the decline they were experiencing as a result of several factors: the proliferation of large discount drug store chains, the development of automated dispensing and packaging equipment, and "the development of middle level health care provider roles, namely physician assistants and nurse practitioners" (1982: 874). Begun and Feldman (1981) described the lobbying efforts of optometrists in four American states when they began to experience encroachment on their area of professional monopoly.

The deprofessionalization theorists suggest that a profession today can expect to feel pressure in any of several areas: on the autonomy of its individual member-practitioners; on the occupational control by the professional group; on the ability to maintain relatively high income levels; on the ability to hold the public's trust; and on prestige. When a professional group feels a threat to its status, it might initiate efforts to minimize losses, to maintain its professional standing, or even to regain status. If the loss or reduction of attributes is deprofessionalization -- and that is how Haug defined it -- then the regaining would be reprofessionalization.

In the early 1980s, it became apparent that both processes seemed to be at work at the same time within the Canadian clergy profession. The clergy were consistently being used to illustrate the

deprofessionalization argument, and there was considerable evidence for this: loss of clientele, declining church membership and declining worship attendance, loss of influence in the setting of public policy, low salary levels that were becoming even lower relative to occupations with comparable educational requirements, less respect within the local community and declining scores in the prestige scales.

On the other hand, some clergy (the CAPE members in Canada) were maintaining or regaining the attributes of professionalism. Another set of observations suggested the possibility of reprofessionalization. comparatively high salaries for CAPE clergy; provinces beginning to require a CAPE-accredited Pastoral Services Department in government-funded hospitals; CAPE certification increasingly required for hospital and prison chaplaincy positions; the development of an extensive system of education and certification within CAPE which was quite additional to the denominational and seminary requirements; and, with that, the development of a perceptively distinctive professional subculture within CAPE.

As an occupational group, the CAPE clergy seemed to have modified the traditional curriculum of education for ministry and added to it, formed a new professional association, introduced new standards for individual certification and institutional accreditation, introduced a new code of ethics for the practice of ministry, laid claim to a somewhat different area of specialized knowledge or at least given a new

specialized emphasis to part of the traditionally general clergy role, discovered a sizable and growing clientele, established trust relationships with clients, client-institutions and government, emphasized an altruistic service ethic but also established fees and salaries comparable to other professions (and at higher levels than other clergy), demonstrated a unique expertise, and achieved a fair measure of autonomy, including a monopoly in some areas.

If another occupational group had done all this, it would simply be another case of professionalization. However, when the group involved is a specialized subgroup of one of the old professions, it is not so simple. It may be a case of "reprofessionalization", the regaining of lost professional status by an occupational group, measured according to attributes or scores of professionalism.

These informal observations of the CAPE clergy not only suggested the idea of reprofessionalization as a concept, they suggested that a more thorough study of this "key group" might provide findings of interest to sociologists of professions. A study of these clergy might shed light not only on the tentative concept of reprofessionalization, but also on such more established sociological ideas as specialization, "new profession" and deprofessionalization.

If such a study were to be undertaken, it was left to decide how it would be framed so that its findings could be related as widely as possible to existent scholarship in the sociology of professions.

FIGURE 1 The Occupation-Profession Model

Dimensions	Occupation	Profession
1. Theory / Intellectual Technique	Absent	Present
2. Relevance to Basic Social Values	Not relevant	Relevant
3. Training Period	a) Short b) Non-specialized c) Involves things d) Subculture unimportant	Long Specialized Symbols Important
4. Motivation	Self-interest	Service
5. Autonomy	Absent	Present
6. Sense of Commitment	Short term	Long term
7. Sense of Community	Low	High
8. Code of Ethics	Undeveloped	Highly developed

Source: Pavalko, 1971: 26.

Conceptual Framework

The link between a case study and the rest of the scholarship in a field is the specific theory within which the study is designed. Operational definitions are drawn from the concepts within the theory; the findings are also analyzed within its vocabulary and concepts. If the theory is widely held and often used, the case study adds to a significant body of scholarship, and its value is enhanced by the ability to make comparisons to other case studies.

One of the failings of occupational sociology, in general, and the sociology of professions, in particular, is that a vast array of unrelated case studies has been built up within the theoretical diversity of the field. In 1982, it was hoped that the 1983 survey of CAPE would be more related to more of the professions scholarship than was often the case. The means chosen to achieve this was Ronald M. Pavalko's occupation-profession continuum (Figure 1), a dynamic attributes model, based on eight "core dimensions or characteristics of work that differentiate occupations from professions" (1971: 15-27). It is not that the attributes are completely lacking in the non-professions and perfectly present in the professions. It is a matter of degree. Pavalko himself writes:

It should again be emphasized that the model outlined above is a heuristic device. A work activity exhibiting all of these characteristics to a high degree does not exist. Neither is there a work activity in which all these characteristics are entirely absent. In reality, work groups possess these characteristics in varying degrees... Theoretically, the lines between each pole of the continuum

can be divided into an infinite number of units reflecting the degree to which the characteristic is present (pp 26-27)

Although Pavalko's model dates from 1971, it was still the broadest, most inclusive instrument available ten years later. In fact, it also contains the elements that came to be emphasized by the most significant scholars of the 1980s. Sociologists of professions are still making lists of characteristics, traits, attributes or hallmarks (Freidson, 1986: 59-60; Rothman, 1987: 60-93; Abbott, 1988: 8-9; Hodson and Sullivan, 1990: 257-285; Fox, 1992). The advantage of Pavalko's continuum is that it includes the major concepts of virtually all the approaches to professions across all the generations of scholarship. It is, in itself, a list of the concerns that sociologists have had about professions, a glossary of the subdiscipline. The major disadvantage is that it was originally developed out of a theoretical framework which assumed a fairly static society and accepted the professions' self-understanding.

The use of a catalogue of traits or attributes was felt to be acceptable partly because of the dynamic characteristic of Pavalko's model. The social reproduction assumptions of functionalism had been bracketed in response to the accelerating pace of social change (Pavalko, 1971: 27-41); but the model still afforded a "window" to all the earlier descriptive research on professions and professionalism. Furthermore, because it had been developed out of needs both to measure professionalism in a changing social context and to measure changes within a profession, the continuum also allowed for discussion

of the processes of professionalization and deprofessionalization. In fact, many scholars had been using some variation of a continuum approach throughout the history of the sociology of professions, beginning perhaps with Weber's typologies. Ritzer summarized the matter by saying that while there were significant disagreements among the various schools of thought in the field, there was "a point of basic agreement" and that this related to the continuum idea:

The vast majority of occupational sociologists subscribe to the notion that there are degrees of professionalization rather than a simple dichotomy between professions and nonprofessions. That is, all occupations can be placed on a continuum ranging from the nonprofessions on one end to the established professions on the other. The idea of a continuum grows out of the focus on social change that is characteristic of both the process power perspectives (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986: 61).

Ritzer pursued his discussion of the occupation-profession continuum with reference to the work of Hughes (1958: 23-41); Hodge, Siegel and Rossi (1966: 322-333); and Albert Reiss, Jr. (1955: 693-700). However, he still referred to this as a "contemporary" approach to the study of professions in 1986 (page 61).

In fact, the continuum approach continued to appear in the scholarship of the 1980s and '90s. Abbott (1981: 820) emphasized esoteric knowledge among other characteristics. Freidson criticized specific trait approaches, but not the trait approach itself:

Given the necessity, one may note that the character of an adequate definition must be such as to specify a set of referents, that is, attributes, traits, or defining characteristics, by which the phenomenon may be discriminated in the

empirical world. Unfortunately, there has been a tendency in the recent critical literature to confuse these defining characteristics with the particular characteristics specified by earlier writers. One can criticize a definition because of the analytically and empirically ambiguous traits it singles out (Freidson, 1970) or because its traits have no systematic interrelations and no theoretical rationale (Johnson, 1972). But it is not the fact that a definition is composed of traits or attributes that can be criticized justifiably (1986: 31).

In his 1986 work, Freidson emphasized esoteric knowledge, education, training and power as the key elements in understanding professions. Rothman (1987: 60-93) used traits and characteristics in his dynamic process approach. Hodson and Sullivan (1990: 257-285) acknowledged the diversity of theory in the field, but based their own treatment of professions and professionals on a list of traits:

Many sociologists would define a profession as a high-status, knowledge-based occupation that is characterized by (1) abstract, specialized knowledge, (2) autonomy, (3) authority over clients and subordinate occupational groups, and (4) a certain degree of altruism. We will refer to these four characteristics as the hallmarks of a profession (page 258).

In his language usage analysis (1992), Fox argued for a less static and more process approach, but he also employed a list of traits and hallmarks.

When the data collection instrument was being designed in 1982, it was felt that the Pavalko catalogue was rich enough to justify the efforts necessary to overcome the disadvantages. As will be set out in detail in Chapters 3, the Pavalko dimensions were used as a starting point in order to develop twenty-four dimensions of professionalism. These were

not to be given equal weight in either the field research or the data analysis. Items that related to the esoteric knowledge (included in the first, second and third of Pavalko's eight basic dimensions) and items that related to power, monopoly and control (included in the second, third, fifth and seventh dimensions) would be emphasized and analyzed not only within the literature as it existed prior to the design of the questionnaire, but also in terms of scholarship that became available as the findings were studied and reported.

Sociology of Professions, 1983-1993

The study of CAPE was designed in 1982 and carried out in 1983. Since then, sociologists have continued to try to develop more adequate theoretical vocabulary for the analysis of professions.

Rothman's 1984 treatment of deprofessionalization and Freidson's 1986 formal knowledge thesis have already been mentioned. A special issue of *Sociologie et Sociétés* (20: 2, 1988) contained the new work of Paradeise, Larson and Krause, all working within variations of the power approach. These, too, were mentioned above.

Andrew Abbott's work, especially *The System of Professions* (1988), may turn out to be the most significant scholarship in the decade after 1983, emphasizing the knowledge base and jurisdiction of an occupational group. His approach and several of the concepts that he develops would have been useful for this investigation of Canadian

clergy, had they been available when the conceptual framework was being designed. They are one response to some of the frustrations with the state of the art of the sociology of professions as it then was.

Despite Abbott, Freidson and the other major studies, however, sociology of professions still lacks theoretical coherence in the 1990s, and still struggles to interpret its rapidly-changing field of study. In his review of recent scholarship in the sociology of work and occupations, Abbott concludes, "By the 1980s, the evolving work and occupations tradition had come to look much as it does today" (1993: 189). That refers back to the time when Geison declared that "all of the existing models of professions and professionalization are inadequate" (1983: 6), and Sherwood (1982) described the state of the art of theory in the sociology of professions in terms of "patches in search of a quilt" -- a collection of case studies lacking unifying theory. In 1993, Abbott's assessment was that "the steady flow of case studies continues" (page 203) without much comparative power. He had a research assistant code the 1100 articles listed in Sociological Abstracts for the years 1990 and 1991 under "sociology of occupations and professions" and "jobs, work organization, workplaces, and unions". He found "40 comparative studies (out of 663 empirical studies), 25 of them two-country" (1993: 190-191).

Abbott is particularly bleak when he assesses the impact of his own work:

Abbott (1988) attempted to recast the area with three basic arguments: that professions could not be studied individually but only within an interacting system, that a theory of professions had to embrace not only culture and social structure but also intra-, inter-, and transprofessional forces, and that the development of professions would necessarily be a matter of complex conjunctures. None of these arguments has had much impact. The jurisdictional studies Abbott called for have not appeared; linear studies of individual professions continue to dominate... Moreover, recent studies have emphasized either the cultural or the social structural... and none systematically pursues multilevel analysis. Finally, although ridiculed by Abbott, the search for "determining variables" continues... (Abbott, 1993: 204).

Abbott is obviously disappointed; but *The System of Professions* was greeted by his peers as a major contribution to the field. Some of his scholarship will enrich the analysis of the findings from the 1983 CAPE study.

Summary

This chapter has reviewed the sociological study of professions from the earliest days of sociology itself. Changes and developments in the analysis of professions, professionalism, professionalization and deprofessionalization have been described. It is a vast and rich field of scholarship.

The field has frustrating limits, however, when certain contemporary phenomena are considered. There seem to be some trends in some occupations, including the Canadian clergy, that would not have been predicted by the literature, and are difficult to analyze

thoroughly within the existent conceptual vocabulary and framework.

A case study of a key group of Canadian clergy will be undertaken within a professions perspective in order to test for the idea of reprofessionalization. The theoretical basis for this in the literature of the professions has been set out in this chapter. The next chapter focusses on the study of clergy, specifically. The fourth chapter will tighten the focus even more and concentrate on CAPE.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY OF CLERGY

In this chapter, the social role of religious specialist and the record of its scholarly treatment by historians and social scientists will be reviewed, especially in relationship to the established sociological concepts of profession, professionalization, deprofessionalization and secularization, and to the reprofessionalization hypothesis.

The Clergy as Profession

"It is usual to treat the clergy as a profession," writes Anthony Russell in *The Clerical Profession* (1980: 40); and certainly this present study will be carried on within a professions framework. There have been, however, some dissenting voices in the literature of clergy studies. Gannon's 1971 article, "Priest/Minister: Profession or Non-Profession", argued that the professional status of the clergy "is itself an empirical question" (page 70). He challenged the tendency to assume that the clergy are a profession. Gannon's analysis employed Wilensky's four structural characteristics: full-time occupation, a distinct training school to transmit knowledge and skill, a professional association and a code of ethics (1964: 137-158), and Hall's five attitudinal characteristics: autonomy, self-regulation, vocation, service ethic and colleague reference group (1969). He concluded that the clergy might be regarded

as a profession on the following four points only. full-time occupation, training school, service ethic and vocation.

Gannon's work stimulated Peter Jarvis to consider parish ministry as a semi-profession (1975: 911-922), using Toren's definition of the concept:

An occupation will be classified as a semi-profession if it lacks one or more of the professional attributes (the author describes elsewhere in the article) or if -- which is empirically more frequent -- one or more of these qualities are not fully developed (1972: 39).

In her paper, Toren set out six characteristics of a semi-profession. Jarvis reviewed parish ministry according to these criteria and found that it conformed closely to the model:

1. "No theoretical base" -- Jarvis actually found that "while the theologian has theology as the theoretical basis of his profession" the practice of ministry is not based on a single academic discipline,
2. "No monopoly of exclusive skills or special area of competence" -- Jarvis found that the diversity of roles in ministry and the interdisciplinary aspect led to an overlap of the work of the clergy with a variety of other practitioners, professional and non-professional,
3. "Rules to good practice" -- Jarvis did not find that ecclesiastical rules were equivalent to the codes of ethics or procedural guidelines of professions,
4. "Less specialization" -- This "has been clearly shown," was Jarvis' assessment;
5. "control exercised by non-professionals" -- Jarvis referred to the power of the laity in some denominations;
6. "Service ethic" -- Jarvis speculated that clergy may regard "concern ... as more important than expertise".

In his concluding discussion, Jarvis posed the question, "If the parish ministry is now a semi-profession, has it undergone a process of deprofessionalization?" He cited some evidence for this in the area of recruitment: lower academic qualifications and more recruits from lower classes. Referring to the theoretical work of Phillip Elliott (1972), however he qualified this with the possibility that the change might be conceptual rather than empirical:

At the same time Elliott suggests that the concept of profession has changed from that of status to that of occupation, and so it may be that the ministry has only ever been a status rather than an occupation (page 920).

The Oldest Profession

Although the professional status of clergy had become the subject of some argument and empirical investigation in the 1970s, it been taken as an assumption in most scholarly literature. The argument can be made that the clergy have the longest history of professionalism. In introducing his chapter on "The Clergy" in *Sociology of Occupations*, Krause writes:

In all cultures, ancient and modern, primitive and technologically complex, there have been occupational specialists in the area of the society's values, its charters, myths, and explanations of existence (1971: 174).

If, as some evolutionists have suggested, there is a normal social process through which occupational groups proceed, the clergy may

been the vanguard. one of the first groups to be recognized as professionals, one of the first to experience deprofessionalization, and now the group to investigate for possible reprofessionalization. The basis for the argument might be found in a functional history of the clergy.

Professional roles are as old as human society. Functionally, they can be described as the means by which a community copes with the crises of the human life cycle and group life. One way to define "professionals" is to say that they are the people who act in critical times to alleviate fear, panic, dislocation and confusion, and to point the way ahead through the crisis. In fact, E.C. Hughes, and others since, have said that the "routinization of crises" is the major role of professionals (Hughes, 1958: 54-55; McFarlane, 1993: 2).

Certain features of personal and collective life recur in virtually all societies across time and geography: birth, puberty, marriage, illness, conflict, violence, times of joy and sadness, death and grief. These events can be disruptive in a community; or they can be the occasion of a more strongly developed group sense and creative energy. In this sense, there has always been a need for "crisis management" or "professional" skills.

In their article "The Emergence of the Professions", Carr-Saunders and Wilson wrote that "every society has had its priesthood":

Writing of England at the close of the seventeenth century Addison spoke of the "three great professions of Divinity, Law and Physick". The term "profession" was not new in

his day. It was employed several times by Bacon: the earliest instance of its recorded use by the Oxford English Dictionary dates from 1541. But there is no corresponding term in any language of the ancient world. Nevertheless, every society has had its priesthood: many early communities knew the lawyer and the physician while even the most primitive accorded a special position to the medicine man (in Nosow and Form, 1962: 199).

Krause asserted that the clergy have been present "in all cultures, ancient and modern, primitive and technologically complex" (1971: 174). And this concept of the prehistoric roots of professionalism is in accord with T.H. Marshall's position:

The professions, conceived as a select body of superior occupations, have existed from time immemorial... (1939: 325).

Thus, it is understood that societies have traditionally delegated leadership to a differentiated group of people with skills and training to guide them through critical events. These professional leaders have functioned to minimize the destructive effects of a crisis and direct behaviour in positive ways for the survival of the social group and its individual members. Part of their training has acquainted them with crises of the past and ways in which society has successfully survived them. This has meant serving some sort of apprenticeship in which the tradition has been passed on in the form of knowledge, skills and rituals. Thus they have established continuity with the past through the office they hold and the actions they perform. Their professional education and training make it possible for their society to remember beyond the limits of any individual human lifetime. Otherwise each generation would have to

re-learn how to cope with the critical events of the human experience. Instead, the professionals establish and maintain norms of behaviour which either neutralize the disruption, minimize it or celebrate it. One of the major functions of the professions is the routinization of crises.

In earliest human societies these professionals became authority figures and symbols of stability and control when individuals, families or the whole social group felt powerless and out of control. Since such societies would have one homogeneous world view in which religion was central to behaviour and organization, these early professionals were perceived primarily as religious figures, mediating between the individual or the society and the divine. Whatever their skills and knowledge, they were basically religious in authority and image. Thus the prototype professional is the shaman; and the religious or clergy professional was the first professional. Brown's statement of this was quoted in the introduction: "Anthropologists are fond of reminding their students that shamanism, not prostitution, is the world's oldest profession" (1989: 92).

In this sense, as Carr-Saunders and Wilson said, "every society has had its priesthood." However such statements, using terms like "profession" and "priesthood," risk suggesting connotations to the modern reader that are not very closely related to the ancient reality. Some qualification is needed. Certainly these early professionals were religious figures: they were the guardians of religious traditions,

performers of the sacred rites, interpreters of divine law and dispensers of divine justice. However the pervasive quality of religion in primitive homogeneous cultures is masking several disciplines here. The shaman, medicine man, or priest would perform roles which today would be called medical, legal, educational, military, scientific and governmental, as well as religious (Spencer, 1896/1877 Volume III: 3-43). For example, the shaman would be called if someone were sick. If the people believed that illness was caused by a fall from grace or the ill will of another person, the medical matter was, for them, a religious matter; and the shaman would perform religious rituals and/or prescribe religious duties.

In their introduction to a selection of readings about religious specialists, Lehmann and Myers assert that "anthropological data have shown the importance of shamans, priests, prophets, and other (religious) specialists to the maintenance of economic, political, social, and educational institutions of their societies (1993: 69).

In other words, before the emergence of the modern professions, and before the age of scientific discoveries and more complex knowledge, the social roles which we today identify as professional were performed by a religious figure. In that sense, it may be said not only that the clergy profession is the oldest profession; but also that, for much of human history, it has been the only profession.

The Only Profession

The clergy have often been the only professionals not only in simple, primitive societies, but also in later cultures whenever one religious or world view has been dominant and ubiquitous. It is extremely significant for the modern industrialized world that this was the case in medieval Europe.

Sociologists of the professions acknowledge the shaman as a primitive professional figure, but begin their studies of the modern professions with a religious role which dominated a much later, though still quite homogeneous, society. Weber, for example, considered "the Priest" as an "ideal-type" of professional (1968, III, 425-426). Obviously it is problematic to discuss the ancient or medieval priest as a professional in the same way that one discusses the modern professions. However it is possible to identify that role as the source for modern professional roles.

E.C. Hughes observed that there is a significant etymological link in English:

The Oxford Shorter Dictionary tells us that the earliest meaning of the adjective "professed" was this: "That has taken the vows of a religious order". By 1675, the word had been secularized thus: "That professes to be duly qualified; professional". "Profession" originally meant the act or fact of professing. It has come to mean. "The occupation which one professes to be skilled in and to follow" (in Lynn, 1967: 2).

Even the more recent sociologists of professions have found the

semantic history of "profession" to be a useful reference point. In his formal knowledge thesis, Freidson rejects the use of such "relatively modern terms as intelligentsia, intellectuals, technicians and experts" in favour of "profession" partly because of its rich history of "overlapping denotations and connotations" and partly because of its original connection "with taking consecrated vows and... the clerical foundation of the medieval university" (Freidson, 1986: 20-21). Freidson adds that the etymological link exists not just in English, but "in all European languages with Latin roots" (page 21).

The historic reasons for this connection in language can be identified by looking at the culture of medieval Europe. Here, as in primitive societies, the clergy profession was the only profession; or rather, the clergy were the only professionals; or, perhaps even better: all professionals were clergy.

In medieval Europe, "the Church controlled access to most types of knowledge and education. Among a largely illiterate population, most of those who could read and write were in some religious orders" (Elliott, 1972: 17). One historian has pointed out that, in England in the Middle Ages, "the door to the church at that time meant the door to professional life" and that in the sixteenth century "in the north of Europe, the Church was simply a synonym for the professions" (Rashdale, 1895: II, 696 and III, 446). As Carr-Saunders and Wilson wrote in their book on the professions:

The earliest phases of certain vocations, who have grown into professions, were passed within the Church. Education was so closely bound up with ecclesiastical functions that the priest and the teacher were distinguished with difficulty. Lawyers, physicians and civil servants were members of the ecclesiastical order who had assumed special functions (1933: 290).

In other words, certain vocations were open only to the ordained clergy.

Carr-Saunders and Wilson trace the beginning of the modern professional era to the decline of the church's dominance:

So long as the church maintained its predominance, the various professions for which the universities trained did not become clearly distinct since all professional men were ecclesiastics. As the culture of the Middle Ages slowly shed its religious character, the professions formerly within the church emerged out of it. As they did so they became organized (in Nosow and Form, 1962: 201).

Thus, in a way, the decline of the clergy profession began at this point. It lost its monopoly and much of its power. This "deprofessionalization" of the clergy was necessary for the "professionalization" of other occupations. However it is not quite accurate to refer to the decline of clergy domination as a decline in professional status. Although the medieval clergy may have been "the profession", they were not "a profession" according to modern definition. A monopoly on literacy is too extreme a criterion to fit the concepts of "esoteric knowledge," "competence gap," "margin of indetermination," and "level of uncertainty" which are used to measure professionalism today.

Moreover, as European culture ceased to be a religious monolith, and individual occupational groups began to develop toward

professional status, the clergy themselves, or at least the ordained men who performed exclusively religious roles, also grew out of a pre-professional status and acquired certain professional characteristics.

Thus, in some respects, the clergy profession may be seen as the oldest profession, the prototype of modern professions, and the source of most modern professional occupations, including contemporary religious specializations, the roles commonly called "clergy" today. The modern clergy profession itself "emerged" out of the heterogeneous medieval clergy profession. This emergence, the professionalization of the clergy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, must be understood as background to any discussion of their deprofessionalization in the twentieth century and possible reprofessionalization today.

The Emergence of the Modern Clergy Profession

It is evident that the professions are closely related to the structure of knowledge in society. In homogeneous primitive society, where the world view is an essentially religious one, all expert knowledge is sacred, no matter how secular its application might seem to the modern mind. In such a society, as we have seen, the religious authority figure occupies a very large role, with many functions and great social significance. In his article on "Religious Specialists" in the 1972 International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, the anthropologist Victor W. Turner suggested that a somewhat evolutionary process takes place from this point:

As the scale and complexity of society increase and the division of labor develops, so too does the degree of religious specialization. This process accompanies a contraction in the domain of religion in social life. As Durkheim stated with typical creative exaggeration in his *Division of Labor in Society* ([1893] 1960, p. 159) "Originally (religion) pervades everything, everything social is religious, the two words are synonymous. Then, little by little, political, economic, scientific functions free themselves from the religious function, constitute themselves apart and take on a more and more acknowledged temporal character" (in Lehmann and Myers, 1993: 75).

Certainly this would be one way to look at the development of western society in the past 500 years.

Changes in the structure of knowledge such as those which occurred in western Europe at the time of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Industrial Revolution had a profound effect on occupational roles in general and the clergy role in particular. There were changes in the legal and educational systems, shifts of power and new discoveries. As a result, there was a dramatic change in the way that professional roles were performed in society. The processes of modernization, and especially of industrialization, and the developing magnitude and specialization of learning necessitated a fragmentation of the interdisciplinary elite role that the clergy had monopolized. Religion lost its position of dominance in society; theology was no longer "the Queen of the Sciences" in universities; the clergy were no longer the unique professional group. Formerly, ordination had been necessary, and often sufficient, for high status occupations; formerly, the clergy had

controlled access to all areas of learning. In this period, the role of the clergy became one specialized occupational role among an increasing number of similarly professional roles.

The clergy in the pre-Reformation church had formed a separate estate in society. In addition to many other things, the Reformation was a reaction against the poor quality, the corruption and abuses of the medieval clergy. It was the assertion of secular authority over the ecclesiastical institution. And, at the same time, it was a social reform and an early expression of consumer activism. It represented a challenge by the laity (the clientele) to the clergy (the profession), and by society in general (the consumer) to the clerical estate of the church (the producer). Its effect was to deprofessionalize a role which had developed some aspects of professionalism in traditional society. The monopoly of knowledge and education has already been mentioned. By means of the ecclesiastical courts and a sophisticated system of patronage, the clergy had been able to develop and maintain a high level of autonomy. It was against this autonomy that Luther and his fellow reformers particularly protested. The Reformation had the effect of closing the competence gap and reducing clergy autonomy in both the new Protestant denominations and the continuing Roman Catholic church.

The change in clergy status was dramatic. It is easiest to use England as an example because of the availability of sources and the

relevance to Canadian history. Before the English Reformation, the church was a major element in the institutions of government, and the clergy formed an absolute majority in the House of Lords. Within two hundred years, the church-state relationship had reversed and the English church was dependent on governments at every level from the parochial to the national (Russell, 1980: 29). Moreover, again in England, there was a marked decline in most measures of popular religiosity during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (Gilbert, 1976: 10-11). The profession was losing its clientele.

This trend reversed in the late eighteenth century and a "Golden Age" for the clergy profession began. Both individually and as an occupational group, they began to experience steady upward mobility. With respect to material wealth, social status, political power and autonomy, "the clerical profession made a rapid advance in every respect" (Mingay, 1963: 3). The new wealth of benefices attracted recruits of a higher social class, particularly the sons of lesser squires who were severely hit by the inflation of the eighteenth century and the development of the large estates. This further reinforced the growing respectability of the clergy (Hart, 1955: 105).

When the French revolution occurred, British property-owning classes were shocked and threatened by the violent upheaval of a social system which paralleled their own; and they began to regard religion as an important bulwark against similar catastrophes in England. They saw

the church and the clergy as agents of stability in the social structure, much as Durkheim would describe religion a century later, although it is interesting to note that Durkheim also advocated professional associations as a means of facilitating non-violent social progress (1957: xxxvi). At the local level, the gentry began to form an alliance with the clergy. The new wealth provided for the priest and the church allowed for the building of parsonages and rectories which were much more like the squire's hall than the farmhouses and cottages of the members of the congregation. They also adopted modes of dress and activities of recreation that reflected higher status. In his conclusion to *Clergy and Society 1600-1800*, A. Tindal Hart offers a summary of the changes that had taken place from the time of Elizabeth to the period just before Victoria:

The social status of the parson had also changed. At the Reformation, the medieval clerical image was shattered beyond repair, the aura of the priesthood dissipated, and anticlericalism given free rein. The Elizabethan clergy were mostly drawn from the lower classes, from which also they chose their wives, their learning was suspect, and their grievous poverty, exacerbated by the losses of tithes and glebelands to greedy patrons and litigious-minded parishioners, had brought them into contempt. The Jane Austen incumbent on the other hand was, as often as not, a member of the upper classes himself, had married either into the gentry or the more genteel professions, lived in a large comfortable rectory with its full staff of servants, and drew a substantial income from land. A well-educated, if not a learned man, he commanded the respect, perhaps the awe of his congregation, and played his full part in the life of the countryside: rode to hounds, fished, shot, played cards and bowls, entertained and was entertained by his equals, including his squire (1968: 97-98).

Increasingly during the years after 1800, the clergy role was regarded as one of gentlemanly status. Modern sociological theory would not recognize such a role as a profession in the modern sense, Elliott's concept of status professional offers the closest analytical fit. Several historians have described the social affinity and mutual interdependence of the priest and squire, the clergy and the gentry (for example, Best, 1964: 68). One is reminded of the priestly, establishment-supporting theology of Charles Dickens' little rhyme, from *The Chimes* (1844).

O let us love our occupations,
Bless the squire and his relations,
Live upon our daily rations,
And always know our proper stations.

However, these glimpses of clergy life are from a period just before society would experience the profound and extensive social change of the Industrial Revolution. The congruity of the clergy role with traditional society made it particularly vulnerable to the changes which industrialization and urbanization would bring to Victorian society, including a more recognizably modern form of professionalization. Traditional status was yielding to values of productivity and effectiveness in many occupations, including the clergy. For example, several Parliamentary reforms of the 1820-1840 period resulted in the establishment of higher standards of clergy role performance.

While it is desirable, for the sake of clarity and continuity, to stay within the example of British society, it is interesting to note that Larson

described the same phenomenon in her analysis of the American clergy of the same era:

The clergy was touched and transformed by the general movement toward mobilization and competence in the performance of function... Separated from the laity, clergymen were to seek as a body, among themselves, new bases of professional status... (The) new breed of Congregational ministers would seek this distinction in a learned and autonomous elaboration of theology (Larson, 1977: 83, 122).

In Britain, two theologically-based responses to social change had this same professionalizing effect. Both the Liturgical Movement and the Tractarian (or "Oxford") Movement were attempts to redefine the church's and the clergy's roles in society. They helped professionalize the clergy by replacing the emphasis on status with an emphasis on knowledge unavailable to lay people, knowledge that the clergy could bring to bear in response to the crises of human experience. Both movements emphasized theology as the central and definitive area of expertise; and they argued further for "charter elements" of the clergy role, consisting of functions most closely related to ordination and not performed by anyone else in society.

The changes in the scope, structure and functions of other occupational roles in the increasingly industrial and urban society profoundly affected the clergy profession. In the first place, there emerged a number of roles in society whose specific functions included elements of the diffuse role that the clergy had had in traditional society.

We have already referred to the division of the medieval profession into several modern professions. However, even in the latter part of the eighteenth century, the clergy role might include many functions which were not directly related to ordination, but rather arose out of the fact that the minister or priest was frequently still the only well-educated, well-respected person in his community:

He was often much, very much, to society round him. When communication was so difficult and infrequent, he filled a place in the country life of England which no one else could fill. He was often the patriarch of his parish, its ruler, its doctor, its lawyer, its magistrate as well as its teacher (Church, 1891: 3).

However, as British society industrialized in the nineteenth century, occupational roles became more specialized and the clergyman was able to relinquish a number of functions which he had been performing in an essentially amateur capacity to the new or developing occupations. The clergyman's own role thus became more sharply defined in terms of the activities which were most relevant to his ordination, education and training. Moreover, the public was perceiving the clergyman increasingly as a professional with a specific role. The author of the following passage is anonymous, but Anthony Russell has identified him as a layman in England in the mid-1800s:

Undoubtedly, an educated and intelligent Christian gentleman may undertake any of the ordinary duties of life which pertain to his class; but a Christian minister has, it is supposed, devoted himself to a special calling and one of so holy a character, that anything tending to interfere with or mar its purpose

ought not to be sought or encouraged ("Tekel", 1866. 19, cited by Russell, 1980: 38).

In the eighteenth century, the clergy role had included many elements which derived from his status and position in rural society rather than from his ordination. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the clergy themselves were according greater significance to the specifically priestly role: leader of worship and celebrant of the sacraments. In an age which came to accord high status to those who possessed socially useful technical knowledge, the clergy, by their emphasis on the "charter elements" of liturgy and sacramental theology, attempted to become technologists of the sanctuary.

Both the Liturgical Movement and the Oxford Movement enjoyed considerable influence in British society during the period which saw the general emergence of modern professions; and they played a role in the professionalization of the clergy by helping to define the specialized body of knowledge and related role set that was "ministry". It is interesting to note parenthetically that the CAPE clergy are a modern parallel to this in their efforts to maintain social significance by concentrating on an even more specialized "charter element" -- pastoral care or "the cure of souls". In response to contemporary divorce rates and mental health statistics, they may be seen to be attempting to define themselves as "technologists of relationships and personal well-being". This is a contemporary continuation of the specialization process that Turner described from the simplest societies to the most complex, and which historians of the

Victorian church have also described.

The change in the role of the British clergy that took place during the professionalization process may be illustrated in many ways. Russell (1980), Gilbert (1976), Haig (1984), O'Day (1979) and Hammond (1977) have provided a wealth of descriptive material. In the mid-eighteenth century, ordination had been seen mainly in terms of entry into a livelihood which was compatible with the status of gentleman and whose duties were minimal; by the mid-nineteenth century, ordination had come to mean something quite different. The Tractarians, the Evangelicals who opposed them, and the leaders of the Liturgical Movement had all sought to emphasize the spiritual and consecrated nature of the clergy role. No longer was the role legitimated principally by appeals to its social utility, but in terms of the spiritual and sacramental nature of the church. The eighteenth-century clergyman had been a man of leisure and a member of a leisure class; the nineteenth-century clergy were busily engaged in specific tasks. The eighteenth-century clergyman had been free to indulge his interests in the gentlemanly sports, the administration of the county, and scholarly and social pursuits; the nineteenth-century clergy were caught up in the quickening pace of life in industrial society, performing functions more within the institutional church and more related to their ordination: preaching, worship leadership, sacramental ministry, teaching within the church and pastoral care.

Thus nineteenth-century professionalization affected the clergy in

fundamental ways. it emphasized the charter elements of the clergy role, and it sharply reduced the range of diversity of clergy functions. By a process of specialization or focussing, it effectively changed the clergy from a status profession to an occupational profession. In the late eighteenth century, the clergyman's role had approximated that of the country gentleman. As a man of integrity and some learning in a society where the majority were still illiterate, he functioned as politician, civil servant, teacher and magistrate, sometimes even as medical officer. Such varied responsibilities were regarded as compatible with his religious office, and arguably necessary for the stable running of county and country. The clergyman was still shaman.

However, such was the growth and complexity of Victorian society that many of these activities outgrew the competence of the clergy, and a number of new professional roles took them over: the trained teacher, registrar, accredited country doctor, policeman, lay magistrate, country solicitor, and various new local government officials. In the mid-1800s, all high-status roles acquired new specificity of function. In the 1700s, the clergyman's performance of his liturgical responsibilities had been perfunctory and his pastoral ministry limited; but by the Victorian era, clergy saw these as the central and defining functions of their role. Russell summarizes:

This change in the role of the clergyman resulted in large part from the disintegration of the old structure of traditional authority and the gradual perception by the Church that the

nature of its legitimation in an advanced society could no longer be the mixed feudal and aristocratic assumptions which had previously sustained it (1980 38)

In a society which increasingly attached value and status to expertise, no professional group could allow itself to remain a refuge for the unqualified and the incompetent. The clergy profession began to establish standards, codes, and control over such matters as recruitment, training, ethics, discipline, competence and conditions of service. The extent to which the clergy failed to achieve control over some of these areas is related to their decline in the twentieth century.

However they did establish a number of theological schools during this period. Russell says that "in general terms, the establishment of the theological colleges in the mid-nineteenth century arose from the desire of the Church to train its clergy in a way which approximated more closely to the training of other professional men..." and he goes on to list ten theological schools founded between 1831 and 1876 (1980. 46)

Another development in Victorian society was a growing tendency to regard the clergyman as a man apart. This was a new idea at the time. In the 1700s, the clergyman's role had lost its distinctiveness, so closely had the clergy become identified with the behaviour, manners, and social life of the laity. However, both the Evangelicals and the Tractarians emphasized the apartness of the clergyman as a man consecrated for a particular sacred duty. For several generations the British clergy had been submerged in the dominant lay culture, and this desire for a distinct

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identity was one mark of professionalization. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, it was generally agreed that the clergy ought to be different. The separate professional subculture which developed had several aspects to it: distinctive clerical dress, which in the eighteenth century had been abandoned except on formal occasions, was widely re-adopted; the clergy began to develop professional habits and mannerisms which made them immediately recognizable (and easily caricatured); the clergy disengaged themselves from the amusements of the gentry; certain clubs developed which had predominantly clergy memberships; there were even hotels that catered exclusively to clergy and their families (Heeney, 1976: 14). There was a proliferation of clergy handbooks, professional journals and church newspapers which, with the distinctive dress, segregated leisure time and development subculture, all contributed to the clergy's growing sense of themselves as a professional body.

And there was a clientele. Within this British Protestant framework that has served to illustrate the professionalization of the clergy, church attendance reached a peak in the 1890s, a peak that would become a high plateau until the middle decades of the twentieth century (Russell, 1980: 49).

In the same social milieu that gave rise to the modern professions of engineering, medicine and law, the clergy had emerged as a somewhat comparable professional group.

Deprofessionalization

The clergy never did achieve a perfect model of modern professionalism, however, because they were unable to gain control over a number of aspects of their group life and individual work activities. They did not have a professional association, as other high-status occupations did to their advantage. They found it difficult to meet together; denominational lines fragmented them. Isolated work roles also frustrated collegiality. And they were not "free professionals"; they were professionals in bureaucracy long before that became a focus of sociological research. The nature of the institutional context in which they worked, the church's traditional, conservative and sometimes nonrational authority system, and the history of the role were all factors which prevented complete professionalization.

However there were broader social factors also. The clergy role had been shaped within the constraints of a paternalistic traditional society, and role performance was dependent on a number of assumptions about the nature and workings of society. Gradually, throughout the nineteenth century, these assumptions were undermined as western society was transformed into a predominantly industrial, urban nation with a new economic and social structure. The village communities in which the clergyman had played such a significant role began to disappear. There developed a disposition to challenge the

assumptions of previous generations, particularly in the new industrial areas, and there arose a new urban culture which owed little to the attitudes and values of the traditional rural society in which the clergy role had been shaped. The church, which had been so much a part of the old order, was marginal to the twentieth-century city. The culture which had produced the Victorian clergyman, and for which seminaries continued to prepare their students, no longer existed.

Although it would be an exaggeration to speak of a "revolt of the client", the competence gap did close as the clergyman ceased to be the most educated person in his parish. Moreover the practical knowledge and the values of the well-educated laity frequently conflicted with his traditional religious world view. The system of public education began to present a curriculum basically at variance with the clergyman's perspective. An intellectual gap between Sunday and the rest of the week developed. A similar shift took place in the area of social welfare and entertainment. Earlier, the church had been a centre for both these activities. By 1900, each had developed a degree of autonomy and its own professional personnel, as well as standards of competence which were beyond the resources of clergy amateurism. In an age of professionalism and specialization, the clergyman had become an amateur in all but the charter elements of his role.

Moreover these charter elements were subject to fluctuating public esteem. Liturgical and sacramental ministry and pastoral care

occasionally regained the respect accorded them in the 1850s, but generally lost significance and began to move to the margin of twentieth-century social life. This was reflected in the decision of Carr-Saunders and Wilson to omit the clergy from their 1933 study of the profession, "because all those functions related to the ordinary business of life, education among them, which used to fall to the church, have been taken over by other vocations. The functions remaining to the Church are spiritual, and we are only concerned with the professions in their relations to the ordinary business of life" (page 3). This may have been the first reference by a sociologist to the deprofessionalization of the clergy. The attitude expressed in the decision is certainly an early indication of the effects that increased specification of function and an increasingly differentiated and secular society would have on the clergy.

Society was becoming less inclined to accept clergy leadership. A more educated population with a wider pool of professional expertise available preferred to look elsewhere for the guidance and leadership which the church and clergy had traditionally provided.

The church itself, in an increasingly differentiated society, began to take on the nature of a voluntary or optional leisure activity. By the end of the nineteenth century, "Sunday obligation" was an endangered concept, and religion had become a commodity to be marketed. In some respects, the church actually did compete on the market. The social gospel movement, the fervent missionary activity, and the new concern for

evangelism which developed in the late-Victorian period may be understood to derive from an awareness in the church of a widening gap between the religious establishment and the social order, and realization that intentional effort was now necessary to apply theological expertise to social problems.

In a work-oriented society, the clergy found themselves as the bearers of a traditional home-centred culture. Increasingly their ministry was concerned with women and children, and with the non-work areas of life. By the early decades of this century, the clergy were estranged from both the male population and the working class in general. They had remained essentially a part of the *ancien regime* even though a revolution had occurred. They were pre-industrial rural figures in an urban industrial society.

If "deprofessionalization is defined as the loss to professional occupations of their unique qualities, particularly their monopoly over knowledge, public belief in their service ethos, and expectations of work autonomy and authority over the client" (Haug, 1973: 197), then it is at this point that sociologists of the professions can begin to observe the deprofessionalization of the clergy. There are many ways to measure and describe the process. Pavalko's continuum can serve, especially because it has already been introduced (Figure 1), and will be referred to again in terms of the methodology and findings of the 1983 CAPE survey.

Although they did not specifically employ Pavalko's model, the

consensus of scholarly opinion about clergy held by sociologists of professions can be expressed in terms of the eight-dimensional continuum. It is a fair summary to say that traditional clergy were further to the right, or professional end, on such a chart than almost any other occupational group before the Industrial Revolution; the nineteenth-century clergy were still quite far to the right; but in the twentieth century they have generally moved to the left in Pavaiko's model:

The clergy is a good example of an occupation that once was at or near the professional end but has undergone a process of deprofessionalization in recent years (Ritzer and Walczak, 1986: 63).

In fact, with respect to some of the attributes, the clergy are still "at or near the professional end". Pavaiko's model allows the process of deprofessionalization to be broken down into subprocesses that correspond to the component parts of professionalization. "Deprofessionalization is just professionalization in reverse," says Abbott (1988: 329).

When analysis is done at the level of individual attributes, the critical elements of clergy deprofessionalization emerge. "Training period" is not one of them. The unique elements of the seminary curriculum remained. They are usually organized into four departments. The labels vary among denominations and seminaries, but systematic theology, scripture, church history and pastoral theology are the commonly recognized seminary disciplines. There was no

encroachment by other occupational groups. However, society did begin to value these disciplines less than in the past, and less than the sciences and social sciences. Neither is it the case that the seminary education was shortened, became less specialized or less symbolic, or that there was a breakdown in the development of the clergy subculture during seminary. However, other occupational groups did pass the clergy with respect to these aspects of this dimension of professionalism. Thus, by maintaining the status quo in this area, the clergy seemed to decline relative to other professional groups. The same may be said of the motivation, autonomy, commitment, sense of community and code of ethics dimensions.

Real decline took place in the areas of intellectual technique and social relevance.

The reduction of the professional expertise of clergy to the charter elements has already been described. If society accorded importance to this area of knowledge and expert practice -- even if it were a remnant of an earlier, larger body of theory -- then this reduction could be interpreted as a form of specialization without reference to deprofessionalization. However, that is clearly not the case.

In the area of social relevance there has been a great decline. This relates more to context than to matters internal to the clergy profession, except perhaps the failure to adapt. The major factor has been the rapidly changing social environment. In his *The System of*

Professions, Abbott discusses social relevance in terms of "legitimation" and uses the clergy profession as an illustration:

Legitimation must draw on cultural values, and cultural values undergo autonomous shifts. Such value shifts can sharply change demand for professional services; secularization provides the most striking example. Despite its occasional recrudescences, concern for salvation has gradually declined in industrialized nations. Other values (often originating in religious thought) have replaced it -- happiness, self-actualization, personal independence. This long-run change has undermined the clergy (1988: 186).

Elsewhere, Abbott says simply, "Secularization, while too slow for short run effects has certainly driven the clergy's history for the last two centuries at least" (1988: 343). Since this concept is so important to the social relevance and esoteric knowledge dimensions of Pavalko's continuum and to the general social context within which contemporary clergy perform their roles, it requires its own discussion.

Secularization

The technological, social and intellectual changes which have transformed western industrial society since the end of the eighteenth century have profoundly altered the context in which the Christian clergy function. Modern society is characterized by rapid technological innovation, democratic and egalitarian political movements, humanist and secular social philosophies, cultural pluralism, and increased bureaucratization, urbanization, education, mobility and affluence. Today the clergy perform their role in a society which no longer

accepts the once taken-for-granted framework of transcendental order within which European culture and its colonial extensions, such as Canada, developed. There is no longer one religious worldview permeating a homogeneous society (Berger, 1967: 105-125). Because religion now manifests itself in a variety of ways within any of the western countries, it has far less power to fulfill the integrating and regulating functions which, according to the Durkheimian interpretation, it carried out in traditional society:

Secularization and related trends undermine the social framework on which the plausibility of ministry traditionally has rested. In the process, the place of religion (and thus of its leaders) in the larger society is fundamentally changed (Mills, 1985: 168).

In addition to the development of religious pluralism, a growing number of people now declare that they practise no religion.

Several indicators reveal the decline of traditional religiosity in Canada; however the easiest way to illustrate the trend is to compare the 1961, 1971, 1981 and 1991 Canadian census responses to the question "What is this person's religion?" (Table 1). The second largest "religious group" in Canada is now the portion of the population with no religious affiliation; and it is by far the fastest-growing group (Figure 2).

Elsewhere, Statistics Canada includes those who consider themselves to be Agnostics and Atheists, raising the "No Religion" category to 13% of the 1991 population:

Prior to 1971, less than 1% of the Canadian population

reported having no religious affiliation. Since that time, Canada has become increasingly secularized with more and more people reporting no religious affiliation. By 1991, 13% of the population (3.4 million people) reported no religious affiliation, a 90% increase since 1981 (Statistics Canada, 1993: 5)

Participation indicators show even more change than the affiliation statistics (Figure 3). The umbrella term for these and related trends is "secularization".

Secularization is as important a concept for the sociology of religion as the concept of profession is within the sociology of work and occupations. It is also just as widely debated and variously defined.

Berger said simply that "the term 'secularization' has had a somewhat adventurous history" (1967: 106). McGuire described its place in the sociology of religion as both significant and contentious:

The secularization thesis is perhaps the single most important theoretical paradigm in contemporary sociology of religion. It is also the most debatable (1981: 215).

O'Dea referred to "the process of the secularization of culture (as) perhaps the most significant development of the last several hundred years" (1966: 17), and yet Fein observed that sociologists have not responded to this research issue particularly well:

Debates on the issue of secularization tend to be a confusing mixture of statements of faith, functionalist axioms about the general importance of religion to societies and specific theories in the sociology of religion (1973: 353).

TABLE 1 Religious Affiliation in Canada, 1961-1991

	1961 %	1971 %	1981 %	1991 %
Roman Catholic	45.7	46.2	46.5	45.2
No Religion	0.5	4.3	7.4	12.4
United Church	20.1	17.5	15.6	11.5
Anglican	13.2	11.8	10.1	8.1
Presbyterian	4.5	4.0	3.4	2.4
Lutheran	3.6	3.3	2.9	2.4
Baptist	3.3	3.1	2.9	2.5
Other	9.1	9.8	11.2	15.4
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%
N=	18,238,247	21,568,311	24,343,181	26,994,045

Source: Statistics Canada, 1991 Census of Canada;
The Daily Tuesday June 1, 1993: page 3.

TABLE 2 Worship Attendance in Canada, 1946-1986.

"Did you yourself happen to go to church or synagogue in the last seven days?" (% replying "Yes.")

	1946	1956	1965	1975	1986
Roman Catholics	83	87	83	61	43
Protestants	60	43	32	25	27
All of Canada	67	61	55	41	35

Source: Bibby, 1987: 17; Canadian Institute of Public Opinion.

Martin (1965) also noted the vulnerability of the concept to ideological uses and value judgements, and argues against its use as a sociological concept. In direct contrast, his colleague, Bryan R. Wilson wrote

The concept of secularization is not employed in any ideological sense, neither to applaud its occurrence, nor to deplore it. It is simply taken as a fact that religion -- seen as a way of thinking, as the performance of particular practices, and as the institutionalization and organization of these patterns of thought and action -- has lost influence in both England and the United States in particular, as it has in other western societies (1966: 11).

However, what for Wilson was "simply taken as a fact" was for Andrew M. Greeley "the secularization myth" (1971: 127-155).

This diversity of opinion among theorists in the sociology of religion raises problems for any study of contemporary clergy, and this study of the CAPE members in particular. It would seem that various social scientists, using different definitions, different theoretical perspectives, different methods of empirical research, and quite different resultant data, have made quite different statements about a set of social phenomenon related to modernization, religion and change. They agree that the phenomenon is significant and that it is important to gain an understanding of the process that is going on. However, taken as a whole, their analysis of the phenomenon is in a state of confusion.

This theoretical confusion can be seen, to some extent, as a function of the historical development of sociology and the scientific study of religion as academic disciplines. The decline and disappearance of

religion in society was assumed or predicted by most early social scientists, such as Comte, the positivists and the evolutionists. In early studies of such processes of modernization as urbanization, industrialization, rationalization and bureaucratization, secularization was a sociological assumption. In this context Durkheim investigated the effects of secularization (which was the decline of religion, as he understood the concept) in his study of suicide; and Weber described the "disenchantment" of the world, a seemingly irreversible trend toward the increasing rationalization of the world to the point that it becomes a self-contained nexus no longer dependent upon religion to bind it together.

However, as Newman pointed out, a complicating factor which challenged classical sociological theory with respect to secularization was "the alleged religious revival of the 1950s" (1974: 303). This was followed by other phenomena that traditional theory would not have predicted: the 1960s' counterculture, the new religious movements of the 1970s and '80s, the apparent growth of fundamentalism and sectarianism in the 1980s and '90s, and the persistently high measures of personal religiosity among the population of the most advanced society in the world, the United States. Interest in religion and sociological study of religion entered a new phase after World War II, and it was in this period that the controversy and debate over secularization developed.

Clearly this is a situation where definitional strategy is highly

significant. For the study of CAPE, choice of definition will be a strategic decision with far-reaching effect

Glasner (1977) bases his analysis of secularization on the problem of definition. A definition of secularization is dependent on a prior definition of religion. Speaking quite generally, sociologists using substantive definitions of religion (as Wilson, Berger and Bibby do, for example) find that religion in contemporary society is in a state of decline. While there are advantages to the substantive strategy, there is a disadvantage in that substantive definitions tend to be culture-bound and historically specific. With respect to the substantive approach and secularization, there tends to be an historical reference point against which modern religious phenomena are measured. Consider.

By secularization, as already explained, is meant the process whereby religious thinking, practice and institutions lose social significance (Wilson, 1966: 14).

By secularization we mean the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols (Berger, 1967: 106).

Theories based on such definitions are criticized along three main issues: the identification of religiosity with church-oriented religious practice (e.g., Luckmann, 1967), the measurement of religiosity according to a specific cultic form (e. g., Sherwood, 1984), and the assumption of an utopian concept of feudal Christianity which cannot be supported by hard data (e.g., Martin, 1969).

In contrast, the functional strategy tends to lead to theories of

secularization in terms of religious transformation. Bellah (1964), following Parsons (1963), develops a theory in terms of increasing differentiation and religious evolution. Luckmann (1967) grants the decline of church-oriented religion and develops his invisible religion thesis in terms of individual autonomy, institutional differentiation, pluralism and privatization. This kind of approach has been criticized for its failure to distinguish clearly between the transformation of religion and the development of functional alternatives to it (e.g., Glasner, 1977: 42).

In a study of the contemporary Canadian clergy profession, it would be desirable to provide for measurement of both traditional religiosity and possible religious transformation. There can be no doubt that traditional Christian institutions in Canada, whether identified as denominations or local congregations, are losing members. The churches' own statistics give evidence of this; and there is general agreement on this phenomenon among both sociologists and religious leaders (Bibby, 1993: xiii). However some surveys, such as the January-to-March 1993 Angus Reid Religion Poll, published in the April 12, 1993 edition of Maclean's Magazine, describe a transformation in religiosity that is congruent with declining church statistics but does not suggest any decline in personal religious belief or spiritual awareness. Bibby's research has not been sensitive to this possibility, and has been criticized on that basis (e.g., Sherwood, 1984). The Luckmann-Bellah approach affords some possibility of perceiving and analyzing this phenomenon if it

is occurring.

For the study of CAPE, therefore, the definitional strategy with respect to secularization will be two-fold. In general, it will depend on a very specific definition of religion as traditional institutional Christianity -- "the church," as studied by historians and sociologists in its denominational forms in Canadian society. (As will be shown in the study itself, the population under examination is entirely Christian and entirely church-affiliated.) On this basis, the first definition of secularization will simply be "decline of traditional institutional religion". This was the first of Shiner's six ideal-typical formulations (1967: 207-220); and it is closely related to the substantive concepts in the work of Wilson, Berger and Bibby. It has the advantage of being the most popular definition in current Canadian scholarship, especially Bibby's work (1980, 1987, 1993), and the further advantage of being quite intuitive: it is one of the popular meanings of "secularization" in common conversation. This definition will be used for discussion of the social context.

At the level of the individual, however, another definition of religious and secular will be used in order to provide for the possibility of traditional spirituality expressing itself in new forms. As Mills has demonstrated, "During recent decades, religious vitalities have been revealed that are more consistent with concepts of religious transformation than with the death of religion in secularized society"

(1985: 168). This was also a major emphasis in McGuire's survey of the field (1981).

Daniel Bell adopted such a strategy when he sought to investigate the dynamics of religion in the context of the transition from industrial to postindustrial society (1980: 324-354). This functional approach traces its origins back through Bell's theory, Fenn's studies of differentiation (1978, 1981), the research of Hunt (1972a) and Yinger (1970) to Luckman's invisible religion thesis (1967; O'Toole, 1984: 207-208). Finding the concept of secularization to be "muddled" and the assumption of religion's inevitable decline to be dubious (Beckford, 1989: 111), Bell worked with a definition of religion as a "set of coherent answers to the core existential questions that confront every group" (1980: 333). This follows in the tradition of Yinger's definition of religion as "a system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people struggles with the ultimate problems of human life (1970: 7) and Bellah's "set of symbolic forms and acts which relate man to the ultimate conditions of his existence" (1964: 359).

With this broad, inclusive concept of religiosity in mind, and using Hunt's survey instruments, it may be possible to distinguish between religious decline and religious transformation among the CAPE members. It may allow for more detailed investigation into the religiosity of a population that is officially religious, formally associated with traditional institutional religion, but involved in organizational changes in

the nonchurch institutions of contemporary service society.

The most thorough sociological statements about the effects of secularization on the clergy have been made by Wilson (1966, 1982), Martin (1978) and Mills (1985). Specific studies have considered the effect of religion's declining influence in social and personal life on legitimacy for religious leadership. Gustafson (1963), for example, suggested that greater role specialization would be one strategy; and Martin (1978) theorized about the more forceful assertion of the religious basis of ministry work. These were two of the dynamics in the nineteenth-century professionalization of clergy, as narrated above in terms of the trimming of the broad, pre-industrial clergy role set to the charter elements. Wilson (1982) turned to another aspect when he suggested that the breakdown of the communal bonds underlying religion would pose a threat to traditional clergy: as the church declined so would their employment opportunities.

Reprofessionalization

This was not to say, however, that there would be no clergy role if the church continued to decline. In reviewing the effects of twentieth-century secularization on the clergy profession, Wilson referred to the phenomenon that, in the case of CAPE, has been tentatively identified as reprofessionalization:

Ritual and priesthood although strongly defended in the later nineteenth century as the authentic institutions of Christian organization, and as indispensable elements for worship, gradually became of diminished significance. New emphasis on other aspects of the clergy's functions led to a more professional style, in which pastoral care, group leadership, church management, and informal association have somewhat displaced older preoccupations with worship and liturgical detail (Wilson, 1982: 81).

As was mentioned in Chapter Two, other professions had adopted intentional strategies in response to declining prestige. And one of the recurring themes of clergy studies in the mid-twentieth century was the idea of professionalization (Hagstrom, 1957; Fichter, 1961; Goldner and Ritti, 1967; Glasse, 1968; Gannon, 1971; Ference, Goldner and Ritti, 1973; Goldner, Ference and Ritti, 1973; Ebaugh, 1977).

Some studies (e.g., Goldner, Ference and Ritti, 1973) were actually framed within the deprofessionalization theory; but it was at least imaginable that an occupational group, like the clergy, might try to respond to decline in the social relevance of its esoteric knowledge and concomitant work activities. Such a response might include specialization and other changes in the parameters of intellectual technique on which the work was based. It was reported in Chapter Two that preliminary observations had suggested the idea that, among Canadian clergy, the members of CAPE might be undertaking these and related efforts in an exceptional case of reprofessionalization.

At this point it might be suggested that the CAPE story, if congruent with the first impressions, would be an interesting exception not only to

the deprofessionalization theory, but also to some of the theories of secularization.

The next chapter takes a much closer look at CAPE.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE STUDY OF CAPE

The previous two chapters arrived at the same destination by different routes. In Chapter Two, a review of the history of sociological analysis of professions led to a certain frustration with the state of the art as it was by 1980. The general concept of professionalization and the alternate hypothesis, deprofessionalization, were not adequate to describe and interpret new trends that had been observed within the Canadian clergy profession and parallel phenomena in other professions. The concept of reprofessionalization was tentatively suggested.

Chapter Three, which included a review of the history of the clergy as a profession, led to the same suggestion. That is, the emergence of the modern clergy profession was described, and its apparent decline in recent years was discussed in terms of deprofessionalization. The concept of reprofessionalization was again introduced as a means of discussing some of the contemporary changes which have been observed to be taking place within the clergy profession in an apparently new specialized occupational role.

It is time to turn more systematically to the observations that gave rise to the idea of reprofessionalization as a theoretical possibility, and move beyond informal awareness of some anomalous facts and

anecdotes to a disciplined study of a perceived phenomenon among some Canadian clergy.

In this chapter, the role of the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education ("CAPE") and of its training model, clinical pastoral education ("CPE"), will be examined with reference to the possibility of a reprofessionalization process.

Clinical Pastoral Education

CAPE in Canada and the ACPE in the United States (Association for Clinical Pastoral Education) are the professional associations of ministry practitioners who have done training in an educational model called clinical pastoral education (CPE) or supervised pastoral education (SPE).

Originally, this model for the professional training of clergy developed in clinical settings such as general and psychiatric hospitals. CPE is the older and more commonly-used term. However the training settings have become quite diverse now: prisons, children's hospitals, palliative care institutions, nursing homes, counselling centres and local parishes; and so the more general term, SPE, is actually more accurate. It is increasingly used in the literature.

The original purpose of this supplement to seminary education was to equip clergy with greater competence and confidence in dealing with crises. One historian and biographer, looking back on the

development of CPE from 1951, referred to this as a growing edge in the clergy profession.

The frontier is the one where pastors are trying to minister to the sick and troubled not only in private homes, but also in hospitals, prisons, infirmaries, and reform schools... Forty years ago a pastor received little or no training for such a ministry... With the increasing complexities of modern life -- the stress on nerves and hearts due to wars and depressions and the general depersonalizing of individual life -- human beings in great numbers have broken under the strain. They have need of ministers specially trained in understanding the psychological factors that wreck mind and nerves and character (Eastman, 1951: 3).

The means of training that was developed to meet this need is an adaptation of the traditional apprenticeship model. It is similar to other professional internships, such as the articling year for lawyers, residence years for doctors, co-op work terms for engineers, accountants, technical and scientific students, and field placements for social work students, nurses and teachers. However, it was developed by practising members of the profession itself, independent of the traditional church leadership, as they found themselves called upon to practise their profession in new and varied settings: no longer solely in the sanctuary or the home, but increasingly in such institutions as hospitals and prisons. The mode of training is governed by the national professional association, which provides an educational and credential service to the various denominations and their seminaries as client-institutions, and certifies practitioners to employment in state-funded institutions, mostly hospitals.

The training takes place in a real ministry setting where there is a high incidence of crisis-level need. There is an exact balance between action and reflection. The "intern" spends 50% of the training period in direct ministry service to the pastoral clientele. The rest of the time is spent in various forms of learning groups and exercises, reflecting on the practice of ministry under the supervision of a qualified senior pastor -- senior in terms of recognized clinical-training qualifications and acknowledged critical-response ability. In fact, the student may be older than the supervisor, may even have more years of experience in general pastoral ministry. Because Catholics came late to CPE, after Vatican II, it was quite common in the 1970s and '80s for Protestant ministers to be supervising Roman Catholic priests older than they. CPE students may be any age or at any stage of career. Clinical training is a common means of mid-career shifts for clergy and a popular continuing education program for clergy on sabbatical or extended study leave.

The training setting must be accredited by the association; and the supervisor must be certified. All accreditations and certifications are reviewed by the association at least every five years.

The training is measured in "units" or "quarters" of 400 hours, which are usually done in 12 weeks of full-time participation. The supervisor controls admission to the unit and will do screening interviews in order to select the applicants who will participate. According to the CAPE Handbook,

Students for the course shall be selected by the Supervisor or Acting Supervisor on the basis of the training goals of the student and the service needs of the centre.

Again, according to the Handbook,

The course shall have no fewer than three students and a Supervisor or Acting Supervisor shall normally be responsible for no more than six students.

A large hospital with two, three or four full-time chaplain-supervisors might have 12, 18 or 24 student chaplains active on the wards during a unit. Supervisors may turn applicants down, not only if applications outnumber available spaces, but also if, in their judgment, an applicant lacks the appropriate personal maturity or professional identity to function competently in the setting and benefit from the program. The following excerpt from the 1993 publicity for CPE at the Vancouver General Hospital gives some warning of this:

All CPE programmes are multi-faith and open to women and men who have a commitment to personal growth, and the development and enhancement of professional skills in pastoral ministry. Given the experiential nature of CPE, personal maturity and readiness for supervision are the main criteria for admission. Although an adequate academic and theoretical grounding in theology and psychology is expected, this is secondary to the ability to form and sustain pastoral relationships and be able to reflect upon and engage in assessment of these relationships.

Some mature seminary students may gain entry into a unit before graduation or immediately after graduation before their first appointment; but they -- and all applicants -- must be able to document their good standing within the ministry of their home religious group according to its

own polity. Some lay people who are engaged in a practice of ministry recognized by their church are also able to gain admission. Clergy in mid-career typically arrange for a 4-month break between appointments or a 4-month study leave from their appointment. They go directly into the 12-week training unit, and then take a month's vacation before returning to their careers. Year-long internships in the same setting are also popular; they actually consist of four consecutive units. In 1993, the tuition fee for a 12-week unit at a setting in Canada was usually about \$1000.

Supervisors have completed at least six units themselves, at least one as an acting supervisor, at least one as an assistant supervisor and at least four other units, of which at least two had to be at the advanced level. In the case of many supervisors, some of these requirements were met by means of a year-long internship.

Some clergy use CPE training as a sort of refresher course or continuing education to heighten their crisis intervention and counselling skills in general parish ministry. However there is a career path within CPE. In fact, there is a cluster of several closely-related career paths, and these will be the subject of investigation with respect to the concept of reprofessionalization.

After a minimum of one basic unit and one advanced unit, a person could choose appropriate further training in order to become certified eventually as one of the following: Specialist in Institutional

Ministry, Specialist in Pastoral Counselling, Specialist in Pastoral Care, Teaching Supervisor in Clinical Pastoral Education or Teaching Supervisor in Pastoral Counselling Education.

With the appropriate credentials, and only with those credentials, he or she could then hope to apply for any of a number of pastoral positions that require CAPE certification. The number of these positions steadily increased during the 1970s and '80s. They are, for the most part, senior staff positions in public institutions paid for out of public funds. For example, a large general hospital in Canada today will require a Director of Pastoral Services and a certain number of chaplains. All of these positions require CAPE credentials; and all of these positions have to be adequately staffed in order for the hospital to maintain its accreditation with the provincial hospital association. The Director of Pastoral Services position will have tenure and remuneration comparable to the Head of Social Work or Head of Nursing positions. The Director will almost certainly be a CAPE Supervisor; in a large hospital, this is a requirement. The other pastoral positions -- and the director's position in smaller hospitals -- might be staffed by CAPE Specialists or Assistant Supervisors.

Perhaps one or two illustrations can suffice here to demonstrate the spread of CPE and the growth of CAPE's influence in Canada. In the late-1970s, the Ottawa Civic Hospital did not have a pastoral services department under its own administrative control. Space was provided for

the community clergy who served the needs of parishioner-patients, and some denominations, including the Roman Catholic Church and the United Church of Canada, funded individual, denominational chaplains who were resident in the hospital. Two developments occurred at about the same time: the hospital and the local churches became concerned about the quality of pastoral care that was being provided, and CAPE succeeded in getting its standards written into the Ontario Hospital Act. A Department of Pastoral Services was established by 1982, by September 1984, this was headed by a CAPE Supervisor who began CPE training programs in the hospital. After a few months, the Ottawa Citizen reported the changes taking place at the hospital as a news story.

The human spirit is sometimes a delicate thing. It can bruise easily, and be sick almost to death without showing any symptoms.

The spirit, whether worn down by illness, or buffeted by imprisonment, was for many years left to the sometimes hit-and-miss ministrations of visiting ministers in hospitals and prisons.

That's changing. Today, a hospital or prison chaplain is likely to be a dedicated, vital professional trained to give a full range of support to everyone who visits or works or lives in the institution he works for.

"Pastoral care services should be available to offer spiritual and moral guidance to support the physical care that's offered in hospitals," says Steve Overall, director of pastoral care at the Civic Hospital.

Pastoral care, explains Overall... is more than just the old-fashioned idea of a minister coming around and uttering a few prayers during crises...

The increasing acceptance of the importance of pastoral care is shown by the fact that a hospital cannot receive accreditation as a teaching hospital if it does not have a pastoral care program (Coutts, 1985).

By 1993, the Ottawa Civic Hospital had hired a second full-time, fully certified CAPE supervisor, and had as many as twelve student chaplains serving the wards at any given time. The Pastoral Services Department had become a powerful gatekeeper for community clergy who wished to visit in the hospital. The Department required and issued photo-identity cards to be worn while visiting in the hospital, administered the required TB chest x-rays for visiting clergy, facilitated their ministries, provided free -parking vouchers on a sign-in basis, and provided continuing education workshops related to pastoral ministry. But the Department could also deny access to clergy who acted in any way unethical or inappropriate while visiting in the hospital.

In the smaller Royal Ottawa Hospital, another version of this pattern took place. In the 1970s, there was no resident or on-call provider of pastoral care; it was left to the local churches. A part-time, volunteer coordinator of pastoral services established the basic structure for a department in the early 80s. The local churches supported this for the same reasons that they had encouraged action at the Civic; the hospital cooperated, in part, because it was now a provincial requirement. A full-time Director of Pastoral Services was hired in 1986, an experienced parish minister with basic CAPE credentials. As part of the hiring agreement, the hospital required him to obtain higher certification through the Ottawa Civic CPE programs. These stories illustrate a national pattern of change that has taken place from the

1960s to the 1990s.

It is striking to realize the strength of the CAPE clergy's position with respect to such publicly-funded positions in a variety of social institutions across Canada, including all teaching hospitals; most large general, children's or psychiatric hospitals; and many smaller health care centres; and most provincial and federal correctional institutions. It is striking because this monopoly on a set of social roles, which are accorded comparatively high respect, status and remuneration by the state, has been achieved by clergy in late-twentieth-century postindustrial society.

The roots of this surge in clergy power, influence, prestige and professionalism that has taken place in Canada during the 1970s and '80s can be traced back to Worcester, Massachusetts in 1925.

A History of CPE to 1983

The Rev. Anton T. Boisen is usually considered to be "the man who started it" (Eastman, 1951: 3). Joseph H. Fichter calls him "the founding father" (1981: 117). A graduate of Yale University and Union Theological Seminary, Boisen was a Presbyterian minister who had been appointed Protestant Chaplain of the 2200-bed Worcester State Mental Hospital, near Boston, in 1924. "During 1924-25, Boisen, in addition to serving as chaplain, worked with the social service department, investigating and following up all cases in which the

religious problem was an outstanding feature" (Powell, 1976: 12). In June of 1925, four theology students began summer internships, working with him and learning, as Boisen said, from "the living human documents" instead of purely academic sources.

The phrase "living documents" came to be associated with both Boisen and CPE. "What is new," he said, "is the attempt to begin with the study of living human documents rather than with books, and to focus attention upon those who are grappling desperately with the issues of spiritual life and death" (Boisen, 1951b: 15). By this, "he meant that the depth experiences of persons in the struggles of their mental and spiritual life demanded the same respect as do the historical text from which the foundations of our Judeo-Christian faith tradition are drawn" (Gerkin, 1984: 38).

This was a remarkable approach to Scripture for its time: the famous Scopes Trial, in which William Jennings Bryan and Clarence Darrow debated the teaching of evolution in the Tennessee school system, took place in July 1925 at the same time as this first-ever unit of CPE (H. Hammett, 1975: 76).

When he started his experimental supplement to the seminary, Boisen had the support of several key figures, including Dr. Richard C. Cabot, an influential member of Boston society and noted physician who taught at Harvard. In a speech and subsequent article, published nationally earlier in 1925, Cabot had urged that clergy be better prepared

to deal pastorally with the crises of human experience. "He suggested that every student for the ministry be given a kind of clinical training for his pastoral work similar to the clinical training a medical student receives during his internship" (Eastman, 1951: 3). Cabot's status in society and in the academic and medical professions, as well as his drive and organizing ability, would complement Boisen's theological vision and personal gentleness in the early years of CPE.

Boisen's 1925 experiment was evaluated, and the program continued. Four more students worked under his supervision in 1926, seven in 1927, eleven in 1928, fifteen in 1929. It was experiential learning, comprised of direct service ministry, reflection on the practice of ministry, and research, seminars and lectures on special topics:

These students worked on the wards, at first ten hours a day... They wrote letters for patients. They also conducted recreational programs... They took walks with patients around the grounds. They made records of their observations. They read up on psychiatry, psychology and religion. They attended psychiatric staff meetings and had special conferences with Boisen and the medical staff (Eastman, 1951: 4).

Looking back from the perspective of the fiftieth anniversary of the first unit, an authority on CPE wrote that "in spite of the many changes of detail in the programs of 1925 and 1975, Boisen in 1925 established some basic principles and structures" (Hiltner, 1975: 90).

In January 1930, Cabot convened a meeting in Boston to establish The Council for Clinical Training of Theological Students. In

the constitution, by-laws and terms of reference adopted at this meeting, it was emphasized that the clinical training was for future ministers. It was specifically stated that there was no intent to train the students for careers as psychologists or psychiatrists, but rather to offer a supplement to the seminary preparation for ministry. The aims of the program were set out as follows, expressed in terms of "the minister-to-be":

1. To open his eyes to the real problems of men and women and to develop in him methods of observation which will make him competent as an instigator of the forces with which religion has to do and of the laws which govern these forces;
2. To train him in the art of helping people out of trouble and enabling them to find spiritual health;
3. To bring about a greater degree of mutual understanding among the professional groups which are concerned with the personal problems of men (quoted in Eastman, 1951: 5).

The founders acknowledged that these aims, and the entire clinical pastoral program, were based on three assumptions articulated by Boisen:

1. That the living human documents are the primary sources for any intelligent attempt to understand human nature;
2. That the study of human ills in their terminal stages is a most important means of enabling us to grapple with them in their more complex incipient stages;
3. That service and understanding go hand in hand. Without true understanding it is impossible to render effective service in that which concerns the spiritual life, and only to those who come with the motive of service will the doors open into the sanctuaries of life (quoted in Eastman, 1951: 5).

In many other published statements, Boisen was consistent in his argument that the church should be less arrogant and traditional in its definition of the elements comprising ministry and education for ministry.

He suggested that there was much that the clergy could learn from the social sciences, including psychology, and from experiential programs.

In a 1926 article, he lamented:

With few exceptions it is still possible for a student to go through the theological seminary and receive the stamp of approval without ever having studied the human personality either in health or in sickness, or the social forces that affect it (Boisen, 1951a: 10 [reprint]).

Boisen's ideas and programs were controversial at first and widely opposed; but they were soon seen as a valuable way to prepare clergy for more effective service in a rapidly changing social context. By 1945, he was able to write in the respected ecumenical journal, *Religious Education*:

On one point, however, there has been complete agreement: Religious experience can and should be studied before it has gathered dust on library shelves and the living documents are the primary sources for the understanding of human nature (Boisen, 1951c: 17 [reprint]).

In 1933, a second training centre was established at Massachusetts General Hospital, with Russell L. Dicks as Supervisor (Fairbanks, 1953: 15). "Dicks, also strongly influenced by Cabot, established the use of the verbatim in SPE" (Thompson, 1985: 9). The verbatim report of a pastoral conversation has been a central part of the training ever since: in a 12-week unit, a student would normally be required to do twenty-five verbatims for the Supervisor, presenting about one of these per week to the peer group for a 90-minute session of analysis and discussion in a daily time slot reserved for this activity.

During the 'Thirties, the movement spread to centers outside New England, and a number of variations developed. These seem to have been due more to clashes between strong pioneering personalities than anything else; however, geography, institutional settings, ecumenical differences and real differences over the relative priority of theology and psychology were also factors. Cabot and Dicks, who co-authored a book called *The Art of Ministering to the Sick* in 1936, had reorganized their branch of the original Council into a separate entity, the New England Theological Committee on Clinical Training. "By 1938, the New Yorkers who wanted physicians of the soul trained through clinical education had begun to call themselves simply the Council for Clinical Training" (Holifield, 1983: 244). Hiltner summarizes:

The issues were matters of emphasis. The core movement had begun in mental hospitals, and was expanding to general hospitals, penal institutions, and eventually to other kinds of foci including local churches. For a time the New England group had centers only in general hospitals, expressing fear that training in mental hospitals would blur the pastoral identity of students. For a short period the latter group remained regional, in New England. By the end of World War II, however, new centers all over the U.S.A. were being started both by the Council for Clinical Training (the first incorporated body) and the Institute for Pastoral Care (the group originally located in New England). When, during the late 1940's and the early 1950's, the Lutheran groups and the Southern Baptist groups believed the CPE movement among their ministers and students could not advance properly or rapidly enough under the two existing organizations, they each established national bodies of their own. For about fifteen years, therefore, there were four national bodies (1975: 92-93).

And for a while there were two professional journals. The New England

group incorporated the Institute of Pastoral Care in 1944, and, unaware of similar planning going on in New York by Council officials, the leaders of the Institute began to assemble a professional publication to be called *The Journal of Pastoral Care*. The first issue came out in the Fall of 1947. Meanwhile, the Council for Clinical Training produced the first issue of *The Journal of Clinical Pastoral Work* in Spring 1948. Both were quarterlies. There was no shortage of material for publication, but in response to the sudden postwar success and expansion of CPE, and in a spirit of cooperation, the journals were merged into *The Journal of Pastoral Care* in the Summer issue of 1950.

E. Brooks Holifield, an American historian of pastoral ministry, points to the United States' entry into the war as a turning point for CPE. Part of this was a shift in the needs of the clientele, away from sermon and liturgy, and toward crisis intervention and supportive counselling. Clergy who were trained as biblical teachers, theologians and worship leaders lacked a critical skill:

About 8,000 chaplains had marched off to the Second World War, and when they arrived, they discovered that servicemen and women wanted to talk more than they wanted to listen. A large part of chaplaincy was counseling...

A study of veterans after the war revealed that their complaints about the wartime clergy returned almost invariably to one issue: the chaplains too frequently lacked the skills appropriate to the cure of souls. And the chaplains, sensing the same lack, flocked into seminars on counseling throughout the war...

When the war ended, they sought still further instruction as they returned to their parishes (1983: 269-270).

Holifield found that CPE expanded in the United States with the expansion of the economy in the postwar boom. It was a time when there was both money and enthusiasm for new ministries. In 1955, an interdenominational commission found that over 4,000 Protestant clergy had already received some clinical training. (Catholics would not be taking CPE in any numbers until Vatican II.) Before 1955, there were 117 accredited centres for CPE, and alliances had been formed with more than 40 theological schools to allow for the clinical training of candidates for the ministry. In 1954, the National Council of Churches began to offer bursaries to assist ministers who wanted to take CPE (Holifield, 1983: 270-272). Holifield summarized this quick postwar transition by saying,

Once the rebellious outsiders of theological education, clinical educators were well on their way to a prominent position in an affluent church (page 272).

It was also in this period after World War II that CPE entered Canada. It came through the historic connection between Canadian Maritime Baptists and the city of Boston. Earle McKnight, who would be President of CAPE in 1982, had attended Andover Newton Theological College from 1939 to 1942. During this time he did CPE units under the supervision of Philip Guiles, Donald Beatty and Boisen, himself. Gaining credentials as a supervisor, he was able to offer the first Canadian training in 1951. His student was another Baptist, Charles Taylor. Taylor had served as an officer in the Canadian navy during World War II, and was respected as a mature and capable student. As a candidate for the

ministry, he had done a unit of CPE at the Boston City Hospital as part of a training-for-ministry year at Andover Newton. When he returned to Acadia University Divinity College the next year to complete his pre-ordination studies, he tried to find a way to continue his clinical training in Canada.

The unique arrangement that was worked out reflects the difficulty of introducing new structures in a country with a small population spread over great distances. Taylor worked as a chaplain in the Victoria General Hospital in Halifax, following a program drawn up by John Billinsky of Andover Newton, which included five verbatims a week, four meaningful visits a day, attendance at staff meetings and submission of all written material to McKnight, who had a congregation in Fredericton, New Brunswick, 250 miles from Halifax. Andover Newton granted Taylor credit toward probationary Supervisor status for the 12-week unit of CPE, and Acadia recognized it as part of his preparation for ordination. Taylor himself offered the first true unit of CPE in Canada for four students the next year, also at the Victoria General. Again, however it was under the control and content supervision of Andover Newton.

Programs were held each year, attracting more students from more denominations, and developing an adequate supply of Canadian supervisors. A governing body was incorporated by act of the Nova Scotia provincial legislature and pastoral care became an entrenched part of the health care delivery system:

By the year 1960, the Maritime Institute for Pastoral Training was a well-established entity with government recognition and strong denominational and government support. In at least one part of Canada the frustration of selling a new concept was over and Supervised Pastoral Education was ready to contribute significantly to the work of education for the ministry (Tink, 1975: 43).

Ontario was not far behind. Again, the connection was Baptist and Boston. Thompson calls the Rev. Archie MacLachlan "the founding father of SPE in Ontario" (1985: 22). MacLachlan was a Canadian Baptist graduate of McMaster Divinity College, who had an M.A. in psychology from Harvard, and who had done CPE at Worcester State Hospital, Massachusetts Memorial Hospital in Boston and Boston City Hospital. In 1952, just two weeks after the start of Taylor's first unit in Halifax, he offered a unit of CPE at the Hamilton Mountain T.B. Sanatorium, co-supervising with the United Church minister, Jack Breckenridge. Thompson writes:

Three students were enrolled in the first programme which was supported and aided by some local doctors. The programme was offered through the Department of Extension at McMaster University rather than through the school of theology in order to develop and maintain the programme's essential ecumenical flavour. In 1953 the programme had ten students... (1985: 23).

Breckenridge supervised the first unit of CPE in Toronto after the Toronto Institute of Pastoral Training (TIPT) was established in 1955. It was set at the Toronto General Hospital. "Because of some nervousness on the part of hospital personnel about student clergy, the first training group was carefully selected and consisted of ordained clergy from a number of

different denominations" Thompson, 1985: 26). There, in 1960, Bernard Rosensweig was the first rabbi to take a unit of CPE in Canada

The TIPT was established with the same goals that the two American organizations had agreed upon

1. to enable the student to gain a fuller understanding of people, their deeper motivation and difficulties, their emotional and spiritual strengths and weaknesses,
2. to help the student discover more effective means of ministering to individuals and groups, and to intensify his awareness of the unique resources, responsibilities and limitations of the clergy;
3. to help the student learn to work more co-operatively with representatives of other professions and to utilize community resources which may lead toward more effective living,
4. to further the knowledge of problems met in pastoral care by providing opportunities for relevant and promising research (quoted in Thompson, 1985: 26-27).

In the 1960s, as the programs multiplied in southern Ontario and the Atlantic provinces, as they were initiated in Montreal and the western provinces, and as Roman Catholics became increasingly involved, enthusiasm for a distinctive Canadian coordinating body developed. By this time, the American groups, which had been divided by geography, denominationalism and philosophy, had merged into two national organizations. One governed CPE in its traditional settings of hospital, prison and psychiatric hospital (the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education -- ACPE); the other governed pastoral counselling only (the American Association of Pastoral Counselors -- AAPC)

In Canada, it was decided to organize one umbrella association, called the Canadian Council for Supervised Pastoral Education

MacLachlan was elected the first president; and a press release was issued.

Sixty-two church leaders representing the Roman Catholic and several Protestant communions met at the Ecumenical Institute in Toronto, December 15-17, 1965, to initiate a council to coordinate new ventures in ministry.

Recently many projects have developed in churches, hospitals, prisons and other centres for the supervised training of clergy. To establish standards for such training, the conference brought into being the Canadian Council for Supervised Pastoral Education.

Those present included Theological Educators, Church Administrators, persons in specialized ministries and other Clergy from across Canada.

The conference conclusions represent more than two years of struggle to bring an inter-faith council into being (quoted by Tink, 1975: 126 and Thompson, 1985: 27-28).

In 1976 the name was changed to the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education.

That same year, the first truly international conference on CPE was held in Switzerland. After Vatican II, and especially during the 1970s, clinical training had spread throughout Europe. It was growing in popularity in Britain, Australia and New Zealand, as well. The Journal of Pastoral Care devoted its June 1983 issue to "The International Pastoral Care and Counseling Movement" and included material relating to CPE in the Philippines, Zanzibar, Australia, West Germany, Scotland, England, Poland, East Germany and the Netherlands.

At the same time that CPE was expanding in international popularity, the American organization was engaged in a thorough examination of its own programs and procedures. In fact, this is an

almost never-ending process in any CPE organization. The action-reflection approach, by which students analyze almost everything that has been said or done, is such a major theme in the educational ethos that it has become a normal part of the organizational ethos as well. Program evaluation is routine.

Thus it is not surprising that, in 1975, as part of the observances and celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of Boisen's first CPE unit, the ACPE in the United States commissioned a self-study to be done by John L. Florell, Ph.D., Director of Research at the Virginia Institute of Pastoral Care. The distribution list for the 3,732 questionnaires gives some indication of the scale of CPE in the American system of seminaries and denominations at this time:

690 CPE Supervisors
 121 Seminary Liaison Professors
 15 Denominational Executives
 2,576 Individual ACPE Members
 330 CPE Center Administrators.

Florell's analysis of the returns described a number of issues that were of some concern to the organization and its members: the possible secularizing effect on clergy working in nonchurch settings, loss of control of the programs to the administrators of the institutional settings, members losing touch with their denominations, and questions of professional identity, especially as clergy. This last concern was raised in another study conducted that year, also commissioned by the ACPE.

The original CPE concern to develop an empirical theology

has over the years been retranslated as empirical psychology... Is it any wonder that the chaplain intern or the CPE student cannot distinguish her or his work from that of the psychiatrist? (J. Hammett, 1975: 89).

At the same time, some Canadians were also raising questions about the spirituality of CPE. For example, in 1977, Eugene King of Saint Paul University (he would become Director of the Pastoral Institute in the 1980s and Rector of the university in the 90s) used part of a sabbatical year at Notre Dame University to investigate the question "In what sense can one say that theological learning is taking place within the enterprise of Clinical Pastoral Education?" (1977a: 2). The conclusion to the paper he wrote is a good statement of the consensus of opinion that existed among Canadian religious leaders and educators at the time, with respect to both the strengths and the weaknesses of CPE:

It seems well established that CPE has introduced exciting new processes to programs of preparation for pastoral ministry. It has done so by learning through supervised involvement in ministry. There is a major exposure to the task of ministering and coupled with that experience is reflection on it by supervisors and peers... CPE has found its strength in attending to the gut-level operative meaning which people live by and which exists in an environment of feelings. Through bringing feelings forward in awareness, the level of vital meaning is available. But the move to articulate the gut-level meaning in theological terms is CPE's weakness. The theological questions remain shelved, are barely initiated, are dealt with amateurishly or in very general terms (1977b: 23).

This concern about the secularizing effect of CPE may be understood in several different ways, according to various conceptual frameworks: it is a tension between a traditional profession and a new

profession, with potential conflict over control, personnel and clientele, in Weberian terms it is a struggle between a Priest organization (the traditional church, its denominations and seminaries) and a Prophet movement (CPE, its organizations and proponents), in the language of this study, it might be the labour pains as a subgroup emerges from a source profession, a birth process that is all the more painful because the offspring group is reprofessionalizing while the parent group is experiencing deprofessionalization.

At any rate, the concern continued to be expressed in the United States in the years after the Florell study. One article quoted the following statements that were said to be "representative of comments heard from seminary faculty, denominational leaders and not infrequently from beginning students in CPE programs":

Clinical pastoral education is psychologically oriented and lacks a theological foundation for ministry. CPE Supervisors are more interested in psychological insights than in theological concepts (Getman, 1982: 172).

Another investigator, around the same time, reported a "negative view of CPE" in the following terms:

On the other hand, there have continued to be a steady stream of detractors -- those theological educators, denominational officials and ministers who would not encourage students to participate in any CPE experience and who would reject CPE as a valid mode of preparation for ministry. These persons also have data on which to base their positions. The quote, "My roommate in seminary took a unit of CPE and then decided to drop out of seminary. Some say that was best for him," reminds me that there are those who would be likely to think otherwise,

that it was *not* best for the roommate, and as a result blame CPE for this student's "loss of faith" (Justes, 1982: 177-178).

In 1984, Thomas C. Oden, a highly respected American Catholic theologian, published a study in which he analyzed the writings of the major figures in CPE for their theological content. With the one notable exception of Anton Boisen, Oden found the theological thinking within the CPE movement to be sloppy and ignorant of the history of Christian thought. Oden's book, *Care of Souls in the Classic Tradition*, is a devastating critique of this aspect of CPE.

Aware of these building concerns, CAPE decided to engage in its own formal self-study in 1982-83, the thirtieth anniversary year of the first Canadian units of CPE.

Research Path

1) 1973-1980

I am an ordained minister in The United Church of Canada. I first became aware of CAPE when I was a seminary student from 1973 to 1976; and during those years, I was able to supplement the Master of Divinity program at the University of Toronto with clinical pastoral education in four settings: the Toronto General Hospital, the Provincial Courts (Family Division) in Toronto, the Toronto Institute of Human Relations (a counselling agency), and the Ottawa General Hospital. I joined CAPE as a student, and began receiving the *Journal of Pastoral*

Care which is one of the benefits of membership.

After graduation and ordination in 1976, I let my membership lapse but continued subscribing to the journal, which is published quarterly by the American Association for Clinical Pastoral Education (ACPE) with the American Association of Pastoral Counselors (AAPC) and CAPE. For four years I served the church as a parish minister.

ii) 1980-1983

In 1980, I came to Carleton University, hoping to pursue doctoral studies in sociology, building more on my M.A. in Canadian Studies than on my degree in theology. I was interested in doing research and writing in the area of how the church in Canada deals -- or fails to deal -- with society in general and social change in particular. This has been a continuing interest in my career (Sherwood 1973, 1975, 1984, 1985, 1988, 1989 and 1990).

One of the first courses I joined was Professor Bruce McFarlane's graduate seminar, Sociology of Occupations and Professions. As I became more familiar with the literature of professionalism, professionalization and deprofessionalization, it began to dawn on me that, with my knowledge of CAPE, I might be aware of an interesting social phenomenon that sociologists had not yet investigated. Without knowing whether any other investigator had had the same apparently obvious idea, I coined the term "reprofessionalization" as a tentative concept to embrace the collection of facts and anecdotes about CAPE

and CPE that I had informally acquired in my own clergy career. I developed my thinking during the course of that seminar and in conversations with Professor McFarlane to the point that, with the financial support of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, I went to the January 1981 Annual Meeting of CAPE in Halifax.

I recorded my impressions of that meeting in a field journal, taking note of the professional subculture, the distinctive jargon, the issues of professionalism on the business agenda, and the discussion of the code of ethics. These observations led me to believe that a case study of the CAPE population might be an interesting sociological investigation on both the theoretical and empirical levels. (The field journal is summarized in a memorandum to Professor McFarlane, dated February 13, 1981. See Appendix 4.)

I later learned that, at the Board of Directors meeting which followed the Halifax Annual Meeting, it was decided to undertake an organizational self-study in 1982-83. As mentioned above, the APCE had conducted a self-study in 1975, John L. Florell being the principal investigator.

At the next Annual Meeting, in Saskatoon in January 1982, I made a formal proposal of a Census questionnaire to be addressed to all members. I told the association that I would be seeking to collect data for my doctoral dissertation, that I would be replicating some of Florell's questions from the 1975 ACPE self-study, that I would consult with the

association's executive during the questionnaire design stage, that I would distribute the questionnaire at the 1983 Annual Meeting, and that I would give feedback to the membership at the 1984 Annual Meeting and through the organization's newsletter. The association agreed to adopt the Census as one of the official activities of the self-study year.

I did meet with the Board of Directors, twice in 1982, in Toronto. There were some very specific requests for questions to be added to the questionnaire, to which I agreed. In consultation with Professors Bruce McFarlane, John Myles and Gordon Irving of the Carleton University Department of Sociology and Anthropology, I designed operational definitions and indices to measure professionalism, work satisfaction, income, personal religiosity, professional religiosity, denominational affiliation and CAPE affiliation. I tested the instrument on a group of people in Ottawa who bore some resemblance to the CAPE membership. On the basis of their feedback, I revised the questionnaire and tested the revision on another similar group.

The President of CAPE in 1982, Earle McKnight, used his column in the June Newsletter to remind the membership about the upcoming Census. I used that article as a front cover for the questionnaire and had it printed and ready for distribution at the 1983 Annual Meeting. (Appendix 1 is a copy of the 1983 CAPE Census questionnaire.)

In February 1983, the questionnaire was distributed to 594 members of the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education. CAPE had

made its membership mailing list available and two sets of labels were printed from it. Institutional memberships, complementary memberships and foreign residents were not included. About 150 of the labelled questionnaires were distributed personally at the association's Annual Meeting in Quebec City; the rest were mailed. After a follow-up mailing (see Appendix 2 for the covering letter), 423 usable questionnaires were received back before the cut-off date of July 1, 1983. The questionnaires were coded during July and August, the data entered into the computer in September and analysis begun.

The 1982 CAPE membership mailing list provided information concerning three demographic variables (sex, province of residence and denominational affiliation). When these variables were used to compare the population of respondents to the total membership of CAPE, it was found to be a representative sample at a significance level of 0.05 (Table 3.) This is not surprising, given the high rate of return (71%). Men and the West (meaning residents of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) are slightly over-represented in the respondent population; Roman Catholics are somewhat under-represented. (See also Figures 4, 5 and 6.) Nevertheless, it is generally valid to extend conclusions about the respondent population to the CAPE membership as a whole. It should be added, however, that the population of respondents is not statistically representative of either the Canadian population or the Canadian clergy population.

TABLE 3 Comparison of the 1983 CAPE membership population to the population of survey respondents according to three variables (significant at 0.05 in each case)		
	CAPE %	respondents %
sex male female total	70 9 29 1 100 (N=594)	73 6 26 4 100 (N=423)
province/region Ontario Quebec Atlantic West total	46 3 8 3 12 8 32 6 100 (N=594)	44 5 6 3 8 7 40 5 100 (N=423)
denomination Roman Catholic United Church Anglican Baptist Lutheran Mennonite Presbyterian Salvation Army Other total	28 2 28 2 15 2 7 5 5 0 4 3 2 1 1 8 7 7 100 (N=594)	22 2 29 3 16 1 8 7 6 1 5 2 3 8 2 1 6 5 100 (N=423)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

The CAPE mailing list also identified the members who had attained the most senior levels of certification (Supervisors and Specialists); and it is evident that these categories are over-represented in the respondent population (Table 4). This sampling bias will need to be remembered when generalizing from the the respondent population to the organization as a whole. However, it is a convenient and understandable bias: one would wish for and expect more information about a phenomenon from the people with the highest levels of experience, involvement and interest.

Table 4 Comparison of the 1983 CAPE membership population to the population of survey respondents with respect to the percentages of Supervisors and Specialists.		
	CAPE %	respondents %
Supervisors	8.4	12.6
Specialists	5.6	8.6
Others	86.0	78.8
total	100 (N=594)	100 (N=423)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

iii) The 71% Response Rate

The high rate of return for this long, personal and sometimes difficult questionnaire is due to a number of factors

Firstly, earlier drafts of the questionnaire had been completed by two test groups in Ottawa in the summer of 1982. These groups had been designed to be as similar to the CAPE membership as possible with respect to interest and involvement in church and ministry activities, male-female balance, ecumenical diversity and age range. The experiences of these test groups and their feedback led to the final questionnaire being as logically ordered, clearly expressed and interesting as possible.

Secondly, in the early 1980s, CAPE had come to consider itself at a turning point in its development, and had designated 1983 as a year of extensive self-study. The Board of Directors added this study to the list of official activities, endorsed it and commended it to the members.

Thirdly, it is not unusual to achieve fairly high response rates among clergy populations. In his dissertation research, Frederic A. Croft received a "70% return on questionnaires to 378 clergy". Jeffrey K. Hadden received "7441 returns (70%) from a probability sample of more than 10,000 parish and campus clergy in six denominations" when he sent out a 524-item questionnaire; and when Phillip E. Hammond was collecting data for *The Campus Clergyman* (1966), "997 of 1,263 (79%) full-time or nearly full-time campus ministers returned completed

questionnaires", Hammond even achieved a 68% from his control population of 4,077 "ministers in general from 10 Protestant denominations" (Menges, 1967: 17, 19, 42, 50).

Fourthly, with some expectation that a highly-motivated group of religious people might respond well to an interesting self-study instrument, the questionnaire was called a "census" not a survey. This is admittedly a misuse of a precise technical term. However the intentional misnomer may have contributed to the high response rate. Throughout the analysis of the findings, the data collection instrument will sometimes be referred to as the 1983 CAPE Census Questionnaire, and so it was titled; but the Census was a survey.

The first page of the questionnaire was actually a covering letter, on CAPE letterhead, from the 1982 President of the association, supporting the Census and urging members to participate.

Finally, the investigator was fairly well-known by the members, and trusted. In addition to my status as a former student in CAPE programs and, now, an ordained minister, I had held national office in the United Church and, by 1983, had written several articles for the United Church Observer and two clergy journals, one published in Toronto, the other in Washington, D.C.

iv) 1984-1993

I was not solely a graduate student, free to do research, however; I also had a career in The United Church of Canada. When a colleague

died suddenly in February 1984, the church asked me to replace him. This meant returning to full-time parish work.

Some of the data analysis had been done at this point, and some of the findings had been written up in focussed draft working papers, but the thesis itself would be put on hold for nine years.

I did present some of my findings to the 1984 Annual Meeting of CAPE, which was devoted to the self-study. I attended the 1985 and 1993 meetings (both held in Ottawa), continued to monitor the Journal of Pastoral Care for content and issues, and tried to get the thesis organized to the point where it could be finished during a sabbatical in 1993.

The Questionnaire: the Variables

The thesis is comprised of several different kinds of scholarship: theoretical discussion of the reprofessionalization concept and its background in the sociology of professions; historical narratives on the professions, the clergy and the development of clinical pastoral education; reports of participant observation of the CAPE subculture, document and literature research; and analysis of the findings of the 1983 CAPE Census.

The data set derived from the survey contains 483 individual variables, some of which form indices related to professionalism and religiosity. The variables will be listed first; then the indices will be

described. (See also Appendix 3.)

The first fifteen variables, V1 to V15, are basic demographic and parental education items.

V16 to V205 are an inventory of members' postsecondary education and training.

V206 to V245 describe work role, work setting and work activity.

V246 to V261 are the components of a work satisfaction index. V262 is the summary work satisfaction score.

V263 to V279 describe respondents' working relationships with other professionals, including a 14-item conflict scale.

V280 to V315 describe aspects of the working relationships with clientele. V316 and V317 deal with ethical codes. V318 to V325 concern income. V326 to V335 describe professional attire.

V336 to V346 express motivation and commitment.

V347 and V348 are simply the languages of work and home.

V349 to V393 are the variables that comprise indices measuring the strength of denominational affiliation, of CAPE affiliation, and of ecumenical and interfaith involvement.

V394 to V399 comprise an autonomy index.

V400 to V419 are the variables of a religious orientation index (Neal, 1995). V420 to V432 are another religious

orientation index, the so-called "LAM scales", developed originally by Richard A. Hunt (1972a: 42-52).

V433 to V437 relate to the respondent's sense of professional qualifications and ability.

V438 to V446 are variables relating to the evaluation of CAPE programs. These were requested by the Board of Directors, as were another set of questions about specific aspects of CAPE, expressed in variables V466 to V478.

V447 to V451 help to describe the body of knowledge that comprises the CAPE member's professional expertise.

V452 to V465 are additional components of the indices measuring strength of denominational affiliation and affiliation to CAPE.

V479 describes control over CAPE programs.

V480 and V481 describe members' reasons for belonging to CAPE.

V482 evaluates the questionnaire.

V483 is the time required to complete it. (The respondents averaged about two hours.)

The Indices

Several of the indices are designed to measure the dimensions and sub-dimensions of Ronald M. Pavalko's occupation-profession continuum (1971: 15-27), which was displayed in Figure 1 in Chapter

Two (cf. page 53). Some of the reasons for using Pavalko's framework were set out when it was introduced, above: it is dynamic, allowing for comparative measures and measures of degree; it is multidimensional; it is intuitive and fairly easy both to explain and to use; it is a thorough and complete inventory of occupational characteristics; and it relates to a maximum amount of scholarship in the sociology of professions. These last two reasons are related to each other, and are very important.

One of the weaknesses of sociology of occupations is the lack of comprehensive theory. An intensive review of the literature of the past two or three decades turns up much that is insightful, well-done, related to a theoretical framework to some extent, but unrelated to dozens of other articles and books on the same topic. The review becomes a study of patches in search of a quilt. Some of the individual pieces are, to continue the metaphor, of exceptional artistic merit; but unrelated as they are to the other pieces, they do not contribute effectively to a larger fabric of knowledge:

The extension of knowledge in the social sciences has been considered in terms of scholars "standing on the shoulders" of other scholars, reviewing earlier research and building upon it. As one reviews the case studies of occupations and studies of specific issues in the world of work that were published during the 'Seventies, one finds many articles which fail to relate themselves to the existing literature in the field. Even if there is a review of earlier and related research, there is rarely a sense of building upon it or setting up a dialectic of hypotheses. And there is almost never a review of the existing data sets or the data that might be available. Investigators seldom re-work other people's data, do not apparently make use of data archives

and rarely replicate earlier investigations. The field is full of soloists... There are few stacks of scholars standing upon each other's shoulders, reaching upward... At its best, the sociology of occupations would be the attempt to increase knowledge of society and the human experience by bringing the same tools and theoretical apparatus to bear on occupations as those used by other sociologists investigating other social phenomena. At its worst, it becomes a forum for the inconclusive exchange of monologues by adherents of conflicting theories, and a collection of eclectic, unconnected case studies (Sherwood, 1982: 8-9).

This present investigation arose out of a desire to extend sociological theory in the field of occupational studies, and every attempt has been made to ground it in the existent theoretical literature. The case study of CAPE was to be conducted in a way that would allow not only for the development of theory, but also a maximum ability to relate it to the rest of the field, including other occupational case studies. Sometimes this has been done by replicating earlier research (for example, Neal, 1965, Smith, Kendall and Hulin, 1969; Stryckman and Gaudet, 1971; Hunt, 1972a; Florell, 1975c). However, most generally, this has been achieved through the use of Pavalko's model, which was introduced in Chapter Two (pages 53-58).

More than most theorists, Pavalko "stood on the shoulders" of those who went before. His continuum is so complete and inclusive that it can be used to refer not only to virtually all earlier occupational theory and research, but also to much that has been written since his time. The opposite of a "solo effort", Pavalko's model is one of the approaches to occupational study most easily related to other studies and theoretical

writing in the field. For this reason more than any other -- the ability to connect a CAPE study to the rest of the literature in the sociology of professions -- Pavalko's continuum was selected.

Pavalko's Dimension 1 -- Theory or Intellectual Technique

Pavalko defines each of the dimensions in turn, beginning with the measure of professional expertise:

This definition refers to the extent to which there is a systematic body of theory and esoteric, abstract knowledge on which the work is based... (The) existence of such a body of knowledge serves as the basis for legitimizing the actions of 'professionals'. The professional's claim to expertise rests upon his presumed mastery of a body of knowledge (1971:18).

Information about this dimension has been derived from personal observation in units of CPE and meetings of CAPE, content analysis of the Journal of Pastoral Care, research into the history of CPE, and a number of census questions relating to: education and training (V16 to V205), work activity (V232 to V244 and V285 to V315), resources for work (V151 to V153 and V457 to V451), and qualifications (V433 to V437). Many respondents also offered personal statements of their understanding of their own expertise.

Pavalko's Dimension 2 -- Relevance to Basic Social Values

Pavalko introduces the second dimension as follows:

While exactly what constitutes a society's basic social values may be difficult to determine, the important point... is the tendency of work groups to seek their justification in abstract values on which there is widespread consensus. The notion here is that 'professions' claim that their work activities are

designed to maximize the realization of such values.

A variant on this theme is the applicability of the knowledge and services of a work group to crucial recurring human problems. The professional is turned to in time of crisis because it is assumed that he possesses certain competencies (derived from the mastery of a body of esoteric knowledge) not available to the layman and that these competencies can be applied to the solution of critical problems...

For the purpose of developing the model, work at the professional end of the continuum is regarded as that which has the greatest applicability to the most intense crises that persons face (1971:18-19).

Information about this dimension of professionalism has been derived from a number of organizational publications within CAPE and the American Association for Clinical Pastoral Education. The questionnaire returns contributed further information about salaries, professional control of activities and the clientele's presenting problems. The questions about qualifications and unique contributions (V433 to V436) were also a part of this.

Pavalko's Dimension 3 -- The Training Period

Pavalko explains that there are several aspects to this dimension:

Four sub-dimensions of this characteristic of work are relevant here. These are:

- a) the amount of training involved
 - b) the extent to which it is specialized
 - c) the degree to which it is symbolic and ideational
 - d) the content of what is learned during the training period.
- a) In general, the greater the amount of training involved, the further toward the professional end of the continuum the work belongs.
 - b) The degree to which the knowledge required for a particular kind of work is specialized represents another important dimension that distinguishes occupations from professions.
 - c) In addition to being highly specialized, professional training

is ideational. That is, it places a strong emphasis on acquiring the ability to manipulate ideas and symbols rather than... things and physical objects...

d) A fourth aspect of the training period is the extent to which it involves the acquisition of a distinctive set of values, norms, and role conceptions, as well as special knowledge and skill. The latter is part and parcel of preparation for virtually all kinds of work. The notion here is that professional training involves more; namely the learning of a 'professional subculture' (1971: 19-20).

Information relevant to all four of these subdimensions was derived from the questionnaire, organizational documents and literature, participant observation and observation in the field.

Pavalko's Dimension 4 -- Motivation

This dimension was analyzed at the individual level in terms of V336 to V346, and religiosity indicators to be described below. At the corporate level, it was considered in terms of ideological statements contained within organizational literature.

Pavalko explains the fourth dimension in the following way:

Our concern is the degree to which work groups emphasize the ideal of service to clients and public as their primary goal and as part of their ideology. Also important is the extent to which this claim is (at least tacitly) publicly acknowledged. At the professional end of the continuum are those work groups whose members are assumed to be motivated by the desire to best serve their clients, rather than by self-interest and the desire for monetary gain (1971: 20).

Pavalko's Dimension 5 -- Autonomy

This is a fairly standard area of labour force research and there were many scales that could be used. The questionnaire investigated the respondent's sense of individual autonomy (V263 to V279 and V394

to V399) and sense of CAPE's corporate autonomy (V479). Evidence relating to the autonomy of the professional association was also derived from public documents, journals and other records. Pavalko refers to both levels of autonomy in his explanation of the fifth dimension:

Autonomy, self-regulation and self-control are synonyms for freedom on the part of work groups to regulate their own work behavior. As both sentiment and structural fact, autonomy is characteristic of work at the professional end of the continuum. ...Autonomy is expressed in two distinct but related ways. First, work groups, as organized collectivities, seek to control matters relating to the activities of their members... In addition to collective autonomy, concern with the autonomy of the individual practitioner is a feature of occupations at the professional end of the continuum (1971: 22).

Pavalko's Dimension 6 -- Commitment

This is related to the motivation dimension, but as Pavalko explains, it has a slightly different emphasis and includes the sense of life-long career:

This factor involves the kinds of sentiments that people are assumed to have toward their work. At one extreme (the professional end of the continuum), work may be viewed as a 'calling' and approached with a quasi-religious sense of mission... Closely related to this orientation to work is the notion that commitment to the work is not a passing fancy but rather a long-term if not a life-long commitment... A sense of calling and long-term commitment are generally regarded as characteristics of work at the professional end of the continuum... (1971: 23-24).

The individual respondent's sense of commitment was investigated by Question 27 on page 10 of the 1983 CAPE Census. Responses were coded into V336 to V346. The various questions investigating personal

and professional religiosity, professional self-understanding, and motivation also shed light on this dimension.

Pavalko's Dimension 7 -- Sense of Community

In defining this dimension, Pavalko refers at length to W.J. Goode's 1957 ASR article, "Community within a community: the professions." In the original, Goode, says that a "professional community" has the following characteristics:

1. Its members are bound by a sense of identity.
2. Once in it, few leave, so that it is a terminal or continuing status for the most part.
3. Its members share values in common.
4. Its role definitions vis-a-vis both members and non-members are agreed upon and are the same for all members.
5. Within the areas of communal action there is a common language, which is understood only partially by outsiders.
6. The community has power over its members.
7. Its limits are reasonably clear, though they are not physical and geographical, but social.
8. Though it does not produce the next generation biologically, it does so socially through its control over the selection of professional trainees, and through its training processes it sends these recruits through an adult socialization process (Goode, 1957: 194).

Referring to Goode's list, Pavalko summarizes by saying, "These characteristics are more likely to be a feature at the professional end of the continuum..." (1971: 25).

The questionnaire investigated this dimension through a series of questions concerning the strength of the respondent's affiliation to and frequency of involvement with the professional association, compared to

such other communities as the home denomination (V452 to V465). Another series of questions concerned the respondent's sense of belonging within the ethical and philosophical framework of CAPE compared to that of the home denomination (V377 to V393).

However, this is also an area where participant observation and other firsthand knowledge of the association were used.

Pavalko's Dimension 8 -- Codes of Ethics

In defining his last dimension, Pavalko writes:

These ethical codes may be written or unwritten and may cover a wide range of work relationships including practitioner-client and practitioner-public relations, relations among practitioners, and relations between the practitioner and members of other work groups. In general, codes of ethics tend to be found in work at the professional end of the continuum (1971: 25).

CAPE has a formal, written code of ethics, and members of the organization are very aware of it. At most Annual Meetings, there is some sort of review of the code. Usually some amendments are proposed, discussed and adopted. After the 1993 meeting, the code was in its eleventh text (since 1965) and was nine pages long. This text was the main source of information for this dimension. However the 1983 Census did include two questions about codes of ethics (V316 and V317).

Work Satisfaction Index (V246 to V261)

This was added to the questionnaire because of a concern within the executive, but the investigator agreed readily, thinking that it might

help to identify clusters of members or subcultures within the association. Bivariate analysis with the denominational variable, work role, age, amount of clinical training, and a few other items might turn up interesting results. An instrument was chosen that would also allow for comparative analysis.

The index is a self-assessment of the respondent's work based on fifteen short-phrase descriptions scored on an integer scale (0 to 45; Σ is the summary score), with a high score indicating agreement with many pleasant and few unpleasant descriptions. This work satisfaction scale is derived from one part of the "Job Description Index" developed and tested by Smith, Kendall and Hulin (1969). Stryckman and Gaudet used an 11-item adaptation in their 1971 census of Canadian Roman Catholic priests. NORC used 17 items in the 1972 American clergy study; and Cotton used a small part of the "JDI" in his 1980 dissertation.

Work Role Religiosity Index

While investigating levels of professionalism among the CAPE members, there was always the background question of whether or not these people were still clergy. On the basis of the American research and some concerns expressed within the North American religious leadership, it was thought desirable that this investigation be designed so that it would be sensitive to any signs of secularizing effects or the migration of some clergy out of their profession and into such other professions as social work or psychology. It was important not to mistake

such changes for reprofessionalization within the clergy profession

The first of the religiosity indices measures the frequency of the respondent's performance of various religious acts (prayer, Scripture reading, sacraments, other worship acts or rituals) while in the work role. Seven questions with Likert-scale responses were used (V361 to V367).

Personal Religiosity Index

A similar set of questions investigated personal prayer and devotional activity (V368 to V373).

Religious Experience Index

Three questions investigated the respondent's experience of God's presence or God's love (V374 to V376). The responses were entered on a Likert scale with a high score indicating more frequent and more intense awareness of God.

Neal's Religious Role Typology

This index was derived from twenty questions on the Census form, variables V400 to V419 in the data set. It is a tested model for describing the orientation of the respondents toward change, nonchange, interest and value. It seemed to be the best available instrument for exploring the priest-prophet dichotomy in the CAPE population. There are actually four types in this framework (prophet, priest, cosmopolitan and local), more fully defined by Marie A. Neal in her book, *Values and Interests in Social Change* (1965: 14-18). The typology rests on four orientations, defined by sets of themes. For example, the change set includes the following

ideas:

There is need for change right now.
 There is perennial need for change.
 The subject appreciates change.
 The subject is aware that man himself initiates
 change (1965: 50).

These ideas were expressed on the 1983 CAPE Census form in such
 items as:

Religious teaching must adapt to the findings of science and
 modern exigencies.

Responses were entered into a 5-point Likert scale from "agree strongly"
 to "disagree strongly". Item "mm" on page 15 of the questionnaire is an
 example of a nonchange indicator:

My first reaction when I think of the future is to be aware of
 its dangers.

The full, 20-item scale could be used for exploration of possible
 subcultures within CAPE, defined by such variables as denomination or
 work role. Certainly, the prophet-change subsection of the scale could
 be used to investigate possible differences between two of the major
 groups within CAPE, the parish-based clergy and the institutional
 chaplains.

LAM Scales

There are difficulties involved in the fine measurement of
 religiosity among an ecumenical clergy population. The range of
 religious orientation within the CAPE membership was investigated
 through their responses to the "LAM scale" -- a set of ten particularly

difficult theological questions that were developed by Richard A. Hunt (1972a: 42-52; see also Greeley, 1972: 287-289 and Hunt 1972b: 290-292) and have been used in some American studies of religious belief. The introduction to this section of the questionnaire and the first indicator are reprinted below:

Choose the ONE response to each of the ten statements below that most closely approximates your own belief, and circle its code number.

a) I believe that people working and thinking together can build a just society without supernatural help.

1. Disagree, since without God's help, people can do very little that is good.

2. Agree, since people have and are increasing the ability and technical knowledge to improve society if they will apply this knowledge to the problems of society.

3. Disagree, although human ability and technical knowledge are increasing, one must build on the ultimate power within oneself to understand and accomplish the full implications of justice and a good society.

The other nine indicators related to such religious issues as the authority of Scripture, the existence of Hell, belief in the Virgin Birth, attitude toward the miracle stories in the Bible, and one's understanding of the Holy Spirit. For each statement there were three responses: a traditional religious view, identified as "literalist" (the "L" of "LAM" and the first option in the example above); a completely secularized, humanist or nonreligious view, identified as "antiliteralist" (the "A" of "LAM" and the second option in the example); and a nontraditional but nevertheless religious view that is derived from contemporary theological writing and identified as "mythological" ("M" -- the third option in the example).

The CAPE Affiliation Index and related indices

On the basis of the 1975 ACPE self-study, it was postulated that CAPE members would feel a greater sense of belonging to their professional association or institutional setting than to their religious group, and that this would show up in a variety of ways. A number of indicators were included in the 1983 CAPE Census questionnaire in order to investigate the strength of members' affiliation to and participation in CAPE, their own denomination and other religious groups. The variables involved are V349 to V393 and V452 to V465. For each respondent, a CAPE Involvement Number, a CAPE Affiliation Score, a Denominational Affiliation Score and an Ecumenical-Interfaith Score could be calculated.

A Note about the indices

While N=423 for the data set as a whole and many of the variables, most of the indices are based on a slightly smaller population, usually between 380 and 405. For various reasons, some respondents did not answer every question. Thirty-two of the 423 respondents, for example, indicated that their Primary Work Role was that of "student". Fifteen more indicated that they were retired and/or working part-time. Many of the returned questionnaires from these CAPE members were incomplete with respect to work role items. Some of the items relating to such personal matters as income and religiosity also received lower

rates of response; and when an index is computed from several variables, the number in the respondent population drops. The discussion of annual income is based on a respondent population of 389, for example; the index measuring religious activity in the work role is derived from 401 respondents; the index based on ten complex items measuring theological orientation is derived from 383 respondents.

The Hypotheses

The most general hypothesis is that evidence of reprofessionalization can be documented among the CAPE clergy, however that idea needs to be rephrased into testable, falsifiable statements.

Remembering the two basic questions on page 9 of the Introduction -- "Do the members of the group have relatively high scores in measures of professionalism?" and "Are they still clergy?" -- this general proposition can be expressed as two somewhat more specific hypotheses:

1. that the CAPE clergy will exhibit characteristics which place them at or near the professional end of Pavalko's 8-dimensional occupation-profession continuum; and
2. that multiple indicators will show high levels of both professional and personal religiosity among the CAPE population.

These two main hypotheses will be investigated by means of

more specific, falsifiable propositions derived from the literature of deprofessionalization and the 1975 ACPE study :

a) that the CAPE clergy will be nearer the professional end than traditional (non-CAPE) clergy, that is, the occupational group often discussed in terms of deprofessionalization (e.g., Clarke, 1981; Ritzer and Walczak, 1986);

b) that the institutional chaplains and pastoral counsellors within the membership will have higher scores of professionalism than will the parish-based clergy who belong to CAPE, a sub-population that may sometimes be used carefully for comparative purposes;

c) that the members with more CPE training will have higher scores of professionalism (controlling for the education/training dimension);

d) that the amount of CPE training will be in direct relationship with indicators of CAPE affiliation and inverse relation with indicators of denominational affiliation, as suggested by the 1975 American study;

e) that among the CAPE clergy, evidence of denominational identity and differences will tend to disappear (suggested by Florell, 1975a: 231-232);

f) that among the CAPE clergy there will be an inverse relationship between indicators of professionalism and indicators of traditional religiosity (also suggested by Florell, 1975a; and by King, 1977b and Oden, 1984).

Summary

Chapters Two, Three and Four have brought an increasingly focussed lens to bear on the subject of reprofessionalization as the narrative has moved from the study of professions, through the study of clergy, to the study of CAPE. With the theoretical framework in place, the multiple indicators discussed -- especially the variables and indices of the principal data collection instrument, the questionnaire -- and an awareness of the statements of hypotheses, above, it is time to turn to the most specific subject of all, the data relating to CAPE. This will begin, in the next chapter, with a discussion of the first of Pavalko's subdimensions, "Theory or Intellectual Technique," more commonly referred to as "esoteric knowledge".

CHAPTER FIVE

ESOTERIC KNOWLEDGE

The two basic questions of the study are: To what extent do the CAPE members have relatively high scores in measures of professionalism? And to what extent can they still be considered clergy? This chapter begins the discussion of evidence relevant to the first question.

It can be phrased in several other ways:

Are the CAPE members more toward the professional end of Pavalko's continuum (1971: 15-43)

- a) than other contemporary clergy?
- b) than denominational colleagues who are not in CAPE?
- c) than traditional clergy?

Are there indications that, within CAPE, people with more CPE training or higher levels of certification have higher scores of professionalism?

All of these questions are under consideration during the review of the data in terms of the dimensions and subdimensions of Pavalko's conceptual framework, which was displayed in Figure 1 (page 53). With subdimensions, there is a total of twenty-four items:

Dimension 1. Theory or Intellectual Technique

Dimension 2. Relevance to Social Values

- (a) Salary
- (b) Needs of the Clientele
- (c) Credentialism
- (d) Quality Control

Dimension 3. Training

- (a.i) Amount of Education
- (a.ii) Amount of Training
- (b) Extent Training is Specialized

- (c) Symbolic and Ideational
- (d) Values and Norms
- Dimension 4. Motivation
- Dimension 5. Autonomy
 - (a) Collective Autonomy
 - (b) Individual Autonomy
- Dimension 6. Sense of Commitment
- Dimension 7. Sense of Community
 - (a) Identity
 - (b) Continuing Status
 - (c) Common Values
 - (d) Role Definitions
 - (e) Common Language
 - (f) Power over Members
 - (g) Clear Limits
 - (h) Control of Recruitment
 - (i) Control of Advancement
- Dimension 8. Code of Ethics

Each of these items will be discussed separately, but in an order that better reflects their relationship to each other and, to some extent, their actual significance as indicators of professionalism according to contemporary thinking in the sociology of professions. No one would say that these subdimensions are of equal importance; and some scholars would shorten the list considerably by concentrating most of the discussion on two or three of the items and disregarding several of the rest. In this study, data relating to each of the items will be reported, but with a sense of emphasis which will become apparent in the process.

When they are re-ordered and re-organized, the twenty-four items of Pavalko's eight-dimensional continuum will be considered as follows.

Chapter Five -- Esoteric Knowledge

Dimension 1. Theory or Intellectual Technique

Chapter Six -- Social Relevance

Dimension 2. Relevance to Social Values

(a) Salary

- (b) Needs of the Clientele
- (c) Credentialism
- (d) Quality Control

Chapter Seven -- Education, Training and Community

Dimension 3. Training

- (a.i) Amount of Education
- (a.ii) Amount of Training
- (b) Extent Training is Specialized
- (c) Symbolic and Ideational
- (d) Values and Norms

Dimension 7. Sense of Community

- (a) Identity
- (b) Continuing Status
- (c) Common Values
- (d) Role Definitions
- (e) Common Language
- (f) Power over Members
- (g) Clear Limits
- (h) Control of Recruitment
- (i) Control of Advancement

Chapter Eight -- Other Indicators of Professionalism

Dimension 4. Motivation

Dimension 5. Autonomy

- (a) Collective Autonomy
- (b) Individual Autonomy

Dimension 6. Sense of Commitment

Dimension 8. Code of Ethics

In deciding how closely an occupational group conforms to the concept of a profession, the first item, relating to esoteric knowledge, is by far the most significant.

Expertise has always been central to the sociological study of professions. Such other concepts as social relevance, prestige, margin of indetermination, level of uncertainty, education and training, jurisdiction, and work activities are dependent on the nature of the unique body of systematic knowledge to which the occupational group lays claim. It is the principal defining dimension.

In the period during which the CAPE survey was conducted, sociologists were increasingly concentrating on the knowledge component of work as the critical concept in understanding the sources and expression of power. Knowledge was related to monopoly, control, jurisdictional disputes and other conflict. During the 1980s, the power approach became a "knowledge approach" (e.g., Freidson, 1986).

When he developed his continuum in 1971, Pavalko gave emphasis to the area of professional expertise by making it the first of his eight dimensions.

Dimension 1. Theory or Intellectual Technique

He defined it in this way:

This dimension refers to the extent to which there is a systematic body of theory and esoteric, abstract knowledge on which the work is based... (The) existence of such a body of knowledge serves as the basis for legitimizing the actions of 'professionals'. The professional's claim to expertise rests upon his presumed mastery of a body of knowledge (1971:18).

This is a very orthodox statement in the sociology of professions, representative of many other scholars, before and since. Abbott, for example, also emphasizes the importance of expertise in defining a profession:

Any occupation can obtain licensure (e.g., beauticians) or develop an ethics code (e.g., real estate). But only a knowledge system governed by abstractions can redefine its problems and tasks, defend them from interlopers, and seize new problems... Abstraction enables survival in the

competitive system of professions... (The) knowledge system and its degree of abstraction... are the ultimate currency of competition between professions (1988: 9).

Abbott defines "jurisdiction" as "the link between a profession and its work" (page 20), and, in his theory, it "is the defining relation in professional life" (page 3). He says further that "the ability of a profession to sustain its jurisdictions lies partly in the power and prestige of its academic knowledge" (pp. 53-54). This was one of the areas that led Jarvis to consider parish ministry as a semi-profession (1975: 911-922). He could identify no single body of knowledge as the theoretical basis of ministry.

That being the case, it will be important to discover and describe the body of knowledge that is the base of the CAPE clergy's work activity. This becomes a lengthy and somewhat complex exercise, however, for two reasons: the CAPE expertise is interdisciplinary; and it is both related to, but distinct from, the traditional clergy knowledge base. The CAPE expertise includes all the knowledge component of the traditional seminary education and the additional training component of CPE.

Information about this dimension has been derived from official CAPE publications, participant observation in units of CPE and meetings of CAPE, content analysis of the Journal of Pastoral Care, research into the history of CPE, and a number of census questions relating to education and training (V16 to V205), work activity (V232 to V244 and V285 to V315), resources for work (V151 to V153 and V447 to V451),

and qualifications (V433 to V437). Many respondents also offered personal statements of their understanding of their own expertise, and some of these will be quoted.

Historical and Documentary Evidence

While there is no succinct official statement of the CAPE expertise, there are some indicative passages in the association's Handbook. In the Introduction, it states:

The Canadian Association for Pastoral Education is an interfaith organization which promotes training for creative ministry through Supervised Pastoral Education (SPE). SPE puts students into learning situations where they conduct a pastoral ministry under highly qualified supervision.

This period of in-service training may be conducted in parish, institutional or other settings where the student's ministry may be closely supervised. SPE very often happens in an interdisciplinary context where the insights of the social sciences promote creative dialogue. This is very helpful in encouraging cooperation with other people and agencies serving the community.

What are the essentials of SPE?

1. Face to face meetings with another person who may or may not be in a crisis situation. the frequency and intensity of such meetings depends on factors unique to each situation.
2. A retrospective consideration of the encounter and a written report stating the feelings of the student and the theological, psychological and sociological implications of whatever transpired.
3. The student's sharing with a group of peers. The Supervisor facilitates communication, and, when relevant, shares his feelings.
4. The student's regular meeting with the Supervisor during which data and feelings are discussed.
5. The opportunity to acquire relevant information by academic input through lectures and directed reading.

Clinical seminars are frequently integrated with the training.

The CAPE Objectives

CAPE, as a national organization, is helping to establish training opportunities in which students may truly appreciate the real problems of people. In this way CAPE continues to develop new methods of observation to bring the insights of religion together with those of the social sciences.

And in the Constitution, "Article II - Purpose" reads as follows:

The purpose of the Association is to encourage and promote supervised pastoral education as a part of professional education for ministry. Its functions include:

- a) Association: to provide opportunities for meetings among leaders, theological teachers and members of related professions who are concerned for supervised pastoral education.
- b) Education: to stimulate the development of supervised pastoral education and to encourage continuing education in this field.
- c) Accreditation: to provide for accreditation of centers and/or programs of supervised pastoral education.
- d) Certification: to provide for certification of persons according to the Standards established by the Association.
- e) Research: to encourage, coordinate and evaluate research in supervised pastoral education and the community at large the nature and purpose of supervised pastoral education.

The actual content of the training courses is set out in the By-Laws, Section 1, Subsection 3 (for Clinical Pastoral Education) and Subsection 4 (for Pastoral Counselling Education). The following is an excerpt from Subsection 3 of the Handbook, as revised January 20, 1982:

- 1. The course, or unit, of clinical pastoral education shall consist of a minimum of 400 hours of training...
- 7. The course shall make provision for direct relationships between the student and those to whom he/she ministers. These relationships shall be the prime source of data for study in clinical pastoral education.
- 13. While all clinical pastoral education courses shall have as their general aim the integration of the student's

theological, psychological and sociological perspectives with his/her experience of ministry, the emphasis to be given to the various components shall be determined by the level of training and the goals and needs of the particular student. Accordingly, courses in clinical pastoral education shall normally

- a) survey the history, theology and various models of pastoral care;
- b) provide opportunities for the development of specific skills in the practice of pastoral ministry;
- c) give attention to issues of personal and pastoral identity;
- d) provide exposure to the various theories of personality, interpersonal relations, marriage and family dynamics, group dynamics and psychotherapy,
- e) encourage dialogue and collaboration with allied professionals, community agencies, etc.;
- f) provide opportunities for the exploration of the spiritual and ethical dimensions of personal and social issues; and
- g) facilitate the development of administrative and other skills related to the practice of pastoral ministry

Although it might be understood to be implied in items a, b and d, above, Subsection 4, on pastoral counselling education, also specifies

- i) foster an ability to understand and utilize the language of diagnosis as it relates to pastoral counselling.

Based on such official statements, one can begin to describe the CAPE expertise as a responsive, diagnostic ability drawing on knowledge of theology, psychology, formal religious practices, personal faith, personality theory, relationship theory and social context. There is some suggestion of therapeutic ability as well. The expertise is located not only within the framework of religion, but also in the field of health care at its broadest definition. The CAPE expertise is a response to a personal crisis, such as grief or anxiety, that might itself be caused by another

crisis, such as death, illness, imprisonment or hospitalization.

Quite a different way to approach the question of CAPE's distinct theory or intellectual technique is to trace its development. Some of this was recounted in Chapter Four. Abbott offers another perspective on the historical background to clinical pastoral education in a chapter called "The Construction of the Personal Problems Jurisdiction". His narrative compares to the story of the change in social context for the British clergy in the 1830s, '40s and '50s as a result of the Industrial Revolution (cf. Chapter Three, pages 77-84).

Speaking of the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, Abbott says that the clergy had a rather peripheral role to play in the area of people's personal problems. The clergy were more centred on concern for salvation, and everyday life problems were not a large part of either ministry or the health care field. Then, as the United States industrialized, changes occurred:

This situation did not long endure. By the last quarter of the century, external forces made this general area of work more important and more extensive. Sweeping social changes created new problems for individuals and required their solution. The list of these changes is familiar: the emergence of large factories and corporations, the appearance of activist governments, the increase in physical and social mobility, the rise of cities, the immigration of a new underclass. We commonly think of these as social changes, but they were experienced, perhaps in a new way, as personal problems in particular individuals' biographies (1988: 282).

With such dramatic change in their social context, it became a

question of whether the American clergy could or would respond from their traditional knowledge base. If they were unable to, then a shift might necessarily take place in that body of knowledge in order to enable them to adapt and respond effectively. If they were unable or unwilling to adapt, another profession might move into the area of need. That is an essential idea in Abbott's theory:

Professions develop when jurisdictions become vacant, which may happen because they are newly created or because an earlier tenant has left them altogether or lost its firm grip on them (1988: 3).

At any rate, according to Abbott's historical research, there was a new area of life in American society in need of professional expertise, and the clergy made some adjustments in response:

There is, then, clear evidence for a sudden increase in the level and importance of personal problems with life at the end of the nineteenth century. General unhappiness was a new and newly important cultural fact. Like all new areas of work, it had various claimants; clubs and other lay groups absorbed much of it. But like all such problems, it also became the target for professional claims. These claims would give subjective definition to the loose objective reality generated by the great social changes of the nineteenth century, turning them now into everyday life problems, now into nervous diseases, now into emotional problems.

Two professional groups tried to assert cultural jurisdiction over the new personal problems: the clergy and the neurologists. The clergy tried to absorb the work through a slow change in their prior construction of personal difficulties...

The mid-nineteenth-century clergy's approach to personal problems had been evangelical. God spoke through personal problems; people responded through religious renewal. As the century waned, a new view emerged that one might call pastoral. Sympathy and support should come first, only then should the clergyman evangelize. As one author put

it, "Show your sympathy by simply pressing the sufferer's hand rather than by insisting prematurely on any Christian truth, however precious."

This view made personal problems a legitimate, independent element in the clergy's diagnostic classification scheme (1988: 285).

The quotation is from Willcox (1890: 147). While one suspects the motivation behind Willcox' restraint, and the matter of touching is ethically problematic for modern clergy, his advice anticipates Rogerian counselling technique by several decades.

The development of now-familiar problems of stress in personal, marital and family life was at least a challenge to the abilities of traditional clergy. Some saw it also as an opportunity:

How much there is, in every community, of anxiety and disappointment and heartbreaking sorrow that never comes to the surface... The pastor has as little reason to complain of it as the doctor has to complain of a multiplicity of patients (Gladden, 1898: 177).

Whether or not they actually were qualified -- that is, whether or not their body of systematic knowledge was adequate to help in response to the new needs of people -- Abbott says that the "clergy did see themselves as the appropriate professionals in the case of marital problems and other 'purely personal' matters, basing this claim on an intimate knowledge of human nature acquired on the job" (1988: 286). This "intimate knowledge of human nature acquired on the job" would not suffice for long, however, as professional expertise.

In the review of the history of CPE, in Chapter Four, it was pointed out that by the 1920s there was a growing awareness, among church

leaders, denominational officials and theological educators, of a need for specialized training that would equip clergy to deal with people suffering the increased stress and strain of modern life, and to deal with another new "frontier" -- the increased institutionalization of crisis:

The frontier is the one where pastors are trying to minister to the sick and troubled not only in private homes, but also in hospitals, prisons, infirmaries, and reform schools. Forty years ago a pastor received little or no training for such a ministry...

With the increasing complexities of modern life -- the stress on nerves and hearts due to wars and depressions and the general depersonalizing of individual life -- human beings in great numbers have broken under the strain. They have need of ministers specially trained in understanding the psychological factors that wreck mind and nerves and character (Eastman, 1951: 3).

The special training was begun in 1925 and, as its effectiveness was recognized in the professional competence of CPE-trained clergy, it spread and grew as a force in theological education during the 1930s.

However, as mentioned earlier, Holifield identifies the breakthrough event in the development of CPE as the public and widespread discovery, around the time of World War II, of a gap that had developed between clergy abilities, based on their traditional training, and the changing needs of their clientele (cf. page 119-120). The "cure of souls" is an historic task of the clergy, but the traditional methods of healing or therapy were no longer effective in a changed social context. This function was a charter element of the traditional clergy role, but traditional training was no longer adequate for performing the function

well in contemporary society. In *Religion and Pain*, Joseph H. Fichter writes:

The chaplains, both male and female, in the pastoral-care departments, are at the heart of the organized Christian enterprise to bring the consolations of religion to suffering hospital patients (1981: 107).

But how that traditional task was performed in the modern social context might not be traditional and might demand expertise that was not included in the traditional seminary formation. As with the rest of the traditional church, seminaries and their curricula may not be able to change easily or quickly when social context and social needs change.

Fichter continues, quoting Knights' 1977 essay, by saying that

there is "a need for clinical experience for those working in the field of pastoral care and counselling. The idea that a person could be an adequate minister if he 'read theology' and learned the appropriate rituals gradually gave way to a recognition that adequate pastoral care involved knowledge and understanding of a wider spectrum of human experience" (1981: 108).

This need was generally perceived in the years after World War II, and the boundaries of pastoral expertise began to be defined. This happened through two processes: the pastoral sub-role that had always been one part of the clergy role set became a full-time, specialized role on its own; and it became an interdisciplinary role, drawing from Knights' and Fichter's "wider spectrum of human experience" through the integration of the formerly distinct disciplines of theology, psychology, sociology and other social sciences in response to the individual person

and crisis.

This was in direct continuity with Boisen's original concern that pastoral care be both scientific and religious as it became part of the health care system:

Perhaps more than anything else, it was this genuinely scientific and intellectual feeling for the importance of understanding the processes... that Boisen bequeathed to the movement for pastoral care and counseling. He also insisted that the understanding of the processes be rendered "theologically". Between "catatonic" psychiatric jargon of his day and theological notions like "sin and salvation," there had to come a new, rather common sense, language of dynamic connection; for neither traditional psychiatry nor traditional theology had such a language. Boisen made no formal linguistic efforts. But he used everything he had at hand to provide "bridge" languages (Hiltner, 1969: 11).

By the end of his career, "Boisen felt that he had broken 'an opening in the wall which separated religion and medicine'" (Powell, 1975: 13).

Participant Observation and Field Research

One of the ways to illustrate how interdisciplinary the expertise has become is to consider the continuing education content of a CAPE Annual Meeting. The first one I ever attended was in Halifax in January 1981. The theme speaker was the Rev. Dr. Edward E. Thornton, who was described in the advance brochure in the following way.

Dr. Thornton is Professor of Psychology of Religion at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He is a Supervisor of CPE, a Diplomate with AAPC and a Clinical Member of AAMFC. He is a long time Member of the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education.

The brochure added that he would be giving four lectures:

A Transpersonal Model of Personality

Taking seriously the practical evidence of God-consciousness.

Waking God-Consciousness

Guidance for the spiritual journey -- beyond conversion or commitment.

Toward a Centered Self

Does the spiritual journey require the elimination of evil or its integration?

Walking with One's Soul-Guide

Recovering our heritage in meditation and prayer.

I kept a field journal during the meeting and summarized my observations in a long memorandum to Professor McFarlane (Appendix 4) from which the following excerpts are taken:

The main theme was "Ministry -- Theology and Practice."

There were four one-hour addresses by the theme speaker... prepared manuscript... an overhead projector and prepared acetates... a mixture of theology, psychology, biblical exegesis, allusions to literature and mythology, medicine, anthropology, philosophy, mathematics, and illustrative case studies from his own counselling practice. Within the same section of a lecture he would quote or allude to: Freud, John Bunyan, the Gilgamesh myth, Kierkegaard, the Bible, William James, Irenaeus, a Sufi story and Jung. He would explain and comment upon a passage of scripture, relate it to theoretical understandings of human growth and development, and report a case study, constantly combining the theological, the psychological and the experiential...

At one point the speaker referred to the pastoral counsellor as "the obstetrician at the birth of the spiritual self." A sample of some other striking references:

- prayer as "communication between the ego and the centred self;"
- orgasm as "an experience of death and resurrection;"
- "meditative jogging" as a "spiritual discipline;"
- "the hypnogogic or alpha state, as measured by an electro-encephalograph" as "optimal for meditation."

There were eleven workshops focussing on special interests
 There was a wide variety of topics...practical...theoretical,
 for example:

- * The First Two Minutes in Pastoral Counselling
- * Jungian Theory of Personality Types
- * Prison Chaplaincy
- * Theological Reflection on Pastoral Work
- * Ethics, Theology and Hospital Policy
- * Multidisciplinary Bioethical Decision-Making
- * Ministry to the Terminally Ill
- * Helping Parish Clergy Care for Cancer Victims
- * Maintaining Professional Standards, Quality and Efficiency in the Pastoral Care Department of a Hospital.

Dozens, if not hundreds, of illustrations of this interdisciplinary mix could be drawn from the literature of clinical pastoral training and participant observation of CAPE. Perhaps one more would suffice here. At the 1982 Annual Meeting, one of the workshops was titled "Theodrama". It was presented by a CPE Supervisor who was an ordained Baptist minister on the faculty of a Baptist seminary. He would have been in his sixties at the time. This is how the workshop was described in the conference literature:

The workshop will demonstrate the approach of Theodrama which, making use of the drama of spontaneity and Gestalt Therapy, will involve the leading actor in dramatizing his/her fantasies on an episode from the life of a biblical character. The session will consist of an introduction to the method, the enactment of a theo-drama, and a debriefing session.

One is left with the impression that two apparently opposite processes have been at work transforming the traditional clergy role into that of the CAPE practitioner: on the one hand, a specialization of function, and on the other, a diversification and expansion of the body of

theoretical knowledge.

The multifaceted social role of the clergy has been described by many investigators (for example: Blizzard, 1956; Smith, 1973, Russell, 1980). Blizzard used a typology of six "practitioner roles," including "the pastor role (which) involves interpersonal relations" (1956: 508). Although clearly a charter element of the clergy role, "pastor" was not allocated the most time, according to Blizzard's study, nor was it considered to be the most important. "Of those evaluating the practitioner roles, 64% found the preacher role to be the most important..." (Blizzard, 1985: 5); and the survey revealed that the clergy population under investigation allocated 44% of their time to administrative functions, 29% to worship functions and only 23% to the functions of the "pastor" role (Blizzard, 1985: 164).

CAPE and its related organizations seem to be part of a process whereby a sub-role of a professional role set is becoming a full (and full-time) role in itself. And in a sense, the knowledge base is being increased rather than simply changed. No area of the traditional knowledge base is being completely dropped (except possibly biblical languages); but some of the traditional areas are being de-emphasized, and one of them is being expanded.

The typical seminary consists of four departments: Biblical Studies (including Greek and Hebrew), Theology (including the history of Christian thought, doctrinal theology and ethics), Church History, and

Pastoral Theology (including liturgy, homiletics, education, pastoral care and counselling). Traditionally, the first three of these departments were given much more than three-quarters of the curriculum time. As described in the earlier narrative on the emergence of the clergy profession, Pastoral Theology began to compete as a discipline within the seminary in the mid-nineteenth century. By 1970, the four departments were being given approximately equal space in the timetables of students attending Canadian seminaries. However, the CAPE practitioners of 1983 had added significantly to the amount of training time in the pastoral area, to some extent by reducing the actual amount of time spent in the other three departments (some theological schools had dropped such traditional requirements as Hebrew and Greek in order to allow students time to pursue clinical pastoral education while in seminary), but to a great extent by adding time in pastoral training, thereby reducing the other three proportionally. Compared to other clergy, the CAPE members seem to have dropped biblical languages (but not biblical studies), and de-emphasized the history of Christian thought (but not doctrinal theology or ethics), church history, liturgical studies, homiletics and Christian education. In the area of pastoral theology, they have added studies and training in the areas of counselling, psychology, sociology and pastoral care.

That would describe the process of a shift in the theoretical base with respect to academic categories and the purely cognitive, but there is

more to expertise than factual knowledge. The art and craft of the professional are also important. The craft of CAPE seems to involve facility in interdisciplinary, ecumenical and interfaith relationships with the clientele, other clergy or other professionals (e.g., VandeCreek and Royer, 1975); the ability to do ministry in a secular setting (e.g., Barger, Austil, Holbrook and Newton, 1984); the ability to facilitate the ministries of community clergy visiting in a secular institution (e.g., Bielby, 1985); a high level of comfort, confidence and competence in dealing with crisis, including death (e.g., Wanberg, 1962, cited by Menges, 1967: 35-36; and Florell, 1982); the ability to listen so well to the client that hidden meanings and feelings are perceived (e.g., Cedarleaf, 1984); the ability to help clients call on their own resources without imposing the clergyperson's own faith framework or values on the situation (Swift, 1976: 185); the ability to converse about religious or spiritual issues in the vocabulary of the client, which may not be very theological and may not be very much like the practitioner's own vocabulary (Swift, 1976: 181).

A perspective on the last two aspects of the art and knowledge content of CAPE expertise was expressed in a background paragraph contained in a news story in a Canadian ecumenical clergy journal, now called PMC ("Practice of Ministry in Canada").

SPE is based on experiential learning; one learns while doing. The settings are usually in hospitals or counselling centres, where there is opportunity for interaction with other

disciplines. Under supervision, each experience can be reflected on and related to one's theology. Many who have taken SPE believe that the most valuable benefit has been learning how to keep their own personal concerns and theologies from intruding into their counselling. In counselling, even in pastoral visiting, a minister may be tempted to respond to a parishioner's problems with the answers for his or her own life (Taylor, 1982: 3).

Boisen began what has become clinical pastoral education with an emphasis on learning from "the human document". Ministry in the late twentieth century in advanced societies is with very well-educated people for whom the issues are not dealt with exclusively by biblical teaching and preaching. They read the Bible for themselves and draw their own inferences. Where they seek leadership from the clergy is more in the application of that information to lived experience, especially crises. The clientele are not quite saying, "Tell me what the Bible says " If they were, a sermon might suffice. They seem to be saying "What do my own particular tradition and my own personal faith have to say in response to this event in my life or in my family?" On the basis of articles such as the ones cited above, and on the basis of participant observation, it would seem that the CPE-trained ministers are more able than most clergy to help people find their own specific answers within their own faith traditions. They are more comfortable and more experienced in spending time listening to the other person's story -- a story that probably involves both recent events and spiritual autobiography. These clergy are comfortable reminding the other person of his or her own beliefs rather than teaching from their own or stating

formal church doctrine.

It may be that this would have been an effective response to people's needs in all ages. Perhaps it was a form of ministry practised in earlier times; but it does seem to be considered a fairly new development in the ministry literature. Authors such as Taylor, Fichter, Holifield and Eastman, cited above, refer to this responsive style as something that satisfied a previously unmet need.

The Survey Data

Another way to discover the parameters of the body of systematic knowledge on which the CAPE people base their work is to consider their responses to some of the survey questions. The 1983 Census Questionnaire included an inventory of all academic disciplines ever studied by the respondent, which could be reported here. By far the most frequent citations are courses with theological and religious content; the second largest area of study is in the general discipline of psychology.

However, it may be more relevant and more interesting to report the responses to a two-part item (variables V151 and V152 in the data set) that was placed at the conclusion of the education inventory:

Choose the two subjects/disciplines that are the MOST RELEVANT to your day-to-day work now, and put them in rank order...

TABLE 5 Academic subjects/disciplines identified as "most relevant" or "next most relevant" to "day-to-day work now".

Discipline	1. "most relevant" %	2. "next most relevant" %
Pastoral studies	29.1	25.4
CPE	23.8	11.0
Counselling	16.3	17.5
Biblical studies	11.8	12.3
Theology	5.8	7.7
Psychology	4.3	7.2
Other	8.9	18.9
TOTAL (N =)	100 (399)	100 (390)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

FIGURE 7

Most relevant subjects (from Table 5)

3

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
(ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 2)

Analysis of the responses to this item reveals a sense of the proportional importance of practice and theory (Table 5 and Figure 7). This evaluation by CAPE practitioners seems to rate "applied" subjects more highly than the more abstract ones. Pastoral studies, CPE and Counselling sum to 69.2% of the subjects deemed "most relevant". In addition, there is a clear suggestion, in these data, that the work is essentially religious: Biblical studies, CPE, Pastoral studies and Theology sum to 70.5% of the "most relevant" disciplines.

The proportional importance of ministry activities, at least as indicated by the amount of time devoted to them, was another finding of the 1983 CAPE survey. In the middle of the long central section on matters related to work, members were asked to report "the SINGLE activity demanding the largest share of 'direct service' time". The number one item was preparation time for groups, seminars, worship and other activities (Table 6). After that, there was quite a distinction between a set of activities that used to be emphasized in the traditional clergy role and a set of activities emphasized in the CAPE role. Conducting worship, sacramental ministry and "weddings and funerals (including counselling)" were ranked first by a total of only 15 members (3.6% of the 411 respondents to this part of the questionnaire). In contrast, counselling and pastoral care items were listed first by 276 respondents (67.2%).

TABLE 6 Ministry Activity reported as demanding "the largest share of direct service time".		
Activity	%	(N=)
Preparation for worship, preaching, etc.	24.8	102
Pastoral care and counselling cluster*	67.2	276
Education	4.4	18
Worship	3.6	15
TOTAL	100	411
*Breakdown of the "pastoral care and counselling" cluster		
calling, visiting		82
supportive pastoral care		82
crisis pastoral care		31
individual counselling		61
marriage & family counselling		13
group counselling		<u>7</u>
Total		276

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

These items were further investigated by means of more specific questions (under Q20 on page 9 of the questionnaire). There are many different modes of counselling, some of which require a great deal of training and have their own certification. Some CAPE members have acquired those credentials in addition to their academic education and CPE training, and use specialized "therapeutic modalities". The 388 respondents to this part of the questionnaire reported high frequencies of

certification in bioenergetics, gestalt therapy, primal therapy, psychological testing and transactional analysis (Table 7)

TABLE 7 Incidence of specialized counselling certification among CAPE members. (Note: 388 respondents reporting 548 credentials.)		
Mode of counselling	Certified respondents	% (N=388)
Gestalt therapy	161	41.5
Transactional analysis	154	39.7
Psychological testing	142	36.6
Bioenergetics	54	13.9
Primal therapy	37	9.5

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

CAPE members were asked to cite the title of "books (textbooks or recent publications, classics, technical, popular or any other kind) that are MOST RELEVANT to your day-to-day work NOW." The responses were coded according to discipline or subject matter (Table 8 and Figure 8). A parallel question inquired about "journals or magazines that you read MOST REGULARLY FOR YOUR WORK or professional development." These responses were also categorized (Table 9 and Figure 9).

TABLE 8 Types of book CAPE members deemed most relevant to their work. (Categorization of actual titles cited by respondents.)

Category	%	(N=)
pastoral care/counselling	44.1	146
psychology	19.9	66
the Bible	12.4	41
biblical, theological	10.0	33
other religious	6.0	20
other/unknown	7.6	25
TOTAL	100	(331)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

FIGURE 8

Most relevant books (from Table 8)

TABLE 9 Types of periodical CAPE members deemed most relevant to their work. (Categorization of actual titles cited by respondents.)

Category	%	(N=)
Religious cluster		
Pastoral		
Journal of Pastoral Care	44.4	157
ministry magazines	10.7	38
other pastoral	<u>5.9</u>	<u>21</u>
Pastoral subtotal	61.0	216
Other religious		
religious (social action)	7.1	25
denominational magazines	6.8	24
biblical, theological	3.1	11
devotional, evangelical	2.5	9
other religious	<u>2.3</u>	<u>8</u>
Other religious total	21.8	77
Religious cluster total	82.8	293
Nonreligious cluster		
psychology	4.5	16
counselling	3.7	13
other professional journal	4.8	17
news magazines	2.5	9
other/unknown	1.7	6
Nonreligious total	17.2	61
TOTAL	100	(354)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

FIGURE 9

Again, the indications are that CAPE people focus on the practice of bringing spiritual resources and religious teaching to bear on human experience. Religious resources, especially applied religion, are the largest category of books and periodicals; resources in the area of nonreligious psychology comprise a lesser but still significant category. The Bible was cited often enough to be given its own category among books, and denominational publications were given a separate category among periodicals. Since these were open category questions, the coding was imposed on the responses by the investigator with some awareness of the literature. However, some books and periodicals were left in an "other" category, representing not only miscellaneous subject matter, but also "unknown" and "illegible".

Since the *Journal of Pastoral Care* is very important to the members (Table 9 and Figure 9), some analysis of its editorial content might be enlightening with respect to identifying the bounds of the field of esoteric knowledge that is the basis of the CAPE members' work. It is a quarterly journal published in New York by the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education in cooperation with the American Association of Pastoral Counselors, the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education, and (from January 1983) the Association of Mental Health Clergy and the American Protestant Correctional Chaplains Association. It is a refereed journal; the editorial advisory committee changes every year. It consists of 8 to 10 people, including at least one senior member of CAPE. The

Board of Managers consists of 6 people, including at least one member of CAPE.

The twelve issues from 1981, 1982 and 1983 (Volumes 35, 36 and 37) were examined. Eleven of these issues had a focussing theme. They all contained book reviews; some contained quite lengthy review articles. Until December 1982 (Volume 36 Number 4), the journal contained 72 pages; beginning with Volume 37 Number 1 (March 1983) it had an 80-page format.

A brief summary of their content, as set out below, illustrates that the theory component of CAPE expertise is essentially religious with emphasis on the application of faith and theology to life crises, and attention to scholarship within psychiatry and psychology. The journal also frequently prints articles dealing with professional concerns: training, supervision and practice. The following display is not intended to be a scientific content analysis. It simply identifies each of the 12 issues by date, quotes the theme title, followed by a paraphrase description of the theme and the titles of 2 or 3 of the articles in that issue:

1981 March	"Body and Soul" (psychiatry and religion) "Mind/Brain in the Age of Psychopharmacology: A Crossroads for Medicine and Ministry" "Merton and Freud: Beyond Oedipal Religion"
June	"Salute to Research" (empirical studies) "The Utilization of the Pastoral Counseling Response Scale" "Client Satisfaction with Pastoral Counseling"

- Sept. "Pulling Things Together"**
 (integration of diverse disciplines)
 "Clinical Hermeneutics: Soft Focus in Pastoral Counseling and Theology"
 "Simulation Gaming in a Maximum Security Prison"
 "The Structured Use of Music in Pastoral Psychotherapy"
- Dec. "If Yesterday Became Tomorrow"**
 (pastoral care and psychotherapy)
 "A Look at Oskar Pfister and His Relationship to Sigmund Freud"
 "Affiliate Relationship and Methods of Cooperation Between A Community Mental Health Center and Religious Counseling Agency"
 "Gordon W. Allport's Psychology of the Individual. Implications for Pastoral Care"

- 1982 March "Death -- A Personal Experience"**
 (grief, dying and death)
 "On Stillbirth: An Open Letter to the Clergy"
 "The Interface of Pediatric Oncology and the Family"
 "Reverence for the Humanity of the Dying: the Hospice Prescription"
- June "The 'Secret' of Pastoral Counseling"**
 (components and understandings of pastoral counselling)
 "Heresy and Pastoral Counseling"
 "The Positive Contribution of Black Cultural Values to Pastoral Counseling"
 "The Pastoral Counselor's Countertransference as a Therapeutic Tool"
- Sept. "The 'Secret' of Clinical Pastoral Education"**
 (components and understandings of CPE)
 "CPE Supervisors: Psychologists or Theologians?"
 "A Comparative Evaluation of Changes in Basic Clinical Pastoral Education Students in Different Types of Clinical Settings as Measured by the Adjective Check List and the Experience Scale"
 "Blacks in Clinical Pastoral Education"
- Dec. "Children"**
 (family, women and children)
 "Battered Women and the Clergy: An Evaluation"
 "Toward an Understanding of Child Rape"
 "Facilitating a Responsible Decision about Parenthood"

- 1983 March "Growing Together"**
 (diversity -- no focussing theme)
 "Mental Health and the Care of the Soul in Mid-Life"
 "Hearing and Doing the Word: An Integrated Approach to Bible Study in a Maximum Security Prison"
 "A Psychological and Faith Approach to Grief Counseling"
- June "The International Pastoral Care and Counseling Movement: What Is It?"**
 (CPE and PCE in various cultural contexts)
 "The Beginning of Clinical Pastoral Care in the Philippines"
 "Clinical Pastoral Education with the Poor"
 "Clinical Pastoral Counseling: An Australian Model"
- Sept. "Pastoral Counseling: The State of the Art -- 1983"**
 (perspectives on pastoral counselling)
 "Biblical and Classical Foundations of the Healing Ministries"
 "Toward a Cosmological Foundation for Pastoral Care"
- Dec. "Marriage, Divorce and Remarriage"**
 (conjoint relationships)
 "Married Homosexuals"
 "A Ministry of Mediation: The Divorce Settlement"
 "A Ritual of Remarriage"

In the 1983 CAPE survey, the members were asked directly about their theory and intellectual technique by means of the following question:

Doctors may have special knowledge of anatomy, biology, etc., and lawyers may have knowledge of an elaborate system of changing rules. What is the body of knowledge (or what are the areas of expertise) on which your work is based?

This was an open-ended question. Some members replied in point form; others wrote paragraphs. The responses were diverse in vocabulary but consistent in content: the respondents described an interdisciplinary religious approach to diagnosis and therapy. A few examples may serve to summarize the matter of CAPE expertise:

a holistic knowledge that does not fragment the person

An understanding of the way people come to find meaning or purpose for their life. A way of either challenging or comforting people during times of change or crisis, providing an environment where they can work out some of their personal problems.

family systems theory, psychology, theology

revelation, philosophy, theology, human nature

an integration of theology and psychology

theology and the behavioural sciences

religion, psychology, sociology, medicine and education

theological understanding of life

biblical theology, pastoral care & counselling, psychology, sociology & philosophy, ethics, modern theology, practise of ministry.

Summary

Another way to consider this dimension is to ask two questions:

"What is the knowledge on which the work of this occupational group is based?" and "What is the unique contribution?"

What may be unique about the CAPE expertise is the particular mix of ingredients in an interdisciplinary body of knowledge. The two main ingredients are certainly theological and psychological. The former includes knowledge of Scripture, liturgy, church history and the history of religious thought. It also includes awareness of other faith traditions and practices, that is, both ecumenical and interfaith. The latter includes theory of personality, interpersonal relations, marriage and family and

group dynamics, and psychotherapy. The expertise is primarily diagnostic, but also includes referral and therapeutic functions. In addition to the knowledge component there is an art or craft component: the ability to perform meaningful religious ritual with or for people of diverse religious backgrounds, and the ability to listen to people speak about their values and beliefs without reciprocating personally or imposing official church doctrine. More than most clergy, the CAPE people seem able to function in collegial relationships with other clergy and with other professionals.

The evidence suggests a high level of professionalism according to the terms of this indicator. There is a large and complex body of knowledge, necessarily larger than that of the traditional clergy, because it is additional to it. It includes virtually all of the expertise required of the continuing clergy profession, plus expertise that is more specialized, more symbolic and less able to be routinized. There is a greater margin of indetermination in the counselling and chaplaincy work and a higher level of uncertainty.

According to this indicator, CAPE clergy would be located toward the extreme profession end of Pavalko's continuum, further that way than traditional clergy.

CHAPTER SIX

SOCIAL RELEVANCE

While the intellectual technique of an occupation is fundamental to its definition as a profession, it is not sufficient to consider the knowledge component outside its social context. Abbott, for example, emphasizes esoteric knowledge, but not in isolation.

Some writers have viewed the knowledge system as equivalent to the profession. They separate professional knowledge from its use... By contrast, I have begun with a theory of professional knowledge in use, since application is its main purpose...

The ability of a profession to sustain its jurisdictions lies partly in the power and prestige of its academic knowledge. Academic knowledge legitimizes professional work by clarifying its foundations and tracing them to major cultural values (1988: 52-54).

This leads to a more complex study of the relationships among knowledge, work, social values and public perceptions in order to understand the place of a profession in its society.

Freidson also identified the relationship between knowledge and power as the major emphasis in his more recent study of professions "Knowledge becomes power, and profession stands as the human link between the two" (1986: ix). Within such dominance theory, it is more usual to discuss power as something that is seized or exercised, but it can also be given away, and Freidson, among others, has dealt with this (1986: 218-220).

Dimension 2. Relevance to Social Values

Pavalko was typical of earlier scholars who considered that power might be accorded to professionals as society valued their knowledge and practice. As Abbott would do later, he sought to measure this dynamic by comparing the central values of society to both the work done by the profession and the public image which the profession sought to present (Pavalko, 1971: 18-19). Thus, the second dimension of his occupation-profession continuum is "relevance to basic social values". A great deal of information relative to this dimension has already been reported in the narrative tracing the development of CAPE expertise in response to changing social needs. (See Chapter Four, pages 114-121, and Chapter Five, pages 167-172.)

Client needs is certainly one of the aspects of this dimension contemplated by Pavalko: "For the purpose of developing the model, work at the professional end of the continuum is regarded as that which has the greatest applicability to the most intense crises that persons face" (1971: 19). This matter will be one of the subdimensions discussed below. Another central value of late-twentieth century society may be excellence or standards, and this will be discussed in terms of credentials and quality control, matters that have been addressed by a number of professions scholars in the 1980s. It was felt however, that the discussion of social relevance might best begin with a more obvious symbol of central social values: money.

Salary

Salary can be an indicator of social relevance. If the question begins as, "How relevant is this social role to the life and values of the society?" it can be re-phrased as "How much does society value the role?" or "How much does society reward those who perform the role?" This can then become a question of salaries.

This may be a disturbing thought when one remembers that athletes and entertainers today often receive ten times what a heart surgeon is paid and one hundred times the salary of an ambulance attendant. Most of us would want to question either society's value system or the extent to which salaries actually do represent it. Leaving that aside, however, it is valid to say that, within a given field, salaries are a reasonably accurate expression of the value placed on the work done: generally, the better-paid athlete is expected to be more productive within the sport; the better-paid entertainer is expected to be more entertaining to more people; the better-paid doctor provides a form of medical care that is more critical, less common or at a higher level of quality than the work of lower-paid doctors. Thus, salary comparisons within a field of endeavour are more informative than comparisons between occupations. In this study, it will be more important to compare CAPE clergy to other clergy than to compare their earnings to those of doctors, nurses or teachers, for example. In fact, the comparative analysis of CAPE salaries will be done in only two ways for this study

internal comparison of CAPE sub-populations, according to work role and amount of CPE training; and comparison, as possible, between the CAPE survey data and denominational salary information.

There are other difficulties in working analytically with clergy salaries that should be noted, even if they do not seem to affect these internal comparisons. The Roman Catholic vow of perpetual poverty creates complications; so do the extensive non-taxable benefits packages that are sometimes added to basic salaries. Many clergy have extra sources of income beyond their basic package: fees and honoraria for weddings, funerals and guest-speaking. Most of the difficulties, however, occur when attempts are made to compare the clergy to other occupational groups. Internal comparisons are easier and more meaningful in this instance.

Comparisons between occupational groups within CAPE and across the amount of CPE training may shed light on the social relevance dimension of professionalism among CAPE clergy, as measured by salary or income.

The Annual Income variable was derived from the following item on the questionnaire (every attempt was made to find equivalence despite poverty vows, free housing and housing allowances):

In 1982, what were your estimated earnings from all sources related to the practice of ministry?

Note 1: If you have a vow of poverty, think of the total arrangements made for your living and working expenses, and estimate a salary equivalent.

Note 2: If you have not included housing, please add in an estimated value for it. (Compare the annual "fair rental value" used for income tax purposes.)

Note 3: Please include salary, allowances, fees, honoraria and all earnings related to your practice of ministry.

Since income is such a personal matter, a standard research technique was used to increase the response rate. CAPE members were asked to circle the code numbers corresponding to the amount of their annual income from the practice of ministry according to the following categories

1. I am an unpaid volunteer.
2. less than \$4,000.
3. \$4,000 to \$7,999.
4. \$8,000 to \$11,999.
5. \$12,000 to \$15,999.
6. \$16,000 to \$19,999.
7. \$20,000 to \$24,999.
8. \$25,000 to \$29,999.
9. \$30,000 to \$34,999.
10. \$35,000 to \$39,999.
11. \$40,000 to \$44,999.
12. \$45,000 to \$49,999.
13. \$50,000 or more.

By using this closed-category technique, a remarkable response rate was attained. Only 34 respondents left the income question blank; the 389 valid cases represent 65.5% of the 594 names on the 1983 CAPE membership list and 92% of the 423 usable questionnaires.

While preliminary analysis of the income variable was done in its 13-category form, it was felt that the reporting of it would be better done in four categories (Table 10). An attempt was made to divide the respondent population into approximately equal "quartiles":

TABLE 10 Annual Income for 1982, as reported
by members of CAPE.

Income Category from Questionnaire	Number of respondents	Percentage of total
1. volunteer	19	4.9
2. <\$4,000	17	4.4
3. \$4k-7,999	10	2.6
4. \$8k-11,999	29	7.4
5. \$12k-15,999	23	5.9
subtotal for first "quartile" (<\$16,000)	98	25.2
6. \$16k-19,999	45	11.6
7. \$20k-24,999	65	16.7
subtotal for second "quartile" (\$16k-24,999)	110	28.3
8. \$25k-29,999	74	19.0
subtotal for third "quartile" (\$25k-29,999)	74	19.0
9. \$30k-34,999	59	15.1
10. \$35k-39,999	31	8.0
11. \$40k-44,999	12	3.1
12. \$45k-49,999	3	0.8
13. \$50,000+	2	0.5
subtotal for fourth "quartile" (\$30,000+)	107	27.5
total	389	100.0

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

The use of the quartiles simplifies crosstab analysis and descriptive narrative.

TABLE 11 Summary of the Annual Income quartiles from Table 10.		
Quartile	(N=)	%
First (<\$16,000)	98	25.2
Second (\$16k-24,999)	110	28.3
Third (\$25k-29,999)	74	19.0
Fourth (\$30,000+)	107	27.5
total	389	100.0

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

The first set of intra-organizational comparisons will involve the relationship between respondents' annual income and the amount of CPE training they have undertaken. There is a strong direct relationship. Exactly 67% of the CAPE members with only one unit of clinical training are in the lowest income quartile; half the members with six or more units (51.4%) are in the highest income quartile (Table 12 and Figure 10). Figure 10 is an especially vivid display of the association between income and the amount of CPE training.

TABLE 12

Annual Income by the
Amount of CPE training
as reported by CAPE members.

Amount of CPE training	Income quartile (from Table 11)				Row totals % (N=)	
	First	Second	Third	Fourth		
1 unit	67.0	15.4	7.7	9.9	100	(91)
2 or 3	15.3	47.1	20.0	17.6	100	(85)
4 or 5	5.6	36.7	25.6	32.1	100	(90)
6 or more	1.0	21.9	25.7	51.4	100	(105)
(column N=)	(30)	(100)	(74)	(107)		(371)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

FIGURE 10

TABLE 13

Annual Income and the Primary Work Role of CAPE members.

Primary Work Role	Income quartile (from Table 11)				Row totals % (N=)	
	First	Second	Third	Fourth		
Parish minister	40.7	40.7	16.2	2.4	100	(123)
Chaplain	12.6	17.5	31.4	38.5	100	(143)
Counsellor	20.0	20.0	25.0	35.0	100	(20)
Other	25.2	30.1	3.9	40.8	100	(103)
(column N=)	(98)	(110)	(74)	(107)		(389)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

FIGURE 11

The Primary Work Role variable also shows a strong association with income: 81.4% of the parish-based clergy are in the lower two income quartiles; 69.9% of the institutional chaplains are in the higher two quartiles (Table 13 and Figure 11).

Analysis of the Annual Income variable does seem to indicate that income is directly related to the amount of CPE training and to the level of certification. And to the extent to which income is related to the concept of professionalism, the indications are that CAPE clergy who have done a great deal of CPE and have left traditional, parish-based ministry for specialized pastoral roles, rank further to the professional end of Pavalko's continuum than do other clergy.

One more example of this should perhaps be drawn out of the data. The highest categories of membership in CAPE, requiring the most training, are Supervisor and Specialist. Of the 423 respondents, 65 were in Supervisory membership categories and 64 of these replied to the Annual Income question; 38 were in Specialist categories and 37 of these reported their annual incomes. Of these respondents, 54 of the Supervisors (84.4%) and 31 of the Specialists (83.8%) were in the top two income quartiles (which actually total 46.5% of the respondent population).

Another set of valid comparisons may be made using the annual income data from the 1983 CAPE survey for the denominational sub-populations and the best available information from the denominations

themselves. One of the hypotheses was that the CAPE clergy of a denomination would be more highly paid than other clergy of that same denomination.

Four different groups were considered for this kind of comparison, groups whose memberships total nearly 70% of the respondent population: Roman Catholics, Uniteds, Anglicans and Salvationists. In each case that was investigated, the CAPE members reported higher annual incomes than are common in their denomination. For example, the top Salvation Army salary for 1983 was "\$95 per week, including benefits such as housing, heating, telephone and transport allowance" (Jensen, 1982). This would have been a "3" on the CAPE Census Annual Income scale; all eight Salvation Army respondents reported income above that level. The minimum salary for a United Church minister in 1982 was \$13,620 plus housing and car allowance , a total of perhaps \$18-19,000. (Usually, more than 90% of the United Church clergy are on minimum salary: it is really the standard salary.) Over two-thirds of the CAPE Uniteds (69.4%) reported income of \$20,000 per year or higher. According to Jensen's review of clergy stipends in December 1982, there was a similar, though lower, salary standard in the Roman Catholic church:

Within the Roman Catholic church, which does not ordain women, there is a similar system of salary parity between priests and sisters. At the diocesan level, where many of the religious are involved, "Everyone should be getting the same," according to Maurice Belanger of the Archdiocesan

office in Ottawa... For a priest in a parish -- and a sister working in the same context -- the basic salary starts at \$663 per month, including room and board (Jensen, 1982).

This would have been a high "3" on the Census Annual Income scale; with generous extra allowances, it would still be a "4". Only 20.5% of the CAPE Catholics reported annual incomes in the first three categories; 33.7% reported incomes in the first four categories. They were being more highly paid by the employing institutions than was the norm for Catholic clergy at the time.

Another source of salary information reported the minimum 1983 stipend for Anglican priests to be \$11,000 per year, inclusive of benefits (Anisef and Baichman, 1984). That would have been a "4" on the Census Annual Income scale. Presumably some Anglican clergy would have been in the "5" or "6" range on the scale in 1983; but 52.3% of the CAPE Anglicans reported annual incomes above category 6.

At the same time, in the early 1980's, I knew two Baptist ministers, one a hospital chaplain ("Director of Pastoral Services"), the other a parish minister. They were about the same age and had very comparable qualifications for ministry, except that the chaplain was a CPE Supervisor, certified by CAPE. Living and working in the same city, the CAPE chaplain was being paid about three times the salary of the minister serving a parish.

This apparent discrepancy is not surprising in view of the fact that, while denominations may set their own salary scales for parish ministry

and other church-related positions, employing institutions such as hospitals and prisons do not (and cannot) discriminate on the basis of denomination. The salary package in such non-church settings is related to the position not the incumbent.

There is other evidence. By the early 1980s, salaries were no longer cited in the advertisement for chaplaincy positions, perhaps because they were so apparently out of line with parish salaries. But in the late-70s, the positions-available announcements did include salary information. In March 1978, the New Brunswick Provincial Hospital in Saint John advertised in the CAPE newsletter for a "Supervisor (full or acting) as Protestant Chaplain-Educator in Psychiatric Institution. Salary \$17,000 plus benefits and consideration for experience". The Cape Breton Hospital Complex in Sydney advertised for a "Supervisor (full or acting) as Chaplain Educator in the total institution which includes. Psychiatric Units, Alcohol Unit, Retarded and Outpatient Units and an associated Geriatric Institution... basic salary under negotiation but minimum of \$17,000 plus benefits." For purposes of comparison, the standard salary for 1978 in The United Church of Canada, which has the highest minimum clergy salary among denominations in Canada, was about \$10,000 plus benefits. In June 1979, the Ontario government advertised in the CAPE newsletter for a "Regional Coordinator of Chaplaincy services. Salary: \$22,300 - 25,900. Required by the Civil Service Commission, Chaplaincy Services Branch. ." This was an

administrative position, but it did include a 20% pastoral care component, and it did require a minimum of two units of CPE at the Advanced level, among other qualifications.

In summary, CAPE clergy are well-paid by clergy standards, generally better paid than non-CAPE colleagues in the same denomination. Within CAPE, the most highly paid members are Supervisors, especially CPE Supervisors, and Specialists. Institutional chaplains are considerably better paid than parish clergy. Annual income is directly proportional to the amount of CPE training.

This indicator places the CAPE clergy far toward the profession end of the Pavalko continuum, further than traditional clergy.

Needs of the Clientele

In defining his second dimension, Pavalko said that "work at the professional end of the continuum is regarded as that which has the greatest applicability to the most intense crises that persons face" (1971: 19). "The professional is turned to in time of crisis because it is assumed that he possesses certain competencies (derived from his mastery of a body of esoteric knowledge) not available to the layman and that these competencies can be applied to the solution of critical problems" (Pavalko, 1971: 18). Many sociologists refer to the work of the professional in terms of the routinization of crisis. That being so, do the CAPE people deal with the crises of human experience?

The historical narrative of Chapter Four and the background information about the development of the CAPE expertise in Chapter Five would indicate that the answer is "Yes", but there is more evidence available from the data collected by the survey questionnaire

The members of CAPE were asked to identify the "presenting problems" that they face in the counselling that they do. ("Presenting problem" is a technical term used by many of the health care occupations; it is usually recorded in a formal, routine way during intake or first interviews.) In response, 388 members cited a total of 3995 items. Of the 388 respondents, 97.4% identified "depression" as a presenting problem that they faced "frequently" or "regularly"; 95.4% cited "grief", 94.3% "spiritual crisis"; 92.8% "marital or other relationship crisis", 92% "personal growth"; 85.3% "disease"; 85.3% "an ethical crisis or decision"; 80.7% "an economic or financial problem"; 79.6% "suicidal feelings or actions"; 78.6% "a vocational crisis or decision", 76.5% "surgery"; and 71.6% "a drug problem".

Many of these are critical matters of life and death, success and failure, happiness and sadness for those who experience them. They are the everyday, routine concerns of the CAPE practitioners

In a society which accords high status to those who possess socially useful technical knowledge, the CAPE people, by their emphasis on counselling and chaplaincy, have established themselves as technicians of human relationships, emotional crises and personal

fulfillment. It may be that the issues and crises that they deal with are also part of the general practice of ministry of traditional clergy. My own personal experience and general knowledge of parish ministry would suggest that this is so, but to a much lesser extent than reported by the CAPE respondents.

To the extent to which the CAPE practitioners do this crisis-centred work on a more specialized, more full-time basis than parish clergy, and to the extent to which their training, credentials and social roles are more focussed on these crises, the CAPE clergy would rank far toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum on this dimension, somewhat further than traditional clergy.

Credentialism

These "client needs" are not new, but there is something new about where they are presented and dealt with. The broad social changes, which traditional religious organizations have had difficulty adapting to, include increased institutionalization of crises, and increased specialization and differentiation of health care. The parish-based model of ministry, dependent as it is on assumptions of coincident geographic, social and religious community, lags in its response to this new reality. Members of the clinical pastoral care movement are more able to carry out the church's traditional caring ministry in non-traditional, non-church settings.

A 1976 article by the Rev. Dr John K. Swift refers to this phenomenon and to the kind of credentialism that has been developed by CAPE in order to provide institutional ministry. Swift is a CPE Supervisor in CAPE. At the time of the article, he was Director of Pastoral Services at the Queensway Carleton Hospital in Nepean, Ontario and a member of the faculty of Saint Paul University, Ottawa. He was addressing the Canadian Medical Association:

Many significant events of human life have become institutionalized. The inherent dangers of transferring the locus of these events from home and community to a specialized institution are depersonalization, alienation, and societal blindness to the results. Institutionalization of human dying has tended to actualize negative consequences: the patient is left with many unmet needs, the hospital staff occupies itself with mechanical functions, and the community is separated from events which are part of life...

Religious bodies, hospital administrations, government agencies and professional staffs are responding to the negative consequences of institutionalization by seeking to provide a quality of care which conserves human value and worth.

In this milieu all concerned are looking again at the role and potential of the specialized form of pastoral care offered by the hospital chaplain. Rigorous standards of preparation and performance have been developed... the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education. The certified chaplain is well prepared to function in health care settings with skill and knowledge: he is a specialist in ministry. The stereotyped chaplain -- a doddering old cleric, unable to handle a parish, who wanders from room to room praying and reading the Bible at patients and dispensing Communion wafers ad infinitum -- is being replaced by a competent professional. Hospitals as health care institutions and patients as recipients have a right to quality pastoral care, and when it is not available should make demands on religious bodies to take hospital ministry more seriously (Swift, 1976: 181)

The sociologist, Joseph Fichter, may be a more objective observer than

Swift, but he describes the phenomenon in somewhat similar terms:

Traditionally in the larger hospitals the chaplain had an office, which he hardly ever used, and out of which he made daily rounds of visiting patients... The modern chaplain is a member of the pastoral-care department... The pastoral role is now officially labeled "professional" because the chaplain has gone through a training period and has been accredited... Thus, the individual is qualified by tested professional competence, and not by ordination, or by vows of religion, or by appointment of an ecclesiastical official (Fichter, 1981: 127).

Pavalko does not specify the central social values to which the work of more professional occupations will relate, because these will vary across time and geography; but it might be suggested that credentialism and quality control are two values held high in the consumer society of late-twentieth-century Canada. These are closely related: they are the consumer's demand for value from both the product and the provider of the product. These ideas are foreign to the ethos of traditional clergy, but central to CAPE.

In his discussion of "The Credential System", Freidson emphasizes its association with power and control (1986: 63-88). He carries on his analysis at the level of both occupational group and individual practitioner:

In occupational credentialing a system is set up whereby individuals can be given formal credentials testifying to their right to practice a profession or use a professional title. In institutional credentialing it is an organization that receives a credential that provides it with the legal right to operate or to represent itself as providing a service to consumers that is acceptable to some authoritative agency (Freidson, 1986: 72-73).

CAPE and its members enjoy such a system on both levels: the individual member is certified through a complex system of possible career paths that will be discussed in Chapter 7. CAPE accredits training centres for the CPE or SPE model of training, and CAPE certification is formally recognized by the state, in some situations as the only acceptable qualification for publicly-funded positions.

in summary, to the extent to which credentialism is a basic social value in the well-educated population of the industrialized West, CAPE clergy come closer to embodying it than do traditional clergy. And to that same extent, they are closer to the profession end of Pavalko's continuum.

Quality Control

A good example of how this issue might be engaged may be found in the article, "Quality assurance in pastoral care in hospitals" by Don Bielby, who is a CPE Supervisor in CAPE and was Director of Pastoral Services at the Children's Hospital of Eastern Ontario when he wrote it. The items covered in the article include the certification of staff, provision for continuing education and training, client (patient) satisfaction, service delivery effectiveness, cost benefits, accountability and evaluation. Most of the article sets out an elaborate model for introducing and maintaining quality standards of pastoral care. Bielby concludes:

You may ask the question: Is all this worth it? The answer is that the primary purpose of a Pastoral Care quality assurance program and of all quality assurance activities is to have a method whereby quality of Pastoral Care service delivery, the whole process, can be continuously improved. This kind of a tradition in our hospitals needs to be encouraged. It is reasonable to say that there will be a positive correlation between the quality of the delivery service and patient-family-staff satisfaction (Bielby, 1986: 77).

One of areas in which credentialism and quality control overlap is in the matter of who visits hospital patients in the name of religion. One of the results of CAPE's hegemony in hospital pastoral care has been control over the visiting done by community clergy and the laity of local churches. The situation at the Ottawa Civic Hospital is typical of most large public hospitals today. The Director of Pastoral Services is now a gatekeeper for pastoral visitors in the hospital: clergy must register with the Pastoral Services Department; they must have chest x-rays at the hospital before receiving photo-identity badges that must be worn at all times in the hospital; and they must sign in and out with Pastoral Services each time they visit. (When they sign out, they are given a token for free parking during their visit.) Lay people must take pastoral training courses, usually offered or organized by the Director of Pastoral Services. All pastoral visitors, lay or clergy, are accountable for their behaviour in the hospital. Any problems can be dealt with by the Director of Pastoral Services, who has the power to bar visitors. Occasionally a member of the community clergy will be banned.

Another feature of this development is the disappearance of

pamphleteers from hospital corridors. Twenty years ago, it was common to see distributors of religious literature reaching the captive audience of hospital patients, often with upsetting and destructive results. This has been eliminated by the development of formal and powerful pastoral services departments.

As with the previous item, the CAPE-qualified clergy have more ability to express, or respond to, this concern for quality assurance than traditional clergy; and to the extent to which this is a basic social value, this ability would place CAPE closer to the profession end of Pavalko's continuum, as an occupational group.

Summary

The history of the development of CPE has been narrated by a variety of historians and social scientists (e.g., H.B. Hammett, 1975; Tink, 1975; Fichter, 1981; Holifield, 1983; Thompson, 1985; Abbott, 1988: 280-314; Marty, 1988) each bringing different emphases and critical lenses to bear on the phenomenon. Yet, a consistent theme through all the literature has been an identification of some relationship between the CPE mode of training and the central values of society. The theme has been pursued in terms of client needs, jurisdictional competition, social change, demographic trends, institutional analysis and theology; but much of the discussion of CPE has been framed within the concerns summarized by Pavalko's second dimension. One reason why scholars

had noticed CAPE (or, more frequently, one of the American CPE organizations) was that this new model of training for ministry did seem to have more to do with contemporary values and lifestyle than did the rest of the Christian church, including its clergy.

Indeed, this study arose out of such informal observations of anomalies or incongruencies: at a time when the church in Canada was generally perceived as less relevant to contemporary society and people's lives than in the past, the relevance of the work done by CAPE clergy was being reported as news (e.g., Taylor, 1982; Coutts, 1985). That being the case, it is not perhaps surprising that the evidence relating to different aspects of social relevance collected in the 1983 study tends to place the CAPE clergy further than other clergy toward the profession end of Pavalo's continuum with respect to this dimension.

CHAPTER SEVEN

EDUCATION, TRAINING AND COMMUNITY

Pavalko's first two dimensions, esoteric knowledge and relevance to social values, were considered in individual chapters for emphasis and coherence. The next dimension relates to education and training. No scholar of professions omits this aspect of the subject, but clearly it is dependent on the first two dimensions, especially knowledge. In this chapter it will be studied in conjunctioned with Dimension 7, "Sense of Community", because professional formation and the development of professional community are closely related. Pavalko divides them and subdivides them for analytical reasons, and such subdimensions will be respected in this analysis; but the issues of training and community may appropriately be associated in one discussion.

Dimension 3. Training

According to Pavalko's definition of his third dimension, higher levels of education are indicative of occupational groups that are more toward the professional end of the continuum. He analyzes this dimension in terms of the amount of education, the amount of training, the extent to which the training is specialized, the degree to which it is symbolic and ideational, and the socialization that takes place during the professional training, in terms of learned norms and values. Each of

these subdimensions will be considered in the first part of this chapter.

Amount of Education

The questionnaire results indicate that the CAPE members are a group of extremely well-educated people. The 423 respondents indicated that they had a total of 874 university degrees and 98 other certificates and diplomas; 386 (91.3%) indicated that they had a "B.A., A.B., or equivalent" or some "other Baccalaureate"; 259 (61.2%) had the most common post-B.A. professional degree for clergy, the "B.D., M.Div. or equivalent"; and 78 (18.4%) had the other common clergy master's degree, the "S.T.M., Th.M., or equivalent".

The respondents reported 72 (17.0%) other master's degrees (54 M.A.'s, 15 M.Ed.'s and 3 M.S.W.'s), 14 (3.3%) professional doctorates (degrees like the D.Min., which are accessible to people who have the M.Div., but not an M.A.), 42 (9.9%) academic doctorates (including 13 Ph.D.'s, 3 Ed.D.'s and 13 S.T.D.'s or Th.D.'s), 23 (5.4%) other degrees and 98 (23.2%) other certificates or diplomas.

In discussing the first sub-theme of the third dimension, Pavalko comments, "the greater the amount of training involved, the further toward the professional end of the continuum the work belongs" (1971: 19). If this can be paraphrased as, "the greater the amount of academic education involved, the further toward the professional end of the continuum", then the CAPE members would seem to be quite far to that

end.

Even compared to other clergy populations, these respondents score high in academic educational attainment. Most of the mainline churches require a well-educated clergy today; but, typically, that means a B.A. and the M.Div. The standard was lower for those who entered the ministry before the 1970's; and it can still be lowered for mature candidates today. There is some diversity of academic standards across the dioceses and religious orders of the Roman Catholic church; and the Mennonites and Salvation Army have lower academic standards for their clergy. Comparative information isn't easily available, so it was decided to compare the level of education for the CAPE members of one denomination to the rest of the clergy in that denomination. The United Church was chosen for comparison purposes. This was the largest denominational sub-group within CAPE; 123 of the 124 United Church respondents had answered the Annual Income item; the United Church publishes the relevant information for all its clergy annually in a clear, complete and easily accessible form.

Three separate random samples of 123 names were taken from the 1983 United Church Yearbook, which lists all clergy and all lay people in recognized ministry, with their degrees. These were compared to the population of United Church respondents in the 1983 CAPE data set. The samples of United Church ministers in the Yearbook had somewhat fewer basic undergraduate degrees (e.g., B.A.) and basic

seminary degrees (B.D., M.Div.), possibly because this general population would include more older and retired ministers than CAPE. The most striking difference was in the area of higher degrees. The 123 United Church members of CAPE (who responded to this item in the questionnaire) reported a total of 80 degrees beyond the B.A. and B.D. or M.Div. The three samples from the 1983 Yearbook averaged 25 such advanced degrees per 123 names.

Among clergy, and among the general population, the CAPE members are notable for their educational attainment. To the extent to which academic education is an indicator of professionalism, the CAPE clergy, as an occupational group, are relatively further toward the professional end of Pavalko's continuum than most clergy and the general population.

Amount of Training

Beyond the academic education available in universities and seminaries, CAPE provides its own mode of professional training, the "unit" or "quarter" of CPE. This is at least 400 hours of supervised practice of ministry. Even if other clergy did approach the CAPE membership's level of academic education, this extra training is exclusive to CAPE.

TABLE 14a Amount of CPE training reported by CAPE members.

Number of CPE units	cumulative frequency %	(N=)
one unit	23.8	88
two	38.9	56
three	47.0	30
four	60.5	50
five	71.6	41
six	80.3	32
seven	86.2	22
eight	91.9	21
nine	94.3	9
ten or more	100.0	21
total	100.0	370

TABLE 14b Amount of CPE training reported by CAPE members (in quartiles).

Number of CPE units	relative frequency %	(N=)
one unit	23.8	88
2 or 3	23.2	86
4 or 5	24.6	91
6 or more	28.4	105
total	100.0	370

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

The 1983 CAPE survey investigated the respondents' history of CPE training. The response rate was lowered, in part, by the number of respondents who were students at the time of the survey, taking their first unit of CPE, but 370 members did complete this part of the questionnaire (Table 14). Two units represent approximately one academic year of extra professional education, in that the fees and the amount of time involved are comparable to two full-time semesters at a university graduate school; and 61.1% of the respondents have made at least that much of an extra investment in their careers.

In a purely quantitative analysis, this indicator takes the CAPE people more toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum than clergy who do not have formal training beyond the seminary.

Extent Training is Specialized

Pavalko's definition of his conceptual framework emphasizes that there is more specialization at the profession end of the continuum:

The degree to which the knowledge required for a particular kind of work is specialized represents another important dimension that distinguishes occupations from professions (1971: 19).

Full-time pastoral ministry based on CPE training, either chaplaincy or counselling, is a specialization. It is based on an emphasis on and expansion of one of the sub-roles of the traditionally multifaceted clergy role, and with that an emphasis on and expansion of one part of the

traditional clergy knowledge base. This was described in greater detail in the section on "expertise" with reference to Blizzard's six-item typology of clergy roles. Other sociologists have described traditional ministry in terms of as many as eleven (Smith, 1973) or twelve roles (Russell, 1980)

CPE training is concentrated in the pastor role. Even more specifically, it focusses on the pastoral response to crisis.

The training assumes a basic seminary preparation for parish ministry. It is then specialized by omitting concern for such functions as teaching, preaching, worship leadership and the diverse range of other duties demanded in parish ministry: administration, committee work, fund-raising, non-critical pastoral visiting, public relations, confirmation, baptism, weddings and funerals. The training is set in a specialized institution where a very high percentage of the population is either in crisis or dealing with crises.

The effect of this specialization changes both function and professional identity, for example:

Twenty-five years ago, "pastoral counseling" was something that one did. Nowadays, a "pastoral counselor" is who one is. Similarly, a pastoral counselor might have been described in the past as "a minister who does counseling." Today, many pastoral counselors would describe themselves as "counselors who happen to be ministers" (Taggart, 1973: 180-181)

Thus, according to Pavalko's emphasis on the association between specialization and the professions, the CAPE clergy would tend to be more toward the profession end of his continuum than would traditional

clergy Within CAPE, the institutional ministers, Supervisors and Specialists would be more toward the profession end than the other members.

Symbolic and Ideational Training

Pavalko says that "professional training is ideational. That is, it places a strong emphasis on acquiring ability to manipulate ideas and symbols rather than (and sometimes in addition to) things and physical objects" (1971: 19).

CPE training is not less symbolic or ideational than traditional clergy formation; and it could be argued that there are some respects in which it is even less related to "things and physical objects." It normally takes place in a setting that lacks ecclesiastical architecture, with all that such traditional structure can connote for people. There is no sanctuary, no liturgy and less sacramental ministry. Manipulation of things, as in the celebration of Holy Communion, is not a very large part of any clergy training; but it is even less a part of the counselling or chaplaincy role.

Moreover, ministry within an agreed-upon religious community, such as a congregation or parish, will be conducted to a great extent with people who share the clergy's religious vocabulary. This cannot be assumed in a secular setting, such as a hospital or prison. The ethos of CPE emphasizes that the pastoral care worker should respond to the client's categories of thought and language, not impose his or her own

framework. Swift points this out in the CMA Journal:

Theological language, like medical language, is filled with pitfalls when used to communicate with those not fluent in the jargon. The chaplain, like the doctor who wishes to communicate, goes with the patient's vocabulary (1976: 181)

It might be suggested that this requires even more symbolic training for the clergy who practise institutional ministry. Swift argues that this ability to listen to, understand and respond to a variety of faith frameworks, including that of nonchurch people, and to be articulate in a variety of vocabularies, including nonverbal symbolism is part of the modern hospital chaplain's professionalism:

In a hospital setting, questions of meaning are greatly intensified: life begins, illness is treated, death is encountered, and bodily finiteness is emphasized. Lifestyles are changed and relationships are temporarily or permanently altered. The chaplain, functioning with religious categories in mind and trained to deal with questions of meaning, has a unique position as part of the health care team...

The chaplain's task is to help give specificity to universals and aid in choosing symbols which are appropriate to the person for the expression of the specific...

Religious concerns and needs are not always articulated in traditional religious vocabularies. Most people, in fact, do not have a working theological language. The dying patient, experiencing many religious needs and feelings, may well be frustrated in his attempt to communicate: he lacks words to express his meaning... The chaplain can distinguish a disparity between verbal content and experienced religious concerns... (1976: 181).

By this argument, the CPE-trained chaplains would be more likely than the traditional parish ministers to be drawn into conversation about matters such as death or evil with people who use symbolic terms and a vocabulary that is not traditionally theological; and they would be better

trained to respond.

In summary, CPE training is far more ideational and symbolic than training for most occupational roles. That would place the CAPE clergy well toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum with respect to this sub-theme of the Training dimension. They would be more toward the profession end than the traditional clergy, because of the emphasis on questions of meaning, the circumstances under which they work, and the symbolic vocabularies within which they work. There is less potential for routinization of tasks within the CAPE mode of training, compared to traditional clergy. A lower percentage of time is spent in repeatable, predictable situations; a higher amount in unstructured and crisis situations.

Values and Norms

Pavalko defines the Training dimension in terms of a fourth aspect, "the extent to which it involves the acquisition of a distinctive set of values, norms, and work role conceptions, as well as specific knowledge and skill... the learning of a 'professional subculture'" (1971: 20).

There is an obvious and identifiable subculture within CAPE, visible in the training units, meetings and even social conversation. It was palpable to me when I began each of my four training experiences in the 1970s, and again when I went to an Annual Meeting of CAPE for the first time in 1981. Some of my culture shock at that meeting comes

through in the February 1981 memorandum to Professor McFarlane that has been quoted several times already (Appendix 4). After the 1984 Annual Meeting in Banff, I rode down to Calgary with two senior CAPE members, the Directors of Pastoral Services of the Alberta Children's Hospital and the Foothills Provincial General Hospital. Sitting in the backseat of the car I listened to ninety minutes of animated conversation between the two men in the front. The acronyms, abbreviations and jargon made much of it unintelligible to me; and, being an ordained minister who had studied CAPE for three years as a sociologist, I was not a complete outsider.

CPE training certainly entails an emphasis on the development of a strong professional identity. According to the Handbook, one of the stated goals and required components of the training is to "give attention to issues of personal and pastoral identity" (I.2 13.c). This is normally done through a daily 90-minute peer group seminar on personal and professional concerns, five days a week for the twelve weeks, under the leadership of the Supervisor.

However, if the point of this investigation is to compare the C/PE clergy to more traditional, parish-based clergy, then it must be noted that they are also marked by a professional subculture; and will be shown at length in Chapter Ten, the ethos of the CPE training does not completely override the denominational subcultures with respect to ethical and theological beliefs, and personal religious practices.

In summary, CPE training has features that would place CAPE members well toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum, according to this criterion; however, it is not clear that they would be any farther toward that end than other clergy.

Sense of Community, Sense of Identity

Pavalko's seventh dimension on the occupation-profession continuum is "Sense of Community," derived from the work of William J. Goode. The first of eight component characteristics within this dimension is "the presence of a sense of common identity" among the members of the occupational group (Pavalko, 1971: 24). Goode wrote:

Characteristic of each of the established professions, and a goal of each aspiring occupation, is the "community of profession." Each profession is a community .. Its members are bound by a sense of identity (Goode, 1957: 194).

Traditionally, the clergy profession has been seen as a readily identifiable group from the outside, because of distinctive dress and the theological-psychological concept of being "set apart."

However, within the profession, identity and community have not been strong because the members are divided by denominational lines and the isolated nature of the work.

Each denomination and each seminary might have a highly developed sense of community among its own clergy and candidates for ministry. That sense of identity is normally part of the seminary formation.

However, in many denominations this is lost upon graduation, a victim of geography. After ordination or comparable *rite de passage*, most clergy are sent out by the church to function as soloists in remote settings. In fact, research has shown that the first parish assignment is often the most difficult of an entire clergy career because of the sudden lack of professional community (Sherwood, 1975; Oswald, 1980). This is truer among the Protestant denominations, because Anglican and Roman Catholic dioceses tend to keep their ordinands, and sometimes place them as curates in larger parishes. But newly-ordained priests may also find themselves in isolated situations. Because of the location and organization of congregational life, most traditional parish clergy function as soloists; few team together, even within their own denominations.

Ecumenical community is even less common. Local ecumenical ministerials tend to be very loose-knit groups and a low priority for the area clergy.

However CAPE does seem to be one of the rare examples of ecumenical community. The following excerpts are from my own field journal, kept during attendance at the 1981 Annual Meeting of CAPE.

The "free time" was very important to the attending members. They ate, drank, visited and partied together throughout the meeting-time. The noise level in the hall and lobby between sessions, and in the restaurants during meals was quite high. There is a very strong social cohesiveness. Typically, the members have studied or trained together and now work in different parts of the country... There was very little "wandering off"; even during free-time, the members tended to stay together -- at least in groups... There was much

physical warmth and expressiveness between the sexes and between members of the same sex (Appendix 4: pages 2,3 and 4).

There are many shared experiences in the training program that lead to strong bonding among the members and a sense that what they have in common makes them different from "outsiders": the daily personal and professional concerns group, the shared ordeal of producing twenty-five verbatims in twelve weeks and presenting some of them to the peer group, witnessing a post mortem examination and surgery for the first time, the first experience of interviewing a dying person in front of an audience, the first experience of being with someone at the moment he or she dies.

CAPE people list their affiliation and level of certification with their degrees on their business cards, letterhead and other identifying literature. Seminaries do the same thing when listing CAPE members as tenured or adjunct faculty. I have observed that, in denominational and ecumenical gatherings totally unrelated to CAPE, the CAPE members who happen to be there tend to cluster together. However, one is still left with the impression that "CAPE member" ranks lower than such other labels as "Christian", "Catholic", "Baptist", "priest", "nun", "minister" or "chaplain".

In summary, there is a strong sense of group identity in CAPE, which would place the CAPE members far toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum. However, there is no comparative data available

to indicate whether the CAPE group would seem to conform more closely to the profession type than clergy as a whole or such other occupational groups as doctors and dentists.

Continuing Status

Goode says that a professional community can be identified by the fact that "once in it, few leave, so that it is a terminal or continuing status for the most part." This certainly describes the certified members of CAPE who are following career paths as institutional ministers and pastoral counsellors.

There is, however, a dropout rate in the sense that some clergy who have CPE training return to traditional, general ministry roles, and do not continue in the specialized CAPE stream. This will be studied in more detail, along with Abbott's 1988 critique, under the "Sense of Commitment" dimension, in the next chapter.

The evidence is somewhat ambiguous; but there is nothing to indicate that the CAPE people, as an occupational group, would not be at the profession end of Pavalko's continuum. If the concern about dropout is set aside for a moment, and the continuing CAPE members are considered on their own, then they conform very closely to the ideal type at the profession end of this dimension. In order to continue in their positions, they must maintain their CAPE memberships, which are

renewed annually; their CAPE certifications, which are reviewed regularly, about every five years; and their good standing as clergy in their home denomination, which is reviewed at various intervals according to the denomination's own polity. (It is done annually in the United Church.) Good standing with the denomination is a requirement in the five-year CAPE review.

Common Values

Goode suggests that members of a profession "share values in common" (1957: 194).

At the corporate level, this can be discussed in terms of the willingness of members to subscribe to the association's lengthy and comprehensive Code of Ethics (Appendix 5) which includes a large number of value statements, for example:

We show sensitive regard, given the bounds of our religious affiliation, for the racial, cultural, national, sexual orientation, gender, age and religious differences, of other individuals and societies. We show sensitive regard to the physically and mentally challenged.

We are committed to continuing education to enrich our professional competence.

We are committed to the spiritual development both of ourselves, and of those to whom we minister.

We strive to manage our personal lives in a healthful fashion and seek appropriate assistance for our own personal problems and conflicts.

Where applicable, fees and financial arrangements, and all other contractual matters, are discussed at the beginning without hesitation or equivocation and are established in a straightforward, professional manner.

We attend to financial matters with due regard for recognized

business and accounting procedures.

We do not engage in any form of sexual impropriety in educational and/or working relationships regardless of invitation or consent...

We regard all forms of harrassment between supervisors, supervisees, students or employees as unethical...

We show sensitive regard for the cultural and religious values of those we serve and refrain from imposing our own values on them.

Taken altogether, the CAPE Code of Ethics is a covenant of shared values.

Another way to consider shared values is to survey the individual members. In the 1983 survey, CAPE members were asked a number of questions in an attempt to determine the extent to which they felt that they shared the values of other members of the association.

Eight items were designed to elicit the respondent's sense of agreement on a five-point Likert scale, from "1" = "strongly disagree" to "5" = "strongly agree". For example, the first statement was: "Most people in CAPE feel the same way I do about abortion, despite our denominational differences." This formula was used for six more statements substituting "divorce", "nuclear disarmament", "homosexuality", "unmarried couples living together", "social issues", and "moral and ethical issues" for "abortion". The eighth item was. "I feel very comfortable with the theological orientations of most CAPE people". These items became variables V386 to V393 in the data set.

*** NOTE:**

The selected issues were investigated by means of the following matched pairs of items using 5-point Likert scales from 1= "strongly disagree" to 5= "strongly agree" (cf. Appendix 1, pages 17 and 18).

Most people in CAPE (Most clergy in my denomination)
think the same way I do about

- A. abortion.
- B. divorce.
- C. nuclear disarmament,
- D. homosexuality.
- E. unmarried couples living together.
- F. social issues.
- G. moral and ethical questions.
- H. I feel very comfortable with the theological orientations
of most CAPE people (of most clergy in my denomination).

Source: *Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.*

The same items were addressed to the members in terms of their sense of commonality with denominational colleagues. For example, the first item was phrased: "Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about abortion" and the eighth item was: "I feel very comfortable with the theological orientations of most clergy in my denomination". These items became variables V377 to V384 in the data set.

It would be indicative of a strong sense of shared values within CAPE if the mean scores for the CAPE-comparative items were higher (indicating "more agreement") than the means for the same issues in denomination-comparative statements. One would expect clergy to share values with denominational colleagues; and generally that is the case. The respondents did indicate a higher sense of shared values with denominational colleagues than with CAPE colleagues for the items referring to abortion, divorce and nuclear disarmament (Figure 12). The CAPE-comparative scores are somewhat lower for these three items, although the two scores for the nuclear disarmament question are almost equal.

However, the respondents actually indicated closer values affiliation to the CAPE community for the other five items, the ones concerning homosexuality, unmarried couples, social issues, moral and ethical issues and theology. Of particular interest is the fact that they generally felt more comfortable with the theological orientation of their CAPE colleagues than with their denominational colleagues. When one

considers the ecumenical diversity of CAPE and the theological gaps that exist between such denominations as the Roman Catholics and the Salvation Army, The United Church of Canada and the Baptists, one might find this statistic, in itself, to be a strong indicator of shared values in a professional community, according to Goode's model.

There is certainly evidence to support the idea that CAPE resembles Goode's community of shared values, and would be near the profession end of Pavalko's continuum along this dimension. However, it would be overstating the evidence to argue that CAPE is more of a values-sharing community than a group of denominational clergy would be.

Role Definitions

Goode defines the next characteristic of professional community in the following way:

Its role definitions *vis-à-vis* both members and non-members are agreed upon and are the same for all members (1957: 194).

The traditional church has been very clear about this over the centuries in terms of the hierarchy of internal relationships and in defining appropriate behaviour for the laity in its relationships with the clergy. It may not have been as clear or as conscientious in defining the ethical clergy role toward the clientele. That will be discussed in the next chapter under the last subdimension, "Code of Ethics".

CAPE looks more democratic and much less formal than the traditional church, but it is no less clear in defining role relationships. The Handbook, the Constitution and the Code of Ethics all refer to the form and ethics of relationships between fellow members, between CAPE practitioners and members of the public, and between CAPE members and other professionals. The clear definition of membership categories with concomitant rights, privileges and qualifications would be one example. Much of the Handbook deals with this. (See also Appendix 8.) There are also several specific references to situations where there is an imbalance of power, for example the opening paragraph of "Principle II" in the Code of Ethics:

We who are in a position of authority and responsibility maintain a concern for the integrity and welfare of our students, supervisees and employees. We recognize the power imbalance that exists and do not abuse the trust of former and current students, supervisees or employees (January 21, 1993 text, page 2).

The atmosphere of a CAPE meeting is free and refreshing compared to most church meetings: there is an air of informality and a lack of ceremony. However, the organization has gone to great efforts to define situations, roles and role relationships in order to avoid unethical and conflict situations.

CAPE would be placed far toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum along this sub-dimension, quite comparable to the traditional clergy profession. If anything, there is even clearer role definition for the

CAPE people with reference to both members and non-members.

Common Language

One of Goode's characteristics of professional community is the presence of a jargon distinct to the occupational group's subculture:

Within the areas of communal action there is a common language, which is understood only partially by outsiders (1957: 194).

This is very much the case with CAPE, something an outsider becomes quite aware of after a few minutes with a group of CAPE people. Some of this has already been described in Chapter Five and in the earlier section of this chapter dealing with "Identity".

The distinctive CAPE vocabulary includes all of the religious, theological jargon that other clergy would recognize ("Pauline eschatology", "synoptic gospels", "exegesis" and "hermeneutics", for example) and a great deal of psychological terminology ("transference" and "countertransference", "psychosis", "superego", etc.), with a sprinkling of medical and legal terms derived from institutional ministers who work closely with members of other professions. It also borrows easily from the so-called "pop psychologies" that come and go: "critical parent" (from Transactional Analysis), "adult child" and "co-dependent" (from 12-Step literature).

It is not just the interdisciplinary blend, however, that makes the CAPE jargon unique. There is, at the heart of the pastoral counselling

field, a large body of literature that has its own language. CAPE people are so fluent in this vocabulary that, instead of saying "love", they will say "unconditional positive regard," a phrase derived from the writings of Carl R. Rogers. It just trips off the tongue. And they have their own acronyms and abbreviations that facilitate communication within the community but exclude the outsider. At the 1984 Annual Meeting, I kept hearing people discussing themselves and others in terms of four-letter labels: "She's an ESTJ," "I'm an INFP." It turned out that these were ways of identifying the sixteen personality types defined by the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator, a psychological test that pastoral counsellors were increasingly using and that most CAPE members had undergone themselves. This was the stuff of conversation at midnight in the cocktail bar or over the breakfast table. Similar illustrations could be drawn from Appendix 4 and the Journal of Pastoral Care.

The CAPE subculture is marked by a common language that facilitates professional conversation, and tends to divide "insiders" from "outsiders" in social contexts. In this respect, they show a characteristic that has been associated with occupational groups at the extreme profession end of Pavalko's continuum. The CAPE jargon is like a heavily-accented dialect of a more widespread language, the jargon of the clergy profession more generally. And as with Highland Scots to BBC English or speakers of Quebecois "joual" to Parisian French, they can understand the "larger" language, move freely into the more general

clergy subculture and comprehend fully. It is more difficult to go the other way.

Power over Members

Because they must be endorsed by their home religious bodies, CAPE people are under the discipline of a bishop or presbytery or some other denominational authority within the limits of that denomination's standards and with respect to their more general status as clergy. As members of CAPE, they also agree to submit to the authority of their professional association. Goode's sixth characteristic of a professional community is that it "has power over its members" (1957: 194). More specific aspects of this will be investigated under items 22 and 23, below, with respect to the control that the association has over the career paths of the members.

More general statements are contained in the Code of Ethics (using the January 21, 1993 text):

We commit ourselves to be subject to Peer Review and to abide by such recommendations as may result from such a review (from p. 1).

As members of CAPE we are committed to accept the judgement of other members as to the standards of professional ethics, subject to the procedures that follow. Refusal or failure to cooperate with an ethics investigation at any point may be considered grounds for dismissal from the Association (from p. 6).

The Code specifies that, after completing an investigation, "a Regional

Ethics Committee recommends one of four courses of action to the National Ethics Committee and the Board for ratification and implementation" (page 7). The four actions are "Unfounded", "Reprimand", "Probation" and "Dismissal". They are defined on page 8 of the Code, and an appeals process is set out.

For many CAPE members, a certain level of CAPE certification is a requirement of their position. Loss of certification and/or membership in CAPE would also mean loss of employment.

According to the definitions that Goode and Pavalko use to measure professionalism, CAPE's power over its members places it at the extreme profession end of the continuum, even further that way than the traditional clergy profession.

Clear Limits to the Community

Membership in CAPE is clearly defined in formal and legal ways in their literature, and it is reviewed regularly through the processes of annual membership fees and five-year peer reviews. The association publishes an annual Directory of Members, and distributes it to all members. Membership status is precisely defined on paper, and there is also a strong psychological awareness of who is a member and who is not. CAPE conforms closely to the most professional possible model of occupational group with respect to this item.

Control of Recruitment

Pavalko quotes Goode's emphasis on a profession's control of the selection and advancement of members:

Though it does not produce the next generation biologically, it does so socially through its control over the selection of professional trainees, and through its training processes it sends these recruits through an adult socialization process... Typically a profession, through its association and its members, controls admission to training and requires far more education from its trainees than the containing community demands (Goode, 1957: 194 and 195).

This is a point of distinction between CAPE and traditional church structures.

Across the church, clergy can influence admission to their profession by supporting or opposing candidates; but it would be an exaggeration to say that they control recruitment or selection. In the Protestant denominations, the laity have a great deal of power, often more than the clergy themselves. That is to say that, wherever decisions are made about ordination or its equivalent -- in committees, congregations, councils, etc. -- lay people may have a majority vote. In Catholicism and Anglicanism, the final decision may well rest with the bishop, who is a member of the clergy; but increasingly in those communions, too, the lay people have a say about who "their" clergy will be.

However, CAPE has maintained complete control over admission to its programs. The supervisor of a CPE course interviews and screens

all applicants, and can turn down an applicant even if that would go against the wishes of a bishop, a seminary principal or some other church official. This control over selection for training is true at all levels.

It may be an aside, but one of Goode's images of professional community is particularly descriptive of CAPE: "Though it does not produce the next generation biologically, it does so socially through its control..." CAPE has a fairly high awareness of itself as such a non-biological clan. CPE is still so recent a development in Canada that all the generations of supervisors and students can still be brought together; and family metaphors, such as "grandfather" are used. For example, at the banquet at the 1984 Annual Meeting, the president named the first mentors or supervisors who had introduced CPE programs to Canada thirty years earlier. About three or four of them were there. They stood up and were asked to remain standing. Then the president asked that those members of the association who had done training under these "grandfathers" also stand. About thirty more members stood up and remained standing with the first generation of supervisors. Then the president asked the rest of the 250 or so members of the association to stand if they had done training under any of that second generation supervisors. By now, about half the people were on their feet. When the president repeated the process one more time, it seemed that everyone was standing. It was a small "family tree", comprised of about four generations in January 1984.

In this area, CAPE has more control than traditional clergy, and would rank more toward the professional end of Pavalko's continuum. The family tree metaphor, above, is another indicator of this. It should be added that this control of admission standards is one of the areas in which CAPE requires more than the traditional church. A candidate could be admitted to seminary and into full clergy status within the denomination, but not into a CPE course. Since, according to its constitution, CAPE requires, among other things, that its members be "ordained or endorsed by a religious body or faith group," it may be said that the traditional church's clergy admission standards are necessary but not sufficient for CAPE.

Control of Advancement

There is a career path within CAPE that is absolutely dependent on successfully completing training programs and A&C interviews (interviews by the Accreditation and Certification Committee). Procedures are clearly outlined in detail in the Handbook. These are summarized in the chart of "Canadian Association for Pastoral Education Current Training Streams and Process" published by CAPE. (See Appendix 8.) This version was available at the 1984 Annual Meeting.

Not only is advancement to any status under the organization's control, but since certification must be reviewed every five years, there is ongoing control. There is no tenure; and if a position, such as a hospital

chaplaincy, depends on the incumbent's certification, if the certification is lost so is the job.

The traditional church has a once-and-for-all theology of admission to the special clergy status. CAPE's theology emphasizes ongoing "readiness for ministry", a descriptive catch-phrase referring to a system which is more congruent with Goode's definition of profession.

The association's control of members' careers places the CAPE clergy closer to Pavalko's ideal type of profession than traditional clergy.

Summary

Although it was stated at the outset of this chapter that the dimensions of Training and Community are not as central to modern thinking about professions as are esoteric knowledge and social relevance, neither are they ignored today. Freidson, for instance, considers "the credential system" at length in his power analysis (1986: 63-91). Both Freidson and Abbott (1988) turn to matters of training when they investigate the intellectual technique of a profession. Most sociologists interested in the power of professions attend to the details of Pavalko's "Sense of Community" dimension in their analyses, and Rothman emphasizes this in his summary of the field (1987: 60-93). The summary statement at this point is that, within Pavalko's 1971 framework, CAPE was found to conform very closely to the ideal-type profession with respect to all these items.

CHAPTER EIGHT

OTHER INDICATORS OF PROFESSIONALISM

In this chapter, the remaining four dimensions of Pavalko's occupation-profession continuum will be reviewed: Motivation, Autonomy, Sense of Commitment and Code of Ethics.

Motivation

Pavalko explains his fourth dimension in the following way:

Let us be clear that what "really" motivates individuals to work is not at issue here. Rather, our concern is the degree to which work groups emphasize the ideal of service to clients and public as their *primary* goal and as part of their ideology. Also important is the extent to which this claim is (at least tacitly) publicly acknowledged. At the professional end of the continuum are those work groups whose members are assumed to be motivated by the desire to best serve their clients, rather than by self-interest and the desire for monetary gain (1971: 20).

At the corporate level, CAPE is clear in its statement of altruistic service. In the Code of Ethics (according to the January 21, 1993 text, Appendix 5), "Principle I.A" is stated as follows:

We use our knowledge and professional associations for the benefit of the people we serve and not to secure personal advantage.

That would be enough to place the members of CAPE, as an occupational group, well to the profession end of Pavalko's continuum, according to this dimension.

However, in view of the comparatively high salaries for the CAPE clergy, and the somewhat entrepreneurial spirit of these individual practitioners who have left the traditional church structures, it was considered worthwhile to look a little more specifically into their individual motivation.

The questionnaire investigated this in terms of a set of eleven statements taken from Stryckmann and Gaudet's 1971 study of English-speaking Roman Catholic priests in Canada (Stryckmann and Gaudet, 1970: 4). The statements were originally designed to allow priests to cite their reasons for being priests. Changes in wording were necessary in order to make the statements appropriate for the ecumenical population of CAPE men and women, and it was not possible to draw statistically reliable comparisons between the 1971 priests and the 1983 CAPE members; however, it was felt that the findings were worth this extended parenthetical comment.

The service ethic came through very strongly in both groups with almost exactly the same frequency. The CAPE population was noticeably less motivated by a sense of the sacramental and the sacred, and more by personal reasons. CAPE work roles, including those occupied by the priests, tend to be less liturgical and sacramental than parish roles; and, of course, the ecumenical CAPE population, including Salvation Army and Mennonite members and 50 nuns, is less likely to elevate sacramental ministry than a population of priests would.

Because of the changes after Vatican II, there may also have been some effect from comparing 1983 populations to a 1971 population.

At any rate, CAPE's formal articulation of an altruistic public service ethic places it at the extreme profession end of the continuum, according to Pavalko's definition. Traditional clergy could not be further than CAPE toward that end, and might not be as far: most denominations do not have such a formal statement, relying instead on tradition and assumption. Pavalko says that "what 'really' motivates individuals to work is not at issue here." Individual motivation was investigated to some extent anyway, and nothing was found that would erode the impression that CAPE presents itself very much as an association of professionals serving the public.

Collective Autonomy

Autonomy is a fairly standard area of labour force research and there are many scales that could be used. The questionnaire investigated the respondent's sense of individual autonomy (V263 to V279 and V394 to V399) and sense of CAPE's corporate autonomy (V479). Evidence relating to the autonomy of the professional association is also derived from public documents, journals and other records.

Pavalko refers to both levels of autonomy in his explanation of the fifth dimension:

Autonomy, self-regulation and self-control are synonyms for freedom on the part of work groups to regulate their own work behavior. As both sentiment and structural fact, autonomy is characteristic of work at the professional end of the continuum... Autonomy is expressed in two distinct but related ways. First, work groups, as organized collectivities, seek to control matters relating to the activities of their members... In addition to collective autonomy, concern with the autonomy of the individual practitioner is a feature of occupations at the professional end of the continuum (1971: 22).

Another aspect of this theme is the concept of monopoly:

To the extent that professions are successful in realizing their claims to autonomy, they are able to achieve a high degree of *monopoly* and control over the right to perform particular work activities (Pavalko, 1971: 23).

This is a point of major difference between traditional, parish-based clergy and the CAPE specialists. As Camenisch has noted,

The clergy most conspicuously fall short of the professional model in the area of professional autonomy. They do not, at least as a total group (that is, spanning various faiths and denominations), have the same control over preparation for and admission to the profession as do other more unified professions, nor are they licensed and thus societally authenticated as are other major professions (1991: 130).

In fact, CAPE is distinct in its control over design of and admission to its programs; the members are certified by the association; training centres are accredited; there is a standing Accreditation and Certification Committee; each professional advancement it must go through the A&C Committee (see Appendix 8); and all certifications are subject to a five-year review; accreditations are also reviewed at five-year intervals; there are screening interviews, conducted by the supervisor, before all

admissions to all programs.

Evidence of societal authentication may be seen in the status that provincial and federal institutions have accorded to the association's standards. By the early 1980s, before the association was formally twenty years old, CAPE had begun to gain monopoly control over a number of social roles: the publicly funded chaplaincy positions in hospitals and prisons. This was especially true in the health care system. Chaplaincy positions in the various corrections systems in Canada continued through the '80s to require either CAPE certification or the longer-established Canadian Council of Churches certification; although it is interesting to note that the CCC, itself, increasingly required CPE training by anyone whom it would certify to prison chaplaincy.

With respect to the hospital positions in the 1980s, some required CAPE certification, many at the Specialist or Supervisor levels. Most of the rest contained some expression of preference for CAPE-qualified personnel in the job requirement statement. As the number of CAPE-trained people increased, these preferences also became requirements. Appendix 6 is a display of photocopies of ten randomly collected advertisements for health care institutional chaplaincy positions, mostly from the Globe and Mail, all from the 1980s. The excerpts referring to CAPE qualifications are listed here:

2 Nov 81 Co-ordinator
 Pastoral Care Services
 Cross Cancer Institute

Edmonton, Alberta

"Preference will be given to individuals with the following qualifications: Graduate from a recognized university, Ordained Minister, minimum of 3 years pastoral care experience and supervisory status with the Canadian Association of Pastoral Education (CAPE) or equivalents."

18 June 82 Manager, Pastoral Services
 Queensway Carleton Hospital
 Nepean, Ontario

".. will therefore be certified by the Canadian Association of Pastoral Education..."

 and
 Hospital Chaplain (Part-time)
 Queensway Carleton Hospital
 Nepean, Ontario

"...will accordingly have at least one unit of Clinical Pastoral Education and willingness to continue such training. ."

15 Aug 83 Director of Pastoral Services
 Waterford Hospital
 St. John's, Newfoundland

"Qualifications: Certification at the full or acting supervisor level by the Canadian Association of Pastoral Education..."

4 Feb 84 Pastoral Care Coordinator
 North Bay Civic Hospital
 North Bay, Ontario

"Interested applicants will be certified by the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education..."

18 Feb 84 Chaplain and Clergy Coordinator
 Guelph General Hospital
 Guelph, Ontario

"The successful candidate will be certified, or enrolled in the course provided, by the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education..."

17 May 84 Director
 Pastoral Care Department
 Ottawa Civic Hospital
 Ottawa, Ontario

"...seeking an ecumenical Chaplain educated at the Canadian Association for Pastoral education (CAPE) Supervisory level..."

- 21 July 84 Director of Pastoral Care
The Alberta Children's Hospital
Calgary, Alberta
"... a minimum of one year clinical pastoral education in an approved CAPE or ACPE centre... Advanced or Specialist credentials (CAPE)."
- 28 Sept. 84 Director of Pastoral Services
Doctors Hospital
Toronto, Ontario
"...this individual should have several credits in the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education..."
- 27 June 85 Director of Pastoral Care
The Credit Valley Hospital
Mississauga, Ontario
"...possess Cdn. Association of Pastoral Education training..."
- 5 Dec 87 Director of Pastoral Care
St. Boniface General Hospital
Winnipeg, Manitoba
"The candidate must be a full C.A.P.E. Supervisor..."

This requirement of CAPE training and certification has become even more widespread in the years since the 1983 study was carried out.

There is another aspect of control or autonomy that might be discussed. Florell's 1975 study of the ACPE in the United States indicated a concern about control of the training programs themselves: "The dangers are that CPE programs may become too secularized or controlled by the institution they work in" (Florell, 1975a: 231). In the 1983 CAPE survey, members of the Canadian association were asked about this (Table 14).

TABLE 14 Control over CPE programs.

Responses to the question: "Which of the following has the most control over the nature of a CPE or SPE program? Circle one only"

1. CAPE 2. the supervisor
3. the students 4. the officials of the
 institutional setting "

response	relative frequency %	adjusted frequency %	(N=)
1. CAPE	15.8	17.1	67
2. supervisor	70.3	75.7	297
3. students	3.3	3.6	14
4. institution	3.1	3.3	13
5. other	0.2	0.3	1
6 no response	7.3	-	31
total	100.0	100.0	(423)
	(423)	(392)	

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

The 13 respondents who did feel that the institutional settings might be taking control of the training program represent 3.3% of the 392 valid cases. The respondents who answered either "CAPE" or "supervisor" sum to 364, or 92.8% of the 392 valid responses. The American concern about control did not seem to be shared by the Canadian group.

At the corporate level, CAPE is clearly quite far to the profession end of Pavalko's continuum according to this indicator. Some of the literature (e.g., Camenisch, 1991) would suggest that the clergy

profession as a whole is not as far toward the profession end.

Individual Autonomy

The survey questionnaire investigated individual autonomy through an inventory of questions cited in the previous section. An autonomy score (AUTS) was computed for each respondent. These scores did not show much variation when age, sex or denomination were considered, but an interesting difference emerged in the Primary Work Setting variable. When the mean AUTS for the population of parish-based CAPE members (N=123) was compared to the mean for the institutional chaplains (N=142). The chaplains' score was 7% higher.

The survey also asked about encroachment:

In your work setting, are there duties which others are carrying out, which you feel should be done exclusively by someone with your professional qualifications?

Forty-seven respondents (11.1%) gave affirmative answers. When this group was investigated more closely, it was discovered that almost half (23) of these respondents were Roman Catholics or Uniteds in parish settings. Only four of the respondents (0.9% of 423) who reported encroachment identified themselves as institutional chaplains.

The more specialized members of CAPE, who tend to work in non-parish institutions and have the most CPE training, are more toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum on this dimension than the CAPE members who have less training and continue to be based in the

traditional parish setting. To the extent to which this indicator is a measure of professionalism, there is evidence here that CAPE and CPE might be contributing to a reprofessionalization process among clergy

Sense of Commitment

In his definition of his sixth dimension, Pavalko makes repeated references to the clergy as "the prototype" or "best example" of an occupational group at the extreme profession end of the continuum. That being the case, it might be just as well to set this item aside until after the discussion in the next chapter of whether the CAPE population can still be considered clergy. However, there are two specific points in Pavalko's definition that could be addressed here: sense of calling and long-term commitment. Pavalko says:

A sense of calling and long-term commitment are generally regarded as characteristics at the professional end of the continuum while work at the occupation end of the continuum is characterized by an absence of these characteristics (1971: 24).

Earlier, he writes:

At one extreme (the profession end of the continuum) work may be viewed as a "calling" and approached with a quasi-religious sense of mission. The prototype of this sentiment may be seen in various branches of the clergy where those who enter the work claim (and are assumed) to have been "called" by the deity (1971: 23).

As was reported in the earlier discussion of the "Motivation" dimension, CAPE members were given the opportunity to choose two statements

from a list of possible reasons for doing the kind of work they do. This index was considered by 409 respondents, of whom 300 (73.3%) chose item 7: "Personal response to the call of God for the service of others" (V342). This was almost exactly the same response rate as the Canadian English-speaking Roman Catholic priests to the same statement in Stryckmann and Gaudet's 1971 study (Stryckmann and Gaudet, 1970: 4).

With this in mind, and remembering that CAPE requires that its members must be endorsed by and in good standing with their home religious body or faith group, there is no reason to consider that CAPE would be any less toward the extreme profession end of the continuum than the clergy prototype.

However, Pavalko also includes the matter of occupational continuity in this dimension, "the notion that commitment to the work is not a passing fancy but rather a long-term if not life-long commitment" (1971: 23). Here, the evidence is not at all clear. There is a certain amount of turnover on the CAPE membership list from year to year as students come and go. Across the church, and across Canada now, there is a sizable but unknown number of clergy with some CAPE training who are working within the roles and structures of the traditional organization and have dropped their CAPE membership. The prospect of researching this group in a scientific way is daunting; but some informal knowledge of this "dropout" population can be reported. In my

own church career, I have encountered many clergy, through United Church and ecumenical networks, who have done some CPE but are not active in CAPE. They seem to fall into three groups.

- a) clergy who simply wanted to supplement their training for traditional, parish-based ministry by taking some CPE,
- b) those who found their first unit of CPE to be a disappointing or negative experience, or otherwise "enough".
- c) people who were turned down, at some level, by the A&C Committee.

I am not aware of people dropping out because they have gained full qualifications, but there are not enough positions available. In fact, hospitals have continued to staff positions through the 1980s with slightly under-qualified people, on condition that they continue their CAPE-credential path to the appropriate or required level. The 1986 appointment of the present Director of Pastoral Services at the Royal Ottawa Hospital is an example of this.

This is to say that, at any time, CAPE includes on its membership list people who are in the early stages of the CAPE career path, and may or may not continue. There is a dropout rate of some dimension. The same is true for schools of engineering and architecture and for training programs in other demanding fields. In fact, it may be a mark of occupational roles at the profession end of the continuum. Whether or not this feature of CAPE relates to Pavalko's concept of commitment is debatable.

Abbott's research would suggest that, as a mark of

professionalism, this attribute needs reconsideration:

Lifelong careers of basic professional work are less and less common. The exact relation of profession and professional has become much more complex (1988: 386).

After referring to high turnover among nineteenth-century clergy and health care professionals, he argues that this is the norm in contemporary professions in the United States:

At present such out-mobility is high in nearly every American profession except pharmacy and dentistry. By age forty-five, about 10 percent of a beginning cohort of pharmacists has left active practice, about 30 percent of physicians, 25 percent of lawyers, 30 percent of architects. Rates for clergy, engineers, social workers, and teachers are around 50 percent (1988: 132).

The 1983 CAPE survey did not investigate directly this matter of turnover or dropout rate. At the end of the questionnaire, members were asked how many years they had been members (V454). Since the study was conducted seventeen years after the founding meeting of CAPE, there was a fairly low ceiling for this variable.

The mean response (for N=413) was 6.186 years, with 50.6% of the respondents saying five years or more. When Student Members, Associate Members and ("ordinary") Members were selected out, 147 respondents in the Advanced, Supervisor and Specialist categories remained. The mean for this population was 8.986 years of membership, with 75.1% indicating five years or more.

The evidence is not completely clear because of a discernable dropout rate at the beginning of the CAPE career path. And it is a

relatively new career path for clergy, perhaps not well-understood across the church as yet: the first Canadians to take CPE training were just beginning to reach retirement age at the time of the survey. However, there does seem to be a growing population of clergy who are making a long-term or even life-long commitment to this career path. Probably the most telling point is that these people will need to maintain their CAPE memberships and certifications in order to continue in their job positions and careers. And they will have to do this in addition to maintaining the same good standing as clergy within their home religious group that their non-CAPE clergy colleagues must maintain. To the extent to which the CAPE membership and certification indicate even more commitment, the CAPE clergy would seem to be placed even further toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum than the traditional clergy, who were his prototype.

Code of Ethics

In defining the eighth dimension of his occupation-profession continuum, "Codes of Ethics", Pavalko writes:

These ethical codes may be written or unwritten and may cover a wide range of work relationships including practitioner-client and practitioner-public relations, relations among practitioners, and relations between the practitioner and members of other work groups. In general, codes of ethics tend to be found in work at the professional end of the continuum (1971: 25).

This was one of the factors that caused both Gannon (1971: 66-79) and

Jarvis (1975: 911-922) to question the professional status of the clergy. Gannon found no formal, written codes of ethics; and Jarvis decided that the ecclesiastical rules that did exist were not equivalent to the codes of ethics or procedural guidelines of professions. Abbott says simply, "American clergy do not generally have ethics codes" (1988: 8).

CAPE, however, does have a Constitution, a Handbook and a formal, written Code of Ethics (Appendix 5), each of which refers to some of the ethical matters mentioned by Pavalko. For example, the Handbook states that "courses in clinical pastoral education shall normally... provide opportunities for the exploration of the spiritual and ethical dimensions of personal and social issues". The standards for programs and practitioners are set out in detail; procedures for periodic review of standards for both members and training centres are also specified; there are general statements of ethical standards; and there are clear procedures for dealing with misconduct, allegations of misconduct and any breach of ethics. The organization is very aware of the Code of Ethics and intentional about it. At most Annual Meetings, there is some sort of review of the code, usually some amendments. After the 1993 meeting, the code was in its eleventh text (since 1965) and was nine pages long. According to Pavalko's framework, the existence of this code indicates that the CAPE clergy are much more toward the professional end of the continuum along this dimension than non-CAPE clergy.

Most denominations do not have such a clear and specific code of behaviour for their clergy. When The Ecumenical Foundation of Canada conducted its thorough inventory of ministry in Alberta in 1982, it found that one of the problem areas for clergy was the matter of ethics.

There does not exist a "code of ethics" which clarifies a common goal or common behaviour for all ordained ministers (Gessner, 1982: 19).

In fact, this is a point of change in the church in the late 1980s and early '90s. It was a news story in the summer of 1993 when the Canadian Mennonites adopted a code of ethics for their pastors. By 1993, The United Church of Canada had also spent more than two years working to develop a code of ethics for its clergy through its system of committees and councils. A 1991 book, *Clergy Ethics in a Changing Society*, has a very tentative tone to it, as if breaking new ground. It is subtitled "Mapping the Terrain." In that book, Martin E. Marty of the University of Chicago Divinity School writes that "clergy ethics is conceived as confused, blurred, foundering, not-yet-defined, under stress or in crisis" (Marty, 1991: 24). He adds that "there is great reluctance to measure the clergy by formal legal norms, and it is just about impossible to provide guidelines, principles, patterns, or laws for the clerical profession of the sort that one finds in, say, the legal and medical professions" (Marty, 1991: 30).

However, after a period of particularly frequent, public and sensational cases of alleged or proven clergy misconduct, more attention

is being given to ethical codes and to the discussion of professional ethics in the seminaries and the denominations. It is just a beginning for the mainline, traditional, institutional church. CAPE was and is ahead in this respect.

My own experience can illustrate this. In seminary in the early 1970s, I studied ethics as an academic subject within Systematic Theology; and I was made aware of general ethical standards for the practice of ministry. However there was no written code of ethics, not even in the elaborate and lengthy Manual of The United Church of Canada. There was no clergy handbook or guidebook. There were references, occasionally, to biblical guidelines at the most general level; and there was the odd specific word of advice: "Don't go to visit a woman alone in her home at night." But this part of the clergy formation was informal and sporadic. It was more likely to be experienced in the lounge over coffee than in the classroom over curriculum. It may be that the seminary assumed that candidates for the ministry would have high moral character and that they would internalize an unwritten code of ethics through their knowledge of the Bible and years of experience of such role models as other clergy and elders. It may be that the church felt that that would be enough. Perhaps, in more homogeneous traditional society, the shared understandings that existed between the clergy and their parishioners formed an adequate ethical framework without the need for a written code.

From the beginning, CAPE specialists working in non-church settings have not had such a shared value system with either their clientele or non-clergy colleagues, and the organization has taken a different attitude toward codified ethics. During my seminary years, I went beyond the curriculum on my own time to gain additional training in four different CPE settings. At the very beginning of each of these training units, standards of professional behaviour were outlined, the code of ethics was cited, situations specific to the institution were reviewed, and the seriousness of ethical professional behaviour was emphasized. Before beginning to work in the clinical setting, professional standards were discussed with respect to the CPE student's relationship with the clientele, with members of other professions and with other clergy. Throughout each of the training units, ethics was one of the recurring topics for discussion in seminars and supervisory sessions.

The difference in emphasis was quite apparent at the time. In 1976, as a newly-ordained United Church minister, I was part of an ethical tradition; as a student-member of CAPE I had to subscribe to a formal ethical code.

Another indicator of the importance of ethics in general for the members of CAPE is the frequency of workshops on the subject at annual and regional meetings, and the frequency of articles dealing with ethical issues in *The Journal of Pastoral Care*, received by all members

The first annual Meeting of CAPE that I ever attended included workshops on "Ethics, Theology and Hospital Policy" and "Multidisciplinary Bioethical Decision-Making": the chaplains from the Calgary Foothills Hospital were circulating a draft policy and procedures manual for that hospital's ethics committee among CAPE members for consideration and feedback; and the business meeting dealt with a number of matters relating to professional standards (Appendix 5).

Over the years, The Journal of Pastoral Care has regularly turned to this issue in articles dealing directly with professional ethics, for example:

"Consumer Protection Issues in CPE."

Vol. 29 no. 1 (Mar. '75): 50-54;

"The Robin Hood Policy: Ethical and Practical Issues Growing Out of the Use of Fee Scales in Pastoral Counseling Centres."

Vol. 31 no. 2 (June '77): 119-124;

"Ethical Assumptions of Clinical Pastoral Education."

Vol. 34 no. 1 (Mar. '80): 39-53; and

"Symposium on Privileged Communication."

Vol. 39 no. 4 (Dec. '85): 293-312.

More frequently, The Journal of Pastoral Care has engaged ethical issues of concern to the readership, such as abortion, battered women, bioethics, counselling rape victims, euthanasia, racism and sexism.

In summary, then, the existence of a written, formal code of ethics and the high level of awareness of the code and of ethical standards generally among the members of CAPE place them as a group further toward the professional end of Pavalko's continuum than traditional parish-based clergy.

A Summary of Findings with Respect to Pavalko's Continuum

The CAPE clergy were found to be near the extreme profession end of Pavalko's continuum according to all of the 24 indicators. With respect to 18 of these indicators, CAPE seemed to be closer to the ideal type of profession than the traditional clergy profession. There were six subdimensions for which there was no compelling evidence that CAPE clergy were closer to the professional end than traditional clergy. Five of these were subdimensions of just one of the Pavalko indicators, Dimension Seven, "Sense of Community": identity, continuing status, common values, role definitions and clear limits. The sixth item was a subdimension of Dimension Three, "Training": values and norms. In each of these cases, the CAPE members could not be distinguished from traditional, parish-based clergy by the extent to which they showed characteristics closely approaching Pavalko's ideal-type of profession. In no case did the CAPE clergy seem to be further from the profession end than traditional clergy.

Professionalization and Reprofessionalization

The questionnaire provided a wealth of data and detail concerning the strength of indicators of professionalism among the CAPE clergy according to Pavalko's framework, the dimensions of which are drawn widely from the whole field of the sociology of professions. When documentary evidence and participant observation are also considered,

it is clear that CAPE has attained a high level of professionalization for itself as an occupational association and for its members as practitioners.

There is more to the story, however, than simply the frozen "photograph" produced by the statistical and qualitative evidence in the analysis above. The 1983 "snapshot" is one frame in a moving picture.

It is generally considered that the clergy had already undergone a process of professionalization, for the most part during the nineteenth century (e.g., Russell, 1980); and it is now widely considered that they have been experiencing deprofessionalization in more recent years (e.g., Ritzer and Walczak, 1986: 63). In the context of these processes, the high scores of professionalism among CAPE clergy are at least anomalous, and possibly indicative of a new dynamic in the area of intellectual occupations.

It is possible, however, that the combination of specialization and development of interdisciplinary expertise, which has been observed in CAPE, is not reprofessionalization among clergy, but rather the emergence of a new profession. This possibility will be addressed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER NINE

THE INDICATORS OF RELIGIOSITY

At this point in the investigation, the evidence indicates very strongly that the CAPE members are professional specialists. The question remains, "Are they religious specialists?" Are they still clergy or are they a new profession? The answer to this will be explored in this chapter in terms of official statements and documents, the data derived from the 1983 survey, and participant observation reporting.

In this part of the discussion, there is a vocabulary problem if the term "clergy" is restricted to the popular definition that has been operative in society the past few generations, ordained priests and ministers. If it is broadened in its reference to include all religious specialists who have been trained by the church and "set apart" through some *rite de passage* for ministry as the church understands it, it will make it easier in the following analysis to refer to an ecumenical population that includes Roman Catholic nuns, diaconal ministers, Salvation Army officers and Protestant lay pastors, as well as ordained priests and ministers.

Documentary Evidence

Officially, and according to their own definitions, the members of CAPE are religious specialists, what they do is ministry, and the association is dedicated to support traditional religious values in new

roles, programs and contexts. The first statement in the CAPE Handbook reads.

The Canadian Association for Pastoral Education is an interfaith organization which promotes training for creative ministry through Supervised Pastoral Education (SPE).

The constitution requires that a CAPE member be "a person with a recognized religious vocation -- i.e., one who is ordained, licensed, or otherwise endorsed by a religious body" (Article VI Section 2.b). This constitutional requirement is represented on the association's pamphlet for public distribution in a slight paraphrase: "Any person ordained or endorsed by a religious body or faith group." The Handbook also specifies the requirements for admission to each level of certification. At each level, these requirements include several items that would seem to identify the applicant as a member of the clergy profession. For example, the following items are taken from "Section III, Subsection 1 -- Requirements for Admission to Advanced Training":

- b) evidence of ordination or certification in a pastoral vocation or ministry;
- c) evidence of continued good standing in his/her church;
- i) a brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's theology of ministry;
- j) a brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's personal and pastoral identity;
- k) a brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's professional goals in ministry.

The requirement to provide "evidence of continued good standing in his/her church" is repeated for every certification category in CAPE. In other words, members must be considered "clergy", as their home

denomination understands the term, in order to become members of CAPE and progress through the levels of CAPE certification.

The association's literature refers to the members' work activities by such terms as "ministry" or "pastoral care", terms that are normally associated with the clergy. For example, the content of SPE, CPE and PCE courses are outlined in the CAPE Handbook. These outlines include such phrases as the following:

...theology and various models of pastoral care;

provide opportunities for the development of specific skills in the practice of pastoral ministry;

...pastoral identity;

provide opportunities for the exploration of the spiritual and ethical dimensions of personal and social issues;

...and other skills related to the practice of pastoral ministry.

The Code of Ethics refers to the work that members do as "ministries" throughout its text, and states as the first foundational value "that we maintain responsible association with the faith group in which we have ecclesiastical standing" (January 21, 1993 text; Appendix 5, page 1).

The documentary evidence is overwhelmingly clear CAPE presents itself as a professional association of clergy.

Evidence from the Survey Data Set

The 1983 questionnaire included a number of items designed to investigate whether the CAPE members considered themselves to be

clergy, practising ministry.

One of my observations at the 1981 Annual Meeting in Halifax was that the CAPE members were not easily identifiable as clergy by means of distinctive attire:

The CAPE clergy were well-dressed, but notably lacking in traditional clergy uniforms: in a group of over 200, there was one clerical collar, one Salvation Army uniform, and three nuns' habits (Appendix 4).

As was recounted in Chapter Three, "The Study of Clergy", this matter of clergy fashion has been a matter of some variation throughout history. In some societies, clergy have not had any distinctive dress code, uniform or visible signs of profession. In Canada, in the postwar era, however, it has usually been possible to recognize clergy quite easily by their dress, not only in their work settings but also in the street.

With this in mind, the CAPE members were asked, "Do you ever wear 'clericals' or other signs of religious vocation?"

Over two-thirds of the respondents said "yes" in one way or another (Table 15). The various "yes" responses sum to 297, representing 70.2% of the 423 respondents to the Census, 73.3% of the 405 who answered this part of the questionnaire.

TABLE 15 "Clergy Attire" -- Responses to the question, "Do you ever wear 'clericals' or other signs of religious vocation?"

response	%	adjusted %	(N=)
Yes, almost always	11.1	11.5	(47)
Yes, in work role	18.4	19.3	(78)
Yes, ceremonies	38.1	39.8	(161)
Yes, other	2.6	2.7	(11)
Yes TOTAL	70.2	73.3	(297)
No, never	25.5	26.7	(108)
No response	4.3	--	(18)
TOTAL	100.0 (423)	100.0 (405)	(423)

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

A follow-up question, consisting of an inventory of various "visible/identifiable signs of religious vocation" elicited an even higher rate of traditional responses: 358 members (84.6% of the 423 respondents) provided a total of 626 citations of some sort of traditional sign of the clergy profession. The most frequently cited of these was "clerical collar" (by 161 respondents), followed by "robe, gown, stole, etc." (157) and "cross visible over clothing" (121). Twenty-three respondents cited "habit or uniform". Sixty-five respondents either failed to respond to the inventory or indicated "not applicable". Upon checking this subgroup, it was found that it consisted almost entirely of students, retired people,

lay people, Mennonites and a few other Protestants.

The most striking statistic provided by the inventory is that 84.6% of the respondents sometimes wear a visible sign of religious vocation. This indicates a much higher association with traditional religiosity than might have been expected. Recognition as clergy seems to be important to the CAPE members, not only on the organizational level according to the documentary evidence, but also on the individual level according to this indicator.

Elsewhere in the questionnaire, a number of items inquired about respondents' frequency of involvement in traditional religious practices and experiences. Three religiosity indices were developed from these individual quantitative measures. Each index is really a "count" of the respondent's participation rate in traditional Christian religiosity. These measures are based on operational definitions closely related to those that have been used by Bibby and the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion over the years (see, for example, Bibby, 1987: 17, Table 1.3), but adapted for an officially religious clergy population. Some items, for example, relate specifically to professional clergy activity as it has been defined by the denominations in practice since World War II. The items relating to work role were summed into a Work Role Religiosity Score; the items relating to religious behaviour in private life were summed to create a Personal Religiosity Score; and the items measuring frequency of religious experiences were added up as a Religious Experience Score.

The quantitative scores for each index were then transposed into a 200-point scale in order to facilitate comparisons between groups within CAPE. The word "scale" here is used in its popular sense. The scores are indices, values collected from several related operational definitions and combined to produce a summary value for each respondent for the concept described by those operational definitions. Based as they are in the existent literature of religiosity research, these measures are arguably reliable and valid; but standardizing the scores on a 200-point range raises questions for significance testing. The scales have the advantage, however, of being based on a large number of items collected from a large response population. They are also quite intuitive: higher numbers mean "more religious". They can certainly be used to test the hypotheses that there will be an inverse relationship between measures of religiosity and measures of involvement in CPE. More information about the component parts of these scores was provided in Chapter Four.

The Work Role Religiosity Score (WRRS) was developed from a number of items in the questionnaire (Tables 16 and 17). For example, members were asked, "In your work role, how often do you pray with others?". Eleven (2.7%) of the 412 respondents to this question said, "never or very rarely". This was the 0-category on a 0-to-5 Likert response scale. The 4 category was "about weekly", and the 5 category "daily or several times per week". Three hundred and twenty-three (78.4%) of the respondents fell into these two categories.

TABLE 16 Work Role Religiosity Scores (WRRS)
for selected populations within CAPE.
(on 200 point scale, higher scores indicating greater
religious content in work activities)

group	mean WRRS	(N=)
CAPE total	136	401
Members Categories ("ordinary") Member	141	152
Advanced	141	39
Specialist	140	34
Act'g/Ass't Super.	131	19
Full Supervisor	117	45
Others	136	<u>112</u>
total		401
Amount of CPE 1 unit	146	96
2 or 3	139	86
4 or 5	138	94
6 or more	127	<u>107</u>
total		383
Primary Work Role parish minister	149	128
institutional chaplain	145	141
pastoral counsellor	103	20
Others	116	<u>112</u>
total		401
Years in CAPE 2 or less	136	108
3 or 4	147	84
5 to 9	140	105
10 or more	123	<u>99</u>
total		396
Denomination Roman Catholic	159	87
United Church	119	118
Anglican	150	67
Baptist	134	34
Lutheran	128	26
Mennonite	132	21
Presbyterian	122	15
Salvation Army	144	7
Others	119	<u>26</u>
total		401

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

TABLE 17 Work Role Religiosity Scores (WRRS)
for selected populations within CAPE.
(from Table 16, arranged in rank order; 200 point scale,
higher scores indicating greater religious content in work
activities)

group	mean WRRS	(N=)
Roman Catholic	159	87
Anglican	150	67
parish minister	149	128
3 or 4 yrs./CAPE	147	84
1 CPE unit	146	96
institutional chaplain	145	141
Salvation Army	144	7
Advanced	141	39
("ordinary") Member	141	152
5 to 9 yrs./CAPE	140	105
Specialist	140	34
2 or 3 CPE units	139	86
4 or 5 CPE units	138	94
CAPE total	136	401
2 yrs or less/CAPE	136	108
Baptist	134	34
Mennonite	132	21
Act'g/Ass't Super.	131	19
Lutheran	128	26
6+ CPE units	127	107
10+ yrs. in CAPE	123	99
Presbyterian	122	15
United Church	119	118
Full Supervisor	117	45
pastoral counsellor	103	20

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

This was the most telling indicator among the work role religiosity indicators; but other questions also received responses that suggest that the CAPE people are performing ministry activities that have been associated with the public role of clergy in twentieth-century Canada. Referring to selected items in the WRRS: 18 (4.4%) of 409 respondents said that they "never or very rarely... read the Bible or other devotional literature with others" while in their work role, but 268 (65.5%) said that they did so at least weekly; 21 (5.1%) of 411 respondents said that they "never or very rarely... conduct, lead or assist in worship services" while in work roles, but 240 (58.4%) said that they did so at least weekly.

Supposing that it might be possible for religious specialists to go through the motions of public ritual without any personal spiritual involvement, parallel work role religiosity and personal religiosity indicators were used. The CAPE members were asked questions about their personal or private religious beliefs and practices, similar to the questions about religious behaviour in their work role. The same Likert response scale was used; and a Personal Religiosity Score (PRS) was developed (Tables 18 and 19). For example, in response to the following question,

How often do you pray or meditate PRIVATELY or in a small group outside your work role?

9 (2.2%) of 415 respondents said "never or very rarely", 86 (20.7%) said "about weekly" and 262 (63.1%) said "daily or several times per week".

The total for the two categories indicating "at least weekly" is 348 or 83.8% of the 415 respondents. Similarly, 66.1% of 415 respondents indicated that they "read the Bible or other devotional literature" outside the context of their work roles at least weekly; 12 (2.9%) said that they did so "never or very rarely". Half the respondents indicated that they attended worship "just as a member of the congregation" at least weekly (206 out of 411); 20 (4.9%) said that they did so "never or very rarely", but 19 of these were themselves parish clergy who would likely be leading worship at least once a week. When asked about a variety of other possible private devotional activities, 139 reported individual practices, such as "meditation", "contemplative prayer", "beads", "Breviary", "divine office", "private retreat", and "meditative jogging"; 41 reported specifically group activities such as retreats and prayer groups; 46 reported other unspecified personal religious practices.

A separate set of questions was designed to measure more internal, less expressive spirituality (the Religious Experience Scores -- Tables 20 and 21.) The responses to these questions support the idea that the CAPE members are authentically religious people. For example, when asked, "How often during the past year or so have you experienced a sense of the presence of God?" only 1 of the 403 respondents marked the "never or very rarely" category on the Likert scale; 180 indicated "daily or several times per week" (44.7%), 74 "about weekly" (18.4%), for a total of 254 (63.0%) in the categories that describe "at least weekly"

TABLE 18 Personal Religiosity Scores (PRS)
for selected populations within CAPE.
(on a 200 point scale, higher scores indicating greater
amount of religious observance outside work role)

group	mean PRS	(N=)
CAPE total	152	408
Members' Categories ("ordinary") Member	150	156
Advanced	154	40
Specialist	164	33
Act'g/Ass't Super.	156	19
Full Supervisor	145	43
Others	153	<u>117</u>
total		408
Amount of CPE		
1 unit	156	98
2 or 3	143	91
4 or 5	154	97
6 or more	151	<u>104</u>
total		390
Primary Work Role		
parish minister	129	127
institutional chaplain	167	141
pastoral counsellor	156	21
Others	158	<u>119</u>
total		408
Years in CAPE		
2 or less	159	114
3 or 4	154	86
5 to 9	151	105
10 or more	142	<u>97</u>
total		402
Denominations		
Roman Catholic	178	89
United Church	140	121
Anglican	144	66
Baptist	143	35
Lutheran	147	26
Mennonite	158	22
Presbyterian	132	15
Salvation Army	180	8
Others	154	<u>26</u>
total		408

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

TABLE 19 Personal Religiosity Scores (PRS)
for selected populations within CAPE.
(from Table 18, arranged in rank order; 200 point scale,
higher scores indicating greater amount of religious
observance outside work role)

group	mean PRS	(N=)
Salvation Army	180	8
Roman Catholic	178	89
institutional chaplain	167	141
Specialist	164	33
2 or less/ yrs. CAPE	159	114
Mennonite	158	22
1 CPE unit	156	98
pastoral counsellor	156	21
Act'g/Ass't Super.	156	19
4 or 5 CPE units	154	97
Advanced	154	40
3 or 4 yrs./CAPE	154	86
CAPE total	152	408
5 to 9 yrs./CAPE	151	105
6+ CPE units	151	104
("ordinary") Member	150	156
Lutheran	147	26
Full Supervisor	145	43
Anglican	144	66
2 or 3 CPE units	143	91
Baptist	143	35
10+ yrs. in CAPE	142	97
United Church	140	121
Presbyterian	132	15
parish minister	129	127

Source: *Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.*

4

MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS
STANDARD REFERENCE MATERIAL 1010a
ANSI and ISO TEST CHART No. 21

TABLE 20 Religious Experience Scores (RXS)
for selected populations within CAPE.
(on a 200 point scale, higher scores indicating higher
measures of religious experience)

group	mean RXS	(N=)
CAPE total	129	390
Membership Categories ("ordinary") Member	125	148
Advanced	141	37
Specialist	142	35
Act'g/Ass't Super.	136	17
Full Supervisor	123	40
Others	127	113
total		390
Amount of CPE training 1 unit	123	92
2 or 3	135	84
4 or 5	131	95
6 or more	127	99
total		370
Primary Work Role parish minister	124	124
institutional chaplain	139	139
pastoral counsellor	121	20
Others	123	107
total		390
Years in CAPE 2 or less	133	109
3 or 4	134	80
5 to 9	132	104
10 or more	115	91
total		384
Denominations Roman Catholic	151	88
United Church	111	113
Anglican	120	62
Baptist	131	34
Lutheran	115	25
Mennonite	138	21
Presbyterian	131	15
Salvation Army	170	8
Others	145	24
total		390

Source: *Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.*

TABLE 21 Religious Experience Scores (RXS)
for selected populations within CAPE.
(from Table 20, arranged in rank order, higher scores
indicating higher measures of religious experience)

group	mean RXS	(N=)
Salvation Army	170	8
Roman Catholic	151	88
Specialist	142	35
Advanced	141	37
institutional chaplain	139	139
Mennonite	138	21
Act'g/Ass't Super.	136	17
2 or 3 CPE units	135	84
3 or 4 yrs./CAPE	134	80
2 or less yrs./CAPE	133	109
5 to 9 yrs./CAPE	132	104
4 or 5 CPE units	131	95
Presbyterian	131	15
Baptist	131	34
CAPE total	129	390
6+ CPE units	127	99
("ordinary") Member	125	148
parish minister	124	124
1 CPE unit	123	92
Full Supervisor	123	40
pastoral counsellor	121	20
Anglican	120	62
10+ yrs. in CAPE	115	91
Lutheran	115	25
United Church	111	113

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

The Indices of Religiosity

Since Florell's 1975 American study discerned the possibility that CPE training might have a secularizing effect -- a concern expressed through the late 1970s and early '80s by a number of Canadian church leaders, it was felt that the various indicators of religiosity should be examined more closely across indicators of CAPE involvement and CPE experience.

As mentioned above, three indices of religiosity were developed from some of the variables that have just been discussed. Work Role Religiosity Scores (WRRS -- Tables 16 and 17), Personal Religiosity Scores (PRS -- Tables 18 and 19) and Religious Experience Scores (RXS -- Tables 20 and 21) were computed for each respondent. These scores were examined for various populations within CAPE, selected according to membership category, number of CPE units taken, primary work role, and number of years a member of CAPE.

There is some suggestion, in the data, that the most highly certified, senior, experienced CAPE members are less religious than those who have taken less CPE, have been members for fewer years and have lower certification. The findings are sometimes ambiguous, however, and there are some anomalies. It is interesting to note that there is no relationship between age and any of the three religiosity indicators, but (as will be discussed more fully in the next chapter) the distinctive religious cultures of the different denominations do emerge

As the denominations differ in the distribution of their CAPE members across the variables that measure amount of CPE training, work activities, and CAPE involvement, it may sometimes be the denominational differences that are being measured here.

The tendencies across the WRRS are fairly clear. Means for the subpopulations show that there is a general decline in this indicator of professional religiosity as the members move away from the traditional clergy and become more involved in the CAPE culture (Tables 16 and 17). For example, the three highest WRRS means are for the Roman Catholics, Anglicans and parish ministers; the three lowest are for pastoral counsellors, Full Supervisors and the United Church members (Table 17). There is, however, an important qualification: the questionnaire results also indicate that, as the members gain seniority within the CAPE system, they also tend to spend a higher percentage of their time in administrative and educational functions, and less time in direct ministry. The questions from which the WRRS was derived are closely related to direct interaction with the clientele. One would expect the Full Supervisors, who tend to be department heads, to have a lower mean WRRS than their assistants, who tend to spend much more time with the clientele. The strong inverse relationship between WRRS and number of CPE units completed makes sense in terms of these career realities.

The data also reflect the different role expectations for the pastoral

counselling specialist compared to the parish-based or institutional minister (Table 16). The low mean WRRS for the full-time counsellors is quite striking (Table 17). Another interesting finding is that there is actually a curvilinear relationship between WRRS and "years in CAPE"

The PRS tables do not show as much direct relationship with CAPE and CPE involvement (Tables 18 and 19). The Specialists have the highest mean score among the membership categories; the quartile of members who have completed 2 or 3 units of CPE have the lowest mean. Parish practitioners, who had the highest mean WRRS among work roles, have the lowest mean PRS; and it makes some sense that this would be the case: parish clergy have much more opportunity to express their personal spirituality in their work role.

There is no definitive evidence of declining personal faith with increased CPE training. The steady downward slope of the PRS mean for "years in CAPE" is strongly affected by the gender and denominational variables: the Roman Catholics and women are strongly overlapping populations (66% of the Catholics in CAPE are women, half the women are Roman Catholics); they tend to have the highest PRS scores and also tend to be the newest members. Baptists, who tend to have much lower PRS scores also tend to be long-term members.

The Religious Experience Scores (RXS) are also a little ambiguous (Tables 20 and 21). Supervisors, pastoral counsellors and the longest-term CAPE members did have the lowest scores, which

would be a seminary principal or bishop's fear, and possibly indicative of a secularizing effect. Again, the denominational affiliation affects these scores; and it is interesting to note that all other CAPE members have higher mean RXS than the quartile who had the least CPE training.

Comparing this statistic with WRRS suggests that career path, rather than CPE itself, leads to lower religiosity scores. If this is true, it is an important finding, because it is an issue that has not been mentioned in any of the controversy over CPE in the clergy literature and journals of theological education. It suggests that, just as engineers and other professionals may actually practise the technique of their profession less as they become more successful and more senior in their fields, so clergy may practise less ritual as they advance on a career path. Certainly a bishop celebrates mass less frequently than any of his parish priests do; he is caught up with pastoral work that entails personnel management and committee meetings. In Protestant denominations, ordinands and other junior clergy tend to have several Sunday services, because they are responsible for a number of rural communities. Later in their careers, they tend to migrate toward larger congregations in the urban centres, serving more people, but actually leading fewer worship services. Crude, quantitative measures of religiosity are therefore misleading. The direct relationship between CPE experience and a career path in administration or supervision should not be mistaken for a decline in personal religious beliefs and practices, at least not on the basis of these indicators.

FIGURE 13 (from Tables 18, 20 and 22)

FIGURE 14 (from Tables 18, 20 and 22)

FIGURE 15 (from Tables 18, 20 and 22)

Another way of looking at the relationship between religiosity and CAPE involvement is provided by a series of summary charts (Figures 13, 14 and 15). If the hypotheses relating to a secularizing effect in CPE were valid, there would be a general downward slope to the right in these charts. There is some slight hint of the effect, but the upward swing of PRS in Figure 13, the curvilinear shape of WRRS in Figure 14 and the high scores for Specialists in Figure 15 are all quite apparent and do not allow one to conclude that there is any strong inverse relationship between CAPE involvement and religiosity.

At this point, it can only be said that the concern about clinical pastoral education as a potentially hostile environment for spirituality, or even an exit from ministry, is still an open question. Repeated surveys of the same population over time, with instruments sensitive to changing expressions of religiosity would be necessary.

It is a complex and difficult task to measure religiosity in a population of modern, well-educated Christians involved in social issues and social problems. Richard A. Hunt developed an instrument which allows respondents to give either traditionally religious or non-traditionally religious responses, as well as non-religious responses (1972a: 42-52). He called the three options "Literalist", "Antiliteralist" and "Mythological"; and the instrument as a whole has become known by the resultant acronym, "the LAM scales". The CAPE survey questionnaire included a 10-item LAM index, and the responses provided a total of

nearly 4000 items. It is striking to note that only 2.7% of these were in the antiliteral or non-religious category, but it may be even more significant to realize that 62.2% of the responses were in the mythological or non-traditionally religious category. As was pointed out in Chapter Three, a narrow substantive approach to religiosity investigation could mistake such a change in spiritual expression for decline in religious belief and practice. Since the CAPE people seem to be on the edge of change in both church and society, it is essential to use multiple and sensitive indicators to measure and describe their religiosity. The LAM scales also showed a wide range of theological thought across a liberal-conservative spectrum in CAPE. Since much of this seemed to be related to the denominational variable, the full discussion of the LAM scales and the display of the data will be reserved until the next chapter (Tables 26a and 26b).

Participant Observation

My own observations fit generally with the evidence of the questionnaire and CAPE's official literature. The CAPE members seem to be clergy who show some traditional characteristics, but who also have some religious ways about them that are strikingly non-traditional.

I have had four experiences of supervised CAPE training. As a "student chaplain" at both the Toronto General Hospital and the Ottawa General Hospital, I was expected by my supervisors, my peers, the

patients and the staff to be a ministry specialist. Prayer and all other available religious resources were expected to be part of what I might bring to a situation. As chaplain to the Provincial Family Courts in Toronto, my supervisor and the court staff expected me to do a weekly worship service in the adjoining juvenile detention centre, and to be available as a spiritual counsellor. In fact, many of the social workers employed in the legal system came to me for counselling, expecting that conversation with me would have spiritual dimension. Police officers tended to call me "padre". As a resident counsellor with the Toronto Institute of Human Relations, my supervisor (who would become the Bishop of the Lutheran Church of Canada ten years later) expected me to be able to respond to specifically spiritual issues that my clients might raise, as well as to other presenting problems.

I have attended six Annual Meetings of CAPE, and at each of these I have observed that the daily worship services were well-attended, an integral part of the conference, and apparently meaningful to the attending members. People would talk about what a service had meant to them in the corridor- and mealtime- conversation through the rest of the day or weekend. I kept a field journal at the 1981 meeting, my first, and used it to write up a summary memorandum to Professor McFarlane when I returned to Carleton (Appendix 4). The following paragraph is an excerpt from that memorandum:

The worship service was on the theme "The Spirit and Human

Nature". It blended readings from the Bible, traditional prayers and a procession of banners with theoretical readings on the human personality. It was intended as a celebration of the human personality based on a passage of Scripture which referred to "the Spirit" and "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, humility and self-control". It was an ecumenical service, planned by and led by a committee. It was well-attended and seemed to be well-received (February 13, 1981 page 4)

Summary

Taken together, the evidence of observation, questionnaire and official literature strongly supports the notion that the CAPE members should be considered clergy. They seem to be an organized association of specialists within the broad occupational group commonly known as the clergy profession; and if this is indeed the case, the reprofessionalization hypothesis is supported.

However, when the religiosity indices are considered with a number of the variables relating to work role, credentials and amount of CPE, there are still enough anomalies and questions to consider this a matter for further study. There were some undertones that would be congruent with the 1975 American findings and the concerns expressed by many of the American and Canadian religious leaders already cited (Florell, 1975; J. Hammett, 1975, King, 1977b, Getman, 1982, Justes, 1982; Oden, 1984).

One plan might be to investigate the possibility that the 1983 CAPE survey is a snapshot of a process at an earlier stage than the 1975

ACPE study. The chronology seems wrong, but CPE was older and at a later stage of development in the United States in 1975 than it was in Canada in 1983. Thus, if there is a secularizing effect in CPE, it might be more apparent in Florell's 1975 investigation than in the 1983 CAPE survey. Subsequent replications of the CAPE study would allow for comparisons over time, and would be interesting; but that would also be beyond the limits of this study.

There is, however, another approach to the issue that is within the capability of this study; and that would be a focussed consideration of the denominational variable. Clergy are not just religious believers. They are religious specialists trained and certified by the church. In Canada, in the twentieth century, each denomination has its own seminaries, and its own cultural and theological character. If the CAPE practitioners are indeed still clergy, and not members of an emerging new profession, their denominational identity should still be apparent, and there should be some evidence of affiliation to their respective source religious communities.

This chapter has used a variety of religiosity indicators to discuss the matter of the CAPE members' clergy status. The next chapter will review some of these items and a number of other indicators from one perspective only: the denominational variable.

CHAPTER TEN

THE DENOMINATIONAL VARIABLE

The case study of CAPE has so far provided a large body of evidence indicating that the CAPE practitioners have attained a high level of professionalization, as that has been defined, and that they continue to be members of the clergy, as that group would normally be defined. The only reservation about describing CAPE's development as reprofessionalization is the possibility that CPE might have some long-term secularizing effect that would eventually result in the definition of the CAPE members as something other than clergy. new professionals within the field of health care and personal problems If that were the case, reprofessionalization would not be an accurate term, and it would not, on the basis of the study of this key group, be a necessary addition to the conceptual vocabulary of the sociology of professions.

Earlier research suggests that an investigation of the denominational variable might shed light on the issue of the clergy status of CAPE professionals and provide either supporting or contradictory evidence for the reprofessionalization thesis. This final chapter of analysis will be a report of that investigation.

As has been mentioned several times, the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education (ACPE) in the United States had conducted an extensive self-study in 1975, part of which was replicated with CAPE in

Canada in 1983. The American study found that denominational identities and distinctions weakened as the members seemed to blend into the professional association. There was even some question as to whether the association itself might be becoming some sort of new denomination. At any rate, according to the American study, a Baptist hospital chaplain, for example, would have more in common with other hospital chaplains in the ACPE than with other Baptist clergy, outside the ACPE, who practised more traditional, parish-based ministry. John L. Florell was the principal investigator. In reviewing the data, he reported.

CPE has in many senses become an institution unto itself between traditional religious education and secular institutions that provide health care, services and rehabilitation. This separate identity has both possibilities and dangers... The dangers are that CPE programs may become too secularized or controlled by the institution they work in... Another danger signal is that certified members spend significantly less time in denominational responsibilities than uncertified members. Should CPE members lose touch with their denominations, it would weaken an important link between members and their most important faith support group (Florell, 1975a: 231-2).

Elsewhere, Florell would add that "the average member (of the ACPE) who answered the national questionnaire sees him or herself as a person with a different perspective from either the theological tradition they have come from or the secular world that they may work in" (1975b: 18).

This image of a professional practitioner standing uncomfortably with one foot in one culture and one in another is reminiscent of a large

body of literature on marginalism in society, dating back at least as far as Robert E. Park (1928). In sociological theory, a marginal area is defined as one where two cultures meet. Normally, a marginal group "has relinquished some of its traditions and separate identity and partially accepted the values and ways of life of a culture it is in the process of adopting" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1979: 242). When Oswald Hall studied marginal professionals in the 1950s, he considered a social role that has some parallels with CAPE clergy who become Directors of Pastoral Services Departments in hospitals (Hall, 1959: 185-194). He pointed out that doctors who practise medicine and doctors who function as hospital administrators have different notions of success:

The distinct orientation of the doctor means that success is to be found in the eyes of his colleagues... Success is a matter of living up to the expectations of the colleague group... For the administrator the measure of success is the welfare of the organization of which he is part (Hall, 1959: 192-193).

Such orientation is problematic for a doctor. In some respects it is even more difficult to stand on the margins of two occupations when one is the clergy profession, related as it is to the institutional church. Florell's research identified this dilemma.

By 1982, these concerns were shared by some Canadian church leaders, theological educators and CAPE members. There was little empirical evidence to enlighten the discussion; but, in and around Canadian seminaries and denominational headquarters, one would hear

expressions of unease about the atmosphere of CAPE. Referring to a humanist philosophy and a secular psychology in CPE, officials would tell stories of clergy who had left the ministry after clinical training experience. On a formal, scholarly level, this issue was the subject of a number of studies, books and articles that have already been cited (e.g., Florell, 1975a; J. Hammett, 1975; King, 1977b; Getman, 1982; Justes, 1982; Oden, 1984).

Several aspects of the 1983 CAPE survey questionnaire were designed to explore this issue, to some extent in comparison to the American findings. On the basis of Florell's research on the American cousin association, it was postulated that members of CAPE would tend to resemble each other, despite denominational differences, more than they would resemble their denominational colleagues who did not belong to CAPE; that they would express a stronger sense of belonging to CAPE than to their own denominations; that denominational lines among the members of CAPE would become blurred or even disappear; and that a melting pot effect would be discerned. In other words, it was postulated that CAPE members would appear to have been socialized into a homogeneous professional association despite their different backgrounds.

Analysis of several variables in the CAPE survey data set, however, suggests that the Canadian case is quite different. A religious mosaic of denominational groups with strong identities and internal

cohesion seems to exist within the association. The denominational variable "leaps out" of the data. In the first place, when a number of socio-economic background indicators are considered, the CAPE members are clearly grouped into denominations. Such background indicators were not collected by Florell in 1975, so there cannot be any direct Canada-United States comparison here; but on the basis of the CAPE survey, it is clear that background variables relating to ethnicity, regionalism and culture define denominational sub-populations that have very strong identities.

The second finding is that these denominational differences are maintained by the CAPE members in a variety of contemporary ways relating to both professionalism and religiosity. This is in contrast to ACPE, as described by Florell. The Canadian denominations seem to use CPE training in a variety of different ways. The denominational groupings of CAPE members look different with respect to demographic profiles, work roles, work activities, religious beliefs and practices, affiliations and a number of other indicators. Moreover, the members' sense of belonging to CAPE is not nearly as powerful as their denominational identity; and this is in marked contrast to the American case. CAPE people seem to continue to perceive themselves as clergy within their own religious traditions, despite their specialized training, more than as ecumenical religious functionaries blended into a professional melting pot.

As the specific evidence is set out below, it becomes apparent not only that the CAPE members continue to be clergy, but also that this study may have touched on one of the areas of distinction between Canadian and American societies.

Demographic Information and Family Background

In reviewing the data collected by the 1983 CAPE survey from the perspective of the denominational variable, the first finding was that the denominational sub-populations within CAPE were defined by a number of demographic and background characteristics. These details will be reported first, beginning with the gender variable.

In the stratification of Canadian society, one of the most powerful predictors of occupation and income is the gender variable. One of the interesting characteristics of CAPE is that it has a fairly high proportion of women members for an ecumenical association of people in ministry: about 29% (26.4% of the 1983 survey respondents). However, the female membership is not randomly distributed across the denominations. Nearly two-thirds of the Roman Catholic population in CAPE is female (Table 22). No other denomination exceeds the overall 26.4% statistic. In four of the groups, fewer than 10% of the members are women, with Presbyterians having the lowest proportion (6.3%).

TABLE 22 Summary of Demographic and Background Variables for CAPE respondents by Denomination

***Note:** The abbreviations represent the following denominations: **R**oman Catholic; **U**nited Church; **A**nglican; **B**aptist; **L**utheran; **M**ennonite; **P**resbyterian; **S**alvation Army; and **O**thers, a residual category including Methodist, Free Methodist, Pentecostal Church of God, Advent. Brethren, Missionary, Disciples, Reformed, Congregational, Ukrainian Orthodox, Greek Catholic, Unitarian and Metropolitan

	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
Respondents (N=)	94	124	68	37	26	22	16	9	27
% female	66.0	18.5	22.1	10.8	7.7	9.1	6.3	22.2	7.4
% English 1st lang	58.0	100	100	97.2	100	100	100	100	96.2
% Cdn. born	88.3	85.5	79.4	81.1	65.4	90.9	62.5	88.9	51.9
% Am. born	5.3	4.0	5.9	8.1	30.8	0	12.5	0	22.0
% celibate	92.5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
% married	1.1	74.0	70.6	83.8	80.8	90.9	75.0	88.9	77.8
% sep'd/divorced	1.1	13.0	16.2	13.5	0	4.5	6.3	0	14.8
% Ontario res.	44.7	49.2	42.6	45.9	26.9	27.3	62.5	33.3	37.0
% Quebec	13.8	4.0	7.4	2.7	0	0	0	11.1	3.7
% West	34.0	40.3	33.8	18.9	73.1	72.7	31.3	33.3	55.5
% Atlantic	5.4	6.4	14.8	32.4	0	0	0	22.2	0
("rural" = under 10,000; "urban" = over 250,000)									
% rural roots	58.5	50.0	27.9	27.0	46.2	86.4	50.0	44.4	53.8
% urban roots	14.9	21.8	33.8	21.6	34.6	9.1	12.5	22.2	30.8
% rural now	15.1	19.4	13.4	13.5	19.2	22.7	31.3	0	15.4
% urban now	41.9	52.4	41.8	37.8	42.3	45.5	43.8	66.7	46.2
Father's occupation									
% clergy	0	12.1	4.4	5.4	3.8	22.7	12.5	11.1	3.7
% farmer	38.3	8.9	5.9	10.8	23.1	63.6	18.8	22.2	29.6
% employer	5.3	7.3	13.2	13.5	3.8	0	6.3	0	14.8
% mgr/supervisor	10.6	21.8	26.5	32.4	15.4	0	18.8	11.1	0
Parental education indicator									
father	3.5	5.1	4.8	4.2	4.5	4.2	5.1	3.9	4.2
mother	3.9	5.0	4.8	4.4	3.9	3.2	4.2	4.1	4.3

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

Another distinct feature of the Catholic population within CAPE is found in the matter of language. One-third of the Roman Catholics grew up in a French-speaking home (Table 22). Virtually all the other members of CAPE grew up in an English-speaking milieu. The CAPE survey questionnaire asked members to report on this, and the different ethnicity of the one religious group clearly emerges from the response.

Another difference among the denominational groups can be seen in responses to the question concerning place of birth. A very high percentage of Mennonites were born in Canada, followed closely by Salvationists, Catholics, Uniteds, Baptists and Anglicans. Much lower proportions of Lutherans, Presbyterians and Others are Canadian-born (Table 22). Not surprisingly, when one looks also at the percentages of members born in the United States, the same three groups emerge as distinct from the rest. The fact that 30.8% of the Lutherans are American-born is particularly striking when one considers that, among their CAPE colleagues, only 5.3% of the Catholics and 4.0% of the Uniteds are American-born.

Marital status can be as great an influence on one's worldview and life experience as origins and occupation; but for people in religious occupations marital history is also important. That is, an earlier divorce might affect the career of an Anglican priest or Protestant minister even if he or she is now married. In order to discover the incidence of divorce and also provide for the phenomenon of religious celibacy, the marital

status question in the CAPE survey had nine categories of response. The various experiences of marriage breakdown ("ever separated or divorced") were then grouped together (Table 22). There is tremendous variation in marital status and experience across the denominational groupings in CAPE, and one of the factors contributing to this is the phenomenon of religious celibacy among Roman Catholics. Over 90% of the Catholics in CAPE are priests or nuns, and half the women in CAPE are nuns. The incidence of marriage breakdown in the rest of the CAPE population is not high when compared to society as a whole, but three of the denominations (Anglicans, Baptists and Uniteds) and the Others category show a much higher percentage than the Lutherans, Salvationists, Mennonites, Presbyterians and, of course, the Catholics.

In Canada, the religious variable is closely associated with ethnicity, and ethnicity is closely associated with regionalism. This factor showed up in the extremely non-random distribution of CAPE's denominational sub-populations across the country. The 423 respondents to the survey lived in all ten provinces; but the denominations are so regional that on this basis alone one would begin to question the possibility of CAPE imitating ACPE with respect to professional socialization overcoming fundamental differences in early cultural formation. Certain denominations were absent in Quebec and in the Atlantic provinces (Table 22). On the other hand, the Presbyterians are very much based in Ontario, the Lutherans and Mennonites in the

West. The Baptists have a strong association with the Maritimes (especially Nova Scotia) and the Roman Catholics with Quebec.

In the 1983 CAPE survey, members were also asked to describe the size of the community they were born in or grew up in (their "hometown"), and then to describe the size of community in which they are now living. Again, denominational differences emerge as one examines their rural and urban "roots" (Table 22). The Mennonites are by far the most rural in origin, with the Catholics a distant second. Anglicans and Baptists are the least rural in origin by a wide margin, the Anglicans and Lutherans the most urban in origin. In 1983, the Presbyterians were the group with the highest proportion of rural members, while the Salvationists and Uniteds were the most urban.

Research on the stratification of Canadian society since Porter's *The Vertical Mosaic* in 1965 has demonstrated the importance of parental education in determining the life opportunities of the child. Within sociology of work and occupations, self-recruitment to professions is one of the sub-themes (e.g., Kelsall, 1954: 308-320; and Ritzer and Walczak, 1986: 151-155). CAPE members come from a wide variety of family situations. There are, however, identifiable patterns within the denominational groups. A striking number of Mennonites, Presbyterians and Uniteds were "preacher's kids," a phenomenon which is foreign to the Roman Catholic ethos. The rural roots of Mennonites and Catholics show up in a high proportion of farmer fathers, while there is a greater

incidence of Baptists and Anglicans in the higher-level business occupations (Table 22).

Parental education levels were also related to denominational affiliation. A parental education indicator was drawn from the means of responses to the following question:

"What was the highest level of schooling reached by each of your parents?

no schooling	1
some elementary school	2
completed elementary	3
some high school	4
high school graduate	5
some university	6
other postsecondary training	7
university degree	8
a second degree	9
a third degree or more	10."

The Uniteds have the highest scores for each parent (Table 22). The Presbyterian fathers tie the Uniteds for first, but the mother scores are much lower. Mennonites have a similar gender gap; in fact, the lowest score recorded is for Mennonite mothers. The two Anglican scores are high and equal to each other. The lowest mean score for fathers is in the Roman Catholic population. Catholic, Baptist and Salvation Army mothers had higher mean scores than the respective fathers, with the largest gap occurring among the Catholics.

This concludes the discussion of background and demographic variables, leaving open a very important question. Although the population under study in the data set is comprised entirely of CAPE

practitioners, one suspects that some of the characteristic features of more general Canadian society are emerging. If this is indeed the case, it might mean that the attempt to compare CAPE to the ACPE actually becomes less a specific comparison of two similar professional associations at different points of development, and more a part of the general comparison of Canadian and American societies. It is unfortunate that the 1975 ACPE study did not collect background information from its 1200 respondents, because such information might help clarify the extent to which the melting pot effect, which Florell identified as a form of professional socialization, actually does result from extensive experience with CPE or is simply a specific manifestation of a broader social phenomenon in American society (in contrast to Canadian multiculturalism).

At any rate, the discussion turns now to information about the careers of the CAPE members themselves, still from the perspective of the denominational variable.

Career Data: Education, Training, Membership and CPE

The educational experience of the CAPE members also varies across denominational lines (Table 23). The CAPE survey questionnaire asked them to report all postsecondary education in a fifteen-category variable. The percentage of each denomination who reported that they did not have a university degree ranged down from a high of 55.6% of the

Salvationists. For example, 21.5% of the Roman Catholics, 7.5% of Anglicans and 3.8% of Lutherans reported no degree. Every Presbyterian respondent had at least one university degree.

TABLE 23 Education, Training and Membership Variables for CAPE respondents by Denomination

***Note:** The abbreviations represent the following denominations: Roman Catholic, United Church, Anglican, Baptist, Lutheran, Mennonite, Presbyterian, Salvation Army, and Others: a residual category.

	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
University degrees									
% having none	21.5	5.6	7.5	5.4	3.8	22.7	0	55.6	11.1
% having advanced degree	48.9	57.3	38.2	64.9	11.5	9.1	37.5	0	55.6
Age (years)									
average age	52.1	47.2	44.2	48.1	42.2	46.1	38.1	44.7	46.8
career length	20.1	19.1	14.0	20.5	15.0	17.0	17.0	22.1	18.9
difference	32.0	28.1	30.2	27.6	27.2	29.1	21.1	22.6	27.9
Membership categories									
% supervisory	6.4	17.7	13.2	29.7	11.5	22.7	12.5	0	25.9
% specialist	16.0	6.5	11.8	8.1	7.7	0	0	0	7.4
% advanced	9.6	10.5	5.9	5.4	15.4	9.1	25.0	11.1	3.7
% ordinary	41.4	32.3	38.2	40.6	50.0	40.9	31.2	44.4	29.7
% student	20.2	25.0	23.5	10.8	15.4	27.3	18.8	44.4	25.9
% associate	5.3	4.0	7.4	2.7	0	0	0	0	3.7
% life	1.1	4.0	0	2.7	0	0	12.5	0	3.7
Number of CPE units per member	3.3	4.2	3.4	5.7	4.3	4.5	4.9	2.9	4.0
% having done internships	40.9	38.7	32.8	29.7	50.0	54.5	56.2	11.1	44.4

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

CAPE members were asked specifically about their advanced degrees, defined for this population as those beyond the baccalaureate

and seminary degrees. Nearly two thirds of the Baptists (64.9%) and 57.3% of the Uniteds reported advanced degrees (Table 23). Salvationists reported no advanced degrees among their population of respondents, and the Lutherans and Mennonites also had very low scores.

Quite a different set of demographic statistics was created from responses to two other items in the questionnaire. CAPE members were asked to report both their year of birth and the year in which their career in ministry began. From these responses it was possible to calculate age in years, professional age (or length of career) and age at the time of beginning career ("difference"). On average, the oldest group in CAPE in 1983 was the population of Roman Catholics; the Presbyterians had the youngest mean age (Table 23). One suspects that such a 14-year gap might militate against the development of a distinct ethos or homogeneous community within CAPE, especially in combination with the language, gender and marital status variables -- fifteen of the sixteen Presbyterians being male, for example, and twelve married. One also must consider that the two denominations might be tending to use CPE training in different ways: as part of the basic preparation for ministry among Presbyterians, and as either continuing education or second career training among Roman Catholics. Two denominations, the Salvation Army and Baptists, have slightly more professional experience than the Catholics. When one considers the age at which respondents

experienced the *rite de passage* that marked the beginning of their religious careers (or, at least, the mean age for the respondents in each denominational population) more differences become apparent. The Presbyterians and Salvationists among CAPE members tended to begin their careers at a much earlier age than the rest -- about 21 or 22 years old; the CAPE Catholics were, on average, about ten years older than that when they began ministry careers (Table 23). Again, this suggests the presence of nuns finding a second career in pastoral work, after several years of some other activity, perhaps teaching; while at least some of the Presbyterians seem to be tracing their career continuity back to an adolescent sense of vocation.

The basic demographic information reported above begins to suggest that the denominational groups exist as somewhat distinct communities within CAPE. This phenomenon is also suggested by indicators of how the denominations relate to clinical pastoral education, how they use CPE training and what kind of work they do. For example, some concern has been expressed within the association about the fact that most supervisors are men and most specialists are women. Remembering the distribution of women across the denominations (Table 22), one might anticipate that there would be an uneven distribution of supervisors and specialists. Indeed, that is the case. the Baptists have a comparatively high proportion of supervisors (29.7%), the Catholics (6.4%) and Salvationists (0%) comparatively low (Table 23). On the

other hand, the Catholics reported the largest proportion of specialists.

Career contingencies begin to emerge from the data along denominational lines. "Supervisor" and "specialist" are not just membership categories; they are professional credentials required for appointment to positions in bureaucratic structures outside the church. Legally, there can be no discrimination by gender or denomination in making these appointments within government-funded institutions. Personnel decisions must be made on the basis of credentials. Yet there are strong associations in the data: "male", "Baptist" and "supervisor" on the one hand, "female", "Catholic" and "specialist" on the other. The phenomenon of career contingencies on career development is well-researched within the sociology of professions (Ritzer and Wlaczak, 1986: 168), so it is not surprising to encounter it in the CAPE population; but these specific findings are anomalous. "Age and sex are critical contingencies," according to Krause (1971: 41) and many others; but this is to a great extent related to the biology of reproduction, the requirements of the nuclear family and career interruptions for most women. Half of the CAPE women are nuns, a fact which makes much of the conventional sociological explanation of this matter irrelevant: nuns do not take maternity leave. Moreover, age is an unusual variable in the CAPE data set: statistically, it has no ability to predict level of income or level of qualifications.

With the CAPE population, the matter of denominational affiliation

seems to be a more significant career influence than the variables commonly considered in other occupations. It may be a matter of denominational authority. Some denominations organize themselves in ways to allow very little independence on the part of the clergy. The Roman Catholic church is an example of an organization in which authority is quite centralized and tends to concern itself with the maintenance of tradition. Although there are some obvious exceptions among the religious orders, this may create a kind of institutional inertia that is not open to new possibilities. The CAPE career path is new, and Roman Catholics in Canada have generally come into CPE training more recently than Protestants. Although Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is now shrouded with an overlay of subsequent contradictory case studies, the CAPE situation puts one in mind of Weber's original thesis: that some theological systems might be more open than others to new vocations. This is too complex a matter to engage in this thesis, and it is an area of concern that is more properly located within the sociology of religion; but it may be that the distribution of CAPE members across work roles and membership categories is related to two theological issues: the distinct personal spiritualities that vary by denomination, and differing theologies of ecclesiastical authority. It may be that these issues have had some effect on the timing and extent of CAPE involvement by members of the different denominations, resulting in different levels of experience. For the purposes of this thesis,

the reasons behind these distinctions are interesting, but not central. The fact that the denominational communities exist within CAPE with such distinct personalities is the essential point. That point is becoming quite clear, but there is more evidence to consider.

The 1983 survey asked CAPE members to report on their CPE experience with respect to how many units of CPE they had ever taken, and whether they had ever undertaken a year-long internship. Because supervisors have had considerable training earlier in their careers, one might predict that Baptists would have high scores here; and, indeed, the Baptist members of CAPE did report the highest average (5.7 units per respondent). Three denominations averaged less than four units per member: Roman Catholic, Anglican and Salvation Army (Table 23).

One begins to perceive that the Baptists have a long and close relationship with CPE. In addition to the possible theological explanations, there are historic and geographic reasons for this: CPE first developed in Boston and spread through New England before entering Canada through Nova Scotia where a large proportion of the population is Baptist. It would seem, however, that the Baptists did their training for the most part by taking individual units over a period of years; only the Salvation Army had a lower occurrence of members who had done year-long internships (Table 23). This may be due to the time and place of the Baptists' training, or to the fact that they have a high percentage of parish ministers in their membership (Table 24).

TABLE 24 Summary of Work Role Variables by Denomination

***Note:** The abbreviations represent the following denominations: **R**oman Catholic, **U**nited Church, **A**nglican, **B**aptist, **L**utheran, **M**ennonite, **P**resbyterian, **S**alvation Army and **O**thers, a residual category

	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
Primary Work Role									
% institutional									
chaplain	50.5	24.2	33.0	31.4	50.0	27.2	21.1	66.7	30.8
% parish minister	7.4	40.6	39.1	35.8	34.6	36.4	37.5	11.1	30.8
% pastoral counsellor	4.3	6.6	1.5	7.1	3.8	9.1	0	0	11.5
% administrator	5.3	6.5	3.4	7.1	0	13.6	6.3	11.1	7.7
% educator	6.4	2.5	3.4	2.7	0	4.5	0	0	7.7
% supervisor	2.1	3.3	3.4	7.1	3.8	0	0	0	0
% volunteer	10.8	1.7	5.2	0	0	0	14.3	0	8.3
% student & others	13.2	14.6	11.0	8.8	7.8	9.2	20.8	11.1	3.2
total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Work									
Hours per week									
regular hours	39.5	44.7	44.9	45.8	47.1	47.4	42.5	44.1	48.1
on call hours	26.5	28.5	35.6	47.3	43.8	47.3	40.5	30.9	26.7
total	56.0	73.2	80.5	93.1	90.9	94.7	83.0	75.0	74.8
Time spent (%)									
direct service	62.4	57.9	55.7	54.9	60.1	57.8	74.4	73.6	84.4
teaching/supervision	11.4	12.6	12.0	16.7	11.9	14.4	4.0	5.7	14.8
Number of people									
under pastoral care	931	691	734	916	877	478	666	359	497
work satisfaction									
indicator**	3.4	3.0	2.8	3.0	2.8	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.8
% saying									
income "too low"	40.2	62.5	68.8	60.6	65.4	61.9	61.5	12.5	52.2
**Note: derived from the Job Description Index ("JDI") developed by Smith, Kendall and Hulin (1969)									

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

Work Role, Income and Related Variables

An indication of denominational differences in the use of CPE training can be found in analysis of the Primary Work Role variable. CAPE members were asked to identify the ministry position in which they spent the largest portion of their work time. (The question was phrased in this way to provide for the possibility of cross-appointments, part-time contracts and "moonlighting".) When the information was analyzed, students, retirees and diverse others were grouped together, and all institutional chaplaincies (hospital, nursing home, palliative care, prison, etc.) were collapsed into one category.

The historic connection between the Salvation Army and hospital chaplaincy emerges. The Catholics and Lutherans in CAPE also tend toward institutional chaplaincy. Six of the mainline denominations have between 34% and 41% of their CAPE members in parish or congregational ministry, but only 7.4% of the Roman Catholics are parish-based.

There could be a number of explanations for this tendency among the Anglicans and Protestants: the parish-based ministers may have had secondary, part-time chaplaincies in institutions that require CAPE credentials. The 1983 CAPE survey was carried out at a time when the number of full-time positions requiring CAPE certification was increasing. It was a period when new full-time and part-time positions were being created in hospitals and corrections institutions, and when some of the

existent part-time positions were being made full-time. Given that context, some of the respondents may have been at a transitional stage of their careers on the way from parish ministry to institutional chaplaincy. Another possibility is that the Anglicans and Protestants may value CPE as a supplement to the traditional seminary preparation for parish ministry.

Speculation about the Roman Catholic statistics would have to include the realization that parish ministry in Catholicism is still a male-priest-dominated occupation. The population of CAPE Catholics is 66% female. They are probably finding that specialized, institutional, non-traditional pastoral ministries are much more open to them at the level of direct service, though not at the supervisory level. There is some tradition of hospital chaplaincy in some of the orders, and it might not be difficult to graft CPE training onto that tradition. Catholics may also be finding that CPE training is good preparation for the leadership roles that nuns are increasingly playing in parish work. The point is that the distinctive religious subcultures of such groups as the Salvation Army, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Protestant denominations continue to be discernible in the CAPE population despite the hypotheses suggested by the American research.

The 1983 CAPE survey found that the denominational variable also appeared when the matter of income dissatisfaction was investigated by means of the following question:

Compared to the income of other people in other occupations -- and considering relative qualifications, responsibilities and the value of work done -- how do you feel about your total income from the practice of ministry?

When asked how they felt about their remuneration, 382 CAPE members responded. Generally, the most highly paid members were the least satisfied, and since these people were not evenly distributed across the denominations, it would seem that the most highly paid denominational groups were the least satisfied: the Anglicans and the five largest Protestant denominations all had dissatisfaction rates over 60% (Table 24). This was in contrast to the two lowest paid groups: the majority of Roman Catholics were satisfied with their incomes; and only one of the 8 responding Salvationists felt that his or her income was too low.

With respect to the Roman Catholics, much of this might be explained in terms of the 92.5% celibacy rate. The celibates do not need to support a family, which is a concern or motivation that would show up in this indicator. Marital status also helps to explain the Salvation Army response, but in a contrasting way. Eight of the nine Salvationists reported being married. According to their polity, they would both be officers, of equal rank, responsibility and income: a two-income family.

The unusual income dissatisfaction results might also be partially explained in terms of the concept of vocation in the different denominations. It may be that the Protestants (excluding the Salvationists) are viewing their work less in traditionally spiritual terms,

and more as an occupation deserving salary commensurate with the responsibilities; while, on the other hand, the Catholics and Salvationists are viewing ministry as not just an occupation but a vocation. Although there is no clear, supporting evidence for this speculation in the data derived from the 1983 survey, an attempt was made to explore this matter through the use of Marie R. Neal's Religious Role Typology (1965: 14-18). This instrument was included in the questionnaire in the form of 20 items, organized in four indices of five variables each. There was a very low response rate to these items, however, and the results were neither reliable nor indicative of any particular tendency. They have not been included in this report.

Work Activities and Related Variables

The CAPE survey questionnaire asked members basic questions about the number of people under pastoral care, how many hours they work per week, how many more hours per week they are on call, the proportion of their time spent in direct service, and the proportion of their time spent in supervision or educational functions. The responses to these questions also varied across denominational lines.

Some respondents commented that they found it difficult to establish an average number of persons under pastoral care, but it is a crude indicator of differences across the denominations. It is evident that there is a wide variation from the Salvation Army (359) and Mennonites

(478) to the Baptists (916) and Catholics (931) (Table 24). Paradoxically, the Roman Catholics reported the lowest number of hours worked per week, the lowest number of hours on call per week, and (therefore) the lowest total. The high percentage of institutional chaplains, working a standard public service work week might help to explain this. The Roman Catholic population reported by far the lowest proportion of people working in the parish setting, a situation notorious for long hours in all the denominations. Ignoring the Others (a residual category with no internal coherence), the Mennonites and Lutherans reported the highest number of hours worked per week; the Mennonites and Baptists reported the highest number of on-call hours. These three denominations stand out as having the highest totals, over 90 hours per week.

Members were asked how these hours of ministry work were spent, and 381 respondents gave a detailed percentage breakdown of time spent in direct service, administration, consultation, research, writing, teaching and supervision. Only two of these categories, which accounted for from two-thirds to three-quarters of time spent, were used in this analysis; but they are enough to illustrate the cultural differences across the denominations (Table 24). The Baptist involvement in supervision emerges, somewhat in contrast to the greater involvement of Catholics, Salvationists and Presbyterians in direct ministry.

Within the activities of direct service to the clientele, there was also an apparent variety of behaviour across the denominations. CAPE

members were asked about a number of specific ministry activities, including worship, the sacraments, marriage and family counselling, and crisis intervention. Some interesting differences emerged across denominational lines (Table 25).

TABLE 25 Ministry Activities by Denomination.

(Percentage of the members of each denomination indicating "Yes" to specific items.)

a) Do you ever conduct worship?	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
Yes	75.4	90.6	91.2	93.3	95.7	94.1	100	100	89.9
b) Is worship preparation your primary work?	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
Yes	11.1	39.4	32.2	21.9	29.2	36.8	42.9	12.5	31.6
c) Is sacramental ministry part of your work?	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
Yes	58.3	35.5	57.1	41.4	39.1	13.3	38.5	0	20.0
d) Is marriage and family counselling part of your work?	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
Yes	31.8	57.4	51.8	51.7	43.5	29.4	58.3	28.6	53.4
e) Is crisis intervention part of your work?	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
Yes	72.5	58.1	77.8	73.3	45.8	70.6	91.7	50.0	41.2

* The abbreviations represent the following denominations: Roman Catholic; United Church; Anglican; Baptist; Lutheran; Mennonite; Presbyterian; Salvation Army; and Others, a residual category.

Source: *Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.*

Nearly a quarter of the Catholics never lead worship. This would be related to the fact that there are a large number of nuns in that population, working in specialized, institutional ministries. On the other hand, 100% of the Presbyterian and Salvation Army respondents reported that leading worship was at least a regular part of the work role; 90.6% of the Uniteds, 91.2% of the Anglicans, 93.3% of the Baptists, 94.1% of the Mennonites and 95.7% of the Lutherans reported that they were involved in conducting worship.

The sacramental emphasis of Catholicism and Anglicanism manifested itself in the responses. In each of these denominations, nearly 60% the respondents reported that a substantial proportion of their time is spent in these offices. Notice that, for the Roman Catholic Church, this statistic is indicative of change that is taking place as a result of the decline in the number of priests: nuns are taking communion to the patients' rooms in hospitals and nursing homes. Baptists, Lutherans, Presbyterians and Uniteds closely resemble each other in this area of ministry; the Mennonites are not very sacramental, and the Salvation Army does not celebrate sacraments.

The proportion of members for each denomination who do marriage and family counselling was also noted (Table 25). Five groups are clustered between 50% and 60%; but much lower proportions of Catholics, Mennonites and Salvationists do such counselling regularly.

Ministry in response to crisis was also examined in terms of what

must be, as with some of the other variables, a subjective and "estimated" statistic on the part of the respondent. Some of the differences across the denominations may result from perception or definition of crisis rather than actual activity. As with some of the other information derived in this area of CAPE life, the underlying reasons for such distinct denominational differences may not be clear, but the differences themselves are. In this case, 91.7% of the Presbyterians reported that crisis intervention was a regular part of their ministry, but only 45.8% of the Lutherans gave the same indication (Table 25).

A work satisfaction index was created from responses to fifteen questions that investigated how CAPE members felt about their work. Positive and negative responses were summarized in a mean score for each denomination (Table 24). The Roman Catholic satisfaction score is remarkably high compared to the other denominational populations, 21% higher than the Anglican, Lutheran and Presbyterian scores, 23% higher than the mean score of the Salvation Army respondents. In view of this, it is interesting to recall some of the other indicators for which Catholic responses were distinctive: salary, attitude toward salary, number of people under pastoral care, hours worked per week and hours on call, family background, respondent's education, and age at beginning of career in pastoral ministry.

It is particularly striking that in a respondent population of about 400 members of a professional association -- presumably a group of

people with a great deal in common, especially in the area of their work lives -- the sub-population of Roman Catholics, comprising nearly one quarter of the respondents, is often located at one end of the range of scores for a variable or index. For example, the Roman Catholics in CAPE served the largest number of clients ("people under pastoral care"), working the fewest hours for the lowest salaries, while showing the highest level of work satisfaction. This unusual combination of extremes suggests a distinct culture associated with the Catholic church. Although the Neal measures of orientation did not help to explain this dynamic, the denominational scores in the work satisfaction index do support some of the earlier speculation about fundamental differences in attitude toward ministry as occupation or vocation. Another anomaly does emerge, however. It was reported earlier that the Roman Catholic and Salvation Army members of CAPE had had the two lowest scores of income dissatisfaction, and it was suggested that this might be explained by denominational theology or personal spirituality. In the matter of work satisfaction, however, the Salvationists part company with the Catholics; in fact, they are at opposite ends of the range of scores by denomination.

This does not argue against the idea that the distinct denominational theologies and spiritualities might be important variables in determining CAPE members' resistance to professional socialization. It does, however, suggest that it may be a very complex matter. Sometimes the Roman Catholics and Salvationists most resemble each

other (e.g., Personal Religiosity Scores and Religious Experience Scores -- Tables 19 and 21); sometimes they are the most different (e.g., the matter of sacramental ministry -- Table 25, and the work satisfaction scores -- Table 24). Sometimes the Catholics most resemble the Anglicans (e.g., Work Role Religiosity Scores -- Table 17). With respect to most of the indicators of professionalism, the Catholics and the Baptists had very different scores, placing them at opposite ends of the denominational spectrum for that index or variable (e.g., the Annual Income indicator); but in some cases (e.g., the matter of individual autonomy), they most closely resembled each other.

It is frustrating to have identified such an interesting phenomenon and lack the data to go the next step of analysis and explanation; but, in fact, for the purposes of this study, it is enough to discover the continuing denominational identities within CAPE, even without a full understanding of the factors which sustain them. The hypothesis to be tested was simply that denominational identity would tend to disappear; and it would appear that it does not.

The next area of discussion provides yet another perspective on the wide range of religious orientation across the denominational sub-populations within CAPE.

TABLE 26 Religious orientation by Denomination
as measured by the "LAM scales".

Note: The LAM scales in the 1983 CAPE survey were comprised of 10 theological statements, each offering the respondent a choice of preferences according to 3 types of religious orientation, identified as "Literalist", "Antiliteralist" and "Mythological" by Richard E. Hunt, who developed the scales (1972: 42-52). Respondents who completed 9 or 10 of the items were included (N=382).

Table 26a Percentage breakdown of "L-A-M" responses for each denomination and CAPE total.

religious orientation	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*	CAPE total
Literalist	48.8	16.7	27.4	41.9	36.9	44.4	43.3	92.0	51.3	35.1
Antiliteral	1.8	4.1	4.1	2.3	0.6	2.3	0.7	0	2.3	2.7
Mythological	49.4	79.2	68.5	55.8	62.5	53.3	56.0	8.0	46.4	62.2
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N=)	(82)	(116)	(61)	(34)	(20)	(21)	(14)	(9)	(25)	(382)

* The abbreviations represent the following denominations: **R**oman Catholic; **U**nited Church; **A**nglican; **B**aptist; **L**utheran; **M**ennonite; **P**resbyterian; **S**alvation Army; and **O**thers, a residual category.

Table 26b Approximate Ratio of Literalist to Mythological responses for each denomination.

denomination	L:M ratio
United Church	1 : 5
Anglican	2 : 5
Lutheran	3 : 5
Baptist	3 : 4
Presbyterian	3 : 4
Mennonite	4 : 5
Roman Catholic	1 : 1
Salvation Army	11 : 1

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

Religiosity Indicators

As reported earlier (Chapter Nine), the religious beliefs and practices of the CAPE membership were also investigated through the 1983 survey questionnaire. Some of the operational definitions used went beyond conventional matters of public ritual and work role practices in order to investigate personal faith and private religious beliefs; and yet there was an excellent response rate and over 400 cases were available for most of the indices. One of these was the "LAM scales" -- ten sets of three statements, each representing a different theological position on a biblical or doctrinal matter. (For each item, there is a literalist ("L"), antiliteralist ("A") and mythological ("M") option. The instrument is derived from Richard A. Hunt (1972a: 42-52), and is described more fully in Chapter Four.)

The percentage of all responses of each denominational group that fell into the Literal, Antiliteral and Mythological types of religious orientation were determined (Table 26a). The differences across the denominations suggest that there are some extremely different religious world views or schools of theological thought within CAPE, and that they are organized, at least to some extent, along denominational lines. The Uniteds emerge as a distinct theological group here. The ratio of their Literalist responses to their Mythological responses is 1 to 5 (on more than 1100 items). For Catholics, that ratio is 1 to 1; for Salvationists it is 11 to 1 (Table 26b). The denominational identities have certainly not

disappeared within CAPE according to this indicator.

As noted in the previous chapter, the CAPE membership, as a whole, did not record very much of an "Anti-literalist" worldview in this index (pages 287-288). Over 97% of all responses fell into one of the two religious worldviews. By this measure, Florell's concern, based on his 1975 study, about the possible secularizing trend among members of ACPE in the United States is not substantiated in the 1983 Canadian case.

Three other religiosity indices were reported earlier (Chapter Nine, pages 270-287), and will be considered here briefly. Members were asked a set of questions that investigated the extent to which such religious practices as prayer were part of their work role; another set of questions asked about their own personal, private religious practices; and they were asked three more questions about religious experiences. A Work Role Religiosity Score ("WRRS"), a Personal Religiosity Score ("PRS") and a Religious Experience Score ("RXS") were computed for each respondent. The differences up and down the denominations displayed evidence of persistently distinct denominational spiritualities in resistance to the postulated tendency to blend into a homogeneous professional ethos (Tables 16 to 21). It became apparent that the greatest cleavages in the community are religious, and the chasm between the Roman Catholic and the United Church populations is most striking (Tables 17, 19 and 21). With respect to the set of questions on

which the RXS is based, many Anglicans and Uniteds felt constrained by the phrasing and traditional assumptions. Their actual responses produced a comparatively low summary statistic; their marginalia and comments described a more liberal or "mythological" religious world view, which fits with the findings derived from the LAM scales.

Another form of orientation could also be reported here briefly. CAPE members were asked to indicate the one most important qualification for their work. This became V433 in the data set. Responses to this open-ended item were coded. For example, responses like "ordination," "called by God," "commissioning" and "represent the Church" were considered "religious." Such responses as "academic education," "degrees," "diploma," "practical training," "knowledge" and "experience" were considered "professional." Overall, 41% of the responses were coded as religious, 37% as professional. Again, attitudinal differences across the denominations were evident. Seven of the eight Salvation Army respondents cited religious qualifications, but only 50% of the Catholics, a third of the Uniteds and 30% of the Baptists. On the other hand, 50% of the Baptists cited professional qualifications. This is another area in which the denominational differences might be explained by differing concepts of religious vocation and ministry across the denominations. The differences between the religious groups may be theological, cultural or both, but they certainly emerge whenever the CAPE people are asked

about their work. The 1983 study went far enough to detect and describe these differences, but did not provide enough information for an extensive discussion of the reasons behind this phenomenon.

Relationship to CAPE and Denomination

On the basis of the 1975 National ACPE Questionnaire results, reported by Florell, it was postulated that CAPE members would feel a greater sense of belonging to their professional association and a decreased sense of affiliation to their religious group as they undertook more CPE training. (This was set out in Hypothesis "d" on page 157 of Chapter Four.) A number of indicators were included in the questionnaire in order to investigate the strength of members' affiliation to CAPE and to their own denominations. The CAPE Affiliation Index ("CAI") was derived from eight variables that investigated the respondent's sense of belonging to CAPE and actual involvement in the organization. A CAI was calculated for each respondent, and the mean scores for each denominational group derived from these. The Baptist mean score is 11.2% higher than the Roman Catholic mean score (Table 27); that is, the Baptist members of CAPE are considerably more involved in the organization than the Catholics. According to the operational definitions that comprised the index, the Baptist members have spent more time in the organization and feel more a part of it than the Catholic members.

TABLE 27 Affiliation Indices compared for selected populations within CAPE.

Note: CAPE Affiliation Index (CAI) is a 200-point scale derived from 8 variables
 Denominational Affiliation Index (DAI) is a 200-point scale derived from 8 parallel items. Higher scores indicate greater sense of belonging

group	mean CAI	(N=)	mean DAI	(N=)	CAI - DAI
CAPE total	132	(378)	130	(388)	2
CPE training					
1 unit	129	(88)	136	(96)	-7
2 or 3	133	(85)	133	(84)	-
4 or 5	131	(86)	132	(86)	-1
6 or more	134	(98)	121	(103)	13
total		(359)		(369)	
Denomination					
Roman Catholic	125	(77)	139	(80)	-14
United	134	(114)	130	(116)	4
Anglican	138	(64)	124	(66)	14
Baptist	139	(33)	112	(35)	27
Lutheran	131	(24)	123	(23)	8
Mennonite	126	(22)	135	(21)	-9
Presbyterian	138	(11)	132	(13)	6
Salvation Army	130	(8)	162	(8)	-32

Source. Sherwood Survey of CAPE, 1983

The CAI did not include the variable "number of CPE units completed" (Table 23), so comparisons are possible. The Baptists had the highest score among denominational groups in each case. 5.7 CPE units per member and a mean CAI score of 139. The Anglicans, however, had one of the lowest training statistics and the second highest CAI score. In fact, the Anglicans and Catholics reported almost the same amount of CPE training: 3.4 and 3.3 units per member respectively (Table

23), and yet they are at opposite ends of the CAI spectrum. This is a significant finding.

The CAI is a key indicator of the phenomenon that Floerle detected in the 1975 ACPE study, the blending of reprofessionalizing clergy into a homogeneous professional ethos that might result in the loss of religious identity. The different CAI scores for Anglican and Catholic CAPE members, despite very comparable amounts of training, suggests that there might be theological or cultural differences between the denominations, relating to strength of adherence to religious tradition, resistance to non-church socialization and openness to new models of ministry. The differences might be in any of a number of areas: theology of vocation, concepts of ministry and work, formal church structures and systems of personal accountability, to name a few possibilities; but this will remain a matter of speculation until further study, beyond the limits of this work, is carried out.

A Denominational Affiliation Index ("DAI") was created from responses to eight questions in the same way that the CAPE Affiliation Index was produced. It is an indicator of social and professional contact with other clergy of one's own denomination, and of the respondent's perception of his or her own position within the denomination's theological and ethical spectrum.

FIGURE 16 (from Table 27)

In view of some of the observations already reported, including the Personal Religiosity Scores (Table 19), the Religious Experience Scores (Table 21), and the LAM scales (Table 26b), one might anticipate that the Salvationists and Roman Catholics would report the strongest feelings of denominational identification. This is very much the case (Table 27). The Salvation Army DAI score is 54% higher than that of the Baptists. The Baptists, who had the highest CAPE Affiliation Index score, have the lowest Denominational Affiliation Index score.

It is not really possible to compare CAI and DAI scores directly in any precise meaningful way: it would be possible, for example, for any group or individual within CAPE to have high scores in both or low scores in both. Rather, these measures were used to look for differences across the denominational variable and across the amount of CPE training. Again, as with the CAI, the DAI revealed the denominational subcultures. One way to highlight this, however, is to look at the difference between CAI and DAI for each denominational group (Table 27). The Baptists and Salvationists emerge as polar opposites in terms of institutional affiliation: the Anglicans are most like the Baptists in this, the Roman Catholics most like the Salvationists.

The findings with respect to Hypothesis "d", the relationship between amount of CPE training and the strength of the two affiliations, were not so clear. Looking at the CAPE population in quartiles, according to the number of CPE units taken (Table 27 and Figure 16),

there does seem to be some slight increase in CAI with the amount of CPE, although the relationship is curvilinear and barely discernible. The decline of denominational affiliation with CPE experience seems more apparent; but this is almost entirely a function of the fourth quartile population. There is very little effect until respondents have taken more than 5 units of CPE. The much lower DAI statistic for the fourth quartile is affected by the fact that Baptists are extremely over-represented in that group and the Roman Catholics quite under-represented; and there were no Salvation Army members in the fourth quartile. It is important to remember that the denominations vary tremendously in the amount of CPE they tend to have: Baptists 5.7 units per member, Roman Catholics 3.3, Salvationists 2.9 (Table 23).

The 1983 CAPE survey used another approach to investigate relative affiliation to CAPE and to the church. It was assumed that CAPE members would have a sense of belonging to many different social groups. A section of the questionnaire was therefore designed to allow for a comparison of the respondent's sense of affiliation to various associations and institutions, including CAPE, the denomination, a local congregation or religious order, other religious organizations, other professional associations, institutions and other groups. They were asked to consider their various memberships and affiliations and to report their primary, secondary and tertiary reference groups. Analysis of the responses focused on CAPE, denomination and local religious

community in order to discern possible tension for CAPE members between affiliation to their religious tradition and affiliation to their new professional association (Table 28).

TABLE 28 Primary Reference Group Indicators by Denomination.									
	R	U	A	B	L	M	P	S	O*
% members citing as primary reference group									
a) denomination	57.3	15.1	13.6	8.3	11.5	9.1	13.3	42.9	11.1
b) congregation	13.5	47.1	50.0	61.1	34.6	59.1	66.7	57.1	44.4
subtotal b + c	70.8	62.2	63.6	69.4	46.1	68.2	80.0	100	59.2
CAPE	1.1	3.4	3.0	5.6	3.8	4.5	6.7	0	3.7
other	28.1	34.4	33.4	25.0	50.1	27.3	13.3	0	37.1
total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(N=)	(89)	(119)	(66)	(36)	(28)	(22)	(15)	(7)	(27)
* The abbreviations represent the following denominations: R oman Catholic; U nited Church, A nglican; B aptist; L utheran; M ennonite, P resbyterian; S alvation Army; and O thers, a residual category.									

Source: Sherwood Survey of CAPE, Ottawa 1983.

The relative strength of religious affiliation compared to professional affiliation among the members became apparent when these data were analyzed: a very small proportion identified CAPE as their primary reference group -- and this near the end of a two-hour questionnaire exercise centred on CAPE. The Presbyterians and the Baptists had the highest proportions of members who cited CAPE as their primary reference group, but only 6.7% and 5.6% respectively (Table 28).

Only 1 (1.1%) off the 89 Catholics who responded to this item and not one of the Salvationists cited CAPE as primary reference group, a now familiar pair of denominations at one end of an indicator of strength of relationship to CPE. The Catholics and Salavationists emphasized their denominational identity; members of the other six denominations tended to emphasize their local religious community, but there is little indication that the members of CAPE are becoming disconnected from their religious traditions in either an institutional or spiritual sense. There is little indication that Florell's 1975 American findings have any parallel in Canada in 1983.

Summary

In this chapter, the hypothesis under consideration was that denominational affiliation would not be a very powerful predictor variable among the data derived from the 1983 CAPE survey, an hypothesis based on the earlier American research, and also suggested by the observed sense of community in CAPE, which was discussed in Chapter Seven (especially with respect to sense of identity, common values and common language in that chapter). Denominational affiliation was examined in terms of eighty-three other variables in the data set, some individually and some forming part of indices.

In fact, the denominational communities have strong continuing identities within CAPE, characterized by demographic and background

attributes, pre-career education and training differences, career contingencies, levels of income and satisfaction with income, work activities and work satisfaction indicators, and various indicators of religiosity and religious orientation.

If the question addressed to this part of the research was simply, "Are the CAPE practitioners still clergy?" then these findings provide a clear answer in the affirmative. One assumes that the denominational culture has had a pervasive life-long socializing effect on the respondents and a particularly intense effect during the earlier stages of professional formation, especially in seminary. This has resulted in a strong religious identity that the more recent overlay of CPE and CAPE socialization has not eroded or modified very much. This finding is significant in itself, and perhaps enough for this study. The CAPE people are, indeed, still clergy.

If, however, the inquiry is taken to another level of concern, such as "Why are the denominational groups behaving differently within such a clearly-defined professional association?" then the discussion departs from the empirical base established by this case study and enters a tantalizing realm of speculation involving sociological imagination and theological complexities. This is a tempting tributary, but not one to be explored at this time. It will be referred to again in the concluding chapter in terms of suggested further studies.

Finally, if the discussion of the findings reported in this chapter

turns to the matter of Canadian-American differences, it also enters a field far larger than the limits of this study. Again, one wonders about the underlying causes of these differences. This, too, will be addressed in the concluding discussion of suggested research that would draw on the findings of the 1983 CAPE survey and go further.

The unanswered questions, however, should not detract from the significant finding that was derived from the data. As part of the testing for the reprofessionalization thesis, the question was posed, "Could a professional clergy association develop a distinctly strong enough ethos to overcome the entrenched multicultural denominationalism of Canada and subsume the component denominational groups into one homogeneous community?" And the answer, in 1983 in CAPE, at least, was a clear "No."

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION

This study began in 1980 with an awareness that the theoretical literature in the sociology of professions, as it then was, could not easily describe or explain a phenomenon that had been observed among clergy in Canadian society.

As outlined in Chapter Two, sociological analysis of professions had arrived at the deprofessionalization thesis, but had gone no further. As outlined in Chapter Three, the clergy profession had emerged from its pre-historic and pre-industrial origins, and undergone a process of professionalization in the nineteenth century and then a process of deprofessionalization in the twentieth. At that point, the theoretical literature relating to professional occupations in modern society generally and the empirical evidence relating to the clergy profession in particular seemed to be congruent.

This study suggested that both theory and research might take at least a small step forward. Theoretically, it was imaginable that an occupational group might develop a strategy in response to the experience of deprofessionalization. Birenbaum had even used the term "reprofessionalization," in a general, undefined sense, with respect to the American pharmacy profession (1982: 871-878). At the end of Chapter Two, it was suggested that the concept of reprofessionalization might be

useful in analyzing recent developments in a number of occupations. A tentative definition was offered in simple antithesis to deprofessionalization. Haug had initiated discussion of that concept in terms of the loss or reduction of attributes of professionalism. Reprofessionalization would be considered in terms of the regaining or increase of previously lost attributes of professionalism by all or part of an occupational group (cf. page 50 in Chapter Two). At the end of Chapter Three, certain informal observations of the Canadian clergy were reported, suggesting that a case study in this area might provide opportunity for the empirical investigation of the tentative concept.

The key group chosen for case study was the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education; and Chapter Four outlined the development of this organization from the origins of clinical pastoral education in Boston in 1925 to the decision by CAPE to declare 1983 a year of self-study. It was decided that, in addition to participant observation, documentary research and historical study, a survey of the members would be undertaken. The 71% response rate to the long, detailed questionnaire resulted in a rich data set of nearly 500 variables for over 400 cases.

The hypotheses to be tested in this case study were set out at the end of Chapter Four (pages 156-157). Chapter Five analyzed what many sociologists would consider to be the most important aspect of a profession, esoteric knowledge. Pavalko made it his first dimension,

referring to it as "Theory or Intellectual Technique". Chapter Six considered Pavalko's second dimension, "Relevance to Social Values". Again, while different scholars use different terminology for this aspect of an occupation and discuss it in different ways, the substance of this dimension is generally agreed to be important to the understanding of professions. Chapter Seven considered two of Pavalko's dimensions together, "Training Period" and "Sense of Community" because they are closely related to each other. The other four dimensions of Pavalko's model were considered in Chapter Eight, the indicators of professionalism related to motivation, autonomy, sense of commitment and codes of ethics. Chapter Nine analyzed the indicators of religiosity; and Chapter Ten examined the matter of denominational affiliation. The findings reported in these six chapters of analysis will now be summarized in terms of the hypotheses.

The Hypotheses

The first and most general hypothesis was that "evidence of reprofessionalization can be documented among the CAPE clergy" (page 156); and at the most general level, the findings do indicate that there is evidence of a reprofessionalization process taking place among the CAPE clergy in Canada. They seem to be regaining or increasing measures of professionalism that most scholarship would say had been previously lost or declining. On the basis of the new empirical

information collected for this study, and reported and analyzed in Chapters Five through Ten, a definition of reprofessionalization may be formulated for future use. This definition will be stated and discussed at the conclusion of the review of hypotheses.

The first and most general hypothesis was comprised of two more specific propositions: that the CAPE clergy would exhibit characteristics placing them at or near the professional end of Pavaiko's 8-dimensional occupation-profession continuum, and that multiple indicators would show high levels of both professional and personal religiosity among the CAPE population (page 156). In terms of these statements, the results of the CAPE case study indicate, firstly, that the CAPE clergy do exhibit characteristics placing them at the extreme professional end of Pavaiko's continuum (Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight); and, secondly, that they do show high levels of both professional and personal religiosity according to multiple indicators (Chapters Nine and Ten).

These general conclusions are the main point of the study, but several more specific findings relate to the six minor hypotheses stated at the end of Chapter Four (page 157). These minor hypotheses were derived from Florell's 1975 survey of the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education in the United States and from the deprofessionalization thesis literature. They were also stated in terms that allowed for testing and measurement, disproof or tentative support.

Three of these specific hypotheses may be discussed together.

The first was that the CAPE clergy would be nearer the professional end of Pavaiko's continuum than traditional (non-CAPE) clergy, the occupational group often discussed in terms of deprofessionalization (e.g., Clarke, 1981; Ritzer and Walczak, 1986). The second minor hypothesis, related to this, was that the institutional chaplains and pastoral counsellors within the CAPE membership would have higher scores of professionalism than the parish-based clergy who belong to CAPE. The third minor hypothesis was that there would be a direct relationship between the amount of CPE training and the level of professionalism scores (excluding the education and training indicators).

According to a number of indicators, it would seem that clergy specializing in institutional ministry and members with more CPE training do have higher scores of professionalism than the parish-based clergy who belong to CAPE and the members with less CPE. Some of the stronger evidence supporting these statements may be found in the relationship between annual income and work role, annual income and amount of CPE training, and autonomy and work role. With respect to comparisons between CAPE and non-CAPE clergy, the long, detailed analysis of this issue in the four chapters dealing with dimensions of professionalism was concluded with the observation that CAPE members seemed to be further toward the profession end of Pavaiko's continuum than traditional clergy with respect to 18 of the 24 indicators, and that in no case did CAPE seem to be further away from the profession end than

traditional clergy.

The fourth minor hypothesis was that the amount of CPE training would be in direct relationship with indicators of CAPE affiliation, and inverse relationship with indicators of denominational affiliation.

These relationships between the amount of CPE and levels of affiliation to CAPE and to home religious communities are not quite so clear. According to the evidence, the relationship between strength of CAPE affiliation and amount of CPE training is curvilinear and not particularly strong (Table 27 and Figure 16). The denominational variable, however, is a predictor of the level of CAPE affiliation. The data would suggest that while there is a discernible inverse relationship between strength of denominational affiliation and amount of CPE training (Table 27), much of this is actually explained by the denominational membership variable itself.

The fifth of the specific propositions was that evidence of denominational identity and differences would tend to disappear among the CAPE clergy (suggested by Florell, 1975a: 231-232). This was thoroughly discussed through the analysis of Chapter Ten, in which it was found that this hypothesis is not supported by the data. There is no strong evidence that the denominational identity tends to disappear in the CPE subculture and the professional ethos of CAPE. On the contrary, and in contrast to the 1975 American findings, the 1983 CAPE study found that the denominational communities within the professional

organization were highly visible and distinct.

The sixth proposition was that there would be an inverse relationship between indicators of professionalism and indicators of traditional religiosity (also suggested by Florell, 1975a; and by King, 1977b and Oden, 1984). As the discussion in Chapter Nine suggested, the word "traditional" is very important here. Within CAPE, the opposite to "traditionally religious" seems to be not "secular" or "nonreligious", but rather "non-traditionally religious" or perhaps liberal, mythological or contemporary. Several indices were used to investigate this matter: the Work Role Religiosity Score, Personal Religiosity Score, Religious Experience Score and LAM scales. The collective evidence suggests wide ranges and diversity of religiosity, but all at a high level of Christian commitment. Work role strongly affected WRRS and was also apparent in PRS; denominational membership was the most powerful predictor of religiosity overall. There was no convincing evidence to support the concern of church leaders and theological educators that there might be a secularizing effect in CPE.

In a sense, however, the findings here are of even more interest to theorists than empiricists. The CAPE study is an interesting illustration of some of the research problems in the sociology of religion, especially with respect to secularization and religiosity, that result from inadequate conceptual frameworks. Religiosity is the measure of religious beliefs and practices. The CAPE people seem to be very religious in their

beliefs, although they reject some of the traditional teaching of the church as primitive superstition (for example, the item about Hell in the LAM scales). Too narrow a definition of what it means to be a Christian believer might disqualify some of the most notable theologians and church leaders today, including most of the feminists; and the CAPE people are somewhat non-traditional in their personal religious practices. The frequency of references to "meditative jogging" and "long prayerful walks" in response to one of the open-ended questions testifies to that. If the investigator's definition of prayer requires kneeling, bowed head, closed eyes and folded hands, many very pious, praying Christians might be overlooked.

When all the evidence is considered, especially the statistical evidence related to the religiosity indices cited above (Tables 16 to 21, and Table 26), it is probably best to make two summary statements about this last hypothesis: there is an inverse relationship between indicators of professionalism and indicators of traditional religiosity, emphasizing "traditional"; this does not, however, seem to indicate religious decline as much as religious transformation.

Reprofessionalization: A Formal Definition

The case study of CAPE describes a social phenomenon for which there has been no specific reference in the theoretical vocabulary of the sociology of professions. A new name was felt to be needed, and the

study has tended to support that perception. "Reprofessionalization" seems appropriate and accurate. On the basis of this study, let it be defined as follows:

the regaining or increase of attributes of professionalism by all or part of an occupational group that has achieved high levels of professionalization in the past and has experienced at least some degree of deprofessionalization in the more recent past.

The definition is expressed in terms of the attributes approach, and that should be noted. It is not, however, captive of that traditional school of thought.

Pavaiko's framework was chosen for a number of reasons set out in Chapter Two (pages 54 to 58). The logic of that 1982 decision does not need to be rehearsed here; the advantages and disadvantages have already been listed. While the major scholarship in sociology of professions in the later-1980s and the 1990s (especially Abbott and Freidson) is not conducted within traits theory, it is possible to relate this concept, defined as it is, to contemporary work. This matter will be raised again in the discussion of possible further study.

Another comment about the definition might also be made here: it does not specifically refer to specialization, although it might. It is difficult to imagine reprofessionalization that would not include specialization. Over the years, many sociologists have described professionalization processes within occupational groups in terms of the specialization that necessarily takes place with technological change and the growth of

knowledge. McFarlane's 1961 study of differentiation within the engineering profession of Great Britain is a good example of this

On the basis of this case study, reprofessionalization includes specialization but is not completely described by the term. Reprofessionalization relates not only to the growth of knowledge, but also to changing social needs and social values. It includes increased specification of function, but it also includes organizational change, new modes of training, longer training periods, and real or perceived social relevance. To offer a comparison within the clergy in order to illustrate this point, it would not be reprofessionalization if an order of nuns or monks withdrew from society into a cloistered setting in order to pray on a constant and full-time basis. There are such groups within the clergy, and they are specialists; but they do not present the characteristics of reprofessionalization.

Suggestions for Further Study

This study began with concern in two areas: the awareness of a social phenomenon that had not been investigated, and frustration with the limits of sociological theory with respect to analysis of contemporary professions. The CAPE clergy had appeared to be a professionalizing flow against a double ebb of deprofessionalization and secularization, but many questions needed to be asked and answered. This study has gone a long way toward describing the processes and status associated

with the CAPE population, concluding that they are clergy exhibiting highly professional attributes.

The other concern has also been dealt with to some extent: the concept of reprofessionalization has been added to the analytical vocabulary of the sociology of occupations. It should be added, however, that much of the frustration with the state of the art of sociological theory as it was in the early 1980s has been addressed by other developments that occurred during the ten years between designing the CAPE study and completing the analysis. In 1982, Birenbaum used the concept of reprofessionalization to describe an attempt by pharmacists to protect a specialized area of their practice against encroachment by doctors and nurses. In 1988, Abbott published *The System of the Professions*, which was a most significant breakthrough because it moved analysis of professions away from the emphasis on process, structure and function and onto the matter of expertise. By focussing on the special intellectual technique that marked a professional group, Abbott was not only concentrating on the real motor for change in the professions, he was providing an approach for analysis of the effects of changing context on professional roles. As Birenbaum observed, "New technology can take functions away from established professional practitioners, new market and organizational structures may delegate tasks to lesser trained occupations, and other occupations may try to encroach on a profession..." (1982: 871). In this way, professions may change in status

and power because of technological change and because of broad social change, which is itself largely influenced by technological change. If the changing knowledge base is so important, it should be the starting point and central reference point for the study of the professions.

Abbott created a model of jurisdictional disputes in areas of work around which several occupations might cluster. He intended it to replace such concepts as professionalization or reprofessionalization, because, he felt, these ideas are too unilineal to describe the reality. He emphasized the idea of a system of professions, a complex, dynamic set of relationships among many occupational groups engaged in boundary struggles and competition over every aspect of work. He suggested that if any specific group achieves its competitive goals anywhere, all the other groups in the system around that work area are affected. He suggested further that any jurisdictional settlement would be temporary.

The CAPE clergy might have been an interesting illustration of this theory. In fact, they very nearly are: Abbott pursues a lengthy analysis of the system of occupations around what he calls "the personal problems jurisdiction", and refers specifically to the pastoral counselling profession in the United States (1988: 280-314).

It is possible to carry out some secondary analysis of the 1983 CAPE study within Abbott's framework. It has already been said that the growth of scientific knowledge and public education contributed to the deprofessionalization of clergy. The knowledge base of their profession

declined as some parts of it were lost to others, including the general public, and the remaining parts seemed to matter less to society than formerly. The CAPE clergy took the pastoral portion of the traditional knowledge base, added to it from the modern social sciences, especially psychology, and expanded the body of systematic knowledge to become the basis for full-time practice. This was done as such other social changes as the increase of marriage and family breakdown and the increase in hospital and prison populations also occurred, thereby increasing the social relevance of expertise in pastoral care and counselling. In all of this process, the emerging CAPE clergy were bordering on a number of other professions and staking out a claim on an area that might be also claimed by social workers, psychologists, physicians, psychiatrists, nurses or others. The idea of encroachment was investigated in the 1983 study; and this was reported in Chapter Eight (page 252). There did not seem to be much awareness of struggles with other professions evident in CAPE at that time according to either participant observation or the survey questionnaire. That may have been a function of success on CAPE's part or simply insensitive measurement.

In his systems theory, Abbott has developed better ways to measure and analyze such change taking place in an occupational group than existed prior to 1988. One of the tasks of a dissertation is to suggest what further research might be interesting and profitable for the field of scholarship. Since this thesis was actually written ten years after

the conceptual framework was developed and the data collected, that important question might be rephrased in terms of what could be done now, and -- with awareness of such theoretical advances as Abbott's scholarship -- how it might be done differently.

In fact, it should be added that more analysis could have been done with the 1983 data, taking other approaches and suggesting alternative interpretations. For example, the jurisdiction which the CAPE clergy have established could be considered within the literature of "disabling professions" and the power themes of professions creating client needs and establishing monopoly for their own benefit. More attention to possible struggles with related occupations and relationships with the broader social structure involving power, social closure and monopoly would be another alternative strategy. Conflict between CAPE clergy and social workers, for example, might be explored along with the various push-pull factors affecting migration in and out of CAPE. Remembering Merton's classic discussion of the "role set" (1957: 106-120), and aware of the emphasis in contemporary scholarship on conflict among various occupations over professional jurisdictions, it would be worthwhile to consider the CAPE clergy with respect to relationships with doctors, nurses, social workers and hospital administrators.

With respect to future study, a starting point would be to realize that there are at least three areas where this thesis advances theory and research, but has left significant questions unanswered: the concept of

reprofessionalization, the study of CAPE, and the study of religiosity.

The first suggestion, then, would be simply to take the concept of reprofessionalization back into the field for investigation of some other occupational group. Abbott himself uses case studies; so does Freidson. However, these studies are now being conducted with more awareness of the bordering occupational groups and the struggle for jurisdiction.

It might be interesting, for example, to use the concept of reprofessionalization to discuss changes taking place in the Ontario medical profession, as it responds to government regulation, encroachment from other occupations, competition for clientele, changing technology, higher levels of public education and consumer awareness, a number of ethical scandals and fluctuating public prestige. A case study of the family practice specialist, for example, might be an interesting follow-up to the CAPE study in terms of the professionalization-deprofessionalization-reprofessionalization thesis.

If I were to take the concept of reprofessionalization back into the field for further study today, however, I would try to do so more within Abbott's framework as set out in his systems approach. The insights and perspectives of this approach would lead to less concern with matters of ethical codes and formal structures of professional organization, and place more emphasis on the changes taking place with respect to the knowledge base for professional activity, especially where that knowledge approached or even overlapped with the expertise of other

occupational groups. Compared to the 1983 research into CAPE, it would depend more on interviews, observation and participant observation. It would require research into the area of lobbying and legislating for regulatory control over work activities.

Secondly, in terms of CAPE itself, it would be interesting to examine the association again 15 or 20 years after the original study. It would be especially interesting to consider any changes in the strength of the organization and the status of its members in the face of recession and government cutbacks in the 1990s. How much tenure does a chaplain have in a hospital which is closing beds and laying off nurses?

It would also be interesting to look at the sub-population of full-time pastoral counsellors, which was fairly small in 1983. Do they have a larger clientele today? Are some of the people who identified pastoral counselling as a secondary or tertiary work role now doing it full-time? There seems to be even more need for counselling now than ten years ago, and there are more pastoral counsellors in full-time private practice. This is apparent to anyone from the listing under "Marriage and Family Counselling" in the Yellow Pages; but it is also an awareness that has been forced upon me in my professional role as parish minister in a suburban community since 1984. Would this possibly be an area of organizational change for CAPE? There are now two separate associations in the United States, one for institutional chaplains, one for pastoral counsellors. And this would certainly be an area in which

Abbott's approach would make sense. Speaking of the Yellow Pages listings, they make it apparent not only that this is a growth area, but also that several different professions are attempting to work in the area. The advertisements and business cards list a wide variety of qualifications, including CAPE. This is a fairly new and still unresolved jurisdictional dispute in Canada today, one that may have been somewhat settled in the United States by the time of Abbott's 1988 analysis, one that may have just begun to be joined in Canada in the early 1980s. A follow-up to the CAPE study could be done in a way to allow for a Canadian comparison to Abbott's analysis of the personal problems jurisdiction.

On the organizational level, it would also be important to investigate the relationship between CAPE and traditional church authority as that is found in seminaries, denominational headquarters and bishops' offices. There has been a tension between the proponents of CPE and officials of the traditional church establishment over the years. Is this continuing or has it been resolved in some way?

Of course, one of the purposes of a follow-up study of CAPE could be to replicate parts of the 1983 study in order to measure change over time. It would be especially interesting to know if there has been any change in strength of the indicators of professionalism and the indicators of religiosity. One of the ideas left hanging in this study was the possibility that the 1983 Canadian survey was taken earlier in a process than the 1975 American study, on a thirtieth anniversary compared to a

fiftieth. Would CAPE look more like the 1975 ACPE in 1998 or 2003? Would some of the secularizing effects eventually show up?

Finally, the 1983 survey of the CAPE clergy touched on a number of issues with respect to the measurement of religious belief and practices. There is real need for sociologists of religion to go beyond the present indicators and develop more sensitive instruments. This would be important for any future study of clergy; but it becomes increasingly important for the general population, as well. Not only is Canadian society becoming more spiritually diverse, as indicated by the religion variable in the Census; there is increasing diversity within the individual world religions. Christianity is far from the monolithic theological and organizational structure that it once was. Judaism is more diverse than it has ever been, and is now discussed in terms of its own denominations. Moreover, there is now a large number of people who declare that their spiritualities have no formal affiliations or organizations. The Canadian Census categorizes this sizeable proportion of the Canadian population as having no religion; and yet Bibby's research finds high levels of religious belief and spirituality. It is not that these people have no religion. Rather, no religion has them; because they have dropped out of formal, traditional religious organizations. The measurement of spirituality needs to go far beyond the present state of the art, and, in a perhaps surprising way, this study of clergy has pointed that out.

The third area for further research, then, would be more theoretical

development and empirical research in the study of religiosity.

Summary

According to a number of work role and personal religiosity indicators, the members of CAPE are religious specialists, and as such may be called clergy. They are an organized association of some members of the Canadian clergy profession. The clergy profession, as an occupational group, has been experiencing changes in its social role and status that are collectively referred to by sociologists as "deprofessionalization". According to an extensive index of measures of degrees of professional status, the CAPE clergy show higher levels of professionalism than other clergy; as an association, CAPE shows higher levels of professionalism than the clergy profession in general. On the Pavalko continuum, the CAPE clergy and CAPE itself are closer to the profession end than other clergy and the clergy profession in general. Within CAPE, higher scores according to the indicators of professionalism were associated with the more senior, more highly trained, and more highly certified members. Not only are the CAPE clergy distinct from the other clergy, they are sufficiently a community of practitioners to be classified together. The process underway, within CAPE, of developing new or additional training models, specializing, gaining monopoly, developing an occupational subculture, defining a clear community of roles and relationships, presenting an ethos of ethical

service to the public and the state -- all this would be recognized as a process of professionalization if it were occurring in an occupational group that had never previously been considered a profession. When it is observed within a professional group that is generally acknowledged to be undergoing deprofessionalization, this process might accurately be labelled "reprofessionalization".

This being so, it might be stated that, by specializing within the traditionally diverse clergy role, developing characteristics that set them apart from other clergy and identify them as more highly professional, and given that the traditional clergy role has been experiencing deprofessionalization, the CAPE clergy are indeed an example of a strategy to counter deprofessionalization. In that the organization has been observed to develop more and stronger indicators of professionalism in its history through the 1960s, '70s and '80s, and in that some of the aspects of the organization's life seem to continue to take it and its members even further toward the profession end of Pavalko's continuum (specialization, community, amount of training, ethics) this strategy, or phenomenon at least, might be called reprofessionalization.

The evidence in support of the reprofessionalization hypothesis is perhaps surprisingly clear in the case study of CAPE. The organization and its members clearly showed high measures of professionalism, and it was striking how clear and strong the indicators of religiosity were. Despite a thorough investigation, the study did not find a decline in

religious beliefs and practices associated with CPE.

There is still a tension between the traditionally religious concept of once-and-for-all ordination (and its parallels) and the professional concepts of on-going preparation for performance, peer reviews and credentials with expiry dates. It has long been debated whether professional standards for ministry were possible. Twenty-five years ago, James D. Glasse wrote a controversial book in which he advocated a professions approach to ministry in order to counter some of the decline that was then beginning to occur, social changes which are usually described in terms of secularization in society and deprofessionalization among clergy. From his perspective, Glasse referred to these changes as a crisis in ministry. He wrote:

I hope that practising ministers will see in the idea of the ministry as a profession a way of reclaiming their ancient calling in light of its present problems and its present possibilities (1968: 156).

The CAPE case study suggests that he may have been right in thinking that the introduction of professional concepts into ministry would be a possible strategy for clergy seeking to respond effectively to the new needs and challenges of late-twentieth-century society, and thereby find for themselves a social role of some power, influence and status when the Christian church as a whole was losing power, influence and status.

This study suggests further that such a process would most accurately be called reprofessionalization.

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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
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APPENDIX 1

The 1983 CAPE Census Questionnaire.

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JUNE, 1982

NEWSLETTER

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

One of the exciting things that happened at our Annual Meeting in Saskatoon was the Board of Directors' endorsement of a research proposal made by one of our members.

The Rev. Tom Sherwood, whom many of you know, is on study leave right now, doing a Ph.D. at Carleton University, where he is designing a study of C.A.P.E. to take place in 1983. He presented a background paper which, after some discussion, was passed unanimously and commended to the membership on a motion by Dick Dearing and Stephen Wilk.

Tom is currently designing a census form in consultation with the Board, and will distribute these questionnaires at the Québec City Convention next February. Those who do not attend the Convention will receive theirs in the mail. Tom will report the results of the survey at our 1984 Convention.

Some of the questions he will be asking will have been used in such other studies as the 1975 A.C.P.E. Questionnaire, so Tom will not only be giving us a chance to look at ourselves, he'll be providing us with some comparative information as well.

We've asked Tom to write an article introducing his approach for an edition of this newsletter later this year. He will also speak to the census form when he gives it out in Québec City.

This is an exciting "gift" for C.A.P.E., a real chance to look in the mirror. The Board and I do commend the project to you for your co-operation.

Earle.

February 1, 1983

Dear Colleague:

This is the 1983 CAPE Census Form, and it is a major part of the Self-Study that is going on throughout the Association at this time.

As 1982-83 President Earle McKnight indicated in the June Newsletter, the CAPE Board of Directors has discussed the Census with me. The Board has endorsed the project and commended it to the CAPE membership.

The Questionnaire has been designed after consultation with research scholars in the fields of ministry and the professions, and after a thorough review of related research. Many of the questions have been taken from the 1975 ACPE Questionnaire, earlier studies of Canadian clergy, and studies of other professional groups. The intention is not only to build up a descriptive picture of the CAPE membership, but to be able to make comparisons as well.

Most questions relate to your educational background, professional activities, and day-to-day work experience. Some do touch on controversial issues, but no question is worded to impute or imply value judgement. Your freedom to omit a response is always respected.

The anonymity of your answers is professionally guaranteed. DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON YOUR QUESTIONNAIRE. The results of the Census will not be reported in any way that would allow the identification of individual members. The code number of the envelope is part of a standard research practice which is designed to raise the response rate. Follow-up cards will be sent to persons whose Questionnaires are not in by a certain date. After any personal identification has been removed, I shall enter the returns into the Carleton University Computer for quantitative analysis.

When you have filled out the Questionnaire as completely and candidly as possible, please return it in the prepaid envelope at your earliest convenience. Your response is important for the accuracy and success of the Census.

Thank you for the time and thoughtful consideration that this Questionnaire requires. It is long, but it covers a lot of important ground. Most CAPE people will probably find it interesting to fill out; but whether you do or not, I am sure that we shall all find the results interesting. If the response rate is high, we may learn a great deal about Supervised Pastoral Education and ministry in Canada today.

Sincerely,

Tom Sherwood
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Carleton University
Ottawa

Note 1: Throughout the Questionnaire, the abbreviation SPE/CPE is used to refer to all forms of supervised pastoral education, including pastoral counselling education and parish-based SPE.

Note 2: In an Ottawa pre-test, the respondents found the Questionnaire a stimulating exercise in reflection, but needed more than 90 minutes to complete it. We suggest that you may not wish to fill it out in one sitting.

Note 3: Please read each question thoroughly. Most questions can be answered by circling a code number or by writing that number in a space provided. Please write clearly. When a question calls for several answers, the space for each answer is clearly indicated.

Thanks for your cooperation.

PART ONE -- BACKGROUND AND BASIC INFORMATION

q01: What is your type of membership in CAPE? (Circle one code number only.)

1. Member
2. Associate member
3. Student member
4. Specialist in Institutional Ministry
5. Specialist in Pastoral Counselling
6. Specialist in Pastoral Care
7. Supervisor Clinical Pastoral Education
8. Supervisor Pastoral Counselling
9. Acting Supervisor
10. Life member
11. Advanced
12. Assistant Supervisor
13. Supervisor in both Clinical Pastoral Education and Pastoral Counselling Education
14. Supervisor Clinical Pastoral Education and Pastoral Counselling Education
15. Supervisor Clinical Pastoral Education and Specialist in Pastoral Counselling
16. Supervisor Clinical Pastoral Education and Specialist in Pastoral Care
17. Supervisor Pastoral Counselling Education and Specialist in Institutional Ministry
18. Supervisor Pastoral Counselling Education and Specialist Pastoral Counselling
19. Supervisor Pastoral Counselling Education and Specialist Pastoral Care
20. Other (Please specify: _____)

q02: What is your denomination? (Please circle the corresponding code number.)

1. Roman Catholic
2. United Church of Canada
3. Anglican
4. Baptist
5. Lutheran
6. Mennonite
7. Presbyterian
8. Salvation Army
9. Christian Reformed
10. Methodist
11. Other (Please specify: _____)

q03: Circle the number corresponding to the province where you are now working. If you are outside Canada, please specify the country.

1. Ontario
2. Quebec
3. British Columbia
4. Alberta
5. Saskatchewan
6. Manitoba
7. Nova Scotia
8. New Brunswick
9. Prince Edward Island
10. Newfoundland
11. Other (Please specify: _____)

q04: What is your sex?

___ Male ___ Female

q05: What is your present marital status?

1. Single: religious celibacy	6. Married
2. Single: never married	7. Remarried after divorce
3. Single: separated	8. Remarried after death of a spouse
4. Single: divorced	9. Other (Please specify: _____)
5. Single, after the death of a spouse	

q06: In what year were you born?

19____

q07: Where were you born?

1. Canada (Please specify province/territory: _____)
2. United States
3. United Kingdom
4. France
5. Italy
6. Other (Please specify country: _____)

If you were born outside Canada, at what age did you come to live in Canada on a permanent basis?

_____ years of age

q08: Circle the code number of the population category below which best describes the community where you grew up. If you moved as a child, you might choose the place where you were living at age 16 or the place you think of as your "home town". Think of the population AT THAT TIME.

1. rural, village, small town (less than 10,000 people)
2. large town (about 10,000 to 50,000)
3. city (about 50,000 to 250,000)
4. large city (more than 250,000)

q09: Now consider the community in which you are working. Which category from Question 8 best describes its population? Circle the code number below:

1. 2. 3. 4.

q10: What was the highest level of schooling reached by each of your parents? Circle the appropriate code number for each:

Father:

Mother:

no schooling	1	1
some elementary school	2	2
completed elementary	3	3
some high school	4	4
high school graduate	5	5
some university	6	6
other postsecondary training	7	7
university degree	8	8
a second degree	9	9
a third or more	10	10
don't know	11	11
other (specify: _____)	12	12

q11: When you were a teenager, what was the usual occupation of your parents, including foster parents or guardians? Please be as specific as possible (e.g. high school teacher; manager small store; farmer, 100 acres, etc.) Leave a blank if there was no parental figure present.

Father: _____

Mother: _____

q12: Consider your father's usual occupation when you were a teenager. Circle the code number of the ONE category below which best describes his situation:

1. deceased, absent
2. retired
3. unemployed
4. a farmer
5. clergy
6. other professional
7. self-employed, without employees
8. self-employed, with people working for him
9. a salaried employee at the managerial/supervisory level
10. a salaried employee
11. in the armed forces (rank: _____)

q13: Please circle the code numbers to describe ALL the degrees you have obtained:

1. undergraduate studies/no degree	9. D.Min.
2. B.A., A.B., or equivalent	10. S.T.D., Th.D., D.Rel., or equivalent
3. other Baccalaureate (_____)	11. Ed.D.
4. B.D., M.Div., or equivalent	12. Ph.D.
5. S.T.M., Th.M., or equivalent	13. other doctoral degree (_____)
6. M.S.W.	14. other degree (_____)
7. M.Ed.	15. other certificate/diploma (_____)
8. M.A., or equivalent (_____)	

q14: Please circle the numbers corresponding to the major areas of studies you have pursued at each level of your academic career.

I. The first column should include all work toward any Baccalaureate degree, EXCEPT the B.D.

II. The second column is meant to include all B.D. or M.Div. studies, and equivalent BASIC seminary curricula.

III. The third column is for all other Masters and Doctoral work.

For example, a B.A. in History and English would be represented by circling numbers 17 and 14 in Column I.

Now, please describe the major areas of studies which you have pursued:

Subject:	I. Undergraduate Studies	II. B.D., M.Div.	III. Advanced Degree
None at this level	0	0	0
Biblical studies	1	1	1
Biblical languages	2	2	2
Business/commerce/admin.	3	3	3
Christian Education	4	4	4
Classics	5	5	5
Clinical Pastoral Education	6	6	6
Counselling and Guidance	7	7	7
Marriage/family counselling	8	8	8
Pastoral counselling	9	9	9
Criminology	10	10	10
Economics	11	11	11
Education/pedagogy	12	12	12
Engineering	13	13	13
English	14	14	14
Fine Arts	15	15	15
French	16	16	16
History	17	17	17
Church history	18	18	18
Languages	19	19	19
Law	20	20	20
Mathematics	21	21	21
Medicine/premed.	22	22	22
Music	23	23	23
Nursing	24	24	24
Pastoral care	25	25	25
Pastoral psychology	26	26	26
Pastoral theology	27	27	27
Philosophy	28	28	28
Political science	29	29	29
Clinical psychology	30	30	30
General psychology	31	31	31
Psychology of religion	32	32	32
Religious studies	33	33	33
Sciences	34	34	34
Social Work	35	35	35
Sociology	36	36	36
Systematic theology (dogma, moral, etc.)	37	37	37
Other (Please specify)	38	38	38
	39	39	39
	40	40	40

Choose the two subjects/disciplines that are the MOST RELEVANT to your day-to-day work now, and put them in rank order:

1. the most important: _____ (use the code number)

2. next most important: _____

Which is the LEAST RELEVANT? _____

q15: Have you completed seminary? Circle one: Yes No

q16: Are you now a full-time student? Yes No

If yes, please specify degree/programme: _____

- q17: In which Canadian province or other country did you pursue your studies? Circle the appropriate numbers in the chart below:

Location of Institution:	I. Undergraduate Studies	II. B.D., M.Div.	III. Advanced Degree
Ontario	1	1	1
Quebec	2	2	2
British Columbia	3	3	3
Alberta	4	4	4
Saskatchewan	5	5	5
Manitoba	6	6	6
Nova Scotia	7	7	7
New Brunswick	8	8	8
P.E.I.	9	9	9
Newfoundland	10	10	10
United States	11	11	11
United Kingdom	12	12	12
France	13	13	13
Italy	14	14	14
other: _____	15	15	15
_____	16	16	16
_____	17	17	17

- q18: We would like to know when and where (Canadian province or other country) the present CAPE membership did SPE/CPE training. Use the chart below, beginning with your first basic unit, identifying level (Basic, Advanced, Supervisory), and reporting all units taken up to Full Supervisory Status.

Year:	# of units	Level:	Province/other country:
In 19___, I did ___	"basic"	unit(s) in _____.	
In 19___, I did ___	_____	unit(s) in _____.	
In 19___, I did ___	_____	unit(s) in _____.	
In 19___, I did ___	_____	unit(s) in _____.	
In 19___, I did ___	_____	unit(s) in _____.	
In 19___, I did ___	_____	unit(s) in _____.	
In 19___, I did ___	_____	unit(s) in _____.	
In 19___, I did ___	_____	unit(s) in _____.	

- q19: Total units: ___ up to Full Supervisor.

- q20: Have you ever done a full-time year-long internship?

1. No.
2. Yes, two or more years of internship in any category of SPE/CPE. (Please specify: _____)
3. Yes, a one-year internship in hospital chaplaincy.
4. Yes, a one-year internship in pastoral counselling.
5. Yes, a one-year internship in prison chaplaincy.
6. Yes, a one-year internship in parish ministry.
7. Yes, a one-year internship in another area. (Please specify: _____)

- q21: Do you have other professional training?

1. No other professional training	4. Teaching
2. Social Work	5. Psychology
3. Nursing	6. Other: _____

- q22: Do you hold any other accreditation/license? Circle numbers that apply, giving details of membership category/level of accreditation below.

1. No other accreditation/license	6. F.E.T.	11. AAMFC
2. Ass'n of Mental Health Chaplains	7. Psychologist	12. AAPC
3. College of Chaplains	8. Teaching	13. ACPE
4. Academy of Parish Clergy	9. Testing	14. T.A.
5. Bioenergetics	10. Vocational	15. other: _____
- Details: _____

5.

PART TWO -- YOUR WORK AND CAREER

q01: How was the FORMAL beginning of your career in ministry marked?

1. I am a student preparing for the event. (Go to Question 3.)
2. Ordination
3. Commissioning
4. Taking vows
5. Certification in a pastoral vocation or ministry
6. Beginning employment in a lay ministry
7. Other (Please specify: _____)

q02: In what year did that take place? 19__

q03: According to the list below, what is your PRIMARY WORK ROLE? Some CAPE members have more than one work role, however for this question choose only your primary one, and circle the code number.

1. full-time student
2. parish minister or priest
3. other parish worker (Please specify: _____)
4. chaplain, psychiatric hospital/mental health centre
5. chaplain, children's hospital
6. chaplain, general hospital
7. chaplain, correctional institution
8. pastoral counsellor
9. SPE/CPE supervisor
10. university or seminary teacher
11. other teacher (Please specify: _____)
12. armed forces chaplain
13. administrator (Please specify role: _____)
14. other (Please specify role: _____)

Now, if you do have other work roles, list them below, using the code numbers from the list in Question 3.

Secondary work role: _____

A third work role: _____

A fourth work role: _____

q04: Where do you spend MOST of your work time? Some CAPE members have more than one work setting, however for this question choose one place from the list below as your PRIMARY WORK SETTING.

1. parish/congregation
2. seminary/theological school
3. other school/university
4. psychiatric hospital/mental health centre
5. children's hospital
6. general hospital
7. correctional institution
8. pastoral institute/counselling centre
9. private practice
10. armed forces
11. denominational office
12. other (Please specify: _____)

Now, if you have other regular work settings, where you have a formal work arrangement, draw salary, or charge fees, list them below, using the same numerical code. (Note: Full-time parish practitioners would not add other institutions, such as hospitals, if they are extensions of parish ministry.)

Secondary work setting: _____

A third work setting: _____

A fourth work setting: _____

q05: Please indicate the setting(s) at which you received SPE/CPE training. Circle as many code numbers as apply.

0. none
1. general hospital
2. psychiatric hospital/mental health centre
3. children's hospital
4. correctional institution
5. parish
6. pastoral institute/pastoral counselling centre
7. other (Please specify: _____)

q06: What is the average number of hours you work per week (NOT including after hours "being on call")?

_____ hours per week

Now, how many MORE hours per week, on average, are you "on call"?

_____ hours per week

q07: For each of the areas of ministry listed below, estimate the percentage of work time (NOT including "being on call") spent in an average week, and write it in the space provided. All entries should total 100%.

_____ % Direct service to parishioners, patients, clients, inmates, staff, etc., INCLUDING preparation time for worship, study groups, preaching, speaking, visiting, etc. (See components in Question 8, below.)

_____ % Teaching and/or supervision (and all related activities)

_____ % Consultation (with colleagues, agencies, other professionals, within your own institution, etc.)

_____ % Administration (planning, reports, evaluation, correspondence, budget, etc.)

_____ % Other research and writing (for publication, on contract, etc.)

_____ % Other significant work time spent (Please specify: _____)

_____ %

100 % Total

q08: Within "direct service", rank each component or activity according to the amount of time it takes in your practice of ministry.

"1" Choose the SINGLE activity demanding the largest share of "direct service" time, and write "1" beside it.

"2" Choose the SINGLE activity demanding the next largest share of "direct service" time, and write "2" beside it.

"3"s Write a "3" beside all other REGULAR activities in your practice of ministry.

"4"s Write a "4" beside all other OCCASIONAL activities in your practice of ministry.

"0"s Mark with a "zero" any activities which are not part of your ministry.

Please classify every item in the list.

_____ preparation for worship, preaching, groups, etc.

_____ conducting worship

_____ weddings and funerals (including counselling)

_____ other counselling with couples and families

_____ sacramental ministry

_____ calling, visiting

_____ supportive pastoral care

_____ crisis pastoral care

_____ counselling with individuals

_____ group counselling

_____ other group activities

_____ other (Please specify: _____)

_____ other (Please specify: _____)

q09: How much time do you spend in administration? Circle the code number which corresponds to the average amount of time spent in administration PER WEEK.

1. over 30 hours
2. about 15 to 30 hours
3. about 5 to 14 hours
4. less than 5 hours per week

q10: Think about the activities involved in your work role, and complete the following sentence by circling the code number of the phrase you think fits best.

"My job requires..."

1. ...little thought and attention." (The work is usually routine, and problems seldom arise.)
2. ...some thought and attention." (Problems which arise normally require straightforward solutions.)
3. ...simple problem solving." (Unforeseen problems arise which require some practical experience.)
4. ...difficult problem solving." (Difficult problems arise which require considerable experience to solve.)
5. ...complex problem solving." (Highly complex problems arise which require a high level of abstract knowledge and theory to solve.)

q11: Think of your present work. What is it like most of the time? Opposite each word or phrase below, circle ONE of the symbols:

Y for "Yes", if it describes your work

N for "No", if it does NOT describe it

? if you are not sure, can't decide, have no strong feeling

Work at present:	"Yes"	"No"	"Not sure"
fascinating	Y	N	?
boring	Y	N	?
satisfying	Y	N	?
pleasant	Y	N	?
respected	Y	N	?
demoralizing	Y	N	?
healthful	Y	N	?
challenging	Y	N	?
endless	Y	N	?
useful	Y	N	?
frustrating	Y	N	?
good	Y	N	?
creative	Y	N	?
routine	Y	N	?
gives a sense of accomplishment	Y	N	?

q12: In your work setting, are there duties which others are carrying out, which you feel SHOULD be done exclusively by someone with your professional qualifications?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No opinion

If yes, could you cite some examples: _____

q13: In your work setting, are you ever asked to perform duties which you feel SHOULD be done by someone with lower or different qualifications?

1. Yes
2. No
3. No opinion

If yes, could you cite some examples: _____

q14: Do you have a supervisor?

1. No
2. Yes, a member of CAPE.
3. Yes, a religious official who is not a CAPE member.
4. Yes, a church committee or equivalent religious body.
5. Yes, a person who is not a religious official. (Please occupation/position of supervisor: _____)
6. Other (Please specify: _____)

- q15: In your work role, how much conflict do you experience with any of the following groups of "others"? Complete the chart below by circling one code number for each category of group. (4 = quite a bit; 3 = some; 2 = very little; 1 = none; 0 = not a part of your work role)

Other:	Degree of conflict:				
clients, patients or parishioners	4	3	2	1	0
students	4	3	2	1	0
prisoners	4	3	2	1	0
committees	4	3	2	1	0
doctors	4	3	2	1	0
nurses	4	3	2	1	0
social workers	4	3	2	1	0
support staff	4	3	2	1	0
psychologists	4	3	2	1	0
other CAPE members	4	3	2	1	0
non-CAPE clergy	4	3	2	1	0
lay ministers	4	3	2	1	0
other (Please specify: _____)	4	3	2	1	0
_____	4	3	2	1	0

- q16: How many people altogether are normally under your pastoral care?
CR: About how many pastoral contacts do you have in a year?

about _____ people

Now, within that population, there may be a smaller group of people with whom you have more intensive or significant counselling relationships. In the next few questions, we shall be using the term "CLIENT" to refer to ANY PERSON, COUPLE OR FAMILY in a counselling relationship with you. The person might be a parishioner, a hospital patient, a prison inmate, a student, a staff person, a couple or a family. The contract may be formal or informal. There may or may not be a fee charged.

- q17: How many "clients" do you serve in an average week? And how do you see them? Complete the chart below with estimates:

Modality:	Number:
Individual counselling	_____ individuals per week
Conjoint relationship counselling	_____ couples
Conjoint family counselling	_____ families
Group counselling	_____ individuals

- q18: What types of presenting problems do you encounter? Estimate the percentage of "clients" presenting problems which are PRIMARILY religious, PRIMARILY emotional, or SOME COMBINATION of both. Complete the chart below with percentages totalling 100%:

Type:	Estimated percentage:
Religious (theological, matters of faith, spiritual counsel, etc.)	_____ %
Emotional (personal, marital, family and group problems, not identified as being especially religious)	_____ %
Some combination of both religious and emotional	_____ %
Total:	100%

- q19: More specifically, what are the presenting problems of your "clients"? Using your own judgement, describe the frequency with which you encounter the following problems. Feel free to add to the list. Please circle one number for each item. (This question continues on page 9.)

Problem:	Frequent	Occasional	Never
Marital/other relationship crisis	1	1	1
Depression	2	2	2
Suicidal feeling/act	3	3	3
Grief	4	4	4
Disease	5	5	5
Surgery	6	6	6

Problem:	Frequent	Occasional	Never
Vocational crisis/decision	7	7	7
Ethical crisis/decision	8	8	8
Institutionalization	9	9	9
Spiritual crisis	10	10	10
Economic/financial problem	11	11	11
Drug problem	12	12	12
Personal growth	13	13	13
Other: _____	14	14	14
_____	15	15	15
_____	16	16	16

q20: Please indicate how frequently you employ any of the therapeutic modalities listed below. Circle one code number for each item.

Modality:	Frequent	Occasional	Never
Individual counselling	1	1	1
Conjoint	2	2	2
Family	3	3	3
Group	4	4	4
Encounter/sensitivity groups	5	5	5
Marriage enrichment groups	6	6	6
Behaviour modification approaches	7	7	7
Bioenergetics	8	8	8
Case study	9	9	9
Gestalt	10	10	10
Psychological tests, inventories	11	11	11
Transactional analysis	12	12	12
Primal	13	13	13
Other: _____	14	14	14
_____	15	15	15

q21: Is there a FORMAL, WRITTEN ethical code which guides your behaviour in your work? Circle one:

Yes No

Is there an INFORMAL or TRADITIONAL code of ethics?

Yes No

If yes (to either or both of the above),
where did you hear of the code? _____

Where did it originate, what is based on? _____

What are some of the most important ideas contained in it? _____

q22: Compare your fee-for-service or your work setting's fee structure to the "going rate" charged by other professionals in your community. Circle one:

1. This question is not applicable to my work.
2. I/We charge no fees.
3. 25% or less of the "going rate"
4. about 25 to 50%
5. about 50 to 75%
6. about 75 to 100%
7. I/We charge the "going rate".
8. more than the "going rate"

q23: What are the sources of your income derived from the practice of ministry? Complete the chart below with estimates totalling 100%.

Source:	Estimated % of income:
Salary paid by employing institution(s)	_____ %
Counselling fees paid directly by clients	_____ %
Fees from contractual consultation activities	_____ %
Fees from speaking engagements, workshops, etc.	_____ %
Other sources (specify: _____)	_____ %
Total	100%

q24: In 1982, what were your estimated earnings from all sources related to the practice of ministry?

- Note 1: If you have a vow of poverty, think of the total arrangements made for your living and working expenses, and estimate a salary-equivalent.
- Note 2: If you have not included housing, please add in an estimated value for it. (Compare the annual "fair rental value" used for income tax purposes.)
- Note 3: Please include salary, allowances, fees, honoraria and all earnings related to your practice of ministry.

Now what is the total? Circle the corresponding code number.

1. I am an unpaid volunteer.	
2. less than \$4000	3. \$4000 to \$7999
4. \$8000 to \$11,999	5. \$12,000 to \$15,999
5. \$16,000 to \$19,999	6. \$20,000 to \$24,999
6. \$25,000 to \$29,999	7. \$30,000 to \$34,999
8. \$35,000 to \$39,999	8. \$40,000 to \$44,999
9. \$45,000 to \$49,999	10. \$50,000 or more

q25: Compared to the income of other people in other occupations -- and considering relative qualifications, responsibilities and the value of the work done -- how do you feel about your total income from the practice of ministry. Circle one code number. Feel free to add comments.

1. It is far too low.	2. Somewhat low.
3. About right.	4. Somewhat high.
5. Far too high.	6. Can't say.
7. Other: _____	

q26: Do you ever wear "clericals" or other signs of religious vocation?

a) Circle one code number from the list below.

1. Not applicable
2. Never
3. Only for certain special occasions or ceremonies
4. Only in my work role
5. Yes, almost all the time
6. Other (Please specify: _____)

b) What VISIBLE/IDENTIFIABLE signs of religious vocation do you ever wear? Circle as many as apply.

0. Not applicable	1. clerical collar
2. habit or uniform	3. cross, visible over clothing
4. robe, gown, stole, etc.	5. a ring
6. a pin	7. other (Please specify: _____)

q27: Choose the TWO statements from the list below that are closest to your reasons for remaining in a religious occupation. Circle the TWO MOST APPROPRIATE code numbers.

1. A deep belief in the value of liturgical and sacramental ministries.
2. I am committed to renewing and updating church structures and practices.
3. I am happy in my life and work.
4. I feel the people need me.
5. Desire to pursue a life of personal sanctification.
6. Personal involvement in my church and in pastoral responsibilities.
7. Personal response to the call of God for the service of others.
8. Personal conviction to be a witness to God in the world.
9. Attracted by the esteem and social status.
10. It is too late to begin another career.
11. My employment is no longer a religious occupation.

q28: What language(s) do you most often speak in your work setting? _____

What language do you most often speak at home? _____

PART THREE -- ACTIVITIES, EXPERIENCES AND PERSPECTIVES

q01: Think of the calendar year 1982, and answer each short question using the following numerical code:

5 = daily or several times per week
 4 = about weekly
 3 = about once or twice a month
 2 = several times a year
 1 = about once or twice a year
 0 = never or very rarely

Now circle the ONE appropriate code number after each question.

- a) In the past year, how often did you work or consult with other members of CAPE?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- b) In the past year, how often did you have social contact with other CAPE members in your home, in theirs, or going out together?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- c) In the past year, how often did you work or consult with clergy of your own denomination?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- d) In the past year, how often did you have social contact with clergy of your own denomination in your home, in theirs, or going out together?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- e) In the past year, how often did you take part in ecumenical Christian gatherings or liturgies?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- f) In the past year, how often did you have social contact with clergy of other Christian denominations in your home, in theirs, or going out together?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- g) In the past year, how often did you work with clergy of other Christian denominations as a normal part of your work role?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- h) In the past year, how often did you work with clergy of other Christian denominations on an informal basis, or as a result of interests outside your work role?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- i) In the past year, how often did you take part in interfaith gatherings (i.e. involving Christians and representatives of other religions)?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- j) In the past year, how often did you have social contact with non-Christian clergy in your home, in theirs, or going out together?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- k) In the past year, how often did you work with non-Christian religious leaders as a normal part of your work role?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- l) In the past year, how often did you work with non-Christian religious leaders on an informal basis, or as a result of interests outside your work role?

5 4 3 2 1 0

Code: 5 = daily or several times per week 2 = several times a year
 4 = about weekly 1 = about once or twice a year
 3 = about once or twice a month 0 = never or very rarely

m) In your WORK ROLE, how often do you pray with others?

5 4 3 2 1 0

n) In your work role, how often do you conduct, lead or assist in worship services?

5 4 3 2 1 0

o) In your work role, how often do you read the Bible or other devotional literature with others?

5 4 3 2 1 0

p) In your work role, how often do you have mass or communion with (or bring the Blessed Sacrament to) one other person, a couple, a family, or a small group?

5 4 3 2 1 0

q) Are there other religious practices, rites, etc. that are part of your work role activities (e.g. sacrament of the sick, baptism, laying on hands, anointing, etc.)? If so, please specify the practice(s) in the space below and circle a code number.

Other practice: _____

5 4 3 2 1 0

Other practice: _____

5 4 3 2 1 0

Other practice: _____

5 4 3 2 1 0

r) How often do you pray or meditate PRIVATELY or in a small group outside your work role?

5 4 3 2 1 0

s) How often do you read the Bible or other devotional literature outside the context of your work role?

5 4 3 2 1 0

t) Outside your work role and official responsibilities, how often do you attend worship "just as a member of the congregation"?

5 4 3 2 1 0

u) Are there any other ways in which you practice private devotions? If so, please specify the practice(s) in the space below, using the same numerical code to describe frequency.

Other practice: _____

5 4 3 2 1 0

Other practice: _____

5 4 3 2 1 0

Other practice: _____

5 4 3 2 1 0

v) How often during the past year or so have you experienced a sense of being in the presence of God?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- w) How often during the past year or so have you experienced a deep feeling of being personally loved by God here and now?

5 4 3 2 1 0

- x) How often during the past year or so have you experienced an overwhelming feeling of being at one with God?

5 4 3 2 1 0

q02: Please respond to each short statement in this question according to the following code:

SA = Strongly Agree, or very true

A = Agree, or somewhat true

$\frac{1}{2}$ = "half-and-half", or neutral, or no opinion

D = Disagree, or somewhat false

SD = Strongly Disagree, or very false

Now circle the one appropriate code after each statement.

- a) Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about abortion.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- b) Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about divorce.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- c) Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about nuclear disarmament.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- d) Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about homosexuality.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- e) Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about unmarried couples living together.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- f) Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about social issues.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- g) Most clergy in my denomination think the same way I do about moral and ethical questions.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- h) I feel very comfortable with the theological orientations of most clergy in my denomination.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- i) My personal theological position is well within the mainstream of my denomination.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- j) Most people in CAPE think the same way I do about abortion, despite our denominational differences.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- k) Most people in CAPE think the same way I do about divorce, despite our denominational differences.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- l) Most people in CAPE think the same way I do about nuclear disarmament, despite our denominational differences.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

- m) Most people in CAPE think the same way I do about homosexuality, despite our denominational differences.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

Code: SA = Strongly Agree, or very true A = Agree, or somewhat true
 $\frac{1}{2}$ = "half-and-half", or neutral, or no opinion
 D = Disagree, or somewhat false SD = Strongly Disagree, very false

- n) Most people in CAPE think the same way I do about unmarried couples living together, despite our denominational differences.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- o) Most people in CAPE think the same way I do about social issues.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- p) Most people in CAPE think the same way I do about moral and ethical questions, despite our denominational differences.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- q) I feel very comfortable with the theological orientations of most CAPE people.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- r) In my work role, I feel I am my own boss in most matters.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- s) In my work, I can make my own decisions without checking with anyone else.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- t) Whatever situation arises in my work, there are set procedures to follow in dealing with it.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- u) In my work, going through the proper channels is constantly stressed.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- v) How I do my work is pretty well left up to me.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- w) I feel as though I am constantly being watched in my work to see that I obey all the rules.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- x) When I am working at my own job, I get so absorbed in it that I tend to neglect what is going on in the rest of the world.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- y) Having ideals is a wonderful thing, but realistically speaking, in most of the really important decisions in life, personal or group interests, not ideals, play the major decisive role.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- z) If you want to get anywhere, it's the policy of the system as a whole that needs to be changed, not just the behavior of isolated individuals.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- aa) Although change is necessary and can be a good thing, loyalty to the long tradition is the stable base on which we should place primary focus of social concern.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD
- bb) In times of crisis, it is only natural for people to think of themselves first even though they may be ashamed of it afterwards.
 SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

cc) I have a clear set of values that I hope some day to see implemented in my community.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

dd) Religious teaching must adapt to the findings of science and modern exigencies.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

ee) If I were to follow my deepest concern, I would concentrate on trying to preserve the very best of my religious tradition. This seems to be a primary need today.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

ff) We have to exercise caution when we act in the local community because it is so easy for those outside the churches to misinterpret what we are trying to do.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

gg) The most important issues in the world today are issues of social justice.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

hh) Re-evaluation and reform are constantly necessary, and I am ever eager for each new effort to make a better world.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

ii) The future is in God's hands. I will await what God sends and accept what comes as His will for me.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

jj) When you are young you can afford to be an enthusiast for reform, but as you grow older you learn that it is the better part of wisdom to confine your efforts within your own field.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

kk) The things I think are important and valuable for the good life are so clear to me that I could list them right now with little difficulty.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

ll) The world as it is is a pretty good place. We really don't need all this concern about change.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

mm) My first reaction when I think of the future is to be aware of its dangers.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

nn) In the last analysis, it's having the power that makes the difference.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

oo) An injustice in the local community should never find the Church a silent witness.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

pp) I am not satisfied with the world as it is, and I spend now, and intend to spend, much more of my life trying to change it.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

qq) Rather than get upset about them, we have to learn to live with most of the conditions in the world as they are.

SA A $\frac{1}{2}$ D SD

903: Choose the ONE response to each of the ten statements below that most closely approximates your own belief, and circle its code number.

- a) I believe that people working and thinking together can build a just society without supernatural help.
 1. Disagree, since without God's help, people can do very little that is good.
 2. Agree, since people have and are increasing the ability and technical knowledge to improve society if they will apply this knowledge to the problems of society.
 3. Disagree, although human ability and technical knowledge are increasing, one must build on the ultimate power within oneself to understand and accomplish the full implications of justice and a good society.
- b) The writings of such commentators on human life as Plato, Aristotle, Dante and Shakespeare are as much inspired as the writings of Moses and Paul.
 1. Agree, since there is really little difference in these writings. In fact, Plato and Aristotle may be even more important to us than Moses and Paul.
 2. Disagree, although any writing may be inspired, the writings of Moses and Paul are especially significant because they form part of the revelation of God in history.
 3. Disagree, because the writings of Moses and Paul contain a special inspiration from God which other human writings do not have.
- c) All miracles in the Bible are true.
 1. Agree, but only in the sense that "miracles" are a dramatic report and interpretation of a natural process, with the literary purpose of pointing to the sovereignty of God. They are probably not factually accurate.
 2. Agree, because the Bible cannot contain any false report of God's work.
 3. Disagree, since "miracles" can be explained by our modern understanding of the principles by which nature and human society operate.
- d) Jesus was born of the Virgin in a manner different from human births.
 1. Disagree, although most religions claim a virgin birth for their founder, we know that such an event is physically impossible.
 2. Agree, but only in the sense that this is an ancient mythological way of talking about the Ultimate Reality as manifested in Jesus.
 3. Agree, since God conceived Jesus in Mary's womb before she had sexual relationship with Joseph her husband.
- e) I believe in the guidance of the Holy Spirit.
 1. Agree, since God has said that he will be with us always. Prayer thus is an effective way of listening to God's guidance.
 2. Disagree, since the supernatural, if it exists at all, is in no way directly involved in telling people what to do.
 3. Agree, because this is one way of describing the involvement of God with creation and humanity.
- f) I believe Hell is a form of existence in a future life.
 1. Disagree, since Hell is not a future life existence, but rather a present state in this life which occurs when a person disregards his/her own code of ethics or the rights of another person.
 2. Disagree, since there is little, if any, evidence for any type of existence after this life.
 3. Agree, since there is ample evidence in the Bible and other authoritative sources for Hell as a form of future existence.
- g) The four gospels contain some legendary material.
 1. Agree, since most of the material in the gospels cannot be supported by other historical sources or is not relevant to life today.
 2. Disagree, since nothing in the four gospels could be legendary or in error, because these are parts of the Bible and therefore infallible.
 3. Agree, but this does not deny the basic purpose of the gospels, which is to use written language (however inadequate) to express God's self-revelation.

- h) We were made for fellowship with God and our hearts are restless until they rest in him.
1. Agree, although this is merely a way of talking about the ultimate nature of human activity as being in some way related to God's purposes.
 2. Disagree, because human restlessness results from inability to identify with a group of persons and enjoy people, not in a supposed relation to some God.
 3. Agree, since God's basic purpose in creating Man is so that Man can be a companion to God.
- i) The Biblical writers were endowed with a divine wisdom which enabled them to foretell specific events in the distant future.
1. Disagree, since the basic purpose of prophecy in the Bible was to announce God's judgement of the ways in which the present generation failed to act in harmony with God's purposes.
 2. Agree, since many of the prophecies either came true in earlier history, in the Bible, or are coming true in the world today.
 3. Disagree, since the Biblical writers had no greater wisdom than other men of their day. Any prophecies which may have come true were the result of knowledge of cause and effect which anyone could achieve.
- j) Jesus walked on water and raised the dead.
1. Disagree, since these are probably exaggerated reports of events which could be explained through our knowledge of nature.
 2. Agree, since there are several accounts in which Jesus actually brought a physically dead person back to life. These accounts provide evidence for God's power over nature.
 3. Agree, but only in the sense that these are figurative ways of describing human awareness of the meaning of life in relation to the revelation of God.

q04: Doctors may have special knowledge of anatomy, biology, etc., and lawyers may have knowledge of an elaborate system of changing rules. What is the body of knowledge (or what are the areas of expertise) on which your work is based?

q05: Each of us has several different kinds of credentials, qualifications, and forms of personal authority in the practice of ministry. Consider this list:

1. academic education, degrees, diplomas, etc.	2. practical training
3. ordination, commissioning, etc.	4. called by God
5. represent the Church	6. personal qualities
7. knowledge and experience	
8. other (please specify: _____)	

Now, thinking about your work role, the people you serve, your duties and responsibilities, choose the ONE MOST IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION FOR YOUR WORK ROLE from that list, and write the code number here: _____

Which is the SECOND MOST IMPORTANT QUALIFICATION? _____

q06: What unique contributions do you make to your institution, community, the lives of "clients" and others, compared to other professionals? Circle ONE:

1. Religious support services (worship, calling, counselling, etc.)	
2. Helping institutions to be more human (treating the total person)	
3. Contribute to the value system of others	
4. Provide a different perspective	5. Less expensive care
6. Make no demands on people	7. Training for clergy
8. Innovative programmes	9. Other: _____

If you had a SECOND CHOICE, write its code number here: _____

q07: Rate your professional abilities to do your work in comparison to the abilities of other professionals to do their work. Circle ONE:

1. more able	2. as able	3. less able

PART FOUR -- COMMENTS ON CAPE AND SPE/CPE

q01: Which components of SPE/CPE training are MOST RELEVANT to your day-to-day work NOW? The components of various training programmes described in the CAPE Handbook are set out below. Evaluate them using the following code:

1 = Very valuable now	4 = Little use
2 = Valuable	5 = Unimportant
3 = Helpful	6 = Not a component of my training

Circle one number for each component:

History, theology and various models of pastoral care.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Opportunities for the development of specific skills in the practice of pastoral ministry.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Attention to issues of personal and pastoral identity.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Exposure to various theories of personality, interpersonal relations, marriage and family dynamics, group dynamics and psychotherapy.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Dialogue and collaboration with allied professionals, community agencies, etc.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Opportunities for the exploration of the spiritual and ethical dimensions of personal and social issues.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Development of administrative and other skills related to the practice of pastoral ministry.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Mastery of at least one basic style of pastoral counselling and an understanding of the theory of personality on which it is based.

1 2 3 4 5 6

Fostering of an ability to understand and utilize the language of diagnosis as it relates to pastoral counselling.

1 2 3 4 5 6

q02: Please list the two books (textbooks or recent publications, classics, technical, popular or any other kind) that are MOST RELEVANT to your day-to-day work NOW:

1. _____
2. _____

q03: Please list the three journals or magazines that you read MOST REGULARLY FOR YOUR WORK or professional development:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

q04: Including the 1983 Annual Meeting, how many national conventions of CAPE have you ever attended? _____

q05: How many regional meetings of CAPE have you ever attended? _____

q06: How many years have you been a member of CAPE? _____

q07: Have you ever held any kind of office in CAPE, either nationally or regionally, or served on any committee? Circle one:

Yes No

If yes, for how many years altogether have you served in office(s) and/or on committee(s)? _____

q08: What annual meetings of other groups/professional associations do you ever attend? Feel free to add to the list below, and circle appropriate numbers:

Association/group Regularly Occasionally Never

your denomination or religious community	1	1	1
AAMFC (or regional meeting)	2	2	2
AAPC	3	3	3
ACPE	4	4	4
other: _____	5	5	5
_____	6	6	6

q09: We all belong to several groups and associations. Which are most important to you? Rank only the THREE MOST IMPORTANT from the list below (add to it if necessary). Write "1" opposite the group which is most important to you, "2" beside the next most important, and "3" for the third.

_____ congregation or parish	_____ alumni association
_____ social/athletic/service club	_____ fraternity/sorority
_____ local community association	_____ local ministerial
_____ denomination/religious community	_____ CAPE
_____ group of colleagues at work	_____ support group
_____ other professional association (_____)	
_____ other group (_____)	

q10: Should "evidence of ordination or certification in a pastoral vocation or ministry" be required of applicants for admission to:

Level:	Circle one for each level:		
Advanced Training CPE	Yes	No	Can't say
Supervisory status CPE	Yes	No	Can't say
Advanced Training PCE	Yes	No	Can't say
Supervisory status PCE	Yes	No	Can't say
Advanced Training for Specialization	Yes	No	Can't say

q11: Should "evidence of good standing in his/her church" be required of applicants for admission to:

Level:	Circle one for each level:		
Basic Training	Yes	No	Can't say
Advanced Training CPE	Yes	No	Can't say
Supervisory status CPE	Yes	No	Can't say
Advanced Training PCE	Yes	No	Can't say
Supervisory status PCE	Yes	No	Can't say
Advanced Training for Sepcialization	Yes	No	Can't say

q12: Should members of other (non-Christian) religious groups be encouraged to apply for admission to:

Level:	Circle one for each level:		
Basic Training	Yes	No	Can't say
Advanced Training and beyond	Yes	No	Can't say

Comments: _____

q13: Which of the following has the most control over the nature of a CPE or SPE programme? Circle one only.

1. CAPE	2. the supervisor
3. the students	4. the officials of the institutional setting

q14: Why have you maintained your membership in CAPE? _____

- q15: In your experience, what is the best thing about CAPE? _____

- q16: What would be your major criticism(s) of CAPE? _____

- q17: Can you suggest some priorities for the Board of Directors' agenda over the next 5 or 10 years? _____

- q18: Can you offer some quick definitions "off the top of your head" for any of the following terms. (Don't spend a lot of time on this.)
- Pastor: _____

- Ministry: _____

- Chaplaincy: _____

- Pastoral Care: _____

- Pastoral Counselling: _____

- Prayer: _____

PART FIVE -- EVALUATION AND COMMENTS

- q01: Have some major issues been overlooked in the Questionnaire?
 1. No 2. Yes, specifically: _____

- q02: Has the Questionnaire provided sufficient opportunity to describe yourself, your work and your relationship to CAPE?
 1. Yes, very well. 3. No, not too well.
 2. Yes, well enough. 4. No, not at all.
- q03: Have you other comments, suggestions or criticisms?

- q04: Finally, how long did it take you to complete the Questionnaire?

Thank you for your cooperation and hard work. Please check over the Census Form to be sure that no questions or pages were missed unintentionally, and then return it at your earliest convenience in the postage-paid envelope. You'll be hearing the results at the 1984 Annual Meeting, or in written reports after that.

Best wishes in your ministry.

APPENDIX 2

The follow-up letter.

April 22, 1983

Dear Colleague:

The initial response to the 1983 CAPE Census has been excellent. However, our records show that your completed form has not yet been received.

Please take time now to fill out this "second chance" questionnaire, and return it to me in the postage-paid envelope. Several hundred members have already done so, and they seem to have averaged just under two hours. Most report it to have been an interesting and worthwhile exercise.

A few members who have already returned their questionnaires are also receiving this follow-up mailing for one of two reasons:

1. Since I am still receiving four or five questionnaires per week, this may cross in the mail with your return. If so, thank you for the response, and please just ignore this follow-up.

2. Some members used their own envelopes (and postage), and some other return envelopes no longer had legible code numbers when they came back. The code numbers were being checked against the April mailing list to avoid bothering anyone who had already responded (and to minimize postal expenses). Again, if you have already returned your questionnaire, please just ignore this mailing.

Be assured that your responses are being handled anonymously and confidentially. The code numbers were on the return envelopes of the first mailing only. When they have been checked against the follow-up mailing list, I receive only the unidentified questionnaires for anonymous quantitative data analysis by computer.

A personal note: I now have more than enough information for the doctoral dissertation I am working on. The first wave of responses has been a large and representative sample of the entire CAPE membership. However, I do encourage you to increase the response rate by filling out this questionnaire and returning it. It is in the interests of CAPE to have my report to the organization based on the highest possible response rate.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Tom Sherwood

APPENDIX 3 -- Variable List for the 1983 CAPE Census Data Set

V1 TYPE OF MEMBERSHIP/
 V2 DENOMINATION/
 V3 PROVINCE WHERE NOW WORKING/
 V4 SEX/
 V5 MARITAL STATUS/
 V6 YEAR OF BIRTH/
 V7 PLACE OF BIRTH/
 V8 IF FOREIGN BORN, AGE CAME TO CAN./
 V9 POPULATION, "HOMETOWN"/
 V10 POPULATION, COMMUNITY OF RESIDENCE/
 V11 FATHER'S EDUCATION/
 V12 MOTHER'S EDUCATION/
 V13 FATHER'S OCCUPATION--CCDO/
 V14 MOTHER'S OCCUPATION--CCDO/
 V15 FATHER'S OCCUPATION--SUMMARY/
 V16 UNDERGRADUATE STUDIES-NO DEGREE/
 V17 B.A./
 V18 OTHER BACCALAUREATE/
 V19 B.D.,M.DIV./
 V20 S.T.M., TH.M./
 V21 M.S.W./
 V22 M.ED./
 V23 M.A./
 V24 D.MIN./
 V25 S.T.D.,TH.D.,D.REL./
 V26 ED.D./
 V27 PH.D./
 V28 OTHER DOCTORAL DEGREE/
 V29 OTHER DEGREE/
 V30 OTHER CERTIFICATE,DIPLOMA/
 V31 BIBLICAL STUDIES/
 V32 BIBLICAL LANGUAGES/
 V33 BUSINESS,COMMERCE/
 V34 CHRISTIAN EDUCATION/
 V35 CLASSICS/
 V36 C.P.E./
 V37 COUNSELLING & GUIDANCE/
 V38 MARRIAGE & FAMILY COUNSELLING/
 V39 PASTORAL COUNSELLING/
 V40 CRIMINOLOGY/
 V41 ECONOMICS/
 V42 EDUCATION,PEDAGOGY/
 V43 ENGINEERING/
 V44 ENGLISH/
 V45 FINE ARTS/
 V46 FRENCH/
 V47 HISTORY/
 V48 CHURCH HISTORY/
 V49 LANGUAGES/
 V50 LAW/
 V51 MATHEMATICS/

V52 MEDICINE/
 V53 MUSIC/
 V54 NURSING/
 V55 PASTORAL CARE/
 V56 PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V57 PASTORAL THEOLOGY/
 V58 PHILOSOPHY/
 V59 POLITICAL SCIENCE/
 V60 CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V61 GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V62 PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION/
 V63 RELIGIOUS STUDIES/
 V64 SCIENCES/
 V65 SOCIAL WORK/
 V66 SOCIOLOGY/
 V67 SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY/
 V68 OTHER/
 V69 OTHER/
 V70 OTHER/
 V71 BIBLICAL STUDIES/
 V72 BIBLICAL LANGUAGES/
 V73 BUSINESS, COMMERCE/
 V74 CHRISTIAN EDUCATION/
 V75 CLASSICS/
 V76 C.P.E./
 V77 COUNSELLING & GUIDANCE/
 V78 MARRIAGE & FAMILY COUNSELLING/
 V79 PASTORAL COUNSELLING/
 V80 CRIMINOLOGY/
 V81 ECONOMICS/
 V82 EDUCATION, PEDAGOGY/
 V83 ENGINEERING/
 V84 ENGLISH/
 V85 FINE ARTS/
 V86 FRENCH/
 V87 HISTORY/
 V88 CHURCH HISTORY/
 V89 LANGUAGES/
 V90 LAW/
 V91 MATHEMATICS/
 V92 MEDICINE/
 V93 MUSIC/
 V94 NURSING/
 V95 PASTORAL CARE/
 V96 PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V97 PASTORAL THEOLOGY/
 V98 PHILOSOPHY/
 V99 POLITICAL SCIENCE/
 V100 CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V101 GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V102 PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION/
 V103 RELIGIOUS STUDIES/
 V104 SCIENCES/
 V105 SOCIAL WORK/

V106 SOCIOLOGY/
 V107 SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY/
 V108 OTHER/
 V109 OTHER/
 V110 OTHER/
 V111 BIBLICAL STUDIES/
 V112 BIBLICAL LANGUAGES/
 V113 BUSINESS, COMMERCE/
 V114 CHRISTIAN EDUCATION/
 V115 CLASSICS/
 V116 C.P.E./
 V117 COUNSELLING & GUIDANCE/
 V118 MARRIAGE & FAMILY COUNSELLING/
 V119 PASTORAL COUNSELLING/
 V120 CRIMINOLOGY/
 V121 ECONOMICS/
 V122 EDUCATION, PEDAGOGY/
 V123 ENGINEERING/
 V124 ENGLISH/
 V125 FINE ARTS/
 V126 FRENCH/
 V127 HISTORY/
 V128 CHURCH HISTORY/
 V129 LANGUAGES/
 V130 LAW/
 V131 MATHEMATICS/
 V132 MEDICINE/
 V133 MUSIC/
 V134 NURSING/
 V135 PASTORAL CARE/
 V136 PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V137 PASTORAL THEOLOGY/
 V138 PHILOSOPHY/
 V139 POLITICAL SCIENCE/
 V140 CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V141 GENERAL PSYCHOLOGY/
 V142 PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION/
 V143 RELIGIOUS STUDIES/
 V144 SCIENCES/
 V145 SOCIAL WORK/
 V146 SOCIOLOGY/
 V147 SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY/
 V148 OTHER/
 V149 OTHER/
 V150 OTHER/
 V151 MOST RELEVANT SUBJECT/
 V152 NEXT MOST RELEVANT SUBJECT/
 V153 LEAST RELEVANT SUBJECT/
 V154 COMPLETED SEMINARY/
 V155 FULL-TIME STUDENT/
 V156 PLACE OF STUDY: UNDERGRAD./
 V157 PLACE OF STUDY: SEMINARY/
 V158 PLACE OF STUDY: GRADUATE/
 V159 YEAR OF FIRST UNIT/

V160 LEVEL OF FIRST UNIT/
V161 PLACE OF FIRST UNIT/
V162 YEAR OF SECOND UNIT/
V163 LEVEL OF SECOND UNIT/
V164 PLACE OF SECOND UNIT/
V165 YEAR OF THIRD UNIT/
V166 LEVEL OF THIRD UNIT/
V167 PLACE OF THIRD UNIT/
V168 YEAR OF FOURTH UNIT/
V169 LEVEL OF FOURTH UNIT/
V170 PLACE OF FOURTH UNIT/
V171 YEAR OF FIFTH UNIT/
V172 LEVEL OF FIFTH UNIT/
V173 PLACE OF FIFTH UNIT/
V174 YEAR OF SIXTH UNIT/
V175 LEVEL OF SIXTH UNIT/
V176 PLACE OF SIXTH UNIT/
V177 YEAR OF SEVENTH UNIT/
V178 LEVEL OF SEVENTH UNIT/
V179 PLACE OF SEVENTH UNIT/
V180 YEAR OF EIGHTH UNIT/
V181 LEVEL OF EIGHTH UNIT/
V182 PLACE OF EIGHTH UNIT/
V183 TOTAL UNITS/
V184 INTERNSHIPS/
V185 NO OTHER PROF'L TRAINING/
V186 SOCIAL WORK/
V187 NURSING/
V188 TEACHING/
V189 PSYCHOLOGY/
V190 OTHER PROF'L TRAINING/
V191 NO OTHER ACCREDITATION/
V192 AMHC/
V193 COLLEGE OF CHAPLAINS/
V194 ACADEMY OF PARISH CLERGY/
V195 BIOENERGETICS/
V196 PET/
V197 PSYCHOLOGIST/
V198 TEACHING/
V199 TESTING/
V200 VOCATIONAL/
V201 AAMFT/
V202 AAPC/
V203 ACPE/
V204 T.A./
V205 OTHER/
V206 PROF'L RITE DE PASSAGE/
V207 YEAR PROF'L CAREER BEGAN/
V208 PRIMARY WORK ROLE/
V209 SECONDARY WORK ROLE/
V210 TERTIARY WORK ROLE/
V211 FOURTH WORK ROLE/
V212 PRIMARY WORK SETTING/
V213 SECONDARY WORK SETTING/

V214 TERTIARY WORK SETTING/
 V215 FOURTH WORK SETTING/
 V216 NO TRAINING SETTING/
 V217 GENERAL HOSPITAL/
 V218 MENTAL HEALTH CENTRE/
 V219 CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL/
 V220 CORRECTIONAL INST'N/
 V221 PARISH/
 V222 PASTORAL INSTITUTE/
 V223 OTHER TRAINING SETTING/
 V224 HOURS WORKED PER WEEK/
 V225 HOURS ON CALL PER WEEK/
 V226 % TIME IN DIRECT SERVICE/
 V227 % TIME IN TEACHING, ETC./
 V228 % TIME IN CONSULTATION/
 V229 % TIME IN ADMINISTRATION/
 V230 % TIME IN RESEARCH, WRITING/
 V231 % TIME IN OTHER ACTIVITY/
 V232 PREPARATION FOR WORSHIP/
 V233 CONDUCTING WORSHIP/
 V234 WEDDINGS, FUNERALS/
 V235 MARR. & FAMILY COUNSELLING/
 V236 SACRAMENTAL MINISTRY/
 V237 CALLING, VISITING/
 V238 SUPPORTIVE PASTORAL CARE/
 V239 CRISIS PASTORAL CARE/
 V240 INDIVIDUAL COUNSELLING/
 V241 GROUP COUNSELLING/
 V242 OTHER GRP ACTIVITIES/
 V243 EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES/
 V244 OTHER/
 V245 TIME SPENT IN ADMINISTRATION/
 V246 JOB COMPLEXITY/
 V247 FASCINATING/
 V248 BORING/
 V249 SATISFYING/
 V250 PLEASANT/
 V251 RESPECTED/
 V252 DEMORALIZING/
 V253 HEALTHFUL/
 V254 CHALLENGING/
 V255 ENDLESS/
 V256 USEFUL/
 V257 FRUSTRATING/
 V258 GOOD/
 V259 CREATIVE/
 V260 ROUTINE/
 V261 SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT/
 V262 WORK SATISFACTION SCORE/
 V263 ENCROACHMENT/
 V264 INAPPROPRIATE EXTRA DUTIES/
 V265 SUPERVISOR/
 V266 CLIENTS, ETC./
 V267 STUDENTS/

V268 PRISONERS/
V269 COMMITTEES/
V270 DOCTORS/
V271 NURSES/
V272 SOCIAL WORKERS/
V273 SUPPORT STAFF/
V274 PSYCHOLOGISTS/
V275 OTHER CAPE MEMBERS/
V276 NON-CAPE CLERGY/
V277 LAY MINISTERS/
V278 SUPERVISOR/
V279 OTHER/
V280 NUMBER UNDER PASTORAL CARE/
V281 INDIVIDUALS PER WEEK/
V282 COUPLES PER WEEK/
V283 FAMILIES PER WEEK/
V284 IND'LS IN GROUP PER WK./
V285 % PRESENTING RELIGIOUS PROBLEMS/
V286 % PRESENTING EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS/
V287 % PRESENTING COMBINATION/
V288 RELATIONSHIP CRISIS/
V289 DEPRESSION/
V290 SUICIDAL/
V291 GRIEF/
V292 DISEASE/
V293 SURGERY/
V294 VOCATIONAL/
V295 ETHICAL/
V296 INST'NALIZATION/
V297 SPIRITUAL CRISIS/
V298 ECONOMIC-FINANCIAL PROBLEM/
V299 DRUG, ALCOHOL/
V300 PERSONAL GROWTH/
V301 OTHER/
V302 INDIVIDUAL COUNSELLING/
V303 CONJOINT/
V304 FAMILY/
V305 GROUP/
V306 ENCOUNTER GROUP/
V307 MARRIAGE ENRICHMENT/
V308 BEHAVIOUR MODIFICATION/
V309 BIOENERGETICS/
V310 CASE STUDY/
V311 GESTALT/
V312 PSYCHOLOGICAL TESTS/
V313 T.A./
V314 PRIMAL/
V315 OTHER/
V316 WRITTEN ETHICAL CODE/
V317 INFORMAL ETHICAL CODE/
V318 FEE SCHEDULE/
V319 % INCOME ONE INST'N/
V320 % INCOME COUNSELLING FEES/
V321 % INCOME CONSULTING FEES/

V322 % INCOME SPEAKING FEES/
 V323 % INCOME OTHER SOURCES/
 V324 ANNUAL INCOME/
 V325 HOW DO YOU FEEL RE INCOME?/
 V326 DO YOU EVER WEAR CLERICALS?/
 V327 NOT APPLICABLE/
 V328 CLERICAL COLLAR/
 V329 HABIT OR UNIFORM/
 V330 CROSS OUTSIDE CLOTHING/
 V331 ROBE, GOWN, STOLE, ETC./
 V332 RING/
 V333 PIN/
 V334 NAME TAG/
 V335 OTHER VISIBLE SIGN OF VOCATION/
 V336 LITURGICAL, SACRAMENTAL MINISTRY/
 V337 RENEWING, UPDATING CHURCH/
 V338 HAPPY IN MY LIFE AND WORK/
 V339 THE PEOPLE NEED ME/
 V340 PERSONAL SANCTIFICATION/
 V341 INVOLVEMENT, RESPONSIBILITIES/
 V342 RESPONSE TO THE CALL OF GOD/
 V343 TO BE A WITNESS/
 V344 ESTEEM AND SOCIAL STATUS/
 V345 TOO LATE FOR ANOTHER CAREER/
 V346 NO LONGER IN RELIGIOUS OCCUPATION/
 V347 LANGUAGE OF WORK/
 V348 LANGUAGE OF HOME/
 V349 F WORK CONTACT CAPE MEMBERS/
 V350 F SOCIAL CONTACT CAPE MEMBERS/
 V351 F WORK CONTACT DEN'L CLERGY/
 V352 F SOCIAL CONTACT DEN'L CLERGY/
 V353 F ECUMENICAL EVENTS/
 V354 F ECUMENICAL SOCIAL CONTACT/
 V355 F ECUMENICAL WORK CONTACT/
 V356 F PERSONAL ECUMENICAL ACTIVITY/
 V357 F INTERFAITH EVENTS/
 V358 F INTERFAITH SOCIAL CONTACT/
 V359 F INTERFAITH WORK CONTACT/
 V360 F PERSONAL INTERFAITH ACTIVITY/
 V361 F WORK ROLE PRAYER/
 V362 F WORK ROLE WORSHIP/
 V363 F WORK ROLE BIBLE/
 V364 F WORK ROLE MASS, COMMUNION/
 V365 F WORK ROLE, OTHER COMMUNITY/
 V366 F WORK ROLE, OTHER INDIVIDUAL/
 V367 F WORK ROLE, OTHER/
 V368 F PERSONAL PRAYER/
 V369 F PERSONAL BIBLE/
 V370 F PERSONAL WORSHIP ATTENDANCE/
 V371 F OTHER PRIVATE DEVOTIONS/
 V372 F OTHER DEVOTIONS--E.G. RETREAT/
 V373 F OTHER DEVOTIONS/
 V374 F PRESENCE OF GOD/
 V375 F LOVED BY GOD/

V376 F BEING AT ONE WITH GOD/
 V377 DEN'L ATTITUDE: ABORTION/
 V378 DEN'L ATTITUDE: DIVORCE/
 V379 DEN'L ATTITUDE: NUCLEAR/
 V380 DEN'L ATTITUDE: HOMOSEXUALITY/
 V381 DENOM'L ATTITUDE: UNMARRIED/
 V382 DEN'L ATTITUDE: SOCIAL ISSUES/
 V383 DEN'L ATTITUDE: ETHICAL/
 V384 THEOLOGY OF DEN'L CLERGY/
 V385 PERSONAL THEOLOGY TO DEN'N/
 V386 CAPE ATTITUDE, ABORTION/
 V387 CAPE ATTITUDE, DIVORCE/
 V388 CAPE ATTITUDE, NUCLEAR/
 V389 CAPE ATTITUDE, HOMOSEXUALITY/
 V390 CAPE ATTITUDE, UNMARRIED/
 V391 CAPE ATTITUDE, SOCIAL ISSUES/
 V392 CAPE ATTITUDE, ETHICAL/
 V393 PERSONAL THEOLOGY TO CAPE'S/
 V394 AUTONOMY 1/
 V395 AUTONOMY 2/
 V396 AUTONOMY 3--REVERSE SCORE/
 V397 AUTONOMY 4--REVERSE SCORE/
 V398 AUTONOMY 5/
 V399 AUTONOMY 6-REVERSE SCORE/
 V400 NEAL'S INTEREST 1/
 V401 NEAL'S VALUE 1--REVERSE SCORE/
 V402 NEAL'S CHANGE 1/
 V403 NEAL'S NONCHANGE 1/
 V404 NEAL'S INTEREST 2/
 V405 NEAL'S VALUE 2/
 V406 NEAL'S CHANGE 2/
 V407 NEAL'S NONCHANGE 2/
 V408 NEAL'S INTEREST 3/
 V409 NEAL'S VALUE 3/
 V410 NEAL'S CHANGE 3/
 V411 NEAL'S NONCHANGE 3/
 V412 NEAL'S INTEREST 4/
 V413 NEAL'S VALUE 4/
 V414 NEAL'S CHANGE 4--REVERSE SCORE/
 V415 NEAL'S NONCHANGE 4/
 V416 NEAL'S INTEREST 5/
 V417 NEAL'S VALUE 5/
 V418 NEAL'S CHANGE 5/
 V419 NEAL'S NONCHANGE 5/
 V420 LAM 1, HUMAN ABILITY/
 V421 LAM 2, WRITINGS/
 V422 LAM 3, MIRACLES/
 V423 LAM 4, VIRGIN BIRTH/
 V424 LAM 5, HOLY SPIRIT/
 V425 LAM 6, HELL/
 V426 LAM 7, LEGENDARY GOSPEL MATERIAL/
 V427 LAM 8, FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD/
 V428 LAM 9, PROPHECY/
 V429 LAM 10, WALKED ON WATER/

V430 LAM: LITERAL SCORE/
 V431 LAM: ANTILITERAL SCORE/
 V432 LAM: MYTHOLOGICAL SCORE/
 V433 PRIMARY QUALIFICATION/
 V434 SECONDARY QUALIFICATION/
 V435 UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION/
 V436 SECONDARY CONTRIBUTION/
 V437 PROFESSIONAL ABILITY RATING/
 V438 CPE: PASTORAL THEORY COMPONENT/
 V439 CPE: SKILLS-PRACTICAL/
 V440 CPE: IDENTITY COMPONENT/
 V441 CPE: PSYCHOLOGY COMPONENT/
 V442 CPE: CONSULTATION COMPONENT/
 V443 CPE: SPIRITUAL, ETHICAL/
 V444 CPE: ADMIN-SKILLS/
 V445 CPE: PASTORAL COUNSELLING/
 V446 CPE: LANGUAGE OF DIAGNOSIS/
 V447 MOST RELEVANT BOOK/
 V448 SECOND MOST RELEVANT BOOK/
 V449 MOST READ PERIODICAL, JOURNAL/
 V450 SECOND PERIODICAL/
 V451 THIRD PERIODICAL/
 V452 NATIONAL CAPE MTGS. ATTENDED/
 V453 REGIONAL CAPE MTGS. ATTENDED/
 V454 YEARS A CAPE MEMBER/
 V455 HELD OFFICE IN CAPE/
 V456 YEARS OF SERVICE IN CAPE/
 V457 F ATTENDANCE, DENOMINATION/
 V458 F ATTENDANCE AAMFT/
 V459 F ATTENDANCE AAPC/
 V460 F ATTENDANCE ACPE/
 V461 F ATTENDANCE, OTHER PROF'L ASS'N/
 V462 F ATTENDANCE, OTHER GRP./
 V463 PRIMARY REFERENCE GROUP/
 V464 SECONDARY REFERENCE GROUP/
 V465 TERTIARY REFERENCE GROUP/
 V466 MINISTRY REQ., ADV. CPE/
 V467 MINISTRY REQ., SUP. CPE/
 V468 MINISTRY REQ., ADV. PCE/
 V469 MINISTRY REQ., SUP. PCE/
 V470 MINISTRY REQ., SPECIALIZATION/
 V471 CHURCH REQ., BASIC/
 V472 CHURCH REQ., ADV. CPE/
 V473 CHURCH REQ., SUP. CPE/
 V474 CHURCH REQ., ADV. PCE/
 V475 CHURCH REQ., SUP. PCE/
 V476 CHURCH REQ., SPECIALIZATION/
 V477 ENCOURAGE NON-CHR'N, BASIC/
 V478 ENCOURAGE NON-CHR'N, ADVANCED/
 V479 CONTROL OF CPE PROGRAM/
 V480 REASON FOR CAPE MEMBERSHIP-- 1/
 V481 SECOND REASON FOR MEMBERSHIP/
 V482 RATING OF QUESTIONNAIRE/
 V483 HOW LONG DID IT TAKE IN MINUTES?/

APPENDIX 4

A memorandum based on the field journal kept during the Annual Meeting of CAPE, Halifax Nova Scotia, January 29-30, 1981, addressed to Professor Bruce A. McFarlane, dated February 13, 1981.

Thank you for supporting the research trip to the meeting of the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education. It was a worthwhile experience, as I shall explain; and I am now more certain than before that this group will be the "key professional association" for my study of the clergy in transition in Canadian society.

What follows is a brief memo, including excerpts from my field diary. I intend it as a report to you that we can use as a basis for a conversation later this term in planning the next stages of my research. It may also serve as a report-evaluation of the trip for the three parties which provided partial funding: the Dean's office, the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, and the Department.

1. Basic Information

You may recall that this was a particularly significant annual meeting, because it celebrated "thirty years of Clinical Pastoral Education in Canada" -- more about that below. There were four main aspects to the meeting:

a) The theme was "Ministry -- Theology and Practice". There were four one-hour addresses by the theme speaker, Rev. Dr. Edward E. Thornton, author of *Theology and Pastoral Counseling and Professional Education for Ministry*. He is also on the Editorial Board of *The Journal of Pastoral Care*, the professional journal received by all members of CAPE, and by all members of the American Association of Pastoral Counselors and the Association for Clinical Pastoral Education (also American). Each address was followed by a question period of about 30 or 40 minutes.

b) There were eleven workshops focussing on special interests and led by CAPE members. Some were one hour long; some two hours; some were repeated. There was a wide variety of topics ranging from the practical to the theoretical, for example:

- * The First Two Minutes in Pastoral Counselling
- * Jungian Theory of Personality Types

- * Prison Chaplaincy
- * Theological Reflection on Pastoral Work
- * Ethics, Theology and Hospital Policy
- * Multidisciplinary Bioethical Decision-Making
- * Ministry to the Terminally Ill
- * Helping Parish Clergy Care for Cancer Victims
- * Maintaining Professional Standards, Quality and Efficiency in the Pastoral Care Department of a Hospital.

c) There was a business meeting, concerned with fees, membership, professional standards, certification procedures, theological education, and other matters.

d) The "free time" was very important to the attending members. They ate, drank, visited, and partied together throughout the meeting-time. The noise level in the hall and lobby between sessions, and in the restaurants during meals was quite high. There is a very strong social cohesiveness. Typically, the members have studied or trained together and now work in different parts of the country.

2. Purpose of the Trip

I knew a little about CAPE through my own professional training, conversations with CAPE members, observation of changing chaplaincy standards in hospitals, and awareness of their lobby activity against the draft Psychologists' Bill in Ontario. I had never seen an Annual Meeting of CAPE -- nor any other kind of CAPE gathering. Before leaving Ottawa, I set out some goals for the research trip:

- a) to speak to some key leaders about my interest and research;
- b) to meet as many members as possible and become a familiar face and name to CAPE people;
- c) to attend lectures, workshops, worship services, social events and the business meeting;
- d) to observe the members and the organization in this variety of settings, according to a schedule of concerns:
 - membership profile;
 - appearance, physical impressions;
 - group dynamics, collegial atmosphere, distinctive professional culture;
 - self-awareness as professional association;

- professional issues being engaged:
- ideology:
- topics of discussion, style and vocabulary:
- their special "systematic body of knowledge":
- attitudes toward other professionals,
other clergy, and
the Church:
- references to clientele, fees/salaries, standards of
admission and on-going certification, and ethics.

3. My Timetable

Because of my course-load this term, my time in Halifax was all too brief, however I was able to attend all four settings mentioned in "1" and accomplish all four purposes listed in "2" -- at least to some extent. My schedule:

Thursday, January 29

Arrival around noon, immediately met a former colleague who introduced me to a number of people through the lunch hour

Lunch hour

Theme Lecture II and question period

Coffee break

**Workshop on the model for inter-professional consultation and
bioethical decision-making at Calgary Foothills Hospital**

Dinner with nine members of CAPE

**Evening meeting, discussion and social time with Ottawa-
Eastern Ontario "caucus" of CAPE.**

Friday, January 30

Theme Lecture III and question period

Coffee break

**Workshop on a Toronto research project, surveying "job
satisfaction" among clergy, and critiquing adequacy of
preparation for ministry/seminary curricula**

Lunch with three members of CAPE

Theme Lecture IV and questions

Worship service

Coffee break

Business Meeting

Departure that evening

4. Some Impressions and Observations

- * I have requested complete registration information and a copy

of the Minutes. so my estimates of sex-, denomination-, and region-breakdowns can be replaced by exact statistics later, and my notes can be supplemented later.

* Well over 200 people attended the Annual Meeting: the lectures were packed; the workshops well-attended; there was very little "wandering off"; even during free-time, the members tended to stay together -- at least in groups.

* I was told by an organizer that attendance was not as high as the previous year's meeting in Toronto. A very high proportion of the membership is in the Toronto area; but the organization has a tradition of moving its annual meeting around the country. Next year it is in Saskatoon; in 1983 it is in Quebec City.

* I estimated the percentage of female members in attendance at over 30%. This raises the important issue of "women clergy": are they finding resistance in the traditional parish settings and moving into this area of specialization? are these two new trends -- CAPE professionalization and ordination of women -- running parallel? are non-ordained women (nuns and deaconesses) finding the CAPE stream a more attractive career ladder?

* The CAPE members were well-dressed, but notably lacking in traditional clergy uniforms: in a group of over 200, there was one clerical collar, one Salvation Army uniform and three nuns' habits. The Sunday worship service is not the main emphasis for these people; they tend to wear business suits, sports jackets, blazer-and-greys or the female equivalents. They often wear the white hospital gown if they are hospital chaplains. Many of the CAPE members were quite expensively dressed, especially for clergy: \$300 suits, \$200 jackets, \$20 ties, \$50 shirts, etc. (I don't know as much about the price of women's clothes, but some of them seemed to be very expensively dressed.)

* The membership also seemed to be in good health. Compared to other clergy meetings I attend -- compared even to a NAC audience at this time of year -- there was less coughing, sneezing, etc. In the halls there was no mention of people absent due to illness. There was more talk about who had become separated or divorced since the previous year's meeting.

* They were predominantly of white-European race, but not exclusively.

* Most of the members were in their 40s and 50s. I was "young" at 32; there were a few over 60.

* I discovered that there were a few non-clergy members present, perhaps 10, all women, trained in institutional chaplaincy and "working" as volunteers or employed as coordinators-of-

volunteers in small hospitals.

* There was a conscious effort made to use inclusive language and avoid any expressions of sexism.

* The worship service was on the theme "The Spirit and Human Nature". It blended readings from the Bible, traditional prayers, and a procession of banners with theoretical readings on the human personality. It was intended as a celebration of the human personality based on a passage of Scripture which referred to "the spirit" and "love, joy, peace, patience, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, humility, and self-control". It was an ecumenical service, planned by and led by a committee. It was well-attended and seemed to be well-received.

* There was French-English simultaneous translation throughout the conference. I heard only English in the formal sessions, so the facilities were being used only by the Francophone members (perhaps 10%) for ease of comprehension.

* The theme speaker lectured from a prepared manuscript, speaking from a lectern, using a sound system, and using an overhead projector and prepared acetates. There was a floor mike for people asking questions.

His discourse was a mixture of theology, psychology, biblical exegesis, allusions to literature and mythology, medicine, anthropology, philosophy, mathematics, and illustrative case studies from his own counselling practice.

Within the same section of a lecture, he would quote or allude to: Freud, John Bunyan, the Gilgamesh myth, Kierkegaard, the Bible, William James, Irenaeus, a Sufi story and Karl Jung. He would explain and comment upon a passage of Scripture, relate it to theoretical understandings of human growth and development, and report a case study, constantly combining the theological, the psychological and the experiential.

He had an extremely attentive audience. The questioners seemed to be relating his lectures to their own practices of ministry. There were many comparative references to doctors, and the health care model seemed to be the model for pastoral care. At one point the speaker referred to the pastoral counsellor as "the obstetrician at the birth of the spiritual self". A sample of some other striking references:

- prayer as "communication between the ego and the centred self";
- orgasm as "an experience of death and resurrection";
- "meditative jogging" as "a spiritual discipline";
- "the hypnagogic or alpha state, as measured by an electroencephalograph" as "optimal for meditation".

* The workshop on the Foothills Hospital (Calgary) Ethics Consultation Service provided an example of CAPE people using special expertise, authority, relationships and power in consultation with other professionals and with the clientele. I have a nine-page brochure outlining the history and practice of this committee, notes from the workshop, and a good personal contact with the Director of Pastoral Services.

* The workshop on the research project among Toronto clergy dealt with a number of issues I may wish to engage in my study. I have made contact with the principal investigator and will build on this relationship.

* The business meeting was well-attended and there was a great deal of participation. The main concerns this year seemed to be "in-house"; apparently, other years, there has been more concern with relationships with other professions, lobbying and public education, status of CAPE members in institutional chaplaincies and the civil service, etc. This year the main concerns were:

- creation of a new Peer Review Committee, for the on-going certification of members;
- similarly, discussion of the periodic review of institutions as accredited CAPE training centres;
- raising of the standard minimum theological education required and revision of other standards for admission to training as an Assistant Supervisor;
- new guidelines for the 200 hours of training following two advanced CPE units (= 400 hours each) of training for certification as a Specialist;
- relationship with the American cousin -- AAPC.

5. Conclusion

Finally, I must speak to you about one other matter. You will remember that I thought it particularly important for me to attend this "30th Anniversary" meeting because the level of self-awareness might be abnormally high. In some respects it was: for example, an amateurish 16-page brochure history was distributed, some of the "founding fathers" were honoured.

But - more than that, after the Annual Meeting, the Board of Directors met and decided to make the 1983 meeting a self-study of CAPE and undertake a research project which would report at that time. I know about this because yesterday I received a letter from a member of the Board -- informally or unofficially, one would say --

letting me know about this decision. He writes: "I wonder if this kind of C.A.P.E. project might mesh with your studies at Carleton." Of course it would. Their research might save me a great deal of time -- if it were asking the kinds of questions I want to ask. It also raises the possibility of "over-surveying" this small group.

I would like to discuss with you how I might best proceed to develop my relationship with CAPE in order to research and write a thesis on their special experience of "reprofessionalization".

Obviously there is much more I could say about the organization, the meeting and my research trip. These are just gleanings from my notebook; but they perhaps serve as a report, an evaluation and a discussion-starter.

The trip was worthwhile. And in view of this news about a "self-study", the timing may turn out to have been critical for my dissertation.

Again, thanks for your support.

c.c. Dennis Forcese
Gordon Irving
John de Vries
Dean of Graduate Studies

APPENDIX 5

The CAPE Code of Ethics
(January 21, 1993 text)

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**CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR PASTORAL EDUCATION/
ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE POUR L'EDUCATION PASTORALE**

Code of Ethics & Professional Conduct

PROLOGUE

Members of the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education/Association Canadienne pour l'Education Pastorale (hereafter referred to as C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P.) affirm the dignity and worth of each person and respect the right of each faith group to hold its values and traditions. In all ministries, whatever their setting, we hold ourselves accountable to the standards of professional competence and conduct stated in this Code of Ethics & Professional Conduct (hereafter referred to as the Code). As members we knowingly and willingly enter into a membership covenant, the values and beliefs of which are contained within this document. Adherence to this covenant is deemed to be a necessary and vital component of membership (all categories) in C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P.

This Code is founded on the following values and beliefs; that

- A) We maintain responsible association with the faith group in which we have ecclesiastical standing.
- B) We show sensitive regard, given the bounds of our religious affiliation, for the racial, cultural, national, sexual orientation, gender, age and religious differences, of other individuals and societies. We show sensitive regard to the physically and mentally challenged.
- C) We are committed to continuing education to enrich our professional competence.
- D) We seek out and engage in collegial relationships, recognizing that isolation can lead to a loss of perspective and judgement.
- E) We commit ourselves, to be subject to Peer Review and to abide by such recommendations as may result from such a review.
- F) We are committed to the spiritual development both of ourselves, and of those to whom we minister.
- G) We strive to manage our personal lives in a healthful fashion and seek appropriate assistance for our own personal problems and conflicts.
- H) We provide ministry only for those persons who present problems, issues or educational needs with which we are competent to deal.
- I) We establish and maintain appropriate professional relationship boundaries.

PRINCIPLE I - PRACTICE OF MINISTRY

In all professional matters members of C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P. maintain practices that protect the public and advance the profession.

- A) We use our knowledge and professional associations for the benefit of the people we serve and not to secure personal advantage.
- B) We represent our category of membership clearly and limit our practice of ministry to the level of our certification.
- C) Where applicable, fees and financial arrangements, and all other contractual matters, are discussed at the beginning without hesitation or equivocation and are established in a straightforward, professional manner.
- D) We attend to financial matters with due regard for recognized business and accounting procedures.

PRINCIPLE II - EDUCATIONAL AND WORKING RELATIONSHIPS

We, who are in a position of authority and responsibility maintain a concern for the integrity and welfare of our students, supervisees and employees. We recognize the power imbalance that exists and do not abuse the trust of former and current students, supervisees or employees. To this end:

- A) We make available to all students, supervisees and employees a copy of this Code at the time of contracting with them.
- B) We do not function as therapist/counsellor with students, supervisees or employees beyond what is consistent with our role.
- C) We do not engage in any form of sexual inpropriety in educational and/or working relationships regardless of invitation or consent. Sexual inpropriety is defined as, but not limited to, all forms of overt and covert seductive speech, gestures and behaviours, as well as explicitly sexual contact.
- D) We regard all forms of harassment between supervisors, supervisees, students or employees as unethical. Harassment is a form of violation which includes behaviour such as inappropriate demands, threats, gestures, innuendos, remarks, jokes, slurs, displays of offensive material, physical or sexual assault or taunting about a person's body, clothing, habits, customs or mannerisms. Harassment can also include inappropriate or unwelcome attention to, or comments on, a person's physical characteristics or appearance.

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- E) We advise our students, supervisees or employees that they may not present themselves as qualified to engage in professional services beyond their level of training, competence and experience.
- F) We comply with all the policies and procedures relevant to hiring, selection, evaluation, termination or dismissal that prevail in the place of study or employment.

PRINCIPLE III - COUNSELLING RELATIONSHIPS

It is the responsibility of members of C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P. to maintain relationships with clients on a professional basis.

- A) Counselling relationships imply a commitment to the healing process. If we are unable or unwilling, for appropriate reasons, to provide professional help or continue a professional relationship, we make a reasonable effort to arrange for continuation of counselling with another professional.
- B) We do not solicit clients already in the care of another professional. If a client requests counselling, while in the care of another counsellor, it is our obligation to obtain the client's consent to consult with the other professional.
- C) We make only realistic statements regarding the counselling process and its outcome.
- D) We show sensitive regard for the cultural and religious values of those we serve and refrain from imposing our own values on them.
- E) Counselling relationships are continued only so long as it is reasonably clear that the clients are benefiting from the relationship.
- F) We acknowledge the complexity of pastoral relationships, and do not abuse the trust and dependency of our clients. We avoid those dual relationships with clients (e.g. business or close personal relationships), which could impair our professional judgement, compromise the integrity of the counselling process and/or use the relationship for our own gain.
- G) We do not engage in harassment, abusive words or actions, or coercion of clients or former clients.
- H) We recognize that the counsellor/client relationship involves a power imbalance. All forms of sexual inpropriety or harassment as defined in principles I/C & D with clients (patients, parishioners) are unethical, even when a client invites or consents.

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- I) We also recognize that the residual effects of the power imbalance of the client/counsellor relationship are operative following the termination of the counselling. Because of this, exploitation of former clients is unethical.

PRINCIPLE IV - INTER-PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

We recognize that we are part of a network of professional care-givers and are expected to develop and maintain professional relationships. To this end:

- A) We seek to support and respect other professionals.
- B) We exercise care and professional protocol when receiving or initiating referrals.

PRINCIPLE V - CONFIDENTIALITY

As members of C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P. we respect the integrity and protect the welfare of all persons to whom we are ministering and have an obligation to safeguard information about them that has been obtained in the course of our ministry.

- A) All records are stored or disposed of in a manner that assures security and confidentiality.
- B) We regard all communications from those to whom we minister with the highest professional confidence.
- C) We do not disclose ministerial confidences to anyone, except: as mandated by institutional practice or law; to prevent a clear and immediate danger to someone; in the course of a civil, criminal or disciplinary action arising from the ministry where the member is a defendant; for the purposes of supervision or consultation; or by previously obtained written permission. In cases involving more than one person in the ministerial situation, written permission must be obtained from all legally accountable persons who have been present during the interaction before any disclosure can be made.
- D) We obtain written consent of those to whom we provide ministry before audio and/or video tape recording or permitting third party observation of cases.
- E) We do not use these standards of confidentiality to avoid disclosure when there is evidence of abuse.
- F) When we present material from our ministries in person or in written form, the identity of the recipient(s) of care/counselling or supervision is safeguarded.

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PRINCIPLE VI - ADVERTISING

Any advertising by or for a member of C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P. including announcements, public statements and promotional activities, is undertaken with the purpose of helping the public make informed judgement and choices.

- A) We do not misrepresent our professional qualifications, affiliations and functions, or falsely imply sponsorship or certification by any organization.
- B) We may use the following information to describe ourselves and the services we provide: name; ministerial designation; the highest relevant academic degree(s) earned from an accredited institution; date, type and level of certification; C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P. Membership level, clearly stated; address and telephone number; office hours; a brief review of services offered, e.g., individual, couple and group counselling; workshops; fee information; languages spoken. Additional relevant information may be provided if it is legitimate, reasonable, free of deception and not otherwise prohibited by these principles. We may not use the initials C.A.P.E./A.C.E.P. after our names in the manner of an academic degree.
- C) We neither receive nor pay a commission for referral of a client or student.
- D) Announcements and brochures promoting our services describe them accurately, devoid of all claims or evaluation. We may send them to professional persons and organizations but to prospective or former individual clients only in response to inquiries.

PRINCIPLE VII - RESEARCH

When conducting research, we follow the guidelines stipulated by the institution within which that research is carried out. At all times we ensure that the patient, parishioner, client, student, or any other subject is not harmed by the research.

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C) RESPONDING TO COMPLAINTS

1. The Regional Ethics Chair consults with the National Ethics Chair immediately upon receipt of a complaint.
2. A letter from the Regional Ethics Chair acknowledging receipt of the complaint is promptly sent to the person lodging the complaint. This includes a copy of the Code and Procedures and a form authorizing the Committee to proceed with the investigation of the complaint.
3. The Regional Ethics Chair and designated Committee begin an investigation as soon as the signed authorization to proceed with the investigation has been received. A copy of the complaint is then sent to the member against whom it is directed, by the Regional Ethics Chair.
4. With just cause, a Regional or National Ethics committee may proceed on its own initiative without the receipt of a formal complaint. A statement concerning the allegations against the member is prepared and sent to the member.
5. Investigations normally include separate personal interviews by the designated Committee with the person(s) who has made the complaint, with the member against whom the complaint has been made and with anyone else deemed necessary to obtain needed information. Full disclosure of all information so obtained is provided to both parties for their written comment or rebuttal. All parties involved are dealt with sensitively while at the same time not given unnecessary information or promises.
6. Records are kept which include dates and brief summaries of all phone calls and meetings. These confidential records will include the use of initials instead of names whenever feasible. These notes should be clear enough to enable a reasonable person to conclude that the investigation was adequate and its findings sufficient to sustain its determination(s).

D) ACTIONS

When an investigation is complete a Regional Ethics Committee recommends one of four courses of action to the National Ethics Committee and the Board for ratification and implementation. The National Ethics Committee informs the complainant and the member in writing by registered mail of the action taken, with notification that the action may be appealed. A return receipt is requested.

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In the case of "probation" only that fact, not the terms, is communicated to the complainant. The actions are as follows:

1. **Unfounded.** Advise that the complaint is unfounded or cannot be substantiated.
2. **Reprimand.** This action is based on an assessment that the member accepted responsibility for the violation and that the reprimand is adequate to ensure that it will not recur. This action may be taken only in those cases in which the violation is deemed not to threaten the wellbeing of others.
3. **Probation.** The terms of probation are based on an assessment that the member is committed to addressing certain issues. These and the terms of probation are spelled out in writing to the member by the investigating committee, in order to ensure that the violation will not recur, and that the member's continued ministry, whatever its setting, will not pose a threat to the wellbeing of others.

The length of the probation is set and monitored by the regional committee, and may be extended if deemed necessary. Likewise, at any time during a probation the Committee may change its action and require a different action, based on new information, a new understanding of the original information, non-compliance with the terms of the probation or non-cooperation with the Committee.

4. **Dismissal.** This action may be taken in any case but is obligatory when a member has been found guilty in a court of law of a criminal offence which is related to the member's functioning in the practice of ministry. The dismissed member is required to return all certificates of membership category to the Chair of the National Ethics Committee within 30 days.

E) APPEALS PROCESS AND RECORDS

1. Actions 1 through 4 may be appealed to the Judicial Committee, at which point the National Ethics Chair forwards the complete file along with a summary of the case to the Chair of the Judicial Committee.
 - a. The Judicial Committee decides upon and organizes any review that may be necessary. When this is accomplished, it makes its ruling.
 - b. Decisions by the Judicial Committee regarding appeals are final.
 - c. If a member appeals a decision for dismissal, the member

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ceases all functioning as a pastoral practitioner during the appeal.

- d. If the decision for dismissal is upheld in the appeal process, the member immediately sends all certificates of membership category to the National office.
2.
 - a. If no appeal is received within 30 days of notification of the action, the chair of the National Ethics Committee places all records pertaining to the investigation in an envelope with only the member's name and date on the outside. It is then sent to the National Office for safe keeping.
 - b. The summary is kept by the National Office for a period of ten years, or longer if another investigation is begun. In the event another investigation of that member begins, the summary may be sent upon request to a Regional or National Ethics Committee.

F) NOTIFICATIONS

1. Once the appeal time or procedures are over, actions of dismissal are announced to the membership in the next Newsletter. The announcement is limited to the member's full name, location, the date of dismissal and the specific Principle(s) of the Code violated. If a member is dismissed for violation of procedures A-1 (refusal or failure to cooperate with an ethics investigation at any point), all other Principles alleged to have been violated are also listed.
2. In the case of dismissal, once the appeal time or procedures are over, the National Ethics Chair notifies the member's employer, the member's endorsing faith group, and other professional organizations to which the member belongs. The specific information communicated is the same as outlined in Notifications F1.

APPENDIX 6

A selection of national advertisements for positions requiring CAPE certification, 1981-1987.

2 Nov 81	Coordinator -- Pastoral Care Services
Cross Cancer Institute
18 June 82	Manager, Pastoral Services
Queensway Carleton Hospital
15 Aug 83	Director of Pastoral Services
Waterford Hospital
4 Feb 84	Pastoral Care Coordinator
North Bay Civic Hospital
18 Feb 84	Chaplain and Clergy Coordinator
Guelph General Hospital
17 May 84	Director
Pastoral Care Department
Ottawa Civic Hospital
21 July 84	Director of Pastoral Care
The Alberta Children's Hospital
28 Sept 84	Director of Pastoral Services
Doctors Hospital
27 June 85	Director of Pastoral Care
The Credit Valley Hospital
5 Dec 87	Director of Pastoral Care
St. Boniface General Hospital

**WESTERN
CANADA**

CAREER

Co-ordinator — Pastoral Care Services

The Cross Cancer Institute is seeking candidates interested in assuming the position of Co-ordinator — Pastoral Care Services.

The Institute is a comprehensive cancer research and treatment facility, affiliated with the University of Alberta. The Institute comprises of a 76 bed in-patient facility, a day care and very active out-patient department.

The successful applicant will be responsible for providing comprehensive chaplaincy services within the Institute. Duties will include ministering to patients, their families and staff. The candidate will work with the professional staff of the Institute and with the religious community to develop community outreach programs.

Preference will be given to individuals with the following qualifications: Graduate from a recognized university, Ordained Minister, minimum of 3 years pastoral care experience and supervisory status with the Canadian Association of Pastoral Education (CAPE) or equivalents.

Position available immediately.

Please forward written resume to:

**Director of Personnel
Cross Cancer Institute
11500 University Avenue
Edmonton, Alberta
T6G 1Z2**

Queensway Carleton Hospital

Pastoral Services

The Queensway-Carleton Hospital, a dynamic 240 bed community hospital on the western periphery of the city of Ottawa has two challenging career opportunities for persons qualified in Pastoral Services.

Manager, Pastoral Services

This is a challenging position for an individual with extensive experience in Pastoral Education and Pastoral Care Programs. The successful applicant will therefore be certified by the Canadian Association of Pastoral Education. A joint appointment with St. Paul University, the position has the complete responsibility for the management and overall direction of the pastoral care and pastoral education programs of the hospital. Reporting to the Assistant Executive Director—Patient Services, the key challenge of this position is to continue to develop an already widely recognized, progressive, integrated Pastoral Services Program while maintaining active community liaison and providing comprehensive pastoral services within the hospital for patients, families and staff.

Hospital Chaplain (Part-time)

This is an opportunity for an individual with strong interpersonal skills and a high degree of psychological and spiritual maturity to make a very significant contribution to the well-being of patients, their families and hospital staff. The incumbent will be extensively involved in the hospital's Pastoral Care Program and will accordingly have at least one unit of Clinical Pastoral Education and willingness to continue such training. The successful applicant will be ordained in a ministry with membership in the Canadian Council of Churches.

Please apply in writing to: Director of Personnel, QUEENSWAY CARLETON HOSPITAL, 3045 Baseline Road, Nepean, Ontario K2H 6P4

Waterford Hospital Director of Pastoral Services

The Waterford is a 450 bed teaching psychiatric hospital and is the psychiatric referral centre for Newfoundland and Labrador.

The successful applicant will be responsible to the Administrator for the administration of the Pastoral Care Department.

QUALIFICATIONS: Certification at the full or acting supervisor level (Education) by the Canadian Association of Pastoral Education; a degree from an accredited theological school; ordained, and have full ecclesiastical endorsement by his/her denomination; and five years experience.

REMUNERATION: Salary negotiable depending on training and experience. Other benefits in accordance with the hospital management pay plan.

Applications will be accepted up to August 26, 1983. A complete resume including salary expectations should be addressed to:

**The Administrator
WATERFORD HOSPITAL
Waterford Bridge Road
St. John's, Newfoundland
A1E 4J8**

PASTORAL CARE COORDINATOR

North Bay Civic Hospital, a 200 bed active treatment facility, invites applications for the position of Pastoral Care Coordinator. As pastoral care is a newly approved program in the hospital, the successful candidate will be responsible for the development and implementation of this service on a hospital-wide basis, in accordance with the principles of The Canadian Council on Hospital Accreditation. In this process the Coordinator will work directly with a Pastoral Care Advisory Committee, comprised of representatives of the hospital, medical staff and the community clergy.

Interested applicants will be certified by the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education, preferably having related hospital and/or institutional experience. Proven organizational and interpersonal skills a must. Bilingualism would be an asset.

Apply in writing by February 17th, 1984 giving full resume and names of references to:

**D. Robertson, Director of Personnel Services
NORTH BAY CIVIC HOSPITAL
750 Scott St.
North Bay, Ontario P1B 5A4**

CHAPLAIN AND CLERGY COORDINATOR

An opportunity to assume responsibility for the Pastoral service which is scheduled to increase from part time to full time upon assumption of duties.

We are a 214 bed active treatment facility located in South Western Ontario dedicated to the provision of total patient care in accordance with the principles and standards of The Canadian Council on Hospital Accreditation. In this capacity the Coordinator will liaison with the Pastoral Care Advisory Committee and report directly to the Executive Director.

The successful candidate will be certified, or enrolled in the course provided, by the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education with proven ability and experience preferably obtained in a hospital or like setting.

Please apply in writing, including resume, references and salary expectations to:

Director, Personnel Services
GUELPH GENERAL HOSPITAL
119 South Street,
Guelph, Ontario N1E 4J4

OTTAWA CIVIC HOSPITAL
requires a

**DIRECTOR
PASTORAL CARE
DEPARTMENT**

The Ottawa Civic Hospital is seeking an ecumenical Chaplain educated at the Canadian Association of Pastoral Education (CAPE) Supervisory level to head up its Department of Pastoral Care.

The successful candidate will be responsible for the planning, organizing and evaluation of Pastoral Care to patients in this 925 bed acute care teaching hospital. This is a new programme requiring developmental skills. Strong community support exists.

The position is available immediately and reports to the Vice-President, Patient Care.

Please submit curriculum vitae to:

Miss Kerry Marshall,
Vice-President,
Patient Care,
Ottawa Civic Hospital,
1063 Carling Avenue,
Ottawa, Ontario K1Y 4E9

**Director
of Pastoral Care**

The Alberta Children's Hospital — Child Health Centre is currently accepting applications for the position of Director of Pastoral Care. The Hospital provides full inpatient care and a particularly wide range of outpatient treatment and preventive services.

Qualifications include: Graduation from an accredited theological school, ordination, and a minimum of one year clinical pastoral education in an approved CAPE or ACPE centre. Preference will be given to candidates with children's health care experience and Advanced or Specialist credentials (CAPE).

Please submit resume to:

Director of Personnel
Alberta Children's Hospital
1820 Richmond Road S.W.
Calgary, Alberta
T2T 5C7

Director Pastoral Care

The Credit Valley Hospital, a 366-bed full-service community hospital, located in Mississauga, Ontario, opening in October 1985, requires a Director of Pastoral Care.

If you have an empathetic approach to people, possess Canadian Association of Pastoral Education training, have experience in pastoral counselling, and preferably have experience in hospital ministry, this position will be of considerable interest.

Please send your curriculum vitae, including salary expectations, to:

Mr. Ron Pecuch
Director,
Human Resources
THE CREDIT
VALLEY HOSPITAL
2200 Eginton Ave. West
Mississauga, Ontario
L5M 2W1

The Credit Valley Hospital

DIRECTOR of Pastoral Services

This 300 bed downtown hospital requires a mature individual to coordinate its pastoral and spiritual care services. The individual will be responsible for the spiritual care of the community, clergy and pastoral assistance and relations. The individual will be responsible for the spiritual care of the community, clergy and pastoral assistance and relations. The individual will be responsible for the spiritual care of the community, clergy and pastoral assistance and relations.

Assistant Executive Director
20 Miller Street
Toronto, Ontario M5S 2L1

St. Boniface General Hospital

Winnipeg, Manitoba

requires a

DIRECTOR OF PASTORAL CARE

The St. Boniface General Hospital, established by the Grey Nuns of Montreal, is a large major Canadian tertiary care teaching and research hospital. Its mission embodies the Catholic principles of health care and is inspired by the theology/philosophy which emphasizes the qualities of compassion, human dignity and social responsibility in caring for the whole person.

The President seeks a Director of Pastoral Care to lead a professional, ecumenical team in the delivery of quality pastoral care to patients, families and staff.

Qualifications:

As Director, the candidate will possess appropriate administrative skills to plan, organize, direct and evaluate all aspects of the Department. The candidate must be a full C.A.P.E. Supervisor and have at least five (5) years hospital experience, preferably a portion of which will have been as Departmental Director.

Future Directions:

A further responsibility will be to recommend and develop a sense of future direction and provide leadership for its implementation.

Salary and benefits negotiable.

Send application and résumé to:

The Vice-President of Mission
St. Boniface General Hospital
400 Tache Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R2H 2A6

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APPENDIX 7

Selected pages from the CAPE Handbook.

INTRODUCTION

What is the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education (CAPE)?

The Canadian Association for Pastoral Education is an interfaith organization which promotes training for creative ministry through Supervised Pastoral Education (S.P.E.).

What is Supervised Pastoral Education?

S.P.E. puts students into learning situations where they conduct a pastoral ministry under highly qualified supervision.

This period of in-service training may be conducted in parish, institutional or other settings where the student's ministry may be closely supervised. S.P.E. very often happens in an interdisciplinary context where the insights of the social sciences promote creative dialogue. This is very helpful in encouraging co-operation with other people and agencies serving the community.

What are the essentials of S.P.E. Programs?

1. Face to face meetings with another person who may or may not be in a crisis situation. The frequency and intensity of such meetings depends on factors unique to each situation.
2. A retrospective consideration of the encounter and a written report stating the feelings of the student and the theological, psychological and sociological implications of whatever transpired.
3. The students sharing with a group of peers. The Supervisor facilitates communication, and, when relevant, shares his feelings.
4. The student's regular meeting with the Supervisor during which data and feelings are discussed.
5. The opportunity to acquire relevant information by academic input through lectures and directed reading. Clinical seminars are frequently integrated with the training.

Standards, Accreditation and Certification

CAPE believes that the effectiveness of S.P.E., as in other forms of education, lies in the maintenance of high standards and constant evaluation.

Training centres are accredited when they request it and meet the standards. This is done by a review team which visits the centre.

Students are certified at various levels as they meet the standards and are interviewed by regional and/or national Accreditation and Certification Committees. Along with S.P.E. the standards, with rare exceptions, include specified university and seminary training. Standards are printed in full elsewhere in this handbook.

Subsection 3 - Structure & Content of Programmes in Clinical Pastoral Education

1. The programme, or unit, of clinical pastoral education shall consist of a minimum of 400 hours of training which may be completed as follows:
 - a) in one period of eleven continuous weeks of full-time training;
 - b) in two periods of six continuous weeks each of full-time training;
 - c) in a period of thirty weeks involving two days of training weekly;
 - d) in a period of thirty weeks involving one day of training weekly followed immediately by a period of six continuous weeks of full-time training.
2. Students must take at least one of their advanced units of training in full eleven week units.
3. Normally, no student shall proceed beyond the third unit of training without an appearance before a Regional A & C Committee.
4. Any significant variation of the structure set forth in Section I, Subsection 3, No. I, shall be approved in advance by the National A & C Committee.
5. Approval for experimental programmes shall be obtained from the National A & C Committee. In requesting such approval, Supervisors shall submit sufficient documentation to support their request, arrange for an adequate assessment of the programme and, at its conclusion, submit a report to the National A & C Committee.
6. At the end of each unit, report forms are to be completed and submitted to the National Office of C.A.P.E. along with the prescribed student affiliation fees.
7. The programme shall make provision for direct relationships between the student and those to whom he/she ministers. These relationships shall be the prime source of data for study in clinical pastoral education.

8. Verbatim accounts and/or other forms of reporting of a student's ministry shall be submitted regularly to the supervisor for assessment and study.
9. Individual conferences between a student and his/her Supervisor(s) shall be scheduled regularly. The primary purpose of such conferences is educational. Where there is a need or request for psychotherapy, the student shall be referred to someone outside the training program.
10. Provision shall be made for group supervision.
11. Provision shall be made for interpersonal group experience.
12. At the end of each unit, both the student and the Supervisor shall complete written evaluations and share them with each other. These shall become part of the student's training record.
13. While all clinical pastoral education programmes shall have as their general aim the integration of the student's theological, psychological and sociological perspectives with his/her experience of ministry, the emphasis to be given to the various components shall be determined by the level of training and the goals and needs of the particular student. Accordingly, programmes in clinical pastoral education shall normally
 - (a) survey the history, theology and various models of pastoral care;
 - (b) provide opportunities for the development of specific skills in the practice of pastoral ministry;
 - (c) give attention to issues of personal and pastoral identity;
 - (d) provide exposure to the various theories of personality, interpersonal relations, marriage and family dynamics, group dynamics and psychotherapy;
 - (e) encourage dialogue and collaboration with allied professionals, community agencies, etc.;
 - (f) provide opportunities for the exploration of the spiritual and ethical dimensions of personal and social issues; and
 - (g) facilitate the development of administrative and other skills related to the practice of pastoral ministry.

Subsection 1 - Requirements for Admission to Advanced Training

1. The applicant shall have completed:
 - a) One full time unit of SPE in an approved CAFE programme.
 - b) One additional unit of SPE (CPE/PCE), or an equivalent supervised pastoral experience.
2. The applicant shall apply for a review appearance to the Regional A & C Committee. The application may be made by letter, or by submission of a completed "Application for Certification Review" form.
 - a) The fee for the Certification Review shall normally accompany the application.
 - b) The applicant will then be informed of his/her Presenter, who shall be a member of the A & C Committee, and who shall present the applicant and his/her credentials to the review committee at the time of the interview.
3. The applicant shall send to the Presenter the following documents:
 - a) Evidence of graduation from a duly recognized college or university.
 - b) Evidence of ordination or certification in a pastoral vocation or ministry in terms of the polity of the candidate's religious affiliation. Normally the candidate would be expected to receive this endorsement from an authority beyond the local congregation. This mandate must be renewed if there is a change in placement.
 - c) Evidence of continued good standing in his/her church.
 - d) Evidence of a satisfactory pastoral experience demonstrating growing maturity in the applicant's professional identity and role.
 - e) Evidence of current membership in the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education.
 - f) Evidence of the readiness of a certified Supervisor to accept the candidate into Advanced Training.
 - g) A copy of each Supervisor's evaluation and self-evaluations of all training experiences.
 - h) A brief autobiographical statement outlining personal and family data, education, training, vocational history, with a self-assessment including strengths, weaknesses and areas for growth.
 - i) A brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's theology of ministry.
 - j) A brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's personal and pastoral identity.
 - k) A brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's professional goals in ministry.
4. The interview with delegates of the A & C Committee is for the purpose of assessing the applicant's potential to grow further in a Supervised Clerical Pastoral experience.

2. Candidates (e.g. in an intern year of training) occasionally find that the time of the review committee meeting does not facilitate their training goals and process.

It is permissible for the student's supervisor to admit conditionally such a student to advanced training in order to facilitate goal setting. During the first half of that unit the student must appear before the regional certification committee seeking admission to advanced training. If the candidate is successful the decision of the supervisor has been confirmed and the unit is an "Advanced Unit". If the candidate is not successful, learning goals should be re-written. The unit is a "basic unit".

SECTION IV - CERTIFICATION IN CLINICAL PASTORAL EDUCATION

Subsection 1 - Requirements for Admission to Advanced Training for Supervision

1. The applicant shall have completed:
 - a) One unit in an approved SPE programme.
 - b) One additional full time unit in an approved CPE programme.
2. The applicant shall give evidence of having undertaken sufficient investigation of his/her own intrapsychic and inter-personal processes to be able to function with professional competence.
3. The applicant shall apply for a review appearance to the Regional A & C Committee. The application may be made by letter, or by submission of a completed "Application for Certification Review" form.
 - a) The fee for the Certification Review shall normally accompany the application.
 - b) The applicant will then be informed of his/her Presenter, who shall be a member of the A & C Committee, and who shall present the applicant and his/her credentials to the review committee at the time of the interview.
4. The applicant shall send to the Presenter the following documents:
 - a) Evidence of graduation from a duly recognized college or university and a Master of Divinity degree or its equivalent.
 - b) Evidence of ordination or certification in a pastoral vocation or ministry in terms of the polity of the candidate's religious affiliation. Normally the candidate would be expected to receive this endorsement from an authority beyond the local congregation. This mandate must be renewed if there is a change in placement.
 - c) Evidence of continued good standing in his/her church.
 - d) Evidence of a satisfactory pastoral experience demonstrating growing maturity in the applicant's professional identity and role.
 - e) Evidence of current membership in the Canadian Association for Pastoral Education.
 - f) Evidence of the readiness of a Certified Supervisor in Clinical Pastoral Education to accept the applicant into Advanced Training for Supervision in Clinical Pastoral Education.
 - g) A copy of each Supervisor's evaluation and self-evaluations of all training experiences.
 - h) A brief autobiographical statement outlining personal and family data, education, training, vocational history, with a self-assessment including strengths, weaknesses and areas for growth.
 - i) A brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's theology of ministry.

- j) A brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's personal and pastoral identity.
 - k) A brief statement (300-500 words) of the applicant's professional goals in ministry.
5. The interview with delegates of the A & C Committee is for the purpose of assessing the applicant's -
- a) Personal and pastoral identity,
 - b) Maturity in interpersonal relationships,
 - c) Growing effectiveness in providing pastoral care,
 - d) Developing ability to conceptualize theologically and psychologically, and to correlate the two.
6. Candidates (e.g. in an intern year of training) occasionally find that the time of the review committee meeting does not facilitate their training goals and process.

It is permissible for the student's supervisor to admit conditionally such a student to advanced training in order to facilitate goal setting. During the first half of that unit the student must appear before the regional certification committee seeking admission to advanced training. If the candidate is successful the decision of the supervisor has been confirmed and the unit is an "Advanced Unit". If the candidate is not successful, learning goals should be re-written. The unit is a "basic unit".

APPENDIX 8**The CAPE Training Streams and Process Chart (1984)**

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR PASTORAL EDUCATION CURRENT TRAINING STREAMS AND PROCESS

SPE - Supervised Pastoral Education (either CPE or PCE)
CPE - Clinical Pastoral Education
PCE - Pastoral Counselling Education
ABC - Accreditation and Certification Committee
Unit- 400 (or more) hours.SPE

Minimum number of A & C Appearances required for:

Specialist: Regional A & C - 1
National A & C - 1

Supervisor: Regional A & C - 2
National A & C - 2

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