



NORWEGIAN
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

The Good Pastoring Mother

How Female Pastors in Norway and the United States Balance Work and Home

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Abstract

Pastoral work is a unique vocation, which blurs the lines between personal and professional life to an extreme degree. While this dynamic has been examined from many angles, very little time has been spent determining specifically how women navigate this complicated relationship. Similarly, while there is a great deal of literature focused on how women fulfill their roles at home and in the workplace, such studies do not usually focus on women in pastoral work, instead generally centering on corporate or other skilled labor settings. This study examines the ways women experience being both pastors and mothers, and how they balance their professional and personal lives. For comparison, it incorporates information gathered from interviewing women in Norway and the United States, two countries which have a great deal in common in terms of their religious and sociological backgrounds, but which differ significantly when it comes to equality in the workforce and work-life balance. The results help situate pastors who are also mothers within current theoretical worker typologies, and shed light on the primary challenges which they face and the strategies they have utilized to overcome them.

Table of Contents

Title Page	1
Abstract	2
Table of Contents	3
Acknowledgments	6
List of Figures	7
1. Introduction	8
a. Personal Interest	9
b. Research Question	9
c. Research Overview	10
d. Thesis Structure	11
2. Methodology	14
a. Overview	14
b. Interview: Sampling	15
c. Interview Guide Creation	17
d. Interview Process	18
e. Analysis	18
f. Limitations	19
g. Ethical Considerations	19
3. Theory	21
a. Worker Typologies	21
i. The Ideal Worker	22
ii. The Good Mother	24
iii. The Supermom	26
iv. The Good Working Mother	26
b. Pastoral Challenges	28
i. High Expectations	33
ii. Ambiguous Boundaries	34
iii. Isolation and Loneliness	35
4. Background Information	38
a. Society, Gender, and Work-Life Balance	38

i. Norway	38
ii. United States of America	42
b. Ecclesial Landscapes	48
i. Norway	48
ii. United States of America	50
5. Analysis	54
a. Work-Life	54
i. Hours Worked Per Week	54
ii. Vacation Time Allotted	57
iii. Self-Care Practices	59
iv. Other Factors	62
b. The Intersection of Children and Work	66
i. Joys	67
ii. Frustrations	69
iii. Strategies	71
iv. Expectations	76
c. Support Systems	78
i. Spousal Support	78
ii. Support by the Church	80
1. Congregation	80
2. Church Leadership	84
3. Denominational Support	90
6. Discussion	95
a. Female Pastors within Worker Typologies	95
i. The Ideal Worker	95
ii. The Good Mother	96
iii. The Supermom	96
iv. The Good Working Mother	97
v. Conclusion: The Good Pastoring Mother	99
b. Pastoral Challenges in the Case of Mothers	101
i. High Expectations	101

	5
ii. Ambiguous Boundaries	105
iii. Isolation and Loneliness	107
iv. Conclusion	109
7. Conclusion	111
Appendix: Interview Guide	114
Bibliography	116

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List of Figures

Figure 1: Overview of Pastors Interviewed in Norway	17
Figure 2: Overview of Pastors Interviewed in the USA	17
Figure 3: Worker Typologies Visualized, Courtesy of Cord Tiley	22
Figure 4: Hours Worked by Interviewees	56
Figure 5: Spouse Occupations and Time Commitments	78

1. Introduction

The acceptance and flourishing of women in the workforce has been a long process, beginning in earnest in the 1950's when women first entered the workforce in large numbers and continuing to today. The addition of women in the workforce often means the care of children and household no longer have a designated full-time person, but are pushed to the margins of time and cared for after working hours. Although women have less time to devote to childcare and household chores, often this work is still completed by women, creating an extra strain upon them. Thus the question today is not simply if women can work, but how they balance work and family. To alleviate this tension, some women have left the workforce, like those in the "Opt Out Revolution;" some have taken lower quality, part time work; while others have found strategies to combine both family and work-life (Belkin, 2013). For those in the clergy, this tension is even stronger as both the roles of pastor and of mother never fully end. Clergy cannot "clock out" at the end of the day and be fully with their family nor can they fully leave their motherhood at church door. Regardless of what is happening in the other aspects of their life, they can be called, at any time of day, by their children or congregants to attend to various needs of either. These factors, as well as others, make the balance of work-life and family life for clergy particularly difficult and important to study and understand. This study addresses the challenge of how women balance being both a mother and a pastor.

More specifically, this thesis studies how female clergy in the United States of America (USA) and in Norway balance both. The study aims to also find if there are any differences between the experiences of women in the two nations. A comparison of two nations was desired in order to make the research broader, encompassing more of the world. Yet, it was important to choose nations with similar backgrounds: primarily those of being predominantly Christian, and accepting of women in the pulpit and women in the workforce, in order to have a similar foundation for study. The USA and Norway are two Western nations with societies and churches that believe women should be in the workforce and in the pulpit, but vary in the extent to which they believe this is true and the societal and social support given for women to do so. This makes them an optimal pair of countries to compare and contrast for this study.

1. a. Personal Interest

As may be expected, I do have personal ties with this topic. The first is with the countries chosen as I am an American studying in Norway and thus the decision of which two countries to study was made easier by personal connections readily available to me. The second tie is to that of a working mother. I have just begun my journey into motherhood, but I have been in the workforce for many years and desire to have a fulfilling home and work-life, creating another personal tie. The final tie regards female clergy. I have only met and known a small handful of female clergy in the USA and wish this number to grow and flourish; thus, I desired to study a topic that would assist in this goal. In preparation for this thesis, I spoke with several women in ministry positions to see what they needed. One pastor, Debbie, who was later interviewed for this thesis, wrote in an email correspondence she was cautioned to not become a pastor while she had children in the house and that being both a mother and a pastor, “literally feels like being sliced in two to carry the weight of ministry on the one side, and to love and nurture and lead your children well, and love your husband well on the other. I truly believe some women can do it well, but the conditions are such that it's very difficult.” This led me to look into the challenges of balancing both. Another woman, Idelette McVicker, publisher of “SheLoves Magazine,” spoke of her challenge in balancing family with her desire to make a difference in the world (McVicker, 2016). This struck a profound chord in my life as I too have desired that precise thing. The combination of their words, plus a short study into the matter, led me to pursue this thesis topic.

1. b. Research Question

The research question posed here is “How do female pastors with children in the USA and in Norway experience work-life balance and how is this balance supported by those around them.” The desired outcome was to better understand how female clergy experience and combine work and home life. This included asking which areas proved most rewarding and challenging, especially with regards with children and work. A sub question pursued was “How is this balance supported by those around them?” The goal with this question was to learn how the women are being supported in their various roles by those around them, specifically their spouse and those in their work environment, like the congregation, church staff and denominational leaders they were in contact with.

It is important to share in an understanding of key terminology. For this this thesis, only one term must be discussed from the beginning; that of “work-life balance.” Although this term is frequently used by scholars, it is not defined, as researchers regard it as a commonly known and understood term. However, it is often used, and will be for this project, as the ability to manage and prioritize the responsibilities at work and at home. Other terms will be defined as they arise throughout the paper, but they do not affect the entire thesis in the same way and thus do not need to be defined here.

1. c. Research Overview

Research has been completed on the topic of “work-life balance”, including of how it is specific for women. Some research has been completed on work-life balance for clergy, but there is a limited amount of research on how specifically female clergy balance work and life, and none that studies the difference between Norwegian and American female pastors in this area. This thesis aims to help address this gap.

Arlie Hoschild led the way in terms of work-life balance for women with her books and “The Second Shift” (1989) and , “The Time Bind” (1997), in which she delineates the problems women face balancing work and home and specifies areas in which society has not kept pace with the needs of women in the workforce. These two works have been the centerpieces of much research over the last decades, with researchers like Kristine Smeby and Berit Brandth confirming, redefining and challenging her ideas.

The research completed regarding work-life balance for clergy has come from many varying angles. This includes researchers like Bruce Epperly who wrote on what upsets the work-life balance and what pastors can do to stay balanced, others like Dean R. Hodge and Jacqueline E. Wenger who researched why pastors leave the profession, and those like James R. Bleiberg and Laura Skufca who studied specific aspects of the profession which make it particularly difficult for pastors to balance work and home. However, these researchers only give female clergy a side note in their writings, and no researchers have specifically studied challenges female clergy face.

The research could therefore not pursue the topic head on, but rather needed to create a strong foundation of background information and approach the topic from several sides, which in

turn constructed the groundwork to analyze the data. The next section will expound upon these issues, explaining the various section in the thesis and what they add to the project.

1. d. Thesis Structure

This groundwork begins with laying two points of theory that will be used to situate and analyze the data and two sections of background information that will better illuminate the differences and similarities between Norway and the USA. The two sections of theory that are discussed are Worker Typologies and Pastoral Challenges. Within the worker typology section, four distinct worker types are discussed, three of which have been used as societal standards for workers to model their work or home life after, as well as to judge workers on their performance; these are ideal worker, the good mother and the supermom. The fourth is not a societal motif, but rather a standard that women create for themselves: the good working mother. These four standards are used to situate the interviewees within the realms of work and home life. The other theoretical section deals with common difficulties faced by pastors, presenting various challenges pastors face. These include high expectations, ambiguous boundaries, and isolation and loneliness. These challenges portray the difficulties faced by pastors, especially regarding balancing work and home, and therefore are crucial aspects of the thesis. These two theoretical inquiries form a comprehensive theory section dealing with both pastoral work and worker typologies which allows the data to be analyzed in a wholistic manner in regards to pastoral work as mothers.

Norway and the USA have very different approaches to work-life balance and what that means for their citizens, thus the next section in the thesis, that of background material, is pivotal for understanding the differences between Norway and the USA for pastoral work and life. These sections are Society, Gender and Work-life Balance, and Ecclesial Landscapes. These two sections describe the differences in societal norms and laws pertinent to this thesis. The first illustrates the basic differences regarding the work culture including time off, vacation, parental leave after the birth of a child, etc. and how they differ based on gender and context. One purpose of this section is to outline the societal differences between the two countries, illuminating potential differences in the data between countries. The main difference that emerges in this regard is that Norway has several laws geared towards enabling workers to better balance work and home, while in the USA people desire that but no laws exist to ensure it. An

additional function of this section is to outline the differences between men and women in the workforce and in the home. It examines and compares the two countries in regard to who is doing the work, both in the office and in the house, how this work is divided, and what entities are in place, like daycare and paternity leave, to help with this division. This is essential in understanding the division of labor between the woman and her spouse and consequently how much time she can devote to both spheres of her life. The second section, that of Ecclesial Landscapes, outlines a brief history of Christianity in each country, exemplifying the strong presence of Christianity and examining the role of women in churches in both countries. This is essential in understanding the cultural presence of churches and how that affects the interviewees within each country. Both sections are crucial in creating a strong foundation for understanding the key differences in work, church, laws and gender roles between Norway and the USA.

The methodology of this thesis is discussed in the next chapter. The method chosen to answer this question is that of qualitative interviews. This allowed the research to contain greater nuance and come to a better understanding of the experiences of the interviewees than a quantitative analysis would provide. Eight women were interviewed, four in Norway and four in the USA; each of whom were both mothers and pastors and had been both simultaneously for several years. A semi-structured interview was used in order to go with the flow of conversation and delve into pertinent stories and details, allowing for more depth. This method worked well with the framework of the thesis, allowing for saturation of information while staying within the parameters of thesis.

Three distinct sections arose during the synthesis and delineation of the data and are discussed in the analysis section; these sections are Work-Life, The Intersection of Children and Work, and Support Systems. Each of the sections addresses different approaches as to how women balance work and home, as well as how the two countries compare to one another. The first section on Work-Life is about how the women experiences work, covering the topics of hours worked per week, vacation amounts, self-care practices, work expectations and others. It is within this section that woman's role of pastor as a profession are explored thoroughly. The next section of analysis is that of The Intersection of Children and Work, or how children interact with and change the women's working experiences. This section includes joys and frustrations of combining work and children, strategies shared as to how that can be done and

expectations felt by them and their children. The final section of analysis is that of Support Systems, or where and how the women feel supported or unsupported in their dual roles.

Following this section is the Discussion, which brings together the theoretical points with the analysis to produce two main sections: Female Pastors within Worker Typologies and Pastoral Challenges in the Case of Mothers. These parallel the theoretical framework established in the theory sections Worker Typologies and Pastoral Challenges respectively, and combine that framework with the knowledge gained from the interviews and expounded upon in the analysis sections. Accordingly, the Female Pastors within Worker Typologies section returns to the four main typologies listed earlier, those of the ideal worker, the good mother, the supermom, and the good working mother. This section reevaluates those categories in light of the perspectives of the women interviewed, and seeks to chart their experiences within them. The Pastoral Challenges in the Case of Mothers section returns to the three primary challenges of high expectations, ambiguous boundaries, and isolation and loneliness and summarizes both how the women interviewed experienced these challenges themselves and what means they found of overcoming or coping with them. Together they will accomplish the interpretation of the experiences of these women in light of current theoretical research, as well as adding a level of tangibility and depth to those theories.

The conclusion brings all these pieces together, showing the breadth of the project. At the beginning of the thesis it was assumed there would be many differences between Norway and the USA in the area of work-life balance, but those differences were less prominent than expected. Accordingly, the focus was changed from merely contrasting the differences to learning what pastors in both countries have done to achieve work-life balance. This was presented through the creation and definition of the good pastoring mother, a blending of the good working mother model and the strategies employed to overcome the pastoral challenges presented. The good pastoring mother is a summation of the ways that the women interviewed achieved balance between their lives as mothers and as pastors.

2. Methodology

This section will illuminate readers as to the processes undertaken to write this thesis. This will include guidelines I used for sampling, creating the interview guide, the interview process, ethical considerations, limitations, and the process used for data analysis. It will also show how this process transformed throughout the writing process.

2. a. Overview

I chose to conduct a comparative qualitative interview for my thesis. I was interested in learning how women, specifically those who are pastors and have children, dealt with time constraints of balancing both parenthood and the pastorate. Both professions are not “9-5” jobs with conventional time demands; rather they demand much more time to be devoted to them and in unique ways. Moreover, only in the last few decades, specifically from the 1970s, have women left their homes to join the workforce and worked in pastoral ministry in significant numbers. These phenomena have been studied separately, but there is little research done on how women balance both motherhood and pastoral work. This lacuna of research is one of the main contributing factors leading me to study this. I also desired to research how this was happening in both Norway and in the USA and compare and contrast their answers. Norway has been recognized for its progress in bridging gender inequality, coming in 6th on the United Nation's Gender Inequality Index, while the USA has been criticized for lagging behind in this area, coming in at 43rd (Jahan, 2016, p. 228). By comparing the two I hoped to identify some key factors that account for this difference, specifically in the sphere of congregational ministry.

A qualitative interview seemed to be the best choice for understanding the nuances of balancing both parenthood and priesthood. Through interviewing I could delve into the interviewees answers and stories, learning nuances and uncovering new thoughts, rather than remaining with preconceived answers that a quantitative query would have given. The decision to conduct a semi-structured interview also gave the interviewees and myself the freedom to explore tangents that I might not have seen previously. These choices allowed the answers to dive deeper into the root issues than a quantitative study would have, and thus provided more useful results for this project.

2. b. Interview: Sampling

Selecting a sample size is a difficult decision as the sample needs to be large enough to make claims from, but not so large that the data cannot be adequately analyzed. Within the confines of a master's thesis timeline, while still endeavoring to adequately understand the issues at play, I decided to interview four women from both the USA and in Norway, or eight in total. I considered interviewing more women, or adding a quantitative questionnaire distributed on a wider scale, but finally settled upon interviewing four women in each country with the resolution that I could interview more if *theoretical saturation* had not been reached by that point (Bryman, 2012, p. 426). After conducting my interviews, I found that additional interviews were not needed. This was not a *relative size sampling* pool, as the USA is much larger than Norway and would have been represented remarkably disproportionately, but rather an *absolute size*, or just four individuals in each country, which allowed me to better compare the two countries on equal footing (Bryman, 2012, pp. 425-427).

To select the individuals, I used a mixture of techniques. First, I used my research question to narrow down exactly who I wanted to interview. As my question dealt with female pastors with children, I needed to interview women who had experience being both mothers and pastors simultaneously. I also limited my interviewees to those pastors who have been both a mother and a pastor for at least three years, had children in the house while acting as a pastor, and worked full-time. These parameters allowed me to speak with people who did not merely have a theoretical idea of how to balance both motherhood and pastoral work, but had actually done both for a considerable amount of time. Beyond these initial subgroups, I sought women of a variety of ages so my data would not be limited to a specific age bracket, thereby adding an extraneous variable.

The question of which denominations to select interview candidates from was an interesting one. Within Norway, two major groups exist by means of denominations: the Church of Norway (CofN) and all other churches – the Free Churches and the Lutheran Evangelical Free Church. I conducted two pilot interviews, one with a woman from the CofN and another in a Free Church. I was attempting to discover the answer to a few questions by doing so: Was there a significant difference in their answers regarding my research question, which of them was closest to the churches in the USA I would be interviewing, and ultimately should I interview women from just one group, or from both? From these interviews, I discovered that the

differences in their answers did not negatively affect my thesis, nor were the differences so substantial that I should not interview women from both groups. The answers from the women in the Free Church were closer to those I expected, and found, from those interviewed in the USA; but I believed the differences would enhance my thesis findings, especially in light of my research questions of comparing, in a broader scope, the two countries. I chose not to interview women who came from denominational backgrounds which do not officially accept female leadership – either in the USA or Norway. One obvious reason for decision is that very few, if any, female pastors exist in these denominations, and the other is that it would necessitate addressing a debate which is only tangential to my thesis topic, and would ultimately not contribute in a meaningful way to my results.

As I wanted to find typical individuals within certain parameters, I used the *stratified purposive sampling* technique to find typical cases within my subgroup. I then employed a *purposive snowball* sampling method to find women who fit this description (Bryman, 2012, p. 419). I asked a few key people, those who were pastors themselves, some of whom fit my description, but most of whom did not, academics, and others within the field that I believed to have good connections, whether they knew of women who fit my description. With their aid, I received around 20 names of women in each country that I could interview and I narrowed that number down to 4 for each country. This search technique allowed me to select eight women who best fit my criterion.

In order to conceal the identity of the interviewees their names have been changed and the identifying factors, such as denomination and precise location, have been omitted. There are, however, several important demographic factors which must be disclosed, and will be done here, such as country, approximate age of the interviewee as well as their children and the number of years in ministry. For each of these categories I have created brackets of years to further disguise the identity of the women. This information has been placed into two graphs, one of interviewees in Norway and another of the USA for ease of distinction.

Pastors in Norway:

Name	Church	Age	Child(ren) Age(s)	Years as pastor
Ragnhild	Free Church	46+ years old	25+ years old	10+
Solveig	Church of Norway	30-45 years old	0-12 years old	10+
Astrid	Church of Norway	46+ years old	13-24 years old	10+
Ingeborg	Free Church	46+ years old	13-24 years old	2-9 years

Figure 1: Overview of Pastors Interviewed in Norway

Pastors in the USA:

Name	Age	Child(ren) Age(s)	Years as Pastor
Sarah	30-45 years old	0-12 years old	2-9 years
Mary	30-45 years old	13-24 years old	2-9 years
Karen	30-45 years old	0-12 years old	2-9 years
Debbie*	46+ years old	13-24 years old	2-9 years

Figure 2: Overview of Pastors Interviewed in the USA

*Debbie was not a full-time pastor at the time of the interview, but had been for over six years. She had taken a year sabbatical, and after that time decided to leave the ministry; this happened only a few months before I interviewed her. Through brief communication before interviewing, I learned that part of the reason she was decided to leave the ministry was due to her inability to balance both home and church life well. I believed her insight would provide invaluable information for my thesis.

2. c. Interview Guide Creation

For the interview, I used a *semi-structured interview* with a list of themes, each with various sub-questions that I posed to the interviewee (Bryman, 2012). In each interview, I asked the questions in a slightly different order, as I desired to follow the flow of the conversation rather than ask questions in a rigid fashion. I did not necessarily ask every question on the guide, as often the interviewee unknowingly answered several questions at a time. In this, I made sure I

had answers to each of the questions on my interview guide by the end of the interview, but retained the ability to forgo some questions that I already had answers to, allowing the interview to flow more organically.

I developed the themes and questions both through *grounded theory*, or from theoretical concepts, and from *abducted inference* (Danermark, 2002). Both methods allowed me to create an in-depth guide. The themes I asked about were ministry, children and ministry, spouses and marriage, work-life balance and the role of the church; in each, the questions centered upon how the interviewee balanced children and pastoral work, and what outside forces influence that balance. The interview guide changed slightly as I progressed through the interviews, as I came to realize a few more questions I should ask, as well as some which were not needed. For example, I combined the themes of “time” and “balance” as I felt the two worked well together and it was not necessary to separate them. The interview guide is attached as an Appendix.

2. d. Interview Process

During the interview, I first briefly told the interviewees my background – where I am from, what I am studying, and my church background. This was a technique I developed as the interviewees often asked me these questions during or at the end of the interview, and I desired to address them at the beginning. This communication often granted the interviewees a bit more connection to me and therefore a bit more freedom to speak. I asked the interviewees to set aside two hours for the interview, giving ample time to address all the interview questions. Before the interview began I asked if I could record the session and began recording upon their consent. All but one interview in Norway occurred in person, either in their office or at their home, depending on the interviewee’s preference. The interviews with the women in the USA, as well as one interview in Norway, took place with a video and audio calling device; namely Skype, Google Hangouts or Facebook Messenger depending on the technological preferences of the interviewee. Both the interviewees and I were comfortable with this means of communication and it did not seem to hinder the interview at all.

2. e. Analysis

To analyze the material a variety of methods were employed, revolving around coding of the data. The first of these codes related categories already mentioned in interview guide, such

as frustrations and joys associated with children, ways in which their denomination supported or hindered their ability to balance both work and life, and others. While examining the data, other categories emerged as equally important to study, such as teaching the congregation, career timeline and others. The interviews were then combed, sieved and arranged into groups and sub-groups reflecting both the preconceived categories and the emerging categories. From this new arrangement of the data I found three primary categories, those of work, the intersection of work and home life, and support systems. These three categories became the main sects of the analysis section.

2. f. Limitations

Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I encountered a few limitations and developed various strategies to overcome them. I argue that neither of the limitations endanger the validity of the project because satisfactory solutions were found and employed to overcome each. I believed it was necessary to have comparable information for each country in order to better compare the two but this produced two limitations: differing available data sets, and differing levels of personal fluency in Norwegian. Norway and the USA have different means of collecting, displaying and organizing data. I could not always find exact parallel information for the information, but I was able to find data for each country that reflected the same trends and arenas, thus overcoming the first limitation. Second, some of the information I needed in Norway is not often needed by those outside of the country, and thus is written primarily in Norwegian. By the end of the project, I had lived in Norway and studied Norwegian for two years, so I was able to complete basic searches and basic translations for myself. For the more complex articles and information I asked Norwegian speaking librarians, scholars, and associates for help. With their expertise, I was able to adequately overcome that hurdle as well.

2. g. Ethical Considerations

While writing a thesis, it is always important to consider various ethical questions. To the best of my ability, I have conducted an ethical thesis. This was done first, by sending the project description to Norsk senter for forskningsdata, which included my research topic, interview questions, sampling criteria and information about how data would be stored and when it would be deleted. The project was approved, and I continued with the thesis. I received

consent from all interviewees before proceeding and asked permission to record before doing so. Moreover, all of the interviewees were of age and do not come from vulnerable groups. The topic of religion is a sensitive topic, but all of the interviewees are in the profession of religion and agreed to be interviewed about religion before the interview. All data is properly cited within my thesis, including quotes from the interviews and from various written sources. The names and other identifying data has been changed in the thesis to protect anonymity. The data was stored on my private devices and protected by passwords. It will be deleted upon completion of the project according to protocol, and the interviewees are aware of this. In this, I have adequately met the various ethical principles involved in this type of research writing.

3. Theory

3. a. Worker Typologies

There have long been two motifs for working life and home care, those of the “ideal worker” and the “good mother” (Williams, 2000) (Jorgenson, 2000) (Davies & Frink, 2014) (Arendall, 1999) (Buzzanell, et al., 2005) (Wilson, 2006). These two motifs exist in tandem with each other, but they can never describe the same person. In the beginning of the use of the terms, the ideal worker only described male workers, and has grown over the last few decades to include female workers, but the ideal worker predominantly cannot be a mother because once a woman has a child she must become the “good mother” or one whose only care and efforts are directly towards her family and home (Buzzanell, et al. 2005) (Williams, 2000) (Arendall, 1999). The gap between the ideal worker and good mother, consisting of women desiring to be both a mother and a worker, causes tension and distress women, but several solutions to ease this tension have arisen out of this dilemma. One prominent theme is that of “supermomming”, or when women add professional work to their role as mother without compromising their fulfillment of the good mother model (Arendall, 1999) (Buzzanell, et al, 2005). This, too, is not an adequate solution for women who desire to have a prominent career and be a good mother as it does not allow the pursuit of a career in a true sense. The theoretical model that comes closer to resolving this tension is that of the “good working mother” (Wilson, 2006) (Buzzanell, et al., 2005) (Turner & Norwood, 2013). This is a redefinition and synthesis of both the ideal worker and the good mother in a way that resolves the inherent tensions between them. However, while the other three theories each have a working definition, widely recognized by society as something to strive for, this societal definition does not exist for the good working mother. Rather, researchers have found the good working mother exists as a concept which women who wish to be known as such must defend and list reasons as to how they are a “good working mother” (Wilson, 2006) (Buzzanell, et al, 2005) (Turner & Norwood, 2013). The common list that is currently used as a “definition” of sorts was created by Buzzanell, et al as she synthesized the results from her study into a list of what women need to do to be a good working mother (Buzzanell, et al, 2005). Each of these four theories will now be discussed in depth, and visualized on Figure 1 for clarity.

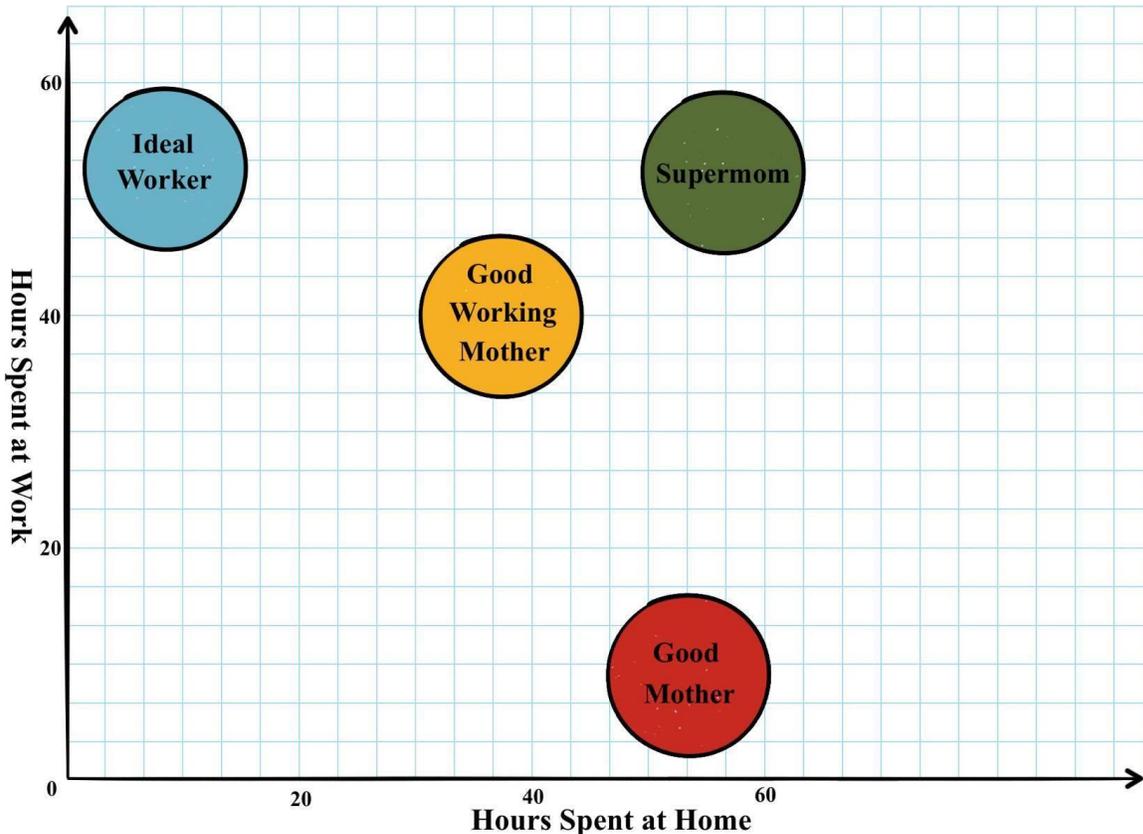


Figure 3: Worker Typologies Visualized, Courtesy of Cord Tiley

3. a. i. The Ideal Worker

In a comprehensive study of the term “ideal worker,” researchers Andrea Rees Davies and Brenda D. Frink found that the motif formed at the beginning of the 20th century, and was a commonly known ideology to Americans by the 1950’s (Davies & Frink, 2014). It was displayed in media and books, and although it did not mirror the reality for many, it was elevated to the ideal standard for all. Davies and Frink, after a thorough investigation of the term, found the definition of the ideal worker to be:

... one who is devoted single-mindedly to the good of the employer, and is not subject to personal distractions from family or other responsibilities.

Additionally, part of behaving as an ideal worker is work devotion—or perceiving one’s career as a satisfying calling that deserves extreme personal sacrifice. Work

devotion is most common in professional-level careers, as opposed to working-class careers (Davies & Frink, 2014, p. 19).

Although this term was set and enacted by the 1950's, it is still in play today and has spread around the world, with many employers and employees desiring to reach this ideal. Since its creation, the definition has widened in terms of what "ideal" means and who it can describe. Today, the ideal worker must perform beyond the previous 9-5, 40-hour work-week that was standard in the 1950's, and must rather be always available to any schedule at any time. This constant availability has become "the standard of productivity against which other professional workers are measured" (Davies & Frink, 2014, pp. 34-35). Additionally, the "ideal worker" has permeated many societies of the Western world, as attested to by Rosemary Compton, Suzan Lewis and Clare Lyonette in their study on gender and work in Europe, as they found this "ideal worker" motif altering work and life balance within many countries, including Norway (2007). Elin Kvande, a Norwegian researcher, writes of similar phenomenon entering the workforce in Norway, that of the "flexible time regime" or "boundless flexible time culture" where time is not the employee's to control; rather the employer can and does ask the employee to always give their mental capacities to the job creating a longer and nearly unending work week (Kvande, 2009, p. 61).

Those who can be included and called "ideal workers" have also expanded since its original usage. In the initial use of the term, this worker was a "White, middle-class family man with stay-at-home spouse" but the term is no longer dependent on ethnicity, or to some degree gender, but simply on work ethic. Women can now be considered ideal workers, but they must show male characteristics and have very limited commitment to the home, as the ideal worker "takes little or no time off for childbearing or child rearing (Williams, 2000, p. 1). Researcher Jane Jorgenson conducted a study in the late 1990's of female engineers to test the inclusion of women in the ideal worker theory. She discovered that in order for the female engineers to be considered ideal workers they had to essentially "leave their gender at the door:" they were expected to work long hours, to prioritize work over family and to not display strong female characteristics. Jorgenson agreed and elaborated that, "workplace interactions that draw co-workers' attention to women's identities as mothers and caregivers are likely to undermine women's legitimacy as committed professionals." The women she interviewed furthered this

thought stating their belief that that once they had children they could still work, but could no longer be the ideal worker (Jorgenson, 2000).

Although this motif has stretched through the decades and around the world, it has not often been received positively. In fact, many now note the negative impact it has on workers, especially upon gender equality within the workforce and work-life balance. Compton et al wrote that:

[The] ideal worker assumptions continue to undermine policy, constrain men's participation in unpaid work, and create barriers to women's full integration and advancement in the workplace. ... ideal worker assumptions, far from receding to reflect a universal caregiver model, seem to be stronger than ever, often internalised and reflected in feelings of a growing invasiveness of paid work in people's crowding out of other activities and values (Compton et al, 2007, p. 31).

As shown here, the ideal worker motif often has a negative impact on workers, including in areas of gender equality and work-life balance. In sum, the motif of the ideal worker has permeated cultural norms and persisted for decades as the standard to which all other workers are judged, even though it often leads to gender inequality, exclusion of women from the workforce and work-life imbalance.

3. a. ii. The Good Mother

Alternatively, as women cannot often fit the ideal worker typology, society often dictates that women are to fit the “good mother” model (Arendall, 1999) (Buzzanell, et al, 2005) (Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010). They are not to be the ideal worker, but to marry the ideal worker and happily focus their attention on their children. The good mother motif has also spread around the world, with societies worldwide pushing mothers to live up to its standard (Goodwin & Huppertz, 2010). The definition of a good mother has morphed over time, with various researchers adding or altering the definition. But researchers Buzzanell and her team have put together a comprehensive definition of the contemporary good mother that has been used as the main definition by other researchers. This mother is one whom

... is present for her children, nurtures and cares for others, subverts her own needs to those of her family, and (presumably) does not prioritize work over family. This mother might take a few years off paid work to be with her children

during their formative (pre-school) years or might engage in paid work on a part-time, telecommuting, or entrepreneurial basis. Whatever her paid work or stay-at-home arrangement, her primary identities center on home and family (Buzzanell, et al, 2005, p. 266).

Buzzanell and her team found that this person could work and remain a good mother, but only if she worked for a short time and if her priority was her children and not her work. Indeed, in a study of the surge of female workers in the mid-twentieth century, researcher Wilson found that it was morally condemnable for married women to work, unless the family needed her income. Furthermore, Wilson found that even if the woman was to work for monetary reasons, the husband was still considered the breadwinner and her income was “pin money” and solely for the benefit of her house and children (Wilson, 2006, pp. 216, 229). The primary role, then, was for the women to fulfill the role of the good mother. Adding to this working definition of good mother, Goodwin and Huppatz found that this woman must also be happy, for “an unhappy mother is a failed mother” (Goodwin & Huppatz, 2010, p. 6).

Like the ideal worker, the original usage of the term also dictated that the good mother must have certain physical, ethical and ethnic qualities as the good mother must be “heterosexual, married, and monogamous. White and native born ... largely economically dependent on her income-earning husband ... [and] not employed,” however these are no longer on the qualification list of a good mother (Arendall, 1999, pp. 2-3). Parallel to the ideal worker, this good mother ideal has also been passed down through the generations as the preferred employment for women. Even with the huge surge of women in the professional fields, many still believe it is best if women fulfill the good mother stereotype rather than the ideal worker as found by a study conducted by Mottarella, Fritzsche, Whitten and Bedsole. College students in the study were given and asked to rate two scenarios: one where a woman stayed home from school to care for her child and another where she returned to school soon after the child was born. The researchers found that the woman who stayed home was rated favorably, while the woman who chose to return to school was rated “as significantly less feminine, more dominant, more arrogant-calculating and cold-hearted, and less warm-agreeable than the mother who discontinued her education” (Mottarella & al, 2009, p. 223). While the ratings had more to do with how the woman was viewed, they do demonstrate that women who choose to pursue a career or an education with children, especially with young children, are not perceived to have

desirous female qualities. Moreover, Williams found that a full two-thirds of Americans in the late 1990's believe it would be best if men worked and women cared for the family (Williams, 2000, p. 2). Thus, although the good mother model was created as the ideal decades previously and acts as a motif rather than an attainable reality, it is still understood by many to be the ideal for women today.

3. a. iii. The Supermom

In the modern context, if the woman is a mother and a worker at the same time, she is generally categorized as a “supermom.” The term supermom has been used as a viable alternative for working mothers, but as the term suggests, it demands the women be an amazing mother without any allowances granted for a career. This is due to the fact that for supermoms, working must always come second to caring for the children; the women must behave and act as if she is a full-time, stay-at-home mother while working (Arendall, 1999, p. 6) (Buzzanell, et al, 2005, p. 262). Women are to complete most of the household chores and child rearing, while still maintaining a good job and supplying the family with money; they are to “somehow find the time to have a great career, be a great mom and also be a great (house) wife” (Sanchez, 2015, p. 18). This pressure demands that women devote more time, energy and passion to the care of their children than their careers. Similar to that of the ideal worker or good mother motifs, this is an ideal scenario that is not often actuated and causes more tension than it resolves.

3. a. iv. The Good Working Mother

The alternative, then, is found in the combination of the ideal worker and the good mother theory, in the “good working mother” (Buzzanell, et al, 2005) (Wilson, 2006) (Turner & Norwood, 2013). Unlike the other three terms, this is not a societal ideal in which women are propelled towards; rather it is a term women create and identify for themselves. As such, there is no societal definition of this term and therefore no good working mother ideal for women to strive for. Rather, several researchers have each created a list of qualities that the women they interviewed came up with that define the term “good working mother.” Researchers have found that women frequently defend the term, or rather the idea behind it, and their right to its usage and application towards themselves. This need to defend being a good working mother began at the genesis of women entering the workforce in the 1950's, as Wilson found that the women who

joined the workforce shortly after World War II had to defend their entrance. This defense centered on how they were better serving their children and family by working and that their work enhanced, rather than detracted from their child rearing capabilities (Wilson, 2006, p. 207). A prominent example of women defining the term was completed by researchers Buzzanell and her team, who interviewed professional women with children, believing it was more likely the women gave equal priority to family and work, dealt with more tension and thus had a greater need to confront and assuage this pressure. They stated that their “participants re-framed the good mother image into a good working mother role that fit their lifestyles and interests” (2005, p. 266). The participants did not necessarily know the term “good working mother”, but contended its existence and defended their right to be one. The participants also did not believe that by simply being both a professional and a mother they were automatically a “good working mother” rather they had to uphold a list of qualities to be considered one. Collectively, the participants stated a good working mother was one,

... who makes quality child care arrangements by herself; who takes on the job of allocating tasks to partners (describing how to accomplish child and home care tasks, anticipating what needs to be done, and monitoring to make sure that things are done and done correctly); and who feels pleasure in both working and mothering—the best of both worlds—despite initial ambivalence and feelings of separation from infants upon return to paid work (Buzzanell, et al, 2005, p. 276).

Only when these three items were completed could the woman call herself a good working mother.

In a research project centered on professional women breastfeeding at work, researchers Turner and Norwood gave a slightly different understanding of the term “good working mother” as one who unashamedly combines work and family at the office by breastfeeding in public office spaces. Turner and Norwood stated that often the women would vacillate between proudly combining the two spheres (good working mother) and hiding their breastfeeding practices (ideal worker). The researchers noted every time that the women did not defend their right to combine both, demonstrating that defending the idea of the good working mother is the norm (Turner & Norwood, 2013). Often the women had to demand they were equally both a professional and a mother and not simply a mother who also worked or an ideal worker who had children.

These four worker typologies provide a baseline for understanding where the women interviewed for this project fit within the realms of working and mothering. Each term adds nuance and insight into the dilemma of both working and being a mother, and together will act as a lens for interpreting how the women interviewed perceived themselves and their ability to balance home and work-life.

3. b. Pastoral Challenges

The pastoral life has rarely, if ever, been called easy; rather, it is known as a difficult profession riddled with challenges that clergy must navigate for success, especially in the realm of work-life balance (Peterson, 1989) (Chandler, 2008) (Dart, 2003). Many researchers and pastors have written on this topic, outlining various theories to describe the difficulties pastors face in their profession. While their respective theories have many differences, they also have some key similarities which can be synthesized and used for analysis in this thesis (Hoge & Wenger, 2005) (Bleiberg & Skufca, 2005) (Chandler, 2008) (Morse, 2011) (Dart, 2003) (Muir, 2005). In this section, various researchers' works on pastoral challenges will be discussed, outlining the basic theories behind the challenges which pastors face and the results of the studies designed to test those theories and the differences and similarities in their theories and approaches will be noted. Finally, the common components of their theories will be synthesized into a small working list of challenges that can be used as a framework to examine the data gathered in the interviews. These challenges will act as a lens through which the experiences of the women interviewed for this study can be understood.

Researchers Dean R. Hoge and Jacqueline E. Wenger conducted a study to discover the top reasons pastors leave congregational ministry and published their findings in the book, *Pastors in Transition: Why Clergy Leave Local Church Ministry*. They tested their theories by surveying over 900 clergy members who are no longer serving with a congregation. They then condensed their reasons into a list of seven categories: those who left that preferred another type of ministry (the largest category and predominantly stated by men), those who needed to care for children or family (mostly women, stating that they felt guilty for not spending time with family), those who had conflict with the congregation, those who had conflict with the denominational leaders, those who were burned out or discouraged, those who left due to sexual misconduct, and those who left due to divorce or marital problems (Hoge &

Wenger, 2005). Concurrently, Hoge and Wenger also found that "... ministers are experiencing a lack of support and support systems, especially when they are coping with conflicts... Some have felt betrayed by a church hierarchy that seems to show favoritism or ignore destructive behavior by other ministers or officials" (Hoge & Wenger, 2005, pp. 198-199). When experiencing conflict in the church, the ministers do not always feel supported by those in authority above them or next to them, and this can easily lead them to believing their situation will not improve, which Hoge and Wenger found, is the primary difference between pastors still in the ministry and those who have left (Hoge & Wenger, 2005, p. 222). Moreover, the pastors do not feel comfortable speaking with others in the ministry, as that person could someday become their employer. In sum, Hoge and Wenger found a list of seven common reasons pastors leave the ministry, and also discovered lack of support, isolation and the feeling that the issues will be not be resolved lead to pastors leaving the pastorate.

Another important theory comes from theologian and pastor, Eugene Peterson, who reflected on his need for a year-long sabbatical and his initial fright of leaving his congregation for that time in his book, *The Contemplative Pastor: Returning to the Art of Spiritual Direction* (1989). He stated that the position of pastor is demanding and draining without time off, as he could be asked to speak with a congregant at any time or place. He was initially nervous about leaving his congregation because of something others have called the "messiah complex" which Peterson described as, "... the development of neurotic dependencies between pastor and people" (Peterson, 1989, p. 150). To Peterson, the primary challenge of pastoral ministry has less to do with the church as a workplace, as in Hoge and Wenger's study, as it does with the straining nature of the relationship between the pastor and the congregation. Peterson says that his year of sabbatical gave him space to recuperate and move away from being the "messiah" for his congregation, and making his role as their pastor more sustainable.

In a study of pastoral burnout and self-care, researcher John Morse discussed challenges pastors face in hopes of finding ways to support them in his Ph.D. dissertation entitled, "Pastoral Self-Care: Maintaining a Balance to Serve Other: A Narrative Inquiry into the Experience of Church-Based Clergy" (2011). His theory is closely related to Peterson's viewpoint when it comes to the challenges that pastors face, but more like Hoge and Wenger's work when he looks into what can be done to provide pastors with more support. The challenges he found that were unique to the pastorate are high expectations regarding being a "perfect leader," the challenge of

the dual relationship nature of the position and consequently the obscured boundaries that accompany that— as it is both a calling and job, the expectation of acting as “a holy reflection of God at all times,” and to act as counselor with or without training (Morse, 2011, pp. 28-31). In an attempt to learn how the church can support pastors, Morse notes ways in which the pastors he spoke to were not supported. He states that the pastors did not and could not turn to their denomination for personal support, nor did the pastors find help from the denominations when going through difficulties, leading to a feeling of isolation. Congregations, Morse noted, often placed high expectations on the pastors, expecting them to do everything well and to do it alone. Morse repeatedly found that high expectations were a challenge for pastors, as well as blurred boundaries and isolation in the ministry without aid (Morse, 2011).

A team of researchers, led by Carl Wells, took a different approach and studied boundary-related stress and work-related stress experienced by clergy. They found a strong correlation between the two which they wrote about in “The Relationship Between Work-Related Stress and Boundary-Related Stress Within the Clerical Profession” (2010). They discovered, like Morse, that pastoral families often have high amounts of pressure placed on them to behave in a certain way and often feel unable to confide in others due this expectation. The unique contribution of Wells and his team is what they found concerning what they call “boundary ambiguity”, or not having a clear divide between work and home. In church setting, there is not a clear boundary between professional and personal as “A clergy could simultaneously serve as personal counselor, a co-committee member, and a friend to members of the congregation” (Wells, 2010, p. 217). In Wells’ theory, it is the intersection of work-related stress and expectations alongside the stress caused by this “boundary ambiguity” that is particularly wearing on pastors. Furthermore, Wells categorized the amount of stress that clergy experience and discovered that clergy women reported more work stress than men, clergy with children reported more work stress than those without, married clergy had higher boundary stress but lower work stress than unmarried and older clergy, along with those who entered the profession later in life, who have lower work and boundary related stress. In this, they found that married women with children experience the highest level of stress out of the groups examined (Wells, 2010). This will be highly relevant, as this specific demographic will be examined in this thesis.

William H. Willimon, pastor, theologian and professor wrote of 13 unique challenges that make the pastorate a demanding workplace in his book, *Pastor: The Theology and Practice of Ordained Ministry* (2016). Summed, these reasons are: never ending work, high but not clear expectations, working with difficult congregants, not being true to yourself, repeated failure, not valued by society, neglect of physical health, poor time management and low respect given by congregants and staff, difficulty of ministry, theological disagreements and sexism. Moreover, he states that pastors often fail to delegate as they “suffer from a ‘messiah complex,’ feeling that, if ministry occurs, it must be done by them or it will not be done” (Willimon, 2016, p. 334). This is a hefty list stating many potential challenges for pastors, demonstrating how difficult this profession can be. Willimon’s conclusions are similar to Peterson’s in several key ways, although broader.

In a book of clergy self-care entitled, *A Center in the Cyclone: Twenty-first Century Clergy Self-Care*, Bruce Epperly listed 10 challenges that pastors face that have emerged in the 21st century specifically (2014). While other theories addressed these issues in a more universal manner, he attempts to isolate recent developments which may compound the challenges found by others. The first and most important of these factors is that of that today’s technology, especially cell phones and social media, as they have the ability to erase boundaries and allow for constant accessibility, exacerbating the boundary related stress described by Wells and his team. Epperly also lists lack of time, lowered authority but raised expectations, lowered participation and attendance by congregants, boundary issues of dual nature of friend and pastor, financial instability, increased felt responsibility for the globe, relocation, postmodernism and pluralism, and the gap between reality and vision as challenges faced by pastors (Epperly, 2014, pp. 8-21). Several of his categories could be synthesized into larger units, especially those of high expectations, boundary problems and lack of time. This sense of lacking time is incorporated into surprisingly few of the studies above, but is nonetheless an important theoretical consideration for this thesis.

In a study of pastoral burnout and pastoral self-care, researcher Diane J. Chandler surveyed 270 pastors and found 4 key issues that pastors face and compared them alongside self-care practices which she published in the article, “Pastoral Burnout and the Impact of Personal Spiritual Renewal, Rest-taking, and Support System Practices” (2008). These key issues are “inordinate time demands, unrealistic expectations, isolation, and loneliness” (Chandler, p.

273). These four challenges often stem from the pastor having a “messiah complex”, which she defines as “the self-denial of one’s legitimate needs in favor of saving or rescuing others” (Chandler, 2008, p. 274). Chandler concluded that these four issues, the added difficulty of the “messiah complex” and lack of support from the church can easily lead towards burnout. While her work does not add anything specifically unique to this discussion, it does serve to emphasize the prominence of these themes in contemporary literature on the topic.

There are a variety of studies and articles that only address one or two challenges that pastors face in depth, rather than attempting to create a comprehensive survey. Bleiberg and Skufca wrote an article entitled, “Clergy Dual Relationships, Boundaries, and Attachment” where they rated pastors and their dual relationships and clergy boundaries (2005). They discovered that female pastors are more likely to blur the lines between professional and personal than male pastors (Bleiberg & Skufca, 2005, p. 13). In a congregational handbook, Fredric Muir published an article named “Mental, Physical, Emotional and Spiritual Self-Care” that delineates self-care practices (2005). Muir writes that one crucial aspect of self-care is keeping boundaries (Muir, 2005, p. 33). Pastor Lillian Daniel strongly critiques the “self-care” approach and wrote an article entitled, “What Clergy Do Not Need,” claiming that pastors need community rather than self-care practices (2009). She wrote, “We need deep friendships with others who understand this odd and wondrous calling, and where we can tell one another the truth.” She berates the lack of community and forthcoming isolation that many in the pastorate face and stressed the need for community in order to alleviate that loneliness (Daniel, 2009). In a study entitled, “Stressed Out: Why Pastors Leave” John Dart found that the main reason pastors leave that the combination of stress and a lack of support which results in isolation (Dart, 2003). Although these studies do not offer comprehensive surveys the ways that other works described above do, they add a level of depth and criticism to the discussion that is worth being aware of.

While these studies are by no means exhaustive on the list resources written on the challenges faced by clergy, they do cover a wide variety of research on the topic and offer a proficient understanding of the main issues pastors deal with. Out of the theories presented above, three clusters emerge of common challenges faced by clergy. These are high expectations, ambiguous boundaries, and isolation and loneliness. Other common challenges

exist and could be enumerated, but these three were the most predominant and together they offer a synthesized view into the most crucial pastoral challenges.

3. b. i. High Expectations

The first cluster of stress-inducing phenomena for pastors is that of “high expectations,” or desiring more from the person that what can actually be performed (Peterson, 1989) (Morse, 2011) (Hoge & Wenger, 2005) (Willimon, 2016) (Wells, 2010) (Epperly, 2014) (Chandler, 2008) (Dart, 2003). These expectations can be placed on the clergy or their family by themselves, the congregation or others (Willimon, 2016) (Morse, 2011) (Chandler, 2008). Morse sums this well, stating “Congregations may see the pastor as the person who is to be always available, to lead flawlessly, to always have the divine answers, and to always be patient with everyone” (2011, pp. 28-29). This pressure is shown in various ways, such as “inordinate time demands,” as Chandler writes; expecting the pastor or their family to act as a “perfect leader(s)” as Morse observes; or to act as the “messiah” towards the church, as Peterson, Chandler and Willimon state; or simply high expectations for personal behavior and professional performance. The first of these high expectations is that of “inordinate time demands” which is often expressed as expecting clergy to be constantly available and often leads to burnout (Chandler, 2008). Peterson mentioned these expectations as particularly draining, Morse wrote that it is often placed on the clergy by the congregation and Wells wrote that clergy are frequently asked to work unusual schedules that cut into family time (Peterson, 1989) (Chandler, 2008) (Wells, 2010, p. 150). Additionally, Morse found that although the pastors are asked to perform in certain ways and certain tasks, they are not always equipped for the position; for instance, they are often looked upon as counselors but they may not have received full-professional training in counselling (2011, p. 31). These expectations can also lead to a “messiah complex” or “the self-denial of one’s legitimate needs in favor of saving or rescuing others, which may result in emotional insulation and isolation” (Chandler, 2008, p. 274). Pastors are often asked to be “perfect” and a “holy reflection of God,” which does not allow for “anger, frustration, or other less flattering attributes” as that could damage their position and authority (Morse, 2011, p. 30). Willimon stated that this can be expressed in the inability to delegate, as the pastor may feel that “if ministry occurs, it must be done by them or it will not be done” (2016, p. 334). Peterson agreed with this definition, as he was concerned about leaving his

congregation for a year for this very reason (1993). Moreover, these expectations do not necessarily need take a certain form, but simply exist as unmanageable expectations. Willimon related one pastor he spoke with who related, “I have 600 bosses, each holding a detailed job description for me that no one has the decency to show me!” (2016, pp. 320-321). These high expectations can also extend to their family as Wells found that “Clerical families are placed in a position wherein they are not able to confide in others, given the expectation they are model families and helpers, not normal families who often need to be helped” (2010, p. 216). The researchers agree high expectations are a common challenge for pastors; they can manifest in different forms, and place considerable stress on the clergy and their family.

3. b. ii. Ambiguous Boundaries

The second key challenge pertains to ambiguous boundaries and the need to delineate between personal and professional life. This need contradicts the very nature of the pastorate as pastors must delve deep into their personal life for counseling, be available to congregants in times of need and growth, and simply interact with them on a consistent basis (Morse, 2011). This creates the foundation for the dynamic described by Wells as “ambiguous boundaries,” or not having clear boundary lines, especially between professional and personal life (2010). Boundaries are often described as lines between acceptable and unacceptable behavior, they can be written or unwritten, vary between individuals, and as Muir writes, “determine the appropriateness of certain behavior in a particular context” (Muir, 2005, p. 33). Yet, boundaries are not often absolute within the profession of clergy and these lines blur, creating ambiguity. These unclear boundaries lines were brought up by many of the researchers as one of the primary challenges pastors face and are the second cluster in this list (Morse, 2011) (Wells, 2010) (Epperly, 2014) (Bleiberg & Skufca, 2005) (Muir, 2005). Wells found that “clergy could simultaneously serve as personal counselor, a co-committee member, and a friend to members of the congregation” (Wells, 2010, p. 217). These varied tasks make it difficult for clergy to create and enforce boundaries between work and personal life as their profession often demands that these lines be vague. Wells continues, stating that the “non-standard work schedules, long work hours, the helping nature of the profession, and numerous but varied responsibilities irregular hours,” as well working at home or working during normal ‘family time’ often amplifies this ambiguity (Wells, 2010, pp. 215-216). This is in part due to the “dual

nature” of the position, which Epperly describes as holding the position of both friend and pastor towards those around them (Epperly, 2014). In his list of challenges faced by clergy, Epperly lists technology as another issue that impedes boundaries as it erases lines of time and space as cell phones allow pastors can be reached at any place or any time of day (Epperly, 2014). Yet, Wells elaborates that the issue of boundary ambiguity is due in part to the congregants, as they may “fail to distinguish between their congregation as a family and the clerical family’s need for a separate identity and clearly delineated boundaries,” an issue he states that was often brought up by clergy spouses (Wells, 2010, p. 217). Of note for this study, Bleiberg and Skufca, found that women were much more likely to blur the lines between home and work than men were, as they noted how male clergy react to the boundaries in comparison to women:

Results of this study suggest that male clergy are more likely to maintain perceptions, thoughts, and feelings as distinct and separate. They are more likely to organize time and space neatly. They are more likely to have a demarcated sense of self, thinking in terms of black and white. They are quicker to distinguish fantasy from reality and less likely to become over-involved in relationships (Bleiberg & Skufca, 2005, p. 13).

Bleiberg and Skufca found that men were better able to differentiate between the various areas of their life than women. However, they found that women are often better at maintaining and investing in relationships than men, expressing their emotions and demonstrating warmth and support to those around them (Bleiberg & Skufca, 2005, p. 5). Norma Cook Everist agreed that women integrate the lines of professional and personal more than men, as she wrote, “[women] connect the personal and the communal, the public and the private. They do ministry differently by doing it in the ordinary relationships of daily life. Women are concerned about issues in personal and family lives...” (Everist, 2000, p. 16). Ambiguous boundaries are often intrinsically linked to the profession of priest as the dual nature of the position, that of being both pastor and friend, blur the lines between professional and personal, which as many of the researchers agree, creates copious challenges.

3. b. iii. Isolation and Loneliness

Closely linked to the phenomenon of ambiguous boundaries is the feeling of isolation and loneliness. Although isolation and loneliness vary slightly in meaning, they exist in tandem with

each other and thus can be grouped as one entity. The issue of isolation and loneliness was elaborated on by nearly all of the above researchers, demonstrating its place among the top the three challenges faced by clergy (Hoge & Wenger, 2005) (Morse, 2011) (Willimon, 2016) (Chandler, 2008) (Daniel, 2009) (Dart, 2003) (Wells, 2010). Indeed, it was the sole point mentioned by Daniel, as she stated pastors need, more than anything else, deep relationships (Daniel, 2009). This isolation frequently stems from a prohibition to relate as an equal to those around them, their congregants, other staff, and church employers due to professional boundaries (Wells, 2010). Although pastors may have deep and meaningful relationships with people within these areas of the church, they often cannot be truly themselves as they are not simply a “friend” but a spiritual leader and in a position of authority. In Willimon’s list of 13 challenges, he listed the inability to be true to oneself as a key reason for this isolation and loneliness. He elaborated on this stating that “Persons in ministry must function most of the time in what the psychotherapists Carl Jung called the ‘persona’” or a mask that is worn to cover “real inner feelings when we relate to others” (Willimon, 2016, pp. 321-322). This mask, while upholding boundaries, also blocks friendship and support. Often pastors cannot even often turn to other pastors within their denomination because, with the changes in staff roles, the person could become their supervisor one day and confiding too much could jeopardize their position (Hoge & Wenger, 2005, p. 199). This inability to confide with those around them isolates the pastors, which as Hoge and Wenger discovered can lead to a feeling of hopelessness, burnout and potentially withdrawing from the pastorate. This is particularly poignant when the pastors feel isolated from and unable to confide in the church staff, church leaders and denominational leaders (Hoge & Wenger, 2005) (Dart, 2003) (Chandler, 2008). Similarly, Dart discovered that pastors were prepared to deal with conflicts, but were not prepared to face them alone, but the isolation from the church leadership and even congregants forced them to do so. As such, isolation is commonly felt among pastors, and this isolation can cause tremendous challenges their lives.

Although there is almost no end to the challenges that pastors face, and similarly almost no end to the amount of literature written to address the topic, the three categories elaborated on above, high expectations, ambiguous boundaries, and isolation and loneliness, are particularly prominent. While these are often described in different ways, and are shaped by an enormous number of external and demographic factors, they nevertheless find expression in almost all of

the literature surveyed above. Significantly, several of these studies also mentioned ways in which these challenges are particularly pronounced for women. Women tend to treat their professional lives with a greater degree of personal involvement and attachment, resulting in greater ambiguity in the boundaries between the professional and personal arenas of their lives. Maintaining those boundaries can result in a deep feeling of isolation and loneliness. And while the expectations for them as professionals are just as high as for men, the examination of theories regarding women as mothers and workers makes clear that they do not experience a corresponding decrease in expectations when it comes to their personal lives. While these three categories would be key to any study concerning clergy members, they will be particularly vital when examining the experiences of pastors who are also women with children.

4. Background Information

Relevant background information about the society and cultural norms from which the women come from must first be established before diving into the data. The background information to be discussed is that of Society, Gender, and Work-Life Balance and Ecclesial Landscapes. For each section, information and statistics will be examined pertaining to both Norway and the United States, with a short comparative analysis between two. This information will give a comprehensive understanding of the society, work and church norms from which the women interviewed are from.

4. a. Society, Gender and Work-Life Balance

The first section to be discussed is the idea of “work-life balance” or how people create harmony between their work-life and home life, especially regarding children. Churches are a type of workplace, and therefore should be and will be examined in light of the workplace mentality of the culture they are present in rather than simply examining the work-life balance for female pastors within churches. To best understand work-life balance, several key concepts will be discussed and compared for each country. These categories are work laws, workforce equality, affordable daycare, paternity leave, household chore division and perception of household/child responsibilities.

4. a. i. Norway

In Norway, this balance seems to be particularly important, as can be seen by the laws enacted to ensure that workers can maintain a healthy work-life balance. This is primarily done through regulation of weekly hours and days off. The normal workweek is 37.5 hours per week, and time worked is measured in percentage. For example, if someone works the normal 37.5 hours, they are working 100%. If an employee works over 37.5 hours in a week, they are working more than 100%, which is considered undesirable. The national average, including those working part time is 34.4 hours per week with the amount that women work clocking in a little less, at 31.5 hours per week (Arbeidstid i Norge – utvikling og særtrekk, 2016). The national average for pastors is more than full-time, as on average they work 42 hours per week (Stifoss-Hanssen, Angell, Askeland, Urstand, & Kinserdal, 2013, p. 42). Norwegian workers are also entitled to an extensive amount of paid time off for other reasons such as sickness or

vacation. Nearly all Norwegians have all public holidays off, including Christmas Eve, Christmas, New Years' day, the 17th of May, plus others for a total of 10 days a year. Norwegian workers are also entitled to other paid days off, including substantial sick leave for themselves and parents also receive 10 child sick days per-parent per-year (Information About NAV's Services and Benefits, 2016). On top of that, workers have a guaranteed five weeks of paid vacation a year (Holidays and Holiday Pay, n.d.). With these laws, the Norwegian government ensures that workers can indeed have a semblance of "work-life" balance when it comes to mandatory time off.

The parental leave, taken when a worker has a child, is also extensive, and important to understanding the work-life balance for Norwegians. To receive parental leave benefits, the woman and man must be working, and the woman must have worked at least six of the last ten months before giving birth. In this way, "parents earn the right to take paid leave without losing their jobs" (Bradth & Kvande, 2009, p. 178). The mother is then guaranteed ten weeks of paid leave, three before and seven after, and the father receives ten weeks of paid leave; neither can transfer those weeks to the other. Additionally, they receive another 39 weeks of parental leave which the two can divide between them anyway they wish, with the option of part-time work to extend the leave (Parental Benefit, 2016). The leave for the father was first introduced in the 1990's and helped to make men "more equal" with the women in terms of parenthood, giving societal aid and acceptance for men to prioritize family over work (Kvande, 2009, p. 69). The amount of men who took parental leave jumped from a mere 1% in the early 1990's to a full 85% by 2000, and it is now the norm for men to take this leave. The parents can extend their 39 weeks of leave, with severely cut pay or no pay, for a total of up to 3 years with a guarantee that they can still return to their job. If the woman did not fulfill the working requirements before the birth of the child, neither she nor her partner is eligible for the parental leave, but they can receive a lump sum of money to help care for the child. In any case, after that year or three years are complete, the child can then attend a high quality, low cost, publicly funded daycare, and both parents can return to work. Moreover, if at this time the parents desire to not work full-time, they have the option of working part-time with flexible hours and no wage penalties to care for the child (Knudsen, 2009, p. 256). All of these measurements give workers substantial means to balance their work-life while raising children.

Another governmental option for Norwegians to balance work-life and family-life is the cash-for-care scheme. If one parent, generally the mother, does not work and prefers to stay at home permanently with the child, she can receive a small monthly sum, much less than she would receive working, to care for the child until the child is three, and then the child must enter daycare. Studies show that some mothers take this option while nearly no men opt for this scheme. Furthermore, it is often only taken by non-Western mothers, which negatively impacts the integration of immigrants (Bradth & Kvande, 2009, p. 182). Consequently, this option has been criticized by many as it often reinforces traditional gender roles of men working while women care for the children. Although this option is not often seen as a means of the woman balancing work and life as she does not work in this option, it is a means of the family balancing work-life and child rearing.

These times of paid leave – vacation, sick, birth, or others – do not detract from each other. For example, taking parental leave still means the parent has the normal vacation days that year and several of the weeks of vacation can “roll over” to the next year (Holidays and Holiday Pay, n.d.). These arenas of paid leave create an environment where both men and women can work, care for a family and care for themselves. The laws are designed to create an equal society, as which statistics attest to, as there are nearly the same amount of male and female workers in the workplace, with 61% women and 68% men in the workforce, which is one of the most equal workforces in the world (Gender Development Index (GDI), 2015). Even so, there is a high percentage of women who choose to become pregnant, which “has often been seen as an indication of the impact of parenthood policies, facilitating the reconciliation of work and child care for both mothers and fathers,” verifying that women can bear children without negative consequences to their work-life (Bradth & Kvande, 2009, p. 179). Consequently, the Gender Development Index places Norway as the best country in the world for gender equality. These measurements take into account health, measured by life expectancy, education, measured by average years of schooling, and control of monetary resources, measured by income (Frequently Asked Questions, 2015). Yet, there are still areas of growth to reach gender equality in the Norwegian workforce. For example, Statistisk sentralbyrå found that although more women hold higher education degrees than men (29% and 25% respectively), women earn only 85% of men's salaries, a pay gap which has been relatively unchanged since 1997. Additionally, there are more than three times as many women working part-time as men (Women and Men and Norway:

What the Figures Say, 2010, pp. 13-16). Despite this inequality Norway consistently ranks among the top nations for gender equality laws.

However, as Elin Kvande, a professor at the Department of Sociology and Political Science at Norwegian University of Science and Technology in Trondheim writes, the longer work week ideology is creeping into the Norwegian mindset which might offset their work-life balance. The terms she used to describe this phenomenon are “flexible time regime” or “boundless flexible time culture” and “global business masculinity.” The flexible or boundless time regime implies that time is not the employees to control, but the employers as the employee must be always willing to work. This is especially true for research and development organizations, and professional occupations such as law and accounting where the employees are given more responsibility and consequently often take their work home (Kvande, 2009, p. 61). The other concept is that of “global business masculinity,” or the idea that masculinity is constructed by work ethic, particularly by working a great deal, so much so that the workers do not have time to do any housework; consequently, all of those tasks are given to another person to do (Kvande, 2009, p. 59). Kvande found that both of these concepts are growing in the Norwegian culture as these types of businesses are growing. These workers generally enjoy their work and are therefore not opposed to taking their work home with them; but as they do so, the balance of work and home life shifts and perhaps even erodes a bit. Even with the increase of longer hours and bringing work home, Kvande concludes that, “State regulation through collective, standard solutions have had a positive effect on the work-life balance for fathers in the Norwegian context.” (Kvande, 2009, p. 70).

One final aspect to examine is Arlie Hochschild’s “second shift”, or the unpaid second shift of household chores and its division between men and women (Hochschild, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home*, 2003). A survey by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) found that Norwegian men, compared to men from any other country, complete the largest amount of household chores per day. They work an average of 180 minutes a day on unpaid labor like child care and household chores. Yet Norwegian men still lag behind their female counterparts in unpaid labor, as Norwegian women complete an average of 210 minutes a day on unpaid work (Roddy, 2014).

Although gender gaps are closing, they often remain in the perception of childcare and house care. Some researchers do not find much difference between Norwegian men and women

in the workforce, but for those that do, the primary difference is that of perceived care of children which can cause work tension. Knudsen writes that “The primary explanation offered for this difference is that women still view the family as their main obligation and attach relatively more meaning to parenting and consequently have more tensions at work” (2009, p. 253). Consequently, there are more women who work part-time than men, as well as fewer women in higher level positions, both due, in part, to women prioritizing family over work.

In sum, even though longer hours are creeping into the Norwegian work attitude, the idea of work-life balance is strongly held by the Norwegian society in terms of hours worked per week, days off per year, caring for children and creating a society where men and women have equal rights for both work and child care. Laws and policies, like work week regulations, holiday and sick pay, paternity and maternity leave and inexpensive daycare, are in place and help monitor work-life balance as well as lower the gender gap in workforce. However, while the gender gap in unpaid labor is smaller than in other countries, there is still a noticeable difference in home and child care responsibility for men and women in Norway. Norwegian men do complete more household chores than any other country surveyed, but that number is not equal. Norwegian women attach more meaning to child care than men, and are willing to lower their working hours to better care for their household. But in general, work-life balance is important to the Norwegian mindset and strongly held by both women and men.

4. a. ii. United States of America

It is now time to examine work-life balance in the USA. The idea and desire for a work-life balance is evident in the USA, as shown by many top-selling books on how to achieve this balance, reflecting the reality that a large portion of the work force does not feel this is something they presently experience. Some of these books include titles like, *The Experiment: Discover a Revolutionary Way to Manage Stress and Achieve Work-life Balance*, (2014) by Michael Anderson, *Off Balance: Getting Beyond the Work-life Balance Myth to Personal and Professional Satisfaction* (2011) by Matthew Kelly and *Life Matters: Creating a Dynamic Balance of Work, Family, Time, & Money* (2004) by A. Roger Merrill among many others. The typical work week, vacation time, parental leave and the idea of “time squeeze” will be discussed to better understand work-life balance in the USA.

The first item to consider is hours worked per week. The “normal” workweek is 40 hours per week, but according to a Gallup Research Study, only 42% of the working population actually work that amount. The average American works 47.5 hours, or an entire day more than the “normal” workweek of 40 hours. A full 50% of Americans work over 40 hours a week, with 40% working over 50 hours a week and 18% of adults employed full time working over 60+ hours a week (Saad, 2014). These numbers do not account for salary workers, as salary positions have a set wage and hours are not always tracked; even so, 25% of salary workers report working at least 60 hours each week. The idea of the “rat race” comes into play here, where workers desire the 40-hour week work week, but must work more hours to get promotions to have better jobs which they believe may allow for a shorter work week, but in fact perpetuates a longer one (Clarkberg, *The Time-Squeeze in American Families*, 1999). Unsurprisingly, many Americans do not want to be in this rat race as one study on workers preferred and actual work-hour found:

... that even as dual-earner couples are increasing in number and working harder than ever, there is a widespread—and largely unmet— preference for reduced work hours, with husbands typically preferring to work full-time (as opposed to long) hours and women typically preferring somewhat less than full-time hours. Couples who are able to incorporate some part-time work into their lives are much less likely to feel overworked or squeezed for time (Clarkberg, *Understanding the Time-Squeeze*, 2001).

Workers do indeed desire to work less, but with pressures from management and peers many workers are not able to do so, pushing the average work week to a full day of working more per week than the “normal”.

Vacation time is next to be examined and the average American has 25 days of paid vacation time per year, but the number of Americans actually taking those vacation days is dropping. Project:Time Off found that Americans actually take just 16.2 paid days off per year, down from 20.3 paid days per year that was the national average from the 1970s to 2000; indeed, 55% of Americans did not use all of their vacation days (May, 2016). The article continues with the stunning fact that 41% of Americans did not take a single day of vacation in 2016 (May, 2016). The USA does have a few national holidays that employees often have off, like New Year’s Day, Thanksgiving, Christmas and others, but not all Americans receive those days off. In fact, 39% of companies require some employees to work on Thanksgiving and Christmas

(May, 2016). Thus, it seems that although Americans have holidays and vacation time, many of them do not, or cannot take those days off.

Another important issue for work-life balance is parental leave following the birth of a child. There is no law guaranteeing paid maternity or paternity leave in the USA but the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993 guarantees that a mother can receive 12 weeks of unpaid leave for a pregnancy, if the company employs more than 50 people and if the person has worked at that company for at least one year at 24 hours or more per-week. But this law also encompasses several other reasons to take leave, including “serious health condition of the employee, parent, spouse or child ... or for adoption or foster care of a child” (Wage and Hour Division (WHD)). This means that if the women took the 12 weeks off to have a child, and later in the year she, her spouse, or child developed a severe health condition, she is not legally guaranteed the time off without fear of losing her job.

The number of women who actually take maternity leave varies. On average, women in the USA take 10 weeks of maternity leave, but a majority of that leave is unpaid. Only 41% of women receive paid maternity leave but on average, they only receive about 3.3 weeks of paid leave (Shepherd-Banigan & Bell, 2014). Just 16% of companies offer fully paid maternity leave (Andersen, 2016). Companies, like Google, Patagonia, Netflix and others are offering their employees more extensive benefits. Netflix offers unlimited paid parental leave within the first year, Facebook offers four months, Google offers 18 weeks, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation offers 52 weeks of paid maternity and paternity leave as well as a small stipend, etc. (Andersen, 2016). However, these companies are the exception. Maternity leave is a huge aspect of maintaining work-life balance, but the USA often falls short of allowing women and men to balance both work and parenting in this area.

More and more Americans feel as if they do not have adequate time for everything in their life. Marin Clarkberg, a sociologist researcher calls this a “time squeeze” or “time famine” (1999, p. 1). According to a Pew Research survey, 60% of American mothers feel that balancing work and family is difficult and that up to 90% of these mothers feel rushed some or all of the time (Raising Kids and Running a Household, 2014). Balancing children and work is often viewed as difficult and easily allows for parents to feel they do not have enough time to accomplish everything. There are a few reasons for this “time squeeze”: increased work hours, both parents working so neither can be fully dedicated to child and home care, and simply

working more than desired (Clarkberg, 1999, p. 2). Part of this may be due to the fact that many Americans are working more than “normal” 40-hour work week (Saad, 2014). Another reason for this “time squeeze” is a lack of part-time work available as the society has largely remained with the “all-or-nothing breadwinner/homemaker cultural template,” which has dire effects of child rearing, housework and stress level as the amount of one person staying home full-time is decreasing (Clarkberg, Understanding the Time-Squeeze, 2001, p. 11133). Many Americans desire to work less than the normal 40-hour work week, but often cannot do so due to a lack of part-time positions available and the desire to be taken seriously as a professional. Thus although more people are working compared to a few decades ago, many wish to work less but lack other options regarding work amount.

The cost of daycare is another area to survey in relation to work-life balance for working parents. Daycare in the USA is not subsidized and parents pay between \$890 to \$2,150 a month on daycare expenses, depending on which state they live in (Parents and the High Cost of Child Care: 2016, 2016) These numbers exceed 10% of a married couple’s average income in a majority of the states, and over 12% in many states (Iyer, 2014). This amount is often high enough that one parent, generally the mother, will choose to stay home to care for the child rather than work; indeed, nearly a third of mothers have chosen to stay home to care for their children in recent years (Desilver, 2014). In 28 states, the cost of child care for two children exceeds the annual minimum wage, meaning a single parent of two, with a minimum wage job cannot afford to pay for child care, much less the family’s other expenses (Iyer, 2014). In all, the cost of child care can be detrimental to the career paths of one or both parents.

The final area to discuss is household chore division and perception of this division. As showed previously, there is a rising number of female employees in the workplace, but this does not always correlate to a rising percentage of men completing household chores, at least not to the same degree, which Arlie Hochschild calls the “Stalled Revolution” (Hochschild, *The Second Shift*, 2003, p. 3). Pew Researchers found the same to be true today for in no survey conducted by them do a majority of men complete a majority of household or child raising tasks. Most often the task is completed entirely by the women or is sometimes shared equally by both partners (*Raising Kids and Running a Household: How Working Parents Share the Load*, 2014). Interestingly, statistics also show that if the woman works more hours per week for a paid position than the man does, she also completes more hours per week on household chores than

him; as a Pew Research survey completed in 2011 found that if the woman is the primary or sole income provider, her weekly workload exceeds that of her spouse by 25 hours per week, as she completes an average of 58 hours a week on paid and unpaid labor while the man only fulfills 33 hours per week of paid and unpaid labor (Parker & Wang, 2013). However, as skewed as these numbers may be, the amount of paid and unpaid labor completed between men and women has begun to balance in recent decades. The same researchers found women in 1965 spent an average of 8 hours per week on paid work and 32 on unpaid work while men spent 42 hours per week on paid and just 4 on unpaid labor but by 2011 the numbers showed a levelling as women spent 21 hours per week on paid work and 18 per week on unpaid work and men labored 37 per week on paid and 10 on unpaid (Parker & Wang, 2013). In sum, these statistics, from a variety of surveys, show that women still complete a majority of household chores despite men doing more chores and women joining the workforce.

Similar to Norwegians, American women and men differ on their perception on who completes more unpaid work. Pew Researchers asked men and women about the division of labor regarding scheduling, caring for sick children, and completing household chores. Their answers correlated, but women answered that they more often completed a higher share of these chores, whereas men were more likely to answer that the responsibilities were shared equally. For example, 53% of fathers state that the mother did more of the scheduling where as 64% of women stated they did more. This number is even more divergent in the case of household chores, as men state just 32% women do more while women answered 50% of women do more (Raising Kids and Running a Household: How Working Parents Share the Load, 2014). In this, men believe they share in the responsibilities much more than women believe they do.

Women in the USA, similarly to women in Norway, often feel a higher degree of responsibility and personal well-being attached to the care of children, and are more willing to sacrifice their careers to care for children than men are. One survey found that 95% of white men with an M.B.A. work full-time, but only 67% of white women with an M.B.A work full-time. The article states the reason for this disparity rests with children, as women are not willing to forfeit time with their children in order to achieve more in the workplace; consequently, women will decide to work part-time or not at all in order to care for their children (Belkin, 2013). Indeed, when the man puts in long hours at work it is often the women who feels the need to cut back on her work hours in order to bring balance or the perception of balance to the

home. As stated before, women feel stress when home life is not cared for while men feel stress when they have conflict at work (Clarkberg, *The Time-Squeeze in American Families*, 1999). All this to say, that although more women are in the workforce, they still have more pressure, both real and perceived, to take care of the household responsibilities and children than do men.

In comparison, the two countries differ in several ways. Norway has laws in place to help its people have more of a work-life balance; in the USA, workers desire this balance, but there are very few laws or customs in place to help workers maintain balance. Language regarding how much one works (i.e. 100% or full-time) also alters the public opinion of how much work is acceptable. Although, the “masculine global identity” and “flexible time regimes” are coming into the Norwegian society with more people working more than they have before, the laws of the country do aim at allowing workers to have a balance. Vacation time in Norway is mandated by law and highly regarded as nearly everyone receives the 10 public holidays off plus 5 weeks of vacation a year, while vacation time in the USA is on the decline as workers are fearful they will not be able to take a vacation and work. Norwegian law dictates extensive maternity and paternity leave that allow for both the woman and man to care for the child and return to work. While some women qualify for maternity leave in the USA and a few businesses offer paid leave, no universal law exists decreeing that women or men must receive paid leave. Women in both countries also perceive they do more at home, while men perceive it’s more equally shared. Interestingly, both the articles which discuss women’s perception on household responsibilities, that by Knud Knudsen discussed in the Norwegian section and the one written by Pew Researchers, state that is the women who perceives she does more, rather than the opposite of stating it is the man who perceives he does more. Statistics from previous studies show that women do indeed complete more household chores than men do and are thus, in some ways, more responsible for the carrying out of these chores. In this manner, it is not the women who perceive they do more, but the men who believe they share in more of the responsibility than they actually do, potentially causing more tension for the women both at work and at home. With these workplace equality challenges in mind we can now begin to look into churches at work places, and the ways in which women experience them.

4. b. Ecclesial Landscapes in Norway and the USA

The next important piece of contextual background is that of the ecclesial landscape and the viewpoint of women as leaders within churches in each country. Both Norway and the USA had religious ideas in their founding and early stages of formation, and religion has remained an important social aspect of each country, yet they differ in their expressions of religion. The primary difference can be found in that Norway has had a state run church, the Church of Norway (CofN), from the 16th century through 2012 while the formation of the USA began with a desire to not have a state run church, rather to have a plurality of churches and have minimal government influence on religious matters. Religion is, however, an important factor in both countries; Norway and the USA are often referred to as “Christian nations” yet with fairly different developmental outcomes. The history of the formation of churches, Christianity today, and the viewpoints of women as leaders within churches will be discussed and compared within each country.

4. b. i. Norway

Norway has long self-identified as a Christian country. Missionaries brought Christianity to Norway in the 9th century, and Christianity was firmly established in the region by the 12th century. King Christian III established the Lutheran church as the state religion of Norway and Denmark in 1537 when he assumed the position of the church’s leader. Yet, it wasn’t until a full century later, in 1660 that it became the official State church after “the introduction of absolute monarchy” (Church of Norway: A Brief History, 2016). From that point, the CofN monopolized Christianity within Norway: priests of other denominations had to convert, face imprisonment or flee; monasteries were shut down; and all other forms of Christianity were not welcome. In 1741, a law, the *konventikkelplakaten* was created which forbid the gathering of people without the consent of a priest from the CofN. This was enacted, in part to prevent heresy in the church from spreading, but ultimately acted as a means to control and disallow other denominations from forming or meeting (Rasmussen, 2016). A century later, in 1842, this law was absolved. This abolishment, joined together with the growing belief that many Norwegians held that mass communion, forced confirmation and state control of the church were wrong, made room for other denominations to take root (Historien, 2016). Consequently, in the mid-1800s several other denominations began to form throughout Norway. This included the *Frikirken* or

The Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Norway and the *frikirkene* or all other denominations like the Baptists, Methodists, Roman Catholic and others (Kirkesamfunn i Norge, n.d.). From their humble beginnings, these churches have grown and spread, forming congregations throughout the country.

Today the CofN, *frikirken* and *frikikene* all exist and exercise important roles within Norway. Indeed, over 73% of the population are baptized members of the CofN today, yet just 3% of the population attends weekly. A full 58% of infants are baptized, 61.5% of youth are confirmed and nearly 40% of weddings take place in the CofN (Basics and Statistics, 2016). But with only 3% actually attending regular services, an ideology is created that some refer to as “belonging without believing.” Sociologist Grace Davie explains this concept writing that Scandinavians often do not believe in Christianity, but rather what they “believe in is, in fact, belonging,” it is this belief that that creates an “important part of Nordic identity” (Davie, 2000, p. 3). In that, part of the cultural identity of Norwegians is to belong to the church regardless of whether the person believes in what the church professes. Even so, not all Norwegians belong to the CofN; many belong to various other denominations or religions, while others do not belong to any at all. As of November 2016, about 349,000 people in Norway were members of other Christian communities outside of the CofN or about 7% of the population, a number that has been steadily increasing over the last few years (Religious Communities and Life Stance Communities, 2016). This is a fairly high amount considering no other denominations were allowed in Norway a mere 150 years previously. Whether it is just to feel a sense of identity and belonging, or for spiritual matters, many Norwegians do indeed belong to a church.

Within these churches, women began to assume leadership roles in the early 1960's, yet this did not happen without substantial opposition. The push to ordain women came not from within the church, or from theological debate, but from outside forces of political and secular thought. Many churches were ideologically opposed to women in positions of leadership, believing that, “ordination of women was an expression of unfaithfulness to the Bible, the common Christian creed and tradition, and a break with the God given and universal order of creation” (Thomassen, 2012, pp. 193-194). Yet, after much debate in the 1950's and 1960's it was concluded that women “could bring [certain qualities] that men don't have ... caring, nurturing, etc. It wasn't an argument of 'equality' but 'equal but different'” (Thomassen, 2012, p. 194). Accordingly, the first woman was consequently ordained into the priesthood of the CofN

in 1961. Since then the numbers of women in the priesthood have grown substantially, helped along by two movements: the gender equality law enacted in 1978 and a Strategic Plan put forth by the CofN. The first was not directed towards the church, but towards all areas of society, including churches, as it pushed for women to join previously male-dominated professions, including within the religious sector. But the Strategic Plan was specifically designed to create equality within the CofN, with the goal to have equal representation of women in all the levels of church hierarchy:

The Strategic Plan dealt with five areas: to gain gender equality at all hierarchical levels in the CofN among employees and elected representatives in church democracy; to ensure theological and political competence on gender in equality; to ensure gender perspectives in worship, liturgy, diaconry, and religious education; to strengthen Gender equality in processes concerning democratic and structural reforms in the church; and to develop theological perspectives on physical and sexual abuse (Thomassen, 2012, p. 191).

Both of these declarations tremendously helped smooth the way for women to hold leadership positions within churches. These pushes and strategies were primarily aimed towards the CofN, but many of the other denominations followed a similar trajectory, ushering women into the priesthood along the same timeline. Today women make up 50% of seminary students, there are more female ordinations than male, and within the CofN about 25% of the priests in the nationwide are women, 38.9% of priests in Oslo are women and many areas with a low percentage of female pastors desire and advertise for female pastors (Thomassen, 2012, pp. 196-197).

4. b. ii. United States of America

From the founding of the United States to the present day, Christianity has had a huge impact and influence on the country. Moreover, the USA is the only western industrial nation, according to some researchers, where religion “flourishes” (Baum, 2008, p. 326). However, at the founding of the USA both politicians and religious leaders agreed that a separation of church and state was best for both parties, and therefore that ideology was written into the founding documents (Baum, 2008, s. 327). Immediately after the American Revolutionary War and the signing of the Constitution, several religious groups, like the Anglican and Roman Catholic

Churches had to grapple with the idea of not being *the* state religion and in that, how to harmoniously exist with other religions (Baum, 2008, p. 327). From this struggle, the notion of denominations, or “a stable, settled church, enjoying a legitimate and recognized place in the larger aggregate of churches, each recognizing the proper status of the others,” emerged for the first time in history (Christiano, Swatos Jr., & Kivisto, 2015, p. 94). Tensions, of course, existed between the denominations, but each denomination had to recognize the legitimacy of the other to exist and be tolerant of their actions (Baum, 2008, p. 329). From the initial concept and defining of denominations, various denominations have merged, shifted and split, creating a multitude of sects that Christianity had never seen before. Typically, these denominations remain within the normal stream of Christianity, as behavior too extreme could cause that denomination to be excommunicated by the others. In line with this, when shifts begin in a few denominations others must move along with it in order to keep their status as legitimate. This is due, in large part, to the concept of *institutional isomorphism*, or the idea that changes in one organization, or this instance denomination, cause similar institutions to change in order to continue to be viewed as legitimate by those that changed (Christiano, et al, 2015, pp. 191-192). Thus, although many denominations exist and each have slightly different takes on what it means to be Christian, they can all be clumped together under the umbrella term of Christianity within the USA.

As Christianity and denominations in the USA traversed through the years, the viewpoint of women as leaders also changed. The first woman ordained in the USA was ordained in 1853 into the United Church of Christ, then called Congregationalists. In the 1890’s several other denominations allowed the ordination of women, but it wasn’t until the 1950’s that women were ordained in substantial numbers. During the 1950’s to 1970’s there was a societal push for women to enter the workforce, and many denominations, under the influence of institutional isomorphism followed suit. This shift happened amidst much controversy, as many churches believed that they were compromising their values to allow women as leaders, but the institutional isomorphism was strong and many followed suit. The controversy in the Episcopal Church, the last denomination to date which allowed women to become ministers, changing in 1976, was so severe that it caused a split in the church. In resistance, some denominations made policies *against* the ordination of women, including the Southern Baptists which retracted their earlier stance on allowing women as priests to one that no longer allowed the ordination of

women in the 1970's (Christiano, et al, 2015, pp. 188-193). The early history of women as leaders within USA churches moved slowly, changing only slightly but smoothing the way for more substantial changes later.

Since the 1950's the number of women in the priesthood as well as the perception of their right to be there has increased. In the 1950's only about 2% of the pastors were women, but by 1980's that number had doubled to 4.2% and then nearly tripled to reach the current amount of about 12%. As of 2015, about half of the denominations ordained women and 25% of clergy in mainline denominations are women (Christiano, et al, 2015, pp. 189-193). Moreover, the perception as to whether women should be in the priesthood has also changed. Gallup conducted a poll in 1977 and in 2000 asking American, non-Roman Catholics whether they believed women should or should not be in the priesthood. In 1977 just 42% of the people favored the idea, while in 2000 the number had increased to 73% and even 71% of Roman Catholics said that women should be priests (Winseman, 2004). Women have begun to serve in leadership roles that were previously only held by men in all denominations, even in denominations which are strictly against the ordination of women, like the Southern Baptists and Roman Catholic churches (Christiano, et al, 2015, p. 188). This increase in ordained women, the perception of women in the church and simply women in traditionally male positions shows an amelioration of in the viewpoint of women in leadership in the church.

However, some say that women today have hit the "stained glass ceiling" as women have indeed risen in prominence in some areas of church leadership but are shunted from reaching the top in all areas. Of the nine major religious organizations that Pew Research Center studied that allow women to hold top leadership positions only four have, or have had a women in that position, and only once (Sandstrom, 2016). However, this may not be due to ill-willed reasons, but rather just a lack of time in the workforce. As women have only been ordained for the last 40 years, the lack of women in the highest church positions could merely be lack of time for women to climb up the church ladder, which would mean more women would take top leadership positions in the future. Another possibility for this disparity is varying career tracks. Often, both men and women may start out in smaller, less wealthy churches as the second pastor or on a team of pastors. But from that position, men tend to move to larger, wealthier churches and become the sole or head pastor while women often remain at the smaller, financially struggling churches or are secluded to children or family ministry positions in larger churches

(Christiano, et al, 2015, p. 196). Considering that women do not tend to move to more prominent positions and churches it is also difficult for them to receive top leadership positions. This divergent career track also affects wages and a significant gap exists between male and female pastoral wages. In 2014-2015, full-time male senior pastors received a full 40% more pay than their female counterparts. However, the difference is shrinking, as just two years later the number was 27% (Emmert, 2015). In 2014, three women were chosen to lead high profile churches and were paid a comparable amount to their male predecessors – both acts that were seen as “cracking the stained-glass ceiling” (Banks, 2014). Thus female church leadership in the USA is not quite equal with that of male leadership, but the differences are indeed diminishing.

The history of Christianity in Norway and in the USA has followed different trajectories set forth from their initial foundation, yet Christianity has remained in a prominent position in both. In Norway, the state run church created a sense of identity for many Norwegians, and even if they do not profess Christianity, they do desire to belong to the CofN as that is part of what it means to be Norwegian. As the church was so closely tied to the state, some changes were enacted by the state that many parishioners did not agree with causing people to desire and belong to other denominations. In the mid-1800’s laws changed which allowed free Lutheran churches and Free Churches to form. Women entered leadership positions in the 1960’s and are now a prominent part of the CofN and exist within the other denominations as well. The church followed the Norwegian societal demands of equality, and created a bylaw of gender equality in the church. The USA was founded on a separation of church and state as well of freedom of religion, a combination that resulted in the creation of denominations. These denominations differed some in their understanding of Christianity, but kept fairly close together in many ways in order to remain part of the legitimate mainstream of Christianity. Some of the denominations invited women to lead early on, but many did not do so until the 1950’s. From then female leadership has grown in all denominations, whether the church is explicitly for or against female ordination. However, to some it appears that women have reached the stained-glass ceiling and others have spotted some cracks in that ceiling. In any case, women have not reached equal positions with men in either Norway or the USA, but recent trends show the gap is closing.

5. Analysis

My research question is “How do female pastors with children in the USA and in Norway experience work-life balance, and how is this balance supported by those around them?” These questions divided the research and consequently the analysis into three main categories: Work-Life, The Intersection of Children and Work, and Support Systems. For each section, various questions were asked of the interviewee and their answers, along with other topics that emerged separate from the questions will be presented here. The first of these topics is Work-Life, specifically how the interviewees experience work, how much do they work, how much vacation do they take, what self-care practices they employ, etc. The second cluster deals with the intersection of children and work including joys and frustrations faced while balancing both, strategies employed to balance the two, and expectations felt by her or her children, among a few others. The final cluster of topics is that of support systems. To this end, the interviewee was asked how she was supported or not supported by various sectors of her life: her spouse, and the various parts of the church in which she worked – her staff and employer, the congregation, and the denomination. To analyze the data, each of the three sections will be systematically combed and discussed. Within each point, a short analysis comparing and contrasting the answers between the two countries will be included, if applicable.

5. a. Work-Life

The first section to analyze is that of work. To understand how the women balance work-life and family life it is essential to discern what their work demands of them and how they are able to withstand the various pressures involved. The topics discussed here are then not what they did, as that does not relate to work-life balance, rather how they experience work. These subjects include hours worked per week, vacation time allotted, self-care practices, differing gender expectations, and a few more minor factors including how the women relate to their position. These areas give a well-rounded idea of how the women view their position and how they are able to balance it with their family.

5. a. i. Hours Worked Per Week

An important cluster of topics deals with the hours worked in a typical week: whether the subject counts hours, the total hours worked per week and the sustainability of the work week.

In order to properly calculate how many hours are worked, it is important to note whether the interviewee counted the number of hours worked per week. Those in Norway, with one exception, said they regularly counted their hours. Often the desire to count hours went with the idea that their position was not just a ministry but also a job as Astrid related:

I've been counting hours because it is a work too, even as it is vocation. Yes, it's a lot of things, but it's also a work, and when you work, you sell your time. I have given the church so, so, so, so much time. [I tell my children] 'I have to go to work to make money so we can pay rent and [buy] food and everything we need.'

This concept of their position as a job was repeated by Solveig and Ingeborg. Ragnhild was the only priest in Norway who does not count her hours and her reasoning for doing so because she felt the opposite of Astrid, that her job is not simply a job but a ministry:

My way of being a pastor, and maybe I think it seems like that in the free churches ... it's not just like a job, it's a life. It's a lifestyle. So I don't count hours. Never, ever. And I won't. So it's a difference of tradition when you have in the state church, when you count hours. So I think we work much more, really, in practice.

Ragnhild does not desire to count her hours as that makes her position more of a job, but she does have an idea that she works more than the 35.5 hours per week that the CofN requires. However, not counting hours is the minority of those interviewed in Norway.

The results for those in the USA are flipped with only one person regularly counting hours while the others only count hours occasionally or not at all. Sarah in the USA counts her hours, but had several external factors compelling her to count: she is only employed by the church at $\frac{3}{4}$ time and that time is split between two organizations: her church and a community organization. Thus she counts to make sure the hours are allotted properly and that she stays under her part-time contract. Karen and Debbie stated that they counted their hours occasionally, but not for the sake of working the paid amount; rather Karen counted to see where she was wasting time and where she should spend more time, and Debbie counted hours when the church accountant asked. Mary never counted hours.

Although the answers are not unanimous regarding whether they counted hours or not, a general trend emerged showing that the women did work more hours than required, see Figure 4 for a visual on the hours worked. Those that did not count were able to give an approximate

number of hours worked per week. Those in Norway worked approximately five hours over what they were supposed to, and two of the women stated this amount over was generally “liveable” or “sustainable.” They further commented that working too much was not sustainable, at least not in the long term; they desired to be pastors for “years to come”, as Astrid stated, so they needed to keep the extra hours worked to a minimum. The exception to this in Norway is Solveig, a priest in the CofN. She answered that she works the required amount so that she can be with her children more and because she is following her employer’s wishes. Her employer frequently notes if she is over hours and tells her to stop working or work less in the upcoming week to balance out her hours. Those in the USA generally worked around 10 hours more than their position called for. Karen, however, works more than that with her average work week totaling 60 hours a week, with some weeks stretching to 70 hours. She called these weeks “rough weeks” and did not desire to have many of them. Sarah again, is the exception to not working overtime in the USA for reasons already stated. In sum, the data shows that both those in Norway generally counted their hours while those in the USA did not. However both those in Norway and the USA generally more than their allotted hours, but Americans tended to work more hours over per week than Norwegians. This is consistent with societal norms for each country as Americans tend to work more hours per week, by over 10, than Norwegians.

Name	Hours worked	Over hours	Count hours	Sustainable
Ragnhild (Nor)	Does not know	--	Does not count	Yes
Solveig (Nor)	35.5	No	Yes, mandatory	Yes
Astrid (Nor)	40 (up to 50)	Yes	Yes, always	Yes
Ingeborg (Nor)	43-44	Yes	Yes	Yes
Debbie (USA)	5-10 hours more than position	Yes	Not often	Somewhat
Mary (USA)	50	Yes	No	Somewhat
Sarah (USA)	30-35	No	Yes	Yes
Susan (USA)	No data	Yes	--	

Karen (USA)	55-60, up to 70	Yes	Not often	Somewhat
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Figure 4: Hours Worked by Interviewees

5. a. ii. Vacation Time

Another area of work to be discussed is that of vacation time. In this section, the societal difference between Norway and the USA comes much more into play. In Norway vacation time is set by the government and pastors must follow their guidelines. Pastors are also given weekends off which do not count towards their vacation. In the USA, there are not set guidelines for vacation time, and vacations are generally counted in weekends off, meaning there are no additional weekends off for pastors. The Norwegian pastors received 5-6 weeks of paid vacation plus 6-12 weekends off a year. Ragnhild receives the least amount of weekends off per year, at 6; this number has steadily grown over the years she has served. But due to a few factors, she often struggles to take all of the weekends allotted to her off. The primary reason is that she is frequently away on weekends for a para-church function and yet is still paid fully for her church position. She describes her struggle: “I feel like I have a bad conscious for leaving them. So many times I ask them, this church board. ‘Don't you feel troubled that I am not here all the time, that I go away? You pay me full and I am not here always.’” She is grateful for the time off, but does not always take it. This sentiment of guilt for taking off weekends is not shared by any of her fellow Norwegians. The other three receive one weekend off a month, on which they feel entirely free to be at church or to be away with their family. As for actual weeks of vacation, all of the Norwegian ministers interviewed take their full five to six weeks off without feeling any guilt for doing so. This vacation time is set by the government and thus the women take the weeks gladly with the rest of the Norwegians citizens. Ingeborg once lived and worked abroad in a setting where people did not take off as much vacation or even days off and explained the difference between work and time off in the two countries as much more of a cultural difference,

In [the other country] the working system is so different. And in Norway, almost everyone has three or four weekends off a month. So for me to have one weekend off, I should really appreciate it and use it. And in Norway, the system of taking time off is highly appreciated. And in [the other country], although ... they have the right to take off a few vacation [days], seldom people do it because it's not

respected well. So then we felt guilty to take even the days off we had. But we knew we needed to.

So in this, vacation time off and even weekends off are a highly valued cultural norm that the ministers in Norway adhere to. This not the case, for vacation time or weekends off, for the pastors in the USA. The vacation time for pastors in the USA, as previously mentioned, is measured by weekends off. Thus the pastors do not receive any additional weekends off like their counterparts in Norway. Indeed, Mary can only recall two Sundays in her entire career in which she took off for the simple pleasure of taking them off. Karen, Sarah and Mary all receive a yearly allocation of vacation time, ranging from 4-6 Sundays. Karen, who receives four weeks off a year, desires to have more time off, but as most of her congregants do not receive that much time off, her desire and need for more time to is not understood by her congregation. Debbie did not receive a set amount, rather she could request what she needed. Although the amount of vacation time differs between each county, the amount allocated is societally on par within each country as confirmed by the data in the Society, Gender, and Work-Life Balance background section.

The three Norwegian pastors who have one weekend off a month truly have the Sunday off and can choose to attend the Sunday service or not. They all said they enjoy attending their services, but do not feel pressure to do so, as illustrated by Astrid, “I don’t feel that I necessarily have to go here every Sunday. I am free! But I want to go sometimes.” In this vein, the congregation does not put pressure on them to be there either as Solveig states, “I can go away and no one will ask, ‘Where were you?’ Because they know I have my time off and they don’t care.” She also said that sometimes the congregation may not even notice when she and her family are gone. This understandably contrasts with the others who do not have a weekend off a month, as they and their congregation generally expect them to be there each Sunday, even if they do not need to be. When asked about this, Mary responded that:

There is definitely a feeling, particularly in the larger church, that people want to see the pastors there. ... The relational capital of showing up and just being there is worth more to me than not being there. And I travel quite a bit I'm out of the country once or twice a year. So it just feels important that I'm there when I'm here.

This thought of needing to be at the service is echoed by Debbie, who said that even if she didn't have any responsibilities during the service, it was expected that she attends the service. The other pastors did not mention the possibility of being away for the service at all.

5. a. iii. Self-Care Practices

In order to best care for themselves, each of the pastors referenced several “self-care” practices they used in their professional and personal lives. The most prominent type is that of setting boundaries, both for themselves and their congregants. But other areas of self-care include treating themselves, meditation and outside relationships. No clear contrast between the two countries emerge, rather the answers and practices differ subtly between each person regardless of country and they generally tell the story of the importance of self-care.

Within the sphere of self-care, the interviewees had the most to say on the topic of boundaries. Debbie talked about the difficulty of boundaries and pastoral work:

I tend to think the other aspect of the pastoring thing is, yes there are boundaries but it's not the same as when you are a social worker and you have clear professional boundaries. You know, if you are not on call, you are not going to get a phone call in the middle of the night and have to go rush and go help someone out. But that happens in the church. That dynamic is frankly really, really common. I do think that it's, it is different than just social work and working with needy families. The blurring between the profession and personal lines happens all the time.

In this, Debbie summarizes the reason boundaries are so important for those in ministry: the lines between personal and professional are often quite blurred and occasionally do not exist. Many of the other women have similar stories of this blurred boundary line. To cope with this, several of the women have set several limitations.

The first set of limitations imposed is simply a limitation on themselves and what they can actually accomplish. Several of the interviewees mentioned limiting themselves in some fashion in order to create better boundaries. Sarah relayed that she realized that she does not need to be all things to all people; Ingeborg said she's learned she has to disappoint people; Karen said she's learned it's okay to not “give 150% all the time;” and Ragnhild mentioned that it's okay for her not to accomplish everything that she or others may want her to do, but simply

what God calls her to do. Another common boundary limitation is that of phone use. Several women, without being directly questioned, mentioned phone limitation practices they enact to set better boundaries. On Karen's day off she turns off her phone so as to make a clearer division of work-day and personal-day. Ingeborg keeps her phone on during her days off and when a person calls her she tells the person that it is her day off and asks if this can wait until her next work day. The main way to contact Sarah is via her office work phone which has an answering machine message detailing her work week and when she will get back to the person. The message also reads out her cell number, giving her congregation permission to call her if it is an emergency.

Another boundary line that most of the women drew was the number of evening meetings per week. This number varied for each woman, but frequently the women did have an "acceptable" amount. Those in Norway, with the exception of Ragnhild, had an actual number in their head of one, two, or three nights per week that was acceptable and mentioned that if that number became too high they could discuss the matter with their board or boss. Solveig stated that, "if I had many evening meetings I would have talked this over with my boss to figure out how to limit evening work. Now I feel that I am in good control of evening meetings and that they are not too many." Those in the USA did say they desired to limit their evening work, but their limit was more of an ebb and flow between weeks and not an exact number each week they did not want to work over. Mary's husband was often away for work, and during those weeks she "kept her evenings close" so as to spend time with her children, and then planned for most of her meetings to take place when he was home. Karen and Sarah both gave actual numbers of one and one to two evenings per week, respectively, but Karen acknowledged many weeks she worked more but dreamt of not having to do so. Thus, those in the USA did seem to desire to limit their days, but the number was not as rigidly set as those in Norway. All of these limitations help to draw boundary lines between work-life and personal life.

Another aspect of self-care revolves around what the person adds to her life to better it. These include treating or taking care of oneself, scripture reading or meditation, and outside relationships. Over half of the women said they regularly take care of and treat themselves physically. Karen and Mary relayed that they have monthly massages and Mary has monthly acupuncture as well; both stated that it is really good to have someone else take care of them for an hour. Working out, in the form of gym time, yoga, long-bike rides, and karate were

mentioned as essential for self-care by Ingeborg, Debbie, Mary, and Karen. Another aspect of self-care that most of them mentioned is that of reading scripture, meditation and prayer. Sarah conveys that "... when I'm getting stressed out or overwhelmed it's because I think I'm in charge of more than I'm in charge of. And I have to go back to prayer and meditation and Scripture to remind me that I'm not that big a deal, and it will be fine." Ragnhild, Ingeborg, Debbie, and Mary relayed similar thoughts on this issue.

The final aspect of self-care that many of them mentioned is the importance of outside relationships. These are relationships outside of the congregation they serve, places in which the women are not necessarily working, but can simply be themselves. Karen states that she does not have as many of these outside relationships as she would like: she moved to a new state to be a pastor there so many of her friends live geographically far from her and most of her time is spent within the congregation and is thus not able to connect much to those outside of it. Yet she longs for these outside relationships, hoping to build them in the future. Mary also stated difficulties in obtaining outside relationships as the city in which she lives is small and she cannot often meet people without them treating her as pastor. She has gotten around this, in part, by frequent trips to a large city and by joining a quarterly retreat, relaying that "having friends, having a cohort that I am walking with has also been good. That's been some of my sanity." Ingeborg conveys that she has always had outside relationships, and that they are very healthy for her and her family. Sarah expressed the importance of having these outside relationships as well. Stating that she has a group of colleagues that she works with outside of church who have become "friends and great champions of each other" and that many of her college friends still live in the area and have children in a similar age group as her and thus she is able to see and connect with them frequently. Debbie found great solace in outside groups, especially when they were composed by other women within ministry who did not have ties to any particular church. She relayed that the groups were made up of women who "were just going through life together to help each other thrive" and that "I think those outside groups for accountability or nurturing and soul care are really important for people in ministry." Both Debbie and Ingeborg disclosed that another important relationship for them was that of mentors. In this, although the answers vary between each person, all of the women report that self-care is an important aspect of their work-life.

5. a. iv. Other Factors

Another aspect that affects the work experience for women is the different expectations between female and male pastors in the church. Often the women noted that they are expected to have typical female characteristics, like compassion or decorating skills and that occasionally people are upset when they have typical male characteristics, like leadership, confrontation, or strong opinions. Solveig noted that people think she should be more compassionate or caring, but she states she is not, while her male colleague is. The congregation has learned to go to him for those attributes. On a similar note, Karen realized that the congregants never ask her opinion on building maintenance or technology questions, yet they do ask her male colleagues these questions. Sarah similarly noted that people expect her to be good at pastoral care, which she is not, but to not be good at finances, which she is. Ingeborg said that the previously all-male staff was happy when she was hired as they believed she could manage the visual aspects of the church, as she recalled their conversation: “Oh at last! We have a pastor that will take care of, or will have an eye for decorating and uh, the visual part of the church. And I said, ‘Of course, I am interested in that but that I will not have time for.’” No one was that upset when the women did not have typical female characteristics, but they were upset when they had more typical male characteristics. Debbie noted that her opinions and additions to work meetings were not taken well by the men:

So as a woman the expectation was to be supportive, be engaged, work really hard.... But there was a lot of ‘don't rock the boat’ and ... I didn't feel [it was] the same way with men. Like for example, [another co-pastor] could speak up and disagree. Then when I did, [it] was not as well received. And so my tactic became generally to not do that in the context of staff meeting, but I'd talk to [the lead pastor] one on one. And he was very congenial and open and amenable one on one, but in the context of calling him out or something in the staff meetings was not.

Her opinions that changed the status quo were not welcomed. She even mentioned that another female co-pastor was willing to “rock the boat” and state her opinions, but that her statements “got her into trouble” and that “she was such a strong woman and a strong voice. It wasn't as welcome. And that was pretty clear to see.” Debbie was not viewed as an equal pastor among her male colleagues. Karen, too, admitted struggling with this issue as several people within her

congregation are opposed to her strong leadership style. She expressed her frustration at this by saying, “When I am direct I am aggressive, I'm confrontational. When a woman is a strong leader it's bad. And when a man is a strong leader it's just what he's supposed to do. And that's a real reality for me right now.” Consequently, these varying expectations place considerable difficulty on the women.

Other differing expectations between men and women were discussed as well. Several of the women also noted that they have to ask for equal benefits that their male colleagues automatically received. These benefits were generally given after they ask, but it's not always automatic. Debbie had to advocate to receive a cell phone, health insurance, supervision, regular meetings with the lead pastor and to be on the service planning team while the men automatically received these things. Mary noticed a huge pay gap between the lead male pastor, who says they are “equal in everything” and herself. She had to advocate for quite some time before the staff and congregation began efforts to fix that problem. Karen and Mary noted the congregants react differently towards them than they do towards male pastors. For instance, Karen said that she hears a comment on her physical appearance every Sunday and Mary overheard a woman saying “she's so cute” in regards to her sermon: comments which, they state, would not happen to male pastors. She continued saying she has had to exert herself in her attire, speech and abilities to gain respect and prove that she is a professional, while her male colleague does not need to do these things. Karen and Mary both noted that the pastorate position seems to be built for men, not for women, especially women with children; this was especially true in regards to household commitments demanded of them and not always of men. Astrid stated that she struggled against low expectations of her as a woman, many of the congregants were not opposed to her but expressed shock at her abilities. All of these expectations placed on the women altered their work and family balance.

Interestingly, several of the women, only from Norway, stated that it is, in some ways, easier for them to be a mother and pastor than it is for their male colleagues to be a father and a pastor. Solveig elaborated on this saying,

I have felt that I have gotten a lot of acceptance for being a mother. But I have male colleagues who are told, 'Don't your children have a mother?' They can get this commentary ... So I think it's easier in some way to be a female and to be a pastor.

Astrid agreed, saying that it is easier for her to take time off to be with her children than it is for the male pastors she knows. On a similar note, two of the women, Ragnhild and Ingeborg, noted that they, as women, are able to reach and counsel people who were not comfortable seeking help from their male colleagues. Thus, although many of the different expectations regarding men and women in the pulpit are negative, some of them actually have positive results for the women.

A few points of note emerged throughout the interviews that were not specifically asked during the interview. This emergence without specifically questioning about them demonstrates their importance to the women. All three of these topics relate to how the women, and in part society at large, views their position: whether it's a "job" or "ministry," whether it is a first or later career choice, and whether they had female predecessors to look up to. These subtle differences affect how the women view their positions and how society encouraged or dissuaded them from the position.

The first of these is whether the interviewee referred to her position as a "job" or "work" or as purely a ministry. This difference in wording has profound implications as to how the interviewee viewed their work and life relationship. This has been touched upon in previous sections, but will be expounded upon here. Within Norway, most of the interviewees were explicit in the interview as to whether they regarded their position as purely a ministry or as a job. As mentioned before, Ragnhild states that her position is not simply a job, but a ministry and a way of life. Astrid was also very explicit in her reasoning stating that although her position has to do with spiritual matters, it is primarily a job. She consistently told her children that she was going "to work" so that she could pay rent and buy groceries. This firm viewpoint came from childhood as she related her father worked for a Christian ministry and was frequently away on business. He told her that he was "working in the Kingdom of God" which meant that she could not complain about his absence or ask him for anything. Consequently, she decided to not tell her children this and to call her position merely her work. Ingeborg also directly stated that she refers to position as work, that "... pastor is just uh, just work. It's a nametag on work." Solveig casually called her position "work" or "a job" throughout the interview but did not state reasons for doing so. Those in the USA casually and consistently called their positions "work" and none of them gave reasons for calling it "work" versus "ministry." They did however, use typical spiritual names for their position like "calling" and

“ministry” but the idea that is was their “work” was clear. This use of terms, although not asked about, gives insight into how the interviewees view their position.

Another topic that was not specifically asked in the interview, but that came up in each interview was whether the position of pastor was a first career option or a career choice made later in life, as well as whether they began seminary with the intention of becoming a priest or not. In general, those in the USA did not begin seminary until later in life, after one or two previous careers and none began seminary with the intention of becoming a pastor; those in Norway generally entered seminary directly after high school and with the intention of becoming a priest. In the USA, Sarah is the only one who entered seminary at a younger age and the only one for whom the position of pastor is her first career; however, she did not begin seminary with the intention of becoming a pastor, rather she entered to work in a parachurch organization. Susan drove past a seminary each day for 10 years and always thought she’d like to enroll, but did not do so until well into her first career. Mary also did not begin seminary until later in life, and although she studied to receive her Master of Divinity degree she did not intend to become a pastor. Karen knew she did not want to become a pastor, even began teaching and in what she calls a “Jonah moment” applied and was accepted with a full ride for a PhD position in teaching. It was only after years of struggle that she decided to pursue the position of pastor and enrolled in seminary. For Debbie the process of joining the pastorship was a long journey, and one she did not even begin until into her second career.

The process of those in Norway is much different, as with the exception of one, they all entered the process of becoming a pastor early in life. Ragnhild and Solveig took a few years between high school and seminary to grapple with their career choice, unsure whether they wanted to pursue the priesthood but both decided to do so and enrolled in classes immediately. Astrid originally enrolled to become a teacher, her “number two” job, but after one year of classes switched to pursuing her “number one” job of being a pastor. Ingeborg is the exception in Norway, as the position of pastor was acquired later in life, after several other careers. Yet even with the exception of Ingeborg a clear division between the interviewees in Norway and the USA is evident as those in the USA did not generally enter seminary until later in life and never with the intention at the onset of becoming a pastor, while those in Norway began seminary earlier in life with the intention of joining the priesthood.

The final of these topics is that of models, or whether the women had other women as pastors to model and normalize their ministry and position. Although none of these women were the first female pastor in their denomination, for the most part they did not know of any female pastors until later in life, and their career choice of pastor was not frequently encouraged by those around them, with the exception of their spouses. In the USA, Mary was raised in a denomination that did not allow female pastors and thus did not know any until later in life, and her career choice is still not valued by many she was raised around. Sarah and Karen did not know any until they were in university, but were both encouraged to pursue pastoral roles while in university. Debbie became a pastor later in life and thus knew a few female pastors who encouraged her to become a pastor, but she only knew of one female pastor in her younger years. This woman was the only female priest in her denomination at the time and eventually left due to the strain; Debbie stated that “I admired her strength, knowledge of the scriptures, and ability to communicate.”

In Norway, the results are similar. Astrid recalled that no one around her encouraged her to become a pastor, “I am from an environment that doesn’t encourage women, nobody outside of me ever said, ‘Don’t you, maybe you want to become a pastor.’” With much study, prayer and counseling she decided to pursue her “number one” job. Solveig’s grandfather was very much against women becoming pastors and although he never told her outright of his displeasure in her career, it was still something she needed to grapple with. She did state however, her gratefulness to the many women who were pastors before her, saying she could not be among their numbers but needed their support. Ragnhild worked as an intern for a year with a male pastor who was very encouraging in her career choice, but did not know many female pastors before that. As Ingeborg began her career of pastor later in life, she knew many other pastors but still has to battle with many people’s displeasure at her position. This lack of knowing other female pastors to model their career choice on and the lack of encouragement from some aspects of society is seen both in Norway and in the USA.

5. b. The Intersection of Children and Work

Children have a profound impact on a worker's ability to balance work and home, as the worker, in this case the female pastor, is always responsible for the well-being of her children whether she is at work or at home. The second segment of analysis revolves around this

relationship of children and work; specifically, how children intersect with their pastoral work and consequently how the women balance and experience being both a mother and a pastor. Within this intersection, three main topics will be discussed: joys and frustrations faced while balancing both, strategies employed to balance the two, and expectations felt by the interviewee or her children.

5. b. i. Joys

The first topic to cover is the joys and frustrations faced by the women in balancing being both a mother and a pastor. When asked to reflect on this topic, the women gave a wide variety of answers, but many of the answers could be divided into several main categories. Within the topic of joy, three main clusters developed: sharing faith, blurring lines of home and church, and relating to other families. Three primary categories of frustrations emerged from the data: children not sharing faith, scheduling conflicts, and inability to be together at church. Each of these categories and sub points will be discussed in full in the following paragraphs.

First the joys of balancing both children and pastoral work will be examined. One of the main joys that many of the women shared is that of being able to share their faith with their children. Within this, the ability to administer the sacraments to their children as both their mother and their pastor was spoken of as “an incredible joy” to several of the women. Sarah related that it was, “a joy to figure out what his baptism day looks like when I'm his mom making promises, but I'm also his pastor declaring promises.” Karen, related that sharing liturgical practices with her young child and having the child understand them is one of her greatest joys of combining both. Several of the women also related that it is a joy for them to have deep, meaningful conversations with their children. Mary surmised that when her children have questions about particular areas of faith she is able to talk to them about it, stating that, “They are getting a much more rounded version of Christianity. ... And it's not just limited to this very narrow bit they are getting in society or their youth groups. So that's been good.” Another pastor, Ingeborg, divulged that having theological talks with her children is one of her favorite aspects of being both a mother and a pastor. She has a weekly dinner with her children and their friends to talk about theology and the ability to keep this weekly dinner time is the only request she gave to her board upon their hiring her, demonstrating its importance to her. The final aspect of sharing faith that the women noted is ability to see their children grow in

their faith. Debbie said this was her favorite aspect of being both a pastor and a mother. In all, most of the women related that sharing their faith with their children, something that is important to their personal and professional life, is one of their greatest joys of being both a mother and a pastor.

Another aspect many of them valued is the ability to “blur the lines” between home and work, or family and church. One of the ways this occurs is simply when the children saw the women working. Nearly all of the women mentioned this as one of their joys, as summed by the words of Mary:

It was really cool that they see me doing my job. It’s not like they don’t see me every day. But they come and they watch me preach and they watch me lead worship. And I think there is a certain... level of respect that they have of me and also an understanding of me that they may not have if I was ... in an office and just came home.

As Mary conveyed, the women took pride and were grateful that their children could see them at work as this allowed them to share an important piece of their life with their children, having their children take pride in the work of their mother and demonstrate the importance of women in the pulpit. Another similar aspect that the women appreciated was simply having their children at work with them. Several of the women noted that, especially when their children were younger, it was a joy just to have them at church, their workplace, with them while they worked. Both Ragnhild and Sarah mentioned that they loved bringing their children, especially in their younger days, to church and letting them play in their office or sanctuary as they worked. Debbie noted that she enjoyed that her children could just come by her office for a chat and occasionally bring friends to meet her. Another joy conveyed is when the congregants cared for their children. To Ragnhild, the church became her family, especially as her actual family was small and lived far away. Mary fondly noted that many people in her congregation cared for her children, “from 90 year olds to 20 year olds”. Another aspect of blurred lines between professional and personal that the women enjoyed is that of being able to introduce their family to interesting and inspiring people from their church and church connections. Ingeborg and Mary both mentioned that these interactions strengthened the faith of their children while letting them see the broader world of the church. A related aspect to this blurring is the fact that bringing children to church demands transparency, as Ingeborg noted, “my family, they see me

in ministry ... and they see me at home. And they would understand at once if was lying. ... So one of my joys of family life and ministry is that it helps me as a pastor to be honest and transparent and not put on a mask or be a different person.” The words of Solveig wonderfully summarized this joy for many of the women: “Just spending time with them at church, it’s a very good thing, so when I’m doing my job and they’re there. It’s almost like double... the meaning in a way.”

The final joy the women shared is that their children allow them to better relate to other children, parents and families. When interacting with children, especially in a pastoral manner, they can use their experiences with their children to better interact with the children in the church. Astrid and Solveig relayed this sentiment, as they said during these interactions they could physically see, if their children were nearby, or imagine the reactions of their own children, and better gauge how well their interactions or children’s sermons were going. This extends to relating with the parents as well as Astrid notes, “being a mother among mothers, every time I speak with the people who have a child they want to baptize, ... I can use my experience as a mother and ... examples from my life.” This thought is shared by several other women as well and extended to being able to use the position of pastor to speak to other parents about parenting as Debbie notes, “I loved being able to encourage younger parents and tell them it keeps getting better, and tell them the adolescent years are even more fun. I loved sharing the wisdom I’ve gained through failures and joys in parenting with those with younger kids. Truly, it was one of my favorite things.” Many of the women found joy in their enhanced ability to relate to other children and parents within their congregation as they themselves had children and a family.

5. b. ii. Frustrations

On the opposite side, the women shared that combining family and ministry involved frustrations as well. While these varied between each woman, several main groupings emerged that many seemed to share: scheduling conflicts, matters of faith and an inability to be together at church. A few of the women conferred that these difficulties are probably shared by other parents, parents who work or parents of faith whose children do not choose their faith, but that the difficulties are heightened by their profession.

The first of these frustrations that will be discussed is scheduling conflicts, or having to choose between work or family. This frustration was mentioned by nearly every interviewee, and manifested in various forms. One of the most significant and frequently mentioned manifestations is the dilemma faced when a crisis happened at work and at home. In that instant, the women said they had to choose what to do and who to be with. These moments of crisis in both areas of responsibilities do not occur frequently, the women stated, but they do happen and then they are tasked with a difficult choice which is one of the most challenging aspects of the job. More frequently, someone may have a crisis at work, but the women still have a responsibility at home that no one else can fill and must choose between them, as Solveig related,

Sometimes when people need you desperately... and it's like I have to go pick up [my child] at daycare and you are here having a crisis. That's not a good thing. I mean, it's happened a couple of times. But sometimes it's really hard. You have to choose.

A few of the others, specifically Ragnhild and Debbie, related that it can be difficult to choose even when there is not a crisis, but simply normal life happening in both areas of life at the same time, and the choice was especially difficult when children asked them to stay, but they were unable to because of meetings or other events. This concept was aptly put by Debbie,

[It] probably would be a weekend, and my kids would have sports or whatever, or we would want to get away for the weekend. And I would just feel that I shouldn't be gone from [church]. And yet, I would feel terrible about either not being available or just even having to ask the question which one of these things am I going to do.

A large part of this frustration is that choosing home or church over the other often has direct consequences for the one not chosen. Mary spoke on this, saying that she has predominantly chosen her family, and because of that she has not been and cannot be as connected with the church family as she would like to. In all of this, choosing between the two spheres, whether in a crisis or under normal conditions, can be quite challenging for the women causing consternation and stress.

Another grouping of frustrations that emerged centered on the faith of the interviewees' children. Faith is very important aspect of their lives and they desire their children to share in it,

but they do not wish to force their faith on their children. This challenge was mentioned by all of the interviewees, but especially pertinent to those with older children, namely Astrid, Ingeborg and Mary. Astrid summarized this desire well saying:

I want them to belong in the church and to believe, but I cannot decide that. And... I think that's a little sad, but that's sad for all Christian parents. ... You cannot decide those things for your children, and it cannot be forced, I really believe it cannot be forced. So we talked about Christianity and belief and God lots at home, and some of them believe and are active and some of them don't.

In the above quote, Astrid mentioned that she doesn't believe this frustration is a challenge because they are pastors but simply because they are Christian parents, an idea relayed by many of the other women. Yet the consistency with which the women spoke about this frustration made it necessary to include. A similar note to this is the desire to simply have their children at church with them, attending services and involved in activities, but the women state that even this cannot be forced, especially when the children are older. Mary linked this challenge with being a pastor as she related that she does not feel that she can talk to her kids about their faith as she does not want them to "feel that they have to believe or think a certain way because of what I do. ... when they want to talk about it I'm really happy, but I leave it up to them."

One final challenge of faith that emerged is how and if parenting styles alter the child's perspective of faith and theology. Solveig talked about this issue, saying her parental discipline style is strict and she concerned with how that will affect her children's faith, especially dealing with the concept of God the Father as a parent. As faith is an important part of the women's life both personally and professionally, many found it challenging and concerning to discern the boundary lines between what they can ask of their children and how their profession will affect their children's faith.

5. b. iii. Strategies

In order to balance both family and work, the women devised and employed a variety of strategies. These strategies varied for each person, and occasionally even contradicted another woman's strategies, but each woman had a lengthy list of strategies they have employed to balance both family and work. These strategies included a plethora of planning devices including careful scheduling, times together and times away from church, utilizing their flexible

schedule, the idea of “good enough,” generating rules for office and homework, prioritizing obligations, and eliciting outside help to care for household and childcare responsibilities. By implementing these strategies, the women were able to maintain some degree of balance between home and work-life.

The first set of strategies revolves around planning, including planning schedules, planning times together as a family and planning times away from church. This planning was almost exclusively done with their spouse so that both of them could have a thorough idea of future events, be it that week or year. Several of the women, including Sarah, Ragnhild and Astrid, described the need to consistently plan the upcoming week with their spouses. Sarah described meeting weekly with her husband for an hour each week to discuss schedules for the upcoming week including delegating shopping, cooking, child pick-ups, budgeting, self-care needs and anything else that needed to be discussed. Another strategy of planning that several of the women found helpful is planning when the family will be together. For Ingeborg, this meant knowing which meals they would share as a family in the upcoming week, planning for at least one parent to be at each dinner, knowing when their next family vacation was, and planning to always have breakfast together. This daily breakfast, she says is key, as they can't always have dinner together because of differing schedules. In order to have consistent family time, Debbie and her family did karate together for over seven years. Sarah, Karen and Astrid also made sure to plan family time together. The final piece that the women planned was time off and away from church. To have a day off, the women had to actually plan it and adhere to their plan. Several of their means of planning this were discussed in the previous section on workplace boundaries, like limiting work phone calls on their day off and striving to have work completed before their day off. Ingeborg planned to have some evenings off to be with her children or friends. All of the women had some sort of plan in place in order to have the days off. Planning therefore, is essential for these women in means of planning schedules, planning time together and planning time away from the church.

The next strategy is that of capitalizing on the flexible nature of the position of pastor. All of the women mentioned the flexible nature of their position one of the greatest assets of the pastorate. For as Mary put it, “I’m really grateful because of my position I have a lot of flexibility, without question or suspicion, to leave at 3:00 to pick up my daughter or to take off a day to be with [my kids]...so there is a lot of trust where I work and a lot of

flexibility.” Similarly to what Mary stated, many of the women said that this flexibility comes without judgement on the part of their employers, as their bosses trust them to get their work done, but without any specific time frame. This flexibility allows the women to balance their work and home life as they can move around their work schedule to accommodate for their children’s needs, whether that be taking them to the doctor or dentist, working at home to tend for a sick child, bringing their child along on work meetings or even watching the child in their office; which were all done by the women. This flexibility extends to their own needs as well, like coming in late to the office, leaving early or taking an entire day off for personal needs or to make up for overtime. Solveig said that this makes life possible and because of it she is not stressed. Sarah encapsulated this idea of utilizing the flexible nature the job in the following statement:

I also try to remember that now I'm the one that has weird evening and weekend hours, and I'm super flexible until the moment I'm not, until the moment someone has a heart attack or dies or needs something. So I have to take advantage of the flexibility. That is one of the gifts or perks of this job. Nobody here is going to whisper and gossip about me if I'm staying home with my kid two days in a row. So I should capitalize on that for the sake of my family, that I don't work in corporate America and I do have that flexibility.

Here Sarah demonstrates that she uses the flexible nature of her position as a strategy for balancing work and life with her spouse, because she can take most of the unscheduled needs of their children until an emergency comes and she cannot. Solveig also referred to a similar strategy with her husband, as she takes all of the unscheduled needs of her children throughout the week, unless she is leading a funeral and then the children are her husband’s responsibility, no matter what he has going on in his work. In this, the flexible nature of being a pastor is one essential strategy of balancing both family-life and work-life as the women can generally move around their schedule to meet the unexpected or even expected needs of their children.

The next strategy that was employed by many of the women is the concept of “good enough,” or not demanding perfection, but something passable. This strategy gives the women permission to stop working once the work is “good enough” even though more time could make it better. When talking about strategies for managing time, Astrid spoke on this topic saying,

You know, if I used three more hours on that [sermon], it probably would be better. But it's good enough. A lot of things have to be good enough. Not the best you can do, because you would be sitting there forever. [You have to say] this is good enough, now I [will] go home.

By stopping when the task was “good enough” Astrid was able to use those extra three hours with her family and thereby better balance the two. Solveig, too, used the same strategy of “good enough” when working, saying she will work hard during work hours and then she is done and her work must be “good enough.” Karen used the phrase, “enough is enough” which gave herself permission to not complete every task at “150 percent” but to stop beforehand when it was “enough”. At the beginning and ending of each day, Sarah audibly tells herself that she does not have to accomplish everything and that what she did accomplish was enough for that day; after that she says she can return home without dwelling over what she could or should have done that day. Mary has learned to release responsibility of tasks that are not hers or do not need to be hers, even if the person who took over the task does not do it as well as she could, which she stated was essential in recovering from the burn-out she experienced early in her career. Although the exact phrase and actions differed between the women, the concept of allowing their work to be “good enough” was shared by several of them, in both countries, as an essential strategy of balancing family life and work-life.

Another strategy used to balance both aspects of life revolved around office and home, or specifically whether the women decided to separate or join the two. For nearly all of the women, this decision was purposefully made and helped them to better balance work and home. Separating home life from work-life appealed to some of the women, as it is one of the ways of not allowing the position of pastor be a 24/7 job. In order to do this, Sarah has a long list of strategies that help her separate the two, including asking her congregant to only call her on her cell if it's an emergency, decompressing on the drive between work and home and in her words,

I purposefully carry a purse that I can't fit all of my church stuff in. It means you can't bring this all home. I use a Dell laptop at work, and I leave it at work, and I use a Mac at home, and I can't do most of the things for work on my Mac at home, on purpose. ... If I bring stuff home, [my husband] will call me out on it, if it's becoming a habit.

For Sarah, dividing the two was not an easy task, hence her long list of strategies designed to help her divide them, but it was an essential part of balancing the various aspects of her life and allowing herself to be more present to her family when she is at home.

On the opposite side, some of the women really appreciated the ability to blend work and home. Ragnhild especially liked the ability to work from home, saying she could not work in the church office but conferred that “the good thing about being a pastor or priest is that there are so many things you can do at home.” She continued, saying the flexibility to work at home makes it “one of the best occupations I could have.” Many of the women, like Astrid, shared that their decision to work from home or only from the office changed as their children aged, stating that when their children were younger, it was a nicety to be able to work from home, around nap schedules and after the children went to sleep, thereby fulfilling both roles as mother and pastor in one place, but that when the children were older they desired to separate the two. As Astrid said, it allowed her “to be free when I was home.” Although the women differed on which approach they held, several of the women had a strategy for whether they worked at home or solely from the office, and this strategy helped them to better balance home and work.

An additional strategy used by a few of the women is that of prioritizing obligations. Astrid reasoned clear guidelines of when to say yes and when to say no to various church events. She stated it is important to say yes to emergency situations at the church regardless of family events as it is crucial to be there for congregants in those situations, but that there are many events that she does not need to attend and thus she said she has to consistently work on saying no, even when her “no” disappoints congregants. Similarly, a key aspect of avoiding burnout that Mary discovered for herself is to say “no” to extra obligations and let others take the responsibility for the task. The ability to say “no” and prioritize obligations helped keep the balance of home and work.

Another strategy commonly used is eliciting outside help to care for the house and family, especially for childcare. Those in Norway have access to affordable daycare and used it often. Both Solveig and Astrid placed their children in state child care facilities at a young age in order to work. Ragnhild did not, but rather took her children to work with her and occasionally had members of the church look after her children while she worked. Sarah and Karen used a mixture of daycare, family members (Sarah only) and private care-givers to care for their children while working. Mary, Debbie and Ingeborg became pastors after their children

were already in school and thus did not need as much outside help. Another form of outside help is that of professional house cleaning services, which allowed the women to spend more time on work or family rather than chores. Debbie, Mary and Ingeborg all employed a cleaner to tidy the house. This outside help is an essential strategy for balancing motherhood and pastoral work.

As demonstrated here, all of the women had several strategies in place to best balance home and work-life. These strategies ranged from planning techniques, to rules for the home and office, to not needing perfection in everything and more. Although not every strategy was used by every woman, all of the women had several strategies they used in order to balance the family and work. There was not a distinguishable difference in strategies between the women in Norway and the women in the USA; rather there was much overlap in the strategies with only personal, not country specific, differences. Yet, there was a difference in childcare options available and utilized by the women. Those in the USA had to draw upon more resources, such as private nannies and family members, to care for their children, while those in Norway could simply use the available state child care system. Overall, however, there was not a significant difference between strategies employed by the women in Norway and the USA.

5. b. iv. Expectations

One final aspect of how children intersect with pastoral work and motherhood of the women is the expectations felt and placed on the children as “pastor’s kids” and how the women and children handle it. Many of the women did agree that there is a tendency for their children and family to “be on display” as the pastor’s family and to therefore act in a certain way, but the women also had strategies in play to lower this pressure. Ragnhild commented that one of the major difficulties of her job was this very thing, that her family “had to be exposed for so many” with high expectations placed on them. Sarah is looking forward to the future when she moves to a new and larger congregation so her children and family will have less pressure placed on them. The women understand the expectations and try to alleviate this pressure for their children because they do not want this pressure for their family. This is summarized by Astrid saying, “You mustn’t think that my family should be very perfect, or an example for everyone, because...that’s a lot of pressure on them, and I don’t want that.”

One key strategy employed by several of the women to lower this pressure is to allow the children to choose to attend services or not. This ranged from letting them choose which service

to attend on Sunday, letting them choose which Sunday in the month they wanted to attend or being okay with them not choosing to attend any service at all, strategies which Mary, Solveig and Ingeborg used respectably. Another key factor in alleviating this pressure is the role of their husbands. Debbie related that her husband, “heeded none of the pressure and lived how he wanted to live. That more than anything freed [her children] from living with big expectations.” Although all of the women acknowledged it exists, several stated that the expectations were not as large as they could be, as expressed by the words of Mary,

[My children] both make noises occasionally... about how people at church will treat them, or what they perceive of them as expectations of people of the church. But this church doesn't have, at least in my mind doesn't have, a lot of expectation of them.

In this intersection of family and church, many pastors' families and pastors' children feel a large expectation to act as “the pastor's family/child” but, in general, the women felt their children did not have as high of expectations as might be expected. This shows a bit more of a balance between work and family life as the children and family of these women do not feel all of the expectations that can accompany the position of pastor.

Children affect the work-life balance of pastors as they never cease to also be parents, and are always responsible for their children, even while working. Moreover, as pastoral work affects home life, in practical and spiritual matters, the relationship of children and work is important to understand. Indeed, the women expressed many joys of balancing both, primarily being able to bring their children into their work-life in spiritual and physical ways, alongside a few frustrations of balancing the two, especially when the children did not adhere to their faith. Each of the women had a lengthy list of strategies at their disposal to best balance work and home. The most used strategy was planning, which enabled the women to better schedule and arrange their work and home life. Finally, the women had to deal with high expectations of their family to perform in a certain way and often had strategies in place to lower or reflect these expectations. In sum, children do indeed affect the work of a pastor and demand alterations to the woman's work-life in order to accommodate them, but the women did not generally consider these accommodations to be overly burdensome.

5. c. Support Systems

The final section of data analysis revolves around how the interviewees are supported in their profession, especially by their spouses and churches. Support or the lack of it can alter the perception of the profession which makes it important to examine. The section on church support will be broken into three sections: congregation, church leadership and denomination. Within each of these three categories two aspects of support will be discussed, that of how the women felt supported as well as how they did not feel supported. This support or lack of support will be discussed in light of how the women were able to balance work and home.

5. c. i. Spousal Support

To understand whether and how the women felt supported or unsupported in their careers, the primary starting point is with their spouses. Many of the women had much to say about whether or not they felt supported by their husbands and how that played out in their home and work-lives. None of the spouses filled the traditional “pastor’s wife” role of volunteering large amounts of time at the church and staying at home to care for kids and house, but in general, the women still felt very supported in their profession by their spouses.

One factor that plays an important role in this area is the career of the spouse. See chart for details.

Name	Spouse’s Occupation	Time Commitment
Ragnhild	Pastor	Full-time. Often away.
Solveig	Computer Scientist	Full-time.
Ingeborg	Regional Director of organization	Full-time.
Astrid	Teacher. Was stay-at-home dad for a few years.	Full-time.

Debbie	Office job	Full-time. Worked from home for three years.
Mary	Consultant	Full-time. Travels extensively.
Karen	Pastor	Full-time. Often away.
Sarah	Physical Trainer Changed to administrative job recently.	Full-time. Used to travel extensively.

Figure 5: Spouse Occupations and Time Commitments

All of the spouses have full-time positions and have varying amounts that they travel and stay at home. The only exception to this is that Astrid's husband, who was a stay-at-home father for their first few years of their children's lives, but has since returned to the work-force in a full-time position. Debbie's spouse was able to work from home for several years as well. Two of the spouses have jobs that take them away from their home for weeks at a time and two of the spouses are pastors, which means many evenings with just one parent at home. A few of the spouses, including those of Mary and Astrid, changed their jobs or chose jobs that would better support the pastoral position of their wife. Ragnhild, whose spouse is also a pastor, is the only one who relayed that her husband felt his job was more important than hers. Besides Ragnhild, all of the women feel supported by their spouses, stating both have equal respect for the other's job. Sarah spoke of this in the following statement:

I think sometimes he wishes I was doing something 8-5 for the sake of convenience and rhythm and routine, but he has regularly said, and we said this when we both had really weird schedules: we would never ask the other one to stop doing what they're doing because of their schedule, because we'd rather be with a hairy, schedule funky person than somebody who is just going through the motions and not on fire for what they're doing during the day.

In this, she conveys that it would be simpler for her family, if she had a "normal" schedule, but that she and her husband prefer the irregular schedule that comes with a more meaningful career than a regular schedule with an unfulfilling job.

Beyond job choice, the women generally felt supported by their spouses in several other ways. Almost unanimously, the women stated their spouses were proud of their occupation and glad the women were in an occupation that used their gifts, which was noted especially by Sarah Ingeborg. For those with clergy as spouses, they stated feeling supported by their spouse when talking over the theology in their sermons. The women also felt supported simply when their spouse came to church, especially for those who serve in different locations than their family worships, which was true for Solveig, Astrid and Sarah. Another means of support was by their spouse volunteering or joining various ministries in their church. With very few exceptions, the women interviewed were very positive about the support they have received from their spouses.

5. c. ii. Support by the Church

The largest section to analyze regarding support is that of how various groups within the church supported or did not support the women in balancing their roles as pastors and as parents. Three distinct groups within the church structure are relevant for discussion here: the congregants (the members who attend the church services), the leadership (board, elders, colleagues, etc.), and the denomination (the overarching structure). Each of these groups plays a different role in the support of the pastors.

5. c. ii. 1. Congregation

The congregation often plays a crucial role in how supported the pastors feel. The women felt supported by their congregation primarily when they understood the women were not just pastors, but mothers and people as well, when the congregants cared for their children and through a few other signs of support as well. The women did not feel supported by their congregation when the care given to their children was not good or when the parishioners acted with apathy or ill will towards them. Most of the pastors also noted needing to teach their congregants how to act towards them in their position as pastors, and to some degree as mothers and women. How the congregation responds to this instruction is an important part of whether they are considered supportive.

One of the key ways the women felt supported by their congregation is when the members recognized their holistic personhood, acknowledging that they had a full life outside of

their position as their pastor. Sarah, Solveig, Ingeborg and Astrid specifically mentioned this as one of the primary ways they felt supported. Solveig and Astrid spoke of this in terms of their congregations understanding when they had to leave various church functions to care for their family, that their “first call” was as a mother. Sarah widened this saying,

I just cannot imagine a congregation that will be better at noticing that I'm a whole person, that I'm not just their pastor, that I'm not just their staff person, that I've got other stuff going on, that I kind of have to stick to some hours.

She later called her relationship with her congregation as a “happy marriage.” One of the main personifications of this support is the congregation being understanding when the pastor had to say “no” to the congregation, perhaps disappointing the congregation, or as Astrid recalled, even disappointing herself as well. Ingeborg found her congregation very understanding of this during her first years as a pastor as she said,

[The congregation supports me] when they see that I am tired. And of course they have seen that sometimes, especially during the first year when it was a crazy amount of expectations for a pastor, and that I just had to limit them down. Then I had so much support from the church members. [People] said, ‘Now at last we understand how much pressure we have put on our pastors and it's not good. And we are so glad that you are putting the foot down.’

The simple acknowledgement and subsequent actions by the congregation of recognition that the women have a family and life outside of the church and must tend to them is one of the biggest means of support the women felt by their congregation.

There are several other means by which the women felt supported by their congregation, including when members of the congregation cared for their children, gave good gifts, and were understanding. Karen noted that congregants caring for her child was sometimes a “sheer blessing,” Mary enjoyed that her church members “really care about my kids, from 90 year old’s to 20 year old’s,” while Ragnhild mentioned many of her congregants became “like family” and often cared for her children in and outside of the church. This help was often very welcome by the women. The women also felt supported when they received good gifts from their congregations. A constant flow of food was delivered to Mary’s doorstep when she took over the lead pastor’s position while he was sick. Sarah has received a wide variety of good gifts from her congregation, including a large stack of diapers that was supposed to just last during her

maternity leave of three months, but was actually enough for eighteen months. Debbie did not mention any specific acts, but stated that she felt supported overall by the congregation and that they appreciated her contribution to the church. Ragnhild, while enduring difficult times, stated that her congregation was very supportive of her and she never felt anything ill from them.

Yet, despite this support there are still ways that the women did not feel supported by their congregations. The ones which several of the women mentioned are high expectations and matters to do with their children. But the women also mentioned apathy and outright unkindness by the congregants that made them feel unsupported.

The most common difficulty spoken about is that of high expectations placed on the women by the congregants. Many of the women stated their congregation genuinely wants them to take care of themselves while still being on call, in the office every day and available for nightly meetings. Karen called this a “both\and” dynamic with her parishioners saying “go home, take care of yourself” while also expecting her to lock and unlock the doors of the church every day. This caused quite a bit of stress for her. Ingeborg and Astrid also mentioned these expectations. Astrid spoke about these expectations, saying they were natural but burdensome, and she had to learn to disappoint people by saying no and the congregants had to “cope with the fact that maybe [what they ask for] won't be fulfilled.”

While members of the church caring for children can be positive support, it also has the potential to have a negative impact. Karen mentioned that some of the care given to her child was given along with a debt she needed to repay and that occasionally the congregants would discipline her child in a way that was not acceptable, and both actions added stress and were not supportive of her situation. Sarah mentioned this difficulty as she elaborated:

So how do I make sure that I am listening to my mother instinct about these kids, but also a pastor who treats all of my people with dignity and respect and equity? ... How do I say to people who just have been so excited to meet these kids, and feel like they have a stake on them, to back off, or no thank you, or wash your hands, or she's obviously crying and not into that. Can I have her back now?

In this, the interaction of children and parishioners can be an area of life that adds stress to the pastors and makes them feel unsupported in their balance of motherhood and the priesthood by their parishioners.

The final areas that the women mentioned feeling unsupported by their parishioners are those of apathy and unkindness. Mary receives much less pay, by half, than her co-pastor who claims they are “equal in everything.” This is an issue that is causing her much consternation and stress. She has brought the matter to those in her denomination and staff and they are empathetic, but do nothing. The matters of salary are voted on by the congregation, and although they admit there is a large pay discrepancy, they have not done much to change it. Another woman, who will not be mentioned even by pseudonym to preserve her anonymity, has dealt with a lot of difficult situations within her church as several of the members do not feel that she, as a woman, should be a pastor. Several members changed churches when she was hired, a few others do not attend the service when she is preaching, and they often meet with the elders to discuss their dislike of her as a pastor. The constancy of their dislike and the unkind way they speak about it are the two biggest qualms she has against them. Although many of those in the congregation support her, this has proven to be a very difficult situation that keeps her up a night, causes many days to be filled with tears and takes her strength away. Both of these issues show a great lack of support by the congregants for the pastors and have hurt the pastors deeply.

Several of the women found that they needed to teach their congregation how to interact with them and what to expect from them. Often the congregants had high, outdated or sexist expectations of the pastors that nearly all of the women mentioned they needed to point out and teach the congregants another approach. One of the main changes that the women found they needed to explain to their congregants is that they, as the pastor, will not always be available. This was discussed in the section regarding boundaries, but is relevant here as well. Ingeborg said the previous pastor in her position had a policy “that *anyone* [could] call him at *any time* about *anything*,” and she’s had to gently let her congregants know that they cannot expect that of her (emphasis hers). In dealing with people calling and texting in the night, Sarah has had to teach her congregation that she is not the pastor her congregants grew up with, she has a family and children who need her and can’t answer texts and calls in the evening. Karen, too, had to gently reposition the expectations of her congregants away from demanding that she was always available to realizing that she needed time off and away. Sarah summarized this idea well stating, she and other clergy have discussed that they “don’t want to spend [their] ministry trying to meet expired expectations of the glory days.” Because of this, it is essential to teach the

congregants new ways. But the women have stated that their congregations have taken well to this change, acknowledging the high expectations and honoring the new boundaries the women set up. Because of this, the women have felt supported in their need to change and teach the congregation.

Despite the difficulties experienced by the last two women, the data has shown that the congregation is not the biggest aspect of how the women feel supported or not supported in their roles. Yes, it does contribute to how supported they feel, but only the last two women felt that it greatly changed their stress levels. The other six women had something to say about how their congregation supported or did not support them, but the matters they brought up did not alter their life in large degrees. There was also no noticeable difference in the answers given by those in Norway or in the USA as the support and lack thereof was much more individual than societal. The congregants attitude towards the women teaching them new expectations was taken well by the congregants, showing support.

5. c. ii. 2. Church Leadership

The leadership of the church, including the elders, board, or other bosses, profoundly impacts the capacity of the women to balance being both a mother and a pastor. Their requirements, support and assistance can bring hardship or blessing, and sometimes both, on the ministry of the women. The women feel supported by their leadership in a variety of ways: when the board is on the women's side, understands the demands of children, gives space to deal with various issues, cares about their spiritual health, and allows flexibility. The issues brought on by the church leaders that cause the most challenges are high expectations from colleagues, salary discrepancy and a wide host of other demands. It is the church leadership that had the highest capacity to affect whether women felt supported in their ministry or not.

One of the main means by which the leadership help the women in their various roles is simply being supportive of them, in actions, needs and the issues brought forth by them. Sarah, Ragnhild, Ingeborg and Astrid all had high praise of their board and spoke about the major impact the board has had on their ability to tackle the demands of being a pastor while having a family. Astrid and Sarah said the members of their boards work with them to determine what is and what is not their responsibility, consequently how they should be spending their time and then, importantly, the board members advocate to the congregation about these decisions. Sarah

noted that her board often does not notice what should be altered in her schedule or lessened in her demands, but that when she brings up these issues they are very quick to support her in them and described her interaction with them by saying,

They're good champions and ambassadors for how I'm spending my time. They're great leaders.... Even though there's a lot of turnover on that committee year to year they're tried and true leaders who understand what the purpose of that committee is and how to best support me.

She has found that although she needs to initiate dialogue, her board is quick to assist her. Ingeborg stated that she and her board also have a great working relationship, that when difficulties within the dynamics of the church arise they discuss the matters with her and are supportive of her actions. Ragnhild, too, mentioned the great relationship and support she has with her board, as although she frequently believes she is not doing enough, they are quick to assuage her concerns and confirm that she is doing wonderfully. This interaction has greatly impacted the overall well-being and stress levels of these women within their churches.

Another area in which the women feel supported by their board is simply understanding their needs regarding motherhood, including maternity leave, time with children, and caring for children. Within Norway, the women have the same rights as women in other professions for maternity leave and are very much supported in this leave by the church leadership. All of the women took this leave, which varied from six months to two years away from their congregations depending on their life situations. This is a very normal part of society, thus the congregation and church leadership were both in favor of their leave. When asked if the women felt guilty about taking a long leave and being gone from their congregation the answer was “no” for nearly all cases. Astrid remembered feeling a slight amount of guilt for this as she took two separate year-long leaves not long after being hired in a small congregation; but overall she felt very fine about the leave, as did the leaders at her church. Thus, overall the Norwegian women were supported in their maternity leave both by the society and their church. Several of the American women also felt support from their church leadership as they took maternity leave while being a pastor. Both Karen and Sarah had maternity leave while being a pastor and worked with their church leadership to receive a fair amount of leave to care for their young children and they each received more than the national average of days off, with 90 days of paid leave. Sarah had children while a pastor at two different congregations, neither of which had

ever had a woman take maternity leave before, and so she worked with both churches to determine a fair solution. Although they granted her requests, Sarah commented they didn't "give" her this leave, rather she "took" it, but the leadership was still amenable to her in both conditions. She also mentioned feeling very supported by the other staff as they provided for many of her needs, chatted about her children, and understood her need to care for them while working. Karen too, felt supported by her leadership in her absence, calling her leave "generous."

The other two American pastors, while they did not give birth while being a pastor, still felt supported by the church staff in their various roles. Once Mary was responsible for leading an all-day church meeting in a city several hours away which meant she could not attend a 30 minute school function for her child and her co-pastor took over the church function so that she could attend the school function, making Mary feel very supported in her role as a mother. Debbie's church added a Saturday night service, and the leadership respected her desire and understood her need to not work on Saturdays, so that she could be with her children. Ingeborg and Solveig also mentioned times of the church leadership being genuinely in support of their dual roles. Solveig said that whenever she needs to tend for sick children, her lead pastor thinks only of her children's health and not her absence from work, communicating to Solveig that he believes her children are more important than her work. Astrid said that she sometimes feels nearly overly supported in her motherhood as she believes the leadership does not want to offend her or break societal rules by demanding her to work; even so, she is grateful for the support. The church leadership, by their support of the women in their role as a mother as well as a pastor, enabled the women to better balance being both a pastor a mother.

The final aspect in which the women feel supported by the church leadership is when the leadership understands and enables them to be a holistic person and cares for many aspects of their life. This includes showing understanding during difficult situations in their personal lives, allowing for flexibility to carry out the various aspects of their lives and providing tools to care for their spiritual lives. Mary and Ragnhild mentioned the importance of their church leadership understanding and giving space and time to deal with difficult personal matters. In both instances, the women were given time and distance to cope with their challenges while still being supported and understood as valuable parts of their church. Another area of support shown by leadership is simply the trust and flexibility allowed in their positions, which enables the women

to both get their work done and care for their family. Although all of the women mentioned enjoying the flexibility of their job, Mary, Sarah, Solveig and Ingeborg mentioned it with direct ties to their church leadership and ability to balance both roles. This flexibility allows the women to care for many aspects of their lives and as Mary stated, the trust given to do what she needs to do at any time is wonderful. One final aspect of the church leadership supporting the wellbeing of women is caring about spiritual health. Debbie stated that her church leadership met frequently to pray, read scripture and often did a discipleship program together. This emphasis on spiritual care by the church leadership greatly enhanced her life as she knew the staff cared about both her personal and professional life. Understanding, giving space and equipment for the women to live and grow as holistic beings is a key way in which the women feel supported in their professions.

On the other hand, the women found several things that the church leadership did which were distinctly unsupportive of them in their various roles. High expectations from fellow colleagues and salary disputes were the only categories in which several women agreed on the difficulties, but several other issues arose that were not shared by others. Astrid and Sarah were the only two who did not mention some area in which they did not feel supported by the leaders, and all of the other women had much to say. Although there is a not a lot of overlap or agreement on the various actions or reasons committed by the church leadership that was unsupportive, this lack of support had a profound impact on the overall wellness of the women.

The main hardship is that of high expectations from colleagues. Several of the women commented that it was not the expectations of the congregations, but the fellow staff, that created difficulties. Karen said that when she first began her new post she was expected to fulfill the roles of the previous pastor regarding time at church, as she said:

some of the unspoken expectations are put out from past history whether the most recent or even the previous community leader ... who just set the pattern that they will be here Sunday until 4 o'clock in the afternoon and then it's just assumed that I would be too. ... They are the ones that open the building and turn off the lights and check the mail and do whatever else. My first year as an associate there that was very hard because it was just assumed I would come to the office Saturdays 9-12 even if I had

nothing to do, I lived that for a year and then finally said to my colleague, this is ridiculous!

Karen was able to negotiate the Saturday commitment, but it took a while to implement. Ingeborg, too, said the expectations set by the previous pastor in her position were incredibly high and she had to work diligently to remove this expectation from the church leadership as well as from the congregation. In a different strain of high expectations, Debbie noted that although she and her colleagues were given praise for their work, there was also a huge expectation to always do well that crept into every aspect of the work, as she said,

I think [the pastor] did a decent job of trying to get staff to do self-care and not overwork, and at the same time, I know for myself I never felt like what I was doing was enough. And I know I am not the only one. It's just a hard, *hard* thing to balance. (Her own emphasis.)

Solveig noted one other area of high expectations enforced by church leadership, in that one of her previous bosses told them that that they, like their congregation, should donate 10% of their time to the church. This caused Solveig to be overwhelmed and stressed to be asked to work for free at her place of employment. All of these examples show times in which the church leadership put high expectations on the pastors that caused stress and difficulties in their positions.

The question of salary is another area that caused several of the women to not feel supported in their positions. Karen related that her church is undergoing financial difficulty and is therefore cutting her pay. She approached them to find another solution of compensating for this loss, for example more vacation time, but they scoffed at her idea, saying she already had enough time off. This cut of pay without due compensation shows a great lack of support for her position. In the last few years, Mary discovered that her head pastor, who states that they are "equal in everything" actually makes double her pay, an issue has been mentioned previously but is particularly important here. She had to bring up the issue before anyone thought about remedying the situation and they are only marginally fixing it. This has caused her to pull away from church leadership responsibilities and give her leadership skills elsewhere where they value her input. Debbie noted that benefits were automatically given to her male colleagues but were not given to her unless she asked about them, and even then some were never given to

her. These areas of salary and benefit discrepancies demonstrate a lack of support by the staff, whether that is what they meant to portray or not, and cause the women stress.

The other areas in which the women felt a lack of support by the staff did not coincide with experiences from the other women interviewed, but are still valuable nonetheless. Mary stated one difficulty she has is that her pastor is not a good leader and has not given her input on how to lead, as she said:

I have no idea what I'm doing... so that's just been hard with the lead pastor and we're good friends and we get along well. But he's not a good leader and not a good pastor. I've had to figure a lot of things out for myself. He doesn't acknowledge what I'm doing, I haven't had a job review in 5 years.... That's been really hard.

Mary feels alone in her position and without resources to better herself. Another similar difficulty that Mary noted is that when she was suffering from burnout, no one on staff asked what she needed. They gave her space and time to recuperate, but no one asked what they could do to help. Debbie mentioned that the lack of older feminine wisdom within the church leadership put a great strain on herself and the team. This is not necessarily something that the church leadership did, but a gap that they did not seek to remedy. Solveig commented that she had several non-negotiable weekend trips away each year imposed by the leadership and they added strain. Although these areas of stress were not shared by other interviewees, the information still demonstrates areas in which the women did not feel supported by the church leadership.

In sum, this was the area that the women had the most to say regarding support or the lack thereof. It also seemed to impact their capacity to balance their roles as pastors and mothers more than the other two areas of support. By way of contrast between the two countries, only a few issues surfaced which contrast the church leadership support demonstrated for the Norwegian pastors and the American pastors. One of these differences is that of salary, as only American pastors spoke of salary issues, and not receiving adequate pay for their work but no Norwegian pastor mentioned this issue. Another difference is that of maternity leave. This was not an issue for those in Norway as the churches simply followed the societal rules, but those in the USA had to strongly communicate and demand their rights in order to receive adequate time off. Beyond those two issues, there was not a discernable difference between the two countries.

5. c. ii. 3. Denominational Support

The final group within the church to be discussed is that of the denominational structure and leadership. In this section, the same pattern will be followed where the areas in which the women were supported by the denomination will be elaborated upon as well as the areas in which the women did not feel support. The main areas in which the women felt supported by their denominations were support groups, feeling valued by their denomination, understanding the needs of family, ensured benefits, and spiritual support. The women did not feel supported when necessary groups, such as a female clergy group, were not available to them, when they did not feel valued as a pastor and when their spiritual needs were neglected. While the denomination did impact their ability to balance their dual roles, the denominational support or lack thereof seemed more of a nicety or an annoyance to their life rather than a crucial crux to their work-life balance.

The primary way in which many of the women mentioned feeling supported is through support groups. Both Ingeborg and Solveig commented that their denominations have created groups in which clergy members from many churches can gather to discuss the difficulties of the profession, talk through solutions and obtain counseling. In Solveig's words:

We are in a group with other pastors, we are counseled and we can bring things there. Which I think is a good thing ... because then you don't have to be taking everything home. If I experience something that I think is hard ... or I can't figure out, I can put it in a box, in a way and take it to counseling and open it there and make other people look at it and discuss it. I think it makes me a better mother, in a way, because I don't have to take everything with me.

Ingeborg agreed with this sentiment, saying that similar groups she was a part of provided a great outlet to talk about the challenges posed to her and in that way, these difficulties need not affect her family. Debbie mentioned a similar group in her denomination that is specifically for pastors experiencing burnout or other difficulties. It is an anonymous group where the denomination does not need to know who accesses it or what is discussed, but is a place for clergy to be available for other clergy. Karen stated that she is a member of a female clergy group in her denomination that has provided great support for her and the other members of the group. All of

these women were very grateful for the groups, stating they were helpful for their pastoral position.

Simply being valued for their addition they bring to the denomination has made a few of the women feel supported by their denomination. Although Debbie is no longer an active priest within her denomination, she was asked to be on the clergy support board which was mentioned in the previous paragraph proving to her that she is valued. Mary was asked to lead a denomination-wide group, which she found very encouraging as she stated:

I have actually found my greatest welcome and opportunity [in the denomination]. I mean they were the ones that asked me to be moderator last year. Just having my leadership recognized and affirmed and having places to exercise that was an incredible gift. I was not an institutional person when I started but I'm really grateful for the institution.

Both Mary and Debbie felt much more supported by their denominational leadership than from their local church leadership. On a similar note, Ragnhild was asked to preach in a denomination event when she was in the middle of a personal trial and did not feel worthy of that request. But the request, and what came from it, gave her hope and reassurance that she was doing what she ought to do. This placement of value made these three women feel supported by their denomination in their ministry.

Practically, several of the women feel supported by their denomination when they receive benefits from them. Solveig noted that during the summer her boss has worked within the denomination and other churches to ensure that all of the pastors in the region can take their summer vacation and not feel stressed about caring for their congregation as another pastor within the denomination will do so. Simply having the same benefits enjoyed by the society, like vacation time, which are in some degree, enforced by the denomination, makes Astrid feel supported by the denomination. Ragnhild receives a long study leave from her denomination every few years, from which she feels supported in her ministry. An secondary benefit that Mary mentioned is the fact that her denomination is “on her side.” This was particularly true when she talked with her denomination about the discrepancy in her salary and was supported with strategies and advocacy.

A few of the women also mentioned that their denomination understands the needs of families and children. Ingeborg said her denomination has had a focus on parenthood and

priesthood and many of the conferences she has attended have stressed this matter. Sarah was supported by her denomination in her quest to find a fair maternity leave and to find pastors to preach in her absence. They gave her resources and recommendations to fulfill both.

One final way that the women felt supported is through spiritual support. Debbie said that the bishop of her denomination will periodically check in with the pastors within his care, gather them for yearly retreats and has an overall focus on spiritual health. Ingeborg also mentioned the importance of retreats set up by her denomination as a key way of feeling supported in her ministry. Supporting the spiritual lives of the women with retreats and periodic meetings greatly encouraged the women.

However, several of the actions or omissions have presented challenges. While having good support groups is one of the primary means the women felt supported, not having these groups, or a support structure, is one of the main ways the women do not feel supported by their denominations. The other challenges found by some of the women were that the denominational and church structure was set up for men, and more like a business than a spiritual entity.

The first, and most widely pronounced problem is the lack of resources for support. The primary illustration of this is that of not having denominational support groups, in the form of parental or female support groups. Mary recalled that no other female pastors reached out to her when she was beginning as a pastor, although there were several others in the region. She continued this thought saying, "There is a desire for community, but no one really taking the lead to make that happen. And it would have meant so much if someone had called me or taken some time to spend with me." Sarah, too, mentioned a lack of groups for pastors who are parents. She did not refer to this void as something very negative, but something that would be nice to have the denomination do, to give the

Opportunity for pastor parents to get together and talk about what's hard and what's good and what resources and support we need and how being a pastor and a parent dramatically changed in the last generation, and how is it continuing to change, and what do our congregations need to know about that. Because we've figured that out on our own.

Both Mary and Sarah desire to have these groups to keep from feeling alone in their role of being a female pastor and a parent. Karen stated that although there is a clergy group within her denomination, the female clergy have not been invited into the conversation and often their

voices are silenced or belittled, making her feel less valued. Another area in which these women do not experience support is in the lack of support groups or means of seeking help for church leadership who have experienced abuse by members of the congregants. One of the interviewees revealed that there are many ways for congregants who have been abused by church leadership to seek help, but none the other way around. In fact, if that happens it is often assumed to be the fault of the pastor, the leader who is supposed to be in charge, and grounds for terminating the pastor from the position. This represents a serious lack of support by denominations that has already caused major problems for clergy.

The women also mentioned feeling unsupported by their denominations when various aspects of the denomination do not include or value female clergy. Karen noted that although her denomination has accepted and hired female clergy, they have not taken measures to include them. She gave the example of a denomination-wide clergy group that does not respect the input of women:

There's such a big clergy group... [that] many of us women have stepped away from because it is such a ... time of bashing and shame and it's all clergy.... They'll poo poo your experience or ideas and... so many of us, and I did it about a year and a half ago, stepped away from that [group] and now kind of find our energy and our collective wisdom and spaces [in places] that are focused or designated to women. And a lot of the men, they've been complaining about that, saying, 'You aren't part of the whole group of clergy.'

This lack of respect for the women comes from within her denomination, and shows clear lack of support for the women. Mary too felt that her presence was not always as welcome as the men's, and although she was the leader of a denominational group, she had to forcefully exert herself in order for the men in the group to respect her opinions and look to her as the leader. This deficit of respect and inclusion for female clergy shows a pronounced lack of support for the women and their ministries.

The final area in which women can feel a lack of support from their denomination is in regard to spiritual matters. Ragnhild states that her denomination seems to be much more consumed with business matters - numbers, power and success - rather than spiritual matters of nurturing the congregants. Although this was only mentioned by one interviewee, it directly

correlates with the positive areas of support shown by the denomination in the previous section and thus has consequential importance.

Overall, most of the women felt that the actions of their denomination were beneficial or mildly harmful but not consequential to their ministry. A few of the women, Karen and Mary, had a fair amount to say regarding the help or harm their denomination imposed on them, but overall the responses seemed to indicate that the denomination did not have much of an impact on their ministry. In fact, five of the women found nothing negative to report about their denominations. And in this, a divide emerged between the American and Norwegian pastors in this area, as Ragnhild is the only Norwegian who talked about ways in which her denomination was not supportive of her and the other Norwegian women could think of nothing while most of the American pastors had several complaints against their denominations. The main way the women found that the denominations could affect their ministries and ability to balance both motherhood and pastoral work is having or lacking various types of support structures. The women felt supported when they were in place and caring for their needs and they felt unsupported when they did not exist or were not beneficial or inclusive for them.

6. Discussion

Now that the data gathered from the women interviewed has been categorized and analyzed, it is time to compare it to the theories on Worker Typologies and Pastoral Challenges put forward earlier. In this way, the theories and the experience of the women interviewed will interact to produce a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the theories, as well as a more refined and supported understanding of the experiences.

6. a. Female Pastors within Worker Typologies

The first theory section explored four different worker typologies: the ideal worker, the good mother, the supermom and the good working mother. To better understand these definitions, they were plotted on a graph with approximate numbers for how many hours each type generally works per week at work and at home. See figure 1. Each type will now be compared to the data gathered on the pastors in this thesis and presented in the Analysis. For the most part, the women did not align with the first three typologies, but they did align with that of the good working mother as they placed nearly equal emphasis on work and home life. Previous research found that in order for women to call themselves good working mothers, they had to fulfill a few key conditions: providing quality childcare, allocating tasks to partners, taking pleasure in both home life and work and integrating work and home (Buzzanell, et al, 2005) (Turner & Norwood, 2013). Each of these characteristics will be set against the experiences of the women interviewed for this thesis resulting in a definition for the good pastoring mother.

6. a. i. The Ideal Worker

The first worker type to be examined is the ideal worker; recall the ideal worker is someone dedicated solely to work. Typically, this person is a man, or unattached woman without feminine qualities, who is willing to work long hours at any time and cares solely to their profession (Williams, 2000). Work always trumps family and very little time, if any, is spent on chores or family. On the graph, the ideal worker is found on the top left, high in work hours and very low in hours spent at home. Generally, the ideal worker is male, but can be a woman if they leave their motherhood at the office door and function at work as if they do not have a family (Davie, 2000). Out of all the women interviewed, none of them fit into this definition because they are women who have children and care a great deal for their family, often rearranging work

to interact with or care for their children. Furthermore, all of the women stated that they prioritize children over work or at least attempted to. For these reasons, none of the women can be classified as ideal workers. Karen was perhaps the closest to this category as she often worked nearly 60 hours per-week at work and occasionally clocked in 70 hours, she portrayed masculine qualities at work and was available to her congregants most of the time. Yet, she still noted her child took priority over work and thus she cannot be an ideal worker. Several of the women pointed out that some pastors, like their colleagues or predecessors, do fit into this ideal worker type. These other pastors were available to their congregants at all times and placed work ahead of their family. The women noted needing to teach their congregants and co-workers that they would not fill this role and although they cared very much for their work, they would not forgo family time for work obligations.

6. a. ii. The Good Mother

The next type, the good mother, was also not descriptive of the women in this thesis. The good mother is dedicated entirely to her children and her identity comes from them. Typically, this person does not work, but if she does, it is simply to offset her husband's income. This is portrayed on the opposite side of the graph of the ideal worker as she works many hours at home and very little, if any, at a workplace (Buzanell, et al. 2005) (Williams, 2000) (Arendall, 1999). The women in this thesis cared deeply for their job, many stating that it is a calling and not just a job; therefore, although their children are important to them and they spent many hours at home caring for their household, they did not fit this type. Indeed, it was probably furthest from the lives of the women.

6. a. iii. The Supermom

The third type, supermom was a bit closer to reality for the women. The supermom places her children first, but also has a career. The supermom works full-time at a job and full-time at home; she must behave, as Arendall pointed out, as if she is a full-time stay-at-home mother while working (1999, p.6). Visually, the supermom is found high and to the right on the graph as she works many hours at home and at work. In this worker type, children and family-life outweigh work and although the woman must perform well at work, no real importance is placed on her career. Again, the women in this thesis viewed their profession as a calling and

not simply a job and therefore they do not fit readily into this category. Ragnhild is closest to this type, because although she has a full-time position, she also acts as a full-time stay-at-home mom and for part of her life, she worked part-time and was able to spend more time at home caring for her family. She even offered to give up her profession to better care for her children, showing that her children matter more than her profession. Yet, due to the prompting of her children and her love of her work, she continued to work as a pastor. She also emphatically noted that being a pastor for her is not simply a job but a calling, and it is for this reason that she does not fit into the supermom category, although she skirts its edges. A few of the other women, like Solveig had some traits of a supermom, but like Ragnhild ultimately did not fit into this category because work was a meaningful part of their life rather than an optional addition.

6. a. iv. The Good Working Mother

The final category is that of good working mother. The good working mother enjoys and finds fulfillment from being a worker *and* a mother; moreover, her career and children are equally important. Recall this typology was not one defined by society, but rather one created by individual women as they fashioned a list of traits that they must do to call themselves a good working mother (Buzzanell, et al., 2005). On the graph, the good working mother lies in the middle as it is nearly equal parts work and mothering, but with a few more hours at work than at home. Most of the women interviewed fell into this category as they desired to place equal emphasis on work and home life. As this is the category that the women aligned within, or desired to do so, it will be examined in more detail.

Buzzanell and her team found that the women they interviewed had three qualifications they must fulfill in order to call themselves a good working mother. These were creating good child care, delegating tasks to one's spouse and enjoying being both a mother and a worker (Buzzanell, et al., 2005). Turner and Norwood added one more, that of breast feeding in the office, which for this thesis will be considered as integrating work and children, as none of the women currently have infants (Turner & Norwood, 2013). The following section will examine each of the traits mentioned above and compare them with the interviews to see how they align.

The first qualification is providing quality child care. All of the women interviewed, generally without prompting, discussed the child care provided for their children. In Norway, this was nearly a non-issue as the state-wide, low-cost daycare was available to the women. This

allowed them to place their children in all-day daycare from the age of one, allowing both the women and their husbands to work. This option is used nation-wide and is often regarded as good for the children, rather than simply “babysitting” them. Ragnhild decided against this and watched her children at home, calling the ability to do so a “joy” and a “privilege” and Astrid’s children did not use this service, as her husband acted as a stay-at-home dad for the first few years of their children’s lives. In the USA, both Debbie and Mary did not start their careers until after their children were in pre-school, precisely so they could care for their children themselves. Sarah and Karen both have younger children and use a variety of means to care for the children including nannies, grandparents and daycares. Karen stated she “grieves” the fact that her child must spend so much time in daycare, but is comforted by the fact that he is being “loved and cared for there.” All of these show the importance of quality child care. While the women did not expressly state they believed they were *bad* mothers if they did not provide good care for their children, they did make sure to the care given to their children was excellent, a point emphasized in the interviews.

The second qualification of good working mothers, as described by Buzzanell, is allocating tasks to their partners and making sure all household and childcare tasks are done and done well. Astrid related she sometimes needs to tell her spouse to take responsibility for a few more chores, which she said he gladly does and a few other women mentioned occasionally fighting with their spouse over who does what. But generally, the women did not find the need to allocate tasks to their spouse as they felt they were equal partners with them, splitting responsibility and tasks as needed. In this, the characteristic of delegation written about by Buzzanell et al does not apply to the women interviewed, instead the women maintained relationships of equal partnership with their spouses and found that to be essential for them to call themselves a good working mother.

Enjoying and finding fulfillment in both work and home is the third qualification Buzzanell et al found good working mothers must meet. By doing so they could be a good mother, as Goodwin and Huppertz state, women must enjoy mothering to be considered a good mother and a good worker (2010, p. 6). The women interviewed agreed with this sentiment: they cared for both arenas of their life deeply and they felt guilty when they cared less for one or the other. All of the women stated that they prioritized their children over their work and that their children were of great importance to them, attesting that they did enjoy being a mother. The

work of being a pastor, to most of the women interviewed, was a calling and not only a job and in that, although it was difficult at times, was fulfilling to the women. Karen and Debbie even said they occasionally desired to be at work more than at home, a desire which caused them feel guilty and that they were not being excellent mothers. This sense of guilt indicates that it is essential for the women to like both work and home life to feel like a good working mother, demonstrating Buzzanell and her team's final defining point of a good mother.

In a study on nursing mothers in the office, Turner and Norwood found that good working mothers are willing and desirous of nursing in the office setting, demonstrating to their workplace that they are indeed a mother even though they are a worker (2013). The women in this present study are not currently nursing infants; however, the concept of combining work and children in an everyday setting which underlies Turner and Norwood's work is still applicable. The women's colleagues and supervisors knew that they had children and that the children were important to them, often telling them to care for their children first. Solveig mentioned that whenever her children are sick her boss does not mind the time she takes off to care for them, demonstrating genuine care and recognition of her two roles. All of the women interviewed brought their children to work, and often considered the ability to combine these two spheres of their life to be the greatest aspect of their job. It is indeed very important to the women to be able to combine work and home and to have their colleagues recognize and accept this blending.

6. a. v. Conclusion: The Good *Pastoring* Mother

In conclusion, of the four worker typologies the women aligned most closely with the good working mother. Both the ideal worker and the good mother are untenable typologies for the women interviewed because they marginalize key areas of their life. The ideal worker typology marginalizes their motherhood, while the good mother typology marginalizes their pastoral calling. One of the women interviewed bore some resemblance to the supermom typology because she worked full time both at home and at work. However, by and large these women defined for themselves what it meant for them to be a good working mother in a way that is specific to their pastoral vocation. This included fulfilling the definition which Buzzanell and Turner and Norwood put forward, with a few notable distinctives of their own.

The first distinctive is that rather than allocating tasks to their partners, their marital relationships are equal partnerships in which both they and their spouse take equal care of the home without the need for allocation or prompting on the mother's part. This has already been discussed above, and does not need to be elaborated on again in depth.

The second distinctive is that they manage the pastoral challenge of high expectations in a way which provides what is necessary for their congregation and shields their family from the ill effects those expectations often bring. The strategies discussed later in the Discussion section on Pastoral Challenges in the Case of Mothers represent an enormous amount of time, energy, and thought which these women have put into mediating the relationship between their professional and family spheres. This was something which they spoke about at length and which was a necessary precursor to considering themselves successful both as pastors and as mothers, caring for the needs of their congregations which are essential while protecting their families from expectations placed on them as a result of her position.

The third distinctive is that they manage the pastoral challenge of ambiguous boundaries in a way which allows home and work to operate independently, and thus more effectively, merging only in ways which are mutually beneficial. Like managing high expectations, their distinction revolves around mediating the relationship between their professional and family spheres to preserve the health of each. However, this belongs as a separate distinction because the type of scenarios it addresses are vastly different.

It is worth noting here that managing the pastoral challenge of isolation and loneliness does not seem to be an essential component of these women considering themselves good pastoring mothers. Although it is something which they consistently report experiencing, they also consistently report the inadequacy of their solutions. For many of them, this challenge feels beyond their ability to control or solve. However, despite the fact that they largely feel they are not successfully managing this challenge, they still feel that they are succeeding as good pastoring mothers, showing that it is not a central component of that definition for them. This may perhaps only be because they find it an unattainable goal. It is possible that if this were something they felt they could manage more effectively it would be a standard which they defined themselves by more readily.

When the women interviewed fulfilled the good working mother model in a way which was distinct to their vocation, marked by equal relationships with their spouses, and the

successful mediation of their home and professional spheres in regards to high expectations and ambiguous boundaries, they were able to classify themselves as good pastoring mothers.

6. b. Pastoral Challenges in the Case of Mothers

The three main pastoral challenges, high expectations, ambiguous boundaries and loneliness or isolation, were indeed challenges felt by the women interviewed for this thesis. The women knew and understood these challenges, tried to manage the hardships manifested by them and came up with solutions to overcome them. The amount of control the women could exert over the challenge varied and directly corresponded with how problematic the category was perceived to be; i.e. the more it could be controlled, the less challenging it was. Many of the aspects of high expectations could be controlled by the women and thus it did not seem so daunting of a challenge, while the feeling of isolation and loneliness could not be easily managed and thus proved burdensome, and the challenges posed by ambiguous boundaries lay somewhere in the middle of this spectrum.

6. b. i. High Expectations

The common pastoral challenge of high expectations had the highest ability to be understood, controlled and alleviated by the women and thus posed the least difficulty for them. High expectations, as discussed before, can be placed on the pastor or their family by the congregation, staff or the pastor themselves and can include various aspects like inordinate time demands, the “messiah” complex, and the need to be the “perfect leader/family” (Morse, 2011) (Chandler, 2008) (Peterson E. , 1989) (Wells, 2010). The women faced each of these expectations and came up with solutions on how to deal with them. They also had the added expectation, which was not found in the literature, of gender differences. Each of these will be discussed in light of the data gathered from the interviews.

The first of these expectations is inordinate time demands, or asking the clergy to be constantly available, a term described by Chander (2008). This idea is personified best by the words of Ingeborg as she said her coworker told the congregation “that anyone can call him at any time about anything.” This constant availability was not acceptable to Ingeborg or the other women interviewed and the women employed three strategies in order to overcome this challenge: teaching the congregation acceptable behaviors, utilizing the flexible nature of the job

and allowing their work to be “good enough.” The first of these methods used by the women is to “teach” the congregation about work-life balance and what are acceptable and unacceptable behaviors. The women found they had to teach the congregation acceptable times and means to communicate with them as well as how many evening and weekend events were reasonable to attend in a week. These limits varied by each of the women, but existed, in some form with nearly all of the women and helped to regulate their time demands. Another way the women combatted the inordinate time demands is through a combination of differentiating or combining work and home life and using the flexible nature of the job to their advantage. The position of pastor is highly flexible, many of the tasks can be completed anywhere and at any time. This flexibility was used by the women to lessen the inordinate time demands placed on them as they can leave the office early or arrive late to compensate for extended hours; they can take their work home with them, a desirable option for the pastors with small children, or they can separate home and work to alleviate the time demands; they can bring their children along to meetings, or conduct meetings at home. This flexibility allows the women to set their own balance as to the boundaries between work and home and substantially lowers the pressures of time placed on the women. The final approach many of the women used to control the excessive time demands was the concept of “good enough,” or allowing oneself to stop when the work is adequate rather than pushing for perfection. Nearly all of the women espoused using this strategy, with slightly different expressions, in order to manage their time. This approach allowed the women to stop working when their work was acceptable, rather than working a few more hours until the project was “perfect” giving them more time to be with their family. With these strategies, those of teaching, using the flexibility of the position and the idea of “good enough” enabled the women to lower the time demands placed on them and lower the negative impact of this expectation. However, for the Americans interviewed, these strategies were not enough as the demands on their time were beyond their control. Karen stated that she works an exhausting 55+ hours a week, Mary had a mental breakdown a few years into ministry because of time demands and Debbie left her position due, in part, to excessive demands on her time. Sarah is the only American who was able to successfully limit the time demands placed on her, and this as discussed in the analysis section, was through a combination of only working part-time and limiting herself to those hours, consistent teaching of her congregation and a strong personality. For the most part, the Norwegians were able to alleviate the time demands placed on them. This,

as several of the women stated and the data shows, is partially out of their control as the Norwegian society sets a limit on the hours worked during the work week, which helps manage time demands. They did, however, work roughly five hours more per week than their contract specified, but they all stated their workload was manageable. Nevertheless, the above strategies do alleviate the time demands and help the women be more in control of this expectation, but it still proved challenging as it cannot be entirely controlled.

A second common high expectation is that of the “messiah complex,” a concept described by Peterson, Chandler and Willimon which means denying oneself in order to care for the congregation, coupled with the belief that only the pastor could adequately do this (Peterson E. , 1989) (Chandler, 2008) (Willimon, 2016). This was also easily bypassed by the women through various strategies of understanding their own capacities, prioritizing obligations and delegating. First of all, the women understood their own abilities and realized they did not and could not do everything; they could not, as Sarah put it, “be all things to all people.” This realization freed them from attempting to do so, which helped them not step into a messiah identity. The women also prioritized their obligations, especially between work and family; instead of always being available for their congregants, they set boundaries and prioritized their family over their job. This allowed them to create safeguards against attempting to act as a messiah towards their congregation. Finally, the women used delegation to alleviate the pressure and allure of this expectation. The women stated that they did not have enough time to do everything, and consequently had to delegate the tasks to other staff or congregants to complete. The women realized the importance of delegation, even if they believed they could complete the task better, as delegation allowed them more time do other tasks or be with their family. The desire to spend time with their family was often at the core of these strategies as the messiah complex demands the pastor to deny herself for her congregants, and in the issue of female pastors, denying oneself also meant denying their identity as mother which they were not willing to do. This created a strong barrier against wrapping up their identity within a messiah complex structure, and provided motivation to utilize the strategies listed above as far as possible.

A third high expectation is one that is not placed on the pastor but on her family, as families of pastors are often looked upon to be the “perfect family” and over 80% of clergy believe that ministry has negative effects on their families, as Morse notes (Morse, 2011, p. 11). However, nearly all of the women interviewed deftly swept these expectations aside for their

families and stated that their children and spouses of course felt some expectations, but that they were considerably low. The main reason for the lack of this expectation is that the women allowed their family the freedom to do as they chose. For those with younger children, the children were allowed to set their own boundaries with the congregants about acceptable interactions. And for those with older children, the children were given permission to attend or not attend services and to choose which services to attend. This freedom allowed the children to move away from the pressure that many pastor's families face. The women also allowed their spouses the freedom to choose how much to be involved and whether or not to attend services, which in turn gave their children even more freedom from the expectations. In sum, looking to the needs of their children and spouse and then allowing them to choose their level of involvement at church allowed the pastors to sidestep the high expectations often placed on their families and as this expectation could be highly controlled, reducing the difficulty it posed. Thus, it is precisely because the women are balancing work and home that their families felt this expectation to a lower degree.

The final expectation the women frequently felt is that of gender expectations. These expectations were not listed in the literature as commonly felt expectations, but nonetheless affected the women and were, in some ways, the most difficult for the women. These expectations were placed on the pastor by the congregation, staff or board and were primarily expectations that the pastor would possess feminine traits and not have masculine traits. Those expecting her to have feminine traits were befuddled but accepting when the pastors did not possess the feminine qualities they expected of her, like nurturing or decorating; but when she possessed typical masculine traits, like leadership, aggression, confrontation or authority, they were distinctly upset about it, to the point of their displeasure affecting the pastors' position. One pastor was in the midst of an ongoing conversation with her board about this at the time of her interview, and another pastor mentioned her coworker was fired for showing some of these qualities typically understood as masculine. Three out of the four American pastors interviewed struggled with this expectation. None of the Norwegian pastors faced this opposition, but one of them is in a similar situation as several older members of her congregation refuse to acknowledge her, a woman, as their pastor, instead looking to the male pastors on her team for leadership, refusing to attend services when she is presiding. Thus gender expectations, while more prevalent in the USA, are indeed present in both countries. The women had a few coping

mechanisms to deal with these challenges, like presenting their arguments privately, asking their staff or board to dialogue with the dissenter and support their position and, occasionally, not voicing their opinions. These gender expectations were difficult for the women to manage precisely because it was beyond their control: although they could converse with the dissenters about the issue, ultimately they could not control what the staff or congregation expected of them and were merely coping with the dissent rather than overcoming it.

In conclusion, the women were indeed subject to the commonly faced pastoral challenge of high expectations. They found strategies to overcome the expectations of inordinate time demands, the messiah complex and the expectations placed on their family. But in the case of gender difference expectation, they were only able to find coping mechanisms rather than strategies to overcome the difficulties. Many of the strategies they developed had their family in mind as the strategies included ways for the pastors to spend more time with their families, balance home life and work-life better and alleviate the stresses placed on their family. The strategies developed to overcome the expectations and respective outcomes were similar for all of the women, regardless of country, except for the issue of time demands. Although the women had similar strategies, the women in the USA were less able to manage time demand stresses. Furthermore, the higher degree the expectation could be controlled, the less the expectation bothered the women. The expectations placed on their families could be easily alleviated and thus did not seem bad, while the expectations placed on them based on their gender were very difficult to control and thus very challenging to overcome.

6. b. ii. Ambiguous Boundaries

The second common pastoral challenge is ambiguous boundaries, which as Wells defines as an unclear division between the professional and personal life. Ambiguous boundaries are especially prevalent for pastors due to the many facets of their position, as “clergy could simultaneously serve as personal counselor, a co-committee member, and a friend to members of the congregation” (Wells, p. 217). The many roles create the dual nature for the position, that the pastor acts as both friend and pastor to the congregants. Several researchers found that women blur the lines between professional and personal more than men do, creating more possible challenges (Everist, 2000) (Bleiberg & Skufca, 2005). The women interviewed for this

thesis dealt with this challenge, came up with strategies to overcome it and could control the potential ill-effects of it well and thus caused it to not be so challenging.

The irregular hours worked by clergy, especially evenings and weekends, cut into what is traditionally used as family time and help cause the lines between personal and professional to blur. While evening and weekend work is nearly impossible to avoid as a pastor, the women understood these working hours as part of the job and could supplement the lost family time in other ways like breakfasts, holidays and other intentional time together. The women also told their congregants and staff times that they were not available, like birthdays, child sick days and certain evenings or special occasions. This ensured they had some designated time with their family and set the priority of family over work. These boundary lines were fairly well respected by the staff and congregants, disproving the point brought up by Wells, at least to some degree, that congregants do not see the need to delineate between the profession and personal lives of the clergy. Researcher Bruce Epperly commented that technology, like smart phones and social media, allow pastors to be constantly available, erasing the boundaries that set hours in the office once gave (Epperly, 2014). To combat this erasure, the women employed several strategies like turning off or ignoring their phone, leaving their work computer or phone in the office and telling their congregants to only call them if it's an emergency when they are away from the office. While these strategies were not perfect and technology did cut into the women's personal lives, they do create some semblance of boundary lines for the women.

The dual nature of the job, as discussed by Epperly, also contributes to ambiguous boundaries as clergy members are both friend and pastor to their congregants. As previously noted, this is especially true for women as they tend to connect their personal and professional lives more than men do, investing in the relationships around them (Everist, 2000) (Bleiberg & Skufca, 2005). As such, the lines between professional and personal relationships are much harder to maintain for women than for men (Bleiberg and Skufca). To maintain and solidify the boundaries, the women employed various strategies. Of these, the most significant is simply moving away from the parsonage, signifying that they could not always be "on call." A few women lived far away from the church to further distance themselves from work and others were selective about which congregants they invited into their homes, allowing them to divide work and home. Conversely, another of the methods used was simply to embrace the ambiguous boundary, which reinforces the above research stating women blend work and home. One

woman stated that she would often counsel a congregant on a Saturday morning in a park with their children and coffee, crossing all boundary lines between personal and professional. Another used her house, the most personal of space, as a place for meetings, prayer and counseling, delving entirely into the dual nature of pastoral work. Regardless of the strategy employed, this was not an area that particularly challenged the women as they found ways to control it, either by embracing it or safeguarding against it.

Ambiguous boundaries often plague pastors as the position of pastor, nearly by definition, means a blurring of professional and personal as pastor are both friend and leader, counselor and director. They are above the very people they are often closest to. This leads to an erasure between the professional and personal, creating a need to either strategize against this erasure or simply embracing the blurring. The women interviewed each employed various strategies to cope with this; some set up specific guidelines to separate work and home, while other invited congregants, quite literally, into their homes. Regardless of the strategy employed, the women could deftly overcome this challenge.

6. b. iii. Isolation and Loneliness

The final common pastoral challenge faced by pastors is closely related to ambiguous boundaries and is that of isolation and loneliness. The position of pastor often places the pastor in a situation where they cannot be their true selves to those around them, due to the aforementioned dual nature of the position which can cause clergy to “wear a mask,” as Willomen describes, which hides their true feelings from those around them (Willimon, 2016). As a leader to those around them, many pastors feel they cannot divulge their true feelings or must live up to the high expectations placed on them to always be a perfect spiritual leader (Morse, 2011). This creates a degree of separation from those around them, disabling them from forming true relationships (cite). They may be the sole staff member at the church, amplifying this problem. Most of the women related to struggling in this area, as exemplified by the words of Karen, “Even when I'm just hanging out with people from church, it's still work. I'm still their pastor. I'm never just Karen, the friend. And that's hard to balance. So it's a daily battle. Daily.” This struggle often leads to feeling isolated from their staff, congregation and even other friendships outside their work. The women interviewed found this challenge to be particularly daunting as there was very little they could do to control it. The only thing they could do to

combat this challenge was invest in key relationships or groups, yet due to several factors these relationships were often not enough to combat the loneliness and isolation associated with the position.

A simple way of overcoming loneliness is through friendship, but for clergy members this is not always an easy task. In order to be fully themselves, without the mask or dual nature coming into play, friendship with someone not in their church was preferred, but the women interviewed said they often lacked time to cultivate these relationships. For pastors working in smaller towns, there may not be anyone in the vicinity who does not know them as “pastor”; this was an issue for several of the women interviewed. For these women, their main friendship support was hours or even a plane flight away. While they were thankful for the support they did have, the distance diluted some of the poignancy of their friendships. Occasionally, the women stated they could turn to a friend within the congregation. As part of the pastor’s position revolves around cultivating relationships within the church, it makes sense that some relationships with congregants would become meaningful friendships and several of the women interviewed mentioned having good friendships with those within their church. Yet, the pastors could not turn to the congregants for everything, especially regarding church conflicts. And in this potentially stressful area, these friends could not support them. Thus friendships, those outside of and within their church, do not always give the women the support they need. Support groups outside of the realms of their church, and occasionally even outside of their denomination were key aspects of receiving support. Several of the women said they were or had previously been in groups to support them as pastors or as female pastors, and that these groups were very instrumental to their well-being. Indeed, the women said they felt most supported by their denomination when there was such a support group for them to attend. One woman mentioned she had the most work-life balance the years she attended an outside support group for female pastors, but that she stopped attending it because she lacked time for it. Lack of time was frequently a reason given as to why the women could nor or did not attend these groups. The main complaint from the pastors interviewed against denominations was not having these support groups available. This absence of denominational support groups led the women to feel not cared for or appreciated and consequently lonely or isolated.

The pastors’ spouses were an integral part of their support. Nearly all the women stated they were equal partners with their husbands, sharing in the responsibilities of childcare and

household work. Their partners were someone they could turn to in times of stress and they were able to discuss, as much as was appropriate, work issues with them. Overall the women felt very supported by their spouses, but there was still a gap in work support that their spouses could not fill and the women could still feel isolated and lonely.

In sum, loneliness and isolation are two interconnected challenges that plague many pastors including the women interviewed for this thesis. These feelings come from the dual nature of the position, as pastors have many roles they play towards their congregants, leader, counselor and even friend. Yet they are not able to be true or equal friends to these people and must often “wear a mask” to hide their feelings, causing them to feel isolated and often lonely. The pastor may also be the sole staff member of the church or work in a small community so they are only known as pastor to those around them and have no one to be equals with. To combat this, friendships within the church or outside of it can be cultivated by the pastor, and the women can turn to support groups or their spouse for support. Several of the women interviewed stated these relationships were crucial to their overall well-being and part of their self-care strategies. Yet, as many of them pointed out, it was difficult to find time to devote to these relationships. The demands of ministry and of family took most of their time and nearly always took precedence over these relationships. Furthermore, despite their best efforts most of what would relieve isolation was often outside the women’s control: they could not control the size of the community in which they served, they could not control if their denomination had a support group for them, they could not control if they were the sole staff member at their church, and thus the feeling of isolation and loneliness proved very challenging for the women.

6. b. iv. Conclusion

High expectations, ambiguous boundaries, and isolation and loneliness are challenges which the established literature clearly demonstrates are common for all pastors. Interviewing these pastors revealed that they are just as prevalent within the particular demographic, although they take on a unique shape which reflects the lives of each particular woman. However, what is more interesting are the ways in which all of these women have developed strategies in order to overcome or cope with these challenges in ways that are particularly suited to their situations. Overall the women interviewed found high expectations to be the easiest challenge to overcome because it was a factor which they could proactively address. This was true of all expectations

except those related specifically to gender, which they often struggled with the most, precisely because there was so little they could do to mitigate it themselves. Ambiguous boundaries presented an additional set of challenges, which women had varying degrees of success overcoming or coping with. Their solutions were also notably individualized, depending on whether they eased the tension of ambiguity through accepting and normalizing it (e.g. using their living room or child's playground as a counseling setting) or through solidifying their boundaries using methods such as living outside of their parish neighborhood and ignoring their phone outside of office hours. Most challenging of all, however, were isolation and loneliness, which women often felt there was little they could do to address. Often the main factors which contributed to it were outside of their control, such as the size of their community or the resources provided by their denomination. These challenges also overlapped considerably with the other two categories, as high expectations on their time make it difficult to cultivate friendships, and ambiguous boundaries complicate their relationships with the people they see most, their congregation. While women experienced these challenges in unique ways, they were nevertheless common factors recognizable in each of their lives, which they addressed in a wide variety of ways.

7. Conclusion

This thesis examined the relationship between work and home life for female pastors in the USA and in Norway. The positions of pastor and of mother often require nearly limitless hours from the worker, and cannot be entirely “clocked out” from at the end of the day. Even so, as shown in the Society, Gender and Work-Life Balance section, women complete a majority of the household and childcare chores despite having a career. This thesis aimed to show how the two positions were balanced. This was done through a qualitative interview process in which eight women were interviewed, four in the USA and four in Norway, and their answers compared. Interviewing women from these two countries broadened the scope of the project as different societal backgrounds allowed more nuance and detail to emerge.

The women were asked various questions about their work life and home life which were synthesized into three main topics: Work-Life, the Intersection of Children and Work, and Support Systems. These three categories served as the main codes within which to interpret the data. Within the category of Work-Life the topics of hours, vacation time, gender expectations and self-care practices were examined. This was the category that had the most differences between women from Norway and from the USA, as expected from the information explained in the Background Information section entitled Society, Gender and Work-Life Balance. Norway has enacted many laws which help to create equal work environments for both men and women and to enable work-life balance, while the USA has not done so. Differences in vacation time, work hours and gender expectations were expected and exhibited as the women in the USA had to ask to be treated equal to their male counterparts in areas such as pay and benefits, while equality was a given for the women in Norway. The second category of the Intersection of Children and Work covered the joys and frustrations of balancing both children and work, the strategies employed to do so and the expectations felt by the women and their family. This section had no noticeable difference between Norway and the USA. The final section, Support Systems, analyzed the support or lack of support the women experienced from their spouse and church. There was no noticeable difference between the countries in the areas of spousal support and congregational support, but some differences arose in the areas of church leadership and denominations, especially regarding gender issues. Indeed, there were fewer differences than expected at the beginning of this project.

Consequently, rather than examining the minimal differences between countries, the theoretical issues of worker typologies and pastoral challenges were used to interpret and align this data among previous research. Within the worker typologies four main categories were examined: the ideal worker, good mother, supermom and good working mother. The women aligned closest with the good working mother, which acts as a goal for women to strive for and define themselves by, rather than a societal definition to comply with. Buzzanell et al put forth a definition of the good working mother as someone who provides quality child-care, allocates tasks to their spouse, feels pleasure in both working and caring for children (Buzzanell, et al., 2005). Turner and Norwood added integrating children into the work environment to the definition (Turner & Norwood, 2013). As elaborated upon in the discussion section, the pastors had a few additional defining features of what it means to be good pastoring mother: acting as an equal partner with their spouse instead of allocating tasks, and overcoming the pastoral challenges of high expectations and ambiguous boundaries, discussed in the Pastoral Challenges theory section. Once these and the features set by Buzzanell and her team and Turner were completed, the women could call themselves a good pastoring mother.

A sub question this thesis posed was how the work-life balance of these women was supported by those around them. This was touched upon both in the Analysis and in the Discussion. From within those sections, the most important forms of support which emerged came from their spouses and their local church leadership. Spouses provided invaluable support by acting as equal partners in matters of home and children, as well as by providing a key relational tether for women who face isolation and loneliness to a disproportionate degree. Local church leadership provided greater support for these women than either their congregations or their denominations by acting as their advocates and teammates, providing them with support in matters of church conflict, helping them prioritize their tasks in order to minimize the high expectations placed on them, being available to take over tasks which caused scheduling problems, and valuing their motherhood as well as their pastoral role. While these women felt supported in many ways, and spouses and local church leadership proved to be their most crucial partners.

Further study could examine the definition of the good pastoring mother defined here against other factors. One pertinent area of further research would be to study women who left the role of pastor due to an inability to balance work and home and to see if this inability was due

to not fulfilling one or more parts of the good pastoring mother. Another potential area of research would be to extend this definition to women from other countries, particularly those from other cultural backgrounds such as Asian or African nations to see if the definition is universal or only applicable to Western women.

In sum, many pastors feel their position is not only a profession but a calling, and consequently they cannot simply “opt out” of their work when the demands of home become too strong. Consequently, they must develop strategies to cope with and balance the two arenas of their life including self-care practices, prioritizing work and children and creating and adhering to the characteristics of a good pastoring mother. While these women have already developed many strategies to address the challenges which face them, this thesis hopefully sheds light on ways others can support them as well.

Appendix: Interview Guide

Theme – Work

- How does this job differ from others?
- Why did you choose this job?
- Describe an ordinary week.

Theme – Children and Ministry

- What are some of your frustrations of having both?
- What are some of your joys of having both?
- Do you have any strategies for balancing these two areas of your life?
- Both seem like they are not typical “9-5” jobs, where you can “check in and out” and then be done with one while you work on the other. One person interviewed said it felt like a knife slicing her life in half, while another few have said it’s not possible.
 - Does this prove true in your life? Why or why not?
- Some women in ministry leave after they have kids. Reflect on this. Why would you say they do?
- How has ministry affected you as a parent and your relationship with your children?

Theme – Balance

- Do you think you have achieved work and life balance? How?
- How have you prioritized the demands of your family and the demands of your work?
- What have other people done that has made this easier or more difficult for you?

Theme – Marriage

- Basic questions: Are you married? What does your spouse do? How much do they work?
- Is your spouse able to support you?
- How do you split household chores?
- How does this split make you feel?
- Do you feel that you are more responsible for household chores and children than your spouse?
- If you have experienced a divorce, how did that affect you, and how did it change your relationship to your children and your work?

- How has this position affected your relationship with your spouse?

Theme – Your Church as Employer

- Has your church, as an employer, done anything to help you balance both being a mother and pastor? Please elaborate.
- Has your church, as an employer, done anything that hurt your ability to balance both? Please elaborate.
- Has the congregation done anything to help you balance both being a mother and pastor? Please elaborate.
- Has the congregation done anything that hurt your ability to balance both? Please elaborate.
- Has your denomination done anything to help you balance both being a mother and pastor? Please elaborate.
- Has your denomination done anything that hurt your ability to balance both? Please elaborate.
- Have they understood your needs as a parent and the needs of your children?
- How do you feel expectations of you as a female minister differ from your male colleagues?
- Who has more of an effect on your work-life balance, congregation or church leadership?

Theme – Time \ Stress

- What emotions come to mind when you hear the word “time”?
- Reflect on the term “scarcity of time” or “time famine” or “time management.”
- Do you feel like you have enough time?

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