AVOIDING MERCHANTS OF MORALITY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF

PROFESSIONAL MINISTERS RELATIONSHIP TOWARD THEIR IDEALIZED ROLE

Presented to the Graduate Council of
Texas State University–San Marcos
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements

for the Degree

Master of ARTS

By

Scott Hamilton, B.S.

San Marcos, Texas
August 2012

AVOIDING MERCHANTS OF MORALITY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF

PROFESSIONAL MINISTERS RELATIONSHIP TOWARD THEIR IDEALIZED ROLE

Committee Members Approved:

_____

Deborah Harris, Chair

_____

Audwin Anderson

_____

John Beckenbach

Approved:

_____

Dean of Graduate College
J. Michael Wiloughby

COPYRIGHT

by

Scott James Hamilton

FAIR USE AND AUTHOR'S PERMISSION STATEMENT

Fair Use

This work is protected by the Copyright Laws of the United States (Public Law 94-553, section 107). Consistent with fair use as defined in the Copyright Laws, brief quotations from this material are allowed with proper acknowledgment. Use of this material for financial gain without the author's express written permission is not allowed.

Duplication Permission

As the copyright holder of this work I, Scott James Hamilton, authorize duplication of this work, in whole or in part, for educational or scholarly purposes only.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my wife for loving me and supporting me through this whole process and for always being patient. I am grateful for my mother who always believed in me and told me that I could do anything I set myself to. I would also like to thank the pastors that volunteered and participated in the research for my thesis. I am also indebted to my thesis committee and to my chair for staying with me. This would have been near impossible without all of you.

This manuscript was submitted on May 23, 2012.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

AVOIDING MERCHANTS OF MORALITY: A QUALITATIVE STUDY OF

PROFESSIONAL MINISTERS RELATIONSHIP TOWARD THEIR IDEALIZED ROLE

by

Scott J. Hamilton, B.S.

Texas State University-San Marcos

August 2012

SUPERVISING PROFESSOR: DEBORAH HARRIS

The professional minister is often expected to be the embodiment of the ideals of his or her community and perform to other expectations of their congregation. This and other roles could be considered idealized roles because of their unique social construction. Utilizing in depth interviews with fourteen current and former professional ministers of the Assemblies of God denomination, this qualitative study explores the relationship that an individual may have with their performance of an idealized role. This study that is guided by the framework of Dramaturgical Sociology developed by Erving Goffman and presented in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) and other works. The men that participated in this study offered their perspectives and experiences on how they related to the demands of their position and how their

idealized role can impact the interpersonal relationships they have with their own families and members of their community.

I. INTRODUCTION

"A respectable pastor should be righteous. No bad words, no bad thoughts, no anger, no jealousy. Just faith, peace, and Christ-likeness... They say the right things, behave the right ways, and seem to have their spiritual act together." –Craig Groeschel

George Barna, faith and culture researcher and founder of the Barna Research Group, has said, "The pastoral profession dictates standards of conduct like any other profession, whether it be a teacher, doctor, or lawyer. The profession dictates how pastors are to dress, speak, and act. This is one of the major reasons why many pastors live very artificial lives" (Barna 2010:139). Pastors can live artificial lives because expectations on the role of the pastor are largely unquantifiable and commonly unspoken (Monahan 1999; Mueller and McDuff 2002). The contemporary pastor is to be an embodiment of collective congregant expectations. Not only is the pastor responsible to fulfill all of the actual duties of the pastorate including Sunday services, counseling, and church management as well as other unfocused extra duties with the skill and expertise of one trained in their field, he or she must additionally conform to the role of the pastor of a church (Carroll 1981; Mueller and McDuff 2002). Conforming to the pastoral role involves living up to often conflicting explicit and implicit ideals set forth by specific congregations' requisites of a pastor such as having extraordinary Christian faith and discipline, raising an orderly and godly family, and always

1

putting family before the church work while still being available at the church office and when crises arise (Groeshel 2006). The role of the pastor is considered by many onlookers to be a hallowed undertaking but often how the pastor responds to these expectations can have negative implications for individuals seeking a pastorate (Mueller and McDuff 2004).

The nature of the expectations on a pastor makes them only able to be fulfilled in the pastor's presentation of his or her overall life. The perception is that the life of the pastor is to always be presentable because of the assumption that their life is open for all congregants to view and examine at all times (Groeschel 2006; Wildhagen, Mueller, and Wang 2005). A good presentation by the pastor can result in the growth of the church and increases in salary or benefits, while an unsatisfactory presentation by the pastor can result in mistrust and discord in the congregation and, ultimately, a loss of the pastorate (Ingram 1981). Accordingly, individuals who desire a pastorate must project an idealized impression of the ideal pastor for their congregation. Since it is a deliberate effort to project an ideal self-image, a gap exists between the individual and the individual projected as the ideal pastor.

The pastor then is engaged in an important exercise of what sociologist Erving Goffman has called impression management because every pastor is responsible for the way their congregation perceives them. According to Goffman, impression management is "…when an individual projects a definition of the situation and thereby makes an implicit or explicit claim to be a person of a particular kind" (Goffman 1959: 13).

In developing his dramaturgical sociology, Goffman compared social interaction to a drama on the stage and called the projected self the front stage and the retreat from the projection the back stage. The back stage can be utilized as a rest from the front stage and as a workspace to fine-tune the projection of the self impression for the front stage. Goffman

believed that these stages were a part of how everyone presents themselves to others. The pastoral profession actually demands little or no perceivable difference between the individual and the identity they project or from the front stage and the back stage.

It is offensive for many pastors to suggest any discrepancies between these two fronts since everything in the life of the pastor is supposed to be visible (Groeschel 2006). Nevertheless, history is replete of examples of prominent pastors living doubles lives that eventually undermine their ministry and their congregation. In these cases, their collapse could be explained as the front stage image being corrupted by character flaws and indiscretions kept in the pastor's back stage, hidden and away from the image they always presented to their congregations. Managing the idealized impression of the pastor became too difficult and the impression was spoiled or the pastor became cynical towards his role and the artificial life of the pastor was finally cracked to expose who the individual really was.

This thesis is a consideration of how moral failings of vocational ministers can be understood as the result of perpetuating an idealized self-performance for the audience of their congregations. The dramaturgical sociology of Erving Goffman as presented in his works is valuable for this inquiry, specifically the ideas of impression management of the front and back stages in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* as well as different tenets developed on confidence men, stigma management, and embarrassment. These works will be utilized in order to glean insights as to how pastors view their role as a pastor and the extent to which pastors examine their own idealized impression management and the shortcomings that can exist as a result of this. Any insight into the relationship of individuals toward idealized roles can benefit sociological research into whether authority is largely personal or

institutional in democratic societies. Idealized performances like the role of pastors or politicians are created by societal norms and ideals, which in turn shape social life through their invested authority. Moreover, this study hopes to speak on how the continuing relationship between individuals invested with authority and their idealized roles actively defines these roles and reshapes the individuals that seek to live out these idealized roles.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Erving Goffman and Dramaturgy

Erving Goffman is largely included as one of the early Symbolic Interaction theorists and his dramaturgical interpretation of social interactions put forth in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* was one of the frontrunners for this classification. Dramaturgical sociology is the use of an extended allegory of the stage as means to analyze social interaction (Harrison 1977). In social situations, as on the stage, individuals are involved in a performance. A performance is "…all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way the other participants" (Goffman 1959: 15). Individuals or actors are responsible to present themselves and express their role during social interaction and not destroy the performance through miscues or discrepancies. It is the responsibility of the actor to gather information and engage in the correct performance for the audience and display the desired impression for the interaction. The art of delivering the correct performance when required is impression management (Zuvniski et al. 2004). Impression management has a variety of expressions and techniques that allow actors to deliver the correct performances.

As stated above, impression management is broken into two regions for analyzing performances. There is the front stage defined by Goffman as the "part of the individual's performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance" (Goffman 1959: 22). Performances take place on the

front stage and this is typically what is seen by the audience and understood by observers. In the front stage some facts about a performer may be accented while other details may be denied or suppressed in order to build the proper impression. The suppressed details of the performer often find their expression in the back stage region. The back stage is "where the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude" (Goffman 1959: 112). The back stage is repose from the front stage and the demands of the performance for the audience. The two stages comprise in large part the allegory that Goffman creates of social interactions in everyday life and the stage.

It should be noted that, simply because social interaction is understood as a performance by an individual, the impression given is not necessarily a false representation of the individual (Tseelon 1992). Rather, Goffman was most interested in how the individual viewed his or her own performance and the relationship that they took toward their own impression (Acton and Hird 2004; Pettit 2011). He divided the relationship an actor may have with their impression into a sincere and cynical orientation. A sincere actor is an individual who believes in the integrity of their own performance and the impression which they are presenting to the audiences they encounter and work in their back stage to reaffirm that impression. Conversely, a cynical orientation by an actor is when an individual does not believe in the performance they are engaged in for their audiences but continues in the impression for the "good of the community" or for personal gain to be had from the performance. Individual actors can vacillate between these two orientations and be skewed over time one way or the other in a given role (Goffman 1959).

The orientation of the actor to his or her own performance is the substance of most of Goffman's dramaturgical interpretation of social interaction (Acton and Hird 2004). It is the

actor's orientation to their own role that creates embarrassment and demands stigma and impression management techniques. The dramatic realization of the actor toward his or her role is important because inherent in impression management is the struggle to conform to moral and ethical standards in the social world (Creelan 1984). "In their capacity as performers, individuals will be concerned with maintaining the impression that they are living up to the many standards by which they and their products are judged. Because these standards are so numerous and so pervasive, the individuals who are performers dwell more than we might think in a moral world" (Goffman 1959: 251). Specifically investigating the orientation of prominent public figures towards their performance is worthwhile because of the role these individuals have in the community and whatever part they may have in perpetuating the embodiment of social norms and morals in an ideal presentation.

Idealized Performance

An analysis of an idealized presentation in step with dramaturgical sociology would begin with an investigation of the type of performance or impression management that is expected for these actors. Some performances can become routine and "institutionalized" meaning that individuals taking on specific roles are taking them up with specific performances and will have to conform to acceptable norms and behaviors that are congruent with those roles (Goffman 1959; Jones 2006). Furthermore, institutionalized performances that attempt to exemplify the highest ideals of the community and societal morals are known as idealized performances. The idealized performance is when an actor takes up a role that desires to project the ideals and highest morals of their community or society (Goffman 1959). There are individuals who can conform to the position and performances of an idealized performance with ease and there are those who cannot; however, even actors who

can easily conform have to realize their participation in the drama. The individual recognizes that their behavior is catered to the idealized performance in the presence of their community and it is something they take upon themselves possibly in order to receive the advantages of that role in society. "A status, a position, a social place is not a material thing, to be possessed and then displayed; it is a pattern of appropriate conduct, coherent, embellished, and well articulated…something that must be enacted and portrayed, something that must be realized" (Goffman 1959: 75).

Goffman believed that inherent in the idealized performance are a number of discrepancies that work against the individual delivering a great performance. The first is when the performer could be concealing activity that generates personal profit for the actor but is incompatible with the impression they are giving to the audience. This discrepancy is a separation from the impression being given to the audience and what could actually be taking place. This can be malicious as in the case of the confidence man deliberately deceiving the audience to turn a trick on his mark(s) or a relatively innocent use of position in order to ensure unearned benefits (Hazelrigg 1992). Both of these performances are validated because there is an orchestrated effort required by the actor to give the correct impression regardless of the relationship the actor has to the performance. Initially, Goffman believed that more could be learned from studying the confidence man during a performance because of the ability to consciously step away from the performance and analyze the impression being given (Pettit 2011). The idealized performance is at risk to this discrepancy because the actor in an idealized performance is assumed to be selfless in their embodiment of community ideals and taking advantage of any elevated position would be a contradiction to their expected character (Lamont et al. 2000; Ytreberg 2002).

Another inconsistency for the idealized performance is how errors and mistakes are corrected before the performance takes place and any sign these errors actually occurred and were corrected are hidden as well. The idealized performance needs to have an impression of infallibility and therefore cannot betray that mistakes or errors have occurred at all, even though the mistakes have already been corrected by the actor. This can be understood at a glance of political figures that conceal from the media their involvement in therapeutic treatment so that their competent identity is maintained (Kaslow 1992). The idealized performance then exerts pressure on the actor to present a performance without evidence of past mistakes, errors, and their corrections. This discrepancy is closely related to another inherent conflict that Goffman identified with the idealized performance.

The idealized performance tends to only allow the audience to see the finished product and judge that as indicative of the entire impression being presented. This places different forces on actors attempting to maintain idealized performances dependent on the effort required of the actor to manage their impression. For some actors, not much effort is needed to maintain the idealized impression but for others more work could be required. The actor is then forced to suppress or deny the hard work or hours that went into maintaining the idealized impression that the audience is allowed to see and evaluate (Goffman 1959). For example, impression management related to body image could mean a presentation of beauty coming naturally and without effort but in order to give such an impression requires a strict diet, long workouts at a fitness gym, and expensive make-up (Jacobs 2003). The idealized performance must always be evaluated as a finished product because the actor cannot afford to be seen "in progress" and still maintain the impression of the idealized performance.

A fourth discordant trait of the idealized performance is the knowledge that many performances could not have been completed without certain tasks that are "physically unclean, semi-illegal, and degrading in other ways" also being done (Goffman 1959: 44). There is a disconnect in the ability of the actor to present the idealized impression while avoiding these inappropriate or demeaning tasks that are necessary for the performance. The impression of the idealized performance is more important than what the individual actually must do to deliver it and therefore an emphasis is put on not actually being the impression that is portrayed but giving the idealized impression by any necessary means (Tseelon 1992). The individual must accomplish tasks or strike compromises of the idealized impression in the back stage, away from the audience, in order to continue to deliver the desired impression before the audience.

The last major discrepancy that Goffman highlights as inherent in an idealized performance is one of the more crucial when considering public figures and the idealized impression management that they are undertaking. In order to embody the ideal standards of the idealized performance, the individual actor is likely to publicly keep a number of ideals at the private sacrifice of other ideals (Goffman 1959). This conflict is unavoidable since the actor is never truly able to wholly embody the ideals of his or her idealized impression. The actor is forced to put their best effort towards those ideals that are not easily concealed if they are neglected. At best, managing which ideals are pertinent to the current audience is a constant reminder for the actor to be on top of their impression at all times, exemplifying as much of a full impression as possible. At worst, this exercise can increase the distance between the actor and their performance creating the same relationship towards virtues as a

merchant has towards their products. The greatest effort is exerted in putting appropriate merchandise forward to the current audience (Creelan 1984; von Hippel 2005).

Goffman anticipates this when he speaks of performers as "merchants for morality" and extends the metaphor to anticipate a cynical orientation by actors. "As performers we are merchants for morality. Our day is given to intimate contact with the goods we display and our minds are filled with intimate understandings of them; but it may well be that the more attention we give to these goods, then the more distant we feel from them and from those who are believing enough to buy them" (Goffman 1959: 251). This must be especially applied as true for idealized performances because of the expectation of infallibility in the impression to be given for the idealized performer. In the idealized case, the actor must be intimately acquainted with the ideals that he or she is engineering a projection of even though as a result these ideals become more of an object of study and are further separated from the actor. It is at this heightened realization of the distance between the actor and the virtues of the idealized performance that the actor embraces different techniques of impression management that avoid embarrassment and the stigma associated with a failing of the idealized performance.

Idealized Performance Failure: Embarrassment

According to Goffman, embarrassment was a response to a rupture in a performance by the actor and thus in the impression intended by the actor (Goffman 1956; Lizardo 2005; Shudson 1984). Evidence of embarrassment such as stammering or a visibly ruffled actor betrays that he or she has discredited their impression during the performance. As a result of an embarrassment, all involved in the performance must reconstruct the interaction because the original impressions are no longer true of the interaction as an actor has missteped in the

impression that they were presenting before the audience (Goffman 1956). Embarrassment would prove a failing for the idealized performance because it would mean the actor is not infallible in the impression that he or she is presenting.

Even if this is true for the idealized performance, Goffman believed that embarrassment was an overall useful and productive occurrence in social interaction because it allowed for the actor to refine their performance. "His role in the current interaction may be sacrificed, and even the encounter itself, but he demonstrates that, while he cannot present a sustainable and coherent self on this occasion, he is at least disturbed by the fact and may prove worthy at another time" (Goffman 1956: 271). This reflexive opportunity through embarrassment is not available to the idealized performance then because of the actor's need to display a finished product of embodied virtues to the audience and not signs of the impression being a "work in progress." Instead, the idealized performance must then be infused with techniques that build the idealized impression as well as techniques that insulate from embarrassment. These techniques are divided into two categories: defensive and preventative or protective practices. " 'Defensive practices' protect our own projections of the situation and 'protective practices' are employed to save the definition of the situation someone else projects" (Shudson 1984: 635). These techniques were originally developed in *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* by Goffman and have been expanded in further sociological research into styles of self-presentation. Researcher Arkin (1981) divided these techniques into a larger orientation toward self-presentation stating that behavior can either be acquisitive or protective. An acquisitive self-presentation, which can also be considered assertive (Tedeschi and Norman 1985), is activity that focuses on gaining approval from others including self-promotion, power displays, and other modes of positive self-

identification (Schutz 1998). Protective self-presentation is activity that seeks to avoid disapproval from others characterized by passive yet friendly interaction, minimal self-disclosure, and avoiding undue public attention (Schutz 1998). This behavior and practices can serve as examples of more impression management as the idealized performance is accountable for manufacturing their impression and avoiding the embarrassment of a discredited performance.

Idealized Performance Failure: Stigma Management

Furthermore, the intensified effort of the actor employed in an idealized performance to avoid any discredit to their performance can also be understood as an exercise in stigma management. The concept of stigma has been applied to various dilemmas and situations with just as many definitions of the concept as articles published on it (Link and Phelan 2001). However, a sociological examination of sociology, specifically in relation to presentation management, relies on Goffman's work *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity* and the definition he conceptualized there. Stigma, as defined by Goffman, is the possession of "an attribute that is deeply discrediting" (Goffman 1963:3). Stigma varies according to type-whether they exist in the body, character, or tribe. Stigmas of body can include blindness, stuttering, or a physical handicap and are mostly physical in nature. A stigma of character can describe as a shame associated with an extramarital affair or a list of other socially unacceptable behaviors. Stigma of tribe is the result of associations with minority groups or affiliations with groups that are publicly stigmatized. Also, stigma can be divided into categories related to its revelation. Some stigma of the body can be obvious, unconcealed, and immediately discrediting while other character and body stigma can be

concealed with fear of revelation. Stigma has numerous sources and can affect the social interactions of individuals in their everyday life (Wood and Ward 2010).

Stigmatized individuals are subject to being discredited and discrimination on a number of fronts as a result of their stigma. These individuals can become discredited because of their stigma, resulting in a loss of the social status that they had previously held. Being discredited forces the stigmatized individual to adjust social interactions to their new social standing (Link and Phelan 2001). Other results of stigma on individuals can include discrimination such as the labeling of stigmatized persons in a way that the individual is unable to shed the discrediting attribute even if it is not immediately noticeable by an audience. Such a labeling of stigma can result in the separation into a sub category of stigmatized individuals apart from "normals" that are without stigma (Goffman 1963). Stigmatized individuals can also fall prey to structural forms of discrimination against stigma. Link and Phelan (2001) argue this discrimination is evident in institutional racism or and in architecture that does not provide accessibility for people with physical handicaps.

Moreover, the individual without an immediately perceivable stigma is more challenged by the use of stigma management skills than individuals with obvious or physical stigmatized attributes. There are many ways that individuals without obvious stigma have to manage their stigma before others with whom they interact. A major method of stigma management is a hypersensitivity to social interactions and heightened focus on all social interactions (Shih 2004). These individuals with concealed stigmas work to make themselves more likeable and skilled socially (Miller et al. 2005). Stigmatized individuals attempt to keep relationships at a distance so their stigmas are not revealed (Stein 2009). They are more likely to monitor social interactions and take on another's point of view from

the interaction (Shih 2004). Stigmatized individuals also work to emphasize other aspects of their self that are not stigmatized or would uncover their stigma to the point of taking on other identities (Hewstone 2000).

Stigma can be applied in consideration of the idealized performance because a stigmatized attribute can openly be understood as a social feature of the actor's performance (Goffman 1963; Link and Phelan 2001; Shudson 1984). Specifically, the fact that the actor is separate from his idealized performance can be conceptualized as a stigma itself given that the discovery can lead to the effects of stigma including the discrediting of the actor and other discrimination. In this instance, the idealized performance is engaged in the management of stigma in addition to the idealized performance and is especially acute to social interactions. Since the idealized performer is considerably high in impression management this is an accurate description because they are also likely to be highly concerned with the management of their negative or stigmatizing attributes (Rennera et al. 2004; von Hippel 2005). "To display or not to display; to tell or not to tell; to let on or not to let on; to lie or not to lie; and in each case, to whom, how, when and where" (Goffman 1963: 42). It is the weight of this constant internal debate that Goffman felt exacted the greatest toll on any stigmatized individual and social interaction (Creelan 1984; Stein 2009). This duality of knowledge and presentation "can be a very different kind of impropriety, the first having to do with our rules regarding social identity, the second with those regarding personal identity" (Goffman 1963: 64). The stigma that is associated with discrediting the idealized performance and the resultant stigma management by the actor can have a grave impact for the social and personal identity of the individual (Wood and Ward 2010).

It is also important to note the grave consequences for the social and personal identity of the actor involved in an idealized performance who also has other blatant transgressions against the idealized performance worthy of stigma (Shih 2004). There is the stigma associated with discrediting the idealized performance by failure to exemplify all ideals at all times and there is also a stigma from the actor engaging in activities that are completely contrary to the idealized impression being given. This stigma management is more in keeping with managing a moral stigma as in the case of a conservative politician espousing family values and morals while engaging in an extra-marital affair hidden from the public. Managing this private stigmatized attribute is heightened for the idealized performance because of the need to present an infallible finished product presentation to the audience. Both forms of stigma management can affect the actor and the relationship they have towards their performance.

The Pastor

An analysis of the idealized performance in Goffman's dramaturgical sociology pertains to the role of the pastor because all applicants to the pastorate desire to display the best impression that they are able to fit their congregation's view of an ideal pastor (Creelan 1984; Ingram 1981). The ideal pastor is an amalgamation of congregational expectations and historical precedents placed on the profession, which includes attaining to the highest ideals of their faith and their church community. This is an idealized performance because an individual actor is engaged in an attempt to exemplify the highest ideals of the community and societal morals. The role of the ideal pastor is not universal but dependant upon the congregation of the pastor. Each congregation exerts their own influence on the role of the pastor (Monahan 1999). The influence of the congregation can be more evident in Protestant

and congregational led churches than in traditional Catholic churches due to the nature of the

authority invested into the office by the hierarchy of the Catholic church system as opposed

to the congregants in a particular church deciding who will fill their pastorate. However, the

Catholic priest is still responsible to live up to the expectations his congregation may have in

addition to the requirements of the position from his leadership (Carroll 1981). The idealized

performance for the pastor is to project the impression of a successful adherent and leader of

a thriving church with enough skill that the projection will ring true. To examine the

relationship between the individual and their role as pastor is to gain clearer insights into the

discrepancies that are inherent in idealized roles and how they impact the shaping of ideals.

The inherent discrepancies of the idealized performance for the pastor become

evident in the vocational ministers' interaction with their congregations. First, there is the

discrepancy of the idealized performer possibly concealing activity that generates personal

profit but is inconsistent with the intended impression. The pastor is expected to have a

relationship to the "call" of the ministry to a congregation so that the need for monetary

reward is largely overshadowed as a factor in his work (Christopherson 1994; Strange and

Sheppard 2001). However, the pastor may consistently sermonize about honoring leadership

in order to reap the beneficence created in his congregation or financial gifts. Next, the

discrepancy of the idealized role that the performance needs to have an impression of

infallibility can be seen in the expectations of the congregation for the pastor to "always" be

ready or prepared with a great anecdote or word of wisdom (Groeschel 2006). In essence, the

individual is to present a perfect presentation of the ideal pastor at all times without mistake.

Furthermore, the idealized performance needs to let the audience only have the impression of

a finished product. Often this does not allow for individual growth and conflict that is a

necessary component for job satisfaction for ministers (Mueller and McDuff 2004). Last, a discrepancy of the idealized performance exhibited in the pastoral role is the likelihood of the individual to publicly keep a number of ideals at the private sacrifice of other ideals. The pastor can constantly emphasize faith in their sermons and personal interactions while they may be actively dealing with doubt in response to a traumatic experience, or the individual could be engaged in inappropriate relationships while maintaining their impression before their congregation (Groeschel 2006; Profitt et al. 2007).

In response to these discrepancies, individuals seeking the pastorate are forced to present the ideal pastor utilizing impression and stigma management skills with great mastery in order to do so. The needed skills are a combination of the acquisitive and protective behaviors posited by Schutz (1998) and others taken to extremes because of the scale of importance placed on idealized performances. The scale of importance placed on the idealized role of the pastor seems to be largely negative for the individual. Research done by the Barna Research Group has shown that "80% [of the pastors interviewed for the study] believe that pastoral ministry affects their family negatively and 70% have lower self-esteem than when they entered the ministry. Fifty percent of these pastors feel unable to meet the demands of the job and more than 40% report that they are suffering from burnout, frantic schedules, and unrealistic expectations" (Barna 2010: 138).

Furthermore, as a result of so much focus on the maintenance of the idealized performance, these individuals run the risk of becoming as Goffman has stated, mere "merchants of morality" for themselves and their congregations. This happens when the individual experiences a separation from their idealized front stage performance and whatever individual that they may be becoming in the back stage (Creelan 1984; von Hippel

2005). The ability to recognize this separation has considerable implications for the

individual pastors, their families, and their congregations. Craig Groeschel, a pastor of a

megachurch in Oklahoma considered this reality in his book *Confessions of a Pastor*:

> I embraced the role of "the perfect pastor." Always armed with a fake smile, I'd be the first on
> the scene at any church event. Whatever needed doing, I made sure I was involved. I wanted
> everyone to recognize my superior commitment and dedication to God. At the age of twenty-
> six, I was performing at peak... In my twisted thinking, I saw this lifestyle as fertile for my
> abilities to blossom. I didn't know that I was killing off virtually every relationship that I had.
> (Groeschel 2006:71-72)

Individuals must continually manage the idealized performance to fully exhibit the

highest standards of their congregation as their ideal pastor because failure to do so has

lasting consequences. In recent years, the role of the priest and pastor to their congregations

has been dramatically altered by the revelation of sex and money scandals of various sorts

(Leming 2006). The highly publicized moral failings and scandals of ministers Ted Haggard,

Eddie Long, and countless others has produced a ground of uncertainty for congregations to

relate to their pastors. The fallout in the congregations of these ministers varies greatly from

congregation to congregation and often the path toward restoration of the community can be

long, difficult, and confusing (Sutton and Thomas 2011). When responding to a set of

Denver pastors admitting to homosexual relationships, H.B. London Jr., Vice President for

church and clergy at the Focus on the Family organization, said that, "When people see a

priest or rabbi or pastor fail morally, they begin to wonder if their pastor has a fault or

weakness that might be discovered" (Benarjee 2006).

Such a climate exerts more pressure on individuals to present the ideal pastor to their

congregations and moves them closer to being the merchants of morality, exhibiting a

performance that they are cynical towards. In a letter to his congregation published in the

Rocky Mountain News after his moral failing, Ted Haggard said:

"I am a deceiver and a liar… I would find myself thinking thoughts and experiencing desires that were contrary to everything I believe and teach…Then, because of pride, I began deceiving those I love the most because I didn't want to hurt or disappoint them. The public person I was wasn't a lie; it was just incomplete." (Haggard 2006)

More in depth insight into the relationship of the pastor towards their ideal performance as described in dramaturgical sociology is important because the pastoral role influences how communities determine their ideals (Smith 2005). Further research into the pastoral relationship to an idealized impression could provide insight into the nature of other public roles that assist in determining community ideals and morals. Understanding the impact of these idealized roles on the individuals who take them on are important because idealized performances serve as an exhibition of the ambitions of their communities and have authority to continue to shape cultural morals and ideals.

III. METHODOLOGY

The focus of this study is to understand the relationship of individuals that take up socially constructed idealized performances toward their role and whatever the perceived consequences are for the individual striving to exemplify their community's morals and ideals. For this study, I have decided to analyze the vocational minister in order to investigate the relationship between an individual and their idealized performance. The vocational or professional minister is someone who has decided to serve in a pastorate position as their career. I feel the professional minister is an appropriate subject because of the idealized performance required for the role of the pastor. The vocational minister is responsible to personally embody the tenets of their Christian community and live up to the highest moral standards dictated by *The Bible* and ecclesiastical living. The community for the individual in the pastorate mainly consists of the members of their specific church body though these individuals also interact through the role of the pastor with others outside their congregations as well. In essence, they are supposed to be an example of the way Christians are expected to live out their faith and beliefs (Ingram 1981). The vocational pastor is to conduct their own personal affairs such as raising their family and managing their household alongside their professional obligations to the affairs of the church all in an open manner consistent with communal ideals of their church. The pastor must also be available to their congregation and offer the words of encouragement, inspiration, or condemnation as fitting

21

for God's most direct representative. The role of the professional minister is an idealized role because of the expectations placed on their performance by their congregation and the dictated standards to which any individual attempting to take on the role of the pastor must conform.

Sampling Procedure

Fourteen pastors were chosen for this study, and they were selected through a connection to the researcher's own church experiences and snowball sampling with references made by participants after the completion of their involvement in the study. Individuals who were chosen had to have spent at least one year as a vocational minister and have been employed at the same congregation for the duration of at least a year. This was important because of the socially constructed nature of the pastoral role and the amount of time spent with a single congregation strengthens the individual's familiarity with the expectations and practices of his congregation. Additionally, even though individual churches may create various divisions of the pastorate such as "Youth Pastor," "Children's Pastor," or "Media Pastor" these roles are still ascribed the responsibilities of church management and answer to the congregation for their cues and standards. Since there is little or no special distinction for the expectations on greater or lesser pastoral roles, any individual who has served as a vocational minister in an official pastoral position has faced the challenges of managing the idealized performance that is required in order to fulfill the pastoral role and can speak toward the relationship between themselves and that performance.

Sample Characteristics

All of the participating pastors are affiliated with the Assemblies of God fellowship. According to the organization's website (www.ag.org), the Assemblies of God (AOG) do not consider themselves a denomination but a Protestant cooperative fellowship with the central offices serving primarily as a service organization, providing a number of services to local churches such as curriculum development, credentialing ministers, organization of donations to the mission, etc. They are officially recognized as one of the largest Pentecostal denominations with approximately 62 million adherents throughout the United States and the world. The Evangelical Pentecostal identification is a celebrated distinction by the fellowship and a part of their historical background and a defining characteristic of their churches. The denomination allows women to be credentialed, although there are very few female pastors within the denomination. All of the individuals interviewed for this study are male in keeping step with current trends of the pastorate for the Assemblies of God denomination.

The AOG government style is a combination of elements of Presbyterian and congregational rule where each church has sovereign control over selecting a pastor, owning and holding property, maintaining their membership rolls, handling their own business activities, and how much participation they will have in denominational activities. The independence of the congregation for AOG churches is significant because of the socially constructed role of the pastor by his or her congregation and the outside support a minister may invoke in the incidence of abuse by a congregation. It is evident that whenever a congregation has the ability to elect and hire their own pastors, there is an inherent ability to build the profile of what an ideal performance of the pastoral role would include because

hiring criteria would reflect these beliefs. For this reason, ministers in the Assemblies of God fellowship should be considered as a good example of the pastoral role because of the congregational autonomy and the external structure that exists in other churches and denominations.

Table 1
Pastor Title by Years in Ministry

Years in Ministry				
		5-10	10-20	20<
Pastor Title	Lead Pastor		7	2
	Youth/Worship	2	1	
	Other (Associate Media)	1		1

Table one includes some characteristics of the participants. The majority of the participants in this study were in their mid 30's with over ten years of work experience as a professional minister and starting to lead their own churches or church plants. According to participants, a church is a term used to identify the start of a new typically untraditional church often financially supported by an established and traditional church. The average number of years the participants in the study had served as a professional minister was 18 years. The participant working for the shortest amount of time had served for six years at a single congregation and the participant with the longest amount of time had worked 62 years as a professional minister with 28 of those years being at the same congregation. Only two participants in this study were of an ethnicity other than white. These two were Hispanic and Asian American. Three of the participants in the study were no longer currently serving as vocational ministers at the time of their participation in the study.

Analysis Technique

The purpose of this study is a qualitative exploration to create a description of the relationship perceived by vocational ministers toward their idealized performance as a pastor of a congregation. In-depth or intensive interviews were chosen as an appropriate method because the goal of this study is to describe the perception of a relationship that exists with an individual and their role (Singleton and Straits 2005). The interviews were conducted face-to-face and ranged in time from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half depending on participant willingness and scheduled availability. The interview questions served as guides to enable participants to speak of their own experiences toward the idealized performance that is required for their role as the pastor of a congregation. Special attention was made to avoid using formal terms from Goffman's work like "front stage" and "back stage." Instead participants were asked to compare their "public" selves in front of the congregation and their "private" self when not in the audience of their congregation. Appendix A includes a copy of my interview guide. Generally, each participant was asked to speak about his own "calling" and relationship towards vocational ministry (How did you decide to become a pastor? What about being a pastor attracted you to becoming a pastor?) and what he believed about the role of the pastor universally with respect to a public and a private life of individuals in the pastorate (What do you think is the role of a pastor toward their congregations?). Responses were analyzed using a directed content analysis where participant responses were first divided into categories and then separated further as major themes became apparent in the transcripts. A directed content analysis uses analytic coding and categories derived from existing theories and research to initiate the investigation of new

research data and allows for new themes and categories to emerge from the data (Berg 2009). Initially, the participant responses were divided into the following categories: 1) Insight into the relationship of the individual to the role and 2) Insight into how the relationships of the individual are impacted by the role. These categories were determined as a broad starting point for analysis and could be easily separated in order to create a more systematic approach to describing how vocational ministers view the pastoral role.

Holding to the intention of this being an exploratory study into the relationship of an individual towards a socially constructed idealized role, there are several limitations in this study that provide avenues for further research. The first limitation being that this study is limited to vocational ministers at local church congregations within a single denomination. There are other idealized roles such as politician, policemen, teacher, and other roles that might also fit the description of an idealized performance and be worthy of extended research and consideration. Also, this study was only descriptive in nature and focused on the subjective experiences of a relatively small sampling of individuals who had engaged in the idealized performance of the pastoral role and its relationship to impression management, stigma, and embarrassment. A larger sample or a sampling of different denominations or faiths could be gathered in order to further focus the picture created in this study and serve to further develop the findings of this study. Further study could include a series of objective research studies involving counseling efforts, surveys, and moral failings of pastors or other idealized roles and the effects that those may have on the individual. Also, other research could examine the ways that congregations or communities help to construct idealized roles and how they are in turn shaped or inspired by the roles.

IV. RESULTS

Although the perspectives of each of the participants are unique and their experiences of working in the pastorate are original to them, there are several themes that emerged in the views they expressed which are consistent with the performance of an idealized role. According to Goffman (1959), the performance of an idealized role has a significant impact on the way an individual relates to his own performance as well as how they relate to others in their lives. Because of this, I have divided the themes found in the study into the two categories of the impact of their role on interpersonal relationships and the demands on the individual. The perspective and anecdotes offered by the participants in the study provide ample detail into how the pastoral role fits the profile of an idealized role because of the high lifestyle demands it places on the individual and how their performance distances their relationships with members of their community or congregation.

I. The effect on interpersonal relationships

Transparency with limitations

One of the largest areas that brought attention to the inherent discrepancy of the idealized performance that argued the individual cannot show errors or evidence of past errors in their performance was in the participant's discussion of transparency with their communities. Each participant mentioned the need for transparency and authenticity in the relationship of the pastor with their congregation. However, the need for transparency with

their congregation was always presented with the caveat of being within reasonable boundaries. "I think a pastor should be transparent but—a lot of people fear this word–but guarded. I think that you have to allow people to see you as you are but I think you have to be sensitive to where they are and how much of your transparency can they handle" Pastor November 21yrs. In one sense, the pastor is to be at the full disposal of the congregation and in another sense the individual needs to be selective about what they share with the congregation. The pastor is to be open and authentic even though there might also be things about the individual that the congregation does not have access to and does not need to know about because either they couldn't handle this information or the individual couldn't handle them with it.

The individual serving in the idealized role feels the need to be as transparent as possible to benefit himself and the community. Many pastors in the study believed that sharing their struggles with the congregation allowed the community to grow in their own attainment of the community ideals because they would see themselves as more capable of living like the pastor. Pastor Alpha13yrs says, "I think transparency. Usually we talk about letting people know that you're not perfect because you put up this impression like when you fart it doesn't stink and they think that you're this holy person. But when we tell them 'no' [I'm not perfect] and all this stuff. And you always put the focus on Jesus. And then they hear you go past it and think 'Oh he's just like me.' " He felt it was necessary to demystify his position in order to be more embraced by his community. He and other participants didn't believe in the need to merely manage any potential stigma through distant relationships but instead thought the person in the pastorate should be as transparent as possible for the health of the community as well as for their personal growth. "We're all gonna struggle but you

gotta network, you gotta put yourself in accountability. You gotta be in a situation where you're not more interested in hiding your struggles. Nobody likes they're struggling with this or that. It doesn't make you feel good to share with someone even who's not judging you. But I think the whole lump of that; it just eats away at you even more" Pastor November 21yrs. The participants believed that "getting real" and sharing actual struggles as individuals was an important step for continuing to serve in the performance of their role as the pastor.

The individual in the role of the pastor needs to be transparent as possible, however, that transparency needs to be with limitations first for the safety of the congregation and then for his own safety. Pastor John 14yrs explained how the safety of the congregation could be compromised in a counseling situation if the pastor is too transparent. "Some leaders said, 'You don't talk about negative things- you stay positive. You are there to help them; you're not there to get counseling from them.' And there's a tinge of truth to that. Again, if you're doing it to receive help, you're selfish and you're not really there for that person." To the same point, Pastor Thomas 6yrs gave the picture of a ship captain not needing to get on the overhead speaker and tell everyone the ways that he was failing as a captain and how everyone on board needs to figure it out for themselves. Discussion to this point showed the prominence of the belief that the idealized performance needs to appear without error or flaw and is similar to the management of concealed stigma because the individual is keeping relationships at a distance in order to better manage the impression that they are giving to their audience (Stein 2009).

On the one hand, an important aspect of transparency for the idealized performance is how it may impact the community. Limiting the transparency of the individual in the idealized role some times protects the congregation from the pastor himself. "There's a

saying that transparency is the key to ministry," says Pastor Delta15yrs. ".. once you can fake that, you've got it made. Ok? What I am always aware of is that you can use authenticity to manipulate." Several participants mentioned the temptation of being in the role of power for their community and using stories about their life to endear themselves to the community or coerce their congregation in some way. This was a clear acknowledgement of the temptation to indulge in the discrepancy that Goffman argued existed for an idealized performance to use activity of their position to personally benefit. An example two participants actually gave is how a pastor can tell about a situation where they had a tough decision and they decided to do the right thing, which testifies to their holiness and increases the amount of trust the congregation might have in them. That same pastor may not ever share a story of a time when they did not make the right decision and did not do as they should. It's for the sake of the community the individual in the role of the pastor is more inclined to limit the access that the congregation has to them or not share much about their lives with their congregation. The individual serving as pastor might also choose to limit their transparency to hide a moral failing that would hurt the congregation.

On the other hand, limiting the transparency of the individual also serves to protect the individual that is in the role of the pastor from the community. One participant relayed the story of a time he had asked a small group in the congregation for personal prayer in the struggle he and his wife were having to conceive a baby and how the news spread through the whole congregation and had people talking to his wife, asking her inappropriately probing questions into their efforts of trying to have a child. Being transparent opened up his family to an invasion of their privacy by the congregation that he served. What's more, the individual in the pastorate believes they need to limit their transparency because the

community is in control of their employment and are not often forgiving if the individual compromises the role. Pastor Mike11yr told a report he had heard about a youth pastor confessing to the lead pastor about a struggle with pornography in an attempt to be fully transparent and ended up being fired the same day. He wondered how any pastor could be fully transparent when, "You hear those kinds of stories or you know that those happen to people. How likely or you going to be willing to share some of your real struggles? Knowing that any one of these things if somebody feels that these causes me to be found emotionally, spiritual, morally unfit—my job's done." Transparency is almost a double-edged sword for the individual in the idealized role of the pastor. It is necessary to be authentic for the community to accept the performance but then it is also a personal danger for the individual to open themselves up to hurt or painful attacks. This discrepancy of hiding all errors or evidence of errors from their community appeared to be the most common of the struggles for the pastors as each participant had various methods and practices for how much of their flaws and personal lives they shared with their community.

Leading without power

Another caveat that impacts the interpersonal relationships for the individual in an idealized role is the feelings of powerlessness toward actually influencing and leading their community. This topic was only specifically addressed by a couple of the participants but the sentiment was in some form in all of the interviews as the individual in the role of the pastor feels they can only lead as the community allows them. Most of the participants believed in a balance between the pressures of the congregation and the initial calling that they felt toward the role. However, it is difficult to assess an imbalance in those priorities because some decisions by the individual could be made or ignored subconsciously in response to the expectations of the congregation. Pastor Mike 11yrs explains that a lot of the

restrictions felt on the performance sometimes come from the individual just wanting to stay

in their position:

> The expectations of what people are looking for in their pastor and it's not always what they
> tell you but what they're looking for and you realize that your survival…If you don't meet
> some of those expectations, you probably won't have a job very long. Which is no different
> than any other job its just a little harder because you don't always as a pastor or as a lead
> pastor you don't necessarily have one person whose telling you what to do... Well in a church,
> it could be the Lord but in some respects it's whoever those influential people are who may
> have no position at all. So you may be trying to keep thirty people happy all at the same time.

The individual that has a strong desire or need to keep their role has to make an answer to the

pressure applied from more vocal members of their communities to shape their performance.

One participant compared the role of the pastor to that of the President and admitted that the

role is one where the higher you are in the organization, the more people underneath you

exercise authority over you. Individuals do not have sole control over their own performance

of the role because of the nature of the idealized role. Pastor William 7yrs contrasted his

position in the idealized role to that of a business executive,

> "Typically a high level business executive gets to set their own schedule and they get
> to hire and fire people and they can set the course of what they think is best for that
> organization and make everyone else fall in line with that. Whereas, as a church leader
> ultimately, you should be following what God wants for the church and it's more… you
> know, I guess leading without power in a sense because you know you're just trying to
> influence people to believe the message you believe and then to start serving alongside with
> you.

For many of the participants, the loss of control over their performance is an act of

submission to their faith and was known in their initial decision to become a pastor. The lack

of individual control over the performance is actually embraced as an exercise in

strengthening the health of the community. Pastor Alpha 13yrs said that the individual must

release the claims they have on their performance for the health of the community. He quotes

the gospel of John saying that, "It's wrestling forever in your mind why you do what you do.

And it's not about you. It's not about what you're accomplishing… it's all about Jesus. I

think that's the biggest thing. John said it, ' may He increase, may I decrease.'" More often the participants viewed releasing the control of their role as a selfless act of sacrifice on their parts and argued that in this sense it was a positive thing for the individual to disappear from the role as much as possible for the greater health of the community. In this instance the participants are actually outside of Goffman's interpretation of an idealized role because the actor is taking the focus off of their performance even though their performance is responsible for exemplifying the ideals of the community.

Nevertheless, the individual is still vulnerable to experiencing the pulls, strains, and abuses of the congregation because of their idealized role. Pastor George31yr again makes the comparison to another role in business when he said, "You know there are a lot of injustices that occur in the ministry and it seems to me that in the workplace, you know there are so many safeguards: human resource department, training on how you treat people…Well in the ministry it's not that way." There are no safeguards for the individual in the pastorate because of their role in the community and the hurts the congregation inflicts on the individual can leave lasting impressions on the individual. Many of the participants reported ways that congregants could hurt the pastor and admitted that it creates a lack of trust and a barrier in their relationships toward their own community sometimes. Ultimately, the pastor is to follow their initial calling to the role and allow members of the congregation to engage the ideals of their community without being allowed to improperly influence the individual's performance of the role. This is one of the more internal struggles with the idealized role of the pastor because the individual is expected to be unyielding in their obedience to the tenets of their faith but they may be swayed and pressured to giving into the desires of their communities. It is in this sense that the individuals come the closest to becoming the

"merchants of Morality", what Goffman projected onto the performer of an idealized role, placing the necessary qualities forward at the appropriate time in order to make a sale.

II. The demands on the individual

Leadership by example

Goffman believed that an inherent discrepancy in an idealized performance is the pressure on the individual to always present a completed or finished performance to their audience because the primary objective of the idealized performance is to project the highest ideals and moral values of their community (Goffman 1959). The participants who served as pastors reported that they felt held accountable by their community in the way they live and the decisions they make because they have the perception that their decisions impact the overall perception of Christianity. In fact, most of the participants believed it was a tenet of leadership for the pastor to lead their communities by the example of their own lives. Leading by example means that the pastor was to live his life attaining to the highest ideals of their community and so inspire the congregation to do the same. This belief—that they were living examples of the congregation's moral ideals in their roles as pastor—was welcomed as an opportunity and acknowledged as a weight and heaviness on their life decisions. One pastor described it in this way:

> I'm more aware that since I am a professional Christian, so to speak, and I'm supposed to lead others and I want to. I enjoy that- I enjoy leading others on the path to follow Jesus but I'm very aware of that every day and that's really an important thing. I need to continually be growing in my faith and not just like, not just the standard things but like I need to be an example in all things,... Growing in patience. Being gentle, being kind, and all the fruits of the Spirit- that's a big part of it and I really feel that as a good weight on me. As a good pressure on me to grow in those things on a daily basis because it's more than just what I say from my podium or ya know whatever, it's about what I do." ~Pastor Charlie 12 years

Being mindful of the importance of his role to the community forces him to continue to grow and improve in his position as the pastor and the performance of that role. This could mean the elimination of things that are not against the ideals of the community but are considered

improper or out of place for the pastor. Pastor Peter 10yrs said, "That transposes into other areas of our life…there are certain things that I just won't take part of, not because I think it's necessarily wrong, but because I want to live above reproach and I want to be an example." Another pastor agreed but believed that it was a goal and an expectation of the role to highlight the ideals of the community, "The goal as the pastor should be that people are going to say, 'Wow! That is an awesome man of God.' And they're gonna look at you and say, 'Oh, that's an awesome God that he serves, too.'" Pastor Alpha 13yrs.

Attempting to live as a finished example for the congregation had strong ramifications for the family life of the individual. One pastor gave the example of bible college students getting married in school when they may have done otherwise because churches are unlikely to hire a single pastor to serve at their congregation. Another participant talked about the difficulties of living as an example with children:

> "You try to make your children examples and that's not a good thing for your children. They don't want to be the examples. So, that's kind of a rough deal for kids- having to grow up in the pastor's home because they know, well you can't go out and do this because ya know. You can't do that, don't want anybody to see you do that. So, it's kind of difficult." Pastor Quebec 47yrs

These individual struggles were viewed as necessary to present a complete product in their performance of the pastoral role. Conversely, there were three participants that viewed the position as pastor on a pedestal as something constricting for the growth of the individual and possibly for the growth of the community. This is consistent with findings by Mueller and McDuff (2004) about growth being necessary for job satisfaction of professional ministers. Furthermore, these participants shared why they believed a finished example for the idealized role could be negative for the community as well. Pastor Delta 15yrs said, "The flipside of that being on a pedestal is people tend to, I think, want to transfer to you the role of spiritual whatever. So 'if I'm not doing it, fine! But at least they're doing it on our behalf.' It's kind of

the priest model of, 'Well, if he's not having sex and doing all this stuff, then I'll just go confess to him and somehow that all works and I can do whatever I want to do.'" He felt that setting up the pastor as a supreme example might ultimately be unhealthy for individual members of the congregation because they would feel like if the pastor was meeting the moral expectations of the community it was okay for other members to fall short. The idealized role of the pastor could also create organizational issues because the centerpiece of the community is supposed to be their faith and not the individual serving in the pastorate. This could also be interpreted as the first discrepancy inherent to idealized performances as activity that generates personal gain when the pastor enjoys the attention of being elevated in the community. To this end, multiple participants said it is important for the individual to remember in order to avoid disturbances in the community and major fall out in the event of a pastor moving on from the congregation or having a moral failing. "I think sometimes pastors lose the big picture. It's not their church. [They say it's] my church. I'M the pastor of MY church. They might be a pastor, the lead pastor but it really is… the church belongs to God, it belongs to Jesus." (Pastor George 31yrs). Leading by example is a key component of the idealized performance being internalized for the pastor as the individual is representing the ideals and morals of the community in bodily form and desires to present a complete and finished product for the community to aspire to and emulate.

Every mule thinks his pack is the heaviest

All of the participants brought attention to the unique demands that the pastorate makes on the individual. Most of the comments to this point focused on the all-encompassing nature of the role on the individual's time and energy as well as the amount of control it can come to possess over the individual. "You never are "off" so to speak. A lot of ministry happens after 8-5, so you can't quantify like 40 hours; it's a lifestyle job," said

Pastor John 14yrs. Other participants echoed with similar sentiments emphasizing the constant demand on their time and energy throughout their occupation as a professional minister. The participants described the role of the pastorate as a lifestyle and "not a 9-5 job," and expressed feeling like they were "always available" to congregation members. Taking on this role is often viewed more as a "calling" or a destiny rather than a career path decided with pros and cons. The individual that takes on the idealized role feels a special relationship to the role and feels an obligation to fulfill the calls and demands of the role as needed. Several participants acknowledged this is as a positive aspect and relished in their position. On the other hand, participants noted that the structure of the role could exert certain restrictions on the individual and almost provides the community with the potential for increasing control over their performance. Pastor Thomas 6yrs describes this structural component while comparing the pastoral role to another job:

> "There's a certain element of control they have over my life that another job wouldn't have. And that's because, not only is my financial, my spiritual but my social life is all tied into this one organization. And if I were to leave or to want to quit. My ability to quit this current job is so much less… its so much harder you know and less than it would be if I were working another job. I've quit other jobs before I became a pastor and didn't feel badly you know. I did my best, said goodbye and moved on, but you cant really do that when everything you are is caught up…. I mean my house is parsonage from the church. I'd have to figure out how to take care of a house and my family and economics and get new friendships."

Participants also mentioned specific demands on their performance of the role and how that could become overwhelming at times. A recurring example was the requirement for the pastor to have some knowledge or general expertise in lots of different fields seemingly unrelated to their own profession. Pastor Quebec of nearly 50 years in the pastorate wished that he had studied more things while he was in college. "Things I would have studied more when I was in college was first of all, how to become a mechanic, how to become a roofer, how to become a carpenter, a plumber, an electrician…how to be an accountant and all the stuff that goes on with the ministry is not just…I mean preaching is a

very small part of the ministry." Another example of the high demands was the requirement for the individual in the pastorate to possess an outstanding relational capacity in dealing with others. Some of the pastors felt like since they are called on to provide acute guidance and wisdom for a variety of different life situations and conflicts for their congregation they need to be superhuman in some way. One pastor proposed, "You know if a pastor went and talked to an individual the way that we get talked to, we would get kicked out of our congregations in moments. But yet each one assumes the opposite, that they can talk to a pastor and throw everything on them as if they were a machine." The individual in the pastorate is relating to people in a different capacity than they might outside of that role and context. Pastor Mike11yrs said, "If I'm truly a pastor you're not just another parishioner. You're not just another patient. You're not just another person. You're someone I know. Someone that I care about. You're a person that I have a friendship with and relationship with."

The individual in an idealized role seeks to answer all the demands of their performance for their community because a failure to meet all the demands of the role could create a stigma on the individual. The pastor is constantly "on call" and makes themselves available to their community in various ways because they want to avoid failing to maintain the idealized performance of being a pastor. This demands of them to develop stronger relational and social skills or they will succumb to that failure. The development and exercise of these social skills are comparable to the individual with a concealed stigma that develops a hypersensitivity to social interactions in order to maintain the concealment of their stigma (Shih 2004).

An additional element unique to the pastorate is the ambiguous and fleeting nature of what success is in their role as the pastor. This often leaves a negative impression on the individual that is responsible for the performance of their idealized role and can also lead to defensive practices as argued by Shultz (1998) as the individual engages in self-promotion to highlight ways they could be considered successful. Each participant was asked to describe how they would describe a successful pastor and every one gave an original answer. Even though they each had original answers, most of the participants included in their description of a successful pastor an aversion to their performance being judged by the number of members in the church or the amount of offering that is collected each week. "I know every mule thinks their pack is the heaviest, but the real struggle I think with professional ministry is, first of all, there's not a good matrix for measuring success. That's why we all count numbers and noses" said Pastor Delta 15yrs. He also confided a habit he has formed of blowing the leaves off the steps of the church building in order to counteract this dejecting feeling. "This is the one thing I do all week that I see an immediate response. There were leaves there before and now there aren't leaves there." Generally, the participants had no exact measurement to determine their success. They only wanted to be obedient to their calling and the reasons they initially decided to become pastors and hoped that they were doing that.

If you're a pastor, you're a pastor (More than a performance)

A characteristic of an idealized role is the expectation that there cannot be another facet of the individual beyond what is publicly expressed in their performance (Lamont et al. 2000; Ytreberg 2002). This is true for the pastor, as a struggle exists to acknowledge a separate identity from their role as the pastor but deny any real distinctions between the individual and their performance of that role. When asked to speak more about this struggle,

Pastor Peter 10yrs affirmed the notion that there should be no separation from the individual and his role. "If you're a pastor, you're a pastor. And if you try to live a double life, you're living a lie. A pastor is not a job, period. A pastor is who you are…and I'm not talking about the essence of the job; I'm talking about the essence of a person." This affirmation of the unity between the individual and their role was consistent throughout the participant's interviews, even though several participants reported a need to separate their identity from their role as the pastor.

One participant said, "When I go home, I'm not the pastor. I'm the husband, I'm the father, I'm the grandfather. I'm not the pastor. I just, I guess you just take that hat off. I don't know how…" Pastor Quebec 47yrs. Others had a more difficult process, "I say look, I spent a year in counseling because this church was killing me. Because this was what was driving my identity. If you all showed up on Sunday I had a great week. If attendance was low, I had a bad week and I realized that is dumb, that's an idol in my life" Pastor Delta 15yrs. Each participant shared ways that they had learned to separate themselves from the title and the work of the pastor but there was still a negative connotation associated with dividing the individual from the performance of their role. Pastor Thomas 6yrs confessed that he'd actually been rebuked for talking about any divide, "saying that I feel like you… can't take off a role. In some ways that would mean that I am putting on a role. And I'm living in this fake reality. And so being rebuked by saying, ' You shouldn't be two different people. You should be [Thomas]. And you should… do your role and be 100 percent' and so I definitely agree with that. I'm not trying to say I want to be a fake person and so it gets really confusing."

In a similar way, each participant varied on how much they believed an individual in the pastoral role can have a separate identity away from their congregation and what should and shouldn't be shared. Pastor George 31yrs said, "My identity is not, as a man of God and as one called to serve the church, it's not in that church. Therefore, the struggles that I have and the issues that I'm working through and my challenges and my victories aren't always going to be those in my personal life that I'm going to share with the church." All of the participants believed that it was not good for a pastor to share the specific details of current struggles or conflicts with the congregation while serving at the church because it would not be beneficial for the community or for them. This directly correlates with an inherent discrepancy of the idealized role that Goffman (1959) identified as not allowing the individual to display any errors or evidence that there had been errors in the past attaining to the idealized performance. Pastor November 21yrs said, "I think you don't always communicate what's going on in some cases because people are unsure how to react… there's a certain element of privacy that you have to have as a pastor. For protection of your family as some people can't handle information. It's like a good secret, you know, 'I know this and I'm not meaning to do anything'. Maybe some intend to be hurtful and some not. It's just a lot of immaturity sometimes with a lot of situations." While most pastors reported to withholding their struggles and challenges in keeping with the discrepancy identified by Goffman, participants recognized how concealing their lives could be just as unhealthy in the end. Pastor Charlie 12yrs framed the argument in this way:

> We all filter; I filter every day. I'm not totally honest with everybody, ya know? I mean cause we all want to be seen as better than we are and pastors struggle with that just as much as the next person and sometimes more because they feel like they have to have this perfect persona; they have to represent perfection to people. And that often ends up, not often, it always ends up hurting the pastor and it always ends up hurting the congregation because he's not authentic with himself and he's not authentic with who he's leading- so I think that that's bad."

The root of this conflict might be how the individual can come to see themselves second to the performance of the role for their congregation.

The individual can come to see themselves second to their role in the community in several ways. Individuals believe they must maintain their performance through various settings and interactions because that is more important to the community than who the individual actually might be. This causes the individual to make significant personal sacrifices in order to be the pastor for his congregation. One participant shared a story of a mentor who wore a shirt and tie every day from when he got dressed in the morning until he went to bed at night, including when mowing the lawn, because members of his congregation may come to visit. Pastor John14yrs shared the story of his debate over returning early from a planned out-of-state vacation with his family in order to attend a funeral for one of his congregants. He ultimately didn't feel released from the obligation until the congregant forgave him in advance for missing the memorial service.

This relationship of the individual to the role is most highlighted when the individual is responding to perceived expectations from their community. Again Pastor Thomas 6yrs adds, "I think the congregation expects the pastor to be in their lives, at their weddings and funerals and parties…each pastor individually still has an expectation to be there and to be there in the pastoral role. Nobody really expects the pastor to be at their wedding and parties in a carefree role. So you can never take off your title." The individual may not feel like they are wanted as much by their congregation as their role as the pastor is wanted. In this way, the pastor is displaying the last discrepancy of an idealized performance Goffman identified when the idealized performance will publicly highlight some ideals at the private expense of others. The pastor is expected to be friendly and carry on significant relationships with his

congregation though they mostly interact with congregants through their role as the pastor.

At times the individual can also feel less connected to their performance and reaching away

from themselves to meet more of the demands of their community since the idealized role of

the pastor is considered more valuable than the individual. Pastor Peter 10yrs both

acknowledged and questioned the virtue in stretching himself to meet expectations in the

performance of the role:

> I do think at times the pastor gives off a persona, I mean I probably do myself at points but I don't know. Because you probably feel the expectation of what they feel, so you wanna get that per se, if you feel like that person has that expectation of you for certain areas then you want to be that person for that person as much as you can. [Chuckles] And not saying that it's the right thing but you know, I think that it is easily done at times, you know, we allow ourselves to, you know, put our persona on.

The interview participants believed that the individual needed to have some identity that is

separate from the performance of their role as the pastor but this private life should not

contradict their performance as the pastor. According to Pastor John 14yrs, "Yes, they must

or they will not have a public ministry. But, I would say they do not have a right to private

sin, but they have a right to a public and private life. But it's hard to distinguish the

difference—the pastor who is required to have a good marriage can't just divorce his wife

and cheat on his wife and say, 'Well this is my private life or this is my, ya know, public

ministry.'" Therefore the individual is allowed a "private life not private sin" away from their

role. This distinction still serves to reinforce the importance of the performance of the role

over the individual serving in the pastorate.

Ultimately, the idealized performance of the pastorate places significant expectations

on the individual who chooses to take up this role. Chief of these expectations is the toll that

living as a finished product and an example of Christianity for their community without

evidence of errors takes on the individual and their family. Also, the unique demands of

being "called" to such a specific position in the community and answering to all of the

unique expectations and necessary requirements to successfully fulfill the role of the

pastorate. Last, the expectations and stress that are associated with the intricate relationship

that the individual must have with their identity under the idealized role in their communities.

V. CONCLUSION

According to Erving Goffman, social interactions are comparable to a drama on the stage where the projected self is the front stage and the retreat from the public projection is the back stage. Individuals perform a role in social interactions depending on their relationship to the present audience. Certain performances can become institutionalized meaning that these roles come with prescribed behaviors and expectations. Institutionalized roles where the performance is attaining to exemplify the highest ideals of the community are known as an idealized role. Goffman (1959) believed that in the performance of a role, the individual as an actor could become so familiar with the demands and expectations of their role that they are separated both from their performance and the audience of his or her community. In this way, the individual could become a "merchant for morality" presenting the necessary performance for view when it is necessary and ignoring it when inconvenient. The idealized role may be particularly vulnerable to conduct this manipulation because of the heightened importance of their performance to their community (Creelan 1984; von Hippel 2005). The professional minister fits the profile of the idealized role because the pastor is a pillar of the church community and their role is subject to the expectations of the congregation and the pastor must live up to the ideals and morals of his community.

The focus of this study was to explore the complex relationship of the individual to their idealized role through in-depth interviews with professional ministers. The information found in these interviews provides some new insights for the sociological community on

individuals in highly publicized positions and makes a greater utility of dramaturgical sociology in understanding how individuals view their social interactions. Even though quantitative data can provide greater generalizability for conclusions across a broad range of platforms, this qualitative study gives a deeper description of the perspectives, thoughts, and feelings of individual's that live with this role. This study cannot be used to generalize to every pastor and every idealized role because of it's specificity to the professional minister of the Assemblies of God denomination but it can serve to draw attention to common themes experienced by these individuals in positions responsible to their communities and highlight other commonalities that exist among these populations.

An aspect of the relationship of the individual toward their idealized role that was highlighted in this study is how the participants had come to view the inherent discrepancies of the idealized role. The participants acknowledged that the discrepancies of the idealized role were real for their performance but the conflict was seldom viewed as entirely destructive for the performance. An example of this is when an individual must perform certain tasks that are not in keeping with the performance in order to maintain the idealized performance (Tseelon 1992). This was brought to life for this study in the perspectives expressed on the limitation of transparency and authenticity with which the individual interact with members of their community. The pastor is expected to be highly relational with everyone in their community and yet a separation exists between them and their congregation that the individual maintains through concealing present struggles or conflicts. The participants believed this was necessary in order to stay healthy for their role. Also, how the individual acknowledges the ways that their performance is not valid through these discrepancies. For most, an acceptance of their shortcomings fuels the individual in an

idealized role on to reconcile themselves even more with the performance because this will exemplify the ideals of the community. The pastor is often involved in the intimate details of congregants' lives while the same intimacy is not reciprocated because of the idealized role of the pastor. It is fitting for a pastor to show strength and advise during situations when the individual away from the performance may be ill equipped or unprepared to provide counsel but an ignorance can be overcome and used for an illustration later after the situation has past.

The participants in the study also displayed how much an individual in an idealized role is aware of their performance to their community and the need that exists for their role. Their performance was viewed as leadership through example. The idealized role is to embody the ideals of the community and the individual is also striving for those ideals and desires to be that display just as much as the community expects it of them. The participants did not ignore the weight of the performance but considered it an honorable duty because of the call they accepted to the role. An idealized performance is demanding on the actor but individuals are also demanding the best performance of themselves.

An additional insight from the participants in this study was how they believed that a part of their role as the pastor was to deny their own importance and point toward the faith and ideals of the community. This was outside the purview of the idealized role developed by Goffman and may be unique to leaders in various belief-based communities. The individual in the idealized performance of the professional minister must live as both a visible example and a humble servant of the community nearly invisible in the presence of the tenets and objects of the article.

This study could be used as a reference for consultant work in communities with clearly defined idealized roles that shape and influence the community. This study and other investigations into how individuals connect with their role in an idealized performance can help to counsel those individuals and assist them in establishing boundaries with their communities and healthy responses to expectations placed on them. Future works could extend the purpose of this study in exploring the relationship of the individual toward an idealized performance using the precepts developed by Erving Goffman in his work on dramaturgical sociology. Dramaturgical sociology could be especially astute in approaching and explaining social interactions in our present day of hyper reflexive media where individuals increasingly communicate through digital means and are capable of greater methods of impression management on the Internet.

I believe this research could be continued with investigations into other idealized roles such as politician, doctor, teacher or lawyer where individuals are responsible to bear the ideals of their community. Continuing research could also delve into the perspectives of individuals that do not qualify for their desired idealized role as it should be noted that some idealized performances are prohibitive to different races, genders or certain ideologies depending on the community and the specific role. Next, quantitative methods could be added to this study to increase the generalizability of the findings and extend the understanding of the metaphor of the idealized performance for the role of the pastor. This study could be supplemented by ethnographic study in observance of how community members interact with the idealized role bearer in their congregations. Last, the study of idealized performances could be looked at through different theoretical perspectives outside the influence of Goffman and Dramaturgical sociology. Adding such an element could

complete a fuller circle to the description of the interaction with the idealized performance

and its meaning for the whole community.

APPENDIX A

First I would like to thank you for volunteering to help me with my thesis project and for arranging to meet me for this interview today. During the interview I will ask you some questions about your experiences as a pastor and your thoughts, as a pastor, about the role of the pastor toward their congregation and what that means for the individual. Are there any questions that you might have for me before we start?

The first section of the interview are more demographic questions about your time in the ministry…

How long have you actually been or were you a professional minister?

How many churches have you worked for? And how long at each?

What was the average congregation size in each of the churches you served at?

That's all I need for the demographics. Now I wanted to ask you several questions about your own calling to the ministry and what it has meant for you.

Why did you initially decide to become a pastor?

Why Assemblies of God?

What do you feel being a pastor means to you and what does your role mean for your family?

What do you feel is the role of a pastor?

How would you compare being a pastor to being of another profession?

What do you think is expected of an ideal or the 'perfect pastor'?

How would you compare yourself to the 'perfect pastor' image?

Was there ever a time when you personally disagreed with something that was expected of a pastor?

How do you manage the pressure to conform to the expectations of a pastoral role?

Staying with the role of the pastor, I wanted to ask you some questions related to the relationship of the pastor towards the congregation….

How do you think a member of your congregation would describe an ideal or perfect pastor?

Could you describe any pressure you may feel from the congregation to be that ideal and 'perfect pastor'?

What do you think is the role of the pastor toward their congregation? And how important do you think that pastoral role is to a congregation?

How much can a congregation dictate the role of the pastor?

How much power do you think congregations should have in defining what they expect of their pastor and how active are/were you in shaping the expectations of a pastor for your congregation?

What are some other expectations do/did you feel from your congregation as their pastor?

Could you describe a time maybe that you failed to meet the expectations of a congregant and they let you know about it?

How responsible do you think the pastor is for how he is perceived by his congregation?
How much attention should he give to his perception in the community?

I'd like to narrow our focus more and talk about how the role of the pastor can affect individuals serving as pastors…

Do you distinguish a private life from your public life as a pastor?
If you make a distinction, how do you separate your private life from your public life as a pastor?

In general, do you think it's positive or negative for a pastor to have a private life away from his congregation?

How did/do you decide what you share about your personal life with your congregation?

What pressure do you think exists for a pastor to hide their faults or failings?

Are there some ways that pastors, specifically, hide their faults or failings from their congregations?

What would you define as a failing for a pastor? What should disqualify an individual from remaining as a pastor?

How does the moral failing of a pastor affect the individual? the individual's family? the congregation?

How does a pastor typically handle a failing and how do you think a pastor should handle a personal moral failing?

REFERENCES

Acton, C., and M. J. Hird. 2004. "Toward a Sociology of Stammering." *Sociology*. 38(3), 495-513.

Arkin, R. M. 1981. "Self-Presentational Styles."*Impression Management Theory and Social Psychological Research.* San Diego, CA Academic Press.

Banerjee, Neelah. 2006. "Pastors' Disclosures May Stir Empathy, Some Evangelicals Say" *New York Times (*December 13).

Barna, George. 2010. *Pagan Christianity?* Tyndale House Publishers, Inc.

Berg, Bruce L. 2009. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences.* Pearson Education, Inc. Boston, MA.

Carroll, Jackson W. 1981. "Some Issues in Clergy Authority." *Review of Religious Research*, Vol. 23, No. 2, A Special Issue in Memory of Samuel W. Blizzard (Dec., 1981), pp. 99-117.

Christopherson, Richard. 1994. "Calling and Career in Christian Ministry." *Review of Religious Research.* Vol 35. No. 3.

Creelan, P. 1984. "Vicissitudes of the Sacred: Erving Goffman and the Book of Job". *Theory and Society*, 13(5), 663-695.

Esterberg, Kristin G. 2002. *Qualitative Methods in Social Research*. McGraw Hill. Boston, MA.

Goffman E. 1956. "Embarrassment and Social Organization". American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62, No. 3 (Nov., 1956), pp. 264-271.

Goffman E. 1959. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life.* Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

Goffman E. 1963. *Stigma: Notes on the Management of Spoiled Identity*. Prentice Hall. Englewood Cliffs, NJ

Groeschel, Craig. 2006 *Confessions of a Pastor.* WaterBrook Multnomah Publishing Group. Colorado Springs, CO.

Haggard, Ted. 2006 "Ted Haggard's letter to his congregation" *Rocky Mountain News.* (November 5) Retrieved: http://m.rockymountainnews.com/news/2006/Nov/05/ted-haggard146s-letter-to-his-congregation/

Hazelrigg, L. 1992. Reading Goffman's framing as provocation of a discipline. *Human Studies,* 15(2/3), 239-264.

Hewstone, M. 2000. "Contact and Categorization: Social Psychological Interventions to Change Intergroup Relations" *Stereotypes and Prejudice: Essential Readings* edited by C. Stangor, 394-418.Taylor and Francis. Philadelphia.

Jacobs, M. B. 2003. "Obsessed with Impression Management: A Critical Sociology of Body Image in Capitalist Society*." Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge*, 2(2), 66-73.

Jones, E. E., and T. S. Pittman. 1982. "Toward a General Theory of Strategic Self-Presentation." *Psychological perspectives on the self* (Vol. 1, pp. 231-263). Erlbaum. Hillsdale, NJ.

Kaslow, F. W. 1992. "Political Families in Therapy: The Impact of Media Coverage and Therapeutic Issues*." Contemporary Family Therapy: An International Journal,* 14(2), 103-113.

King, S. 2003. "The Impact of Compulsive Sexual Behaviors on Clergy Marriages: Perspectives and Concerns of the Pastor's Wife. Sexual Addiction and Compulsivity, 10(2/3), 193-199.

Lamont, Michele, Jason Kaufman, and Michael Moody. 2000. "The Best of the Brightest: Definitions of the Ideal Self among Prize-Winning Students" *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 15, No. 2 Jun pp. 187-224.

Leak, G. K., and S. Fish. 1989. "Religious Orientation, Impression Management, and Self-Deception: Toward a Clarification of the Link between Religiosity and Social Desirability." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 28(3), 355.

Leming, Laura M. 2006. "Church as Contested Terrain: Voice of the Faithful and Religious Agency." *Review of Religious Research*. Vol. 48, No. 1 pp. 56-71.

Link, B. and J. Phelan. 2001. "Conceptualizing Stigma." *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 27, pp. 363-385.

Lizardo, O. 2005. "Elastic Social Structures and Compromised Selves: Some Empirical Implications of Goffman's Embarrassment-Interaction Link." *Conference Papers -- American Sociological Association,* 1-30.

Markus, H., and E. Wurf. "The Dynamic Self-Concept: A Social Psychological Perspective." *Annual Review of Psychology*, 38299.

Miller, C. T, E. D. Rothblum, D. Felicio, and P. Brand. 1995. "Compensating for Stigma: Obese and Non-obese Women's Reactions Being Visible." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 21:1093-106.

Monahan, Susanne C. 1999. "Role Ambiguity among Protestant Clergy: Consequences of the Activated Laity." *Review of Religious Research* Vol. 41, No. 1, pp. 80-95.

Mueller, Charles W. and Elaine McDuff. 2004. "Clergy-Congregation Mismatches and Clergy Job Satisfaction." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* Vol. 43, No. 2.

Pettit, M. 2011. "The Con Man as Model Organism: The Methodological Roots of Erving Goffman's Dramaturgical Self." *History of the Human Sciences*, 24(2), 138-154.

Proffitt, Deborah. Lawrence G. Calhoun, and Richard G. Tedeschi. 2007. "Judeo-Christian Clergy and Personal Crisis: Religion, Posttraumatic Growth and Well Being." *Journal of Religion and Health* Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 219-231.

Rennera, Karl-Heinz; Lothar Laux, Astrid Schütz, James T. Tedeschi. 2004. "The Relationship Between Self Presentation Styles and Coping with Social Stress." *Anxiety, Stress, and Coping.* Vol. 17, No. 1, pp. 1_/22.

Rosenfeld, P., R.A. Giacalone, and C. A. Riordan. 1995. *Impression Management in Organizations: Theory, Measurement, Practice.* Routledge. London.

O'Brien, Terri, Sheila Payne, Mike Nolan, and Christine Ingleton. 2010 "Unpacking the Politics of Evaluation: A Dramaturgical Analysis." *Evaluation.* Vol 16. No. 4.

Singleton Jr., R. A., and B.C. Straits. 1999. *Approaches to Social Research*. 3rd Edition. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schutz, Astrid. 1998. "Assertive, Offensive, Protective, and Defensive Styles of Self-Presentation: A Taxonomy." *Journal of Psychology*. Vol. 132, Issue 6.

Shih, M. 2004. "Positive Stigma: Examining Resilience and Empowerment in Overcoming Stigma." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* Vol. 591.

Shudson, Michael 1984. "Embarrassment and Erving Goffman's Idea of Human Nature." *Theory and Society*; Vol. 13 Issue 5, p 633-648.

Smith, Gregory A. 2005. "The Influence of Priests on the Political Attitudes of Roman Catholics." *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 291-306.

Stein, A. 2009. "As Far as They Knew I Came from France: Stigma, Passing, and Not Speaking about the Holocaust." *Symbolic Interaction* Vol. 32, No. 1.

Strange, K., and L.A. Sheppard, 2001 "Evaluations of Clergy Children Versus Non-Clergy Children: Does a Negative Stereotype Exist?" *Pastoral Psychology*, 50(1), 53-60.

Sutton, George W. and Thomas, Eloise K. 2011. "Following Derailed Clergy: A Message of Healing for a Shocked Congregation" *Enrichment Journal*. Retrieved July 28, 2011. Available: http://enrichmentjournal.ag.org/200902/200902_000_Following_Derailed_Clergy

Taku, S., and N. Yoshiaki. 2009. "Contrasting Tactics in Deceptive Impression Management." *Social Behavior and Personality: An International Journal*, 37(2), 267-271.

Taylor, J., and L. Anderson. 2009. " 'It's Not What You Think': Masculine Identity and Stigma Management among Skydivers and Gun Collectors." *Conference Papers-American Sociological Association.*

Tedeschi, J. T., and V. Melburg. 1984. "Impression Management and Influence in the Organization." *Research in the Sociology of Organizations* Vol. 3, pp. 31-58. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Tedeschi, J. T., and N. Norman. 1985. "Social Power, Self-presentation and the Self." In. B. R. Schlenker (Ed). *The Self and the Social Life.* New York: McGraw Hill.

von Hippel, William, L. von Hippel, Leanne Conway, K.J. Preacher, J.W. Schooler, and G. A. Radvansky. 2005. "Coping With Stereotype Threat: Denial as an Impression Management Strategy." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89(1), 22-35.

Wayne, S. J., and R. C. Liden. 1995. "Effects of Impression Management on Performance Ratings: A Longitudinal Study." *Academy of Management Journal*, 38, 233-260.

Wood, Naaman, and Susan Ward. 2010. "Stigma, Secrets, and the Human Condition: Seeking to Remedy Alienation in PostSecrets' Digitally Mediated Environment." *Symbolic Interaction.* Vol. 33 No 4.

Ytreberg, E. 2002. "Ideal Types in Public Service Television: Paternalists and Bureaucrats, Charismatics and Avant-Gardists." *Media, Culture and Society*, 24(6), 759.

Zivnuska, Suzanne, K. Michele Kacmar, L. A. Witt, Dawn S. Carlson, and Virginia K. Bratton. 2004. "Interactive Effects of Impression Management and Organizational Politics on Job Performance." *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, Vol. 25, No. 5 pp. 627-640

VITA

Scott James Hamilton was born in Frankfurt, Germany, on December 9, 1985, the son of Connie Lynn Hamilton and James L. Washington. After graduating from Rangeview High School, Aurora, Colorado, in 2004, he entered Southwestern Assemblies of God University in Waxahachie, Texas. He received the degree of Bachelor of Science from Southwestern in December 2007. During the following years he was employed as an A.V.I.D. tutor and substitute teacher with the Manor Independent School District in Manor, Texas. In August 2008, he entered the Graduate College of Texas State.

Permanent Email Address: scj.hamilton@gmail.com

This thesis was typed by Scott J. Hamilton